

**THE TRANSITION FROM CHILDHOOD TO
ADULTHOOD; INITIATION RITES AND
PUBERTY RITUALS IN HINDU TRADITION**

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the Dissertation entitled 'THE TRANSITION FROM CHILDHOOD TO ADULTHOOD ; INITIATION RITES AND PUBERTY RITUALS IN HINDU TRADITION', submitted by VISWA SWARUP. P. in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY, has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University and is a record of the student's own work, carried out by him under my supervision and guidance.

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CHAPTER I

TOPOGRAPHY OF CONCEPTS AND CATEGORIES

During the course of my reading of Sudhir Kakar I was struck by an observation made by Kakar regarding Indian culture and its literary tradition. Kakar observes that Indian writings have a peculiar flat quality as far as the scrutiny of life in terms of a ruthless examination of feelings and motives are concerned. According to Kakar, childhood and the turmoil of youth which the West ruthlessly examines are usually ignored by Indians.¹ I have always been fascinated by transitional stages in the life of an individual, 'adolescence' denotes one such period of transition between childhood and adulthood. This being the case, Kakar's observation spurred me to attempt a study of Indian adolescence to comprehend the principles and processes underlying adolescent transition with reference to the Hindu experience. This research hence is directed towards an understanding of the period of transition from childhood to adulthood, a search for meaning grounded in an attempt to perceive this period of transition in a socio-cultural space.

Every research requires a formulation of the 'problematic', the problematic directs or guides the research process in terms of collection, tabulation and interpretation of data. The problematic for this research can be stated as follows : 'Adolescence' is a category or a construct which denotes the period of transition between

childhood and adulthood. This category however has been constructed or developed after the 'industrial-revolution' in the 17th century which ushered in a number of significant changes. 'Adolescence' as a category emerged to denote the period of transition between childhood and adulthood, specifically with reference to the human environment during and after the industrial-revolution.² Prior to the industrial-revolution there isn't any category or socio-cultural construct to denote this transition from childhood to adulthood. Adolescence is a socio-cultural construct specific to post industrial society hence it cannot be extended to denote transition from childhood to adulthood in the pre-industrial society. The absence of any category or construct in pre-industrial society to denote transition from the childhood to adulthood, does not however prove that there was no transition between childhood and adulthood in pre-industrial society. Whether in pre-industrial or post-industrial societies, there has always been a transitional stage in the life of an individual between childhood and adulthood. 'Puberty' is a universal biological phenomena marking this transition.

I believe that a study of the period of transition from childhood to adulthood in a pre-industrial society is germane to an understanding of adolescence with reference

to post-industrial society. Since there is no category or construct denoting transition from childhood to adulthood in pre-industrial societies, an analysis of this pre-industrial transition from childhood to adulthood is grounded in an analysis of the 'rites of passage', rituals marking the above transition in pre-industrial societies.³ The 'rites of passage' are analysed by locating these rituals in a space defined by the co-ordinates of the individual, his society and his culture.⁴ An inter-disciplinary approach is used to present a relatively comprehensive description of the 'rites of passage'. Such a description, I feel is indispensable to an understanding of the period of transition from the childhood to adulthood in pre-industrial societies, this is the sole aim and objective of this research on 'rites of passage'. This research on 'rites of passage' analyses rituals to detect the underlying principles and processes operating in pre-industrial societies which effect a smooth transition from childhood to adulthood. Modern societies are different from primitive societies, however every individual shares a common experience of similar anxiety and uncertainty during transitional periods. Our lives are marked by both disruption and continuity, we are individuals yet collectively members of the society. It is in this context that 'rites of passage' announces to us life's, paradox,

informs and instructs about these paradoxes and helps us transcend these paradoxes, this is the relevance of 'rites of passage' to adolescence in modern societies. This research is directed towards an examination of the 'rites of passage' in its relation to pre-industrial social structure and consequently its relevance to adolescence in its relation to post-industrial social structure.

Rites of passage are primarily located in the realm of 'ritual' and as such its analysis is based on a general theory of ritual. Theory of ritual is taken as the starting point for this research, it will be followed by a brief discussion of 'adolescence' from the biological and sociological perspectives. A discussion of 'ritual' and 'adolescence' will prepare the ground for the subsequent expiation of the 'rites of passage' and its relation to adolescence ; thereby answering some of the questions raised by the problematic for this research. The discussion on 'ritual', 'adolescence' and the 'rites of passage' while keeping the problematic in mind, is nevertheless an attempt to chart the topography of these concepts and categories, an effort grounded in the review of literature to identify the basic units, processes and principles governing these concepts and categories.

RITUAL

Ritual is derived from the Latin term 'Ritus' which means custom, there are two distinct trends of common usage for the terms rites-ritual, ceremony-ceremonial and, custom.⁵ In the first place one finds the use of these terms interchangeably to denote any form of non-instinctive, predictable action or series of actions, which cannot be justified by a rational means-to-ends kind of explanation. Rationality is a criterion for ritual, however the question of rationality or non-rationality is determined by the observer and not the actor, which brings to light the subjectivity involved in the interpretation of ritual. Secondly, there is a trend to distinguish the three terms ritual, ceremony and custom from each other, 'ritual' in this case denotes a body of custom specifically associated with religious performance, 'ceremony' and 'custom' are differentiated from ritual denoting residual categories for the description of secular activities. The separation of religious activities from secular activities is the basis for differentiating ritual from ceremony and custom.

A single definition of ritual which can encompass the whole range of human activities coming under the category 'ritual' does not exist, neither is there a comprehensive theory of ritual acceptable to different

academic disciplines. A tentative working definition of ritual is attempted after a discussion of various aspects of the term 'ritual'. There are two different approaches to a discussion of rites/ritual; the first approach formulates an 'ideal type' of ritual, the second approach differentiates and compares the concept 'ritual' from other related concepts, thus highlighting the different aspects of 'ritual'. I have followed the second approach to understand and comprehend the various aspects of 'ritual', this in turn leads to the formulation of a tentative working definition of ritual. [Lewis, G. 1980].

'Ritual' and 'art' are terms which do not have any single commonly agreed-upon definitions because they are subjective in nature. [Lewis, G. 1980: 9-10]. Ritual and art are both forms of expression i.e. with an intent to express or communicate, both these concepts comprises of performers or actors, performances or actions, objects and finally beholders and interpreters. Performances or actions or series of actions constitute the principle element of rituals. The ritual significance encompasses the facts presented by the actions, the intentions of those who perform these actions, as well as the interpretations of those who behold these actions or performances.

Ritual is a form of action or performance, but all actions and performances are not rituals. The term 'custom' denotes repeated, conventional modes of behaviour of individuals in certain situations. Both 'ritual' and 'custom' provide explicit rules, prescriptions and proscriptions as to what should or should not be done. Implicit in the strict observances of rules in the performance of ritual is the fact that the performer should be well aware of the rules which regulate the performance. While the rules governing the performance and the actions of the performer are explicit, the reasons, meanings, motives and the interpretations are however not explicit, these may be complicated or uncertain, or multiple or simply forgotten. Ritual and custom both derive validity from 'tradition' which justifies their practice. Ritual practices are transmitted from one generation to the next, the fact that these ritual practices have been followed by one's ancestors, justifies or provides validity to the ritual practices being conducted in the present. Ritual practices are justified by an appeal to 'tradition' (Weber, 1954).

Ritual thus refers to an action or series of actions, governed by explicit rules and regulations, which derive validity by an appeal to tradition. While it may be sufficient for the performers to enact a ritual since it is

a traditional practice, for a social scientist a justification or validity based on tradition does not constitute sufficient validity. A ritual act or practice cannot be explained by a rational 'mean-to-ends' kind of relationship. The logic behind the performance of a ritual or the rationale behind ritual practices can be understood through 'symbolism'. The key to understanding and interpretation of rituals is the 'symbolic elements' of the ritual. Ritual is symbolic action, the distinctive feature of symbolic action is that they are not governed by the laws of logic which govern ordinary action. A symbol is a representation of reality at a certain level of reference by a corresponding reality at another level of reference. There is thus a possibility of different interpretations of the symbolic elements of a ritual, each interpretation presupposing a different theory of symbolism.

Ritual is a kind of symbolic action, the domain of ritual is an important aspect of rituals. The Encyclopaedia Britannica (1929 : 325) classifies 'ritual' into 'public' and 'private' rituals. The public rituals belong to the realm of religion and exist to further social goals and aims. Private rituals have been classified into two types : (1) 'sacraments'; and (2) rituals considered anti-social in nature, private rituals are excluded from the realm of religion and assigned, to the black art of magic.

Both public and private rituals are ideal types, in reality it is difficult to find a pure strain of public or private rituals, all rituals generally have a public as well as a private aspect. [Obeyesekere, G. 1984]. This problem is related to a wider issue of attempts to differentiate 'religion' and 'magic' and 'science' into discrete separate categories. Frazer is of the opinion that magic must have preceded the rise of religion and that it is the 'bastard sister' of science.⁶ One can debate the relationship between magic, religion, and science, however one cannot deny similarities in form and nature between magic, religion and science as ordered systems of thought with their own paradigms. Whether a ritual comes under the domain of the religious or secular activity, all rituals certainly have a 'social' and an 'individual' components, so also the rationale behind their actions or performances cannot be explained in terms of logical 'means-to-end' relationship. Ritual is symbolic action, governed by a rationale understood by an interpretation of the symbolic elements or units of the ritual, such a logic or rationale is different from the logic which governs non-ritual actions.

There are a number of theories on ritual, sociological, anthropological and psychoanalytic. This research examines the 'rites-of-passage' and its relation to

the social structure. A sociological analysis of 'rites-of-passage' is located in a general theory of ritual of Emile Durkheim [1948]. I shall briefly explicate Durkheim's theory of 'ritual'. Durkheim undertakes a bipartite division of phenomenon into 'sacred' and 'profane'. Sacred things and phenomenon come under the realm of religion, profane activities are secular activities. Sacred is further divided into 'beliefs' and 'rites', religion is a system of beliefs and rites which are sacred. Beliefs are states of opinion, rites are determined modes of action and beliefs are translated into action through rites.

