Moral and religious changes in an urban village of Bangalore, South India

D Phil thesis



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1968

Abstract

The thesis is about a village which has become a part of the industrial city of Bangalore; the ways in which this change in circumstances is taken into account in social relations and moral judgments; and the relation between Hindu religion and morality. From this local study I draw tentative conclusions about social relations and movements of ideas in Indian industrial society.

In chapter 1 (Introduction) I describe the conditions of my fifteen months' fieldwork. I criticize the view that economic and technical changes cause moral or social changes directly and predictably; that the effect of industrialization and urbanization must be to alter 'folk' or 'traditional' society in the direction of a single ideal type of 'urban' or 'industrial' society; and that this must involve great social strain and breakdown of norms. Social change means changes in moral values and ideologies. Changes in economic and other circumstances do not determine ideologies, but are taken into account as reasons for altering social categories and making new kinds of value judgments. It is at this level of ideologies and values, rather than of 'ideal types' constructed out of external similarities, that it is useful to make comparisons between societies. Indian ideologies are expressed particularly in religious terms, and the key to understanding social change in India lies in the changing relations between religion and morality.

Chapter 2 (History and description) traces the village's history from its foundation around 1800 to its incorporation into Bangalore (pop. 1.2m) in the 1950s; and describes the present appearance of the village and housing conditions within it. The leading peasant families sold their land for building or built on it themselves, and became building contractors or wholesale merchants. Their sons were educated in English, and tended to become factory workers or clerks. Half the village's population of 6700 belong to families of recent immigrants. More than half the village's workers are in positions requiring some skill or responsibility. Bangalore consists largely of a network of such urban villages, which are not submerged, but become more conscious of their identity as the neighbourhood gains moral significance at the expense of communities of birth.

Chapter 3 (Groups within the village) describes the vestiges of traditional relations between castes and the surviving village offices. These things, like village cults and festivals, acquire a new value as the

reality of rural life recedes and the village's recent past is idealized in the myth of a co-operating community, associated with peasant virtues. Immigrants as well as old families are attached to the village, as a unit in which relations are moral rather than economic, and particularly as an arena in which claims to respect or status can be defended.

The villagers are divided into old families and immigrants, by language (half speak Tamil, the rest mainly Telugu or Kannada), by religion (four fifths are Hindus, the rest Christians apart from a few Muslims), by caste, by 'family', which varies in meaning according to the situation, by economic class; by economic relations of creditor and debtor, or of employer and employee in the case of the minority who work for other villagers; by education; by age, by sex, by occupation; by party and faction; by voluntary associations, by close neighbourhood, and by friendship. Wherever possible I give statistics, based on a sample survey of every tenth household.

In chapter 4 (Caste and family) I discuss caste ideology, the religious justification of hierarchy, the place of endogamy and occupation, and the relation between castes and 'subcastes'. I describe the main castes of the village, most of which belong to the 'middle' block of castes and are social equals, the situations in which caste counts, and the way in which endogamous groups divide, unite, overlap and change their names. The closed endogamous group tends to be replaced by overlapping marriage circles,, which the household may redefine for itself within limits. Ideal relations within the family may be inferred from simple rules about who is entitled to respect; but the content of this respect, and the criteria for giving it, are changing in the direction of equality and autonomy.

Chapters 5 and 6 (Religion) describe cults of the whole village, cults of other groups, and personal religion. I distinguish three aspects of Hinduism: brahmanism, associated with prestige and auspiciousness, and with the values of dharma (order), permanence, hierarchy, purity and ritual; the religion of groups, for the protection and welfare of closed communities, and the religion of choice, associated with moksha or liberation, renunciation, devotion, the direct relation of the soul to God, and, particularly in the modern form of this kind of religion, with conscience, responsibility and service. Brahmanism and group religion are complementary. The thinking that characterizes them is thoroughly hierarchical: men are arranged in a hierarchy of birth and function, the legitimate ends of life in a hierarchy of value. Each item in the hierarchy is justified by its association with those above it. Just as castes derive status from their relation to Brahmans,

the interest (artha) of groups is justified by and subordinate to the eternal order (dharma) of the whole, and group religion is justified by and subordinate to brahmanism. The religion of choice tends to make universal not hierarchical distinctions, and to regard worshippers as equals.

Each of these aspects is particularly associated with one of the three main temples in the village: the one brahmanical temple; the temple of the village's patron goddess; and a Math or religious institution built over the grave of a Guru. The Math is a centre not only of devotional religion, but of social and moral innovation: its younger devotees organized a night school for village children, and have been prominent in other enterprises associated with the ideology of 'social service'. They transformed universalistic ethical beliefs which were latent and unstressed into the common assumptions of a generation influenced by the reforming enthusiasm, moral fervour and equalitarianism of the Independence movement.

In chapter 7 (Respect) I consider the use and meaning of 'respect' and words connected with it ('big man' &c). Respect is a fundamental social value, and the form in which economic and other relations on larger scales are projected on to the village's scale of values. It has two main components: 'prestige', a given, de facto quality related to birth, wealth and influence, and 'honour', a moral, de jure quality depending on the autonomous moral judgments of others. In modern conditions the second component tends to gain importance at the expense of the first, and the conversion of wealth or power into status comes to depend now on complying with universalistic norms. Forms of organization for common action are compromises between two types: the traditional pancaayat or council, where decisions are taken by consensus and 'big men' respected for their 'prestige' take the initiative, and the modern association, where decisions are voted on and men respected for their personal moral qualities take the initiative. I describe a municipal election, and the two ways in which candidates build up support: by acting through dyadic links of 'respect', and by a direct appeal to voters or supporters through ideological arguments.

In chapter 8 (Values) I relate values and social relations in the village to the two types which Piaget calls heteronomy and autonomy. Heteronomy is associated with constraint, hierarchy and unilateral respect; autonomy with aspiration, equality and mutual respect. They correspond to Bergson's closed and open types of morality, religion and society. In principle the two types are opposed, in practice they are found together, in unstable

combinations, in every social morality. I examine the forms they take in western and Indian society, and the connexion between religion and ethics in traditional Indian society. The dominant traditional morality, associated with brahmanism and group religion, is a thoroughgoing relativism, in which there is no duty beyond the obligations of particular roles.

Heteronomy is the dominant but not the only strain in traditional Hindu values, which can best be understood as a constant dialogue between heteronomous relativism and autonomous universalism, with a constant tendency to escape from rigidly prescribed hierarchical relations into religious or moral universalism. Traditional India tries to combine heteronomy and autonomy in two ways. A popular ethical tradition, for which there is evidence both in literature and in existing Hindu societies, sees conscience and public opinion as complementary aspects of every right action, and avoids or denies the possibility of conflict between them. The religious tradition places the individual between the two poles of the autonomous renouncer and the heteronomous man-in-the-world (Dumont's term), with forms of religion appropriate to each. The devotee is religiously autonomous but socially heteronomous, getting the chief part of his religion from the renouncer and his ethics from the caste society. Past attempts to combine religious and moral universalism did not last long, but they had a permanent effect on Hindu society. Modern devotional religion tends to absorb the secular universalist ethical tradition and to take the central place in religious experience which brahmanical and group religion once shared. This modern devotional religion resembles Christianity in being ethical and casteless and in its stress on consistency and conscience; it differs in its ideals of moksha or liberation and of renunciation as an end. In a review of preceding chapters, and of moral judgments and speculation in the village, I show the extent to which autonomous values, which were already present in the margin of traditional society, tend to gain importance at the expense of heteronomous ones.

In chapter 9 (Conclusion) I show how moral innovation and ideological change, influenced indirectly by changing circumstances and directly by a confrontation with national or foreign ideologies, takes place particularly on the scale of communities like the village. Modern Indian institutions and ideas are not copies or imports from the west, and the moral reactions to western contact should be distinguished from a superficial 'westernization' for reasons of prestige. Modern India tends to make universal not hierarchical distinctions; to apply universalistic principles to religious and social and intellectual life; and to disentangle autonomy from heteronomy instead

of trying to combine them as the traditional society did. A specifically Indian industrial society is built on traditional foundations, particularly on elements of autonomy and equality which were present but unstressed in traditional society.

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A NOTE ON THE SPELLING OF INDIAN WORDS

Tamil, Kannada and Telugu are in common use in the village. Where I give two forms of a word (mariaadai/maryaade), the first is Tamil, the second Kannada. Many Sanskrit words, particularly religious ones, are given in their original forms, which are used with few changes in modern Indian languages. English words are used very freely, and some words from Hindi.

Indian words are spelt here in a new way, except where this might cause confusion (Brahman, patel, Bangalore). The transliteration generally adopted by scholars uses diacritical marks (as in ḍhūṇḍhnā), which are hard to print or type, blur the outline of words and are easily left out. Firth's All-India alphabet (Bailey 1950, Jones 1942, Harley 1944), is more legible but requires special type for several new letters. My transliteration is based on proposals by Ray (1960, 1962) to express every sound by a single letter or a digraph, as in English. Ray uses x to mark retroflex consonants (tx dx) and w after nasal vowels, but the result lookssvery strange when one is used to the values of x and w in other languages.

I use the Old English letter ȝ for both purposes: it can be printed or typed as 3. This makes the preceding consonant(s) retroflex (mand3al, Krisn3a) or the preceding vowel nasal (mai3 huu3). A long vowel is written double (Siita, puuja) except in languages which have no corresponding short vowel (e o in Sanskrit and Hindi); ee oo are <u>not</u> pronounced as in English. Other digraphs include sh (palatal sibilant; not the retroflex sibilant s3, often written sh or ṣ) and rh (Tamil frictionless mid-palatal continuant, sometimes written zh). The velar nasal is nk ng in combination with k or g, otherwise ng' as in Swahili (Tamil ing'anam); similarly the palatal nasal is nc nj in combination with c or j, otherwise ny (nyaanam). I use x for the aaydam in archaic Tamil, also for the Urdu unvoiced velar fricative (as in Lo<u>ch</u>); the voiced sound is gx.

Tamil requires special treatment because the old Tamil phonemic system, on which Tamil script is based, does not distinguish between voiced and unvoiced consonants. Yet Tamil has borrowed heavily from Sanskrit, Telugu, English and Hindustani, which make this distinction, and the distinction is usually made in speech when these imported words are used. Firth's (1934 x-xi) alphabet makes the distinction only in imported words (bakti); but a consistent orthography must recognize that it is phonemic in modern Tamil. I write the plosives g j d3 d b wherever they are voiced. A voiced plosive between vowels becomes a fricative: g often sounds like h.

I write n for both ந and ன (n and n̲), because the distinction is not phonemic; but I distinguish ர r from ற rr(r̲) because this can be phonemic (aram 'a file', arram 'virtue'). Tamil has no true double r: ற்ற (r̲r̲) is really ttr. I leave out the orthographic i (Ratnam Candran not Irattinam Candiran) and prosodic y and v (peria Puuamma not periya Puuvamma).

Hindi (Devanagari) alphabet:

a aa i ii u uu ri e ai o au a3 ah

k kh g gh n (or ng') c ch j jh n (or ny) t3 t3h d3 d3h n3

t th d dh n p ph b bh m y r l v sh s3 s h

Dotted consonants: q x gx z r3 r3h f

Tamil alphabet:

a aa i ii u uu e ee ai o oo au x

k (or g) n (or ng') c (or j) n (or ny) t3 (or d3) n3

t (or d) n p (or b) m y r l v rh l3 rr n

Grantha letters: j s3 s h ks3

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My greatest debt is to the many people of 'Garudʒapura' village who gave me their time, their attention and often their warm friendship: particularly Shri A Govindappa, Shri N. Krishnappa, Shri R Krishnaswamy, Shri R Narayanappa, Shri M Palani Velu, Shri MG Patel, Shri G Ramanand, their wives and families, and the Swamiji of the Mowna Guru Math. Those who helped me in the fieldwork, but who do not belong to the village, include Mrs CE Devanandan, in whose house we lived; Shri VN Poornapragna, who helped me to plan my sample survey; Miss Brenda Beck; Miss Eleanor Wenkart; my wife, Lakshmi, who did much of the work with me; and my daughter, Radhika, whose company was both a pleasure in itself and an asset in the village.

Dr DF Pocock has taught and advised me for more than five years. I owe much to him, and to Dr AH Halsey, whose stimulating comments on each chapter gave me a broader view of Indian problems; to Dr JHM Beattie, who supervised part of my research in Dr Pocock's absence; and to Professor MN Srinivas, who advised me on how to begin my fieldwork during my stay at the Delhi School of Economics.

The work was made possible by grants from the Ministry of Education, the Frederick Soddy Trust, the Astor Foundation and the Cyril Foster Fund; a Commonwealth University Interchange Travel Grant awarded by the British Council; a Sociological Scholarship from the Nuffield Foundation; and a Studentship at Nuffield College, Oxford. The College also paid the expenses of preparing and submitting the thesis. I express my thanks to all of them.

1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about a village which has become part of the industrial city of Bangalore, and about the way in which this change in circumstances has affected social relations, moral judgments and religion. From this local study I draw tentative conclusions about the direction in which modern Indian society is moving.

I went to India in February 1964 to study the effect of industrialization and urbanization on Indian society, and especially on caste. I spent three months as a casual student at the Delhi School of Economics, preparing for the fieldwork under the guidance of Professor MN Srinivas, talking to Indian sociologists, and travelling in search of a suitable town to study. The one Indian language I had some knowledge of was Hindi, and I expected to study a town in North India or in Maharashtra; but I found what I wanted - a community with a settled nucleus of old families, small enough for direct study, but completely a part of an industrial economy based on advanced technology - in Bangalore, the capital of Mysore State in South India.

I describe the city in more detail in the next chapter. The village, which I call Garudapura, since its foundation in about 1800, has been in close contact with the city, and became part of it during the city's industrial boom after the Second World War.

About half the village's population of 6700 are recent immigrants or their families. The relation between immigrants and older families, and the way in which immigrants become attached to the village, are important parts of my subject, and individual immigrants gave me much useful information; but my most complete information, particularly family histories, came from members of families and caste groups which had lived in the village for some generations.

The fieldwork

I found a house on the edge of the village, where it passes into the suburb I call Williams Town, and some 200 yards from the village centre. I lived here with my wife and daughter for fifteen months, from May 1964 to July 1965.

> My first contacts introduced me to others. Very soon I had a circle of informants, mostly factory workers whose jobs and private obligations left them little free time, but who took great trouble to answer my questions, gave me detailed family histories, and invited me and my family to their homes.
>
> At first I did most of my work in English, which is as much an Indian language as Hindustani and is widely spoken in Bangalore. A quarter of the village's adult population, probably including most factory workers and most young men, speak the Indian variety of English fairly well, sometimes using it among themselves. Even when I had learned Tamil - the first language of half the villagers and a lingua franca for the rest - and a little Kannada, I continued to get a great deal of information from people whose English was better than my Tamil.

I made a first rough census of households, for four purposes: to get the information I asked for (number of people, language and occupation); to explain why I was studying the village's history and customs; to build up a larger and more varied circle of informants from among those who were specially willing to help; and to improve my Tamil. Other places where I learned much were a Math or religious institution where devotees spend their free time, and the many weddings I was invited to. Those who were suspicious

or who did not want to tell me anything generally treated me courteously. Most people spoke more freely, and many treated me in a spirit of open friendship and generosity I can never forget. Hardly anyone asked me to do favours; in any case there were few favours I could have done. I had no influential contacts; and my income, as everyone knew, was fairly high by village standards but much less than that of several businessmen and landlords in the village.

My statistical material is based on a sample survey I carried out with a number of assistants, mostly students from other parts of Bangalore. For a month I or one of these assistants took a schedule of questions, about family composition, education, occupation, income, expenditure &c, to every tenth household. Since I had lived in the village for eight months, everyone knew who I was, many had some idea of the purpose of my work, and hardly anyone refused to answer. This was the only part of the work for which I employed assistants: otherwise I worked alone, with my wife's help.

Approaches to urbanization and industrialization

Clearly it is important to study the social effects of industrial and urban growth in particular local and historical settings before attempting any kind of cross-cultural comparison or generalization. But the theories of 'urbanization' and 'industrialization' which have dominated much discussion of Indian development, have often been too general and large-scale to explain specific cases, and have mistaken the nature of the connexion between changes in circumstances and changes in social relations (eg. Unesco 1956, Redfield and Singer 1956, Hauser 1958, Gould 1961, Sjoberg 1955, Hoselitz 1962).

The general tendency of these theories is to regard 'urbanization' and 'industrialization' as universal processes, which are bound to, or likely to, produce the same changes in social relations wherever they happen. Thus Wirth relates all human settlements to the two poles of 'urban-industrial and rural-folk society'. Contacts in the city are 'impersonal, superficial, transitory and segmental':

> Whereas, therefore, the individual gains, on the one hand, a certain degree of freedom from the personal and emotional controls of intimate groups, he loses, on the other hand, the spontaneous self-expression, the morale, and the sense of participation that comes with living in an integrated society. (Wirth 1938 12)

The same nostalgia underlies the Gandhian myth of the self-sufficient village, and its developments in Indian sociology and politics. In the city, according to Wirth:

> The close living together and working together of individuals who have no sentimental and emotional ties foster a spirit of competition, aggrandizement, and mutual exploitation. (Ibid 15)

The result is 'anomie', a 'social void' in which 'Individuality ... must be replaced by categories, (ibid 18). In a statement which has many parallels in more recent studies, Wirth says the distinctive features of urban life are:

> the substitution of secondary for primary contacts, the weakening of the bonds of kinship, and the declining social significance of the family, the disappearance of the neighbourhood, and the undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity. (Ibid 20-1)

None of these effects, except perhaps the last, appears to by typical of modern Indian industrial cities. I shall use the example of Garud3apura to show that individuality is more not less valued; personal relations, especially friendship, are idealized; ties of emotion and obligation within the nuclear family are strengthened, at the expense of other kinship ties; the nuclear family gains the social significance which the wider 'family' loses; and the neighbourhood, far from disappearing, becomes more important precisely because of the 'undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity', which is caste.

Lambert (1958, 1962, 1963), in particular, produces evidence from India against the theory of 'impact':

> viewing the intrusion of the factory into a non-industrial society as a sort of shook or disruptive influence which tended to break down the older social system (Lambert 1958 21)

the consequences being conceived on a western model; and Laslett's (1965) study of Tudor and Stuart England suggests that the western model itself may often be based on wrong assumptions, especially about the family.

General theories of this kind fail to explain the observed facts of industrialization in India; and they are wrong in principle, for two reasons. They base their generalizations on ideal types constructed out of similarities in external circumstances, instead of tracing the development of social relations and ideas, with their own logic, in particular historical and cultural settings[+]; and they assume that technical and economic changes cause social and moral changes directly, so that if the former are known the latter can be predicted with certainty.

[+] We move from folk society to folk society, asking ourselves what it is about them that makes them like each other and different from the modern city. So we assemble the elements of the ideal type. (Redfield 1947 294)

It would be better to use 'urbanization' and 'industrialisation' as descriptive terms for easily recognisable economic, technical and geographical processes; and to use the more general and neutral word 'modernisation' for the present changes in the circumstances of Indian life, including political, educational and legal changes which affect those who are neither urban nor industrial.

Our ideal types should not be of circumstances, but of values, moral relations, and ideologies. I do not regard values and ideologies as some kind of superstructure to be explained by the real existing relations of power or production or biological need or something else. These relations - like all economic or technical or other circumstances - are taken into account as reasons for altering social categories and making new kinds of value judgments; but this is not, except in a loose manner of speaking, a causal relationship. Since this taking into account of changing circumstances is a normal and continuous part of human thought, no different from any other ordering of social experience, a special theory of 'social change' is unnecessary.

Changes in values, and therefore in social relations, are unpredictable in a strict sense, because they depend on judgments; and similar changes in circumstances, even in similar initial conditions, need not produce similar results. Our common rationality or humanity creates a presumption that this is likely to happen; and a thorough understanding of values and ideologies may give us still stronger reasons to think so. But this forecasting must be a step by step process, adjusted in the light of a constant feedback of information about the society we study. Only when we have learned to follow the development of values and social relations in specifically Indian circumstances, for example, is it useful to make detailed comparisons with similar changes elsewhere, and to attempt a general theory of the social or moral effects of modernisation.

Social change and religion

Social change means changes in ideologies and values, especially moral values. In India, as elsewhere, morals are bound up with religion; and the core of my problem - which I had first looked for in changing relations between groups and the different principles of group alignment - soon emerged as the sociology of religion, and variations in religious ideas and practice within the village.

The connexion between morals and religion in India is often misunderstood. A common view of the matter (of which I give examples in chapter 8) is roughly this: traditional Hinduism gives its sanction to a thoroughgoing relativism, in which there is no duty beyond the obligations of particular roles within an eternal, all-embracing order of society and the universe; there is a traditional route of escape into renunciation or into universalistic devotional sects, but this religious universalism is concerned with personal salvation only and has little or nothing to do with ethics; where elements of moral universalism are found, they are either recent imports or individual accidents, and are without much social significance.

I think this is too simple and unified a view of Hindu ideas. One can only understand existing Hindu societies, and Indian history, literature and popular traditions, by following the interplay of two kinds of religion, associated with two kinds of morality and of social relations: on the one hand, a religion which consecrates the existing order of society, values of submission and hierarchy, and a relativist morality of closed groups; on the other, devotional religion, values of choice and equality, and a tendency towards a universalist open morality. The two types exist in unstable combination in every Hindu community, 'traditional' or 'modern'. In successive chapters I show how they are present in different kinds of social relation and activity. Finally I relate them to two universal types of moral values and relations: heteronomy and autonomy, which exist together in every social morality.

The present tendency is to emphasize autonomous values at the expense of heteronomous ones; to develop devotional religion, and universalistic moral ideas and social relations, which were present but unstressed in traditional society; and to adapt ideas and forms taken from all-India movements or from abroad, like 'social service' and the modern association, to serve autonomous values. The process has gone further in some fields, such as 'social service', than in others, such as caste.

This growth of autonomy is, of course, what one would expect in a rapidly industrializing, mobile society. If we discount theories of direct social causation by industrial and urban growth, and 'ideal types' which are lists of disparate features without any necessary connexion, it is still clear that the general trend of industrial society is from status to contract, individuation &c. We do not need to question this useful generalization but to make it more precise; to make its assumptions more explicit, particularly the implied comparison with the west; and to show which connexions are necessary, being founded in human rationality or in all social experience, and which are matters of contingent, historical fact. Above all we should avoid the historicist fallacy: the idea of an inevitable trend from one state of society to another. As Popper says (1960 115), 'trends are not laws.' A statement asserting the existence of a trend is existential, not universal.' Thus we can see good historical reasons for the growth of autonomy in industrial society, but there is no necessity about it. Whatever social change we observe, we can always say: it could have been otherwise.

I attempt to trace these universal connexions in my last two chapters. The thesis contains a great deal of description, not all of it directly relevant to my argument. I include it in the hope that it may be useful to others: not enough detailed description of Indian city life exists, and much more (especially statistical material) has been left

out. My spelling of Indian words may look strange, but I am convinced (for reasons I give in the preceding 'Note') that it is better than the usual system, and is easy to read when one is used to it. Where the commonly accepted form of a word is very different from my spelling, I have put intelligibility before consistency.

I use pseudonyms for the village and the neighbourhoods around it. (I am grateful to Shri BK Chandrashekar of Oxford for suggesting the name Garud3apura). Every villager mentioned in the text has a name which really belongs to someone else in the village. In spite of this precaution, I have left out some relevant pieces of information, in order not to betray the confidences which were so generously given to me.

2 HISTORY & DESCRIPTION

Bangalore, the capital of Mysore State, is roughly in the middle of the southern region of India. Each of the four states in the region is associated with one of the main Dravidian languages: in Madras the majority speak Tamil; in Andhra, Telugu; in Kerala, Malayalam; and in Mysore State , though not in Bangalore itself, the majority speak Kannada. Though these languages have borrowed heavily from Sanskrit, they differ in grammar, sounds and basic vocabulary from the Aryan or Indo-European languages generally spoken in the rest of India. This difference in language corresponds to a noticeable difference in culture, which is sometimes exaggerated.

The city has a population of about 1.5 million (1.2m at the 1961 Census). It lies on the plateau of Mysore, at an altitude of 900 metres, 350 km west of Madras on the Bay of Bengal and almost the same distance east of Mangalore on the Arabian Sea. It has good communications by road, rail and air. Its central position and healthy climate, rather than any natural resources, are among the chief reasons for its rapid industrial growth.

History of Bangalore

The country around was once thickly wooded, and there are remains of ancient settlements. Roman coins found near the city suggest that there was a town there at the time of the trade between Malabar and the Roman Empire. Later the region came under the rule of the Pallava, Ganga and Hoysala dynasties. A Hoysala king, Viir Ballaal3a, (1172 - 1219) is said to have founded the village of Bengal3uuru

(Bangalore in English). In 1537 Kempe Gaud3a, a vassal of the kings of Vijayanagar, built a mud fort and a new capital, which he called Bengal3uuru, 5 km south of the existing village, which became known as Hal3e (old) Bengal3uuru. Kempe Gaud3a used the revenue from the villages conferred on him by the king to build temples and irrigation tanks. He also built four towers, well outside the walls of his township, to which he hoped it would expand in time. All four are now within the city; Kempe Gaud3a is honoured as the founder of Bangalore, and his statue stands in front of the Corporation offices.

When Kempe Gaud3a tried to assert his independence by minting his own money, his overlord imprisoned him until he had paid a large fine. His descendants, however, continued to rule Bangalore until it was taken in 1638 by a general in the service of the kings of Bijaapuur. In 1687 the town was sold to the Hindu Raaja of Mysore, who had his capital at Mysore city 140 km away. In 1758 the Raaja conferred the fort and district on his Muslim general Haidar Alii, who then usurped the Raaja's own powers and enlarged the state by conquest. Haidar Alii was succeeded by his son Tipu Sultaan, who wasted the country's resources in war and converted some of its subjects to Islam by force; many of their Muslim descendants now live in Bangalore. Tipu allied himself with the French in their war against the British East India Company, and this led to his downfall. In 1799 Lord Cornwallis captured Bangalore; Tipu fled to his own capital, Seringapatam, where he was killed in battle by the British.

The British restored the Hindu Wodeyar dynasty to the throne of Mysore, with the title of Raaja (later Mahaaraaja); but they continued

to control the state from their garrison at Seringapatam. In 1807 this garrison moved to Bangalore, which has a healthier climate, and a Cantonment or military town was built outside the old city.

In 1812 the Raaja deposed Puurnayya, the Brahman Dewan or Prime Minister appointed by the Company. He took charge of the government himself, and soon emptied the Treasury. Bangalore was his summer residence, and in 1830 he made it his administrative capital. Since he could no longer pay the amounts due by treaty to the British, in 1832 they took advantage of a rebellion to depose him. The Company, and later the British Government which replaced it, ruled the state directly for 49 years through a Commissioner in Bangalore. As the state capital and the British military headquarters for southern India, the town attracted immigrants, particularly Tamils, to work in offices, services and the houses of the British. Thus, although the main language of the region in Kannada, with a large Telugu minority, Tamils have been the largest single language group in Bangalore since the nineteenth century.

In 1881 the British restored the Mahaaraaja; but under the treaty of 'Rendition' Bangalore Cantonment, now known officially as the Civil and Military Station, became an enclave of British India, administered by the Resident as representative of the Crown. For most practical purposes it was administered as part of Madras Presidency in British India; it came under the Madras educational system, and the colleges established in it were affiliated to Madras University, one of the best in India. The old city became part of the Mahaaraaja's dominions.

The Cantonment and 'City' (as it is still called colloquially) grew up as separate towns, economically dependent on each other but divided by open land and a chain of custom houses. By the end of the nineteenth century each had become a separate municipality, with a Corporation Council elected on a restricted franchise. The Cantonment had a Tamil majority and a large European and Anglo-Indian (mixed race) population. The 'City' remained largely Kannada-speaking, socially as well as politically more a part of the state around it.

Bangalore's industrialization

Before the British conquest Bangalore was already one of the largest trading and manufacturing towns of South India. Its chief industry was handloom weaving; others were the making of sandalwood incense sticks, carpets, small ivory and wooden articles, and cosmetics. Some of these industries survive in a small way. In the nineteenth century a kind of gold or silver lace was a Bangalore speciality, but this is no longer made. By the turn of the century Bangalore was chiefly a garrison, administrative and commercial town. It also became known as the 'pensioners' paradise', or even 'the Indian Cheltenham', as retired British and Indian officials settled in suburban villas, to enjoy the pleasant climate and the low cost of living.

The first powered factories were two textile mills in the 'City', founded in 1884 and 1887, and a cigarette factory, founded in 1912 outside the built-up area of the Cantonment but near Garudapura village.

The Government of Mysore, under a succession of enlightened Mahaaraajas and Dewans, planned to do for the state more or less what the Meiji government had done for Japan: to build and operate factories, and to sell them to private business when they became going concerns (Baldwin 1959 41-2). The Japanese Government had been forced to sell its industries when it had run into financial difficulties; but the Government of Mysore, which had originally intended to sell off its factories, never made any real effort to do so, nor might it have founded any buyers if it had tried. Mysoreans preferred to invest in real estate. Other Indians, and British businessmen, were not anxious to take over plants which were inefficient and which kept in business largely because the Mysore market was protected, not by a serious tariff barrier but by the high cost of transport. The government established factories for soap, porcelain, light bulbs and transformers before the war. None of them has ever amounted to much except the transformer factory, which recently received financial and technical assistance from a West German firm. The others, sometimes called 'toy plants', gave some employment and trained a few men in mechanical skills, but otherwise gave no great impetus to the state's industrialization.

Something more important was the Polytechnic which the government founded in Bangalore to teach mechanical skills and some science. The standard was not high, but it was something in a country where most cities had nothing of the kind. Elsewhere skills could only be learnt in a few factories or workshops, or by going abroad to study engineering. By 1939 Bangalore had a nucleus of skilled workers and of men who could easily be trained, when most Indian industrial towns had only a few engineers and a mass of labourers.

Bangalore had few natural advantages except its position and its climate, which made it possible to work hard throughout the year and attracted skilled immigrants and Indian and foreign staff; but it had exceptional man-made economies: cheap hydro-electric power; roads and railways; a relatively high standard of education; and a supply of skilled or potentially skilled labour. Its present industrial expansion began in 1940, when the Hindustan Aircraft factory was founded. Before the war the British had discouraged a plan by two Bombay businessmen to establish a car factory in the state; but after Britain had entered the war against Japan, they allowed these men to set up a factory in Bangalore to make, repair and maintain military aircraft. A few months later Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. (HAL) was nationalized, and it has remained a Central Government enterprise under the Ministry of Defence. After the war the government and private business realized the advantages of establishing modern industries in Bangalore, and for some fifteen years the town's industry and population increased rapidly as the external economies accumulated.

In 1941 the population of Bangalore Metropolitan Area Town Group was about 411 000; in 1961 it was 1 207 000; now it is probably near 1 500 000, and satellite towns are being built to accomodate an expected population of up to 2m in the area (see Table 1). In 1961, 32 per cent of the population (52 per cent of the males and 10 per cent of the females) were reported as 'workers'; 19 per cent of the population (17 per cent of the males) were in 'manufacturing other than household industry'. This is a fairly high proportion, particularly since Bangalore is also the state capital, with a large bureaucracy, and the army and air force headquarters for southern India. Children no longer

work in factories, and the proportion of women in factories is falling, because few of them are skilled, and because Indian law does not allow them to work night shifts and this makes factories reluctant to hire them. Some workers live in subsidized townships; the others live throughout Bangalore, often going to work in special factory buses, which are faster and more numerous than the inadequate State Transport buses which serve the public.

The largest factories (see table 2) were established by the Central Government and are run by ministries: these are Hindustan Aircraft, an immense, bureaucratic organization with 21 000 workers in 1964, making military aircraft and aero engines - also rail coaches until, recently, this factory was handed over to another government enterprise, Bharat Earth Movers; Indian Telephone Industries with 9000 workers, making all telephones and telephone equipment used in India and some for export, a factory known for good working conditions and labour relations; Hindustan Machine Tools with 5000 workers, making machine tools for the home market and for export, also watches - a factory with a highly skilled labour force and high productivity, and the first in India to install a computer to rationalize production and accounting; and Bharat Electronics with 3300 workers, making electronic and communication equipment for the armed forces. The main private factories are five textile mills, employing 13 000 people; MICO (Motor Industries Co) with 2900 workers, making spark plugs and fuel pumps; the Imperial Tobacco Co with 2000 workers, making cigarettes; Kirloskar with 1600 workers, making electric motors and transformers; and many smaller factories making batteries, liquid oxygen, tin cans, canned fruit and squashes &c. The state government has the pre-war 'toy plants',

Table 1

Population of Bangalore Metropolitan Area Town Group, 1881-1961 (based on Census of India)

	population	variation per cent*
1881	155 857**	
1891	180 366**	+ 16
1901	161 483***	-
1911	189 485	+ 17
1921	240 054	+ 27
1931	309 785	+ 29
1941	410 967	+ 33
1951	786 343	+ 91
1961	1 206 961	+ 53

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* Here and elsewhere, all percentages are rounded off to the nearest 1 per cent

** 'City' and Civil and Military Station only

*** The population declined between 1891 and 1901 because of disastrous plagues, especially in 1899-1900. The population of the 'City' and Civil and Military Station fell by 11 per cent.

Table 2

Main industries in Bangalore (1964)*

	established	owned by	products	workers
Hindustan Aircraft Ltd (HAL)	1940	Central Govt (Ministry of Defence) and Mysore State	military aircraft, aero engines, rail coaches	21 000
Indian Telephone Industries (ITI)	1948	Central Govt & Mysore State	telephone equipment	9 000
Bangalore Woollen Cotton & Silk Mills ('Binny's')	1887	private	cotton, silk & woollen cloth, blankets	7 000
Hindustan Machine Tools (HMT)	1955	Central Govt	lathes; milling, drilling, grinding machines &c; watches	5 000
Bharat Electronics Ltd (BEL)	1954	Central Govt (Ministry of Defence)	receiver valves, transistors, communication equipment	3 300
Motor Industries Co Ltd (MICO)	1952	private	spark plugs, automatic fuel pumps	2 900
Mysore Spinning & Manufacturing Co	1884	private	cotton fabrics	2 850
Minerva Mills	1925	private	cotton fabrics	2 700
Imperial Tobacco Co	1912	private	cigarettes	2 000
Kirloskar Electric Co	1947	private	electric motors, alternators, transformers	1 600
Radio & Electricals Manufacturing Co (REMCO)	1946	Mysore State (60 per cent) & private	motors, switchgear, electric meters wires, cables, radio receivers	1 050
Government Electric Factory (GEF)	1935	Mysore State	transformers	1 000
Government Porcelain Factory	1930	Mysore State	porcelain insulators, tubes, crockery	1 000
Amco Batteries Ltd	?	private	batteries	1 000

* based on Thomas & Daniel 1964 and Baldwin 1959.

and a controlling interest in the New Government Electric Factory (NGEF), making transformers, and in the Radio and Electricals Manufacturing Co (REMCO), making electrical and radio equipment.

Many factories, both government and private, have agreements with foreign firms - British, German, Swiss, Japanese or Belgian - for technical and sometimes financial collaboration. Foreign technicians remain until they have established the factory and trained Indian staff and workmen to take their places.

Most private firms appear to be controlled by managing agencies, a form of organisation, peculiar to India, which arose when British manufacturing companies first interested themselves in Indian industry. A managing agency is a private limited company with a controlling interest in several operating companies, or occasionally in one. It has a contractual relationship with its subsidiaries, supplying them with managing staff, raising capital for them on the share market, selling their products and taking most of their profits. Many managing agencies are now controlled tightly by a family or by a small group of families belonging to the same subcaste (Baldwin 1959 21-5).

Most Bangalore factories, being new, require high standards of skill and have little use for unskilled or illiterate labourers, except for a limited number of sweepers, helpers &c. In this Bangalore differs from older industrial centres such as Kanpur (Miehoff 1959), where most factories employ a few highly skilled technicians and engineers, usually graduates; a few more fitters, foremen &c: and a mass of unskilled labourers who fetch and carry, feed the machines, and count and pack and take away the finished product. These are what Lambert calls Type A factories, in which:

> there are many more men than there are machines, the machinery operates semi-automatically, and the workers' tasks are to insure that the machines consume and process material somewhere near their maximal capacity. (Lambert 1963 10).

There are such factories in Bangalore, but they are not typical.

A more common kind is Lambert's Type B, where:

> each worker tends one or more machines, performing operations which are almost entirely repetitive ..... The skill of most of the workers is gauged by the rate at which they can make their machines produce, a skill which quickly reaches its peak and levels off ..... There is also a higher level of skilled workers similar in function to those found in the raw materials processing factories (Type A) - repairmen, machine setters and adjusters, supervisors and coordinators - as well as those who have special skills on the more complex machines. (Ibid 12-13)

In Bangalore the cigarette factory, the textile mills and the brewery are of this type. They provide employment but are not likely to expand. Union demands for higher wages and government regulations about working conditions are making the Type B factories more and more uneconomical. Type A factories, of course, are still more uneconomical.

Much more typical is Type C, in which:

> except for the supplementary service operations, each worker not only feeds but individually directs a machine. His skill is absolutely necessary to the creation of the finished product ... The skilled workers are not different in kind or occupational

> designation from the bulk of the production workers; they differ only in their experience and the excellence of their performance of essentially similar tasks ..... The machine, in effect, becomes his [the worker's] tool, and there is normally only one worker per machine. (ibid 13-14)

In Bangalore almost all the newer factories are of this type. They are the growth sector of the economy; import controls give them an assured market for all they can produce, and they have expanded as the external economies of Bangalore accumulated. Of these economies the critical one is skilled labour, which Type C factories not only consume, but produce through apprenticeships and training schemes. All Central Government factories have training sections, chiefly to meet their own needs but also, as a matter of government policy, to train workers who will eventually work elsewhere. Similarly it is expected that some managers and technicians working in government factories will leave to set up their own firms: several former executives in Hindustan Machine Tools now run privately owned factories on an industrial estate which the government established near the factory for ancillary and other industries. Industrial Training Institutes, run by the Central Government, prepare students for such qualifications as the Diplomas in Mechanical or Electrical Engineering; and many private institutes prepare students for these Diplomas and for qualifications in textile technology, automobile engineering, typing, shorthand &c. Generally the government creates external economies, running the most basic or risky industries itself and leaving many more profitable industries - especially in the manufacture of consumer goods - to private enterprise.

History of Garud3apura village

Bangalore lies on a ridge which forms the water parting between two tributaries of the Kaaveeri (or Cauvery). The countryside around is undulating and varied, with outcrops of granite which is used even for the beams and pillars in peasant houses. Like all populous parts of Mysore State, this countryside has been covered for centuries with an intricate system of artifical tanks and reservoirs, where the streams have been embanked or dammed to irrigate villages growing wet crops such as paddy (rice), areca (betel) and coconuts.

Garud3apura was founded beside one of these tanks in about 1800 by Viira Naayaka, an ancestor of the present patel or titular headman. Viira Naayaka was a sergeant in the army of the newly restored Mahaaraaja. It was the policy of the Mahaaraaja's government to settle old soldiers on waste lands, with certain easy police duties, in order to restrain them from private depredation. Viira Naayaka seems to have been one such soldier. He had more land than his family could farm, and to populate his village he invited about a dozen families to settle there, apparently making free gifts of land to some or all of them. Their main crop, grown both on wet (irrigated) and dry land, was ragi, a red millet. This is made into a paste or porridge and is the staple food of Mysore.

Viira Naayaka was a Naidu, a member of a group of Telugu-speaking trading and peasant castes. The other settlers belonged to farming or herding castes of roughly equal status. Most of them appear to have come from villages near Bangalore, a few from the Telugu-speaking country which is now the state of Andhra. 'Untouchable' labourers

(now called Harijans) came to work on their land.

In 1807 the Mahaaraaja granted part of the land revenue from the village to a man, about whom little is known, for public services. These may have consisted of building choultries - wedding halls or inns for pilgrims - or of a loan or gift to the Mahaaraaja, who by this time had almost exhausted his treasury and was selling offices and inaams, or grants of land revenue. The form of inaam under which Garud3apura was held was known as kaayamgutta, and its holder as the kaayamguttadaar. This grant was sold twice; in 1880 a Tamil merchant of Bangalore brought it, and it remained in his family until inaams were abolished after India became independent.

The kaayamguttadaar had the right to collect the land revenue due from the village and to keep most of it; but after the original grant the government imposed new taxes for health and education, which the kaayamguttadaar had to collect or make good but could not keep. He was entitled to half the produce of fruit trees on vacant land; half the value of dead trees cut up for fuel; all sand collecting in irrigation channels, which he sold to builders; and a fine of thirty years' revenue on land taken out of agricultural use for building. He could mediate in disputes between villagers, but had no authority to settle them. His relation with the villagers was almost solely economic, particularly since he had similar rights in thirteen other villages.

Almost from the beginning the village was closely connected with the British Cantonment. In 1807 the Mahaaraaja granted the East India Company a site for its garrison, 4 km from Garud3apura across a large tank.

British officers built themselves large houses in the area, and a market and township, dependent on the garrison and inhabited largely by Muslims, grew up a short distance away. The limits of the Cantonment were a matter of constant dispute between the Company and the Mahaaraaja, who did not want to lose the revenue from the surrounding villages. In 1881, when the Cantonment became an enclave of British India, Garud3apura was deemed to lie just inside the Cantonment boundary.

There are no records of a time when the village was not administered as part of the Cantonment. Though Viira Naayaka's descendants continued to act as patels (pat3eel) or village headmen, they had no police or judicial powers as other patels had in country villages. Their only duty was to help the revenue authority - represented by the kaayamguttadaar's clerks - to collect land revenue; and when most land had been converted and built over there was little revenue left to collect. The whole of Bangalore, except the oldest part of the 'City' around the Fort, is covered with a network of such ghost villages, where the Revenue Office still collects revenue on 'unconverted' land through the traditional patels and village accountants (shaanbhog). In Garud3apura, as in other urban villages, the patel's office remains as one of honour and influence rather than authority. A family of another caste were established as the richest landowners by the end of the nineteenth century, and they ruled the village like lords until it became part of the town.

The village farmers grew mainly ragi, and also rice, vegetables and flowers, for the Cantonment market. When vines were introduced

in the 1920s some of the richer farmers, who could raise the necessary capital, made large profits from the new crop, and several of them - in particular two families of different castes - became wholesale merchants, bringing grapes and other produce from villages further away from Bangalore and selling them in the town.

Some villagers first took factory jobs when the cigarette factory was built near the village in 1912. Others became servants in British or Indian households as the suburbs came closer to Garudʒapura. In the 1920s and 1930s the neighbouring suburb of Williams Town was laid out. The richer farmers sold their land for building or built on it themselves, and several used this experience to become building contractors.

Around the end of the nineteenth century Catholic and Protestant missionaries built a number of schools, with differing standards, fees and languages of instruction, in a belt which was then on the edge of the town, but which is only 2 km from Garudʒapura. As an act of philanthropy, and perhaps as a reply to the missionaries, the merchant who was a kaayamguttadaar of Garudʒapura founded a Hindu high school and a school for Untouchables a little further away. Already by 1897 the Resident estimated, in his annual report on the administration of the Civil and Military Station, that 15 per cent of the population were of 'school going age '; and that half of these were actually attending schools, besides those in unaided schools for which no returns were available. A municipal elementary school for boys opened in Williams Town in 1914, followed a few years later by a school for girls. The new contractors and wholesalers sent their sons, and much later their daughters, to these schools. Few educated

young men took factory jobs except as clerks; a factory worker meant a labourer, unskilled and poorly paid. But when Hindustan Aircraft, and then other modern factories, were founded after 1940, the educated young men of the village had the first pick of the new jobs. To be selected for training a man needed at least a Senior School Leaving Certificate (SSLC), not a very high qualification but one which meant that he had at least some knowledge of English. All training and instructions in the newer factories, except at a very low level of skill were given in English; it could hardly be otherwise in a town with three main language groups and several minor ones.

Thus the histories of many of the village's leading families are of this kind. A family of peasants, working their own fields, became richer as they produced for the Bangalore market. They employed labourers, who worked with them or under their supervision; or they leased the land to tenants. They planted vineyards, or became wholesale merchants or contractors. Their sons went to school, so that they could either take over the family business or go into respectable white-collar jobs; but the sons used their general education to get into factories, which trained them as skilled or semi-skilled manual workers - jobs which were better paid, had better prospects, and were more interesting and varied than clerical work.

Gradually the village tank was filled in, partly to stamp out mosquitoes but also because the army wanted some of the land for a sports field; and as the army acquired more of the village fields by compulsory purchase, the village was hemmed in by a large military camp on one side and the middle-class suburb of Williams Town on the other.

Now the village is completely surrounded by the expanding town, as the gaps between old village centres in Bangalore have been filled in with building layouts. The filling consists of straight avenues, lined with trees, and largely symmetrical blocks; the centres, of narrow winding streets paved with tarmac or granite, usually with underground drains and overhead electric wires; and a collection of former farm houses or cottages, built of whitewashed adobe or small red bricks with roofs of corrugated red Mangalore tiles; sheds for the cows which still wander round the streets and graze on any patch of open ground; bigger houses of local landlords or businessmen, often in garishly painted concrete; rows of one- or two-room ground floor apartments round courtyards, built by speculative landlords for immigrant workers; general stores and smaller shops; and colonies of huts, built of adobe with thatch or corrugated iron roofs, which the very poor build for themselves on vacant sites, paying the landlord a small ground rent. Bangalore has few large slums like those in Bombay or Delhi - vast areas of crowded huts without access to water or sanitation - but many small colonies of huts, usually between fifteen and fifty on one vacant site, where they stay until the landlord is able to build something more permanent and profitable there.

Garudʒapura is one of these urban villages, almost completely a part of Bangalore and its industrial economy, yet still a clearly bounded unit both architecturally and in the opinion of its inhabitants. To the west and north it runs into the middle class suburb of Williams Town, yet the character of the houses changes abruptly as one crosses the boundary, and there are not more than three or four houses one

could not place without hesitation oneone side or the other. To the south there is a new extension to a Catholic high school; and a large open ground, the landlords of which are waiting to build on it - meanwhile it is used by cowherds for grazing, by the village children as a playground, and by washermen who wash clothes at the well in the middle of it and put them out to dry on lines or granite slabs. To the north and west, between the village centre and the barbed wire fence of the army camp, small settlements of houses, mostly built by speculative landlords for immigrant workers, lie scattered among vineyards, market gardens, ragi fields and a single rice field. Not more than some 2 per cent of the village population are normally engaged in agriculture, as farmers or labourers; but the village is an important source of milk for the city. On the boundary between Garudapura and Williams Town is a small open space where the many cowherds of the village - often the wives of factory workers - milk their cows in the evening, or bring churns of milk to be picked up by lorries belonging to a large dairy.

Population and immigration

The village's population is 6820, with a median age of 20*. The sex ratio is 965 (females per 1000 males), compared to 874 for Bangalore

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+ estimated from an unstratified sample survey covering every tenth household by random systematic sampling. The survey was carried out in February 1965, and the results checked against the handwritten charge sheets for the 1961 Census.

as a whole in 1961. Even this ratio is a high one for Indian industrial cities: in 1961 the ratio for Bombay was only 596. The great industrial centres of the north have always had a large excess of males, because it has been the custom for village men to seek work in towns, leaving their wives, children and old people in the villages to look after farms to which the workers can return if they lose their jobs. Yet for generations the sex ratio in southern industrial towns (Bangalore, Madras, Coimbatore) has been much nearer equality: the typical South Indian migrant takes his family with him, or brings them to town a few months after he arrives, as soon as he has found a job and a house. It is not clear why there should be this regional difference, unless it is related to the higher proportion of landless labourers in the south.

Garud3apura is one of the neighbourhoods in which young migrant workers could find houses, or at least small ground-floor apartments, at rents they could afford and in congenial surroundings. Few of them have strong ties with the villages or small towns they came from, except ties of affection for particular relatives, and hardly any speak of returning.

Though 58 per cent of the village's population were born there (see table 3), a majority of adults were born elsewhere: 62 per cent of those aged over 16. The figure for men (56 per cent born elsewhere) is a better guide to the amount of family migration, because many brides come to Garud3apura on marriage. One third of the population now live in households belonging to the really old families, those which arrived in Garud3apura before 1919 (table 4); these include not only

brides, and relatives who came later to attach themselves to families already settled in the village, but also, for example, children boarded with relatives to take advantage of Bangalore schools. About half the population belong to families which arrived after the foundation of the Hindustan Aircraft factory in 1940, the beginning of Bangalore's present industrial expansion.

Employment

The proportion of the village population whose principal activity is working, either full time or casually, is 30 per cent (52 per cent of the males and 9 per cent of the females). These figures are close to those given for the Bangalore Metropolitan Area in the 1961 Census, which showed 32 per cent of the population as 'workers' (51 per cent of the males and 10 per cent of the females). 24 per cent of Garud3apura workers are employed in factories (table 5) especially in Hindustan Aircraft (10 per cent) and the cigarette factory near the village (6 per cent). The group employed by the army (8 per cent) is divided almost equally between soldiers whose families live in Garud3apura and civilians working in the camp as clerks, drivers &c. The domestic servants (8 per cent) are almost all women, and account for half of all working women. Of the 11 per cent who work for building contractors, some are skilled masons, others casual labourers. 14 per cent of all workers, mainly building or road labourers, live by casual employment, and 6 per cent are in 'temporary' employment. This may last for years, though the worker does not acquire the rights guaranteed to 'permanent' workers

by law and union agreements. Some 'temporary' workers are eventually made 'permanent'.

A useful classification of occupations, rather than employers or occupations, is the one used in the 'Mysore population study' (United Nations 1961). Occupations are classified into ten groups (see table 6); the largest group in Garud3apura (34 per cent of all workers) is that of craftsmen, production process workers &c; in other words, skilled and semi-skilled workers, mainly in modern trades. The particular occupations described are then reclassified into 'socio-economic groups' (or 'economic status groups'), according to the 'level of material welfare and social standing' (ibid 61) they are thought to enjoy in Mysore society. Though the first of these groups is misleading (see footnote to table 7), these categories can be used to compare the general economic condition of other kinds of groups: castes, people educated to different levels &c. The largest 'socio-economic group' in Garud3apura (table 7) is that of 'higher grade manual workers' (38 per cent), which includes not only craftsmen and production process workers, but also a few firemen, policemen, soldiers, barbers &c. All these trades require some special training, and most require a certain level of education. This group tends to grow as educated young men look for technical training wherever they can get it, in factories, in small workshops, or in government or private institutes.

Table 3

Population of Garud3apura by birthplace

Garud3apura*	58 per cent
Bangalore (except Garud3apura)	15
Mysore State (except Bangalore)	6
Madras State	13
Andhra	3
Kerala	2
Other places (Ceylon, Burma North India &c)	2

* including people born in hospital outside Garud3apura when their parents were normally resident in the village.

Table 4

Households and population, by date of the family's arrival in Garudʒapura

date of arrival	households	population
very early+	24 per cent	30 per cent
1900-1909	4	4
1910-1919	2	2
1920-1929	8	10
1930-1939	4	4
1940-1949	15	17
1950-1959	17	14
1960-1965 (six years)	16	11
not known (immigrant family)	9	9

Sample: 123 households, 682 persons

+ either before 1900; or not known, if present head of family was born in Garudʒapura, or if any living member of the family is descended from a resident of the village.

Table 5

Garud3apura workers (men and women) by types of employer

factories	24 per cent
building contractors	11
shops and services (not domestic)	9
domestic service	8
army	8
self-employed	7
government and local authority	5
private firms, except factories and transport undertakings	5
transport undertakings	2
others	21

Table 6

Garud3apura workers by groups of occupations +

professional, technical and related workers	2 per cent
managers, administrators and officials	4
clerical, office and related workers	9
salesmen and related workers	5
farmers, fishermen, hunters, lumbermen and related workers	3
workers in mine, quarry and related occupations	3
craftsmen, production process workers and workers in related occupations	34
manual workers and labourers (not elsewhere classified)	14
service and related workers	16
other workers (not elsewhere classified) and workers in occupations unidentifiable or not reported	5

+ Classification used in 'Mysore population study' (United Nations 1961); based on classification of the Committee of the 1950 Census of the Americas, modified to suit Mysore conditions, and convertible into the International Standard Classification of Occupations.

Table 7

Garudȝapura workers by 'socio-economic group'

(classification used in 'Mysore population study', United Nations 1961 414)

I	higher professional and managerial workers and government officials+	3 per cent
II	lower professional and managerial workers and government officials	17
III	higher grade manual workers	38
IV	lower grade manual workers	18
V	domestic and other service workers not elsewhere classified	16
VI	farmers and graziers	3
VII	unidentifiable occupations	2

+ This group alone is misleading, because the occupations described would include, for instance, not only a Community Development Officer working elsewhere and residing in Garudȝapura, but the owner of a middle-sized wholesale business in potatoes and onions, and the owners of two small cycle hire shops, who are really petty shopkeepers. However, it is a small group.

Housing

A household in Garud3apura usually consists of a conjugal family, sometimes living with old parents or with unmarried brothers or sisters. Half of all households consist of conjugal families only; joint living is the exception.

Four fifths of all families live in rented houses, generally belonging to old village families which once farmed the land on which the houses are built. Most houses are ground floor tenements with one or two small rooms (table 8), generally built around a common courtyard with a single gate on the narrow street. A courtyard usually has underground drainage and a common bathing place and lavatory; 30 per cent of households have their own private bathing place and/or lavatory. 22 per cent of households have their own taps; many courtyards have common taps, and residents of other courtyards get their water from taps at the street corners. 41 per cent of households have electricity, usually for lighting only; 13 per cent have radios. Most families also or only use cheap oil stoves. One or two well off families are thinking of installing gas stoves, using bottled gas. There are no telephones, though several houses would probably have them if a line were laid to the village and if the waiting list were shorter.

The standard of housing varies from mud shacks at one extreme to rambling old family houses, with high ceilings and large courtyards, or ostentatious houses of garishly painted concrete at the other. I classify them (tables 9 and 10), according to a personal assessment

of their size and pleasantness, and of the furniture and possessions inside them, rather than by any objective indices, such as the type of walls or roof, which could be seriously misleading. Thus a 'poor' house is small and has few amenities, but generally has brick walls and a tiled roof, while a 'very poor' house is usually a thatched mud hut; yet some thatched huts are relatively clean, pleasant and roomy, while some brick houses are miserable, badly ventilated cells. I have used my own judgment in each case.

GarudÃapura as an urban village

The Joint UN/Unesco Seminar on Urbanization in the ECAFE Region found that:

> The mass population of many Asian cities are resident in village agglomerations and tend to retain 'folk' characteristics. The characteristics of the urban resident, identified with such dichotomies of continua as 'folk-urban', 'rural-urban' or 'community-society' categories, do not hold for the mass of residents in many Asian cities. (Unesco 1957 35)

GarudÃapura is one such urban vilage, not a 'fringe' or partly urbanized one. From the beginning it was closely associated with the Cantonment; it is now physically surrounded by the town and completely a part of an expanding industrial economy, based on large modern factories which require mainly skilled labour. If it retains many 'village' institutions, this is not from inertia, but because they belong to an idealized picture of village life, standing for peasant virtues of hard work, simple living, co-operation and neighbourly behaviour. Bangalore is largely made up of such urban villages,

which are the architectural and social centres of urban growth, and which appear to become more not less aware of their identity as the territorial community acquires moral significance at the expense of communities of birth.

Table 8

Households by number of rooms occupied, except bathroom and lavatory (if any)

1 room	29 per cent of households
2 rooms	48
3	10
4	8
5 or more	4

Sample: 123 households

Table 9

Households by standard of house (see above)

very poor	32 per cent
poor	47
middle	16
well off	4
rich	2

Table 10

Proportion of houses of each standard which are rented, and mean rent +

very poor houses	92 per cent rented		Rs 6 a month
poor	86		14
middle	55		34
well off	0	(of those in sample)	-
rich	50	(1 of the 2 houses in sample)	270
total	80		14

+ minus Rs 3 when rent includes electricity.

3 GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

In the last chapter I placed Garud3apura in the historical, physical and economic setting which defines the external conditions of its social life. Here I describe the village from the inside, particularly with regard to the groups which its people perceive and as member of which they act; and I consider the moral significance these groups have for their members.

Some groups, such as status groups, are seen to exist within the village; others, such as classes, exist and have relations with one another on different and generally larger scales. A consideration of these various kinds of group will show what distinguishes relations within an urban village and what kind of unit it is.

Garud3apura is a community in MacIver's sense, for its peopee share 'the basic conditions of a common life' and 'one's life may be lived wholly within it' (MacIver and Page 1949 9). Most women do so, and some men: market gardeners, cowmen and shopkeepers, who work there.

Is this community a village, sociologically comparable to the country villages where most Indians live? Historically, architecturally and for revenue purposes it is a village, and its inhabitants usually call it one. Economically and politically it is not a village: almost all its people live by the industrial economy of Bangalore, and it is governed as part of the town.

Has Garud3apura the characteristic institutions of an Indian village? These are, in particular, service relationships between castes; village officers; arrangements for the settlement of disputes; and common religious institutions.

Service relationships between castes

The classic account of these relationships is Wiser's 'Hindu jajmani system' (1936); but Wiser exaggerates the 'symmetrical' nature of the system[+], and overlooks the sharp division which is found everywhere between dominant land-holding castes and the specialized

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+ 'Each (caste) serves the others. Each in turn is master. Each in turn is servant.' (Wiser 1936 10)

castes - practically always low castes, except for Brahmans - which serve them for regular fixed payments, usually in kind (Mayer 1960, Srinivas 1955).

In Garud3apura all carpenters, goldsmiths and other craftsmen work for cash, either at piecework rates or more often for employers who pay them a fixed wage. Here there is no vestige of any 'jajmani'[+] relationship.

The one Brahman temple priest is a skilled worker in the aircraft factory, who officiates only in his free time, in return for a house attached to the temple and a nominal salary paid by the temple trustees from the rent of temple property. The office is a burden which he had to be prevailed on to accept, from a sense of duty, when his father, the last priest, died. Some villagers bring him small presents when they worship, but these, like his salary, are tokens. He depends on his factory wages, and is in no real sense a village servant.

Families of the 'middle' (i.e. higher) castes used to have hereditary 'jajmani' relationships with families of washermen, barbers and sweepers.[++] These servants were paid roughly according to the number of people they served in the patron family, not according to the amount of work they did. They were paid in ragi at harvest time, with extra payments at certain festivals or at ceremonies such as weddings in the patron family. As the old families stopped farming, these payments were gradually commuted to cash, though a few families continued to pay their washermen in ragi, apparently bought on the market, until a food shortage three or four years before my visit.

Washermen in Garud3apura, as in other urban areas, will still agree to wash all a family's clothes for a fixed monthly amount, but the amount is negotiated and may be increased if the cost of living rises or if the washerman gets more clothes from a family than he bargained for. This system saves the laborious counting

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+ This is Wiser's term, widely used in the literature, but not in Garud3apura.

++ I follow the sociologists' convention of using initial capitals for castes named after occupations, lower case letters for the occupations themselves. In Garud3apura all barbers are Barbers (by caste) but not all Barbers are barbers; and so on.

of clothes involved in piecework, the alternative a washerman may offer his customers. Yet a Washerman not only washes clothes; he is needed at a wedding, where he lends the bridegroom a customer's dhoti to wear at one stage in the ceremony, and receives a cash payment as well as a new shirt and dhoti. There is only one old family of Washermen in the village - the rest are newcomers - and the old families prefer to employ this family if they can. The 'village Washerman', who belongs to this family, is almost a village officer: he plays an important part in a yearly Village Festival, when he takes the offerings of rice made to the village gods in a basket, carries it out of the village and throws it down a well. When he takes the basket on his head he is invariably possessed by the village's patron goddess; he struggles, dances and rushes out of the village with the village men running after him and shouting as ff they hoped to catch him. His father and ancestors, it seems, were always possessed on these occasions; it is expected of him.

Washermen's services are always needed, if only because no one else will wash clothes stained by menstrual blood. Barbers, however, are no longer needed for what was once their main function - shaving - because most men shave themselves. A few barbers still visit houses to shave old men, but most of those who have kept up their caste profession work in 'Hairdressing Saloons' - there are two in the village and others, kept by Garud3apura men, near it. Yet a Barber's ritual services are more important than a Washerman's. He is needed to play wedding music, to shave a child's head at two ceremonies, and to shave the chief mourner's head at a funeral. Since the demand for ordinary shaving has fallen many Barbers have gone into factory work, labouring &c; yet a Barber who no longer cuts hair may still act as a family's ceremonial Barber, getting a fee each time he officiates, and this relationship is often inherited.

Sweepers belong here to the Maad3iga caste of Harijans or 'ex-Untouchables', who traditionally are also cobblers and farm labourers. Most Sweepers, unlike many immigrant Harijans, live outside the village in two settlements: a group of poor huts on

government land, and the nearby 'Sweepers' Colony' built by the City Corporation for the sweepers it employs. This colony consists of rows of small but clean two-room houses. In fact many of the inhabitants are Sweepers by caste but not by occupation; many are factory workers living with relatives who work as Corporation sweepers for a fixed wage. Some of the women work as domestic servants.

Traditionally Sweepers, like other service castes, were paid in ragi at harvest time. They swept the streets around the houses of higher castes, cleaned out cowsheds and stacked cowdung, but were not allowed into the house or courtyard. This arrangement continues, for a small regular cash payment; illegally, because Corporation sweepers are not supposed to take other work. Other Sweepers, whose families have served old village families for years, still beg from them at festivals and weddings, and some come round asking for odd jobs and money. One patron said that a Sweeper who had served his family came to his house every ten days or so and got a small tip, though the patron could only find a few minutes' work for him two or three times a year.

Thus all hereditary and customary services, which were once paid for in grain at harvest and at festivals, have been converted into contractual arrangements for cash; yet to continue such an arrangement, even on the new terms, between families which have maintained it for generations, is a source of prestige to both patron and servant, for it shows that they belong to old families with an established place in the village.

Village officers

The traditional establishment of village officers in Mysore includes a patel (pat3eel) or headman, of any caste; a Brahman shaanbhog or accountant; a Harijan toti (toot3i) or drummer; and various officers concerned with irrigation &c. Most officers held an inaam or grant of land.

The patel of Garud3apura is a Naidu by caste, descended from the village's founder. Since Garud3apura was a kaayamgutta village, not a 'government village' which paid land revenue directly, the patel was appointed by the kaayamguttadaar or tax-farmer. In practice a patel was always succeeded by his eldest son or other male heir, as in a 'government village'. He had to help the kaayamguttadaar's clerks collect the land revenue, and he kept a proportion of it. There was no resident shaanbhog, though it seems the shaanbhog of another village checked the accounts.

The present patel, who was a clerk in the cigarette factory, had to be prevailed on to leave his job and succeed his uncle, who died without sons forty years ago. The office is one of honour rather than profit, and what profits there were have steadily decreased as agricultural land has been 'converted' for building, when it is no longer liable to land tax. No land is attached to the office, and the family sold its own land some time ago.

The patel has prestige but not authority. He presides at meetings of the traditional type, for instance those held in temples to discuss arrangements for festivals; and the yearly Car Festival, or procession of the village gods, goes straight from a temple to his house, where he worships the gods as first citizen of the village before they are taken round the streets. He lives by advising those who have legal or official business, as he has some legal knowledge and is known to officials outside the village, with whom his position as village headman carries weight.

One family of Naad3igas (Sweepers) provides the toti, who is traditionally drummer, village-crier, night-watchman, grave-digger and patel's assistant. The father and grandfather of the present toti served for payment in ragi, and sometimes begged for food or money at village houses. The present incumbent works in the cigarette factory, and helps his brother to grow ragi on land which the kaayamguttadaar conferred on the family for their services, and which is now registered as their private property.

The toti no longer summons landowners to attend on the patel and to pay land tax; few are now liable to the tax, and the patel has to visit their houses to collect it. Nor is the toti a night-watchman: this service is now performed throughout Bangalore by the police, supplemented by immigrant Gurkhas who collect a small monthly fee from each house on their beats. The toti will sometimes act as village crier to announce festivals or meetings, but the patel or festival committee must approach and pay him on each occasion. He will still dig graves for a suitable fee; and each mourner gives him in addition a coin as symbolic payment for the ground the grave is dug in. He will perform the traditional services only when it suits him; he must be asked and paid, and he must be able to accept without loss of pride. If he will not come or makes excuses, some other Sweeper who knows how to beat a drum or dig graves is employed instead.

These village officers - the patel and toti - are associated with the ideal of Garud3apura as a 'village'; yet in fact there is little for them to do, they are not essential to the village's social or religious life, and it is possible that neither of them will have a successor.

Settlement of disputes

An arrangement for the settlement of disputes by pancaayats or councils is traditionally characteristic of communities both of birth and of residence in India. I discuss pancaayat procedure in more detail in chapter 7. Like many villages, Garud3apura probably never had a standing village council of the traditional kind, and it has no statutory pancaayat of the modern kind because it is part of the city. Nor was there a dominant caste council with authority over the whole village (cf Srinivas 1955 18-20), since the chief landlords belonged to several castes. It is hard to find any evidence of standing caste councils except among Tigal3as, traditionally tenant farmers and gardeners, and the one caste which still has a headman and officers in the village. Yet there is a

widespread opinion that disputes should not go outside the village, but should be settled there by ad hoc pancaayats of 'big men' acceptable to both parties. In the past such pancaayats were called, for instance, to decide the ownership of a cow, a case of intercaste adultery, and the result of a cycle race which ended in an apparent dead heat and a fight. This last case involved two villages, each of which claimed its contestant had won, and the case was settled by a mixed pancaayat with members from both villages.

Pancaayats are supposed to meet in the porch of one of the village temples or in any other convenient place. They are often spoken of but now seldom or never called. When people say that all disputes were settled quickly and fairly in the old days - i.e. until the 1940s - this means generally that the head of the leading family sat on a temple porch and handed down judgments, while other 'big men' of the village sat there for the sake of form and ratified his decisions. This family - not that of the patel, but the richest and most influential land-owners - ruled the village like lords. The two brothers who preceded the present head of this family are remembered for the justice of their decisions and their talent for reconciling enemies. It is said that people came from villages twelve miles away (though not, apparently, from Bangalore which was much nearer) to submit their disputes for settlement. No one dared to take a dispute to the police, the legend runs, and there was no theft in the village because the one notorious burglar living there promised the head of this family that neither his gang nor anyone else would steal inside the village, their 'mother land'. What they did elsewhere was their own business, until they were caught. The old families, and many immigrants who were already in the village then, look back to this time as a golden age of justice and village unity, and this myth of a very recent golden age keeps alive the strong bonds of sentiment which mark the village off from the surrounding neighbourhoods. But like the institution of village officers, it is a wasting asset. The ideal of 'respect' survives: certain positions and certain kinds of behaviour earn respect, and the village's social organization centres

on the establishment of respected 'big men'. I show in chapter 7 how the meaning of 'respect', and the criteria for giving it, have changed in the new circumstances.

Religious institutions

Like every South Indian village, Garud3apura has its patron goddess, the guardian of health, worshipped mainly by women and children. She is said to stand first among the village gods, and her temple is considered the centre of the village. It faces directly up the main street, which widens at this point to form a triangular 'place' in front of the temple porch, as in most villages. This 'place' no longer has the sense of enclosure it must once have had, since a wide avenue running through Williams Town has been cut through to join it. A short way down the street is the temple of Laks3minaaraayan3a, a sanskritic deity served by the one Brahman priest; and opposite to it, a stone platform with two sets of images of the Naagaraajans, the ancient snake deities of the south. Other 'temples' - often no more than rough stones set in the ground - stand in outlying parts of the village and receive regular or occasional worship. At the extreme end of the main street - outside the village until about 1950 - there is a Math (Mat3ha), a religious institution sometimes translated 'monastery', with two temples, built over the tomb of an ascetic who was buried there almost a century ago. This has become the most popular centre of worship in Garud3apura; and the association of devotees connected with it has been an important centre of social work and moral innovation in the village. Each of the main temples is associated with the village festivals and with forms of congregational worship and religious entertainments which have not only survived but have apparently grown in popularity, in Garud3apura as in other urban villages.

Thus common religious institutions - temples, festivals and associations of devotees - not only unite old families and immigrants within the village, but make the village a centre of religious life for many people living in a much wider area of Bangalore. But the kind of religion that is important, the spirit in which worship is carried on, and the social values connected with it have changed

radically as Garud3apura became urban; I discuss these changes in more detail in chapters 5 and 6.

Garud3apura as a neighbourhood

I have considered the institutions which link Garud3apura with its village past and with rural villages, and which keep alive the ideal picture of it as a village standing for the peasant virtues in urban conditions. For the sake of comparison with other urban areas, and to show what is distinctive about relations in an urban village, it is relevant to ask whether Garud3apura is a 'neighbourhood' like those described in western urban sociology.

Dickinson says American sociologists use the word 'neighbourhood' to mean:

> the smallest social group outside of the family, a group characterized by the feeling of 'neighbourliness', or friendship with one's neighbours. It is an intimate face-to-face group of several hundred people. (Dickinson 1961 528)

It is normally limited to two or three streets housing perhaps 100-200 families. A larger unit is the 'urban community area', which for these sociologists may be of two kinds:

> either the area in which the people have the same social and economic character (and this depends mainly on the type of housing) or one in which one or more institutions serve a single district. (Ibid 529)

These definitions are not very useful for sociological comparison. 'Friendship with one's neighbours', simply because they are neighbours, exists in Garud3apura especially among those who live on the same courtyard or sometimes in the same settlement in the 'gardens' outside the village centre; it implies no real solidarity and no strong ties of sentiment or interest which would make this kind of 'neighbourhood' a community comparable to the community of birth in India. If friendship with strangers is a universal norm, as it has been in America probably since frontier days, any group of people living near one another would then form a neighbourhood, except for outcasts and those deviants who do not recognize their obligation to be friendly; and the

unit of neighbourhood would differ for each house, according to its radius of friendly relations, unless each small built-up area were physically separate from others. Town planners in the west, and apparently in India, have tried to achieve this and to foster the required spirit of neighbourliness by segregation, sometimes with disastrous results (Jacobs 1961).

Garud3apura is the size of an 'urban community area', often called a neighbourhood, a unit that is easy to recognise in Indian and other cities; but a definition of this kind does not indicate the special character of an Indian urban village or of communities like it. Garud3apura people have not the same social or economic character, nor is their housing of the same type: this variety itself seems to be one reason why the village has an attraction for its inhabitants which the present planned suburbs and homogeneous factory towns may never have. It is true that certain common institutions serve Garud3apura, but its people are as much or more involved in economic and political institutions, and in castes and associations, on different scales. What is distinctive about the urban village is not the possession of common institutions but of institutions marked by a special kind of social relations.

The common institutions which belong to Garud3apura are in the first place the traditional 'village' institutions in their new forms, particularly the religious institutions: temples, congregational worship, festivals and confraternities. Others are different kinds of association; the many close relationships between immigrants and the establishment of old families; the physical layout of the village, which is so different from that of surrounding areas; and what Mumford (1938 481) calls 'a significant collective drama'. In Garud3apura this includes not only the more obvious kinds of pageantry and spectacle - processions, religious entertainments, plays staged in the street, weddings, performances by trick cyclists - but initiatives, factions, personal peculiarities and the private lives of families which quickly become public knowledge in this kind of close settlement and involve other villagers, who know the actors personally or by reputation.

Most of the villagers make their living in an economy organized on a much larger scale than that of the village. In this economy 'community' in the Indian English sense - caste, often subsumed by religion or language group - is of much less account than in the caste-based economy of the traditional rural village. The city is a territorial unit with little relation to the community of birth or to any extension of kinship. Thus territorial organization takes on a new importance, not only on the scale of the city but on the smaller scale of its neighbourhoods. Perhaps for the first time in India, with industrialization and democracy the beginning of a truly territorial solidarity are beginning to emerge, as in the ancient European city which Maine saw as a legal organization resting on contract and territory rather than status and kinship. These beginnings are still small: in any contest solidarity of kin and caste generally comes first. Yet they are visible in the Garud3apura man's attachment to his village; in his pride in Bangalore, the 'garden city' and industrial boom town of South India; in his involvement in city politics; and in his patriotic loyalty to the Indian nation. Hart, in a perceptive article, compares the growth of a similar 'civic tradition' in Bombay, transcending loyalties of caste and language, with the beginnings of Athenian democracy:

> Cleisthenes had installed the creative myth that the wards of the new city-state were entitled to the loyalty of tribes, though they were each in fact of diverse tribal descent. (Hart 1960 983)

He concludes that bilingualism - since language subsumes both caste and class in Bombay - and opportunities to rise in class may reconcile 'community in the Indian sense' with 'the plural civic tradition elsewhere called community' (ibid 988).

In the same way immigrants to Bangalore attach themselves by bonds of sentiment, interest and obligation to the nuclei of old families, often of different caste and language, who are closely associated with particular neighbourhoods of the city; and they regard the more respected old families as a reference group whose standards they accept and whose prestige they aspire to share.

The parallel with Athenian democracy is clear from Weber's description:

> Ancient democracy was not organized by guilds but by demes or according to tribes which were conceived spatially and indeed (formally) territorially. Naturally the sub-division of the city into quarters was common not only to the cities of Antiquity and the Middle Ages but to the Oriental and East Asiatic cities as well. These served as the foundation for a political organization based on local communities and, above all, its extension to the entire political area - including the surrounding countryside - under the domination of the city.
> ... The deme divisions were closely identified with village boundaries historically formed or created ad hoc. ... This cannot be overemphasized as the unique foundation of the city constitution of the ancient democratic polis. (Weber 1958 201-2)

If urban villages like Garud3apura correspond to demes, the establishment of old families corresponds to the privileged burghers:

> In Athens burghers actually present in the territory of the ecclesia not only were favored by their presence but formed the majority of the formally rural demes. (ibid 206)

This principle of territorial organization is incompatible with the older Indian theory of town-planning: that the town should be divided, either concentrically or by two streets at right angles, into four parts, one for each of the four mythical varn3as or groups of castes; and that outcastes should live beyond the walls (Müller 1961 116-126). Bangalore has many examples of areas occupied by members of the same 'community', either by choice or necessity (Gist 1957, 1958). This is especially true of the highest in the caste hierarchy, the Brahmans, whose standards of behaviour and of purity often lead them to exclude others; of the lowest, the Harijans or Scheduled Castes, who are often excluded; and of some

non-Hindu groups, such as Muslims and Anglo-Indians, whose position in the caste hierarchy is not clear but who have special reasons for preferring neighbourhoods of their own. Yet Garud3apura, like many other neighbourhoods of Bangalore, has a wide range of castes, including many Harijans and Christians and a few Muslims, Brahmans and Anglo-Indians.

Thus the village, or a neighbourhood like it, is a community in MacIver's sense. Membership in this territorial community cuts across membership in other communities, organized according to principles of birth and endogamy, and in associations, or groups 'organized for the pursuit of an interest or group of interests in common' (MacIver and Page 1949 12). These associations, which affect social relations in the village, exist both within it and on different scales outside it.

Though the village is a community, it is not a 'primary' or 'face-to-face' group, except to some extent for the nucleus of old families of 'middle' caste. The village is too large for everyone in it to know every other family personally, though probably anyone can trace acquaintance with anyone else at one or two removes. The links in these chains of acquaintanceship are particularly the members of old families, whose relation with each other and with the rest of the villagers is marked not only by recognition, and sometimes friendship, but by the special quality called 'respect' (mariaadai/maryaade). 'Respect' may be formal, as in an 'exchange of courtesies', or substantive, when it implies a difference in level: not necessarily a permanent inequality of social status, but inequality in a particular role relationship. The moral content of 'respect' varies according to the relationship concerned and the ideology of the people involved: it includes economic obligation, social status, proper behaviour in the family and the recognition of superior moral qualities. I show in chapter 7 how this last component of 'respect', depending on autonomous moral judgments, gains importance at the expense of the given or heteronomous components.

An urban village, then, is a territorial community in which the moral aspect of relations tends to be separated from and more important

than their functional aspects, and is expressed particularly in terms of 'respect'. Most economic and other functional relations, as well as the political and class systems and many associations, are organized on the scale of the city, which is a microcosm of a fairly uniform national pattern. These relations are taken into account in the village only when they have been projected, and sometimes distorted, on the village scale of values, which however is changing. The establishment of old families provides an essential focus for the system of 'respect'. To understand the significance of 'neighbourhood' in Indian conditions, it would be useful to find out how far suburbs, factory townships &c, which are historically not villages, resemble urban villages like Garud3apura.

Groups

I have shown the village as a group containing groups and cutting across the membership of others; and I have suggested its other aspect as an ideal rather than a group, as the imperfect expression of a way of life regarded as good and of the virtues associated with the idea of a 'village'. In making an inventory of the groups Garud3apura people belong to, I try to show each group from these two points of view: from outside, as a unit observable in action; and from inside, in its moral significance for its members.

From outside, a group can be seen at three levels: as a block, as a system of roles, and as part of a more flexible social organization.

Groups as blocks, defined wherever possible by objective indices, can be seen to interact, have relations, comes into conflict or alliance, gain advantages, exploit each other &c. This point of view has a certain limited value for sociology itself, as a way of making a preliminary map of the main forces and especially of power relations. It is more important as sociology's raw material, the conception people may have of relations between classes, nations, castes &c: the mentality of 'power politics' and pressure groups, reducing all motives to a desire for collective advantage.

There is little reason to see the village as a block, interacting and competing with other blocks, nor do its inhabitants often appear to

think of it as one. It has few common political or economic interests, except perhaps in municipal improvements and amenities (water, sanitation &c). Attempts to deliver the village vote are inspired by a desire for private not collective advantage, and they are not very successful (see chapter 7). The common good of the village is conceived quite differently, as the local application of universal norms, not the village's advantage in competition with other groups.

Groups as systems of roles depend for their existence on relatively certain, stable expectations about behaviour. From this point of view, which accounts for a large part of one's ordinary social experience, group membership itself provides a sufficient motive for action: I act as I do because I am an Englishman, or an Oxford man. Roles and rules are regarded as given. Solidarity becomes an end in itself, which need not be reduced to advantage or explained further in terms of ideals beyond the group:

> A group, then, may be defined as a collection of individuals who stand in regular and relatively permanent relationships, that is who act towards and in respect of each other, or towards and in respect of individuals outside the group, regularly in a specific, predictable and expected fashion. ... The individual cum a series of rights and obligations is a 'person'. A group is therefore composed of persons, and the person, always defined in terms of modes of action in respect of others, has its locus in the group. It is clear that an individual, as he may belong to different groups, will also be different persons; but some groups, as we shall see, operate through diverse contexts of activity, each implying a different series of rights and obligations, so that the individual may also be different persons in virtue of his membership of one group. (Nadel 1951 146-7)

A community is an example of this last kind of group, because there is no clear limit to the 'contexts of activity' where membership counts, as there tends to be for an association with a specific purpose. Thus a skilled factory worker has rights and obligations in the factory; in the village, where workers from each factory and skilled men in general have a certain solidarity; and in other contexts in the wider society, such as politics. His activity in each context can be seen to follow more or less directly from his position in an association, the factory, with a purpose, which is economic. This purpose logically comes before the group's existence, and gives unity to his roles as a member of it.

A community, such as a village or caste, comes before the purposes it serves, and has value in itself. This means that it can be adapted to serve new purposes more easily than an association can. If the same factory worker is a Garud3apura man, and a Goll3a by caste, membership in these two kinds of community may involve him in an indefinite series of obligation in different circumstances, and there is no clear relation of purpose between these different 'persons'. The village exists to provide its people with shelter, amenities and company, but this does not fully account for its value as an ideal or for the different rules a villager is expected to observe in his capacity of a Garud3apura man: he is generally expected to show 'respect' of the kind which is appropriate in each situation; to put aside differences of wealth and occupation within the village; to have time to listen to or entertain others; to submit his disputes to arbitration; to support and take part in festivals; to help at the family crises of neighbours &c.

Similarly a caste has no purpose except to maintain the caste dharma of the world; or, according to a folk theory of social contract, to regulate marriage expenses among people of similar economic condition. For most people these are shadowy or even irrelevant purposes. The rights and obligations of caste membership are quite different in matters of marriage and affinity; respect within the village; politics, and the political privileges, such as reserved places in colleges, which caste groups try to win in Mysore; and so on. These relations differ not only

in scale but in kind, creating new kinds of social person all implied by the name 'Goll3a'.

The third way of looking at groups from the outside is as parts of a social organization. To see an individual as a 'person' with roles is only sociological shorthand for the more constant, enduring aspects of the 'social pressures' and expectations which provide motives for his behaviour but do not determine it:

> The notion of role, indeed, useful though it is in defining the limits of a person's activity, can imply that a person does only what is assigned for himto do by his social position. It can thus imply a too mechanical view of social action. It does not make allowance for action to meet contingency, for adaptations to the highly various circumstances of social life. (Firth 1954 9)

Firth calls regularities in this kind of action, social organization:

> One may describe social organization, then, as the working arrangements of society. It is the processes of ordering of action and of relations in reference to given social ends, in terms of adjustments resulting from the exercise of choices by the members of the society. (ibid 10)

It is the institutionalized elements of flexibility in society, the established procedures for coping with situations where there is a choice to be made between roles or where particular rules do not apply, and for containing the results of private initiatives with the least damage to the social fabric: what Burke meant when he said 'a state without the means of some change is without the means of its conservation'. Each group has its procedures for orderly change, as the total society does to the extent that it is a system informed with common values. The procedures associated with the ideal of the 'village' - though not always those actually followed - are the traditional methods of the pancaay at: prolonged discussion ending in compromise, reconciliation and a consensus of respected 'big men'. The crucial phrase in Firth's definition is 'in reference to given social ends'. We are still within the closed morality of the group, even if

it is a flexible morality.

To understand human action it is necessary to see men on the one hand as 'social persons', conditioned by groups and roles; and on the other, as creators of values, working as rational beings in particular cultural and historical settings, and choosing within the limits set by what is conceivable in their society:

> The limits of what I can do are set by the limits of the descriptions available to me, not those I possess at any given moment. And the descriptions available to me are those current in the social group to which I belong. ... if the limits of action are the limits of description, then to analyse the ideas current in a society is also to discern the limits within which action necessarily moves in that society. ... To identify the limits of social action in a given period is to identify the stock of descriptions current in that age. ... Such descriptions appear as constituents of beliefs, speculations, and projects and as these are continually criticized, modified, rejected or improved, the stock of descriptions changes. The changes in human action are thus intimately linked to the thread of rational criticism in human history. (Macintyre 1962 60)

Thus each group adds to the 'stock of descriptions', including values, available to its members; and the group itself has meaning and value for its members. This meaning, which is the obverse of solidarity, is subject to rational criticism and change. Moreover the group itself is the unit within which 'beliefs, speculations, and projects' are 'criticized, modified, rejected or improved'.

To look at groups in this way is to see them from inside, as bearers of value and as fields in which moral innovation takes place: it is to pass, for example, from castes - their size, limits, organization, behaviour and interaction - and the caste system to the moral significance of caste, seen from different points of view in society, and to caste as a way of thinking. Only then is it possible to understand in its social context activity which is neither role-playing nor adaptation to meet contingency: the Gandhian movement, waves of moral feeling &c.

The idealized picture of 'the village' is of a co-operating community, inspired by peasant virtues of hard work and simple living, and a place where those who deserve respect are known and respected. In Garud3apur this picture is grounded partly in the myth of a golden age of village unity, lasting until twenty or thirty years ago, and partly in the

political myth of the self-sufficient village community, which often goes with the ideology of 'social service'. It appeals especially but not only to the old families of 'middle' caste, and its appeal may be growing as the realities of rural life are forgotton.+ Men who are interested in 'social work' typically try to reform the village not to submerge it, and to realize their ideals of equality, education &c in the village.

Thus I begin by making a social map of groups within the village, describing them from outside as blocks, as systems of roles, and from the point of view of social organization, before going on from the contingent features of groups to their moral significance for their members and others; then to the relations of ideas, abstracted from their matrix of groups; and finally back to modern India, and the effect on it of moral innovations.

Old families and immigrants

Membership in the group of old families (hal3eyavaru 'old ones' in Kannada) is a source of prestige, often found together with qualities like wealth which also give prestige (see chapter 7 on 'prestige' and status). Those who are seen to belong to this group play a leading part in most formal and informal organizations in Garud3apura, but the group's composition looks different from various points of view.

Those who are generally regarded as immigrants (hosabaru 'newcomers') are the members of families that came to the village in the present phase of Bangalore's industrial expansion, which began with the founding of Hindustan Aircraft in 1940. Table 4 shows that 57 per cent of the village's households, containing about half its population, belong to

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+ Gandhi, a town-bred Indian of fairly high caste, expressed the ideal:

> Society based on non-violence can only consist of groups settled in villages in which voluntary co-operation is the condition of dignified and peaceful existence. ..The nearest approach to civilization based on non-violence is the erstwhile village republic of India. (Quoted in Tinker 1963 155)

Compare the views of the 'Untouchable' leader Ambedkar:

> The love of the intellectual Indian for the village community is of course infinite if not pathetic....I hold that these village republics have been the ruination of India. ... What is the village but a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow-mindedness and communalism ? (Quoted ibid 157)

this group. Most are Tamils from Madras State, who came to Bangalore to work in factories or as labourers and settled in Garud3apura because houses were available there at low rents. The majority belong to 'middle'castes, like most old families, but generally to different castes. Even immigrants who belong to named castes already present in the village seldom marry into an old family unless there is some previous relationship. This is a result of the strong South Indian preference for a continuing alliance between two families or at least within a small marriage circle, and for marriage with a cross-cousin or a sister's daughter.

The relations between these immigrants and the old families are of three main kinds: economic relations; moral relations of friendship, obligation or respect; and relations in which the old families appear as the guardians of village institutions.

The chief economic relation is that of landlord and tenant, a frequent source of quarrels and resentment when landlords try to raise rents or fail to repair houses: so much so that immigrants sometimes speak as if old families were synonymous with landlords, and immigrant with exploited. Many of the poorer immigrants also borrow money, usually at high rates of interest, from their landlords, or from other old residents, or take goods on credit from a shopkeeper belonging to one of the oldest families. These relations between new and old families are one aspect of class relations, which can be traced either on the village scale or on a wider scale, and which I discuss later.

As an immigrant skilled workman said, in Garud3apura there are three classes among the old families: rich, middle and poor; but only two among immigrants: middle and poor. This is because Garud3apura's chief attraction for immigrants in the first place is the low rent; they become attached to the place for other reasons later. Those who have no tie to the village and can afford to live in middle-class suburbs do so. A Garud3apura address has little prestige. Some middle class Bangalore people call the village a 'slum', which by Indian standards it certainly is not; and although there are large houses in Garud3apura most of them are built on cramped sites, without the large 'compound' or garden of suburban houses. In any case all these houses, except one, are built by old village families for their own occupation. Only households belonging to long established village

families, and usually related to several other households within a recognized caste group in the village, choose to stay in the village when they become rich through business or a profession. Here they are known and respected, and can add to this respect by spending their money for approved public purposes, and carrying out their obligations as 'big men', good landlords, and perhaps good creditors.

This ideal of the good landlord is shared to some extent by immigrants and by old families: landlords and their families speak as if they represented the ideal, while immigrants often condemn them for falling short of it. Economic relations have this moral dimension, of respect and obligation, especially when they are confined within the village. Here a good landlord, creditor or employer deserves not only the respect of his tenants, debtors or servants, but the general respect of the village. Immigrants and old families tend to hold the same ideals of economic behaviour and the same conception of respect, though they judge the performance of particular rich families differently.

Relations of friendship, and of mutual aid among neighbours, now tend to follow lines of class - income, occupation and education - rather than the division between old and new families: except that Harijans generally form a group apart. Yet when large numbers of immigrant workers came to the village rather suddenly, some 25 years ago, they were strongly resented, as immigrants still appear to be in some other parts of Bangalore. Many of the immigrants to Garud3apura attached themselves to one of the chief landlords, who made himself thir patron whether they were his tenants or not, apparently for reasons of pride or sympathy rather than for any material advantage he gained. He defended their interests in the village, helped them to find houses, took them to the food office to get ration cards, lent them money even if he had to borrow, protected them in the fights which sometimes occurred between immigrants and older families, insisted that immigrants should bring their disputes to him and beat those who did not. For these services he was rewarded with the Tamil title 'Naatt3am', which ordinarily means the head of a local caste group, though he was of a different, non-Tamil caste. There are no such patrons now, though some landlords like to regard themselves as patrons of their own tenants. The immigrants

are now too various to act or to be seen as a group, and too numerous, well established and economically important to the older families to need this kind of protection.

The third kind of relation between old families and immigrants, in which the old families appear as the guardians of village institutions, has two aspects. On the one hand, the old families organize almost everything that is done on the village scale, arrange festivals and meetings, hold both the traditional village offices and offices in new kinds of association, and control strong though not overwhelming sanctions. On the other hand, they have a prestige derived from ownership of or association with the land, or from a more general association with the peasant virtues and the ideal of the 'village': thus they form a reference group for aspiring immigrants, who try to adopt their standards and join their society.

Here it is important to distinguish layers of old families. Though both 'immigrants' and 'old families' sometimes speak of each other as opposed groups, in practice an immigrant family whose status is not too low becomes accepted as old as its children grow up in the village, especially if it has relatives or castmen in older families. There is a much sharper distinction between many who regard themselves, and are regarded by immigrants, as old families, and the establishment of very old families of 'middle' caste. These families are descended from the dozen or so farming families, of various 'middle' castes, who came with or soon after Viira Naayaka, the founder of the village; together with families related to them, usually by marriage, who came later. The heads of the chief households in these families own most houses and fields in the village and many houses in surrounding suburbs. They live on rents or work as contractors, wholesalers, skilled factory workers or clerks. These families are sometimes spoken of as the 'original families' (modalavaru 'first people' in Kannada) but more often simply as the 'big men' (periavar/dodd3avaru). In principle to be a 'big man' is chiefly a matter of having 'prestige' (andastu/antastu), the kind of status that comes from wealth, influence and good birth, and it is recognized that an immigrant could become one. In practice it is very hard: at least one rich merchant, related to a very old family, has failed in the attempt (see chapter 7).

This establishment of 'big men' see themselves, and are seen by others who are attached to the idea of the village, as representing the principle of continuity in the village. Though they may be business or professional men, they are proud to come of good peasant stock, and their presence in the village is a sign of their continuing association with the land. If they have money to invest they buy land, either agricultural land, often far from the village, or houses: other investments bring little prestige in the village, and are regarded as risky. If they find life too cramped even in the bigger houses of the village, they move a few streets outside it into the middle-class suburb of Williams Town, a large part of which they own, and make a point of visiting relations and friends in the village and particularly of attending Garud3apura weddings and meetings, showing that they have not forgotten the village with its peasant associations. They are invited to most weddings in the village, or may attend without invitation: this is a valued sign of prestige, though attending weddings is often regarded as an exhausting and sometimes expensive duty. Each family among them is expected to send a representative to important meetings organized on the pancaayat model.

This establishment of 'big men' is associated particularly with those institutions which appear most 'traditional', which have the prestige of age, and which connect the village with its rural past and thus with the ideals of village life. It does not matter whether the picture of village life that is preserved is accurate or not. Some 'traditional' institutions are survivals, like the patel and toti, who now have ceremonial but few administrative functions; some are revivals,; like the 'Village Festival' which was held again after a lapse of many years; some are thought to exist potentially, like the new self-conscious forms traditional religion takes in a literate and sophisticated society. Thus 'big men' take the lead at all meetings which try to follow pancaayat procedure, especially those concerned with religious affairs; some of them regularly act as peacemakers; and they are the trustees of temples, and organizers of festivals, concerned with brahmanical religion and the cult of group deities.

Members of 'old' but not 'original' families, on the other hand, share with enthusiastic immigrants and the 'big men' the task of organizing associations, and taking the lead at those meetings which do not follow pancaayat procedure, which tend to be 'modern' in character and to adopt univeralistic norms, and which are concerned with social work, with politics, and especially with devotional religion.

Members of 'original' families who have not the wealth of influence to become 'big men' derive some reflected prestige from their association with the leading families, who are usually their relatives or at least their castemen. The newer families tend to identify them with the 'big people', seeing them both as a group with common economic interests and as the guardians of village institutions. Thus they share in such privileges of old village membership as the right to attend weddings without invitation, in some cases to be listened to with special respect at meetings or in other people's quarrels. In their own eyes, these 'original' families are united with the 'big people', whom they often visit, whose moral and sometimes financial support they rely on, whose economic interests they defend, and who form a reference group they aspire to join. The 'big people' appear to accept this principle of the unity of all 'original' families, since it is essential to their ideology of the village which stands for the peasant virtues. Wealth alone does not give a moral claim to respect: and keeping up one's ties with poorer relatives is a way of demonstrating, both to themselves and others, that they have the necessary moral complement of generosity and humility.

The unity of original families partly cuts across the division between the main caste categories: for the few very old families of 'low' castes - Washermen, Barbers &c - are closely associated with the 'big people' by sentiment and by the vestiges of service relationships. A Harijan belonging to an old family is also in a special position, for the old families of higher caste think of themselves as having a closer and more long-standing relationship with these Harijans, and make a point of being on familiar terms with one or two Harijans. Immigrant

Harijans, on the other hand, appear to have more contacts outside the village. In practice this special relationship with the 'original families' makes little difference to the old families of Harijans, though they find it easier to get work from or through the 'big men' and perhaps to borrow money from them. Some Harijans exploit the relationship to extort small presents periodically from 'middle' caste families, as a last vestige of the system of patronage and of regular employment for regular gifts which is supposed to have existed when the village was agricultural, and which in any case forms a part of the myth of the 'village'.

Language

Garud3apura has three main lauguage groups, speaking Tamil, Telugu and Kannada; and smaller groups speaking Hindustani (Hindi or Urdu), Malayalam and English. Table 11 shows the proportion of the village's population in each group, compared with the proportions in Bangalore as a whole. The proportion of Hindustani speakers is much greater in the city, because most of them are either Muslims who live in concentrated areas around mosques, or Hindu immigrants from North India. Garud3apura has only a few families from each of these groups. English is spoken as a first language mainly, but not only, by Anglo-Indians and Europeans: Garud3apura has no Europeans and only three or four Anglo-Indian families, but English is very widely known as a second language. Malayalam is spoken only by a few recent immigrants from Kerala.

The three main languages of the village - Tamil, Telugu and Kannada - are related about as closely as French, Spanish and Italian. For a man who knows one of them it is not hard to learn the others, yet they cannot be properly understood without training, because the forms of words are so different. Many or most people brought up in the village can speak or understand all three. A group of men in conversation, or at a public meeting, will change from one language to another freely: if one man makes a point in his own language, others continue to speak that language until someone makes a point in a different language. If the men have some education, and particularly if the conversation is about politics, English is often used for period of conversation in the same way.

Table 12 shows the extent of multilingualism, both in speaking and reading, and the levels of literacy and newspaper readership in each group. These are good indices of each group's general level of education.

Tamils are the largest single group, the most literate and the least bilingual. They fall into two very different categories: immigrant labourers speaking no language but Tamil, and often illiterate; and clerks or factory workers with some education. Tamils who are literate in Tamil can often speak Kannada, but if they are literate in another language it is almost always English, which is far more important in practice. It is hard to get even a semi-skilled factory job without some knowledge of English. Those who speak English can generally read it, having learnt it at school. Literacy in English is roughly constant in all three main language groups, at about 25 per cent of the population aged 13 or over.

The readership of newspapers is much higher than their circulation, since many people read each copy. Only a few families buy a daily paper, though many more take weekly or monthly popular magazines, often devoted mainly to films and film stars. Men read papers especially in a free Corporation reading room on the boundary between Garud3apura and Williams Town, where there is a wide selection of periodicals in English and other languages; in reading rooms belonging to associations outside the village, or at work. Since women never go to reading rooms, those who do not go out to work see only the papers which men in their families bring home. Kannad3igas have by far the highest rate for readership of papers or magazines in a language other than English, obviously Kannad3a.

A language group is usually a group of castes (or 'subcastes') within the village, though there are castes which speak different languages in different places, so that occasionally a wife from another place speaks a language which is not her husband's. The Okkaligas of Garud3apura, for example, are divided into a Telugu and a Kannada speaking subcaste, which have recently begun to intermarry, though not yet in Garud3apura itself: a man of the Telugu section said that many of them now tend to use Kannada even at home 'because it is the state language', ie. the language of the majority in Mysore State.

TABLE II

Population of Garud3apura and of all Bangalore, by first language

	Garud3apura	Bangalore[+]
Tamil	47 per cent	36 per cent
Telugu	38	18
Kannada	11	22
Hindustani (Hindi and Urdu)	2	15
other languages	3[++]	9

\+ from United Nations 1961 57.

++ chiefly Malayalam.

TABLE 12

Knowledge of other languages, literacy, and newspaper readership, in each language group in Garud3apura (as percentage of population aged 13 or over)

	first language				
	Tamil	Telugu	Kannada	Others	Total
speaking two or more languages	45	64	87	82	57
three or more languages	30	44	62	77	39
four or more languages	15	23	29	29	19
literate in any language	62	47	53	88	57
in two languages+	29	32	36	65	32
in three or more languages+	3	23	2	18	11
in English	25	25	20	35	25
regularly read a paper or magazine not in English	15	18	33	24	20
read a daily paper not in English	10	10	13	6	10
regularly read a paper or magazine in English	11	11	9	6	11
read a daily paper in English	9	8	2	6	8

+ The figures for literacy in more than one language among Tamil and Telugu speakers may be inaccurate, because I did not realize at the time that some people in these groups read Kannada but not their own languages: I assumed that anyone who was literate at all was literate in his own language, as well as in any others he claimed.

There was no literacy test. I believe most respondents tried to give accurate answers to questions in the sample survey, except perhaps to a question about debts.

The close identification of language with territory, rather than with the community of birth, appears to be a modern innovation: though an awareness of the four main Dravidian dialects as distinct languages, with standard literary forms, appears to have developed early in South India. It is reflected in the broad division of South Indian Brahmans into five linguistic groups, although Malayalam speaking Brahmans are classed with Tamils and two of the five groups (Marathi and Guzarathi) were originally associated with Aryan languages. In the north, where the spoken dialects had an obvious affinity with Sanskrit, each dialect of the languages now called 'Hindi', 'Marathi' &c had authority only as the standard of a particular court, until the rise of bhakti or devotional religion gave equal or greater authority to the dialects used by saints and poets.

Viira Naayaka, the founder of the village, belonged to one of the many castes of Naidus, a Telugu speaking group. Telugu speakers had been settled in Mysore State for many generations, and most of the families Viira Naayaka brought in to populate his village were of different Telugu speaking castes: in particular all the old families of Harijans, who are Maad3igas by caste, speak Telugu. Thus the proportion of Telugu speakers in Garud3apura (38 per cent) is much higher than in Bangalore as a whole (18 per cent). The other original families were of Kannada speaking castes or were Tigal3as, a caste of gardeners and tenant farmers who had been settled in Mysore for some time but who speak a dialect of Tamil, influenced by Kannada.

Kannada is the language of the large majority in Mysore State, which was enlarged to take in the other Kannada-speaking areas when Indian states were 'reorganized' on linguistic lines in 1956. The administration of the state has been carried on in Kannada and English. Schools near the village use Kannada, Tamil and English as mediums of instruction; but only middle class children are normally sent to English-medium schools, which are more expensive. Telugu speaking children, and most Tigal3as, are normally educated in Kannada, so that many of them can read Kannada, and often English, but not the language they use at home.

The chief social division between language groups in Garud3apura is between Tamil immigrants, uneducated or educated in Tamil, on the one hand; and Kannada or Telugu speakers, together with Tigal3as, on the other. This division coincides fairly closely with the line between old

and new families, and applies throughout the hierarchy of castes. Thus the current euphemism for the Telugu-speaking old Harijan castes of the region, and the one they use themselves, is Aadi Karnaat3aka ('AKs' in Indian English), the 'original' people of Karnaat3aka or the Kannada-speaking country: a term evidently modelled on Aadi Draavid3a ('ADs'), the 'original Dravidians' or Tamil Harijans, and used to distinguish the old Harijan castes of the region from Tamil immigrants.

