CHAPTER FOUR

HUSBAND—WIFE
The Husband-Wife interaction in the daily routine may precede the discussion on other primary relatives. The Husband-Wife relationship is comparatively more because it determines to a very large extent the pattern of interaction with other primary relatives.

The Husband-Wife interaction starts after marriage when the Wife comes to live with the Husband. The interaction continues till the death of either of them or till divorce - the incidence of which is very low. In case of other primary relatives interaction in daily routine gradually dwindles and finally stops at a certain point during late adulthood. The Husband-Wife interaction alone continues all through. With this general note we may now consider the pattern of Husband-Wife interaction in daily routine among the different castes of the village.

BRAHMAN

Among the Brahman the relationship between Husband and Wife undergoes considerable changes with the advancement of age. A freshly married couple are guided by their parents and their interaction in daily routine is conditioned by their requirements. After a lapse of time, if they become separate from the joint family they come into closer and more direct contact with each other in the performance of daily routine work. If the Husband is serving outside the village he may take his Wife to the place where he works. It has been mentioned earlier that if the Husband takes away his Wife with him soon after their marriage, it is resented by the parents and criticised by the elder relatives.
Even if the Wife goes with the Husband, she, in most cases is accompanied by the Husband's parents, or at least by the Husband's Mother. The parents do this to get the couple initiated into the world and to give elderly company to the young Wife in an unfamiliar place. If the Mother is not wholly dependent on the son then she may return after a period of six months or even one year leaving the couple to manage their own affairs. The relationship between Husband and Wife outside the village depends on the economic status and education of the former and is also influenced by the social surroundings of the place where they reside. The educational status and the degree of sophistication of the wife are also determining factors. These factors operate somewhat independent of the status of the Husband. The uneducated and unsophisticated Wife, residing in urban areas, is often the link with the village routine and she is mainly responsible for making the newly formed nuclear family maintain its rural characteristics, especially at the initial stage. In most cases the behaviour of the Brahman male, who works outside, becomes patterned after the urban mode of life while the Wife follows unhaltingly and never adapts herself fully to the urban routine. This patterning is influenced, at least at the initial stage, by the factors specific to their village. But this is not within the purview of the present dissertation.

It has been mentioned earlier that the interaction between a newly married couple is subservient to the wishes and influences of the parents of the Husband. The parents of the Husband do not consider it proper that their Son should have intimate relationship with their Daughter-in-law during day time. It is the
recognised duty of the Wife to attend to the routine requirements of the Husband but the newly married Wife is not allowed to offer her services to the Husband on her own. The Husband's Mother attends to this as far as practicable though she may make the young Wife do the required background work. For example the Wife may do the cooking but the food would be served by the Mother. The young Wife, though not allowed to serve her Husband directly, is nevertheless encouraged to serve her parents-in-law and to help them in their performance of the daily routine work. With this general note the specific items of daily routine may now be taken up for consideration.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

The Wife is expected to wash her face and clean her teeth before the Husband wakes up. Ordinarily a man does not resent to fetch a pot of water and a twig to wash his face and clean his teeth but when a newly married Wife is there in the house he expects his pot of water, with the twig cut to size, ready on the veranda when he wakes up. The use of narcotics like "gudakhu" (described earlier) is not thought proper to be used by a newly married Wife. The Husband considers it as somewhat lacking in womanly grace if the newly married Wife uses narcotics. The use of tooth brush and tooth-paste or tooth-powder by the newly married Wife is also considered vulgarly modern. Even if a girl is accustomed to using tooth brush, she must give it up for the first few months of married life. It is customary for the women of the village to clean their teeth at the bathing place but the newly married Wife considers it a shameful act and cleans her teeth.
Some cases of exception observed in this respect may be cited here. One is the case of the Wife of one Kamini Mohapatra. Both Kamini and his Wife Simani were highly educated and Kamini himself was the son of Nilamoni the first graduate of the village and a high ranking government official. Simani had been born and brought up under urban conditions. She was therefore completely ignorant of the rural habits and customs. Besides, her marriage was performed in the village. Though newly married she was found to be getting up at the unusual hour of 6:30 or 7 A.M. and brushing her teeth with a tooth brush. This was not very much resented by the members of the joint family as both Kamini and his father used to stay outside the village for a long time. Kamini especially was born and educated outside the village and had also the reputation of being a prominent political worker. His father was also highly respected in the village. Others therefore felt somewhat amused at this happening and as the persons concerned were considered to be somewhat exotic this sort of behaviour was rather expected. Kamini's parents however were not happy about it though they also did not show any resentment. They thought it would have been more honourable for their daughter-in-law to behave like a rural girl.

Another typical example may also be cited in this respect. The newly married Wife of Punananda Mohapatra was found one morning sitting in front of her room and brushing her teeth with gudakhu with the help of a twig. Punananda belongs to the low income group and is illiterate. He lived with his Father,
Mother and two Brothers but had a separate room of his own. His Father's brothers had been separated long since but they did not have the means to pull down the old house and build a fresh one. It was not therefore possible to maintain complete privacy in the house. One of Punananda's paternal uncles woke up and found the young Wife cleaning her teeth. After some time Punananda's Father also came out and saw her in that position. The young Wife did not stop cleaning the teeth but only drew the veil over her face and turned round. No doubt this was a gesture on her part to conceal the cleaning of teeth to show respect to her elders but the gesture was not considered adequate. On the contrary it was considered as somewhat ridiculous. This was resented by her Husband felt very much abashed when he learnt about it.

A different type of example is the case of Raj Kishore Mohapatra who belongs to the middle income group. His Father had education upto the old lower primary standard, but Raj Kishore could manage to pass his B.A. examination and enter government service. It was not a high ranking one but just a little above clerical type of job. However in his family and among his secondary and tertiary relatives he happened to be the only educated person and also the only person in government service. His relatives belonged to a weaker faction in the village. They therefore wanted to make the most of Raj Kishore's education and status as a government servant. Raj Kishore married the daughter of a gazetted officer. The girl's family though of rural origin, had been slightly urbanised and the girl herself had read upto class ten. The status of her Father and her own education was
unprecedented in the village at the time of marriage. Raj Kishore, himself a somewhat showy type of man, also wanted to make the most of his Wife. He therefore asked her one day to sit along with him in the veranda and brush her teeth. The Wife, though feeling a little shy complied with the wishes of her husband and gave rise to a flood of adverse gossip. Raj Kishore who thought he would be admired, found himself criticised even by his own people, and did not repeat the action.

With the advance of age, especially after there is a child, the shy relationship between the Husband and the Wife begins to fade out gradually and the Wife meets the routine requirements of the Husband directly. The Husband also does not hesitate to demand anything from the Wife whenever he requires it. It is therefore becomes the primary duty of the Wife to give the Husband a twig and a pot of water and also gudakhu in due time. As the couple become old these functions are taken over by the younger section, especially the grown up children. It is not unusual to find an old couple sitting side by side on the outer varanda, cleaning their teeth or whatever remains of the teeth. Those who do not have even a single tooth also go through the process of teeth cleaning regularly every day. When the Husband falls ill and is not able to clean his teeth, it is the duty of the Wife to help him to do so. The Wife brings a pot of water (usually warm water) and a twig to the bed side. One end of the twig is crushed in the form of a brush as the patient is considered too weak to chew the twig. A plate is brought to contain the unclean and Saliva. This is a duty which a Wife should not shirk to do
and this is true for all classes. The Husband is not expected to reciprocate this service on similar occasions and it is not considered manly on the part of the Husband to do so but sometimes the Husbands do help their Wives in cleaning their teeth when there is no other help.

In the code of interpersonal interaction between Husband and Wife it is a recognised rule that no important matter should be discussed between them and all sorts of disputes and arguments should be postponed till the Husband cleans his teeth and washes his face. If an argument takes place, before the cleaning of the teeth, it is sure to be strongly resented by the Husband and may lead to a quarrel. If such an event occurs it is considered as a bad omen which would bring about a series of unfortunate happenings during the day.

The practice of cleaning teeth sitting by the side of a metal pot is now considered as old fashioned. Young men now roam about here and there inside the village while cleaning their teeth and enter into conversation with one another while doing so. The women as usual clean their teeth at the bathing place but those who have come into contact with urban life prefer to do it at home. As men no longer prefer to sit by a metal pot to wash their face and clean their teeth women also do not bother about making arrangements for it as a part of their daily routine. This arrangement is reserved only for the visiting friends and relatives of the Husband. On these occasions it is the duty of the Wife to serve water in a clean metal pot with a twig. A small ball of gudakhu is pasted to the ridge of the pot if it is required by the
guest. A sitting plank is also provided for the guest to sit on while cleaning teeth. The Wife should not arrange this in the presence of the guest but should finish it before the guest comes to wash his face.

The twigs of a creeper "muturi" are purchased from Sahar women who come to sell firewood to the village. It is the duty of either the Husband or the Wife to purchase them in sufficient quantity. As these twigs get dry easily they are to be soaked in water in the night to be used on the following day. Neem and other varieties are procured from the trees in the village as they are not available for purchase. It is the duty of the Husband to procure them in his leisure time. Gudakhu is purchased by the Husband. In the few cases where toothbrush and toothpaste are used, they are purchased by the Husband. It is however the lookout of the Wife to indicate when their supply runs short.

Defecation:

Defecation is considered to be a shameful act to be mentioned between a newly married Husband and Wife. For a newly married Wife it is also one of the major problems in the daily routine. It has already been mentioned that there are no latrines in the village. Both men and women of all ages and all castes go to the fields and the banks of the canal and the ponds for defecation. Only those who are accustomed to the surroundings of the village can find out a suitable place to defecate. It is more difficult for women to find out such spots because, in their cases more seclusion is required. It is still more difficult on the part of
Brahman women as the Brahman houses are situated in the middle of the village at a distance from the fields. A Brahman woman has to pass through the main street of the village to go to the fields and social etiquette demands that she should defecate at a more scheduled spot than women of other castes.

It is not the direct concern of the Husband to look into these problems. In this she is helped by the elderly women of the family. Because of the bowel control of the rural people they are accustomed to going to the fields at a convenient time. The time which is convenient to Brahman women is almost the same for every village and girls are accustomed to it before their marriage.

When there is nobody else in the family except the Husband and the Wife, the former has to take charge of the house when the latter goes out. It is all the more necessary for the Husband to stay in the house when there are infants to be attended to. If the Wife feels the need for defecation outside the routine hours, especially when cooking she calls upon the Husband to watch over the kitchen and to see that the items on the oven do not get spoiled. Of course this type of behaviour is possible only when the couple had come over the shyness of their initial relationships. The Husband is freer than the Wife to go for defecation. He does not have to find a very secluded place and passing the main street is certainly not a problem for him. It is customary for him to inform the Wife that he is going out for defecation.

The word defecation is not mentioned between Husband and Wife. It is referred to as "going to the water of the pond" or
simply as "going out".

When the Husband is too ill to go out for defecation he may go to the kitchen garden or the courtyard. If any assistance is required, in this connection it is given by the Wife. If he has a motion on the bed the Wife has to clean it. This type of help is not reciprocated by the Husband. It is considered dishonourable on his part to do so. If a woman has a motion in the bed because of illness then either she would be attended to by the other women of the house or she would take care of her cleaning when she feels better. It is noteworthy that this general pattern of behaviour is the same in case of both the educated and the uneducated.

Two exceptions have been noted in this respect. One was in the case of Harekrishna Mohapatra and the other in the case of Babaji Mohapatra. Harekrishna belonged to the high income group and had the reputation of being a very spirited man. His relationship with his Wife fluctuated between affection and harshness according to his mood. Once his Wife fell so seriously ill that there was no hope of her recovery. Harekrishna contrary to the expectation of others, nursed her carefully and cleaned her and her clothing polluted by defecation.

Babaji the other person who belonged to the lower-middle income group was an eccentric type of man. He could not marry for long as he had no parents. His marriage was performed through the good offices of a friend when he was much advanced in age and his eccentricity had so much increased that he was treated to be almost mad. His relationship with his Wife was
marked by a show of abnormal fondness. He always imagined his Wife to be ill and would nurse her and wash her polluted clothing much to her embarrassment. Because of his eccentricity he was not taken seriously by the villagers.

A villager does not depend on others for defecation unless he or she is too weak and infirm to move. A couple when they become old usually depend on their children and other younger members of the family rather than depending on each other.

The Wife may touch and wash the napkin or "gamcha" of the Husband which he wears at the time of defecation. The Husband is prohibited from touching the Wife's gamcha as this is considered polluting. The Husband and the Wife do not touch each other on returning from the fields after defecation unless they wash their gamcha and change into ordinary clothing.

Though defecation is considered to be a delicate subject and not mentioned between a young couple, a young Wife does not hesitate to gossip with her friends at the time of defecation. This practice, however, appears loathsome to the girls with an urban background.

Bathing:

It has been mentioned earlier that there are different timings for the bathing of males and females and that there is also slight difference in timing among the women of different castes. The observance of this time-schedule is not obligatory but people adhere to it for their convenience.
The newly married Wife being under the control of the parents of the Husband in the performance of daily routine does not come into direct contact with the Husband in the performance of this item of daily routine. She is escorted by the Husband's parents to the bathing place and is again escorted back after taking her bath. Some items of toilet, required at the time of taking bath, such as oil and turmeric are given from the family fund. The Husband if he is the earning member of the family procures these items for the family as a whole. Usually the procurement of these articles is increased after his marriage. Some special items like toilet or washing soap, scented oil etc. may be purchased exclusively for the Wife and kept at her custody. This often invites criticism from the Husband's Mother if she is not on good terms with her Son's Wife. It is more usual for the Husband's Sister to be critical of this action if the same articles are not given to her.

When there are no parents or other members of family to shoulder any responsibility, bathing involves mutual adjustment between Husband and Wife. The bathing places are situated at a distance from the Brahman settlements. The house is to be taken care of during the absence of the bathers. When there are crawling children in the house they are to be taken care of. All these involve mutual adjustment between Husband and the Wife. The household work being the primary duty of the Wife, it is for her to take initiative in such adjustment. She is expected to see that the house is in order before she leaves it to take her bath. She also informs the Husband and if he is out or otherwise busy she has
to wait till he is free. The Husband, on his part, can go to take his bath whenever he likes, subject to the routine of his occupational activities. It is obligatory on the part of the Wife to inform the Husband before going to take her bath and if it is not done, she incurs his displeasure and this is considered as an act of arrogance.

When the Husband falls ill it is the duty of the Wife to help him in his bathing. Conversely if the Wife falls ill it is the duty of the Husband to arrange for her bathing. Usually a helpful female relative is requested to help the Wife in taking her bath. When no such help is available the Husband may perform this duty. Such occasions, however, do not occur very often as bathing is prohibited in almost all cases of illness.

Women do not take bath during the period of menstruation. They are considered to be polluted during the course of menstruation and do not cook or touch earthen utensils or clothes. During the last ten years this practice has been considerably liberalised. The Wife can afford to observe such pollution fully only when she is in a joint family. In a nuclear family it is very difficult to observe such pollution. She is therefore allowed to touch the younger children and cook in metal pots. The cooked food is not touched by her. It is to be taken out of the oven and served to the family members by the Husband or elder children.

It has been mentioned earlier that only a very few families use water from the wells for taking bath. There are only two Brahman families who are used to taking bath in water drawn from wells. Even in their case they usually prefer to take bath in
the canal or the tanks. Especially the women prefer not to take bath by the wells because these are not secluded like the bathing places by the tanks and the canal. Gossiping is another point of attraction for such preference as there are no womens' gatherings by the side of the wells at the time of bathing. However, whenever there is preference to bathe by the well the water is drawn by the bather. The owners of the wells, who also happen to be the most well-to-do persons of the village engage servants to fetch water from the wells. If either the Husband or the Wife is unable to fetch water due to illness or physical disability, and no servant is available at the time then they mutually help each other. When the Wife is pregnant the Husband helps her by drawing water.

It is not considered decent for the Husband to watch his Wife while she is taking bath. This is mainly because the wife always bathes in the company of other women but the restriction also applies even when she is bathing alone. It is not considered equally indecent if the Wife observes the Husband taking bath. This becomes an indifferent act when both grow old.

A man often needs assistance at the time of massaging oil before bath - especially on the back. A newly married Wife does not help her Husband in massaging but a middle aged Wife sometimes lends a helping hand.

Eating:

It is considered one of the primary duties of the Husband to provide the Wife with food. Conversely it is also considered as one of the basic duties of the Wife to cook the food.
and serve it to the Husband. The Wife's role in this connection is considered as subservient to that of the Husband. The Husband as the provider of food occupies a superior position. Though the Wife has the right to claim food from the Husband it is a feeble right and she cannot press it to her advantage. If a man is not able to provide his Wife with food then it is considered as an unmanly act and also invites severe criticism from relatives and neighbours. If the nuclear family is within the fold of a joint family, then it leads to serious disputes. These disputes are economically motivated i.e., by the desire of other members of the family not to maintain the Wife of a person who can not even provide her with food. The refusal of Wife to cook for or serve the Husband is considered to be immoral on her part and is resented by others on moral grounds. If a woman is unable to cook for her Husband due to continuous physical disability then she is not considered as a good Wife even by those who may be sympathetic to her for her disability.