Durkheim, (1948) distinguishes three different types of rites : (1) negative rites, (2) positive rites and (3) piacular rites. Negative rites are essentially interdicts, taboos and prohibitions whose purpose is to preserve the discontinuity between the sacred and profane. They serve the preparatory function and the disciplinary function. The positive rites on the other hand seek to establish a perpetual communion with the sacred. These rites can be seen operating to promote fecundity and reproduction, 'sacrifice' is an excellent example of positive rites. The function of positive rites are the cohesive, revitalising and euphoric functions. Piacular rites are the rites of expiation, they seek to appease, to make amends or to pay the penalty for transgression of the

'morality' of the society. The function of Piacular rites is to redress the morality of the society which has been transgressed.

There are two basic attributes of rites : firstly 'sacredness' and secondly 'moral necessity'. Sacredness marks a ritual action from non-ritual action. The celebration of rites and rituals is marked by the concentration of the entire society at a certain point for a certain period of time. The feeling of effervescence and exaltation are experienced by the participants in the ritual. Ritual activity is a collective activity where the individual is totally subsumed in the collective, this gives rise to a collective force which, is extraordinary, immanent and transcendent. The ritual actions produce a sense of sacredness totally incompatible with profane actions.

The moral necessity aspect of ritual is based on Durkheim's conception of relation between religion an individual and his society. The society awakens in every individual a sense of the divine or sacred through rites and rituals. According to Durkheim (1948), religious interests are merely the symbolic form of social and moral interest. Society is thus perceived as a moral community, the 'morality' of a society lies in the system of meanings within which human existence is located. The function of

the ritual is that it gives rise to interpersonal relations which are continuously renewed and reinforced, leading to development of a new 'collective consciousness' among individuals. Rituals result in the domination of collective consciousness over individual consciousness. The individual is integrated into the society and common bonds are reaffirmed among individuals leading to social solidarity.

Durkheim's distinction between the sacred and profane, the function of ritual in integrating the individual to his society leading to social solidarity, is indispensable to an analysis of 'rites of passage' in relation to the social structure. The central theme of Durkheim's writings (1947) is the integration of the individual into the collectivity; society. A maladjustment in the integration of the individual into his society has been identified as the cause for 'anomie' type of suicide (Durkheim,1951), consequently in his work on religion Durkheim (1948) once again confronts this aspect of the integration of the individual into his society. According to Durkheim (1948) 'religion' which essentially embodies social and moral values, serves the function of integrating the individual into his society. Rituals which translate religious beliefs into action, also perform the function of integrating the individual into his society. The functional

analysis in this research presupposes the basic theme of integrating the individual into his society. Durkheim's emphasis on the integrative function of the ritual recognizes the shared system of meanings in a society. These shared system of meanings of the society as a moral community, has to be recreated repeatedly time and again in every individual so as to integrate the individual into his society. This research adopts this perspective on the integration of the individual into his society (moral necessity), rather than integration in terms of crowd psychology based on the concepts of collective force, effervescence and exaltation.

ADOLESCENCE

Adolescence is derived from the Latin word 'adolescere' which literally means growth, to grow into maturity. In biology and psychology the term 'adolescence' denotes the period of human development from the beginning of puberty to the end of maturation process. The duration of this period may vary with race, climate, nutrition, social conditions, hereditary characteristics and other factors. Hence adolescence may include individuals as young as eight and other as old as twenty five, there is no definite chronological boundary. The onset of puberty, the physiological, psychological and emotional growth after the

onset of puberty are, universal biological facts. Keeping in mind the 'gender' differences, the tables "1 & 2" given into Appendix show the normal maturational sequences in boys and girls.

The problematic for this research on 'rites of passage' requires an exposition of 'adolescence' specifically in its relation to the socio-cultural environment. While puberty, post-pubertal growth, the first onset of menstruation for girls are all biological facts, and as such are universal phenomenon. 'Adolescence' however is a category a socio-cultural construct, and as such is 'socio-culture' specific. Adolescence has to be located in the socio-cultural environment, hence different socio-cultural environments will have different notions and perspectives on adolescence. An analysis of 'adolescence' in its relation to the socio-cultural environment, requires an exposition of historical, chronological evolution or development off adolescence.

Adolescence has been a fascinating subject throughout the history of mankind. Different periods in history have produced distinct views on childhood and adolescent in terms of idealism, political reality, legal and social status, biological development and finally in modern scientific terms. Aries P. (1962) presents different

perspectives on childhood in a chronological sequence, from ancient Greek civilization to the 20th century, this helps in understanding childhood in its relation to the socio-cultural environment and, the construction of 'adolescence' within it. Early Greek thinkers like Plato and Aristotle have made significant contributions towards an understanding of childhood. After the early Greek thinkers for a long period extending beyond the medieval period in European history there was hardly any contributions towards the study of childhood. During this period children were treated like adults once they could live without the constant solicitude of parents, the child had to face up to the adult world at a very young age. The lack of protection and immunity from adult expectations and responsibilities in the adult world, resulted in the children getting exploited and abused. The 'middle ages' i.e. from the seventeenth century onwards, brought about a renewed interest in childhood, childhood was now perceived as a period of innocence and purity. Children were now treated with compassion, opposed to harsh medieval views on childhood. Throughout the middle ages up to the 20th century, there was increasing emphasis on the unique nature of childhood, the social and moral importance of educating children, the need to protect and shelter children from imperfections of adult world and finally a sharpening of distinction of the category

adolescence [Aries, p.1962]. According to Aries, P. [1962] childhood is an invention of post-renaissance Europe it is not a distinctive universally recognized condition. Adolescence too is a recently invented category rather than a biologically predetermined phase.

Prior to the industrial revolution 'adolescence' as a socio-cultural category or construct was hardly established. The industrial revolution during 17th century led to increased urbanization and industrialization, which ushered in significant social changes. Prior to industrial revolution children in Europe were both indulged and ignored, a child passed directly into adulthood and schooling was of minimal importance. This rapid transformation was manifested in primitive rituals, where children became full-fledged members of the tribe ie. adulthood, by the performance of one short, painful and hazardous 'initiation rite', which compresses or even abolishes the confusion and uncertainty of entering adult life. In the post-industrial period the progress from childhood to adulthood was slow, the emphasis was now on schooling as a means to prepare the child for the adult role. Discontinuity between child and adult status became noticeable and marked, and adolescence as a category was developed to denote this transitional period. Adolescence

is hence a 'socio-cultural' category which emerged as an outcome of historical evolution i.e. industrial revolution.

From an exposition of childhood and adolescence in Western or European context, I shall now move on to an exposition of childhood from an Indian context. Kakar [1979] provides a comprehensive account of Indian childhood by an analysis of the Indian cultural tradition reflected in : The laws of Manu, Ayurvedic system of Indian medicine, the epic Mahabahrata and finally ancient and medieval Indian literature. In ancient Indian law the status of a child is the lowest, children occupy the lower rungs of social hierarchy along with the lower castes. While children belong to lower social status, the attitude towards them is characterised by 'protective indulgence', children deserve protection in a society and hence claim its indulgence. [Kakar, S. 1979: 9]. According to Ayurvedic system of Indian medicine, human development begins with the conception of the individual, pre-natal foetal development plays an important role in the physical and mental development of an individual.⁷ Implicit in such a perspective is the fact that the child and mother function as a common psychological unit, mutually influencing each other they form a common 'mother-child' matrix. Compassion, and tenderness mark the instructions on

childcare as laid down in Ayurvedic system of medicine. In the epic Mahabharata the individual development is seen as a deterministic conception of meta-physical heredity, based on the theory of 'Karma'. Indian literature reflects two common themes, firstly the celebration of childhood virtues such as child's freedom, spontaneity, simplicity and charm as expressions of the divine, the second theme is the interplay between a mother and her child [Kakar, S. 1979].

The basic themes regarding Indian childhood can be summed up as follows : (1) human development begins from conception ie. foetal development and pre-natal development. (2) The metaphysical doctrines of Karma, rebirth and transmigration of soul predetermine an individuals development and predispositions. (3) The mother and child form one common matrix or psychological unit. (4) The attitude towards children and childcare is governed by the principle of 'protective indulgence'; i.e. , compassion, tenderness and affection. A cultural awareness of Indian childhood suffers from two drawbacks, in the first place different tenets of Indian tradition mainly limit themselves to male child, in most cases ignoring the female child. The second drawback is that reference is made only to childhood of upper castes (Karkar, 1979).

Both Indian as well as Western conceptions of childhood are basically 'androcentric', i.e. a male concern, and both ignore the features of female childhood. Thus 'gender' bias is an important aspect which appears not only with relation to childhood and adolescence, but also in the case of 'rites of passage'. A few points can be observed with reference to female childhood in Indian tradition. Firstly a female child is given less emphasis than the male child, a female child's development too begins from conception and is determined by doctrine of Karma. An important point is that the female child has a longer relationship with her mother extending up to her marriage than the male child.⁸ The female child is treated with compassion, tenderness and affection just like a male child. The difference between the male and female child, biological aspects part, stems from culturally sanctioned devaluation of girls, which leads to preference of male child over female child and, also the determination of the social role for boys while female child and women are confined to the domestic, familial realm.⁹

Miriam Van Waters has reviewed literature on 'adolescence' and identified four phases through which the study of adolescence has passed. In the first phase focus was on physical growth leading to the concept of physiological age. This was followed by the second phase

with focus on mental and psychological growth, hence the concept of psychological age. In the third phase these physiological findings were interpreted in terms of evolution : recapitulation theory, and the doctrine of adolescence as a 'storm and stress' period. Lastly in the fourth stage adolescence was defined in terms of the social situation.¹⁰ A point to note with reference to the problematic for this research is that 'adolescence' is certainly not a biological fact, as a category it has emerged in the 17th century as an outcome of historical evolution brought about by the industrial revolution. Adolescence is a 'socio-cultural construct' and as such any reference to adolescence must take into consideration the socio-cultural situation in which the category adolescence is constructed. I shall now review a few significant viewpoints on adolescence to substantiate the above statements with reference to the problematic.¹¹


G. Stanley Hall (1844 - 1924) in the beginning of the 20th century presented his treatise on adolescence.¹² Hall [1904] explains psychological development on the basis of his 'theory of recapitulation', the essence of recapitulation is 'ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny'. The recapitulation theory was influenced by Charles Darwins's theory of evolution. According to Halls's recapitulation

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theory every individual during his development passes through stages which stimulate and correspond to the developmental stages of human evolution, from early animal like primitivism through an era of savagery, to civilized life characterized by maturity. Hall thus divided human development into different stages : 'infancy' recapitulates animal like primitive stages 'childhood' is the second phase of human development followed by the stage termed 'youth. After this stage we have the 'adolescent' phase and finally the adult who recapitulates civilization corresponding to maturity. Hall conceptualizes adolescence as a period marked by great 'storm and stress', the period recapitulates the period of human evolution which is marked by turbulence. (Hall, 1904).