It is significant that Tigal3as, though they acknowledge that the language of their caste is a dialect of Tamil, emphasize their difference from Tamil immigrants by siding with the speakers of Kannada in situations where this is important as a line of division. Some even describe themselves as Kannad3igas, a term normally meaning speakers of Kannada, to stress their long residence in the state and in the village. For them, as for the Kachins of Burma:

> for a man to speak one language rather than another is a ritual act, it is a statement about one's personal status: to speak the same language as one's neighbours expresses solidarity with those neighbours, to speak a different language from one's neighbours expresses social distance or even hostility. (Leach 1954 49)+

Though Tigal3as use their own dialect of Tamil among themselves - and though some Tigal3as in other parts of the city speak Kannada at home - they also learn from conversation and from Tamil films to speak colloquial Tamil, as most people in the village do: some can even read Tamil script. Yet to describe themselves simply as Tamils, or to identify themselves too closely with Tamils, would take away their special status as original inhabitants of the region and the village: in fact the first family Viira Naayaka invited to settle in the village were Tigal3as. A Tigal3a who sent his daughter to a Tamil school did so as an 'experiment', and apparently as a personal gesture towards Tamils, deliberately breaking with the custom of his caste group for the sake of a wider fraternity.

+ Quoted in Ferguson and Gumperz 1960, which contains studies of 'social dialects' in Indian languages, particularly studies of Kannada by Bright and McCormack.

The rivalry between language groups is stronger on the city scale than within the village, for many Kannad3igas resent the dominant position which Tamil immigrants have held or are alleged to have held, since the nineteenth century, in the capital of the Kannada-speaking state; and they complain that Tamils take all the best jobs and reduce Kannad3igas to poverty. This is not true: the Kannad3igas of Bangalore are now in many ways a privileged group. The present tendency to use Kannada more and more for official purposes, and to require applicants for official posts to be proficient in Kannada, can only strengthen the Kannada-speaking group.

Language rivalry, though it corresponds partly to the division between older families and immigrants in Bangalore, does not reflect a clear difference in class or wealth, as it does for example where there have been bloody riots between the Marathi speaking masses and the Gujarati speakers, Hindu or Parsi, whom they identified with the rich.+ Even in Bangalore language resentment, particularly the feeling of Kannad3igas that they ought to have the first claim on jobs and opportunities in the capital of their own state, led to minor riots a few years ago : but unlike the riots in Bombay, these were not serious and caused no deaths. Language feeling in strongest among young men not educated in English. It is reflected in Garud3apura and the surrounding suburbs by the rivalry between two associations, which have their local headquarters in two reading rooms, conveniently situated next door to each other in converted shops in Williams Town: the Kannad3a Abhimaanigal3a Sangha, or Kannada enthusiasts' society, which is supposed to be non-political and devoted to the encouragement of Kannada literature; and the Paguttarrivu Manrram (roughly'clear thinking association' in Tamil). The latter is in fact a branch of the Draavid3a Munneettra Karhagam (DMK) or Dravidian progressive party, which demands greater autonomy for the four southern states and, if possible, their union in a 'Dravidian' state within the Indian Union: the party tries to appeal to speakers of all Dravidian languages - the Manrram has a large sign in Kannada over its reading room - but in fact the party's support comes almost entirely from the Tamil-speaking state of Madras

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+ See Hart 1960 on the connexion between language and class in Bombay.

and from Tamils elsewhere.

As South Indians the two groups were united in the agitation against the imposition of Hindi as the national language of India. Most members of both groups preferred English, which they already knew and which they believed would not reduce South Indians to second-class status within the country. Within the city the two groups, and the much larger numbers who sympathized with the objects of one or the other, pushed the claims of their own languages; or rather, the Kannada-speaking group, with whom Telugu speakers and many Tigal3as identified themselves, insisted that knowledge of Kannada should be a qualification for jobs in government offices and factories, and that all children should be taught Kannada as the state language: while the Tamils defended the equal status with Kannada which their language had enjoyed in the past.

Linguistic associations are not very important in the village, except among some young men who champion the cause of their own language from a kind of linguistic chauvinism which is partly a reflection on their common grievance about the imposition of Hindi on the national scale. The two broad categories in the village - Tamil immigrants and 'Kannad3igas', including Telugu speakers and Tigal3as - have uncomplimentary nicknames for each other, though these two are used mainly by young men, and half in fun. Tamils are called 'Kongru' or'Kongu' after Kongu Naad3u, a region of Madras state from which few if any of them come; Kannad3igas are called 'Gaud3a', generally a term of respect or a title for members of some Kannada castes, used here in mockery. Language rivalry was among the reasons or pretexts for the breakup of two associations in which the village's young men were active: a voluntary night school, where young man with some education gave free instruction to children who went to overcrowded Corporation schools in the daytime; and the Garud3apura United Football Club. In general, however, language is not important as a principle of division in the village, though it is often a sign of more basic divisions between old and new families, or between castes or groups of allied castes.

Religion

Here I am concerned with 'religions' as groups: I consider worship, theology and religious values later. About four fifths of the villagers are Hindus (if one includes two families of Jain immigrants)

and one fifth are Christians, mostly Catholics. There are a few Muslim families: I estimate the proportion at 1 per cent, since the sample these figures are based on was not stratified, and no Muslims came into it. Table 13 shows the proportion of the village population professing each religion, compared with the proportions in Bangalore as a whole.

TABLE 13

Population of Garud3apura, and of all Bangalore, by religion

	Garud3apura		Bangalore+
Hindus (including Jains)	81 per cent		75 per cent
Catholics	15		
		Christians 18	
Protestants (with Syrian Christians)	3		10
Muslims	about 1		15

+ From United Nations 1961 56. These figures are for 1952, but are unlikely to have changed much.

Since the Muslim minority is so small, it is convenient to see the village as divided into two groups: Hindus and Christians. Almost all Hindus in Garud3apura are identified as members of a caste; and they generally observe the rule of caste endogamy, though restrictions on other forms of contact, such as eating together, are less universally obeyed. Castes, again, are divided into two large groups: 'middle' and Harijan, with a few 'low' castes on the borderline. All of them are called and call themselves Hindus. There are no important differences of sect, as there are in other places where the distinction between Vaisn3ava and Shaiva, or Lingaayat and non-Lingaayat, may split an entire range of castes into endogamous sections. Lingaayats - members of a sect which is dominant economically in parts of Mysore State and has a disproportionate

influence on state politics - are altogether absent; and the two families of Jain immigrants are very marginal to the village society.

Neither Hindu scriptures nor the traditions of Hinduism imply that Hindu belief and ritual are the marks of a solitary group, like Islam or the Church. The caste organization of Hindu society is conceived more as a series of solidarities, each including the last: Brahman purity to be defended against non-Brahmans; Brahmans and Ks3atriyas defending their joint political power for the sake of dharma; the three twice-born castes (Brahmans, Ks3atriyas, Vaishyas) defending their purity against Shuudras; and the four varn3as together defending their ritual and their social position against outcastes and barbarians. If these outcastes and barbarians shared some Hindu beliefs or forms of organization such as gotras or clans, this was no concern of those inside the circle. The name 'Hindu' was first used by Muslims, to mean the inhabitants of Hindustaan or India. The idea of a specifically religious community, defined by common belief, existed already in the devotional sects which tended to be open to all, without social distinctions; but the awareness of Hinduism itself as a solidary group, on the analogy of the sects, developed only when Hindu belief was challenged by Christian missionaries and converts. Revivalist movements, such as the Aarya Samaaj, made upper-caste Hindus aware of the urgent need to keep the lower castes inside the Hindu fold, to which they had not previously been thought to belong: Untouchables became Harijans, 'children of God', a euphenism Gandhi revived and made popular. Without becoming a church Hinduism at least became a 'religion' in the western sense, so that the expanding series of solidary groups now passes through one more stage, and ends: twice-born castes defending their purity against Harijans - a stage which tends to become optional; and Hindus defending their faith against non-Hindus.

In Garud3apura both kinds of solidarity operate in different situations. Hindu Harijans must be allowed to worship in brahmanical public temples by law. Generally they prefer not to, because they are afraid they will be made unwelcome or punished in subtle ways by conservative villagers; or ~~probably more important,~~ because they prefer to worship in their own temples. They are deliberately made welcome in a non-brahmanical temple, the Mowna Guru Math, but only a few of them visit it. Among the Harijans themselves

the division between Hindus and non-Hindus is much weaker. Hindu Harijans not only keep prints of Christ and the Virgin Mary in their houses, as many upper-caste Hindus do, but change their religion almost as freely as members of the upper caste change their ist3adeevata or personal god - always a matter of personal choice not caste custom; nor does there seem to be any strong feeling against intermarriage between Hindus and Christians among Harijans. In principle - according to their theology and social ethics - Christians have no caste: in practice the emphasis on this principle varies widely from one group to another. Yet as long as a Christian Harijan remains poor and lives among Harijans, he is still regarded by Hindus and by most Christians as a Harijan.

The difference between Catholics and Protestants (often called simply 'Missionaries', though of course they are not, and Catholics also have their missionaries in India) is not clear to most Hindus. They know the difference exists, but regard Christians for most purposes as a single group.

Hindus and Christians are divided, in principle, by the rule of endogamy. This rule, which has become almost meaningless among Harijans of both religions, is still generally observed by upper-caste Hindus. Yet violations of endogamy in the village are generally between Hindus and Christians rather than between Hindus of different castes; and this mixture seems to shock Hindu feelings less than intermarriage between Hindu castes. Similarly the traditional rule of endogamy, which separates the Lingaayat and non-Lingaayat sections of some Mysore castes, has not always been strictly observed. In Garud3apura the Christian partner in a mixed marriage is often but not always descended from, or identified with, the same caste as the other partner. Many Christians are descended from a mixture of castes; others prefer not to mention their caste origins, even when these are high, because they believe caste distinction is wrong.

Hindus know that Christians are less strict in enforcing caste rules, such as the ban on eating together or on intermarriage, and that Christian doctrine gives no support to the principles of pollution and separation. They also know that many Christians observe caste rules in a modified form, and sometimes in their full rigour. The result is that Christians who are not known to be Harijans are normally treated as if they belonged to the middle', i.e. upper, block of castes, though the more orthodox would still refuse to eat with Christians inside the village. Hindus are

not surprised when the rules are relaxed among Christians; and those Hindus who do not observe the rules, and who have no regard for caste, are sometimes said to be influenced by Christianity, or like Christians. This may be said either in adverse criticism or in admiration, according to the point of view of the speaker. Some knowledge of Christian doctrine is very widespread, if only because almost all who can afford to send their children to mission schools do so. Christian evangelism is resented, but in any case it has more or less stopped.

Only one really old family of the village are Christians, living in a hamlet separated from the village centre, by the newer suburb of Williams Town. They have been on the village at least since the late nineteenth century: a father and son belonging to this family contracted with the Kaayamguttadaar of the village, in 1896 and 1897, to take mud from the bed of the old tank, without making a hole, and to make bricks from it. The other Christians immigrated at about the same rate as Hindus. Bangalore has had a large Christian population, both Catholic and Protestant, since the nineteenth century, and the Hindus were used to the presence of Christians. Most Christians in Garud3apura live scattered about the village, around the same courtyards as their Hindu neighbours, though a few courtyards contain Christians only. The ties of friendship, mutual aid and economic obligation which bind them to their Hindu neighbours are the same as those which bind Hindus to each other. Christians and Hindus visit each other's houses for domestic festivals. Many Hindus go to church, regularly or occasionally, because they believe they gain spiritual benefit by worshipping God in different forms and rituals; because they hope for a more immediate benefit - both Hindus and Catholics go some distance to pray to the Virgin in a certain church for health and for cures; or simply because they enjoy the service. Christians will not attend Hindu worship, and many will not enter temples at all: yet they subscribe to and enjoy village festivals and processions held outside temples, and many of them attend harikathas, Hindu religious entertainments, held inside the temples.

Christians have a higher rate of literacy (80 per cent of those aged 13 or over) than Hindus (56 per cent), though the proportion in each group with Senior School Leaving Certificates seems to be about the same: the sample is too small to be conclusive. A much higher proportion of

Christians than of Hindus are in professional, clerical or skilled manual employment (table 14), a consequence of their higher standard of education. This is reflected in the higher mean income of Christians: Rs 59 a month for each consumer+ in Christian families, as against Rs 47 among Hindus. This large difference is partly because of the difference in the earnings of Hindu and Christian workers, partly because of the difference in the size of households: there are 2.4 non-workers for every Hindu worker, but only 2.0 for every Christian worker. Clearly the Christians' standard of living is considerably higher: and by all the indices of class - income, work, education and consumption - they are in a higher position, as a group, than the Hindus.

In spite of their high class position, no Christians belong to the group of 'big men' in the village. This is partly because a 'big man' must normally be a landlord or businessman belonging to an old village family; and partly because Christians, being generally found in towns and associated with urban occupations, have less connexion with the ideal of the 'village' and its peasant associations, which inspires the 'big men' in their leadership of the village and their defence of village institutions. Moreover, the unity of the village, though not religious in principle, is expressed chiefly through festivals in which the Christians take only a marginal part, and common or congregational worship in which they take no part at all.

Christian religious life is on another scale entirely. Hindu temples belong to the village, both in sentiment and in law; but there is no church in the village itself, and both Catholics and Protestants go to various churches in the neighbourhood. A plan to build a Catholic chapel in the village apparently came to nothing. Priests seldom come to the village. Christians belong to associations organized by their churches, for young Catholic workers &c. Groups of young Christians, including some

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+ A 'consumer' or consumption unit is equivalent to one adult. The consumption units used by Epstein (1962 43) and others are based on rural consumption patterns. I believe that use of the following simple scale gives a more realistic picture of differences in living standards between urban families. It is based on my experience in collecting family budgets and on the helpful suggestions of several informants: I checked it by applying it first to all the households I knew best. Unlike Epstein, I make no distinction of sex.

adult aged 16 or over	1.0 consumer
child aged 6-15	0.6
child aged 1-5	0.3
child aged under 1	0.1

Table 14

Workers of Garud3apura, by religion and 'socio-economic group'[+]

'socio-economic group'		percentage of Hindu workers	percentage of Christians workers	percentage of all workers
I	higher professional and managerial workers and government officials[+]	2	7	3
II	lower professional and managerial workers and government officials	15	29	17
III	higher grade manual workers	38	43	39
IV	lower grade manual workers	21	7	18
V	domestic and other service workers	18	9	16
VI	farmers and graziers	4	0	3
VII	unidentifiable occupations	2	5	2

Sample : 206 workers (164 Hindus, 42 Christians)

+ As defined in the 'Mysore population study' (United Nations 1961 414). I have explained (table 7) why the description of group I is misleading.

Garud3apura men, wander through the village streets before Christmas and at other seasons, playing harmoniums and drums and singing religious songs to popular film tunes. There are Hindu religious associations or confraternities within the village, but no Christian ones.

To be a Christian sets a Garud3apura man apart in certin situations, but Christians hardly act as a group within the village. On the city and wider scales the situation is different. Christians are a small minority in the state, with an influence out of proportion to their number because of the number of professional, executive and official posts they hold. The situation is similar in other South Indian states, though not in North India. In Kerala the Christians form a very large part of the population. In Madras it is even suggested that Christians and Brahmans, both small minorities, have been the two 'dominant castes'.

In politics, especially on the state level, Christians and particularly Catholics have in the past been strong supporters of the governing party, both because they believe that Congress is committed to a secular state in which religious minorities will be safe from persecution and discrimination, and because they see Congress as the chief alternative to the Communists, whose state would be altogether too secular. Since Mysore politics is conducted largely as an exercise in balancing one powerful minority against another, Christians like Harijans have to be given just the share of official posts, scholarhips, and places in government colleges, which is judged necessary to keep up their allegiance to the ruling party and the dominant faction in it, without letting other powerful groups think they are getting less than their share.

Christians are also very much aware of the international links of their churches. Those who could afford the time and expense - though I think none from Garud3apura - went to Bombay when the Pope came to address the International Ecumenical Conference; church schools, both Catholic and Protestant, sometimes have foreign teachers; and some Christians have friends among the many foreigners living in Bangalore. They are aware of international politics, and sometimes realise that what pass in India for 'western' values and ways of living are not always typical of western societies. Mentally the Christians, particularly the better educated ones, live far more outside the village. They are attached to friends and neighbours in the village rather than to the village as a place and an ideal.

The position of Muslims is very different: they are not only a much smaller minority, but much poorer. Only two families have a claim to be called 'old' families, and neither of these has much influence in village affairs. They are low in the class hierarchy because they are poor and uneducated, with a few exceptions. They too are attached to neighbours and friends in the village, but otherwise are on the margin of village life. None of them are regarded as Harijans, and Hindus know that Muslim doctrine has no place for ideas of caste pollution.

As a group Muslims are not respected,[+] though particular Muslims are because of their personal character. Since most Muslims are poor they are more dependent on the village's 'big men' than Christians are, but they do not appear to act as a group within the village. The nearest mosque and Muslim neighbourhood are 2 km away, and Garud3apura Muslims seem to have their religious and family ties with people in such areas rather than with other Muslim families in the village.

Caste

This is still the chief principle of alignment in social relations, and an important part of status, though less exclusively so than it was when wealth, education and employment - the determinants and the signs of class position - varied more closely with position in the caste hierarchy. The idea of caste as a social hierarchy can be misleading, for the hierarchical aspect is clearest at the two poles of the system - the Brahman at the top and the Untouchable at the bottom - and very hard to establish in the middle ranges. In Garud3apura itself the upper pole is missing, or almost missing: for a true hierarchy of statuses would require a group of Brahmans as a point of reference, while in Garud3apura, as far as the social hierarchy is concerned, there is only one small family - that of the part-time priest of the one Brahmanical temple, who works full-time in a factory and has less and less to do with the village society. It is true that there are several other Brahman families living in the village, but all of them are recent immigrants and none is much concerned with village affairs; they keep to themselves. On the city scale the Brahmans no longer have any very real social superiority, either in actual relations or as a reference group: the impulse to 'sanskritize',

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+ 'Mohammadans: This is the only class of race earn by easy methods, mostl by brokery and petty business' - from an account of Garud3apura written in English by a villager.

to imitate brahmanical customs, is no longer very strong among the other castes. Even the Brahmans' religious superiority is more and more restricted to a certain kind of religion, appropriate to certain situations and events only, and in any case involves only the minority of Brahmans who act as priests.

Apart from the Brahman temple priest's family, which is seldom if ever taken as a point of reference in matters of status, the top of the caste hierarchy in fact is the middle in theory - the large block of castes, often called 'middle castes', which include most old and new families, and which recognize each other as roughly equal in the hierarchy. Men of this group will eat with any other men of the group, most women with no one but their own caste or sometimes their own relations. Outside the village men will eat with anyone; the rules of purity and pollution do not apply in restaurants or factory canteens, any more than they do in buses or shops. Men who scrupulously observe these rules within the village say explicitly that there is no need to do so outside, where you may eat next to men of any caste, or even be served by them. Here the villagers clearly distinguish between relations on the two scales. From the point of view of an orthodox-minded villager one might define the 'community', either of birth or of territory, as the unit to which rules of pollution apply: thus they apply either among villagers, or to castemen from different places on caste occasions (e.g. weddings).

Though all 'middle' castes are roughly equal, the hierarchy becomes more marked in the lower ranges. Below the 'middle' castes stands a small group of 'low' castes - service castes of Washermen and Barbers and, probably below them, the Vodd3as traditionally navvies and stone-breakers; then the Harijan or 'Untouchable' group, made up of 'old' Telugu-speaking Harijans ('AKs') and immigrant Tamil Harijans ('ADs'). These castes are not really regarded as untouchable except by orthodox Brahmans and conservative women, yet their disabilities (exclusion from temples, weddings, houses &c) are enough to keep them out of the main stream of village life.

Within the village the chief line of division between one 'middle' caste and another is endogamy. A caste group on the village scale is usually a number of households bound together by a complicated pattern of marriage with cross-cousins and sometimes with nieces, living seperately but closely linked by bonds of sentiment and mutual support,

or divided by equally bitter quarrels. Marriages are arranged with households inside or outside the village. There is now a marked tendency to marry outside these narrow endogamous groups, partly because educated bridegrooms with prospects are so sought after; and this movement to extend the boundaries of the group allied by marriage may cross barriers which were traditionally regarded as the boundaries of 'subcastes' ('One-pandal' and 'Two-pandal' Goll3as) or even of clearly distinct castes (Goll3as and Naidus), marked off by different customs or even language. This intermarriage is almost ~~accedential~~ accidental - a by-product of the tendency to seek bridegrooms over a wider field, which would not appear as intercaste marriage in cases where there was no traditional reason for a bar to marriage between two families, but where in fact no marriage had taken place.

This gradual widening of caste boundaries by intermarriage is of course very different from the deliberate violation of caste rules by those who openly marry out of caste. This happens only in liberal-minded families - and only one important 'original' family in fact countenances marriage of its members into other castes - or between couples who run away together, after which they are usually but not always reconciled with their families.

Thus a caste group in the village is normally a group of kin. Caste on a wider scale - effectively that of Mysore State - changes its character completely, for here a caste becomes a political unit, defending its rights to jobs, school and college places, scholarships and political posts. For this purpose it is in a caste's interest to combine with castes or 'subcastes' of similar rank or culture, to form an effective pressure group; and to emphasize, not the purity or respectability of its customs, but its 'backwardness', since the state and municipal authorities can openly favour a caste only by stretching the meaning of an article in the Indian Constitution providing for special privileges for Harijans and 'Backward Classes'. Unofficially they can do much more. This is a peculiarly Mysorean situation, which is not found, or not to the same extent, in most Indian states. Moreover, though some Garud3apura people benefit from the privileges won by caste pressure groups, hardly any of them take an active part in this kind of politics themselves. Politics in the city, including Garud3apura, when it is not about personalities, is

generally about class interest, administration, and universal conceptions of justice, not about caste.

On the national scale the only caste line that counts is between all higher castes on the one hand, and the 'Scheduled Castes and Tribes' - Harijans and Aadivaasis ('Aboriginals') - on the other. Under the Indian Constitution the central government is bound to ensure to members of these groups certain privileges, which were originally intended as temporary measures to rid them of the disabilities they suffer. Thus a proportion of posts in the central government service is reserved for them; and the Indian Parliament has a number of 'reserved seats'. for which all electors vote but only members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes are eligible.

On the village scale, then, a caste is typically a group related by blood. On wider scales it coalesces with other groups to form larger and larger groups for political action, though Garud3apura people are not much involved in this action; until on the widest political level, that of the nation, only two groups are left in opposition to each other.

Family

The most common word for 'family' (kud3umbam/kut3umba) may be used in a narrow sense, as a synonym of 'household'; or in a wider sense, for a collection of households. The composition of a 'family' in this wider sense varies according to the situation (marriage, social status, family worship &c): in general it depends partly on kinship and partly on contingent facts such as wealth, residence and personal qualities.

A household (samucaaram/samsaara) is always defined as a group of relatives living together and eating from one kitchen, whatever their exact relationship to each other, and whether or not they are 'joint families' of married men, living under the authority of the eldest and sharing their immovable property and part or all of their earnings. The household is the unit of which 'communities' of birth or residence are made up: associations, on the other hand, are often made up of individuals. Village institutions take into account the household rather than the individual, the wider 'family' or the local caste group: thus certain families have priestly functions, or the right to play a special part in festivals, and it does not matter much which member of the household performs the ceremony; when a public meeting of the old kind is called, each non-Harijan Hindu household may send a representative,

and is expected to if it belongs to an old village family.

The caste is similarly made up of households, arranged in a series of expanding and overlapping groups. Some groups intermarry, others are more or less endogamous. Only the household is clearly defined; on the levels above it the family shades into the caste without any clear boundary, except the almost fortuitous presence of diacritical customs or 'subcaste' names, which may or may not mark the limits of the present, effective endogamous groups. Thus it is often hard to distinguish caste 'endogamy' from the traditional preference for continuing, inherited alliance between groups of families.

Class

It is convenient here to use 'class' and 'status' roughly in Weber's sense. A class consists of those who share a common position in the economic system, a common relation to property and the means of production or distribution, and a common consumption pattern and style of life. A class is not a community, though it provides a possible base for the organization of a community, which is then a 'status-group':

> Class, which signifies a more or less objective position in the economic world, when translated into status depends more upon the acceptance by others of one's position. (Reissman 1960 14)

Thus a nationally organized economic system like India's has a national class system. All parts of India share a common market, in spite of some variations in state purchase taxes and local octroi duties; a common system of law, which differs little from state to state and is administered by a national judiciary; and a highly centralized system of planning by the central government, working through licensing, import controls and direct operation of government factories.

India also inherited from the British a rigidly hierarchical bureaucracy, employing large numbers of people and providing some of them with a means to power, influence and wealth.

> In the West, especially in England, for example, the middle classes emerged basically as a result of economic and technological change; they were for the most part engaged in trade and industry. In India, on the contrary, they emerged more in consequence of

> changes in the system of law and public administration than in economic development, and they belonged mainly to the learned professions. India's traditional emphasis on literary education combined with Britain's rule and her imperialist economy to make the intelligentsia the dominant strand in the composition of the Indian middle classes. (Misra 1961 v)

An economic position outside government service can often be matched with one inside it, particularly since the establishment of government factories run by managers who are also civil servants. This system of grades appears to provide Indians with a convenient vocabulary for translating class positions in local economic sub-systems into class on the national level.

Bangalore's class system is the same as that of any large Indian city; but the status system operates within communities, especially the local community of those who know each other personally or by reputation. Some specialized communities (factory managers, university teachers, doctors) enjoy a status on the scale of the whole city; but for the factory workers, labourers, small businessmen and clerks who live in Garud3apura, the village community - and often the caste community which extends beyond it - are the arenas in which claims to status are made.

Class position is only one component of status in the village. Others include caste; education; membership in an old family; personal conduct or qualities, and those of one's immediate relatives. I relate class to status within the village in chapter 7 ('Respect').

I have said that classes are organized on the national scale because the economy is. This is true for the most important economic relations of the factory workers and clerks, and for most of the men with small businesses, who together make up a large part of Garud3apura's population. Yet Garud3apura has its own system of economic relations which do not directly involve people outside the village; and some villagers, particularly labourers and the poor generally, depend heavily on this local economy. Thus there is also a system of classes within the village; and this local class is another component of status.

Economic relations within the village are of three kinds: those between landlord and tenant; between creditor and debtor; and between employer and employee.

Landlords and tenants

Most landlords belong to old village families, which built on their own fields, though a few immigrants have bought or built houses to let. Very few houses belong to people living outside the village, but a number of gardens and vineyards are owned by outsiders, as an investment, and worked by tenants.

Vineyards in particular require a great deal of capital, for the vines themselves, for the granite pillars and the wires on which they grow, and for irrigation, often by means of diesel pumps. Some of the Garud3apura families which were able to make this investment own vineyards up to 30 km away from the village, while outsiders have bought fields from other Garud3apura families and planted vines there.

Though the possession of agricultural land is important as a source both of wealth and of status, the proportion of the population working full time in agriculture or gardening is very small: about 2 per cent of all workers. Casual labourers from the village or from outside help with the grape harvest. Most market gardeners are tenants, either of Garud3apura men or of outsiders. The village's only rice field has been divided into three small plots by three brothers living in the village, each keeping his own share-cropping tenants on the land.

A 'landlord' now generally means the owner of dwelling houses. It is possible to see the relation of landlord and tenant from three points of view: as a 'rational' economic relation; as a relation between landlords and tenants as classes, each conscious of its conflicting interests; and as an ideal relation, derived largely from the relation between agricultural landlords and tenants in the historical myth of Garud3apura as a co-operating village community.

In practice landlords generally, and tenants sometimes, behave as if the relation were purely economic, governed by laws of supply and demand and without any emotional content, or any moral content beyond the simple rules of business probity. Landlords raise the rent when the demand for housing rises; tenants who cannot pay must go; landlords are

often willing to let houses in the same area indifferently to Harijans and to higher castes, though they would refuse to live among Harijans themselves. To the extent that the relation is seen as a 'rational' economic one, it is the local application of economic forces operating on much large scales, those of the city and nation.

The economic relation can also be seen as one between solidary classes of landlords and tenants, whose interests necessarily conflict. This conflict can be seen both on a national scale and on a local scale. Some politically conscious men see the conflict as a local aspect of the wider conflict between the Indian working class and its exploiters: landlords, employers, black marketeers and the government. A communist candidate in the municipal election attracted a good deal of support by representing the conflict in this way (see chapter 7).

More often the conflict is seen in specifically local terms, as one between the mass of tenants and an easily identifiable establishment of landlords, merchants and contractors, who attend each other's weddings, visit each other's houses and are often related to each other: the 'big men' of the village, who are incidentially the pillars of the local Congress Party. When the relation is seen from point of view, it is not surprising that landlords should try to squeeze as much money as possible from their tenants, neglect repairs and drains when they can &c. Quarrels are normal, and the result can be seen to depend on the relative strength of the parties.

The relation, however, also has a moral aspect, because both parties share, to some extent, the ideal of the good landlord, the 'master' (ejamaan/yajamaan) who is entitled to respect: and this ideal, as I have shown, is closely bound up with Garud3apura's village history. The ideal is an important element in the landowning families' self-respect and respect for each other; whoever has money to invest buys land and tries to join this minor landed gentry. A landlord ought to take an interest in his tenants' family and religious life, to treat them with courtesy and humility, to help them in hard times &c. Thus a member of the village's leading family said that, in the old days, every newly married couple in his family paid a courtesy visit to each of their

tenants; and when food was scarce and expensive during the war, the family sold off its large stock of ragi at the pre-war, uninflated price. Some landlords try seriously to live up to this ideal of the good landlord, and enjoy the respect of their tenants and of the village for doing so: thus one of the three brothers who divided up the rice field owns a street of small houses, occupied by poor Tamil immigrants, outside the main village. He gave them a room to serve as their temple, attends their festivals and is photographed among them, enjoys their company, and is pointed out as an example of a good landlord. This case is unusual: most landlords are concerned with the prestige rather than the obligations of landowning.

The same ideal is shared to some extent by tenants, and especially by those who belong to old village families. It serves to point out the deficiencies of present landlords, to give an edge of moral indignation to complaints to or about landlords, and perhaps to put moral pressure on landlords who would otherwise be harsh or negligent. When tenants criticize a landlord for falling short of this ideal, they see the situation not as one of necessary conflict between classes, but as a descent from the golden age of village unity.

Creditors and debtors

Most Garud3apura people who borrow money appear to do so within the village, from Marwari (Maarvaarii) money-lenders, from individual villagers, or from chit funds.

Marwaris are North Indian immigrants, speaking Hindi, belonging to castes which mean little to South Indians, and generally Jains by religion. They are known as money-lenders and financiers throughout India, and the name 'Marwari' has become almost a synonym for usurer. Many of them have settled in Bangalore: two of them on the edge of Garud3apura, where one has a pawnshop and the other a cycle hire shop. They take little or no part in the village's social and religious life.

Marwaris are regarded with intense suspicion and hostility but are often used, because the will lend money even without security, a thing no one else will do unless he knows the borrower very well. Not only the poor, but landlords belonging to some old families, have recourse to them. They are said to have their own effective ways of recovering bad debts,

and to have cheated simple-minded villagers, including one landlord, into signing away their property. Their rates of interest are said to be exorbitant: often as high as 12 per cent a month, though the borrower signs a promissory note for a much larger amount than he receives, so that the interest appears on paper to be not more than the legal maximum of 3 per cent a month. It is not possible to check these figures, or to get any reliable information about the amount of debt or rates of interest. The villagers' relations with the Marwaris is seen as one of naked economic conflict: they do not belong to the village's moral community, and moral condemnation is not expected to make any impression on them.

Villagers may borrow from other villagers, usually shopkeepers, landlords or neighbours. In theory the lower the interest the more 'respect', or status, the lender acquires. It is part of the ideal behaviour of the 'big man' (landlord &c) that he lends money at low interest or without interest. Most interest rates are high, though not as high as those the Marwaris are said to demand.

Shopkeepers sometimes give cash loans, or more often goods on credit, to workers who are paid monthly, and send agents to collect the debt - sometimes with threats of violence - at the end of the month. This is seen as an economic arrangement involving the borrower in outward forms of deference or respect which deceive no one. While the debt is outstanding the lender may consider that he has a moral claim to other services by the debtor, for instance a vote for the right candidate at elections: but this pressure now seems likely to produce a result opposite to the one intended by the creditor, when the debtor is alone in the polling booth.

The third way to borrow money is through a chit fund, a form of rotating credit association which is common in South India and has spread to the North. There are various possible arrangements, but the most common one is this. The organizer recruits a number of members, who undertake to contribute a fixed sum every month for as many months as the fund has members, plus one. The organizer keeps the first month's subscriptions for himself, as his commission, After this the members meet every month, pay their subscriptions, and auction the 'chit' to the member who is willing to forgo the greatest amount as interest. This amount is divided among the other members. No one may

take the chit more than once; and after he has taken it he is morally obliged to go on paying monthly subscription until every other member has taken the chit. If he fails to pay, the organizer must make good the unpaid subscriptions.

Those who need money urgently, particularly in the early months of the fund, have to offer a high rate of interest to get the chit. It is said that unscrupulous members who do not want the chit sometimes bid up the interest when they know another member needs it, though I doubt whether this happens often. A member who can wait until the final months for his turn makes a profit. If no one bids for the chit, it is distributed in turn to each member who has not taken it, by agreement, each member paying a minimum interest of perhaps 1 per cent; this must happen in the last month, when only one member is entitled to the chit. The fund is then dissolved, unless its members agree to form a new one.

The advantage of the system is that the rate of interest is self-regulating, depending on the demand for money in each month. In hard times the rate is high, but not as high as that charged by private lenders. In another simple form of savings club, each month's subscriptions are distributed to one member by lot, to enable him or her to buy a new pair of trousers or a sari, until each member has had a turn.

Chit funds are often organized by women, especially milkwomen, or by shopkeepers. One is organized among Tigal3as, the only caste group with a corporate organization in the village, for the support of the caste goddess' temple: in this fund the interest is not distributed to members but is used for temple expenses and for the decoration of the goddess' image in the yearly procession of the village gods.

The success of chit funds depends both on social sanctions and on internal moral pressures against defaulting on payments. Sometimes a man who takes a chit is asked to sign a promissory note, but if he is a man of good reputation this is not insisted on; and though defaulters are sometimes threatened with legal action, to my knowledge no one has been prosecuted for non-payment. It would be hard to carry out this threat, because none of the chit funds in Garud3apura is licensed under

the Companies and Banking Act: the procedure for getting a license is long and difficult. Other forms of pressure can be used against a defaulter if he is an outsider with no powerful friends in the village; but it is harder to do anything about dishonest organizers of chit funds, and a few have embezzled the money entrusted to them. Organizers who have done this have continued to live in the village after spending the money. This is considered disgraceful, but nothing can be done about it if the organizer is well connected with old village families. Moreover, most organizers are women, and cannot be threatened with physical violence as a man may be.

Chit funds are only open to those who can afford the monthly subscription (usually Rs 10 or 20); some borrow from friends or neighbours to keep up subscriptions to a fund they have once been persuaded to join, for a member who fails to keep up his subscriptions before he has taken the chit loses all the subscriptions he has already paid.

The answers to a question on debt, in my sample survey, are unreliable because people are understandably reluctant to give an investigator full information on such a delicate subject: nor did I want to press them. 45 per cent of households admitted they were in debt, for a mean amount of Rs 739. This is certainly an underestimate; for while at least 41 per cent of all households spend more than their income - and the list of items for which I obtained monthly expenditures was not a complete list of everything they bought - only 54 per cent of the households obviously living beyond their income admitted that they were in debt. Others said that they make temporary adjustments, that neighbours and relatives help them out &c. This was often true, but these expedients could not possibly have made up the large deficits, particularly when the neighbours seemed equally poor. The survey was made at a time when food prices were rising rapidly: the more poorly paid labourers had begun to borrow desperately from any available source, at any rate of interest, for current consumption, to pay off the interest on other debts, or to keep up chit fund subscriptions. For some the only solution was to leave the village suddenly, leaving unpaid debts behind them.

Table 15 gives an impression of the amount of debt borne by households at different income levels. I have arranged households in ranges,

according to income per consumer. It is clear that the poorest families (those with a consumer income of under Rs 24 a month) find it hard to get credit at all, and are often forced to exist within their incomes. Those slightly less poor (with consumer incomes of Rs 25-44 and 45-64) have the greatest burden, since they are just solvent enough to get credit; the debts they admit to often amount to 2 or 3 months' income for the family.

Table 15

Households by consumer income and debts (in rupees)

monthly income per consumer+ in household	mean debt per consumer	percentage of households in each range of income per consumer which are in debt	mean debt per household
5-24	44	39	512
25-44	86	60	241
45-64	152	53	1158
65-84	79	25	1350
85-104	33	67	1125
105-124++	0	0	0
125-144++	0	0	0
over 144++	16	25	300
total	77	45	739

Sample: 123 households, 682 persons, 525.7 'consumers'

\+ A consumer, as defined earlier, is an adult. A child aged 6-15 counts as 0.6 consumer; aged 1-5, as 0.3; aged under 1, as 0.1.

++ The samples in these ranges were small.

Employers and employees within the village

Here I describe only those who live in the village and are employed by other villagers, either inside the village (e.g. as servants) or elsewhere (e.g. on building sites). There are not very many of them, and the sample survey does not give an accurate idea of their number. Generally the relation of employer and employee belongs to the wider system of economic relations: the two groups do not behave as classes within the village, except perhaps in the case of labourers working for Garud3apura contractors.

In the first place there are agricultural share-croppers, growing grapes, vegetables, ragi or rice, who could be regarded as employees. Most of them belong to the Tigal3a caste, whose traditional occupations are agricultural labour and gardening. A few men also work as agricultural labourers, but most of these are casual workers who take any work they can get inside or outside the village: road mending, market portering &c.

Several families, generally of Tigal3as, thread flowers on to garlands, which are sold for religious use: most are offered to family deities in daily worship, and then worn by the women of the family in their hair. Garland making is a full time occupation for only a few families, though in some cases the women and children do the work at home while the men, who have other jobs in the daytime, help them in the evenings. The flowers are sometimes grown in the village, or more often bought at a large market in the city in the morning, brought to the village by bus, threaded in the evening, and sold as garlands in the market next morning. Most garland-making families work on their own account; a few buy the flowers and sell the garlands, but give out some of the work to other households.

Milk producers are normally self-employed and own their own cows. Many of them are women, in families where the men work outside the village.

A few households employ resident servants. In the older village families servants are paid very little, and are treated rather as poor relations. Most Garud3apura people who work as servants work outside the village, in middle class suburbs such as Williams Town.

There are a few small businesses inside the village: three woodworking yards, all run by outsiders but employing mainly Garud3apura men, which make packing crates from old pieces of timber for the nearly cigarette factory, and sell the scraps of wood as cheap firewood to long queues of

women every evening. Near the centre of the village there is a firewood yard, employing four labourers and run by a Garud3apura man.

The village has many small shops, a few of which employ assistants: most, however, are run by the owners with the help of their families. One large general store employs four men; the owner himself is seldom there. Altogether there are sixteen general stores (grocers), four tailors, four shops which hire bicycles out by the hour, two laundries, two electric flour mills, two firewood shops, two barber shops and one café, with a boarding house for bachelor workers attached to it. Several people, mostly women, sell vegetables while sitting in the street, or idlis (rice cakes) and other hot snacks at the doors of their houses.

Since the crate-makers are outsiders, their employees are in the position of other Garud3apura men who work outside the village. Most other businesses in the village are small family concerns, employing permanent or casual workers whom their employer knows well and who are often his relatives, especially in the case of garland makers and small shop-keepers.

The prosperity of several old families began with building contract work. There are now fewer opportunities for small contractors who cannot compete with the large firms in the city. Some Garud3apura contractors have gone out of business, or limit themselves to small building contracts and repairs, for which they employ labourers from time to time. There are, however, two men who are able to undertake larger contracts, in one case to build a cinema in the city. These men employ skilled masons and a large number of casual labourers, who go from one building site to another looking for work.

Masons are often Garud3apura men. They are skilled, comparatively well paid, and sometimes belong to old village families. One of the two largest contractors lives in a joint household with his brother, a mason who works for him and has great political influence in the village - not so much because of the brother's business as because of the mason's own long devotion to Gandhian ideals. Generally the relation between masons and their employers seems to be a continuing one, marked by respect on both sides. In any case, skilled masons are not easy to find.

There are usually, however, any number of casual labourers to be had. Most are immigrant Tamils, often belonging to the 'low' caste of Vodd3as, Though Garud3apura contractors often employ Garud3apura men they know in preference to outsiders, they have no obligation to support the poor of their own village by offering them work. Yet because these contractors do employ many villagers, they can use their influence - particularly when the employment they offer is casual - to get support then they need it, especially open support - marching in procession, shouting slogans &c - for the contractor's candidate at election time. Yet there is evidence that the vote itself is harder to control, now that labourers have more confidence in the secrecy of the ballot and a stronger idea of their political interest as a class (see chapter 7).

Education

Education is both a consequence and a cause of high class position, which is one component of status within the village. Education is also an important component of status in itself, for this society values learning both for the practical economic advantages it offers and for its own sake. However, education counts for much more when it is translated into a good job and a high income.

The teacher is traditionally a guru, whose authority should be unquestioned and who, according to some, ought to be honoured even before God and one's own parents. Yet the general attitude towards teachers who are not one's own, especially to those who live in the village, is ambiguous: teaching is a respectable profession, yet teachers are fairly poor - better paid than casual labourers but not as well as semi-skilled, or even unskilled, factory workers. The result is that the teaching profession (apart from well-paid teachers at English-style 'public schools', none of whom live in Garud3apura) is a mixture of a few dedicated idealists and a mass of mediocrities who can find no other work; who make ends meet by pressing their pupils' parents to send the children to them for tuition after school hours, or by taking bribes to promote children or to get them through examinations; and who in any case are often looking out for a better job. Though teachers are respected in principle, in practice few of them are, because of their poverty and their alleged frequent dishonesty.

The first school for Garud3apura children appears to have been run in the late nineteenth century by a Brahman village accountant, whose family no longer lives in the village. He was paid in grain, at harvest time, to teach a few boys in a choultry, a building set aside for religiour purposes by the leading family of the village. Having no slates, the boys learnt to write Kannada letters in the dust with their fingers; they recited the epics from memory in archaic Kannada; and did simple arithmetic (using 'western' numerals, not the old Kannada numerals recently disinterred by Kannada enthusiasts). The school seems to have been a simple example of the kind of school which the Collector of Bellary described in his report for 1823:

> The whole of the books, however, in the Teloogoo and Carnataca schools ... whether they treat of religion, amusement or the principles of the language, are in verse and in a dialect quite distinct from that of conversation and business. The natives, therefore, read these (to them unintelligible) books to acquire the power of reading letters in the common dialect of business; but the poetical is quite different from the prose dialect which they speak and write. (Campbell 1823)

In Bangalore, however, the common dialect of most business - apart from some contracts and revenue documents - has been English since the nineteenth century. Then, as now, knowledge of English was the most sought-after result of education, and one which opened all doors in government service, private employment, and business. Around the end of the century church schools were built on the outskirts of Bangalore, between 1 and 2 km from Garud3apura, and a few of the richer farmers and contractors sent their sons to them. The first boy to be educated in English, as distinct from merely learning English, appears to have been the youngest son of the village's richest landlord, who himself served as a court bailiff under the British. The son passed his Intermediate Examination and the Pleader's Examination, a qualification for advocates in the lower courts. He never practised the law, but became a building contractor; he is now very old, the only survivor of four brothers. His career is typical of many who came after him: the younger brothers in joint household were for a long time, and sometimes still are, the first to get a good education, while the eldest

brother left school early to get practical experience in managing the family land or business, in order to take it over when the father died or retired.

As more Garud3apura men became contractors or small businessmen, they sent their sons - though not yet their daughters - to school, to be educated in Kannada, Tamil or English. A municipal elementary school for boys, teaching both in Kannada and in Tamil, was founded in Williams Town, a few hundred yards from the village, in 1941; and a girls' school a few years later, though few Garud3apura girls were sent to it until the 1940s.

Apart from these official schools, there were several night schools for poor children organized by voluntary effort in the neighbourhood of Garud3apura. The first schools for Untouchables in Bangalore were founded by a rich businessman, influenced by the Non-Brahman movement, who bought the Kaayamgutta rights over Garud3apura and several other villages. By 1920 the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India was running a night school for labourers working in the cigarette factory near the village; and a charity night school for the village children existed for a time in a private temple, which belongs to a family of the Devanga or Weaver caste living in the city. This may have been the school mentioned in an official report for 1928, which refers to :

> thetransfer of the unaided night school at Garud3apura to the aided school list.

In spite of this aid, the school does not seem to have survived very long. A more ambitious and successful night school was founded by a group of young men in 1950, and gave free coaching to the village children until 1957; I describe the history and organization of this school, which was of crucial important to the village's recent development, in chapter 5.

At one time the state government organized adult education classes for the women of the village, and several middle-aged women learnt to read for the first time. These classes were stopped as an economy measure at the time of the Chinese attack on India.

The village now has several 'night schools', which are really supervised homework classes run for private profit. Each of the two women who taught the state adult education classes has such a school in her house. Others

are taught by a policeman's wife, and by a fairly poor Anglo-Indian family whose only qualification is that their first language is English, which many villagers want their children to learn while as young as possible. Only one is run as a charity: the school for Harijan children, in a shed which serves as a temple for the Corporation Sweepers' Lines. By day, of course, most Harijan children go to Corporation schools with other children.

Education is now compulsory in Bangalore, between the ages of 5 years 10 months and 14 years; but the law is not strictly enforced, in spite of yearly 'educational censuses', when teachers at Corporation schools are supposed to visit every house and to make lists of children of school age or approaching school age. In my sample of 135 Garud3apura children aged 6-13, only 72 per cent (75 per cent of the boys and 68 per cent of the girls) were said to be at school. Many children are kept from school, or taken away early, to help with small family businesses: making garlands, keeping shops &c.

The Corporation's elementary schools are divided into sections taught in Kannada and in Tamil: both sections of the boys' school use the same classrooms in shifts, beginning at 7.30 a.m. The boys are taught arithmetic, 'social studies' (history, geography and civics), general science, English from Standard V (i.e. from the age of 9 or 10) and Hindi from Standard VI (age 10-11). Each class contains 40 to 50 boys. Ten of the fourteen teachers hold Senior School Leaving Certificates. There are no fees, but a Betterment and Sports Committee, on which several Garud3apura men serve, makes a charge of Rs 3.50 for sports. The standard of teaching is very low compared to mission schools or many private schools, though certainly higher than in most rural village schools.

At 14 some of the boys, and a few girls, go on to High Schools. The nearest Corporation High School, some 2 km from the village, has only a few boys from Garud3apura. It has an English-medium and a Kannada section: all boys must take English and Hindi, with Tamil as an optional subject. The small fee is waived for almost all the boys, since their fathers' incomes are less than a certain amount. This rule is intended to replace an earlier rule, by which the members of 'Backward Classes' in Mysore State were entitled to remission of fees and preference in admission to government schools or colleges. The list of 'Backward Classes' included

not only Harijans but most of the other castes in the state except Brahmans and Christians, covering altogether some two thirds of the state's population. This rule was withdrawn when the Supreme Court of India declared it to be a fraud on the Constitution, but admission to many schools and colleges in Mysore is still governed by it unofficially.

Those who can afford to send their children to private schools, or who get scholarships, generally do so. Apart from the Hindu high school mentioned above, most of these schools are run by Catholic orders or by the Church of South India, a union of Anglicans, Methodists and other Protestant groups with some Syrian Christians. A Catholic school, which several Garud3apura boys attend, recently opened an extension on the edge of the village. There is a wide range of other church schools, charging different fees and with very different standards: some teach in English, others in Kannada or Tamil, but all teach English as a language to all pupils.

High schools prepare their pupils for the Senior School Leaving Certificate (SSLC), which is taken around the age of 16 and is an essential qualification for college entrance, office jobs and most skilled factory work. Of the sample of Garud3apura people over 17 years old, only 12 per cent (19 percent of the men and 4 per cent of the women) have SSLC; the figure for the population aged 18 to 27 alone is 15 per cent (24 per cent of the men and 8 per cent of the women).

For a man with SSLC who fails to get into a college, there are government Industrial Training Institutes, giving an eighteen-month course in technical subjects (especially mechanical and electrical engineering) followed by six months' practical work; factory apprenticeships and training schemes, particularly in factories run by the central government; and full or part time courses in private institutes which prepare for diplomas in mechanical, electrical or automobile engineering, textile technology, shorthand-typing &c. If everything else fails he may become a clerk or a school-teacher, these being generally the worst paid and least sought after jobs in which some education is useful.

Only a few go to universities; 1 or 2 per cent of the village's total population have passed the Intermediate Examination, and there are perhaps a dozen graduates, though several graduates from Garud3apura have moved away, often to work outside Bangalore. The course which is

most sought after and has the highest prestige is medicine: incidentally one of the few careers which is generally regarded as suitable for women. A few men study arts subjects or law; the greatest number take science or engineering, with an eye to the opportunities in Bangalore's industrial economy.

Baldwin wrote, in a study of Bangalore and other South Indian factories as they were in 1952 :

> The use of university graduates in training courses for skilled manual jobs reflects a common habit of many modern large-scale industries in India - hire promising young men who know some English and give them vocational training in the plant. The use of such people (most of whom must have middle-class backgrounds) for skilled manual jobs suggests that there are many educated young men who do not mind 'working with their hands'. It also suggests that as large-scale industrialization proceeds, higher education of some kind (vocational or arts) is a very important qualification for industrial employment, particularly for skilled jobs in larger-scale plants. (Baldwin 1959 159)

Since this was written the demand for skilled labour has increased, and factories take for their training schemes young men who are no longer always from 'middle-class backgrounds' - a term that is increasingly hard to define in industrial India - but if possible with SSLC, which means that they know English.+

+ Cf an advertisement placed in the Bangalore 'Sunday Standard' of 4 July 1965 by MICO (Motor Industries Co) :

> Wanted: young men in the age group of 23 to 28 years with minimum educational qualification of SSLC Passed/Failed, belonging to middle class families and domiciled in Bangalore, for appointment as semi-skilled Operators.

Applicants were asked for 'details regarding age, qualification, marital status, family background in brief and experience'.

Table 12 showed that a quarter of the village's population aged 13 or over are literate in English, and among young men the proportion is much higher. Moveover their English is often good: skilled factory workers speak the Indian variety of English with ease and confidence, often using it among themselves as a lingua franca.

Few Garud3apura people seem ashamed of manual work as such. Most belong to castes traditionally composed of peasants or craftsmen. To come of good peasant stock is a source of pride: businessmen and office workers emphasize that their families rose from humble origins, and their sons or younger brothers do not hesitate to work in factories. As Baldwin wrote, describing the growth of the Hindustan Aircraft factory in Bangalore :

> The dramatic wartime growth saw many professional, middle-class and higher caste people taking up manual jobs at the plant - a development which opened many people's eyes (including many Indian eyes) to the way traditional attitudes and rigidities can fall before attractive job opportunities and wages. (Ibid 136)

Skilled manual work in particular is highly regarded, but only partly because of the good pay and prospects. It is evidence of education: and young men, who are especially conscious of their country's industrial development, speak with pride and excitement of the modern equipment they handle and the goods they produce.

Education, then, is valued as a means to respectable and well-paid employment; because of a traditional respect for learning, now diffused among most castes and classes; and, particularly among young men, because of intellectual curiosity and the excitement of learning about technology, science, literature and foreign countries. Tables 16 and 17 show that education is closely but not rigidly correlated with income and with 'socio-economic' status. Education itself is a principle of grouping only to the extent that the educated elite of each generation act together; and this means in practice only the 'students', the educated young men of the present emerging age group.

Table 16

Workers, by education and principal income

Education	per cent of sample	Median principal income (Rs/month)
illiterate	39	40
primary (at least Standard I) or simply literate	9	60
middle school (at least Standard V)	29	100
high school (at least Standard IX)	8	120
SSLC (Senior School Leaving Certificate)	17	173
Intermediate or higher examination	3	400

Sample: 186 workers (men and women); includes only workers whose income and education are known.

Table 17

Workers, by education and 'socio-economic group'+

'Socio-economic group'	standards of education, as a percentage of each group					
	Illit-erate	Primary/ literate	Middle school	High school	SSLC	Inter or above
I Higher professional and managerial workers and government officials+	0	0	57	0	29	14
II Lower professional and managerial workers and government officials	8	3	31	17	36	6
III Higher grade manual workers	24	13	32	12	16	3
IV Lower grade manual workers	73	5	16	0	5	0
V Domestic and other service workers, not elsewhere classified	61	21	15	3	0	0
VI Farmers and graziers++	63	0	25	0	13	0
VII Unidentifiable occupations	40	0	40	0	20	0

Total sample: 201 workers (men and women); includes only workers whose education is known.

+ As defined in the 'Mysore population study' (United Nations 1961); see footnote to Table 7, especially on the misleading nature of Group I.

++ Very small sample (8 people) of whom one has SSLC.

Age

It is useful to distinguish two kinds of relations between age groups: cyclical and historic. In the first kind of relation, age groups stand in a fixed sequence through which everyone may pass. In the second each age group is unique, the product of its time.

Difference in age- not only between generations but between siblings - is a fundamental distinction in South Indian kinship and social life generally, to a degree which is probably unusual even among traditional societies. Age constitutes a prima facie claim to respect in any relation, cutting across the claims of other statuses or personal qualities. The categories of 'friend' and (elder or younger) 'brother' appear to be incompatible in principle, though not necessarily in practice. This respect tends to limit a person's friendships to his close contemporaries. In any gathering a younger man should allow an older man to speak first, and should defer to the older man's opinions: the strain this imposes is broken when the gathering sorts itself out into smaller groups of contemporaries who can talk and joke freely. All social life shows clearly a polarity of what Piaget calls unilateral respect, compelled by age and status, and mutual respect between equals:

> there can be no doubt that cooperation and social constraint deserve to be far more sharply contrasted than they usually are, the latter being perhaps nothing more than the pressure of one generation upon the other, whereas the former constitutes the deepest and most important social relation that can go to the development of the norms of reason. (Piaget 1932 100)

In South Indian society, with its extreme emphasis on age, a 'generation' is too large a term to describe the age groups which press upon one another. If the pressure of each narrowly-bounded age group upon its juniors is so generally felt, the reaction against it, into mutual respect and equality, has a correspondingly greater charge of emotion; and, as I shall show, it suggests a direction of movement when the balance between age groups is upset.

In Garud3apura the balance is upset by the sheer numerical prepond-erence of the young, quite apart from their better education and career prospects. Half the population are under 20, two thirds under 30. The

rate of natural increase must be high, because medical and maternity services and economic conditions are good by Indian standards; and immigration by young workers continues. The very young seem to be everywhere. The ordinary or modal forms of behaviour (as distinct from social norms and ideals) are those of the young, and even middle age has a certain scarcity value. In these conditions each group of close contemporaries, among the young, forms quite a large proportion of the total population. Each set of men born within about five years of one another tends to become a self-conscious group, marked by common experience and attitudes and particularly by the circumstances of their education. Like geological strata each of three groups carries evidence of the state of the village and city at one period. As well as the traditional consciousness of a cycle of ages through which everyone will pass, there is a direct awareness of unique, historic change: economic and political change, changes in the physical environment, changes in values and behaviour - all recurrent topics of conversation.

All this is strictly true only of those with the education and/or the social position to have been actively involved in the changes. Illiterate or half-literate labourers and their families appear to be less conscious of radical change, except political changes on a wide national scale which do not affect them directly. Harijans are an exception, since their political gains have special implications for their social relations. Otherwise things get better or worse economically for the unskilled labourers, but the great transformations and movements of ideas hardly touch them, until one conjugal family after another leaves the group and enters the mobile mass of those involved in change and aware of it.

At any time it is the educated young men who set the standard. This is why an intelligent young lathe operator said there were three 'categories' (his own English) of people in Garud3apura: the 'big fellows' who are rich and old (or middle-aged); the 'young fellows' like himself; and the 'illiterates'. This distinction, which distinguishes young and old only among those with some education, fits the facts of the village society well.

The educated young men - known as 'students' although most of them work in factories or offices - are very conscious of their special posttion as the ones who now set the tone, who rebel against and conform to their

elders' ideas to just the right degree, without wishing to break the bonds of family and village solidarity. Caste many of these would dispense with, at least in principle. To marry out of caste is a romantic ideal, which few of them manage to put into practice: to find a girl, to bring her to the point of marriage and, usually, to overcome both families' opposition is impossible for most of them. The astonishing thing is that a few manage to do it.

The present (1964-5) group of 'students' is composed largely of those who studied in the voluntary night school between 1950 and 1957, and this has marked them. They are strongly influenced by the ideals of 'social service' which their teachers stuck to against opposition from those who were then the elders of the village, and by the mixture of Hindu traditionalism and equalitarian ideas which inspired the teachers. The 'students' are capable of acting together as a group, even against opposition from their elders, and in politics they are a force to be reckoned with (see chapter 7) for the part they played in an election campaign.

The former teachers in the night school, men in their early thirties, are among the most active men in the village, especially in religious associations and in politics. Their former pupils still tend to treat them with the respect due to a master; and some of the ex-teachers, with their equalitarian ideology, find it embarassing to be cut off, by differences in age and status, from men only a little younger than themselves. Some of them, because of their family connexions and their own achievements, will succeed the present 'big men' of the village in time.

The educated men who are a little older form a much smaller group: they are among the 'big men' of the village, but the company of the less educated majority of the 'big'men' is perhaps less congenial to them than that of younger men, from whom they are cut off by the age barrier. The lawyer, a man of some culture and broadly educated, is strongly attached to the village and its families but complains that many of his friends are no longer there. A few professional men of his generation have moved away, either from choice or because they were posted to other towns. The other 'big men' of the village have some education, but generally not very much: they are willing to give their more educated sons a free rein,

within limits. Provided the forms of respect to age are kept up, everyone recognizes the realities of irreversible change; and the greater access which the young have to other kinds of respected status - the indices of high class position in the wider society - erodes the substance of unilateral respect between generations.

Sex

This is not so much a principle of grouping as a fundamental dichotomy taken for granted in most social relations. I deal later (chapter 4) with the proper relations between the sexes in the family. Yet sex is partly or wholly irrelevant to political, legal, economic and professional relations.

Politically and legally women have almost all rights, both in principle and, to an increasing extent, in practice. In politics and the professions a woman has perhaps a better chance of rising to the highest posts than in England or the United States. Most remaining vestiges of legal discrimination have been taken away by the various Acts of Parliament which grew out of the Hindu Code Bill introduced after Independence. These Acts protected a married woman's right to property, gave women the right to inherit automatically (though still not on the same terms as men) and allowed divorce by consent. The MLA, or Member of the (state) Legislative Assembly, for the constituency in which Garud3apura lies, is a woman, and a minister in this rather conservative state government. Established families of the village are happy to see an educated daughter enter one of the liberal professions, particularly medicine (though perhaps not nursing), and a woman doctor makes a good match for an educated son. A doctor of either sex participates in the wider society, and has immense prestige.

For relations within the village, and for those whose horizons are mainly limited to the village, the situation is different. Poor women work as labourers because they have no alternative: at every building site underfed and exhausted women carry baskets of bricks or cement while their babies lie wrapped in cloth on the ground. In quarries outside Bangalore whole colonies of men, women and children, living in rows of makeshift huts, spend their days breaking granite boulders with hammers into stones for road-building, under the sun. Women who do this are poor and of low caste, for road-building and navvy work are regarded as the traditional occupations of their castes. No women of higher castes, or

with any alternative better than prostitution, would do such work. The women of Sweeper (Harijan) families also work as sweepers, generally employed by the Corporation but making a little extra money, against the regulations, by sweeping out courtyards, stacking cowdung &c; the work is dirty, but lighter than building or stone-breaking.

Other women work as domestic servants. Only a few houses in Garud3apura have resident servants, and some which could afford them prefer not to have them. There is a greater demand for servants in the middle class suburb of Williams Town, both for full-time resident servants and for women who come in for a few hours every day. The pay is very low - usually much less than a woman labourer gets - but the conditions are better, the work less despised, and food is often given free. About half the women workers in the village (14 out of 30 in my sample) are servants.

Certain jobs are traditionally open to both sexes, but are traditionally regarded as women's work: keeping cows and selling milk, either from door to door or, in Garud3apura, to the dairy which sends a van to the village every evening; keeping chickens and selling the eggs; or making and selling garlands. These jobs are usually, though not always, subsidiary sources of income, though it is hard to say how much: the profit to be derived from keeping cows - the most important of these activities - varies widely according to the care one takes of the beasts and the arrangements the family can make for grazing. Moreover, keeping cows to provide milk for one's family has a certain prestige value, related to the myth of peasant life. Some families which keep cows claim that they do so only from affection for the cows themselves and lose money, or break even only from the sale of calves.

A few women work as messengers in offices, but such work is hard to get unless one has influential friends. A few others have clerical or secretarial jobs, or keep shops. Many women want to work in factories, but few can, because the demand for women in factories has decreased as automatic machinery has been installed: this requires shift work to be economic, and Indian law forbids women to work on night shifts. The standard of education required in factories is also much higher than it was: the uneducated women who received compensation for resigning from

the cigarette factory a few years ago - when all but two agreed to resign - found it very difficult, if not impossible, to get another job. Some women work for low wages, often as casual or 'temporary' workers, in factories making cosmetics, jam and fruit squashes. There is, however, a demand for women educated to a modest level for semi-skilled small work in factories: assembling watches, wiring telephone equipment &c.

Other women work as teachers, and this is perhaps less looked down on, in practice, in a woman than in a man. Educated women do this kind of work when they have to support families, and it is considered respectable. A few liberal-minded husbands without children allow their wives to work. Most respectable husbands are strongly against their own wives' working, though the money would be useful and the woman herself wants to get out of the house. Yet the same husbands have great respect for a woman doctor, lawyer and politician, and would apparently have no objection to women of their own families taking up such professions. One kind of norms regulate a woman's behaviour on the village scale; when she moves into the wider society - as she often does with higher education - these norms no longer apply to her.

If women do only housework or the traditional semi-agricultural jobs, this does not mean that all important family decisions are out of their hands. Many husbands give their pay to their wives, particularly when they are poor or given to drinking, and must ask their wives for money whenever they want any: though in theory a wife cannot refuse her husband money, she can nag effectively anough to make him content with much less. A husband who does not allow his wife to work often insists on doing most of the shopping himself, so that every evening she has to give him detailed instructions about what to buy, how much to offer and where to go, before the husband cycles off obediently to the market with a plastic bag swinging from his handlebars. In matters of marriage and the education of children, wives often appear to have the last word. Some husbands tell their wives how to vote; some wives tell their husbands; and some couples vote for different candidates. Garud3apura women do not take an active part in political meetings, though they may sit and listen to the speakers. Women canvass other women for votes, but they do not, or do not often, sit on the ad hoc committees which organize election campaigns. Women read newspapers and magazines which their husbands bring home to them, but no

woman goes to the free Corporation Reading Room in the village. Women do not often belong to clubs or associations, as they do in other parts of Bangalore. If they belong to trade unions they take no part in union activities, though men from Garud3apura took part in a demonstration in support of a woman trade union secretary dismissed from her job by the state government.

Most women observe the rules against contact and eating with other castes more strictly than men do. Often they will eat only with their own caste, or only with relatives, though they visit friends of any caste, except Harijans or 'low' castes, to talk in the afternoons. A few women are strong enough, with the support of their husbands but against the opposition of their relatives, to ignore caste rules entirely. In principle women should not eat with men, and not until the men have finished their meal: in practice they may eat in the next room, making conversation with the man through an open door, and occasionally the rule is disregarded altogether.

Respectable husbands say a woman should never leave the house except with a husband or brother; yet the queues outside local cinemas are full of women, including many from Garud3apura, who go to the 1.30 show in twos or threes after finishing their morning's housework.

A woman who observes all the rules of propriety is bound very closely; yet the women of Garud3apura are relatively independent-minded, and within the limits set by their own conception of proper behaviour they can get away with a good deal. If a girl with some education breaks entirely with her family, it is hard but possible for her to make a living; this happens very rarely; while a poor woman of low caste, if she is in good health, has much more freedom.

Work

Occupation is one of the chief components of status in the village, both because certain kinds of work have prestige in themselves and because of the difference in rewards and in relations to property, a class difference in Weber's sense. I have described the position of those who live in the village and work there, or work for other villagers, and of the very few who live elsewhere but work in Garud3apura (in workshops making crates, in vineyards or in shops). These cases are not typical. Most workers are directly involved in the city economy, whether

as factory workers, labourers, contractors, wholesalers, office workers or domestic servants, and their employment has little or nothing to do with village membership. Only the cigarette factory has a concentration of workers from Garud3apura simply because of its nearness to the village. They make up 6 per cent of Garud3apura's workers: thirty years ago the proportion would have been much higher, because less of the area round the factory was built up, because this was Garud3apura people's first introduction to factory work, and because the factory employed many of the village's women as well as the men.

Women domestic servants who come home to Garud3apura at night generally work near the village. Other workers may be employed anywhere in the city. They go to work by bicycle; by train, from the station near the village; by the city buses; or by factory buses, which are faster, better and more numerous.

Men often find their closest friends among other Garud3apura men who work with them. Within limits (i.e. generally though not always provided that one friend is not a Harijan and the other of higher caste) caste does not matter here: at work it is said not to count at all, and this appears to be generally true as far as formal restrictions on contact are concerned. Men who refuse to eat with a Harijan in the village say that these rules do not apply at work or in 'public places', i.e. outside the village. Hardly anyone will object to working alongside a man of any caste, even a Harijan: no one but a Brahman, and not necessarily a Brahman, will object to eating with Harijans in factory canteens or in restaurants.

High castes generally have the better jobs, partly because of their better education and partly because influential caste-men get them jobs. Yet all factories and government offices employ Harijans: government factories and offices reserve a proportion of jobs for them, according to the Constitution; and the special scholarships reserved places in schools and colleges fit a limited number of Harijans for jobs open to all castes, though the long educational backwardness of Harijans, together with the inadequacy of government schools generally, mean that in Mysore, at least, there is still a wide gap between the intention and the results. The one career which for a long time has been open not only to all talents but to all castes has been in the armed forces. An

educated Harijan family often has a soldier, sometimes an officer, in its family history. The one educated and well-off Harijan in the village is a retired army officer: his two sons are both educated and work in government offices. One of them runs a motor cycle, which is something of a status symbol.

Though caste influence - including that of well connected Harijans - is a means of finding jobs, few factories or offices appear to have a large concentration of one caste: even the old Brahman monopoly of accounting work seems to have been broken. More commonly there is a rough quota for each caste, a practice which was systematized in Mysore government service at one time. It has had to be camouflaged since the Supreme Court struck down as unconstitutional the state government's concessions to 'Backward Classes' and its extremely broad definition of backwardness.

Trade union membership is not very important within the village, nor do the two union officers who live in Garud3apura enjoy much prestige there. Men who work together are often friends, but the men working in a particular establishment seldom act together as a group. Some friendships between workers in different factories were broken when, for several years, different factories had different weekly days off (almost all work a six-day week). This staggering of days off, introduced because of a shortage of electric power, ended during the period of my fieldwork, when a new hydro-electric scheme came into operation and all factories went back to Sunday holidays. Shift working is also recognized as something which can disrupt friendships: differences in shifts and days off were among the main reasons for the decline of the Garud3apura United Football Club.

Though co-workers do not act as groups, it is possible to divide the village's workers into three broad categories - unskilled labourers, skilled men and office workers, merchants and contractors - which correspond roughly to the three categories of men described above. Unskilled labourers generally are illiterate or poorly educated, and can expect to continue in the same kind of work all their lives. Office workers, and more especially skilled factory workers, are mostly young: they are, or were not long ago, among the 'students'. Merchants and contractors are the parents or grandparents of those skilled men and

office workers who belong to old village families: they are the 'big men' of the village. This useful division takes account of (economic) class, occupation, age or generation, education, and membership of an old or an immigrant family. It cuts across not only caste, but membership of the same family.

Parties and factions

Parties are concerned with power, and the sources of the most important kinds of power are now outside the village. Thus the division of the village into parties and factions largely reflects the division of political parties and pressure groups outside, and responds quickly to changes in balances of power and to ideological movements on larger scales.

Party politics first came to Garud3apura with the Congress movement and the agitation for Independence. At this time Garud3apura, as a part of Bangalore Cantonment, was administered by the British Resident. There was also a Board of Municipal Commissioners, elected on a restricted suffrage to represent Hindus, Muslims, Indian Christians and Europeans (including Anglo-Indians) separately, with very limited powers. The Resident's Reports for 1921-2 refer to the beginning of the Khilafat agitation among Muslims, Gandhi's first visit to Bangalore, and a 'hartal' (closing of shops &c in protest) against the Prince of Wales' visit, when six men were arrested. These events seem to have had little effect on Garud3apura, which was outside the city physically though not politically, and was under the de facto rule of a single pro-British family of brothers. In 1938 a strike at the cigarette factory led to a riot, and a watchman was killed. This seems to have been a labour dispute not a political one, and I do not know to what extent Garud3apura men were involved. During and immediately after the war a few young Garud3apura men were drawn into the Congress movement's 'Quit India' agitation. Their elders disapproved strongly, and kept up their disapproval of Congress activities even after India became independent, because the Congress Party (as it then became) was identified not only with Independence but with social reform. Some of them opposed the opening of the voluntary night school in 1950, since they were afraid

that the young man who taught it were infected with Congress ideas and would spread them to the children: as in fact they did.

One man in particular - a mason living with his brother, who is a successful building contractor - dedicated himself to the Congress movement before Independence and has remained its pillar ever since, a reminder to the village of what the Congress once was. When there was rioting and shooting in Bangalore just before Independence, this man was arrested and briefly imprisoned for carrying a flag. Now he goes around the village wearing Khaadi - white homespun cotton - and a Gandhi cap, the marks of a Congressman.

In the 1950s Garud3apura people began to get experience of elections and electoral manoeuvring, as the village became more firmly embedded in the city. The first general election with universal suffrage was held in 1952. The poor, who had never voted before, smuggled out their ballot papers and sold them to the candidates' agents, who sent party workers in to deposit them in the ballot boxes by handfuls: something which the present system of voting makes virtually impossible. In early elections there was only one important party, the Congress, now transformed from a national independence movement into an ordinary political party, yet keeping some of the prestige it had acquired in the fight for Independence Opposing the Congress were various independent candidates, most of whom later attached themselves to the other parties in Bangalore. More recently professional and semi-professional politicians, belonging to nationally organized parties, have taken to contesting elections.

Then as now the politics nearest home aroused the most interest: first the elections for the City Corporation Council (uniting the old 'City' and Cantonment areas), then for the state's Legislative Assembly, and lastly for the national Parliament. The municipal division Garud3apura lies in is practically the same as the old revenue village of Garud3apura. Since the people of Garud3apura and its satellite hamlet Raamohall3i, who now make up only about a quarter of the electorate in the division, are more interested and active in politics than the inhabitants of Williams Town and other middle class suburbs in the division, they have tended to decide who should be Councillor. At one time it was a member of the village's leading family. At other times the men of Garud3apura and Raamohall3i met to decide which candidate

to support, either in the election itself or in the contest for the Congress 'ticket' or nomination, which is decided not by an open election but by a single Selection Committee drawing up a list of Congress candidates for the whole of Bangalore. A Garud3apura man who has a relative on the Selection Committee has, or is believed by intending candidates to have, an enormous influence in the village: he and his friends - none of whom are the richest men in the village, and who belong to different castes - form the core of a faction which can be expanded and mobilized at election times to work for the Congress candidate or, on occasion for another candidate.

The Congress Party continues to attract a mixture of idealists, modernizers, careerists, conservatives of old families (reconciled years ago to the party) and minority groups - Harijans, Christans and Muslims - who believe that the Congress will protect their rights in a secular state. The official Congress organization for the division, the Mandal Congress, has a large nominal membership, but lies dormant between elections, since its Committee is paralysed by apathy and personal disagreements: I describe it, and the procedure for selecting and winning support for candidates, in more detail in chapter 7.

No other party has a branch in the village, though the Paguttarrivu Manrram or 'clear thinking association', which has a branch office and reading room near the village, acts as a branch of the DMK, a party which is strongest in Madras state (see above). The DMK has a few members on the Corporation Council, all from main Tamil areas of the city, and it is one of the parties in an alliance which captured control of the Council during my fieldwork. DMK speakers are popular because of their rhetoric - which is marked by assonance, alliteration and rhythm, and is a quality much admired among Tamils - and because they represent the feelings of the many poor Tamil immigrants against what they see as a mainly Kannada speaking-establishment. Yet though the Tamils of Garud3apura may enjoy DMK meetings, few of them support the party, and very few are members.

Hardly anyone in the village belongs to another party, though the Praja Socialist Party (PSP) has a good reputation there and many people voted for its candidate - the President of the cigarette factory union -

when he stood for the Legislative Assembly. A communist candidate who contested the municipal elections got support only because he opposed the Congress; his own party was a liability to him.

Party differences are usually between individuals or between conjugal families. In some families parents and children, or even husbands and wives, vote for different candidates, though this is less common and is sometimes regarded as a shocking commentary on modern times, Related households are often on different sides: as one man said, 'If my nephew stands I will vote for him, provided he is a friend - not if he is an enemy.'

The division between language groups appears only in support for the DMK among some Tamils, and the vehement opposition to it of some of the older, non-Tamil families. A caste group in Garud3apura seldom votes as a block unless one of its members is a candidate, and not always then. A local man who is said to have got the Congress 'ticket' through the influence of a member of his own caste on the Selection Committee failed to win the support of most of his caste-men in the village. In any case it is not worth a candidate's while to campaign for the sppport of his own caste and perhaps a few connected castes, at the risk of alienating the rest of the village. The situation is very different in certain rural parts of the state, or in some areas of Bangalore, where a single caste makes up a majority or a very large proportion of the electorate.

Voluntary associations

In Garud3apura only men belong to voluntary associations. There are three kinds: those entirely outside the village; those which meet, or have a branch, near the village, and whose members form a group within the village; and those which belong to the village.

The associations outside the village to which the greatest number of Garud3apura men belong are the trade unions, of which most factory workers are members. A union normally has members from a single factory and belongs to one of three national federations with different political tendencies: the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) is closely allied with the ruling Congress party, and INTUC unions are often regarded as bosses' unions; the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) is militant and mainly communist; and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS)

supports the Praja Socialist Party (PSP). Normally only one union is 'recognized' by the management of each factory, though a union belonging to another federation may try to take away its members and win recognition in its place. The procedure for settling disputes is laid down by law, and is complicated and legalistic. Industrial Tribunals have powers of compulsory arbitration, and the procedure for calling an 'official' strike is so long that most strikes are 'unofficial' and therefore many or most of them probably are illegal. Strikes are fairly frequent, but seldom last long, because there is no strike pay and few workers have savings. They may serve a cathartic and moral purpose, as lessons in solidarity: but their economic results, in the short run, are seldom remarkable.

Since workers know that a union official needs education to understand factory and government regulations, most officials are elected from among skilled workers and clerks. Even they cannot cope with the legalistic system of negotiation, and the President or 'Leader' of a union is generally an outsider with legal training and political ambitions. Some are careerists, but most of them probably are not :

> 'Outsider' leadership is not an unmixed evil: the lawyers and politicians who perform this role stand in somewhat the same relation to the rank and file as do the international unions in the United States and the United Kingdom.+ Without their leadership, there would often be no leadership. (Baldwin 1959 330)

+ By 'international unions' Baldwin means simply large unions covering whole industries, or several industries, like the British TGWU. In the United States, though not in Britain, these may be 'international', e.g. if they extend to Canada.

Yet the system does ensure that the leadership, often with the best intentions, keeps a certain bureaucratic distance from the members, especially the unskilled and uneducated ones. Officials who work in the factory carry on union business mainly in English, which sets them apart from the uneducated workers; moreover, some officials can expect to be promoted within the factory, and can only afford to be militant within limits. These officials, in their turn, look to the outside 'Leader' for guidance: one described his union's President, an old politician, as his 'guru' in union work.

Few Garud3apura men hold union posts, and only one holds a post of any importance: Joint Secretary of a recently established INTUC (or Congress) union, which attempted to win the allegiance of workers at the cigarette factory by exploiting their grievances against the 'recognized' HMS (socialist) union. He is associated with several other unions, and is a member of the Executive Committee of the state branch of INTUC.

Strikes arouse a good deal of temporary enthusiasm; but only a few villagers with political ambitions take a detailed interest in union affairs. Union membership or office is not important for relations

within the village and confers little or no prestige there. This contrasts with the importance which status at work has for prestige in the village, and with the pride which workers at the newer factories take in their factories' achievements.

Some associations outside the village are 'communal'. Catholics belong to their own social and welfare clubs: but the caste associations for which Mysore is known, and perhaps notorious, attract little interest in Garud3apura. Their main activities are to act as pressure groups on the state level, and to run hostels for students in Bangalore: but Garud3apura politics are not conducted on caste lines, and Garud3apura students who attend colleges in Bangalore live at home. The villager who is known as a 'social worker' is the Secretary of one such caste association, and spends his evenings going through scholarship applications from poor boys of his caste. Since this is regarded as part of his social work he is respected for it, by other castes as much as by his own. Tigal3as, the one caste group in the village with its own headman and vestigial council, are very conscious of their links with other Tigal3as of Mysore state, but these links are informal and traditional in character. The two rival Tigal3a caste associations arouse no interest among the Tigal3as of Garud3apura, who have never answered invitations to send representatives to the meetings of either.

I have already described political parties, and the half-political language associations which have branches near the village and are largely composed of young Garud3apura men: the Paguttarrivu Manrram (the Tamil 'clear thinking association') and the Kannad3a Abhimaanigal3a Sangha (Kannada enthusiasts' society). The first is mainly political, being more or less a branch of the DMK party; the second is non-political in principle, though its members tend to work together to support particular election candidates or to resist what they regard as political threats to the status of the Kannada language. Both are really social clubs and reading rooms for young men, with political overtones. Another young man of the village is on the committee of a Tamil 'manrram' in the city - in this case, simply a reading room for books and periodicals, with a rule that anyone who wishes to talk

politics must go outside to do so.

The Garud3apura United Football Club no longer exists. It was founded in 1928 and was enormously popular, for Mysore state is football country and the young men of all the established village families loved football. A list of players and club officers thirty years ago includes most of the present 'big men' of the village. Others played cycle polo or wrestled on behalf of the village, and there were 'gymnasia' or wrestling pits where they practiced in the village.

The Football Club practiced in the evenings on the sports ground of a school near the village. It played in tournaments against other local teams or against British army units stationed in Bangalore. It broke up because many of its players were factory workers, and shift work and staggered weekly days off made team practice impossible; also, perhaps, because of ill-feeling between Tamil players and others, an expression of the tension which then existed between old families and immigrants. Football is still popular, but Garud3apura men play either for their factories - in some cases having got a factory job because the factory wanted a good player for its team - or in the Students' Union Football Club, a local team with several players from Garud3apura.

An important association, closely linked with the Football Club, was the Yuvakara Sangha (young men's association) which the village 'social worker' founded in 1950 to bring the young men of the village together for discussions and social work, to improve the village amenities and to act as an informal police force (see chapter 7). Though it was very important for the village's development, the association itself did not last long. The 'social worker' became headmaster of the voluntary night school, and many members of the association volunteered to teach in the school.

By far the most important associations in the village are religion, particularly the Mowna Guru Math Association, made up of devotees of a religious institution on the edge of the village. Others are confraternities which decorate the images of particular gods in yearly festivals, and groups which meet periodically to sing bhajans or hyms. I deal with these associations at length in chapters 4 and 5. They are the chief expression of the self-conscious unity of the village.

The divisions between them, and within the most important of them, reflect the chief social divisions within the village, except among the fifth of the villagers who are Christians and have their own associations, and among the few Muslim families.

Informal meeting-places

Throughout the village there are certain places where men go when they are not working, to meet others. The group which usually meets at a particular place need not be made up entirely of friends, for known rivals may frequent the same meeting-place, but they will avoid delicate topics in such company. These meeting-places are important, since men do not often visit each other's homes unless they are relatives or caste-men or close friends. These meeting-places correspond to the chavdi in a Maharashtrian village (Ghurye 1963 89) or the bait3hak in Malwa :

> The sitting-place is a spot where one thinks of looking for a particular person, and the membership, though loose, is predictable enough to permit this. (Mayer 1960 135)

A meeting-place in Garud3apura does not normally have a particular region of the village as its catchment area, except in the isolated settlements or 'gardens' outside the village centre, and in Harijan settlements. Otherwise any man may drop in, sit and talk, but each meeting-place is usually associated with men of a particular type. The chief meeting-places in the main village, frequented by men of 'middle' caste and by Christians, are shops, a café, a private room on the street and the Math or religious institution.

The most important meeting-place is a firewood yard, where men sit with the owner of the yard on a stone bench under a corrugated-iron canopy, beside coloured prints of the gods, to talk, smoke and watch the workmen chopping up logs and weighing them out to customers. This is a favourite sitting-place of the village patel or headman, who has no regular work, of his friends, and of older men of the village, though young men sometimes drop in on Sunday mornings. The yard is conveniently across the road from the village café, so that a man can order glasses of coffee all round and send a boy to fetch them. The atmosphere is relaxed, and the

conversation dignified.

The café, a fairly new building with a boarding house for bachelor workers upstairs, serves coffee and snacks, but no full meals except to boarders. Unlike the firewood yard, it is a meeting-place for all castes, including Harijans, for cafés are thought of as belonging to the city and therefore as places where one should not make caste distinctions: besides, it would be illegal to do so. Every morning at about 5 30 (I was told, for I was never up in time to see it) the patel and his friends go to the café for early coffee. A little later the factory workers, having finished their breakfast at home, come in for coffee before taking the bus to work. The atmosphere is rather sleazy and the conversation noisy. Young men of respectable family hesitate to go there too often, in case they are thought to be 'loafers', and because they are embarrassed to meet the patel and elders of the village in subh a place. It would be hard to show them the proper respect there, though it is different in the firewood yard across the road.

The patel and elders also spend some of their time on a stone bench opposite Williams Town bus stop, just outside the village, where they can watch people coming and going.

Young men gather particularly in two cycle shops, which repair cycles or hire them out for 10 paise (2d) an hour. The core of the group who meet every evening in one of these shops is composed of some twenty young men, skilled workers or merchants' some who help in their fathers' businesses, and largely belonging to a single caste. Once a year they take on a more formal organization as the Tirumaleeshvara Sangha, a religious confraternity of the devotees of Venkat3araamanasvaami (or Venkat3eeshvara) of Tirupati, and raise money among themselves, or from their wealthy parents, to decorate an image of their patron deity for the Car Festival, or procession of the village's gods. If there is any money left over, they pay for some public entertainment: in 1964, for example, they hired an orchestra to play classical Carnatic music (see chapter 5). At least once a year they hire a bus for a pilgrimage to their patron's shrine at Tirupati, 250 km away. At other seasons they and their friends spend their free time in the cycle shop, under the usual row of coloured immages of the gods dominated by a large one of Venkat3araamanasvaami himself. They are used to acting as a group at the Car Festival, and

they can sometimes be mobilized for other purposes. Their support, and their help with canvassing, are worth having at elections.

Another cycle hire shop in Williams Town, very near the village, is run by the son of a rich flower merchant of Garud3apura, and is a meeting-place for a group of young men, mostly of older village families. They have no formal organization, as the Tirumaleeshvara Sangha has: yet the young men who meet here formed the core of an anti-Congress political faction at the municipal election: the shop became an informal campaign centre for an opposition candidate, and handbills were given out there.

Another group of young men, overlapping the first, meet in a small room opening directly on to the village's main street, The room was once a shop, but is now occupied by a young lathe operator, who sleeps, reads and meets his friends there but eats with his parents in their cramped room further up the street. His room, he says, is 'like an ookad' or octroi post, for he can see anyone who passes along the street. Young men drop in whether he is in or out, and listen to his radio or sit on the step in front of his door. This group is mainly composed of young factory workers, particularly Tamils, for this man is an enthusiastic though tolerant champion of Tamil languages and culture. Some, however, are non-Tamils belonging to old village families; others come from outside the village. Generally the conversation is lively, idealistic and witty: this group have some education, are interested in films and politics, and are strongly opposed to all distinctions of caste. They admire hard work and generous behaviour. Most of them speak English well and often, though some use the self-consciously pure Tamil associated with the DMK (e.g. 'nalla iravu', an exact but artificial translation of 'good night'). Though few of them support the DMK, they are fascinated by its speakers' rhetoric and command of facts and figures. In religion they are resolutely tolerant, visiting mosques and churches, for example, or making a point of showing the proper forms of respect by crossing themselves when they pass a church and salaaming before a mosque. They include several Catholics and at least one Muslim. Appropriately, the presiding deity in the room where they meet is an image of the Buddha, with a print of Sarasvati, goddess of learning, over the table where the room's occupant studies mechanical engineering.

Men of a serious, devout and philosophical mind spend their spare time in the Math, or religious institution. When they have worshipped at the shrines of the various deities there and at the grave of the Mowna Guru, and perhaps sat meditating for some time in one of the two temples, they go to the veranda of the house where the Svaamijii or celibate priest lives. The Svaamijii sits in his deck-chair and the others on the ground, showing him respect but no special reverence: he is a good and simple man, but no one regards him as a guru, and he claims no special position for himself. Though he is a sannyaasi or ascetic, he performs no great austerities, reads newspapers, has moderately progressive views in politics and enjoys watching cricket: the true ascetics are the wandering saadhus who come to stay in the Math for days or weeks and then move on.

The men who use the Math as a meeting-place generally but not always belong to old village families of 'middle' caste, though they deny emphatically that caste counts for anything in the Math - in principle, at least, one should not even mention it (I have been told off for doing so). The Svaamijii himself has no caste, having renounced the world. These men all belong to the Math Association, and some are on its committee. Some of them are associated with social work, and taught in the voluntary night school which was held in the main temple at the Math. The Math, and its Association of devotees, is a focal point of the village, and the one village institution which constantly grows in importance.

Women are less free to come and go, especially if they belong to the 'middle' castes, unless they are unusually well educated and partly emancipated. They may visit the houses of relatives, and generally of neighbours or close friends who belong to another 'middle' caste or are non-Harijan Christians, but they should not do so too often without a reason. Their only public meeting-places are the traditional Indian ones: weddings, which are infrequent; and wells, replaced here by public taps on street corners. Women who have no taps in their houses talk here while they queue with copper pots for water: they need such an excuse to gossip in public, as men do not. Young men sometimes gather to watch, and even to tease, girls waiting at the tap; but this is generally regarded as scandalous, and a young man who is at all concerned about his reputation will take care not to linger near a tap when girls are there.

Neighbours

The better-off families live in their own houses, and some middle class immigrants rent detached houses with gardens. Most Garud3apura people, whether of old or new family, live in one- or two-room apartments, generally at ground level, which landlords build as a speculative investment on their former fields and gardens. Such apartments are usually arranged round a courtyard or 'compound', which may be a paved open space with a few plants or only a narrow passage, and which has a common doorway on to the street: the courtyard itself is often spoken of as a 'doorway'. Other people live in small houses opening directly on to the street. The poorest live in huts they have built for themselves, scattered about plots of waste land on which the landlord has not yet been able to build.

The typical unit of neighbourhood is sometimes a street or alley or colony of huts, but more usually a courtyard with anything from three to twenty or more apartments around it. Women spend much of their time in the courtyard, cleaning rice, gossipping &c. Though some apartments or houses have their own taps and lavatories, often there is a common bathing-place and lavatory for the courtyard, and sometimes a common tap; otherwise women take pots to the public tap on the street corner. Usually there is a mixture of castes on each courtyard, though not much difference of classes, because the quality, and therefore the rent, of apartments on each courtyard is roughly the same. Yet even Harijans, if they are immigrants, may live on the same courtyard as other castes, since it is not hard for them to 'pass', if necessary, as members of a higher caste (usually Mudaliaars if they are Tamils). When a new family moves into a courtyard the neighbours make discreet enquiries about their caste, without asking them directly. If the new arrivals are discovered or suspected to be Harijans, relations may be strained, but there are few cases of upper-caste families who have moved away rather than live next to Harijans. In some cases Harijan immigrant families live openly among upper-caste neighbours with liberal opinions. No 'old' Harijan families of the village would do this, for it would endanger their special relationship with other 'old' families, and in any case an upper-caste landlord would be unlikely to give them a house. If the tenant is an immigrant, the landlord is seldom interested in his caste as long as he can pay the rent.

Neighbours have fairly clear general obligations towards each other: landlords who live on the same courtyards as their tenants are regarded as neighbours and appear to acknowledge these obligations. Neighbours, both men and women, are expected to visit one another freely for coffee and snacks; to baby-sit when a couple go out, and to keep an eye on their children as they wander about the courtyard or the street or into other houses; to send cooked food into a house where someone is ill, and if necessary to help look after them; to cook for a man whose wife is staying with her parents; to help support one another in hard times, eg. unemployment; to lend each other money at low interest; and to arrange funerals, for there are no professional undertakers and only a few people in each street know how to lay out a body and to make the bier in which it is carried to the graveyard. Not all neighbours live up to these obligations, but it is remarkable how many of them do. The best courtyards combine the advantages of joint family living with those of independence and privacy: a point which was emphasised by a young married man who had just left his elder brother's house after some friction, and who felt that to maintain good relations with the wider family it was essential for each conjugal family to live separately.

Though households value their independence, neighbours are expected to control one another's behaviour when this passes certain limits. When a six year-old girl was knocked down by a bicycle and her father beat her for tearing her clothes, the neighbours intervened, saying they would not stand for such cruelty in their courtyard. To cure or prevent illness, a family may vow, for example, to spend Rs100 on the cult of a goddess, or to instal a new image in her temple; and if they cannot or will not fulfil the vow, neighbours put pressure on them to do so, since otherwise the goddess' anger might bring disease not only to the family concerned but to the neighbours as well.

Some neighbourhoods, especially settlements in the 'gardens' outside the village, have their own shrines or even small temples, where they offer sacrifices or worship, or meet to sing bhajans or hymns. At least one landlord maintains a small temple as a service to his tenants. Occasionally a courtyard has a common cult: in chapter 6 I describe the blood sacrifice and common meal which thirteen Tamil families, living on the same courtyard, organize every summer as a precaution against smallpox and other diseases, whether there is an epidemic or not.

Friendship

Friendship in Garud3apura is not regarded as an extension of kinship. The two kinds of relation are conceptually quite different, because friendship is founded on equality and kinship relations on respect. There is no form of fictitious kinship like the North Indian gurubhaaii (Mayer 1960 139), nor do friends in South India call each other 'brother' or 'sister'. In all Dravidian languages the terms of reference and address for kin recognize a thoroughgoing hierarchy based on generation, age, sex and marital status. There are no words for 'brother' and 'sister' as such, except cumbersome borrowings from Sanskrit: the common words mean 'elder brother', 'younger brother', 'elder sister' and 'younger sister', each implying a relationship in which the younger shows respect to the elder. These terms are often used in friendly relations between people of different ages, but these relations are not friendship.

Friends must be of the same sex and roughly the same age: only then can their relations be equal and informal. They call each other by name: it is true that they may also call each other 'appaa', 'amma' &c (sometimes taken to mean 'father' and 'mother'), but these words have become terms of familiar address, which may be used to equals or even to children.

As long as friends are of the same age, differences of class, education or caste are not supposed to matter to them, for friendship should be above such things, and above all should be disinterested. This is an idealized picture, of course. Men seek friends among those with similar jobs and education, and look down on those they consider inferior in these respects; some try to cultivate the friendship of well-connected men; few men of 'middle' caste have close friends among the lower castes - the interesting thing is that some do. Friends may or may not ignore the rules governing contact between castes: one man of 'middle' caste invites Harijans into his home, in spite of the disapproval of his conservative parents; another regards a Barber who went to school with him as a personal friend but will not eat with him at home.

Friends are often Garud3apura men who work at the same place, and who see one another both at work and at home: two villagers who are close friends ring each other up on the factory telephone system several

times a day. It helps if they work the same shifts and, when weekly days off were staggered, if they had the same day off: differences in shifts and days off are recognized as something which can disrupt friendships. Close friends sometimes live far apart, but such friendships are difficult to keep up in the expected manner: thus the best friends of most Garud3apura men live in the village, or sometimes in the surrounding suburbs.

It is worth considering the idealized picture of friendship, especially as it is described by young men, because of the immense emotional importance which friendship has. Friends are unrestrained in each others presence and may joke together freely, since there is no trace of inequality in their relationship. They should visit each other often, and if possible go everywhere together: one man never goes to town without asking his best friend whether he would like to come too, and will usually arrange to go on another day if this suits the friend better. Friends are expected to help each other: yet this should never be the reason for their friendship, which should be based entirely on their liking for each other. A friendship which becomes tainted by self-interest is finished, in the ideal picture. Yet it is recognized that friendships, like good relations between brothers, often break up because of disputes over property, or because one friend sells another something, e.g. a house, and each expects the other to make concessions for the sake of friendship.

Friends may, however, help one another in business. A potato merchant has been a close friend of a retired building contractor for years. Since the contractor has a better head for figures, he helped the merchant prepare his tax returns, and then stayed on to help with the business. If the relationship became permanent, he said, he would become a partner. One friend could not employ another except in an emergency: employers and employees, or anyone in the relation of patron and client, may have friendly relations but can never be friends, because their relationship is one of respect not equality.

In all kinds of other emergencies, friends come to one's aid: organizing a funeral or a wedding, or even talking to the police if one is in trouble. It is useful, even necessary, to have friends, yet friendship should never be self-interested. One man said that an innocent man is in no danger from the police if he is arrested on suspicion, for

if he is good he is certain to have friends to speak for him and bail him out. This remark, and the assumption that a good man will always have friends, is significant, for it tends to qcquit anyone with a wide circle of friends, especially well-connected friends, of a possible charge of calculation: indeed to have friends is a sign and a consequence of moral goodness.

Women similarly attach great importance to their friendships, though these, like their movements, are more restricted than those of men. They meet friends at the tap, or visit their houses in the afternoons; only the more independent women, with tolerant husbands, go out in pairs or groups, especially to the cinema. Conservative men disapprove strongly and say women should stay at home, or should visit only relatives.

The different kinds of grouping described in this chapter help to define a man's position in Garud3apura society, and provide him with reasons for his actions. To understand these actions I shall first examine the external social pressures; then socially determined incentives to action, particularly the desire to gain respect; and lastly, the values which go beyond society and relate each person to humanity in general or to the final purposes of life.

4 CASTE & FAMILY

Caste is still the chief principle of grouping in Garud3apura, and an important part of status in the village. Caste ties which extend outside the village are of a different kind, and in most situations except marriage they count for less than those of economic class, education and political or social ideology. Within the village there is still a caste system; outside it there are only castes.

A convenient definition is Kathleen Gough's:

> Castes in Hindu India are ranked, birth-status groups. The caste, or a subsection of it, is usually endogamous; it tends to be associated with an occupation. ... The formal ranking of castes is defined in terms of the belief in ritual purity and pollution; rules of social distance between castes issue primarily from this belief. (Gough 1960 II)

The merit of this definition, which follows Weber's, is that it distinguishes what is most characteristic of caste - rank and birth - from what is often found with it - endogamy and occupation ('the caste ... is usually endogamous; it tends to be associated with an occupation'). The formal principle of ranking - purity and pollution - is not the only one for a caste system: Barth (1960) describes a caste system among the Muslims of Swat based on 'shame'.

Leach criticizes Kathleen Gough's emphasis on rank and birth. He sees the essence of the caste system in the allocation of economic roles as 'privileges' of specialized occupational castes, especially the low ones, for whose services members of the 'dominant' majority caste must compete:

> In a class system, social status and economic security go together - the higher the greater; in contrast, in a caste society, status and security are polarized. It is open to

> every man to become a sannyasi and receive the adulations of his society but only at the cost of forgoing all his social rights. ... In a class society the 'people at the bottom' are those who have been forced there by the ruthless processes of economic competition; their counterparts in a caste society are members of some closely organized kinship group who regard it as their privileged right to carry out a task from which all other members of the total society are rigorously excluded. (Leach 1960 6)

This is a mistake: the sannyaasi's 'status' is not an intensified form of the Brahman's, but is of a different kind. In the ideology of caste - that is to say, according to the customary (religious) justifications of it - status comes from membership in a group which has value because of its place in the hierarchical order of the universe, of which human society is a part. But the sannyaasi belongs to no group and has renounced social values: since he is free of attachment, he has no social obligations. Thus he has no strictly social status at all, but an exceptional, individual status.

The Brahman, on the other hand, is in society and has the highest social status. The caste ideology guarantees his security by its emphasis on the religious merit of giving to Brahmans and on the interdependence which ought to exist between status and power, or in concrete terms, between Brahmans and local landowning or royal or military castes. Other service castes depend on the landowner for their security much more acutely than the Brahman does, and if the landowner suffers they suffer first.

The right to perform polluting tasks does not appear often to have been a 'privilege', but rather a monopoly defended by people who had no alternative way of making a living, particularly those who were prevented by law or custom or circumstances from owning land. Whenever low service castes have been able to change their occupations and rise in the hierarchy, especially by becoming farmers, they appear to have done so, as they do now.

The hierarchical principle does not mean that every caste must be placed by common consent above or below every other. There may be disagreement about their relative positions, or the question may never arise. There need only be agreement that there is a social hierarchy, with recognized classes - in the logical not the sociological sense - at the top and bottom. In Hindu society these are Brahmans and Harijans; in Hindu religious terms, purest and most impure. The class at the top might perhaps be empty, provided that it exists as an ideal; but the class at the bottom must have members, because rank means nothing if it is not superiority to someone else. When low castes cease to exist, or to be regarded as low, the caste system will disappear.

Vivekananda thought this should have happened already. He maintained that the four mythical caste categories (varn3a) must rule in succession, and that the functions of the first three - Brahmans, Ks3atriyas and Vaishyas - had been taken over by the British:

> Only the Sudra-ness - the beast-of-burden-ness - is now left with the Indians themselves. (Quoted in Brown 1958 97)

It followed that all Indians were brothers and should no longer be divided by caste distinctions. Vivekananda accepted the eternal myth of caste; yet he believed that its logical consequence, in modern circumstances, was that caste should cease to exist.

Castes, as they are found, have only a loose connexion with the four varn3as of the classical tradition: yet the general principles of caste ideology, as they are set forth in the canonical texts on the subject (e.g. in Manu), are not very different from the norms implicit in popular practice. As Sivertsen writes in his study of a Tanjore village:

> To me, the concept of caste represents first of all the model of a ritual order which ought not to be viewed in separation from the

> philosophical scheme on which it is based. It is not difficult to obtain consensus on what constitutes the model of this ritual order though the application of it in many instances may seem imperfect and in some significant contexts of action not involved at all. (Sivertsen 1963 29-30)

In this ideology, endogamy follows from two rules: status depends on birth; and close contact with lower castes is polluting. Since intercourse with a lower caste pollutes a woman more than a man, hypergamy is often permissible. Barth (1960) shows how a Muslim caste system in Swat can exist without endogamy, because the idea of pollution is of a different kind and because the rule of birth is interpreted to mean that a child inherits status exclusively from its father.

In Hindu society hypergamy is not a breach or relaxation of caste rules. Provided that the difference in caste status is not too great, hypergamy is fully compatible with caste ideology, and is explicitly allowed in the canonical texts. Thus castes are not discrete units but named areas of the hierarchy. They overlap because of hypergamy and because there is often no consensus about their boundaries or their rank.