Husband and Wife do not eat together. This applies to couples of all ages. A young Husband may eat in the company of his Father, uncles or Brothers and in their absence he may eat all alone. A young Wife eats with her mother-in-law or with the Wives of her Husband's Brothers and when the nuclear family is not included in any joint family she may eat all alone. Couples who live outside the village, behave in a different manner. While on a visit to the village they eat separately to avoid adverse criticism but outside the village they often eat together, but this behaviour is largely dependent on the relative educational and economic status.
of the couples.

It is the right of the Husband to eat first. The Wife always takes food after the Husband. Outside the village, though they may eat together, the Wife does not take her food earlier. In the village the Brahman Wife would wait and even go without food for a day or night if the Husband, unexpectedly, does not turn up to eat. She can take food only when she is sure the Husband would not turn up. The Husband on the other hand, is not expected to wait for the Wife in similar manner nor is any occasion for it, as the Brahman Wife never remains unexpectedly absent during food hours.

The Wife is expected to eat the remain after the Husband has had his meal and also from the plates used by him, without washing them. This behaviour varies with the educational status of the Wife and has undergone considerable change during the last decade. This behaviour also changes with the advancement of age when younger members of the family take charge of disposing of the remains of the elderly man’s food, at present in most of the families the remains are thrown away and the plates washed.

One of the recognised duties of the Wife is to sit in front of the Husband while he is eating and to see to his requirements. She also waives the fan to cool him and the dishes as well as to keep off the flies. Young Wives, however, feel shy to do this especially before the elders. Elderly Wives of course do it freely in the presence of other members of the family.

The Wife is expected to eat less than the Husband. She is also expected to do away with certain items if they are
found wanting after meeting the requirements of the Husband. It is considered extremely bad manners if a Wife does not serve what ever is required by the Husband and keeps it for herself. The principle here is that the Wife should serve everything to the Husband without keeping anything for her, if and when so required. She is not also to prepare any extra dish entirely for herself. An exception in this respect is made with regard to dried fish. A Wife may prepare some dried fish to be taken with watered rice or even with hot rice without sharing it with the Husband. This is so because dried fish is taboo for adult Brahman males. It is also not considered wrong if a Wife roasts a little vegetable over the fire, when there is no curry left to be taken with her food.

Certain types of food are taboo for men while others are for women. Thus dried fish is taboo for Brahman male and mutton for women. These are not strict taboos i.e., the breaking of these taboos is not considered as polluting. It is the duty of the Wife to cook food which is taboo for her if her Husband desires to take it. The actual performance of this duty however depends on the personal relationship between Husband and Wife. A number of cases were recorded when Wives had resented and refused to cook such food which they themselves would not eat. It is also the duty of the Husband to procure or purchase such food materials for the Wife which he himself should not eat. There is prohibition on taking certain food, especially non-vegetarian food, on certain fixed days and on special occasions. Thus non-vegetarian food is not taken on Thursdays and Sundays and on such occasions as Kartika Purnima. It is also prohibited only for women on some
special occasions, especially during the performance of the numerous "Osa" in the various seasons. Taking non-vegetarian food by the Husband is not prohibited on such occasions but the Wife is not expected to cook such food. This is prohibited on ritual grounds.

Serving the food is also equally important in the reciprocal relationship between Husband and Wife. It is always the prerogative of women, specially those who cook, to bring the cooked food from the kitchen and serve it to others. The Husband always waits by to be served and does not ordinarily help himself from the kitchen. Serving the food in a Brhaman family is attended by certain paraphernalia which differs according to the economic status of the families. Ordinarily with the rise in the economic status, these paraphernalia become more elaborate, but this is not always so. As rise in the economic status is correlated with high education and consequent urbanization. Notwithstanding all these factors, serving food is attended by the minimum procedure of: (a) sweeping the place where food is to be served, (b) sprinkling some water over the place, (c) putting a wooden plank and (d) placing a glass of drinking water. In early married life the young Wife is expected to do all these for the Husband but she does not actually serve the food if other women members are there in the house. Usually after the birth of a child the woman's period of non-age is over and she can serve food to her Husband.

The Wife also serves food to the friends and guests of the Husband when there are no elderly female members in the
house. If these friends and guests are such persons before whom she is not expected to observe "Purda" (covering the face) then the food is served in their presence. If she is expected to observe "purda" then the food is served before the guests come to the room to eat. Second helping are served by her, but she covers her face while doing so. The Husband may also serve food on this occasion if he is not joining the guests in their eating.

Sleeping:

The reciprocal relationship between Husband and Wife in the matter of sleeping undergoes considerable changes with the advancement of age. As expected the newly married couple sleep together but they are subject to a number of restrictions. In the night the Husband retires earlier to bed. The Wife must not go to sleep with him unless she had finished all household work. If there are other members in the house, she should attend to their comforts. Especially when there are elderly female members in the house she is expected to massage them till they fall asleep. She can enter the husband’s room in the night only after others had fallen asleep and feels shy if somebody watches her doing so. If there is a young female guest in the house, who is equal in status to her, such as Husband's younger married sister, she is expected to give company to her in the night. This is also done as a friendly gesture as most intimate gossiping by the women can only be done when they go to sleep in the night. The Wife does not sleep with the Husband during the menstruation period and illness. If a young couple have a quarrel they do not stop sharing the same bed during the nights, lest the fact should become known to other
members of the family. During day time the Wife feels shy to go to the Husband's room to sleep with him and often sleeps in another room.

A different pattern of relationship emerges if the Husband had married at an advanced age or had been a widower before marriage. In such cases he is too eager to exercise his sexual privilege over the Wife. He is considered mature enough not to feel the awkwardness of initial conjugal relationship.

As the Husband goes to sleep earlier, it often becomes his duty to arrange the bed. The Wife sometimes arranges the bed earlier, before the Husband goes to take his food. Though both get up in the morning at the same time, it is the duty of the Wife to roll up the bed. (The bed is spread only at the time of sleeping and folded up afterwards) If the bed is not folded up early and remains spread till late in the morning, it is considered as a serious act of negligence on her part. It is considered somewhat derogatory for the Husband to roll up the bed and the elderly members of the family regard it as extremely humiliating if they are called upon to do so.

The young Wife is expected to get up earlier than the Husband and sometimes wakes him up at the time of rising but she does not do so in the presence of others.

With the birth of a child the shyness regarding sleeping is relaxed and attains a degree of normality commensurate with the performance of joint responsibilities. The Mother has to enter the room almost any time during the day as the child
sleeps with her. She does not attend to the comforts of other members of the family before going to sleep, as she has to tend the child at that time. The sexual relationship of the couple also becomes somewhat otiose, superseded by the activities of bringing up the child and fondling the child. The burden of bringing up the child in addition to the usual household duties is so heavy that there is spontaneous continence at this stage. In certain cases a mat is spread on the floor for the Wife and her child while the Husband sleeps alone on the cot. This is also partly done to prevent the mattresses being spoiled by the defecation of the child.

With the advance of age the Husband and Wife tend to sleep separately. Usually they prefer to sleep with their children and grand children. If rooms are available, they even sleep in separate rooms. The old couple see very little of each other in advanced old age though they intensely feel each others presence in the family.

Cleaning:

Cleaning activities can be divided into two categories, cleaning the house and cleaning clothes. Both of these cleaning activities form a part of the daily routine resulting in interaction between Husband and Wife.

The total cleaning of the house is done on special occasions. On festive occasions like marriage or bringing home the bride, the house as a whole is cleaned. It is also cleaned after such polluting events as the death of a member of the family. On
such occasions outside help is called for as the task is too heavy and cumbersome to be performed by the family members alone. The Husband and the Wife play their part in such cleaning according to their status in the family. If the Wife happens to be the eldest female of the household then she directs the operations, and also does a substantial portion of the work herself. On such cases the Husband if he is also the head of the household, works in close collaboration with her. When the Wife is a junior member of the household she has to work under the direction of an elder woman especially the Husband's Mother. The Husband in this case may or may not be the head of the household. If he is, he has to deal with the eldest female member of the family but can not avoid effective relationship with his Wife. As a matter of fact, his dealings with both must be of the same quantum though on different planes.

The partial cleaning of the house (sweeping the floor, washing the kitchen and the places where food is taken and cleaning the courtyard) is done every day. Besides this the drains of the house are also cleaned every day. All these routine cleaning is done by the women of the house and it is the duty of the newly married Wife to perform these tasks of cleaning especially the sweeping of the courtyard and cleaning of the kitchen as early as possible and it is considered ideal if she can complete it before the Husband gets up. The cleaning of the drains is done both by Husband and Wife and they are expected to help each other in the performance of this act.

There is no rigid pattern for the cleaning of the
clothes. The Husband and the Wife clean their own clothes. The
women send their clothes to the washerman oftener than the men.
The clothes worn by women during menstruation are inevitably given
to the washer-woman for cleaning. The stigma of pollution is not
removed from these clothes, unless they are cleaned by washerman.
The men prefer to clean their clothes by themselves instead of
sending them to the washerman. It is the duty of the Husband to
pay the washerman and also to call him or his wife whenever there
is the necessity for cleaning clothes. The Wife may clean the
clothes of the Husband at the time of taking bath. It is not
considered as obligatory for her as cooking but just a minor duty.
The Husband should never wash the clothes of his Wife as it is
considered as extremely unmanly.

With all their caste emphasis on cleanliness among
the Brahman both Husband and Wife in the unsophisticated families
are indifferent towards the hygienic cleanliness of each other. A
Husband does not regard the wearing of uncleanly clothes by his
Wife so seriously as negligence in cooking. The Husband places
more emphasis on the ritual cleanliness of his Wife than on hygienic
cleanliness, and this is also reciprocated by the Wife. For
example a Husband would be shocked if the Wife does not wear a
gamucha when she goes for defecation but he would not mind if she
wears a dirty cloth in the house. The Wife would not allow the
Husband to enter the house from a hat or a bazar, if he has not
changed his clothes and washed his feet but she hardly notices if
there is a deposit of dirt on his skin. The consciousness of
cleaning comes only with education coupled with urbaneness.
Toilets:

It is one of the recognised duties of the Husband to provide the toilet articles for his Wife. A newly married Husband takes especial pleasure in procuring the articles of toilet and presenting them to his Wife. The Wife on her part has almost nothing to do with the Husband's toilet. She may keep the place of toilet clean and arrange the articles properly as a part of her routine duty of cleaning the house and arranging the things in proper order.

The Wife however performs her duty in a different direction. She has to do some toilet not only to please her Husband but as an expression of ritual regard for him. The main item of toilet, which is symbolic of this aim is vermilion. A married woman must make the vermilion mark on her forehead everyday and at no time this mark should be absent. It can be washed only once, at the time of bath but as soon after bath as possible, it should be marked again on the forehead. No work should be done after taking the bath unless the vermilion mark is made on the forehead. If a woman is ever found without this mark then it is considered as a bad omen which may bring the Husband's death. The application of Kajal (black-soot wax, used as eye-paint) on the eye-lids is another essential item of toilet though it is not considered ritually as important as vermilion. A Husband may not mark his Wife wearing dirty clothes but he would certainly be annoyed if she appears before him without vermilion mark or Kajal paint. The smearing of the toes and the sides of the feet with Alta (a red liquid) is also done occasionally by young Wives.
Massaging the body with turmeric and oil is an occasional item in the daily routine of the women. Such massaging is inevitably done when the women takes her first bath after menstruation. Besides this such massaging is done on festive occasions and at such times when she likes to have an elaborate toilet. (It may be noted here that the colour of bright yellow is considered by the villagers to be the most beautiful colour of the skin, which is also ritually sanctified, and this is preferred to white and black).

A woman combs her hair and dresses it before performing the evening cooking. The intention here is to appear before the Husband properly dressed. No village woman has been found combing and dressing her hair for toilet purposes in the morning. At the early stage of married life modern cosmetics such as face powder or vanishing cream are used by married women. They either hanker for them or are made to use them by their Husbands.

On the whole it can be said that toilet is not an important item of reciprocation between Husband and Wife.

Cooking:

Cooking is one of the most important items in the daily routine which is responsible for effective mutual relationship between Husband and Wife. Among the household duties of a Wife cooking is decidedly the most important.

It is the duty of the Husband to procure the articles required for cooking. He is to go to the daily or weekly markets to purchase edible oil (usually mustard or groundnut oil) spices and vegetables. It is also one of his duties to grow sufficient
quantity of vegetables in the garden if he has one. Wood for fuel is either purchased from Sabar women or procured from the nearby forests by the Husband in a bullock cart. The latter activity is both laborious and risky. The Wife has also some funds with her to purchase spices and vegetables from pedestrains. Cooking utensils are purchased from the Kansari caste people or other dealers, either in the village or in markets outside the village. This is done by mutual consultation and agreement between Husband and Wife. The Wife is to be satisfied with the quality of the utensils whereas the Husband is to see that the price is reasonable.

While it is the duty of the Husband to procure the materials needed for cooking, it is the duty of the Wife to make judicious use of them. A woman is not considered a good Wife if she very often complains about the shortage of things. She is also expected to anticipate the needs in advance. It is usual for the Wife to put away a little reserve at some secluded place and to use it at the time of emergency.

It has been mentioned earlier that besides the preparation of morning and afternoon tiffin, cooking is generally done twice a day. The attitude of a Wife towards cooking is largely dependent on the personal relationship with her Husband in particular, and with other members of the family in general. It is also dependent on the personal bearing of the Wife herself. Such objective factors as education and urban contact strongly influence her attitude towards cooking. It is considered ideal for a Brahman
Wife to cook well and be fond of cooking. She should try to prepare as many items as possible to please the Husband and yet be able to keep the expenses reasonably within the Budget. Though this is considered the ideal, there are many deviations even among the unsophisticated families because of the factors stated above. Education brings in a positive dislike for cooking on the part of a young Wife and urban contact accentuates it further. With education the outlook of the Wife becomes wider and she develops interest in activities beyond the village routine. Urban contact makes a woman find attractions from diverse spheres as a result of which she no longer wants to conform laboriously to the village norm. This does not result in a smooth shift from one pattern of behaviour to another. It creates maladjustment with the Husband because of the economic conditions of the urbanised families. It may be noted here that all the urbanised families, excepting four, belong to the lower middle class on the basis of their income. Their economic status does not allow them to engage servants to free the housewife from domestic work. During the last decade it has become progressively more and more difficult to get servants, even on payment of high salaries because of the unwillingness of the working class people to do domestic work. Thus, though the educated Wife of a white-collared employee aspires to enjoy her leisure and do some outdoor work, in actual practice she is stuck to the drudgery of domestic work - the major item of which is cooking. This maladjustment becomes all the more pronounced when the condition of the Wife is contrasted with that of her educated Husband. The Husband is able to break away completely from the
rural routine which he would have followed had he not been educated and taken up employment in an urban area. Education makes no difference for the Wife and she has to stick to the village routine like any other uneducated girl, and this routine is most exacting where cooking is concerned.

The preparation of special dishes on such occasions as the "Osa" functions can also be included in the daily routine as there are numerous such occasions and there is hardly a week without an "Osa". It is the pleasant duty of the Wife to prepare the special items prescribed on such occasions and to feed the Husband. She would cajole the Husband to procure the articles required for the preparation of these dishes. This aspect of the Wife's behaviour is somewhat absent in the case of the urbanised Wives. They consider it as an extra burden of work which should be avoided.

**Daily round of occupational activities:**

The Brahman Wife is not expected to participate directly in the daily round of occupational activities. She is expected to help her Husband indirectly mainly by cooking food for him and serving it in time. It has been discussed in the background chapter that the occupational range among the Brahman is very high. Consequently the behaviour patterned after it has also a very high range. In this connection the pattern of behaviour concerning the daily round of occupational activities of salaried employees with their wives has to be left out of consideration as it does not form a part of the village life. Only when the Wife stays in the village
while the Husband serves outside in a town, there is some scope for reciprocation but it does not find expression in the daily round of occupational activities. The Husband in such cases comes frequently to the village. If he is staying within the district of Cuttack he makes it a point to visit the village every Sunday and on all public holidays. If he is a newly married person he tries to utilise the company of his Wife to the utmost during his stay in the village. Elderly persons are more concerned with the management of their landed property during their stay in the village.

Behaviour inside the village is mainly patterned after the agricultural activities with its varying routine in different seasons. Such routine differs according to the nature of employment in land. Those who lease out their land for share-cropping the occupational activities concerning land only occur at the time of harvesting when they are to collect the products from the share-croppers. Even this does not take place with those who have lent out their land on "Sanja" basis. (that is on the basis of fixed payment of a certain quantity of the crops irrespective of the yield). The share-croppers pay a share of the actual yield from the land fixed either by custom or law. The landowner therefore has to watch over the operations of the harvesting to ascertain the amount of actual yield. In the village, however, there is not a single landowner who has leased out his entire land for share-cropping. A portion of land is always kept for direct cultivation. The occupational activities of this section of people therefore constitute the work of a supervisor of the land leased to the
share-cropper and also the supervision and organization of the activities concerned with direct cultivation.