The major drawbacks of Hall's theory are : (1) Hall ignores the influence of culture overemphasizes the role of physiological functions in human development (2) Hall views adolescence as a period of intense 'storm and stress' arising from instinctual upheavals and (3) Hall considered adolescent growth as saltatory i.e. sudden and abrupt rather than as continuous and gradual.¹³

Sigmund Freud (1981) provides an important perspective on adolescence based on his theory of personality development. Sexuality is the frame of

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reference for Freud's theory on the development of human personality and as such it can be termed 'psycho-sexual'. Freud realized the importance of childhood in the psycho-sexual development of personality, personality development is characterised by infantile sexuality and the transformations of puberty. An indepth account of Freud's theory is presented in the next chapter under theoretical framework. Drawbacks in Freud's theory apart, his formulations are valuable to an understanding of adolescence.

The presentation of different psychological and psychoanalytic perspective concludes with the presentation of Erik Erikson's perspective on adolescence. Since Freud's death Erikson has elaborated and extended Freud's formulations breathing new life into psychoanalytic theory. There are two important differences one can perceive between Freud and Erikson's formulations on adolescence. Erikson attempts to study the whole life cycle of an individual as an integrated 'psycho-social' phenomenon, while Freud derives meanings from reconstructing 'sexuality' from infantile origins. In this context Erikson's work can be perceived as an attempt to integrate the 'libido theory' to the totality of human life, this has led to a shift from 'psycho-sexual' formulation to a 'psycho-social' formulation. The second defference is that, while Freud

studied pathological processes to shed light on normal human development, Erikson on the other-hand analysed normal development to enrich on understanding of the pathological phenomenon. These differences apart Erikson has used Freud's formulations on the structure of personality in terms of the component's (id, ego and, superego) and, the development of personality (various stages of development of personality) as the basic foundation for his formulation on the 'life cycle' of an individual.

A brief discussion of Erikson's [1968] conceptual sequence of stages of human development is presented below. Adolescence is one of the stages of human development and it will be dealt with in detail with reference to the above sequence. Erikson's conception of the life cycle i.e. different stages of human development, is based on the 'epigenetic' principle, derived from the embryological model of uterine growth of organisms. Erikson (1968 : 96) conceives each successive stage marked by a specific psycho-social 'crisis', crisis does not refer to a threat of catastrophe, 'crisis' is a turning point, a crucial period of increased vulnerability and heightened potential, and therefore, the ontogenetic source of generational strength and maladjustment.

According to Erikson's psychosocial theory of development, there are eight stages of human development, the first four occur during infancy and childhood, the fifth stage during adolescence and, the last three stages during adulthood, extending up to old age. Adolescence is the fifth stage in the development of personality, it is marked by 'identity vs. identity confusion'. During adolescence the individual begins to sense a feeling of 'identity' reflected in his or her perception of uniqueness as an individual as well as a member of the society. During 'adolescence' the individual becomes conscious of his or her individual characteristics, this is 'identity formation' and it is dependent on the 'ego' in its conscious and unconscious elements. During this stage of 'identity formation' in an adolescent, because of the difficult or critical nature of transition from childhood to adulthood, there is bound to be an element of confusion. Identity confusion results from a lack of synchronization between individual's identity and the social expectations to which the individual is subjected. This state of 'identity confusion' can cause feelings of isolation, anxiety and indecisiveness, the individual may hence feel that he is regressing rather than progressing, the individual's behaviour is inconsistent and unpredictable during this chaotic state. The term 'identity crisis' refers to the necessity to resolve the transitory

failure to form a stable identity. Identity formation "meets its crisis in adolescence" (Erikson, 1965:13). In an 'identity crisis' the individual faces an increasing irreversibility of his or her choices, he/she may feel the society is forcing him/her to take decisions. This is seen by the individual as an inescapable turning points for better or for worse. Better here means successful socialization for stable identity formation, worse refers to a prolonged identity confusion Erikson (1968 : 160).

Different psychological and psychoanalytic perspectives on adolescence emphasize the perspective that 'adolescence' is a purely biologically determined phenomenon. These perspective view 'adolescence' as a period of 'storm and stress' which is supposedly biologically or psychologically determined. Although inability to control impulses curb anxieties or delay gratifications may initiate crisis of any stage of human life stages, nevertheless it is maturation of sexuality at adolescence which marks this period 'adolescence' as particularly susceptible to psychological turbulence. Stanley Hall (1904) emphasizes adolescence as a storm and stress period based on biological predeterminism and instinctual upheavals. Freud (1981) too considers adolescence as period of 'storm and stress' arising out of the awakening of 'sexuality' during adolescence, after a

period of Latency where sexuality is suppressed. Freud also does not take socio-cultural factors into consideration. Erikson (1988) takes social factors into consideration, but he does not emphasize these social factors to the extent that these socio-cultural factors deserve. Margaret Mead (1969) argues against these psychological, psychoanalytic perspective in her study of adolescence and sex in the primitive society of Samoa. She argues that biology is not always destiny and physiological symptoms may result from social or cultural conditions. According to Mead the general view on adolescence was that, this period was characterized as a period in which idealism flowered and rebellion against authorities waxed strong, a period during which difficulties and conflicts are absolutely inevitable. Mead argues against this generally held perspective by studying Samoan-adolescence in the socio-cultural environment. She emphasized the tremendous role of social environment in an individuals life. Thus the behaviour which one is accustomed to perceive as invariable complements of physiological and psychological growth was actually a result of cultural environment and the civilization (Mead M., 1969). Mead disapproved the then prevailing general notions about adolescence, to her, social environment was the all determining factor.

The term 'adolescence' is a human construct or category, puberty is a biological fact, while the 'adolescent' period is definitely prone to storm and stress, since it is a transition period, nature and culture both play a role in the development of adolescent personality.

'RITES OF PASSAGE'

The term 'rites of passage' was first used by the Dutch anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep (1960) to denote a category of rituals marking the transition of an individual through the life cycle, integrating cultural experiences with biological destiny. Thus, birth, death, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, marriage are all situations related to the transition of an individual from one stage or status to another stage or status. These periods of transition are called 'life crisis' by Gennep [1960], 'rites of passage' are rituals which symbolize these transitions or 'life crisis'. 'Rites of passage' is a very broad category which has been applied in various disciplines and in varied number of fields, e.g. music.¹⁴ 'Rites of passage' in the case of this research refers to rituals symbolizing transition from childhood to adulthood. The research deals exclusively with rituals symbolizing this transition, hence, 'rites of passage' have been used synonymously with 'initiation rites'

and 'puberty rites' in dealing with adolescent rituals.

I shall first describe the function of the 'rites of passage' before discussing other aspects of the adolescent rituals. The term 'initiation' is derived from the latin word 'initium' which implies a new beginning. 'Rites of passage' comprising of initiation rites and puberty rites, are a body of rites whose function is to bring about a transition of an individual from a childhood status to the adult status. The primary function of rites passage is to effect a smooth transition from childhood to adulthood. The transition from childhood to adulthood is affected smoothly by the performance of the 'rites of passage', which compress or even abolish the confusion and uncertainty of entering adult life.

'Rites of passage' are symbolic rites which basically mystify and abstract the cohesion required to maintain an existing social order. Durkheim (1948) in his theory of ritual explains the integration of the individual into his society or community (collectivity) by the performance of rituals. The awakening of sexuality during puberty marks the critical juncture in the social status of an individual, this period or situation can be expressed in terms of 'anomie' [Durkheim, 1951] and 'life crisis' [van Gennep, 1960]. Such a situation is potentially capable

of causing disturbances in the social order, there is a threat to the perpetuation of social order, harmony and existence. It is thus essential for the perpetuation of social order and existence to invest in the 'rites of passage' some form of social control over biological events. The biological events are invested with social significance by their ritualization, which emphasize both the creative and destructive elements of the physical nature of male/female and by ritual seek to control it. In a society in which male control of power is a dominant cultural theme, the biological events of females are invested in a socio-cultural construct the ritual, to provide the society control over the female biological events and to direct their development.¹⁵ In the case of males the ritualization of male initiation has two important aspects :- (1) the structure of rite in terms of separation, transition and incorporation, (2) the ritual operations and ordeals. These different aspects reflect the ways by which the spiritual and cultural values of the society are inculcated in an initiate to make the initiate a responsible member of the society. On the occasion of performance of these rituals the child passes into an adult stage, a transition marked by the change of status for the individual, on the otherhand on such occasions the entire community is also religiously regenerated (Mircea Eliade,

1965). The function of 'rites of passage' can be summarised as follows : the rites of passage deal with the biological event puberty and they are rituals which bring about a smooth transition of an individual from childhood to adulthood. A smooth proper transition from childhood to adulthood is required because of the desruptive potential of the forces unleashed by puberty on the individual and subsequently its impact upon the society. Thus biological events are ritualised so as to provide the society a measure of control over these biological events, to dissipate this desruptive potential firstly to integrate the individual into collectivity and secondly, to maintain social order and solidarity.

The function and operation of rites of passage can be explained by the concept - 'socialization'.¹⁶ As stated earlier the onset of puberty can disrupt social order, it is this threat to the perpetuation of social order and solidarity, that produces the need for endowing the individual with knowledge of social norms, values and customs. In the individual is inculcated knowledge and sympathy towards social norms and values and an understanding of the responsibilities, rights and obligations accompanying sexual maturity i.e. 'socialization' of an individual. Socialization of an

individual allays the socially disruptive potential of the individual, because a socialized individual is inculcated with the patterns of sentiment and behaviour which serve best in promoting social order and cohesion. Rites of passage are instruments of socialization, they serve to link generations in the transmission of culture and tradition, thus preserving social order and cohesion.¹⁷ Mircea Eliade refers to the process of socialization in his work, although his emphasis is on religious dimension of these rituals. Eliade [1965] identifies the socialization process with reference to the twin aspects of male initiation rites: first disclosure of sacred knowledge and paradigms and secondly, the performance of ritual operations and other related ordeals.