Caste and 'subcaste'

Families of similar status with a named caste have probably always tended to intermarry and to continue their alliances within more or less closed groups, especially in South India where marriage with a cross-cousin or niece has traditionally been preferred. Such groups of intermarrying families have been made or unmade according to the fortunes, sizes and ambitions of particular families. These 'marriage circles' are like the unnamed endogamous '<u>sondakara</u> castes', stratified according to 'acquired positions of wealth and power', which Banks (1960 63) found among the Tamils of Ceylon. In such cases it is hard to draw clear lines between

marriage with preferred relatives, a strong desire for continuing alliance between families, and a firm rule of endogamy.

A separate name, or what Nadel (1951 67) would call 'diacritical' customs, may reinforce the rule of endogamy, but these things are neither necessary nor sufficient to make an endogamous group. Customs are forgotten or imitated. Names change: the name of a part comes to be used for the whole, or vice versa. Castes adopt prestigious courtesy titles, usually with mythological connotations. The same title may be claimed by quite different groups, and may or may not then form a bond between them. Tigal3as, for example, call themselves Vanhi Kula Ks3atriyas, or Warriors of the Fire Tribe, but they do not appear to acknowledge any connexion with the Pad3aiaaccis, Pall3is and Vann3ians, castes of Madras State which have tended to unite under the same title (Gough 1960 57-8). All these variations are compatible with caste ideology and traditional caste practice: it is a short step from saying that two castes are alike, or of similar rank, to claiming that one is contained in the other, or is 'really' the other (cf. God and the gods).

Thus in each situation where caste counts the relevant caste group may be of a different size, but it is a mistake to distinguish absolutely between the 'caste', as a status-group or a ritual or occupational or political unit, and the endogamous 'subcaste'. Any caste-like community is a possible base for marriage alliance; and each family arranging a marriage has to define the circle of acceptable alliances for itself, according to its ambitions, its ideals and the pressures of its relatives. To marry into a group with different customs is hard, to marry into one known by a different caste name is harder, but either of these may be more acceptable than to make a marriage which is undesirable in other ways, such as a marriage with a family of different economic class or education.

The Goll3a caste of Garud3apura provide an example. Traditionally they are divided into two 'subcastes'. The 'One-pandal' Goll3as

celebrate a wedding once, under a single pandal or marriage booth, like other castes. The 'Two-pandal' Goll3as do so twice, once at home and once in public. Families belonging to each 'subcaste' have their own circles of families, into which they have married for generations. Moreover, genealogies of Goll3a families in Garud3apura show an extremely high proportion of cross-cousin and niece marriages, except during the last twenty years. +

The caste's traditional occupation was herding cows, and their status in Mysore State was not very high. In Garud3apura, however, the richest landlords and most respected family since the late nineteenth century have been One-pandal Goll3as. Some of them received a good education: but there was a shortage of suitable brides and bridegrooms, available at the right time, for educated young people of the caste.

One Garud3apura family related to these landlords solved the problem by marrying into a Goll3a family living across the border in Madras State. They were boycotted by many or most of their relatives in the village, who alleged that the bride was 'a Tamil'; though in fact her family, like the Goll3as of Garud3apura, always spoke Telugu. Then a highly educated young man of the landowning family refused to marry his cousin, who was not educated and whom he did not care for: he insisted on marrying, for love, an educated and beautiful girl of his own 'subcaste', coming of a family of doctors and professional men with whom his own family had not intermarried. To make matters worse, the girl's brother and several of her

+ Cf. the account of the caste in 'Mysore castes and tribes':

Gollas are rather punctilious in the matter of contracting marriage relationships. They do not go beyond the place of previous alliances, thus practically still further splitting the recognised endogamous groups. (Nanjundayya and Ananthakrishna Iyer 1930, vol. III, p.204)

relatives had married outside the caste altogether, for they belonged to a modern reformist sect and observed no caste restrictions.

The young man's family, the local caste group and the village were split dramatically over the affair. The man's father, a declared agnostic, supported him against the other close relatives. The young man brought his bride home to Garud3apura, where her remarkable character and unaffected ways quickly won the respect of the family and the village.

Some time later this man's younger brother fell in love with his sister's husband's sister - a most eligible relative, though the man himself would have been prepared to marry even outside the caste. His parents found out and quickly went through the forms of arranging a marriage between the couple.

By this time the division between the two 'subcastes' had become less of a barrier. To the young men of both groups it was a joke. It was only a matter of time before an educated young man of the 'Two-pandal' group married into a 'One-pandal' family - again, this was a marriage suggested by the bridegroom himself and regularized as a formally arranged marriage, with the blessings of both families. In fact the couple were already related by rather a long chain of marriages outside the village, but this was the first marriage between the two 'subcastes' in the village, and it aroused little comment. Within three months it was followed by two more marriages between the particular families involved, since the barrier was down and there was a supply of eligible brides and bridegrooms on either side of it.

The chief One-pandal family of landlords, which had temporarily broken off relations with the branch of the family that had married into Madras State, now began to copy them by forming an alliance with

the same Madras family. The Two-pandal family in Garud3apura which had first married into this One-pandal family then completed the triangle by marrying into the Madras (One-pandal) family.

All these marriages, however, were between Goll3as. Some time ago the Goll3as, who were then rather low in the hierarchy of statuses, took to describing themselves, at weddings and other prestigious occasions, as Yaadavas, the clan of Krisn3a. Some of them even claimed that Goll3as or Yaadavas were 'really' a kind of Naidus, these being a badly-defined group of Telugu castes with pretensions to fairly high status. Those Goll3as who took to calling themselves 'Naidus' (or 'Yaadava Naidus') ceased to marry other Goll3as, and tried to marry into Naidu 'subcastes' instead. Meanwhile more and more Telugu-speaking castes, from lower and lower strata, began to call themselves Naidus. Eventually some members of the older Naidu groups began to drop the caste title entirely, preferring to use only the names of their 'subcastes' (Banajiga &c), since they said that even Barbers had taken to calling themselves Naidus.

By this time many Goll3as in the state had acquired education and good jobs, and their status rose. Some Naidu 'subcastes', which intermarry, say they will also marry Goll3as: but some of the Goll3a families which had remained Goll3a (or plain 'Yaadava') now refuse to marry into those Goll3a families which once tried to better themselves by calling themselves Naidus.

Recently a Goll3a girl, related to the One-pandal Goll3as of Garud3apura, married a Naidu of some description in Madras. In this case her relatives in Garud3apura approved of the wedding and attended it; one relative mentioned it as an example

> of intercaste marriage - of which he approved - while his brother, who was against intercaste marriage in principle but approved of this particular marriage, gave it as an example when he said that Goll3as and Naidus were allowed (by caste custom) to marry one another.

Anyone giving a list of the castes in the village will mention Goll3as as one caste and Naidus as another. He may or may not mention other groups which are regarded as Naidus and generally call themselves Naidus: Banajigas, for instance, who in their turn are divided into named 'subcastes'. Most mention Kuncitigas and Okkaligas separately, but some say Kuncitigas are really a kind of Okkaligas. Kuncitigas themselves admit they were Okkaligas centuries ago but claim to be a separate caste now: I have never heard of a marriage between Kuncitigas and other 'Okkaligas'. Morasu Okkaligas and Hosadeevaru Okkaligas, on the other hand, are normally mentioned as one caste, in spite of a difference in their traditional marriage customs; they have now begun to intermarry, though not yet in Garud3apura.

Which of these groups should be regarded as 'castes' and which as 'subcastes'? The disagreement about the use of these words is not merely about convenient definitions, but about the nature of castes and caste ideology. Ketkar writes:

> The words 'caste' and 'subcaste' are not absolute but comparative in signification. The larger group will be called a caste while the smaller group will be called a subcaste. A group is a caste or subcaste in comparison with larger or smaller. (Quoted in Mayer 1960 6)

Mayer quarrels with this 'relativist' use. He agrees with Blunt that castes should not be regarded as having the same attributes as

subcastes because, in Blunt's words, 'Hindu society does not treat them as such' (Ibid 7). Mayer writes:

> The most fruitful starting point, I think, has been given by Ghurye when he writes: 'Stated generally, though it is the caste that is recognized by the society at large, it is the subcaste that is regarded by the particular caste and individual.' ... A man has concurrent membership of both caste and subcaste, shown in his roles in different contexts - i.e. those in which he is concerned with people outside the caste, and those in which he acts towards people within it. (Ibid 9)

Leach makes a similar sharp distinction between 'castes' and 'caste grades', i.e. subcastes of different rank or prestige within a named caste:

> Dr. Yalman treats distinctions in grade within a named caste as different only in degree from distinctions between separate named castes of separate traditional occupation. It is true that the Sinhalese apply the term jāti to both types of grouping, but they seem to me to be different in kind. Caste ideology presupposes that the separation between different named castes is absolute and intrinsic. People of different caste are, as it were, of different species - as cat and dog. There can, therefore, be no possibility that they should compete for merit of the same sort. But with members of different grades of the same caste, the exact opposite is the case; the grades would not exist unless their members were constantly in competition with each other. (Leach 1960 7)

This passage occurs in a comparative study of caste in South Asian

societies, not only among the Sinhalese. But caste is originally Hindu, and is found in its most typical and fully developed form in Hindy society. Hindus, like the Sinhalese, use the same word (jaati, or its variants jaadi, jaat) for both kinds of caste-like, more or less endogamous community. The ease with which castes may sometimes unite, secede and change their names - like the Goll3as and Naidus described above - suggests that the difference between a caste and its neighbours in the hierarchy is not 'absolute and intrinsic' (nor, for a Hindu, is the difference between cat and dog), and there is no reason to think it ever was. It is hard to justify an absolute distinction between two radically different kinds of group when this distinction is not found in language and is not applied according to any consistent principle in behaviour.

Leach makes this mistake because he sees occupation, rather than the value of hierarchy itself, as the foundation of the caste system. Traditional Hindu sociology, both learned and popular, is a branch of theology. The only final, or religious, justification of caste is that it is the realization, in particular times and places, of a continuous hierarchy reaching from God, through gods, Brahmans, other castes and Untouchables, to animals and things. Individuals (persons, castes &c) get value only from their place in this universal scheme, and realize themselves most completely when they act according to the morality appropriate to their level in the hierarchy (see Chapter 8 for a fuller discussion of caste moralities and universal morality). This hierarchy of beings is reflected in a parallel hierarchy of values, the final purposes of life. In this hierarchy economic interest (artha), including division of labour, competition &c, is firmly subordinated to religious duty. I shall show later that caste morality is not the whole of Hindu morality, nor is caste the whole organization of Hindu society or hierarchy the whole of Hindu theology.

To say this is to shift the emphasis from castes, as separately identifiable groups standing in constant relations to each other, to

hierarchy as an aspect of particular social relations, modified in each case by circumstances. It then becomes possible to distinguish social relations which have this hierarchial aspect from those which have not, or not to the same degree. In each situation (marriage, finding jobs, political action, social work) the boundaries of the relevant 'caste' follow from the combination of the caste principle, any other relevant ideological considerations, and external circumstances. As Béteille writes:

> An individual is a member of an expanding series of groups, each of which may be referred to as a caste or jāti.
> (Béteille 1965 16)

But as the 'castes' which count in different relations come to be connected more and more loosely, a better image would be of groups superimposed on each other, larger groups generally being made up of smaller ones, but with some overlapping: thus the Goll3as whose caste association supports a students' hostel in Bangalore are made up of 'subcastes', some of which have names, some of which can intermarry, and some of which can marry Naidus, without ceasing to say that they marry within the caste.

The hierarchial principle is latent in all caste relations, but is clearest in relation with the castes at the two poles of the system: Brahmans and Harijans. The upper pole - the Brahman - is almost missing in Garud3apura. Except for a few recent immigrants who take little part in village affairs, the village has only one Brahman family, that of the priest at the Brahmanical temple; and apart from dealings with this family, most villagers have only occasional contact with Brahmans, either with paid priests at weddings - a special kind of caste situation - or at work - generally a non-caste situation. The village has never had the Brahman community or street which is found in many South Indian villages, and against which other statuses can be measured.

As far as status within the village is concerned, the top of the hierarchy in practice is the large block of 'middle' castes, together with Christians. This block includes most 'old' and 'new' families, all of whom recognize each other as roughly equal in caste status. The final, or religious, justification for their superiority to other groups requires them to recognize the Brahmans as their own superiors: this is why they generally call themselves 'middle' castes, not 'high'. Endogamy - which, I have suggested, is secondary - separates one group from another within this group.

I shall call a recognized caste within the village a 'caste group'. Particularly among the older families, a caste group usually consists of households bound together by a complicated history of repeated marriages, especially cross-cousin and niece marriages, and by strong ties of sentiment and obligation. Only one caste, the Tigal3as, have a formal organization with a headman and provision for caste councils; but other castes can and occasionally do make life difficult for a family which violates caste rules, especially marriage rules. In some castes, such as the Kuncitigas, a family arranging a marriage is expected to ask the formal consent of the head of other families of the caste group in the village.

Among immigrants, on the other hand, except those who came to join relatives already in Garud3apura, a caste group is often made up of unrelated households. They marry outside the village, often into their place of origin. Sometimes they can hardly be described as a group at all: some immigrants do not know, and do not bother to find out, where there are other families of the same named caste in the village.

With these provisos about the relative nature of caste, I describe in outline the principal named castes which are represented in Garud3apura. Table 18 shows the proportion of the village's population belonging to each of these castes; and Table 19 shows the proportion belonging to each

of the broad caste categories or religious minorities.

Table 18

Population of Garud3apura, by castes and religious minorities

Brahman	less than 1 per cent
Naidu	18
Mudaliaar	11
Goll3a	6
Okkaliga	6
Tigal3a	4
Aacaari	2
Kuncitiga	2
Pill3ai	2
Vanniar	2
Reddi	2
Other 'middle' castes*	4
Voddi3a	3
Barber	1
Washerman	1
Aadi Draavid3a	9
Aadi Karnaat3aka	7
Catholic	15
Protestant	3
Syrian Christian	less than 1
Muslim	about 1 (none in sample)

Sample: 682 persons

* In order of size: Raajpuut, Gaund3ar, Jain, Naadamannaar, Karuba, Vishvakarmaala. There are others, which did not appear in the sample.

Table 19

Population of Garud3apura, by caste category or religion

Brahmans	less than 1 per cent
'Middle' Hindu castes	59
'Low' Hindu castes	6
Harijan Hindus	17
Christians	18
Muslims	about 1 (none in sample)

Sample: 682 persons

Description of the main castes

The traditional occupations of Brahmans (Braahman3) are studying the Vedas or scriptures, acting as priests and village accountants, and teaching. Temples to some gods normally require a Brahman puujaari or priest; and all 'middle' castes, I think, now require a Brahman purohit or chaplain to perform their weddings and sometimes other domestic ceremonies, for instance on the anniversary of a death. Those Brahmans who devoted themselves entirely to study and disputation were traditionally considered higher than those who had to support themselves by acting as temple priests or as purohits, and who polluted themselves to some extent by serving lower castes and entering their houses for weddings and domestic ceremonies. Those who engaged in agriculture, and perhaps trade, were lower still.

Brahmans were the first to receive 'western' education. In the nineteenth century most of the professional and clerical middle class, and most Indian civil servants, were Brahmans. Since the last part of the nineteenth century the 'Non-Brahman Movement' attempted, with some success in Mysore, to break the Brahmans' monopoly of the professions and their political influence. The Brahmans were adaptable, and went into trade, management and skilled factory work. Those who now live entirely by their priesthood are poor and

lack education, at least of a modern kind.

The one 'old' Brahman family in Garud3apura is that of the priest at Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, the one brahmanical temple in the village. Around 1910 the leading family of landlords in the village, which had endowed the temple, ordered the incumbent priest out of the village for some offence and appointed in his place the present priest's father, an immigrant working in the Police Department. He was entitled to the deference of the villagers and to gifts of money and food, both at harvest time and when he went to their houses to ask for food. He became headmaster at the local Corporation Elementary School. When he died his son, a skilled worker in the aircraft factory, did not want to take the position, and had to be persuaded to do so by moral pressure from the village elders. He says proudly that he is a 'part-time puujaari' and only serves in the temple from a sense of duty. He has a rent-free house beside the temple, but he no longer receives substantial presents: the temple trustees pay him a small salary, most of which he spends on lighting and cleaning the temple. He never performs weddings and seldom goes to villagers' houses for domestic ceremonies, and he has little to do with most of them except when they go to the temple. His friends are Brahmans outside the village.

Opposite his house a Sindhi Brahman refugee from Pakistan lives with his family. He serves as a domestic priest for Sindhi families, almost all outside the village, keeps cows, and sells the milk. A few other Brahman families, mostly of clerical workers, have settled in new houses in the village.

The other castes' attitude to Brahmans is ambivalent. 'Middle' castes need Brahmans to perform their domestic ceremonies, especially weddings, and a caste's position in this 'middle' range still depends partly on its relationship with Brahmans. Thus a Kuncitiga factory worker, who has many Brahman friends at work, is embarrassed to go into their houses even when

he is invited; when he is invited to a Brahman wedding he goes only to the reception after the main ceremony, because Kuncitigas claim to be Ks3atriyas, and a Ks3atriya should show a respect for Brahmans.

On the other hand, Brahmans are often regarded as rapacious and cunning. People who insist on having their weddings performed by Brahmans make jokes at other people's weddings about how fat and greedy the Brahman priest is, though he is often much poorer than they are. Brahmans are notorious for keeping the best jobs to themselves, since the time when Brahman Dewans or Prime Ministers of Mysore filled the state civil service with their castemen. Even now it is said to be hard for a non-Brahman to get a job in many offices, particularly accounts offices. The effect of the state government's present policy is to discriminate against Brahmans as harshly as they once discriminated against others, for almost all other Hindu castes have been listed as 'Backward' and given preference in government employment and admission to schools and colleges. Though this rule has been declared unconstitutional, it may still be enforced unofficially.

Most people regard the 'typical' greedy Brahman as one who falls short of the ideal of brahmanical conduct, for a true Brahman is expected to live simply and honestly; but some radical villagers say the Brahmans invented the caste system, telling each non-Brahman group to worship in different ways and at different times, as a way of dividing them and maintaining Brahman dominance.

Naidus, a 'middle' caste, are the largest named caste in the village, with 18 per cent of its population.[+] Viira Naayaka, the ex-soldier who founded the village, was a Banajiga Naidu. His descendants were the chief landlords of the village until they lost their land towards the end of the nineteenth century. One of them is still patel or village headman, an

[+] Strictly speaking, this is true only if one includes all the subcastes generally considered to be Naidus, such as Banajigas, who do not now always call themselves Naidus.

office with prestige but no power.

Naidu is the traditional title of a number of Telugu-speaking trading subcastes, including most groups of Banajigas or Balajigas, whose traditional occupations are making bangles, floral decoration, and agriculture. In Garud3apura, Naidu and Banajiga are often used more or less as synonyms. The different subcastes of Naidus may or may not intermarry: the decision ~~usually~~ lies with the families concerned and the local 'subcaste' group, i.e. their relatives in the village.

Nanjundayya writes of the Banajiga caste:

> It is a popular resort to those who cannot range themselves under any of the established castes. (Nanjundayya and Ananthakrishna Iyer 1928 99)

He adds that those who are expelled from other castes, or born of irregular unions, are easily admitted to it. In Garud3apura, those outside the caste tend to call any unidentified Telugu-speaker a Naidu, particularly if he is a recent immigrant. Just as trade has always been an occupation open to all castes, this trading caste has been relatively open to those whose status is not clear. Naidus sometimes insist on the high status of their caste, and even on the 'pure' Telugu they speak, and this gives them a reputation as snobs. Some Naidus are reluctant to use their caste title at all, for they say that nowadays even Barbers call themselves Naidus (see above).

The Naidus of Garud3apura no longer follow their traditional occupations, except trade in general; though the subcaste of former bangle-makers, for example, still keep boxes of bangles and tools in the house for worship at Aayuudha Puuja, when workmen worship the tools of their trade. Naidus are now found in all kinds of occupations: servants, masons, labourers, teachers, mechanics, clerks, carpenters and shopkeepers. Like most caste groups in Garud3apura they have no corporate organization and no recognized head.

Goll3as, another Telugu-speaking caste, are traditionally cowherds and milkmen; the caste's name is said to be derived from the Sanskrit gopaala 'cowherd'. They claim to have come originally from North India and to be the Yaadava tribe into which Krisn3a, their caste deity, was born. They are divided into two subcastes, with different traditional wedding rites: the One-pandal and Two-pandal Goll3as, who have begun to intermarry (see above).

The founder of the village gave land to a Goll3a family, from what is now Andhra, and they became the largest landlords and creditors in the village. The heads of this family came to behave as rulers of the village. They punished crime or behaviour they thought a disgrace to the village, such as gambling, and insisted that all disputes should be settled by their 'pancaayat' - effectively a court with a single judge (see chapter 7). It is said that their decisions were so wise that people from villages miles away brought their disputes to be settled in Garud3apura, and many people look back on their reign as a Golden Age.

This family was the first to take a path which others followed later: from peasant farmers they became landlords, letting land to tenant farmers and working their home farm with labourers. The first head of the family to receive a partly 'western' education became a petty court official under the British; and his sons became building contractors. The present generation are professional men or skilled factory workers, no longer the richest family in the village, but still the most respected. Other Goll3as recognize this family as leaders of the caste group in the village, though the group has no formal organization. By recent marriages this family has allied itself with all important Goll3a households, of both subcastes, in the village.

Though most Goll3as in Garud3apura are educated, and work in offices, factories or their own firms, they live simply and are proud to come of peasant stock. A few are labourers or follow the caste's traditional

occupation and are milkmen. One is a cattle broker.

Okkaligas are a large farming caste of Mysore, with great political influence in the state. There are two Okkaliga subcastes in Garud3apura, one speaking Kannada and the other Telugu. They came to the village as farmers in the nineteenth century and are now landlords, masons and factory workers; one has a wholesale business in potatoes and onions; and the priesthood at the temple of the village's patron goddess Gangamma belongs to an Okkaliga family.

Okkaligas are the dominant landowning caste in a large part of Mysore, and state politics has been dominated at times by a struggle between Okkaligas and Lingaayats for power within the ruling Congress Party. An Okkaliga landlord of Garud3apura,who is related to an influential Congressman, is regarded as an intermediary between the village and the Congress hierarchy, and this gives him great influence in village affairs (see chapter 7, for an account of his part in a municipal election).

Kuncitigas are traditionally farmers and carpenters, and were once a subcaste of Okkaligas. For some time they have been known in Bangalore as carpenters, contractors and money-lenders. The leading Kuncitiga family of Garud3apura received lands from the village's founder, and in the early twentieth century the head of this family was the first man to plant grapes in Garud3apura. He used his profits to start a wholesale fruit business, with a shop in the 'City', and divided his property among his sons before he died. The two brothers who took over the business live in a joint household, and are the richest men in the village: they handle large contracts to supply fruit from a wide area to a factory making jam and fruit squashes in Bangalore. The heads of this family are generally regarded as heads of the caste group in Garud3apura.

Other Kuncitiga families came to the village, often to establish themselves with the help of their fathers-in-law, after marrying Garud3apura girls. They are now factory workers, landlords, contractors, carpenters,

clerks and milkmen.

Tigal3as are traditionally market gardeners and tenant farmers in Mysore State. They speak a dialect of Tamil; and like several Tamil castes in Madras State, they now claim to be Vanhi Kula Ks3atriyas, or Warriors of the Fire Clan (see above). The first family whom Viira Naayaka, the village's founder, invited to settle there were Tigal3as from a village 14 km away. Related families joined them later, and the Tigal3a households of Garud3apura are linked by a complicated network of cross-cousin and niece marriages.

These families developed their traditional skills, growing vegetables and flowers for domestic worship. Over the last fifty years many of them have also taken to growing grapes, either on their own land or as tenant farmers. A few became grape wholesalers, using affinal relationships as a base for formal partnerships or informal co-operation. Other Tigal3as became factory workers. Several families continue to make garlands at home and to sell them in markets, generally using flowers brought into Bangalore from country villages.

Tigal3as are the only caste group in Garud3apura with a corporate form of organization, a caste headman and council. This kind of organization is traditional among Mysore castes, but there is no clear evidence that it existed among other castes in Garud3apura. Other caste groups often recognize the head of the senior lineage as their leader, for example, at weddings. Only the Tigal3a Gaud3a, or headman, can call a caste pancaayat or council for common action.

Since the Gaud3a is old and very ill, his sons represent him. He is assisted by a beadle or koolkaar (so called because of the kool or rod of office), who acts as his messenger, sends out wedding invitations and calls Tigal3as together for caste meetings. This post, like the Gaud3a's, is inherited unless the castemen object. The beadle, an agricultural labourer, receives a small yearly sum from each Tigal3a household, an allowance from

temple funds, and a fee at weddings.

The Gaud3a or his representative must attend all Tigal3a weddings, not only in Garud3apura but in villages for many miles around, since the assembled Gaud3as must formally approve every Tigal3a wedding by blessing the taali before it is tied. There is no set number of Gaud3as who must be present; and the older organization of Tigal3a caste groups into larger territories (kattemane) with a hierarchy of headmen, seems to have disappeared.

The Gaud3a is entitled to summon a pancaayat of heads of families to act against a Tigal3a who commits a serious offence against caste rules. This has not happened for more than fifteen years, though Tigal3as and others say that another pancaayat would certainly be called if the offence were serious enough. In the last case a prominent member of the caste was fined for bigamy. In an earlier case a man who had married a Naidu woman was boycotted, apparently not so much for marrying out of caste as for failing to get the Gaud3a's permission to do so, until he paid a fine and was accepted back into the caste with his wife and children.

Other caste groups impose informal sanctions, but they have no constituted authority which can declare or end a boycott, and no institution like the Tigal3a caste temple to receive fines. When an Okkaliga girl eloped twenty years ago with a Vodd3a ('low' caste) married man, her family were boycotted and found it very hard to marry off their daughters - one had to be married to a man twenty-five years older than herself. The offences for which sanctions are imposed almost always involve marriage or sexual relations: marriage outside the caste, adultery, widow remarriage, and bigamy.

Apart from the rare Tigal3a pancaayats and informal meetings of the caste, which take place particularly at weddings, many Tigal3a households belong to a chit fund which meets monthly in the Gaud3a's house and is administered by his sons. The profits are not divided among members in the usual way, but are given for the upkeep of the temple of the caste goddess Ellamma; for the decoration of her image and of the cart which carries it in the yearly Car

offer coconuts or flowers, with a brief puuja, for the repose of the family's dead. In Garud3apura this brahmanical custom seems to be regarded as typically and exclusively Tamil (there is a Tamil proverb 'Abdul Khader and Amaavaacai don't go together', meaning that Muslims and Hindus know nothing about one another's ceremonies).

Mahaalaya Amaavaasya, on the other hand, is also celebrated by many Kannada and Telugu speakers, as a yearly festival of remembrance of dead members of the family, and particularly of those whose death anniversaries the family has failed to celebrate separately during the year ('like All Souls' Day' an educated villager said). The oblations are made either on the new moon day itself, or during the fortnight which begins three days earlier. It requires the presence of a Brahman purohita (domestic priest). The dead are remembered by name; the Brahman performs a puuja, offers sesame seeds and water, and collects his fee and a gift of rice. In the evening the family eats a festive meal.

The puujaari of Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, who does not normally act as a domestic priest, goes to houses in the village in the evenings of this fortnight to perform the rites. He says he does so as an exception, because many people cannot afford the exorbitant charges which professional purohitas demand.

This festival belongs clearly to the brahmanical tradition. It is common among the higher castes throughout India, and more or less compulsory for families which have observed it in the past. The presence of a Brahman places a family unambiguously in the upper

ranges of the all-India caste order. It is an act of generalized piety to the dead of the family, since ideas about the soul's fate are vague.

Navaraatri, the festival of Nine Nights, is the period before Dasara or Vijayadashami 'the tenth (day of Victory)', when Visn3u incarnate destroyed the asura or demon Mahisha. This is the great state festival season of Mysore, in which Mowna Guru Puuja is celebrated. Though in North India a different goddess is worshipped on each of the nine nights, here only the last three nights are associated with goddesses: Sarasvati, Laks3mi and Paarvati, the consorts of the sanskritic trinity of Brahma, Visn3u and Shiva.

Aayudha Puuja, on the day devoted to Laks3mi, is popularly confused with Sarasvati puuja, the day before it. At Sarasvati Puuja students or those who work with books worship all the books in the house and make presents to their gurus, in this case meaning their teachers; the festival is traditionally associated with Brahmans in particular. At Aayudha Puuja workmen worship the tools of their trade, and this festival is traditionally associated with the castes of craftsmen; some 'Bangle' Naidus, for instance, who no longer make bangles, still keep a box of bangles to worship at Aayudha Puuja as the traditional emblem of their trade. It seems likely that the Aayudha Puuja and Sarasvati Puuja were confused as education became necessary to the work of so many men in the village; as technical training of a new kind, with textbooks or handbooks of instructions, replaced the older personal craft apprenticeship; and as the Brahmans lost their monopoly of educated occupations. The 'gurus' to whom some factory workers make presents

first puuja to the gods on the cars; then along the main street to the site of the former Cappalamma Temple, in an open space on the edge of the village, where it rested; then back along the same route, sometimes turning into side streets so that the inhabitants could worship outside their houses.

The new proposal was that the procession should go straight out of the village, after leaving Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, along a suburban road parallel to the main street of the village, to the site of Cappalamma Temple, and should then come back along the old route. This would enable the inhabitants of the suburb of Williams Town to benefit by the darshan of the gods, and would mean that the large crowds of outsiders who were expected would not be packed into the narrow streets of the village. Those who made this suggestion were, generally, the 'improving' faction among those who took an interest in the running of Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, the men who had signed the open letter demanding the election of new Trustees and the publishing of accounts. Those who opposed it were the patel, who stood to lose his privilege of performing the first puuja, and his friends, particularly the Treasurer of the Temple. They said that it was wrong to change an old custom, that it was proper to show respect to the patel, and that village people would refuse to contribute to the festival if the route were changed. Afterwards a leader of the 'improving' faction said that the patel - 'that selfish man' - wanted to prevent outsiders from getting the darshan and blessing of the gods. In such cases it is necessary for the meeting to reach a unanimous agreement if the festival is to be held at all; and after two hours of heated argument it was

arisen. Vodd3as are alleged to be heavy drinkers given to brawling and to have loose sexual morals.

All castes which rank below Vodd3as are Harijans or 'Untouchables'. In Garud3apura two groups are commonly distinguished; Aadi Karnaat3akas or Telugu-speaking Harijans, who are the old Harijans of the village; and Aadi Draavid3as, or Tamil immigrants.

Aadi Karnaat3aka ('AK') means 'original inhabitant of Karnaat3aka or Mysore'. The name is used for all Harijan castes indigenous to the state, chiefly Holeyas and Maad3igas. Most AKs in Garud3apura are Maad3igas, but this name is associated with dirt and with low habits, and it is no longer polite to use it. Traditionally Maad3igas are leather workers, farm labourers and sweepers. In Garud3apura the toti, or village crier and watchman, is a Maad3iga. The whole caste are often called totis, like Holeyas or Paraias in places where the office runs in families of these castes.

A few Garud3apura AKs work with leather, as street cobblers in the city. Most are casual labourers, especially building labourers; or sweepers, who are generally employed by the City Corporation, but who continue to clean private courtyards as well, to supplement their income. A few work in factories or transport undertakings. One man is prosperous, but his occupation cannot be described here.

Forty years ago the AKs lived in their own quarter, near the village centre and towards the middle-class suburb of Williams Town. As the suburb expanded its residents, many of whom were Brahmans, objected to having a colony of 'Untouchables' near their houses. The huts were moved to a new site on the other side of the village, separated from it by a strip of open land. Most AKs now live here, in two settlements: a 'Harijan Colony' of huts built with municipal aid on land provided by the state government; and the Corporation Sweepers' Lines, which also house some of the sweepers' relatives who work as labourers or in factories.

In the Sweepers' Lines the Corporation has built a shed to serve as a 'community centre' for Harijans. It is used as a temple for the smallpox goddess Maariamma, traditionally worshipped by Harijans, and for evening classes for Harijan children, who normally attend Corporation schools in the daytime. These housing programmes with separate amenities, like other 'Harijan Welfare' schemes in Mysore State, appear to have increased the social and physical isolation of Harijans from other Hindus.[+] The local branch of the Congress Party maintains contact with Harijans through a few influential Harijan Congressman; and electioneering among Harijans often means promising benefits and amenities to the Harijan community rather than improvements in common amenities and services.

Though AKs live outside the village centre they visit it freely. They would not be welcome in the Brahmanical temple, though by law they could not be turned away; yet the central ritual of most village festivals, and important meetings of representatives of families, take place in this temple. They are said to be welcome in the Math, but they do not go there very often. They are not invited to the weddings of higher castes, but the poorer Harijans stand outside and beg for food.

'Middle' caste men of 'old' families make a show of familiarity with some AKs, who also belong to 'old' families. Since they cannot enter each other's houses, they talk in the street. The relationship is one of patronage rather than friendship, for there is no equality in it, except among a liberal minority of 'middle' caste people, who visit Harijan friends and receive them in their homes.

[+] See Smt Panchanadikar's comments on grants made by 'Harijan Welfare Departments' - not only in Mysore - for wells and housing:

> A latent function of grants to build new Harijan colonies, was to push them away from the main village, thereby increasing their difficulties to come to work place and to find any new employment near their new house; also to increase the social distance, since lesser the contact, lesser will be the sharing of other common village amenities, all under the guise of welfarefor the Harijans. (Panchanadikar 1961 189)

Many villagers say they have no objection to eating or consorting with a Harijan if he is 'clean' in his habits. They add that the education now being provided for Harijans and 'low' castes will eventually bring these castes up to the level of the 'middle' castes, who will then accept them freely into their society. This is a reflection of the liberal ideals proclaimed by the Constitution government, the Congress Party, and 'social workers'. The village's 'social worker' once invited his 'middle' caste friends and a Harijan to dinner. The Harijan was embarrassed and had to be made to sit with the others. Since this was done in the 'social worker's' house it was seen as a deliberate gesture in the direction of equality, though the same men could have eaten together freely in a restaurant or canteen.

Aadi Draavid3as ('ADs') or 'original Dravidians' belong to various Tamil castes, whose names are seldom used in Garud3apura. Their traditional occupation was generally agricultural labour, but in Garud3apura their present occupations are more various than those of the AKs. Many are casual labourers; some work in factories, particularly the cigarette factory; several are educated and skilled workers in the newer government factories or similar modern enterprises; some are clerks; a few are policemen, or soldiers whose families live in the village. The only rich Harijan is an AD who served in the war as a soldier, was commissioned after Independence and retired as a Captain. Educated Harijan families often have a military background; the army or police appear to have been the chief means of social mobility for them until scholarships and places in government service were reserved for them after Independence. The families which were best placed to take advantage of these new privileges were often those which had first acquired some education in the army.

AD immigrants took houses wherever they could get them, either inside the village centre, or outside it where the AKs lived. They were not inhibited from living in the centre, as the AKs were, by an understanding with the 'old'

families of 'middle' caste; and though some landlords were reluctant to let houses in the centre to Harijans, most appear to have been willing to let them to anyone who could pay the rent. ADs who had no relatives in the village could profit by their anonymity: old families did not need to ask the caste of an immigrant who would not be their immediate neighbour and was unlikely to take part in village meetings and institutions. Though an immigrant's neighbours would ask indirectly about his caste, he could often 'pass' as a member of some other caste, usually a Mudaliaar. Sometimes he could live comfortably among them without having to conceal his caste.

The established old families have no inherited relation with ADs; they tend to regard ADs with indifference and some contempt. There is little social contact between the two groups except among young men, for whom caste matters less. Educated Harijans are respected, in a distant way, but are not active in village affairs, do not attend meetings, and are seldom invited to 'middle' caste weddings.

Many Christians observe distinctions of caste among themselves, sometimes including the ban on intermarriage. These distinctions are disappearing, as educated Christians know they are incompatible with Christian doctrine. The distinction between 'Harijan' Christians and other Christians is the most resistant, and is the only one which matters to Hindus. Non-Harijan Christians are considered equal to the 'middle' castes, though very orthodox people of these castes will not eat with them.

Muslims are divided into caste-like groups, which are not related, as Christian 'castes' are, to named Hindu groups. There are so few Muslims in Garud3apura that these divisions have little importance in the eyes of the village. If Muslims have to be matched with the hierarchy, they might correspond roughly to the 'low' castes.

Caste reputations

Each caste has a reputation for certain peculiarities of character and custom. Sometimes this reputation is based on the performance of a particular family which leads the caste group in the village: but there are also real caste reputations, known throughout the state. Thus Brahmans are said to be cunning and miserly, or alternatively pious, cultured, and devoted to the service of God and men. Naidus are snobs and worry too much about purity. Goll3as live simply but invite everyone, suitable or unsuitable, to enormous weddings: they are proverbially known as 'the people whose weddings go on all night', which was once true. Tigal3as are conservative, or even 'backward', in some of their customs, such as retaining caste headmen and councils. Morasu Okkaliga women used to cut off one joint of a finger on marriage, a custom which has died out but is still remembered as a curiosity. Kuncitigas are hard-working and enterprising. Harijans and Vodd3as drink, fight and have loose sexual morals; and so on.

These reputations seem to reflect the specific nature of each caste, a quality the individual is thought to acquire partly by birth and partly by training. Each caste is said to have its own rules and customs, which it has found by long experience are best for it, though they would not be the best for others. The more specialized castes are said to inherit an aptitude for their caste occupation, and sometimes to be unfit for any other: thus a headmaster said that Garud3apura boys in his school could not hope to go on to a university because their fathers were manual workers and they were unsuited for any other work by the 'law of heredity'. A caste's special aptitudes justify its place in society, which is either higher than the majority (in the case of Brahmans) or lower (Washermen, Barbers, Vodd3as and Harijans).

In the 'middle' block of castes, on the other hand, a caste reputation justifies not so much a caste's exact rank, which is seldom compared with that of other 'middle' castes, but its separate existence, its right to

call itself a caste like the others. These differences now appear to be stressed less than they used to be: it is only old people who interrupt a wedding to argue about whether it is proper to observe a certain rite in their caste, for example. Yet people often speak of their own caste's peculiarities, except very unflattering ones, because simply to be different is a source of pride.

Many people know of the mythical division of society into four varn3as or estates, but this scheme is never, or hardly ever, used to define the relative status of existing castes, except in relation to Brahmans, whose position at the top is clear both in the varn3a scheme and in caste practice. I do not think any group in Garud3apura call themselves Vaishyas, except perhaps the small Aacaari or Goldsmith caste and the very few Jains: the name is used by some South Indian trading castes, such as Cett3iaars, which are not found in Garud3apura. The names of the other two varn3as, Ks3atriya and Shuudra (strictly the second and fourth in the hierarchy), are used more or less interchangeably for 'middle' castes. Some, such as Tigal3as and Kuncitigas, claim to be Ks3atriyas; yet Goll3as, who often call themselves Shuudras, are certainly not considered lower. Nor is the varn3a scheme used to explain the 'low' status of Washermen, Barbers and Vodd3as. Harijans are known to be outside the four varn3as.

Castes, marriage circles and descent groups

The main castes are divided into smaller castes, or 'subcastes', often named after a traditional occupation ('Bangle' Naidus) or a distinguishing custom ('Two-pandal' Goll3as). A subcaste may include lesser units, but the same word jaadi/jaati 'caste' is used for all of them. The context shows which is meant.

The caste or 'subcaste' shades into the marriage circle, which is closed only by a preference for marrying where there has already been a marriage, and is not marked off by a name or 'diacritical' customs as castes are. Though in practice it is hard to draw a line between the two kinds of group, they are thought to be different: ideally the caste is closed by a firm rule of endogamy, while each family knows that other families in its marriage circle have their own circles, which overlap but do not coincide with its own. In Mayer's (1966 98-102) terms, the caste is a 'network' of marriage ties while the marriage circle is a 'set', defined for each family.†

It is true that a caste has boundaries, though in practice these may be shadowy. Yet from the point of view of a family arranging a marriage, the caste is the unbounded network from which the bounded marriage circle is drawn, unless the caste is an exceptionally small or scattered one.

The unit which arranges marriages, and which gives and receives brides, is the household, or family eating from the same kitchen. Its exact composition varies, but its membership is clearly defined by its eating arrangements. It exists both as an ideal and as a recognizable unit of family organization and of village society.

A caste is made up of households, which can be counted; but all groups between the caste and the household are less clearly defined. Here it is important to distinguish between groups which exist more on an ideal level, and

†Mayer says a network appears 'unbounded', while/'at any given time the component units of a set have a known boundary; it is not one of group membership ... but of their common connection to the central ego.'(Ibid 100)

those which exist on the level of action, of concrete rights and obligations: de jure and de facto groups of kin. Groups of the first kind are important particularly in certain religious situations, and for the working of institutions connected with the ideal of the 'village'.

Most castes are divided into exogamous gotras or clans, but except among Brahmans, these exist on a rather shadowy ideal level. They have no corporate existence, and their distinctive customs (sometimes called 'totemic') appear to have been lost. It is said that even the rule of gotra exogamy is sometimes broken nowadays. Nor is the gotra used as a surname: South Indian Hindus have no surnames, though some take caste titles. Gotras, like other features of brahmanical culture, have spread less among other castes, and acquired less prestige, than in North India.

Lineages, or unilineal descent groups, can be distinguished both within the village and, in certain situations, as groups which extend outside it. They are called by various names, most of which are either ambiguous (kulam/kula, which can also mean a caste) or learned (taayaadigal3/daayaadigal3u , pangaal3i/pangad3i 'agnates'). The commonest is kud3umbam/kut3umba 'family', but this word, like its Hindi form kut3umb, 'is as flexible as its English translation' (Mayer 1960 167): it can mean a conjugal family, a household, or any group related by descent or marriage. Bandukkal3/bandhugal3u 'relatives' is similary vague. Lineages, strictly defined, exist on the ideal level rather than as countable groups. How far they act as corporate groups depends on the particular choices of heads of households.

The cult of a lineage god is inherited through the male line, but not all households now have such a cult. This lineage god may or may not be the same as the caste god, and the same word (kuladeyvam/kuladeevaru; see 'kulam' above) may be used for both, to distinguish them from the house-god (viitt3udeyvam/ manedeevaru) where this is a different god. Any household (i.e. its head) may choose its own house-god and may or may not keep up the worship of the lineage god, which usually involves pilgrimages to the god's shrine at the place from

which the lineage came originally. When some but not all households of a caste group make a pilgrimage to the shrine of a lineage god, they are aware that they are acting as a unilineal descent group, separated for this religious purpose only from households with which they are otherwise closely connected: I describe such a pilgrimage in chapter 6. Most pilgrimages to lineage gods, however, are now made by single households or by individuals.

The unilineal principle is followed almost as strictly in the inheritance of traditional offices, such as the posts of village patel or headman, Village Washerman, and Tigal3a caste headman and beadle; and traditional rights, particularly the right to perform certain rituals at village festivals. Thus the head of the leading Goll3a lineage, which endowed the village's brahmanical temple, starts the yearly Car Festival by cutting a banana stem in the temple; the patel's family worship the images in front of their own house before the images are taken round the village; and another family dresses the village goddess for the occasion, a right they defended successfully against the patel's family.

A <u>de facto</u> group of households corresponding roughly to a lineage, and often built up around a dominant lineage, is important for prestige, influence and economic relations. A group of this kind is identified on the village scale by the name of a senior member, usually alive but sometimes dead, as 'Raamakris n3appa gumpu (crowd)', 'Siitaraamayya kut3umba (family)' &c. This group may consist only of a man's descendants in the male line and their wives; or it may include sons-in-law with their households, or families allied by marriage, or the whole group of relatives in the village, which is usually the same as the local caste group.. How widely this group is defined depends on the personality, wealth or reputation of its head. He is deferred to and invited to all family ceremonies, especially weddings, where he must give permission for each stage in the ceremony to begin. He is known variously as ejamaan 'master', gaud3a 'headman', dodd3avaru 'big man' &c, all of which can be used in other contexts for a man of importance (see chapter 7 for a full discussion of

these important words). Except among Tigal3as this 'head' is not explicitly regarded as a caste leader, but only as the senior member of a group of related families. This group resembles Mayer's (1960 4) 'kindred of co-operation': its members attend one another's ceremonies, visit one another often, and are expected to support each other and to present a common front to the village. They share a common reputation. Such a group may be divided into smaller groups of households, each named after a more closely related 'head'.

Thus the caste group is something into which one is born; which has ideally, if not in fact, a sub-culture and peculiarities of its own. It has a certain ideal value and certain practical advantages, and one cannot escape from it without paying a price. The lineage exists as an ideal, but exists as a group only in special religious and 'village' situations; it corresponds to a de facto group of households, which accept the discipline of the group for as long as they think it right or advantageous to do so, and are free to break away if they do not like the head's leadership or if they quarrel with the other members. The household exists both de jure, as an ideal; and de facto, as a residential and economic unit composed of one nuclear family or of several, each of which can secede by the decision of its head.

The household, the joint family and inheritance

The household is defined by the common kitchen, not by the relationship of its members. A resident son-in-law, a distant relative, or even an unrelated servant who eats from the same kitchen, all belong to it. If two brothers live under the same roof but their wives cook separately, then there are two households.

Only a minority of households are joint, in the sense that earning or producing males live together, with their wives and children, sharing their immovable property and part or all of their earnings. Those who live in this

way are respected but seldom imitated.

The commonest kind of household consists of a nuclear family of husband, wife and unmarried children, supported by the earnings of the husband and his unmarried adult sons, and sometimes of the women. This kind of household is regarded as normal, and most people expect to live in this way. Though they respect the ideal of the joint family, they value their independence, and in any case the one- or two-room apartments most families live in are not large enough for an extended family.

Many nuclear households support parents who are too old to work, brothers who are too young, or unmarried sisters. These are not really joint households, because the idea of the joint family implies either joint property, or the co-operation of economically active men, or both, not a family which depends on one earning or producing member. Table 20 shows the proportions in which different types of household are found in Garud3apura; but it says nothing about their source of income, which has important consequences for authority within the household and for the way the household is regarded.

Table 20

Households in Garud3apura, by composition+

one person living alone	4 per cent
couple living alone	4
conjugal family, with child(ren)	47
" + parents	9
" + families of children	20
" + siblings and their families	11
other combinations of relatives	6

Sample: 123 households

+ Adapted from Niehoff 1959 77. Servants and other unrelated people living with a household are not taken into account.

The usual pattern is this: a young man lives with his father until he marries. The couple begin their married life in the husband's house and move out later to find privacy and space. If married brothers stay with their father they usually separate when he dies, since his authority is no longer there to contain the tensions between them and between their wives.

The households most likely to remain joint are the richest and most respected in the village, because joint living adds to their prestige and because they have large enough houses to make it comfortable. Yet for a family with much property or high incomes there are practical disadvantages in remaining joint. The tax-free income allowance benefits separate families more than 'undivided' ones, and estate duty is charged on each member's 'share' of the family property as if it had been divided on the day of his death. It is also hard to sell joint family property, because the head must be in a position to prove that this was done to meet an inescapable obligation or to replace other family property; and since a member's interest in the family property begins at his conception, anyone who buys from a joint family can never be sure that a member who was a minor at the time of the sale, or not even born, will not be able to claim that the sale was illegal. For this and other reasons, joint families continue to live together while going through the legal forms of partition. The opposite case is rarer, because men who leave a joint household generally want to establish their independence.

Indian law treats a male belonging to a joint family as two persons, each with the right to hold property; each male or female can also acquire property as an independent economic agent. An adult male can demand a partition of the ancestral property, and when this happens it is often the signal for each of the others to take his share, including the share due to his dependants.

Traditionally women had no right to ancestral property, though widows and unmarried women could claim maintenance; but under the Hindu Law Amendment Act of 1956 a man's widow, sons and daughters are entitled to equal shares of his <u>self-acquired</u> property. The women are also entitled to limited shares of the

ancestral property, since by a legal fiction this is assumed to have been divided on the day of the father's death. The share due to the father, who by then is dead, becomes his self-acquired property and is divided among his widow and children. It appears that women in Garud3apura can expect a share of the property, though they often get less than they are legally entitled to.

Some fathers, before they die, divide their property among their sons, to avoid quarrels later. While the father is alive it is hard for the sons to press their claims to particular pieces of property as ruthlessly as they can when he is dead. I heard that one rich man divided his property among his sons, 'otherwise those brothers would have murdered each other'. The four brothers in the village's most respected family are considered remarkable because of their ability to live together without serious quarrels.

When family property is divided it often happens that brothers cannot agree on who should get what. By law a dwelling house cannot be divided, though its rent can. There are often fierce quarrels about the disposal of other assets. Brothers sometimes agree in the end to sell a piece of property and divide the money, though I was told that one brother never buys out the others' interest in the property.

If brothers cannot agree and a pancaayat or council of relatives cannot persuade them, the dispute goes to court. Three brothers, for instance, were involved in a court case about the division of three parallel strips of land: a rice-field, a vineyard, and building land with houses. The court gave each brother one third of each strip, and though the rice-field and vineyard were already small enough, each brother put a different tenant on his own piece of land.

When there is a business to divide the situation can be more complicated and can lead to very bitter disputes, because it is hard to value the business and the brother or brothers actively working in it may claim a larger share of the profits. One joint family, for example, had a building contract business. When the property was divided the eldest brother claimed the business, saying

he had built it up himself and educated another brother with the profits. The remaining brothers demanded a part of the assets and filed a case against him. Finally the case was settled out of court, to the eldest brother's advantage.

This case draws attention to a common situation in joint families with a business or some land: educated or skilled men are often younger brothers, since their elder brother had to look after the family property while the others could be given a longer education at the family's expense. An elder brother receives formal respect, but there is no primogeniture, and his responsibility is thought to be a heavy one. Sometimes it is too heavy, and he alone leaves the joint household. Younger brothers in rich joint families enjoy all the advantages of joint family life until they are launched on a career, when they may prefer to leave the joint household and divide the property.

As long as brothers remain in the joint family they are under the authority of its head, normally the eldest man. In practice this special authority (kaatt3al3ai/aad3al3ata) is sometimes exercised by a younger man with a strong personality, or even by a woman. When the father is too old to work his eldest son tends gradually to take his place, but a younger son may impose himself as the head if he is more capable and better educated. In one case a third brother manages a family's affairs, and his two elder brothers freely recognize his competence to make important decisions.

A joint family needs a large house. Families are larger than they were because more children survive, and married couples now expect much more privacy than they would in a country village (see Dumont 1957 209). Each nuclear family tends to expect its own room or rooms to sleep in, though often it is not possible to achieve this.

Members of a joint household who go out to work pay part of their earnings into the family fund, and in principle the head of the household decides which things are shared and which are private. In practice he must get the agreement of earning member at least. In some families each worker pays his wages into

the fund and receives 'pocket money' for transport, entertainment &c; in some each earner pays the same sum and keeps the rest. Sometimes all clothes are paid for out of the fund; sometimes each earner buys clothes for himself and his nuclear family with his own money, while other dependants get their clothes from their fund; while sometimes each member is entitled to essential clothes but can buy smarter clothes or more clothes with his own money. Food, fuel and household expenses are always paid for out of the fund.

It is generally recognized that joint living imposes a strain, especially on young couples. Different generations expect different things. Old parents, especially if they lack education often disapprove strongly of modern ways, 'extravagant' habits like films, snacks and coffee, and the way their sons treat wives and children. In some families, at least, evey member must ask the head's permission to go out of the house, except for a short time; and if a man wants to take his wife out, for instance to the cinema, some parents will say that she is shirking the housework. A tyrannical elder brother cannot keep a joint family together, but both conscience and public opinion make it harder to leave one's parents' house unless they agree to a partition.

A common reason for tension is acknowledged to be the resentment of brothers who are well paid but have to support other able-bodied men who earn less or nothing. They recognize their obligation to support a younger brother during his education, but are very ready to accuse these or other brothers of being 'idlers', sponging on the more enterprising members of the family &c. The joint household is secure only when brothers have a common interest in a farm or a business partnership. Otherwise the strain between brothers with widely differing occupations and incomes, particularly when it is added to the strain between generations, is often too strong for the joint household.

When the bitterness between brothers is not too notorious, men tend to say that a joint household broke up because the women quarrelled. This is sometimes true, especially when a mother-in-law loads a young wife with all the housework and makes her life miserable. Otherwise it is the standard

excuse of men who will not admit that they have chosen privacy and independence, values which have no traditional sanction, in preference to family piety.

Marriage

Traditionally a marriage should be arranged not only within the caste, but with a family already allied by marriage, so that an alliance can be continued from generation to generation. (see Dumont 1953, 1957). The most approved marriage in most castes is with a real or classificatory cross-cousin on either side, or with a niece, (always an elder sister's daughter). Only Muslims can marry parallel cousins; for Hindus and most Christians such a relative is a 'cousin brother' or 'cousin sister' (in Indian English), not to be married. Tables 21 and 22 show the proportions of existing marriages which are with various kinds of relative, and how these proportions have changed over the last thirty years:

Table 21

Bride's relationship to bridegroom, in last marriage of each married or widowed person

niece (elder sister's daughter)			19 per cent†
mother's brother's daughter	12)		
father's sister's daughter	9)	cross-cousin	24
classificatory cross-cousin	3)		
other relative (or relationship not clear)			7
no relation, same caste			50
other caste or religion			1

Sample: 187 marriages

†A detailed breakdown by castes is not possible, because the sample of each caste is too small. Niece marriage is commonest (over a quarter of all marriages) among the two groups of Harijans and among Mudaliaars. Tigal3as and Goll3as traditionally have a strong preference for marrying nieces, and their genealogies show that many of them did so in the past, but few seem to do so now. None of the Okkaliga marriages in the sample is with a known relative.

Table 22

Percentage of marriages in each decade which were with nieces, cross-cousins, other relatives and non-relatives

time of marriage	21-30	11-20	0-10 years ago
with nieces	33 per cent	18 per cent	16 per cent
with cross-cousins (real or classificatory)	18	20	28
with other relatives	3	13	3
with non-relatives	47	49	53

Sample: 160 marriages (last marriages of all married or widowed persons in sample. Marriages contracted over thirty years ago, of which there are few, and marriages of unknown date, are excluded).

In the past, cross-cousin and niece marriage has been commoner in some castes (Tigal3as, Goll3as) than in others, and probably least common among Christians.† It is becoming less common, as educated young men and women dislike it, apparently because they feel their independence will be limited if all their relatives belong to a close inbred group. In particular they dislike niece marriage, in which there is usually a wide difference in age. In modern conditions this difference often makes niece marriage impossible: most men are married by 25, often by 20, and it is illegal for a girl to marry before 16 (the law is sometimes, but not usually, broken).

Several young men have refused to marry their cousins or nieces; and although this used to lead to a storm in the family, parents are now prepared to arrange an alternative marriage with a more distant cousin, or with

†Eleanor Wenkart, who studied a Catholic village near Bangalore, tells me that Catholics may not marry a first cousin without their bishop's permission, and may not marry a niece at all: some do, apparently by tracing a more distant relationship for the priest's benefit. In my Garud3apura sample, 3 out of 26 Catholic marriages were with nieces, more than I should have expected from my experience of Christian families.

another girl of the caste, to avoid the worse evil of a love marriage.

The ideal and usual form of marriage is arranged between the parents without consulting the couple beforehand. Parents make informal soundings among families in their marriage circle, unless they already have their eye on an eligible relative. An exchange of formal visits is arranged. The boy is taken in a small procession to the girl's house to see her, though not to talk to her, and at this point he may refuse to marry her: it seems that this happens in a quarter or a fifth of all cases. The girl is not expected to refuse: if she does, it is said that her parents may not look for another husband for her, but may leave her a spinster. I know of no case where this has happened: one girl refused her mother's brother, saying she would never marry, but in this case her parents will certainly find her another bridegroom if she changes her mind.

At these visits the two fathers (or traditionally the heads of the two households) discuss financial arrangements for the marriage. Most castes pay a bride-price, but this is fixed at the traditional level and inflation has made it nominal: Rs 21 (3ls) or less. Traditionally dowry is regarded as a brahmanical custom, undesirable for other castes, and it is know that Brahman families often ruin themselves to pay it. Yet it is often said, though hard to confirm, that dowry is spreading among other castes. In most cases the reason does not seem to be a general 'sanskritization' of customs, but rather the need to nail down a bridggroom with education and a good job, connexions or prospects. Since dowry is illegal, it is called a wedding present to the son-in-law. The father-in-law may have to provide him with clothes, a watch, money, a scooter or higher education. In some cases, though not yet in Garud3apura, a father-in-law must undertake to send the son-in-law abroad for further training after the wedding.

The two families also agree on who is to pay the wedding expenses. Here the custom varies from caste to caste, but also according to the wealth of the two families. The groom's father is generally expected to pay for the

bride's jewels and the two saris she wears at the wedding - one for the muhuurtam or taali-tying in the morning, and another for the reception in the evening. The other expenses consist mainly of food for guests, hire of the marriage hall, the Brahman priest's fee, musicians and decorations. One side may pay all these expenses, or they may be divided; it is thought better for the bride's father to pay as many of them as he can, and he loses prestige to the extent that he does not. In the proper form of 'kanyadaana' (gift of a virgin) the bride's father pays for everything, and the value of this brahmanical custom is generally admitted though dowry, which is an extension of it, is condemned.

If the girl's father is poor, richer relatives may pay the expenses to save the family honour. In one such case a rich contractor paid all the expenses of his brother's daughter's wedding. His own name, instead of his brother's, was printed at the head of the wedding invitation, and he dominated the ceremony.

The marriage circle is usually small, and the families in it visit each other often, whether they live in the village or not. Thus the bridge and groom often know each other by sight and may have played together as children. In such cases the boy, though apprently not the girl, may suggest a suitable match, and if his parents approve the girl may be consulted before there is a formal exchange of visits. This is not regarded as a 'love marriage', which suggests irregular or intercaste marriage.

Many young men say they hope to marry for love, inside or outside the caste. This is a constant theme of films and magazine stories; couples who marry for love are said to understand one another and to quarrel less.

One young man fell in love with a girl of another caste. Both families were strongly against their marrying, except for the man's uncle, who had married out of caste and strongly advised his nephew to do the same, saying that in an arranged marriage each would blame the other for small things - for instance, if the wife put too much salt in the food - while a couple

who had married for love accepted responsibility for the success of the marriage and were therefore more ready to make concessions.
An older man, who had no objection in principle to intercaste marriage, said that one of its disadvantages was that the couple's parents no longer accepted responsibility for the marriage and would refuse to intervene in domestic quarrels.

Few young men can put this romantic ideal into practice. The opportunities to meet girls, and particularly to be alone with them, are very limited except in a few educated families, or among lower castes whose conditions of life and work make separation of the sexes impossible. Some young men and girls see one another outside the village, at work, in college, or even in church. Love marriage may be more common among Christians; and a large proportion of 'intercaste' marriage are between Hindus and Christians, or in one case between a Muslim and a Christian.

The upper classes of Bangalore city tend to marry for love, or at least to arrange marriages indirectly by hints and subtle pressures from parents, maintaining the appearance of a love marriage. Several educated men of Garud3apura, whose own marriages were arranged, say that intercaste and love marriage will come eventually, as girls and boys become more educated and independent, and that they will only arrange marriages if their own children ask them to. Others say that intermarriage will come and may be a good thing, but that they would hesitate to allow their own children to marry out of caste, because their relatives would disapprove and the marriage prospects of their own and their relatives' children, particularly of the girls, would be spoilt.

When parents will not agree to a love marriage, a couple sometimes marry either by getting another relative, for instance a brother, to make the arrangements, with some show of family support; or by running away together. In either case this generally leads to a break in the couple's relations with their parents, often and perhaps usually followed by a reconcilliation months, or years later.

One man married for love, with the tacit consent of his parents, but against the wishes of his uncle, the head of the household. The uncle left the house in protest and lived with his daughter's family for several years, until he died. He forgave his nephew from his death-bed.

A young man with little education fell in love with a high-school girl of another caste. His parents called a pancaayat or council of relatives, who told him to choose either his family or the girl. He chose the girl and ran away with her. Her father complained to the police, who arrested and interrogated the boy's friends, while his father's mistress hid the couple. They were married in another town, and the police dropped the case. A year later the husband wrote to his parents that he was ill. They forgave the couple, who now live in a separate house in Garud3apura, but visit the husband's parents freely.

Though love marriage is a violation of a traditional rule, an educated man who had made such a marriage was able to cite scriptural authority for it, since Gandharva marriage, or marriage by free choice, is one of the eight kinds of marriage recognized in the laws of Manu. In the same spirit, men argue from authority for other departures from tradition, such as equality of the sexes or of castes, quoting scripture or saints like Baasava to show that what they advocate is not really an innovation but an old custom revived.

In all castes, marriage is ideally for life, though in some castes a man may send his wife to her parents and re-marry if she is childless. This is seldom done, because it is such a disgrace for the wife that she usually prefers to stay with her husband even if he takes a second wife. Bigamy is illegal, except for Muslims, but this law is not enforced; and although some castes have strong sanctions against it (boycotting or fines), there are a few cases in the village of prominent men who have re-married publicly while their first wives were alive.

Widowers can and often do marry again. Some castes say that a widower has a claim on his dead wife's sister, if she is not yet married; but it would be very hard now to press such a claim, unless the girl's parents were willing. In the one case I know of, where a man proposed to marry his dead wife's sister, the girl herself refused to marry him, and he dropped the matter.

All Hindu castes in the village, except perhaps some Harijan groups, have accepted the brahmanical ban on widow remarriage. Such remarriage, which is advocated by social reformers elsewhere, happens very occasionally in Garud3apura, and the sanctions against it are no longer very effective.

When a 'middle' caste widow married an immigrant, her caste group forced them to leave the village. Yet recently a young Mudaliaar widow, who had been married for only a year, was able to remarry and to stay in the village. Though her family met with some disapproval at the time, the couple are accepted by their neighbours, who see no reason why a young girl should spend the rest of her life as a widow and a burden on her family.

Divorce, except by sending a childless wife to her parents, is exceptional, and the traditional procedures for a formal divorce have disappeared, at least, among 'middle' castes. No one has gone through the formalities required for a divorce under the new Hindu Marriage Act, and the idea is still rather disgraceful to most people. Yet particularly among the lower castes, adulterous wives have left their husbands or have been thrown out of the house. When this happens the husband is free to marry again, though he may be laughed at as a cuckold. There is no longer any authority in the village or in the castes with the power to dissolve a marriage formally, as there was a few years ago.

Some fifteen years ago, a man denounced his lodger and relative, who was sleeping with the man's wife, to the head of the village's leading family of landlords. A pancaayat was called. It ordered the wife to return all

the jewels her husband had given her, to repay her own wedding expenses, and to pay her husband damages of Rs 500. Her lover paid the money, and the couple were free to marry. They did so and left the village.

Some men keep mistresses of another caste, usually, though not always, one of the lower castes. Those who can afford it may keep two establishments, with children in each. This is disapproved of, but there seems to be no sanction against it, and conservative families consider it better than marrying out of caste. It is said that, when a young man announces his intention of marrying a girl of another caste, his family may suggest that he should keep her as a mistress but marry a girl of his own caste.

One Hindu had already gone through some form of 'marriage' (it is not clear what kind) with a Christian, had lived with her for years and given her several children, when his family found him a suitable bride within the caste. His 'wife' cried and beat him, but finally agreed to stay in her present house, while he moved to a house provided by his family, some sixty yards away. He lived there with his new 'wife' and her children, dividing his time between the two households.

The normal state of an adult is marriage: most men marry by 25, most women by 20. Men who remain unmarried may have left their families to come to the village, or for their own reasons they may have preferred not to marry. The only men in the village who must be celibate are the two svaamijiis or ascetic priests at the Math, or religious institution: they are regarded as saadhus or ascetics, unlike the priests at other temples. Unmarried men do not appear to suffer socially, though it is said they must be careful of their reputation.

Women may remain unmarried because they refused matches proposed by their parents; because they never menstruated; or because they had to work to support their families. The position of an unmarried woman depends largely on whether she is economically independent: women who work to support their families are

well thought of and are regarded as the heads of households; dependent relatives, usually 'maiden aunts' without education, are respected less. They have no clear role in the family, and are sometimes regarded as an economic burden, though they do housework and help with such domestic industries as making garlands and keeping cows.

Relations within the family

The traditional family places each of its members within the caste, and so within the universal order of which human society is a part. The dominant ideal is to carry out the duties of one's station, universal law specified according to one's caste, age, sex and position in the family. The scope for doubt and decision is reduced as much as possible. The ideal behaviour between pairs of relatives is prescribed, and the hierarchical principle which runs throughout caste society makes it possible to reduce these different relations to a single dimension, 'respect' (mariaadai/maryaade). I shall consider the different and changing meanings of 'respect' in cahpter 7. Respect is opposed to affection, which depends on choice and almost escapes the rules. Clearly this description applies only to an ideal type of the traditional family, not to families as they were at a particular time in the past.

The traditional norms of behaviour between relatives can be derived from a hierarchy of three rules, each of which takes precedence over the ones below it: the younger respects the elder, even within the same generation; females respect males; and a wife's family respect her husband. These rules, like the kinship terminology of Dravidian languages, are part of the common culture of South India, and seem to be valid for all Hindu castes and for Christians. Their application differs between castes, but much more between families of different education, class or convictions. The ways in which the rules are interpreted, and sometimes rejected, indicates the direction of change in social values, and the emerging norms of behaviour within the family.

Since the principle of respect for age comes first, it is convenient to begin with grandparents and to work down through the generations. Traditionally the head of a joint household was often or usually a grandfather. He had authority over all its members, managed the family property and had the last word on marriages, personal conduct, &c. If he was a good head he consulted other members of the family; whether he did or not, he and his wife were entitled to the respect and obedience of all its members. He could and did punish his grandchildren, and often took much of the responsibility for their upbringing out of the hands of their parents. Since many households must always have been conjugal, particularly among the lower castes, this is not an adequate picture of relations between grandparents and grandchildren in the past; but many people believe it was the traditional pattern.

This kind of family is seldom found now. Though a child often grows up in the same house as its paternal or maternal grandparents, they tend to become dependent on the earnings of the child's parents, and are then in the position of pensioners rather than family heads. Moreover parents now have their own ideas about bringing up children: it is said that children need more looking after than in the past, particularly to ensure that they get a proper education. Since each generation is better educated than the last, grandparents do not feel qualified to decide the details of their grandchildren's education. If they interfere in their son's affairs, their sons may demand a partition; and though one son will have to look after the old couple, their dependent status is then clearer than ever. In modern households, the relation between grandparents and grandchildren tends to become one of familiarity: grandparents are said to spoil their grandchildren, who show them an affectionate respect.

The father's authority is the type of all authority, particularly since now he is usually the head of the household as well. He makes rules for the family, disciplines the children (and most children are beaten), has the last word on their marriages, and decides their education and often their

career.†

The bond between father and son is uniquely strong in principle. The sons inherit the property, particularly the house, and any lineage cult or traditional office. The eldest son must perform the funeral rites and the yearly rites for the rest of his father's soul.

In practice the attitude towards the father is generally one of profound déference, sometimes tempered by affection. A son often stands up when his father enters the room; if he was talking to someone else he interrupts the conversation; and in conservative families he may have to ask his father's permission before addressing him. Yet a father who wants to keep the joint household together dare not push his growing son too far. He is obliged to make concessions, though some fathers find it hard to countenance the norms of conduct of their sons' generation, particularly in regard to relations between the sexes and between castes. In any case the father must usually prepare for an old age in which he will be obviously dependent on the income and care of his sons.

A girl's relationship with her father is rather different, since both are aware that he will be responsible for the most important decision affecting her life, whom she will marry, and that she must leave home for an alien family. The parting is bound to be painful for both, and the girl's situation is very different from that of a son who leaves home only if he wants his freedom. The relationship between father and daughter is marked by more obvious affection, which is most noticeable when she visits her parents after marriage.

Educated fathers are now more anxious to gain their children's confidence and affection. They show open affection to their young children, even kissing them in the street, a thing which would have been inconceivable to

†A government advertisement says National Savings will enable your son to follow 'the career you have chosen for him'.

parents of an older generation. As the children grow up they are allowed more freedom to develop in their own way, to choose subjects for study and their own careers, and to have a say in the arrangement of their marriages. Modern parents give their children this latitude not because they are obliged to by circumstances, but because freedom has become a positive value in itself, because they want to give their children the freedom which they themselves would have liked to have in their relations with their parents.

The mother receives a less formal kind of respect, of course, with an immense charge of emotion. A young factory worker said that a man should respect first his mother, then his father, then God, then his guru or teacher. Traditionally a mother's authority is secondary, being derived from that of her husband, whom she should worship and obey without question; but in practice she has great influence in all decisions affecting her children's lives, and in some families she controls her husband almost completely. It is very hard for an adult man to go against his mother's wishes, even when he is willing to go against his father's. The tie between mother and daughter is said to be particularly close, both before and after the girl's marriage.

Ideally a father's brother should be respected like the father. In a joint family the father's elder brother could discipline a child and overrule the child's father to some extent, but this seldom or never happens now: each father looks after his own children.

The word for mother's brother (maaman/maama) is the same as that for 'father-in-law'. With the ideal pattern of cross-cousin marriage they belong to the same category of relatives, but in practice they can be distinguished when necessary by calling the mother's brother 'mother-maaman' (taay-maaman/taayi-maama). The relation between a boy and his mother's brother is supposed to be familiar and affectionate; between a girl and her mother's brother there is a certain restraint, since he may be a potential father-in-law, or even a potential husband. The mother's brother plays an important part in all rituals involving the girl:

he pays part or all of the expenses of her puberty ceremony, and at her wedding he 'plants the milk-post' or puts up one of the four posts supporting the marriage booth.

The relation with all aunts (mother's and father's sisters) is familiar.

Traditionally the ideal relation between brothers is one of co-operation and familiarity but not equality. The words for 'brother' and 'sister' are learned words borrowed from Sanskrit: the common words mean 'elder brother', 'younger brother' &c. A younger brother should always bespect and obey his elder brothers, and should show this respect by addressing them as ann3aa 'elder brother' (vocative); only younger brothers should be addressed by name. In practice, brothers now address only the eldest as ann3aa and call the others by name, a practice that is traditionally more characteristic of friendship. Generally the relation between brothers appears to tend in the direction of equality and friendship, though in principle friend and brother are categories which exclude each other.

Though their ideal relation is one of respect and co-operation, it seems always to have been expected that brothers would quarrel over the division of property or take sides in their wives' quarrels. In modern conditions there is also the strain of living in a joint household where some brothers earn much more than others. Two of these irritants - wives' quarrels and disparate incomes - can be removed by agreeing to separate, butthe third only begins at this point. Property disputes between brothers drag on for years, leading to expensive litigation and even the most shameless fraud. This kind of rivalry is confined of course to those families which have property worth fighting over.

A younger sister is expected to show respect to an older one, but their typical relationship is one of affection and companionship, sometimes complicated by personal jealousies. Since traditionally, (i.e. until 1956) women were not entitled to a share of the family property, the chief cause of

dissension among brothers was absent.

The relation between brothers and sisters is traditionally and usually one of enormous affection, shown much more openly than it can be between husband and wife. It is sometimes said that since sisters were not entitled to a share of the property this was made up to them with sympathy and affection, and that this attitude has survived the change in the law. Clearly this explanation does not account for the great strength of the emotional bond, the only tie of intense affection between people of the opposite sex which can be publicly admitted to.

A man should show his elder sister the forms of respect as well as affection; in some families she is a potential mother-in-law.

Parallel cousins ('cousin brothers' or 'cousin sisters' in Indian English) count as brothers and sisters and are addressed in the same ways, according to their age. In practice the relationship is more like that between friends, unless the cousins live in the same household.

Cross-cousins of the same sex are familiar with each other. Cross-cousins of opposite sex are said to be reserved and distant if there is a possibility of their marriage, but this reserve ends when one of them marries someone else.

In the relations between husband and wife there is a wide divergence between the ideal and the reality. Ideally a wife respects her husband before anyone else, worships him as a god, obeys him without question and suffers patiently if he or his family ill-treat her. A man's life and health are in the hands of women, just as the health of families and villages is in the hands of goddesses. Every morning, before he wakes, a wife should touch her husband's feet in worship and should pray to the house god or some other god to keep him with her. The word used for a wife's worship of her husband (van3anga in Tamil) is also used for the worship of a god; and it is said that in the old days a wife did not need to go to the temple (as all of them do now), because her husband did it for her and by worshipping him she had sufficient contact with the gods. A woman

who worships and serves her husband devotedly is said to get great spiritual power, including the power to curse, though no one knows of an instance outside legend where this power has been used. One man said that a woman's curse is like the atomic bomb, which gives its possessor so much power that he never needs to use it. I doubt whether anyone is really afraid of a woman's curse.

> At a nine-day festival, a visiting specialist gave a harikatha, or moralizing religious entertainment, in the story of Mallamma, an ideal wife and a saint. She was married to a halfwit, but she did not complain; and while modern girls ask to be decked out in jewels for their weddings, Mallamma asked nothing more than her father's blessing. Her mother-in-law ill-treated her cruelly; but she bore it all and lived as a perfect wife, addressing God in her songs (which the specialist sang at intervals in his recital) until He appeared to her in a vision and offered her a boon. She asked only that her husband should get his wits back and her parents-in-law their health.

Conservative men say that women used to live simply, obeying their husbands implicitly, living only on rice and curry, and never expecting biscuits, coffee, tea, fashionable clothes and jewels as they do now. A woman should never go out, except with her father or brothers before she is married, or her husband afterwards - unlike modern women who spend their afternoons going to the cinema in twos and threes; she should not waste time gossiping with other women in their houses or at the tap; and so on.

Women still show their husbands the forms of respect in speech. Except in a very few educated families, a woman never uses her husband's name after the wedding. Speaking to a third person she refers to him indirectly, as 'father of Krisn3a' (her son) or 'my householder', not 'my husband'; similarly a man avoids saying 'my wife', saying'my household' or something similar instead, though he calls his wife by name both in address and reference.

At meals the women generally serve the men and then eat by themselves, either in the next room or when the men have finished. When visitors call the husband tells his wife to bring them coffee and snacks; the men sit together and talk, while the women often stand around joining in the conversation, or retire to the kitchen. When a couple go out together the wife should walk behind her husband, though in fact some couples walk side by side until they enter the village. A husband and wife should not show affection for each other in public, though this rule is now interpreted much more freely than it was.

Among older couples the relation seems to be closer to the traditional ideal. Younger people are not normally expected to marry for love, but they are expected to like one another once they are married, and in public they show not so much affection as pride in one another. A husband tells his wife what to cook for guests, and is enormously pleased by a compliment on her cooking. Men are anxious that their wives should dress well, appear well in company, speak intelligently and without too much shyness to strangers, &c. This pattern is most typical of younger and better educated couples. Many other marriages are marked by obvious sullen resentment on both sides, for instance when the wife blames the husband for arranging unsatisfactory marriages for their daughters.

In principle the husband has authority and makes all important decisions: in practice this depends either on his convictions or on his strength of character. Some husbands always consult their wives because they think it is right to do so; others are notoriously henpecked or controlled by their wives, even in such matters as the management of the family property. Some men allow their wives to make everyday decisions about the children's upbringing, shopping &c, but reserve for themselves the last word on important matter; others will not respect their wives' opinions even on the marriage of children, which is regarded as a mother's special concern. Some decide how the household is to be run and buy all they think necessary in shops and markets;

some will not allow their wives to buy anything, except small articles which can be bought in the village, but take detailed instruction from their wives every evening before cycling off to do the shopping themselves; others hand over all or most of their pay to their wives and have to beg them for money when they need it.

A childless wife is in a difficult position: her husband's family will often abuse her, and in extreme cases he may take a second wife illegally, either keeping the first wife in the house or sending her back to her parents. A marriage is complete only when there is a child: all married women are anxious to have one or two, though generally not more.

In spite of a half-hearted campaign by the state government for 'family planning', few men and less women know of any contraceptive method except sterilization; and although there is a bounty for fathers of large families who have themselves sterilized, I never heard of a Garud3apura man having this operation. Women who consider they have enough children use folk remedies to procure abortions in the early stages of pregnancy, with the help of older woman. But many husbands, and their families, think many children are a blessing. One Garud3apura woman, who had married outside the village and had five children, wanted to be sterilized. Her husband consented to this, but he had to withdrew his consent when his own parents objected. His mother even threatened to kill herself (a form of moral black-mail which one man used to prevent his brother from attending the wedding of the brother's own son). Since I left the village, however, a factory worker told me in a letter, as if it were a matter of course, that his wife had been sterilized immediately after having her fourth child.

A man and his parents-in-law should respect each other. He respects them because they are of his parents' generation; they respect him because they have given him a bride and, as they say, because her safety and welfare are in his

hands. This mutual respect is expressed by formal courtesy and sometimes by speaking as little as possible. Even a man whose widowed mother-in-law lives in the same house, though in a separate 'household' with her unmarried daughter, communicates with her only through his wife. However, the relation is not always so strained. When a man visits his wife's family, all of them should treat him as an honoured guest, minister to his comforts and anticipate his requests.†

Traditionally it was expected that a man might extort money and presents from his father-in-law — 'like an octopus', as one man said — though dowry, paid at the time of marriage, is said to be a new custom among non-Brahmans. In the past several men, especially Kumcitigas, settled in the village with the help of their father-in-law, who gave them land or capital to start a business. A man may still ask his father-in-law for financial or other help, for instance in finding a job, but in general he can no longer expect substantial help as a right.

Parents who have no son to look after them in their old age, or who are strongly attached to a daughter, sometimes take a poor but promising boy as a son-in-law, making it a condition of the marriage that he should live in their household. In return they may set him up in business or find his a job. It is said that these resident sons-in-law are not very highly regarded, except by their wives' families, but they are not despised as the gharjamai is in Central India (Mayer 1960 222).

A variant case is that of a man of an established and influential family, who would not have consented to such an arrangement, but whose father-in-law did not want to be parted from his daughter. For several years this man

†Thus the Union Railway Minister, when he told the Mysore Chamber of Commerce that Bangalore had no chance of getting a new suburban railway, was reported as saying that 'in the race for "home" railways, bigger cities had to receive sons-in-law (sic) treatment.' (Indian Express, 20 April 1965)

belonged to two households. He spent most of his free time in his father's house, and insisted that he belonged there; yet every night he went to his father-in-law's house and slept there with his wife. The couple have now found rooms of their own.

A woman's relation with her husband's mother is traditionally very strained. Jokes and proverbs show her as nagged and exploited by the mother-in-law, who is the mistress of the joint household and treats the girl as an alien: a Tamil proverb says 'If the mother-in-law broke it, it was an earthenware pot; if the daughter-in-law broke it, a golden pot' (Dumont 1957 207 gives another form of this proverb). Though a girl has to prove herself hard-working, obedient, adaptable and so on when she comes into her husband's house, when she has children her relations with her mother-in-law seem generally to improve. If she is childless, of course, they become worse.

Many mothers-in-law are tyrannical, and this leads wives to put pressure on their husbands to leave the joint household. Others try to treat their daughters-in-law considerately and not to conform to the stereotype of the mother-in-law jokes.

A woman should treat her husband's father with great respect, though he may be familiar with her. She is expected to serve him and care for him as if he were her own father. In this relationship the three grounds for respect, which I have suggested, are combined: she respects him because he is a generation older; because he is a man; and because he is of her husband's family.

A man's relations with his brothers' wives follow from the principle of respect for age, as it applies to the relative ages of the brothers not of the two people concerned. That is to say, a man should respect his elder brother's wife, whatever her age, while his younger brother's wife should respect him. In either case the relation is often familiar and easy in fact.

A married woman is entitled to respect from her brother's wife, particularly

when she visits her parents' house; it is her home, and she can regard her brother's wife as an outsider. Particularly, I think, if her own married life is hard, she may criticize and embarrass her sister-in-law, who is at a disadvantage.

A man should respect his sister's husband, paying special attention (gauravam/gamana, gavana) to his needs and comforts when he comes on a visit. This is most marked at the beginning of the marriage; later the relation between brothers-in-law is more like that between brothers. The younger gives the elder the forms of respect, calling him by the appropriate kin term (baavaa), while the elder calls the younger by name.

The husbands of sisters ('co-brothers' in Indian English) are classificatory brothers (see Dumont 1957 185-6 280 on the 'çagalaN' among the Pramalai Kallar). The younger is expected to show respect to the elder and to help him, though apparently only in minor ways. In practice their relation appears to be more often like that between friends. It is one which the co-brothers can emphasize if they wish.

Similarly the wives of brothers are classificatory sisters. If they live in a joint family the eldest may have some real authority over the others; yet all of them are at the same disadvantage in relation to the mother-in-law. Though men say joint families break up because the brothers' wives quarrel, when women persuade their husbands to leave a joint family this seems more often to be in order to escape the mother-in-law.

I have reduced the ideal relations, which are thought to have existed in the 'traditional' family, to their simplest terms, describing them as relations of respect. This respect can be shown in several ways, as worship, obedience, avoidance, courtesy, trust &c. In Chapter 7 I discuss the changing nature of 'respect' in other social relations, and the criteria which justify giving it.

The accounts given by people of different ages, the present relations between generations, and descriptions of country villages all suggest that

until some twenty years ago relations within most Garud3apura families were closer to the traditional ideal than they are now, even if one allows for the tendency to turn the recent 'village' past into legend. Three principal changes appear to be taking place. The more extreme forms of subordination give way to a milder and more autonomous kind of respect, which is shown as courtesy and trust rather than implicit obedience or avoidance. There is more room for personal choice about the persons to whom one will be bound in a relation of respect, since the pressures against setting up a separate household are weaker and since young people are beginning to have some say at least in the arrangement of their own marriages. Affection, which is an optional addition to prescribed relations of respect in the traditional family, now tends to complement respect as one of the basic principles on which the organization of the family depends.

5 RELIGION I : THE MAIN PUBLIC CULTS OF THE VILLAGE

There are three religious groups in Garud3apura; but the social values which make the village a community, the spirit of its institutions, and the idiom of discussion within it, are all basically Hindu, Christians, except for one family, are recent immigrants, and there are very few Muslims. In this chapter and the next I deal mainly with Hindu religious life, and with Christians and Muslims in relation to Hindus.

I distinguish three aspects of Hinduism: brahmanism, the religion of groups, and the religion of personal choice. All three share a theology - a common set of assumptions and of categories for thinking about religion - which is part of South Indian culture and is believed in by, or available to, the Hindus of Garud3apura; but each aspect of their religion lays stress on different elements of this theology.

Brahmanism is associated with ideas of prestige and auspiciousness. It emphasizes the values of dharma (order), permanence, hierarchy and ritual.

The religion of groups emphasizes the protection, welfare and prosperity of particular closed communities, either local communities (villages and neighbourhoods) or communities of birth (castes, lineages and households).

The religion of personal choice emphasizes moks3a or liberation, devotion, the direct relation of the individual soul to God, conscience, responsibility and service. I show later how these things are connected in modern forms of the religion of choice. The religion of choice itself is not new to Hinduism - it is the tradition of the sannyaasis or renouncers, of bhakti or devotion, and of the reforming sects - but its present importance, for social relations as well as for religious thought,

is connected with fundamental changes in values.

Brahmanism and group religion are complementary in practice and from the point of view of their values. The type of thinking that characterizes them is thoroughly hierarchical: men are arranged in a hierarchy of birth and function, and the legitimate ends of life in a hierarchy of value, the highest of which is dharma or universal order. Each item in the hierarchy is justified by its association with those above it, which are more complete and perfect; thus the relation of lower to higher is like that of the part to the whole. Just as castes ideally derive their status from their relation to the Brahmans, the interest (artha) of groups is derived from and subordinate to the eternal order (dharma), and the religion of groups is justified by and subordinate to brahmanism.

Two aspects of Hinduism have often been distinguished, as the Great and Little Traditions, brahmanical and popular religion, sanskritic and local cults &c. The two differ in their origins, ritual, clergy and prestige, and the relation between them is described in terms of cultural processes like 'sanskritization', 'universalization' and 'parochialization' (Srinivas 1962 41f, Marriott 1955 171f). These processes take place within a closed system of thought and values, appropriate to a rigidly hierarchical society in which individuals have value only by virtue of their position in the social order, and in which no alternative to this order is conceivable. The distinction is similar to my distinction between brahmanism and group religion, but is not quite the same, because it is made from the point of view of custom and ritual rather than of values and intentions. From the point of view of their underlying values, these two aspects should be

seen together in opposition to the religion of choice, which recognizes the religious values of individuals and individual experience.

Though Garud3apura people are aware of these differences in emphasis, their theology stresses coexistence and inclusion rather than a choice between alternatives. All forms of religion are to be respected. The profound differences in religious outlook between kinds of people in the village is not expressed in a clear opposition between cults. As Leach says:

> just as two readers of a poem may agree about its quality and yet derive from it totally different meanings, so, in the context of ritual action, two individuals or groups of individuals may accept the validity of a set of ritual actions without agreeing at all as to what is expressed in those actions. (Leach 1954 86)

This chapter and the next are mainly descriptive, though some of the differences between the three aspects of religion will emerge from the description: I draw out the general implications for thought and social relations later (in chapter 8). Since all three aspects may be present in any observance, they do not provide a way to classify the observances themselves, which are of a bewildering variety. In describing them I shall follow Dumont (1957 316) and take as my point of departure 'the social aspect of cults': the groups, if any, which take part in them. A useful test is to ask who contributes to the expenses (ibid 319).

The most visible collective observances are the worship of images of gods, either in places of special sanctity ('temples', with or without buildings; the words mean 'places of God') or at home; annual or occasional festivals, usually centred on one temple but involving rites at other places; and the ceremonies of the life cycle.

In this chapter I discuss only those cults in which all Hindus in the village (sometimes except Harijans) take part, or would be expected to take part; in the next chapter, cults which are normally limited to other groups, and personal cults and beliefs.

The village as a whole does not take part in cults outside it, though groups and individuals within it do. Some castes and lineages visit shrines to their patron deities, usually in the villages from which their ancestors came to Garud3apura. Individuals go on pilgrimages to the shrines of their chosen gods, worship at other temples, and sometimes in Christian churches. I consider these kinds of worship in the next chapter, where I describe caste and lineage cults and private worship.

Village temples

Three important temples, as well as a number of minor ones, belong in principle to all Hindus of Garud3apura, and are used for congregational, family and private worship. In practice Harijans are partly excluded from this worship. Each of the three main temples is chiefly associated with one of the three aspects of Hinduism which I distinguish.

Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, the only temple with a Brahman puujaari or priest, is associated with the brahmanical tradition and values. It contains an old stone image of the god Naaraayan3a, an avataara or form of Visn3u, with his consort Laks3mi. Here the two are not

distinguished, but are worshipped together as a composite deity, Laks3minaaraayan3a. There is also a modern image of the couple, made of an alloy of three metals, for carrying in processions. Both images are worshipped, but the stone image, being older, is thought to have greater sanctity or power (shakti).

The temple stands in the oldest part of the village, facing along the main street, which widens to form a triangular open space in front of the temple and then passes to one side of it, between the temple wall and a stone platform. This platform, which is typical of South Indian villages, bears a large tree and a shrine to the Naagaraajans or snake deities.

The present temple was built over an older shrine some time in the nineteenth century, by the head of the leading (Goll3a) family of landlords. It has recently been extended and renovated by this man's grandson. In its present form it has walls and pillars of white plaster, instead of the usual whitewashed granite; coloured prints of gods on the walls; a polished stone floor; fluorescent strip lighting; and iron railings around the temple porch. The gates are locked at night, and often in the daytime, to keep out the vagrants who used to live or sleep in the temple porch. In front of the temple there is a high granite pillar, of the kind that stands in front of most Vaisn3ava temples in South India, and on which lamps used to be placed at festivals.

Though in principle the temple has always belonged to the village, the family which built it continued to control it and to pay its expenses. On one occasion the head of this family dismissed the priest for some offence and installed in his place the present priest's father, a Brahman clerk who had recently settled in the village.

A few years ago the head of the leading family, who has since died, handed over control of the temple to a Board of Trustees, consisting of prominent men of old village families chosen by himself. He also gave the temple some houses, the rent of which was to go into the temple fund, and money which the Trustees lent at interest. Now the Board seldom or never meets, and the temple is controlled by two of the Trustees: the Treasurer, a landlord with no other occupation, and the patel. A petition signed by several villagers, demanding written accounts from the Trustees and a public meeting to elect a new Board, has achieved nothing. The priest has no say in the running of the temple; nor, apparently, has the present head of the family which endowed it, though he is still entitled to the honour of opening the yearly Car Festival by cutting a plantain stem in the temple.

The priest, who lives beside the temple, is the 'part-time puujaari' mentioned in the last chapter, a skilled worker who serves worshippers only in the evenings, on Sundays and on public holidays, which include the main Hindu festivals. The men who organized the petition against the Trustees say that they have nothing against him personally, but that he should be replaced by a priest receiving a proper salary instead of the present nominal payment.

Worship in the temple is of three kinds: daily rites performed by the priest, with or without a congregation, at certain periods of the year; public worship at festivals; and family or private worship. The priest receives a very small payment from worshippers. The rites consist mainly of Sanskrit mantras or formulas, which only the priest knows; offerings of food, flowers, coconuts or holy water, first to the image and then to the worshippers, who derive spiritual benefit from touching or consuming what has been offered to a god; and aarati, the

circling of lights, the universal rite of worship or respect or blessing which may be performed by anyone on auspicious occasions.

The priest performs daily rites for one month of the year, when he or one of his young daughters makes an offering early each morning, and at the festivals of Raamanavami and Dasara, at each of which he celebrates a brief puuja on nine consecutive evenings. None of these rites attracts a large congregation.

All public festivals, except those celebrated only by Harijans or in some outlying settlements in the 'gardens', involve a procession through the village streets and a visit to Lake3minaaraayan3a Temple, where the priest conducts a puuja and distributes the offerings to the congregation. This is the part of the festival to which outside dignitaries like the Mayor are invited. It is not the climax of the festival, but rather a way of legitimizing it as a part of the all-India tradition, of which the Brahmans are the guardians. A purely local cult would lack the sanction and prestige of brahmanical worship. It is not so much a matter of 'sanskritization' of the rites as of acknowledging the brahmanical religious tradition, which provides the categories of the village theology but not its main substance. This substance is expressed more adequately in other cults, the objects of concern and passion and devotion, associated with the brahmanical cult and using many ritual forms derived from it (puuja, aarati, mantras &c) but emphasizing other values.

Families pay formal visits to the temple, usually in a procession of relatives and guests, to mark important rituals of the life cycle with a simple puuja by the priest, and sometimes by performing minor ceremonies of their own caste in the temple. This happens particularly

at weddings, girls' puberty ceremonies, and obsequies. In each case the central or distinctive ritual for the occasion takes place somewhere else, but for the ceremony to be complete two things are necessary: publicity, and the sanction of the 'official' brahmanical religion, with which ideas of 'auspiciousness' (mangalam) and prestige are associated.

Private worship in this temple is less common, though a few people come to offer a coconut, to pray, or to worship in other ways. Generally a visit to Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple is a social matter, prescribed by custom for a particular occasion and legitimizing the status of a group (the village, the family) as a part of the community of Hindus.

This cult makes an appeal to pride. The temple was renovated, and the image is finely dressed for processions, to show that Garud3apura is no mean village; but with its stress on permanence, tradition and order this kind of religion leaves little room for choice or spontaneous devotion.

The cult at Gangamma Temple is the most visible expression of the religion of groups; in this case, the religion of the local community or village. The temple stands near Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, at another point where the main street widens to form an open space in front of the temple. This space is regarded as the centre of the village.

The temple building is recent, though a shrine to the village's patron goddess Gangamma seems to have stood there since the early days of the village. The original shrine consisted of two stones standing in the earth, under a niim tree. A hall was built over the stone, and in about 1930 it was extended and a black stone image of the goddess was placed in a shrine outside the hall, under a porch with pillars. More recently a member of the village's leading family of landlords presented a new

brass image of the goddess, which is kept in the main temple hall and taken out in processions.

The priest is an Okkaliga by caste, formerly a peasant farmer and now a small landlord owning several houses near the temple. It is not clear how the priesthood came into his family. There seem to be no special qualifications or rules of behaviour required of the priest, nor is he respected more than anyone else (his nickname, which his friends use to his face, is Gobbur 'manure', because of his former occupation). Any member of his family may perform the rites of his place, and his wife or one of his young children generally does so except at festivals or on other important occasions. He receives only the small coins offered by worshippers. The expense of running and maintaining the temple is apparently borne by the small group of businessmen and landlords, all of old Garud3apura families, who take a special interest in the temple. There is no Board of Trustees or formal temple committee.

As the village's patron goddess, Gangamma is most concerned with its health, and with protection against epidemics in particular. Women worship her regularly, bringing offerings of coconuts, food, flowers and oil in the evenings, especially on Tuesdays and Fridays, which are sacred to her. Many bring young children to be blessed, or rather to derive the greatest benefit by being present at the puuja and touching or consuming the offerings. A member of the priest's family presents the offerings to the goddess with a brief puuja, like the brahmanical rite but much simpler, involving aarati (circling of lights) and sometimes mantras, in Kannada not Sanskrit.

When there are epidemics in the village, or when diseases in the city threaten to spread to the village, public puujas are sometimes

held in the temple and paid for either by prominent villagers, as a service to the village community, or by public subscription. One prominent villager, for example, paid for such a puuja when cases of cholera broke out in other parts of the city; and I shall describe a revival of the 'Village Festival' in the face of an epidemic of rinderpest among the village cattle. When there is sickness in a house, the women and children of the family take special offerings to the temple, often with a vow to make a further offering when the disease is cured. Particularly at these times the cult becomes extremely emotional and can be painful to watch; but it is only at festivals that this emotion is openly expressed, in symptoms of possession by Gangamma or another deity, often with hysterical outbursts, sobbing, screaming and fainting.

Though most families worship or make vows to Gangamma whenever there is sickness in the family, and though they sometimes consult a mantravaad3i or magician, they use modern medicine as well. They go either to private doctors, to ESI (Employees' State Insurance) clinics, or to government hospitals, which have both free and paying wards. There is one exception: though there is no general objection to vaccination in order to prevent smallpox, only an educated minority say they would call in a doctor when either smallpox or chickenpox has broken out. The approved treatment is to keep the patient at home, to spread cow-dung on the floor and to keep it very clean, to keep cow's urine and niim leaves at the door of his room, to pray to the household god, and to take an offering of rice cooked with curd and vegetables to Gangamma Temple. At the temple the offering is laid on a white sheet, provided by the village Washerman, who takes it outside the village and throws it into a tank or well.

Though Gangamma is content to help the doctors to cure other diseases, it seems that chickenpox and smallpox are her own diseases, and that to treat them in any other way is to defy her authority. Since she can send diseases as well as cure them, her anger could put the whole village in danger of an epidemic.

This procedure is almost always followed when a child is suffering from chickenpox, but smallpox is very rare, mainly because of vaccination campaigns by the public health authorities, and it is not clear how many people would refuse to see a doctor if there were now a serious epidemic of smallpox.

Men seldom take part in the regular worship of the goddess; though I have seen a man stand near the shrine when there was sickness in his family, too embarrassed to take part directly but anxious to see that the puuja was done properly, while a young girl of the family made an offering. Just as Gangamma watches over the health of the whole village, so a man's health and well-being are in the hands of the women of the household, particularly his wife; and Gangamma is seen to play the same part in relation to the village as women in relation to the family. The people make this comparison explicitly. But though both the goddess and the women of the household are expected to be gentle and protecting, their role gives them power which may be dangerous. Gangamma can send diseases instead of curing them, just as a pure woman may in theory acquire the power to curse.

Yet the cult of Gangamma is carried on in a spirit of devotion not fear. Though Gangamma is believed to be jealous of her rights, the emphasis is on security and protection rather than the 'propitiation' or 'appeasement' which earlier writers (e.g. O'Malley 1935 143) took to be

the spirit of these village cults.

The cult resembles that of 'village goddesses' all over South India, and is equally popular among old families and immigrants. Though a few names of goddesses are found in innumerable villages (Maariamma, Ellamma, Gangamma &c) there is little difference between their characters; and whether or not two goddesses have the same name, this seems to make no difference to the ease with which one can be substituted for another.

There seem to be no commonly known myths about Gangamma, who is clearly named after the sacred river Ganges. Her name matters so little that the printed invitation to the yearly Car Festival referred to Gangamma simply as 'the Goddess' (Ammanavara in Kannada): it was clear which goddess was meant, though the images of other goddesses, specified by name, were also carried in the procession. The festival of the patron goddess of another Bangalore neighbourhood was advertised as that of 'Seppings Road Grama Devatha' (village deity): neither the name of the original village, nor that of the goddess herself, were important, as long as the area under her protection was specified. The community of birth, or caste, is of secondary importance in such cults: higher castes often worship at temples of goddesses served by Harijans, such as the Maariamma Temple in Williams Town which I describe later.

Dumont (1957 389) shows that the older description of village goddesses as 'mother-goddesses' (O'Malley 1935 &c) is a mistake, deriving from two things: the influence of Sanskrit texts; and a mistranslation of the Tamil 'amma(n)', which has its equivalents in other Dravidian languages. 'Amma(n') can mean mother, but it is used as a courtesy title for any female, even a young girl; Dumont rightly translates it 'Lady' (Dame), and calls the goddess with power over diseases 'la Dame de la maladie'. In the Car Festival the image of

Gangamma is dressed as a bride not a mother, with jewels, a new sari, and a coconut and betel leaves in her lap, signs of the auspiciousness associated with weddings; and the family which has the right to dress her for this occasion defended this right against another claimant, saying that Gangamma was 'a girl (bride) of our house'.

Though men do not worship regularly at Gangamma Temple, they use it on Friday evenings for the meetings of a 'bhajan group', which comes together to sing devotional lyrics in any of the three languages of the village. Generally these are not anonymous folk-songs but the literary compositions of famous devotees, addressed to the poets' chosen gods. Some bhajans may be sung to any suitable tune, others are the work of musicians like Tyaagaraaja, who composed the music as well as the lyrics. Several other bhajan groups meet regularly in the village, though the old 'bhajan houses' - private houses where meetings were held - are no longer used for this purpose. Singing bhajans is a form of devotional worship, offered to the god named in the lyric, or to 'God' (Kad3avul3/Deevaru) in general, rather than to the god in whose temple the group happens to meet. However, when meetings are held in Gangamma Temple, they end with a brief congregational puuja to the goddess, conducted by the temple priest.

This bhajan group has no formal organization, but men of the village establishment, particularly the patel and his friends, regularly attend its meetings to sing or to play instruments. Before each meeting one of the regular attenders volunteers to provide the offerings, in sufficient quantities to feed all the worshippers. Partly because the offerings are good to eat, any congregational worship attracts children; and a bhajan group consists typically of a circle of men singing or playing instruments, and an outer circle of children.

Gangamma's place in the village, and her relation to the brahmanical cult, is made clear at the yearly Car Festival, or procession of the village's gods, which I describe later. This begins with a puuja conducted by the Brahman priest in Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, and Laks3minaaraayan3a is one of the deities whose image is carried in the procession; but after the initial puuja Laks3minaaraayan3a receives little attention. The number of gods in the procession varies from year to year; in the procession I saw, there were eleven. A few families buy a coconut for each god; others, if they make an offering at all, buy one ~~only~~ for Gangamma, and for any other gods to whom the family or its members are specially devoted. Though the festival must be legitimized at its beginning as a part of the brahmanical sanskritic religion, the centre of devotion is the village's patron and representative Gangamma.

Like other village goddesses Gangamma is worshipped both with rites resembling the brahmanical puuja - aarati, offerings of food, breaking of coconuts, anointing and mantras (in Kannada) - and with sacrifices of sheep, goats and cocks. Blood sacrifice is now less common than it was, because soon after Indian Independence it was made illegal, under the influence of the 'non-violent' ideology of the Congress Party, and as part of an effort by reformers to 'purify' the Hindu religion. Though this law is not enforced strictly in Mysore, Gangamma Temple is so public, and the crowds attracted by festivals are so large, that any blood sacrifices in front of the temple must be performed quickly, and the carcass removed at once, so that the police can ignore the incident.