It has been already mentioned that the Brahman does not work on the plough to till the land. No other activity connected with agriculture is prohibited for him.

During the ploughing season which falls in summer, the Brahman land owner starts to the field after breakfast at about 8 A.M. and returns at about 12 O'clock in the afternoon. He may again go to the field at about 3 P.M. and return in the evening. It is the duty of the Wife to give him an early breakfast and to handover an umbrella and a stick to him when he starts to the field. The lunch should be cooked before he returns. Immediately after the Husband returns from the field in the noon he is given a fan to dry his sweat and then he is given some oil to massage his body, after which he takes his bath. The lunch should be ready to be served immediately when he returns after taking his bath. The Husband after returning from the bathing place goes through a hurried worship of the household deity after which he sits for lunch. He takes a long and quiet nap after lunch and should not be disturbed during his rest. The Wife has nothing to do when he goes to the field for the second trip but on return from the field she gives him water to wash with and may be given a light breakfast such as parched rice. It is usual during this season to take early dinner and go to bed early.

The pattern of interaction for the working class people differs from that of the land-owning group. The working
class Brahmans have practically little work during the ploughing season as the work is done by hired labourers. This group of Brahmans go to the fields earlier but return in the usual time. Most of them go without breakfast after drinking the thick liquid of watered rice, which can be served by the Wife without kindling a fire. The lunch is also a scanty affair during this time as this a lean season for them. No food is taken between lunch and dinner which is cooked early by the Wife. This group retires earlier than the landowning group as they cannot afford to light lanterns.

During the harvesting season the work is heavy for the working class Brahmans. For the landowning group this is a period when their work is to be done round the clock. The landowner should reach the land very early in the morning to watch the progress of crop-cutting. Crop-cutting starts long before dawn and continues up to 9.30 to 11 A.M. This is done as the grains fall off when the rays of the sun becomes strong. Crop-cutting again starts after 3.30 P.M. and continues till it is dark and may continue late into the evening in moonlit nights. The Wife of the landowner has quite a task in meeting the needs of the Husband during this period as it is the peak of the cold season. She is to rise when it is still dark and prepare tea and breakfast for him as watered rice is not taken so early because of the cold. The breakfast is usually prepared and kept ready by the preceding evening. Lunch is prepared leisurely as the Husband returns early from the fields and is not in a hurry to go back. Due to the cold he does not wash much and has also no urge for afternoon nap for the same reason. The evening meal is taken early if the Husband returns from the
fields before dark. If he is late it is taken by 8.30 or 9 P.M. which are quite late hours in the village schedule. Inspite of the heavy duties and responsibilities of the Wife the mutual relationship is marked by a pleasantness which is characteristic of this period. This is so because this is the period of heaviest earning for the wage earners and for the farmers it is the period when the year's labours are rewarded.

The non-agricultural labourers have a regular work throughout the year. Being factory workers they conform to a regular routine. Usually they go to work after an early lunch or a combination of breakfast and lunch at 9.00 A.M. and return by 6 P.M. The Wife cooks the food for him to suit his routine and as he is absent for the better part of the day she has to manage the procurement of vegetables and fuel which is done by the Husband in other families. Those Brahmans who work as teachers in nearby villages have almost the same routine as the factory workers, only have a larger number of holidays.

The Brahman Wife has a through knowledge of the agricultural operations though she does not directly participate in them. She knows the names of different plots of land and their approximate location though she might not have seen any of them. She can identify the implements used in agriculture and can tell their use. She is also informed of the state of the crops grown during the year and shares with her Husband the joy of a bumper product and the sorrow of a crop failure.

Another duty of the Wife of the Brahman landowner is to attend to the needs of the labourers employed by the Husband.
Besides those who are given daily wages, there are others who are employed as annual labourers. The former have practically no relationship with the employer beyond their work and payment of wages but the latter are treated almost as members of the family. They are often entertained with food and their other requirements are also met by the employer. Much therefore depends on the Wife for keeping them attached to the family and making them take a personal interest in the work.

**Performance of Religious Rites:**

The performance of religious rites is a sphere where the interaction between Brahman Husband and Wife is much more significant than in other aspects of daily routine. Again this item of daily routine is more significant among the Brahman than among other castes. A Brahman is not considered to have attained full ritual status unless he is married. An unmarried Brahman is handicapped in performing "Sraddha" (annual offerings to either of the parents), or mortuary rites of his elders.

The daily round of religious rites consists of worshipping the household deity, offerings at the time of lunch or dinner and chanting hymns in the morning and the evening when gongs sound in the temple. This daily routine sharply differs on the basis of education, economic status and personal temperament.

Those who practise the daily round of religious rites regularly, almost inevitably belong to the well-to-do group. For chanting the morning and evening hymns, there is no direct interaction with Wife. The morning prayer is usually said only
by older people. The Wife should not disturb the Husband when he is offering prayer. The evening prayer require some preparation. This is the time when there is likely to be the maximum noise in the house. This is also the time when the Wife may require to consult the Husband on some household matters. She has therefore to make efforts to keep off all noise and postpone all discussions till the Husband finishes his prayer.

The chief deity of the Brahman households are the "Salgram" which have been described earlier. The women are prohibited to offer worship to them. The Wife, however, cleans the room where the deities are kept. She cooks the food and brings it to the room and places it before the deities. After that the Husband offers the food to them. The Wife does not serve any non-vegetarian dish to the Husband in the first course so as to enable him to perform the "Chalu" (described earlier). She serves the non-vegetarian dishes only after he had offered "Chalu". During the absence or illness of the Husband the Wife bathes the household deities but can not offer worship.

According to the Panjika (daily calendar stating the position of planets and fixing up the rituals and prohibitions for each day) each day certain food items are to be avoided. The Panjika also prescribes special rituals for almost every day and states what work is auspicious and in-auspicious for that day. It is not possible to carry out all the instructions of the Panjika but those which are considered important and ritually significant are followed. The newly married Brahman Wife is not conversant with the Panjika but with the advancement of age she becomes
throughly acquainted with it, even when she is illiterate and not able to read it. Husband and wife keep each other informed about the directives of the Panjika. The wife sees to it that no prohibited food is cooked on a particular day. If the husband has to do some auspicious work or has to go out on an important business then the couple fix up the time by mutual discussion and the wife has to keep everything ready at the appointed hour.

Recreational Activities:

In pursuing recreational activities there is no direct interaction between husband and wife except in some exceptional cases. There is no scope for any direct interaction in the out-door games as these are not played in mixed company. Though there is scope of interaction in the sphere of in-door games, playing of such games by husband and wife do not usually take place. A man sometimes play some in-door games with his sister and on rare occasions with his other female relatives but to play such games with his wife is considered as unusual. Only one such instance has been recorded when a newly married man Raj Kishore played cards with his wife. The husband was a graduate serving outside the village and the wife was a slightly educated girl with an urban background. The husband, who served outside, did not fully belong to the village way of life and the wife was not conversant with it at all. The parents of the husband were also not assertive as they were dependent on him. This playing of cards attracted wide criticism in the village.

Though there is no direct interaction between husband and wife concerning the recreational activities, there is
nevertheless considerable indirect interaction. It is one of the sayings in the village that a man does not enjoy his recreation unless he is on good terms with his Wife. It requires considerable mutual adjustment between Husband and Wife to enable any of them to have sufficient leisure to enjoy the recreational activities. As the Husband enjoys a domenant position in the family it is for him to be especially liberal towards the Wife in this matter. The women play cards only in the afternoon after finishing the household work of the forenoon. They start the play by 1.30 or 2 P.M. and continue upto 4 P.M. A nagging Husband is apt to require the services of his Wife during this period. He may delay in taking his lunch so as to leave no time for his Wife to play. The Husband on the other hand, requires less adjustments with his Wife for participating in recreational activities. Men play indoor games only during their leisure when they have not occupational work. These games are not played in anybody's house but in the village street or any common place. The Husband is therefore comparatively free than his Wife to play these games.

The outdoor games are only played on festive occasions. The Husband, if he intends to play any outdoor game can take advantage of the festive mood of the day not to bother about domestic affairs. Usually on these days, work, especially agricultural work is prohibited. It is therefore not difficult for him to make time for outdoor games. There is no scope for reciprocation from the side of the Wife as the few outdoor games prescribed for women are played by unmarried girls among the Brahman.
Rearing Children:—

Rearing children is another sphere where the interaction between Husband and Wife in the daily routine is very significant. They do not have to shoulder the entire burden of rearing children if they are in a joint family. In such cases the Husband - Wife interaction requires further adjustments with other members of the family.

The mode of rearing children sharply differs according to the education, economic status and personal attitude of the parents. Parents in the higher income group are keen to groom up their children to become government officials and this effort is further accentuated by the educational status of the Father. (As mentioned earlier, no house-wife in the village has education above the Higher Secondary Standard and those who are highly educated according to the village standard do not come strictly within the fold of the village organisation as they live outside.)

A young Husband is very shy about the pregnancy of his Wife and the child-birth. The Wife is also equally shy and does not break the news of her pregnancy to the Husband, especially when it is the first one. She tells it to friends who are her equals. The fact soon becomes known because of the stoppage of the monthly course and the consequent observance of menstrual pollution. Some ten years back child-birth usually took place inside the village. Rural women having indigenous nursing experience helped the delivery and gave some initial nursing to the newly born baby and the mother. This was done by those who could afford it. In
most cases the experienced female relatives helped the delivery. Gradually hospital deliveries have become more common. At present more than 50 per cent of the deliveries are made in the hospitals in Cuttack town, though the transport of the pregnant women presents difficulties.

It is for the Husband to bear the cost of delivery if he is an earning member of the family. If the Wife is taken to the Hospital he accompanies her with other elderly persons. He is also expected to make such arrangements as contacting the doctor, purchasing medicine and procuring the diet for the Wife. However the delivery of a child is treated as an emergency where other members of the family and even relations and friends outside the family cooperate as a duty. Child birth is one of the few occasions when one is expected to forget the past bitterness, if there is any, and come to the rescue of the couple.

After child-birth the most important thing is to observe the name-giving ceremony after twenty-one days. If it is a male child, the ceremony is held with such elaborateness as befits the status of the family. It is less elaborate in case of female children. If the family intends to observe the ceremony lavishly, it is held when the child completes its first year. The minimum expenses of the ceremony are borne by the family but any expenditure over and above it is met by the Father of the child. The Husband procures all the materials required for the ritual and the feast. The Wife cleans the house and does the cooking. If the feast is held on a large scale, the Husband requests his relatives and friends of his own caste to do the cooking.
Tending the child at the infant stage is the primary responsibility of the Wife. All the infants are breast-fed, by the Mothers. If the Wife can not feed it from her breast the Husband arranges for cow milk. Bathing and cleaning of the child and washing the clothes of the baby is done by the Wife. The Husband procures the garments for the child. Torn and discarded clothes are obtained by the Wife to prepare the child's bed. She is expected to preserve the torn clothes for this purpose. If the child falls ill it is her duty to nurse whereas the Husband procures medicine and arranges for making offerings to the Gods for recovery from illness. At the infant stage any illness of the child is ordinarily attributed to the negligence of the Wife for which she is admonished by the Husband.

Husband - Wife interaction in rearing children depends on the former's nature of employment and their personal relationship. As the child grows up the Husband gradually turns into the disciplinarian as against the Wife's role of tender caretaker. In playing their different roles they sometimes come into conflict - the Husband charging the Wife for being indulgent towards the child and she on the other hand accusing him of harsh treatment. Both Husband and Wife join hands together, for defending the child against others.

The child's education is the responsibility of the Husband. The Wife here plays a passive role. She may complain that the Husband is not paying adequate attention to his education or report to him if the child neglecting his study. The child's performance in the field of education goes more to the credit of
the Husband than the Wife.

Husband and Wife share the responsibility of socialising the child. If the male child is not sent out for study he is taught by the Husband about the land and agriculture not by any formal lessons but by demonstrations spread over years. The performance of the Upanayan (sacred thread) ceremony is the responsibility of the Husband. This is due when the son attains the age of nine and if it is delayed, the Wife is within her rights to complain about it.

The Husband and Wife share the responsibility of socialization of female child till she is about ten years old. After that the Wife gradually assumes full responsibility. Her role with respect to the girl is more exclusive than the Husband's role regarding the Son. Whereas the Husband ceases to have intimate contact and control over the Daughter after she attains puberty, the Wife is always on intimate terms with children of both sexes.

On the day of the Daughter's marriage both the Husband and Wife observe fast. The responsibility of both is here clearly defined. The Husband manages the outdoor work. (It may be mentioned that cooking for the feast is also an outdoor work in marriage and is not managed by women though they may do some antecedent work in this connection). He also arranges for the rites and himself takes leading part in their performance. The Wife has no ritual function as such though in some of the rites she participates with the Husband in a passive manner. Her role is
to keep the Daughter ready for the rituals and to escort her to and fro from the marriage pandal.

The Son's marriage is held at the residence of the bride and it is for the Husband to look to the arrangements. He accompanies the bridegroom's party as the leader but the Wife stays at home preparing for the reception of the bride and the bridegroom, on their return.

Husband and Wife have a through discussion about the selection of mates for their children. The selection of the bridegroom for the Daughter is preceded by a more elaborate discussion and the Wife has a strong voice in influencing the final decision. The choice of the bride for the Son does not require so much discussion. In selecting the bridegroom emphasis is given on positive qualities of the boy - such as health, moral character, capacity to earn but in case of the bride emphasis is given on lack of recognized disqualifications. In both the cases the Husband conducts the direct negotiations and only he is responsible for interviewing the proposed mates. In rare cases the Wife sees the prospective mates of her proginy before their marriages are before their marriage are performed.

The Husband plays a dominant role in the selection of mates for the children while the role of the Wife is a passive one, but though she does not take initiative, if she is assertive she can frustrate the negotiations. Her satisfaction is a factor to be reckoned with by the other party and if they sense strong disapproval on her part they do not proceed with negotiations. Three such instances have been recorded within the last ten years.
when the Wife had been able to break off the negotiations - two for the selection of bridegroom and one for selection of bride.

It is common saying (quoted from "Srimad Bhagabat"). that one should renounce the world after the Son's Wife comes home. The worldly duties of a Brahman are said to be over when he gets his son married. Some modified this saying and hold the opinion that one should not retire from the world till he has seen the face of his grandson. In actual practice nothing of the sort happens, though the family status of the couple undergoes a change after their Son's marriage and their reciprocal behaviour undergoes a change in response to the new demands of the altered family relationship, which they have to meet jointly or separately. Their attitude towards their Son also undergoes a change. If the Husband and the Wife donot share each others views and are not in agreement in the assessment of the behaviour of the Son and his Wife it leads to conflict and quarrels between them. The Husband is expected to side with his Wife in cases of her conflict with the Son's Wife, even if he does not find any fault with the latter. Otherwise he is accused to be unduely partial towards his Daughter-in-law as against his Wife. This sort of maladjustments is very common in the village, especially during the initial period of the Son's married life.

As the children, especially the male children grow-up the Husband gradually loses some of his powers of dominance
Over his Wife. The Wife as the Mother of her Son, acquires a stable position in the family with a right to be treated with dignity. Her requirements are met by her Husband and her children. This change in the relationship is brought about gradually and smoothly, without any maladjustment except in rare cases. There is only one instance among the Brahman of the Village when the grown up Sons found it necessary to intervene physically to defend their Mother. The Wife’s position becomes more secure if the Son is educated and is in government service. In such cases she often accompanies him to his place of work. The Husband can not do this as he has to do the agricultural work at home. This further reduces Husband-Wife interaction.

Daily income and expenditure:

There is no direct interaction between Husband and Wife as far as daily income and expenditure are concerned. The Brahman Wife does not have an income of her, in the true sense of the term. She has, of course, a fund of her own. She brings such amount of money from her Father’s house which he can afford to pay besides the dowry. This is her personal cash and the Husband has no right over it – rather he is expected to enhance it by periodic gifts. When there is an emergency the Husband can borrow from this fund but he should pay back as soon as possible. It is one of the optional duties of the Wife to lend out to the Husband, from this fund, in such cases. It is not a compulsive duty on her part and it was observed that the Wife does not ordinarily part with it. Though she has absolute right over this fund, she is not free to spend it as she likes. Any expenditure from this fund, for purchasing ornaments or sarees, is done stealthily by the Wife. If the Husband comes to know of it, he abuses her.
The Husband has a formal right to have absolute control over his income, which of course means the family income. In actual practice he consults his wife in meeting the daily expenditure on food and occasional expenditure on clothes. She is never consulted regarding expenditure over agriculture and other occupational activities. The income in cash is kept by the Husband.

Daily purchases are made by the Husband as it is considered indecent on the part of Brahman women to go to the shops.

KHANDAYAT

After analysing the pattern of interaction between the Husband and Wife among the Brahman a similar analysis for the Khandayat caste may be given. The discussion about the Khandayats and other castes may not be done with such a detailed description as was done in the case of the Brahman because in many cases the pattern of behaviour has been found similar. It would be more fruitful to lay emphasis on the dissimilarities than to repeat the similarities.