The function and operation of 'rites of passage' apart, the most important aspect of these rituals is 'gender'. Previously 'rites of passage' have been discussed in general terms. Presently rites of passage is discussed with reference to 'gender', 'initiation rites' in case of male gender and 'puberty rites' in the case of female gender constitute the 'rites of passage' with reference to the period of transition between childhood and adulthood. An exposition of different aspects of 'initiation rites' and 'puberty rites' in general is interjected with the Hindu experience with reference to the above. Both the 'intiation

rites' and 'puberty rites' effect a transition from childhood to adulthood, consequently the function of both these rites are basically similar. Both these rites provides explicit rules and dictates rules about correct performance of these rites and also regarding who should take part in these rites. Both the rites not only signify public recognition of transition of an individual (boy or girl) into adolescence, but also serve to demonstrate and confirm a structure of social relationships constructed around the individual. These ritual performances are important occasions for statement and demonstration of these social relationships which have long-term, abstract implications - maintenance of social order and solidarity. (Lewis, 1980 : 89 - 105).

The study of initiation rites has generally focussed on the male initiation rites than female initiation rites, consequently there is a vast pool of information on male initiation rites and dearth of knowledge on female initiation rites. This is partly because majority of anthropologists, ethnologists and even untrained observers were predominantly male and they hence had ready access to witness male initiation rites.¹⁸ In the case of Hindu initiation rites, in Ancient India both males and females could perform the 'Upanayana' rite (Hindu initiation rite),

later only males could perform this ceremony and females were excluded. Thus even in Hindu initiation rites the focus is on males rather than on females. This is the reason why I have highlighted puberty rites as an example of rites of passage for females. A point to note with reference to availability of information on these two rites, is that while in the case of initiation rites there is dearth of ethnographic data, however in the case of puberty rites there is a vast pool of data. In this aspect the Indian Hindu situation is quite opposite to the general situation.

Both initiation rites and puberty rites ritualize the transition from childhood to adulthood. The first onset of menstruation marks the beginning of puberty in females. This biological event is ritualized in puberty rites so as to provide a social, cultural control over this phenomenon. Puberty rites especially the rituals marking the first onset of menstruation are rituals whose performance is determined by biological event [LaFontaine, 1972: 159-165]. As for males however there is no such dramatic event which marks the beginning of puberty. Males initiation rites are thus not determined by any biological event, consequently male initiations are socio-culturally determined. The basic biological differences in the puberty of males and females gives rise to a number of socio-cultural distinctions between male initiation rites and female puberty rites. One

such distinction is that male initiation rites being a socio-culturally determined phenomenon, male members are generally initiated in groups. On the other hand the female puberty rites are determined by a biological event which is individual in nature, as such generally the rituals marking the first onset of menstruation, 'menstrual rites' are performed separately for each female individual.

MALE 'RITES OF PASSAGE' IN HINDU TRADITION

In the Hindu religion, the whole body of scriptures dealing with the religious ceremonial and practice is referred to by the term 'Kalpa'. The Hindu religion lays great emphasis on performance of rituals, most sociological, biological, natural phenomenon or event was accompanied by a ritual. The 'Kalpas' are the text of rituals embodied in the 'Vedas'. Since the Hindu religion lays much emphasis on performance of rituals; consequently, one finds prescribed rituals marking different stages in individuals like, birth, childhood adulthood, old age and death. The simple forms of rituals are codified in the 'Grihyasutras' which provides rules governing the 'Hindu Samaskaras' or sacraments. Sudhir Kakar [1979: 25-28] points out the importance of the body of ritual literature - 'Samaskaras' to understand the various stages of human development in Indian tradition especially childhood and

adolescence. The table 3 given in the appendix provides the different rituals or rites of passage marking childhood and adolescence in the Hindu tradition for male individuals. According to Kakar the aim of these rituals is to integrate the individual into his society, the child is taken away from mother-child matrix and introduced into a social sphere so that the child develops into a full-fledged adult. The ritual performances counteract the child's regressive longings and primal fears of abandonment and separation, activated by transition from one stage to another. By placing the child at the centre of a rite in which the whole family participates heighted a sense of both belongings and personal distinctiveness (Kakar, 1979 : 25-28).

FEMALE RITES OF PASSAGE IN HINDU TRADITION

Veena Das (1988 : 193-207) has analysed the female body as a metaphor for society, in terms of the following life-stages of a women. (1) The body of the child (2) The body at the onset of menstruation (3) They body in sexuality (4) The maternal body and (5) The body at death. During childhood the female body is seen as bearing the marks of future gender identity since male and female identities are not crystallised during childhood. The ritual 'Kanjak' or 'Kanya Puja' during which the female child is worshipped as an embodiment of the goddess, is the

occasion when femininity is most marked in childhood. The female body in its virginal state during childhood is considered the abode of the goddess, this establishes a connection between femininity and the cosmic domains. Apart from this ritual in childhood the female and male identities are not sharply differentiated hence one finds comingling female and male identities during childhood.

The onset of menstruation marks the beginning of the second stage in the female's life stages, this stage leads to a change in the orientation towards the female body. During this stage the male and female identities are sharply distinguished, the body of the female is perceived as the body - innature in-nature, par excellence. There are two contrasting perspectives on this definition of the body-in-nature. In the first place Hindu philosophy does not have the notion of the 'fall of man' found in Christianity, the biological need 'hunger' is a symptomatic condition of all human beings which leads to the placement of human body in the order of nature as well as the vagaries and uncertainties of nature. In this case the human body is perceived as an essentially 'male body', while males try to rise above the vagaries of nature by maintaining 'dharma' in pursuing 'artha', the females however strive to transcend this condition by adopting an ascetic mode of living characterised by observing 'fasts' during certain occasion.

According to the second perspective it is the female body which conceptualizes the notion of regularity of nature. The periodicity of menstruation symbolizes the regularity of nature, rhythms of female body is juxtaposed with the rhythms of the 'cosmos' to signify harmony and regularity of nature. The onset of the first menstruation marks the occasion for the performance of rituals-female initiation rites (Veena Das, 1988 : 196).

Female initiation rites emphasize the inferiority of feminine domains, during the period of menstruation the girl is confined to a room and must maintain an existence which is socially and spatially separated and , is bereft of all cultural symbols. During menstruation a female is considered impure and all through her life she hence oscillates between purity and impurity which are determined by the menstruation cycle. The female initiation rites performed to mark the first onset of menstruation denote the crystallization of female identity and sexual maturity. The crystallization of female identity at the first onset of menstruation leads to a sharp differentiation between the male and female domains, the female is now considered sexually mature, this leads to a social identity different from male social identity and also leads to new set of social relations. The onset of menstruation locates the

female body in nature. The rhythms of the body are perceived to be in harmony with the rhythms of nature. While menstruation marks sexual maturity and pollution symbolized in the performance of female initiation rites, it is this very pollution which is seen as a guarantee of the regularity of nature's rhythms (Veena Das, 1988 : 197).

The orientation towards the female body during the various life stages helps in understanding the meaning of the symbolic content of rituals marking these different life stages. The body of the child and at the first onset of menstruation provides a perspective for analysis of female puberty rites for this research.

In this chapter I have introduced the problematic for this research, consequently I have discussed the topography of the concepts and categories; ritual, adolescence and rites of passage. A discussion of these concepts and categories are not directed at any specific aspect, rather these categories and concepts are discussed from a broad perspective to provide basically an understanding of the realm and area encompassed by these categories. The discussion is geared towards familiarizing a person with the general topography of these categories.

1. According to Kakar, S. [1982] the psychoanalytic trait of 'introspection' denotes a ruthless examination of motives and feelings connected to the idea of 'true self' or 'identity', in Indian Philosophy this 'introspection' is absent.
2. Refer to Aries, P. [1962] and Grinder, R. [1970].
3. 'Rites of Passage' has been coined by Van Gennep [1960], in this research these rituals mark the transition from childhood to adulthood in pre-industrial societies.
4. An inter-disciplinary approach comprising of Sociological, Anthropological and Psychological perspective presents the defined co-ordinates.
5. Refer to Leach's article 'Ritual' in the International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, [Vol. 13 : 520].
6. Frazer, J.G. [1957 : 64] "... its fundamental conception is identical with that of modern science; underlying the whole system is a faith, implicit but real and firm in the order and uniformity of nature". Frazer is referring to the relationship between magic and science.
7. According to Kakar [1979 : 10] the doctrine of Karma, rebirth and the transmigration of soul in Indian Ayurvedic medicine conceives life from the moment of fertilization whereby the soul from previous life enters the foetus, the qualities of the sperm, ovum, the rasa (organic nutrition) and the Karma of the soul from previous birth, together determine embryonic development.
8. The Hindu 'Upanayana' ritual for male individuals leads to the dissolving of the 'mother-child' matrix, the male child is separated from his mother and the female realm. There is no such provision for female individuals in Hindu tradition.
9. For a historical evaluation of the position of females in Indian Hindu socio-cultural context refer to Mukherji, P.N. (1988) article in Chanana, K. Ed. (1988) work on women.
10. Refer to Van Waters, M. [1931 : Vol. I : 455-59) article in 'Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences' Ed. Seligman, R.A.