Gangamma is meat-eating ('non-vegetarian' in Indian English) like most of her worshippers. She is directly accessible to worship, and answers prayers not only by her actions, but sometimes by communicating directly with her worshippers. Sacrifice is one way of inducing her to do so.

Before a sheep or goat can be sacrificed, water is sprinkled on its back until it shivers. This is the 'sign' (kurri) that the sacrifice is acceptable. If the animal does not shiver, it is permissible to burn something in front of its nose, so that the smoke will make it shiver; but until it gives the 'sign' it cannot be killed. It is particularly on these occasions, when a channel of communication between the deity and man has been opened, that Gangamma possesses certain people directly, either speaking through their mouths, dancing in their bodies, or causing them to cry out or faint. The goddess' message may be addressed to the village in general, as when she answers questions through the mouth of an oracle; or to the person who is possessed, since possession is often the goddess' way of reminding someone to worship regularly or to fulfil a vow. In either case the message is very valuable to those who receive it.

Villagers sharply distinguish goddesses like Gangamma, who receives blood sacrifice and can be approached more directly, from the superior goddesses (Laks3mi, Paarvati &c), who are the consorts of the high gods and are vegetarian, like the Brahmans who mediate between them and their worshippers. The high gods and goddesses accept worship and confer benefits, but they are generally too remote to communicate with men except through the regular movement of the stars, a model of the eternal order. In a sense the high gods are to Gangamma as Hindu India is to Garud3apura.

A minor cult, similar to that of Gangamma, is that of the Naagaraajans or snake deities, who have several 'temples' in the village. Each 'temple' consists of a set of three stones, often standing under a piipal tree on an earth platform with stone sides. On each of the stones is carved a cobra with a spread hood, or sometimes with the head and breasts of a woman.

The chief Naagaraajan temple in the village consists of two sets of stones, one painted and the other unpainted, on the platform near Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple. Like Gangamma, they are worshipped mainly by women and especially on Tuesdays and Fridays, for protection against illness: if one neglects them, it is said that one may suffer from pus in the ears.

Worshippers perform a simple aarati, walk round the stones three times, and sometimes prostrate themselves in front of the images. There is no priest, and apparently no sacrifice. Educated villagers say the Naagaraajans are avataaras or forms of Subrahman3ya, who is also worshipped as Murugan, but in practice the cults are quite distinct. A live cobra, particularly if it is harmless, is also a sign of God - of divinity in general, rather than of a particular named god. It should not be killed, and is worshipped if it stays in or near a temple: an example is the cobra that lives in the Mowna Guru Math.

The Mowna Guru Math+ is a religious institution built around the grave of the Mowna Guru, or 'silent saint', who died there in 1879. It is the most important manifestation in the village of the religion of choice.

A mat3ha (also spelt math, matt, mutt), sometimes translated monastery or hermitage, is a centre of popular religious instruction, normally carried on by a community of ascetics under the authority of a head (or 'abbot'):

+ This is the transliteration (from Kannada) used in the village. Mine would read Mauna Guru Mat3ha.

> Corresponding to the āśramas and tapovanas of ṛsis mentioned in ancient Sanskrit literature, there developed, in later historical periods, centers of spiritual endeavor and headquarters of different kinds of saints and their religious activities called mathas, which were originally natural habitations in the form of mountain caves, guhais (guhās), but were later enlarged into structural buildings. ... Religious sects ... developed their own matha-organizations for keeping up their religious propaganda among the people. Besides teaching texts of higher philosophy to select sets of qualified students, the heads of these mathas, who are constantly on the move, accompanied by disciples and scholars, come into close contact with the people, to whom they give popular discourses. (Raghavan 1959 133)

This account (cf O'Malley 1935 201-2) describes the intentions of those who established and support the Mowna Guru Math, rather than its present working: it is a much humbler institution. It is, however, the village's chief centre of devotional worship and religious innovation, and sometimes of social innovation. Its history, organization and ritual, and the beliefs of people associated with it, show that it is a radical departure from the brahmanical and group aspects of religion, associated with Laks3minaaraayan3a and Gangamma Temples.

The Mowna Guru, or 'Silent Saint', was in the tradition of other wandering ascetics in South India, some of whom took vows of perpetual silence and all of whom were said to work miracles, particularly of healing (O'Malley 1935 179-181, Francis 1905 187-8, Hemingway 1906 219). The careers of some of these saints are so alike

that the same Mowna Guru is believed to have died, or at any rate to have been buried, at several places, and each time to have reappeared miraculously somewhere else. Devotees of this Math claim to know of six other Maths built over tombs of the same guru.

It seems that this Mowna Guru did not keep perpetual silence. It is possible that he spent some time under a vow of silence before coming to Garud3apura, or that he had periods of silent meditation (mauna(m) 'silence' can be synonym for yooga(m) 'meditation'). People in Garud3apura explain that Mowna is 'just a name', like the woman's name Maunamma.+

The Guru is said to have been a Kannada speaker who come to Bangalore from the Telugu country, which is now the state of Andhra. He attracted a following in the old'City', largely among the Aacaari or Goldsmith caste, who also call themselves Vishva Braahman3as and claim to be of Brahman origin. On becoming an ascetic the Guru ceased to belong to any caste, but the Aacaaris claim that he was originally one of them. According to a court which went into the matter, this is probably true, though:

> no Sanyasi would willingly disclose his caste in the purvasrama [his life before he renounced the world].

The Aacaaris built the Guru a shelter, on the edge of a tank in the 'City'. The caste still revere this place as a shrine to the Guru and

+Natarajan writes in his life of the Guru Narayana:

> Silence is the normal state of Guruhood. That normal Guru state has no message to deliver - except that of the silent Word perhaps. Neither has it any gospel to spread, nor course of action to recommend on its own initiative. It is free from the sense of agency in the world of activities or works. (Natarajan 1952 106)

keep certain relics of his presence there, such as the arm-rest he used in meditation and an ornamental axe which belonged to him.

Many stories are told of his miracles. When a gathering of Lingaayats refused to feed him, he spirited away the lingams or phallic emblems they wore on their bodies, and only restored the lingams when the Lingaayats promised to feed anyone who asked them in future. He went to Mecca, but as a Hindu he was not allowed to enter the great mosque; so he passed through the solid walls, and this miracle gained him many Muslim devotees, who presented a green turban to him. He is shown wearing this turban in his portrait in the Math. On another occasion he saved an old woman, Timmamma, whose stomach-ache was so bad that she was about to drown herself in the tank beside which he lived. He gave her some consecrated ash to eat; it cured her, and she became his closest disciple.

One of the Guru's non-Aacaari disciples was a Naidu of Garud3apura, a descendant of Nalla Naayaka who founded the village. He offered the Guru a flower garden on the edge of the village, and built a shelter for the Guru to meditate in and a shrine to the Guru's chosen god Iishvara (or Shiva). Timmamma, whose husband had now died, came to live in Garud3apura and to look after him.

A few months later the Guru announced that he would be sealed up in an underground room which his devotees had dug for him in the flower garden, and that he would take samaadhi, the final stage of meditation when the body remains permanently or temporarily in a state of suspended animation. When the British authorities of the Cantonment refused to allow him to be buried alive, he announced that he would die at noon on a certain day in 1879. The whole village gathered to see him

die, as well as British officials and doctors who had been invited; it is said that even the British Resident in Mysore was there, though this seems unlikely. The Guru sat cross-legged in meditation, with a rosary in his hand. Exactly at noon the rosary fell from his hand, his head fell sideways, and though he was still sitting up the doctors certified that he was dead. The British went away, the Guru revived and was carried in triumph through the village, went into his underground room, and was sealed up alive. Some villagers deny that he was buried alive, but most believe that he was. A few old people say they were present as children, but their accounts are not clear.

> One story, which is not generally known, is that the Guru told three of his disciples to stay by the mouth of the underground room for three days, when he would regain consciousness and ring a bell. They were to let him out, and he would tell them something to their advantage. They stayed for three days, but when he rang his bell they were frightened and ran away, keeping the whole matter secret. Later one of them went blind; on his deathbed he revealed what had happened, saying that his blindness must be a punishment for disobedience. At least one man believes the Mowna Guru is still alive, though unconscious in meditation, in his underground room.

The Mowna Guru is described as a great teacher. There are said to be handwritten or printed books of his sayings, which are very hard to find and which the Aacaaris in the 'City' refuse to part with. According to one man, the devotees were able to acquire one of these books but could not understand the literary Kannada it was written in, and sent it to a 'poet' who is to translate it into simpler language. When devotees

of the Math are asked about the Guru's teachings, they tend to say these consist of moral maxims of a general kind, very like those of other religious teachers: do not harm others, do not interfere in their affairs &c.

The truth seems to be that nothing is known of the Mowna Guru's teachings. He is revered because of his life and miracles, particularly his miraculous death, which is regarded both as a sacrifice or renunciation and as a wonder, since it is believed that he was able to achieve 'jiivan-samaadhi', or union with the divine while still alive. Ghurye writes of the 'samadhis' or tombstones of saints who were buried alive in Maharashtra:

> A person taking 'jivanta samadhi' is always looked upon as an extraordinary individual, almost an incarnation of God. (Ghurye 1963 203)

It is in character that such a holy man should be a great teacher; what he taught does not matter much. What is important is personal devotion; and his miracles prove that he was in direct contact with God, or had more divinity in him than other men, so that by devotion to the Guru the devotee himself becomes more god-like or closer to God.

In 1882 the man who had brought the Mowna Guru to Garud3apura built a shrine over the Guru's samaadhi (meaning in this case the place where he was buried) and a temple around it. The presiding deity was the Mowna Guru himself, symbolized by a painting of the saint in a costume of Mughal style. The temple also contained the Guru's own shrine to Iishvara. Other shrines were added later, to Gan3eesha, Krisn3a and Buddha; also a separate temple to Murugan, beside the main temple, and a house for Timmamma, who became the first Svaamijii or priest of the

Math. She died soon afterwards and was buried in this house. The present Svaamijii, who lives there, sometimes does puuja at her grave.

After Timmamma the Math had a succession of Svaamijiis, who performed regular congregational puuja, received offerings from the families or individual devotees, and celebrated an important puuja to the Mowna Guru at the Dasara festival in October. These Svaamijiis were appointed by the family of the man who had brought the Mowna Guru to Garud3apura and built the Math. For a time few worshippers went there, and the Svaamijii was supported only by a few cigarette factory workers who remained faithful to the Math. It is said that the Math buildings were neglected and that undesirable characters lived in them or went there to smoke Cannabis. Yet it seems that the yearly Guru Puuja was still regarded as a village festival, and the Math as one of the village temples (or rather two temples).

There are very few Aacaaris in Garud3apura; but Aacaaris are notoriously litigious and jealous of their rights, and the Aacaaris of the 'City', living beyond the Cantonment, claimed that since the Mowna Guru was originally an Aacaari, and had been Guru to their community, they had the exclusive right to appoint the priest at his Math and to organize worship and festivals there. Though the Aacaaris had not built the Math, they paid for some repairs to the buildings and for the installation of electric lights, and appointed a representative to sue the Garud3apura men who controlled the Math and had appointed its Svaamijii. This representative agreed to a compromise settlement, under which the Math was to be managed by a committee consisting of himself and four Garud3apura men, who were not Aacaaris. The other

Aacaaris repudiated this agreement, and filed a case against the representatives of the village in 1941. After two appeals the case was finally settled in 1946. The management of the Math was vested in a Committee of seven Trustees: three to be elected by the Aacaaris of Bangalore, three by all Hindus of Garud3apura except Aacaaris, and a neutral chairman to be appointed by the District Munsiff or judge. Each side was to appoint its own archaka or Svaamijii. The Aacaari Svaamijii was to celebrate all rites on two days of their year, which are important to Aacaaris, and the Svaamijii appointed by the people of Garud3apura was to do so on the day of the yearly Guru Puuja. On all other days the Aacaari was to celebrate the rites until 2 pm and the other Svaamijii after 2 pm. All worshippers were to be free to come at any time.

The new Committee had few meetings, apparently because the Aacaaris could not agree among themselves who should represent them; nor did many of them come to the Math or spend any more money on it. They installed their Svaamijii, an Aacaari himself, who lives in a room beside the temple and performs the rites for the few worshippers who go to the Math in the mornings.

The other Svaamijii, recognized by the people of Garud3apura, is a non-Brahman ascetic from Kerala. He wandered from one religious institution to another as a boy, settled in Garud3apura as the disciple and servant of the last Svaamijii (also from Kerala), and took his place when that Svaamijii died. He lives with a young ascetic who came recently to serve him, to help him perform the ritual, and to learn from him. At any time one or two wandering ascetics live in the Math as guests of one or other of the Svaamijiis;

and a professional performer and teacher of mridangam (drum) music, a widower who was imprisoned in the struggle for Independence, is allowed to live rent-free in another room.

The present revival of interest in the Math is said to date from two incidents, both around 1950. Some North Indian women from the nearby Sindhi colony, who came to worship in the Iishvara shrine, poured water over the lingam (stone phallus) before they realized that a black cobra was coiled round it; the cobra raised its hood and went away. Since a harmless cobra is a sign of God, and since snakes are associated particularly with Iishvara or Shiva, this was taken to be a miraculous sign of the sanctity of the Math. A cobra, said to be the same one, still lives in an ant-hill at the Math, and is worshipped there, both regularly by some individual worshippers and formally at the yearly Shreest3i festival. The Svaamijii and worshippers regularly pour milk into its hole, believing that the snake drinks the milk. It is said that the snake is harmless, and that the cobra which once bit a boy's hand, though without leaving any poison, was another one.

The other incident was more important: a rich shopkeeper of Garud3apura, a grandson of the man who brought the Mowna Guru to the village and built the Math, vowed to spend Rs 500 on the Math if his wife had a son. In time she had two, and the father finally consulted two of his friends about the best way to spend the money he had vowed. They suggested that he should renovate and extend the Math building; he agreed to do so, but the plans became more and more ambitious, and the incidental expenses higher and higher, until the shopkeeper was involved in an expense of many thousands of rupees instead of the Rs 500 he had vowed to spend. He extended the main temple in the same

simple style of architecture, with whitewashed granite pillars and a polished red cement floor; and he installed a separate shrine to the Navagrahas or nine gods, representing the five planets, the sun, the moon, Agni (Fire) and Vaayu (Wind); they are worshipped to avert or delay the bad consequences of the positions of the planets, which may be revealed by astrology.+ Two stone tablets, set in the wall of the main temple and inscribed in Kannada, Tamil and English, commemmorate the names of the man who first built the Math and of his grandson who extended it.

The Math stands in a large courtyard, which was originally the flower garden, some distance from the village centre. A large gateway opens into the street. On either side of the gate there is a whitewashed stone, with the outline of the Mowna Guru's ornamental axe and of the sun and moon incised and painted red. One man said that the sun and moon represent man's two eyes, and the Mowna Guru's axe the third eye of mystical vision. Beside the gateway there is a row of single- storey rooms, in which the Aacaari Svaamijii, any wandering ascetics, and the mridangam player live. To one side of the courtyard there is a platform with granite sides, bearing three large trees which are sacred to the Hindu trinity of Brahma, Visn3u and Shiva; and two sets of stone Naagaraajans, one of which is recent. The Svaamijii appointed by the people of Garud3apura lives in a small house with a paved veranda, beside a garden which contains flowers and vegetables, and the ant-hill where the sacred cobra lives.

+See Diehl (1956 299) on the Navagraha: 'When the planets have been turned into gods, they can be negotiated with.'

The Math also contains a small shrine, perhaps five feet high, to Gan3eesha, the elephant-headed son of Shiva; and a temple to Murugan or Subrahman3ya, who is identified with Shiva's other son Karttikeya or Skanda. Murugan is particularly the god of the Tamils, and is described as dark and beautiful. His statue, of stone blackened by anointing, is usually dressed in rich silk and garlanded with flowers. He holds his emblem, a copper spear (veel) which represents the penetrating power of wisdom or discrimination (arrivu); and a stone peacock, his vaahana or vehicle, faces him. On the walls of the temple there are remarkable fresco paintings of mythical scenes, and coloured prints of the gods; immediately behind him is a print of the child Murugan, surrounded by the Tamil monogram of the sacred Sanskrit syllable 'Om', the word from which the universe was created and which an educated villager compared with 'the Word in St John'.

The main temple at the Math is a large low hall, with granite pillars painted white, polished cement floors and electric lighting. The Mowna Guru's samaadhi or grave stands at one end, but it is possible to pass behind it, and individual worshippers walk round it three times as a sign of reverence. The grave itself is a stone monument, rising in steps towards the painting of the Guru dressed in Mughal style. On the monument are various emblems of the Mowna Guru, copper plates bearing yantras or geometrical diagrams with Kannada syllables having an esoteric meaning, jewels and flowers. The shrine of Iishvara or Shiva is let into a side wall of the temple. Iishvara is represented by a copper mask of a human face; and behind him there is a portrait of Raama and Siita, which is said to prove that the temple is

both Vaisn3ava and Shaiva, and therefore ignores all distinctions of sect. A stone bull, Iishvara's vehicle, faces his shrine and a smaller shrine in the same wall contains a painted statue of Krisn3a playing his flute, worshipped particularly at Krisn3a Jayanti (Krisn3a's birthday), and by Sindhis from outside the village every Wednesday. A painted bust of Buddha in a niche never or seldom seems to receive worship.

Soon after the extension of the Math in 1950 a young and idealistic clerk working in the cigarette factory, the son of an immigrant, organized an association of educated young men of the village to run a night school for the village children in the main temple at the Math. The children went to other Schools in the daytime, mostly to the overcrowded Corporation schools, and the young men gave them extra classes and supervised their homework in the same subjects: English, arithmetic &c. The parents paid a nominal sum (about 4d a month) towards the cost of slates, pencils and electric light, and the young men, who spent every evening teaching after they came home from work or from school, received nothing. The school was divided into two sections, a Kannada section for children whose first language was either Kannada or Telugu, and a Tamil section, which was mainly for the children of immigrants. A disagreement between teachers of different mother languages about the importance to be given to each section was a minor cause of the dissolution of the school some six years later. Some of the young men left the village, others were unable to continue their teaching because they worked evening shifts in factories; and the school finally had to be dissolved when worshippers

coming to the Math for their evening devotions complained about the noise the children made.

The night school remains the most notable example of devoted public service in Garud3apura's history, in the days before 'social service' had become a politician's cliché. Nothing like it had ever happened before. To many older men the plan was absurd - they said that not even a crow would come to the classes - as well as subversive, for the teachers were infected with the democratic ideology of the Congress Party, which continued to be suspect to older men for some years after Independence.

Like most things in Garud3apura, the school had religious overtones. Its classes took place in the temple, under the portrait and, as it were, in the presence of the Mowna Guru. The night school association, when eventually it felt the need for a name and for notepaper with printed letter-heads, called itself the Swami Vivekananda Service Centre, after the great Bengali religious and social reformer who founded the Ramakrishna Mission.

While the ethics associated with brahmanism stresses the importance of doing one's caste duty well and otherwise minding one's business, and the ethics of group religion stresses the interests of the particular village or caste or family, the ethics which came to be associated with the Math and its night school emphasizes social responsibility, service to all men without distinction of caste, and personal decision. The particular decision to teach in the night school represented a break with the traditions of families, as well as a great sacrifice of time.

This, as I shall show, is the direction in which the religion of

choice tends in modern circumstances. Those who organized the night school did not choose one kind of religion and its ethics and reject the others. A very few came close to doing so. The others included the new kind of religion in their religious life, following an old tradition; and they adopted its ethics, which were new, in situations where they were thought to apply, but not in others. Thus men who observe brahmanical rites carefully, who uphold the principle that the caste order is divinely ordained, and for whose families the worship of Gangamma and of their caste and family gods are very important, say that in the Math there is no caste, just as there is no sect or other division between men: in the sight of God (meaning God as worshipped and thought of here), a Harijan's worship is as acceptable as that of a man of higher caste. Still more remarkably, a few Harijans actually come to the Math to worship.

The young men who taught in the night school are now fathers. The man who succeeded its founder as headmaster is Cinnappa, known as a 'social worker' in his spare time; a man related to the leading family of the village, and now a widower austerely dedicated to charitable work, who spends his evenings going through scholarship applications as Honorary Secretary to a caste hostel in the City. Some of these men are still nicknamed 'Maast3aru' - a Kannada form of '(school-)master', and are respected by their former pupils. This can be embarrassing, for it marks them as belonging to an older generation than boys and girls only a few years younger than they are.

These men are the innovators who transformed ethical assumptions that were latent and unstressed into the common assumptions of a generation of Garud3apura's youth. This was the moment when the wave of reforming enthusiasm, moral fervour and equalitarianism, which had

inspired the Independence movement, reached Garud3apura. If one were to distinguish crudely between 'traditional' and 'modern' Garud3apura, the night school would be the boundary between them.

This account of the night school is not a digression from my account of the Math, for it is necessary to appreciate the spirit of the night school to understand the more specifically religious revival of interest in the Math which followed it.

When the court passed judgment in the Math case, the leading men of Garud3apura agreed on, rather than elected, the three Trustees they were entitled to appoint. Two of the Trustees died, and since no one called a meeting to elect new ones the survivor took the responsibility for the running of the Math, in consultation with the Svaamijii. This Trustee's son founded the night school. When the time came to hold the yearly Guru Puuja he and one or two friends, old and respected men like himself, went to the houses of the more respectable citizens of the village, and collected enough for a modest puuja. When the night school was founded the municipal councillor for the division, who sometimes helped in the collection, suggested that the young men who taught in the Math should be asked to help in the collection for the Guru Puuja. They collected Rs 2000 from the whole village when the Trustee had not expected Rs 100; and with the money they organized a much more impressive Guru Puuja celebration.

The night school teachers, under the influence of the 'social worker' Cinnappa who became like a secular 'guru' in social work to them, organized an association of devotees of the Math living in Garud3apura. This Math Association elects a committee, collects

money for regular congregational worship, organizes the yearly Guru Puuja and pays the Svaamijii a very small salary (now Rs 30 a month). The Association was connected from the beginning with the night school and most members of its committee taught at the school; though, as I said, this did not prevent other worshippers from complaining later that the noise of the school distracted them from their devotions.

The Math Association is open in principle to all Hindus of Garud3apura. There is some doubt whether Aacaaris are eligible for membership, because of the court's ruling that the Garud3apura people's Svaamijii should be elected by all Hindus living in the village except Aacaaris; but it seems unlikely that anyone would object if an Aacaari applied for membership. Members should pay a subscription of Rs 2 (3s) a month; but the arrangements for collecting this are inadequate, and some cannot afford to pay it, so that by the present Treasurer's definition ' A member means one who pays regularly or once in a way.' The other rules of the Association are similarly vague, apparently because it is felt that an Association based on common devotion and good will should not need rigid forms. The General Body of all members should meet yearly to approve the accounts, which are kept very carefully and printed, and to elect the committee. The election has never been contested; but a decision by the committee that its term of office should run for three years instead of one caused some dissension among members. On this point, as on others, the handwritten rules of the Association are not clear.

There are now about 100 'members', all men, who in the Secretary's opinion are entitled to attend meetings of the General Body, and about 30 who pay the full subscription regularly. Their importance in the village is out of proportion to their number; for besides some of the

most prominent men of the village, who belong to the Association as a matter of form, it includes the 'social worker' and the former night school teachers, men who are greatly respected by educated men and women younger than they are, as well as some older men of a devout and philosophical mind.

When the Association was founded it had more money than it needed for the regular congregational puujas, and decided to imitate larger temples elsewhere in having a programme of harikathas, or religious entertainments with music, for several nights before the yearly Guru Puuja. This programme became very popular; the contributions from the public increased, until the committee decided to hold a festival for the nine nights of Dasara, with harikathas, religious discourses and concerts of classical Carnatic (south Indian) music. I describe this festival in more detail in the next section.

Regular congregational worship, which is rare in North India, is traditional in South Indian temples, and the large temple halls and courtyards are designed to hold large crowds on these occasions. The chief regular congregational rite at the Math, apart from yearly festivals, is the monthly puuja on the auspicious full moon day (Paurnami).

> Like all congregational worship at the Math, and like the reverence done to the gods in the Car Festival, Paurnami Puuja begins with a puuja to Gan3eesha, the remover of obstacles, at his shrine outside the main temple. The congregation stands in a rough semi-circle while the Svaamijii performs aarati, the circling of lights, with his right hand, and rings a handbell with his left. After Gan3eesha has been invoked it is permissible to worship the gods in any order,

but the Mowna Guru is worshipped last because the rite as a whole is addressed to him. The deities are normally worshipped in the order: Murugan, the Navagraha or Nine Gods, Iishvara, Mowna Guru. At the final puuja the worshippers stand in two parallel lines, closed at the end furthest from the Guru's samaadhi, so that all of them can see the rites. Men and women stand in different parts of the line, but there is no clear division between them. Children stand anywhere. The Svaamijii chants a long series of mantras in Sanskrit, consisting mainly of names of God. After each name the congregation chant the response 'Om', which the Svaamijii repeats as he pours a libation of consecrated water (tiirtha) on the ground with a brass spoon. Lastly, he performs aarati over the Guru's grave with a special lamp, having many wicks dipped in oil. He takes round a small silver puuja plate, bearing a piece of burning camphor and some vibhuuti, the sacred white ash of cowdung. Each worshipper warms his hands briefly over the flame and puts them to his face, then usually takes a pinch of the ash and swallows it or puts it on his forehead or his neck. At this point many worshippers put small coins in the plate as pious gifts (daaks3in3a) to the Svaamijii, but no one is compelled to make such a gift. Lastly the Svaamijii distributes the offerings to the congregation, beginning with the man who has paid for the puuja and this man's wife, who have the right to consume them immediately after they have been symbolically offered to the Mowna Guru. The offerings consist of holy water, which the worshippers receive in their cupped right hands and drink; sometimes of flowers,

which the women put in their hair and the men put behind their ears or keep in their hands; and of some kind of vegetarian food - rice and curd, a sweet, sliced bananas &c, usually in a cup of sewn palm-leaves. The worshippers sit down on the temple floor to eat the offerings and to talk. Some take a portion of the offerings home for their relatives, and if one is carrying such a portion it is usual to offer some to any friends one meets.

The Math Association keeps a rota of families, each of which pays for the full moon puuja in a particular lunar month each year. If the head of the family cannot attend he may send his son, even a young boy, to represent the family. Colloquially a certain month's full moon puuja is called, for example, 'Krisn3asvaami's puuja', since Krisn3asvaami pays for it and consumes the offering first. He is the provider (seevakarta) who 'has the puuja done' (puuja ceyvikkirraar in Tamil) for the honour of the god and the benefit of the community; the Svaamijii, as puujaari or priest, 'does' (ceygirraar) the puuja; and the Mowna Guru, as the god, 'receives it when it is done' (ceydu kol3girraar). The food which has been symbolically offered becomes prasaadam, or matter blessed by contact with the god, like anything which has touched the image - water used for washing it, or the flowers or jewels it has worn. This blessing is contagious, and can best be absorbed by eating the prasaadam. Philosophically minded worshippers say that this blessing depends entirely on the worshipper's state of mind, and that the prasaadam's only virtue is that it concentrates his mind on God. In other situations, for instance in healing, the magical value of the materials themselves - particularly vibhuuti or consecrated ash - is stressed more.

Every Monday evening a similar but briefer puuja is performed. The congregation consists of a nucleus of devotees, members of the Association who regularly spend their free time in the Math, men and women who worship irregularly, and children with or without their parents.

On Thursday evenings a group of Tamil devotees of Murugan, many of whom work in the cigarette factory, and who live in or near the village, meet to sing bhajans or hymns in the Murugan Temple. The group, which has elected officers and a small subscription, calls itself the Shan3mugaananda Tiruccabai, or holy assembly of the joy of Shan3mugan ('the six-faced', a name of Murugan). Each member has a pocket copy of the Tirupugarh, a collection of lyrics addressed to Murugan by the medieval Tamil saint Arun3agirinaadar. The group sings these lyrics, or the bhajans of Raamalingam, a nineteenth-century Tamil saint, while a few members play the harmonium, the drum and other instruments. At the end of each meeting the Svaamijii does puuja to Murugan on behalf of the members of the Tiruccabai, who pay for the puuja collectively with their subscriptions. Members of this group organize the yearly Aad3i Kiruttigai festival in honour of Murugan.

Other bhajan groups meet occasionally in the main temple; for instance, a group of Gurkha watchmen who patrol the village and the surrounding suburbs for a monthly fee from each house, meet to sing wild bhajans in their own language, while the villagers gather out of curiosity. Devotees who are inclined to this form of worship meet informally in the evenings, in the main temple or on the veranda of the Svaamijii's house, to sing bhajans or to practice and learn new ones. One of these devotees is a homeless man who lives by casual labour and spends his free time in the Math, where he breaks into song spontaneously from time to time, particularly when the Svaamijii

performs aarati at congregational puujas. He is regarded not as an ascetic but as a simple-minded devotee, who lives only for the Math.

Wandering sannyaasis and devotees come to stay with either of the two Svaamijiis in the Math. Some sannyaasis spend their time wandering from place to place, and may stay for months at a time, begging food from the villagers; others are the heads of maths as far away as Bombay, who spend a few days in the village. A postman from Mysore city, interested in yogic practices, spent his leave with the Aacaari Svaamijii, who was his guru. Sometimes disciples of other gurus bring them to the Math.

> A skilled immigrant factory worker, who had spent some years in London, arranged for his guru to visit the Math. This guru, who was believed to have the miraculous stigma of the cakra, Visn3u's wheel, on his hand, was spending 108 weeks collecting money throughout South India for an important puuja at Tirupati, said to be equal in efficacy to the ancient Ashvamedha or horse sacrifice. Though this guru had few if any other disciples in the village, both men and women queued to receive his darshan - the blessing to be got from looking at a holy man - as well as the consecrated ash he distributed, and to contribute towards the great puuja. As one villager said, no one knew much about this guru, but his darshan could do no harm and might do good if one had faith in it. This attitude towards him seemed to be common.

The main temple is the largest public hall in Garud3apura, and like other temples it can be used for public meetings. A man living in Williams Town gave a course of free classes there on Sunday afternoons,

consisting of a philosophical commentary in Tamil on the Bhagavadgiita, to an audience consisting mainly of educated members of the Math Association. When the leading men of some old village families called a meeting to decide which candidate the village should support in a municipal election, they tried to gather in Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, but when they found it was locked and could not find the man with the key, they held a noisy and crowded meeting in the Math temple instead. Occasionally the Math Association - acting instead of the Trustees, who never meet - allows poor but deserving families connected with the Math, who cannot afford a marriage hall in the City, to hold weddings in the temple.

The Math is above all a place for individual or family worship, except on those formal occasions (girls' puberty ceremonies, obsequies &c) when families of 'middle' caste think it is necessary to visit a brahmanical temple. Individual worshippers or family groups go to the Math to ask the Svaamijii to offer flowers, coconuts or food to one or several deities, with a brief puuja; but the commonest form of worship is a private expression of devotion, with no intermediary, in which the ritual is very simple and the devotee's intention is everything.

> The most popular objects of devotion are Murugan and the Mowna Guru. The worshipper walks three times round the shrine or image, often ringing the bell which hangs from the ceiling each time round, except at shrines like Iishvara's which are set into the wall. He touches the image's feet in homage three times, each time conveying the blessing to himself by folding his hands over his face. If there is a stone figure of the god's vaahana or vehicle - Murugan's peacock or Iishvara's bull - facing the image, the worshipper pays homage to it in the

same way. He may lay a few small flowers at the foot of the image, and occasionally prostrates himself in front of it. That is all there is to see; but the details of the ritual are not important.

The essential part of this private worship consists of silent prayer, which has no standard form. Some say set prayers they have learnt from others, often as children, or from books; some use a simple formula of their own (eg 'Forgive our sins'); some speak to the god silently but as if in conversation. The words of the prayer seldom seem to be regarded as having the direct efficacy of the mantras or formulas used by puujaaris (priests) as liturgy and by mantravaad3is (magicians) as spells. In prayer only the worshipper's sincerity and purity of heart count. After worshipping some men - though apparently not women - sit in meditation on the temple floor for some time, without using any elaborate techniques of meditation.

Apart from the congregational puujas on Mondays, full moon days and festivals, not only the form of worship, but the occasions on which it is offered, are entirely a matter for the individual worshipper. A few men and women come to the Math every day to pray to their chosen god; some go at irregular intervals, whenever they feel the need; others worship for a particular purpose, to cure an illness in the family, to succeed in an enterprise, or simply to ensure the protection and good will of the deity, though women pray for health in the family at Gangamma Temple more often than at the Math. These are all regarded as legitimate reasons for worshipping. The more thoughtful devotees say it is better to pray without thinking of results, though it is hard to achieve this, because very few people are able to free themselves from all attachment and to worship from pure devotion.

Men who worship regularly at the Math use it as a kind of club, a place to meet their friends and to talk in the evening and on Sundays. They do this either in the main temple, or more often on the veranda of the Svaamijii's house: the Svaamijii sits on a deck chair while devotees of the Math who are his friends sit on mats on the floor. The Svaamijii is a sannyaasi or ascetic, and this is necessary to his position as head of a Math:[+] he is respected as a good man who serves the Math well and lives simply, but he makes no claim to exceptional sanctity and is no one's guru. His pleasures are talking to friends, reading the newspaper, smoking, and watching cricket near the Math. His presence imposes no special restraint on the conversation, but those who visit him are generally the more thoughtful and devout men of the village, and it is thought proper to discuss some subjects rather than others in the Math. The atmosphere of the Math is supposed to take the mind off attachment to the world, and to encourage a quiet devotion, charitable judgments, and thoughts of liberation from the world. To talk too much about money or business is out of place; and some consider caste - especially the characteristics of particular castes - a subject which should not be discussed in holy places like the Math, or even on holy occasions like weddings. The place to discuss these things is at home.

The Math appeals to Tamil immigrants partly because it contains the only Murugan temple in the village, and the Shan3mugaananda

[+] In 1950 the 'disciples' of Keladi Math in Mysore state sued their Svaamijii:

> alleging that the petitioner had married in contravention of the custom of remaining as 'Brahmachari' / celibate / and had mismanaged the spiritual and temporal affairs of the Math. (Indian Express, 14 November 1964)

Tiruccabai or Murugan bhajan group, which meets there, is entirely an immigrant association. The Math appeals to the older village families, partly because it is an established temple of the village and a source of pride - the Mowna Guru honoured Garud3apura when he chose to live and to be buried there. Most officers and active members of the Math Association, though not all, belong to old village families. Only some older men of the village establishment particularly the patel and his friends - keep aloof from the Math. They prefer the more formal kind of worship offered at Laks3min-aaraayan3a Temple, which has the sanction of an older tradition and is associated with social prestige rather than 'social service'. Men of this group have said that money spent on the Math is wasted, because in spite of the court's decision the Aacaaris may get it in the end.

Many villagers, including the priest of Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, say the Math has become popular as a place of worship at the expense of Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple. This is partly for a practical reason: the Math is always open, until late at night, and one of the two priests is there to make offerings on behalf of worshippers: Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple is often locked, and when it is open the priest may not be there. But the Math also seems to meet the need for a less institutional, more spontaneous form of worship, of gods chosen for their emotional appeal to the worshipper, rather than gods chosen for reasons connected with their prestige, like Laks3minaaraayan3a, or for their specialized function, like Gangamma.

Guru Puuja

The all-India festival of Dasara, in September or October, is particularly important in Mysore State. In Mysore City the Mahaaraaja still rides in a spectacular procession of elephants, though the scale of the celebrations is not what it was when he was a ruling prince; and the Dasara season coincides with many village processions and minor festivals throughout the state. Garud3apura's Car Festival, or procession of the village gods, takes place at Dasara, though it is now postponed for a few days in order not to clash with the equally popular festival of Guru Puuja, held at the Math to commemmorate the Mowna Guru with a programme which now lasts for ten days. The following account of the Guru Puuja held in October 1964 shows the Math in action, and suggests the place it occupies in Garud3apura society.

For some time before the festival members of the Math Association went from house to house in the village, collecting money for the festival, and gifts of food and firewood for the feeding of the poor (annadaanam) to be held on the last day of the festival. They also collected from some residents of the surrounding suburbs, from other workers in their factories, and from soldiers in a nearby barracks. A few important men, living in the village or elsewhere, each undertook to pay for an entire evening's programme. Anyone was welcome at any part of the festival, whether he had contributed or not; there was no charge for admission and no collection.

Each contributor got a printed booklet, either in Tamil or in Kannada, containing an invitation to the festival and the budget for the previous year's festival, with a list of contributors and the

amount of each contribution, even when it was as little as 10 paise (2d). The two Joint Treasurers of the Math Association keep this money, not in the Association's general bank account, but in a special festival account, which is kept in the name of both Joint Treasurers of the Association and can only be operated by both their signatures. If the money were kept in the name of the Math itself, members say the Aacaaris might claim part of it, since they have a legal interest in the Math.

> The accounts for 1964 give an idea of the scale of the festival. The committee had Rs 990.49 in hand from the previous year and collected Rs 1252.07 (£94), apart from the cost of religious entertainments, for which the contributors' names were given but not the amount of their contributions. The committee also collected 224 kg of rice, 300 kg of firewood &c, for the feeding of the poor. The expenses came to Rs 1100.83 (£83), including Rs 319.67 for food and Rs 225 for printing the accounts and programmes. The committee was left with Rs 1141.73 in hand, or Rs 40.90 more than in the previous year.

The festival began with a 'bhajan and sermon meeting' in the main temple, organized by the Chinmayananda Mission, a large organization modelled on the Ramakrishna Mission and led from Bombay by its guru, Swami Chinmayananda. The bhajans, in Tamil and Sanskrit, were sung not by the congregation but by a group of middle-class children from another part of the Cantonment, who attend the Mission's religious instruction classes. A member of the Mission directed the singing in a mixture of Tamil and English. Between bhajans members of the Mission

gave sermons on the Bhagavadgiita. At the end of the meeting, as on every evening of the festival, the Svaamijii performed a short puuja at the grave of the Mowna Guru.

The next evening a well-known Brahman singer gave a concert of classical Carnatic music, acoompanied by his daughter and his three sons. They played and sang on a raised platform in the temple, to a large and enthusiastic audience. A loudspeaker relayed the music from a tree in the temple yard.

A series of seven harikathas or religious entertainments - all in Kannada - began on the following evening. These are the chief attraction of the festival and attract large crowds, which include some Christians. The harikatha is derived from the kaalaks3eebam (kālakṣēpam) or religious discourse of the Tamil country, but its present form, with music and dramatic touches, dates from the nineteenth century. Raghavan describes the modern harikatha

> The main Bhāgavata (harikathā reciter) stands in front, usually supported by a musician assistant standing behind him, and the minimum instrumental accompaniment is a mṛdaṅga (a kind of drum). ... The themes are from the Rāmayaṇa, the Mahābharata, the purāṇas, lives of saints, not only of the Tamilnāḍ, but of the other parts of the country also, like Rāmadāsa, Kabīr, and the Mahārāṣṭra saints. After some preliminary invocatory singing on Gaṇesa, Sarasvatī, Hanumat, and the guru, the Bhāgavata sings a song which is the text of his sermon. This song emphasizes that devotion to the Lord, or a particular mode of His worship, is the only means of salvation, or that the Lord is the only refuge

of man. To illustrate this, the Bhāgavata takes up a story which forms the main part of the performance. It is called the harikathā. In the end the story is wound up by harking back to the burden of the first song, to illustrate which the story was expounded. During the exposition of the story, the Bhāgavata's wide learning in sacred literature is to be brought into display. He has to elevate the listeners with his knowledge, drive home with wit moral and ethical principles, and move the hearts of his audience with his dramatic and devoted narration. In fact, as an art form, the Harikathā is almost a mono-drama. (Raghavan 1959 138)

The first harikatha of the festival was the story of Baasava, the twelfth-century saint who founded the Lingaayat sect. There are no Lingaayats in Garud3apura, but the story, and Baasava's Kannada lyrics, appeal to other Hindus as well. The Brahman bhaagavata told the story at great length, with digressions on the Hindu epics and mythology, topical jokes about rationing and food prices, homely morals and Baasava's lyrics. He ~~say~~ sang to the accompaniment of two harmoniums, a drum and a pair of wooden clappers with bells, which he played himself. One theme recurred in his moralizing: modern ways are degenerate, and either foolish - like the children's habit of calling their parents 'Mummy' and 'Daddy' in English - or immoral, like birth control, and love scenes in films.

The next evening was much more sober: a discourse in Tamil on 'the way of God' by members of the Deyviiga Maagara Cangam, or divine way association. The members, educated middle-class Tamils from

from outside the village, spoke on the nature of Divinity (Dyviigam) as revealed in the Vedaanta. There was no music or entertainment, but many quotations from the devotional lyrics of Maanikka Vaacagar. The audience was not large: it consisted mainly of women, some of the more serious and philosophic men of the village, and the children who attend any kind of public function.

For the next four nights there were harikathas: on King Cakravaarti; on the stories of Abhimanyu and his father Arjuna, from the Mahaabhaarata - a special attraction being an electronic harmonium which accompanied the songs and which could imitate a flute and other instruments; and on Bharata's lgyalty to his half-brother Raama, as told in the Raamaayan3a. A schoolmaster from Kolar - not a professional like the bhaagavatas - gave an upannyaasam, or discourse with unaccompanied songs, on 'Faithful Saavitri' in Telugu; and another harikatha told the story of the medieval Maharashtrian saint Jnaaneshvar.

The true Guru Puuja, for which the programme of harikathas, discourse and concerts was only a preparation, took place on Dasara or Vijayadashami, the day following the Festival of Nine Nights (Navaraatri) and the one occasion in the year when the Garud3apura Svaamijii officiates in the Math for the whole day. This is a public holiday, and a large crowd came to the Math.

The ceremony could not begin until noon, at the end of the inauspicious period of the day (10 30 to noon on Fridays). First a portion of the offerings of coconuts and flowers had to be taken to the other chief temples of the village - Laks3minaaraayan3a and Gangamma Temples - for preliminary puujas. The plate with the offerings could be carried by anyone, and a committee member gave it to a twelve-year-old girl.

The procession was a small one, though the patel and a few other important men joined it. At Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple the Brahman priest performed puuja for the procession, gave its members consecrated water to drink and touched their heads briefly with the kiriid3am, a copper helmet or crown which had touched the head of the image of Laks3minaaraayan3a and had therefore become prasaadam, blessing and purifying anyone it touched. After another short puuja by the priest at Gangamma Temple, the procession brought the offerings back to the Math.

The Mowna Guru's grave had been covered in lavish floral decorations and hidden by a curtain for the occasion. After doing puuja to the other deities in the Math, the Svaamijii drew this curtain: a dramatic moment when the crowd became very excited. He performed a long puuja, with special mantras in Sanskrit. The moment when he did aarati, using the lamp with many wicks, was the high point of the ceremony, and for some devotees of the Math, of the year.

The emotion became intense. The congregation, who had stood in a rough semicircle in front of the grave, closed in, many raising their hands over their heads as a sign of devotion. A boy, who is given to possession by spirits, fainted. A moment later the ceremony was over, and the devotees went out to supervise the feeding of the poor - some 2000 people including whole families from Garud3apura and from other parts of Bangalore, who sat in the Math courtyard to eat the vegetarian meal offered as charity by the devotees of the Math. The crowd was so large that some had to be turned away. Hired cooks heated rice and vegetable curries in large cauldrons, while members of the Math committee walked among the poor, holding sticks as badges of office, to supervise the feeding. A privileged group of wandering

ascetics ate with the Svaamijii on his veranda and were sent away with gifts, for which the festival budget showed an expenditure of Rs 69 simply on 'saadhus'.

The last harikatha, given that evening, told the story of Mallamma, the perfect wife, which I summarized in the last chapter. To close the festival a member of the committee made a speech of thanks to the bhaagavata, and garlanded him, the local councillor and other prominent men. The Svaamijii then performed a final puuja while the bhaagavata sang a devotional song.

Other public festivals

The collective drama of the village is most clearly visible in the yearly cycle of religious festivals, which provide clues not only to principles of organization and lines of division in the village (see chapter 7), but to basic social values. Thus every festival is thought to confer benefits on someone, and in each case it is useful to ask: is the festival universal in intention; is it regarded as being held for the common good or the private good; and if for the common good, who is excluded, de jure or de facto, from the scope of this common good?

Some festivals are celebrated with processions and congregational worship, others mainly at home. Some are celebrated by almost everyone, or everyone except Christians or Muslims or Harijans; either because they are all-India festivals which concern everyone, or because they concern the welfare of the village itself. Others chiefly concern groups within the village, but are also performed for the benefit of, or may be celebrated by, anyone who is interested. All these are public

festivals, unlike those which are thought to concern only clearly defined subgroups in the village - usually castes or families - and which have no wider reference.+

Hindu festivals in Garud3apura are arranged according to two slightly different calendars: the Tamil calendar; and the Kannada or Telugu calendar, which is like the Hindu calendar generally used in North India, though the dates of the New Year and some festivals differ. All-India festivals, celebrated by Tamils and others, fall on the all-India (or Kannada/Telugu) dates, particularly since many of them are public holidays. Wedding dates are precisely fixed by astrology; but for festivals, it is usually the season rather than the exact date which counts.++

Three other calendars must also be taken into account: the Christian and Muslim calendars, because Christian and Muslim festivals are open to all in intention, and Hindus are aware of this though they seldom take part; and the secular or Gregorian calendar, which is almost the same as the Christian one, and determines the dates of national festivals like Republic Day.

+ Cf the Tamil distinction between cults carried on at podu-koovil (common or public temples) and conda-koovil (private temples). (Dumont 1957 319)

++ Among the Pramalai Kallar:

> le culte d'une divinité donnée, ou d'une catégorie de divinités, n'est pas en général immuablement attaché a une date donnée. (Ibid 372)
>
> (In general the worship of a particular deity, or of a class of deities, is not unalterably tied to a particular date.)

Yugaadi (from yuga-aadi, the beginning of an age or period), at the Kannada and Telugu New Year in March or April, is a universal festival among the Hindus of Mysore and Andhra; but since half the population of Garud3apura are Tamils, and most of these are immigrants, here Yugaadi takes on the value of a group festival, dividing the speakers of Kannada and Telugu - particularly the old families - who celebrate it, from the Tamil immigrants who do not. Tigal3as, who speak a Tamil dialect but have been settled in Mysore for generations, celebrate Yugaadi like the Kannad3igas. Individual Tamils may be involved if they have non-Tamil friends, because Yugaadi is an occasion to invite relatives and friends to a special dinner, which includes vabatt3u or hoolige, a delicious sweet dish associated with festivals in general and Yugaadi in particular. Since Yugaadi is an 'auspicious' occasion, meals eaten on Yugaadi and on the following day must be vegetarian, and the main Yugaadi meal must be eaten off banana leaves instead of the usual metal dishes. Most families eat meat on the third day, as they do on the day after a wedding in the family, to celebrate the end of the vegetarian period.

Yugaadi is not associated with a particular god. There is no procession and no congregational worship; the principal celebrations are at home. Houses are whitewashed before the day (or rather, the older ones are; many new ones are permanently painted a depressing yellow which is supposed not to show the dirt); household vessels are scrubbed clean; children get presents of clothes. Each family worships its house god, who may or may not be the same as the caste or lineage god or the chosen personal god of the head of the household. Some people go to the Math or to another temple to worship individually, but no one is obliged to do so.

Yugaadi, like Diipaavali, is traditionally an occasion for gambling, though 'respectable' men would never gamble. Since it is a public holiday, large groups of men gather in an open space on the edge of the main village to bet on a game played with rolling seeds, or on card games, while crowds stand around watching them and hawkers sell soft drinks from barrows. Tamils, who do not usually celebrate Yugaadi, take part in the gambling as much as anyone else. Betting in public is illegal, and the police once confiscated the stakes; but generally they keep away.

The Tamil New Year, a little later, is also celebrated at home, with puuja to the house god and a special meal, usually including a special sweet vermicelli.

Raamanavami is a nine-day festival in commemmoration of Raama, but the name is used particularly for the first day. This is an eminently sanskritic and all-India festival, which is celebrated in temples, especially but not only in brahmanical temples. The chief celebration in Garud3apura, at Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, is an important puuja performed by the Brahman priest and organized by an ad hoc committee of leading men of old village families. In principle it should be organized by the Temple trustees, but they never meet, partly because of political dissension among them.

Two kinds of offering are traditionally distributed to crowds of worshippers at Raamanavami: sprouted lentils, and water with jaggery (unrefined sugar) and pieces of melon. In 1964 there were two offerings of each: one provided by 'the Temple', another by the patel. Similar puujas, with the same offerings, took place at

Gangamma Temple, and at the Math where the Svaamijii himself served a meal to many poor children.

Until recently bhajan meetings were held in Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple on each of the nine nights of Raamanavami, but this custom seems to have been lost as villagers turned to Gangamma Temple and the Mowna Guru Math for these spontaneous forms of worship, reserving the brahmanical temple for the all-India high festivals and for sacraments of the life cycle. Several Garud3apura people attend the brahmanical Raama Temple at Raamohall3i, the urban village which was originally a hamlet of Garud3apura, where there is an important nine-day programme of harikathas and public worship. Like Mowna Guru Puuja, this is paid for by public subscription.

Every year at Raamanavami four brothers of Garud3apura, two of whom have inherited their father's lucrative fruit wholesale business, combine to pay for a vast feeding of the poor, and for a dramatic performance in the main street on a theme from the Mahaabhaarata. It is not clear why they should choose to do this at a festival devoted to Raama (unless, as someone suggested, it is because they were originally five brothers, like the Paand3avas). One such performance was a dramatic reading of a dialogue based on the epic, without action but with devotional songs accompanied by musicians. Another was a performance of Yaks3agaana, the folk opera of Mangalore, on the story of Bhiishma, to which the State Minister of Health was invited. These performances are expensive and very popular.

Aad3i Kiruttigai or the lunar asterism (Krittikaa in Sanskrit) in the month of Aad3i (July-August) is sacred to Murugan or

Subrahman3ya. It is originally and typically a Tamil festival, but in Garud3apura many non-Tamils also take part in it.

The arrangements for the festival are made by an ad hoc committee, made up entirely of Mudaliaars and closely associated with the Shan3mugaananda Tiruccabai, or Murugan bhajan group. Though only Tigal3as have a formal caste organization in the village, many Mudaliaars in Garud3apura regard the members of the Aad3i Kiruttigai committee as informal leaders of the caste group; and though the festival is a universal one it has something of the value of a caste festival for Mudaliaars, as well as that of a group festival for Tamils generally. Committee members collect money for the festival both in the village and outside it. The accounts are not printed, but those who collect for the festival distribute a handbill, printed in Tamil and Kannada, inviting the public to attend the festival 'and so to become the vessels chosen to receive the grace (tiruvarul3) of Murugan.'

On the first day of the festival the image of Murugan in the temple at the Math is smeared with vibhuuti, the white ash of cowdung and incense, burnt to represent the surrender of worldly things to God. On the image it is said to represent the snow of Mount Kailaasha, where Murugan lives with his father, the ascetic god Shiva.

The next morning a procession of devotees, with a hired orchestra, carry a framed print of Murugan through the village. The procession consists largely of men carrying the kaavad3i, a pole carried over one shoulder with bells and with a pot hanging from each end. This is the sign of a

pilgrim, particularly to Murugan's shrine at Parhani (Palni); and it is a common practice for Tamils to vow to carry the kaavad3i in a procession. A few men dance constantly, throughout the three or four hour procession, carrying more elaborate kaavad3is, in the form of wooden frames, decorated with cloth and peacock feathers and containing coloured prints of Murugan or of other gods (Gan3eesha &c). The devotees in the procession, whether they carry kaavad3is or not, constantly sing repetitive bhajans to Murugan, under the direction of a leader. Those who wish to worship the god stop the procession outside their houses to offer puuja to the image or to its guardian, who carries the spear (veel) of Murugan.

At this festival, more than at any other, both those who walk in the procession and the onlookers tend to be possessed by the spirit of Murugan. Apart from the men who dance in the procession, who expect to be possessed for the occasion, possession seems to take place spontaneously as the procession passes through the streets, with music and excitement. Women in particular are liable to this kind of possession, though men and even children are also affected, shouting or calling on Murugan, shaking, moaning, struggling or fainting. Some of these men have to be dragged round with the procession. At one time a cigaratte factory worker pulled a cart in the procession by hooks fastened in the flesh of his back, since Murugan had told him to do so in a dream.

There seem to be two quite different kinds of possession. One kind

is sought for on certain occasions and by certain people, either because they want a direct experience of communication with their chosen god - like the man who pulled the cart - or because it is expected of them on the occasion - like the 'village Washerman' who is possessed by Gangamma at festivals, or those who speak as oracles. Spontaneous possession, on the other hand, is something which may happen to anyone, though it is known that certain people are particularly liable to it. It is generally regarded as a reminder to those who have failed in their religious duties, either by forgetting to worship their family god or chosen god regularly or by failing to fulfil a vow. This reminder is a blessing because it saves the person possessed from the evil consequences of continuing to fail in his religious duties. It is said that the god sometimes possesses someone who is not his devotee, and asks to be worshipped, so that the person possessed takes the god as his personal god. I do not know anyone to whom this has happened; generally the choice of a personal god is a less dramatic affair, a simple preference. Some people are known to be possessed easily; and though others do not doubt that the god enters into the bodies of such persons, making them lose their normal consciousness, this kind of possession is not taken very seriously, and the person possessed may be laughed at afterwards. Some women take care to tie or pin up their clothes before the procession passes, to avoid the danger of tearing them off or otherwise behaving immodestly when the procession comes. A woman who was liable to possession was blamed for not keeping control of herself, or at any rate for not keeping away from the procession, when she was pregnant; and two boys

were locked up to prevent them from seeing the procession, though this did not prevent them from dancing and singing inside the house.

> When the 1964 procession reached the Math several people fainted, either those who had gone round the village streets in a state of more or less constant possession, or those who were overcome by the heat when the crowd packed into the small Murugan Temple; but here no one seemed to be possessed by the god. It is as if possession happens only at the proper and expected times and situations, though it is not always possible to predict who will be possessed or what form this possession will take. Even 'spontaneous'possession is institutionalized to this extent.
>
> The festival committee, and a few leading men of the village were admitted to the Temple while the image of Murugan was carefully dressed in silk, under the supervision of a Brahman immigrant, and almost covered with heavy garlands. Then the crowd was admitted to the temple. The Svaamijii (not the Brahman) performed a final puuja, with the usual mantras of the names of God, to each of which the congregation gave the response 'Om'.
>
> The festival ended with a feeding of the poor at the Math, paid for with the money collected by the festival committee.

A few people, who are specially devoted to Murugan or who have vowed to go on a pilgrimage, go to the great Murugan Temple at Tiruttani in

Andhra to celebrate the festival.

In the Aad3i Kiruttigai festival at Garud3apura the brahmanical element of religion is not much in evidence. One takes part in the festival for reasons of faith or of group solidarity rather than of prestige. Thus the festival has two aspects. As an expression of group religion, it is a Tamil and particularly a Mudaliaar festival. As an expression of the religion of choice, it is marked by intense private and spontaneous devotion, an emotional release which is institutionalized only at the margin, the situations in which it may or may not take place. The second aspect of the festival predominates: for though Mudaliaars organize the festival, they do so not for their own caste or for Tamils, but rather for the benefit of all who have faith in Murugan or who may benefit from the darshan (sight) of Murugan carried in the procession. Both in principle and in fact, anyone is made welcome if he wants to participate, contribute, attend the final puuja in Murugan Temple, or be possessed.

Krisn3a Jayanti (Krisn3a's birthday) in August or September is another festival which has aspects both of group religion and of the religion of personal choice, but here the first aspect is rather more important. Krisn3a Jayanti is above all the festival of the Goll3as, who also call themselves Yaadavas, claim that Krisn3a belonged to their caste and regard him as their caste god. I consider the festival here and not in my discussion of caste cults because it is also a universal festival. Krisn3a, the expounder of the Giita and the subject of a whole cycle of legends, bhajans and paintings, could never be the exclusive property of a caste, and many besides Goll3as go to the Math to worship his heavily garlanded image in the

main temple there, in a puuja conducted by the Svaamijii.

Many Goll3as celebrate the festival by visiting a Krisn3a Temple elsewhere in the city, where there is a series of puujas lasting for days before the birthday. On Krisn3a Jayanti itself the main rites are at home. Offerings of coconuts and fruit, and of milk, butter and ghii which are associated with Krisn3a because he lived with cowgirls, are piled in front of an image of Krisn3a, in the puuja room if there is one. Goll3a families visit one another, even when there is ill feeling between two families and they do not normally go to one another's houses. They invite friends and neighbours in to see the offerings, to eat sweets, or to eat a festival meal. In Garud3apura, at least, these friends may be of different castes, and I have seen Christians invited in for the occasion. At midnight, the time of Krisn3a's birth, the family do puuja to his image in their houses.

Goovinda Pand3igai/Goovinda Habba is a minor festival, celebrated by children. The month of Shraavan3a (August-September) is sacred to Venkat3eeshvara, whose shrine is at Tirupati in Andhra and who is identified with the sanskritic Visn3u and known in the south as Goovinda (Govinda 'cow-keeper' in Sanskrit). Elsewhere this is particularly a name of Krisn3a, an incarnation of Visn3u.

Every Saturday in Shraavan3a small groups of children, of different castes and languages, go from house to house with red Vaisn3ava marks on their foreheads, collecting a handful or two of rice from each house. On the last Saturday of the month the children's families perform a small puuja to the house-god, the rice is cooked and the children have a festive meal. The festival is not celebrated in temples, and seems to be confined to children.

All Saturdays are sacred to Venkat3eeshvara, as Mondays are to Murugan or Subrahman3ya. Some castes (eg. Okkaligas but not Kuncitigas) abstain from meat on Saturdays and Mondays in the month of Shraavan3a, as on any brahmanical festival or on auspicious occasions like weddings, in deference to these two 'vegetarian' gods, who are at least partly in the all-India tradition of brahmanical worship. If they fail to do so, it is sometimes said that they will be punished with diseases, especially pus in the ears. The households of some devotees of Venkat3eeshvara also abstain from meat on these days, as a matter of family devotion not caste custom. Some - apparently including all Tigal3as - abstain from meat every Saturday and Monday, on all festivals, and for the whole month of Shraavan3a. Tigal3as are notably more conscious of the 'purity' associated with vegetarianism, and though few if any of them are entirely vegetarian, the caste headman's son described his family as 'half-vegetarian' (arai-shaiva; in Tamil 'shaiva(n)' means either a devotee of Shiva or a vegetarian).

Gan3eesha Caturthi in August or September is an all-India festival in honour of Gan3eesha or Vinaayaka, the elephant-headed son of Shiva and brother of Murugan or Subrahman3ya; the remover of obstacles who is worshipped at the beginning of a temple puuja or an important enterprise.

On Gan3eesha Caturthi day there is no procession. Many individuals and families make offerings at the Gan3eesha shrine in front of the main temple at the Math, and do puuja to their domestic gods as they do on other high festivals, whether or not there is an image of Gan3eesha in the house. The most spectacular celebration is the

immersion of mud images of the god in wells or tanks, a custom which is found throughout India at the festivals of various gods (Durga, Krisn3a), and for which various legendary explanations are given.

> One young man said that Gan3eesha refused to marry until he could find a girl like his mother Paarvati, and that he must be immersed in tanks or wells where he watches girls who come to wash clothes, to bathe and to draw water. When he finds a girl as good as Paarvati he will marry her, but he is still waiting.

The immersion must take place either on Gan3eesha Caturthi day or on the third, fifth or ninth day of the festival, but not on an even-numbered day or the seventh day. The same auspicious numbers of days or months - as well as eleven - are found in other ceremonies, which I describe later.

Particularly on the first day of Gan3eesha Caturthi, crowds of people from a large part of Bangalore bring their images on silver puuja plates, with offerings of flowers, to be immersed in a large tank or lake near Garud3apura. They hand the images (though not the plates) to boys who, for a small fee, wade or swim out and leave the images in the tank, where they quickly dissolve. Some people worship their image with aarati before immersing it, or pay one of the Brahman priests who is waiting on the shore to do so.

Gan3eesha is a sanskritic deity and his worship tends to be brahmanical in form and in spirit, a matter of general auspiciousness

rather than devotion or special protection. In some families it is not the custom to celebrate the festival. Others regard it as one of the less important dates in a full religious calendar.

> The images which are immersed are bought from shops or market stalls, or from pedlars. Two immigrant Mudaliaar brothers, living jointly with their parents in a settlement outside the main village, produce images of different gods from clay out of the bed of a tank, forming them in moulds and baking them in a small oven. This is not a traditional craft, for they learnt it from a government handicraft agency in Madras. They sell images, painted or unpainted, both for domestic worship and for festivals, to wholesalers in the city; at Gan3eesha Caturthi in 1964 the brothers made 3000 images of the god.+

Mahaalaya Amaavaasya in October is the most important new moon (Amaavaasya/amaavaacai) of the year. On every new moon day many Tamils, for instance Mudaliaars, clean and decorate their houses and

+ The Indian Express of 9 September 1964 said the prices of these images had risen by 20 per cent since 1963:

> An estimated quarter million idols, made of clay, were on the market in Bangalore. ... A tiny piece, about 6 cm long, was sold for 10 paise (2d) and one shop exhibited an idol as high as 3 feet whose price was quoted at Rs 50 (£3 15s). While institutions and group organizations went in for big-size idols, the most popular variety was the eight-inch idol in the price range of Rs 1 to Rs 1.50.

offer coconuts or flowers, with a brief puuja, for the repose of the family's dead. In Garud3apura this brahmanical custom seems to be regarded as typically and exclusively Tamil (there is a Tamil proverb 'Abdul Khader and Amaavaacai don't go together', meaning that Muslims and Hindus know nothing about one another's ceremonies).

Mahaalaya Amaavaasya, on the other hand, is also celebrated by many Kannada and Telugu speakers, as a yearly festival of remembrance of dead members of the family, and particularly of those whose death anniversaries the family has failed to celebrate separately during the year ('like All Souls' Day' an educated villager said). The oblations are made either on the new moon day itself, or during the fortnight which begins three days earlier. It requires the presence of a Brahman purohita (domestic priest). The dead are remembered by name; the Brahman performs a puuja, offers sesame seeds and water, and collects his fee and a gift of rice. In the evening the family eats a festive meal.

The puujaari of Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, who does not normally act as a domestic priest, goes to houses in the village in the evenings of this fortnight to perform the rites. He says he does so as an exception, because many people cannot afford the exorbitant charges which professional purohitas demand.

This festival belongs clearly to the brahmanical tradition. It is common among the higher castes throughout India, and more or less compulsory for families which have observed it in the past. The presence of a Brahman places a family unambiguously in the upper

ranges of the all-India caste order. It is an act of generalized piety to the dead of the family, since ideas about the soul's fate are vague.

Navaraatri, the festival of Nine Nights, is the period before Dasara or Vijayadashami 'the tenth (day of Victory)', when Visn3u incarnate destroyed the asura or demon Mahisha. This is the great state festival season of Mysore, in which Mowna Guru Puuja is celebrated. Though in North India a different goddess is worshipped on each of the nine nights, here only the last three nights are associated with goddesses: Sarasvati, Laks3mi and Paarvati, the consorts of the sanskritic trinity of Brahma, Visn3u and Shiva.

Aayudha Puuja, on the day devoted to Laks3mi, is popularly confused with Sarasvati puuja, the day before it. At Sarasvati Puuja students or those who work with books worship all the books in the house and make presents to their gurus, in this case meaning their teachers; the festival is traditionally associated with Brahmans in particular. At Aayudha Puuja workmen worship the tools of their trade, and this festival is traditionally associated with the castes of craftsmen; some 'Bangle' Naidus, for instance, who no longer make bangles, still keep a box of bangles to worship at Aayudha Puuja as the traditional emblem of their trade. It seems likely that the Aayudha Puuja and Sarasvati Puuja were confused as education became necessary to the work of so many men in the village; as technical training of a new kind, with textbooks or handbooks of instructions, replaced the older personal craft apprenticeship; and as the Brahmans lost their monopoly of educated occupations. The 'gurus' to whom some factory workers make presents

are either their schoolteachers or the men who gave them technical training. A guru in this sense, of course, is not the same as a spiritual guru, a preceptor or saint, but the analogy is worth noticing.

At Aayudha Puuja masons worship their tools, garlanding them, marking them with vermilion and sandalwood paste, breaking coconuts and performing aarati before them. Secretaries do the same to their typewriters. Factory workers clean and oil their machinery, then worship it in the same way, and in some factories little other work is done. A lorry driver in the village worships his lorry, the few cars in the village are worshipped by their drivers and owners, and men clean and worship their bicycles at home. Shops are decorated with banana stems. In the largest shop in the village the shopkeeper worships prints of Sarasvati and of Laks3mi, goddess of prosperity, and distributes the offerings of food to a crowd of children.

Aayudha Puuja is no longer a festival of the 'community', either the community of caste or the local community, since neither kind of community now coincides normally with a particular kind of work. From one point of view this auspicious ceremony is a way of attracting a divine blessing on one's working life, for the sake of happiness, success and safety at work. From another point of view it is a way of giving the sanction of sanskritic and brahmanical religion to work relationships, though these are now largely divorced from caste, and of including them these in the embracing Hindu social order sanctified by dharma.

At the Car Festival in October the gods of the village are taken through the streets in a procession of 'cars' or carts (teer/teer). Such car festivals are very common in South Indian towns and villages. In places like Ulsoor, a town which is now a part of Bangalore, and where there are important brahmanical temples, the cars are as high as a large house, drawn by teams of young men, and attract immense crowds..

Like Mowna Guru Puuja, the Car Festival of Garud3apura is held at Dasara or Vijayadashami. Guru Puuja is held on the same date each year; and to avoid a clash between the two dates, the Car Festival is held a few days later. Guru Puuja is organized by the association of devotees: the Car Festival is organized by 'the village' itself, that is, by its traditional authorities, the establishment of old and rich families, as well as by the groups and individuals who worship particular gods and pay for their appearance in the procession.

The festival centres on Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, where it starts. The patel takes the initiative in organising it by sending the toti, or village crier, to drum in the streets and to call a meeting in the temple to discuss the arrangements. In principle each Hindu family in the village may send a representative (though it is not always clear whether 'family' here means a household or a group of households). In practice only the old families do, and no Harijans.

The 1964 meeting was stormy, because of a strong difference of opinion about a proposal that the procession should take a new route. In the past it had always gone from Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple directly to the house of the patel, whose family have the right to perform the

first puuja to the gods on the cars; then along the main street to the site of the former Cappalamma Temple, in an open space on the edge of the village, where it rested; then back along the same route, sometimes turning into side streets so that the inhabitants could worship outside their houses.

The new proposal was that the procession should go straight out of the village, after leaving Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, along a suburban road parallel to the main street of the village, to the site of Cappalamma Temple, and should then come back along the old route. This would enable the inhabitants of the suburb of Williams Town to benefit by the darshan of the gods, and would mean that the large crowds of outsiders who were expected would not be packed into the narrow streets of the village. Those who made this suggestion were, generally, the 'improving' faction among those who took an interest in the running of Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, the men who had signed the open letter demanding the election of new Trustees and the publishing of accounts. Those who opposed it were the patel, who stood to lose his privilege of performing the first puuja, and his friends, particularly the Treasurer of the Temple. They said that it was wrong to change an old custom, that it was proper to show respect to the patel, and that village people would refuse to contribute to the festival if the route were changed. Afterwards a leader of the 'improving' faction said that the patel - 'that selfish man' - wanted to prevent outsiders from getting the darshan and blessing of the gods. In such cases it is necessary for the meeting to reach a unanimous agreement if the festival is to be held at all; and after two hours of heated argument it was

agreed that the procession should go from the temple to the patel's house - a distance of some 100 yards - then part of the way back, to a turning which leads out of the village, and along the new route.

The organization of the festival was left to the ad hoc committee, of the patel, some of the temple Trustees and a few friends, who had taken the responsibility in other years. When they had time they collected money from some of the villagers, but there was nothing like the organized and intensive collection which the Math Association makes for Guru Puuja.

Each contributor got a copy of the previous year's accounts and a list of contributors, printed in Kannada, like the Guru Puuja accounts published by the Math Association. The Temple Fund, ie. the Treasurer, contributes Rs 50 every year for the festival. In 1963 the total collected was Rs 854 (£64) and the total expenditure Rs 895, half of which was for a troupe of 'Tanjore dancers', and the rest mainly for temple and puuja expenses. The deficit was made up with the small balance remaining from the 1962 festival.

Much the greatest expense was for presenting the images of particular gods in the procession, and especially for the intricate flower decorations nailed or stuck to the images and cars. This expense was borne by the individual or group sponsoring each god. Originally only the three chief gods of the village were carried in the procession: Laks3minaaraayan3a, the Mowna Guru and Gangamma.

By 1964 the number had grown to eleven:

image	sponsored by
Laks3minaaraayan3a	a Naidu flower merchant
Mowna Guru (portrait)	the Naidu shopkeeper who paid for the extension of the Math
Gangamma	a Kuncitiga building contractor
Gan3eesha or Vinaayaka (from the Math)	a Naidu building contractor
Krisn3a (from the Math)	a Goll3a carpentry contractor and landlord
Murugan (coloured print from the Math)	the contractor's brother, a Goll3a carpenter and landlord, and this man's tenants, who are devotees of Murugan and have their own small Murugan Temple
Maariamma (from the temple just outside the village)	an association of devotees, led by an immigrant sculptor of temple images (caste unknown)
Ellamma (from her temple)	the Tigal3as, whose caste goddess she is
Sarasvati, goddess of learning	a group of 'students', all or mostly Tigal3as, led by a Tigal3a studying to be a factory turner
Venkat3araaman3asvaami (or Venkat3eeshvara) of Tirupati	Tirumaleeshvara Sangha, an association of young devotees of this god
Venkat3araaman3asvaami (a second image)	a Tigal3a grape merchant

The day before the procession the toti (village crier) - or rather another Harijan filling in for him - went round the village with a drummer. Every few yards they stopped and the toti shouted that there would be eleven gods in the procession, so that those who wanted to do puuja to all of them could buy eleven coconuts and any other offerings they chose to make. Houses were cleaned and loud-speakers fixed to poles to blare film songs until they were silenced by a police regulation at 9 pm. The next morning the images were mounted on their carts and elaborate floats built up around them, generally on wooden frames covered with paper; and professional flower decorators, mostly from outside the village, nailed or stuck thousands of jasmines and other flowers all over them. Some floats were attended by flowery figures of galloping horses, or by the hamsa - the mythical goose usually taken for a swan. One of the two images of Venkat3araaman3asvaami was mounted on an immense float, without flowers but with elaborate mirror work and a high swivelling top. The Mowna Guru was represented by the portrait which usually stands behind his grave in the Math, and by the copper mask of Iishvara which is kept beside the lingam in the Math. Behind Gangamma Temple a young Congress Party member erected a booth containing framed photos of Gandhi, Nehru and Kennedy, each with an auspicious vermilion mark applied to the glass covering the forehead, like dead members of the family on the inner walls of a house. The different loudspeakers competed with one another, each playing a different record. Fireworks were let off in the streets. Pavement sellers offered coconuts and flowers for puuja.

Crowds came from outside the village to watch the procession. While they waited for it to begin, children wheeled round little carts with tiny images or prints of the gods, collecting money. An orchestra, paid for by the Tirumaleeshvara Sangha which also sponsored the Venkat3araaman3asvaami car, played classical Carnatic music on the steps of the cycle hire shop where the young men of the Sangha spend their evenings; and a troupe of 'Tanjore dancers', paid for this year not from public contributions but by the contractor who sponsored the Gangamma car, performed a mime drama in the street, with actors on stilts and a dummy horse fixed to a man's waist.

The festival began in Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple. The local councillor brought the Mayor and City Commissioner to attend the opening puuja, performed by the Brahman puujaari with a Brahman assistant; and the man who renovated the temple, a member of the village's leading family, cut a plantain stem to start the procession. The carts were dragged to the patel's house, where his family offered a coconut to each one in turn, then back along the main street to the turning which leads out of the village. The patel himself stood directing the complicated movement of carts up and down the narrow main street. They were pulled by paid labourers, with the help of the devotees, and behind most of them small petrol or diesel generators on wheels were pushed to supply current for the lights, generally fluorescent strip lights mounted vertically on the floats or carried on poles by devotees. Each cart had an attendant acting as a puujaari, accepting offerings from the householders who poured out of gateways and side streets. Some brought a coconut for each of the

eleven gods, some only for Gangamma and one or two other gods to whom they were specially devoted.

Since each cart was held up every few yards for offerings, the procession moved very slowly until it got out of the village into the wide suburban streets where the great crowds, which the proponents of the new route had expected, failed to appear, and only a few middle-class residents came out to make offerings. As the procession turned on to the new route a rich and quarrelsome landlord tried to force it to go back along the old route, and a fight broke out. A peacemaker - the son of the Tigal3a caste headman - told him that the meeting in Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple had agreed on the new route, and that if the landlord had wanted to object he should have attended the meeting. By midnight the procession reached the open space where Cappalamma Temple once stood, and rested for more than an hour, while the crowd watched the Tanjore dancers mime a swordfight between Shivaajii and a young knight, the rescue of an innocent maiden &c. For the rest of the night the carts came very slowly down the main street and in and out of the side streets, and stopped in an open space near the village centre, where they lined up for a last display. The images were taken back to their temples, some with music and ceremony, and the procession was over.

For the individual worshipper the Car Festival is an occasion to derive blessing from the darshan, or sight, of the gods, in a magnificent setting which shows off each image in glory; it is an auspicious occasion to worship the gods he has chosen, in the approved and decorous manner, without possession, singing or a display of fervent devotion; and it is an entertainment. From the point of

view of the village community, and particularly of those who give it their loyalty and try to preserve its form, the Festival is an affirmation of the Brahmanical values of order embodied in the worship at Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, around which the festival is organized; of the interdependence of groups - castes, families and associations - which make up the village; and of the village's prestige as a Hindu community. The proposal that the procession should take a new route was made partly in this spirit, as a way of increasing the village's prestige by attracting crowds of outsiders to its festival; partly perhaps as an expression of factional feeling; but chiefly for the purpose of changing the festival from a purely village institution to a festival of universal intention, attracting devotees rather than onlookers and celebrated for the spiritual benefit of outsiders as well as for that of the village.

Diipaavali or Diivaali, in October or November, is the all-Indian festival of lamps (diipa) commemmorating Krisn3a's killing of the demon Naraka in the Mahaabhaarata. The festival lasts for two days, and involves the worship of Laks3mi, Gauri or Paarvati, Krisn3a and the house god. Houses are cleaned out, and some people take an oil-bath which is said to symbolize the washing off of evil. Small oil lamps, candles or electric bulbs burn in doors and windows, and children and adults let off fireworks in the streets.

> In some families special threads (noombu) are taken to a temple for puuja and then tied round the arm of each member of the household, either by an old member of the family or by each person for himself. After three days each thread

is taken off and kept in a gold or silver pipe until next Diipaavali; one man said that the thread must be exchanged for a new one every year at the same shop. No one seems to know the significance of this rite. In the same caste, some families perform it, other families never do: the only reason given is that the family has done so in the past, though it is also said that a family may vow to perform the rite at Diipaavali, for instance when there is an illness in the family. At least one family did this until they forgot the proper ritual.

On the second day of Diipaavali, Gauri Puuja, the worship of Shiva's consort Gauri or Paarvati, is celebrated in Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, before a congregation consisting mainly of women and children. The goddess is represented by two pots, one above the other, with a coconut decorated with flowers in the upper pot; varieties of this auspicious symbol - pots and coconuts - are used on other occasions to stand temporarily for a deity to be worshipped. While the Brahman priest performed the puuja in 1964, another Brahman read the legend of Gauri aloud in Kannada, from a handwritten book. The priest twice handed round saffron-tinted rice, which the congregation threw over the pots as they would over the couple at a wedding.

Tulasi Puuja in November is a minor festival, at which those who keep the sacred tulasi plant (basil) in the courtyards of their houses worship it. The tulasi is an emblem of Krisn3a, and associated with his home

Brindaavan. People of any caste may keep a tulasi, and this is considered very auspicious for the household.

> Since an important man of the village had no sons, he was advised to grow and worship a tulasi, and two sons were born. The tulasi must be well cared for, in particular, it will not survive 'impurity', such as the approach of a woman in her period, and it is a great sin - or at any rate a sign of great sin - to have a tulasi that dies.

Kaarttigai Diipam in November is a minor festival, sacred to Murugan and known as 'little Diipaavali' because rows of lamps or candles are put out in front of the houses, as they are at Diipaavali. It is also known as Laks3a Puuja, the puuja of one lakh (100 000), since it is said that the great temples once lit this number of lamps for the festival. Like Diipaavali, it lasts for two days; the first is said to be sacred to Shiva and the second to Visn3u, but the festival is celebrated chiefly on the first, or full moon, night. It is celebrated at the Math with a congregational puuja devoted especially to Murugan.

At Shreesht3i in January offerings are made at the holes of snakes which have a regular cult, especially those cobras which are reputed to be harmless, and which are signs of divinity in general and of Subrahman3ya or Murugan in particular. In Garud3apura the offerings are made only to the cobra that lives in an anthill at the Math. The festival is said to belong particularly to the women, and to be the one occasion in the year when they may go freely to temples to worship by

themselves; but in fact many or most women now do so at any time.

Pongal, the Tamil harvest festival in January, coincides with the Kannada or Telugu (and all-India) festival Shankraanti. It is known to be one of the high points of the Tamil year; in Garud3apura it is celebrated mainly but not only by Tamils and is generally called by its Tamil name.

'Pongal' means boiling, particularly the boiling of rice with milk as an offering to a god, a common Tamil rite specially associated with this festival. It also means the cooked rice itself, which on this occasion is dedicated to Suuryan, the sun deified, and then eaten as the palagaaram (special dish, usually sweet) of the festival.

In Garud3apura the festival is celebrated mainly at home, with the offering of pongal to the sun and the house god. In the Math there is a congregational puuja, at which pongal is offered to the gods and then distributed to worshippers, like the offerings at other puujas.

On Maatt3u Pongal (Cattle Pongal), the day after Pongal itself, the cattle are worshipped with the same rite and offering of rice and milk. Dumont (1957 373) writes 'Le premier jour le pongal est offert aux dieux, le second au bétail' (on the first day pongal is offered to the gods, on the second to the cattle), and he tells the myth in which Indra grants the cattle one day's leave a year (1957 381). In Garud3apura the festival is important not only for Tamils, but for the many families of other castes who keep cattle.

This is one of the festivals traditionally celebrated by the village acting as a whole, led by its patel. Though the village's agriculture

has declined as most of the fields have been built on, there is still enough grass for Garud3apura to be an important centre of milk production. Most older houses and some new ones have cowsheds. To keep one's own cows, supplying at least enough milk for the family, is not only economical and convenient but a source of prestige. This is so particularly, but not only, among Goll3as, a caste whose traditional occupation is cow-keeping, and to which the village's leading family of landlords belongs. Moreover, those who keep cows often feel an almost personal affection for particular beasts.

The prestige derived from an association with cattle is one aspect of the pride which important men of the village feel in coming of good peasant stock, a pride which turns to nostalgia among educated men in sedentary occupations: thus the lawyer from the village told me proudly how he was brought up on raagi and buffalo's milk, a typically peasant diet. This nostalgia for the peasant life partly accounts for the continuing popularity of the festival, even though cow-keepers complain it is not what it was. It also has enormous entertainment value.

Though in principle Maatt3u Pongal is the day after Pongal, it seems that the cow-keepers of Garud3apura have generally met to fix a convenient day for the celebration, which might be a little later. In 1965 the date was postponed because of the death of the wife of an important villager, the head of an old family and a trustee of Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple. It was agreed that the festival should not be celebrated until after the obsequies on the eleventh day

after her death.

The patel called the cow-keepers to a meeting in Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple. Only six attended, including an old woman. After a short discussion they agreed that the festival should be held a week after Pongal and that each family with cows should contribute Rs 2. It is not clear how or by whom the money was collected. When the festival was over I was told that it would have been bigger if they had collected more money for it, and that the organizers now had to rely on 'voluntary' contributions instead of using 'compulsion' to collect the money, as they could in the old days.

Though the village celebration was fixed for a later date, some families decorated their own cows, worshipped them at home with pongal and aarati - moving a flame or a stick of burning incense round three times in the vertical plane before the cow's nose - and led them through the streets on the official Maatt3u Pongal day.

On the day fixed for the village celebration the cows' horns were painted and decorated with rings of metal foil, brass tips and tassels, and sometimes with balloons, sticks of burning incense, or even coloured prints of gods stuck between the horns. Many cows wore embroidered silk coats, which are brought out only for Maatt3u Pongal.

The cows were worshipped at home, with cooking of pongal and with aarati. In the evening the patel sent the toti (village

crier) to the houses of those with cows, or at least of prominent villagers with cows, to summon them to the festival. The procession began in the Math, perhaps only because it is at one end of the village street. The cows gathered in the Math courtyard, where a short puuja was done before them; they were then driven out of the village in a herd, going very fast, through the streets of Williams Town and then through the village, attended by Harijan drummers. A few cows broke loose from the herd and were rounded up. This procession seems to be all that is left of the traditional 'holiday' - the period when the cattle should be untied and allowed to run free, in principle for the whole day but in fact only for a few minutes (Dumont 1957 381).

The procession ended with the traditional race through fire. A festoon of leaves hung across the village street beside Gangamma Temple, and piles of straw were set alight under it, so that the street was blocked with a barrier of fire. As the cows came up the street their owners drove them faster and faster, until they ran through the fire without being harmed. Those which turned back were driven onwards, The patel decided whose cows had gone through the fire first and second, though there are neither prizes for the owners of the winning cows, nor bets on the result, as there are in Madras State. The procession was then over, and the cows were taken home.

In 1965 the festival was marred, or perhaps enlivened for those who cared less for its dignity than the cow people did, by an unfortunate incident: the patel refused to pay the Harijan drummers, recruited for the occasion, the amount they thought proper, and a noisy argument broke out. Since the drummers got no satisfaction, they went drumming all over the village to advertise their grievance. Harijans in Garud3apura keep few or no cows, and have no interest in the festival except as a source of casual employment: the privilege they once had of taking away dead cattle, to skin and possibly eat them, has died out, and Harijans would certainly be insulted if they were reminded of it.

On this occasion there was no nostalgia for a 'traditional' interdependence of castes to tone down a purely economic dispute. This contrasts with festivals like Guru Puuja, which is explicitly said to be casteless and which some Harijans attend, or the Car Festival, at which Maariamma, the goddess worshipped especially by Harijans, in a sense represents their community among the gods associated with other groups.

Maatt3u Pongal is chiefly an expression of the religion of the group: it is celebrated for the prosperity of each family with cows, and of the village's cow-keepers as a group. This group takes on a shadowy corporate existence at least in the organization of Maatt3u Pongal. The festival is not Brahmanical, and has very tenuous connexions with sanskritic mythology and brahmanical forms of worship. But the worship of the cows themselves, and the affection and pride which is lavished

on them, suggest that this is also an expression of the religion of choice, almost a form of bhakti or devotion to the divinity which is incarnate in the cow.

Kaaman Habba (Kaaman Pand3igai in Tamil) in March commemmorates the destruction of Kaama, god of love or lust, by the ascetic god Shiva, but many people in Garud3apura do not know the myth; a young man said, for example, that Kaama was a name of Shiva. The festival is celebrated by a group of men, who practise or used to practise wrestling in thenneighbouring village of Raamohall3i, and who perform a 'tiger dance' on this occasion through the streets of both villages.

This 'tiger dance' is accompanied by spectacular self-tortures, and it attracts crowds of onlookers. The real 'tiger dancers' are boys, with black and yellow stripes painted on their bodies, who tumble about like tigers and do not practise self-torture. With them are men dressed as Kaali or as Shiva, who have mock fights with sticks; men wearing the 'mouth-lock', a silver skewer which pierces both cheeks and is said to pass through the tongue; men with rows of knives, sometimes shaped like the trident and the other emblems of Shiva, stuck through the flesh of their outstretched arms, which are supported on other men's shoulders; and men enclosed in cages of ropes, sometimes passing through the flesh of the arms or legs and marked with dry blood, and pulled about by other men.

It is hard to find out who these dancers are and why they take part in the festival. It is said that the dance used to be advertised in advance with handbills and by the toti; that the dancers take drugs to kill the pain and to prevent bleeding; that a man once died when the knives were taken out in a temple, because he had not taken the

pain-killing drug; and that some men perform the dance in fulfilment of a vow, for instance on the birth of a child. Margosa leaves are used as pain killing and blood-congealing drugs by those who practise similar forms of self-torture elsewhere (Thurston 1912 144) and the dark glasses worn by the men with knives stuck through their arms may hide the redness of the eyes caused by this or another drug. For most people the dance is no more than a lurid spectacle and an occasion for conjecture.

Self-torture is rare in Garud3apura itself. The only case I heard of was that of the man who pulled a cart in the Aad3i Kiruttigai procession by hooks fixed to the flesh of his back after Murugan had told him to do so in a dream. His action seems to be regarded as an unusual but praiseworthy form of devotion, like that of the people who walk on fire at a yearly ceremony at Ulsoor. Others who torture themselves, like many of the Kaaman Habba dancers, are regarded as exhibitionists, and village opinion generally seems to consider these occasions spectacular rather than religious.

The Village Festival (Graama Pand3igai/Uuru Habba), as its name implies, is a group festival performed in the interests of the village and no one else. It is similar to other South Indian 'village festivals', and unlike most festivals in Garud3apura it has one chief and clearly stated purpose: to avert or stop epidemics. The festival was held yearly until some twelve or sixteen years ago (villagers' estimates range from 10 to 24 years ago) and was revived in 1964, on the initiative of the cow-owners, to avert an epidemic

of rinderpest which was killing cows in other parts of Bangalore. The public health authorities compulsorily vaccinated the cows. The owners recognized the value of this, but they thought it best to hold a Village Festival as well. In the end there were no cases of rinderpest in Garud3apura. In 1965 the festival was repeated, after an epidemic of smallpox, but it is not certain that this revival will last.

The 1964 festival was held in honour of the 'four gods': Laks3minaaraayan3a, to give the festival the sanction of the brahmanical cult Gangamma, as the village's presiding goddess from who help was most expected; Kaatteeriamma, who shares a temple with the Tigal3a caste goddess Ellamma in the 'gardens' outside the main village; and Cappalamma, who may have preceded Gangamma as patron goddess of the village, and whose temple stood in a mango grove on the edge of the village until it fell down, or was demolished when the mango grove was cut down.

At the cow-owners' request, the patel went from house to house and collected about Rs 100, mainly for the musicians. He arranged the festival, apparently without a committee. In 1965 an informal committee of the patel, a grape merchant and a building contractor organized a two-day festival: the first for the higher-caste people, the second for Harijans; an arrangement which could hardly be made for one of the festivals organized in a more formal way, with a properly constituted committee, printed accounts &c, since this kind

of caste distinction can now be maintained only in the more informal kinds of organization.

The festival particularly concerns the old families, who invite their relatives outside the village by letter. In 1964, on the evening of the festival, the patel went with a naagasvaram (horn) band to the houses of old families, to summon them to the procession. 'Tiger dancers' or wrestlers danced all afternoon and evening in the streets, to the sound of drums, sometimes carrying on their shoulders a painted wooden image of their patron god Cid3irann3a, which normally lies neglected in a corner of Gangamma Temple. This 'tiger dancing' involved no self-torture. The dedicated bull, whose horns are filed and who is generally harmless except in the excitement of festivals, ran loose and knocked down an old woman, without hurting her seriously.

The procession was led by a crowd of women and girls carrying metal plates with offerings of coconuts, bananas, jaggery lamps, and flowers. Generally the women made offerings in the temples, while the men took care of the blood sacrifice. After puuja in Lak3minaaraayan3a Temple - of course without blood sacrifice - the procession went to the open space outside the village where Cappalamma Temple stood, to worship this goddess in the form of a stone covered with a cloth, erected for the occasion and in the care of the village Washerman. Here one or two cocks were sacrificed without much ceremony. Kaatteeriamma, who shares the temple built by the Tigal3as for their caste goddess Ellamma,

has no priest, the son of the Tigal3a headman officiated in the temple. A woman was possessed briefly by the goddess, moaned and sank to the floor. A boy, who is known to be liable to possession, rushed forward and threw himself fact downwards in front of the image. The Tigal3as living around the temple brought a goat for sacrifice, and threw water on its back to make it shiver - the 'sign' that the animal is acceptable to the god. When it failed to shiver, the crowd shouted together while incense was burnt in front of the sheep's nose, until it shivered and was killed.+

The procession did not stay to see the sacrifice, but went on to Gangamma Tample. Men and women struggled in the crowd to give their offerings to the Temple priest, who received each one with a short puuja. Some men dedicated cocks by holding them up briefly in front of the image of the goddess, then took them home to be sacrificed without ceremony. A girl was possessed, trembled violently and began to speak as an oracle, in a deep, mediumistic voice. Women helped her up to Gangamma's shrine, performed aarati before her, and with folded hands and great emotion implored her to tell them whether the offerings were acceptable. she swayed backwards and forwards without answering their questions. Two goats

+ I asked a Garud3apura man in a letter what would happen if the animal to be sacrificed did not shiver. He wrote (in English):

> If it does not shiver, again and again water will be sprinkled till it shivers. They would have been sacrificed. In no case people will take the animals back.

were sacrificed, each being beheaded with a single cutlass-stroke and removed at once.

At the end of the festival, the village Washerman was to take the bundle of offerings made to Gangamma, carry them outside the village and throw them down a well, representing the river Ganges. Without waiting for a procession to form around him, he was suddenly possessed by Gangamma, picked up the bundle of offerings, struggled violently with the onlookers, broke loose and ran off towards the well, with the men chasing him, shouting and pretending to try to catch him. It was expected that the Washerman would be possessed: the festival is associated with possession, and though this man had never been possessed before, his family was known to be liable to possession, and his grandfather used to speak as an oracle of Gangamma. The Washerman was said to have struggled with superhuman strength; no one could hold him down, because the goddess was 'dancing in him'. Though his frenzy was certainly not simulated, its form and occasions are fixed by custom.

Christian and Muslim festivals

Though these are celebrated by minorities, they are public festivals rather than festivals of groups within the village, because they are universal in intention. A group festival is celebrated for the more or less exclusive good of the group, and the ~~spirit~~ spiritual benefit to anyone outside the group taking part is incidental; but all Christian and Muslim festivals in which Garud3apura people take part - unlike those

of village saints, or of the neighbourhood Virgins of Seville are devotional acts open to everyone.

Christmas is the only Christian festival most Hindus are aware of. In the weeks before Christmas groups of Christian singers visit the village, either in the evenings or sometimes in the early mornings, generally singing devotional words to the tunes of popular film songs, accompanied by harmoniums and drums, and carrying a banner with a cross. A group of Garud3apura Catholics used to do this; but now the groups come to the village from the surrounding suburbs, which have a greater proportion of Christians than Garud3apura has.

This is a Christian adaptation of the Hindu custom, found in other parts of India, of nagarkirtana, or processions through the streets singing devotional songs. The custom of holding such processions in the early mornings before Christmas may be influenced by the custom of Hindu devotees who rise early in the mornings of the month of Maarghashira (November-December) or the equivalent Tamil month of Maargarhi (December-January) to sing devotional songs (see Raghavan 1959 137). This custom is followed in Garud3apura by a group of devotees of Murugan, whom I describe in the next chapter.

Christmas Day is celebrated in chruch, outside the village; and though several Hindus of Garud3apura go to church from time to time, I know of none who go for the Christmas service in particular. After church Christians have a festive meal with meat. Some Hindus celebrate the public holiday, rather than Christmas itself, by eating meat as they would on a Sunday.

The Gregorian New Year (1 January) is another festival for

Christians, who go to church on New Year's Eve. For Hindus it is only the secular or official New Year, when some men garland their superiors at work.

Baxr-iid (Bakhr-Id) is a Muslim festival commemmorating the occasion when Abraham prepared to sacrifice Isaac. Muslims attend congregational prayers at a mosque, then go home to eat a meat biriaani. Those who can afford it kill a goat, not for themselves, but to offer to others; I do not known whether any Garud3apura Muslims do this. Since few Hindus will eat in a Muslim house, this does not concern them in practice.

Moharram, the Muslim festival of mourning for Husain, is celebrated outside the village. It has little importance for non-Muslims except as a public holiday. Two young educated Hindus, both of whom believe strongly in 'emotional integration' and in attending festivals and places of worship of other religions, gave a completely wrong account of what the festival means. For others it has some curiosity value, since a 'tiger dancer' with Hindu companions dances through the village, and a large procession of Muslims from the city come at night to dip their taazias or portable shrines in the tank near the village

In the Islamic month of Ramzaan all Muslims should fast from sunrise to sunset; but the Muslims of Garud3apura, who live apart from the main settlements of Muslims around mosques, tend to observe Koranic laws rather loosely. A young factory workers fasts only for the last four or five days of Ramzaan; a married woman, who lives and dresses very like a Hindu, wears a burqa only when

she goes out of the village to visit relatives. At Iid, the end of Ramzaan, important public prayers are held in mosques.

The three aspects of Hinduism

All the cults described in this chapter are organized on the scale of the whole village, sometimes excluding Harijans. This way of classifying the cults, according to the groups which take part in them, makes it possible not only to describe, but to contrast, different kinds of cult organized on the same scale. To understand the spirit in which a cult is carried on, and its significance for moral or social relations, one should ask not only who takes part in it, but why they do so, whether it is universal in intention, or to what degree, whether worshippers take part as individuals, directly related to God, or as members of groups and bearers of roles in a hierarchical order; and whether an old cult tends to be carried on with new and different intentions.

Thus the cult of the Mowna Guru is mainly, though by no means entirely, confined to the village, but this is only a contingent fact about it. In principle it is intended to benefit as many people as possible by relating them, as individuals, directly to a God who is thought of in personal terms. The history of the night school shows how this religious universalism can be connected with moral universalism.

The Village Festival, at the other extreme, is intended to advance the interests of this village and no other. Anyone is welcome to attend the festival either for his own religious benefit or for

entertainment, but this is no concern of most people who take part in it.

The brahmanical ritual at Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple relates groups, or individuals as members of groups, to the eternal and impersonal order which justifies their actions, their social position and their prestige. This kind of religion legitimates group cults by defining their places in the eternal order.

The Car Festival combines all three aspects. The central ritual happens in Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple; it is brahmanical and asserts the prestige of the village, which is why the Mayor and other dignitaries are invited to it. The gods carried in the procession represent group cults (Gangamma, Ellamma) as well as the religion of choice (Mowna Guru, Venkat3eeshvara). The same god (Venkat3eeshvara) may be worshipped by some as the protector of a group and by others in a spirit of religious universalism and individual devotion. The proposal to send the procession through the streets outside the village was made in a universalistic spirit, to give the benefit of the festival to as many people as possible rather than to assert the village's prestige. Such facts provide clues to the direction of change in moral relations. I take up these clues in chapter 8, where I relate religion to morality in more detail.

6 RELIGION II: THE CULTS OF GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE, & PERSONAL RELIGION

In this chapter I consider cults which are organized on scales smaller than that of the whole village, as well as personal religious observances and beliefs. This classification of cults, according to their scale, is useful only for the purposes of preliminary description and comparison. It says nothing, or not much, about the spirit in which each cult is carried on, the intentions of those who take part in it, and the moral or social values it is associated with.

In each case one should ask, when a cult is kept up by members of an otherwise identifiable group (eg. a caste or neighbourhood), whether this fact is essential to the cult, or contingent. If the reasons for taking part in the cult are intimately connected with the group's interests or protection or existence, or with its status in a hierarchical order, then the spirit of the cult is that of group religion or of the brahmanical religion which justifies and embraces group cults. If the cult is open in principle to anyone, concerned only with the relation of individuals to God, and mainly or entirely confined to members of a group only because of the accident that they are already in close relations with each other, then it tends towards the religion of choice and the autonomous moral values connected with this religion. A cult may have both aspects: thus the universalistic devotional cult of Murugan also has the value of a Mudaliaars.

I have not much to say about the 'latent functions' or unintended consequences of cults in maintaining group solidarity, class interests &c. They may have these functions or consequences; but to attempt a systematic explanation of

observances and beliefs in these terms would inevitably be to explain them away. I cannot say whether the religious experiences Garud3apura people say they have are or are not what these people say they are. I have not had these experiences myself, though at certain moments in Garud3apura I may have achieved a glimpse of premonition of what they are like; and I do not believe much that these people believe. I can only take these experiences and beliefs, and the people's declared intentions and explanations, as irreducible data - though not the only data - with which a sociological analysis must begin.

I begin this analysis by considering one kind of group at a time, and the different cults which are organized on each scale either necessarily or as a matter of contingent fact.

Neighbourhood cults

Garud3apura has no wards. It is divided into the main village and the 'gardens'. Some of these are cultivated land with scattered houses; the rest are settlements of new houses built for rent by landlords who live in the main village, or sometimes in their own 'gardens'. These settlements are either on the edge of the main village or separated from it by grass or cultivated land.

A neighbourhood cult concerns Hindus living in one part of the village, whatever their caste. This part may be a 'garden' or a courtyard with houses round it; the streets of the village do not have cults of their own. A neighbourhood cult may exist where members of a caste are concentrated, but it is not a caste cult if members of other castes in the area take part in it, or if members of the same caste living elsewhere in the village do not.

Rangamma Garden Murugan Temple serves a settlement of 33 houses, divided between three brothers. The tenants are immigrants, many of them Mudaliaar or Vanniyar by caste, and they brought their devotion to Murugan with them from the Tamil country. Fourteen of the houses belong to one of the brothers, who is on very good terms with his tenants and built them a simple room as their temple. The only images are coloured prints, of Murugan and other gods, for instance

of Shakti, personified and riding a lion. Here the tenants meet for puujas to Murugan, especially on the Kiruttigai or lunar asterism of each month, which is sacred to Murugan.

Those who worship at this temple are devotees not only of Murugan but of Raamalingam, a nineteenth-century Tamil saint and poet, himself a devotee of Murugan. They are loosely organized in a bhajan or hymn-singing group, which meets not only in this temple but, on occasion, wherever devotees of Murugan and Raamalingam are assembled. They also worship in the Murugan temple at the Math. It was this group, with their landlord, who sponsored the cart carrying the Math's image of Murugan in the Car Festival.

Throughout the month of Maargarhi (December-January) the more fervent devotees go in processions through the streets of the main village, carrying prints of Murugan, singing bhajans and handing out consecrated ash to those who pass by or who come out of their houses to ask for it. I have already told how groups of Christians, adapting this Hindu custom, sing devotional songs in the village streets before Christmas.

The chief festival which devotees of this temple organize is Tai Puucam, a few days after Pongal in January. This is the 'Guru Puuja' of Raamalingam: the day on which he is said to have been locked in a room and to have disappeared, so that when his disciples came in they saw only a light representing God, with whom Raamalingam had merged.

For the festival the devotees join another bhajan group, also devoted to Murugan in the next 'garden'.

> Tai Puucam in 1965 was celebrated at night, under an awning in front of a large framed print of Raamalingam, in the puuja room used by the inhabitants of this other garden. Since all devotees of Murugan were welcome, several members of the Shan3mugaananda Tiruccabai, the bhajan group which meets in the Math's Murugan Temple, came to join in the singing. Men sat under the awning, facing the print of Raamalingam; women behind them, outside the awning. Raamalingam's bhajans were sung, first by the whole congregation, then by a choir of

children trained by one of the two brothers who make mud images in Rangamma Garden, and who act as informal leaders or spokesman for the Garden's inhabitants.

The cult is a neighbourhood cult only in the sense that it is convenient for those who live in Rangamma Garden to meet often for worship in their own temple; but there is nothing exclusive about the cult. The devotees worship to show their common devotion to Murugan, not to benefit their corner of the village. The Murugan cult is the great bhakti of the Tamils , emphasizing the unity of all devotees in the love of Murugan and goodwill to men, not the separateness of groups based on birth or residence.