The Khandayats can be divided into four economic categories namely owner-cultivator, sharecropper, agricultural
labourers and non-agricultural labourers. The details about the economic conditions have already been dealt with in the background chapter. It may be reemphasized here that a section of the non-agricultural labourers who stay and work as permanent hands in the industrial establishments in Calcutta, stand in a category by themselves because of their urbanness and comparatively higher income than other non-industrial workers. Some of them even have a higher income than the lower category of white-collared employees among the Brahmans.

The effective groupings for the purpose of the study in behaviour among the Khandayat have been based on the economic criteria. For this purpose only two broad divisions have been found to be relevant. These divisions are first the owner-cultivators and share-croppers, and second the agricultural and non-agricultural labourers in the village. The industrial labourers are included in the first group. The factor of education which has a high degree of positive co-relation with the economic factor among the Brahman, is absent among the Khandayats. The factor of urbanness for this caste almost merges with the economic factor. Like the salaried service-holders among the Brahmans, the industrial workers among the Khandayat, live outside the village for most part of the year but they do not take their Wives to the place of their work. This along with the absence of the factor of education do not make the groups comparable.

Within the last two decades a conscious tendency, for approximating the behaviour of the Brahmans, has developed among the
Khandayat. This tendency has played a significant role in influencing their behaviour in general and kin behaviour in particular. Economic prosperity among a group of the Khandayat has made this tendency stronger. It is noteworthy that the behaviour of the Brahman which the Khandayat tries to emulate is the ideal behaviour which in most cases has no reference to the concrete behaviour of the Brahmans in the village.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

It has been mentioned earlier that the majority of the Brahmans wash their face and clean their teeth sitting on their varandas and drawing water from a metal pot. This is considered as a luxury among the Khandayats. The work routine of the labourers and the small share-croppers does not allow them to indulge in such luxury. Only those, who cultivate enough land as on share-cropping basis and also have land of their own can afford to do this. In their cases it is the duty of the Wife to provide the Husband with the required amount of water in a clean metal pot. The twig used for cleaning teeth is procured by the Husband in his leisure time but the Wife keeps ready a piece of twig every day.

In case of labourers and small share-croppers both Husband and Wife wash their face and clean their teeth while proceeding to or returning from agricultural work. Each of them may break a fresh twig to clean his or her teeth every day. Few of them keep a stock of twigs. For this section there is no
effective interaction between Husband and Wife for cleaning the teeth.

The industrial labourers who come for brief periods to the village are treated with that elaborate attention by the Wife as is accorded to a honoured guest. His interaction with the Wife is comparable to the Brahmans in the higher income groups.

Defecation:

The houses of the Khandayats, unlike those of the Brahmans, are situated very near the fields. The fields are used as a place of defecation both by men and women. The plots adjoining one's house are quite secluded and one can defecate there at any time.

In case of the landowning and the share-cropping group, the Wives are engaged in household duties and very few of them go to work in the fields. There is no caste ban on the Khandayat woman working in the fields but if the economic status of the Husband is regarded as high, it is considered degrading on her part to do so. Even then going for defecation to the fields does not require elaborate arrangements on her part like the Brahman Wife as the fields are very near the house. For the brief period of the Wife's absence an elderly female neighbour may look after the children. The Husband is very often not available for this purpose as he is much more engrossed in agricultural work than the Brahman. For the industrial workers temporarily visiting the village there is no effective interaction between Husband and Wife as the former is spared all the routine household responsibilities.
because of his almost guest like position in the family during his brief stay.

**Bathing:**

Bathing among the Khandayat is not such an elaborate affair as it is in the case of the Brahmans. For the majority of the males of all economic categories bath means nothing but a hurried dip in water. The same procedure is also adopted by the working class females. The non-working females of the younger age group take more care about their bath. They use oil regularly and some of them use soap occasionally. Turmeric paste, which is being gradually replaced by soap among the Brahman women, is still in vogue among the Khandayats and its constant use is treated as a mark of economic prosperity. The Wife of an industrial worker uses both these items regularly. In contrast to the Khandayats of the village the bath of the industrial worker is demonstratively elaborate when he is on a visit to the village. Soap and scented oil are used by them regularly in the village, even if these articles are not used by them so frequently at their place of work.

The interaction between Husband and Wife, regarding bathing, is not as perceptible in the case of Khandayat as it is in the case of Brahman. This interaction is only effective in the case of the industrial workers, during their brief visit to the village. It has already been mentioned that the bathing of these workers is demonstratively elaborate, the purpose being to show off their status before the villagers. The bathing of their Wives is also equally elaborate during this period. They use the new type of soaps and the scented oil brought by their Husbands. They even
take bath twice, once in the morning and once in the evening, to please their Husbands and to appear before them properly cleaned and washed.

The working class Wife purchases her own requirements for bath, such as oil, turmeric and napkins and so does the working class Husband. An alternate arrangement is to purchase these articles by either the Husband or the Wife in turns, for the use of both. If either of them do not procure their due share or misuse the same, it leads to conflict between them. In case of the landowning and share-cropping Khandayats whose Wives do not work in the fields, the articles required for bath are purchased by the Husband and the pattern of interaction is the same as in the case of the upper class Brahman.

Eating:

No ritual significance is attached to eating, among the Khandayats. The cleanliness and elaborateness attached to eating vary on the basis of economic status and degree of urbanness.

For all sections of the Khandayats, the Wife cooks and serves the food. Food is first eaten by the Husband and the Wife always eats after him. In the case of the working class section of the Khandayat, the Wife returns earlier from the work to do the cooking. She is expected to keep the food ready when the Husband returns from the field. She is expected to wait though she her-self might have done equally hard work and might be equally hungry. The working class Wife however is not very particular in serving the food. Mostly she only serves the rice. While the side
dishes (which usually consist of chillies and a pinch of salt or a piece of dried fish singed on fire) are obtained by the Husband. In the absence of the Wife the Husband does not mind to help himself. If he is very late in returning from the field she does not usually wait for him to take food as she herself is to prepare to go to work. The visiting industrial workers are treated by their Wives as honoured guests during their stay in the village and this treatment is most manifest in eating. The Wife prepares the choicest dishes for him and serves them in the proper manner. The place where food is to be taken is thoroughly swept and water is sprinkled over it. A wooden plank is provided for sitting and drinking water is placed by it in a glass. The Wife sits before the Husband and cajoles him to eat more and more. She also makes it a point to eat whatever is left out in the plates. She, however, cannot become very vocal if there are other elder members in the family. As the Husband is not conversant with the village market due to his long absence, the Wife has to procure the vegetables and the fish which are locally available. The vegetables and the fish available in markets outside the village are purchased by the elder male members of the family.

Sleeping:-

Shortage of housing space presents a problem for the Husband and Wife to sleep together. This problem is felt by all categories of Khandayats, though it is more acute in the case of the lower income categories. The newly married couple are given all facilities to sleep together during night time. If necessary
other members of the family sleep in a crowded room or even on the outer veranda to provide the couple with this facility. In case of the lowest category of labourers, who reside in one room houses the adjustment is made by other family members in avoiding to go inside the house until late in the night, so as to allow the young couple to have copulation. As such waiting is embarrassing to both the parties all attempt is made to appear casual. Those who wait outside move to a distance and talk among themselves or with neighbours or try to do some work all the while to appear unmindful of what goes on inside the house. Sometime after the copulation is over the Husband comes out for urinating or for drinking water or for looking into the cowshed. This is taken as a gesture on his part to indicate others to enter the house. Neither their occupational routine nor the accommodation in the house allow the Husband and Wife from this class to sleeping during day time.

For all categories of Khandaayats both Husband and Wife retire early in the evening which is not later than 7 P.M. Either of them may go to bed earlier. Before going to sleep the Wife massages the Husband. Massaging is done regularly when there is heavy work. Where the Wife herself is a working woman, this massaging is not compulsory, though it is usually done as a gesture of conjugal affection.

Old and middle aged couples do not generally sleep together. The avoidance of sleeping together begins when the children attain adulthood. It may also formally begin when their son is married and his Wife is brought home. The Husband in these
cases either sleeps on the outer veranda or in the passage room, whereas the Wife sleeps with other female members or children of the family. If they have to avoid the house for the sake of their Son and Son's Wife both of them stay outside for a suitable time and then the Husband returns to sleep with the Son and the Wife sleeps with the Son's Wife.

The arrangement of the bed for all categories of Khandayats is a simple affair. It comprises of spreading a mat on the floor and laying a coarse bed sheet on it. This is done either by the Wife or the Husband, whoever comes to sleep earlier. In the morning the bed is led aside by the Wife for sweeping the house. Only one family uses cots. An exception is to be observed in case of the industrial workers who use cotton carpets (Darri), mattresses, decorative bed sheets and pillows for their sleeping. Generally it is for the Husband to make the bed in these cases as the Wife is often ignorant of the use of mattresses and pillows. If the Wife is experienced she may also make the bed.

The relationship of a middle-aged industrial worker with his Wife is noteworthy. A rural Husband at this age is expected to avoid sleeping with his Wife but the industrial worker because of his long and continued absence from the village and the short duration of his stay, indulges in the act of sleeping with his Wife even if there are adult children and married Sons in the house. The residence pattern of these families facilitates this where as it is otherwise in the case of the rural-oriented house holds. It has been mentioned earlier that family tradition plays a significant role in determining the flow of workers to industrial
areas. If the Father had been working for some time in an industrial area, his Son feels attracted to go and work there. Mostly therefore the adult Sons of an industrial areas are often away from home working in the industrial areas when their father visits the village. This is of course not an universal phenomenon. Sometimes there are other Sons who stay and work in the Village. The point involved here is that congestion is less in these households and certain indulgence is allowed by other members of the family to the industrial worker because of his almost guest-like status during his stay in the village.

Compared to the Brahmans, the conjugal urge of the Khandayat couple to sleep together is of lesser duration. Two reasons may be advanced in explanation of this. At the earlier period of conjugal relationship the Brahman has a larger variety of interests compared with the Khandayat whereas the latter has only to attend to his routine occupational work and sexual activity is his only mode of enjoying recreation. With the advancement of age the Khandayat is to shoulder larger burdens for his living and the congestion of residential space, which he has to share with his growing children imposes a restriction on conjugal sharing of the bed. This point is further asserted in the exceptions observed in the case of the industrial workers among the Khandayats. Where both Husband and Wife do manual labour, physical exhaustion dulls the sexual urge. The comparative lack of knowledge of birth control leads a larger frequency of child births among the Khandayat, which further prevents the Husband and Wife to sleep together.
Cleaning:—

It has been mentioned earlier that compared with the Brahman cleaning is a less elaborate affair among the Khandayat. Both Husband and Wife wash their own clothing. The clothing worn by the Wife during menstruation are washed by the washer-man, as is the case with the Brahmins. It is the duty of the Husband to give notice to the washer-woman, if she does not turn up in time. It may be mentioned here that the washerman and the Washer-woman do not serve the Khandayats so regularly as they serve the Brahman because of the inferior caste and economic status of the former as against that of the Brahman. This often leads to disputes between the Dhoba and the Khandayat.

The materials used for cleaning clothes, such as soap and soda are usually purchased by the Husband. Where the Wife is also an earning member, she sometimes purchases these for her own use and for the use of the family.

If the Husband is ill the Wife washes his clothes. In case of the Wife's illness her clothes are washed by the female member of the family, or if there is no such member by close female relatives outside the family. Mostly the washing of clothes do not present a problem unless there is prolonged illness.

Cleaning the house is the duty of the women, but unlike the Brahman women, it is not their exclusive duty. The males of all age group, excepting small children lend a helping hand in this. In families, consisting of only Husband and Wife, the labours of cleaning the house are equally shared by the couple.
especially when the house is thoroughly cleaned for marriage, mortuary rites or similar occasions which require the mud-washing of the walls and the floors. On such occasions hired hands are employed by the Brahman households but among the Khandayats the cleaning is done by the family. Some close relatives outside the family are requested to help but the major responsibility is always borne by the head of the household and his wife. Sweeping the house does not form a regular part of the daily routine in Khandayat households. In some households the house is swept every alternate day but in three households the sweeping is done every in imitation of the Brahman practice. Sweeping of rooms is done by the wife while sweeping of the outer courtyard, which sometimes forms a part of the village lane is done by the husband. More importance is attached to daily sweeping of the inner courtyard than any part of the house and it is one of the basic duties of the wife to clean it as early in the morning as possible, sprinkling water mixed with cowdung before sweeping. Cleaning the utensils is not the exclusive duty of the wife as it is with the Brahman. Where both husband and wife do manual labour, each washes the utensils after taking food. The wife often washes the utensils used by the husband but the husband washes the utensils used only by him and ordinarily does not touch those from which the wife has taken food. The pots used for keeping water and feeding the cattle are invariably cleaned by the husband while cooking utensils are cleaned by the wife.
Toilet:

Toilet for a Khandayat man consists of massaging oil over the body and in a number of cases combing the hair. For Women it includes the massaging of oil, preferably with turmeric paste, combing the hair by using plenty of oil, applying vermillion on the forehead, kajal on the eye brows and "Alta" on the toes and ridges of the feet. Palms are coloured on festive occasions by "Manjuati". Sandlewood paste is worn by men on festive occasions but this is confined to only a few families. Toilet-soap, facecream and powder are used by a few young women, especially the Wives of industrial labourers. Toilet soap is also used by some young men. it is very often used by the industrial workers not so much as a necessary part of routine toilet but as a means of demonstrating social status.

It is always the duty of the Husband to procure the toilet articles both for himself and his Wife. The Wife feels shy to go to the market or the village shop to procure them, even when she is expected to do the shopping. She however does not hesitate to buy them from pedestrian sellers, some of whom are women, who move from door to door with their ware. They offer toilet soaps, vermillion, Alta and glass bangles for sale but never carry such comparatively sophisticated articles like face cream and face powder. These two last items are invariably purchased by the young Husbands for their Wives from the nearby markets. The industrial labourers bring these articles when they return from places like Calcutta and these are proudly demonstrated by their Wives to their friends and neighbours. Articles like oil which have multipurpose used are
commonly purchased from the market by the Husband or Wife but scented oil is purchased from the nearby market or brought from industrial centres by the Husbands.

When the Husband is the only earning member it is his duty to provide his Wife with such articles of toilet, which are not treated as luxuries but as necessaries, (like oil - either coconut, mustard or castor) and it is not unfair for the Wife to quarrel with him to get them.

Cooking:

Like the Brahman households cooking is the main duty of the Wife but unlike them it is not her exclusive work. Cooking is not considered degrading for a Khandayat Husband, especially when his Wife is ill or in advanced stage of pregnancy. When she is absent, visiting her Father's house or a fair the Husband does not mind cooking for himself and even for the children.

Cooking is the main duty of the Wife even when she herself is a working woman. She is expected to so adjust her daily round of work as to find time to cook for herself and her Husband in time.

When the Husband is the only earning member it is his duty to procure and purchase the materials required for cooking. He purchases the food articles from the shop or the market, stores sufficient rice and pulses for the year and procures firewood from the forest. Though firewood is brought to the village for sale by the Sabar women, very few Khandayat households can afford to buy it. If the Wife is also an earning member, it is part of her
responsibility to procure the articles required for cooking. Here she has more responsibility than the Husband though it may not be so in other spheres. For example if a loan is to be repaid or the taxes on the land are due, it is neither her duty to make a contribution nor it is decent on the part of the Husband to ask for it. As against this it is perfectly legitimate for the Husband to ask the earning Wife to contribute towards the cooking and feeding expenses of the family and it is extremely improper for her to refuse it.

In a working class Khandayat household there is no cooking in the morning. In the afternoon the Wife returns early from work and starts cooking immediately after reaching home. She takes bath before or after the cooking is done. Except two households, this is the only cooking done during the day and water added to a part of the rice to be taken as dinner and breakfast on the following morning. In the evening a little curry of spinach fry is prepared. Dinner is also taken with a piece singed dried fish smoked over fire. During the period of heavy manual labour cooking is done in the evening and water is added to the rice, cooked at this time, to serve as breakfast and lunch on the following day. Only in two households cooking is done both in the morning and the evening, throughout the year.

Among the low income group the Wife cooks only rice. When the Husband is to take food he may fry a little spinach or smoke a piece of fried fish for himself. The Wife does not consider it necessary to prepare these items beforehand and it is also not considered tasteful if these are so prepared. Cooking of fodder
Daily round of occupational activities:

In the Brahman households the Wife plays only a subsidiary role in the daily round of occupational activities whereas in the majority of the Khandayat households the Wife plays and active role. This role is more pronounced where both the Husband and the Wife work as labourers. They start together early in the morning to the fields. Before starting to the field the Wife serves watered-rice to the Husband and also helps herself to it. The utensils are washed before leaving for work. This is done mostly by the Wife but sometimes the Husband also washes the utensils from which he had taken food. Husband and Wife either work side by side or the Wife may join a group of women and work at a different place whereas the Husband works in his group elsewhere. This is the common pattern of work during the weeding and harvesting seasons, when there is scope for large scale employment of both men and women as labourers. This pattern undergoes some change in the ploughing and the sowing seasons when the work load does not demand large scale employment of labourers and consequently during these seasons the women are excluded from employment. Especially during the ploughing season there is no scope for the employment of women as ploughing is prohibited for them. Sowing is not strictly prohibited for women but it is not usually done by them. During the sowing and ploughing seasons therefore working class Wives play only a passive role.
It has been mentioned earlier that certain Khandayat families in the higher income group have prohibited their women from working in the fields. This they have done to be on a par with the Brahmans. The young Khandayat Husband always resents his Wife working in the fields. During the last ten years it has almost been a rule for a well-to-do young Husband to prohibit his Wife from working in the fields. The older section do not mind their Wives working in the fields and in the lowest income starta the Husband expects his Wife to work as hard as himself.