11. The problematic for this research perceives 'adolescence' as a social cultural construct build around the biological fact 'puberty'.
12. Refer to Hall Stanley [1904] work on 'adolescence'.
13. Refer to Grinder Robeert E., [1970] article on G. Stanley Hall and Social significance of Adolescence.
14. Igor Stravinsky 'Rite of Spring' is a seasonal event, that lies at the threshold between summer and winter, musically it corresponds to the affective states of consciousness.
15. Refer to Richards, A.I. [1956 : 18-20] and Douglas, M. [1966 : 147].
16. Socialization refers to the process of learning to perform social roles, by socialization the culture of a society, social norms, values and patterns are inculcated into an individual.
17. Miller, N., article 'initiation rites' in Encyclopaedia of the social sciences [1931 : Vol. VIII: 49] explicates the 'socialization' process in initiation rites.
18. Refer to Kaelber W., article 'Male Initiation' in 'The Encyclopedia of Religion', Ed. Mircea Eliade, (Vol. 7: 229-34) for a discussion of 'gender' bias in the study of initiation rituals.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the conceptual frame with reference to the theory and methodology applied to this research. A discussion of methodological issues and procedures is followed by the presentation of the approach followed in this research. Finally the theoretical conceptual formulations are presented. A systematic sequential discussion of methodological issues commences with a description of the universe of study. The universe of study for this research encompasses the study of 'ritual'. The study of 'ritual' is a vast domain, to delimit the scope of research one has to refer to the problematic for this research. The study of 'rituals' deals specifically to rituals which mark the transition from childhood to adulthood. These rituals are referred to as the 'rites of passage'. Arnold van Gennep (1960) has coined the term 'rites of passage' to denote a category of rituals which mark transitions, these periods of transitions were called 'life crisis' by Gennep. With reference to this research however, 'rites of passage' refers specifically to rituals which mark transition from childhood to adulthood. Rituals marking female transition are different from rituals marking male transition, keeping in mind the 'gender' difference, a separate ritual i.e. 'rite of passage', is considered for male and female transitions respectively. 'Initiation rite' is selected as the 'rite of passage' in

the case of male transition from childhood to adulthood. To denote female transition from childhood to adulthood, 'puberty rites' are selected as the 'rite of passage'. 'Initiation rites' and 'puberty rites' are broad categories of rituals, 'initiation rites' have been divided further into three categories : (1) those marking the transition into an age group, for example the transition from childhood to adulthood, (2) initiations to secret or closed societies and (3) initiation to religious cults and mystical vocations.¹ In the context of this research only 'initiation rites' which ritualize transition from childhood to adulthood i.e. age group, are considered. 'Puberty rites' also mark the transition of females from childhood to adulthood, all these rituals are connected to the basic theme - the onset of puberty, a biological fact and its various consequences. Three basic categories of rituals make up the whole body of 'puberty rites', they are : (1) rituals connected with first 'menstruation', (2) rituals connected with 'marriage' and (3) rituals connected with 'childbirth'. These three categories effect a transition of a female individual from childhood to adulthood.² In the context of puberty rites, this research deals with the rituals connected with the first menstruation in females in patrilineal societies.

The universe of study for this research encompasses an examination of 'rites of passage'; 'initiation rites' and 'puberty rites' in the case of male and female individuals. The central theme of all these rituals is that these rituals mark the transition of males/females from childhood to adulthood. The selection of specific 'initiation rites' and 'puberty rites' is governed by the 'area' of research, the area of research in this case is defined within the boundaries of 'Hindu tradition'. The Hindu rite 'Upanayana' is considered under male initiation rites. In the case of female individuals the ritual marking the onset of first menstruation in women is selected as the 'rite of passage' marking the transition of the female individual from childhood to adulthood.

Having stated the universe of study and the area of research the next methodological issue is the exposition of the 'problematic' for this research. It is the problematic which directs the research process in terms of collection and classification of data, the theoretical-conceptual framework and finally the interpretation of data. The problematic for this research has been discussed and developed in the previous chapter. Hence I shall summarize the development of the problematic for this research. This research deals with the study of 'rites of passage', a description of 'rites of passage' by itself is an aimless

affair. The problematic helps to define the context in which 'rites of passage' is to be studied. The problematic seeks to establish a relationship between the two categories 'rites of passage' and 'adolescence'. 'Rites of passage' are a category of rituals denoting the transition of male/female individuals from childhood stage to an adult stage. 'Adolescence' is a category which has emerged during the industrial revolution and this category denotes the period of transition between childhood to adulthood. While 'rites of passage' are rituals whose existence dates back to ancient times, most definitely prior to industrial revolution during the 17th century, 'adolescence' as a category has developed and emerged during and after the industrial revolution. Thus what 'rites of passage' and 'adolescence' share in common is the basic theme of transition from childhood to adulthood. 'Rites of passage' ritualize the transition from childhood to adulthood, the construct 'adolescence' signifies or denotes the transition from childhood to adulthood is post industrial revolution period.

To understand adolescence in modern societies, I feel it will be useful to study a similar period of transition from childhood to adulthood in pre-industrial societies. An understanding of this period of transition in

primitive or ancient societies provided by the analysis of 'rites of passage' will provide a context for analysis of adolescence in modern societies. This relevance of 'rites of passage' to adolescence will be discussed in the conclusion. The aim of this, research for the present is however related to a study of the 'rites of passage'. The problematic provide a perspective a broad frame of reference, a general problem keep on the problematic in mind the research delimits on aspect or area of the problematic and tries to relate this part to the whole is wider issue of the problematic.

This research is an attempt to describe the 'rites of passage' from perspectives offered by different disciplines. Thus these rituals are described and analyzed with reference to its impact on the individual, the society and its culture. The 'rites of passage' are thus located in a socio-cultural space using the co-ordinates of culture, society and the individual.³ Such an approach, it is expected, will provide a relatively comprehensive picture i.e. description of 'rites of passage' marking the transition from childhood to adulthood. The points of reference for analysis of a comprehensive description of 'rites of passage' are firstly the structure of the rites and secondly function of various units or elements of the rites. The theoretical frame of reference used in the

analysis of the 'rites of passage' can be called a 'structural-functional' theoretical orientation. The structure of the rite has been analyzed in terms of the stages of separation, transition and incorporation (Van Gennep, 1960). Although I have called the frame of analysis 'structural-functional' I admit that the structural analysis is not exhaustive at all, rather the analysis is at a very basic level of abstraction. The description in this research lays emphasis on a functional analysis which is definitely more exhaustive than the structural analysis. Implicit in the use of a functional approach is the basic assumption that the different units elements and processes of the rites serve a particular function. An interpretation of 'rites of passage' using such an inter-disciplinary approach and a 'structural-functional' theoretical frame or orientation, consequently will highlight the aspect of the role of 'rites of passage' in not only to effect a smooth transition of an individual from childhood to adulthood, but also in integrating an individual into his society.

A description, analysis and interpretation of 'rites of passage' provides a comprehensive picture of these rituals. With such an understanding of 'rites of passage' one can now finally confront the final aspect of this problematic; the relation between 'rites of passage' and

'adolescence. We have already noted the basic assumption regarding the function of 'rites of passage'. The relationship between these rituals and 'adolescence' is seen in the context of the function of these rites. 'Rites of passage' function to affect a smooth transition of individual from childhood to adulthood and consequently the integration of the child into the adult society by the process of socialization. Adolescence denotes this period of transition from childhood to adulthood in post-industrial revolution period, the relation between 'rites of passage' and adolescence can be formulated in the form of a question. Since 'rites of passage' function to affect a smooth transition from childhood to adulthood in primitive society, hence do they perform such a function with reference to 'adolescence' in this modern civilized society. If such rites have fallen in disuse then there is a possibility that we may find the basic principles and processes operating in these rituals, embodied in some other social category or institution, there is also a possibility of sublimation of the above principles in human psyche.

TYPE OF RESEARCH

There are different types or modes of social science research like : descriptive research, explanatory research, diagnostic research and experimental research.

This research on 'rites of passage' is a 'descriptive' type of research, the purpose of the descriptive research is to describe and portray the nature and characteristic features of the phenomenon under consideration. The reason for selecting the descriptive mode of research over and above other modes of research are based purely on considerations of time and competence, rather than the relative efficacy of different modes of research. In the limited time available for this research, and the fact that the source of data being secondary sources of data has influenced the selection of the descriptive mode of research. Such a description I feel is primary and fundamental to understanding and comprehending a given phenomenon. With such an understanding of any phenomenon, one can then confidently pursue abstract conceptualization and interpretation.

According to Ramkrishna Mukherjee [1979]: 4-5] to apprise a given phenomenon, four fundamental questions has to be put forward in a sequential manner. These questions are : What is it? How is it? Why is it? and What will it be? in sequential order. Descriptive research lays emphasis on the first two questions, considers the third question and more or less ignores the fourth question. The first question 'What is it?' refers to the description of the phenomenon. The second question 'how is it?' refers to classification of the phenomenon in terms of internal

articulations, variations and internal relationships of the phenomenon. The second question, how is it ? is answered by using Van Gennep's (1960) structure of 'rites of passage' in terms of separation, transition and incorporation. The third question 'why is it ?' refers to causality of the phenomenon, I have considered causality with reference to the 'function', causality in this research is explained using a 'functional' frame of reference. The last question 'what will it be ?' refers to prediction, speculation about the future. Mukherjee (1979 : 1-19) points out that descriptive research is not conducive to answer the fourth question, however one can attempt to answer the fourth question by logically following the first three questions sequentially. The answer to the fourth question by descriptive research can only suggest possibilities, or state probabilities, however such a mode of analysis cannot predict with any certainty. Hence Mukherjee (1979 :9) suggest that the answer to the question 'what will it be ?' can be answered tentatively, but such an exercise should not be included in the research process. As such I shall be concentrating on the first three questions and suggest possibilities for the fourth question in the conclusion.

INTER-DISCIPLINARY APPROACH

Different disciplines take great pain in charting down their boundaries and domains. Their subdivided and separate search for concepts, theories, definitions lead to the creation of highly specific terminology, where the terminology of one discipline is not acceptable to other disciplines. In their search for distinctiveness and independence, social science disciplines have created arbitrary divisions of a given phenomenon. This has resulted in the presentation of an individual as if he or she is made up of discrete faculties and facets, each clearly different from the other. There is thus a need for using an 'inter-disciplinary', approach to arrive at a relatively more realistic, comprehensive portrayal of a given phenomenon. In social sciences, an inter-disciplinary approach is based on the fact that the subject matter of all social sciences is the 'human individual'. The human individual presents various facets, different disciplines emphasize different facets. The inter-disciplinary approach while taking cognizance of these different facets however does not consider these different facets as exclusive discrete faculties, rather it perceives the different facets as interdependent and interrelated to each other.

There are a number of difficulties one has to confront in pursuing an interdisciplinary study, the difficulties apart, inter-disciplinary studies have gained importance for their ability to present a relatively more complete and realistic portrayal of a given phenomenon. The selection of an inter-disciplinary approach for this research has been greatly influenced by the works of Sudhir Kakar and Ralph Linton who have applied and argued for the use of such an approach. Also the research being description of 'rites of passage', I felt the use of an inter-disciplinary approach (Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology) will help in a more complete and realistic portrayal. Such comprehensive portrayal or description is a primary requisite for comprehending 'rites of passage' and consequently in its analysis and interpretation.