Kaatt3eeriamma Temple in the 'gardens' is the same as the temple of the Tigal3a caste goddess Ellamma. The surrounding settlement is inhabited mainly by Tigal3as and their tenants of other castes. Tigal3as come from the whole village to worship both goddesses, but particularly Ellamma, on caste occasions; non-Tigal3as living around the temple come to worship Kaatt3eeriamma. Since the settlement is cut off from the main village, at the end of a narrow winding lane between vineyards and fields, non-Tigal3as from other parts of the village do not seem to worship there, except in the Village Festival, when Kaatt3eeriamma (not Ellamma) is treated as one of the original 'four gods' of the village. The cult of Kaatt3eeriamma is not very active, and she has no festivals of her own.

The original 'temple' was a stone sacred to Kaatt3eeriamma; and though there is now a painted image of the goddess riding a lion, the original stone beside it is said to have more 'shakti' or power, because it is older. The present temple was built fifteen or twenty years ago by the Tigal3a community to house both goddesses; and when a priest is needed, he is a Tigal3a.

The cult of the two goddesses probably came to Garud3apura with the first Tigal3as, the two brothers whom the village's founder invited around 1800 from Krisn3apura village 12 km away. Outside Krisn3apura, on either side of the road leading into the village, there are temples to Kaatt3eeriamma and Ellamma. Like many goddesses,

they are said to be sisters. The lineage of the Tigal3a caste headman in Garud3apura, the descendants of one of the original brothers, go to Krisn3apura periodically to worship Ellamma, but they worship Kaatt3eeriamma first. This family may have brought the cult of the two goddesses to Garud3apura, but Kaatt3eeriamma has come to be regarded as one of the village goddesses, while the Ellamma cult has remained purely a caste and lineage cult.

> The names of the two goddesses, which are common in South India, suggest a reason why they are associated. Ellamma is the goddess of the village boundary (ellai in Tamil), which she protects, though a folk etymology, which is certainly later, derives the name from Ella-amma 'goddess (or lady or mother) of all'. Kaatt3eeriamma's name is certainly derived from kaad3u (stem kaatt3-) ' a forest or uncultivated waste'. Kiehl (1956 273) translates her name 'Forest Demon'. The two goddesses' shrines are side by side both in Garud3apura and in Krisn3apura, apparently because it is reasonable at the same time to worship Ellamma for the protection of the village boundaries and Kaatt3eeriamma for the propitiation of the spirits which live outside in the forests and wastes: a combination of defence and diplomacy.

Diehl (1956 183) calls Kaatt3eeri(amma) ' a malignant female deity', and he says that she and goddesses like her 'come very near to the Pēykaḷ' or demons (ibid 280). It is possible that she was once a forest demon, who was tamed by regular worship (Dumont 1957 317; 'En fait un démon ou esprit devient un dieu lorsqu'il devient l'objet d'un culte régulier': a demon or spirit becomes a god when it is worshipped regularly); but she seems to have lost her original associations and to have no strongly marked character in Garud3apura. Ellamma overshadows her.

Thus the cult of Kaatt3eeriamma is a minor group cult particularly associated with a small outlying neighbourhood of the village. She may also appear as the patron of other groups.

A Mudaliaar family in the village centre, whose family god is Kaatt3eeri, worshipped a black sari representing her at a domestic ceremony, since black is associated with her. They offered her not only meat, which other popular goddesses consume in the form of sacrifices, but also a quarter bottle of brandy: another sign of her low status in the pantheon of group deities.

The Sweepers' Lines Maariamma Temple stands in the colony of simple houses, outside the main village, built by the City Corporation for its own sweepers, who are all Harijans (mostly 'AKs', the old Harijan families of the village). In fact several factory workers also live there, with relatives who work as sweepers.

Traditionally Maariamma, the goddess of smallpox (maari), is worshipped specially but not only by Harijans. Her temple in Williams Town, which was originally one of the outlying temples of Garud3apura, is served by a Tamil Harijan priestess, though other castes worship there, including, it is said, some of the Brahmans of Williams Town. The Sweepers' Lines Temple, however, serves only the Harijans living in the Sweepers Lines, and perhaps some of those living in the nearby 'AK Colony'.

The Temple is a simple modern shed containing a round-topped stone, with designs painted on it in yellow and red to represent the goddess. The local councillor claims the credit for getting the Corporation to build the Temple, as a 'community hall' for Harijans; and it is used as a night school, at which a young teacher gives extra tuition to Harijan children who go to Corporation schools in the daytime. The worship of Maariamma does not seem to be frequent or very important to the settlement. I suspect that the Corporation built the Temple because it was felt that the worship of Maariamma was appropriate to Harijans, and because the village establishment did not want militant Harijans to invade the village temples, rather than because the Sweepers themselves asked for it.

At the Maariamma festival in August 1964, a wooden image of the goddess, belonging either to all the residents of

Rangamma Garden or to the two Mudaliaar brothers who make mud images there, was borrowed for the occasion and brought over in a small procession by one of the brothers. As the image was brought into the settlement an old man did a wild dance of welcome, brandishing a large wooden sword. A Harijan priest was garlanded and made a rambling speech into a microphone, thanking all who had helped and contributed to the festival. He performed a simple puuja with aarati before the image, which was then taken three times round the Temple, tied to a cart, and taken to each house in the settlement for the people to come out and do puuja to it. The Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Bangalore, and the local councillor, visited the festival for a few minutes.

The ritual was an imitation of the sanskritic rites which higher castes use in their puujas and in the Car Festival. There seemed to be no possession by the goddess. The festival appeared to combine worship for the sake of the group's welfare, a pale copy of the brahmanical cult, and entertainment, possibly encouraged by higher caste men who wanted the Harijans to develop their own religious and social life in separation from the rest of the village.

A few minor temples or shrines are used occasionally by groups of neighbours on the edge of the main village. A'garden' with some poor houses has a temple which is almost always locked, though it is said that Kannada and Telugu people sometimes sacrifice goats there. the neighbours were not sure which god the temple was dedicated to. In the same 'garden' a small cement room, painted on the outside with the vertical red and white stripes which are the signs of a South Indian temple, appears to have been used at one time by wrestlers, as a gymnasium and as a temple of their patron god Aanjaneya or Hanumaan. when I came to Garud3apura it was not being used, and by the time I left a poor family was living in it.

Two collections of poor huts, inhabited mainly by Vodd3as and other low castes, have stones which are regarded as 'temples' to

Gangamma. One of these stones stands on a stone platform 4 inches high. The other, a round-topped stone about a foot high, seems to be some kind of official boundary stone or benchmark, with a rough koolam or rice-flour design drawn on the earth around it. The neighbours say goats are sacrificed there 'on Friday evenings', but this cannot happen very often (I lived less than 100 yards away). In all these cases the neighbours, being mostly of lower castes, are partly excluded from the social and religious life of the main village, though they live on its edges. Their neighbourhood cults, however, are not very active.

One courtyard of fairly poor houses in the main village celebrates its own yearly Maariamma Puuja every summer, though not on a particular date, to avert chickenpox and smallpox, whether there is an epidemic or not. The thirteen families who live around the courtyard are Tamils of various castes, including several families of the Aacaari (Goldsmith) caste; but the festival is not an Aacaari caste festival. All families living on the courtyard subscribe to it, and no one else.

In 1965 the puuja took place on a Tuesday, which like Friday is an auspicious day for such ceremonies. The residents hired a loudspeaker, which played records of film songs all day for the whole village to hear. Each house on the courtyard had green mango leaves hanging over its doorway, as a symbol of auspiciousness. The residents went in procession to worship at the Maariamma Temple in Williams Town and at Gangamma Temple.

Three large cauldrons, for cooking the sacrifical food, stood in the courtyard, with the food arranged carefully in front of them. First the food was worshipped with aarati, performed with sticks of incense. Some woman laid their babies on the ground and performed aarati over them, to protect them from illness. A woman waa suddenly possessed, threw herself about with her arms waving, then sank down and talked in a deep, mediumistic voice; but instead of consulting her as an oracle, the onlookers stuffed green leaves into her mouth to calm her.

> A moment later she was standing with her arms folded, as if nothing had happened; no one was surprised by her sudden possession, which was apparently to be expected just before the sacrifice.
>
> A white goat and two black goats, bought with the money subscribed by the residents, were prepared for sacrifice. The men did aarati to the white goat, sprinkled water on its back until it gave the 'sign' by shivering, and hacked its head off. Women dipped their finger in the blood and put spots of blood on their children's foreheads, as a protection. A few men put the blood on their own foreheads. The two black goats were then beheaded, apparently without further ceremony. The neighbours cooked the meat and ate a large meal together.

This festival was clearly designed only for the protection of the group which took part in and paid for it. It had little universal intention, little connexion with brahmanical worship or with prestige (though the loudspeaker was perhaps intended to advertise the festival), and little personal devotion. I know of no other courtyards or groups of houses which celebrate a similar festival.

Neighbourhood cults are a residual category, shading into village cults on one side and caste cults on the other. Garud3apura has nothing like the developed street temples and assemblies of the Tamil country (Sivertsen 1963 107f). The village contains groups of disparate kinds - castes, associations, classes &c - but these have little territorial reference. The smallest territorial community, a unit for worship, organization and common feeling, is usually the village.

Caste cults

A caste cult, by definition, is organized by and for a closed group. It comes closer than all other kinds of religion to the type of the religion of groups as I have described it, emphasizing protection,

solidarity, unity in the face of the outside world, and the members' obligations to one another. Such a cult is subordinate to the brahmanical religion which legitimates the caste's place in a divinely established social hierarchy. Only one Garud3apura caste, the Tigal3as, have a developed caste cult. The worship of other 'caste gods' is mixed with other kinds of religion, and with cults which extend beyond the caste.

The Tigal3as of Garud3apura worship Ellamma who, as I have shown came to the village with the first Tigal3a family from Krisn3apura, and became the caste goddess (kuladeyvam) of other Tigal3a lineages who settled in Garud3apura. All these lineages are related to one another often by many marriages with cousins and nieces. Ellamma is the caste deity only of this local caste group, who share the cult of Dharmaraaya and Draupadi with Tigal3as elsewhere.

I have described Ellamma Temple in my treatment of Kaatt3eeriamma, who shares the temple. It belongs to the Tigal3a caste group in the village, and the caste beadle or koolkaar acts as its caretaker. The temple has no trustees or committee, though the quarterly meetings of the Tigal3a chit fund, the profits of which are used mainly for the upkeep of the temple, appears to take the place of a temple committee.

The older image of Ellamma, holding a sword, is of wood. The Tigal3as worship her at congregational puujas, performed by various Tigal3a men acting as priests, according to an irregular and informal rota; these puujas generally take place on Tuesdays and Fridays, like the worship of other gods, and every day in the period before Dasara. After a Tigal3a wedding the marriage party goes to the temple in procession to sacrifice a goat, which is then eaten at a banquet. Some Tigal3as go occasionally to worship individually in the temple. Business meetings of the caste never seem to take place there, but only in the caste headman's house.

Fifteen or twenty years ago the Tigal3as collected the money to build a temple for the two goddesses and shortly before

> my arrival they held another collection to commission the making of a brass statue of the goddess, costing Rs 700, to be carried in procession, since it is thought fitting that the chief image of a god should be fixed and should not be taken out of its temple. The image, like that of Gangamma, has four arms, holding a bowl for kumkum (vermilion powder, a sign of auspiciousness), a sword, an hourglass drum and a lotus. The image was installed before the Car Festival, with an important ritual in which it was ceremonially washed, to remove the impurities and the effects of disrespectful treatment which it must have received from its maker and to ward off evil influences. It was then consecrated by a Brahman priest. The image made its first public appearance in the Car Festival, on a magnificent cart sponsored by the Tigal3a caste group.

Ellamma, the goddess of the boundary (ellai), is believed to protect the caste as she protects the village boundary. Her worship is also a source of prestige to the Tigal3as, a caste which not long ago was considered slightly inferior to other 'middle' castes and which has been anxious to establish its status in the village. Both the building of the temple and the installation of the new image were spectacular gestures, made in the name of the whole caste and not, as is usual when other temples are built or images installed, in the name of important men or families, whose prestige is only reflected indirectly on to their castemen in the village.

Tigal3as claim, or at least mention the tradition, that they are descended from the five Paand3avas; and they share a caste cult of the eldest Paand3ava, Dharmaraaya (Dharmaraaja or Yudhist3hira) and of Draupadi, the wife of the five brothers (Nanjundayya and Anantakrishna Iyer 1931 617). Diehl writes:

> Draupadī is in South India an Amman, a common village goddess, worshipped in much the same way as Māriyamman. ... The real male partner of the same origin is ... Dharma Rājā (Yudhiṣṭira). (Diehl 1956 257)

In Bangalore the centre of this caste cult is the Dharmaraayanasvaami Temple in the 'City', where the spectacular Karagam festival is celebrated in April. A Tigal3a, specially purified for the occasion, spends the whole night dancing through the streets of Bangalore with a pot (karaga(m)) representing Draupadi on his head, attended by an army of Tigal3as with drawn swords. The festival is one of the sights of Bangalore and draws enormous crowds. Some Garud3apura Tigal3as, like Garud3apura people of other castes, spend the night watching it, but they do not take part in it. The festival is organized by one of the two rival caste associations, which claim support from Tigal3as throughout the state. The Tigal3as of Garud3apura take no interest in either of them.

The Goll3as have Krisn3a as their caste god. According to the caste myth:

> The Gollas came to live in Brindāvan, following the profession of cattle-tending and selling milk and curds. It is commonly stated that Krishna mixed largely with Golla maidens and hence the Gollas claim to belong to the Yadava clan in which Sri Krishna was born. (Nanjundayya 1910 2)+

Goll3a families usually keep an image of Krisn3a in the puuja room of their houses, which may be little more than a cupboard, and worship

+ The way in which I got this information raises an interesting problem of method. I asked the Goll3a lawyer, who belongs to the leading family of the village, about the customs of his caste. He answered my questions as well as he could, and later sent his son round with a copy of Nanjundayya's 'Ethnographical survey of Mysore', borrowed from the Public Library, with a bookmark at the section on Goll3as.

The substance of the myth given by Nanjundayya - that Goll3as are Yaadavas and descendants of Krisn3a - is the same as the myth told by Goll3as in Garud3apura; but it is often hard to disentangle 'traditional' popular beliefs from those derived from books, directly or indirectly. People in Garud3apura, for instance, told me several times that a custom was 'Aryan', 'Dravidian' or even 'pre-Dravidian'. What is written about a popular culture may quickly become a part of that culture. This can happen among the illiterate as well as among educated town people, as the DMK's success with its 'Dravidian' myth in Madras State has shown.

it when they worship their own lineage or household gods; but the cult of Krisn3a is not important among them except at Krisn3a Jayanti (Krisn3a's birthday), which I described in the last chapter; and they have no monopoly of this festival. If a Goll3a has a special reverence for Krisn3a this is more often a personal preference, which may be connected with a reverence for the Giitaa. The real devotees of Krisn3a are North Indians from the village or the nearby Sindhi Colony, who worship regularly at his shrine in the Math. Though the Goll3as share the cult of Krisn3a, there is nothing exclusive about their Krisn3a or their cult.

Mudaliaars similarly share the cult of Murugan with the Murugan devotees of other castes. Many members of the Shan3mugaananda Tiruccąbai, the bhajan group devoted to Murugan, are Mudaliaars; and the Aad3i Kiruttigai festival, sacred to Murugan, is thought to be typically but not exclusively a festival for Mudaliaars. The members of the ad hoc committee which arranges it are apparently all Mudaliaars, and are regarded as informal leaders of the caste group. Yet the spirit of the Murugan cult, even more than that of the Krisn3a cult, is inclusive, universal and devotional. Mudaliaars seem to take the lead in the Murugan cult because it is typically a Tamil cult and because they, as the largest Tamil caste in the village (with 11 per cent of its population), represent the Tamil community. It may be that the inclusiveness of the Murugan cult, rather than the pride of caste implied in a more exclusive cult, is just what accounts for its popularity among Mudaliaars, whose origins are sometimes doubtful and might conveniently be forgotten in a common devotion to Murugan.

The Harijans are a special case, because they are excluded from much of the common religious life of the village. Though other castes also worship Maariamma, particularly to avert diseases, her cult is thought to be specially appropriate to Harijans. The Maariamma Temple in Williams Town, in what were once the fields of Garud3apura, has a Harijan priestess; and I have described the Maariamma Temple which the Corporation built in its Sweepers' Lines.

The higher castes tend to think of Maariamma as the Harijans' caste god; but though Harijans worship her and celebrate festivals

to her, I doubt whether they see her in the same way. Harijans seem more concerned with the worship of household and personal gods, whose prints hang on the walls of their houses; and the pantheon from which these gods are chosen consists of the main sanskritic gods of brahmanical Hinduism, and Jesus. Though the commonest kind of 'intercaste' marriage among all groups seems to be marriage between a Hindu and a Christian, this probably happens most often among Harijans. One of them (a Christian, whose family had just married him to a Hindu girl) explained the difference in religion simply as a difference in the choice of personal gods, with no great importance. Hindus of higher castes may also have prints of Jesus or Mary among the gods on their walls, since they say that 'all are one god'; and for the same reason they may go to church. Yet they are more aware of the differences between the two religions, and less inclined to change from one to the other.

Christians and Muslims, of course, have no group gods, but from the Hindu side Jesus and Mohamed may look like caste gods, just as their followers tend to be treated as castes. This analogy should not be pushed too far, since Hindus are generally aware that the universal claims of these religions are not compatible with the coexistence of group gods.

Other castes in the village have no caste gods, or do not worship them very actively. Certain gods are often found as household or personal gods in particular castes, for instance Venkat3eeshvara of Tirupati among Naidus, Okkaligas and Kuncitigas; but the association between castes and gods is too loose for these to be regarded even as universal gods who are also concerned with particular groups, as Krisn3a, Murugan and Maariamma are. As a community the village is segmented into an exhaustive set of castes, each with its own name, reputation, marriage rites &c. As a congregation for worship it is not segmented into castes, but rather divided by personal preferences expressed in the choice of temples, memberships in religious associations, and personal gods.

Lineage cults

A lineage cult concerns several households which recognize common descent through men and worship a common god, but they do not necessarily or usually worship this god together. The lineage god may be worshipped at home, either as a household god or in addition to him. More often the cult of a lineage god is celebrated only on occasional pilgrimages to his shrine in another village.

A lineage cult generally implies not only recognition of common descent but of an 'original'village from which the family came to Garud3apura. It appears that lineage gods are usually the presiding gods of these original villages. Though many families do not know where their ancestors came from they do not speak of Garud3apura as their 'original' village in this sense; nor, I think, do any of the village temples serve as lineage temples for households living in Garud3apura or elsewhere. A possible exception is the Baasava Temple, which I describe in this section, but its owner, who lives in the old 'City', does not know whether his ancestors came from Garud3apura or what connexion they had with the village.

Though the distinction between caste, lineage and household cults is clear in practice, that between caste, lineage and household gods is not. The Tamil and Kannada terms are confusing, like 'caste', 'family' and 'household', because they are relative and their meaning depends on the context.

The kuladeyvam may be a caste god, like Dharmaraaya for Tigal3as or Krisn3a for Goll3as; or the god of a lineage, in which case the related lineages in the village worship at different family shrines. This is because 'kula(m)' sometimes translated 'race' or 'clan', may be used either for an endogamous caste (as in Vanhikula Ks3atriya or 'Ks3atriya of the Fire Race', i e. Tigal3a); or for a loosely defined exogamous lineage, which may be called a kud3umbam or 'family'. The viitt3udeyvam (manedeevaru in Kannada) is the 'god of the house', generally meaning the household with a common kitchen (camucaaram, also sometimes called kud3umbam) but sometimes the lineage. The presiding

god worshipped at home may be the caste god, the lineage god or the personal god of the head of the household, or sometimes two of these, or perhaps all three. When kuladeyvam and viitt3udeyvam (house god) are mentioned together, the kuladeyvam is always the god of the larger unit.

The Tigal3as provide the best example of a lineage cult, as they do of a caste cult and caste organization; they are the most conservative and 'traditional' of the village's main castes. The two brothers who were the first Tigal3as to settle in Garud3apura brought the cult of Ellamma from Krisn3apura. She became the caste god for the whole caste group in Garud3apura, with a temple in the village; and remained a lineage god, worshipped in her temple at Krisn3apura, only for the two lineages founded by the original brothers. The caste headman belongs to the senior lineage, and his household worships Ellamma periodically at Krisn3apura, as the lineage goddess; often in her Garud3apura temple, as the caste goddess; and daily at home, as joint household deity with Venkat3eeshvara.

Members of both lineages used to go to Krisn3apura to worship at the lineage temple yearly, in order 'to rid ourselves of evil', particularly illness. These yearly puujas ceased in about 1955, and in the next few years the caste headman's family suffered a series of misfortunes. The headman himself became seriously ill, had several operations, and was confined to the house. One of his sons, an army driver, was in a lorry which broke down in a snowstorm in Kashmir, and he spent some time in a military hospital with frostbite. Another son continued to suffer from severe headaches which prevented him from working. In 1965 the family took the initiative in reviving the puuja, and invited members of the two lineages living in Garud3apura and elsewhere, but only those living in the village attended the puuja and contributed to its cost. Several relatives belonging to neither lineage went along to take part in the puuja, but it was not performed on their

behalf and they did not contribute to it.

The night before the ceremony the party want to Krisn3apura, in a van belonging to a Tigal3a fruit merchant. They spent the night in or around the Ellamma and Kaatt3eeriamma Temples at the entrance to Krisn3apura. These temples stand beside a vineyard belonging to the Garud3apura family which organized the puuja. The Tigal3as of Krisn3apura, and I think other castes, worship at these temples; but though many Krisn3apura people came to watch the lineage puuja none of them took an active part in it except one or two village servants, particularly the village Washerman and toti (the toti had nothing to do except to stand by with his pole of office). The connexion between the Tigal3as of Garud3apura and Krisn3apura is almost lost, and the one Garud3apura family which kept up a marriage alliance with Krisn3apura has moved away. It is said that a Garud3apura girl marrying into Krisn3apura would find a country woman's work too hard, and that a Krisn3apura girl might not be able to adapt to city life.

The morning after their arrival, all the participants bathed by pouring water over themselves, and put on clean cloths, in order to be physically and religiously 'pure'. All of them were bound to fast until the offerings could be eaten after the ceremony, though those who were not immediately concerned with the ritual took coffee in the morning.

The rites began at about 10 am. and continued, through the heat of the day, for four hours; yet the meal was not ready until 6 pm. Thus the ceremony was a considerable physical ordeal for the participants.

The ritual requires a band or drummer to sing the praises of Ellamma, who is identified with the Ren3uka of sanskritic mythology. The proper person for this office is a maattangi

(from mahaa tangi, literally ('great younger sister'), in fact either a man or a woman, of an 'AK' Harijan caste, who is dedicated to a god and should be celibate. These bards are possessed by the deity to whom the puuja is offered, and 'dance the god' (or the goddess). They live in a settlement outside Bangalore. On this occasion the family giving the puuja could not find a maattangi, and had to employ an 'ud3agaikaar' (player of the ud3agai drum) instead, the grandson of the Tamil Harijan priestess of the Maariamma Temple in Williams Town. He was not possessed by the goddess, but sang in Tamil, in a pleasant gravelly voice, apparently improvising the praises of Ellamma. He accompanied himself on an hourglass-shaped brass drum, varying the tension of the membranes and therefore the note with the pressure of his fingers on a set of strings at the side. A young boy and girl, apparently his children, accompanied him with small bells and wooden clappers; and for part of the ceremony a Krisn3apura man played on the naagasvaram or horn, while the bard played his drum.

The ceremony began not with the worship of Gan3eesha, as most temple puujas do, but with Suurya Namaskaaram and Ganga Puuja the worship of the sun and the 'Ganges', ie. water, since these two sustain the world and all life. The principal offering was pongal, or rice boiled with milk and jaggery. A woman of the family giving the puuja made three round hearths with stones; worshipped the hearths with aarati; tied yellow threads round the necks of three new mud pots, since turmeric or anything else which is yellow is a symbol of mangalam or 'auspiciousness'; lit the fires and boiled the pongal. If the first froth on the milk had risen in the middle of one of the pots this would have been a sign of amangalam or 'inauspiciousness', though the ceremony would have gone forward in spite of this bad omen; but it rose auspiciously at one side of the pot.

The pongal was taken to the Ellamma Temple and arranged, with other offerings to the sun, in the sunlight under the temple porch, on a patch that had been washed with cowdung to purify it and decorated with a koolam or rice-flour design, also a symbol of auspiciousness. Three more new pots, decorated with yellow threads, turmeric, red saffron, leaves and flowers, were filled with water at a nearby well and brought to the Ellamma Temple.

The Tigal3a headman's second son, a skilled worker in the aircraft factory who acts as headman on most public occasions, was the priest. Holding a piece of burning camphor in a banana skin, he bowed to the sun and turned round on the spot three times - an alternative form of aarati, used in certain rituals, where the flame is moved in horizontal not vertical circles.

The congregation walked in a procession with music to the well, representing the Ganges, for Ganga Puuja or the worship of water in general and the Ganges in particular. Three girls - all unmarried, though this was not essential - carried the pots of water on their heads, and the kalasham, or puuja plates with offerings of rice and coconuts, in their hands. They walked over saris laid out by the Village Washerman of Krisn3apura, so that their feet should not touch the ground, just as the gods and goddesses used to walk on carpets of pearls. The Washerman used the saris village women gave him for washing, and a worshipper said that no woman would object even if she recognized her own sari (I have my doubts about this).

Though the well was only a hundred yards away the procession took an hour to get there, since it stopped continually while the bard sang of Ellamma how the world would not exist without her, how she sends children &c - and as some of the women began to show signs of possession. The headman's son did puuja to the well,

putting three dabs of turmeric and red saffron inside its edge, breaking a coconut and throwing the coconut water down the well, and performing aarati. Meanwhile his sister did puuja to the three pots of water and the puuja plate, and threw their contents into the well. The pots had to be refilled from the same well.

The procession came slowly back to the temple, but by this time several of the possessed women were moaning, sinking down, speaking in disjointed phrases, or dancing drunkenly with niim leaves in their hands so that they had to be restrained from falling into ditches or into the crowd. The priest's sister, an unmarried woman in early middle age who is devoted to Ellamma and is often possessed by her, was expected to dance forward with the procession. Though she was clearly possessed this time she did not come forward. When the men asked her why - or rather, they asked Ellamma who was speaking through her mouth - the goddess said that she was not satisfied with the bard they had chosen and that she wanted the usual maattangis to dance and sing. The priest, the possessed woman's brother, begged the goddess to forgive them and to allow the ceremony to continue, and promised that the family would find maattangis next time. His sister then came forward, but she and the other possessed women stopped again several times on the way back to the temple, and this was taken to mean that Ellamma was not satisfied with the bard's songs. Meanwhile another son of the headman went with some of the participants to perform a preliminary puuja in the Kaatt3eeriamma Temple across the road from Ellamma Temple, and another woman was possessed.

The main procession went three times round the temple, as an act of worship. The third time round the procession stopped to perform puuja before a snake's hole in an anthill behind the temple. The snake is identified, or at least associated, with Ellamma: it is said that Ellamma herself is 'a form of snake",

and that if someone speaks ill of her a snake will frighten him. It is not certain that a snake still lives in this hole.

In the temple the priest and a few others performed a long puuja in the small inner room, almost out of sight of most of the congregation, who stood about in the outer room or the temple porch taking little interest in this part of the ceremony. Maavil3akkus, lamps of jaggery mixed with rice flour, were lit and offered outside the temple, and the people prepared to consult Ellamma through an oracle, this time a widow of the family who had been possessed during the procession. Possession has degrees, and since she was not yet considered to be in the proper state of possession this had to be induced. For this purpose a 'mouth lock' - the silver skewer sometimes passed through a person's cheeks as a penance, was passed through a banana, since no one was sufficiently possessed to take it in their cheeks without bleeding or pain. This suggests that the 'mouth lock' is seen less as a means of self-torture than as a sign that the proper condition of detachment from the world has been reached. To induce possession in the oracle, the congregation repeatedly shouted, as a versicle and response, 'Goovinda' and 'dhii' (Goovinda is here said to be a name of Venkat3ees3vara of Tirupati, who is 'like a brother to all these Ammas'; "dhii" may be the Sanskrit word translated 'intuition,' though apparently no one knew what it meant).

When the oracle began to speak with the voice of Ellamma, the headman's two elder sons questioned her closely, sometimes almost aggressively, about their family affairs. They asked when their younger brother would be released from the army; Ellamma said soon, but refused to give a specific date, saying only that she would always be behind him to wash off all evils. They asked her about the eldest brothers headaches,

which prevent him from working, but got no answer. They asked what would happen to their father, the Tigal3a headman, who was seriously ill at home. When Ellamma asked why he had not come to the puuja, they told Ellamma that if she could not bring him (by curing him) they were not responsible. The headman's second son, who had acted as the chief priest, said afterwards that it was not known whether Ellamma herself had sent his father's disease or whether it was his karma, caused by deeds in a past life, for such diseases were 'beyond the control of these Ammas'. While the oracle was speaking, the bard continued to sing about Ellamma, going from person to person - particularly to those who showed signs of possession - and singing directly to them.

Again the congregation went in procession three times round the temple, before the final sacrifice. They washed the feet and heads of two sheep, poured water on their backs to make them shiver. One sheep would not shiver until they brought turmeric and vermilion, which had been offered to Ellamma, and put them on its forehead. A man of Krisn3apura, whose caste was not known and was not important, beheaded the two sheep. The priest performed the final aarati (mahaamangalaarati) with many pieces of burning camphor, and distributed vermilion, turmeric and the offerings of food to the congregation. The people rested for some three hours, while the sheep were butchered, and ate them with a large meal in the evening.

This puuja was performed for the general welfare of the lineage and for certain specific purposes: to cure the father and one son, and to get another son out of the army. Anyone else who attended derived some benefit from the puuja, but it was not done for their sake or in any sense for the general good. Ellamma is seen in this situation as a protector of the group, not concerned with others. The brother in the army, for instance, who always worships Ellamma when he is away from home, believes that she saved his life when he was driving a lorry along

a narrow ledge in Kashmir and the lorry ahead of him went over the edge, killing all who were in it. Though he had warned the other driver to be careful at that point, this was no concern of Ellamma's. Ellamma of Krisn3apura watches over the lineage as Ellamma of Garud3apura watches over the village caste group and Dharmaraaya over all Tigalas. The identification of Ellamma with Ren3uka - the Brahman Parashuraama's mother who fell from perfection - gives this meat-eating goddess a place in sanskritic mythology, without putting her on a level with the high goddesses, just as the lineage and the caste acknowledge their dependence on brahmanical religion and their place in the hierarchy of castes.

Since the place invented for Ellamma in the pantheon corresponds so closely with the Tigal3as' place in the hierarchy, the social distance between the goddess and her worshippers is reduced; and this makes the particular form of oracular possession easier to understand. Ellamma is revered, and must be induced to possess the oracle; but once this happens she will listen to private requests, and it is possible to argue and even to bargain with her. Spontaneous possession - like the possession of the headman's daughter in the procession from the well, or the many cases of possession in the Village Festival and at Aad3i Kiruttigai - is a god's way of communicating the divine will to man, who can then take the necessary action to comply with it. Induced possession - like that of the oracle in the Ellamma Temple at Krisn3apura - is man's ways of questioning the deity and of achieving his own purposes. The headman's son who acted as priest at Krisn3apura explained the difference between the two kinds of possession in a letter written in English in answer to my questions about possession:

> Possession of God or Goddess at the passing of procession or a ceremony and the possession of certain people on a particular vacation are all same and there is not much difference. But the previous one takes place of its own accord, spontaneously to show that 'the Godly power' is exercising on us, whereas in the second case possession

takes place some times by prayer and some times of its own accord. For instance my sister was possessed by Goddess Yellamma. Here my sister need not nor she does not make any effort to bring the Goddess into her. But cleanliness, purity of mind, and concentration towards the puja counts a lot. Simultaneously on the the other hand the person who dances the Goddess, so called 'Vudakkaikaran' or 'Maha thangis' will make an effort to bring the Goddess into her by playing on the drums, singing melodious songs of prayer pertaining to the history of that particular Goddess and describing the works of that particular Goddess for the sake of peace on earth.

The village washerman was possessed by Goddess Gangamma, no doubt every one expected it, but some times, though not the washerman some other person who is a devotee of Gangamma would be possessed and speak as an oracle.

People are possessed only by certain Gods and that too certain families only, for instance our family. ...

Eaeh family or each person is free to choose his own Gods for worship. In certain families this selection has been done in ancient times and same is being continued for generations together. Usually there will not be any change in that. Suppose a family worshipping a particular God or Goddess in the past generations, stops it by chance in a particular generation not knowing about God for worship, then there is every chance of that particular God appearing in some form or other, i.e. either in the form of a dream or by means of possession into a person asking them to worship

that God.+

This Tigal3a cult is an example of a full 'traditional' lineage cult, uniting the households of a lineage in a regular act of common worship. Other lineages may or may not have such cults, and the details of the worship may have been very different. Yet this is the general type, and the other, more attenuated lineage cults of the village can be seen as approximations to it, or as vestiges of something like it.

Other lineage gods, whose shrines may be a hundred miles away in another state, are generally worshipped by particular households or individuals, either yearly or on special occasions. Yearly pilgrimages to lineage shrines are becoming less common except among old people, who go, for instance, to wash the god's image with water or curds, to do puuja, and to offer food to the beggars around the temple as an act of piety. This does not seem to involve any contact with branches of the lineage living elsewhere, or any 'solidarity' with them beyond that which is kept up through marriage alliance and ordinary acquaintance. Younger men and their dependants, even when they are living in their parents' joint households, often prefer to visit the shrines of their chosen gods, particularly Venkat3eeshvara of Tirupati. Many people, however, still visit the lineage shrine on special occasions: sacraments in the family, such as the shaving of a child's head and the piercing of its ears - which may otherwise be done at a shrine in the village - or to give thanks for a safe delivery; in fulfilment of a vow, as an (alternative)

+ Diehl writes about the possession of the Tamil Kōṭaṅgi (Kood3angi) or 'god-dancer':

> The fundamental experience of 'possession' dominates the relationship between man and god, obliterating not only the distinction between god and demon but making for a slight variation of the divine appearance indicated by different names. This is the reason why a word like Tēvatai (Deevadai, from Devataa in Sanskrit) can be translated both 'deity' and 'demon'. The difference is not so much in the individuality of the superhuman being as in the valuation of the particular experience of 'possession'. Some people discard the experience as possession of demons, whereas other people derive their chief idea of the divine from that experience. (Diehl 1956 279-280).

to visiting some other popular place of pilgrimage; or before taking an important step, such as marriage or a business venture. A man of the village's leading family, who is a Block Development Officer in the State Community Development department, went to his family's shrine 120 km away in Andhra before going to America for a short training course. In such cases the god is invoked more for a generalized blessing than for a particular favour. Generally it seems that a visit to the shrine of some other god would be an acceptable alternative; but a lineage god is already specially concerned with the welfare of the lineage.

One temple in the village appears to be a lineage temple. This is the Baasava Temple, really a temple of Shiva, a well-built temple in the centre of the village near Laks3minaaraayan3a and Gangamma Temples . Facing it across the village street is a granite pillar some 4 feet high, with a small image of the bull Baasava, Shiva's vehicle, on top of it. Although the temple is in such a prominent position few people in the village know much about it except that it belongs to an outsider. Some of them wrongly believe that it is a temple of the Lingaayats, whose teacher was called Baasava. In fact it belongs to a rich family of the Deevanga or Weaver caste, living in the City, which owns one of the best sari shops in Bangalore.

At the Kaartikkai Diipam festival the temple was open, as its owner and his relatives had come by car to worship there. The owner says his grandfather built the temple, but he has no idea why. There seem to be no Deevangas in the village now, and the temple's owner does not believe there were any when the temple was built. His family owns two shops in Garud3apura and uses the rent for the upkeep of the temple. He says that he sends a priest every day to do a brief puuja, and comes himself from time to time, since this is a family custom he feels bound to keep up. In principle he would like to organize more activities in the temple, and to see local people worshipping there, but he complains that the villagers 'won't co-operate'.

> In fact the temple is hardly ever open. At Kaartikkai Diipam, a few Garud3apura people attended the worship, apparently more from curiosity than from devotion. It seems that there was a school of some kind in the temple some forty years ago, possibly the night school mentioned in an administrative report for 1927-8. The affairs of the temple are as mysterious to most Garud3apura people as they are to me.

Household cults

The principal cult celebrated at home is the daily or weekly worship of the 'house god' (viitt3udeyvam/manedeevaru), in this context meaning the god presiding over the residential house. This god is represented either by an image kept in the puuja room, if the house is big enough to have one, or in a niche or on a shelf against the wall of the main room, or by a coloured print, usually framed, on the wall. Most Hindu households have images or prints of other gods on their walls, including the personal gods of members of the family, and occasionally Jesus or Mary. Beside them, as if to complete the household pantheon, are photos of the honoured dead of the family, often with auspicious vermilion marks applied to the glass over the forehead, and photos of weddings and children. The house god has the place of honour.

Only a few families have more than one house god. The god may be an inherited lineage god, a caste god, or the chosen god of the head of the household. In theory the god chooses the worshipper, appearing to him in a dream or possessing him at a festival, and demanding to be worshipped; in practice the choice seems generally to be the result of a strong preference or of devotion awakened by a pilgrimage in the company of others, especially to the shrine of Venkat3eeshwara at Tirupati. The general opinion that each person must choose his own gods, and that the head of a household makes the rules for its members, means that a young married man can assert his religious independence by choosing a new house god without slighting

the gods of the lineage or breaking with his parents or relatives. Sometimes the choice seems to be little more than a matter of fashion, as for instance when a young man finds the name of his parents' house god old-fashioned or even ridiculous.

Domestic worship is very simple. The one essential and universal rite is aarati, done by the head of the household, or sometimes by the oldest woman, with burning camphor or incense. It is common to offer flowers, either separately, or in strings which then become prasaadam (things that have been offered), for the woman to wear in their hair; to hang a garland over the image or print; or to break and offer a coconut.

Weekly puuja, on a day sacred to the particular house god (eg. Saturday for Venkat3eeshvara) is a little more elaborate: the whole family may bathe, fast, perform a longer puuja than usual and abstain from meat all day. Many people pray silently during the ritual. Mantras (canonical formulas) are seldom or never used, though they are usual in temple worship performed by a priest. Devout and educated Tamils read aloud from the lyrics of the Aarhvaars (Ālvārs) or the Shaiva saints. An interesting but unusual case is that of a Tamil, of undisclosed caste, whose parents married him to a Christian relative. He is devoted to Shiva, and he and his wife 'worship together' by reading Hindu and Christian scriptures to one another.

Though household cults, like lineage cults, are confined to groups of kin, the spirit of the worship appears to be very different. Lineage worship is formal and ritualistic, emphasizing the special relation of protection and dependence which exists between the god and the lineage, and perhaps on some occasions the solidarity of lineage members with one another. Household worship tends to be simple, internal and spontaneous, consisting largely of silent prayer and devotion. Different lineage gods serve to distinguish lineages; house gods, on the other hand, seem often to be chosen because they are popular. A common devotion to Venkat3eeshvara or Murugan is a bond even between people of different castes, and finds expression in the associations of devotees (Tirumaleeshvara Sangha for Venkat3eeshvara,

Shan3mugaananda Tiruccabai for Murugan &c). As the house god tends more and more to be the chosen god of the head of the household, rather than an inherited deity, and as men tend more often to set up house while they are fairly young and their families are small, so domestic worship has less in it of group religion and more of the religion of personal choice.

The house god also presides over many rituals of the life cycle, which I describe in the next section, and receives vows, which I consider among individual religious practices.

One other rite is domestic by definition: the housewarming (viitt3u praveecam / mane praveeshana), celebrated when the first occupants move into a new house, and in a more modest way when a family moves into an old house. This involves puuja to the house god and usually a meal for relatives and friends. At least when the house is new a hole is cut in a pumpkin, kumkum or red powder is poured into it, and the pumpkin is thrown on to the ground, where it breaks into many pieces, spilling out the kumkum: a sacrificial rite also used in some other ceremonies.

Ceremonies of the life cycle

These differ in form and relative importance from caste to caste, and from one family to another, but most of them are modelled more or less closely on the brahmanical series of samskaaras or sacraments. The most important is always marriage: differences between the marriage customs of castes are often spoken of as the chief distinguishing mark of each caste. At the same time the basic similarity in rites is an indication of a caste's or a family's membership in the all-India community of Hindus.

It is convenient to begin a description of the cycle with pregnancy. The auspicious pregnancy rite (ciimandam/sriimanta) seems to be performed in the fifth or seventh month by most castes in Garud3apura, like other auspicious ceremonies which must be celebrated an odd number of days or months after an event. yet Diehl (1956 189) says that in Mathurai and Ramnad it is performed in the fourth, sixth or eighth month of the first

pregnancy, and Mrs Stevenson (1920 116) says that in Gujarat it takes place sometimes in the seventh month but more often in the eighth. In any case, the rite here has little in common with the Brahmanical model except the name; and the central Brahmanical ceremony of hair-parting seems to be missing. The woman is taken to her parents' house, where her father gives a feast for the relatives. She receives presents of gold or other ornaments, and especially bangles. The rite is most common in first pregnancies. The other Brahmanical pregnancy rites, if they ever existed here, seem to have been lost entirely.

Childbirth, like menstruation or intercourse, is a source of temporary pollution (tiitt3u/mad3i) for the woman. This pollution has no moral effects, but means only that she must observe certain formal prohibitions. In principle she should not cook, touch pickles, or growing plants, go to a temple, worship the house god or stand near someone possessed by a god. In other words, she should avoid contact with the divine which, it seems, could be dangerous both to her and to others. Immediately after childbirth she is incapable of doing most of these things anyway. The one prohibition which could be really inconvenient - that on cooking during menstruation - is not generally observed except by Brahmans; this is why most Brahman men can cook.

The pollution is removed by a ceremonial bath, which an older woman relative, often the husband's elder sister, gives her on the ninth or eleventh day after the birth. This rite seems to be universal among the Hindus of Garud3apura; it is combined with the important naming ceremony (naamakaran3-am/-a). The Brahman custom of consulting an astrologer about an auspicious name for the child is now becoming common among other castes, but for most of them it is something new. The astrologer, usually in the 'City' suggests one or more initial 'letters' (really syllables, as Indian scripts are syllabic) and the parents choose a name beginning with one of these names (Baasavaraaj, Yoogaananda). Children are usually named after gods, or after more or less deified mythical characters. This is not difficult, even when the choice is restricted by an astrologer, because there are many gods and each has a range of

alternative names and descriptions. An advantage of naming a child after a god is said to be that a dying person, when he calls for his wife or children by name, calls upon a god as well and dies praying.

If the family has not had time to consult an astrologer, the child may be given a temporary name at the ceremony. A child's name may also be changed later as a result of a vow; one young man was first named Kumaarasvaami, but when he fell ill with smallpox his parents made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Murugan at Parhani (Palni) and promised to change his name to Parhani Veelu, a name of Murugan, in return for a cure.

Relatives and friends, especially women, come to a naming ceremony with presents, especially of money which they put into the child's fist. The father makes a written or mental note of the amount, so that his family can match it on a suitable occasion. Occasionally a naming ceremony is celebrated on a very large scale, with a banquet, sweets sent out to every house in the village &c.

The family may or may not do puuja to the house god or in a temple. The child is named when its parents put an auspicious spot of kumkum on its forehead and lay it in the cradle for the first time. This may be a wooden or iron cot, or in poorer families an old sari hanging from a beam. Though most children are now born in hospital, a hospital cradle does not count as the child's first cradle, just as the rules against eating with other castes do not apply outside the village. When the baby is brought home it sleeps on a mat on the floor until its naming ceremony.

> Often the family put a grindstone, marked with turmeric and kumkum, into the cradle three times, and plays with it as if it were a baby, before laying the baby itself in the cradle. This is done in the same spirit as the ritual clowning at a wedding, when a grindstone is also used to represent a baby: the bride hands the grindstone to the groom and tells him to look after the baby while she cooks: he hands it back saying he must go to work &c.

At the naming ceremony it is usual for the family to tie on the first waist-thread (arainyaan3/ hud3idaara), usually covered in silver. When the child grows up this is replaced with an ordinary thread, which is thrown away only when its wearer dies.

The naming ceremony is named and modelled after an auspicious brahmanical ceremony, but it involves little ritual and, I think, no priest. The spirit is that of a happy family celebration, of love and protectiveness towards the child who is the centre of attention.

The head-shaving ceremony usually takes place in an odd-numbered month, especially the eleventh, in the child's first year, and again in the child's third year (ie. when it is two). All the hair is shaved off by a Barber and offered in sacrifice to a god. This rite may be repeated in adult life and is usual on certain pilgrimages, for instance to Tirupati. To sacrifice one's hair is a symbolic renunciation.

The shaving of a child's head is one of the brahmanical sacraments and appears to be a way of putting the child under the special protection of a god chosen by the parents. It is also believed to make the child's hair grow thicker and better. If the child is a girl the ear-piercing ceremony, also brahmanical in origin, may be performed by a Goldsmith at the first head-shaving. Boys' ears are no longer pierced.

The ritual of head-shaving is quite elaborate. The parents seem free to choose the god in whose honour they will have it done and to whom they will offer the hair. This may be a local god to whom the offering is made by family custom, the house god, or the father's personal god. The ceremony often involves a pilgrimage, and the temple of Venkat3eeshvara at Tirupati, as usual, seems to be the most popular for this purpose.

Though the rite is brahmanical in origin, it may involve blood sacrifice when the hair is offered to a 'non-vegetarian' god.

Some families sacrifice animals at shrines of Muneeshvara (Muni-Iishvara), the meat-eating form of Iishvara or Shiva.

Muneeshvara temples are usually no more than two or three feet high, and are always outside a village: it is said that the same god, when worshipped at a temple inside a village, is called Iishvara. There is one such temple in the side of an enormous rock beside a tank 2 km from the village, where at least one family used to sacrifice goats at head-shavings until this became too expensive (and incidentally illegal). They now make simple offerings there. I have described an offering of brandy made to Kaatt3eeriamma, as the house goddess, at a child's head-shaving.

The following account of the head-shaving of a Naidu boy appears to be typical, though the details of the ceremony vary from family to family.

> Garud3apura once had a Muneeshvara temple in an orchard by the present boundary of the army camp. The orchard was acquired by the army, which apparently demolished the temple but has not yet occupied the land.
>
> The boy, who was in his eleventh month, was brought in a procession of relatives to a garden beside the orchard where the Muneeshvara temple once stood. A naagasvaram (horn) orchestra came first, then the women and children, the men, and some boys leading a sheep to be sacrificed. The child's grandmother directed the ceremony because no one else knew the rites. Under a naarattam tree (a kind of citrus fruit) she built a shrine to Muneeshvara, about two feet high, with green branches cut from the trees around. The relatives worshipped Gangamma, as the presiding goddess of the village, by washing eight grey stones in water taken from a lift-well; the water stood for Gangamma, the Ganges river deified. The old woman set up the largest of the stones, some eight inches high, in the shrine to stand for Muneeshvara, decorated it with kumkum and sandalwood powder, put a loop of cotton around it and laid broken coconuts, a lime, flowers betel and two

maavil3akkus or flour lamps before it. She arranged the seven smaller stones around it to stand for Muneeshvara's seven sisters (ie. the Kannimaar, 'the seven virgins, common throughout the Tamil country as attendant deities to Aiyanār or any important village goddess, but rarely having a shrine of their own': Diehl 1956 260). The child's father did aarati to Muneeshvara with sticks of incense while his relatives cooked the offering of rice with jaggery (unrefined sugar) on a small fire of twigs. A spot of kumkum was placed on the sheep's forehead to prepare it for sacrifice, water was thrown on its back until it shivered, showing that it was acceptable to Muneeshvara, and the 'family Barber' beheaded both the sheep and a chicken. This man is a labourer by occupation but a Barber by caste, he serves as Barber at family rituals for a consideration of five or ten rupees, which is called a 'present', unlike the musicians' fee.

The Barber shaved all the boy's hair off with an open razor and left it lying on the ground, since it had been offered to Muneeshvara. The offerings of food were distributed to the relatives, who ate them as prasaadam, and in the evening the family and late the goat in a celebration meal at home.

The Vedic upanayana or initiation ceremony, at which growing boys of the 'twice-born' castes are invested with the sacred thread, is confined here to Brahmans and perhaps Aacaaris, as it is in Madras State (Diehl 1956 181). In Garud3apura the sacred thread is spoken of as the mark of a Brahman; yet even Brahman families in Bangalore tend to leave the ceremony until immediately before the boy's wedding, when it must be performed if he is to be married as a full Brahman.

Though the other rituals of the life cycle are loosely modelled on the Vedic samskaaras or sacraments, not all of these are performed.

On the other hand, the important girls' puberty ceremony (ut3kaaravaikkirradu 'seating' in Tamil/vayasige bandiradu 'coming of age' in Kannada) is not in the Vedic canon. As Diehl says:

> The Vedic Saṃskāras show a predominant interest in the male sex. The absence of ceremonies relating to the maturity of girls stands in glaring contrast to the importance attached to them in South India today. (Ibid 181-2)

This may have something to do with a regional difference in the position of women. In South Indian society they seem traditionally to have been regarded more as independent agents, and to have enjoyed more respect, than in the north where Brahmanical values are more generally accepted and the subordination of women is more marked (see Karvé 1953 228-9). In Garud3apura there are no ritual landmarks in a boy's life between the shaving of his head, when he is a baby, and his wedding, when he is usually in his twenties.

A girl's puberty ceremony seems to be designed to glorify the girl, particularly as a credit to her family, rather than to emphasize the temporary impurity which is the signal for it to take place. The ceremony begins as soon as the girl first menstruates. She is kept apart, usually for eleven days but sometimes for nine or fifteen, with an old woman for company. Any family which can do so provides a room, or a temporary hut outside the house, where she spends most of her time. Those who can afford it dress the girl, sometimes in clothes hired from a photographer, as a different goddess or mythical heroine every evening, and invite woman relatives and friends in to see her. At least in old village families the clothes stained by her first menstruation are given away to the Village Washerman, who provides fresh clothes for each day of her seclusion and is paid in food on the last day. He is said to become very angry if he is not told of a girl's first menstruation, since he values both the honour of doing his traditional office and the traditional perquisites of clothes and food.

The rules a girl has to observe at this time are much stricter, and last longer, than in her monthly periods afterwards. Menstruation makes a woman impure in relation to her family and the gods. She may not worship the house god or enter a temple, or the puuja room if the house has one, but no family now isolates her every month and few even forbid her to cook. Monthly impurity lasts only for three days. Time, the Washerman and sometimes a final oil-bath remove all physical and religious traces of pollution.

The special prohibitions and long seclusion at puberty seem designed not only to clear the impurity of menstruation but to make the girl purer than ever, to build up a credit balance of purity for the auspicious ceremony which follows. This brings her into contact with the sources of purity, the gods, and usually with their agents the Brahmans. The puberty ceremony is closely connected with marriage, the most auspicious ceremony of all, it is said to be an announcement that the girl is of marriageable age, and the publicity, the setting and some of the rites are like a rehearsal for marriage.

On the last day of her seclusion the girl is given an oil-bath by a woman relative, preferably her mother's brother's wife, and by four other women, and she is ceremonially brought into the main part of the house, sometimes at an auspicious hour determined by an astrologer. Some families engage a Brahman to do puuja in the house, and this is said to be one of the few domestic ceremonies the priest of Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple will attend. Other families, except Harijans, take the girl in a procession to Laksminaarayah3a Temple to make offerings and to do puuja. No other temple will do, since a puberty ceremony, like a wedding, is not only an auspicious ceremony but a prestige ceremony, which requires that the family should be served by a Brahman if possible.

When the girl comes home from the temple she is seated on a chair like a throne, wearing her best sari and jewels and usually a crown of paper and metal foil, often in a theatrical setting with a backcloth, rows of lights and a loudspeaker playing records of

film songs. Her chair should be under a pandal or awning, a simpler version of the marriage pandal, in a courtyard or in the street in front of the house, and the girl's mother's brother, who often pays the expenses of the ceremony, 'plants' or sets up the first post of the pandal, as he does at a wedding - a rite which may symbolize the assertion, and perhaps the renunciation of his traditional option to marry his sister's daughter (strictly, only the elder sister's daughter). Relatives and guests come to look at the girl, and to give presents especially saris; kumkum, turmeric and fruit are handed round. This part of the ceremony is very like the reception after a wedding.

Not all families celebrate the ceremony on this scale. Poor and uneducated families generally seem to have the most elaborate puberty ceremonies. Many Harijans do so, without a Brahman or a visit to Laksm3inaaraayan3a Temple.

Only a few highly educated families have no ceremony at all, as they feel it would embarrass the girl and interrupt her studies. The only sign of a girl's puberty may be that she begins to wear a sari instead of a dress. Some families have no public ceremony when the girl first menstruates but keep her apart for eleven days, and perform the puberty ceremony immediately before her marriage, just as a Brahman man may be invested with the sacred thread at this time.

It is possible that the puberty ceremony is one prestige ceremony in which a relatively poor family can afford to shine. There is a limit to what can be spent on it, while an expensive wedding by village standards is altogether beyond them. A more important reason is that girls in richer or better educated families stay at school longer and marry later, if only because it is easier to find an educated bridegroom when the girl has some education herself. A puberty ceremony is an announcement that a girl is marriageable, an advertisement of her beauty and a preparation for marriage; it loses much of its point when the girl will not be married for several years.

The wedding is the chief sacrament for all Hindus, and the high

point of each person's life.[+] In the last chapter I described the importance of marriage alliance between families, which defines the caste (or 'subcaste'), and I showed how each family has some freedom to define for itself the circle of acceptable alliances, within the sometimes uncertain limits of the caste. This process of redefinition concerns only the families and their caste.

The wedding, on the other hand, has religious and social importance for the village as well. Though weddings differ widely in setting and ritual, the first essential for a valid wedding is publicity. To attend a wedding is to approve of it. It should therefore involve as many witnesses as possible, including villagers and acquaintances of other castes. Only Harijans are left out, since they and the higher castes do not normally attend one another's weddings, unless one counts young men with radical ideas, or those Harijans who are prepared to beg for food outside the wedding enclosures of the higher castes. 'Middle' and 'low' castes - or at least their men - commonly attend each other's weddings.

To marry secretly is a serious offence, particularly against the caste. A secret wedding might be intercaste, bigamous or otherwise suspect, and it deprives the castemen of the celebration and meal they are entitled to. As far as I know, only the Two-pandal subcaste of Goll3as traditionally celebrate the central rites of the wedding at a private ceremony. They meet the need for publicity by duplicating most of the ritual at a preliminary public ceremony; hence their name.

This instance draws attention to an important feature of wedding rites: each caste has its own, sometimes called its 'shaastras' though they may have no relation to the true shaastras or legal texts in Sanskrit. Most of these special rites are performed in public and some, at least, are common knowledge, often the chief elements in a

[+] It is useful to distinguish 'marriage' - the condition or relationship - from the 'wedding' - the ceremony at which it comes into being. In most of the literature 'marriage' is used for both.

caste's reputation. The greatest difference is between the wedding rites of Tamil immigrants on the one hand, and those of Telugu and Kannada speakers on the other. Tigal3as, who consider themselves an old caste of Mysore state, follow the Kannada customs.

Otherwise differences in wedding rites are not accidental survivals, which could easily be 'sanskritized' away. Conservative and orthodox people, who care for the traditions of their caste, maintain and even emphasize these differences as the distinguishing marks of the caste. What castes share is not so much a common ritual as an understanding that the weddings of different castes ought to have a certain amount in common - enough to make them Hindu - as well as differences which have a positive value in keeping the castes apart. This tends to make true marriage between castes impossible, because the same wedding rites would not be valid for both parties. Where marriage rites are standardized, this means either that the boundaries between particular endogamous groups are disappearing, as between One-pandal and Two-pandal Goll3as or between Morasu and HosadeeVaru Okkaligas; or that the ideology of caste itself is weakening, something which is happening generally but which has only begun to affect the weddings of a small educated minority.

Since the wedding rites are so various I shall not try to describe them for each of the chief castes, except by way of example, but rather to describe the ritual elements, and the setting, which most weddings have in common. I say nothing of Christian and Muslim weddings, which differ in almost everything except the publicity.

The Hindu wedding, being the most auspicious of rites, must be performed at an auspicious time. This is determined by astrology, a Brahman speciality though not a Brahman monopoly. Two periods of the year are suitable for weddings, though the dates differ acoording to the Kannada-Telugu and Tamil calendars. In both cases the first wedding season (February-June for Kannadigas) is the most auspicious, while the second (around November) is said to be chiefly for the remarriage of widowers; in fact many other weddings take place at this time. The last weeks of the first wedding season are a time of intense activity, when many villagers have to attend several weddings

in a week and sometimes in a day, as some marriages are arranged at the last auspicious moment.

The date and place of the wedding, and the division of the expenses, are arranged by the two families during the marriage negotiations. When these are complete a betrothal ceremony is held at the bride's house, and a meal is given at her family's expense, for the relatives and friends of both families. The couple take no part in the ceremony, and the bridegroom may or may not attend it as a guest. In families of 'middle' caste the rites are conducted by the Brahman purohita or priest who has agreed to perform the wedding. Though the wedding day has already been chosen, he consults horoscopes and astrological tables and suggests an auspicious time in the morning, or a selection of auspicious times, for the central wedding rite of taali-tying. The two families agree on a time and on the text of the wedding invitation, which the priest reads aloud for their final approval. It is then sent to the printer.

Wedding invitations are very important. The invitations of the poor are badly printed on cheap paper, but they are essential if the wedding is to have proper publicity, and seem to be almost universal. They are the only permanent record of the wedding, since customary marriages are not registered and there are no marriage certificates for them. A married couple therefore keep a pile of invitations to their own wedding, to produce as evidence if anyone requires proof of their marriage. Invitations are generally printed in two or three languages, one of which is often English.

The invitation is issued on behalf of those whose names are printed at the head of the invitation, usually but not always the fathers or widowed mothers of the couple. In some cases, however, another relative's name appears, even when the father of one party is still alive. This may be the name of a richer relative who bears the expense of the wedding, or of the head of the joint household in which the father lives, or of an influential and widely respected man whom several households regard as the head of their lineage, and who acts as their 'big man' (ejamaan/dodd3a manus3a) at the wedding,

presiding over the ceremony and giving formal permission for each stage to begin. I show in chapter 7 how the same words ('big man' and its synonyms) are used in other contexts for certain influential men. The list of relatives with whose 'compliments' the invitation is sent often includes the names of any 'big men' whom the two families can claim as relatives, and this adds to the prestige of the wedding. In some cases rich men have objected, when their names have been used without their consent on the wedding invitations of poorer relatives.

A strict etiquette governs the sending of wedding invitations, at least among 'middle' castes. Invitations to relatives living near either of the two families must be delivered personally by a party of relatives, not friends, which must include a woman, may be made up entirely of women, and ought to include relatives from both sides. At each house the women of the party offer turmeric and kumkum to the women of the house, and flowers and rose water to the men, as symbols of auspiciousness, the corners of the invitation are often yellow with turmeric. The party is invited into the house and entertained to snacks, especially fruit, and often coffee. If relatives live at a distance a man of the family may go by himself to deliver the invitation. only if they live very far away is it permissible to send the invitation by post, always with a covering letter apologizing and explaining why it was not possible to make the journey. Invitations to friends may be given more casually, or sent by post. Everyone ought to invite 'all' his relatives and friends to a wedding in his family, but of course the rich interpret this more widely than the poor. Members of the 'old' families of the village feel free to attend one another's weddings without a formal invitation, and do not expect one unless they are relatives.

To invite others to a wedding is an obligation, and to accept the invitation is one way of showing 'respect'. To fail to attend someone's wedding might be interpreted as a failure to show proper respect, and for this reason busy men will try to attend a wedding for a few minutes if they cannot sit through the ceremony and eat the wedding meal. The 'respect' shown at a wedding is a combination of two things: the respect which one family or person ought to show to

to another, of superior or equal status, in the ordinary situations of life, and the special respect which is limited to the occasion. Dumont writes (1957 226) 'dans le mariage l'Hindou transcende sa caste' (in marriage the Hindu transcends his caste), and he describes the universal importance of Hindu marriage and the extraordinary change in the status of the bridegroom in particular. The ceremony itself is the most auspicious and prestigious of all Hindu rites, and any bride and bridegroom, who are the objects of so much attention and auspicious ritual, receive a respect to which their normal situations and character would not entitle them. In principle one should show respect at the weddings of the poor and of lower castes, to the wedding itself as much as to the families involved. In practice no one follows this principle to the extent of attending Harijan weddings, except those men who interpret the obligation in an equalitarian sense, as a recognition of social as well as religious equality.

> One man of 'middle' caste was not able to get leave from his factory to attend a wedding of a Harijan school friend in another town. He asked his orthodox parents to go in his place, but without telling them that his friend was a Harijan. When they discovered this they walked out in the middle of the ceremony, deeply offended, and since then their son has been ashamed and embarrassed whenever he has seen his friend.

Since close relatives and friends are expected to attend not only the wedding ceremony or taali-tying itself, but also the other ceremonies and dinners which take place in the days before and after it, members of old village families, who have many relatives living nearby, must give up a great deal of their time in the wedding season if they are not to show disrespect. Particularly towards the end of the wedding season, attending weddings is often regarded as a tiresome duty rather than a pleasure. Those who are not closely related may be able to attend only the evening ceremonies, including

the reception on the evening after the taali-tying others have to take days or half-days away from work for the purpose. Factories belonging to the central government allow their workers fifteen days' casual leave a year. This leave cannot be taken immediately before or after the fifteen days' annual leave, and is intended particularly for weddings and other family ceremonies. Some private employers make a similar arrangement. The allowance of leave, together with the twelve public holidays, is less generous than it seems, since most factories work a six-day week. Employees who cannot get casual leave for a wedding take 'sick leave' instead.

The vegetarian wedding meal served after the taali-tying is usually prepared by paid cooks, who may be Brahmans but it is served to the guests by friends of the two families. Attending a wedding is a way of showing respect, but serving the wedding meal is more a mark of friendship, a service which certain public-spirited men are regularly called upon to perform, like the good neighbours who can be relied on to tie the bier and arrange a funeral. Low castes like Vodd3as are said to employ Brahman cooks so that guests of higher caste will not hesitate to eat the wedding meal; and men of 'middle' caste may offer to serve at a Vodd3a wedding for the same reason. Only if a wedding is on a very large scale, and enough reliable friends cannot be found to serve the meal quickly and efficiently, are the caterers asked to serve as well as cook it, and this is regarded as unfortunate though not shameful. One man said that it happened more often in the 'City' than at the wedding of Garud3apura people, who had more contacts and were more willing to help one another.

> Orthodox people in most castes will take food cooked by a Brahman, and this gives Brahman cooks and restaurant-owners a competitive advantage and a secure living which is almost comparable to the caste monopolies of the Washermen and Barbers, though of course cooking is anything but a traditional occupation for Brahmans. South Indian Brahmans in particular have seized this opportunity to set up chains of restaurants all over the

> country. It is true that in Bangalore the rules of pollution hardly apply in public places like restaurants, but this is not so in rural areas or in some regions of India.

The wedding cooks need not be Brahmans, and they take no part in the ceremony. Yet a 'middle' caste wedding cannot normally be celebrated without representatives of certain castes, who must be paid to perform their offices. These serving castes, as at all ceremonies where representatives of different castes are required, are either 'high' (Brahmans) or 'low' (Barbers and Washermen) but never, I think, of other 'middle' castes.

To be married by Brahman priests is almost a defining character of a 'middle' caste: not entirely, because the Lingaayats, of whom there are many in Mysore State but none in Garud3apura, have always denied the need for a Brahman priest, yet their status in the caste hierarchy is 'middle' to 'high', and because modern reform movements either religious like the Brahmo Samaj[+] or political like the DMK, make the same protest in a more modern situation.

> This can lead to curious compromises. Thus a Brahmo family, allied by marriage to an important family of Garud3apura, celebrate two kinds of wedding: Brahmo weddings when they marry into other Brahmo families, or outside the caste, and orthodox weddings before a Brahman when they marry into the caste to which they belong by descent. At one such wedding the bride insisted on Brahmo rites while the groom's family insisted on orthodox ones. The solution was to perform the taali-tying at a Brahmo ceremony, and abbreviated orthodox rites,

[+] This reference to the Brahmo Samaj may seem surprising, since the Samaj is generally thought of as a nineteenth-century Bengali movement. In fact Bangalore is one of the few places where it is still active.

conducted by a Brahman, immediately afterwards.

A young DMK member, a friend of some Garud3apura factory workers, allowed his family to arrange an orthodox wedding for him, but joked with his friends throughout the ceremony and made it very clear that he had no respect for the Brahman or the ritual.

The musicians at an orthodox wedding must be Barbers by caste, though many of them are not barbers by trade. A Washerman must come to the wedding to provide a clean dhoti, on which the couple sit for part of the ceremony, and the sheet which is held up between them until the taali is tied in most castes. In this case the Washerman is normally a washerman by trade, who lends one of his customers' dhotis. It is said that no man would object to his dhoti being used for this purpose, just as no woman is supposed to object to the procession walking over her sari at the Krisn3apura lineage festival, even if she recognized the sari.

The theory of the caste system, as it is generally believed in, assumes the interdependence of specialized castes. In fact only the peripheral castes - 'high', 'low' and Untouchable (Harijan) - are true specialists. The traditional occupations of the great block of 'middle' castes are agriculture or trade, which are open to anyone who has the resources. The other traditional occupations which are usually mentioned are either matters of local accident and opportunity ('gardeners') or are remembered only to complete the picture of an interdependent caste society ('carpenters', 'goatherds' &c). Looked at from this point of view, the chief opposition between castes is not between high and low, or pure and impure, but between the specialist castes (including specialists in purity and impurity) and the non-specialist majority who support them.

The parts which the Brahman priest, the Barber musicians and the Washerman play in the wedding are offices belonging to their castes. Certain members of the couple's own caste also have specific parts to

play in the ritual, either because of their relationship to the couple - particularly in the case of the couple's parents and the bride's maternal uncle - or because of their position within the caste. The 'big man' or Master of Ceremonies, who gives permission for each stage in the ritual to begin, is usually chosen because he is an influential man in the local caste group, or at least within the bridegroom's lineage, rather than because of his exact relationship to the bride or groom.

> Many castes traditionally assigned places in the wedding ritual to a whole hierarchy of caste officers, but in Garud3apura only the Tigal3as still have such a custom (see chapter 4). The caste Gaud3a or headman must attend all weddings; also the Koolkaar or beadle, who is paid for his attendance. This in itself is not much more than a formalized version of the other caates' custom of inviting leading or key men of the caste group to take part in the ceremony. Tigal3as however, have the vestiges of a wider, territorial organization, and a Tigal3a wedding must be celebrated not only in the presence of the Gaud3as of the local caste group or groups, but of many Gaud3as from surrounding villages as well. There is no set or canonical number of Gaud3as who must be present, nor is there now a precisely defined territory like the Tigal3a kattemane, with its superior Gaud3a and council of elders to hear appeals (Najundayya and Anantakrishna Iyer 1931 617). Tigal3as now simply invite as many Gaud3as as possible, most of them old peasants who come to Bangalore by bus from rural villages. They sit together near the pandal or marriage booth, and give formal consent to the wedding by placing their hands over the taali before it is tied. Then they are the first to perform the milk ceremony, blessing the marriage by pouring milk into cones of betel leaves which the couple hold together on a coconut. Formerly, it is said, the Gaud3as at a Tigal3a wedding used to quarrel about precedence, and if Gaud3as who considered themselves of equal rank were there the wedding

might have to be postponed, although the guests had been invited and the pandal was ready.

Some men of 'middle' caste regard the Tigal3a headman and councils as signs of 'backwardness', more suited to Harijans and 'low' castes, who in fact have generally given them up; yet, though the substance of caste councils has gone, Tigal3as show no intention of giving up the form. It is distinctive and it is the custom of their ancestors, and it is generally believed to keep the caste together more effectively than the customs of other castes. This seems to be more important for the Tigal3as than any prestige they might gain by conforming to the customs of other castes.

Srinivas writes:

> All over South India, with the exception of Malabar marriage is celebrated in the bride's house. Though this rule is relaxed in the instance of some Non-Brahman subcastes, it is strictly adhered to by the Brahmans. (Srinivas 1942 68)

This custom is clearly connected with the Brahmans' extreme emphasis on the gift of a bride, together with the other gifts - dowry, wedding expenses &c - which must all be contributed by the bride's family alone, without any suggestion of a direct exchange. Among the 'middle' castes of Garud3apura, and probably among lower castes, there is general agreement that the bride's family ought to pay as much as they can towards the wedding expenses, and they gain prestige to the extent that the form of the marriage approaches the ideal of the 'kanyadaana' (gift of a virgin); but I have shown that most castes in the village disapprove of dowry, in principle, even when they give or receive it that the custom of paying bride-price is traditional in most castes, though the amount has become nominal; and that the marriage expenses may be divided in various ways between the two families, by special agreement in each case.

Most Garud3apura people are married in 'choultries' or wedding halls outside the village. Only the very rich and the very poor are married at home, either at the bride's house or at the groom's, whichever is most convenient. Most houses are small and stand on narrow streets, and only the rich have houses large enough to accommodate a wedding crowd, often with an open space outside which can be turned into a wedding enclosure. One man not only erected a large tent in front of his house for his daughter's wedding pandal, but strung green leaves, an auspicious symbol, from posts the whole length of the village street to an arch of welcome at the entrance to the village. The very poor, including most Harijans, cannot afford the hire of a choultry (about Rs 50) or a wedding to match it, and since they often live in huts scattered about on vacant sites, rather than along streets, their weddings are held in the open spaces between the huts. Occasionally the committee of the Mowna Guru Math Association allows a poor but deserving family to hold a wedding in the Math, for a small charge (Rs 10) to cover cleaning and lighting expenses.

Originally a choultry (an Indian English word, related to the Tamil catram) was a rest house, piously endowed for the accommodation of pilgrims and wandering ascetics, like the North Indian dharmashaalaa. Garud3apura had such a choultry, endowed by the leading family of the village but now converted into shops. Most choultries are in central Bangalore, and are used almost entirely as wedding halls. They are endowed for this purpose either by individual rich men, whose names they bear, or by caste associations for the use of the caste in particular but to be hired out for the weddings of other castes as well. A choultry is always near one or more temples, and the bridegroom is taken in procession to one of these before he returns to the choultry to tie the taali.

Weddings are now shorter and simpler than they were, and still are in some country villages. At one time, it is said, the celebrations lasted for days, and sometimes for a full month. Now the chief rites are over in a day, and the celebration dinners which follow it involve only a few of the wedding guests. It is usual to explain this change by saying that no one can afford a wedding in the old style because

prices have risen so steeply. So have incomes: the fact is that few people are willing to spend anything like the same proportion of their income on weddings, since other things - consumer goods, entertainments, school fees &c - now have greater value for them and the celebrations are shorter because few men can take more than a day away from work to attend them. Some rich men of Garud3apura still spend enormous sums on their children's weddings but seldom more than they can afford. Most of the money available for the actual celebrations is spent on one day, on a better meal for more guests, a famous orchestra, lavish decorations, a large tent, loudspeakers and lights.

The general simplification of weddings seems to have happened gradually, unlike the more drastic reform instituted deliberately by the Pramalai Kallar, a rural caste of Madras State; but both tend to reduce the minimum respectable wedding to its essential elements, which can be expanded or added to by those who wish and can afford to do so. Dumont writes of the elaborate weddings in the old style:

Si l'on compare cette description avec la forme simplifiée de mariage, aujourd'hui générale ..., on voit qu'elles ont en commun, outre le nouage du tali au sens large, precisément ces allees et venues accompagnées de cadeaux et d'honneurs. Un mariage décent unit au geste sacramentel proprement dit un minimum de prestations entre les deux familles. Là est semble-t-il le noyau fonctionnel, que la réforme somptuaire operée chez les Kallar dans un but d'économie laisse subsister, tandis qu'elle supprime les solennités en relation avec le dais de mariage, et qu'elle réduit les dépenses des festins et des cadeaux. (Dumont 1957 220)

(If we compare this description with the simplified form of wedding that is now usual ..., it is clear that what both have in common, apart from the taali-tying in a broad sense, is just these comings and goings, with gifts and ceremonies of honour.

> A decent wedding combines the actual sacramental gesture with a minimum of gifts between the two families. This seems to be the functional core, which has not been affected by the sumptuary reform the Kallár have carried out as an economy measure. The ceremonies connected with the wedding pandal have been abolished, and the expenditure on dinners and gifts reduced.)

Similarly, at a Garud3apura wedding the taali must be tied to make the wedding religiously binding, while the 'comings and goings' in procession through the streets satisfy the need for publicity. These two things make a marriage. The rest of the wedding ritual belongs to the culture of each caste, more or less affected by the brahmanical model. My description of it concerns the typical practice of the 'middle' castes, ie. the majority, not the essence of a valid Hindu wedding in the eyes of the village.

Apart from the taali-tying, the essential rites of the brahmanical wedding are homa, or offerings to the sacred fire; panigrahana, when the groom takes the bride's hand; and saptapadi, the seven steps which the couple take together. These are often found in the rites of Garud3apura castes, but they may be abbreviated, left out, or obscured by more important rites. The wedding fire, which is worshipped as a symbol of God and is of central importance in the brahmanical ritual, is found among most Tamil but few Kannada castes. So little importance is attached to it that even in a wedding of a caste which normally has the sacred fire, it could be omitted because there was some danger that the pandal would catch fire under a low ceiling.

Certain preliminary rites are performed at the couple's houses, for instance the blessing of the ritual objects used at the taali-tying. The wedding begins with the turmeric ceremony (manjal3/ harashana) which most castes celebrate the evening before the taali-tying in the building where the taali-tying is to take place. An invitation to the wedding includes this ceremony, though only relatives and close friends generally attend it. If the wedding

is held in a choultry, close relatives spend the night there. Tigal3as perform the turmeric ceremony two days before the wedding, and always at the bride's house, where the groom sleeps (though not with the bride) before the taali-tying; a custom which some other castes consider slightly scandalous.

At the turmeric ceremony close relatives perform the rites, there is no priest. First the groom, then the bride, sit under the pandal, a square marriage booth with a banana-stem at each corner, supporting a cloth canopy. Relatives smear the couple's faces, hands and legs with turmeric as a symbol of auspiciousness and, it is said, as a sign that they approve of the wedding and want to see it concluded soon. According to one account, the turmeric is smeared on the groom and the bride three times, always by the same odd number of women (five, seven, nine &c), though the same women need not make up the party each time. These odd numbers themselves seem to be auspicious; they are found, for instance, in the intervals between events and ceremonies, as between conception and pregnancy rites, between birth and the naming ceremony, or between death and obsequies.

The bride's maternal uncle is prominent at the turmeric ceremony, putting bangles on her arms and fastening her toe-rings with a hammer. Though he generally cuts or sets up the 'milk-post' of the marriage pandal, this rite is emphasized less than in the brahmanical ritual. The ceremony ends with a dinner, which must be vegetarian since the occasion is auspicious.

The taali-tying, or main wedding ceremony, is generally called the Muhuurtam (Muhuurta in Sanskrit), though this is strictly the auspicious period, determined by a Brahman, in which the taali must be tied (see Diehl 1956 204-5). This period, generally of 1½ hours, appears on the wedding invitation, and guests try to come to the wedding at least for the last few minutes of it, when the taali is usually tied.

The colour of the wedding sari differs from caste to caste, another detail which makes intercaste marriage by orthodox rites more difficult Goll3a brides wear white, Tigal3as yellow, most Tamils red &c. In almost all castes, however, the bride's maternal uncle fixes the

bhaashinga on her forehead, and removes it after the ceremony, this is a jewelled ornament whose significance Srinivas (1942 73) discusses. This rite, like the setting up of the 'milk-post', may represent the waiving of the maternal uncle's traditional option to marry to girl.

The groom is taken in procession through the streets, under a cloth canopy held up by his attendants, to any convenient brahmanical temple. At the temple the groom does puuja and is dressed in new white clothes, with a gold-edged turban, while the procession returns twice to the choultry with an empty canopy. The third time they bring the bridegroom back. As he enters the choultry door the guests throw rice yellowed with turmeric, which has been handed out a few moments before, as an auspicious sign of welcome. Two close relatives, one of whom is generally the bride's maternal uncle, hold up a sheet before him, as he and the bride are escorted to the pandal on either side of the pandal, so that they should not see each other on the wedding day before the taali-tying itself.

The design of the taali, a small gold ornament on a string, also differs from caste to caste. The elaborate rites surrounding its tying concern only the immediate families of the couple, except in those castes where the taali must be handed round for blessing, for instance by the assembled Gaud3as at a Tigal3a wedding, as a sign of approval of the marriage. Otherwise most guests become aware of the rites only when the moment for the taali-tying approaches and the orchestra of horns and drums begins to play very loudly, working up to a climax as the groom ties the taali round the bride's neck with three knots. All the guests should now throw a second handful of rice yellowed with turmeric at the couple. This moment, with its noise and excitement, is the emotional as well as the ritual climax, the moment when the couple formally become man and wife.

The couple then exchange vows dictated by the Brahman priest, and walk three times hand in hand round the pandal, which usually contains a lamp and pots of 'Ganges' water brought from a nearby well. It may or may not contain a sacred fire of twigs, kindled with clarified butter, in imitation of the Brahman custom. Both the bride and groom

worship their own and each others parents, touching their feet in homage while receiving their blessing. Most non-Tamil castes then perform the 'milk' ceremony, when close relatives, or sometimes all the guests who wish to do so, line up to pour milk three times over a coconut held in the joined hands of the couple, to bless the marriage, and then to scatter rice over their heads. Everyone who does this should put a small coin in the pot of milk as a daaks3in3a or pious offering to the wedding priest.

When the rites are finished those who wish to give presents to the couple line up and hand them usually to the priest, who calls out the name of each giver and his present, which a man sitting beside him enters in a list. The commonest wedding present is money, others may be useful things for the house, particularly metal plates and cooking vessels, or decorations such as the silver reliefs of mythical scenes, mounted on dark wood and covered with glass frames, commonly called 'photos', which hang inside many Garud3apura houses and which no one ever seems to buy for themselves, but only to give as wedding presents.

Close relatives and friends are expected to give presents, as well as those guests whose families have received presents, at weddings or at puberty or other ceremonies, from either the bride's or the groom's relatives. In this case they are expected to match the value of the original present, and if possible to add a little to it. The written lists of wedding presents received help to remind a family of the amount of its obligations to other families. Other guests may give presents as a sign of respect or friendship, but need not feel ashamed if they give nothing. A few rich families say on their wedding invitations that no presents are to be given, in order to save poorer relatives and friends from embarrassment, which might otherwise prevent them from attending the wedding at all. In this case it is possible that close relatives give their presents privately before the wedding.

By 11 am. or noon, depending on the time of the taali-tying, the wedding meal generally begins. Men eat before women and children, and if the wedding is a large one the men may be served in two or even three shifts before the women and children can sit down to eat.

Friends who volunteer to serve the wedding meal eat last sometimes not until the afternoon, when they are very hungry and tired. To serve at a wedding is therefore a substantial favour. Those who are known to be ready to serve at weddings are much in demand in the wedding season, and find the duty very tiring but hard to refuse. In return they are liked and respected for it.

Guests are usually served in long parallel rows, without distinction of caste, sitting cross-legged on the floor with disposable plates of sewn palm-leaves in front of them. As each guest leaves the wedding he receives a coconut and betel leaves in a paper bag, often with details of the wedding printed on it. Those who can only attend the wedding for a moment, and who have to leave before the meal in order to go back to work or to another wedding, are pressed to eat something before leaving, and receive their bag, coconut and betel. Only a family which is regarded as very mean will choose an early time for the taali-tying but delay the meal until most of the guests, having stood about hungrily for some time, decide to go home to eat. Most families, even if they are poor, wish to feed as many guests as they can afford; the more guests eat the meal, the more successful the wedding and the greater the prestige of the family giving it. A man of middle class and caste, who disapproves strongly of waste and extravagance at weddings, said that his parents gave him a simple wedding, though they fed 600 guests. At a large wedding the number runs into thousands.

Since the wedding is auspicious, being the most sanskritic of all ceremonies and devoted partly to the worship of the sanskritic high gods, the couple must eat no meat for several days beforehand while they purify themselves for it, being kept apart and subjected to rites for that purpose. The dinners which the two families give for close relatives and friends, in the days immediately after the wedding, always include meat; and during the wedding meal some man invariably makes a joke about this - 'tomorrow we will have mutton curry, "black raagi" &c', while his friends laugh and slap each other's backs, as if meat-eating is a satisfying manly vice to be indulged on a less holy occasion. A man who is known to eat meat five times a week, abstaining for religious reasons on Saturdays and Mondays, instead of eating it once, twice or three times a week like most people, constantly jokes

about his well-known taste for meat and liquor, in the same spirit as this standing wedding joke. Vegetarianism is respected in principle, individuals are often vegetarians, even in families where their closest relatives eat meat. For most people of 'middle' caste, vegetarianism is a worthy practice to be reserved for those occasions when one is 'pure', or on one's best behaviour, but not otherwise a necessary discipline for those who come of tough peasant stock and are proud of it. 'Auspiciousness' (mangalam) is a quality of certain rites and occasions; it is associated with the sanskritic religion, 'purity', and brahmanical rules of behaviour, which enjoy a special kind of prestige. Everyday life is governed more by practical considerations (meat is good food) and by the rules for the proper behaviour of aristocratic or warrior castes, which enjoy an alternative kind of prestige. Thus most 'middle' castes of Garud3apura claim to be Ks3atriyas, and the alternative to a 'Brahman hotel' (vegetarian restaurant, now open to all) in South India is a 'Hindu military hotel' (non-vegetarian, in Indian languages, including Indian English, 'hotel' means restaurant).

The reception takes place on the wedding evening, usually in the choultry. It is a secular occasion, and the groom wears a suit instead of the dhoti and turban he wore for the taali-tying; the bride wears a different sari. They sit on chairs, decorated like thrones, while guests, particularly those who were not able to come to the taali-tying, come to congratulate them personally and then to sit for some time watching them, either silently or talking quietly with one another. To attend the reception is a way of showing respect, and the time which the guests spend simply looking at the couple suggests an attenuated form of the darshan, or blessing derived from the sight of an image or a holy person, which in other circumstances can have lasting effects on a devotee. An orchestra may play at the reception, but there are no rites and no meal.

The same evening the couple are brought home to the groom's house. In most castes - including 'low' castes like Vodd3as who are not married by Brahmans, but excluding Harijans - the couple are taken in procession

through the streets to a brahmanical temple for puuja; in Garud3apura this is Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, where the Brahman puujaari usually performs the puuja. The procession moves very slowly through the streets, particularly if it is accompanied by musicians who stop every few yards to show off their technique; so that the procession may take an hour to move 200 yards along the village street. In the old days, it is said, the procession lasted all night, as the couple were taken through the streets of the village to visit every house (probably meaning every important house), where the householders praised them. It is still considered proper for a young man of an old-established landlord family to take his bride soon after the wedding to the houses of tenants and dependants, as a mark of courtesy. This is part of the ideal behaviour for a 'respected' family, though I am not sure how often it is still done.

A series of non-vegetarian dinners, given by the two families and their relations, begins in the next day or two. In poor families these are cut down to a minimum; in rich ones they continue for days after the wedding. There should be at least one more'reception', this time in the village, especially to enable women and children to see the couple if they were not able to go to the taali-tying or the first reception.

After the wedding a period of constant coming and going between the two houses begins for the couple. In some castes they spend the first three nights at the groom's house, then alternate nights at the bride's and groom's house until they have been to each house three times. They do not sleep together, except in a few castes, such as Mudaliaars, who consummate the wedding on the night after the taali-tying. In most 'middle' castes, when the initial courtesy visits are completed, the couple live apart for three months, each with his own parents, and are not supposed to see each other. In fact a young man of an old village family, whose bride lived fifty yards away on the same street, regularly took her out to the cinema, This was common knowledge, but for them to have appeared together within the village would have been shocking; and it is very unlikely that they made love. The consummation takes place after a brief ceremony and a dinner for close relatives; at

least for a few months, and begin their ordinary married life.

The wedding is the most 'social' of ceremonies, the most rigidly institutionalized, and the one in which the individual's dependence on the social groups, which together make up Hindu society, is most emphasized. Throughout the wedding period the couple are sacred, kept apart and specially honoured; every movement they make is controlled by relatives and the caste. Bridegrooms say that for once in their lives everything is out of their hands, and they have nothing to do but to obey. At the taali-tying this dependence is shown most dramatically, as a tight knot of relatives stands behind each partner, prompting, encouraging and commanding. If the bride weeps or turns away, or cannot walk round the pandal, relatives are there to comfort her or sometimes almost to drag her round. In contrast to the hush which falls over a Christian congregation as the couple exchange vows, standing alone before the priest, when the taali is tied at a Hindu wedding the noise becomes deafening, the excitement is intense, and the relatives crowd still more closely around the couple; the bridegroom's gesture in tying the taali visibly unites not only two people, but two families who jostle together around the pandal.

The brahmanical and sanskritic wedding rites, associated with ideas of 'auspiciousness' and prestige, distinguish the caste within the village and within Hindu society, and invoke the highest blessing for the ceremony which continues one family and unites two. The setting of the wedding, and particularly the amount of money spent on it, distinguishes the family within the caste and within the village, giving it a more secular kind of prestige. The wedding is therefore the extreme example of the social kind of religion in which order and continuity are everything, and in which personal choice and devotion are least valued.

The funeral, like other sacraments, is loosely modelled on the brahmanical ceremony and differs in detail from caste to caste, chiefly in the disposal of the body. Among the main castes only Mudaliaars are burnt like Brahmans; the others are buried.

Ideas about the soul's fate after death are vague, particularly about the doctrines of moks3a (liberation), karma, rebirth, heaven and

hell. Two guiding ideas help to explain the ritual: that for the dying person's own sake, either moks3a or heaven (Vaikunt3ha &c) is better than rebirth; and that for the sake of the survivors in particular, as well as the dying person himself, anything is better than becoming a ghost. Among educated villagers the belief in ghosts is weaker though not absent; and ideas about moks3a and rebirth, taken largely from religious discourses and bobks, are clearer.

To achieve either moks3a or beaven it is necessary to break the dying person's attachment to the things of this world, especially family and property. If possible he should die with his mind on God; devotional books should be read to him, though I am not sure how often this happens; and he is given holy water to drink as a last rite. I have told how children are said to be named after gods so that a dying person, calling for his wife or child, uses a god's name and his call goes to that god. Since it is recognized that it is hard for most people to break the bonds of attachment when they are dying, some of the funeral rites are intended to break them symbolically after death.

If possible the body should be buried on the day of the death, otherwise the next day. It must not be left alone. Since it usually has to be kept in the house all night, the family may have music 'to keep them awake' while they watch over it; Christians sing hymns.

Because of the haste to bury the body, as well as the emotional crisis in the family, a burial cannot be organized with as much deliberate care, or attention to prestige, as other sacraments are.[+] The arrangements are made by friends, neighbours or relatives. Someone who can be relied on to do this, who knows where to go in the city to get materials for the hier and how to tie it together, is respected for the public service he performs. There are no undertakers. It is possible to hire a horse-drawn hearse in the city - brightly coloured, with carved images of the gods, for Hindus, or black for Christians; but most Hindus of

[+] R.K Narayan gives a harrowing description of a South Indian funeral, ~~from a survivor's point of view,~~ in his novel 'The English Teacher'.

Garud3apura prefer their dead to be taken to the ceremony in the old way, on a bier decorated with leaves and slung beneath two poles. Four friends or relatives carry the bier in a procession of men, whether the body is that of a man or a woman. No one is invited to a burial, as they may be to later funeral rites; any friend or relative who hears of the death may attend as a sign of respect.

Some castes or families have private graveyards outside the village, and those who own fields or vineyards are often buried in their own land. An old graveyard belonging to the village has been cleared for building; and now most people, particularly immigrants and Harijans, are buried in the City Corporation's cemetery 1 km away. Since this is apparently the only place where bodies can be burnt, Brahman and Mudaliaar funerals are held at the cremation ground there.

At least at the funerals of some old families the village toti - a factory worker living in the next village - digs the grave, and receives a coin from each mourner as a symbolic payment for the ground the grave is dug in. At other burials Harijans attached to the cemetery dig the grave. The chief mourner - normally the dead person's eldest son - does puuja for the sake of the departed soul, and breaks a pot after the body has been buried. The Tigal3a headman's son described the ceremony in a letter written in English:

> Epic tale says that Lord Harischandra is supposed to guard the grave yard and collect duty for every dead body that comes to the grave. For this purpose a little quantity of rice is prepared in a small pot and the chief mourner carries it on a tripod made of bamboo sticks, offers a little quantity to Harischandra, performs Pooja and goes round the dead body three times and finally breaks the pot.
>
> Next after the burial of the body, the chief mourner carries on his shoulder a pot full of water, goes round the tomb three times and every time a hole is made to the pot with a small pointed stone, and finally breaks the pot. This is the usual practice of almost all castes but in the Tigala

> Caste in [Garud3apura] it is not so. Instead of this they will keep the pot on the tomb itself after pouring the water to the Tulasi Plant just inserted on the tomb. The breaking of the pot with water in a similar way is done on the eleventh day ceremony, just by the side of a lake or well.

The burial rites are the first in a series of rites, which take place at set intervals after the death and seem to mark the increasing distance between the dead person's soul and his relatives in the world. On the third day relatives and friends visit the grave for the 'Milk' (ceremony), at which the chief mourner performs puuja and pours a libation of milk over the grave, and on the eleventh day the shraddhaa or obsequies are performed for the sake of the dead soul (people say: to help it attain moks3a; or alternatively, to go to heaven). This is a more organized and 'social' ceremony than the burial; it involves complicated rites performed at the house by a Brahman, invitations, a public meal &c. The dead person's clothes and other personal possessions, except valuable ones, are given away pious gifts are made to the Brahman, and the poor may be fed as an act of charity. The chief mourner's head is shaved by a Barber; and the ceremony marks the end of the period of strict mourning for the family and the return to more or less normal social life. During the period of mourning they are affected by ritual rather than practical prohibitions, clearly related to the brahmanical idea of gradually diminishing death-impurity. For the first eleven days they may not enter temples or attend public festivals. For a year they may not celebrate festivals in their house or invite guests to a formal dinner there, though they may continue to worship the house god.

After a ceremony at the grave on the next (or twelfth) day, a dead man's wife formally becomes a widow. This suggests that it is only after the sharddhaa that he is regarded as completely, formally and socially dead. From this moment his widow may no longer wear the auspicious red mark on her forehead or flowers in her hair; but no non-Brahman castes seem to follow the Brahman customs of

shaving a widow's head and obliging her to wear only white; nor are the change in her social position, or restrictions on her behaviour, anything like as drastic as they are among Brahmans, or among other castes as well in North India. 'Sanskritization' in South India is half-hearted, and brahmanical behaviour is far from being the only respectable model.

At another ceremony on the thirteenth day relatives perform puuja at the grave, then visit a brahmanical temple and go home for another puuja and a public dinner. At the door of the house they step over a paddy-pounding pole laid over the doorstep, a rite which is said to represent the cutting of kinship ties between the dead and the living, to free the dead soul of attachment. After this the soul is remembered at a yearly puuja on each anniversary of the death, performed by a Brahman, or at the Mahaalaya Amaavaasya festival which I have described.

Funeral rites are generally brahmanical and standardized. The imitation of Brahman rites is not complete, but the differences between the practices of castes are not emphasized as they are in wedding rites. Since the funeral is arranged in haste at a time of emotional crisis for the family, considerations of prestige or caste, like the care with which minute details of each caste's wedding rites are remembered, come behind the need to carry on through the crisis and to make whatever arrangements can be made for the dead soul's welfare. Exactly what happens to the soul is not clear, the general belief in the possibility of moks3a or, failing that, heaven, seems to be more real than a belief in rebirth. The doctrine of karma and rebirth remains largely book-knowledge, not a part of each person's experience and expectations, except among a few philosophically-minded people.

The belief in ghosts, on the other hand, is still prevalent except among an educated minority; yet the fear of ghosts is clearly not what it was. One hears ghosts stories constantly, yet these are almost always set in the past - ' twenty years ago', 'fifty years ago' &c, and always at second or third hand. Ghosts are said to be the spirits of those -who died violently or by suicide; of bachelors

or others who died with unsatisfied desires, or of those, like misers, who are still attached to things of the world. They remain, particularly at the places where they died, until their lives would have ended naturally and their natural desires would have been satisfied. They appear in the form of men, women or animals. In human form they can generally be recognized, since their legs are on backwards and they move a few inches above the ground. To see a ghost is dangerous, for it may strangle one, or the fright may cause one to sicken and die, or the ghost, like the wandering evil spirits, may possess one and cause madness until it is exorcised. In particular, a man or woman who died unmarried may possess a person of the opposite sex, though it is not clear how they satisfy their desires in this way. Certain places on the edge of the village were said to be haunted by many ghosts 'twenty (thirty, fifty) years ago', yet hardly anyone is afraid to go to the same places now; it is said that people for miles around once were afraid to come near Garud3apura, since it was believed to be infested with ghosts. Nor are families much concerned about the ghosts of their own ancestors: the homage paid to the ancestors on the anniversaries of their deaths, and at Mahaalaya Amaavaasya, is a matter of customary piety. The cult of the lineage, which is quite separate, is the cult of the god or goddess who represents it, not an ancestor cult.

Personal religious practices

These are a residual category, yet perhaps the most important because of the clues they provide to the beliefs of different kinds of people in Garud3apura and to shifts in emphasis from certain values to others. Dumont writes:

> au point de vue des actes religieux, on a vu ici même, en dehors des rites accomplis au nom d'une collectivité, nombres d'actes religieux individuels. Rien dans ce domaine n'est prescrit ou obligatoire, tout est laissé en un sens large a l'initiative de l'individu. C'est lui qui choisit d'accomplir tel rite, ou telle observance, en relation avec telle divinité. (Dumont 1957 410)

> (When we consider religious acts, we have seen that there are not only rites performed on behalf of groups, but many individual religious acts. Here nothing is prescribed or compulsory; broadly speaking, everything is left to the individual's initiative. It is he who chooses to perform a certain rite or observance directed towards a particular deity.)

This description would apply to most of the village's religious life, if one includes all forms of collective worship in which a person may take part but is not required to by custom or social pressure. The ceremonies of the life cycle must be carried out in the prescribed forms; only the setting is left to individual discretion, and this is more a matter of social prestige than of religion. A household may be expected to take part in caste or lineage rites. But the obligation laid on members of the household, particularly its head, there are divine sanctions for neglecting it (possession or sickness) but these are a private matter between members of the household and its god. A few old village families are expected to take part in village festivals and to contribute to the expenses, and some functionaries of the specialist castes have their parts in the ritual; yet these are only a few of the villagers, and the life of the festival is in the voluntary participation and enthusiasm of the inhabitants, including immigrants who are otherwise rather loosely attached to the village society. Temple worship, except at festivals and life cycle ceremonies, is essentially individual. The temple is available for worship, but there is no 'church' in Hinduism and no 'holidays of obligation' when a believing Hindu must worship at a temple. The weekly and monthly congregational puujas at the Math are for devotees who choose to attend for the satisfaction of their private spiritual needs. The same ritual forms can serve both for the ordering of life under rigid social constraints, and to express the most intimate spiritual experiences.

In the rest of this chapter I deal not with acts of collective voluntary worship, but with rites which each person performs for himself and generally by himself, or in the company of his immediate family.

Magic

This includes not only simple instrumental rites, especially of healing, but witchcraft and exorcism and all that the people associate with maandriigam/maantriika, the science of mantras or spells which is the province of the specialist known as the mandravaadi/mantravaadi. Diehl (1956) gives a full account of the practice of magic and its principles as they are described in a specialized semi-popular literature in Tamil. He writes:

> The public cult always preserves at least a minimum of a quality as being an end in itself, whereas the Māntirīkam (Maandriigam) is always and entirely a means to an end. In other words home- and temple-rites are compulsory, purpose or no purpose, motive or no motive. Māntirīkam is not compulsory and will not be performed except for specified goals. (Diehl 1956 353-4)

Though this is an accurate description of maandriigam, it is a mistake to distinguish it from 'the public cult' by its purpose. Home and temple rites may be compulsory, or may proceed from personal devotion, or may be performed 'for specified goals'. In the last case they sometimes include elements of magic.

Garud3apura has one mandravaadi, a Goll3a; his caste is not important, and he is not related to the chief Goll3a family of the village. He is a worker in the cigarette factory, who owns and rents out the small houses around the courtyard where he lives. Since he has an income from wages and rent, he seldom or never charges for his magic, which he regards as a public service. He is in fact an amateur, though his services are in great demand.

He learnt his magic partly from his father and partly from books, which he consults often: the kind of semi-popular literature which Diehl studied. He will not touch witchcraft or invoke devils, but he treats sickness with spells and medicines, and occasionally tells fortunes, either by palmistry or by interpreting the part of a magical diagram which a client, having prayed to his own god, chooses

with his eyes shut.

The mandravaadi specializes in curing children's illnesses, particularly those which are said to be brought on by fear - an explanation often given for illnesses thought to be caused by a supernatural agency, a ghost or evil spirit, or a rat which crosses one's path. He prays to an image of his chosen god, Venkat3eeshvara, says a few mantras over the child, and puts consecrated ash on its forehead and tongue. His medicines, made according to secret formulas of his own with herbs he gathers or buys in a specialized market, are for adults only. He is not a rival to the doctors, and has been known to tell patients he could not cure to go to a doctor instead. The prestige of modern medicine is high, and patients with serious complaints are normally taken first to a hospital, clinic or doctor, except in cases of smallpox and chickenpox which, except for a few educated families, are exclusively an affair for Gangamma or one of her sister goddesses. Otherwise the villagers think it best to consult both the mandravaadi and the doctor, just as they allowed their cattle to be vaccinated against rinderpest, but revived the Village Festival as an additional precaution.

Several men are reputed to know mantras to cure scorpion bites, boils, cattle diseases &c. Some Garud3apura people may consult vaidyars or traditional doctors, who give consultations and sell such medicines as lizard fat in the city or on the pavement outside the cigarette factory; but the only serious rivals to the hospitals, clinics, and doctors are half-trained 'homeopaths' who use the language of modern medicine.[+] One of them lives and has his 'clinic' in the village.

The other part of maandriigam - witchcraft anti-witchcraft and

[+] 'Golden Opportunity for Medical Aspirants !!! The Srinivas Homoeopathic Medical College & Hospital, Tiruvarur, offers 6-month specialised coaching in Surgery, Midwifery, Gynaecology, Pathology, Medicine, etc., by reputed professionals. Registration as "A" class medical practitioners assured on successful completion of Government Recognised Examination.' - Advertisement in the Indian Express, 15 April 1965. One can also become a homeopathic practitioner by correspondence course.

casting out devils - is often spoken about but usually, like ghost stories, in the mythical past 'twenty (or more) years ago', which means: when Garud3apura was still a separate village, and mainly agricultural. At this time, it is said, both ghosts and nameless devils - the two are not clearly distinguished - used to possess people, driving them mad. The mandravaadi would speak to the spirit, using his mantras, and the patient was beaten until the spirit called out, through the patient's mouth, that it was leaving.

Cases of madness are now generally regarded as mental illness. Only some temporary aberrations are described as possession, like the behaviour of a Vodd3a astrologer who acts violently for a few days in the month of Aad3i every year, when he is possessed by Murugan. There seems to be no question of exorcising a high god like Murugan. In any case, I doubt whether exorcism ever takes place now.

Dumont writes of the wandering demons attached to no temple:

> Souvent, un esprit n'est malfaisant que faute de culte, et une fois le culte accordé il devient tutélaire. Ceci se voit bien dans le cas des morts qui tourmentent les survivants pour obtenir de devenir, grâce à leur culte, des protecteurs. (Dumont 1957 405)
>
> (Often a spirit is harmful only because it is not worshipped, and once it is worshipped it becomes tutelary. This is very clear in the case of spirits of the dead which torment the living, whose worship they need in order to become protectors.)

