

Disintegration of the Nayar *Tarwad*, or Matrilineal Joint Family.

Chie NAKANE.

I made a field work among the Nayars in Kerala from March to May 1956 on a grant from the Elin Wagner Foundation of Sweden. This essay is based on the data collected during this field work, as well as on legal, historical and other records concerning the Nayars and other peoples in Kerala.

The main discussion of this essay is focused on the changes and disintegration of the *tarwad* into the modern unit of Nayar family. The analysis which I deal is arranged as follows.

Chapter I. The land of Nayars, Kerala: a study of the historical formation of plural society and of caste differentiations in Kerala. The characteristics of villages and the distribution of different kinds of communities in Kerala are also discussed here. Chapter II. The land tenure system and political organization of Kerala with particular reference to the traditional economic and political position of the Nayar caste. Chapter III. The Nayar *tarwad* in its traditional form, its content and functions. The *tarwad* is a matrilineal joint family, each of which members is related each other through consanguinial kinship ties, which included all members of matrilineal descendants from a common ancestress, but not their spouses, usually to a generation depth of more than seven. As a rule, all its members live together in the same *tarwad* building and held common property, of which management rested with the head of a *tarwad*, *karanavan*, the senior male. Chapters I, II and III give what is Nayar caste and a picture of the traditional settings of the Nayar *tarwad*, as an introduction to the main discussion on the disintegration of the *tarwad* in Chapters IV and V.

Chapter IV. Reconstructed history of the disintegration of the Nayar *tarwad* through records. In the last 150 years, political and economic changes have made the disintegration of the Nayar *tarwad* unavoidable.

It has been accompanied by greatly increasing population and modernization of Nayar life and concepts. The process is traced through what has happened in Malabar and in Travancore. The two areas have been treated separately since the process of disintegration was not the same in both. There are differences in social usage and historical and social environments between Malabar and Travancore. Steps and times of legal changes also differ. Social anthropologically, one of the aspects of their changes is explained through changes in the residential form of marriage. In Malabar, especially in North Malabar, the birth of a nuclear family took such process as from the duolocal residence (a form of visiting marriage, the traditional form of Nayar marriage) to avunculocal residence (husband takes his wife and children to his *tarwad*) and then to neolocal residence (husband makes an independent household for his nuclear family to live in separated from either his or his wife's *tarwad*). On the other hand in Travancore, the change was from duolocal residence to neolocal residence without the process of avunculocal residence (though they had some minor cases of matrilocal residences in its transition period). However, the general orientations of both processes are the same. In both cases, the major problems in the process of the disintegration were frictions and tensions between members of the *tarwad*, especially between the head and other members, and succession rules of self-acquired property with guardianship of *karanavan* or of father. Leading educated Nayars engaged in active movements for legal reforms in the traditional law of the *tarwad* after the latter part of the last century. The partition of a *tarwad* property per capita and the legal recognition of the unit of a nuclear family independent from the *tarwad* were their final goal. Nayars in Travancore were first to reach the final change in 1925, when the 'Nayar Regulation II' passed. In Malabar in 1933 the 'Malabar Marumakkathayam Act' was passed. Thus legally the *tarwad* disappeared from Kerala. Actually at present most of the *tarwad* were already partitioned except royal families and a few others. In the last part of Chapter IV, there is an explanation of the partition rules according to 'Nayar Regulation II'.

Chapter V is based on data which I have collected concerning an actual *tarwad* at Ernaklam. The reconstruction of the *tarwad* history and an analysis of the changing process reveals clearly the changes in the family orientation of the *tarwad* members through their individual behaviors, and the moral is psychological aspects through delicate human relations of the *tarwad* members in the transition period, which gives more dynamic understandings to the discussion of the previous chapter. In conclusion, it should be noted that the process of changes and disintegration of the *tarwad* involves structural changes in the Nayar community as a whole, which again resulted the great structural changes and modernization of Kerala, or it may be said the latter have coincided with the former.

I wish to express my thanks to the Elin Wagner Foundation through whose generosity I was able to do my field work, presenting this essay as the report.

Chinese Books on Farming in the Southern Sung

by Yoshiyuki SUDŌ

In China during the Southern Sung (1126-1279) officials and members of the gentry displayed an active interest in agricultural techniques. They not only read the series of traditional farming books written between the period of the Northern and Southern Courts and the late T'ang, but prepared many new books on the subject as well. This activity, which was related to land development programs in South China in this age, reflects the efforts of the bureaucrats and landowners to increase production on their own estates.

Examples of books produced are the *Nung shu* 農書 by *Ch'ên Fu* 陳尊 and *Kêng chih t'u* 耕織圖 by *Lou T'ao* 樓濤 which, like other books of this type, gave detailed information concerning the cultivation of wet paddy-fields and the raising of silkworms.

In the Yüan period *Wang Chên* 王禎 included many Sung farming