During the lean seasons, when there is no scope of employment for the Khandayat woman, she is confined to household work. Her duty during this period is to feed the Husband in time and to massage him before he goes to sleep. The Husband does not expect such elaborate service when the Wife also does manual labour.

Besides agricultural labour there is also scope for employment for Khandayat women throughout the year. They can be hired by different households, especially Brahman households for casual work, such as husking the paddy with the husking lever, winnowing rice, grinding the grains with the grinding stones and preparing batter with the pestle stone. Such work fetches a small income and is often rewarded in kind, such as rice or pulses or even cooked food. A piece of old saree and old garments for the children may be offered in addition to payment. Mostly this is done as a labour of love and to please those who employ them or lease out land for share-cropping. The work is undertaken with full consent of the Husband and is often done to enlist favour on his behalf.
The young Husbands resent their Wives doing this type of work more than their working in the fields. They consider it as very dishonourable and think that their Wives may fall a victim to the lust of the male folk of the employing Brahman households. As a rule the young Husband never allows his Wife to undertake such work irrespective of his economic status.

Performance of religious rites:-

Performance of religious rites does not feature regularly in the daily routine of the Khandayat household. Only three families have made efforts to come at a par with the Brahmans in this respect. The adult males of these families visit the temple regularly after taking their bath. They also offer worship in their houses to the "Bhagabatgadi" (i.e., the place where the sacred book Bhagabat is kept). The holy Bhagabat is kept on a throne similar to the "Biman" or "Khatuli" described earlier.

The Wife does not cook the food offered for worship as the Khandayats are not allowed to offer cooked food to the deities. Whenever the Khandayat Husband intends to offer such food to the deity he must take the help of a Brahman. If earthen pots are used to cook the sacred food then they should not be touched either by the Wife or the Husband, once they are used. It is the duty of the Wife to arrange all the items which should be used for cooking. Items like rice, pulses, oil or ghees, salt and spices, sliced vegetables are properly arranged by her on a winnowing fan and handed over to the Brahman for cooking. She Sweeps the room or part of the room where the "Bhagabat gadi" is kept. This
she does after taking bath. She is not allowed to sweep the place of worship during the menstruation period. As mentioned above this routine is prevalent only in three households. In the rest of the Khandayat households religious performances do not necessitate any reciprocation between Husband and Wife. The young generation of Khandayats have tried to emulate the Brahmans in many spheres but not in the performance of religious rites. On the other hand, in two households, where the worship of the "gadi" was a regular feature in the daily routine previously, has been abandoned during the last ten years. The reciprocation between Husband and Wife is however effective in the observance of the "Osa" ceremonies. As mentioned earlier, the actual worship in an "Osa" is only nominal whereas the elaborateness of the subsidiary activities like preparation of specific food items, decoration of the house etc are more important and time consuming. Khandayats both men and women, can offer worship during an "Osa".

It is the duty of the Husband to procure all the items for an "Osa", which are required to be purchased from the market or procured from the village or outside. Coconut, Sugar or treacle, oil and ghee are purchased from the market or the village shop. Items like branches of Mango trees which are required for decoration, such flowers like the lotus which cannot be easily plucked by the women are also procured by the Husband. Both he and his Wife anticipate the date of a particular "Osa" in advance and make preparations for it but it is the duty of the Wife to remind the Husband time and again about it. On occasions like "Sabitri Amabasya" it is his duty to give the Wife a new piece of Saree.
She should not purchase a saree for herself on this occasion, even when she is an earning member of the family.

Almost all the labours in connection with the Osa is done by the Wife, the Husband's duty being limited to purchasing and procuring the things required. In the morning of the Osa the Wife gets up early and takes her bath and starts the decoration of the house and the preparation of the various items of food. In majority of the cases the house is decorated during and some of the work connected with the preparation of food, such as making the batter are completed by the preceding night. In any case, the Wife has to do much heavier work on an Osaday, compared with her daily round of household activities.

A particular Osa occurs only once during a year, but the Osas in general are numerous and there is every likelihood of one Osa falling every week. Many of the Osas are however minor ones and do not require any elaborate preparation. The major Osas requiring elaborate preparations are few. Taken together they form almost a part of the daily routine, though not strictly coming within its purview. The ordinary routine of a day is modified to an extent comensurate with the status of the Osa. For example the family members may not take rice on that day. If the Wife is a working woman she does not go to work on a Osa day. The Husband does not abstain from work except during major Osas.

Among the lowest income groups of Khandayat the Osas effect the daily routine in a completely different manner. Both Husband and Wife in these families approach the well-to-do Brahmans, especially those families with whom they work as labourers or
or share-croppers, asking for cakes and other items. The Brahman families always prepare these items in surplus for distribution. In the concerned Khandayat families Husband and Wife either enjoy a holiday or go round their normal occupational duties, if work is not prohibited on that day. This practice is gradually dying out as it is considered derogatory by Khandayats. It is now confined to only four families, where the infirmity of both the Husband and Wife, more than their poverty, compels them to take recourse to this type of concealed begging.

Recreational Activities:

The Khandayats of all levels have less time for recreational activities than the Brahmans. Gossiping is the most prevalent form of recreation for all. Lack of suitable space both inside and outside the house makes it difficult on their part to gossip freely. Even an old couple in spite of their advanced age and infirmity are not free from occupational activities because of the low income of the majority of the Khandayat families. Even then Husband and Wife are each other's chief partner in gossiping. Gossiping between young Husband and Wife, both of whom are workers, is also freely resorted to. This is done while going to or returning from their daily round of work. Inside the house also the young Khandayat couple are comparatively freer to be intimate with each other than the Brahman couples because of the nuclear composition of the working class families.

Out-door games are played by the young but middle aged males also play these games during festivals. Among women outdoor games like Puchi and swinging are played by unmarried and
freshly married girls. Women with grown-up children usually do not play these games. There is no direct interaction between Husband and Wife in the playing of these games. Indirectly it requires some adjustment in the daily routine, such as taking meals earlier or later. In some cases the Husband looks after the house while the wife is out on play and this happens especially with freshly married couples.

Though strictly not coming within the purview of daily routine, the visiting of fairs and festivals can be considered as an important recreational activity for all classes of Khandayats, especially the women. This avenue of enjoyment is not open to the Brahman women except in rare cases. It requires considerable adjustments in the daily routine between Husband and Wife. As a rule a Husband is always reluctant to let his Wife visit the fairs because of the trouble of accompanying them and guiding and guarding them on their outing besides making a variety of purchases according to her choice. Again, for a man, acquainted with markets and other places of interest the fairs are not so interesting as they are to the women who are mostly confined to their villages.

Rearing children:—

The problem of rearing children among the Khandayats is different from that of Brahman. Among the Brahman rearing of the children, especially male children, continues till their education is completed. Among the Khandayats, in almost all cases, it is completed as soon as the child is big enough to take care of himself i.e., when he can eat and go about in the village without
aid from the parents. Usually after the male child attains the age of ten the Khandayat parents have practically no responsibility except providing him with food and clothing and defending him in quarrels and conflicts. The chart on literacy and education, in the background chapter shows that a very small percentage of the Khandayats send their children to schools. Whenever the child is sent to the school, it is not so much for education as to keep him confined at a place where he can not do any mischief.

The major part of rearing the infant is done by the Wife. She bathes and cleans him, washes the clothes used by him and feeds him. Breast feeding is the most common form and if the Wife is dry it is considered both inauspicious and harmful for the child. If the Wife is dry it is the duty of the husband to get a milch cow. It is also the duty of the Husband to purchase clothes and dresses for the child. The Wife is responsible for the good health of the child. The Wife is blamed for the child's illness, even when such illness is not due to her negligence. The diet of the Wife is supposed to affect the health of the child. The Husband therefore keeps a strict watch over the diet of his Wife. She develops a natural lust for taking certain prohibited food after child-birth and the control of her diet is sometimes a point of discord between them. When the child falls ill it is the duty of the Husband to call for medical treatment.

From the crawling to the early walking stage the child is to be watched closely. It is the duty of the Wife to watch over the child. If any harm comes to the child then the Wife is to be blamed. As the child grows up the responsibility of the
Wife becomes less and that of the Husband increases. If an elderly child grows naughty the Wife reports it to the Husband and it is for him to give him due punishment, but the Wife intervenes if the punishment tends to be severe.

The child is defended both by the Husband and the Wife, when there is a tussle between him and an outsider. If the child is in fault then he is restrained or even punished, otherwise he is defended to the utmost. The Wife, general overlooks the child's fault while the Husband's takes a more balanced view.

There is some difference in bringing up the female child. As she grows up the Wife assumes more and more responsibility and gradually the Husband has nothing to do except providing her with the necessaries. Marriage of the Daughter is settled by the Husband with the consent of the Wife.

When the Wife is an earning member, the duties of child rearing keeps her from working. Thus she is fully dependent on her Husband till she is free to leave the child at home and go for work. She can not abstain for long from work. After the child is a few months old she goes to work keeping it in charge of some old woman or an elder child. When she is not able to work, the Husband has to bear the entire expenses of the household for which he has to do more than normal labour.
Daily income and Expenditure:-

When the Husband is the only earning member he is the chief custodian of income and expenditure of the family. He is to determine the budget and is responsible for payments. Unlike the Brahman, the Khandayat Wife mostly goes to the village shops for making daily purchase especially for the purchase of kitchen requirements. Where both the Husband and Wife are earning members the incomes are kept separately and spending is also done separately. The household requirements are purchased by both. The major portion of purchases is of course done by the Husband. The Wife reserves a portion of her savings to buy clothes and ornaments for herself. The Husband also purchases those things for the Wife but she never does the same to him. One reason for it is that the Wife's earnings are always scanty compared with that of the Husband. Secondly it is considered improper for a man to be dressed out of his Wife's income.

The Wife always brings some pocket money as a part of her dowery. This she keeps to herself and in some cases she may carry on money-lending business with it. The income so derived belongs exclusively to her from which the Husband can borrow but which he cannot take away. A part of this money is given away by the Wife to the Daughter when she marries. Generally this is used by the whole family as a reserve fund from which to borrow when there is acute necessity to do so. Whatever is borrowed is promptly repaid.
The Husband-Wife relationship among the Brahman and the Khandayat have been discussed in the foregoing sections and the similarities and differences of behaviour have been stated. In discussing the Husband-Wife relationship among the Pano we tread on a new ground because of their position in the caste-hierarchy. It has been stated earlier that the Panos occupy the lowest status in the caste hierarchy and that they are also treated as a untouchable caste. Traditionally the behaviour of the Brahman is held to be the ideal, similarly the behaviour of the Pano is held to be derogatory. This belief is shared by all the castes in the village including the Pano, and affects the general behaviour of the latter. This contrasts sharply with the aspirations of the Khandayat to emulate the Brahman.

After this general observation, the Husband-Wife relationship among the Pano as exhibited in their daily routine may be discussed point by point.

Washing the Face and Cleaning the Teeth:

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth are not distinct items in the daily routine of the Pano. It has been observed that only two persons among the Pano were in the habit of washing their face and cleaning their teeth regularly. These two persons cannot be said to belong strictly to the village society as they had resided in Calcutta most of their lives.

A Pano man or woman washes the face and cleans the teeth while going for the daily round of work. They do not
carry a pot with them for drawing water. Wherever they see a patch of water they wash their face and clean their teeth. The twigs used for cleaning the teeth are broken from any tree or procured from the forest. Though washing the face is done every day, the Pano is not very particular about cleaning his teeth every day.

The act of washing the face and cleaning the teeth does not evoke any effective interaction between Husband and Wife. Only when either of them is ill, there is any scope of one helping the other in the performance of this item of daily routine.

During the last ten years, because of the developmental measures worked out by the Government and legislation making untouchability a punishable act and the consequent popular movement centering it, groups of youth have attained a new consciousness to fight against the uncleanly habits. These young men prohibit their Wives to remain unwashed during the earlier part of the day. Making them adopt this habit is quite a task for their Husbands as they are not used to cleanly habits from their childhood in the homes of their fathers. (It may be noted here that the political consciousness among the Pano in this village is much higher compared with other villages. The girls from other villages who came as Wives to the village have to be broken in afresh to the ways of Bantala.) During the course of field-investigation in the village three cases of quarrels between Husband and Wife were reported on this account. The quarrels were, however, mild in nature at the end of which the Husbands asserted themselves in pursuading their Wives to adopt cleanly habits.
Defecation:

Among the Pano defecation does not require such seclusion. Pano males of all ages defecate wherever they can and donot mind doing so under the gaze of the others. Certainly they donot defecate at public places and such other places where it is objectionable to do so. Even Pano women are as much careless in seeking seclusion when they defecate. They think that if they can successfully conceal their vagina from exposure, they need not feel ashamed to expose other parts of the body. Defecation like washing the face and cleaning the teeth, is performed while one is going or returning from work. Defecation does not involve any active interaction between Husband and Wife except in case of newly married couples. As the newly married Wife is not acquainted with the local topography and not adjusted with the work-routine of her family, she requires guidance from her Husband. If she is to meet the call of nature in night or in bad weather the Husband accompanies her. Such behaviour appears odd in a Brahman family but not so among the Pano.

During the last ten years, a new consciousness had developed among the Pano which has made them emulate some of the behaviour of the Brahman, especially those behaviour which involve no expenses and no labour and which result in the eradication of some established practice considered to be derogatory. This has made the young section of the Pano youth to insist on their Wives' defecation in seclusion. They themselves also have adopted this habit. This causes some inconvenience to the young Pano Wife because of the lack of properly secluded place near their ward and
lack of utensils to carry water. In spite of this, there is compliance on the part of the Wife as this is a problem which is considered to affect her womanly status.

Bathing:

It has been mentioned that compared to the Brahmans bathing is rather indifferently done among the Pano. For them it means just a dip in water mostly without using oil and rarely if ever using soap. Ordinarily the Pano woman uses turmeric paste and oil once in a month, after the monthly course of menstruation. The use of oil or turmeric in between depends on the economic condition of the family. Oil and turmeric are of course used on festive occasions. Oil is used less frequently by the males. It is the duty of the Husband to supply his Wife with oil and turmeric if his allows it. Where the Wife is a working woman, it is considered as her personal expense which she is expected to bear.

Compared to the rural workers, the status of the industrial worker is much higher among the Pano than among other castes. It has been stated earlier that the majority of the Panos are landless labourers and even among those who posses land the holdings are so small that they adopt labour as their major occupation. The industrial workers when they come to the village therefore use oil, soap and towels in a liberal manner, more as a means for demonstrating their status than as a part of cleanly habit. They also frequently send scented oil and soap for their Wives which they are expected to use as a mark of distinction.
Bath is taken after returning from work in the afternoon, both by men and women. After returning from work they rest a while to cool themselves. After the sweat is dried they go to the bathing place at a very quick pace and return with a still quicker pace to satisfy their hunger. In most cases the Husband and Wife being working class people, this is a common routine for all. The Wife returns earlier from work and also takes her bath earlier than her Husband. She is expected to keep the lunch ready before the Husband returns after taking bath. Mostly the women donot go to work in the afternoon. Then she has to return somewhat late from her work and takes her bath only after the cooking is done. Where the women donot go to work, the Wife takes her bath between 9.30 and 10 A.M. after which she starts cooking.

There is little scope for the Pano Wife to gossip at the bathing place. Groups of women do not go together to take their bath. Each woman takes her bath according to her convenience and always she is in a hurry. Besides the bathing places are not so spacious as the common water sources of the village are forbidden to be used by them and they are forced to take their bath at convenient places.

It is not infrequent for a Pano couple to take their bath together - an act which may be considered scandalous among the Brahman and the Khandayat. The comparative seclusion of their bathing places makes this possible. This also shows one important aspect of Husband - Wife relationship among the Pano i.e., showing intimacy outside home. The home is a very congested place where the Pano retires in the night as a tired person and he has to share
the space with others. A newly married Pano therefore takes
every opportunity to enjoy the company of his Wife, whenever it is
possible to do so.

**Eating:**

It is the primary duty of the Wife to serve food to
her Husband. This duty is to be performed by her even though she
may be a working woman and an earning member of the family. The
food is ready before the Husband returns after taking his bath
in the afternoon. The dinner is kept ready before it becomes dark
and served to the Husband very early in the evening. This is done
to avoid the expenses of burning kerosene. Food is generally
served in a single metal pot. The side dishes are served on a small
plate or on a piece of leaf. Such items like salt, chilli or dried
fish may be placed on the floor.