In Garud3apura, on the other hand, though devils and ghosts are sometimes confused, the line between a 'god' (deyvam/deeva(ru)) and a devil (peypicaacu/pisaaci &c) seems quite clear, and impossible to cross. There seems to be no question of placating a devil by worship, and the regular offerings to dead ancestors are made in a spirit of generalized piety. Only witches are believed to worship

devils, for their own purposes, and it is almost certain that this no longer happens, if it ever did.

Most stories of witchcraft are set in the past. It seems that witchcraft was sometimes suspected when someone was ill, but that accusations against particular people were very rare. A witch is said to use mantras and to invoke devils, or to employ a mandravaadi to do this for him. The commonest means are: doing puuja to a devil or ghost in a graveyard, and burying an evil medicine there, burying the medicine in or near someone's house; mixing into his food a poison which affects him and no one else; and sticking nails into his image. The cure is to find another mandravaadi who will use his psychic powers to discover the buried medicine or the witch. In this case, one man said, the mandravaadi recites mantras and tells a child to lead him to the witch's house; the child then has the power to see from outside what the witch is doing inside the house, and delivers a running commentary like a cricket commentator on the radio. When the witch is found he is asked to cure the sickness he has caused, though it is not clear whether he can be forced to do so.

Though accusations are rare, I came across two cases. A woman whose brother no longer talks to her believes that his wife has bewitched him with a mantra. A young factory worker, with some education, says that when his parents built a new house in the village, they found five pots containing nails and something written on paper, ~~and~~ when his father grew sick and thin some time later, a mandravaadi (a neighbour) discovered something with nails in it buried in the foundations of the house, after which the father recovered. This man suspects the neighbours, who are 'dirty' (ie. poor, perhaps including Harijans) and hostile because the family built a fenced yard round their house. Most educated people are sceptical about witchcraft and possession by ghosts and devils, even when they admit the possibility of possession by a god.

Witchcraft is distinct from the evil eye (d(r)ist3i/drist3i, or kann3u-pad3ugirradu/kann3u-haakadu from kan3/kann3u 'eye'), the power to cause illness with a look. Anyone may exercise this power involuntarily, by looking with admiration at someone who is beautiful

or otherwise fortunate, and particularly by praising them. This admiration is often but not always touched with envy, and it is possible to cast the evil eye by looking at someone in a fortunate position, whether one intends to harm them or not. Thus the evil eye is like a counterpart of darshan, the spiritual benefit one gets by looking at the image of a god, or even at a saint or teacher. A fortunate person is vulnerable, as a god or saint is not, to the evil influence transmitted through the eyes.

Women are especially liable to cast the evil eye, and children are the most vulnerable to it. One should not praise a child. A beautiful child is in danger every time he goes into the street, while a fat or ugly one can go freely to other people's houses.

To ward off the evil eye a child may wear an amulet (taayittu), containing a magical diagram and fastened on the child either by a 'guru' (apparently acting as such only for the occasion) at a temple in the city, or by a Muslim specialist in a mosque. This is the only occasion many Hindus have to visit a mosque, and it is interesting to note that in the Tamil country, according to Diehl, many mandravaadis are Muslims.

The cure when the evil eye is suspected is a ceremony to 'remove the drist3i' (colloquially 'drist3i' can mean either the ceremony or the evil eye itself) by aarati, the universal auspicious rite, but here the plate which is moved in three circles contains not a flame but a mixture of materials - often salt, sand and chillies - which are then thrown into the fire. Women perform this ceremony over children who are sleepless or feverish often as a precaution rather than because they suspect anyone in particular of having cast the evil eye on the child.

The evil eye chiefly concerns mothers and children, but the envy of onlookers may harm anyone, and aarati of the more usual kind - with a flame - may be done to a grown man in a position of great prominence and good fortune, both to ward off evil influences and to show him honour. Aarati is always done to bridegrooms (Dumont 1957 225); and when the winner of the Corporation election came in a triumphal procession through the village, a child was brought forward to do aarati to him, specifically in order to protect him against envy -

presumably the envy of his many opponents in the village.

The importance ascribed to envy suggests an economic attitude towards good fortune, appropriate to a static society in which the distribution of goods (property, status or happiness) is unequal and fixed. If one person or family or caste has more of the valued goods, others will have less:

> To put the matter in the language of Von Neumann's and Morgenstern's Theory of Games: There are zero-sum games and non-zero-sum games. (Leibenstein 1957 113)

A belief in the evil eye is consistent with a tendency to deny the possibility of non-zero-sum (or 'positive-sum') 'games'. Suri makes a similar point in his discussion of 'negative voting' - against one candidate rather than for another - in Indian elections:

> The negativism of political behaviour is a reflection of the prevailing economic scarcity. A common attitude is that if someone were to get a morsel of food more than he does already then someone else must eat one morsel less. Those who get a full meal are concerned that no one gets more than his present share so that the well-fed might not be pushed down into the ranks of the starving. ... If the people have not yet discovered that parliamentary institutions might be used as levers to draw concessions from the ruling group, one reason is that there are so few concessions at all to be gained. (Suri 1962 65)

If Hindu thought tends to put all worldly interests on the same level, as artha, then the same economic principles should apply to the distribution of intangible goods and of 'economic' goods. The decline in beliefs in witchcraft and the evil eye may have as much to do with expanding opportunities and increasing access to material goods - proofs of the possibility of non-zero-sums - as with rationalistic education and scientific explanations of illness.

Magical rites are practical expedients, still often believed in

as solutions for particular problems but without the theological support they once had. This theology supposes a gradation of high gods, low gods, ghosts and devils, each corresponding to different areas of human experience and with their own magical functions. The new theology of Hinduism, which is more rationalistic, consistent and ethical, tends to put all gods on a level, as the new politics puts all citizens on a level, and to distinguish them sharply from other kinds of spirits, or even to deny these lower spirits any reality at all.

Astrology, divination and omens

Shaastra(m), the Sanskrit word for the brahmanical law-books and canonical texts, in South Indian languages means colloquially 'astrology, horoscope, fortune-telling'. Astrology, like 'auspiciousness', is associated with brahmanism, which relates man not only to the Hindu social order but to the order of the universe which includes it and which is revealed in the stars. The use of horoscopes is an example of the successive 'sanskritization' and 'westernization' which Srinivas (1962 41f) describes: the older generation among the 'middle' castes may have consulted wandering fortune-tellers but had little use for horoscopes. Their sons, who are now the dominant generation and consider themselves more 'advanced', have their children's horoscopes cast at birth and exchange them before concluding a marriage. Younger men, and a few independently minded older men, are often doubtful or sceptical or even contemptuous of astrology, but these are still a minority. Typical attitudes among such people are 'There may be something in it', 'Astrology is an exact science but is usually wrongly interpreted' or, more rarely, 'Astrology is all lies, made up to cheat people out of their money; the astrologer who gives you a horoscope doesn't know he is going to be run over by a lorry in half an hour's time.'

Diehl (1956 197f) describes the South Indian system of astrology in detail. Garud3apura has two astrologers, a poor Vodd3a, and the

Svaamijii of the Mowna Guru Math, but most horoscopes are cast by astrologers in the (old) 'City' when children are born.

I have shown how a child's name often begins with a syllable suggested by an astrologer. Some families are anxious to know how a child will develop, what dangers he will be exposed to and which profession he ought to train for: a concern which makes sense in a mobile, competitive and uncertain society. The astrologer apparently tells the parents much that they want to hear: the child will be a brilliant student and ought to specialize in science or engineering, he will make a good businessman or contractor &c but at a certain age 'he should be careful' of his health &c. A horoscope is also useful as a substitute for a birth certificate. Births in Bangalore are registered, but to get a birth certificate one must go to the Corporation offices and perhaps spend two or three days getting the Health Department to check its records and issue the certificate. Many schools will accept a horoscope instead. The educational rat-race now begins at the age of 4; many people are anxious to get their children into a primary school before the usual minimum age of 5 years 10 months, and astrologers are often willing to provide a false horoscope for this purpose.

Before a marriage it is now customary to have the couple's horoscopes compared by an astrologer who, it is said, is unlikely to veto a marriage but may suggest that the couple are unlikely to be happy together. However, I know of no case where this has prevented a marriage. If the couple's horoscopes were not cast at their birth, the astrologer compares their names to see whether these are compatible: a second-best procedure, but apparently the astrologer does not try to reconstruct the couple's horoscopes, perhaps because the hour of birth may be uncertain. Professional astrologers, or the Brahman priests concerned, give the correct time for the taali-tying at a marriage, the hour at which a girl should be brought out for her puberty ceremony &c.

Astrology reveals the part of a person's 'fate' (karmam, uurh[+]/karma)

[+] I suspect that the Tamil uurh 'destiny' is often, and originally, quite distinct from the sanskritic idea of karma(m), which always implies rebirth. But Tamils in Garud3apura appear to use the two words as synonyms.

which is the result of his acts, especially in previous lives. This provides a sufficient explanation for the inequalities of human fortune, including caste, yet the belief in karma and rebirth is shadowy, and only a few theologically-minded people carry the argument so far back. For the ordinary user the horoscope has practical value, as a guide to probable advantages and a warning against dangers. Its bad prophecies are seldom final: the child should be careful at a certain age, the patient is in grave danger &c. It is then possible to take action to avert the danger, by practical care and by worship of the right gods to increase one's stock of good karma. It is said that one cannot avert the death foretold in your horoscope but can delay it. In any case it seems that no ordinary horoscope ever foretells a death.

The Navagraha, the nine gods representing the planets and elements, whose shrine is in the Math, are worshipped to avert the bad prophecies in horoscopes, or simply to avert any unknown dangers contained in one's fate. This worship forms a part of the regular congregational worship at the Math, and is also important in the private devotions of men and women who visit the Math. The Svaamijii sometimes performs puuja here for families or worshippers, chanting mantras and pouring libations.

A sort of universal standing horoscope is the table of auspicious and inauspicious times for each day of the week, printed in calendars. On Sunday, for instance, 3 to 4 30 pm is auspicious, 4 30 to 6 pm is inauspicious; on Monday the times are 1 30 to 3 pm and 7 30 to 9 pm; the period is always 1½ hours. In practice the inauspicious times are more important; those who have a choice will not begin any important enterprise, such as a journey, during this period, lest it should end badly; some people, I believe, will not even begin a meal. Yet no factory worker would avoid going to work or eating his lunch because the hour is inauspicious, and this worries no one. The rules, like rules of caste, belong to the village or traditional universe and do not apply in the city or factory. In these two worlds of the villagers' experience, not only different moral rules, but even different rules of fate seem to apply.

Similarly Tuesdays and Fridays are inauspicious for beginning a journey, a rule which women are notoriously more worried about than

men. The takings of the Bangalore Transport Service from bus fares decline sharply on these two days, and this is ascribed to women.

Palmistry is generally considered a minor part of astrology. A few people in the village for instance the mandravaadi, read palms as a diversion rather than a trade. The mandravaadi also tells fortunes by inviting the client to close his eyes, pray to his own god and put down a straw at random on a magical diagram in a book belonging to the mandravaadi, who then interprets it.

Fortune tellers of a much humbler kind come through the village calling 'Shaastram! Shaastram!' and carrying green parrots in cages. For a very small fee (usually 10p, or 2d) such a fortune-teller will let his parrot out of the cage to pick up one of a number of envelopes, containing written fortunes. One such man first asked the client his name, then repeated the name while the parrot turned the envelopes over one by one; here, I think, the fortune-teller made a sign to the parrot to select a particular envelope, walk over and put it down in front of a coloured print of Murugan, each small envelope contained a fortune printed in Tamil, and a small print, of Venkat3eeshvara for a client with a Hindu name and of Mary and Jesus for one with a Christian name. Such fortune-tellers are popular but it is hard to say how seriously they are taken, many people seem to regard them merely as an entertainment. A still humbler kind of practitioner is an old woman who tells fortunes from the number of grains of raagi which fall into a client's hand.

Some natural events are omens, particularly the behaviour of lizards, which are feared. If a lizard falls on one's back something very bad will happen soon, usually a death in the family, one man claims that a lizard fell on him a few days before his brother died. If a lizard chirps at a particular point in a conversation it is giving information on the future of whatever is being talked about, and some people can interpret this. Some omens are looked for, like the froth on the boiling pongal during a ceremony in the lineage puuja I described: if the froth rises to one side of the pot, it is auspicious, and if it rises in the middle, inauspicious. Omens shade into oracles, who are questioned explicitly. The sheep which shivers

when water is thrown on its back, showing that it is acceptable as a sacrifice, is the god's means of answering a question asked symbolically by men.

Astrology is associated with brahmanical religion, and particularly with the Brahmans themselves. It is an enquiry into the rules of the impersonal order of the universe, which includes the social order, as these rules apply to particular cases. It has also become a matter of social prestige to employ astrologers and to arrange one's domestic ceremonies according to their findings.

Oracles, and perhaps omens, belong to the religion of groups: they are 'signs' or direct communications from the accessible patron god of each group, or the divine form associated with the group, while possession gives direct personal knowledge of the divine.

Prayers, vows and pilgrimages

One prays either in pure devotion or to obtain a result. Philosophically minded villagers, who know the Giitaa and its doctrine of action without attachment to results (nishkaamakarna), say the first is better but the second is more common, because few people have so freed themselves from attachment that they can pray expecting nothing in return.

In practice the motives for praying are mixed. The underlying idea is that a prayer is something given to a god, an expenditure of energy like singing bhajans. If it is given from love of the god and to purify the worshipper's soul, it is usually sufficient by itself. If it is given in the hope that the god will respond by granting a particular favour, something else is generally given or promised with it, a further sacrifice of energy, goods or money.

Congregational worship includes mantras and invocations offered by the priest, but not public prayers. Each person prays in his own way, usually silently and before the image of a god. Some use devotional formulas, in their own language or another, learnt from other people or from books; others use simple formulas of their own ('Forgive our sins' &c) or speak to the god as if in conversation. Prayer is such a private and intimate matter that it is hard to give any general account

of it.

Some people pray for a more specific result. The Chairman of the devotees of the Maariamma Temple in Cox Town, who saved the temple from demolition, first became interested in the temple as a boy, when he and his friends prayed to win as they went to play hockey. More important requests are accompanied by a vow, generally addressed either to the god concerned with the welfare of a group, a village god like Gangamma or a house god; or to a specialized god, like Maariamma for smallpox cures; or to the god of a place of pilgrimage, who specialized in receiving and granting vows in general. Vows are made particularly to cure an illness in the family, also for success in examinations or business, for children &c. It seems that vows are not normally made for the cure of mental illness, which is traditionally regarded as possession by an evil spirit, to be dealt with by the different method of exorcism, and now more often as an illness to be treated with modern medicine and psychiatry.

In the most common form of vow the person for whose benefit the vow is made, or a relative, offers to give something to a temple, or in charity to the poor: a sari, a silver ex-voto of an affected part of the body, some rice, money for a special puuja or even a new image of the god. At the same time he may tie a yellow cloth containing a small coin to his wrist as a pledge and a reminder of the unfulfilled vow (see Diehl 1956 88) on this rite of kāppukaṭṭutal (Kaappukatt3udal)). Similarly a woman fulfilling a vow may wear a yellow sari.

There seems to be no obligation to fulfil a vow unless it is granted. As Dumont (1957 411) says;

> 'en général ... on donne au dieu après qu'il a donné'
> (generally something is given to the god only after he has given).

When the god has kept his side of the bargain, the obligation must be fulfilled as soon as possible, or some misfortune may happen to the person who made the vow. This is why possession at a festival is often a blessing: it is a reminder which may save one from the consequences of an unfulfilled vow, or of neglecting other religious duties such as

the obligation to worship one's house god regularly.

Someone who forgets or cannot afford to fulfil a vow endangers not only himself and his family, but his neighbours, particularly if the vow was made to cure an infectious disease which might come back. If neighbours come to hear of it they may put pressure on him to fulfil his vow quickly.

Instead of offering to give something, one may offer to perform a service to the god, like abstaining from meat on certain days of the week, carrying the kaavad3i or pole at the Aad3i Kiruttigai festival, or dancing with the karaga or consecrated pot on one's head. These services, being difficult or uncomfortable, shade into the spectacular penances and self-mortifications, like sticking knives through one's flesh in the Kaaman Habba procession, or walking on fire in the annual ceremony at Ulsoor. The few Garud3apura people who perform these penances seem to do so not in fulfilment of vows made for particular ends, but from what others regard as devotion possibly touched with exhibitionism, like the man who pulled a cart with an image of Murugan round the village at Aad3i Kiruttigai, by hooks fixed in the flesh of his back, after Murugan had told him to do so in a dream.

The most important vow made in Garud3apura in recent years was that of the shopkeeper I mentioned, who promised to spend money on the Mowna Guru Math if he had sons, and who renovated and extended the temple there. The same man, apparently in fulfilment of a vow made on the occasion of some illness in his family, dedicated a bull to Venkat3eeshvara and turned it loose as an act of piety. It wanders about the village, and occasionally into the neighbouring suburb, grazing where it can and eating the food people offer it as it passes their houses; no one in particular is responsible for feeding it, but the village would never let it starve. Devout people worship it briefly by putting their hands on its back and then to their faces as it passes, since a bull is a sign of God, and particularly of Shiva's vehicle, the mythical bull Baasava or Nandi. The general attitude towards it, however, is one of affection and some amusement.

It is a sort of mascot for the village, since other villages have their dedicated bulls, it is almost a sign of Garud3apura's identity as a village. Since its horns have been clipped or filed short it is not very dangerous, except at festivals when boys provoke it, and it tends to run wild in the general excitement - something the crowd seems to expect, as part of the entertainment and the festival atmosphere. I have seen it knock down an old woman, though without hurting her seriously. Before it the village had another dedicated bull with a more violent temper, which used to upset carts in the street and had to be sent away to 'some holy place'. Dumont (1957 46, 356) describes a similar bull.

Another common vow is to go on a pilgrimage. The effort of making the pilgrimage is itself a sacrifice, as well as the presents the devotee gives to the temple at the place of pilgrimage, and often the sacrifice of his hair which is shaved off there. Someone who has a request to make of a god, instead of vowing that he will make a pilgrimage to the god's shrine when the request has been granted, may go to the shrine to make his vow there, or simply to pray and to make offerings in the hope that the god will answer his prayer. The kind of vow which is fulfilled only after it has been granted seems appropriate to village or household deities rather than to the high gods of the main pilgrim shrines.

Most pilgrimages, in any case, are not made in order to bring about particular results, but out of devotion, for the general spiritual benefit of the pilgrim, and for the pleasure of travelling in good company. For many people pilgrimages are the only justification for tourism, as they were in Chaucer's England.

I have described the periodic pilgrimages which some people make to the shrines of their lineage gods in other villages. The main places of pilgrimage, however, are the great brahmanical shrines such as Parhani (Palni), Tiruttani, Banaras for those who can afford it, and above all Tirupati, the shrine of the black god Venkat3eeshvara who is identified with Visn3u.

This temple in Andhra, 260 km from Bangalore, is one of the great Hindu shrines, attracting pilgrims from all over India.

The temple's enormous income from gifts of money and jewellery is used by the Trustees, among other things, to support a university and a network of information offices, including one in Bangalore, to carry on the highly organized pilgrim traffic. Buses leave Bangalore for Tirupati every day, and young men, for instance the members of the Tirumaleeshvara Sangha or confraternity of devotees of Venkat3eeshvara, charter buses for groups of pilgrims from the village. Entire families make the journey to spend the night in one of the guest houses at Tirupati provided by the Trustees, to queue for hours in order to file past the image, getting a brief darshan or sight of the god while attendants keep the long queue moving, then, often, to have their hair, and particularly their children's hair, shaved off by the long lines of barbers and left as an offering to the god. The temple Trustees sell the hair for export to America. The very poor come at a time of day when they can see the god for nothing. Others must pay a fee, and there is a graduated scale of charges for more and more elaborate puujas: the most expensive, I believe, costs Rs 2000. These fees, and the gifts of money and jewellery which pilgrims throw into the temple coffers, bring merit to the givers; and the darshan of Lord Venkat3eeshvara has a profound effect on many worshippers. His devotees go back to Tirupati whenever they can. He seems to be chosen in preference to all other gods as a personal or household god, though Murugan may be more popular among Tamils. Venkat3eeshvara was the only god to be represented by two separate images in the village's Car Festival.

Barnaras is about 1500 km away in North India, and only a few of the villagers have been there. A wholesale potato merchant makes a pilgrimage every year, on his way back from Simla, where he goes to buy seed potatoes. The shopkeeper who rebuilt the Math and dedicated the bull went to Banaras with a building contractor of Garud3apura, while I was in the village, and on their return they held a special puuja and distributed holy Ganges water to relatives and friends.

Reverence for Banaras and the Ganges links Garud3apura people to Hindus everywhere. The pots which are filled at wells before certain ceremonies are said to contain 'Ganges water':

> en un sens il n'y a dans l'Inde du sud qu'une eau sainte, c'est celle du Gange, à qui les rivières locales s'identifient à certaines fêtes. (Dumont 1957 413)

> (In a sense there is only one kind of holy water in South India: Ganges water, with which the local rivers are identified at certain festivals.)

Besides, the protecting goddess of the village, like that of many other villages, happens to be called Gangamma, or the Goddess Ganges.

Similarly, the common cult of Venkat3eeshvara is a bond between South Indian Hindus, especially those of the Kannada and Telugu countries, as the cult of Murugan unites Tamils in particular, and the cult of the Mowna Guru the people of Garud3apura. These cults are never compulsory. Unlike the cult of caste, lineage or village gods, they are universal in intention, not identified with particular groups except accidentally. Their devotees are everywhere, though more numerous in one place.

Prayers, vows and pilgrimages are founded on the direct, individual relation between the worshipper and his god. Dumont writes of vows among the Pramalai Kallar:

> Tel est le mécanisme principal de la dévotion individuelle. Le voeu est une catégorie extrêmement familière, comme allant de soi, qu'on n'explique pas; mais ceci recouvre précisément la liberté individuelle. Comment le dieu est-il choisi? Rarement en somme en raison d'une spécialisation comme celle de la variole, souvent en fonction d'une préférence individuelle. (Dumont 1957 411)

(This is the chief mechanism of personal devotion. The vow is an extremely familiar category, something that seems obvious and needs no explanation: but this is exactly the form which personal freedom takes. How is the god chosen? Not very often because of a specialized function, like the cure of smallpox, but more generally as a result of personal preference.)

Now in Garud3apura the vow is one mechanism of personal devotion but probably not the chief one. The cults of the Mowna Gurua and the personal god have a more important place in many people's religious life, and here the emphasis is less on getting something than on intention, purity of heart, right conduct and social responsibility. If the vow is almost the only form which the religion of personal choice takes in an isolated and economically static community, one can see this as the seed, buried in the traditional culture of South India, from which the new forms of personal religion have grown, in a situation where one's career, friendships, opinions, politics, family relationships and sometimes even marriage are thrown open to personal choice and responsibility. This happened as Garud3apura was engulfed in Bangalore, and particularly as Bangalore's extraordinary industrial development opened new opportunities and contacts to the young men of the village.

Dumont concludes his description of vows:

En somme l'individu qui fait un voeu au dieu d'un temple brahmanique transcende bien les limites de son groupe, mais c'est pour reconnaître une relation intime de dépendance vis-à-vis d'un être surnaturel, qu'on peut concevoir sur le modèle de la relation de caste entre serviteur et maître. Ceci raproche la purification religieuse des observances de caste. Par ailleurs, on voit l'importance et les limites de l'individualisation que la religion hindoue apporte. (Ibid 411-2)

> (It is true that the individual who makes a vow to the god of a brahmanical temple transcends the limits of his group, but in doing so he acknowledges an intimate relation of dependance on a supernatural being, analagous to the caste relation between servant and master. Here religious purification comes close to caste observances. Moreover, this indicates both the importance and the limits of the individuation provided for in the Hindu religion.)

In Garud3apura the relation between castes is no longer one of master and servant, nor is it one of intimate dependence, if it ever was. It is a relation between status groups, affected by the relation between economic classes. Moreover it is constantly attenuated as other principles of alignment become more important and as caste values lose their hold over young men. From being a residual category, in a society where most religious observances depended on one's station in life, personal religion tends to become the centre of religious life, not only in institutions like the Math which were always an expression of it, but as the spirit in which villagers take part in the older cults. Only the sacraments of life are still more or less rigidly determined by the group.

Personal gods

In my description of household cults I showed how an inherited lineage or caste god is often replaced, as the patron of a household, by the personal god chosen by the head of the household, especially when a young married man sets up a separate household.

In principle anyone may choose his own god for worship, or he may be chosen by a god which possesses him or appears to him in a dream. This freedom to choose one's own god is a universal feature of Hinduism, which brahmanical texts both sanction and explain as a lower but necessary stage in man's spiritual progress:

> This religious hospitality is shown by two characteristic Hindu doctrines called the doctrine of spiritual competence

> (adhikāra) and the doctrine of the chosen deity (ishṭa-devatā). The doctrine of spiritual competence requires that the religious discipline prescribed for a man should correspond to his spiritual competence. It is worse than useless to teach abstract metaphysics to a man whose heart hungers for concrete gods. ... The doctrine of the chosen deity means that, out of the numerous forms of the Supreme Being conceived by the heart of man in the past and recorded in the scriptures, the worshipper should be taught to choose that which satisfies his spiritual longing and to make it the object of his love and adoration. (Sharma 1955 5)

Not everyone chooses such a god. I doubt whether a woman often worships a personal god who is not her husband's, though there is no religious reason why she should not, as the legend of Mallamma shows. A man's personal god, to whom he makes his private devotions and requests, is often, perhaps usually, his parents' household god, whom he was brought up to worship. Yet the possibility of choosing a different personal god, while continuing to take part in the common worship of the household god, seems always to have been recognized. In the dominant traditional ideology, all one's decisions in social matters were determined by membership of a family and caste. That joint families broke up was an unfortunate fact, not a part of the right order of things, and many people maintain this attitude. In religious matters, however, even a junior member of the family could claim separate rights, or rather he had no need to claim them because they were not questioned, provided of course that he continued to revere the Hindu dharma - he was not entitled to become a Christian or an atheist.[+] Otherwise a man existed as part of a social and religious organism but also, if he chose, as a religious individual. It makes no difference that many

[+] Among Harijans, at any rate among Tamil Harijans, and in a few non-Harijan families, conversion to Christiantty is sometimes regarded simply as the choice of another personal god; so that Hindu and Christian members of the same family continue to live together.

people felt no need to assert this individuality.

It seems to happen rarely, if ever, that a god possesses a man, or appears to him in a dream, and asks to be worshipped when the man had not worshipped that god before. Generally a man chooses a god whose mythical character or function appeal to him, like Sarasvati and Laks3mi, the goddesses of learning and prosperity, or because friends or relatives have taken him along on a pilgrimage to the god's shrine, especially when the god is Venkat3eeshvara of Tirupati, simply because the god is fashionable among his friends, or even to replace his parents' god, whose name he finds old-fashioned or ridiculous (it would be discourteous to give examples). A young man makes his choice, and when he marries and sets up his own household, his personal god becomes the new house god. As it becomes the accepted practice for each man to set up his own household, the personal and house god tend to be confused, as they are not in joint families where several adult men worship their own gods. Here social individuation catches up with the traditional religious individuation.

The worship of personal gods varies as much as their characters. A personal god is usually represented by an image at home: a statue in a niche or on a shelf, or a print on the wall. Even when the personal god is not the house god, he is often worshipped in the same way, with aarati, after the worshipper has fasted and bathed. If the god has a shrine in the village, the devotees worships the image there by walking round it three times, laying flowers or other offerings at its feet, and praying silently. This happens particularly in the Murugan Temple at the Math. The worshipper may ask favours of his god, or make vows to him: so much so, that Diehl says that in Madras:

> The implication of having an Iṣṭa-devatā ... is not far from that of a professional-client relationship. He is approached at all times of emergency as a reliable source of help. (Diehl 1956 355)

One may worship the god by other acts of service: going on

pilgrimages, singing bhajans, or paying to have his decorated image carried in the Car Festival procession. Confraternities like the Tirumaleeshvara Sangha, or devotees of Vaankat3eeshvara, and temporary groups, like the 'students' who sponsored Sarasvati, exist for those who cannot afford or do not want to do this for themselves.

Lastly, one may worship a personal god by meditation, with or without a visible image to concentrate one's mind. Other kinds of god are too closely associated with their particular forms and legends, and with the social occasions on which they are worshipped collectively; but personal gods seem to satisfy the need for a more abstract idea of divinity, like the guardian angels whose cult developed in Europe in the late Middle Ages (Huizinga 1955 177).

One can meditate anywhere, but it is easier to concentrate the mind in a holy place such as a temple, and particularly in the Math, away from the noise and distractions of home life. Here, too, one can learn from the Svaamijii or from other devotees about elementary methods of meditation. For Vedantic philosophy:

> Exercises of meditation on the worshiper's special tutelary deity (iṣṭadevatā), which is an 'aspect-provided-with-qualities' (sa-guṇa) of the highest essence (brahman). [+] Brahman in itself is absolutely devoid of qualifications (nir-guṇa), and consequently beyond the reach of the powers of the normal human mind. The various iṣṭadevatās, images and personifications, consequently, are only preliminary helps, guides, or accommodations, which serve to prepare the spirit of the worshiper for its final, form-transcending realization. (Zimmer 1956 52-3)

Meditation on a personal god provides a point of entry into this world of Hindu philosophical speculation for enquiring villagers, who know of it either vaguely and at second hand, or more seldom from careful reading and discussion of basic texts like the Giitaa, activities

[+] Not to be confused with a member of the Brahman (Braahman3) caste.

which have their centre in the Math. The quest for purity of the soul through meditation, and beyond that, for personal mokṣa or liberation, is the most complete expression of religious individualism.

Gurus

> The name /Guru 7 means a venerable person, one who is a religious teacher or spiritual preceptor. It is applied to a man of any caste who is believed to be in peculiarly close communion with God and to hold the secret to divine mysteries, whether on account of saintliness of life or character, asceticism, or utterances regarded as inspired. Such a man is adopted as a Guru by seekers after truth, who become his disciples. ... The Guru is, in short, a channel through which God communicates himself to man. He alone can guide his disciples on the path of spiritual progress to full knowledge of God and ultimate release from the chain of births and deaths. (O'Malley 1935 196-7)

In some castes, and in some parts of India, each family has its guru, who visits the family from time to time and initiates young people into religious life by whispering a mantra into their ears. O'Malley (ibid 81) says these gurus 'have been described as the working clergy of Hinduism', and Mayer (1960 139f) describes the important tie of ritual kinship between people of different castes who have 'heard Ram's name' together from such a guru. No such custom exists in Garuḍapura nor, as far as I know, does any family have a guru who makes regular visits. Here the guru is an ideal rather than an institution. As in the ancient tradition, the bond between guru and disciple is thought of as a personal one, not a family or caste matter. Anyone may choose a guru as he chooses his personal god.

Some devout villagers say it is important to have a guru to instruct one in methods of meditation and right conduct. In practice few villagers, if any, have living gurus from whom they regularly receive instruction. The Svaamijii of the Math is respected as an ascetic and asked for advice on philosophical and moral problems, but he is not revered as a guru. The ideal of the guru is realized chiefly

in the worship of dead gurus, of whom the most important is the Mowna Guru. Others are Raamalingam and Arun3agirinaadar, the Tamil devotees of Murugan; Kaivaara Naaraayan3a, who composed bhajans near Bangalore in the nineteenth century; and Vivekananda. The cult of the Mowna Guru, which is carried on in the Math, emphasizes the personality and miracles of the Guru himself rather than his personal god Iishvara. The cult of Raamalingam and Arun3agirinaadar, on the other hand, is closely linked with that of Murugan, and is kept up particularly by the two groups which sing the saints' bhajans in Murugan temples.

In these cults the guru is a saint rather than a teacher. No one living in the village received the guru's message directly, and there is no 'apostolic succession' to pass it on, as there is in the true guru-cults, where the guru's chosen disciple carries on his master's teaching when the master dies. Vivekananda, who succeeded Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and founded the Ramakrishna Mission, is an example.

It is possible that Aacaaris living outside Garud3apura look on their own priest in the Math as such a successor to the Mowna Guru, whom they regarded as their caste guru when he was alive. A postman from Mysore City spent his leave with this priest, who is his guru; but I do not know whether the postman is an Aacaari.

One minor guru is still remembered: a Tigal3a woman who kept a mystical Shaiva math, known as the Acala Siddhaanta Math, in her house outside the village. Here she gave discourses to her disciples, who included some men of established Garud3apura families. When she died in 1952 these 'Trustees and Disciples of Acala Siddhaanta Math' sued her heirs for possession of the house, saying it should continue in use as a math; but since the building had never been publicly dedicated, the heirs refused to give it up. The case has not yet been settled, but seems to be almost a dead issue in the village.

I have described the occasional visits of important ascetics or their disciples to the Mowna Guru Math, particularly the guru who came to give darshan and to collect money for an immense puuja at Tirupati, or the Chinmayananda Mission whose choir and teachers took part in the Guru Puuja celebration. Other saadhus or ascetics, including some

who have large congregations of disciples somewhere else, visit the Math not to give darshan or to meet disciples but simply to stay with the Svaamijii, as members of the fraternity of saadhus; so that one may find one or two visiting saadhus, and perhaps the two who live in the Math, sitting with the Svaamijii and a few devotees of the Math on the Svaamijii's veranda, discussing aashrams and aasanas (yogic postures) in the relaxed manner of professionals talking shop.[+]

Other saadhus acquire a certain fame, but no disciples, in the village. It is said that one such man, who lived near the village, used to refuse food offered to him and to eat only the leavings stuck to palm-leaf plates, which he found in household refuse, until he disappeared miraculously in a temple during the war.

Though the word guru has strong religious overtones, anyone who teaches a secular skill may be called guru, by a traditional extension of the term:

> In ancient India each department of learning was associated with a highly specialized skill and corresponding way of life. The knowledge was not to be culled from books primarily ... but to be mastered through apprenticeship to a competent teacher. It required the wholehearted surrender of a malleable pupil to the authority of the guru, its elementary prerequisites being obedience (śuśrūṣā) and implicit faith

This tendency towards professionalism has gone so far on the national level that there is now a Bharat Sadhu Samaj, or Indian association of ascetics, with a branch in Bangalore. The Indian Home Minister has tried to enlist the Samaj's support in his campaign against corruption, and it is suggested that saadhus should preach to the people in a concerted effort to alert them to the dangers of Chinese and Pakistani aggression. The General Secretary of the Samaj has even proposed that it should issue identity cards to 'genuine' saadhus, so that the public can distinguish them from charlatans. As ordinary religion becomes more personal, is this traditionally individualist form of religion being collectivized?

> (śraddhā). Śuśrūṣā is the fervent desire to hear, to obey and to retain what is being heard; it implies dutifulness, reverence, and service. Śraddhā is trust and composure of mind; it demands the total absence of independent thought and criticism on the part of the pupil. (Zimmer 1956 48)

Something of this attitude is still expressed in the idealized picture of the relationship between schoolmaster and pupil. Men say that they respect the master they knew best for the rest of their lives, that they are like children before him and that they are embarrassed if he treats them as an equal. This is why the young men who taught in the Math night school felt themselves cut off, as if by a generation, from boys and girls only a little younger than they were. When Garud3apura men who had attended Williams Town Boys' School held a ceremony to present a gold ring and other gifts to their former headmaster, the father-in-law of the Brahman priest at Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, they said they owed everything to their master and that it was disgraceful that the present generation of children no longer respectsd their teachers in the same way. It is often admitted that education is becoming commercial and that many teachers are incompetent or dishonest; and teachers who live in the village are not specially respected. The bond between guru and pupil is not one between categories of people - teachers by profession and pupils by condition - but a personal bond, affecting only the relationship between each man and the teacher he chooses to regard as his guru. This may account for the special quality of respect and affection in the relationship. When a man wept bitterly at the ceremony on the thirtieth day after his father's death, I was told that he had been exceptionally close to his father, who had taught him to play the mridangam or drum - a highly developed art - and had been not only a father but like a guru to his son: implying that a father is entitled to respect, but it is given most freely and willingly to a guru.

Whatever one achieves in life one ought, in gratitude, to repay with respect for the guru who made it possible. Thus a skilled workman regarded as his chief guru the man who first taught him to write in the dust before he began to go to school, for this man first set him on the

the way to becoming educated, earning good money and living well. Some factory workers address superiors who train them as 'Guru' even if this is no more than a courtesy, it indicates the high value attached to technical knowledge. A building contractor regards an older man as his guru in contract work, his son, a fitter and an officer in several trade unions, considers an eminent union leader his guru and spends as much times as possible learning from him about union organization. This man said, only half as a joke, that if he worshipped anyone as his brother worships Vivekananda, it would be the father of the labour movement, whoever that was (I suggested Robert Owen.)

None of these secular gurus receives the uncritical attention to which a guru was traditionally entitled to. When they are called gurus this is an idealization of the relationship, almost an archaism. Schoolchildren are disobedient, students show no great reverence for lecturers, and factory trainees think for themselves. To work in an office or factory is one's job, not one's dharma.

The only true guru is now the religious teacher, whom anyone is free to choose or reject. The cult of gurus, like that of personal gods and particularly of the Mowna Guru, occupies a greater part of the village's religious life, as religion becomes autonomous, gradually detaching itself from the network of prescribed social relations which formerly needed its sanction.

The idea of divinity

Taking as my point of departure 'the social aspect of cults' - the groups that take part in them - I examined the values and beliefs associated with each cult, and distinguished three aspects or tendencies in the religion of Garud3apura: brahmanism, the religion of groups and the religion of personal choice. Each of these lays stress on different elements of a common theology.

It is generally agreed that all gods are forms of a single divine reality. As McKim Marriott says of North Indian villagers:

> In place of disordered polytheism and endless polymorphism, the philosophic villager in Kishan Garhi is free to put pantheism - the conception that all deities everywhere, no matter how parochial or non-Sanskritic, are but manifestations of a single divine Oversoul (Paramatma). If all deities are one, then accurate communication about particular objects of worship becomes a matter of irrelevant detail. (Marriott 1955 218 or 1961 223)

Since ideas about the nature of the divine reality may be different but, in principle, never contradictory, there is little room for theological debate except about the proper performance of rituals and methods of personal salvation. The theology is more an attitude than a system. This, however, does not mean that debate about morals and about social relations cannot be conducted in theological terms.

By general consent the gods are ranked in a rough hierarchy, corresponding loosely to the traditional caste hierarchy. The sanskritic high gods are at the top, since they have the greatest 'shakti' (power or sanctity), just as the Brahmans who usually serve in their temples have the greatest prestige among men. With these gods are regional gods like Venkat3eeshvara and Murugan who are regarded as their forms or 'avataaras', a word that is used here more loosely than in the in the classical tradition. All these gods, like the Brahmans, are 'vegetarian', though there are exceptions: Kuncitigas, for instance, may offer meat to Venkat3eeshvara in the month of Shraavan3a. Below these gods are the protecting deities of groups, especially the village goddesses, who are sometimes more or less identified with the high gods. Ellamma is said to be Ren3uka, and all village goddesses are said in a general way to be avataaras of Kaali. Then there are the spirits of small shrines - the Naagaraajans or snake deities, worshipped in the form of sets of three carved stones and identified with Subrahman3ya, and Muneeshvara, said to be a form of Shiva worshipped outside villages. The cult of

the lower gods or spirits (muni, devva &c) who are recruited from devils (peey, pisaaci &c) & ghosts, seems to be absent here, and I have no evidence of such cults in earlier times (see Dumont 1957 on the importance of these cults, not only among the Pramalai Kallar, but throughout the Tamil country).

Gods of another kind are deified gurus, like the Mowna Guru and Raamalingam. It is hard to place them in the hierarchy of gods. By achieving samaadhi or union with the divine in their lifetime they seem to become consubstantial with their chosen gods, the Mowna Guru with Iishvará and Raamalingam with Murugan, but the point is not clear. Such a guru is normally worshipped together with his god, the guru often being represented by a portrait or print and the god, at least in a temple, by a stone image.

The difference between a god and a man is not absolute. A god has more shakti (sanctity or power), and a guru comes to participate in this shakti. According to one view most gods, like Murugan and Krisn3a, were originally men who became avataaras - instead of descending as avataaras, as in the classical tradition - because of the holiness of their lives, and their austerities and meditations. Shakti seems to grow with time: Murugan and Krisn3a are established gods, the Mowna Guru is still remembered more as a guru, and people say that Gandhi will be regarded as a god in the future.

The qualities and mythical character of each god are sometimes known rather vaguely, and shakti is attached more to the temple or shrine where the god is worshipped, and to the consecrated image or symbol. Thus Ellamma of Garud3apura, the patron of the Tigal3a caste group in the village, is treated almost as a different goddess from Ellamma who has her temple at Krisn3apura, and who protects only the two lineages that originally came to Garud3apura from Krisn3apura. Venkat3eeshvara is always associated with his temple at Tirupati, unlike Murugan who has several places of pilgrimage.

Where a temple has two images, the older is said to have more shakti, just as a deified guru becomes more god-like with time.

The crude stone images of Gangamma and Ellamma are said to have more shakti than the newer and more elaborate metal ones, which are kept in the same temples and taken out in processions. When such an image is installed shakti must be conferred on it by a ceremony of consecration. The new metal image of Ellamma was consecrated with elaborate rites by a Brahman, though Ellamma is never served by a Brahman at other times: another example of the subsidiary religion of groups needing the sanction of the brahmanical cult to legitimize it.+

The popular use of 'shakti', to mean a kind of electric charge of divine power, is related to 'grace' (anugraham/-ha and its Tamil synonym arul3). On the one hand a god's grace descends on a man who is possessed (see Dumont 1957 350 on arul3). On the other hand, one acquires grace by contact with the divine, either mental contact in meditation or, more often, physical contact with the god's image or with prasaadam, whatever has been offered in sacrifice or has been in close contact with the image, like vibhuuti or consecrated ash, or the tiirtha or holy water which is used to wash the image and is then drunk by the worshippers.

Philosophic villagers are careful to point out that prasaadam purifies only because it helps the worshipper to purify his mind and to fix it on God. Less sophisticated people appear to believe more in the direct magical efficacy of the prasaadam itself, just as they interpret 'purity' in a more material way: to abstain from meat on Saturdays, or to take a bath before worship, purifies one automatically

+ In a lawsuit to decide whether Ramana Maharshi's mother's grave was legally a Hindu temple (Ramanasramam v. the Commissioner for Hindu Charitable and Religious Endowments) Ramaswami J. said, referring to the ceremony of consecration: 'Otherwise, the Lingam would be a mere piece of stone and nothing else. It is only Prana Pratistha /consecration/ which makes it a living God and a juristic entity.' (All India Reporter, Madras, 1961 272)

rather than as a reminder of divine grace.

These two attitudes, which I have crudely characterized as 'philosophic' and 'unsophisticated', correspond roughly to the division between the religion of personal choice on the one hand, and brahmanical and group religion on the other: between the religion of innovation, stressing the attitude of mind and divine potentialities of each man, and the traditional religion stressing the permanence of the social order and the balance of interests between the groups which compose it. Philosophic villagers are those who discuss religious and philosophical problems with each other and with the Svaamijii at the Math, who read devotional books and pamphlets, and who attend discourses without music at the Math, Giitaa classes &c. Most but not all of them have some education, and their number grows with the number of educated men in the village. Their centre is the Math and their influence, as I have suggested, is out of proportion to their numbers. Unsophisticated villagers include most, but not all, the old men of rich, established old village families; most woman; and most of the uneducated mass of the very poor. Most people show both attitudes, in varying proportions and situations.

The same difference between the two attitudes appears in conceptions of God and of the gods. That God is one but appears in many forms is an article of faith for everyone. The same words (s(v)aami, deyvam deeva-ru &c) are used for 'God', for a named god or for whatever is a sign of divinity, like a harmless cobra. The plural forms of these words (not 'plurals of respect' like the Kannada deevaru, which are really singulars)may be used in certain circumstances, for instance in speaking of 'the gods' (svaamigal3, deevarugal3u &c) whose images are carried in a procession, but as a description of the pantheon they 'sound wrong'. The idea is not so much that of a pantheon, a collection of gods, as of 'God' or 'divinity' in which the named gods participate. 'God' is usually called by any of the words used to denote a particular god, though the Tamil word Kad3avul3 seems to be used only for 'God' or divinity

in general, not for 'a god'.+ Deyviigam 'divinity' (in Tamil) is a learned word; I have only heard of its being used at a discourse in the Math. As Dumont says:

> il y a l'idée d'une unité multiple qui est 'le divin' et non 'le dieu' ou 'un dieu'. C'est en fin de compte en cette unité multiple que l'on croit. (Dumont 1957 413)
>
> (There is the idea of a multiple unity which is 'the divine', not 'the god' or 'a god'. This multiple unity is what men ultimately believe in.)

But though all Hindus are pantheists, some are more pantheistic than others. Everyone sees some continuity between the worlds of gods and of men; the samaadhi of the Mowna Guru, among others, proves it. But 'unsophisticated' villagers appear to regard each god as having a character and passions of his own, like a man but with much greater power, while for the 'philosophical' villager every man is a potential god. The first put the stress on the human characteristics of the gods, the second on the divine perfectibility of man. The first emphasize the diversity and separation of gods the second emphasize the unity of the divine, explain away the characters and myths of each god as having moral or allegorical meanings. Shanti Tangri writes:

+ He [Kanēcan or Gan3esha] is here addressed as Katavuḷ, a word sometimes (wrongly) taken to mean an individual god, whereas actually it is an appellative, which can be used in connection with the name of any particular deity e.g. Cōmancuntara Katavul = The god Cōmancuntaran, Subramanya Kaṭavul, The god Subramanyan etc. (Diehl 1956 281)

> The saving grace of the villager is his belief in many gods - often warring gods. Through the centuries he has learned to pray to them and yet live without them. Divergences of professed and practiced faith do not generate serious anxieties. But the urbanite is a monotheist, and a true believer. His rationalism leads him to a passion for consistency, and in the context of limited knowledge, poor education, poverty and insecurity, and an atmosphere of superstition, this often leads to intolerance. (Tangri 1962 202)

This is an exaggeration, if only because the urban preference for guru and bhakti cults is hardly monotheism; but there is much truth in it. The passion for consistency comes partly from education and from contact with other, more single-minded ideologies like Christianity and nationalism; and partly, as I show in chapter 8, from a kind of thinking which is associated with personal autonomy, devotional religion and moral universalism. It leads 'philosophic' villagers to look for a systematic theology which is both logical and ethical; but, at least in Garud3apura, not intolerant. Vedaanta, the Giitaa and the philosophical justifications of bhakti - either pure in the discourses and books which only a few attend and read, or diluted as in the ideas of most devotees of the Math and educated men in the village - provide the theology. The ideology of 'social service', influenced by bhakti, Christianity and nationalism, provides a great deal of the ethics. A simplified form of ritual, without the need for Brahmans and with a strong emphasis on personal devotion and salvation, provides the religious practice.

The tradition of bhakti or devotional religion, in its modern form which differs considerably from the original bhakti of the Giitaa, has its traditional roots in South India, particularly in the Tamil Shaiva and Vaisn3ava saints and in the early Lingaayat movement among the Kannadigas. Gjessing describes the social situation in which the later bhakti movement spread to North India, as its contemporary Calvinism spread in Europe. Both regions, he says, had:

> a foundation of merchants and artisans with support from among the peasantry as well, opposition to the caste system, hence to the whole feudal system, opposition to religious ritualism, the salvation was to be attained independently of priests, ritual and caste by devotion to the Divine Name, a marked nationalistic ingredient strongly stimulating Indian national culture, a literature in various Indian national languages. (Gjessing 1958 64)

Something like a modern equivalent of these conditions exists in Garud3apura now. The merchants and skilled workers of the village are involved in a large-scale and relatively individualist economy; in particular, though Garud3apura has its rich and powerful men, not many of its people depend directly on these men for a livelihood. The current of ideas, in particular the officially approved ideas compatible with nationalism and 'social service', runs against caste. In any case, most castes are now regarded as equal, and Harijans tend to opt out of village life in favour of the city. Brahmans are needed only for some social and prestige rites, which tend to become separated from those which provide specifically 'religious' experience for most people. Nationalism and regionalism replace loyalties to smaller 'communities', especially the caste. The institutions of the village, now transformed into those of an urban neighbourhood, are formally intact but operated by leading men who are involved in the life of the city and accustomed to choose between alternatives, in economic life, politics, religion and morals.

The religion of personal choice, especially in the cults of the Mowna Guru and of personal gods, satisfies the new awareness of individuality while it remains compatible with the older, highly valued forms of worship. Nothing need be rejected, yet a tradition of devotion which was once marginal to the religion of the village tends to become the centre of most people's religious experience. In chapter 8 I draw out the ethical and social implications of this change.

7 RESPECT

I have shown how different kinds of relations between pairs of villagers may be described, in their ideal or prescribed forms, in terms of 'respect', which is a fundamental social value. The approved behaviour between relatives, for instance, may generally be worked out from three rules: the younger respects the elder, women respect men and a wife's family her husband. Employees should respect their employer, debtors their creditors and so on. In each case the respect is implied in the description of the relationship, unless for some exceptional reason the 'respectable' partner has forfeited the respect normally owed to his position: an unworthy grandfather, a creditor who charges too much interest &c. The circumstances in which respect may be withheld, like those in which it must be given, are more or less strictly prescribed by social norms.

The same idiom of 'respect' is used to describe not only dyadic relations, but the relation between a person or family and 'the public', meaning here the village and particularly the old families of 'middle' caste who set its standards. The norms defining the circumstances in which this kind of generalized respect must be given are less commonly agreed and their application is less certain. Here there is more room for personal judgments of the respectable qualities of others, and a greater need to establish one's own or one's family's claim to respect in the eyes of the village. Thus the criteria for giving this kind of respect, and the practical content of 'respect' in general, provide clues to the different and sometimes incompatible values held by different groups or kinds of people in Garud3apura. These are the forms which the sociological categories of status, class, stratification &c take on the local scale.

I begin by examining the villagers' own social categories, particularly the use of key words related to the idea of 'respect'. I show how respect is achieved, kept, shown and lost; how birth, wealth, influence and personal qualities may be converted into respect; and how some kinds of respect depend more than others on the free moral judgments of other people. I show how the village as a unit, and its institutions, revolve round its establishment of respected 'big men', and how various kinds of 'big men' are respected for different reasons. I relate respect of status on the local scale to other kinds of stratification: the regional and national caste system, and the national system of economic classes.

I describe the ways in which people of Garud3apura combine with one another or with outsiders for common action, by reference to two ideal

types of social organization. Each type is based on a different set of values, follows a different procedure for decision making, and is led by men respected for reasons of a different kind. Finally, I show the interaction of these two models of social organization in a situation which involved most people in the village: a municipal election. I use this example to show that the village continues to be organized internally as a system of respect, but the meaning of 'respect' and the justifications for giving it have changed radically.

The vocabulary of respect

The key word, which is the most general in meaning and the most often used, is mariaadai/maryaade. This is usually translated 'respect', but one edition of the Fabricius Tamil-English dictionary gives:

> boundary, limit, a fixed certainty, a prescriptive general rule; propriety of conduct, modesty, discretion; civility, decency, reverence; way, manner...

Kittel's Kannada-English dictionary gives a similar range of meanings, including 'reverential demeanour, respect, civility'. In common use in Garud3apura it means not only the social norms but the respect of others which is, among other things, a reward for conforming to the norms. It has two aspects: a subjective attitude of respect; and deferential behaviour. In the common phrases mariaadai ceyya/maryaade maad3u 'to do (or make) respect' (Fabricius: 'to treat with respect'; Kittel: 'to show respect, civilities or politeness') and mariaadai kod3ukka/maryaade kod3u 'to give respect', the attitude and behaviour imply one another. Mariaadai kaatt3a/maryaade toorasu 'to show respect' draws attention to the behaviour.

The two aspects are generally regarded as complementary, but people sometimes distinguish them, for instance when they say that the respect given to creditors or rich men is insincere or is not given voluntarily. This emphasis on sincerity appears to correspond to a basic assumption that respect is given freely, and that a relationship of respect may be affected but is not determined by other relationships. The case of those who have to give respect, for instance because they are economically dependent, then becomes an exception to be explained.

When there is any doubt about which aspect is meant 'respect' tends to mean the outward signs of deference. This, again, may be of two kinds: the deference owed by an inferior, in a dyadic relationship, which implies a difference in status - what one might call respect in its

pure state; and the deference owed to an equal, or even to an inferior, in an 'exchange of courtesies' - the form of respect without the substance, which implies a difference in level.

Respect must also be shown in certain formal ways on set occasions, particularly weddings. In principle any wedding deserves respect for its own sake, however low the status of the families involved, because it is an auspicious and holy occasion on which the couple are set apart and are the special concern of the gods. Dumont uses the word only once in his study of the Pramalai Kallar, and in this connexion: he says that 'alatti' (aarati, the rite of worship &c) is done to the bridegroom not so much to avert the evil eye, but:

> il s'agit ici avant tout d'honneurs ou de respects (mariyādei) offerts au marié, comme ailleurs à un hôte de marque ou à un dieu. (Dumont 1957 225)
>
> (Here it is chiefly a matter of honours or respects (mariaadai) paid to the groom, as they are paid in other circumstances to a distinguished guest or a god)

In practice, however, one attends the wedding as a mark of respect to the couple and their families, recognizing that their status is comparable to one's own, so that an exchange of courtesies is called for.

One is under an obligation to attend weddings in one's own caste, at least within the village, whatever the difference in wealth, education or style of life; and the weddings of a fairly wide circle of relatives. Only a serious lapse from accepted rules of conduct can justify boycotting weddings in another branch of the family, as when one of its members has married out of caste or slapped a relative's face in public. Friends attend each other's weddings as a matter of course. Colleagues in the same line of work, such as workers of similar grade in the same factory, often do so. It is a mark of belonging to an old village family that one attends the weddings of other families in the same group - including those of 'low' castes though not Harijans - without waiting for an invitation. The few men, mostly young and idealistic, who choose to attend the weddings of Harijans, or of workers of much lower grade but from the same factory, do so as a gesture of equality, explicitly recognizing a common human status where no partial status (or 'social status') is at all comparable (A skilled lathe operator said in English: 'These days we don't see any Sweeper or anything. We say: you work, we also work').

To attend a wedding means simply to be present. Most of the guests sit talking and paying no attention to the long ceremony, except at the

moment of taali-tying, when the orchestra plays to a climax as a signal for them to throw handfuls of saffron-tinted rice at the couple. Those who have other business may only spend a few minutes at the wedding, but will be urged to ear something, at least some fruit or sweets, before leaving. Other guests stay to eat the vegetarian meal: to eat the food provided is always a mark of respect to one's hosts. To volunteer to serve the wedding meal, however, is a gesture of friendship not respect.

If one asks, in a general way, how respect is shown, the first example given is usually attending weddings. When the context of a wedding is already given, mariaadai/maryaade 'respect' has a special meaning: a wedding present (there are more specific words). A wedding present is a sign of particular respect, and is not expected of all the guests unless they are relatives or members of families which have received a present on a similar occasion from one of the families involved in the wedding. Here the 'exchange of courtesies' between equals (in some relevant respect) becomes an exchange of gifts.

Other ways of showing respect of the 'exchange of courtesies' kind - the respect due to equals or inferiors - include visiting them in their houses, stopping to speak to them in the street, listening to their troubles and offering sympathy if not practical help, and above all spending a long time in their company. It is not so much what one says as the time one takes to say it that counts (cf Malinowski's 'phatic communion'). The longer one spends at a wedding, or silently watching the couple at the reception, or drinking coffee in another house, the greater the respect shown.

Respect of the substantive kind - that is, respect to a superior, even a temporary superior like a son-in-law on his first visit - is shown by listening patiently to him, deferring to his opinions, looking after his comforts, having coffee and snacks ready whenever he might want them, leading him to a sofa at public functions where everyone else sits on chairs or to a chair where they sit on the ground, and avoiding meeting him in situations which imply equality and make it hard to keep a respectful distance. Some young men avoid the village café when they think the village patel (headman) and his friends might be there, and the male guests at a wedding sort themselves out into circles of men of roughly the same age, who can talk and joke together freely.

Mariaadaiull3avan/maryaadesta 'respectable man, possessor of respect' generally means someone who is entitled to more respect than others, not merely someone who is as good as anyone else, or of comparable status, and therefore entitled to an 'exchange of courtesies'. It is usually

replaced by synonyms ('big man' &c) which I consider below.

Ideal and cynical views of respect

To understand the giving of respect it is useful to consider two different but complementary views on the subject, as they are expressed by Garud3apura people: the ideal view, and the cynical. The ideal view, which appears to be generally agreed on, is that anyone has the opportunity to acquire respect, through age, good conduct and associating with the right people. I have shown how age is the first principle of respect with the family, and a difference in age ought to weigh heavily in any relationship. Good conduct means behaving modestly, showing courtesy to all others equally, helping one's beighbours materially or by performing services for them (arranging funerals, serving at their weddings, finding them jobs), serving the village either by spending for the public good or by organizing festivals and public events, reconciling others who quarrel, and so on. Bad conduct which loses respect means quarrelling, using bad language, watching girls in the street and making suggestive remarks, keeping a mistress, bigamy, drunkenness, cheating, interfering unnecessarily in the affairs of others &c. A respectable man spends his time only with other respectable people, either friends of his own age or older people whom he treats with respect and not as friends, and he avoids the company of those who have vices. Anyone who has grown old in the practice of these virtues is particularly entitled to respect. Wealth, education and caste make no difference; (cf Dr Johnson: 'No, Sir, riches do not gain respect, they procure court being paid'). One might respect a Harijan: many people can name some highly respected Harijan, though they might not eat with him or have him in their houses. If most Harijans are looked down on, this is said to be because they drink and have other dirty habits.

The cynical view is that respect <u>ought</u> to be given to those are good, or who have some other moral claim to respect, such as age; but that it <u>is</u> given only to those who have wealth or influence. No one shows respect to an old and virtuous poor man, but a rich man can do anything, his sins will be passed over and quickly forgotten, as the examples of important men of the village who have kept mistresses, falsified legal documents or married bigamously shows. This is because 'materialism' has affected everything: the rich have become selfish, people no longer live simply and co-operate for the good of the village as they used to, their respect

is self-interested and is not given to those who deserve it.[+] Alternatively, it is because the people are still 'backward' and have not yet learnt to be independent of the rich and to co-operate for the common good, their respect is self-interested &c.

This 'cynical' view of respect is equally a moralizing view. The ideal - respect de jure - is set in the past or the future and contrasted with present practice - respect de facto - but always the practice of other people. No one, it seems, would admit that the respect he ordinarily gives is self-interested. Yet the observation contained in this 'cynical' view is substantially true. Most of those who are generally respected in the village have wealth or influence, though these things, as I show when I consider the 'big men' of the village, are not enough. Many of the kinds of good conduct which earn respect, according to the ideal view, are open in fact only to the rich and powerful, who can afford to spend on temples and festivals, or can use their influence to find jobs for others. To reconcile those who quarrel is a source of respect, but you must be respected before they will listen to you. It is important to associate with other respectable people; but the poor, the uneducated and the lowest castes can generally associate only with each other, and others regard their customs as low. The criteria for respect are contrived in such a way that they coincide fairly closely with divisions of wealth and power, and often conceal contradictions between the ideal and the reality in one's own practice even when one is aware of these contradictions in the practice of others. To become aware of these contradictions is to act according to principle, unless self-interest forces one to show a respect one does not feel, but this is not something to be freely admitted. Whatever particular expedients one may seek to justify, a pure cynicism, making no distinction between what is and what ought to be, is almost unthinkable, at least as a general rule which anyone could defend in public. Respect is firmly attached to the things that ought to be, not the things that are. Its content may be uncertain, but not its value.

[+] A factory worker: 'Goodness and wealth don't go together. ... Materialism is slowly creeping in.' The village 'social worker' (in a written account): 'As is prevalent in the entire world today rightly or wrongly men of wealth command respect through their financial resources. This equally applies even in this small domain of Garud3apura'.

Synonyms of 'respect'

Gaurav-ikka/-isu 'to honour', used as a close synonym of 'to respect', refers specially to the giving of respect in one direction, rather than the 'exchange of courtesies'. It is to recognise someone's gaurav-am/-a (Fabricius: 'dignity, respectability, honour...'), either by one's internal attitude or by the deferential behaviour which expresses it. This word always seems to imply a moral claim to respect rather than 'accidental' claim based on wealth or influence; in particular, it means the respect due to age. A young man honours his elders by listening to them patiently, deferring to them when they advise him about his marriage &c; and if he speaks too much or too independently in an assembly where older men are present, he is lacking in this kind of respect and will be told to show it.

Gavanam/gavana, gasana (Fabricius: 'attention, care, heed, consideration, mental attention') is a gesture of respect, generally in one direction but sometimes in an 'exchange of courtesies'. One pays 'attention' particularly to an honoured guest, leading him to a sofa at a wedding, looking after his comforts when he comes to stay, always being on hand to bring him coffee or snacks, listening to him attentively &c. A visiting son-in-law, especially when he is newly married, is entitled to this kind of 'attention' when he stays with his wife's family. A rich man should also pay 'attention' to poorer people, having time to talk to them unaffectedly in the street and taking an interest in their problems. By showing this general respect to those of lower status he becomes entitled to the special respect of the village.

Honour

The internal counterpart of respect is maanam/maana 'honour' (Fabricius Tamil dictionary: 'honour, favour; arrogance, pride; shame, bashfulness...'; Kittel's Kannada dictionary: 'opinion, conception; apprehension; 2, a good opinion of one's self; conceit, self-reliance, arrogance, pride; 3, regard for others, paying honour; honour, respect, respectability; 4, a wounded sense of honour; indignation excited by jealousy, sulkiness, caprice'). Honour is one's conception of one's own worth, a legitimate concern for the opinions of others, and the personal value which prevents one from doing anything that might forfeit their respect. It may be used almost as a synonym for 'conscience': where the two are distinguished, this

corresponds to a distinction between social and personal norms, or heteronomy and autonomy, which I discuss in the next chapter.

The word is often, perhaps generally, used in the compound maana-mariaadai/maana-maryaade 'honour-and-respect', emphasizing that the two are aspects of the same thing. Ideally 'honour' is a sufficient condition for 'respect': people should respect someone because he is a maanast-an/-a 'honourable man'. In practice it is a necessary condition but not a sufficient one. In consequence the word is almost always used in a negative sense, as when someone is said to have lost no honour, or to have no honour, or when one guards one's honour (here a synonym of reputation). Thus a factory worker wrote in a letter (in English):

> Once if a man lost his respect nobody will give mariaadai. So he has lost his maanam. To regain his maanam he must struggle very hard. A person who has lost his maanam he must behave in such a way unless the public thinks that he is a good man till such time he must do good things, moving with honest and elderly people and so on till everybody is fully satisfied. ... Suppose if a friend comes to my house if I ill-treated him definitely he won't give any respect or mariaadai when I visit his house. Sometimes people will sacrifice their life for the sake of honest and respectable man in times of danger.

One does not accumulate honour as one accumulates 'respect', for instance by spending for public purposes. Everyone has his honour until he loses it by a specific offence against social morality. As this letter says, it is then possible to repair the damage by 'respectable' behaviour; and the 'cynical' view of respect recognizes that this is easier for the rich and well-connected.

Yet in principle 'honour' is equalitarian where 'respect' is hierarchical. Honour belongs to a man as a man, while respect belongs to honourable men who have been born into, or worked themselves into, respectable positions. It follows that honour, if it is not entirely an individual quality, is more a personal matter than respect. An offence which loses one's own honour affects the family's 'name', 'fame' or 'reputation' rather than the 'honour' of its particular members. The compound maana-mariaadai sums up the complementarity of personal and social honour in the traditional system of values; it

remains to trace the development of a third term - 'conscience' - from its traditional origins to its present place in personal morality.

Shame

Vet3kam/naacike 'shame' is a synonym of 'honour' in its aspect as sensitivity to public opinion, rather than as a private conception of one's own worth. A woman's shame is specifically her ad3akkam 'modesty' (in Tamil) in dress and behaviour, the restraint which makes her shy in the presence of men; and of course her chastity, though among most women of 'middle' caste it is almost inconceivable that this should be in question. Among men shame need not have this sexual connotation: a man who makes advances or suggestive remarks to girls, and one who drinks excessively, both lack it. To call someone a (vet3kam + kett3avan =) vet3kangett3avan/naacike kett3avanu 'one whose shame has deteriorated' implies that he no longer cares about the legitimate criticism of others, that he is not only doing wrong but refuses to be corrected by those who point out his error to him, for instance a man who insolently and persistently refuses to repay a debt.

Vet3kamillaadavan/naacike illaadavanu 'shameless one', maanamillaadavan/maanavillaavanu 'one who has no honour' and maanam vitt3avan/maanabitt3avanu 'one who has abandoned honour' are similar in meaning, but probably stronger. Worst of all is maana-mariaadai-vitt3avan/maana-maryaade-bitt3avanu 'one who has abandoned honour and respect'. This is seldom said except of someone who has behaved disgracefully in good company, and to say it to someone's face humiliates him. It means that he does not care for either of the values on which social morality is founded: the honour which must not be lost, or the respect which must be gained. A man's place in society is defined by the complementary pressures of his conception of his own worth, which is his honour; and of the extent to which society accepts this conception, which is respect. Their combination in maana-mariaadai might therefore be translated 'respect for honour'. The man who has abandoned both of these has no place in decent society.

Names, reputations and nicknames

Peer/hesaru 'name' or 'reputation' is honour, not in its internal aspect, but as it appears to the village or to any other community which makes

judgments of respect. But while honour is primarily personal, not only individuals but families have 'names'. What each person does affects the reputation of a circle of relatives. The extent of this circle, like the meaning of 'family' (kud3umbam &c), varies widely according to circumstances.

A whole caste group in the village may have a reputation. A more specific reputation belongs to a group of related households in the village which recognize and are called after a common 'big man', and which may or may not form a lineage. This head may be a powerful or respected old man who is consulted on family problems and who acts as master of ceremonies at weddings; or a dead man who acquired a great personal reputation, often because he first built up the family's fortunes. The most important 'name' belongs to the household living and eating together, the real unit in matters of family, marriage and reputation. A household is more or less free either to bask in the reflected glory of a powerful related household, or to strike out on its own and acquire its own reputation. If one household becomes an embarrassment - particularly by contracting a marriage which is out of caste or otherwise undesirable - others in its circle may dissociate themselves from it by common accord, staying away from its weddings and ceremonies. The reputation of each member of a household is compromised by the actions of each other member. This means that an appeal to family loyalty and affection can be a powerful deterrent to non-conformity, particularly for young people who wish to choose their own marriage partners. Yet with the modern tendency for each man to set up his own household soon after marriage this generalized sense of responsibility for the reputation of a continuing group, comprising relatives in very different situations, gives way to the special responsibilities involved in a few close relationships within the small family circle. Thus in many situations the 'name' comes to be more and more closely matched with personal honour.

The 'name' to which the reputation is attached is literally a proper name, though the limits of the 'family' to which a reputation may belong vary widely. South Indian Hindus have no surnames, except as an innovation among a few middle-class families. Gotras (clans) have little importance except for Brahmans, and even Brahmans do not use them as proper names. It is possible to take a caste title after one's name: Okkaligas can take 'Gaud3a', Mudaliaars can take 'Mudaliaar' &c; but in Garud3apura, only some Naidus do this. Everyone is given a single name at a ceremony soon after birth and keeps it for the rest of his life, unless it is changed for some special reason, for instance when a

vow is made to save a sick child, or when a nickname replaces the real name. The name of the variable 'family' is therefore that of the 'big man', living or dead, with whom the constituent households choose to associate themselves, or with whom others associate them. This group may expand or contract in different directions, according to characters, circumstances and personal decisions, and need correspond to no consistent pattern ~~of~~ descent or alliance. Thus the name of the living head of the Goll3a family which enjoys the highest prestige in the village may be used almost interchangeably with those of his two formidable dead elder brothers (who left no sons) to identify the large group of relatives whose reputation is enhanced by the connexion; the head, his own sons and their households may be identified more precisely as belonging to 'the big house', an honour which a family which has acquired more wealth and a (physically) bigger house could not claim.

Personal names are usually those of gods or their incarnations, and the choice is limited if an astrologer is called into recommend the first syllable. A few names are very common, especially Naaraayan3appa. Women can easily be distinguished by the names of the fathers before they marry, and of their husbands afterwards. Men are distinguished by initials or nicknames.

The use of initials is universal among educated men and increasingly common among others. Each man takes the 'English' initial - pronounced and written as in English even in a Tamil or Kannada text - of his father's name, often prefixed by the initial of the family's 'original' village: thus D R Nanjundappa is Dodd3ahall3i (village) Raamappa (his father) Nanjundappa (the name is fictitious but the initials are not). Though the father's inttial is used, his full name hardly ever is unless he has or had an immense reputation while the son is a nonentity.

Although the use of initials to distinguish men with the same name is common even inside the village, it is specially associated with official occasions, work, the city and government; and perhaps with occasions when it is useful to make a show of English education. The names of men connected with the official world, like the Councillor and the 'social worker', are often preceded by their initials.

The traditional way to make the distinction, and in informal conversation the commonest, is to use nicknames. As far as I know, nicknames are never inherited; they are purely personal, and generally refer to a person's occupation, character or place of origin, sometimes to accidental characteristics or incidents. Thus they describe some facet of a person's reputation which has seemed important or has caught the

imagination of the village. They may be given either by the family or, more often, by outsiders. Some people have more than one.

> Nicknames describing an occupation, either in a vernacular or in English, are especially common for those who derive wealth or high status from their work: 'Lawyer', 'Contractor', Mand3i' (wholesale warehouse), 'Meestri' (building foreman, from Portuguese), 'Angad3i' (shop),'Pipe' (for a plumber). Some get their nicknames from occupations they no longer follow: 'Gobbur' (manure) was a farmer, and 'Volunteer' worked many years ago in a cinema for a British Volunteer regiment. Nicknames describing someone's character include 'Natt3am' (headman, a Tamil office not found in Garud3apura) and 'Chittoor' (a town in Andhra), both for the influential Kuncitiga who took it upon himself to protect the 'Chittoor people' (mostly, in fact, poor immigrants from the Tamil country rather than the area round Chittoor). 'Delhi' claims that he went to Delhi as a young man, when this was something unusual; others say that he never went there but was called 'Delhi' because he always claimed that he would make the journey, or because he was boastful, extravagant and a flatterer, like the 'Delhi Bahaaduur' or petty chieftains set up by the Mughals of Delhi. 'Jinkalappa' (from jinkal 'deer' in Telugu) was a hunter, whose family remember him, after several generations, only by his nickname. Nicknames derived from a person's place of origin include 'Anekal' (a town near Bangalore) for a man whose family came originally from Anekal and who still has land there, and 'City' for a fruit wholesaler who himself moved into Garud3apura from the old city of Bangalore. Nicknames from accidental characteristics include 'Gajji' (itches) for a man who was cured of a skin disease as a boy but has been plagued with this nickname ever since, and 'D R', the initials of the Nanjundappa I mentioned, here separated from his personal name and used as a nickname: some people are not even aware that it consists of initials, and believe it is really 'Dear', since 'D R' writes official letters in English, beginning 'Dear Sir', as a favour for villagers. Other nicknames have lost all meaning for those who use them: 'Baby' (or 'Babyamma') is a Catholic woman from Kerala who was registered on the electoral list, and voted, only under her nickname; and an important man

of an old village family was 'Babyappa' (-appa is a masculine suffix). Some people come to be known by their nicknames to the exclusion of their original names: 'Ujjaini's' husband never knew her original name until he married her, and still does not use it; 'Patel' (not the patel of the village) uses what was originally a nickname, with initials, for all official purposes.

Nicknames are therefore of three kinds: those that are purely descriptive ('Anekal', 'D R'), shading into those that draw attention to the chief source of someone's prestige ('Lawyer', 'Hand3i', 'Naatt3am'); and those which are a mocking commentary, affectionate or malicious, on some part of a person's reputation ('Delhi', 'Gajji', 'Gobbur'). The use of nicknames is necessary when speaking to a third person, to identify one of the many Naaraayan3appas, Cinnappas &c; and in situations where it is not necessary it remains attached to, or replaces, the personal name. It is discourteous to address someone by his nickname, or to us it in front of him, unless he takes it in good part, either because it is complimentary or because it marks him as a 'character'. An occupational name is seldom used in this way; but 'Delhi' does not mind when he is among friends, and even likes to be addressed by his nickname; 'Gobbur' (manure) and 'Beetaala' (Devil) take it in good part among friends; while 'Ujjaini' and 'Patel' are never called anything else. 'Gajji' (itches) understandably resents his nickname; so does 'City', who came to join relatives in Garud3apura many years ago, built a large house there, wants to be accepted as belonging to an old village family and does not like to be reminded that he was an immigrant.

The solid, substantial part of reputation is the family 'name', modified by the honour or personal reputation of its members. Respect is the serious consensus of the village, its considered judgment on a family 'name' or personal honour. The nickname represents a collective judgment on a personal reputation, but it is often a non-serious, idiosyncratic judgment, someone's flight of imagination which has passed into common use, concerning some accidental or picturesque feature of personal reputation, or the part of reputation which complements honour, the essential part.

As far as I know a nickname is never seriously damaging, though it may be annoying; it is never derived from some really disgraceful behaviour or shameful characteristic. The village reserves its serious

sanctions, beginning with the withdrawal of respect, for those who are guilty of such lapses; while to be the victim of the kind of licensed irreverence expressed in many nicknames means at least that one is accepted as belonging to the village, as a'character' who is known personally and not merely as a member of a category, like 'immigrant' or 'Harijan'.

Another aspect of names is relevant to the showing of respect: the suffixes which may be added to them, and which correspond to the words used in addressing someone not by name. In all three main languages of the village it is customary to address a stranger or superior as 'ayyaa' (sir) or'appaa' (which means 'father' in other contexts; the long final vowel marks the vocative). The same forms may be used between friends, or as a sign of courtesy to inferiors; indeed 'appaa' can be used to any male at all, even a young boy, and even when telling someone off. 'Ann3aa' (elder brother) is not used to strangers, for it suggests an affectionate respect, as to an older man or a friend of one's parents. Similarly 'ammaa' (mother, lady, also goddess) is used constantly, to any female, while 'akkaa' (elder sister) suggests affectionate respect.

These forms are also suffixes added to personal names. Most men's names take one of these suffixes when they reach a certain age, apparently middle age, though there is no clear rule. When someone is normally addressed with his suffix, it may be a breach of etiquette to omit it unless one is a close friend; educated men, for instance, use it to poor and uneducated men who might otherwise suspect an insult and take offence. Kannada names usually take -appa, Tamil or Telugu ones -ayya; -ann3a may be used in all three languages. These three suffixes are generally interchangeable, so that the same man may be called Raamayya, Raamappa or Raamann3a, though euphony rules out some combinations (Bayayya, Kempappa). Telugu names often take -lu or -ulu. Some names always (Muniappa, Muddappa) or usually (Goovindappa) take a suffix, which has no special content of respect in these cases. The name of almost any female, of any age but especially when she is married, may be used with -amma (Laks3amma, Ujjainiamma): some names always have it (Cinnamma, Raajamma). A woman whom one addresses as 'akkaa' (elder sister) may also be spoken to or

of as Ujjainiakka &c. These forms of address and reference belong to the system of 'exchange of courtesies' rather than to the giving of special respect to important people.

Two synonyms for reputation, kiirtti/kiirti 'fame' and hemme 'pride' (in Kannada; perumai is probably the nearest Tamil equivalent), suggest not merely the good name that must not be lost, but a reputation which receives more than the common measure of respect. 'Fame' has literary overtones but is sometimes mentioned in the village. A man acquires it particularly if he is rich and spends his money for the public good, for instance on building a temple or sponsoring the image of a god at the Car Festival. He can lose it as he loses honour or respect, but pebhaps especially in ways connected with money, for instance by meanness, lending at excessive interest and taking advantage of the poverty of others. To say that someone has 'pride' may imply that he has too much of it, and here pride is equivalent to vanity or ostentation; but it can also mean a legitimate pride. Some things add to the 'pride' of the whole village, for instance the fact that a new Councillor for the whole division belonged to Raamohall3i village, traditionally a hamlet of Garud3apura.

Prestige

Andastu/antastu (Fabricius: 'rank, condition, state'; Kittel: '...being one above another, a tier...; degree of dignity, rank, position') means 'prestige' in Banton's (1965 37) sense of a ranking of roles, as distinct from 'esteem', which is an evaluation of how well someone performs his role. The use of these words by Banton, and by Garud3apura people when they take the 'ideal' view of respect, can be set out in two parallel formulas:

prestige + esteem = status
prestige (andastu) + honour (maanam) = respect (mariaadai)

In Garud3apura, 'prestige' belongs particularly to roles which involve the possession of wealth, power and influence. The word distinguishes this aspect of status, as something objectively given, from those aspects which involve a moral claim to respect, like honour, age and perhaps education. Thus you may say that a man has prestige - you must admit he is rich, powerful and influential, whether you like it or not - yet

because of his personal qualities he ought not to be respected. There is a limit, for persistent or extreme bad conduct can lose a man first the respect of the village, and eventually his prestige as well. This is because prestige is not simply the possession of wealth and influence, but a position in which one can play the role of a rich and influential man. A man who plays the role well is generous, spends for the common good, finds jobs for relatives and villagers &c; one who plays it badly - and there are several examples - is mean, exploits the poor, drinks, keeps a mistress &c, but may still belong to the village. Someone who disgraces himself completely is no longer in a position to play the role of a rich and influential man, to compete for respect. Any gestures he might make in that direction would be meaningless, for he would be outside the village community altogether. An example is the woman who embezzled the money in a chit fund and built herself a house just outside the village. Yet from the point of view of a village who said that someone had so disqualified himself, this would be an objective judgment not a personal moral judgment.

Though 'prestige' comes, and is seen to come, mainly from wealth and influence, caste comes into it: it is harder for Harijans and 'low' castes, a relatively small minority, to qualify for consideration as rich and influential men, to enter the competition for respect in the first place. The Harijan retired army officer has some 'prestige' and is respected personally although, or perhaps on condition that, he keeps out of village affairs and has his social life outside it. A much smaller degree of 'prestige' belongs to one or two Harijans who have some means, or have official contacts and can help people with applications to government offices; but Harijans in a very real sense form a separate community and are not serious contenders for respect within the village, while no one in the 'low' castes has the means to do so.

An occupation may appear to have 'prestige', but this is almost always related closely to the income that goes with it. Thus it seems that fifteen years ago skilled manual workers had less 'prestige' than clerical workers, but this is hardly ever true now, if only because skilled manual work is better paid. If skilled manual work were better paid than that of professionals, like doctors and lawyers, it is not clear which would have more 'prestige'.

'Prestige' in the village reflects class positions which are related to the wider economy and can be seen as a system only on the national scale, or at least the scale of the city. A family arranging a marriage

will try, among other things, to improve its own class position, and to ensure the material comfort of its son or daughter, by an alliance with a family of high class position and 'prestige'.

Certain status symbols indicate the possession of prestige: a car, land, houses to let or a well-built house to live in. It makes no difference whether the house is in the village centre, where most of the rich, as well as many others, live along the main street; or in the 'gardens' outside the village, where one rich man has his house. References to 'prestige' come out in quarrels, where many things usually discussed in private are made public; and in any election or selection to public office or responsibilities, the 'prestige' of the candidates may be compared. It is true that in political elections the poor are often aware of a class interest which leads them to vote against one whom they regard as a rich man's candidate; at the same time they tend to believe that only someone who has wealth, influence and education but is on their side can effectively champion their interests against the rich. A poor and uneducated representative can easily be outwitted or intimidated or bribed into betraying those who elected him. This is why union officials are usually salaried 'outsiders', often with some legal training and with offices in several unions at the same time, whom workers believe to have the experience, the contacts, the time and the independence of management to defend the workers' interests effectively. Even 'insider' union officers are generally skilled manual workers, clerks or occasionally even junior engineers, elected either because the union is effectively controlled by the management, or for the opposite reason that workers with high status and pay are expected to be more independent of the management.

'Big men' and respected men

Several words denote one who is specially respected, de facto or de jure. Though the meanings of these words overlap, so that one may often be substituted for another, some refer more to the respect implied in an institutionalized and usually dyadic relationship, some to the general respect of village opinion.

Ejamaan/yajamaana 'master', from the Sanskrit yajamaana, generally means one who is entitled to respect that is an inseparable part of a dyadic relationship: an employer, a creditor or the head of a 'family'.

All these terms except the last are specific: each employee works for a particular employer, each debt is owed to a particular creditor. But 'master' is defined by its context, which shows, for instance, whether the master of a 'family' is the head of a household (as when a woman refers to her husband as 'the master') or the old and respected man who acts as master of ceremonies at the weddings of a wide circle of relatives. The case of the head of a 'family' therefore provides the best clue to the nature of a 'master': he has authority (katt3al3ai/aad3alata) over those who are under an obligation (run3am/run3a, aasare) to him and owe him obedience and deference.[+] The head of a household decides, in principle, on business ventures involving the family's property and sometimes its members' work; he has the last, and often the first, word on marriages. The 'master' of a group of relatives receives deference rather than obedience. An employer, landlord or creditor is entitled to at least part of the behaviour owed to a 'master' - deference, and obedience in some situations, for instance at elections - provided that the relation is seen as one of this kind. Thus a building contractor who employs labourers from the village, a landlord who lets tenants owe rent when they are unemployed, and a shopkeeper who lets the poor buy food on credit, are 'masters', and their clients may be called their bandukkal3/bandhugal3u, which usually means 'relatives'; but a firm or government department running a factory, a landlord who collects the rent and otherwise has little to do with his tenants, or the organizer of a chit fund are not 'masters'. Relationships of the first kind are particularistic and generally based on those economic

[+] Cf Srinivas 'The social system of a Mysore village:

> A word that is constantly heard in the village is dāksinya, which may be translated as 'obligation'. Because of 'obligation', one is frequently called upon to do things one does not want to. Every relationship between two human beings or groups is productive of 'obligation', and gives each of them a claim, however vague, onthe other. ... A poor man can put others under his obligation only by giving his personal labor and skill. But a rich man has many devices: he can oblige others by lending them money, by letting them land, by speaking to an official or big man on their behalf, or by performing acts of generosity. Thus a rich man is able to put many persons under his obligation." (Srinivas 1955 29)

In Garud3apura the principle is the same, but not every relationship (eg. purely economic or legal ones) involves this kind of moral obligation, and the word daaks3in3ya is not very often used.

relationships which remain within the village, but an employer outside the village is a 'master' only in working hours. Relationships of the second kind are 'rational' and contractual, not to be assimilated to relationships of respect.

Outside the family or the 'community', few people want a master if they can manage without one. The relation between 'masters' and clients survives chiefly because rising prices, economic hardship, and the inequality which increases expectations, force the unskilled and uneducated, who are unable to compete in the wider, 'rational' economy, to live on what they can get from the particularistic economy of the village. Those who can afford it tend to distinguish moral relationships within the family or village 'community' - with the implication that these are freely acknowledged - from 'rational' economic relationships outside it.

Gaud3a in Kannada has a specific meaning, the titular head of a community, and a general one, as a synonym of 'master'. Throughout Mysore the head of a local caste group may be called Gaud3a. In Garud3apura only the Tigal3as have an organization of this kind, with a leader who is called Gaud3a or Ejamaan; elsewhere, it seems, the two offices may be separate. Similarly the patel or headman of a village is sometimes called Gaud3a. In Garud3apura there is a tendency to use the word for the heads of the most respected family of landlords rather than for the titular patel, who is not rich and who derives what respect he has from his office.

> Gaud3a is also a caste title and nickname for certain castes, particularly the Okkaligas, who are dominant in parts of the state, and their offshoot the Kuncitigas. Tamils use the word as a disrespectful nickname for all Kannadigas.
>
> Similarly the Tamil naatt3am (from naad3u 'country') and talaivar (from talai 'head') mean the heads of communities, and by extension patrons or 'masters'. I have described an influential man of an old Kannada-speaking family, who took it upon himself to protect and help Tamil immigrants and was therefore given the Tamil nickname 'Naatt3am'. The landlord of Rangamma Garden, who gave his tenants a room to serve as their 'temple' and who attends their ceremonies, is sometimes called their 'naatt3am' or 'talaivar'.

The most general term for a specifically respected man is periavan/dodd3avanu, dodd3a manusha 'big man'. This can be used as a synonym of ejamaan, gaud3a &c, as in 'our big man' (or patron), 'the big man of the wedding' or 'of the family', to mean the leader of a specific group, with a position which tends to be institutionalized. 'Big man' commonly has a wider reference: it means one who has the combination of 'prestige' and honour or esteem which wins the respect of the village, together with a further quality: birth into an old and respected family of the village. It is not enough to be morally entitled to respect, as a'respectable man' might be. To call someone a 'big man' is a judgment of fact; it means he is respected whether he ought to be or not, that others consider him honourable, or behave as if they did, even if the speaker himself does not and takes the 'cynical' view of respect. Compare this with the use of words in a Tamil village of Tanjore:

> Ritual rank inheres in castes by virtue of birth, and has connotations of worth. A high caste is often called a 'good' caste, and a low caste a 'bad' one. Wealth and power, by contrast, can inhere in individuals, and have connotations only of magnitude. A rich or powerful man is not thereby a 'good' man but a 'big' man; a poor and powerless person is not a 'bad' man but a 'small' one. (Gough 1960 51)

Most Garud3apura people either belong to the large block of 'middle' castes or are Christians, who are their social equals but whose religious life is entirely separate. Caste is not a principle of ranking except at the limit, chiefly in the case of the Harijans; and the word for 'good man' (vollevanu) is sometimes used euphemistically to mean Harijan. Normally a 'good man' is one whose conduct is approved and who guards his honour. But though wealth and power - andastu or 'prestige' - have connotations only of magnitude, 'big man' has connotations or moral worth as well. Though to call someone a 'big man' need not imply that the speaker thinks he is good, it does imply that the person concerned has not dishonoured himself in the eyes of the village as a whole.

All or nearly all the 'big men' belong to old, rich and respected families of the village, in the 'middle' block of castes. Since few rich outsiders would settle in such a place - they choose more modern suburbs - the qualifications for 'prestige' normally include birth in an old family of the village. I have described the embarrassment

caused to one rich merchant who settled in the village by his nickname 'City', a reminder that he was originally an outsider and can never belong entirely to the village establishment.

This establishment is not just a category, consisting of those 'big men' who happen to live in an urban area and to be respected by its inhabitants. It is a group, existing in relation to the village, which is a historical and architectural unit with clear boundaries both visibly and in the mind of its inhabitants. If Garud3apura were not a village it would not be possible to be a 'big man' in the same way, for part of the idea of 'a village' is that it should have such a group of big men. A comparison with rural villages makes this clear: Siversten writes of the street assemblies in a Tamil village:

> Each assembly is headed by a group of wealthier, senior persons about five or six in number, all of whom occupy the most expensive looking houses in the streets. Their local title is Nathanmaikarar: one who wields power. A leader may also be referred to as a Nachevithukarar: one who occupies a 'fine house'. ... These leaders are all nearly equal in wealth, have had a few years schooling and thus regard each other as coequals. In the village they are the 'big men'.
> (Siversten 1963 108-9)

He goes on to list their functions, which are both executive and judicial. Dumont (1957 292f) and Kathleen Gough (1960 41) describe similar groups of village leaders. Ideally their chief office is to administer justice impartially as members of formal or ad hoc pancaayats, or courts of arbitration; and this is often the first answer if one asks Garud3apura people 'What does a big man do?' In fact such pancaayats are now held very rarely, but it is important that 'big men' should be available to serve on one if the occasion arose. As an extension of this role, the 'big man' should care about the order and good name of the village; though he should not interfere in others' affairs when these do not concern him, he should reconcile those whom he sees quarrelling; and he is entitled to seek out disputes which threaten the peace of the village. No one does this now, but until some fifteen years ago the heads of the chief family of landlords insisted that all disputes should be brought to their tribunals, intervened to settle any quarrels on the spot and, it is said, beat

anyone who took a dispute to the police. The landlord who acted as 'Naatt3am' for Tamil immigrants did the same for his clients. These men took upon themselves the responsibility which ought ideally to be shared by a group, for one-man justice should only be meted out in an emergency, to protect the peace of the village.

'Big men' ought to use their power for the welfare of the village. This is why a man of an old family, who is not a 'big man' but who takes the 'ideal' view of respect, said 'All merchants and contractors are one in Garud3apura', but denied that they ever acted as a class, defending their own interests against the poor. The 'big men' are or ought to be those who care about the common good. Though they belong to different castes, they resemble the elders of the dominant caste in a rural Mysore village described by Srinivas (1955 35) in being 'the guardians of the social and ethical code of the entire village society'.

This, at least, is how they see themselves. Probably most members of old families - about half the village's population - accept this valuation, with more or less serious reservations according to their own status, relation to the leading families, and personal opinions. Immigrants accept it to the extent that they identify themselves with, or are inevitably involved in, the village as a community. Poor immigrants need loans, casual work and sometimes protection, and the 'big men' may provide these things. Immigrants who are middle class, by village standards, are involved in the village's religious life and the associations in which 'big men' are the leaders: they are often friends of 'big men' or their relatives, and are attached to the village as a place to live. The advantages of living in the village include the low rents, the ease of acquaintanceship, an area with hardly any serious crime, the varied life on the streets, and above all the rich religious life, providing opportunities for brahmanical worship, the protection of the village goddess, meditation and devotional worship in the Math, and festivals with great religious, dramatic and entertainment value.

The leading families are a local aristocracy, whose position is unchallenged both because they have lived in the village for so long and are intimately connected with the origin and working of its institutions, and because no immigrant family can rival them in wealth or influence derived from the wider economy. Rich men who are not bound to the village by affection and the respect of others live in more fashionable suburbs.

An immigrant might become a 'big man' in time, but he would be at a disadvantage in the competition for respect. I mentioned the case of a

rich merchant from the City, who is related to an 'original' family of the village but whose own status is uncertain. The status of a particular old family depends on that of its 'big men' who have distinguished themselves now or in the past; and preferably, as in the case of the 'big house', for several generations together. Thus one man's 'achieved' respect becomes the 'ascribed' respect of his own household, his heirs and the indeterminate circle of relatives which is the 'family' in the widest sense, including all related households with which his own is on frequent visiting terms. This 'ascribed' respect does not amount to much, except in the arrangement of marriages (which concerns only the caste group), the right to speak with some authority in village assemblies, and an initial advantage in the competition to become a 'big man' oneself. Though the respect acquired from rich relatives outside the village may be a useful asset in the marriage market, it adds little to the respect one receives within the village.

The 'prestige' that is one component of respect consists of wealth or influence, which are usually but not always found together. A landlord with political influence outside the village and an important relative in the Congress Party hierarchy is a 'bigger' man than some who are richer. Office also confers influence, whether this influence is of the kind which can be translated into tangible rewards or not; thus the patel or village headman is a 'big man' though not a rich one, partly because of the prestige of the office itself and partly because, in the years he has held it, he has built up valuable connexions in the courts and government departments, through which he can guide villagers for a consideration. To be a trustee of a temple confers 'prestige', particularly since the trustees of both Laks3minaareayan3a and Gangamma Temples were first appointed by the heads of the 'big house', the 'big men' of all 'big men', or are the heirs of these original nominees. The meaning of andastu 'prestige' therefore comes close to that of the traditional concept of artha, temporal power in all its aspects.

Generally, however, 'prestige' means wealth, especially wealth which has been in the family for a long time (cf. the popular saying in Tudor and Stuart England 'In England gentry is but ancient riches' (Laslett 1965 34)). A high income from business profits or salary is a sign that one is on the way up, but to become a 'big man' one must spend it on permanent possessions, such as a new house or a car, but particularly land and houses to let: the village establishment is a 'landed gentry'.

One may invest the family capital in one's own business, as the contractors and wholesale merchants have done, or set up a close relative in business; but to own shares in someone else's business does not confer 'prestige' as the possession of land does, and the returns are though to be uncertain. This seems to be a regional habit in Mysore: the state or central governments, or immigrant Tamils, Malayalis and North Indians, put up the capital for larger enterprises in which Kannadigas work for a salary (Baldwin 1959). Meanwhile the price of land in and around towns rises rapidly as Kannada or Telugu speaking businessmen bid up the price of this one approved investment.

Since land is an investment as well as a status symbol, the income from it, together with business profits and salaries, must be spent in approved ways to win the esteem that complements prestige. I have described some of the purely personal qualities which go to make up esteem, and which in practice are more open to the rich than to the poor. Some other kinds of good conduct are directly connected with the right and wrong uses of money. It is easier for a rich man to drink or keep a mistress, and therefore easier for him to gain respect by abstaining from these vices. A respected man has time to talk to anyone in the street and to listen to their problems, but this supposes that he is important enough for them to want to tell him their problems. He should dress simply, often in a cheap cotton dhoti, when he is in the village; but he can only earn esteem by behaving as if he were poor in a community where everyone knows he is rich and can therefore be impressed by his modesty. This does not mean that his motives are insincere, for the rich believe more than anyone else in the respect system of the village. To come of hardy peasant stock, and to keep up one's family ties with peasants, is a source of personal satisfaction as well as esteem in the community where hardly anyone is now a peasant; and this helps to explain why land is often regarded as the only property worth having.

The approved kinds of expenditure may be private or public but, at least in the ideal view, the more public the better. One earns some esteem by spending on oneself and one's household, for instance buying a car; more by spending on family or caste occasions which also benefit others, for instance a wedding which incidentally provides a meal and an entertainment for the village; most of all by making gifts or cheap loans to the needy, or particularly by spending for religious or charitable

purposes.[+] The 'big men', like Andalusian 'señoritos':

> build up the reputation for beneficence which is an aspect of honour. Beneficence therefore transforms economic power into honour. (Pitt-Rivers 1965 58)

To give to charities outside the village might win esteem in different circles, for instance professional ones, or on the city scale; but within the village the idea of the common good is closely connected with the idea of the village itself. The village is that unit which has a common good, and without a common good there would be no village. 'Big men' guard the common good, and it is part of the common good that there should be 'big men'. Only old families can provide 'big men', but immigrants also value living in the village and its continued existence and unity.

The examples of some of the 'big men' illustrate various ways of converting 'prestige' into 'respect'. The leading family of the village built the present Gangamma Temple and installed a metal image beside the shrine of the original stone image; extensively renovated Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple (built by their ancestors in the nineteenth century), installed a metal image and endowed the temple with cash and houses; sold a large store of ragi during a wartime food shortage, at the peacetime price instead of the inflated market price; and supported a nursery school for poor children. Photos of past heads of this family hang in both temples. Though earlier heads of the family were known as hard employers and creditors, two later ones earned a reputation for generosity to their labourers, advancing them loans which were really gifts, paying for their weddings &c. The largest shopkeeper of the village, whose grandfather brought the Mowna Guru to Garud3apura and built the Math, extended the main temple there in fulfilment of a vow, and incidentally dedicated the sacred bull, which, if it is no great asset to the village, is at least a reminder of its giver's expensive vow. Both his name and his grandfather's are commemorated in marble plaques set into the temple wall. Other 'big men' pay the expenses of decorating and carrying the image of a particular god in the Car Festival every year, or of one night's programme (harikatha, concert &c) in the Guru Puuja at the Math; or they make a large contribution to the festival expenses, or give 100 kg of rice for the 'poor feeding' at the

[+] The Sanskrit dharma, which is righteousness or the moral order of the universe, has become the Tamil darmam 'charity, alms'. Dharma is translated arram.

end of the Guru Puuja; their names and contributions are printed in the festival accounts or announcements. Four brothers, only two of whom still live together and run the family fruit wholesale business, combine every Raamanavami to give an immense 'feeding of the poor' - announced by handbills and loudspeakers - and a dramatic performance by some well-known troupe on a mythological theme, in the street on which the brothers' houses stand. Though the drama is popular, the brothers are criticized for putting it on before their own houses instead of in a temple, and for acting too obviously for their own aggrandizement. The Tigal3as have the reputation of being a closed and tightly organized community. While their 'big men' contribute to the village festivals, they tend to spend more on their own caste temple of Ellamma - a metal image of the goddess, costing Rs 700, was installed by public subscription while I was in the village - or on large weddings within the village itself, with loudspeakers, triumphal arches and decorations along the village street. Everyone who matters in the village is invited, of course, as well as large numbers of relatives and Tigal3a 'Gaud3as' from other villages; but other castes tend to consider such weddings ostentatious, and a less 'respectable' use of money than ceremonies organized in the name of the village. Lesser men, for instance Harijans and the 'low castes', cannot compete with the 'big men' but can make a show of some kind with an elaborate girl's puberty ceremony, using loudspeakers which can reach the more 'respectable' parts of the village. The village bootlegger, a retired burglar who is now a pillar of the Congress Party and whose daughters go to a convent school, established his claim to fame by contributing to the expenses of a trick cyclist, who was supposed to ride non-stop for ten days (though in fact he slept at night and rested on his cycle at intervals in the daytime), performed such feats as lifting a table while riding, and was accompanied by a troupe who sang, danced and acted broad farces while he cycled slowly round them in a muddy field. Those who cannot aspire to the respect of the establishment can at least build up their reputations, and so become 'big men' within a limited circle.

Class and status

'Respect' in the village has an objective component - wealth or influence, which I call 'prestige' - and a moral component, which is 'honour'. The 'big men' are the most respected group in the village. They emerge from

the village establishment of respectable old families, whose other members enjoy certain formal advantages, particularly on religious occasions, and the substantial advantage of family relationship with the 'big men'. Their social equals, except in these two regards, are the 'respectable' immigrants, Hindus or Christians with some education and skilled, semi-skilled or clerical jobs. Below them are the poor, illiterate, unskilled labourers, old families or immigrants, divided chiefly into known Harijans and others. These groups all of which except Harijans shade into each other, are status groups in Weber's (1953 69) sense, with their own 'styles of life' and restrictions on 'social' intercourse. The vernacular words for 'respect' mean something very like Weber's 'status' or 'social honour'.

These status groups are not the only ones their members belong to, for status in a caste, factory, profession or branch of commerce are important in limited situations: for instance, status within the caste when arranging a marriage. Yet in awarding reputations villagers judge one another's whole social personalities. To be well thought of is a moral good in itself, which I relate to other valued ends in my next chapter, and it is a source of personal satisfaction. Moreover, the respect of the village is a valuable asset in a community of densely populated small houses, where life is lived largely on the streets and one's private affairs are often on view, where mutual aid between neighbours provides some social security, and where it is useful to have many friends with contacts in different circles outside the village. There is always someone to arrange a funeral, find a relative a job, take an application to the right official or recommend a printer for wedding invitations. The village is not a social system but a clearing house for diverse interests, and the man who is respected has his interests cleared first.

Many of these interests have their origin in the wider society, and particularly in its economic system. Status in Garud3apura is intimately related to this wider system, but the relation is not a direct one. Weber suggests a way of tracing the connexion. As Reissman says:

> An adequate theory ... should, ideally, be able to explain the phenomena of class at both the community and national levels. Weber, for example, has supplied a possible solution. The class relations of the economic order belong at the level

> of the national society. Relations at the community level, as a separate analytical dimension, involve the 'status' order. (Reissman 1960 42)
>
> Class for Weber referred to position and common life chances in the economic order. Class struggles and class interests emerged from economic relations in the market and applied therefore only to economic relationships. They could not be extended to cover the kind of united action that depended upon a 'community of interest', where the latter had to include such socially complex matters as group allegiances, human emotions, and sustained motivations. (Ibid 63)

This use has the merit of distinguishing what needs to be distinguished whenever hierarchy and economic power are not exactly matched, making it possible both to preserve the realities of a subjective ranking of groups ('classes' in Warner and Lunt 1941 or Barnes 1954) and to discuss class struggles, interests &c intelligibly without forcing such independent facts as caste and consensus to fit this single explanation. Thus Weber's definition fits the facts of modern Indian society very well (see Misra 1961 and Béteille 1965a and 1965b), as well as the sociology of Garud3apura people themselves, with its distinction between 'prestige' and 'respect'.