Ralph Linton's work (1968) is a product of a series of lectures presented on the subject of the inter-relation of 'culture', 'society', and the 'individual'. In this work Linton presents a scheme for inter-disciplinary research. This schemata is strictly not a framework, model or technique for inter-disciplinary research, it is rather a configuration of the individual his society and culture, which emphasizes the overlapping nature and interdependence of one discipline over another. Linton (1968) marks out those domains of Sociology Anthropology and Psychology to

which an inter-disciplinary approach can be applied. The domains of these different disciplines which overlap are interrelated by the use of common concepts and processes which operate in all these disciplines. For example the concept of 'socialization' explains the dynamics of human behaviour using the frame of 'human needs'. The concept 'socialization' can be used in the disciplines of sociology and psychology. In this way Linton [1968] examines the common domain of different disciplines, and he calls for the development of concepts and categories to express the relationships between the three disciplines.

Of greater importance to this research on the 'rites of passage' are the two methodological problems which Linton (1968) claims act as a barrier to successful collaboration between the different disciplines. The first methodological issue refers to a researchers' lack of competence in disciplines other than the one he is trained in. This is a very real problem confronted by researchers applying an interdisciplinary approach. Being a student of sociology I do not claim a degree of competence in the field of psychology and anthropology, which can match my competence in sociology. This being the case I cannot claim to have laid equal emphasis on all the three disciplines, there is definitely a greater emphasis on sociological

aspects. This research I admit is biased in favour of applying sociological perspectives, the perspectives from the disciplines psychology and anthropology consequently have been used to clarify, enhance enrich and complement the sociological analysis.

The second methodological issue according to Linton (1968) is lack of consistent terminology shared by the three disciplines in question. Linton himself offers a solution to this significant problem which I find to be satisfactory. I have also applied the same solution in my research. Linton identifies two basic parts which make up any term, category or concept, the first part Linton refers to as the 'core' of the terms, the meanings and ideas attached to the 'core' of any term is in most cases universally accepted. The second part is the part surrounding the core, I have used the term 'periphery' to denote this part. The meaning and ideas attached to the 'periphery' differ not only among different disciplines but also within a single discipline. In this research on the 'rites of passage' when a term is used, the meaning of the term is given by the meaning attached to the 'core' of the term. The 'core' embodies the basic principles and ideas which are universally accepted, the use of these meanings attached to the 'core' eliminates controversies regarding terminology among various discipline. The 'peripheral'

meaning brings out the various facets of the term emphasized by different perspective. When a term is used in a specific context in this research, then the meaning attached to the 'peripheral' part is applied, however care is taken to specify the specific connotation attached by a specific perspective of a given discipline. Thus unless specified in the above terms, the meanings of the term, categories and concepts used, are drawn from the meaning attached to the core of the term or category.

Sudhir Kakar's work has an overbearing influence on this research, from the choice of the research area to the approach applied in this research. Kakar's [1978] work shows a very high level of methodological awareness, it is an excellent example of the use of an inter-disciplinary approach. Kakar uses the term 'cultural psychology' to denote the interplay between the individual, his society and culture. Kakar (1978) received his training in psychoanalysis in the west, psychology he admits is essentially a-cultural and ahistorical, it is more concerned with studying the reactions of individuals in the 'here and now' situation. 'Cultural psychology' has been constructed to help incorporate social perspective, Giving the example of Indian Psychotherapeutic tradition, Kakar (1982), proves that psychopathology cannot be independent of social and

cultural history, since it is partly a social institution incorporating the values of the surrounding society and its culture. In personality formation, culture is a very important factor, the other factor is 'heridity', while basic psychological process are universal, different cultures shape these processes in different ways. Kakar feels that psychological observations can be immensely enriched and deepened by an understanding of the symbolic structures of the society and the cultural milieu. The general theme of Kakar's writings deals with the study of 'Indianness of Indians'.⁴ Although Kakar uses concepts and theories of Western psychoanalysis, he however does not blindly apply these formulations on Indian subjects. He applies the Western concepts after modifying them to suit the Indian psyche, by using an inter-disciplinary approach the western concept are located in the Indian socio-cultural milieu. Thus Kakar has integrated psychological universality with socio-cultural specificity to present comprehensive and lucid description and analysis.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

From a discussion of methodological issues, we shall now turn to a discussion of the theoretical framework for this research. According to Ramkrishna Mukherjee (1979 : 7) there are two ways in which a theory can be used in

social research : (1) as a yardstick to explain a phenomenon or a system of variation on a deductive base and (2) in the form of an 'alternative hypothesis' to be tested on an inductive base in order to apprise its relative efficiency. In this research the theory is used as a 'yardstick' i.e. the theory is used to explain a phenomena or a system of variation. Data is hence explained in terms of a particular theory, different researchers may use different theories to fit a system of variation, the results differ depending on the which theory a researcher chooses, the results may sometimes even contradict each other. The choice of particular theory is based on aesthetic reasons and researchers preference, rather than on the efficacy of a theory.

A theoretical framework of this inter-disciplinary research comprises of the theoretical formulation of Freud's psychoanalytic theory and Arnold Van Gennep's theoretical formulation on the 'rites of passage'. This descriptive research on the rituals of transition is primarily located in a general theory of ritual put forward by Durkheim. This descriptive research on 'rites of passage' focuses on the function of these rituals, a sociological study grounded in the functional perspective of ritual put forward by Durkheim. To this primary frame of reference (Durkheim) is introduced Arnold Van Gennep's formulation on 'rites of

passage' a structural frame of reference which enriches our understanding of the processes of transition. Using the theoretical formulations of Durkheim and Van Gennep a relatively comprehensive description of 'rites of passage' to understand the processes and principles operating and governing the transition, can be attempted. Freud's formulations provides a perspective on the development of human personality during childhood and adolescence, as well as important insight into changes occurring during and after puberty. These psychoanalytic formulations are universal in character, they are as relevant to pre-industrial transition from childhood to adulthood and puberty as to modern day 'adolescence. This period of transition from childhood to adulthood can be analyzed using Freud's formulations, thus the formulations of Freud is the link connecting 'rites of passage' a primitive ritual and 'adolescence' a modern category. The use of Durkheim, Arnold van Gennep and Sigmund Freud provide a sociological, anthropological and psychological (specifically psychoanalytic) perspective in applying an inter-disciplinary approach, emphasizing the function and structure of 'rites of passage'. Since Durkheim's formulations on 'ritual has been discussed in the introduction. I shall in this chapter discuss Freud and Gennep.

SIGMUND FREUD

Psychoanalytic theory has been criticized by philosophers of science on many grounds, nevertheless I feel there is substances to the psychoanalytic theory that helps to explain a considerable part of human behavior and personality, more so with behavior which is beyond the realm of consciousness. It is specious to reject a theory because it does not confirm to any ideal type or because it does not fit a system of variation. By similar standards Darwin's theory of evolution can hardly qualify as scientific theory, yet to have rejected Darwin's theory for such a reason, would have impeded the growth of knowledge on the origin of species and evolution, so also is the case with Freud's psychoanalytic theory. Many of the drawbacks in Freud's formulation stem from the fact that Freud did not consider the socio-cultural impact. A number of drawbacks in Freud's theory can be overcome by using an interdisciplinary approach, sociological perspectives and anthropological perspective when incorporated into Freud's theory can help overcome these drawbacks. Kakar has modified and developed Freud's theory in the light of the socio-cultural environment.⁵ The period of transition from childhood to adulthood has been termed as 'adolescence' only after the industrial revolution in the 17th century. Prior to 17th century no term was given to this period of transition, this

period of transition before and after 17th century, has undergone many changes in form and nature. Regardless of whether this period of transition between childhood and adulthood is in pre 17th century or post 17th century, the biological fact of puberty and pubertal changes remain unaffected. Thus 'rites of passage' in primitive times and 'adolescence' in modern times can both be subjected to Freudian psychoanalysis, thus linking 'rites of passage' to 'adolescence'.

John Hopsers, (1959; 346-47), "There are expendable and non-expendable assertions in the Freudian corpus", talks about non-expendable assertions like significance of dreams, unconscious, defence mechanisms, etc. and expendable assertions like Eros-Thantos theory. For this research only those theoretical formulations of Freud which I feel are relevant are discussed, the other formulation form the expendable corpus. To understand human behavior and development of personality during the transition from childhood to adulthood in any historical period, I have relied upon Freud's formulations on 'sexuality' and the stages of 'development of personality' and finally changes occurring during and after puberty.

STAGES OF PSYCHO-SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT

Infantile Sexuality

Before Freud, there was a tendency to believe that 'sexuality' emerges in humans only after the onset of puberty. Freud's (1981 :88) notions on 'infantile sexuality' showed that humans begin their sexual life from the moment of birth and that one calls 'normally sexuality' is nothing but the final stage which man reaches after passing through stages of 'infantile sexuality'. The different stages of 'infantile sexuality' are :(1) Oral stage (2) Anal Stage, (3) Phallic stage (4) Latency period and (5) Genital stage. The oral stage is the first stage in the infantile sexual development. At this stage the organ - 'mouth' gives the child greatest sexual pleasure, it begins with the child sucking his mother's breast fulfilling not only a need for self-preservation but also to derive sexual gratification [Freud, S.1981: 95-99]. As the child grows up he substitutes his thumb for the breast, the 'mouth' is the primary organ for sexual gratification during the oral stage. The second stage is known as the 'anal stage', during this stage the 'anus' a human organ becomes a source of sexual pleasure. The anus and the process of defaecating provides sexual satisfaction. The child handles his own feces, refuses to defecate until

he chooses to do so and other forms of behaviour reflect the importance of anus and related processes in sexual gratification. The third stage is the 'phallic stage' the child now begins to take interest in his genitals during this stage. This stage is the closest approximation in the child to final form in adult life of normal sexuality. [Freud, S. 1981: 118]. The genitals are selected as sexual objects and pleasure is derived by normal and accidental stimulation of sexual organs.

The first three stages are followed by a relatively long period of 'Latency', in the first three stages the child derives pleasure through 'auto-eroticism', i.e. stimulation of one's own sexual objects, be it mouth, anus or genitals. The 'latency period' brings about important psychological changes and the child suppresses his sexuality. These changes enable the child to become a normal, socialized, civilized member of the society. Sexual development in human beings occur in two phases, the period or stage between these two phases is called the 'Latency stage'. This Latency stage is peculiar to human beings, and this fact has given birth to notions regarding the importance of this 'latency stage' for the development of human beings to higher form of civilization. During this 'latency' period the individual represses his or her sexuality, sexuality is repressed or inhibited by the

building up of the mental forces - disgust, feelings of shame and aesthetic and moral ideals (Freud, 1981 : 93). The twin processes of 'sublimation' and 'reaction-formation' denote the process of building up of mental forces of shame, disgust and morality to suppress and inhibit sexuality.