A Pano Wife can afford to serve her Husband with
freshly cooked rice only once a day. Freshly cooked rice, which
is called "Warm rice" is generally served in the evening. Watered
rice is cherished in the afternoon when it serves both the purpose
of food and drink. In summer watered rice may be taken twice a day
whereas in winter warm rice is preferred both in the afternoon and
the evening. One of the main reasons why people prefer watered
rice to warm rice is that by taking the former they can avoid
drinking water (raw water as it is termed by them). Drinking water
is supposed to bring influenza and fever but eating the water of
watered rice is harmless. It is the duty of the Wife to avoid
giving water to her Husband even when he is thirsty. She serves
him with the gruel of the watered rice instead.
The side dishes such as spinach, fresh water fish, chilli etc. are not purchased but either grown in the garden or procured from the village or its surroundings. If the Wife is dutiful she would collect a variety of these things to serve to her Husband.

In more than fifty percent of the households tea is served with breakfast. This is taken later if the breakfast consists of watered rice. Tea is more frequently taken in the winter and then breakfast consists of either parched or fried rice or rarely a baked-cake of rice and blackgram. In many cases tea is taken as a substitute for breakfast. Though the cooking is done by the Wife, tea is mostly prepared by the Husband as it is not considered a part of cooking but a luxury for him.

The Wife as a rule takes her food after her Husband. Very often they take food together especially when both have to do outdoor work. Each may carry the breakfast and go to the fields eating it. The Wife sits down to eat immediately after serving food to her Husband. All the items of food are served at a time and she is not expected to wait upon the Husband for a second helping. The food cooked is just sufficient for the members of the family and served equally to each member.

Unlike the Brahman and the Khandayat, no delicacy is attached to the act of eating among the Pano. Due to shortage of food among them and its larger requirement because of hard manual labour, Husband and Wife are assertive about their share. A Husband may suspect that his Wife had taken some food during his
Wife had taken some food during his absence and may be also vocal about such complaint and the Wife can also do likewise. This sort of behaviour would be considered very disgraceful among all sections of Brahman and among most of the Khandayats. Quarrels between Husband and Wife, sometimes resulting in the Wife being beaten by the Husband are frequent. Conjugal quarrel for food is so typical about the Pano that any ugly incident between a couple of some other caste is termed as Pandhika behaviour.

The Husband or the Wife purchase some ready made food from the shops such as parched or fried rice or sworts and each may eat it without waiting for the other. Taking such food is one of the luxuries among the Pano and a part of one's personal income is reserved for it. It is not considered objectionable by either party unless taken very frequently but if it is made a regular habit resulting in substantial expenditure then it leads to resentment.

The industrial worker among the Pano insists on elaborate eating when he is in the village. Their Wives remain busy preparing food for them. Meals for them usually consist of warm rice, dal, curry and fresh or dried fish. Because of their cash income they do not allow their Wives to work as hired Labourers especially when they are in the village. The period of their visit is considered as a period of affluence for the family. The Wives therefore do not grudge the labours of preparing special food for them - which they themselves partake.

It may be noted that apart from the sexual relationship, consumption of food is the most potent factor in the
conjugal relationship among the Pano. One of the main reasons of Pano’s procuring a Wife is to remove the difficulties of food consumption.

Sleeping:

Acute lack of residential space is a factor which conditions the sleeping behaviour of Pano couples. There is no room in the house which is exclusively meant for sleeping. Usually the Pano house has two rooms, or more correctly one room with a partition. The inner section is used as the kitchen and the sleeping place for young couples. The outer section is meant for the sleeping of the older people and children.

The Pano retire very early for the night. By 7 P.M. a Pano family finishes dinner and other attendant household work. This may done as early as 6 P.M. The old people and the unmarried persons do not go to sleep immediately after taking dinner. The post-dinner period is the only leisure time during which one is free to gossip and roam about in the village. The young married couple are therefore free to have copulation during this period.

Preparing the bed means only spreading a mat on the floor and laying another mat to wrap for warmth during winter. A colourful darsee or bedsheet is invariably used by the industrial worker on visit to the village. The cooking utensils and other articles of the room are lumped at a place before the mat is spread. Usually the Husband does it while the Wife is busy cleaning the utensils. Both Husband and Wife go to the bed as sparsely dressed as possible. It is customary for the Pano Wife to loosen the cloth
around the waist before going to sleep with her Husband. As the sari worn by the Pano woman is very narrow and open in the front to allow her to do manual labour in comfort, she usually wears a loin cloth as underwear. This loin cloth is also taken off before she sleeps with the Husband. Due to lack of space Husband and Wife sleep very close to each other. They even do so during the menstruation period, an act which is prohibited among other castes. There is no scope for them to sleep together during the day. The Husband takes a nap in afternoon in the outer corridor of the house or even under a tree or at whatever place there is a shade. The Wife usually takes her afternoon nap inside the house.

Cleaning:

Cleaning as an item of daily routine is the least elaborate among the Pano than among other castes. A Pano male or female usually wears a cloth unwashed for seven to ten days. The Pano female washes her clothes less frequently than the Pano male. The usual attire of a Pano male is a piece of napkin. After the work he takes his bath with it and returns home wearing it wet. On reaching home he puts on dry clothes and hangs the wet napkin in the sun for being dried. The woman also does likewise - only in her case an unusually short saree is used as napkin.

Both Husband and Wife clean their own clothes in plain water without using washing soap. Ashes from the oven are occasionally used in lieu of soap. Washing soap has come to be used occasionally during the last five years. The industrial workers use washing soap very frequently when they are in the village. If there is necessity to do so a Pano male does not object to wash the
Cleaning the house is the duty of the wife. The house is not swept daily. Only the floor of the kitchen is cleaned daily with a piece of cloth dipped in water mixed with cow dung. Though the house is not swept daily it is more frequently cleaned with cow dung and mud. The small size of the Pano house allows it to be cleaned very frequently. As the plaster of the Pano houses is very thin it requires constant smearing with mud and cow dung. All this puts a burden on the wife and if she is a working woman she takes a day off every fortnight to clean the house. Usually such days are chosen cleaning on which other work is ritually prohibited.

With the rise of a new consciousness among the Pano a small section of the youth have taken a lead to adopt cleanly habits. At the initial stage they had to face great inconvenience and it was very difficult on their part to mould their wives. Though this section of young men appear more cleanly attired than other Pano males the same cannot be said about their wives. Yet on the whole their wives have at least one clean cloth each which they wear on special occasions. The wives of the industrial workers appear more clean whether or not their husbands are in the village.

Toilet:

Toilet for males consists of putting some oil on the hair and in a few cases combing the hair with the help of a comb and a small mirror. The toilet for women consists of using oil on the head and combing the head very carefully. They also use turmeric paste, vermilion and Kajal occasionally. The use of vermilion is optional and decorative for Pano women and like the
Brahman and the Khandayat it is not a sign of marital status indicating that the Husband is alive. Cosmetics like face powder and cream are used by those whose Husbands are industrial workers.

The industrial workers are distinguishable from others by their toilet. They comb their hair neatly using plenty of scented oil. They even use a little face powder and cream.

It is the duty of the Husband to provide his Wife with the articles required for toilet. Working class women purchase a part of their requirements. Generally the women make their toilet in the afternoon after finishing the day's work. Hair is combed and bound in a plait behind and this is not disturbed at the time of bath on the following morning.

A Pano woman makes her toilet only to show it to her Husband. As a working woman she is not able to put on the heavy brass, silver and aluminium ornaments during the day. She puts them on either in the evening or on special occasions. The industrial workers' Wives put on the ornaments when their Husbands are in the village. After their departure they clean the ornaments and put them away to be worn on special occasions and on the return of their Husbands.

Cooking:

It is seen in case of the Brahman that cooking is a very time absorbing work for the women. The Brahman woman has very little responsibility outside cooking. Compared to this the time devoted by the Pano woman to cooking is very little and covers only a small fraction of her routine working time.
The Husband-Wife interaction among the Pano differs sharply from similar interaction among the implied two castes discussed earlier. The almost equal status of Husband and Wife among the Pano strongly influences the pattern of their interaction in cooking. First of all the Pano Wife can and does earn to contribute to the income of the household. She is also capable of procuring the requirements of the household either by purchase or by labour. Again Pano cooking is so simple that the Husband can do it as well as the Wife. There is therefore no strict division of labour between Husband and Wife concerning cooking. All these facts go to make the Pano couple quite independent of each other and the complete dominance of one over the other is absent among them. But, even in their case the superiority of the Husband over the Wife is undisputed though it is much less pronounced among them than among other castes.

In case where the old couple are all alone, the Wife does the cooking. The Husband, if he has time, helps her in her cooking. If the old woman is infirm or too ill to cook then he takes the entire burden of cooking. During the field investigation one such case was observed when the Wife was suffering with T.B. and the old but active Husband was cooking for her. For a young couple the chief burden of cooking falls on the Wife. The Husband does not ordinarily come to her help unless she is ill or in an advanced stage of pregnancy. He may also do a part of the cooking if the Wife is late in returning from work but usually she returns earlier.

Cooking is done practically once a day - mostly in the evening. Warm rice is cooked in the evening as watered
rice is considered by some to cause cold if taken in the night.
There are some who prefer water rice both times. For them water is put in the freshly cooked rice and taken when it gets cold. The industrial workers who come on a short visit from their place of work prefer warm rice both times and some of them prefer bread in the night. Their wives cook rice both for lunch and for dinner, a procedure too elaborate for a Pano household. Pano women don't know how to prepare bread. If the husband prefers to take bread he has to prepare it himself. Breakfast is never cooked. Either parched or fried rice or cake, baked during the previous night is taken for breakfast. In most cases a small quantity of watered rice is taken with salt and spices. In all cases the wife avoids the trouble of lighting the oven in the morning. Only in case of industrial workers their wives prepare some freshly cooked breakfast which may be prepared with parched rice fried over sand on an earthen pot or some fried cake. Tea is inevitably prepared in these cases. Most of the ingredients required for the cooking in case of the industrial workers are brought by them from their place of work.

If the wife is late in returning from work then the husband may prepare the side dishes like spinach, if rice had been previously cooked. He may even boil the rice. These acts on the part of a Brahman or even a Khandayat husband would be regarded as very unusual but in case of the Pano it is only slight deviation from routine.
Daily Round of occupational activities:

The occupational activities constitute an aspect of daily routine which is very significant in the conjugal relationship of the Pano. There is also substantial difference between a Pano Husband whose wife works and contributing towards the family income and one whose wife does not. This relationship is not confined to the particular aspect of occupational activities but extends to other spheres as well, affecting the very basis of conjugal relationship.

Only the most well to do among the Pano can afford to keep their wives entirely confined to the household work. Those Panos are the only ones among the caste who own some land and who have adopted share cropping as their main occupation which is the next best profession to land owning. Besides, the income of these families is supplemented by that of the industrial workers who belong to these families. This last factor is both an economic and social factor. It wounds the pride of an industrial worker if his wife works as an hired labourer.

Among the first category of Pano i.e., those who do not send their wives to work the Husband-Wife relationship pertaining to the daily round of occupational activities is almost the same as that of the Khandayat. It does not bear analogy to the Brahman wife, as even in those cases the Pano women do a lot of work in connection with agricultural work. The Khandayat women do participate in agricultural work but not to the extent the Pano women do and it has already been described that the role of the Brahman woman in this respect is very insignificant.
Among the second category of Pano i.e., among whom both the Husband and Wife work to earn their living, the pattern of conjugal relationship does not compare with other castes. The economic equality of the Wife is to some extent mitigated by the fact that the wages paid in the village to an adult male is more than that paid to an adult female even though they may be doing the same type of work. Besides this the women are prohibited from doing certain types of work like ploughing and menstruation and pregnancy interfere with their work. In spite of all these handicaps the Pano Wife is almost the economic peer of her Husband. This status does not prevent her from doing such household duties as cooking, cleaning the utensils and sweeping the house. These work are done summarily with much less elaborateness than among other castes. If the Wife has overlooked to do some of the household work the Husband, if has the time for it, makes it up instead of pointing out the lacuna. The Pano Husband is not so demanding as the Brahman Husband to get the services of his Wife. This is not because he has more respect for his Wife than other castes; in case of differences of opinion and quarrels the Pano Husband may use such filthy language which other caste people would hesitate utter. With little provocation he even beats his Wife which would be considered as outrageous among others.

Both Husband and Wife keep their own income to themselves. They spend a part of it for the common family needs and the rest they may hoard or spend on their personal needs such as dress, ornaments and smoking, drinking or chewing betel. Visiting a fair or festival and making small purchases or buying sweetmeats are
considered as personal expenses. The personal expenses are to be well-matched with the household expenses. If either the Husband or the Wife spends unduely on this account it is sure to be severely criticised by the other party. The undue expenses of the Wife are more severely criticised by the Husband.

Sarees and ornaments are purchased by the Husband out of his own income but he does not bear the entire expenses of his Wife's dress and ornaments. The Wife does not contribute towards similar expenses by the Husband. Only the betel leaves and other accessories for preparing betel are sometimes partaken of by the Husband from the Wife's account. If there is an emergency affecting the whole family then it is the duty of the Husband to meet the expenses either out of his savings or by borrowing. If the Wife has some savings she may come to his help but the Husband has duty bound to pay her back in due course. The prevailing attitude is that the house belongs to the Husband and it is his major responsibility to maintain it and that the Wife plays a subsidiary role, though an important and independent role in the family economy, enjoying, at least potentially, the freedom to stand on her own.

Performance of religious rites:

It has been observed earlier that the performance of religious rites is one of the important items in the daily routine of the Brhmans and to a lesser extent in that of the Khandayats. In case of the Pano, it is not an important item in their daily routine nor does it result in effective interaction between Husband and Wife. A few festivals - like the worship of "Shalukami" are exclusively done by the Pano. Both the Husband and
and wife take a day off if such an Osa is to be performed. If it is to be performed in the night the lunch is prepared early and taken before evening. The cooking, worshiping and the games for an Osa is done by the couple in the company of other family members according to their ability and convenience. During the Osas performed among the Brahman the Pano wife goes round the Brahman households begging for cakes. The term begging may not strictly apply here as the givers take a great pleasure in distributing cakes and these are given without being asked. All that the Pano wife does is to appear before the house of a particular family to which she and her husband are attached as labourers. As enough cakes are collected by her, the day's cooking is dispensed with and if the donor is generous, there may be enough to be taken on the following day. Both husband and wife take plenty of cakes and they also relish it very much as such delicacies cannot be prepared in Pano households.

Recreational activities:

It has been stated earlier that recreational activities in the village constitute the outdoor and indoor games and of course gossiping. In the playing indoor games - except in very rare cases - there is no direct interaction between husband and wife. It more rare in case of outdoor games.

Among the Pano certain indoor games such as playing cards - have been introduced recently. The outdoor games are traditional but the traditional indoor games have almost been abandoned. In the playing of the masculine games the wives do not participate but they closely watch their husbands playing and encourage one party or the other with loud cheers. This is their
mode of enjoying masculine games though such behaviour would be considered as scandalous among the Brahman or the Khandayat. In the familiar games such as “Puchi” the Husband must their Hives and their friends in similar manner. Neither Husband nor Wife directly cheer one another but if either of them scores highly in the play, the other feels genuinely proud.

Gossiping between Husband and Wife is mainly done while they go to or return from occupational work. The houses being congested, are not suitable for gossiping except during nights. A young couple if they are alone in the house gossip for long before going to sleep.

Rearing children:

It has been observed that the rearing of children is a heavy responsibility among the Brahman and it is not over till the education of the Son is completed and the marriage of the Daughter is performed. Among the Khandayat this responsibility is not so heavy and its quantum is lowest among the Pano. The children are of course cared for during the infant stage but after a child is about six months old it is to be left in the care of an elder sibling while the Mother goes to work. It is a common sight in the Pano yard to see dirty children playing unattended in the village streets. The playing period is also cut short as they have to render minor services to their parents from a tender age.

A Mother has to give up manual labour at least two to three months before and after child-birth. The Pano Husband, even if he is young, has to arrange for the delivery of the child when one’s Wife is to deliver a child, the responsibilities of
making the arrangements are more or less shouldered by other members of the family among the Brahman and the Khandayat, but it is not so among the Pano. He is to inform the elderly women of the village who have experience in making deliveries or if such women are not available in the village then he has to procure them from another village. He cooks the diet for the wife during her period of confinement. He does not feel shy to talk of the delivery before others, which a young man of another caste would be terribly ashamed to do. During the last five years delivery cases are being taken to the Cuttack hospital thus adding new dimensions to the Husband's responsibility.

The child is cared for till it is about one year old and receives some attention up to the age of five, after which he is left to himself and sometimes called upon to help the parents in their occupational activities. It is the duty of the wife to serve food to the male child till he grows up and marries. Elderly girls help in the household and occupational activities so much so that they are sometimes fully relied upon to do the entire household work.

Young children are protected both by Husband and Wife from outsiders and defended in case of quarrels with others. The Wife is conspicuous in the exchange of words during a quarrel but when it comes to a tussle of strength the Husband comes forward. Quarrels over children are very common among the Pano. This is so because they are left unattended at a period when they do the most mischief whereas in the case of other castes such children are kept under proper custody. Husband and Wife do not always agree about the behaviour of their child which leads to arguments and quarrels between them.
Inspite of the developing consciousness among the Pano, manifest in other spheres, the education of the children has remained comparatively neglected. The Pano still thinks an industrial worker to be his ideal and more so if he can invest some money to purchase land in the village. The education of the child, therefore, provides no scope for Husband-Wife interaction among the Pano.