'Prestige' is the channel through which class positions in the wider economy, operating on the city and national scales, are introduced into the village, to be modified there by the moral judgment of honour. Honour is no longer much influenced by the consideration of 'good' and 'bad' caste, partly because the ideological justification for equating 'good' and 'high' caste has been weakened by devotional religion and democratic ideals, and partly because almost all who have any 'prestige' belong to the same 'middle' block of castes or are Christians, their social equals. Only those men, like shopkeepers and contractors, who have economic dependents in the village, can compel respect and so convert 'prestige' into status directly. In all other cases a man who wants to be respected must himself respect the autonomous judgment of other villagers, who are in principle free to give or withhold respect.

Dore describes a similar situation in a Tokyo ward:

> Although ... hierarchical rigidity remains a feature of most secondary groups in Japanese society, status differences are not easily accepted in relations between neighbours in a segment of a large city. It is now necessary that an overall fiction of equality should be maintained. Every man must be allowed to be as good as his neighbour. The reasons for this are clear enough; other chapters have already considered changes in the social structure and in officially encouraged ideologies which have contributed to the general development of egalitarian ideas. In the specific sphere of relations within a territorially defined group of neighbours there is one particularly relevant change. In the village community and in the old Edo wards differences of wealth were directly related to difference of power. Decisions of the wealthy could directly affect the material well-being of the less wealthy. In the city, as between neighbours, there are normally only differences of wealth, divorced from relations of economic interdependence. (Dore 1958 283)

When Garud3apura was still in some sense a separate social and economic unit - that is, until the late 1940s - the heads of the leading family were the unquestioned heads of the village, being not only the chief landlords but substantial employers and creditors, and having the other 'big men' of the village - including the patel or titular headman - under an obligation to them. They enjoyed respect automatically, by virtue of their position, and delegated some of it to those on whom they conferred honours, for instance the 'big men' whom they made trustees of temples.

Few economic relations are now contained within the village; and since caste is no longer an important principle of ranking except in the case of a minority - the 'low' castes and Harijans - the chief caste relations are not in or between local caste groups but within the network of existing or potential marriage circles, which also lead outside the village. Instead of the more straightforward correspondence between status and economic, political or caste relations, which seems once to have existed in Garud3apura and still to exist in country villages (Sivertsen 1963, Epstein 1962, Gough 1960), these relations

on different scales are now projected on to the village scale as respect relations, and altered in the process to fit the village scheme of values.

The village is no longer an economic or political unit, but what Bailey (1963a 224f) calls an 'arena', in which claims to respect can be established. It is large enough for respect to be an asset, yet small enough for anyone of consequence to be known by reputation to everyone else. This is why it continues to exist as an important unit within the city, and why big fish continue to live and to accumulate status in this small pond, instead of losing themselves in the larger ponds which are the fashionable, spacious middle-class suburbs. Those who move out generally go only a few hundred yards into the neighbouring suburb of Williams Town, to have the best of both worlds, but even this cuts them off from the life of the streets and the casual visits in which respect is shown every day.

I call Garud3apura an urban village, not simply a neighbourhood, because it is historically a village and its inhabitants still call it one. Moreover, a village suggests a more clearly bounded unit. Yet although Garud3apura, like the many villages which make up Bangalore and other South Indian cities, is physically surrounded as well as economically assimilated by the city, there seems to be no reason why this form of settlement should not remain a permanent and typical feature of cities, often as a social and architectural nucleus for the surrounding neighbourhoods which make up the filling between village centres; unless cars or ruthlessly geometrical town planning obliterate the village entirely. The idea of the village, on which the preservation of its physical form depends, is connected not with an agricultural economy or with isolation, but with a sufficient consensus about values to support a system of respect and an ideal of the common good.

Social organization, common action and decision making

By social organization I mean, like Firth (1951 40), 'the systematic ordering of social relations by choice and decision'. I am not concerned here with relations on larger scales, but with the ways in which collective decisions are made and carried out in Garud3apura.

Decisions are made by respected men and accepted by others, if at all, because they respect these men and regard them as competent to decide in the circumstances. Some relationships imply respect; in others it is freely given. Thus although respected men may make decisions in their

capacity as 'big men' of the village, heads of families &c, the processes by which they reach agreement, and the extent to which their decisions are accepted, depend not only on rules but on commonly held opinions and preferences:

> Organization is concerned with roles, but not with these alone; it also involves that more spontaneous decisive activity which does not follow simply from role-playing. ... People often do what the rules lay down, but these rules alone are an incomplete account of their organized activities. (Firth 1954 1)

I shall explain processes of decision-making by reference to two alternative ideal types of organization, which I provisionally call 'traditional' and 'modern', and their application to particular situations.

> Every organization - that is, a directed system of action - for the accomplishment of a human being's ends can operate effectively only in virtue of a system of values. ... It is characteristic of these dual frames of organization that the individual is trying to operate one type of organization with a set of values more appropriate to another type'. (Firth 1951 120)

The 'traditional' social organization is permanent, based on status, and informal because authority is taken for granted. Decisions are made by an elder ('big man' &c) or, if different autonomous groups or interests are involved, by a 'pancaayat' (council) of elders representing each of them. Discussions continue until a settlement acceptable to all parties is reached, or until the issue settles itself. If unanimous agreement is impossible there is no decision, or an intractable minority secedes and breaks off social relations with the rest. Office is hereditary. The values are respect for elders, constituted authority and old custom; diversity in unity; compromise, reasonableness and the reconciling of divergent interests for the sake of continuing relations. This is the organization of families, local caste groups, and village councils of the old kind.

The 'modern' type is contractual, permanent and formal, with a written constitution, rules and records. Decisions are by free discussion ending in a vote. Officers are elected. The values are equality, personal responsibility, public spirit, consistency and respect for majority decisions. The models are voluntary associations like trade unions, and the Constitution of India.

An important variant of the 'traditional' type, still on the ideal level, is the Gandhian myth of the self-sufficient village pancaayat, which combines traditional methods of decision-making with modern democratic ideals. The historical evidence for its existence, such as it is, comes from the medieval Tamil Chola kingdom (Thapar 1966 200-4). This myth is politically important, as modern rural administration through 'panchayati raj' or village self-government, and the 'communitarian' political theory of J P Narayan and others (Tinker 1963), are attempts to 'revive' it. This has little direct relevance to Garud3apura, which has been administered as part of the city for as long as there are records and has never had any form of standing village council.

The ideal of the pancaayat

The pancaayats of the Pramalai Kallar (Dumont 1957 47f 289f) are very close to the ideal of pancaayat organization as it is conceived of elsewhere, but with this difference: since the Pramalai Kallar live in one-caste villages, the values and interests to be reconciled may not diverge as much as they do in the usual village of many castes. Apart from the village assembly of all male householders, which meets rarely to arrange festivals and administer public property, no standing council has authority to act on behalf of the village. Pancaayats are called ad hoc by the parties to particular disputes:

> dans tous les cas on peut y distinguer d'une part un noyau de spécialistes qui dirigent les débats, d'autre part une assistance périphérique, un public plus ou moins nombreux dont l'intervention fait partie ou ne fait pas partie des débats. ... Ce noyau lui-même est relativement constant: chaque village a un petit nombre de spécialistes ou pañcāyattār parmi lesquels le noyau actif du tribunal est toujours pris. ... L'autorité en général et l'autorité juridique se confondent dans une large mesure,

un homme influent est tout naturellement poussé vers cette sorte de carrière juridique, et il n'y échappe que s'il le veut expressément; réciproquement, c'est là, avec la richesse et les relations, une des principales sources d'influence. (Dumont 1957 292-3)

(In each case it is possible to distinguish a nucleus of specialists who lead the discussion, and a fringe audience which may be large or small and may or may not take part in the discussion. ... The nucleus itself is fairly constant: each village has a small number of specialists or pancaayattaar from whom the active nucleus of the court (pancaayat) is always drawn. ... Authority in general largely coincides with juridicial authority. An influential man tends to take up this kind of juridicial career as a matter of course, and he can avoid it only by taking a clear decision. Conversely this career, together with wealth and good connexions, is one of the chief sources of influence).

This nucleus corresponds to the 'big men' of Garud3apura, who would be available to serve on pancaayats if more of them were held, and who take a leading part in the occasional public essemblies. Again, as in the traditional system, authority in Garud3apura is diffused among the 'big men':

> C'est seulement dans l'assemblée locale que se manifeste l'autorité au niveau du village. Or il n'y a pas <u>un</u> chef de village dans la formule traditionnelle, mais <u>des</u> chefs de lignée, auxquels il faut ajouter ici les juristes experts. ... L'autorité ici est plurielle, le fait a frappé les observateurs. (Ibid 293)
>
> (Authority on the village level is only visible in the local assembly. In the traditional system there is not <u>one</u> head, but several heads of lineage, to whom we should add here the legal experts. ... Authority here is plural, a fact which has struck observers).

The village headman is little more than a tax collector. Thus the patel of Garud3apura is the first among equals in principle, but in practice he is not even that.

A lineage, a dispersed 'family' or a tightly knit caste, like the Tigal3as of Garud3apura, has at least a titular head, whose authority is modelled on that of the head of a household, even when in fact it is purely nominal. In a group of kin the emphasis is on authority and hierarchy, according to a clear genealogical scheme. It is an arrangement of people. Traditionally the territorial unit is not autonomous, but is an arrangement of institutions for the co-existence of autonomous groups with divergent interests: lineages among the Pramalai Kallar, castes elsewhere. It is based on the accidental characteristic of residence in one place, not the natural one of birth. Since the village is made up of things rather than people, allegiance to it does not lie in obedience to individual elders but in respect for its cultural objects and institutions, especially the religious and judicial ones, and for its establishment of elders collectively.

The procedure of the Pramalai Kallar's pancaayats is typically informal and conciliating:

> En fait une grande partie des discussions a lieu hors de l'assemblée: les remises sont fréquentes, et il ne semble pas qu'il y ait ait là seulement une imitation des Cours officielles, au contraire, ces délais ont une fonction importante. En effet, il n'y a pas de vote majoritaire, le décision est prise en principe à l'unanimité. ... D'où, dans les cas disputés, désordre et impuissance. (Ibid 294)
>
> Les remises ... sont très utiles au point de vue de l'autorité du pancayat, car elles lui permettent d'éviter des décisions insuffisamment informées ou trop rigides, chirurgicales en quelque sorte, telles que des tribunaux plus éloignés des justiciables ne pourraient les éviter, et de rechercher la voie plus lente et difficile, mais aussi plus efficace, de la vérité et de la modération. (Ibid 298)

(In fact much of the discussion takes place outside the assembly: adjournments are common, and this does not seem to be simply an imitation of the official courts. On the contrary, these delays have an important function. There is no majority voting, and in

principle decisions must be unanimous. ... In disputed cases, this leads to disorder and impotence).

(Adjournments ... are very useful for the authority of the pancaayat, since they allow it to avoid deciding cases on insufficient information or reaching decisions which are too rigid and 'surgical', and which a court more remote from the parties might not be able to avoid. Adjournments allow the pancaayat to seek the path of truth and moderation, which is slower and more difficult, but also more effective).

The ideal of the modern association

The 'modern' type of organization appears to be imported, though some of its principles are not: the formal equality of members, for example, existed traditionally among the devotees of many bhakti cults. A 'Guide to Bangalore and neighbourhood', published in 1873 chiefly for the use of Europeans, lists not only the clubs and associations of the English, like the Bangalore Beef-steak Club, but a number of associations of Indians, such as the Bangalore Brahmo Somaj (sic) and the Mutual Improvement Society (Caxton Press 1873). The chief model for this type of organization is the British political system, as it is applied on the levels of the Indian Parliament, the state and the city, and half-political associations like trade unions. These are where Garud3apura people learned to vote:

> the parliamentary system found it relatively easy to settle on the Indian soil; one major reason was the absence of an alternative political concept. British-style parliamentism (sic) was confronted with no counter-concepts because India had grown apolitical in the preceding century. Indian political tradition had been broken, if not destroyed, in the course of British conquest. Rajas and Maharajas were conserved more or less as museum pieces; they did not serve as rallying points of political awakening or foci of crystallisation. ... The question of adopting a non-parliamentary form of government in India has never been acute, for there has never so far been a genuine alternative. (Suri 1962 60-1)

The foundations of the 'modern' type of organization were laid by the English Utilitarians, especially in the legal and educational systems which their disciple, Macaulay, gave to India. The law, in particular, was universalistic and consistent, and gave Indians equality before the law long before most of them had any political rights. Outlining his proposal for an Indian Penal Code, Macaulay said:

> Our principle is simply this; uniformity where you can have it; diversity where you must have it; but in all cases certainty. (Speech of 10 July 1833, quoted in Stokes 1959 219-220)

> Not only ought everything in the Code to be law, but nothing that is not in the Code ought to be law. (Minute of 4 June 1835; ibid 222)

This demand for consistency and clear definition is evident in the rigidly hierarchical Indian administrative system, with its legalism and exaggerated respect for the printed word; but when combined with ideals of equality, universal justice and free choice, derived partly from democratic politics and partly from a traditional undercurrent of devotional religion and universalist ethics, it appears also in the ideal type of the voluntary association of equals. The chief example in Garad3apura is, typically, a religious institution, the Mowna Guru Math Association. In this type, also, respected men take the lead and fill the offices, but 'honour' counts for more and 'prestige' for less than in the traditional type. Moreover, to work devotedly for an association - a form of 'social service' - is itself a source of honour, and thus of respect.

The two types of organization combined in practice

Various combinations of these two types in rural India have been described by Epstein (1962) for Mysore; by Kathleen Gough (1960), Sivertsen (1963) and Béteille (1965) for Madras; and by Mayer (1960) for what is now Madhya Pradesh. In all these cases the 'modern' principles of organization are important chiefly in political situations. Government attempts to impose elected village pancaayats, on the 'communitarian' moderl but tending in their constitution towards the 'modern' type, lead typically to a duplication of councils, with an official 'pancaayat' existing side by side with more informal traditional arrangements. Mayer calls the two kinds 'committees' and 'councils':

> I can be more general about these two kinds of body, and say that the one typifies the 'committee procedure' and the other the 'council procedure'. A council is defined as 'an assembly or meeting for consultation or advice' /Shorter OED/. In our context the executive aspect would be a little more important, as in the now obsolete definition of 'an assembly called together for any purpose'. But two important elements are present in the former - the fluid membership, and the lack of compulsion to decide issues. The committee, on the other hand, is defined as 'a body of persons appointed or elected for some specific business or function'.

> Here is the delegation of authority by a larger group, here is the restricted membership, and here is the need to make (and enforce) decisions, which I have shown exist in the Village Committee /the official pancaayat/. ... The council, then, is the traditional and the committee the new type of assembly. The procedure by which the headman acted together with influential villagers and through which, as we shall see, affairs are carried on within the caste, is of the council type. The new Village Committee is of the committee type - but the tendency is to turn it into a council. (Mayer 1960 122)

Since Garud3apura is part of the city, its political idiom is 'modern', though as I shall show later, the 'council procedure' still has its place in the selection of candidates. In other situations there is often the kind of duplication which exists in village politics: formal associations with a wide gap between theory and working, sometimes paralysed by factional disputes or apathy, existing side by side with informal, temporary, contractual action committees, under the control of particular 'big men' but not much hampered by traditional norms and not at all by written rules, often formed 'spontaneously' to do a particular job which cannot wait while the formal association patches up its differences. In other words, the formal association, like the traditional 'council', is liable to indefinite delay, while the action committee of 'big men', without the formal procedure of the association, is able to act quickly, even when its members are divided by faction in the long run. Such committees range from a variant of the traditional pancaayat - as in the festival committees which are reconstituted with roughly the same membership every year - to ad hoc committees powered by the driving energy of one or two 'big men' and designed to carry out a task in which these men are particularly interested: what Mayer (1966 97f) calls action-sets.

The 'pancaayats' that are always remembered are those presided over by either of the two brothers, Goovindappa and Naaraayan3appa, who were the heads of the 'big house' - the village's leading family of landlords - and the unchallenged rulers of Garud3apura. When Goovindappa walked down the street every man greeted him with respect and every woman modestly took shelter in a doorway or covered her head and hurried past him. When he saw anyone fighting - or even children playing marbles - he beat them with

his stick for giving the village a bad name. He saw to it that the village burglar allowed neither his gang nor anyone else to steal in the village; though in any case the burglar swore he could never steal in his 'mother land' (the village). Naaraayan3appa had a fine voice and, though not very religious, he attended a bhajan meeting every week in Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple; he expected all the 'big men' of the village to come, and none of them dared to leave until Naaraayan3appa decided to go home, sometimes at 3 a.m.. When he died in 1950 Garud3apura was already economically and socially part of the city, and his unique position died with him. The surviving brother, whose four sons are the only male heirs of the family, inherited respect but not the same authority.

Goovindappa's pancaayats, held at his house or at Laks3minaaraaynn3a Temple, were particularly famous. Not only would he punish anyone who took a case to the police or to court, but it is said that people from villages for miles around brought their disputes for him to settle (see Dumont 1957 295 on appeals to the pancaayats of other villages, renowned for their legal experts). His pancaayats, like those of Naaraayan3appa after him, were virtually one-man tribunals, though it seems that he usually had the patel and one or two other 'big men' sitting with him to give the session the form of a true pancaayat. The judgment was his alone, and these are still spoken of as 'Goovindappa's (or Naaraayan3appa's) pancaayats' (cf a one-man pancaayat which Dumont (1957 288) attended). As his nephew said of Goovindappa, 'His word was law. Nobody else dared sit with him and oppose him. Lots of disputes were settled in my house in those days'. This is an example of their procedure:

> Munippa, a Naidu, fell in love with a Harijan girl and insisted he would marry her. His family abused her and would not let her into their house. The 'big men' of the village, led by Naaraayan3appa and an influential Naidu, made him stand outside Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple while they did puuja ~~outside~~ inside. They shaved his head, put a heated gold or silver coin on his tongue and then on his hand, and ordered him to promise to marry a Naidu girl his parents would find for him. Overwhelmed by this solemn ceremony before such powerful men, he did so, though it is said that a young man would not now stand for such treatment. They gave the girl Rs 50, and told her to go back to the Harijan colony and to leave the boy alone, or they would

run her out of the village. She became a prostitute, a drunkard and a police informer. Romantic young men pity her.

Many people - and not only the old - look back on the time of Goovindappa and Naaraayan3appa as a golden age of peace and justice, when the 'big men' united for the good of the village and when those who were respected deserved respect. After the two brothers died, it is said, young rowdies of the big families began to molest women, there were petty thefts in the village (clothes from washing lines, bicycles &c) and the rich became interested only in taking bribes and exploiting the poor, not in settling disputes justly. Thus one way of salvaging the ideal view of respect is to present it as the way things were in this not very distant past.

I know of only one pancaayat involving people of different villages. Significantly it concerns a sporting event, not a more serious dispute which would probably have been taken to law:

Before the war the landlord nicknamed 'Naat3am', a great sportsman now dead, rode a 14-mile cycle race against a man from a nearby village. Since the result was not clear, at least to the men of Garud3apura who regarded 'Naat3am' as their champion, they fought the men of the other village. Finally, a pancaayat of men from both villages was agreed on, and it declared the man from the other village the winner.

Other village pancaayats were about adultery, women who left their husbands, and especially land and property. Only the Tigal3as, and perhaps the Harijans, had their own caste pancaayats, and, as I have shown, the 'Naatt3am' used to settle disputes among Tamil immigrants. After Naaraayan3appa died pancaayats became rarer, apparently because there was no one with undisputed authority to preside over them, and because in any case people were more ready to take disputes to the police or to court. The most recent formal pancaayat I know of took place around 1951:

Kempayya, a milkman and cattle broker, lost a cow. Three years later he found Muddappa keeping it, having bought it innocently from someone else. Muddappa refused to give it up, and Kempayya filed a law-suit, but before the case was settled the cow died. Kempayya called on the patel to conduct an inquest, since one of a village patel's duties is to conduct inquests on dead cattle; but the patel refused, saying the death must be certified by a vet as the case was

before a court. Kempayya collected his friends and called for a a pancaayat, and about thirty people - anyone who was around - met in Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple. Kempayya and the majority wanted Krisn3asvaami, a grape merchant, to preside, but Muddappa and his friends said that the patel was entitled to preside, by virtue of his position, Simhaadri, an idealistic and educated factory worker, heard the noise as he passed by the temple, went in and took part. Since the majority clearly wanted Krisn3asvaami to be chairman, he said, 'there must be discipline' and everyone should respect the majority view. A committee to settle the matter was formed, consisting of Krisn3asvaami and three other 'big men'; but before the pancaayat meeting was over, everyone wanted to speak at once, tempers rose, and the two parties came to blows in the temple. Everyone was disgusted and went home, and no more was heard about the committee. Later Kempayya and Muddappa settled the dispute privately and dropped the law-suit.

Though many people still speak as if public judicial pancaayats might still be held, it is unlikely that any more will be, since no one has the unchallenged right to preside over them and the necessary consensus about their procedure no longer exists. 'Big men' still intervene to stop quarrels in the street, but in serious cases there is no longer any remedy between the law and private family councils to decide such matters as the partition of property.

Tigal3as have the reputation of being a conservative and tightly organized community; and in Garud3apura, where they seem once to have ranked slightly below other 'middle' castes in spite of having some very rich members, they have been particularly careful of their good name. They settled their own affairs within the caste, either by informal negotiations or in an assembly of all Tigal3a heads of households. Such an assembly last met to fine an important member of the caste for a matrimonial offence in 1947; but the monthly meetings of the chit fund, the profits of which go to the temple of the caste goddess, are also occasions to discuss matters of concern to the caste. In serious cases even Tigal3as now seem prepared to go outside the village:

Raamayya, a Tigal3a who now keeps a vineyard and contracts for the supply of fish, had a land dispute with a relative, Venkat3appa, around 1950. Venkat3appa tried to kill Raamayya by sticking a knife

into his ribs - the last serious crime in Garud3apura. Raamayya, though badly wounded, managed to walk half a mile to the police station, where he made his complaint, collapsed and was taken to hospital. He survived.+ Venkat3appa was arrested and released on bail; a clever lawyer eventually got him acquitted. He came back to Garud3apura, and died some time later.

Private disputes between Tigal3as, however, are still settled by the informal intervention of the caste headman, or rather, since he is old and ill, of one of his sons.

Though there are probably no more judicial pancaayats of the traditional kind, a general assembly of the people can still be called. This procedure is associated with the idea of a village, and is specially appropriate when a festival is to be celebrated. Dumont (1957 48) says the Pramalai Kallar call an assembly, at which all disputes must be settled and general harmony restored, before any major festival can be celebrated. In Garud3apura the patel, who is anxious to uphold the traditions of the village, fixes the time of the meeting and sends the toti or village crier to drum in the streets and announce it. The meeting is large if there are serious differences of opinion, otherwise confined to a few 'big men' and anyone else who takes a special interest in the festival. I have described the meeting held to arrange the Maatt3a Pongal cow procession, which was easy, and the one held before the Car Festival, which was the occasion for a confrontation between a conservative faction, anxious to maintain the patel's prerogatives in the ritual, and an innovating faction who wished to involve outsiders as well as villagers in the festival.

Any 'family' may send a representative: that is to say, a man may attend either for his own household or for his brothers living elsewhere, as at weddings. In fact there is no clear rule about who may attend, though generally only members of old families do. Older women may, if the matter concerns them: ~~some~~ a woman who keeps cows came to the Maatt3u Pongal meeting. Harijans never do. Older men, particularly the 'big men', sit in a group in the middle of the temple hall, younger men and less important people outside the circle, and some watch from the street outside. Each man may speak in his own language. Though anyone can speak, the 'big men' make the

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+ As this uniquely unfortunate man survived an earlier injury while playing 'cycle polo' before the war. He was in the habit of putting his tongue between his teeth whenever he swung his mallet to strike the ball; but as he did so someone else's mallet accidentally struck him on the chin. His tongue stuck in his teeth, and had to be released by a doctor.

chief points and are listened to. Others form themselves into factions supporting the arguments of one or another group of 'big men'. If the discussion is heated a few respected men not directly involved in the dispute - for instance the Tigal3a headman's son at the Car Festival meeting - try to moderate tempers and suggest compromise solutions. To put one's views strongly at first is legitimate, but not to hold out against majority opinion when this has become clear. Compromise is valued in itself, and in the case of a festival it is urgent to come to a decision at a single meeting if the festival is to take place at all, as everyone hopes. Thus a spirit of compromise appears suddenly when everyone is tired of the debate, for instance at the Car Festival meeting when a break in the rain provided a convenient opportunity to get home. The moment when the opinion of the 'big men' hardens in favour of a particular solution may be called a 'vote', by analogy with the procedure of associations outside the village; but it is unlikely that any village meeting ever votes on anything, especially an assembly of the traditional type where membership is not clearly defined, and where the real decisions are made by a recognized but undefined inner circle of 'big men'.

Once a decision is reached it is binding on everyone, whether they attended the meeting or not, because they could have done so if they had chosen (Harijans do not count). A 'big man' who objected to the new route the Car Festival procession took, and who tried to prevent it from doing so by starting a fight, was told that he should have made his objections at the meeting, where in fact his brother (living in the next house) represented the 'family'. Moreover, in order to make sure that everyone at the meeting can be regarded as having consented to the decision, no one of any consequence is allowed to slip out before the final 'vote'. Thus the decision is regarded as that of the village as a whole, not only of some group within it.

Once the date of the festival, and any disputed points, have been cleared up in the assembly, an informal committee of 'big men' take over the practical arrangements, collect subscriptions and have an announcement printed and distributed, often with the previous year's festival accounts. In principle this committee must be reconstituted each year, though in practice it seems that the membership is seldom discussed at the assembly and is taken as a foregone conclusion. More or less the same men serve on it each year, generally some or all of the trustees of the temple which is the centre of the festival, with one or two other 'big men' who are interested in the festival and willing

to organize it as a public service. The announcements are issued not in the name of the committee but of the temple trustees, or more often of 'the Garud3apura devotees' or some other general title. In other words, the committee acts on behalf of the village, and the exact title does not matter. In fact the committee and the Board of Trustees are quite distinct; and though the Treasurer (a trustee) may make a donation from the temple funds to the festival fund, any unused money left in the festival fund is carried over for the same festival next year.

These committees, which are informal, temporary and efficient, contrast strikingly with the temple Boards of Trustees, which are legally constituted, permanent and paralysed. The Boards have no procedure, because they never meet. If they did, they could presumably act only by unanimous agreement. The Trustees of Laks3minaaraayan3a and Gangamma Temples were originally nominated by the leading family of the village when the temples were endowed, and as each member died his son or some other suitable heir took his place. Both Boards are now divided by personal and political dessensions, and in the case of Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple by a dispute about the administration of the temple funds - rents collected by the irremovable Treasurer. Yet the same men are able to serve together with very little friction on festival committees, on the understanding that these are temporary and do not affect their position on the issues which divide them permanently. Factions appear in particular controversies, but the same men may be ranged on one side in one factional dispute (eg. about the administration of the temple funds) and on different sides in another (eg. an election). Only one or two people, like the patel, have a following of a few other 'big men' who always seem to support them; but since these particular 'big men' have no large bodies of clients, as the contractors and shopkeepers have, there are no standing factions within the village. Moreover, the rules of good manners and village unity require that even those who are on different sides, at least within the group of 'old' families, should behave in a friendly manner on other public occasions. Only within the 'family' is it permissible to be really rude.

Since there are strong feelings in the village about the administration of Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, a group of 'big men' signed an open letter in English threatening the trustees with 'severe' (ie. legal) action unless they agreed to call a 'General Body Meeting', or public assembly, to elect new trustees.+ *Since the Board is a legally constituted body with a defined membership, not a pancaayat of the traditional type, its critics feel it

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+LETTER FROM D K RANGAPPA AND OTHERS TO THE SIX TRUSTEES OF LAKSHMINARAYANASWAMY TEMPLE...

should be subject to the ordinary rules of an association, with voting, an elected committee &c. It is unlikely that the critics, who are attached to the spirit of village unity, would go to the lengths of taking legal action, or that they could find enough people to contribute towards its cost; but if they are eventually able to force a change in policy, it will be in the direction of putting the temple under the democratic control of a formal association of villagers. It is significant that the chief signatories of the open letter are active members of the Math Association, which is already organized in this way.

Sir,

We the undersigned habitants of Garud3apura, Bangalore, with to bring to your notice and early information is requested.

We have attempted several times to gather information on the subject of Sri Lakshminarayanaswamy Temple from your goodself. All the attempts failed and now we have come to a conclusion to giving this letter to the concerned and to gather the same. We are eager to know the facts and figures of the following at an early date.

I. 1)a. When was the last meeting held?
b. Who were the Trustee Members and Committee Members prior to this team?
2) Usually in which month do the General Body Meeting and the Elections have to be held? and where at? - if so produce the resolutions and necessary records to the habitants.
3) What are the unavoidable circumstances which have occurred to stop the functions of the Committee?

II.1)a. May we know the Liabilities and Assets monthly and yearly of the Sri Lakshminarayanaswamy Temple's fund.
b. Under whose control the fund is? Are you dealing monthly transactions - if so produce in details.
2) May we know the functions of the individual Members of the Committee. Have they improved anything for the benefit of the temple so far. In the light of foregoing circumstances, we therefore request you to kindly produce the same as early as possible. If you fail or neglect to give the information requested severe action will be taken against the concerned. We earnestly request your honour to fix up a day to discuss these matters at Sri Lakshminarayanaswamy temple and to proceed fnrther, in the interest of the habitants of Garud3apura.

Thanking you a line in reply is solicited.

Yours faithfully,
HABITANTS...

[The signatories include several 'big men' and the young son of one of the Trustees. Presumably this Trustee was in sympathy with the letter but could not sign it himself. Though the letter was addressed to all six trustees, it was aimed chiefly at two of them.]

I have described the activities of the Math Association and of the night school which was connected with its foundation. All seven trustees of the Math never meet, not because the three from Garud3apura are divided but because the Aacaaris of the City cannot agree on who should represent them. Accounts and festival announcements are issued in the names of the three Garud3apura trustees and the chairman, who lives nearby; but the Math is administered entirely by the Association. In principle this is a free contractual body, with formal records, elections, and annual general meetings to approve the accounts. This 'modern' form of organization corresponds to the democratic political and social ideology of the men who founded the Association and the night school, and is appropriate to a religious congregation in which all worshippers are equal. Some members of the Association carry this equalitarian ideology outside the Math, others do not; but within the Math it is felt that devoted service should count for more than 'prestige'. Although all the Association's officers are of 'middle' caste, not all are 'big men' or come of old village families.

My account of the 'modern' type of organization describes not so much the actual working of the Association as the model it has tried to approach for the last fourteen years. When the three Garud3apura trustees were 'elected' without opposition, at a public meeting in about 1951, a committee of fifteen was also established by common consent to administer the Math, without written rules. When members died or moved away new ones were co-opted. In 1961 some members of this committee, as well as other devotees, claimed that the Math would be better administered, and that it would be easier to raise money for it, if the committee were responsible to an association of devotees paying subscriptions. After a year of discussion and negotiation, a general meeting of devotees was held in 1962 and a new committee 'elected', again without opposition. Though the committee keeps records of its monthly meetings and decisions, it has no written constitution and it was never clear for how long it was to continue in office. Once elected, it decided to remain for three years, a decision which an idealistic young man challenged unsuccessfully at an annual general meeting; not, as he said, because he objected to the committee's present members, but as a matter of principle he thought it should be elected yearly. Generally the new arrangement worked well, though often a full quorum of two thirds of the committee members did not attend monthly meetings, so that the President, the two Joint Treasurers and especially the Secretary had to take the responsibility themselves.

In 1965 a dispute arose about who should serve on the next committee. The 'big men' of the village became involved in the dispute, which had some

connexion with the recent Corporation elections; and rather than see a repetition of the angrey scenes of the election campaign, a number of committee members contrived to postpone the annual general meeting, presumably until the differences could be smoothed over and an open choice between candidates avoided. Those who were concerned for the Math itself, rather than for village politics, were pulled in two directions. On the one hand, they believed that the proper forms should be respected, that annual meetings should be held to approve the accounts and to show that the committee's management was above board (and, by implication, healthier than that of Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple). On the other hand, they believed strongly in village unity and wanted to protect the Math, as an institution for worship, a centre of village activities and a club house for devotees, from the dissension which had affected the village since the election. The solution was not to alter the Math's constitution in the direction of the 'traditional', pancaayat model, which was not equalitarian and was visibly failing elsewhere in the village. In a situation where a numerical majority has not the moral sanction of a consensus of respected men, and where an open election might have split the Association entirely, it was necessary, even by subterfuge, to interfere with the Association's democratic working in order to preserve its democratic form of organization.

This situation is common wherever formal associations are formed within existing and settled face-to-face communities, and where an open break in social relations must be avoided. Dore writes of a Ward Association in Tokyo:

> Secret or impersonal methods of election were avoided and the crucial decisions confined to an easily controlled face-to-face group. (Dore 1958 281)

And in a Norwegian island parish, with an extreme emphasis on equality, Barnes (1954 52) found that the many associations and committees, having a common interest in continuing social relations, avoided voting whenever they could. When they could not, they tended to take a trial vote, after which each member would formally consent to the decision of the majority and a unanimous decision was recorded.

Though voluntary associations of the 'modern' kind in Garud3apura have a clear procedure - voting - for the settlement of disagreements, they sacrifice consistency to continuing relations and to permanent common interests, like the dev

devotional cult of the Mowna Guru. This kind of adaptability seems to be a condition of their survival. Associations which lacked it have not survived. The night school was dissolved partly because some of the young men who taught in it moved away or lost interest, but mainly because its members disagreed about its administration, the relative importance to be given to teaching in Tamil and Kannada &c; and those who disagreed with the school's policy simply left it. The Mandal (local) Congress Committee, though it still exists in name, is another example; I discuss it in more detail below.

Some organizations have the form of a 'modern' voluntary association, without its constitution or procedure, because this is appropriate to their 'modern' purposes. The Garud3apura United Football Club was an example. Football is a 'modern' activity; the club was represented in the state Football Association, and had a full range of offices (President, Secretary, Sports Organizer, Captain &c), apparently allotted by agreement among the 'big men' of the village, particularly the one or two who supported the team financially, and their sons.

Another organization of the 'modern' type was the Yuvakara Sangha (youth association) founded by the village 'social worker' Cinnappa, a radio mechanic related to the leading family. The Sangha, which was connected loosely with the night school, the Contress Party and the football club, was established in or soon after 1951, in the first wave of enthusiasm for democratic ideology, social reform &c among the youth of the village. According to the 'Byelaws and Rules', its 'objects' were, among other things:

a) To foster a spirit of co-operation and esprit of /sic/ corps among the members of the Sangha.
b) To organise and unite all the youths in the extension of [Garud3apura] grama.
c) To arrange lectures, talks, debates etc., by and amongst members and others on political economy, social and other kindred subjects and also on other subjects which members may be interested in.
d) To found if possible, a reading room and a Library for the benefit of its members. ...
l) To establish a permanent and flourishing social feeling among the members.
m) To put an end to the misappropriation of objects and misconduct prevailing in the surroundings...

It was also to publish a periodical, found a club, organize sports and entertainments, acquire buildings, federate with similar organizations elsewhere &c. Its procedure and organization were left vague, and would presumably have been worked out gradually, under the inspiration of its founder, if it had survived.

For a while the Sangha had some success with parts of its ambitions programme. It made its headquarters in Gangamma Temple, though it was not connected with the temple and had no strongly Hindu overtones; a board with its title still hangs over the temple door. It ran a small lending library and reading room, with a few papers, in the temple. It tried to organize adult literacy classes, as a logical extension of the night school's work among children, but this plan had to be given up because of the difficulty of getting a grant from the state Adult Education Department. The Sangha (ie. its founder) pledged support to the Congress candidate in a Corporation election, and the members would have canvassed for him if the opposition candidate had not withdrawn. But the part of the Sangha's work to which the founder attached most importance was its function as a body of vigilantes. Cinnappa intended it to prevent petty thefts, suggestive remarks made to women waiting at the taps &c; warn unemployed young men who loitered in the streets to mend their ways, speak to their parents and find them jobs with local contractors; and generally raise the moral tone of the neighbourhood. This Rule of the Saints had very little effect on the village. A few young men were found jobs and at least one who was incorrigible was forced to leave the village; but the young men who patrolled the streets did so self-consciously and disliked having to censure boys not much younger than themselves, whom some of them were teaching in the night school. After a few nights they gave it up. The Sangha collapsed soon afterwards, from lack of interest and of any clear function. Cinnappa continued to serve as the secretary of every new association that was launched in the village, and gave more of his time to 'social work' outside it, for instance as Secretary of a caste hostel for poor students in the city. When anything has to be organized he is automatically called in as collector of subscriptions, keeper of records, conscientious carrier out of resolutions and stickler for the rules. I have heard him tell children, who had not dusted something to his satisfaction that they should follow the example of the soldiers at the Changing of the Guard in London, who hand over the queen's keys with an elaborate ceremony 700 years old; though of course the keys could be handed over more simply, it is 'the principle' that counts. He is the embodiment of austere republication virtue, without vices or recreations, and dedicated to

giving practical effect to the grand gestures of others.

It is worth examining Cinnapps's character, because he was the key man in the transformation of ideology and formal organizations in Garud3apura. If it had not been him it would have been someone else (there are at least two men who might have taken his place). But it was Cinnappa who came to have an extraordinary ascendancy over the generation of idealistic young men that grew up in the optimistic years immediately after Independence, when social reform and Congress politics reached Garud3apura. These are the men who still regard Cinnappa as their 'guru' in social work, and who will co-operate in his latest ventures even when they are not interested and at some inconvenience to themselves.

The Yuvakara Sangha was not an association to promote a permanent interest of the village, as the Mowna Guru Math is. Cinnappa intended the Sangha to be a permanent formal group, but in its working it was more like an action-set for the promotion of a wide range of objects in which he was personally interested, and it was for him to decide its strategy by giving priority to some objects (vigilantes, reading room) over others. Its formal organization differed from that of other action-sets, which are set up to do a specific job and then to dissolve, because it was intended to be permanent and because the values it was based on were different; but like other action-sets, it soon broke up.

An action-set, as described by Mayer (1966 97f) is a unit initiated by a single person, or at the most by a small core of people acting together, to accomplish a particular temporary purpose. It is made up of people linked to the initiator, directly or through intermediates, in different ways, which may include common membership of groups:

> The action-set exists in a specific context which provides the terms of ego's purpose in forming linkages. When successive action-sets are centred on similar contexts of activity, personnel and linkages may also be similar. By 'superimposing' a series of action-sets, therefore, one may discern a number of people who are more often than not members of the action-sets, and others who are involved from time to time. Taken together, these people form a catchment for ego's action-sets based on this type of context. (Mayer 1966 115)

Mayer calls such units 'quasi-groups', distinguishing these 'interactive' quasi-groups from the 'classificatory' ones described by Ginsberg. Thus

Mayer writes:

> These quasi-groups differ fundamentally from the group and the association. First, they are ego-centred, in the sense of depending for their very existence on a specific person as a central organizing focus; this is unlike a group, in which organization may be diffuse. Second, the actions of any member are relevant only in so far as they are interactions between him and ego or ego's intermediary. (ibid 97-8)

A quasi-group 'may crystallize into a group' (as Cinnappa's following became the Yuvakara Sangha) or a clique (like the patel's friends), which may then act as the 'central ego' of a quasi-group, instead of a single person; just as in Garud3apura a core of two or three interested 'big men' use their contacts and influence to arrange a festival.

Thus respected men in Garud3apura achieve their various purposes by means of quasi-groups and action-sets, recruited through the village 'network' of dyadic relations, which include common membership of groups. Quasi-groups are related to the existing permanent groups and sometimes become groups, which survive only if they promote permanent and widely shared interests. Whether these groups tend towards the 'traditional' or the 'modern' type of organization depends on the values and interests they represent. Laks3minaaraayan3a and Gangamma Temples are associated with respect for constituted authority, hierarchy, the protection of closed groups, and conservatism, and they adopt the pancaayat or 'council' model for action. Their 'committee'-like Boards of Trustees are ineffective, while public assemblies of the village initiate action by temporary committees at each festival. The Math Association, the only active organization of the 'modern' type with its headquarters in the village, is associated with universal equality, consistency, unqualified devotion to personal gods, democratic ideas and social service. It has no connexions outside the village, with the network of maths and wandering ascetics, and with institutions like the Chinmayananda Mission, and even the Congress Party, from which new ideas emanate. In the 'traditional' type, 'big men' take the initiatives; in the 'modern' type, men who are respected more for their 'honour' than for their 'prestige'.

In each case the form of organization does not provide an accurate description of the group's working, but indicates the ideal on which it

models itself. Each kind tends to by-pass the shortcomings inherent in its form of organization - delay and faction in the 'traditional' type, rigidity in the 'modern' one - by delegating the responsibility for a single action that cannot be postponed to a small committee, which behaves as the core of a temporary action-set. Thus in limited situations both kinds of group may proceed in much the same way, while reserving the right to move in the opposing directions indicated by the types of organization they have adopted.

The municipal election, a contest between respect and ideology

Through the 'traditional' and 'modern' types of organization, and their combination in quasi-groups and action-sets, the villagers take part in the political system on the larger scales of the city, the state and the nation; while principles derived from these wider systems, like the formal equality of citizens and the class struggle, come to be incorporated in the ideology and practice of the village.

The election to Bangalore City Corporation in December 1964 was fought in two ways: through action-sets drawn from the network of dyadic relations of respect, and by direct ideological appeals to the electorate as a whole. Mayer writes, in his description of candidates' action-sets in a municipal election in Central India:

> One feature of this action-set is that a wide variety of bases for linkage are involved. Included as criteria are kinship, political party, religious sect, and so on. But the crucial point is that, whatever may be these 'outward' bases for the links which together make up the path from candidate to voter, the 'inward' content is always the same - namely political support of the candidate...
>
> A second feature of the action-set is that the links are sometimes, but not always, based on group membership... The fact that some links are based on group relations does not affect the form of the action-set. For such groups are not contained within the action-set, nor are their aims necessarily relevant to the purpose of the latter. The action-set is a different kind of entity from a group, though it may include group relations in its 'outward' content of links.

> A third feature is that (as Barnes shows) the action-set contains paths of linkages, and is thus a combination of relationships linking people directly to ego, and of those linking people to intermediaries who are themselves in direct contact with ego. (Mayer 1966 108-9)

With some simplification, most of the links which form a candidate's action-set in Garud3apura can be reduced to relations of 'respect', the common dimension on to which so many kinds of relation within the village are projected, though in each case this respect may have a different content of obligation, authority, personal preference &c. Not only are these intermediary links forged out of respect, but the vote itself is explicitly regarded as a personal expression of respect for a candidate.

I have shown how the village and the groups within it, communities and associations, are organized internally by relations of respect. In Garud3apura it does not seem possible to construct a link in an action-set purely on the ground of common membership in a group, apart from the dyadic relations of respect which the members have with one another and particularly with the respected men who lead the group. Even the strong feeling for village unity, the belief that it is wrong to split the village, is closely bound up with the respect due to its elders and to the leading families who have made the village what it is. Here a caste seldom votes as a group, even when - as in this and the previous Corporation election - one of its members is a candidate, though this appears to happen for example, in divisions of Bangalore with large Harijan or Catholic populations. As Suri (1962 54) points out, the support of his own caste is no advantage to a candidate who cannot appeal to other castes, particularly when the united support of one caste may antagonize the others.

At elections in Garud3apura, 'families' are divided, sometimes bitterly, between households supporting different candidates, and even households are sometimes divided by generation and even by sex. Those who consider this shocking - a point which was of some importance in the campaign, as I shall show - are concerned about the undermining of the authority of elders, especially heads of households, ie. of the respect due to them.

Large associations like the Math Association are 'arenas' for the supporters of rival candidates; or, like the Mandal Congress Committee and the Paguttarrivu Manrram (clear thinking association, a branch of the DMK party), they are committed to following the official line of their party;

or, like the Tirumaleeshvara Sangha (the group of young men who sponsor an image of Venkat3araaman3aSvaami in the yearly Car Festival), they can be won over by one or two respected men - in this case, the parents of some of the members, who subsidize their activities.

Even purely economic relations, which account for many links in the candidates' action-sets, have their dimension of respect. The shopkeepers and landlords who give credit to the poor become entitled to their respect - even when others might consider this respect forced or unwilling or insincere - and both they and their creditors often consider that this gives the creditor a moral claim to the debtor's vote. The campaign was full of accusations of outright bribery, some of which were probably true, and this was considered disgraceful. Yet is is unlikely that those who may have accepted bribes, to line up support for a candidate or to help him get the party 'ticket', regarded the transaction quite cynically as an economic one. Any present puts one under an obligation, particularly when it is given some time before the counter-demand is presented; and it is possible in such cases to save one's self-respect by seeing the transaction primarily as one involving mutual tokens of respect, with an added dimension of economic obligation. Everyone agrees that politics is a dirty business and is cynical about the motives of others, but the ethical atmosphere of the village makes it hard to regard one's own motives in the same way; and 'respect' may provide a justification. Straight payment for votes, which seems to have occurred in the first elections after Independence (ie. the first in which most Garud3apura people voted), is seldom or never practised now, though often alleged. This is because successive election campaigns made even the poorest people aware that the vote was their own responsibility. The transaction became obviously immoral, with hardly any content of respect; many voters accepted bribes and then, feeling no moral compulsion, used the secrecy of the ballot to vote for another candidate. The returns on this investment diminished rapidly. It is now profitable only to concentrate one's bribes on those strategic 'big men' who would make valuable intermediary links in one's action-sets, and who are not ashamed - as some are - to accept presents from a candidate. The same applies to promises of official favours, such as protection for a shopkeeper hoarding black-market rice, or opposition to a scheme to straighten a road through someone's vineyard.

Ideology coincides with respect in the formation of some links, when respect for a candidate's principles wins a valuable supporter, who then organizes his friends and contacts on behalf of the candidate. Every

candidate's action-set was formed partly in this way, either through idealistic supporters of the Congress (who may or may not have been active members of the Congress Party), those who believed that the Congress Party was controlled by the rich and powerful and that an opposition candidate would serve the cause of the poor and downtrodden, whether or not they regarded themselves as poor and downtrodden, and particularly those who respected a candidate for his record of 'social service' and expected him to continue to work for the good of the village as a Councillor. In general, however, ideology counted for much less in the formation of the Congress candidate's action-sets than in those of the two other serious initial candidates.

Bailey writes of an election in Orissa:

> a candidate who decides to treat his electors as a socially undifferentiated mass of rational minds, to be contracted and persuaded of the rightness of his cause, is not being realistic. He must find other means of communication. (Bailey 1963a 109)

This is obviously true, yet Bailey (1963a, 1963b), like other commentators on Indian elections who are concerned to expose the personal transactions through which votes are won, overlooks the importance of a purely ideological appeal both in reaching the voter's mind directly and in building up the action-set through which this is done indirectly. Not all a politician's speeches should be taken at their face value, but neither anthropological method nor the prevailing cynicism about politics among Indians themselves should lead one to devalue all ideals and policies. In what follows I try to show the constant interaction between, on the one hand, the formation and working of action sets constructed out of relations of personal respect, and on the other hand, the ideology which appeals both to voters and to intermediaries in action-sets, all of whom ultimately make their own unpredictable decisions. A candidate needs both respect and ideology to win, but some candidates rely more heavily on one, some on the other.

Bangalore Corporation Council, since its formation on the merging of the 'City' and Cantonment in 1947, had always been controlled by a Congress Party majority, like the central and state governments. The Council is responsible for drawing up policies, which are then executed - in principle - by a Commissioner appointed by the state government. This system of divided responsibility, which the British introduced into Indian municipal government, seems to have encouraged the growth of the corruption for which Bangalore Corporation is notorious, and which was one of the chief issues in the campaign.

All opposition candidates attacked the Congress administration for its corrupt record, while Congress candidates tried as best they could to defend it, and to suggest that their opponents were corrupt in their election practices and would be still more corrupt if they came to power. Though in practice everyone takes some corruption for granted and is often involved in particular cases of it, in principle it is almost always condemned.

Garud3apura and its former satellite village Raamohl13i belongs to the Williams Town division, which elects one of the 63 Councillors by universal adult suffrage. The division covers the original 'revenue village' of Garud3apura, ie. the two villages, two middle class suburbs built on their fields, and two newly built hamlets on the edge of the city; together with a mainly Catholic suburb belonging to another 'revenue village'. Garud3apura is the core, and the most politically active part, of the division, though it has only some 2 200 of the division's 10 130 voters. Since the village has a population of about 6 700 (including children), this means that many residents are not registered as voters, particularly recent immigrants, and the poor who live in colonies of huts. Many huts were locked when the Corporation Revenue Inspector called to compile the list of voters, as the occupants were out working as labourers; the Inspector contented himself with getting a few names from neighbours, generally those of one man and one woman from each hut. It is unlikely that he spent more time in these slum colonies than he had to, because he disliked the work and because many of them were built illegally on land rented from landlords who paid him to turn a blind eye. Thus some of the poor were under the impression that only married people could vote, or only one or two from each house. In the more solidly constructed and prosperous parts of the village most residents except recent immigrants were registered, if only under their nicknames.

At the first municipal election with universal suffrage, in 1950, a young lawyer belonging to the village's leading family ~~of the village~~ stood as an Independent and defeated the Congress candidate. His wife voted for the Congress candidate as a matter of principle. The lawyer was respected but not popular as a Councillor, because he was not willing to become involved in the relations of patronage and influence which the people expected of a Councillor, and he therefore got a reputation for being unapproachable and unhelpful. He did not stand in 1953, when a retired officer of the Mahaaraaja's civil service, who lives in Williams Town near the village and was on good terms with its 'big men', was elected unopposed as a Congress candidate. He persuaded the Corporation to pave the village streets and to

install underground drainage, and personally ordered the Corporation's maintenance workers to repair any loose paving stones, broken street lamps &c which he noticed on his morning walks round the division. He was usually ready to sign certificates of good conduct for those seeking employment in government industries and to use his good offices to help his constituents in their business with the Corporation. Thus he became popular, and was re-elected in 1956; but in 1959 the Congress Selection Committee, which awards the 'ticket' for all Council seats in Bangalore, chose a landlord of Raamohall3i village. The sitting Councillor, with the support of the village and even of most members of the Mandal (local) Congress Committee, stood as an Independent and defeated the official Congress candidate by an overwhelming majority (2200 to 500, with 600 votes for another Independent).

The sitting Councillor's firmest supporter in the village was Cinnappa, the 'social worker' related to the leading family, whom I have already described; and Cinnappa's following of idealistic young men conducted the campaigns in the village. The 'big men' were already won over to the Councillor, and the Congress candidate's own caste was divided. Before each election the 'big men' of the two villages held a 'traditional' public assembly in Garud3apura to get the general agreement of heads of families on the candidate the two villages should support. Since the poll in the surrounding middle-class suburbs was always low, this meant that the 'big men' of the two villages, especially Garud3apura, decided the politics of the division.

The 'big men' imposed their decisions in the 'traditional' way, by bringing about a formal consensus of the village on each occasion and then relying on chains of dyadic relationships of respect, and on an ideological appeal to village unity, to influence most of the voters.

The one formal political organization with its headquarters in the village, the Mandal Congress Committee for the whole division, leads a shadowy existence between elections, being paralysed by factional disputes. In principle it is elected from among the 'active' members of the party by the ordinary (or 'four-anna') members, of whom there are about 700 in the division. Most of them have done no more than sign an application form as a favour for an active member. In practice there has never been such an election, and the Committee is made up of two kinds of people: the 'big men', and a few idealists, particularly a mason who went to jail as a satyagrahi (passive resister) in the Independence struggle and who alone wears khadi or homespun, as a Congressman should. The Committee is supposed to meet one a month in

the President's house to discuss local, national and foreign affairs, pass resolutions, organize public meetings and social work &c; but since the President elected by one faction, at a meeting of some of the members, is recognized only by the District Congress Committee, and not by several members who regard someone else as President, the Committee never meets. Things are done in its name by the idealistic minority, especially a former Secretary and Treasurer who no longer hold any office in it but who issue invitations to Independence Day celebrations and election meetings on its behalf.

Though the Committee never meets, it exists at least to the extent necessary to put Garud3apura on the Congress Party's organizational map and to give weight to the demands of the village's unofficial contact with the District Congress Committee: not the 'President' but Bayann3a, a landlord who is not very rich but is powerful because he is said to be a close relative of a member of the District Congress Committee and of the Selection Committee which awards 'tickets' for all Council seats in Bangalore.

When the local MLA, or Member of the (state) Legislative Assembly, visits Garud3apura, Bayann3a calls together a few of his friends as the 'Mandal Committee', and when the Mayor, the Commissioner and other dignitaries come to see the village Car Festival, Bayann3a, as Treasurer of Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, takes them to the puuja and introduces them to other 'big men' of the village. Batann3a's unique position in the village - and he is one of the biggest of the 'big men' - rests on 'prestige' derived not from wealth but from political influence. He is a key man in the village's relations with the wider political system, by-passing the rather clogged official channels of the Congress hierarchy.

The Mandal Congress exists more on the unofficial level, as a system of contacts and 'respect', through which Garud3apura people can pass on their requests to the party which controls the state and central governments, particularly requests for school and college places, jobs in government factories &c. It is not a ready-made action-set for the support of Congress candidates, still less for the propagation of Congress ideology. It conveys the village's wishes to the party rather than the other way round. Though a few idealists, generally outside the Committee, always vote Congress as a matter of principle, the candidates whom the 'big men' have agreed to support have often belonged to the opposition: in 1959 the 'big men' supported an Independent, the sitting Councillor who had failed to get the Congress 'ticket', and in the 1961 state election most of them supported a Socialist. Just as a few people always support Congress for ideological

reasons, a small unorganized group, made up of one or two 'big men' and some trade unionists, are known to be sympathetic to the Praja Socialist Party and can be relied on to support its candidates. No other party, except perhaps the DMK among some Tamil immigrants, has any popular base in the village.

The 1963 Corporation elections were postponed until December 1964 because of the 'Emergency' at the time of the Chinese attack on India. About a year before the poll Krisn3appa, a young Okkaliga landlord of Raamohall3i who had dropped out of a course in engineering, began his election campaign. He had two objectives: to get the Congress 'ticket', and to recruit influential supporters who would enable him to defeat opposition candidates at the poll. To achieve the first he approached Bayann3a, the local king-maker, and the MLA and party officials outside the village. To achieve the second, he visited the 'big men' of the village discreetly, one by one, and asked for their support. His opponents said later than he had concealed his intentions by telling no one else the purpose of his visits to Garud3apura so that when you saw him talking to a 'big man' in the street you would have thought they were talking business. He was also alleged to have given large bribes for promises of support. Whether or not this is true, or there were more subtle transactions, he showed the proper respect to the 'big men' by approaching them in this way, and most of them returned the compliment by promising to support him.

Bayann3a put Krisn3appa's case to the Selection Committee, but the chief organizer of his campaign in Garud3apura was Munisvaami, a rich building contractor and a 'big man', related to one of the principal families and the employer of many labourers from the village. Krisk3appa also recruited Simhaadri, known to be incorruptible and an idealist, who had gone to school with him and played in the same football team, and who supported him out of friendship. The only ideological justification Simhaadri could give for supporting Krisn3appa was that 'youth must be given a chance'. Simhaadri is not a 'big man' but an educated and capable man of an old family, a friend of certain important Harijans, and an excellent organizer and public speaker. Bayaan3a, Munisvaami and Simhaadri - men of very different position and character - were the core of Krisn3appa's action-set, supported by most of the 'big men', whom Krisn3appa himself had contacted. Thus, though he was not much respected himself in the village, he managed to get the temporary respect of those who were and to build his action-set around them. At this stage his campaign had hardly any ideological content, unless it was

an appeal to support him as a local man and a symbol of the unity of Raamohall3i with its parent village Garud3apura.

Several Congressmen in the divison applied for the 'ticket', as well as the sitting Councillor, who made one last attempt to stand as the official Congress candidate. Cinappa worked on his direct and indirect contacts in the Selection Committee, but Krisn3appa's contacts were stronger; and the Committee, meeting a month before the election, gave Krisn3appa the 'ticket'. The Councillor announced that he would stand again as an Independent, and Krisn3appa began his public cmpaign in the village.

The 'ticket' gave Krisn3appa the benefit of the resources and organization of the Congress Party outside the Village and he was assured of the loyalist Congress vote within the village - the only ideological support he got. But he also shared in the Party's general unpopularity, which was then at its height. Food prices but not wages had risen steeply over the past few months, and the introduction of rationing, administered by the Corporation, had been badly mismanaged. At first the ration of foodgrains and sugar had been the same for each household, whatever its size; many poor families had not been able to get ration cards, roughly for the reasons that had caused them to be passed over in the registration of voters, while rich families had several cards. There was some equity in this, because rich families were generally larger; but even when a more rational system was introduced, supplies in the shops were irregular, it was sometimes necessary to queue all day to get them, and there was widespread hoarding and black market trade. The Corporation was also blamed for corruption, bad examination results in Corporation schools, failing to control mosquitoes, giving away municipal land indiscriminately, taxing bicyles &c.

Shortly before the election a group of opposition Councillors formed a united front, the Citizen's Forum, to challenge the Congress majority in the Corporation. They drew up a list of candidates belonging mainly to the Samyukta Socialist Party (a national alliance between the PSP and 'Lohia' Socialists, which broke up later), the DMK, the Muslim League and one wing of the Communist Party, all of which agreed not to contest the election separately. The Forum, which began as a purely anti-Congress movement in the tradition of 'political negativism' (suri 1962 65), produced a common manifesto promising to improve food distribution and education, to abolish such taxes as the cycle tax while collecting others in full, and above all to end corruption, the biggest ideological issue of the campaign. The Forum candidate for Williams Town division was Laks3man, a Communist trade union leader and a complete outsider, living in the mainly Catholic suburb at the other end of the division. No one in Garud3apura knew anything

about him, except for a few workers who had belonged to his unions. To form even the nucleus of an action-set he had to rely entirely on his ideological appeal.

One young man of Garud3apura - a fruit wholesaler's son not more than 25 years old - filed his nomination as an Independent, with the support of some friends of his own age; but his father, who had already promised to support Krisn3appa, forced him to withdraw a few days later.

By this time there was a substantial opposition to Krisn3appa, for both ideological and personal reasons. As the Congress candidate he was identified in many people's minds - including those of some influential middle class idealists - with corruption and with rich businessmen who exploited the poor, and who were believed to form the strength of the Congress Party. Some opposed him because he was a landlord; others because they disliked his supporters. This was particularly true of the 'students' - an entire generation of young men with some education and most in skilled jobs - who were against the domination of the village by old men and some 'big men', particularly Bayann3a. At first this opposition was without a leader, the sitting Councillor had been identified with the 'big men' and local businessmen in the past, and in any case it was felt that he had been a Councillor for too long. Laks3man was an outsider. On the day nominations closed, the 'students' descended in three taxis on the radio shop where Cinnappa, the 'social worker', was employed, and carried him off to the Corporation building, where he filed the last nomination in the entire city. It is not clear whether he had encouraged them to do this; but in any case he acquired the image of a candidate prevailed on to stand by overwhelming public demand, as against the scheming self-seeker and the outsider. He was not in opposition to the sitting Councillor, whom he had always supported; and it seems that these two agreed, either before or after Cinnappa was nominated, that one would withdraw in the other's favour when it became clear who had the best chance.

Cinnappa's support was compounded of ideology and respect. His action-set consisted of three elements. The first was the group of 'students' who supported him because of the ideology he stood for, that of 'social service'. Many of them also had a long-standing personal respect for him, having taught or studied in the night school, or belonged to the other associations he had led. This respect was based on his 'honour' rather than 'prestige'. They saw him also as the champion of youth against age, particularly of educated youth against the less educated 'big men', such as Bayann3a. Some influential men, however, were torn between respect and ideology: they

admired Cinnappa as their master in social work, but one of the principles they had learnt, perhaps from him, was loyalty to the Congress, which embodied the ideal of 'social service'. Though they might freely admit that the Congress had degenerated, they believed it was their duty to vote for any Congressman, good or bad, even including Krisn3appa, but they were not prepared to canvass for him.

The second element in Cinnappa's action-set was his family, the leading one of the village. This element overlapped the first, as some of his younger relatives had been involved in his social work. These included his cousin Naagaraaj, an office clerk and landlord, who managed his campaign. But his most influential supporter was his father-in-law Daasappa, a building contractor and probably the most respected man in the village, both because of his position as eldest son of the head of the family and because of his reputation for generosity and kindness. Unlike other 'big men', Daasappa's reputation was as high with the poor as with the rich. Cinnappa, who himself respected Daasappa immensely, relied on the village's respect for the Daasappa and that branch of the family to win over a large majority of the village vote.

Cinnappa inherited the third element in his action-set from the sitting Councillor, who soon saw that Cinnappa had the advantage and withdrew from the contest. The Councillor had been popular and many people were probably ready to vote for whoever he recommended. He also had the support of a rich shopkeeper with some economic influence among the poor.

Simhaadri called Krisn3appa and those 'big men' who supported him to a meeting in the firewood yard which some 'big men' use as a clubhouse, and the same evening they began to canvass the village. At each house or courtyard Krisn3appa introduced himself and asked the occupants to vote for him. Most said they would, either from courtesy or to get rid of him. At this stage little seems to have been said about policy, which is conveyed more in meetings, written propaganda and private discussion. To ask for someone's vote is a courtesy, seldom an occasion for political discussion; and the presence of so many 'big men' together was calculated to impress voters. Krisn3appa' supporters then met in Munisvaami's house and formed an ad hoc Election Committee with Munisvaami as chairman and his house as headquarters. Some members of this Committee also belonged to the Mandal Congress Committee, but unlike the latter, it was temporary, united and ruthlessly efficient. The Election Committee passed a resolution calling on Cinnappa to withdraw.

Cinnappa's supporters adopted a different policy. They had to build up a wide circle of influential contacts, which Krisn3appa already had,

and to do this they relied on an ideological appeal as well as the respect due to Cinnappa and his family. A body of 'students', organized by Naagaraaj, took Cinnappa to the houses of uncommitted landlords and of anyone who might have useful contacts, where both Cinnappa and his supporters spoke of his social work, the night school and other associations he had led, his contribution to the village's religious life, and the help he had given to villagers with official business. If elected, he promised to continue to serve the people by improving amenities, seeing that all children went to school &c. As far as I know he made few or no specific promises to individuals.

Though the nominations had closed there were still a few days in which candidates could withdraw and recover their deposits. Munisvaami's Election Committee, having failed to persuade Cinnappa to withdraw, announced at short notice that a public meeting, or pancaayat, would be held to discuss the matter, and they asked Cinnappa to attend. Cinnappa, who believed strongly in village unity, had helped to organize similar pancaayats to decide which candidate the two villages should support at previous elections, and he was not in a position to refuse. A large crowd gathered in front of Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple, where such pancaayats had always been held, but the temple was locked for the night, and they went instead to the main temple of the Mowna Guru Math.

The two candidates sat on the floor with Garud3apura's patel and the 'big men' of both villages, surrounded by an outer circle of 'students' and others. The 'big men' appealed again to Cinnappa to withdraw. He replied that there was no reason why there should not be a contest, this need not lead to any quarrels or ill-feeling, and the voters should decide. The 'students' were looking forward to a confrontation with Bayann3a, the king-maker, who represented all they disliked most about the village establishment. A 'student' leader - a young man studying engineering and active in the Kannad3a Abhimaanigal3a Sangha (Kannada enthusiasts' society) - demanded that the meeting should not proceed until Bayanna3a had come. When Munisvaami and his friends said a meeting could not be held up because one man was absent, and ordered the student curtly to sit down, he called Munisvaami a dictator, said that India had been independent for sixteen years not sixteen months, and that Garud3apura with only 2100 voters, and Raamohall3i with less, had no right to dictate the politics of the whole division. By this time the 'students' were enraged by the commanding manner of the 'big men' and the 'big men' by the 'students'' impertinence. A 'big man' committed to Krisn3appa - a landlord notorious for drinking and fighting and probably drunk at the time - attacked the 'students' with his fists and was dragged struggling out of the temple. The meeting broke up

in shock and confusion. A few minutes later the meeting began again more quietly, now with Bayann3a but without Krisn3appa, who had gone home to avoid trouble. No longer inhibited by Krisn3appa's presence, the 'big men' turned on Cinnappa mercilessly: they accused him of breaking an earlier promise to support Krisn3appa and of dividing the village by standing at the last moment, when the 'big men' had agreed to support Krisn3appa. They pointed out that he could have announced his intention to stand earlier, or applied for the Congress 'ticket', and they suggested, without committing themselves, that they might support him if he did so at the next election. Cinnappa explained, almost apologetically, that he had not wanted to stand and had only agreed to do so at the request of the 'students.' Mujisvaami and his friends asked angrily why Cinnappa listed only to 'students' and not to older people; they accused him of splitting families, setting sons against fathers and undermining the 'students'' respect for their elders. These arguments hurt Cinnappa, for he believed strongly in village unity and in the village system of respect, particularly the respect due to his father-in-law Daasappa's branch of the family. While the 'students' tried to defend Cinnappa, Munisvaami and Bayann3a turned to Daasappa and appealed to him not to split the village. Daasappa had been profoundly shocked by the fight in the temple, and was convinced that the campaign would be both dirty and violent. He declared that his family had always been respectable and could not be involved in such a campaign, then, turning to Munisvaami and Bayann3a, he said 'My son-in-law will withdraw'.

This was the end of Cinnappa's campaign. Daasappa appealed to him not to split the village and said there were many other ways for him to serve it; but in any case Cinnappa had no choice, unless he was publicly to defy his father-in-law's authority and to lose his moral and possibly financial support for the campaign. A few minutes later Cinnappa agreed to withdraw. As the meeting broke up, some of the 'students' accused him of cowardice and betrayal, while Cinnappa said he was ashamed of them since they had not stood up for him at the right moment.

Cinnappa's weakness was that he was a conservative reformer who believed in, and relied on, the village's respect system, in which he had a place derived partly from his family and more especially from the ideology of 'social service' he represented. By trying to combine ideology and respect in this way he made himself vulnerable to those 'big men' who were at the top of the respect system, and who were able, by exploiting Daasappa's sense of family respect, to persuade him to force his son-in-law to withdraw.

Though Krisn3appa's Election Committee had succeeded in eliminating the

one rival likely to win, they had done so at the cost of creating widespread resentment against their own party. The violence in the temple was a shock to the village, and Cinnappa's supporters alleged that the 'big men' and the Congress had threatened them with more violence and were even going to hire ruffians. Idealists were shocked by Munisvaami's charge that Cinnappa was trying to split families and to set young against old; on the contrary, they said, Munisvaami's own behaviour was likely to turn what should be a political contest into a battle between generations, and by making this charge he had shown a lack of respect for the meeting. Even Simhaadri, one of Krisn3appa's three closest supporters, seemed shocked by his colleagues' tactices, which did not accord with his notion of fair play. He maintained that no one had forced Cinnappa to withdraw and that there could and should have been a contest. In many people's minds the Congress was now identified with violence and with the power, rather than the 'honour', of the 'big men'.

This resentment against Krisn3appa and his party gave Laks3man his chance. Though he had the double disadvantage of being an outsider and a Communist, he inherited Cinnappa's action-set almost intact. Within a few days its members had contacted him - I do not think he needed to take the initiative - and established a looser election committee than Krisn3appa's to conduct Laks3man's campaign in Garud3apura and Williams Town proper. The leaders were Naagaraaj, a few disgruntled Congressmen, the shopkeeper who had supported first the sitting Councillor and then Cinnappa, the DMK and many 'students'. They had their headquarters in a cycle hire shop belonging to the son of a leading member of the Mandal Congress Committee. The main centres of Laks3man's support lay elsewhere, in the suburb where he lived and in Raamohall3i, where he had his campaign office in a large house and some support in a colony of factory housing. The Garud3apura committee was a subsidiary one and not the campaign headquarters for the division, as Munisvaami's committee was.

Laks3man had gained the core of an action-set for negative ideological and personal reasons, but few of its members were 'big men' or had the wide influence necessary to bring in more supporters by appealing to positive respect. In the second stage of the campaign the active workers, together with Laks3man's supporters from outside, relied on a combination of a positive ideological appeal with negative respect: their main strategy was to convince the voters of the rightness of Laks3man's cause, while their subsidiary strategy was to condemn the violence and bad habits of Krisn3appa's chief supporters, particularly their alleged drunkenness. None of Laks3man's

supporters in the village was a Communist, and the word communism would have scared off many voters; but since Laks3man was standing not on a party ticket but for the Citizens' Forum, his supporters played down his party affiliation; and I believe many voters remained unaware to the end that he was a Communist, in spite of a Congress campaign to tell them ('A vote for Congress is a slap to China' - slogan painted on a wall). Laks3man made much of the Forum's common programme of honest and efficient administration, and voters were aware of the Forum's campaign in other divisions. Laks3man declared that Congress represented the interests of capitalist businessmen, landlords and black marketeers, who exploited the poor ('Congress is a doll in hands of goondas /ruffians/, drunkards, marketeers, and black moneyed people' - another slogan in English). It happened that some of his supporters in the village belonged to these categories, but since he was an outsider and his appeal was primarily ideological, he was not identified with them in the way that Krisn3appa and Cinnappa were identified with their supporters.

Since Krisn3appa's campaign was carried on mainly by exploiting dyadic relations of respect, he did not expect to win many votes by mass meetings; indeed one of his chief supporters advised him not to hold any meetings in Garud3apura, since Congress was now so unpopular that anything held under its auspices would be a failure, moreoever, in their present mood people might 'ask questions' and there could be trouble. Though the Party's resources were a help to Krisn3appa, its record had become a positive disadvantage. He decided to hold one public meeting in Garud3apura, and in the event there were neither questions nor trouble.

> He sat on a platform surrounded by posters and framed photographs of Nehru and Kennedy, both of whom had recently died,† with Party speakers from outside and Simhaadri who made the practical arrangements. An eminent retired civil servant spoke in bureaucratic English, enumerating the reasons why ('even taking utility as the criterion...') one should vote Congress at all levels, the chief reason being apparently that it was the party in power. A Congress leader spoke in Kannada, playing the party's one ideological card - its association with the Independence movement and therefore with patriotism. He spoke of the national heroes - Gandhi, Nehru, Subhas

† At this time the Kennedy cult was at its height. Wall calendars had coloured prints of him with Nehru, and the Congress Party tended to claim him for its pantheon of national heroes. Another calendar theme was Gandhi, Kennedy and Abraham Lincoln, all of whom died a martyr's death.

Chandra Bose - with whom the Congress was identified, and shouted patriotic slogans ('Jai Hind!') for the crowd to repeat. He also said a few sentences in Urdu for the benefit of any Muslims in the audience: Congress claims credit for the secular Republic and relies on the votes of religious minorites (Muslims and Christians). The candidate and visitors left, and two factory workers spoke at length. The second, a young Tamil, spoke for forty minutes; he said that not only had the national heroes belonged to Congress, but former opposition leaders like Ashok Mehta and the Tamil DK leader 'Periar' had endorsed its policies, saying it was really a socialist party now.

From now on both parties employed groups of young men and schoolboys - sometimes for money - to walk in procession shouting slogans. The elder brother of the richest man in the village stopped one such group and shouted at them for showing disrespect to their elders, by campaigning for Laks3man when the elders had already decided on Krisn3appa. Other groups of young men went out at night painting slogans on walls and roads, or amending their opponents' slogans (a new Tamil word 'Oot3paar' - the English 'vote for' - appeared in some of these slogans). They stuck posters on walls and strung banners across the streets between trees or posts, usually with a simple slogan in one or more languages and the candidate's party symbol (a yoke of bullocks for Congress, a bicycle for the Citizens' Forum). Party workers distributed handbills advertising meetings with star speakers in other parts of Bangalore, or canvassed houses, answering questions and filling in an identification slip for each voter, showing his number on the voters' list and the party symbol for which he should vote.

Laks3mans first meeting was held on a cold and drizzling evening. Naagaraaj, who organized it, made a virtue of necessity by saying they needed no platform, but to protect the candidate, the loudspeaker and the hired electrical equipment from the rain they used as an improvised platform a shed, used as a garage by an auto-rickshaw driver. This young man, whose father was a 'big man' and a supporter of Krisn3appa, had lent Naagaraaj the key to the shed, either because he sympathized with Laks3man or (as the Congress supporters said afterwards) because he did not know what it was wanted for. These details turned out to be important.

A considerable crowd gathered, in spite of the drizzle, but it included none of the 'big men'. Laks3man spoke in Tamil about the hardships of the poor, the artificial rice shortage which was forcing prices up, and the mistakes of the central (Congress) government. Suddenly, as if at a signal,

all the children who were sitting in front of the crowd got up and left together. A moment later the auto-rickshaw driver's father, with some young supporters of Krisn3appa, pushed his way through the crown, told Laks3man the shed belonged to him, and ordered Laks3man to get out. His men began to dismantle the microphone and its equipment, to take out the light bulb, and to close the door of the shed. A confused fight broke out at several places at once. The driver's father fought Naagaraaj, Laks3man tried to prevent the fight, and a Communist union leader he had brought in from outside was cut on the head in two places. A policeman arrived and tried ineffectually to move the crowd on, but by this time the fight was over and Laks3man's men had dispersed.

This fight, like the earlier fight in the Math, had an extraordinary effect on public opinion. The first fight, which was provoked and may have been planned by Krisn3appa's supporters, at least had the advantage, from their point of view, of convincing Daasappa that his son-in-law should not stand. The second fight made it impossible for them to repair the damage done to their reputation. Though no one was badly hurt, the visiting union leader was at least bleeding, and this confirmed Laks3man's supporters' claim that Congressmen were ruffians. A wave of disgust spread through the village and made Laks3man, who had seemed a forlorn hope, an immediate threat to Krisn3appa. Laks3man became the underdog defending the interests of the poor against the brute force of the rich, who cared nothing for the sufferings of the poor (or, according to some people, who no longer cared as they once had). People who had always voted for the 'big men's' candidate, or who had declared they could never vote for a Communist, thought again. A Catholic woman, after discussing the fight with her neighbours, decided to vote for Laks3man and told her husband to do the same.

Laks3man appears to have had no such luck in other parts of the division. In Garud3apura, however, his supporters pressed home his moral and ideological advantage by holding another meeting the next evening. The meeting was held in the open, under an improvised awning. There were three speakers/ besides Laks3man, including one local man. They concentrated on corruption, attacking the Corporation and the state and central governments (all Congress) for allowing tax evasion, hoarding, the black market and abuses in the issue of licences. Laks3man passed over the more uncompromising parts of Marxist ideology and the class struggle in silence, since they would have been unacceptable to many in his audience and particularly in his action-set; yet his appeal was eesentially to the class interest of the poor and the lower

middle class, and to the idealistic sympathy of those who were better off. One speaker alleged that Krisn3appa had offered Laks3man Rs 10 000 to withdraw, and had been refused. Meanwhile men in the crowd put it about that Krisn3appa had bribed the 'big men' for their support, that he wanted to be elected in order to get Corporation permission to build on his vacant land, and that Laks3man was a good 'social worker' - apparently on the strength of his union work.

This time the police were out in force, and prevented several attempts to break up the meeting, including one by the son of a 'big man' who came, very drunk and looking for trouble, and had to be taken home by the police; another asset for Laks3man. A procession of young men, leading a column of small boys, walked very slowly past the platform shouting Congress slogans to drown the speaker's voice, but Laks3man's men were careful not to retaliate. In Raamohall3i there was minor violence, such as stone-throwing, on both sides; but there Laks3man's men had not the same moral advantage to defend.

All propaganda was forbidden on the day before the poll. On the day before this, which was Christmas and a public holiday Congress held a last public demonstration. A procession of ten pairs of bullocks - the Congress symbol - with banners and a uniformed band, went from Raamohall3i to Garud3apura, where the local Member of the Legislative Assembly arrived for a last public meeting. Laks3man's men could not afford, and did not try, to match a demonstration on this scale.

Garud3apura people voted in two schools: a Catholic school on the edge of the village, and a Corporation school where many Williams Town people also voted. Party workers went from house to house persuading voters to come out. Both sides alleged afterwards that their opponents had bribed voters or forced them to go to the poll, but this is unlikely. Each side had a fleet of cars, taxis and auto-rickshaws, hired or lent by their owners, to bring voters to the poll. Near the entrance to polling stations voters ran the gauntlet of opposing lines of party workers, who pestered them in a friendly way to vote for one candidate or the other. The 'big men' stood in a knot speaking to anyone they knew, and a parallel action-set of influential Harijans reported to them from time to time. A group of women stopped other women they knew and asked them to vote Congress. A Congressman sat at a table consulting the voters' list and issuing identification slips to those who had not brought them.

In contrast, Laks3man's organization was simpler, and only 'students' stood outside the polling station to canvass for him. Last-minute propaganda was not much concerned with policies, but with reminding people of the party

symbol for which they should vote.

Men and women stood in separate queues at one polling station, and in one queue at the other, as Corporation officials tried in vain to identify many voters in the Kannada and English editions of the printed voters' list. Some voters had been left out of one list and the serial numbers of the rest did not always tally. Some people's names could not be found at all, and the officials refused to allow them to vote unless they had brought identification slips. Each voter was given a rubber stamp and a ballot paper, with the numbers (1 and 2), names (in Kannada and English) and party symbols of the two candidates. Most people had voted before and knew the procedure. The voter went into a polling booth, stamped an X on or beside the party symbol, folded the paper and put it in the ballot box. His finger was marked with blue ink, which is supposed to stay on for 24 hours to prevent repeating, though in fact it is possible to get it off with lime. There were several known cases of repeating and impersonation and many more alleged ones. One man (not from the village) claimed that his family had been left off the voters' list because it contained twenty known Congress supporters; he had therefore impersonated a sick friend, with the friend's permission. Each candidate had an agent at each polling station to prevent these abuses, but men who have acted as agents say they have never denounced anyone because they do not want offenders to be arrested and ill-treated by the police.

In the city as a whole, according to the next day's paper:

> the working classes dominated the queues. ... The percentage of polling was high in the working class areas and in the Tamil-dominated regions. In some divisions the figure is expected to be beyond 80%. In the middle and upper middle class localities, polling was uniformly dull. Some divisions are expected to record less than 35% of votes. The actual process of recording the vote introduced this year was cumbersome, resulting in waste of time and adding to the impatience of voters waiting outside. Complaints of lethargy on the part of the poll officials were voiced by many candidates. (Indian Express 28 December 1964)

Polling was peaceful, with only 'minor incidents involving heated exchange of words', and 'a minor fracas at Yediyur'.

The poll in 'Williams Town' division was 51 per cent of the electorate, or halfway between the two extremes mentioned in the article, the proportion was certainly higher in the two villages and lower in the middle class suburbs

in the division. The normal political apathy of these suburbs was probably increased by a reluctance to wait in ~~long~~ long queues to vote. Garud3apura people, on the other hand, are conscious of the value of their vote and are under sustained pressure to cast it for one candidate or another; political issues like rationing and food prices affect them more immediately; their casual contacts are more frequent; political discussion and gossip are livelier; and in any case election day is an exciting festive occasion. This gives the village's small circle of 'big men', who can call on reserves of voters through chains of respect relationships, a strategic position in the division's political life. It makes candidates eager to seek their support, and encourages political activity among them. Their contacts extend outside the village into the surrounding suburbs, if only because they are the landlords of many houses there. Thus Garud3apura, like other urban villages with a mixture of classes, has a political influence over the surrounding suburbs out of proportion to its population, and this influence is exercised particularly in the vital manoeuvres before the poll itself. These villages remain social and political centres of urban growth, just as they are often religious and architectural centres, more conscious than ever of their power and identity.

The result announced the day after the poll, was the expected victory for Krisn3appa:

Krisn3appa (Congress)	3 478 (70% of the valid votes)
Laks3man (Citizens' Forum)	1 462 (30%)
invalid	203
majority	2 016

The electorate was 10 130, of whom 5 143 (51%) voted, about a third of these were probably Garud3apura people.

In the new Council, however, Congress was defeated for the first time, and by a surprising margin. The state of the parties was

Congress	23 seats
Citizens' Forum	21
Independents	17
Total (one contest postponed by the High Court)	62

A few days later nine Independent Councillors joined the Citizens' Forum, giving it an absolute majority in the Council, and a reforming Mayor was elected.

On hearing the news in the Crowd before the Corporation building, Krisn3appa's supporters walked with him in a triumphal position to Garud3apura 5 km away. Krisn3appa did puuja at Laks3minaaraayan3a, Gangamma and Ellamma Temples, visited the houses of 'big men' who had supported him, giving particular respect to the man who had forced his own son to withdraw since he had promised to support Krisn3appa, visited the main 'Harijan Colony', and went on to his own village of Raamohall3i.

Laks3man's supporters claimed to be pleased that he had done as well as he had, being a complete outsider. Results for particular polling stations were not published, but I believe the following account, given to a reliable informant by an agent who was present at the count, is probably accurate: Laks3man had a majority of 90 at the Catholic school, where most of the voters were from Garud3apura, and of 16 at the Corporation School, which Garud3apura voters shared with many from Williams Town. Since Laks3man probably had more support in the village than in Williams Town, he must have had a slight majority of the Garud3apura vote. Krisn3appa appears to have built up his overwhelming majority in his own village of Raamohall3i, which voted for him as a local man, and in the mainly Catholic suburb, which voted for him as an anti-communist, and to have gained respectable majorities in some other middle-class areas. Garud3apura's vote was not decisve, though in other circumstances it might have been, for instance if Cinnappa had stood, but Krisn3appa owed his election entirely to the intervention of the 'big men', who had got him the party 'ticket' and then eliminated his one serious rival.

Laks3man's appeal was almost entirely ideological - mainly an appeal to class interests and sympathées which was incompatible with the principles of the village respect system; yet he inherited Cinnappa's action-set and worked through the respect system without being involved in it himself. Therefore an ideological appeal to the voter's own reason and judgment may be marginally more effective than the support of the 'big men' in persuading a numbrical majority of the village, but this appeal must be mediated through some 'respectable' action-set, if only to allow the ideological message to reach those to whom it is addressed. If Cinnappa had stood, having both the respect of the village and an ideological appeal, he would have won.

The form of organization suited to an election campaign is neither the 'traditional' type - the 'pancaayat' in the Math ended in anything but consensus and reconciliation - nor the 'modern' type - which works only

when there is an overriding and permanent interest to be promoted - but the ad hoc committee, which initiates action through chains of personal relationships of respect, reaching out to the individual voter and reinforcing with a moral obligation, if possible, any ideological message the candidate may have to convey. Each member of this action-set is recruited either through an existing relation of respect, or through a personal response to an ideological appeal, which is then converted into a relation of respect

The changing meaning of 'respect'

I have used the blanket word 'respect' - a translation of a South Indian term - for a common quality of many kinds of personal relation, marked by two things: a moral obligation on both sides, and a difference in level between the one who respects the the one respected, except in the purely formal respect involved in an 'exchange of courtesies'. Not all moral relations have this quality: friends are equals, whereas respect implies inequality and a certain distance. Nor do all unequal relations have it: a villager may be in the power of an official and may have to show the forms of respect, but he is not under the same moral obligation if the official is outside his moral community.

Respect is the characteristic quality of the moral relations which make up a 'community' of birth (caste or family) or of residence (the village). Occupational communities like the legal profession or traders in the City Market - to the extent that they are more than mere associations with limited purposes - are important only for a few Garud3apura people: a factory is not, or not yet, the same kind of community for them. Friends often do, but need not, belong to the same community.

I have described the ideal relations within the family, and by extension within the caste, by giving simple rules for ~~the giving of~~ respect. The village is also organized internally as a system of respect, though here the rules for giving respect are more complicated and individuals have greater freedom in applying them.

Respect is the acknowledgment of a higher status justified by the presence of two things together: a social position which demands it, usually a position of 'prestige', or power, wealth and influence, and 'honour', a moral quality. 'Prestige' is something given, which has to be recognized whether one likes it or not; from the point of view of the village it is an ascribed status, even

if the qualifications for it (e.g. money) have in fact been achieved. Among other things, it reflects class position, which has its specific meaning only on a larger scale than that of the village.

'Honour' is a personal quality, which anyone is free to recognize or not to recognize. Though personal, it is believed to be inherited to some extent and to run in families or castes, but it is regarded more as an achieved status. Even where it has been achieved somewhere else, for instance by a professional man or an immigrant, it must be demonstrated again in the village.

'Prestige' is measured by comparing what is with what is, ie. with the greater or lesser 'prestige' of others. 'Honour' is measured by comparing what is with what ought to be; if a man comes of good family the expectations may be higher, and if he is a Harijan they may be lower. In the next chapter I discuss the extent to which the ideal is, or is not, regarded as the same for everyone. 'Honour' may be achieved either by one's actions or by the ideology one represents, as in the case of the Brahman, the guru, the 'social worker' or the outsider election candidate. An ideology which appeals to reason is then embodied on the village scale by a particular man, so that a general respect, given for ideological reasons, is converted into personal respect.

When the landlords Goovindappa and Naaraayan3appa ruled the village, 'prestige' was by far the greatest part of respect. As the respect system of the village became partly dissociated from economic and power relations, which were absorbed into systems organized on larger scales, 'prestige' came to need a greater complement of 'honour' before it could be translated into respect. 'Honour' is a matter for individual judgment, and tends to be attached to other individuals. The continuing, though shaken, dominance of the 'big men', and the degree to which many of the village poor still depend on them, partyly explain why 'honour' has not yet usurped the place that 'prestige' once had. The 'traditional' pancaayat type of organization, animated by 'prestige', has not been generally replaced by the 'modern' contractual association of individuals moved by 'honour', but by various kinds of temporary action committee, moved by unstable combinations of both. The development of the Mowna Guru Math, the election campaign and result, and the ways in which action-sets are formed, illustrate the possible combinations of the two principles and suggest the direction in which the village's society is moving.

8 VALUES

Firth writes in his essay 'The study of values by social anthropologists':

> The preferences in social relations, their worthwhileness, the standards of judgment applied, give a content and meaning to social action. ... They (values) tend to have an obligatory character - an element of 'ought' as well as of 'want'. (Firth 1964 207-221)

He quotes Marett's definition of social anthropology as 'the study of moral institutions and ideas' (ibid 215).

From a similar point of view I have described the moral relations found in the chief institutions of the village (caste, family, cults, establishment of 'big men' &c), taking as my point of departure the villagers' own categories of 'respect', 'honour' &c. These are the terms in which economic and other relations are projected and altered on the moral scale of the village. But the content of these moral terms varies according to the situation, and according to the ideas of the person using them: this 'respect' can mean formal courtesy, forced obligation or a freely given regard for personal qualities. To understand the specific character of social relations in Garud3apura and particularly the ways in which these are changing, it is necessary to translate the village language of values into more general human categories.

The analysis of this language of values, and of such institutions as caste and religious cults, showed that there is a fundamental opposition between two sets of values, with their associated moralities, kinds of social relation and of religion, and modes of thought. These may be described as collective and personal values: an opposition which is found in all societies, though in each case the form these values take, and the balance between them, are different.

Here I try to describe these values in their most universal forms, and the connexions between them; their forms in traditional Indian thought and society; and their forms in modern Garud3apura. Then, taking Garud3apura as a hinge between traditional society and the industrial society which is coming into being, I use the village's example to suggest the direction in which Indian values and relations are changing.

I do not agree with Firth that :

> The function of morality is to sanction social relations, so it is easy to assume, I think, that the new technical and social structures produce new moral rules. (Ibid 184)

It would be equally fair to say that the function of social relations is to express and maintain moral ideas, and that new moral rules are needed before social change can happen. Nothing can produce a moral rule except personal judgments, which are influenced but not determined by changes in technology and relations. Communities like Garud3apura provide the setting in which moral judgment is most often exercised, and where moral innovations are often made and then accepted or rejected by a consensus. Thus our task is not to predict the necessary moral consequences of economic and technical changes, or the inevitable evolution of industrial society, but to show how these changes present themselves to the people they affect as reasons for judgments, rather than causes; and so, by tracing moral and other changes as they happen together, to understand the direction of change. As Winch says :

> 'Understanding' ... is grasping the point or meaning of what is being done or said. This is a notion far removed from the world of statistics and causal laws : it is closer to the realm of discourse and to the internal relations that link the parts of a realm of discourse. The notion of meaning should be carefully distinguished from that of function, which is popular with certain sociologists. The latter is a quasi-causal notion, which it is perilous to apply to social institutions. (Winch 1958 115-6)

> Social relations really exist only in and through the ideas which are current in society; or alternatively, ... social relations fall into the same logical category as do relations between ideas. (Ibid 133)

In this chapter I try to provide a grammar and vocabulary of the values of Garud3apura society, with their etymologies and cognates; to make possible a translation, into all-Indian terms and universal human terms, of its people's dialogue of ideas; and to show the direction this dialogue has taken.

Piaget : heteronomy and autonomy

These two sets of values correspond to what Piaget (1932) calls ~~the~~ value~~s~~/of heteronomy and autonomy. From a study of rules and moral judgments among Swiss children, he draws conclusions about the relation~~s~~/ between moral and intellectual development, and between social and mental facts, which have universal application.

A child first feels an obligation to obey rules because they come from someone he respects; but there are two quite different kinds of respect, which Piaget calls unilateral and mutual respect :

> In all spheres, two kinds of social relations must be distinguished: constraint and cooperation. The first implies an element of unilateral respect, of authority and prestige; the second is simply the intercourse between two individuals on an equal footing. (Piaget 1932 53)

Cooperation gives rise to mutual respect, and to rules based not on authority but on reciprocity. Children get practice in obeying and eventually making rules by playing games :

> Autonomy follows upon heteronomy: the rule of a game appears to the child no longer as an external law, sacred in so far as it has been laid down by adults; but as the outcome of a free decision and worthy of respect in the measure that it has enlisted mutual consent. (Ibid 57)

The same thing is true of the specifically moral rules which children develop in contact with each other (ibid 63). Reciprocity leads to moral universality because the experience of co-operation makes necessary rules of mutual control and verification, which develop both the moral ideals of justice and truthfulness and the intellectual ideal of consistency :

> Mutual respect therefore appears to us as the necessary condition of autonomy under its double aspect, intellectual and moral. From the intellectual point of view, it frees the child from the opinions that have been imposed upon him while it favours inner consistency and reciprocal control. From the moral point of view, it replaces the norms of authority by that norm immanent in action and in consciousness themselves, the norm of reciprocity in sympathy. (Ibid 103)

Piaget holds that by reciprocity we learn sympathy, but he does not see that a child's 'generosity in his relations with his playmates' (ibid 63) need not always lead to moral universality. Reciprocity can exist in closed groups, and reason alone may not be able to dispel a belief that the moral community, of those able to feel as one does oneself and therefore entitled to sympathy, is limited to this closed group. To some extent I think Piaget is right, because all ethical systems include some universalist elements (e.g. the 'Golden Rule'); but it is useful to distinguish, as Ginsberg (1956 117) does, between kindliness or benevolence, which is 'always limited and discriminatory', and sympathy, 'an imaginative identification with others' which is necessary to the growth of moral universalism.

Piaget sees the morality of autonomy, and the principles of logical thought that go with it, as something towards which the unfettered reason of co-operating individuals must tend. This is either a fact of personal development or a disguised value-judgment: in either case he does not show the necessity of a similar evolution in social morality. The sociological value of his book is that it demonstrates the necessary or likely connexions between the elements of heteronomy and between the elements of autonomy, and the irreducible difference between the two :

> Where we see a struggle between two moralities, and between two types of social relations, Durkheim affirms the unity of all moral and social facts. (Piaget 1932 341)

Piaget criticizes Durkheim's 'illegitimate identification of constraint and cooperation' (ibid 355), the view that both the obligation of duty and aspiration towards the good are derived from the same source: a common respect for the 'sacred' which, for Durkheim, reflects the authority of society.

Whereas autonomy goes with logical consistency, Piaget says, the mode of thought characteristic of heteronomy is 'realism': the contents of the mind, and the institutions of society, are regarded as external and existing in their own right, with a value independent of individuals. Realism in general goes with moral realism, which holds that obedience to rules laid down by authority is good in itself; that the letter rather than the spirit of the law should be observed; and that responsibility is objective, and often communicable. To obey the rules, from whatever

motive, is right; to break them, even unintentionally, is wrong and calls for expiatory punishment. The values of society form a completed whole, and the individual should find them out and live according to them.

Autonomy can justify only subjective responsibility, which stresses intention and personal conscience:

> Thus autonomy of conscience takes the place of heteronomy ...; thus the purely interior responsibility which blames itself for not reaching a certain ideal follows upon the responsibility born of the reactions of the group. It is true that inner responsibility remains a social phenomenon; unless individuals cooperated, conscience would be ignorant of right and of the sense of guilt. (Ibid 341)

Reciprocity, sympathy and the logical need for universality mean that every other person is equally an end and a value in himself. Rules are justified only when they are worked out by mutual consent and are compatible with equality and equity. These principles provide, not a completed system of social values, but a method for their elaboration:

> This cooperation ... is the only thing that allows for the distinction between what is and what ought to be. For the word 'method' implies that certain provisional truths have been established, but above all that there is more to discover and that progress depends on compliance with certain norms. In this way the characteristics of the ideal are safeguarded. The essence of social constraint and of external authority, on the contrary, is to identify what is with what ought to be, the ideal state of things being thus conceived as already realized. (Ibid 347)

Thus Piaget distinguishes two types of values, with their associated ideas and relations:

values of	heteronomy	autonomy
respect	unilateral	mutual
social relations based on	constraint	co-operation
mode of thought	realism	consistency
morality	duty	reciprocity
justified by	authority	conscience
responsibility	objective	subjective
chief end the good of	society	individuals
ideal	realized in society	constantly sought after

This scheme provides a clear statement of a fundamental opposition in all social life, and a descriptive language in which to make intelligible the dialogue of ideas in Garud3apura; but first I explore the further implications of heteronomy and autonomy, and similar oppositions.

Bergson: closed and open morality

Bergson's (1956) distinction between closed and open morality, religion or society is closely parallel to Piaget's opposition of heteronomy and autonomy, though the form in which Bergson presents it is metaphysical and intuitive rather than empirical, psychological and sociological. For my purpose Bergson's presentation has three advantages: he applies his categories to religion; he sees that the practice of reciprocity need not lead to moral universality, because reciprocity in limited groups is not the same as universal sympathy; and his view of the innovating role of saints and mystics, though too romantic as an account of moral innovation in general, is particularly fitted to traditional India.

Bergson first distinguishes closed and open 'societies', which are really moral communities. The closed society is an in-group organized for defence against outsiders. Its members have special obligations to each other and none to outsiders; and this is the natural form of society, like an ant-heap (ibid 266). In existing societies each person is confronted, not with a simple opposition between an in-group and an out-group, but with a series of obligations towards the different groups he belongs to, which define his station and its duties:

> In cases where the insertion of the group into society is complete, we may content ourselves, if need be, with fulfilling our obligations towards the group and so paying our debts to society. (Bergson 1956 18)

This closed morality is dictated by the necessary conditions of the group's welfare and continued existence. Bergson contrasts it with the open or human morality of obligations towards all men as members of the open society, which is humanity. Though in practice both elements are found in all systems of morality, in principle the difference between them is complete:

> We are fond of saying that the apprenticeship to civic virtue is served in the family, and that in the same way, from holding our country dear, we learn to love mankind. Our sympathies are supposed to broaden out in an unbroken progression, to expand while remaining identical, and to end by embracing all humanity. ... But between the society in which we live and humanity in general there is ... the same contrast as between the closed and the open; the difference between the two objects is one of kind and not simply of degree. ... Who can help seeing that social cohesion is largely due to the necessity for a community to protect itself against others, and that it is primarily as against all other men that we love the men with whom we live ? (Ibid 32-3)

Intelligence alone could never have given men the idea of humanity as a single society; but certain 'exceptional souls', being 'borne on a great surge of love towards humanity in general' (ibid 95), are able to make this discontinuous leap and, by their moral example and teaching, to breathe something of the same spirit into the customary morality of existing societies:

> But after each occasion the circle that has momentarily opened closes again. Part of the new has flowed into the mould of the old; individual aspiration has become social pressure; and obligation covers the whole. (Ibid 267)

For Bergson, moral innovation is the work of a few mystics and saints; for Piaget, it is a continuous function of the autonomous reason. In general I think Piaget is right; but Bergson's view fits very well the traditional Indian combination of a rigid morality of groups with free moral speculation for those who have renounced social

bonds and who, by their lives and teaching, have transformed Indian society from time to time.

Bergson distinguishes two methods of moral education: 'training' (dressage) which inculcates 'a morality made up of impersonal habits'; and 'the mystic way' (mysticité) which involves 'the imitation of a person, and even a spiritual union, a more or less complete identification' (ibid 97). The second method is very close to the traditional guru-siishya (teacher-disciple) relationship in India. At first sight this imitation and spiritual union seem to be more in the nature of unilateral respect and heteronomy; but in Indian tradition - and I think in Bergson's intention - the essence of the relationship is that the disciple freely chooses a teacher and rejects the constituted authority of society to submit himself to this teacher's authority. The purpose of his long apprenticeship is to bring about an independent awakening of his own faculties. This is why sitting at the feet of a master, and in a less intense way the popular worship of gurus, are typically Indian expressions of autonomy and, as I shall show, tend to be associated with some of the other elements of autonomy which Piaget has described.

Bergson makes a parallel distinction between two types of religion, which again differ in kind and not merely in degree: the 'static and exterior' religion of the closed society, and the 'dynamic and interior' religion of the open society. The first is typically institutionalized, fixed and hierarchical; its values are related to the interests of the group. The second is mystical and spontaneous, and its values are those of love and universal brotherhood. This distinction also - though not perhaps Bergson's elaboration of it - corresponds to the constant opposition between two tendencies in Hinduism: on the one hand the religion of groups, with the official brahmanical religion which consecrates the hierarchical order of groups within the embracing community of Hindus; and on the other, the religion of personal choice, which tends to be ethical, casteless and connected with the cult of gurus. Bergson writes:

> Now, one of the essential characteristics of ancient religions was the idea of a link between the human groups and the deities attached to them. The gods of the city fought with and for the city. This belief is incompatible with true mysticism, I mean

> with the feeling which certain souls have that they are the instruments of God who loves all men with an equal love, and who bids them to love each other. (Ibid 311)

I have shown how there is the same incompatibility between the prescribed worship of caste, family or village gods and the universalist spirit of devotion to personal gods and gurus.

Since the 'natural' condition of unregenerate human societies is closed, of all societies democracy is the furthest removed from nature ('democracy is evangelical in essence and ... its motive power is love' - ibid 282). Its ideals of equality and the inviolable rights of the human person could never have evolved from the rules of social life in closed groups, without a special injection of creative insight: another conclusion which fits India's recent history very well, and helps to explain why Indian democracy is an indigenous growth rather than an import or imitation.

To sum up: Bergson's distinction of closed and open runs parallel to Piaget's values of heteronomy and autonomy at most points; except in its application to religion, about which Piaget has little to say.

Bergson's categories	closed	open
society (or moral community	the group	humanity
morality	from group's interests, and individual's station within it	universalist
motives	social pressure	aspiration
moral education	'training' (dressage)	'the mystic way' (mysticite)
religion	static and exterior	dynamic and interior
polity	hierarchy	democracy
values correspond to Piaget's	heteronomy	autonomy

Though Piaget's categories are more universally applicable, Bergson's account of two kinds of religion and or morality can help us to understand the forms these values take in Indian society.