The fifth and last stage is called the 'Genital stage' when sexuality which was latent emerges at the onset of 'puberty'. Auto-eroticism and the erotogenic zones lose their relevance, and the genitals now emerges supreme as a sexual object. The genitals are no longer used for auto-eroticism but for performing normal sexual function. The earlier sexual objects are replaced by a new sexual object which is a member of the opposite sex. The beginning of this genital stage is the onset of puberty, this also marks the period of transition between childhood and adulthood, called 'adolescence' in post 17th century. The pre-genital stages are common for both boys and girls, and these stages occur in every individuals life span at any given historical period.

The Transformations of Puberty

With the arrival of puberty, changes set in which give the infantile sexuality its final shape. (Freud, 1981:127-169). The transformation of 'puberty' refer to two

aspects, firstly the subordination of all sources of sexual excitation under the primacy of the genital zones and, the second aspect refers to the finding of a sexual object. During the 'genital' stage of 'psycho-sexual' development of an individual, the supremacy of the genitals is established. Prior to 'puberty' the sexual development of male individual is quite similar to female sexual development, however with the onset of puberty sharp distinctions are established between male and female sexual development. Prior to puberty the leading erotogenic zone in females is located at the 'clitoris' and in the males it is the genital zone of 'glans penis'. With the arrival of 'puberty' there is an accession of 'libido'⁶ in male individuals and the libido in men is stimulated into activity. However in females there is a fresh wave of repression, the female holds herself back and denies her sexuality because of repression. The inhibitions of sexuality (shame, disgust and morality) takes place earlier in females than in males, also in the face of less resistance in females this second wave of repression or inhibition of sexuality in females is greater than in males (Freud 1981 : 141-144). While the erotogenic genital zone of 'glans penis' in male individuals retains its supremacy before and after 'puberty', in the female individuals however 'clitoris' loses its primacy as an erotogenic zone, the function of the 'clitoris' now is to

transmit sexual excitation to the adjacent female sexual parts at the time of performing a sexual act (Freud 1981 : 143). The second wave of repression in a female individual is related to this transference of sexual excitation from the 'clitoris' to the 'vaginal orifice'. The primacy of 'vaginal orifice' over 'clitoris' after puberty is responsible for the repression in women where by the female discards a portion of infantile masculinity (Clitoris) and transfers the primacy on to the new genital zone of 'vaginal orifice' (Freud 1981 : 159). Thus after 'puberty' there is a differentiation between male individuals and female individuals which arises out of the primacy of 'genitals' as an erotogenic zone and, the second wave of repression in females leading to a transfer of primacy of erotogenic zone from 'clitoris' to the 'vagina' in the genital area.

The second aspect of the 'pubertal' transformations refer to the finding of a sexual object. Prior to 'puberty' and the 'genital' stage the male/female individual indulges in auto-erotism, however with the arrival of 'puberty' auto-erotism is given up in favour of a new sexual object i.e. a member of the opposite sex. This process of finding an object refers to the psychical aspect of sexual development. During early infancy a sexual object other than the child's own body is his mother's breast, the mother's breast remains a prototype of

every relation of love and the psychological aspect of finding of a sexual object is in fact a redefining of early infantile object - 'mother' (Freud 1981 : 144-145). There are two ways of finding this sexual object for male individuals, firstly 'anaclitic' or 'attachment' based on attachment to early infantile prototype - 'mother'. The second way is called the 'narcissistic' where the individual seeks for his own ego and finds it in other people.

I shall now briefly present a few of Freud's formulations on various subjects which have relevance to this research. Freud (1955) deals with the subject 'incest', according to Freud at the beginning of civilization the ancestral patriach was slain by the jealous sons because of his monopoly over the females of the group. The patriach in turn punished their sons for their incestuous yearnings towards their mothers and, the son's desire to overthrow the authority of male elders of the group. Puberty rites in which male initials are circumcised celebrate this moment in human history by recreating these episodes through circumcision and genital mutilation. Circumcision in puberty rituals are seen according to Freud's formulations to signify the enforcement of castration complex by means of which the barrier against incest and regard for the patriarchal elders are reinforced. Freud (1955) in his work

'Totem and Taboo' argued that the barrier against incest is one of the historical acquisitions of mankind, and like other taboos is established in the psyche of an individual through organic inheritance. Thus taboos and totems are grounded in historical events which necessitated their establishment, the reasons or rationale for establishing elements or traces of these taboos, can get established in the human psyche through the process of organic inheritance.

The period of latency before puberty, is the time when an individual can erect restraints on sexuality in the form of a barrier against 'incest', the individual also develops a super-ego which embodies moral precepts and values which expressly exclude from the sexual object-choice, blood relations and others as given by the 'culture' of the individual.⁷ This barrier against incest is basically a cultural demand made by society, society must defend itself against this tendency of regressing back to infantile sexual object choice-'mother', and which consequently leads to incestuous relationship. It is in the interests of the society to prevent 'incest', the society seeks in all possible ways to remove the adolescent i.e. an individual after the onset of puberty before becoming an adult, from the realm of the family. The relationship with parents and family which is the only important relationship during infancy, is loosened and broken up by the society by

distancing the adolescent from the realm of parents and family, which acts as a barrier against incest. An important aspect of Freud's formulation deal with his perception of the role of women. The role of women is divided into two dichotomous roles of 'mother' and 'prostitute or harlot', while the role of mother is connected with 'affection' and the role of prostitute with 'sensual'. There are thus two dimensions to a female an affectual dimension symbolized by the mother, and secondly a sensual dimension symbolized by the prostitute.⁸ There is yet another explanation to this dichotomous distinction based on Freud's assertion that for primitive people, women is the subject of various taboos.⁹ A women is taboo not only in situations arising from her sexual life such as menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth etc. but also sexual relationship with women are subject to a number of taboos and restrictions. Thus all objects and process and relationships with the sexual life of women are subject to numerous restrictions and taboos. Primitive man created taboos when he feared something, thus taboos on the sexual life of women is based on man's inherent fear of women sensuality and sexuality, (Freud, 1981 : 261- 285). Since man fears a women's sensuality he attempts by socio-cultural means to control female sexual pre-potencies, this is reflected in the 'taboo of virginity' and the result is the

dichotomous division of 'affectual' from 'sensual' reflected in division between 'mother' and 'prostitute'.

Freud's' psychoanalytic concepts have been applied to study Indian phenomena by Sudhir Kakar. Whether it is a study of Indian childhood or Indian youth and identity. Indian healing traditions or the relation between husband and wife, Kakar has used Freudian theoretical formulations in his analysis. Kakar uses Freud's concept in the belief that psychoanalytic concept are subject to universal generalizations, however many of the drawbacks of Freudian corpus are overcome by Kakar who uses an inter-disciplinary approach. By locating psychoanalytic concepts in a socio-cultural milieu a comprehensive picture is presented which overcomes the drawbacks in Freudian corpus. Since psychoanalytic concepts are located in specific Indian socio-cultural milieu, this necessitates a modification in the Freudian corpus to suit Indian phenomena.

ARNOLD VAN GENNEP

Arnold Van Gennep's 'Les rites de passage' (1960) presents Gennep's analysis of ritual behaviour and its relation to the dynamics of individual and group life. 'Rites of Passage' are a category of rituals marking the transition of an individual through the life cycle,

integrating cultural experiences with biological destiny. Thus birth, reproduction, death, childhood, adulthood, and adolescence are all situations which mark the transition of the individual from one stage or role to another stage or role. 'Rites of passage' are rituals which symbolize these transitions in the life cycles of an individual. These periods of transition are called 'life crisis' by Gennep (1960) and all rituals which mark this life crisis can be analyzed in a sequence of three stages : (1) Separation (2) transition and (3) incorporation. However all these three stages are not equally emphasized by all people or in every set of ceremonies. Thus rites of separation may be more prominent in funeral rites, so also rites of incorporation may be prominent during marriages and transitional rites are emphasized in initiation rites. The analysis of 'rites of passage' in terms of these three stages is based on the 'dynamics' of rituals comprising of 'processes' and 'structures'.

The basic assumptions underlying Gennep's conceptual scheme are : (1) Gennep considered 'regeneration' as a law of life and of the universe, according to which the energy found in any system be it individual or the universe, is gradually spent and hence must be renewed at intervals. (2) Van Gennep accepted the dichotomy between the 'sacred' and 'profane', this idea is

central to the understanding of Gennep's formulations. Sacred is not an absolute value, but it has relative value ie. a person or individual who enters a status different to the status previously held is considered 'sacred' to others who remain in profane state. [van Gennep, 1960]. 'Rites of passage' based on these assumption can be described as rituals which lead to periodic regeneration of energy found in the system, this regeneration causes a change of status from profane to sacred.

The periods of transition or 'life crisis' require the passage of an individual from one defined position to an other equally well defined position. 'Rites of passage' effect this passage through the successive stage of 'separation' 'transition' and 'incorporation'. These stages comprise the structure of 'rites of passage' and all rituals connected with 'lifecrisis' show this basic structure. It must however be noted that all the three stages of the basic structure need not be developed or emphasized to the same extent by different cultures and in different forms of rituals. Thus one stage may be developed more than other stages and in specific instances the three stages are not equally important or equally elaborated. The order of stages is however always the same, with reference of 'rites of passage'. Gennep discusses a particular case of 'rites

of passage' in which the transitional period is sufficiently elaborated so as to constitute an independent entity or autonomy. For example a bethrotal forms a liminal period between adolescence and marriage, however the passage from adolescence to bethrotal itself involves a series of rites of passage [van Gennep, 1960]. According to Solon, T. Kimball who has translated van Gennep's work into English, in Radcliffe - Brown's work on the Andaman Islanders, Solomon T. Kimball finds a validation of Gennep's Schema.

A.R. Radcliffe-Brown

A.R. Radcliffe-Brown (1948 : 91-106) presents a description and analysis of the 'initiation rites' among the Andaman Islanders. The basic process of these initiation rites are as follows :- The initiate has to undergo ritual restrictions, for example avoidance of food like turtle, dugong, porpoise etc. At the appointed hour during this ritual these ritual restrictions or taboos are ritually broken, the initiate is made to sit on the leaves of Hibiscus Tiliaceus, in the event of their non-availability the leaves of Myristica Congifolia are used. A food tray containing turtle meat and fat is placed beside the initiate, an officiating elder then rubs the turtle fat and the meat all over the body of the initiate and then the elders feed the initiate with their own hands. 'Odu' a

mixture of clay is used to paint the body of the initiate, these processes are performed during the first three days of the initiation rite. The morning of the fourth day a communal dance is organized in which the initiate occupies a central position. All members participating in the dance hold in their hand a bundle of Hibiscus Tiliaceus twigs and a song referring to turtle eating is played for the communal dance. A communal turtle eating ceremony is followed by giving a new name to the initiate who now becomes a full-fledged member of the society.