13. Daily income and expenditure:

This item has been elaborately discussed while dealing with the daily round of occupational activities.

K E U T A

After discussing the pattern of Husband-Wife interaction in the daily routine among the Pano a similar discussion on the Keuta may be undertaken. The Keuta are a caste with clearly defined traditional occupations like catching fish and preparing parched rice. From among these two, they have given up the first one as a regular occupation and though they still retain the second one it is their minor occupation. As has been shown earlier they pursue agriculture as their main occupation. This and other background characteristics described earlier, should be borne in mind while considering the Husband-Wife relationship among the Keuta.

The sharp differences in the economic status of the people make a section of the caste approximate the pattern of relationship of the landowning Khandayat than when the caste status of the Keuta is lower whereas another section approximate the Pano than when their caste status is higher. A group may even
approximate the Brahman who are incomparably higher in caste status.
The approximation of Brahman behaviour is not a patently self-conscious innovation on their part as it is in case of the Khandayat. This behaviour has been gradually and unperceptibly cultivated by them in course of time. Another significant factor which has been described in the background section and which needs to be emphasized here is that the Keuta caste is marked by a withdrawal from the main currents of village life and have always chosen to play a passive role in the village affairs.

After this general note, the Husband-Wife interaction in the daily routine of the Keuta may be taken up point by point.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

It has been mentioned earlier that the Keutas can be divided into two economic groups. The landowning-cum-trading families constitute the first and the agricultural labourers and small landowners the second group. It has been the effort of the first group to be self-sufficient in their daily life - utilising as little as possible the common resources of the village. Washing the face and cleaning the teeth among this group is done in their small tanks sunk in their gardens. This does not involve any effective interaction between Husband and Wife. The trees from which the twigs for cleaning the teeth are procured are also grown in the garden and any male or female member of the family may procure them at any time. Among the second group water is stored by the Wife in the evening; to be used in the morning for washing the face. Water is carried by the Husband when the Wife is ill or pregnant. The males...
the Keuta wash their face and clean their teeth before starting on work. Only in case of old and infirm persons and in case of those who are suffering from illness water is served in a metal pot by their wives to wash their face and a twig is also offered to clean their teeth. This action is reciprocated by the Husband, if there is no other member in the family to help the wife in her illness.

Defecation:

In keeping with their tradition of aloofness from the village affairs, the Keuta women of the first group defecate at secluded places in their gardens as far as possible. (It may be noted here that all the families in this group have gardens adjoining their houses. Usually the Keuta gardens cover a wide area and a portion of it is properly shielded with vegetation to afford a cover, while the women defecate. The Keuta women, excepting a few, never go out for this purpose. Because of their convenient situation they can go to the places of defecation at any time of the day or night. The males go to the paddy fields and only defecate in the garden in dark nights or foul weather. After defecation the women wash in the garden tank.

The effort to have sufficient garden space and to maintain the garden tank is the specific type of interaction prevalent among the Keuta of the first group. Among the second group the pattern of interaction is almost the same as in the case of the Khandayat. The Husband's take charge of the house and the children when their wives go out to defecate in the fields. In a majority of cases defecation among women is a distinct act and not performed while going to or coming from work as is done among the Pane. This
is because of the specific pattern of occupational work which would be described later. If the wife feels like defecating late in night or in foul weather, the husband gives her company if there are no female members in the family.

Bathing:

Both men and women prefer to their bath in their own tanks. A Keuta wife is expected to use the garden tank to the utmost - to be worthy of her husband's labour in providing her with proper amenities. The husband may go to take his bath in the canal when the weather is fine and when he has enough leisure. It is common belief concerning bath that a man is not properly refreshed and cleaned unless he takes a dip in running water. The Keuta husbands therefore allow their wives to take a dip in the canal at least once a month. Bathing in the canal is taken with a holiday spirit by the Keuta wife. A young Keuta wife takes an evening bath almost every day. For the second group of Keuta, the pattern of interaction connected with bathing is the same as the Khandayat. The only difference is that the Keuta wife takes a very early bath whereas her husband takes bath in the afternoon. This is because of the daily work cycle which is peculiar to them. Though this group of Keuta do not have their own tanks, they prefer to use those owned by their caste members, as against the common water sources of the village.

Eating:

It is noteworthy that though in some respects a section of the Keuta approximate the Panca in their behaviour the average Keuta has sufficient to eat because he can supplement his income by various means. Though they have given up trading in fish
as a caste profession, they are still fond of eating and catching fish which is facilitated by the fact that a number of them own private tanks. Most of them have sufficient garden space to grow vegetables. All these make the Keuta diet rich in nonvegetarian and vegetarian contents.

Among the first group a substantial breakfast is taken. It is the duty of the Wife to give the breakfast to her Husband in time. After, the Husband has taken breakfast she also partakes of it. In other castes such as items like parched rice are served to the Husband whereas the Wife prefers to take watered rice but among the Keuta the Wives also take parched rice. Lunch is taken very late and dinner is not taken before midnight - these things being different from the ordinary village routine. Lunch is taken by the Wives later than their Husbands but dinner is taken earlier. This again following their routine occupational work. Breakfast, lunch and dinner are elaborately prepared and served by the Wife among the first group. In the second group both Husband and Wife eat breakfast independently without waiting for each other. Lunch and dinner are taken in an irregular manner, and neither of the couple waits for the other for taking food.

Sleeping:

The Keuta Husband belonging to the first group sees more of his Wife than is possible in the case of other castes. The families in this group have enough living space and their houses are situated in comparatively isolation. This is the reason why a Husband of this group can be more intimate with his Wife even during day time. In the afternoon they sleep together after
lunch. The bed which consists of mat and mattress is laid down by the Wife in the day and the night. In the night the Wife has a long nap between 8 and 10 P.M. As dinner is taken late cooking only starts after 10 P.M. so as to complete it by 12 O'Clock in the night. The Wife is therefore quite fresh when the Husband retires to sleep, tired after the day's work. She is therefore able to massage or fan him or caress him before going to sleep. Due to certain advantages like the nearness of the tank and the exclusive use of it, availability of vegetables in the garden etc., the Keuta Wife can finish her cooking much more easily than the wives of other castes. She is therefore able to afford more time to sleep with her Husband. The Wives of the second group of Keuta have no time to sleep with their husbands in the afternoon due to the daily cycle of work which keeps them extremely busy during the day. Both Keuta Husband and Wife of this group retire very early - earliest in the village. They are also the earliest risers in the village. As a matter of fact they get up when other couples have still three or four hours of sleep to enjoy. This is because they have to prepare parched rice in the early hours of the morning. The bed, which is only a mat or a duree in addition to it is spread on the floor before going to sleep and this is done either by the Husband or Wife.

Cleaning:

Cleaning is not as important an item in the daily routine of the Keuta as it is in that of the Brahman. Inspite of their high level of income the Keuta of the first group have not adopted cleaning even to the extent the Khundayats have done, though in this sphere they are certainly superior to the Panes.
There is a dispute between the Kouta and the Dhoba about their relative status. The Dhoba claim to be a higher caste than the Kouta and do not wash their clothes. This causes the Kouta women to wash the clothes worn by them during the menstruation period. Among the first group of Kouta it is the duty of the wife to wash her clothes and those of her husband, at least twice a week.

In spite of their comparative indifference to personal cleanliness, the houses of this group of Kouta are comparatively cleaner than the Khandayat, though they do not stand comparison with the Brahman. It is the sole duty of the wife to keep the house clean. The house is swept every day. The courtyard and the frontyard are also swept by the wife, though in case of other castes sweeping of the frontyard is the duty of the males. A thorough cleaning is done at least twice a year or when a mortuary rite or marriage ceremony is performed, during which the floors and walls are washed.

The houses of the second group of Kouta is unclean even than the Pano. Among this group the house is swept and cleaned by the husband and the wife jointly. Clothes are cleaned by the wearer. In personal cleaning the behaviour of this group bears analogy to the Pano.

Toilet:

Though the Kouta woman of the first group is not very particular about her hygienic cleanliness she nevertheless adopts the most elaborate toilet compared to the women of other castes. The newly married Kouta wife is the most well dressed woman in the village in the traditional manner. She spends more time over her bath and takes a thorough bath every day. Turmeric paste is used by her with plenty of oil almost every day - excepting during the menstruation
period. While a Brahman or Khandayat wife does her toilet only once a day after the morning bath, the Keuta wife of the first group does her's twice a day—once after the morning bath and again the evening bath. During each toilet plenty of oil, vermillion and Kajal are used. The husband has to supply all the toilet articles in plenty to his wife. His own toilet consists of using plenty of oil and combing the hair properly. The wife among the second group goes through a hasty and simple toilet only in the evening and that too she can only afford to do once a week. Among the first group there is effective interaction between husband and wife concerning toilet and the main purpose of the wife's toilet is to please her husband. It is not done to be presentable to others as she does not often go out. There is very little interaction between husband and wife of the second group, concerning toilet.

Cooking:

It has been indicated above that eating among the first group of Keuta is very elaborate, which requires cooking to be as much elaborate. In the matter of cooking the Keuta adheres to the traditional methods much more than any other caste and the modern items like tea, sugar and flour etc. have not made much headway among them. Parched rice is soaked in water and is taken with ghee or buttermilk and tarkle. This does not necessitate the kindling of the oven in the morning. Spinach and fry of dried fish with some other side dishes is taken when watered rice is taken in the morning and then the oven is kindled. Cakes are occasionally fried in the morning especially when the husband has to go out to a distant place. Lunch is cooked by eleven O'clock and the cooking is finished.
by 2 or 3 P.M. Warm rice, dal, vegetables are prepared and served hot. Fish either fresh or dried, forms the most regular item both for lunch and dinner. It is the duty of the Husband to keep plenty of dried fish in reserve and to catch fish from the tank regularly for the kitchen. There is slight cooking in the early evening to prepare cakes or to fry parched rice for the Husband but this is not done every day. The cooking of dinner starts after 10 P.M. and is completed by 12 O'clock in the night. Sometimes the cooking is finished earlier and the food is warmed at the time of serving. It is the primary duty of the Wife to cook for the Husband unaided by others. It is also the duty of the Husband to make available to the Wife everything required for cooking, beginning from the utensils to oil, spices, vegetables, fish etc. A Keuta Wife of this group is least complaining about the lack of kitchen requirements, though it is very usual for the village to do so.

Cooking is very simple for the second group of Keuta. Rice is cooked only once during the day either in the afternoon or in the night. Dried fish singed over fire is the one and inevitable side dish and preparation of vegetables is considered as luxury. Even this simple cooking is sometimes dispensed with and parched rice, with a pinch of salt, is taken in lieu of either lunch or dinner. This is because this group prepares parched rice on a commercial scale and both Husband and Wife are busy throughout the day.
The daily round of occupational activities is the sphere where the Husband and Wife interaction among the second group of Kouta is very significant. Among the first group there is no direct interaction between Husband and Wife concerning the occupational activities. The Wife among them plays only a secondary role like the Brāhman Wife. But in the second group her role is not only positive - it is also complementary to the Husband and in its pattern interaction differs from that of the Khandayat or the Pano.

The second group of Kouta work as small cultivators, share-croppers and labourers. In these activities the Wife shares the burden of her Husband to the extent it is possible for a woman to do. Like women of other castes she is not permitted to plough and she also does not sow seeds. Her share of work is also smaller than her Husband's. In this respect also she does not differ from Pano or Khandayat women, excepting that she does not work as hire labourer as the Pano and a small number of Khandayat women do. The greatest amount of rice preparation, most effective interaction between Husband and Wife is however not observed in the agricultural activities but in the preparation of parched rice. Paddy is boiled according to requirement and spread under the open sky during the night to gather moisture. In the small hours of the morning between 2.30 or 3 A.M. it is gathered and beaten with the husking lever. This involves twofold work - first working the husking lever by pressing one end with one foot and keeping balance with a long stick or a rope hanging from the roof and second continuously pushing the paddy into the small pit where the weight falls, turning it over and over again. This
second act has to be done carefully in between the rise and fall of the heavy lever taking caution to prevent the hands being crushed by the weight. It is impossible for one person to do both the work and requires closest cooperation and understanding between two workers. Either of the activities is taken up alternately by Husband and Wife.

Preparing parched rice is a laborious work. It is a saying in the village that a handful of parboiled paddy is to be beaten at least seven hundred times to make it into parched rice. The beating of the parboiled paddy therefore goes on from 2.30 A.M. to about 6.30 A.M. as due to technical reasons this work can not be done after sun-rise. This work involves not only cooperation at the time of beating the paddy but also after and before the work. The Kouta couple has to go to sleep earlier than others and the cooking of the dinner is done when the sun is still in the sky or it is dispensed altogether and parched rice is taken instead. In the morning the Husband should start to the weekly huts of different places with sufficient quantity of his ware and the Wifo goes round the village and other adjoining villages to provide parched rice to the clients from whom paddy had been taken in advance. These clients are regular customers and their needs are to be catered to regularly.

It has been mentioned earlier that there are no Kutas in the adjoining villages. Again the Kutas of Dantella are exceptionally skilled in the profession, which had made the parched rice of the village famous in the area. This heavy demand is in constant rise. Thus the preparation of parched rice is becoming progressively more and more lucrative. The consequent reciprocation is markedly different from other professions in which
both Husband and Wife are employed together. Among the Pano and Khandayat, for example, the Wife adds to the income of the family but she and her Husband work independently. In case of the Keuta of the second group preparation of parched rice is not possible without both working in conjunction. The complete interdependence of Husband and Wife in routine occupational work is a special feature among this group of Keuta.

Performance of religious rites:

Among the Keuta of the first group the maintenance of the "Bhagabatgadi" (described earlier) is an important part of their daily routine. The "Bhagabatgadi" is placed in a small room which is somewhat detached from the house. An outsider can enter this room without going through other apartments of the house. The "Bhagabatgadi" occupies a peculiar place in the Keuta household. The family is the owner of the Gadi and yet they are subject to a number of restrictions. Though they sweep the room they should not touch the Gadi or offer worship. This is done by an hired Brahman. These families also maintain a "Tulasi" plant which they worship regularly in the morning and the evening. A number of Oas are also performed so regularly that it can be taken as a part of the daily routine.

The Husband among this group is very punctual in supplying the requirements of the Osa to his Wife. The elaborateness observance of Oas among other castes, and among the Brahman especially is going out of vogue due to the impact of modernism, i.e., spread of education and changes in the traditional economy but among the Keuta all these factors are almost absent. They have been able to improve their economic condition without acquiring modern education and without
without disturbing their traditional economy and social organization. The Osa and other religious ceremonies therefore continue to be observed elaborately among them. This involves considerable reciprocation between Husband and Wife. Most of the Osas performed by the Wife are meant for the well-being of the Husband and the children. The Wife has to fast the whole day in such Osas as “Sabitri Anabasya”. On the occasion of an Osa the routine cooking and eating are considerably disturbed.

Among the second group the performance of religious rites does not evoke any interaction between Husband and Wife. There are certain exclusively Keuta festivals like Horse worship. These are however annual festivals having no bearing on daily routine. For almost all Osas or other festivals there is a heavy demand on parched rice the supply of which entails heavy work on the part of the Keuta couples. This leaves very little time for the Husband and Wife in this group to observe the Osas.

Recreational activities:

Among both groups of Keuta the recreational activities as a part of regular daily routine are not very conspicuous. The outdoor games are played on special occasions and do not evoke any effective interaction between Husband and Wife of either group. The indoor games are only played by the first group and is confined to the males. One traditional game - the dice game of coconut shell - is still played by the Keuta women of this group. No game is played between Husband and Wife and the playing of the indoor games does not evoke any direct interaction between them in the daily routine.
The men and women of both the groups of Keuta visit a large number of fairs and festivals at different places in the neighbourhood of the village. The first group visits these places partly for pleasure and partly for business. The second group visits the fairs and festivals more often. The purpose of the visits are both commercial and recreative. In both groups the Husband and Wife visit the fairs together. From the first group, Husband and Wife of all ages — except very old ones — visit the fairs in the company of other villagers, but young couples go often. In the second group, they go by themselves without waiting for others to give company. For the first group the Husband in some cases has a commercial interest in visiting the fairs but the Wife visits them only for recreation. While the Husband sits at a place to sell his ware, the Wife moves round the fair with her friends making small purchases and purchasing and eating sweets and offering it to her children. It is commonly believed that the women get "lost" in a fair, therefore the Wife presents herself before her Husband from time to time to assure him of her safety. For the second group, both Husband and Wife sit together selling their ware. They take equal part in the sale procedure and bargains. For both the fair is "enjoyed" by selling the ware. The Husband or the Wife may go out to purchase some tiffin or sweetmeat for both, which they take together. On the whole visiting the fairs affords scope for direct and effective interaction between Husband and Wife.
Rearing Children

For both groups of Kouta rearing of the children at the infant stage is done by the Wife. In both cases it is the duty of the Husband to provide the materials required for rearing the child. These he should purchase out of his own earnings. Among the first group the Wife gets rest for at least for fifteen days to one month before and after birth of the child. She does not get full rest except during the period of confinement. Other female members of the household take over her duties and if there is no such member in the family either a neighbour of the village or a relative from outside is requested to help in the household matters. Usually the Husband's Sister or the Wife's Sister is requested to undertake the work. Children are breastfed and the Husband has to see that the Wife is provided with proper diet and avoids the prohibited food which is likely to do harm to her and to the child. Among the second group the rest which the Wife gets is of shorter duration. No relative is called upon to help. The Husband manages the household work during the confinement of the Wife. The Husband's Mother helps at the time of delivery. As the Son resides separately after his marriage the Mother usually does not help him in the household work. Compared with the first group the period of diet restriction is much shorter but restrictions are very strict during this period. The Wife is forbidden to take fish, vegetables other than plantains and brinjals. She is even forbidden to take cold water. Her diet is cooked by the Husband.