Heteronomy and autonomy: universal forms

Piaget and Bergson have described the main features of this fundamental dichotomy in values, thought and relations. It has much in common with a distinction that is often made between two kinds of society, based on mechanical and organic solidarity (Durkheim), status and contract (Maine), Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft or community and society (Tönnies), 'folk' and 'urban' living (Redfield) &c. The general tendency of these theories is to regard a change in values, in the direction of greater autonomy, individuation &c, as a necessary consequence of changes in the external conditions of modern society: its 'volume' and 'density', the frequency and intensity of contacts &c (Cuvillier 1962 346-7). Technical progress is the cause of which individuation is the effect.

But this is to oversimplify the relation between external, measurable facts and ideological facts. Clearly ideologies - value-loaded social categories, descriptions of actions, ethical theories &c - are developed in response to circumstances; but this development is at least partly a conscious and rational process, carried on in a context of existing categories and principles of reasoning. Thus, although technical progress is often found together with individuation, and although one can see good reasons why this should be so, there is no necessity about it. It could have been otherwise.

Dore, in his study of a Tokyo ward, suggests that in Japan it may in fact be otherwise: that 'forms of the new collectivism' - dominated by large industrial corporations, government controls and welfare services, and mass communications - 'have arrived before the old ethic of dependence on the group and dependence on superiors has disappeared' (Dore 1958 391). He quotes Kooji, a Japanese sociologist, who suggests that Japan is 'skipping over the process of individual reformation in the field of consciousness' (ibid 393).

Dore's categories of 'collectivism' (or 'collectivity-orientation') and 'individuation', like Piaget's heteronomy and autonomy or Berson's closed and open morality, occupy the middle ground between individual psychology, which explains too little, and social determinism, or

historicism, which tries to explain everything and in the end explains nothing. It is on this level - the comparison of ideologies and systems of thought, or of sets of values and principles which are necessarily or usually associated - rather than on the level of objectively measurable 'social structures', that we can hope to find some universal principles of human rationality, the open-ended and unfinished category which is contained in our definition of what it is to be human; and to devise a language in which not only to describe social change, but to understand and explain it.

Dore's 'individuated person':

> selects his opinions, beliefs and moral standards not simply to conform with his immediate social environment, but in the light of strongly held principles of right and wrong which he has internalized. The responsibility for his own actions he accepts as his own, and in his conduct he is guided by the dictates of his own conscience which would make him feel guilty if he deviated from the standards which he expects of himself, rather than by the fear that by departing from the standards of his group he will be accused of having let the group down. These various traits tend to be related; they may be summarized as reflecting the extent to which the individual 'identifies with' or 'merges self in' some wider group of which he is a member. (Dore 1958 387-8)

Dore relates this distinction to Riesman's, between shame-control and guilt-control, which he prefers to Ruth Benedict's more sweeping division of culture into shame-cultures and guilt-cultures (ibid 382). He established a connexion between individuation, universalist ethics, conscience or guilt-control, and economic and political 'individualism' of the kind which is also found in modern India. In an account of moral judgments and casuistry he shows how universalist ethics, which were little stressed in traditional Japanese ethics, have grown in importance (ibid 380), in spite of the opposing tendency towards a 'new collectivism'.

The individuated man's morality is not egoism, or made up only of reciprocal obligations to particular people, because reciprocity sympathy, and logic makes him extend this sympathy to others when his relations with them are not reciprocal. If he identifies with a group,

this is humanity; as Bergson showed, it is different in kind from all particular moral communities, or in-groups, and can never be reached merely by extending their boundaries.

The opposite of universalism is not egoism but a morality of obligations only towards members of the in-group, or to a series of in-groups which are concentric around the individual, and to no one else. In Peristiany's (1965 189-190) terms, it is the 'honour' which allows a highland Cypriot to cheat a stranger, not the 'honesty' which prevents him from doing certain wrongs to anyone.

A general rule, to make the moralities of in-groups acceptable to systematizing reason, is normative relativism, as distinct from a merely descriptive relativism (Emmet 1966 93). Normative relativism is the doctrine that different groups' moral conceptions not only differ, but ought to differ: that the actual rightness and wrongness of actions is relative to the doer's membership in a closed group, and sometimes to his personal position within that group. The only universal rules are that groups should coexist in peace, should not interfere with each other's internal moralities, and should not encroach on each other's recognized prerogatives. Differences in moral codes and in customs may not be merely tolerated, but positively valued, because they keep the groups apart. The common good is best served by their separate interdependence. Justice, as for Plato, means securing for each person his rightful place in the group and for each group its rightful place in the system; and these places need not be equal.

This is the morality of Bradley's (1927) essay 'My station and its duties'. Since this essay is very Indian in tone though apparently not influenced by Indian theories, it is worth considering in some detail, as a version, independently developed in the west and justified in entirely western terms, of the dominant ethical theory of traditional India.

For Bradley the purpose of life is self-realization, but the self to be realized is not 'the self to be pleased' (ibid 160), the 'false private self' (ibid 205): it is 'a higher self' (ibid 161), which is realized when we identify our will with 'the good will which is superior to ourselves' (ibid 162) - that the moral organism, or particular society, to which we belong:

> He /mah/ is one of a people, he was born in a family, he lives in a certain society, in a certain state. What he has to do depends on what his place is, what his function is, and that all comes from his station in the organism. (Bradley 1927 173)
>
> To be moral, I must will my station and its duties. (Ibid 180)

The duties proper to each station are known from custom and public opinion, or, in cases of doubt, from moral intuition. This is not the same as autbnomous conscience, for if possible one should seek the opinion of experienced 'persons with a will to do right' who incarnate society's judgment:

> the result is an intuition which does not belong merely to this or that man or collection of men. 'Conscience is the antipodes of this. It wants you to have no law but yourself, and to be better than the world. But this intuition tells you that, if you could be as good as your world, you would be better than most likely you are, and that to wish to be better than the world is to be already on the threshold of immorality. ... What is the 'world' in this sense? It is the morality already existing ready to hand in laws, institutions, social usages, moral opinions and feelings. (Ibid 199-200)

We should forget 'individuals' and unattainable ideals outside our society. When we have realized ourselves:

> On the outside and inside alike we have the same universal will in union with the particular personality, and in the identity of inside and outside in one single process we have reached the point where 'is to be', with all its contradictions, disappears, or remains but as a moment in a higher 'is'. (Ibid 202)

This is an exact statement, in western terms, of the orthodox Hindu doctrine of dharma. Piaget holds that this identification of the ideal with what is already realized on another level, from which authority comes, is fundamental to heteronomous thinking (see above).

For Bradley a man belongs to several moral communities, the widest of which is probably the state, 'the moral organism, the real identity of might and right' (ibid 184). He writes 'Humanity is not a visible community' (ibid 205),

and he doubts whether it can usefully be called a society:

> a man's life with its moral duties is in the main filled up by his station in that system of wholes which the state is. (Ibid 174)

In the doctrine of dharma this 'system of wholes' is not the state but the society of all Hindu castes, perhaps with those non-Hindu groups who live in this society as if they were castes.

Bradley is not entirely happy with this solution, since he admits that a community may be 'in a confused or rotten condition' (ibid 203), though it is hard to see by what standards one could make such a judgment; and that the ideal cannot be realized equally in all societies. Some men - presumably guided by conscience - must have a 'cosmopolitan morality'.

> the moral ideal ... of a good man who is not good as a member of this or that community, but who realizes himself in what whatever community he finds himself. This, however, must mean also that he is not perfectly realized in any particular station. (Ibid 205)

The orthodox brahmanical solution to this problem is more consistent: since morality is derived entirely from a station and its duties, the only cosmopolitan is the renouncer who does not realize himself in any community, but as an isolated individual without moral obligations. In describing moralities, however, I prefer, like Bergson, to distinguish not two kinds of men, but two kinds of moral theory, which are combined in every working system of morality: 'cosmopolitan' morality, and the relative morality of 'my station and its duties'.

Durkheim faced the same problem when he tried to derive all morality from the needs of societies, yet without identifying morality with public opinion and so denying the possibility of moral innovation:

> The society that morality bids us desire is not the society as it appears to itself, but society as it really is or is really becoming. (Durkheim 1953 38)

> Socrates expressed, more clearly than his judges, the morality suited to his time. (Ibid 64-5)

That is to say, he was right not because of any specifically moral insight, but because of his objective understanding of the nature of society

(see Ginsberg 1956 45 on Durkheim). Piaget shows that the problem can only be solved by admitting a difference in kind between two moralities:

> For, either society is one, and all social processes, including cooperation, are to be assimilated to pure constraint alone, in which case right is bound to be determined by public opinion and traditional use; or else, a distinction must be made between actual and ideal society, that is to say, between 'opinion' and society such as it is 'really tending to be', in which case one is inevitably led to distinguish between constraint and cooperation more fundamentally than Durkheim wished to do, so as to place moral values above reasons of state. (Piaget 1932 346)

Both Durkheim and Bradley faced a similar difficulty - which Bergson held to be insoluble - when they tried to account for universal moral obligations in a world where the only observable moral communities appear to be closed. For Durkheim, humanity is not yet an organized self-conscious groups, as the state is; but if states abandon their policy of expansion at the expense of their neighbours, and concentrate on achieving justice at home, there will be no occasion for rivalry between them, and cosmopolitanism and patriotism will be reconciled (Ginsberg 1956 47).

Durkheim provides a sociological justification in western terms, and Bradley a metaphysical one, of the heteronomous morality of closed groups, which has been the dominant though not the only strain in traditional Hindu ethics. Generally western ethical theory has put universal obligations before particular ones, consistency before relativism, and individual rights before reasons of state.

This morality of autonomy appears in its most typical western form as liberal morality, and in an extreme form as existentialism. It demands both 'positive' freedom, to be moved by one's own conscious purposes and to bear responsibility for one's rational choices, and 'negative' freedom, not to be prevented from choosing as one does, rationally, or irrationally, even for one's own good as others see it (Berlin 1958 21-3). Values and moral principles have to be chosen, not merely found out by investigation of the facts. Freedom to choose is itself a value; but - except perhaps for an extreme form of existentialism - there are other values to be balanced against it. These need not be compatible with each other, and it is a mistake to try to grade them on one scale and to look for a final harmony in the moral universe. Thus

the possibility of conflict and tragedy can never be eliminated from human life:

> In the end, men choose between ultimate values, they choose as they do, because their life and thought are determined by fundamental moral categories and concepts that are as much a part of their being and conscious thought and sense of their own identity, as their basic physical structure. (Berlin 1958 57)

Piaget suggests what some of these moral categories are: reciprocity, justice, sympathy &c, and he gives reasons to think they must be grounded in the human mind and in the simplest human experiences, so that they are present or potentially present in every system of morality. He shows also how they develop in the relations between individuals; co-operation and rules of mutual control give a method for the progressive improvement of moral judgments and the working out of values. Similarly, Dorothy Emmet (1966 57f 105) suggests that there may be universal moral categories, expressed in 'constitutive' rules, like the 'Golden Rule' and the rule against making exceptions in one's own favour, rather than 'regulative' rules about particular actions.

Berlin (1958 57) says that the 'ideal of freedom to live as one wishes - and the pluralism of values connected with it' is the essence of liberal morality. Normative relativism is the opposite of this, although at first sight it may appear to have its own 'pluralism of values'. The different rules of social groups which it tolerates are subordinated to a single value of conformity: thus Bradley (1927 173) agrees with Hegel 'that to be moral is to live in accordance with the moral tradition of one's country'. This value may itself be subordinated to other metaphysical values (Bradley) or scientific values (Durkheim). Similarly the morality of castes is justified by a rigid hierarchy of values, which I consider below. This, and a cyclical idea of life and time which resolves all conflicts in the end, explains why there is said to be no tragedy in India.

Thus personal autnonomy is incompatible with separate rights for groups which impose conformity on their members. More of one means less of the others. In the first case there is uniformity at the beginning - 'constitutive' rules of reciprocity, consistency, universality &c - but not in the end, in the second case, diversity in the beginning - the rules which members of different groups must learn - and a uniform hierarchy of values in the end.

The western form of liberal morality has its roots in the Stoic and Judaeo-Christian idea of a human status, as a member of a universal moral community. Dorothy Emmet (1966 177) shows how this value did not replace the older idea of a person/ as a bearer of rights and duties in society, but radically changed its meaning. The role becomes a 'calling' rather than a function in a social organism, and its duties become freely accepted commitments rather than heteronomous rules. Personal conscience, not the solidarity and position of the group, relates these special duties to the universal obligations of men. All men, whatever their calling, are entitled to equal respect, because what Quakers call 'the inner light' is in all of them.

Thus it is possible to extend the list of oppositions which imply this fundamental opposition between heteronomy and autonomy in values and social relations. Some of these forms have developed in the historical conditions of western thought and society. Others appear to be universal, being grounded in universal kinds of social relation and categories of the human mind.

	heteronomy	autonomy
values (Dore)	collectivism	individuation
social control (Riseman)	shame-control	guilt-control
sanction	public opinion	conscience
ethics	normative relativism	universalism
typical western forms	idealism (Bradley)	liberal morality
role	my station and its duties	calling, commitment
right and wrong known from	consensus of right-thinking men	conscience
chief ends of life	one (eg. self-realization) which justifies conformity	many and incompatible; choice inescapable
ideal	realized in fulfilling one's function	never realized
widest moral community	state	humanity
will	to be identified with a higher will (eg. the common will, history), 'whose service is perfect freedom'	free; chooses between ultimate values
intellectual origins in western thought	Plato, Hegel	Stoicism, Judaism, Christianity

Since these two principles - heteronomy and autonomy, relativism and universalism, hierarchy and equality - are combined in all social life, we should expect to find each of them emphasized in different institutional forms. Yet it is often suggested that relativism and hierarchy are the whole, or almost the whole, of Hindu social morality (Fuchs 1950 436), and that where autonomy is found it is either an individual accident, without social significance, or an import from Christianity, the west, or Islam. Thus Fürer-Haimendort writes of:

> the general Hindu idea of the relativity of ethical conduct. Actions permissible for members of one caste are wrong for those of another, and there is consequently not one generally applicable moral code, but there are many variations adapted to the circumstances of individual castes. Righteousness in the eyes of a Hindu is not compliance with a moral code universal to humanity or even the whole of Hindu society, but it is above all the observance of caste rules. (Fürer-Haimendorf 1962 292)

> Love and compassion for one's fellow men ... is not one of the characteristic features of Hindu social philosophy. No doubt, there may be high caste Hindus of gentle and generous natures, but their ethical code does not prescribe an attitude of personal interest and sympathy for persons standing outside the narrow circle of kinsmen and caste-fellows. (Ibid 294)

> Ideas of political freedom, as met with in India or Ceylon, do not spring from indigenous concepts of the relation between the individual and the state; they are derivative from Western ideas of freedom and democracy /and/ are of no relevance to our argument. They may be interesting as evidence of the possibility of implanting foreign ideas into a society whose social understructure is basically unchanged, but there seems no point in trying to relate them to the traditional social ideology. ... Neither in Hindu nor in Buddhist ideology can one discover the conscious and explicit emphasis on the value of human freedom which is basic to the Western humanist and liberal tradition. (Fürer-Haimendorf 1963 168-9)

I maintain, on the contrary, that Hindu social morality can only be understood as the result of a dialogue between relativism and universalism;

that ideas of reciprocity, sympathy, equality and freedom have a long and respectable history in India, and that foreign political and other forms, like western ideas of the relation of the individual to the state, have been accepted so quickly and willingly because they expressed ideas which were already present in Hindu tradition, and which were particularly relevant to the new circumstances.

If we wish to understand how this has happened, and how similar changes are happening now, it would be pointless to deny ourselves the aid of history, and to attempt a purely 'synchronic' description of modern Indian values. The history of Indian moral and religious ideas is available, both to us and to the people we study, who themselves are very much aware of this historical background to their own debate between moral relativism and universalism.

The autonomous tradition in Indian thought typically finds expression in three institutions, all religious: renunciation, bhakti or devotional religion, and the sect. Dumont (1960 37-8) suggests that renunciation is the fundamental one, and that 'the secret of Hinduism may be found in the dialogue between the renouncer and the man-in-the-world'. The caste society is founded on the complementarity of pure and impure, and is part of the absolute, unchanging order of the universe, which alone is real. It denies all substance, all reality in thought and all value to temporal things, such as individual castes and men. The only true individual is the man who has renounced the social world to devote himself to his own spiritual liberation

> He thinks as an individual and this is the distinctive trait which opposes him to the man-in-the-world and brings him closer to the western thinker. ... Is it really too adventurous to say that the agent of development in Indian religion and speculation, the 'creator of values', has been the renouncer? (Dumont 1960 46-7)

The caste society makes a special place for him, 'a social state apart from society proper' (ibid 44), and absorbs his innovations because he points the way to the personal liberation which individuals long for, but feel unable to achieve because of attachment to the world. The renouncer does not deny the religion of the caste society:

> The discipline of the renouncer by its very tolerance of worldly religion becomes additional to it. An individual religion based upon choice is added on to the religion of the group. (Ibid 46)

In the official, brahmanical ideology of the caste society, the lawful ends of life cannot conflict, being classified under three heads and arranged in hierarchy, the purus3aartha: kaama (pleasure) should give way to artha (profit or power) and both to dharma (duty, defined for each person by his station). The renouncer's chief end, which is moks3a or personal liberation, at first seems incompatible with dharma, but this difficulty is overcome by including moks3a in the hierarchy as a fourth, higher stage which, unlike dharma, is optional, and in principle to be sought only when one has fulfilled one's worldly obligations as a householder (ibid 45)[+]. This solution only partly conceals 'a subdued hostility to renunciation itself' among Brahmans. Similarly the idea of transmigration or rebirth, which is closely connected with moks3a, corresponds to no rite in brahmanical or group religion, 'it is speculative and belongs to that field of religion which is open to individual option' (ibid 48).

The ideals of the autonomous renouncer and the heteronomous man-in-the-world are combined in bhakti, or devotional religion, which is a way of applying the renouncer's insights to life in the world. The bhakta or devotee does not deny that God may be called by many names, but he seeks an emotional identification with a unique and personal God:

> Love, a total devotion to the Lord, suffices for salvation. Divine grace answers the appeal of the pure and humble heart. This is a revolutionary doctrine since it transcends both caste and renunciation... Thanks to love, renunciation is transcended by being interiorized, in order to escape the determinism of actions, inactivity is no longer necessary, detachment and disinterestedness are sufficient: one can leave the world from within... By loving submission, by identifying themselves unreservedly with the Lord, everybody can become free individuals. (Ibid 57-8)

The bhakti of the Giitaa is intellectual and measured, but 'the Hindu bhakti proper', typically that of the Tamil saints, is intensely emotional and involves an ecstasy resembling the possession found in local cults. A bhakti cult, however, may transcend caste only for the purposes of personal religion, so that the brotherhood of all devotees need not imply the brotherhood of men-in-the-world.

[+]Dharma is moksha in the making. If moksha is complete divinity, dharma is divinity under human conditions. (Sarma 1955 21)

The sect, another form of the religion of choice which is often based on bhakti, is typically composed of followers of a living or dead renouncer, a guru preaching a common doctrine of salvation to all castes. Orthodox brahmanism is polytheistic and tolerant about belief, the object of religion, but socially exclusive about its subjects, the worshippers. The sect is usually open to all but exclusive about its doctrine, which emphasizes devotion to one god (Renou 1961 47). Yet it need not directly question the religion of the world:

> from the inside, to its lay members, the sect appears as a religion for the individual superimposed upon common religion, even if this latter is relativized to the point at which Brahmanism is viewed simply as the order, or disorder, of the day-to-day world. The caste order continues to be respected, even if it is seen, in the light of sectarian truth, as a profane concern. (Dumont 1960 60)

Yet there is a problem: how does the sectarian or bhakta, the devotee in the world for whom this personal religion is the central religious experience, reconcile its universalist values with the relative values he continues to apply to moral relations in the caste society? In a significant footnote on the hierarchy of human ends Dumont suggests an answer:

> In such a hierarchy there is no room for a radical principle of evil. ... It is tempting to think that the Indian trilogy on many occasions plays the same role as our distinction between good and evil. This is not to say, of course, that any conception of evil analogous to our own is absent, but where we condemn and exclude, India hierarchizes and includes. (Ibid 42)

In this hierarchical scheme, moral relations exist at the level of the caste society and its three ends, they are out of place at the level of the renouncer, his thought and moks3a. Obligations depend on one's social position, not on personal commitments, the renouncer has no social position and therefore no obligations. Good and evil are the same to him. If he chooses to guide others this is a gratuitous act of compassion. This does not entirely solve the problem of his disciple in the world, who may continue to look for consistent solutions to both moral and religious problems. It is difficult to think as an individual in religious matters only, and Dumont

gives too little weight to a tendency in traditional bhakti cults to make absolute moral distinctions rather than relative and hierarchical ones, to reconcile social obligations with religious commitments, and to soften the rigours of caste with a universalist ethic.

Yet these two ideal types represent broadly the forms which heteronomy and autonomy have taken in traditional India: the ideals of the heteronomous man-in-the-world, who inhabits a 'world of relations' and has value only as part of a moral organism, and of the autonomous renouncer, who thinks as an individual and creates values. Bhakti and the sects are the channels through which the renouncer's inventions are absorbed into the caste society and its hierarchy of values, as the insights of Bergson's 'exceptional souls' are absorbed and institutionalized in the closed society.

Heteronomy in traditional India

In the classical brahmanical theory of the caste society, ethics is one aspect of dharma, 'the norm which sustains the universe, the principle of a thing in virtue of which it is what it is' (Radhakrishnan 1947 107). Dharma is the total order of the universe, which alone has value, and in which mankind, like other realms of creation, has its appointed part. For each man it takes the form of svadharma, his own dharma, for which he is fitted by his svabhaava or 'specific nature' (Radhakrishman 1926 111). To be moral is to conform willingly to the truth (satya) of one's being, 'what one is' (Zimmer 1956 163), and this is determined by birth into a certain station:

> The accidents of the individual personality are systematically disregarded: the individual is asked, always, to identify himself with one or another of the timeless, permanent roles that constitute the whole pattern and fabric of society. (Zimmer 1956 173)

Each part is necessary to the whole, even when it appears, to our limited view, to conflict with another: the thief and the constable, the prostitute and the housewife. The total organization of these roles is varn3aashramadharma, the discipline (dharma) of the four caste categories (varn3a) and the four stages of life (aashrama).
This is an infallible guide to conduct in most cases, since it shows how the individual will can be identified with the good of society, and so with the universal order of which the social order is an expression in time. The similarity to Bradley's morality of 'my station and its duties', and to Bergson's morality of the closed society, is striking.

The laws of nature or the universe, especially the law of karma or moral causation, are impersonal and can be known only by those who are free of attachment, especially Brahmans. The place allotted to personal relationships is low in the hierarchy of values, which resembles and runs parallel to the ideal hierarchy of caste categories (varn3a):

The Brahmins are the priests. They should have neither property nor executive power. They are the seers who constitute the conscience of society. The Kṣatriyas are the administrators, whose principle is reverence for life. The Vaiśyas are the traders and craftsmen, men of technical ability who aim at efficiency. The routine workers, the proletariat, are the Śūdras. They take no interest in their work as ~~such~~ such, where they carry out instructions and contribute only a fraction. They lead a life of innocent impulse and adopt traditional ways. Their joy is the fulfilment of family obligations of marriage and parenthood, and other personal relationships. (Radhakrishnan 1947 129)

Nietzsche has praised the instiution of caste, for he thought it right that life should grow colder towards the summit. As the Markandeya Purana pronounces, a Brahman should do nothing for the sake of enjoyment. (Coomaraswamy 1957 148)

This goes against the Christian emphasis on charity, and the liberal morality's stress on the value of personal relationships. GE Moore, for example, believed that the most intrinsically good things imaginable were ' the pleasures of human intercourse and the enjoyment of beautiful objects', thus putting at the top of the scale of values what orthodox brahmanism puts near the bottom.

Similarly brahmanism inverts the order in which liberal morality tends to place the different guides to conduct: first conscience, then observation of others' conduct, then tradition and authority. For Manu:

> The sources of dharma are: (i) the Śruti or the Vedas, (ii) the tradition and practice of those that know it, (iii) the conduct of virtuous men, and (iv) individual conscience.
> (Radhakrishnan 1947 108)

In the Golden Age detailed rules of conduct were unnecessary, because men naturally lived according to dharma, but since we live in the Kaliyuga or age of degeneration, waiting for Visn3u to restore the Golden Age, the requirements of dharma must be specified as they apply to our particular station. The customs of families, castes and nations are authoritative if they are not opposed to the Vedas.

If in doubt, we should follow these customs, or consult virtuous men, who will usually but not necessarily be Brahmans. They correspond to Bradley's experienced 'persons with a will to do right', who represent the enlightened opinion of 'the world'.

The classical texts make provision for paris3ads or assemblies of the learned, to apply the eternal principles of the Vedas to new or doubtful cases and to introduce changes in the people's customs.

> A parisad should generally have a hundred wise Brāhmins, but in times of crisis, even a single individual of insight and self-control can function as a parisad. (Ibid 111)

Such an individual must be 'disciplined, compassionate to all living beings, learned in the Vedas and methods of logical inference, practical-minded ... and of stainless character' (ibid). Thus the 'individual conscience' which Manu recognizes is not a moral insight, born of sympathy and available to all, but a kind of jurisprudence which only those with the proper training can take part in, a skill in interpreting a hierarchical system of values which is eternally closed.

This is a Brahman view, of course, but it is implicit in the whole organization of the caste society: a hierarchy with the pure Brahmam at the top, compassionate in an abstract way but without strong personal sympathies, who is able to take a view of the whole because he is detached; and at the bottom - apart from the Untouchable, whom the texts treat as a kind of anomaly (Dumont 1966 95) - the Shuudra, incapable of thinking in general terms because his horizon is limited to his personal relationships. This social hierarchy has its place in the greater hierarchy of the universe, between the world of gods and that of animals and things. Man is linked to the first by purity and spirituality, to the second by the natural processes of life. The elaborate traditional rules about pollution by contact or eating together, or through material things, symbolize this polarity of spirit and gross matter, the interdependence of elements in the hierarchy, and the need to avoid confusion of levels.

The ethics of brahmanism is a thoroughgoing relativism, which gives moral sanction to the rules of particular groups as long as they do not affect the order of the whole. Similarly its monistic or 'non-dualist' philosophy comprehends not only the religion of the whole society, but the cults of group and personal gods, explaining them as aspects or subordinate forms of a single reality. A personal cult is a matter of private religious experience; but a group cult only becomes truly religious by association with brahmanism, and it must accept the values of the hierarchy. This is why 'sanskritization' and the distinctions between brahmanical and group religion, all-India and village cults, or the Great and Little Traditions, are almost irrelevant from the point of view of values. Brahmanism, with its associated values of purity, auspiciousness and prestige, justifies the religion of groups and its values of protection and solidarity; the supreme value is dharma. Brahmanism and group religion together stand in opposition to the religion of choice, with its values of autonomy and spiritual equality: the religion which begins with the renouncer. Brahmanism, in spite of its tendency to include every innovation in its universal hierarchy, has never been able to eliminate this opposition in values, which involves new kinds of thought and social relations.

Autonomy in traditional India

Dumont suggests that traditional Indian society allows autonomous thinking only in religious matters, and that the only source of this thinking, is the renouncer. I shall describe another tradition of autonomous, universalist, ethical thinking about social relations, but in general Dumont's polarity of religious autonomy and social heteronomy dominates the thought of traditional India, though not of modern India.

I have shown, in my account of the Mowna Guru Math and elsewhere, how the ideal relation between guru and disciple is diluted in the mass cult of gurus and saints, and the general veneration of renouncers. A cult like that of the Mowna Guru is not a sect, because it has no distinctive doctrine: in Dumont's terms, it is inclusive both about the subject of religion, the congregation, and about its object, doctrine. In Garud3apura such cults, with the associated cult of personal gods, make up two thirds of the religion of choice, the other third being possession.

Tagore said that India, in trying to adjust the differences between its races, had sought for some basis of unity:

> This basis has come through our saints, like Nanak, Kabir, Chaitanya, and others, preaching one God to all races of India. (Quoted in Brown 1958 109)

This moral and spiritual unity is quite different from the social unity based on caste ideology. It is the unity of Bergson's open society, as against that of the closed caste society.

The tradition of emotional bhakti, as distinct from the more purely speculative bhakti of the Giitaa, appears to have begun in south India, with the Aar:hvaars (Ālvārs) and Naayanaars (Vaisn3ava and Shaiva saints) whose devotional lyrics made a lasting impression on Tamil religion and are still important in popular culture (see Zaehner 1962, Sen 1961, Kingsbury 1921, Renou 1961). The Tamil and Kannada countries produced the medieval teachers Raamaanuja and Madhva, Raamaanand, who took southern bhakti to north India in the fourteenth century, the Shaiva Siddhaanta school of mystical philosophy; and Arun3agirinaadar and Raamalingam, the saints of the popular Tamil cult of Murugan. The medieval Lingaayat or Viirashaiva sect, which opposed ritualism, Brahmin supremacy and caste but later developed a caste hierarchy of its own, now includes a large part of the population of Mysore state and has strongly influenced Kannada culture and literature.

The religious, non-social ideal of bhakti is either moks3a, liberation from attachment to the world, which the bhakta seeks to achieve with the grace of God; or an emotional union of the soul with God, in which the soul remains perfectly distinct in order to continue to enjoy the bliss of mystical experience (Zaehner 1962 190-1). In either case, as Dumont points out:

> This religion of love supposes two perfectly individualized terms; in order to conceive of a personal Lord there must also be a believer who sees himself as an individual. (Dumont 1960 57)

This is so at the beginning of the bhakta's quest, whether or not he tried to end it by merging his individuality in God. The non-dualist (advaita) philosophy of the Vedaanta, which has long been absorbed into brahmanical orthodoxy, holds that the distinction between the soul and God is the result of ignorance, belonging to the earlier and lower stages of religion. Raamaanuja's 'modified or differentiated non-dualism' (vishist3aa dvaita) and Madhva's dualism gave a philosophical justification for bhakti, helping to absorb it into the main stream of brahmanical teaching (Zaehner 1962 96 132, Renou 1961 42).

In bhakti the soul's relation to God is direct, not mediated through ritual or membership in social groups. All ritual, private or congregational, is optional. A brahan priest is no longer necessary, as he is for many acts of corporate worship prescribed by dharma and related to the values of the caste society. The purity which depends on status and avoidance of pollution is replaced by inner purity, purity of intention and devotion, often with a strong sense of sin (see Zaehner 1962 173 on the Shaiva saints).

In the theory of the caste society, absolute truth is one, and all distinctions are resolved in it, temporal truth is always relative to social position and stage of development:

> In the caste society, nothing is true by nature, everything by situation, there are no essences but only relations. To say caste is to say structure. Hence comes the often recognized impossibility of universal judgments in India: as long as one considers particular objects - instead of relations - no consistency, no principle can be found. (Dumont 1959 84)

The renouncer, who seeks ultimate truths, necessarily thinks in universal terms, and since bhakti and the sects begin with at least two

universal categories, God and the soul, they also tend towards consistent distinctions and universal judgments. Truth is no longer relevant to social position, since all particular truths must be compatible with each other. Weber suggests that the need for consistency came first, before the logic of common devotion:

> For the most part the schools and sects developed out of the basic need for rational consistency which was expressed in the most varied spheres of life. (Weber 1958 4)

For brahmanical orthodoxy, personal relations have relative value only, they come low in the hierarchy of values and the corresponding social hierarchy. Yet in fact friendship has great emotional importance in the caste society, being almost the only relation which is not prescribed but freely entered, and which has no trace of hierarchy. It seems to take up so much of the emotional energy which goes into love and marriage where these matters ~~of~~ are personal choice. Similarly Caitanya regarded Radha's love for Krisn3a as a model of the soul's love for God, because the love of a mistress is free of the social restraints of marriage and is therefore the purest.

In bhakti, just as the relation between man and God is personal, being marked by freely given love on both sides, personal relations in general are revalued, especially the brotherhood (or friendship) and equality of believers. Friendship is idealized by being given a purpose, the common service of God or the guru. And since it is universally admitted that all the gods worshipped by individuals and groups are really one, consistency obliges the bhakta to extend the community of believerd to include all men, at least potentially or as an ideal. Thus the Bhavis3ya Puraan3a says:

> Since all members of all the four castes are children of God, they all belong to the same caste. All human beings have the same Father, and children of the same Father cannot have different castes. (Quoted in Sen 1961 31)[+]

This theme became a commonplace of devotional religion, like Death the Leveller in medieval Christianity (cf Zaehner 1962 183-6, Huizinga 1924 147).

[+]Cf Naalad3iaar, quatrain 195 (Pope 1893), and Tirukkurral3, verse 972.

Whether this attitude implies moral universalism depends on the relation between ethics and religion. In systems which are speculative rather than devotional, the ultimate truths discovered by the renouncer concern personal liberation only and are beyond good and evil. Moral relations belong to the profane world of caste which, as Dumont suggests, religion transcends but does not try to alter. Yet bhakti, in its quest for consistency, looks for universal principles according to which the bhakta can organize his life, and it emphasizes the supreme value of love and personal relations. Indeed, while this may be the order in which ideas invented by renouncers have developed historically, from the individual bhakta's point of view it might be better to put the matter the other way round, and to say that an idealization of sympathy, generosity and love leads him to devotional religion.

This universalist ethical tendency, which provides an emotional escape from a rigidly prescribed pattern of social relations, seems to be a constant of Hindu society; it finds expression, as I shall show, in the secular morality of south India. When this underlying tendency merges with bhakti, religion becomes ethical and the universal congregation becomes a moral community. In the past such movements have been ephemeral: either they were absorbed into brahmanical orthodoxy, like the Shaiva Siddhaanta and the Maadhvas; or they survived on the edge of the caste society, while making concessions to its values, like the Lingaayats and Sikhs.

Schwitzer saw the beginnings of Indian moral universalism in the Buddha's ethic of Karun3aa, a positive, outgoing compassion:

> He gave to India something it did not yet possess: an ethic derived from thought. Up to then it only knew a traditional morality of virtues and duties... When the Buddha exalted compassionate love to be the fundamental principle of morality, he breathed into Indian ethics a new breath of life. (Schweitzer 1951 119)

Certainly Buddhist ethics survived Indian Buddhism, as a lasting influence of Hindu thought. The brahmanical stress on non-violence (ahimsaa) appears to come from Buddhism and Jainism. Yet it is impossible to say whether Buddhism is the first explicit statement of universalism in India, or whether the Buddha built on an existing ethical tradition. It seems that some form of closed and open morality must exist together in every society: a closed morality making possible the cohesion and working of groups,

and an open morality of justice and charity which, as Piaget says, autonomous reason and sympathy tend to work out.

The ethics of the Kurral3

There is conclusive evidence of such a univeralist tradition among the Tamils, in the Naalad3iaar or 400 Jain quatrains, which survived southern Jainism (ed. Pope 1893); and especially in the Kurral3 (Kural) or Tirukkurral3, a collection of moral couplets ascribed to the Untouchable weaver Tiruvall3uvar and probably composed in the fourth century. The Kurrall3 is still central to Tamil literary and popular culture, both for its ethical and its poetic value. Schweitzer (1951 200) believes that many of its maxims were 'ancient possessions of the people'; but Pope (Tiruvalluvar 1962 xix-xx), being a missionary and recognizing the Kurral 3's similarity to Christian ethics, is driven to find Christian influence; Tiruvall3uvar lived at Mayilapur, an early centre of Christianity and the place where St Thomas is said to have been martyred. Pope quotes from Ariel's letter to Burnouf, published in 1848:

> That which above all is wonderful in the Kural is the fact that its author addresses himself, without regard to castes, peoples or beliefs, to the whole community of mankind; the fact that he formulates sovereign morality and absolute reason, that he proclaims in their very essence, in their eternal abstractedness, virtue and truth; that he presents, as it were, in one group the highest laws of domestic and social life, that he is equally perfect in thought, in language and in poetry, in the austere metaphysical contemplation of the great mysteries of the Divine Nature, as in the easy and graceful analysis of the tenderest emotions of the heart. (Quoted in Tiruvalluvar 1962 xvii)

Ariel was carried away by a justifiable enthusiasm, for though the Kurral3 is universal in spirit, there is very little metaphysics in it, and what there is (notably chapters 35-37) is only loosely related to its secular ethics. Though it begins with the conventional invocation of the writer's personal god, its ethical maxims stand on their own without theological justification, as if self-evident to reason and justice, like the classic statement of the Golden Rule, the universal foundation of reciprocity:

318. Why does a man inflict upon other creatures those sufferings,

which he has found by experience are sufferings to himself?

The Kurral3 is arranged in three parts, corresponding to the three ends of life in the Sanskrit canon. As Pope observes (ibid xxiii) the fourth end of life, viid3u 'home' which is Tamil for Moks3a, is missing. 'Arram' 'virtue', the word used for dharma in this context, does not have the religious force or relativist connotations of its Sanskrit equivalent. Here it is subdivided into illarram 'domestic virtue' and turr arram 'ascetic virtue', or renunciation.

Tiruvall3uvar, by tradition and by the evidence of his verse, was not a renouncer or guru by a happily married man. He values personal relations, especially love and friendship, for their own sake; and though some of his verses praise the ascetic state, others show that he prefers that of the householder, because it is happier, because the householder is dependent on no one (verses 46-50), and perhaps because the ascetic is concerned only with himself. Yet he presents the two states as genuine alternatives, as ends in themselves. He accepts a pluralism of values which are not to be hierarchized or reduced to unity; each is to be pursued in the same spirit of sympathy.

The virtues praised in the first part include impartiality, decorum (orhukkam), veracity, an even temper and benevolence. The verses on returning good for evil are notably Christian in spirit:

> 314. The (proper) punishment to those who have done evil (to you), is to put them to shame by showing them kindness in return and to forget both the evil and the good done on both sides.

In his idealization of love, Tiruvall3avar tends to identify eros with agape and to regard domestic bliss as a proof of positive virtue:

> 74. Love begets desire; and (desire) begets the immeasurable excellence of friendship.

The third part of the Kurral3 is erotic and romantic, in the tradition of the Aganaanurru or '400 love poems'. It celebrates the pleasures of love, both in marriage and in the clandestine affair that ought to end in marriage. Unlike some Indian erotic literature (eg. Kaamasuutra), the Kurral3 clearly distinguishes these approved kinds of love from prostitution and adultery, which are inconsistent with its family morality and are condemned in the first part.

Tiruvall3uvar's morality is universal both in its subject and its object: the same virtues are enjoined on all, to be practised impartially towards all others:

> 111. That equity which consists in acting with equal regard to each of (the three) divisions of men /enemies, strangers and friends/ is a pre-eminent virtue.

An apparent exception is the special morality recommended to the king and his ministers in the second part, 'wealth' or 'power', which at some points (eg. chapter 88, on hatred) seems to contradict the general morality. Tiruvall3uvar is said to have become a court poet, and his maxims for the conduct of the state are in the machiavellian tradition of the Arthashaastra or mirror for princes, modified by his own universalist morality. The ideal is the just and merciful king, whose strength is the love of his subjects, and the defence of the state rather than its aggrandizement.

Otherwise there is no trace of svadharma, the morality of 'my station and its duties', except in conventional references to the Brahmans as guardians of the Vedas (verses 134,543). Some actions are natural to the 'great', whose 'greatness' (perumai) will appear even if, like Tiruvall3uvar himself, they are of low birth; and the converse is also true (973, 977-980). The ideal of 'greatness' and the virtues which prove it are the same for everyone. This is a morality for the individual, not the member of a social organism, except that elementary social organism, based on love, which is the family.

There is little or no trace of purity and impurity, which according to Dumont (1960 42, 1966 85) are the foundation of the caste order, and replace our radical distinction between good and evil with a relative and hierarchical one. For Tiruvall3uvar, good and evil are absolute, and there is no suggestion that this is only a social distinction which religion transcends.

The one element of an autonomous morality which seems to be missing is a strong internal conscience, independent of public opinion and sometimes in conflict with it. The morality of the Kurall3 is not to be derived from public opinion or from the opinion of particular authorities; its spirit or motive force is sympathy for all sentient beings, born of love and rational reciprocity. Yet morality finds its reward in the approval of others (chapter 24, 'renown'). Tiruvall3uvar shows how each virtue he describes is worth pursuing because it is good in itself, and also for the sake of this worldly reward, as if every virtuous action necessarily had an internal aspect and a social or external aspect. Spontaneous sympathy is the only source

of good actions, but the loss of 'honour' (maanam) is the punishment for base ones. Shame or modesty (naan3am) thus has a double character, as sensitivity to the opinion of others, and as the principle of individual character, independent of circumstances:

> 1018. Virtue is likely to forsake him who shamelessly does what others are ashamed of.

When a choice has to be made, Tiruvall3uvar implies that personal values, the core of the individual character, should come before public opinion:

> 962. Those who desire (to maintain their) honour, will surely do nothing dishonourable, even for the sake of fame.

The values of the Kurral3 - greatness, honour, shame, decorum, benevolence &c - are still the guiding principles of South Indian popular ethics, and the Kurral3 itself is often referred to as an ethical standard among Tamils. Each of these values combines aspiration and social pressure, conscience and public opinion, guilt and shame, personal and social morality. Moral autonomy exists, but in close association with heteronomy. It has remained for modern Indian society to disentangle the two.

The forms the values of heteronomy and autonomy have taken in traditional Indian thought and society can be tentatively set out in another table, for comparison with their universal and western forms:

	heteronomy	autonomy
exemplified by (Dumont)	man-in-the-world	renouncer
inventors of ideas	Brahmans	renouncers, gurus
truth	relative	absolute
relation between individuals (people, things, ideas)	hierarchy, some more real (sat) than others	equality, equal status, all equally real
judgments	hierarchical	universal
relation to God or gods	mediated by group and Brahmans	direct (bhakti or possession)
congregation	limited by caste	anyone, or sect open to all
caste in religion	fundamental	irrelevant
metaphysics (usually)	non-dualism	dualism, or 'differentiated non-dualism'

chief end of life	dharma	moks3a; alternatively, several
morality	svadharma (One's own dharma)	universal rules
moral community	group	humanity
source of morality	order of universe	compassion, sympathy
moral authorities	public opinion; paris3ad of Brahmans	personal judgment, shame, honour
ideal	conformity with truth of one's being (satya)	righteousness, doing good for its own sake
chief moral distinction	pure and impure	good and evil
idea of purity	avoiding pollution	inner purity, intention
personality	role in universal order	soul, character, honour (in Kurral3)
personal relationships	low in hierarchy, below conformity to impersonal laws of the universe	highly valued, especially love

Heteronomy and autonomy in Garud3apura

The opposition of heteronomy and autonomy makes it possible to discover some universal features in ideas, values and social relations, and to compare the forms these take in particular circumstances.

Garud3apura, like any other heterogeneous community, is a microcosm of modern India, though not a sample. Its peculiarities as well as what it shares with other urban neighbourhoods, throw light on the interaction of ideas in modern India, and on the relation of ideas to circumstances.

The technical and economic circumstances of life now in Bangalore acquire meaning for Garud3apura people by being fitted into an existing framework of values, which are related to each other but do not form a tightly organized system. These circumstances can then be taken into account in the villagers' moral thinking, and affect the content of values and social relations. Since circumstances have to be translated into values, and then become the object of independent thought, economic and technical changes can never cause changes in values, though they may be reasons for them. But since values are also motives for action, changes in values can cause changes in circumstances. I return to this point in the next chapter.

In what follows I relate changes in circumstances and in particular areas of social life, as described in each of the preceding chapters, to moral changes and to Garud3apura people's own conception of their situation and society.

History and description

This chapter described changes in the external circumstances of life, especially in the economy. There are no records or memories of a time when the village was a self-sufficient 'little republic', nor would it be fair to take any date as a 'traditional' base-line before the village began to change.

Almost from its foundation around 1800, Garud3apura has been in close contact with Bangalore, especially the British Cantonment or Civil and Military Station. Its farmers produced for the town market, and welcomed any economic innovation that was profitable: thus they replaced ragi with vegetables, apples and flowers, and later with grapes. Though they continued to prefer land as an investment, for its prestige and security, they were not attached to farming life and were willing to put land to its most profitable use, whether as fields, vineyards or building sites.

Economic relations, both inside and outside the village, were based more on contract than on status. 'Jajmaani' arrangements for payment in kind existed only for a few special services like sweeping and laundry, but labourers seem to have been paid in cash.

Since the end of the last century the sons of the chief families went to missionary schools on the edge of the Cantonment, and this education was useful when they became building contractors, wholesalers or clerks. The first stage in Garud3apura's urbanization began when the cigarette factory opened in 1912. This provided work for unskilled labourers and clerks, and attracted immigrants to the village. The second stage began with the opening of Hindustan Aircraft in 1941, the first of the new factories employing many skilled workers, and the post-war expansion of Bangalore up to and beyong Garud3apura. The young men of old village families, who had some education, were in a good position to take apprenticeships and training courses; and the sons of a generation of contractors and wholesale merchants became skilled or semi-skilled factory workers, or office workers.

Garud3apura people seem always - or for so long that it makes no difference - not only to have accepted economic change but to have expected it, to have regarded it as a normal and continuous part of life, and to have seized new opportunities with both hands. The kind of education they got in missionary and other schools made them aware of different values, and made a more recent generation receptive to ideological as well as economic change. Thus contract and

innovation, which have dominated economic and technical life since the nineteenth century, now tend to be accepted in other social relations as well.

There are two oppositions here:

values of	heteronomy	autonomy
relations based on	status	contract
innovation	accidental, not valued	normal, permanent and desirable

Groups within the village

Relations on the city and national scales have moral value when they are projected on to the scale of the community, the unit in which most moral judgments are made and discussed. Thus wealth becomes 'prestige' and a component of respect. The chief kinds of community are the caste, or community of birth, and the local community, though there are others (eg. professions).

As Garud3apura became urban it did not lose its identity or 'village' institutions. On the contrary its people, including immigrants, became more attached to them. Its identity had always been defined in relation to the city, and was not threatened when the city surrounded it. Its religious life flourished as a larger and richer congregation supported its festivals and Math. The old families were fond of the village, and valued it as a place in which to be respected. For immigrants it had the advantages of neighbourhood, varied social life and low rents.

As the reality of rural life receded, 'village' life was idealized: in the romantic and plitical myth the village stands for honesty, hard work, simple living and co-operation, the virtues the 'peasant' castes who form the bulk of the population pride themselves on. At a distance of twenty years the days when a family of landlords ruled the village seem a golden age of justice and harmony.

While the village grew in importance and self awareness, the ideals of religion, politics, education and 'social service' combined to weaken the moral supports of caste. The young men who taught in the

night school were inspired by the political and social ideals of the Congress Party in the first years of Independence, and by the devotional religion of the Math where they gave their classes. They combined Hindu traditionalism with equalitarian ideas by emphasizing some elements of the tradition at the expense of others. Some of the same men were involved in Cinnappa's short-lived Youth Association with its force of vigilantes, who sought not only to prevent crime but to impose a uniform code of positive virtue on all the youth of the village. The 'students' were able to set the pace of change because their elders already accepted some constant innovation as the normal and desirable state of society, and apparently expected the new generations to justify its expensive education by showing at least some originality.

Thus the territorial community, as it was physically and economically swallowed up by the city, came to have a moral importance which the rural village probably never had, and it gained this at the expense of caste. Citizenship in the village, unlike membership of a caste, is essentially a matter of choice, and the same rules of co-operation and neighbourliness apply in principle to all who have made this choice. The change from an organization based on status and kinship to one based on contract and territory is reflected in the new value set on voluntary commitment, consistency and autonomy.

Two other aspects of this change are the emphasis given to relations between close neighbours and friends, rather than between castemen and relatives. The arrangement of small houses round courtyards combines the advantages of privacy for the nuclear family with some of the convenience and mutual aid of a substitute joint family. At the same time the relations even between households of a single large family tend in the direction of friendship, as visiting and meeting family obligations become more a matter of choice. Some men say explicitly that living in a joint household is a strain, and that relatives like one another much better when they live apart.

Friendship is the very type of an autonomous relation in this society, the one relation which supposes perfect equality. It is

universally idealized and romanticized in modern India, so that the young men's ideal of love marriage sometimes seems like a variation on this theme. In principle, friends may be of any caste, and are committed to and responsible for each other. A good man will have friends, and a man without friends cannot be good. Garud3apura is a place to find friends; and the hinges on which the working of its institutions depends are not formal groups but pairs or circles of friends.

Here the trend toward autonomous values is recent and partial:

values of	heteronomy	autonomy
principle of organization	kinship	territory
community	caste	(urban) village or neighbourhood
most valued ties, outside nuclear family, with	relatives	friends
drawn from a wider group	caste	(usually) village

Caste and family

The traditional ideology of caste revolves round the Brahman and his privileged access to divinity. It stresses hierarchy and interdependence. Birth and rank are fundamental while endogamy occupation and partial moralities are only their consequences. The four varn3as are necessary and sufficient to make a complete society.

This all-India ideology is a standard against which to measure the present significance of caste. In Garud3apura the hierarchical principle defines the status of four blocks of castes, which do not correspond to the varn3as except in the case of the Brahmans. The castes in the 'middle' block, to which the great majority belong, are equal and are separated by endogamy. The economic interdependence of castes has gone. Though a Brahman is still needed for some ceremonies, the centre of religious experience tends to be devotional religion in which the Brahman has no place.

Thus caste is no longer seen as the total organization of society. It is relevant to certain situations only, and its meaning and value differ in each of them. The endogamous group is often small in the village but extends far outside it, while rules about pollution,

particularly by eating together, apply only within the village and generally only between the main blocks of castes. The connexion between these two kinds of fact tends to be lost. Society as a whole is seen to be organized on the scale of the nation, and the state and city are microcosms of it. The norms governing its moral, intellectual, political and economic life are universal. Movements of ideas on these wider scales, in which the villagers participate as citizens, tend to stress equality and personal autonomy, and so to weaken both moral supports of caste: the hierarchical principle and endogamy.

The 'castes' that sometimes compete on these wider scales for political and economic advantages have equal status with each other and with other kinds of pressure group. The use of caste - as distinct from known relatives - to get jobs and favours is seen less as an appeal to general principles than as a necessity in a phase of cut-throat competition and unemployment and is less common as is sometimes suggested. Thus the value of caste is no longer universal, but relative to particular situations.

Castes have their own customs and reputations, but within the 'middle' block these are signs of separate existence rather than different status. Those which are generally mentioned concern wedding rites, endogamy being almost the only thing that separates castes speaking the same language. Morally these differences are almost neutral. Moral standards belong to a common culture, being similar to those commended in the Kurral3, and the same standards are used to condemn both the 'arrogance' of Brahmins and the 'dirty' or 'primitive' customs of the lower castes, like drinking. Though conservative members of old families try to maintain an easy but hierarchical relationship with selected old Harijan families, others insist that Harijans must 'reform' their customs in order to be accepted into respectable society: the same commonplace is used both by upper-caste men who would justify inequality, and by those who for moral reasons want to see it ended. It is sometimes said that the loss of their former privileges is making the Brahmans like everyone else.

When castes are judged according to this kind of criterion a caste's traditional occupation comes to be seen as one of its distinguishing customs, rather than its function in a social organism. Some occupations have more prestige than others, but instead of being a consequence of birth into a particular rank, occupation is a reason for the rank ascribed to a group, as it is for the class position of an individual. Both caste rank and personal class position make up 'prestige', the given or non-moral component of status.

In the same way endogamy, which defines the limits of the group, is no longer secondary, a consequence of separation, but primary, the reason for it. This means that the marriage circle can be altered, within limits, by the households involved, and the new de facto endogamous group has many of the characteristics of a de jure caste, or 'subcaste'. From the point of view of the household arranging a marriage, the named 'caste' is the network from which the set of marriages must be drawn, but caste names are ambiguous, and so is the place of 'subcastes' in particular 'castes'. Any caste-like community may serve as the foundation for a marriage circle. The household's freedom of choice is limited by the alternatives open to it by the pressures of relatives, and by caste sentiment and public opinion, backed in the case of Tigal3as by the possibility of an organized boycott.

A household which expands or redefines its marriage circle in this way takes into account not only the personal qualities of the prospective bride or groom, but more particularly the prestige of his or her 'family', meaning both the household and the wider group. This prestige mainly depends on wealth, occupation and education, all of which may change greatly within a single generation in the present conditions of social mobility. The astonishing careers of South Indian businessmen like GD Naidu (Baldwin 1959 203), and of politicians like Kamaraj, show how rapid these changes can be.

Thus the different meanings of 'caste' are more and more loosely

connected with each other. Traditionally the caste is a network of many kinds of ties, including kinship, affinity, sentiment, corporate organization, worship and economic and political interest. It rests on the fundamental principle of hierarchy. Now the 'caste' that matters most to the individual or household is the marriage circle, a set of ties based on the rule of endogamy, even when this is interpreted flexibly. The hierarchy of status affects the working of this 'caste' but is separate from it. Status is achieved rather than ascribed, but the individual that achieves status for this purpose is the household, affected both by its members' careers and by the status of related households.

The household is defined not by the relationship of its members but by a common kitchen. Households are grouped into 'families' but the meaning of 'family', even more than that of 'caste', depends on the situation. The family most often spoken of is the group recognizing a common 'head' on formal occasions, and seeking to share his and each other's reputations. Though membership in this group tends to be inherited in the male line, like property and the few remaining hereditary offices, those who are related by marriage to important men also attach themselves to their families, and the limits of the 'family' are defined by a constant process of federation and secession. In contrast the cult of a family god almost always passes through males, and it is common to find households closely identified with each other in village affairs as members of the same 'family', but making pilgrimages to different family shrines. This traditional bond between a lineage and its god is too sacred to be subordinated to expediency and choice, as 'family' membership is for other purposes; but it may be left off altogether. Autonomy in religion involves replacing inherited family gods with personal gods, both the individual's chosen god for private worship and the household head's god for domestic worship. Many or most households appear to have made this change already.

One maning of 'family' is household, and traditionally the two are aspects of the same thing. The assumption is that whoever founds a 'family' establishes a house for them to live in, under his

authority and worshipping the same 'house god'. The family economy is regulated according to the same hierarchical rules of family authority. One leaves a joint family to establish another. As IP Desai (1964 130) writes, 'Separation is a permitted behaviour within the ideology of jointness', and there is no reason to think it has not always been common.

This ideology now coexists with another, that of the independent nuclear family of husband, wife and unmarried children, living either by themselves or federated with others in a joint household. Joint living is not only permitted but commended, provided that the basic values of independence and privacy are respected. The nuclear family, as the natural unit of kinship, is distinguished from the household, a residential and economic unit. The very awareness of jointness, and of the joint family as a sort of contractual arrangement between nuclear families, is a sociological innovation, like the words for it.

The ideology of the independent nuclear family reflects the general tendency towards values of autonomy, particularly the high value set on personal relations of affection rather than hierarchical relations of authority; and it corresponds to an economic situation in which the household is a consuming but not producing unit dependent on men who may have widely differing incomes in a mobile and individualistic economy.

Jointness is still a sign of status in its two aspects. It is a sign of 'prestige' because in modern conditions only those with large houses, and usually with land, can achieve it, and a sign of 'honour' because it shows an ability to co-operate even under the recognized strains of joint living, and because the traditional family ideology, simply by being traditional, still commands respect. Nuclear families expect independence and privacy, but these things have no traditional sanction. This is why conscience, and the fear of a shadowy public opinion, make men reluctant to take the first step in breaking up a joint family, and ready to employ the traditional excuse that women's quarrels forced them to separate. Yet in fact most men leave their

father's house when he dies, many do so while he is alive and with his approval, and those who have done so are emphatic about the advantages of separate households, both for their members' sake and for harmony between relatives.

The hierarchical principle which runs throughout caste society makes it possible to describe the approved kinds of behaviour between members of the traditional family with a single term, respect, and to infer them from three rules: the younger respects the elder, females respect males, and a wife's family her husband. Here respect is a given quality, like 'prestige' in the wider society. It depends on position in a hierarchy, not on personal judgments as 'honour' does.

The autonomous complement to family respect is affection, which almost escapes the rules because the organization of the family does not depend on it. Marriage is arranged by those in authority, and the relation between husband and wife is one of strictly regulated respect. If they feel affection for each other they must not show it, especially in public. family duty (dharma) and interest (artha) come before sexual pleasure (kaama). In this ideal of the family the feminine virtues are protection of the family's health and well-being (cf. the role of goddesses), obedience and modesty. A woman's will is firmly subordinated. The balance between heteonomy and autonomy is partly restored by an equally extreme complement to these virtues: the power to curse. In contrast, the relation between brother and sister, on which the continuation of the family does not depend directly, escapes the rules. It is normally one of intense affection, like the bond between friends of the same sex.

The traditional household continues through time, though its members change. It provides the roles they are to play and places them in the hierarchy of the caste, which is continuous with the hierarchy of the total society. The independent household, joint or nuclear, is a temporary arrangement existing with the consent of the heads of nuclear families. The nuclear family stands by itself, achieves its own place in the caste and society and is reconstituted in each generation. It begins with marriage and ends with deaths,

and its character depends not on an organization of roles but on the particular relations between its members.

This ideal type of autonomous family towards which the family in Garud3apura tends, owes its existence to choice and allows its members some freedom of judgment. Relations between husband and wife, or between parents and children, tend towards reciprocity. Instead of being a desirable but unnecessary addition to prescribed relationships, affection complements respect as a basic principle of family organization. Its expression is more open. This emphasis on choice and love has its traditional counterparts in devotional tradition and in the ethical tradition to which the Kurral3 belongs.

Thus household autonomy leads to the recognition of personal autonomy. Marriage, the central relationship, is valued as a bond between two individuals, who are responsible for its working to each other rather than to each other's families. They tend therefore to be responsible for its beginning; but this tendency towards marriage by choice has not yet gone very far in Garud3apura, as it has among the professional classes of the city. In Garud3apura the bridegroom, and sometimes the bride, have an effective veto when a marriage is arranged, and the bridegroom at least sometimes suggests a suitable girl. Young men show a certain repugnance for marriage to cousins and particularly to nieces, which tend to continue their dependence on a closed family group. But love marriage, which is a common theme of films and popular literature, is usually taken to mean intercaste marriage. For many educated young men it is a romantic ideal, which appeals to them for its own sake, and as a blow against caste, and perhaps as a sign of city sophistication. Few of them have an opportunity to put it into practice, and those who try to do so come under strong moral pressure not to be ungrateful to their parents or to damage their girl relatives' marriage prospects.

Though marriage in the traditional family is arranged, with little reference to the wishes of the couple, marriage by choice also has its traditional sanction in the laws of Manu, which recognize Gandharva or free marriage as one of the eight lawful kinds of marriage and in the Kurral3, which describes first the ideal course of a clandestine affair

ending in marriage, and then the joys of married life.

Thus the conditions of urban industrial life, and movements of ideas on the national scale, have made existing autonomous values more relevant to social and family organization. The following table suggests what some of the differences are:

values of	heteronomy	autonomy
principle of social relations	hierarchy	equality
emphasis on	social order	personal relations
caste's value as a principle of organization	absolute	depends on situation, for some people no value
principal closed group	caste (or 'subcaste')	marriage circle, or none
defined by	rank, purity	endogamy (where relevant)
condition over time	constant (in principle)	expanded and redefined
traditional occupation seen as	natural aptitude, consequence of rank	reason for group's rank
status	ascribed	achieved
norms of conduct	relative to caste	universal
meaning of 'family' (in wider sense)	unilineal descent group	relative to situation federation of households
unit of which wider 'family' is made up	joint family, nuclear household seen as a potential joint family	nuclear family, joint household a temporary arrangement
its duration	permanent	one generation
household economy	production and consumption	consumption only
ideal of relations within joint household	submission to elders	independence and privacy for each nuclear family
principle of personal relations in family	authority	reciprocity love
respect	unilateral	mutual
spouses responsible to	whole family group	each other
marriage	arranged	for love (extreme case)

Religion

The three aspects of Hinduism - brahmanism group religion and the religion of choice - are distinguished by their values but sometimes mixed in particular cults: all three, for example, are present in the village's public festivals. household cults tend to become separated from lineage cults and to move in the direction of the religion of choice. Yet the distinction is very clear in the ideas connected with certain cults, in which one aspect of another predominates, and in the division of religious labour between the three main temples: Laks3minaarayan3a Temple for brahmanical worship, Gangamma Temple for the religion of the group (the village) and the Mowna Guru Math for the religion of choice.

Brahmanism is associated with values of dharma, order, permanence and prestige. It gives value to particular groups and events and roles by relating them to the eternal order of the universe. Thus worship at Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple gives the village and its castes a status in the Hindu society which is part of this order, and life cycle rituals give the stages of life a meaning as parts in a universal drama, emphasizing their impersonal and eternal aspects. This quality of being in harmony with the universal order is called auspiciousness (mangalam) and is the transcendental counterpart of prestige in the world. In Garud3apura brahmanical worship tends to be limited to the auspicious occasions prescribed by custom. It is the necessary official religion but not the centre of religious experience.

The thinking associated with brahmanism is heteronomous and hierarchical, making relative not absolute distinctions. It is concerned mainly with the high gods who stand for the general powers of the universe, but it does not belittle the lower gods who represent special aspects of divinity. Though it is not much concerned with ethics, it gives a theological justification for particular codes of conduct. Each group's customs are called its 'shaastras', which ought strictly to mean only the brahmanical law-books.

Where these customs give no guidance or unacceptable guidance, astrology - the other popular meaning of 'shaastra' - shows how the impersonal laws of the universe apply to cases and how conduct can be adjusted accordingly. This 'fate' may or may not be identified with karma or rebirth. It can be delayed or averted by the worship of the Navagraha or nine gods, including the planets, which belongs more to the religion of choice and takes place at the Math.

Astrology is a speciality though not a monopoly of Brahmans. It appears to have become more popular partly for reasons of prestige ('sanskritization') but chiefly because it reconciles the new opportunities for choice, in careers and marriage, with the eternal dhama. Thus it is a bridge between brahmanism and the religion of choice, between fate and responsibility, or between heteronomy and autonomy.

The religion of groups - from the village or caste to the family - is associated with values of protection and solidarity, which are complementary to those of brahmanism and need its sanction. The principles of thought are the same. Differences in worship have a value as signs of the group's identity and status, which are closely connected with its customs and ethics. Group gods may be the same as the high gods, but in their more personal and accessible aspect. They are thought of as having intentions and characters, and a special concern for the group's welfare, like women in the family, they tend in fact to be goddesses. They respond to the often emotional cult of their worshippers. They can be bargained with, and grant favours in return for vows and animal sacrifices. While astrology gives information about the impersonal order of the universe, group gods communicate directly by omens or 'signs', oracles and possession. The lower gods, who tend to be group gods, are also the ones connected with witchcraft and magic, which are marginal to village life but still widely believed in. Here they shade into the inferior spirits, devils and ghosts.

This is the religion of a static, conservative society, which Garud3apura is not. It continues to flourish because of an emotional loyalty to the traditional kinds of groups, because it

offers the emotional experience of possession, and because of the need for special favours and messages from the gods, in fact the village cult appears to have become more popular as immigrants identified themselves with the village. But it has no relevance to new kinds of social relation or to new groups like associations and the nation, because it has lost its intellectual justification in a rationalistic and inclusive society. Thus Murugan may be specially the god of the Tamils and Venkat3eeshvara of South Indians generally, and these groups have their own regional and linguistic consciousness; yet these are not group cults, because they are universal and inclusive. Nor are they really brahmanical, though the priests at the main shrines are Brahmans, because the values the people associate with the cults are different. For emotional reasons group religion holds its ground but for intellectual reasons it cannot advance any further, and more and more that is important to Garud3apura people escapes it.

The religion of choice which has become the centre of religious experience corresponds to the wider opportunities for choice in social life generally and the greater value attached to the autonomous personality. On the national scale this value is expressed in political rights, which came to Garud3apura with Independence, and in the equalitarian ideology of 'social service', which came chiefly through the Math and the generation of educated young men who taught in the night school there. The limit towards which this religion tends is more social, ethical and consistent than the tradition of renunciation and bhakti from which it sprang. Many of the values are the same, but their application is different: thus love means practical compassion, ~~non-attachment means practical compassion,~~ non-attachment means selfless action for the common good as well as for personal salvation, and universality means social as well as religious equality. Renunciation first became accessible to all in bhakti, which then merged with the secular universalist ethical tradition represented by the Kurral3 to form a devotional and ethical religion, working over established social values like

honour to make them compatible with the new theology.

The values of brahmanism and group religion are complementary. Together they make up the traditional social religion, distinct from the traditional religion of renunciation and bhakti, which tends to be non-social and concerned only with personal salvation. These two tendencies meet in a new synthesis, an autonomous social religion, which can be called 'modern' if we remember that it was always present as a tendency in traditional bhakti, coming to the front in temporary social reform movements like that of the early Lingaayats.

For traditional bhakti the chief end of life is moks3a (liberation) or alternatively continual communion with God. These ends come before dharma, the chief and recognized by brahmanism and group religion. In modern bhakti the chief end itself is open to choice: typically it is a life of moral goodness and service to humanity, inspired by religion.

Traditional bhakti tends to distinguish religious from social values, but what ethics it has is universalist. Otherwise it recognizes caste values while relegating them to a lower plane in the hierarchy of values, that of the social world. The congregation is open but society is closed, though less so than in brahmanism. This is the attitude taken, for example, by the more conservative devotees of the Math: Harijans are welcome to worship with them but not to enter their homes. Modern bhakti makes universal distinctions, between right and wrong rather than higher and lower, so that what is right in religion is right in social ethics, and it explicitly rejects rules which separate castes, including endogamy, and sometimes the very idea of birth into a caste. In this ideology it is permissible to exclude from social intercourse those who are 'dirty' or have bad customs, but not those who have 'reformed'.

In the traditional social religion the individual personality exists, or has value, only as the bearer of a role in the total order. Personal responsibility is limited to acting this role well, and personal relationships come low in the hierarchy, as a kind of residue left over by the divinely sanctioned role relationships. This idea is implicit in every life cycle ceremony, in ~~every~~

every expression of a traditional interdependence of castes and in the orthodox view, often expressed in Garud3apura, that each caste's customs and occupation are suitable for it but not for others. The same habit of thought can extend to new roles, as when a shopkeeper, in fact of a trading caste, does not like it to be known that he was originally a schoolmaster and did not keep to his original occupation.

For traditional bhakti the personality exists apart from its role. In the typical form of the renouncer's religion it has a negative value, as something to be annihilated not in society but in God. The soul's relation to God is only a stage in its annihilation, and other personal relationships are encumbrances to be cast off. Responsibility is meaningless because each man may or may not choose his own way to salvation, nothing else matters, and he is not accountable for his choice to God or to others. In the developed bhakti cults and sects the emphasis is on the soul's communion with God rather than its annihilation, and in later sects the soul's aim is to remain separate in order to continue to enjoy the experience of God. The devotee's personal relationships are infused with the love of God and reflect his relation to God, and to this extent they have a value. The devotee has a responsibility to lead an honest and benevolent life, to help others to reach salvation, and to give them advice when they ask for it. This second form of bhakti is the ideal of most devotees of the Math and of most religiously minded people in the village.

This religion, particularly among the devotees of the Math, shades into modern or social bhakti, in which the personality has a value in itself. The soul, which is capable of having direct experience of God, tends to merge with the subject of the secular ethical tradition, the individual capable of realizing the universal social values of honour, benevolence, greatness &c. Personal relationships are prized for their own sake, and the devotees' relation to each other and to their fellow men is at the heart of religion. Only the morally good can have experience of God. Religious people become preoccupied with ethical and social problems, on which they seek guidance from friends,

reading and the Svaamijii of the Math. The ideology of 'social service', closely connected with this religion on the local level, insists that each man is responsible for the welfare of society and has a duty to those less fortunate than himself; a duty some take very seriously, even when they continue to apply caste standards to their home and family life.

Dumont suggests that the distinction between pure and impure in brahmanism may take the place of that between good and evil in western thought; and it is possible to see in the evolution of the idea of purity a move from objective to subjective responsibility, parallel to changes in the value attached to personality. In brahmanism purity brings a man closer to the gods and entitles him to worship them. Pollution is little distinguished from sin (paapa), but it can be mechanical, involuntary and communicable. In non-Brahman group religion purity has the same meaning though not the same practical importance, except sometimes for priests: Ellamma now has no regular priest in Garud3apura because no one orthodox and pure enough could be found. Traditional bhakti questions the value of this quasi-physical purity and the idea of mechanical pollution, replacing it with an ideal of inner purity and non-attachment to the world, which is attained not by outward precautions or rituals but by meditation, and which enables the liberated soul to reach salvation: again, this is the ideal of many devotees of the Math. This ideal of purity is often combined, as in the Tamil Shaiva saints, with a strong sense of personal sin. Modern bhakti stresses purity of intention, which it identifies with moral goodness and unselfish action for the common good: this is the ideology of 'social service', sometimes justified with a rather protestant and individualist interpretation of the Giitaa.

This move from objective to subjective responsibility, and from mechanical to inner purity, corresponds to a change in the conception of conscience. Both the traditional social religion (brahmanism and group religion) and the secular ethical tradition tend to see two aspects combined in every right action: it appeals to conscience (manasu) or reason (arrivu ,nyaanam ,butti/buddhi) and is approved by

society. In this social religion to be moral is to will one's appointed role, to seek to change it is a sin, and the claims of conscience and authority cannot conflict. Similarly karma, or rebirth into a higher or lower station, combines social with internal sanctions. In the secular tradition to be moral is to maintain one's honour and the values connected with it: consecutive verses of the Kurral3 constantly point to the balance between conscience and reputation, though the implication is that conscience must come first.

In Garud3apura this morality is part of the ideology associated with the 'community' (caste or village) and applies in situations where one is bound to act as a member of a 'community'. Here custom, public opinion and conscience ought to coincide, and situations where they do not are felt as anomalies. Guilt is almost identified with shame, and conscience, a sense of duty distinct from the fear of consequences or sanctions, is itself heteronomous and formed by authority and public opinion. Thus a strong internal conscience may prevent a man from doing, even in secret, something that is wrong because it is disapproved of, and this alone is a sufficient reason for believing it to be wrong. Similarly to be well thought of is not only a satisfaction but a sign of positive goodness.

Traditional bhakti puts the guru's moral authority above that of the Brahman or public opinion. In extreme forms of the guru cult, with an exclusive emphasis on salvation and close contact between guru and disciple, personal dependence often seems a substitute for conscience, but in popular bhakti cults the guru, by his life and miracles, opens a way of salvation to all, with or without some general moral precepts, leaving the details of conduct to the devotees' own conscience. Universal salvation suggests a universal morality, and the morality associated with most bhakti cults tends to be the same. Thus the Mowna Guru's 'book', which is said to be so hard to get hold of or to understand, is believed to contain some moral teaching, but no one cares much to know what it is, since it is assumed to be of the kind already associated with his cult: be

truthful, benevolent to all &c. The ideal of the guru, as a guide both to salvation and morals, is widely believed in, but few Garud3apura people have a living guru and fewer, if any, model their conduct on his teachings. The Svaamijii of the Math is the Mowna Guru's priest but not his successor, and though philosophically minded people ask Svaamijii's advice on moral as well as religious problems, this is not taken as the last word. Thus Svaamijii teaches that karma is the only rational explanation of the suffering of good people and the inequalities between rich and poor but for devotees of the Math this is a speculative possibility not an article of faith, and two of them at least were only inclined to believe it when there was a serious illness in their own families. One man asked about a problem which had worried him for some time: how can we distinguish right from wrong in principle, and know which things are right or wrong? Svaamijii answered: God made man's mind in such a way that his own conscience and reflection would tell him. This, rather than the word of the Guru, is the final moral authority for devotees of the Math.

Modern bhakti emphasizes not the guru's authority but the value of his religious innovations, which justify moral autonomy. Moral innovation may be the work of the devotees themselves, guided by religious principles of equality and brotherhood and often inspired by national political or social reform movements. The choice of a guru is traditionally free: but when morals also become a matter of personal judgment, members of the sect have a duty to defend their values even against public opinion. Thus the young men who started the night school in the Math had to defy the authority of most 'big men' in the village, and those who treat Harijans as equals have to resist pressure even from close relatives. The rule of moral autonomy, which applies particularly in matters of 'social service' and politics, tends to become a model for social relations in general, including those between households in a caste or 'family' and between members of a household.

As popular ethics is made consistent with religious universality, moral autonomy and heteronomy are disentangled: conscience and public

opinion, guilt and shame, no longer appear as aspects of the same actions, but are clearly distinct and sometimes opposed to each other. Religious autonomy reinforces the value attached to personal judgment in other fields. Each person tends to see his situation and duties not as the bearer of a role in an eternally fixed order, but as a moral and religious individual in a world and nation of individuals. Heteronomous and autonomous values, in religion and morals, take the following general forms in Garud3apura now:

	heteronomy	autonomy
religion	brahmanism & group religion	religion of choice: 'traditional' & 'modern' bhakti
chief temples in Garud3apura	Laks3minaaraayan3a and Gangamma	Mowna Guru Math
associated with values of	hierarchy, prestige, auspiciousness, protection	equality, devotion, personal judgment, renunciation
responsibility	objective	subjective
purity	avoiding pollution (mechanical, involuntary, communicable)	inner purity, purity of intention, non-attachment, moral goodness
conscience	awareness of norms laid down by authority & public opinion	personal moral judgment, even against the world
internal sanctions	shame, also guilt	guilt

Respect

The moral content of social relations, as distinct from mere power, is understood particularly in terms of 'respect' & the social values connected with it. The present ideology of respect in Garud3apura shows the same tendency to stress autonomy & equality, & to disentangle internal autonomous values from the heteronomous norms they are traditionally bound up with.

This becomes clearer if we relate the meanings & uses of 'respect'

to the ideal types which Piaget calls unilateral & mutual respect. Unilateral respect corresponds to the heteronomous morality of constraint & to hierarchical social relations; mutual respect, to the autonomous morality of reciprocity & to relations of equality.

In Garud3apura 'respect' is shown in three kinds of situation: in the exchange of courtesies, in dyadic relations; & in the respect of the 'community', especially the village. The exchange of courtesies, as at a wedding, has the form of equality but not much of the substance of mutual respect. Respect in dyadic relations ranges between two extremes: it may be either an aspect of existing relations of other kinds (family, economic), prescribed by heteronomous norms; or it may be freely given, something to be earned by appealing to the autonomous judgment of others. In the first case the judgment of respectability is an objective one, that someone stands in a particular relation (father, creditor) to another who owes him respect; in the second case it is a moral judgment, & though it implies a difference in level - two people do not respect each other at the same time - it presupposes a ground of mutual respect in Piaget's sense.

The respect of the 'community' has two forms: as a special or differential respect which must be earned, it is status; & as general respect for a basic reputation which must not be lost, it is the external counterpart of honour. This public respect depends on the autonomous judgments of others, but to the extent that a man feels obliged to have it he is subject to the heteronomous sanction of public opinion. In Piaget's terms, he unilaterally respects society. This is what a leading man of the village meant when he said that in the old days one's relation to village opinion was ' like master and servant', but now 'that restraint is no longer there.'

Relations of another kind are strongly marked by Piaget's 'mutual respect': these are friendship, & other relations to the extent that they approach the ideal of friendship. The traditional relation between brother & sister seems to be of this type, & the relations between husband & wife, or between parents & children,

begin to tend in the same direction. In Garud3apura terms this is not 'respect' because it implies equality.

The respect of the village in general - as distinct from the respect a man is entitled to from particular people - is determined by a mixture of prestige and honour. Prestige (andastu) is a given, de facto quality, corresponding to unilateral respect in dyadic relations and measured by comparing what is (one man's prestige) with what is (that of others). It comes mainly from economic or political power and influence - artha in the classical tradition - and from birth into an influential, respected family and caste. Honour (maanam) is a moral, de jure quality, measured by comparing what is (one man's conduct) with what ought to be (the ideal).

This distinction of prestige and honour as components of respect is like, but not the same as, Banton's distinction of prestige and esteem as components of status. For Banton (1965 37) 'prestige is an attribute of roles', as it is in Garud3apura (eg. the role of a 'big man'); esteem is an 'evaluation of how well someone performs a role', corresponding to a judgment of someone's conformity to his svadharma ('my station and its duties') in the brahmanical tradition. But in Garud3apura, as in the Kurral3, honour is the esteem attached to performing well the role of a human being as well as particular roles like that of a father, and it implies a common human status. Roles which are entirely a matter of personal choice and commitment, like that of the 'social worker', appear to have little prestige in themselves, apart from the honour attached to performing them well.

Though different groups or kinds of people in Garud3apura have their own ideals of conduct, each tends to take his own ideal as a standard in judging the honour of everyone else. Thus a devotee of the Math said that a butcher's work is right for him and he ought not to change it (a judgment of dharma); yet it is a sin and will bring him a bad rebirth (a judgment of honour, justified here by religion but inconsistent with svadharma). The same action can appear quite different to the same person when looked at alternately

from these two points of view: one corresponding to the closed morality of a hierarchical society and to brahmanical religion, the other to the open morality of a society of equals and to the religion of choice. Honour, rather than the performance of one's own dharma, is what ought to count for respect in the village. Birth into a caste is part of prestige, and a Sweeper's prestige is low, but his honour depends on his being a good man rather than a good Sweeper.

Honour, unlike dharma, depends on universal not relative judgments. Traditionally, like purity or conscience, it combines the heteronomous value of reputation with the autonomous value of self-respect: the compound maana-mariaadai 'honour and respect' (or 'respect for honour') implies that the two aspects must be found together, as the inside and outside of the same thing. Modern Indian society tends to separate them, & to emphasize the autonomous aspect of honour & conscience. Garud3apura men who are involved in national movements of ideas, especially the devotees of the Math & the 'students', value moral independence & commitment highly, they are sometimes willing to follow universal principles (social service, political ideologies, caste equality) even in the face of village or family opinion.

To be isolated is uncomfortable but no longer necessarily a source of shame. The respect of the village is a satisfaction & a practical advantage, & the desire to have it is an important motive for action, yet anyone who does not depend economically on the village rich - as some of the poor do - can afford to live without it. There is a change in emphasis from what Dore calls values of collectivism to values of individuation, from role to commitment, and from reputation to the inner strength of personality which, the Kurral3 implies, is the source of honour.†

† Cf Naalad3iaar, quatrain 192 (Pope 1893):

> What once stood by the wayside, a twig that bent to every touch, when its core [kaarh] is developed within, may become a stake to which they tie an elephant. Life too is thus, if man himself, unfailing make himself.'

Status is the respect of a community. For most Garud3apura people the most useful and satisfying kind appears to be the respect of the village, which continues to exist within the city not as an economic or administrative unit but as a system of respect & a place where respect can be gained. Status groups in the village - the 'big men', the establishment of old families, respectable immigrants, & non-Harijan & Harijan labourers - are not classes in Weber's sense, because there are no consistent economic relations between them. Though the 'big men' are landlords to most of the village & employ some of the labourers, the most important economic relations are between employers, employees & businessmen in the city. Classes now exist & have relations with each other on the city & national scales.

From the point of view of a man who has or aspires to status, it may be ascribed, depending on heteronomous norms, or achieved by his own autonomous action. Status achieved outside the village for instance in a factory or profession, may correspond closely to class position; but from the point of view of the village class is part of prestige, the ascribed component of status, & must be achieved again in the village. Birth into a good caste or family, being an ascribed status, is also part of prestige, and needs a complement of honour to give a moral claim to respect.

Where the local community is also an economic system, as in country villages, or in Garud3apura forty years ago, prestige appears to coincide more closely with status. On the village scale, a class tends to consist of a caste or castes (Gough 1955, 1960; Sivertsen 1963). Those who have the prestige of wealth are able, both individually and as groups, to convert it into respect with a minimum of honour, by compelling the respect of those who depend on them. Some shopkeepers and contractors do this now with the very poor.

Similarly where the main cults concern closed groups, communities of birth or residence, caste prestige has a religious sanction and is more nearly equivalent to status. In particular the prestige of Brahmans, even where they are not economically dominant and whatever

their personal reputation, is translated directly into status because they are essential to the religious life of other castes and to the ideology of purity and hierarchy by which other castes justify their claims to status.

Where classes are organized on a larger scale, caste is no longer an important principle of economic organization. Moral & economic relations are more 'rationally' separated, & wealth must be translated into status indirectly, through personal qualities of generosity, humility &c, to induce a moral judgment of honour. The kinds of conduct which acquire honour are in fact more open to the rich than to the poor, but in principle it is recognized that wealth ought not to be respected for its own sake. Since the same standards of honour are applied to the poor, they can be held responsible for falling short of these standards, as Harijans in particular are alleged to do.

But this change of economic scale is only an external fact, reinforcing the tendency to stress honour as an element of status. It corresponds to changes in internal values, a greater emphasis on personal responsibility & judgment, & an assumption of mutual respect. The religion of choice denies the need for Brahmans & the religious & moral value of caste, while national ideologies deny its social value. Wealth is not recognized as having a moral value of its own; though in this mobile & competitive society economic achievement - salary or profits rather than inherited property, a career rather than a family occupation - has a certain limited value, apart from the prestige of wealth & class position, as a sign of hard work & enterprise. Similarly learning & skill contribute to honour, but they must be completed by the more generally recognized virtues to become honour.

Forms of social organization for joint action in Garud3apura are compromises between two ideal types: the traditional pancaayat, based on (ascribed) status & tending towards values of heteronomy & unilateral respect; & the modern voluntary association, based on contract & tending towards autonomous values & mutual respect. Thus the 'traditional' type emphasizes respect for elders & constituted authority, the maintenance of the existing balance between groups &

their distinctive customs & privileges; normative relativism, hierarchy, dharma & permanence. The pancaayat adopts the 'council' procedure (Mayer 1960 122): decisions are reached, if necessary after repeated adjournments, by a consensus of 'big men', respected particularly for their 'prestige' & representing the main groups or interests involved. The best decision is one which satisfies everyone & allows social relations to go on as before, rather than the ideally just or correct solution.

The 'modern' type emphasizes equality, responsibility, public spirit, consistency, universal principles & respect for majority decisions. It adopts something like Mayer's 'committee' procedure: initiatives are taken by men respected for honour rather than prestige, such as Cinnappa the 'social worker'; each member speaks as an individual not as the representative of an interested group, & decisions are reached by free discussion ending in a vote. The best decision is the one most consistent with the principles of the association.

Permanent organizations in Garud3apura take the form of pancaayats if they are concerned with 'traditional' matters like festivals, & particularly with brahmanical or group religion. They take the form of voluntary associations if they are concerned with 'modern' matters like politics, social work & sport, or with the religion of choice. Where there is a change, it is always in the direction of the 'modern' type: when interest in the Math revived in the 1950s its administration was transferred from a pancaayat-like board of 'big men' to an association of devotees; there is a move to revive Williams Town Maariamma Temple through a similar association; & there is even a demand for such a change in the administration of Laks3minaaraayan3a Temple.

The form an organization takes is a sign of the values it intends to follow rather than a description of its working, because almost all of them, except the Math Association, are paralysed by faction or apathy. Both kinds of organization find it necessary to delegate responsibility for particular actions which cannot be postponed

(organizing a festival, getting a politician elected) to temporary, informal, voluntary action committees, often with a nucleus of 'big men' which is carried over from one action to the next. These committees are not bound either by written rules or by traditional norms, & they can be ruthlessly efficient. Questions of principle & personal rivalries are temporarily laid aside in a specific common cause. The committee does not last long enough for apathy to set in.

An action committee is what Mayer (1966 97f) calls a quasi-group. It acts as the 'core' of an action-set held together by chains of dyadic relations, reaching out to each person involved in the action. Mayer says (ibid 108) that the 'inward' content of links in an action-set (eg. in the path from voter to candidate) is always the same (in this instance, political support), but that the 'outward' content of the same links is heterogeneous, including group membership, personal obligation &c. It is possible to take the theory of action-sets a step further by calling all links of this kind, based on personal obligations, links of 'respect'; and opposing them to 'ideological' links which arise from a regard for principles not persons. In this context 'respect' covers the same range of meanings as in Garud3apura, including family relationship, age, economic obligation, personal service, prestige & honour, as well as friendship, which, being a relation of equality, does not count as respect in the village. These relations have an ideological content, but they do not depend, as 'ideological' links do, entirely on an appeal to reason, to support someone else in an action only because he represents a universal principle. Here ideology overlaps honour in practice, since a respect for someone's ideology (eg. the 'social worker's') easily turns to a personal respect for him, in the tradition of the guru the two are inseparable.;

An action-set may contain links of both kinds: some support the annual festival at the Math for religious reasons, others because men they respect ask them to. Often both kinds are mixed in the same chain of relations, especially in politics: thus a

candidate's arguments convince men who then organize support among their personal contacts, or the candidate's personal contacts win over the voters with general arguments.

In personal relations respect is more heteronomous & unilateral when it is based on prestige, more autonomous & mutual when it is based on honour. I have shown how the second kind is gaining at the expense of the first. ~~But~~ In collective actions the mark of autonomy is the disinterested pursuit of the common good, an ideal not to be identified with existing relations; personal relations & the common good are both ultimate values, to be balanced but not confused or arranged in a hierarchy.

It follows that, in matters affecting the common good, all links of 'respect' are heteronomous & interested, when compared with links of ideology & appeals to disinterested reason. The forms of ideology which make this appeal tend to be universalistic religious, political & social movements on the national scale. The conduct & result of the municipal election suggests that in politics an appeal to universal principles may now be marginally more effective than a campaign conducted through relations of respect, though both kinds of link are necessary to a successful action-set; & the history of voluntary associations in Garud3apura, especially the Math & the night school connected with it, shows how the ideal of disinterested service in the common good, closely associated with the idea of the guru and the honour attached to social work, took root among the generation which will provide the next 'big men' of the village.

The movement from heteronomy to autonomy has taken the following forms in the village's status system, social organization and politics:

	heteronomy	autonomy
respect (Piaget)	unilateral	mutual
morality (Piaget)	constraint	reciprocity
'respect' in Garud3apura	a prescribed aspect of existing relations	freely given (by particular others, or village in general)

chief component of 'respect'	prestige (andastu)	honour (maanam)
measured by comparing what is with	what is (others' prestige)	what ought to be (ideal of honour)
judgments of status	objective, de facto	moral, de jure
wealth converted into status	directly (respect compelled)	indirectly (through generosity, humility, public service &c)
economic and moral relations	tend to coincide	'rationally' separated
typical of economic relations	on community (eg. village) scale	on larger scale
role seen as	'my station and its duties'	commitment
most respected kind of occupation	family or caste occupation	chosen career
most respected kinds of wealth	inherited property rent	salary, wages, profits, savings
ideal type of organization for joint action	'traditional' pancaayat	'modern' voluntary associations
based on	(ascribed) status	contract
values of social organization	respect for elders, authority, existing relations and customs of groups, permanence	equality, responsibility, public spirit, consistency, respect for majority decisions
procedure (Mayer)	council	committee
decisions by	consensus of 'big men'	voting
best decision	reconciles everyone, does not disturb relations	consistent with association's principles
recognized authorities	'big men' respected for prestige	men respected for reasons of honour and ideology (eg. the 'social worker')
links in action-sets based on	respect (for persons)	ideology (universal principles) and respect

9 CONCLUSION : GARUD3APURA & MODERN INDIA

Garud3apura is an example or microcosm of the transformation of modern India. It has the history and institutions of a village, yet it is urban, industrial and involved in national movements of ideas. Moreover, since Bangalore's industries are technically among the most advanced in India, the village's economic situation is typical, and in some ways in advance, of urban neighbourhoods elsewhere in the country. This suggests that the development of values and moral relations in Garud3apura may also be typical of the industrial society which is being established in India.

Causes and reasons for social change

Clearly changes in economic and other circumstances affect values and moral relations, but the way in which this happens is often misunderstood. Thus Sivertsen writes in his study of a Tanjore village:

> Changes in the moral area of action, or changes in social values, tend to develop more slowly than changes in other areas of the social system. Changes in the moral order again depend on a reorganization of social relations. (Sivertsen 1963 9)

This is misleading, because it makes no sense to call a relation social unless it is moral and depends on judgments. Economic and legal relations, for example, are social only to the extent that they involve a moral obligation beyond mere compulsion. If economics, law and so on are to count as 'other areas in the social system', it is no longer possible to distinguish economic or legal relations which are social (ie. between people) from those which are purely formal, whether or not they are backed by compulsion: the relation between a person and an impersonal economic force cannot be social. Thus the reorganization of social relations means changes in the moral order. The problem is the relation of circumstances, regarded as something external and given, to moral or social changes, which depend on value judgments.

Changes in circumstances, for instance in the economy, may often be regarded as having causes; respect for hard work or a desire for high wages may cause productivity, the prestige of eating rice may cause high prices &c. But circumstances can only affect value judgments indirectly, as reasons not causes. A change in circumstances gets meaning when it is interpreted in terms of existing moral categories, and can then be taken into account in moral thinking; a rise in prices, for example, is seen as extortion or as fair profit. In making judgments, each person takes these circumstances into account, as he takes into account public opinion, his social position and interests as he sees them, and the obligations of his roles. All of these provide reasons for his judgment, but do not determine it. As Dorothy Emmet says;

> Yet to say that someone has a certain role does not explain his behaviour unless it is being understood that he accepts the role so that it provides premises for his decisions. There may be 'social pressures' on him to act as is expected in his role; but 'social pressures' are not physical forces; they are ways of providing people with strong motives for doing one thing rather than another. (Emmet 1966 126-7)

When these circumstances and pressures have been considered, the final judgment depends on personal values. These are developed but not determined by the dialogue of ideas in society, which is governed by rules of logical implication not causality (Piaget 1932, Winch 1958). The results, in both the short and the long run and on any scale, are unpredictable. Since the development of values is a collective as well as an individual process, there is no reason why personal differences should cancel each other out. On the contrary, moral innovation begins with personal judgments which enter the dialogue of ideas and provide reasons for the judgments of others. One can see how but not why this happens; and historic movements of ideas, such as the moral revolution started by Gandhi, can be understood in relation to circumstances only after the event or, more usefully, as they happen.

Thus to understand a social change it is necessary to know the circumstances and to see how they become relevant to the moral judgments which define social relations. The causes which make these circumstances what they are, including the effects of human values and choices, chéefly concern sciences like economics and biology, which have their own methods of tracing these causal connexions.

The community

The dialogue of ideas takes place especially in communities, groups in which the same people deal with each other for differen reasons and in different capacities, and in which the moral aspect of relations is more important than the functional aspects. The nation and the factory are communities of sorts, but the nation is too large for its citizens to deal with each other except indirectly and on a mass scale, while in a factory the functional hierarchy overshadows most relations. In Indian English 'community', a most important word, means according to context the caste, 'subcaste', language group or religion one is born into. Hart (1960), in a study of Bombay politics, shows how 'the plural civic tradition elsewhere called community', based on residence, gains importance at the expense of the community of birth. Similarly in Garud3apura the surviving village institutions are put at the service of the new sense of local community, which in Indian conditions is essentially urban.

Circumstances, as well as national or foreign ideologies, acquire moral significance and are judged largely according to categories which belong to the common culture of the village. It is particularly on this scale that they are taken into account in discussion, consensus, conflict and moral judgments. The result is not uniformity of values, but a new turn to the dialogue of ideas: new values such as social service are introduced as alternatives, and existing categories of thought and language, such as honour, take on new meanings. This dialogue of ideas, through which moral innovations come to affect personal judgments, is like Piaget's 'method' of co-operation:

> In the midst of the network of groupings which constitute our present society, individuals agree, not so much to preserve a set of dogmas and rites, as to apply a 'method' or set of methods... Everyone is free to bring in innovations, but only in so far as he succeeds in making himself understood by others and in understanding them. (Piaget 1932 347)

> We must ... make a vigorous distinction between a social process such as constraint, which simply consecrates the existing order of things, and a social process such as cooperation, which essentially imposes a method and thus allows for the emancipation of what ought to be from what is. (ibid 350)

Since this 'method' is applied especially within the village and communities like it, this is the most convenient scale on which to study moral or social innovation in relation to circumstances, the interaction between movements of ideas on the national and local scales, and their meaning for individuals.

The values of modern India

To understand the dialogue of ideas I relate it to the opposition between two ideal types of values and of social relations, which Piaget calls heterpnomy and autonomy. Heteronomy is associated with constraint, hierarchy and unilateral respect, autonomy with aspiration, equality and mutual respect. They correspond to Bergson's closed and open types of morality, religion and society. In principle the two types are opposed; in practice they are found together, in unstable combinations, in every social morality. Moral innovation, influenced by circumstances, alters the balance between them, and therefore the spirit of social relations.

The moral concomitant of Indian 'modernization' is a tendency to stress autonomous values, which resemble western liberal values in some ways but not in others. Contact with the west affected this change in two ways: indirectly, as imperialism and trade affected the circumstances of Indian life and these changes were taken into account in moral relations; and

directly through an intellectual and moral confrontation which made educated Indians self-conscious about their values and stimulated the growth of new religious, political and social ideologies. The two kinds of change are connected historically, but one is not to be reduced to the other. Failure to distinguish between them leads to a mistaken view of modern Indian institutions as copies or imports and a false distinction between 'westernized' and un-westernized features, confusing the moral reactions to western contact with a superficial 'westernization' of customs for reasons of prestige. Thus one can learn little about national and state politics, for instance, from the relation between traditional and 'western' systems, but a great deal from the interaction between two systems which are both 'western' in form: the civil service, which came with external 'westernization' and tends to stand for heteronomous values and relations; and democracy, which has become the expression of indigenous autonomous values. It is not a paradox, as Fürer-Haimendorf thinks it is, that:

> the elected government of independent India is going much further in abolishing the freedom of particular sections of the society to regulate their own social affairs than the British administration had ever attempted to do.(Fürer - Haimendorf 1963 163)

Autonomous forms of religion and ethics had always tended to make morals part of a common culture, and to emancipate individuals from the constraints of closed groups. Democracy made it possible to do this on a national scale, through social reform legislation and a more uniform code of personal law. +

> + The Special Marriage Act of 1954 is thus, in a sense, a uniform civil code in embryo. Prime Minister Nehru described it as a first step towards bringing about uniformity in social observances. Those who voluntarily decided to come under the provisions of the act became a kind of community to which all Indians could belong without giving up their religion in any way. In regard to certain important functions such as marriage and succession, they gave up their personal law but not their religion. (Smith 1963 278)

It is possible not only to marry under the Act, but to register an existing marriage. If the Act had been regarded simply as a 'westernizing' measure, it might never have been passed.

The two kinds of western influence on Indian values - through changes in circumstanges and through an intellectual and moral confrontation - are reflected in two kinds of change on the local scale; the local community reacts to changes in national circumstances, which include both economic facts and institutions such as legal reforms having their origin in the moral confrontation with the west; and existing ideologies are directly confronted with national and foreign ideologies as the community becomes aware of them.

The first kind of change began early in Garud3apura, with the village's economic and administrative integration into the Cantonment. The result was to give the village a thoroughly individualist economy, based on contract not status and directed towards incentives and opportunities. The norm of 'rational' choice and personal responsibility applied in economic matters, the norms of authority and custom in matters of family, caste and religious duty. The cult of the Mowna Guru belonged to the part of religion which is traditionally free, beyond morality and society. The second kind of change, the confrontation with national and foreign ideologies, began with education in government or mission schools; but it received its greatest impetus from the Congress and Independence movement, associated with ideas of social reform and social service. A minority of young men extended the norms of choice and responsibility to moral matters. They made the Mowna Guru Math their centre, and drew out the elements of moral autonomy and universality which were present in the general tradition of bhakti and guru worship, rather than in the teaching of the Mowna Guru himself. The movement towards autonomy acquired momentum both from the increasing rate of change in circumstances, as many Garud3apura men came to work in technically advanced industries with a 'rational' functional hierarchy and with opportunities for a personal career, and from the direct involvement of Garud3apura people in outside ideologies, through reading, discussion, politics and travel.

The modernization of values, as distinct from that of circumstances, is the completion of a process which began long before the British conquest. The new values and institutions are influenced by western models (Christianity, the Judaeo - Christian and Stoic idea of the human person, democracy, law, economic institutions) but are not copies of them.

Western forms are accepted or adapted sometimes for reasons of prestige, but more generally because they seem appropriate to autonomous values which were already present but unstressed, and which new circumstances or ideologies have made more relevant. This is particularly true of forms of organization: parliamentary democracy on the national scale, the 'modern' contractual association on the local scale.

Heteronomy is the dominant but not the only strain in traditional Hindu values, which can best be understood as a constant dialogue between heteronomous relativism and autonomous universalism, with a constant tendency to escape from rigidly prescribed social relations into religious or moral universalism. Traditional India tries to combine both principles in either of two ways. A popular ethical tradition, to which the Kurral3 belongs, sees conscience and public approval as complementary aspects of every right action, and avoids or denies the possibility of conflict between them. The religious tradition, described by Dumont (1960), places the individual between the two poles of the autonomous renouncer and the heteronomous man-in-the-world, with forms of religion appropriate to each. The bhakta or devotee is religiously autonomous but socially heteronomous, getting the chief part of his religion from the renouncer and his ethics from the caste society.

Past attempts to combine religious and moral universalism, eg. among the early Lingaayats and Sikhs, did not last long, but they had a permanent effect on Hindu society generally. Modern bhakti or devotional religion, which developed partly in response to Christianity, tends to absorb the secular universalist ethical tradition and to take the central place in religious experience which brahmanical and group religion once shared. This modern bhakti resembles Christianity in being ethical and casteless and in its stress on consistency and conscience; it differs in its ideals of mokS3a, or liberation from the world, and of renunciation as an end. The limit towards which modern bhakti tends - but is still far from reaching in Garud3apura - is the establishment of 'Hinduism' as a single religion, absorbing life cycle rituals and all other forms of worship. Models for such a religion include the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Ramakrishna Mission (Farquhar 1919); the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (or SNDP; see Gough 1963 192-4, Natarajan 1952 35); and perhaps the Self-Respect movement, the forerunner of the DK and DMK, which held 'Self-Respect marriages' without Brahman priests (Beteille 1965a 211 214). The Mowna Guru Math of Garud3apura is content to coexist with brahminacal and group religion and to leave weddings to Brahmans, but its influence as a centre of moral innovation and social service is immense.

The modern criticism of caste uses three alternative arguments: that 'caste' is a degeneration from the 'original' division of society into four varnas or estates, which ought to be restored in their pristine purity (Gandhi's view, see Ambedkar 1946), that caste has outlived its usefulness (Vivekananda, in Brown 1956 97, Dandekar 1955 146), and that caste was always a bad thing on balance (Tagore, in Brown 1956 117-8). The first view is seldom heard now, the second and third agree that caste should be abolished, because it is incompatible with personal dignity, freedom and equality.*

On the community scale the question is not simply whether caste should be abolished, but in which situations, if any, it should be taken into account. I have shown how answers to this question vary, according to circumstances and ideology. Everyone agrees that caste should not count in the worship of the Mowna Guru, probably most believe it should not count at work outside the village, some believe it should not count in marriage and a few act on this belief. The movement towards casteleseness is visible but slow.

*Tagore argues for the autonomous individual, as a creator of values, and against caste

> In her caste regulations India recognized differences, but not the mutability which is the law of life.... India laid all her emphasis upon the law of heredity, ignoring the law of mutation and thus gradually reduced arts into crafts and genius into skill. (Ibid)

Traditional India tries to combine the heteronomous values of the caste society with autonomous values in two ways: by seeing them as complementary, as in much popular ethics; and by making hierarchical not universal distinctions and so confining autonomy to a single level, that of renunciation and bhakti. The first solution gives no guidance when the two kinds of values conflict, as in modern conditions they often do. The second has always been unstable, because autonomous thought, if it is licensed at all, tends to look for consistency and to make universal distinctions: true and false, right and wrong.

In principle heteronomous and autonomous values are opposed. There can be no smooth transition from the first to the second but only a kind of quantum jump, requiring a special insight or imaginative effort. Modern circumstances and ideologies, both Indian and foreign in origin, create conditions in which Indians are encouraged to make this jump. Thus modern India tends to look for general principles, to apply them to religious and social and intellectual life, and to disentangle autonomy from heteronomy instead of seeking to combine them. A specifically Indian industrial society is built on traditional foundations, particularly on elements of autonomy and equality which were already present in traditional society.

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