Among the first group the child is given primary education in the village school. After the primary education he is gradually broken in for the profession of his Father. It is
characteristic of the Kouta of this group not to allow their children to mix with the children of other castes. They especially forbid the children to mix with Brahman children. The reason given by them is that they want to avoid the quarrel with others, specially with the powerful Brahman caste. The mixing of the children with the Khandayat children are not objected to but in case of quarrels the children are strongly reprimanded. As the Kouta Wife of this group does not go out much, it is the duty of the Husband to look to the behaviour of the children outside the house.

Among the second group the children are not at all sent to the school. The Wife goes to work keeping one older child in charge of smaller children. Unlike agricultural labour, her daily cycle of activities permits her to carry the youngest child with her while going out. Both Husband and Wife have equal responsibility in checking the untoward behaviour of the child. Neither of them make any effort to inculcate any positive habit in the child.

Daily income and expenditure

Among the first group of Kouta daily income and expenditure is controlled and managed by the Husband. The Wife has a stock of money brought from her Father's house. There is also a stock of paddy standing in her favour. This stock of paddy is either brought from the Father's house or is accumulated by gradual gifts from the Husband or his Father. The Husband invests the money and the paddy in business or lends it for payment of interest, and the account is kept separately. The Wife has full authority over this money and paddy, as well as the income derived
from it. The Husband does not spend from it except during emergencies and this he repays as soon as circumstances allow. The wife spends this money by giving presents and gifts to her Daughters and such other relatives to whom it is customary to give presents. She also makes her personal purchases from this amount without depending on the Husband. The Wives of the Keuta of this group do not go to the shops. Many of the purchases are therefore made through the Husband. In case of the second group of Keuta the daily income and expenditure is a joint venture between Husband and Wife. As labour is done in conjunction so money is also earned and spent jointly. The Husband and Wife return from the weekly market and the clients' houses, respectively, and give an account of sale proceeds to each other. Both keep a part of the income for the convenience of using it when there is need for it. If either of them reaches the house first and the other is expected to return later then the one reaching earlier goes to the shop for the daily purchases. While going out both Husband and Wife are on the lookout to procure the things which are available in a particular weekly market or a village. The requirements both in quality and quantity are fixed by prior discussion or mutual understanding between the couple.

**DHOBA**

Compared to the castes discussed hitherto, the position of the Dhooba may be treated as unique because this is the only caste in the village which has the traditional caste occupation as its major and almost the sole occupation. Again the Dhooba is a service caste who serve the villagers on Jajmani basis. If ho
neglects his duty or refuses to serve a client it is punishable according to caste rules. The details about the caste have already been given in the background chapter. The Husband and Wife interaction may therefore be considered point by point.

Washing the Face and Cleaning the Teeth:

The daily routine among the Dhobas is performed according to a strict time schedule and the Dhobas is Cou le exhibit regular habits in their daily routine. They have to go to the washing ghat by 7 A.M. in the morning. Both the Husband and Wife wash their faces and clean their teeth in their houses. The Wife sometimes serves the Husband with a pot of water and a twig for cleaning his teeth. The twigs are collected by either of them during their leisure. Though the morning wash is regularly done by both it does not evoke any effective interaction between them. The Wife has the responsibility of fetching water early in the morning or in the evening and storing it in the house; but it is used for a variety of purposes and is not specifically meant for the early morning wash.

Defecation:

Defecation also does not evoke any effective interaction between Husband and Wife. The Dhobas settlements are at an extreme end of the village, isolated from other wards and near the fields and the canal. Either of them can go for defecation at any time. Their daily routine of work also does not prevent them from doing so while their work is in progress.
Bathing:

Both husband and wife take their bath in the afternoon after washing and hanging the clothes to be dried. Usually the wife takes her bath immediately after the washing is done as she has to go for cooking. The husband bathes after hanging the clothes on a rope for being dried. Both husband and wife use plenty of oil on the head and over the body. The massaging of the oil is done by both usually before starting for work. The massaging of the oil is meant to prevent them from catching cold due to long periods of working in water. There is no effective interaction between husband and wife as far as bathing is concerned.

Eating:

The Dhoba, both male and female, are good eaters because of their heavy manual labour in all seasons. Though the Dhoba wife works as hard as her husband it is nevertheless her primary duty to feed the husband in time. Traditionally a Dhoba is very hard on his wife. He does not tolerate if lunch or dinner is delayed. A Dhoba husband beating his wife for this reason is not an uncommon sight in the village.

The wife always takes her food after her husband had taken his. Sufficient quantity of watered rice is taken for breakfast because of the heavy work they have to do in the forenoon and also because of the late lunch they have to take. Warm rice is taken with dried fish or vegetables for lunch. The Dhoba gets vegetables from his clients. Whenever menstruation clothes are given for washing by the clients, a handful of rice and some spices of vegetables are also given with it. Meat is also taken occasionally.
as the Dhoba males are allowed to kill goats and sell the meat as a part of their caste profession but they do not do it regularly. Dinner is taken early and consists of either warm or watered rice with the same dishes as are taken with the lunch.

The Dhoba Husband prefers his lunch and dinner to be of sufficient quantity. The Wife has to cook the food for him as one of her essential duties and the Husband does not lend a helping hand even when he can. Cooking is as essential for the Dhoba Wife as the professional work of washing.

Sleeping:

Both Husband and Wife regularly take an afternoon nap. The Wife gets up earlier to bring home the dried clothes and to take them to the clients' houses. No ironing of clothes is done by either the Wife or the Husband. The Dhoba couple retire early. Bed is always laid by the Wife. Before going to sleep the Dhoba Wife is expected to massage her Husband in the night. Though she does as hard work as her Husband she does this as a part of her routine duty.

The Dhoba Wife is expected to be a good bed-mate of her Husband. There is a traditional saying in the village that the sexual instinct of the Dhoba is strongest compared with all other castes. This may not be true but the attitude of a Dhoba towards his Wife as a sexual partner is obvious even to the outsiders. If his Wife is having monthly discharge or pregnant the Dhoba Husband talks it to others with a frankness which would be considered as vulgar by others. He also does not feel shy to talk about his sexual relationship with his Wife before others.
Cleaning:

Cleaning the clothes being their caste profession, it presents no difficulty for the Dhoba. Clothes worn by them are washed oftener than is done among other castes. It is considered improper for a Dhoba to go about in the village wearing dirty clothes though there is no ritual ban on it. When carrying clean clothes to the clients' home they are expected to wear clean clothes themselves. Clothes are carried to an from the clients' home mostly by the wife and her clothes are to be washed oftener than the Husband's.

Though the Dhoba washes the clothes of the women of his clients' families, he never washes the clothes of his own wife. On the other hand his own clothes are washed by his wife.

The Dhoba houses are swept and cleared quite often. This is done to provide clean surrounding for professional work and also to prevent rats, whiteants and other insects doing any harm to the clothes. Ordinarily sweeping and cleaning the house is done early in the morning before going to the washing ghat. Special cleaning when the walls are to be mud-washed is done only twice a year. The routine work of professional cleaning is postponed for this. The Husband also helps in this cleaning.

Toilet:

Toilet for Dhoba male consists of massaging oil and combing the hair. The toilet of the Dhoba woman does not differ from the toilet of the working class Khandayat. She combs her hair, uses vermilion and Kajal. The modern cosmetics are not used by her. Turmeric paste is used very only on festive
occasions. Generally toilet is finished by the women of the village after taking bath or in the afternoon after finishing lunch. But the Dhoba woman does her toilet in the evening before dark. One important part of Dhoba Wife's toilet is that she puts on the ornaments like bangles and the anklets at the time of the toilet and takes them off in the morning. This is done to prevent the ornaments being spoiled by coming into constant contact with water and breaking at the time of washing the clothes. Besides the bangles make a noise while beating the clothes which appears vocing. The toilet of a Dhoba Wife is much directly meant to better prepare her for her husband's bed. The husband provides the items of the toilet and the ornaments to his wife in a profuse manner.

Cooking:

Cooking is the sole responsibility of the Dhoba Wife which she has to perform all by herself inspite of her heavy outdoor work. The pattern of cooking is not different from that of the working class Khandayat but the pattern of Husband-Wife interaction is markedly different.

Daily round of occupational activities:

The interaction between Dhoba Husband and Wife in the daily round of occupational activities significantly differs from other castes. In case of Pano and Khandayat it has been seen that the women are inferior partners in the occupational activities though in the case of the Pano the wife is an independent though inferior partner. The Kouta Wife (of the second group) is an equal partner in the act of commercial preparation of parched rice but not in agricultural activities. The position of the Dhoba Wife
is peculiar in the sense that as far as work-load is concerned she does as hard work than her husband. She also takes the initiative in the work which is usually done by the husband in other castes. She collects the clothes from the clients' houses and returns them after washing. Giving clothes to the washerman is the duty of the housewives among the Brahman, Khandayat and other castes who form the clientele of the Dhoba. It involves the giving of the menstrual clothes for washing which can be taken only by the washerwoman. In spite of all this the Dhoba husband is treated as the real worker by the clients. The payment of the annual dues (which is paid in kind according to the number of adults in the family) are paid to him. In case of irregularities complaints are formally lodged with him. If a man is excommunicated by the villagers (which means prohibiting the service of the barber and the washerman) it is the responsibility of the husband to comply. The entire income derived from washing the clothes are kept by him and though he spends it for the whole family, he has the absolute control over it, to the total exclusion of his wife. The income is not jointly utilised by the husband and the wife as is the case with the working class Keuta not the wife has a reserve of her like the 'lives of the landowning section of Keuta. Income is also not separately kept and spent like the Pano Husband and 'life. On the whole it can be said that the contradiction between the wife's hard work on the one hand and her complete subordination to the husband on the other characterises the pattern of husband-wife interaction among the Dhoba.
There are no religious rites exclusively performed by the Dhoba which can be treated as a part of their daily routine. The Dhoba is not expected to stop his work during the immemorial Osas performed in the village. On the occasion of an Osa, the Dhoba woman is entitled to receive a liberal gift of the cakes from the clients. She makes every effort to collect a good deal for the day to the Osa as well as for the subsequent day. Being a traditional service caste still pursuing the traditional occupation neither the Husband nor the Wife hesitate to avail of the benevolence of the clients. This practice has gradually stopped among the Pano, Khandayat and other castes but continues among the Dhoba. The Dhoba Husband expects his Wife to collect sufficient cakes for his and for the entirely family during an Osa.

The Dhoba Wife observes the Osas by remembering the time of their occurrence and avoiding doing what is prohibited on those days. Preparation of cakes, forms the most important part of the Osa, but a Dhoba Wife does not do it as her task is to collect cakes from the clients. It is therefore a saying in the village that no Osa as such is observed in a Dhoba household.

Recreational activities:

The Dhoba is a untouchable caste in the village for the "Jalcharaniya" castes. The rest of the castes on their turn are considered as untouchables by the Dhoba. The recreational activities among the Dhoba are therefore confined within their own caste. This choice is further limited by the fact that
there are only five Dhoba families in the village which are closely related to each other. Playing games therefore provides no scope for interaction between Husband and Wife. It leaves gossiping as the only channel of recreation. Because of the demands of the occupational as well as household duties the Wife can afford little time for this. The Husband has however leisure in the evening for engaging himself in gossiping, but this does not evoke any effective interaction between Husband and Wife in the daily routine.

Rearing children:

Dhoba children are never sent to the school. They help their parents in the caste profession and they do it earliest than children of any other caste. Because of their unique position in the caste hierarchy the Dhoba children remain isolated from others. Their houses are isolated from the village and they are untouchables to some castes whereas the other castes are untouchables to them. This restricts the Dhoba child to mix and play with others.

The Wife works at the early stage of pregnancy. She abstains from washing clothes at the advanced stage of pregnancy because the work is heavy and leads to abortion. She continues to carry the washed clothing to the clients' houses and fetches clothes from them till child birth. Female relatives of the village work as substitute for doing her work during the period of confinement. The help in these cases is not just voluntary gesture of good will. It is almost customary and the Husband, whose Wife is under confinement can claim it as a matter of right from his
neighbours. He on his part is duty bound to reciprocate on similar occasion.

At the infant stage the child is cared for by the Wife who bathes and cleans and feeds it from her breast. The clothings etc., of the child are purchased by the Husband. In case of illness of the child the Husband arranges for the treatment but the nursing is done by the Wife. The early walking stage does not present much difficulty as the couple mostly work in the neighbourhood of their house. They carry the child to the washing ghat and allow him to play there. Both Husband and Wife keep an eye on it. As the child has almost no opportunity to mix with other children, neither the Husband nor the Wife has to face many of the adolescent problems of adjustment of the child with others. Early participation in occupational activities helps the socialization of the child.

Daily income and expenditure:

The pattern of Husband-Wife relationship as it touches behaviour has been described earlier in connection with the daily round of occupational activities. The Husband controls the daily income and expenditure. He purchases all the requirements of the household and the income is also kept by him. The Wife is sometimes entrusted with the purchase but she has to take the money from the Husband and account for it properly. For any personal expenses she has to depend on the Husband. She is not expected to object to the extravagant expenditure on his part. If the Husband, for example, spends some money on drinking and she objects to it, then she is either rebuked or beaten. All the requirements of the Wife are of course met by the Husband and next to the first group of the Kunta, the Shoba Wife has the largest stock of ornaments - which is a standard for measuring the generosity of the Husband in the village.
C U D I A.

The caste status of the Cudia has been described in the background chapter. Though the traditional occupation of the caste is preparation of sweetmeats they have adopted agriculture as their main profession. Preparation of sweetmeats cannot be termed even as a minor profession. It is casually prepared on the occasion of such festivals like Daljatra and even that has been stopped since the last sixteen years due to nonobservance of Jatra. The preparation of sweetmeats has given way to preparation of fried rice. This is adopted as a profession by the old or widowed women to support themselves.

The Cudia and Khandayat lay claim to relative caste superiority but inspite of this they function as castes of equivalent status. Of course they function as strictly endogamous groups but in the observance of commensality, and in the sphere of occupational and general behavior there is no perceptible difference between Khandayat and Cudia. There are only five Cudia families in the village. The castes is therefore numerically too small to assert itself in any sphere. In all village affairs they work in close cooperation with the landowning Khandayats.

During the course of field investigations the pattern of husband and wife relationship in the various aspects of the daily routine was found to be similar to that of the landowning group of Khandayats. It therefore does not require to be described separately.
BADHEI.

The caste status of the Badhei has been described in the background chapter. Like the Gudia the Badhei are also a functional caste having a traditional caste occupation, namely, carpentry, but unlike the Gudia they have not given it up. There is still heavy demand on carpentry especially during the agricultural season. The traditional caste occupation of the Badhei is still their major occupation and agriculture is their minor occupation. In spite of this difference in occupation the Badhei like the Gudia are not perceptibly different from the landowning Khandayat in their routine behaviour. Being numerically the smallest caste in the village they are not able to assert themselves as an independent group. Though there is reciprocal claim of caste superiority between Badhei and Khandayat, the Badhei work in conjunction with them in all village affairs and as far as the day-to-day relationship between Husband and Wife is concerned there is only a slight difference concerning occupational activities. Those differences have only been described below and the similarities have been left out.

Daily round of occupational activities:

This is the sphere where some difference is observed from the Khandayat. This is because of the nature of the occupational work. Carpentry is a man's job. Though it is physically possible for women to participate, ritually they are prohibited from handling the tools. Carpentry as an occupation is different from agriculture in the sense that in agriculture
main purpose is consumption of the produce while in carpentry the main purpose is earning wages (The wages are received in kind from the clients on an annual basis). The worker also sits and works at home whereas in case of agriculture he has to go to the field. The Husband – Wife relationship in the carpentry work is marked by the exclusiveness of the Husband's work to the total exclusion of the Wife. The Badhei Wife can identify the carpentry tools but usually the Husband keeps the tools and fetches them when required.

Agriculture is the minor occupation of the Badhei but he cultivates all his land by his own labour. Here also the Wife is not a working partner of the Husband. She helps him indirectly by cooking for him in time and serving him in other ways but there is no direct interaction between them in the occupational activities of carpentry and agriculture.

As mentioned above there is no perceptible difference between the Badhei and the landowning Khandayat as far as other items of daily routine are concerned.