Radcliffe-Brown interprets the function of the initiation rite as a restorative of moral sentiments which have been disturbed through changes in the social life of the group. Radcliffe - Brown (1952 : 139) uses the term 'ritual value' to denote any person, material thing, object, a place, a word or name, an occasion or event a time and period, which is the object of ritual avoidance or taboo. Rituals possess 'ritual value' which is expressive of a definite attitude towards ritual phenomena. The 'ritual value' is thus reflected in the conduct adopted towards these phenomenon which could be one of either avoidance or indulgence. Ritual acts according to Radcliffe-Brown are symbolic acts, the meanings of the symbolism can be ascertained from the ritual value. A ritual according to Radcliffe-Brown also possesses a social value which refers to

the function of the ritual in a given social structure i.e. the social efficacy of ritual . An important point made by Radcliffe-Brown regarding the interpretation of the meaning and symbolism of ritual acts is that it is the observer who has to unearth and ascertain the meaning and symbolism. This is because the actor or participating individuals are not aware of the meaning of the ritual acts.

In the case of the Andaman islanders the ritual abstention of certain items of food and the subsequent breaking of restrictions ritually can be analyzed by considering the 'social value' of food in the Andaman society. Food in this society is an individuals most valuable possession, it is considered an important cause for social euphoria and dysphoria, for personal happiness and sorrow. It is the duty of every individual male to provide food for himself and his fellowmen.. Thus food is considered sacred and treated with respect and regard. It is considered dangerous to show disregard for food. Thus turtle meat is sacred, valuable and also potentially dangerous hence to be treated with respect. The ritual abstention, the ritualized break of this abstention, the rubbing of fat and meat on the initiate, the communal turtle feast are all symbolic acts whose social efficacy or function is to inculcate in the initiate a sense of duty

regarding food gathering and also a sense of respect and regard for food. The Hibiscus leaves, twigs and the painting of the 'odu' perform the function of acquainting the initiate to the potential danger of food since it is sacred and requires a particular form of conduct towards food. The new name given to the initiate and the communal dance are invested with the 'social value' whereby the community ceremonially invests the initiate with a social personality. the initiate now becomes a full-fledged member of the social group, the dance expresses not only the inculcation of the novice into the society, but also establishes social solidarity and unity in the community. The 'social value' or efficacy of the initiation rite according the Radcliffe Brown can be determined by analyzing the function of the ritual in a given social structure. The initiation rite socializes the initiate, expresses group solidarity and thereby ensures a smooth functioning of the society.

Thus in this chapter I have discussed methodological issues like the area, aim and problematic of this research. The discussions of methodological aspects of firstly, the type of research and secondly, the interdisciplinary approach, are followed by a presentation of the theoretical framework applied in this research. Finally I have presented the work of Radcliffe-Brown who in

my opinion provides an excellent application of a theoretical framework which in many aspects is similar to the one I have used in this research; the analysis of the structure and function of "rites of passage".

1. Refer to Eliade's article 'Initiation' in the 'The Encyclopedia of Religion', Ed. Mircea Eliade [Vol. 7 : 226].
2. Refer to La Fontaine [1972].
3. An inter-disciplinary approach using Sociological, Psychological and Anthropological perspectives provides the co-ordinates of the society, the individual and culture.
4. Refer to Kakar [1978, 1979, 1982] on the subjects - Indian childhood and Indian healing traditions.
5. Refer to Kakar, S. and Chowdhury, K. (1970) where Kakar argues that the closeness of the male child to his mother results in the super-ego of the male encompassing the values of both his father and his mother. This is an excellent example of Kakar's application of Freudian concepts on Indian subjects, a location of psychoanalytic concepts in a socio-cultural milieu.
6. Freud [1981 : 138-141] conceptualizes 'libido' as energy or force in the form of which sexual desire manifests itself. Libido for Freud is basically masculine.
7. Refer to Freud, S. [1981 : pp. 148-151, 313-320] on the subject 'barrier against incest' and 'dissolution of Oedipal complex'.
8. Refer to Freud [1957: Vol. 11 : pp. 163-175, 177-190] where the 'mother' 'whore' dichotomy is discussed.
9. Refer to Freud, S. [1981 : 261 - 285] on the 'taboo of women, blood and virginity'.

CHAPTER III

DATA ON 'UPANAYANA' RITUAL AND

'MENSTRUAL' RITUAL

In this chapter I shall present the 'data' to which will be applied the concepts, theories and constructs laid down in the previous two chapters. I shall first discuss the nature of this 'data' before presenting a factual account of the 'data'. The aim of this research is a description and analysis of 'rites of passage' symbolizing the transition of an individual from childhood to adulthood, with reference to the Hindu experience. Since the research describes and analyses 'rites of passage' within a Hindu context, consequently the 'data' for this research is collected from Hindu sources. The 'data' comprises of the 'Upanayana' rite for male initiation and the 'rite marking the first menstruation' for female puberty rite. These two rituals are selected to represent 'rites of passage' marking the transition from childhood to adulthood in the Hindu context.

Having selected the representative 'rites of passage' for male and female gender in the Hindu context', the next step is to define the sources from which 'data' is collected. There are two main sources of 'data' in social science research, the first source relies on 'paper' sources or written sources, the second source relies upon observation of people or phenomenon. In this research the source of data is written paper sources, hence all forms of observation and use of questionnaire and interview

techniques are automatically ruled out. In this research on 'rites of passage' I have collected data essentially from paper or written sources like manuscripts, documents, monographs, records and reports. The data is not based on my personal experience or observation, the data is collected primarily from written descriptions of these rituals appearing in print i.e. published in form of articles books, reports and records. Published literature provides description, presentation of facts and figures and other basic data which constitute the arguably objective part, the other part is the subjective part which reflect the impressions perceptions and interpretations based on the objective data. While the subjective part has its importance, for the purpose of research one is free to accept or reject, completely or partly this subjective part. Depending on the nature of the problematic, the basic assumptions and hypothesis and the theoretical methodological framework, a single set of 'data' can provide different subjective aspects and interpretations.

The 'data' in the case of this research on the 'rites of passage' comprises of the description of the rules governing the performance of the 'Upanayana ritual' for Hindu male initiation rites and the ritual celebrating first menstruation for Hindu female individuals. The

collection of data is limited to presenting a description of the performance of these two rituals. The data collected from published literature with reference to this research, concentrates on the objective part of this literature comprising of the explicit rules and prescriptions governing the performance of these rituals. While subjective interpretations of the performance of these rituals are indispensable to an understanding of these rituals phenomena, these subjective interpretations however do not constitute any part of the 'data'. It is the of course arguably objective descriptions of the performance of these rituals, which will constitute the data presented in this research. Upon this 'data' will be projected out understanding and empathy, leading to description, explanation and analysis of these 'rituals' in the light of the theoretical methodological framework of this research.

The 'Upanayana' ritual is a Hindu initiation ritual which has been in practice since early Vedic period. So also in the Hindu tradition the puberty ritual of the first menstruation for female is in practice since the Vedic period. Male initiation rites in general have been the subject of extensive description and analysis, they have been subjected to varied theoretical formulations and consequently there is a vast fund of information on male initiation rites. On the other hand female puberty rites

have generally not been subjected to such extensive analysis and interpretations, also with reference to theoretical formulations on this rites, there is definitely a dearth of information compared to its male counterpart.

In the case of Hindu tradition however it is quite the opposite, the 'Upanayana' ritual representing male initiation has not been subjected to much ethnographic description and observation. The female puberty ritual marking the first menstruation has been subjected to much ethnographic description and analysis. This being the case one can hardly find any ethnographic monographs presenting the observation description and analysis of the 'Upanayana' ritual. In the case of female puberty rituals one can find a number of ethnographic monographs by social science researchers like Yalman, N. (1963), Gough, K (1955) and Lin^a Fruzzetti (1982) and others. Thus in general male initiation rites have been more extensively described and analyzed than female puberty rites, in the specific case of the Hindu tradition the reverse holds good. Thus while there is a dearth of ethnographic monographs on the 'Upanayana' ritual, there is on the other hand a number of ethnographic monographs dealing with puberty rites. This being the situation with reference to the Hindu tradition, the sources used for collection of data on 'Upanayana'

ritual is different from that of female puberty rites. The rules and procedures for performing the 'Upanayana' ceremony are laid down in the Vedic texts the 'Dharmashastras'. The 'data' for this research requires a description of rules and procedures governing the performance of the 'Upanayana' ritual. Since there are hardly any monographs providing such a description, I have therefore, drawn the data from various sources whose primacy source is the Dharmashastras. In the case of female puberty rites in the Hindu tradition there are a number of ethnographic monographs. I have selected data from ethnographic monographs dealing with the puberty ritual marking the first onset of menstruation, specifically with relation to 'patrilineal societies' and not matrilineal societies.

An indepth exposition of various aspects of these two rituals is undertaken separately while presenting the data collected on these two rituals. The 'Upanayana' ritual and the 'menstrual' rite are chosen to represent male and female, 'rites of passage' symbolizing, transition of an individual from childhood to adulthood status, in the Hindu society. The 'data' constituting of the description of the performance of the 'Upananyana' and 'menstrual' rituals is presented below.

The rules and procedures governing the performance of the 'Upanayana' ritual are found in the Dharmashastras. Different commentaries on Dharmashastras exhibit more or less the same features because the Dharmashastras do not present different set of rules. The Dharmashastras present a single concrete unalterable set of rules governing the performance of the 'Upanayana' ritual. N.N. Bhattacharyya (1968) presentation of an account of the 'Upanayana' ritual as given in the Asvatayana Grhyasurtra, and an account of the different steps marking the complete performance of the 'Upanayana' ritual found in the 'Hindu World : An Encyclopedic Survey of Hinduism : constitute the data on the initiation rites in the Hindu tradition.

In the case of female puberty rites marking first menstruation, I have considered ethnographic data on these rituals in a patrilineal society. Two ethnographic descriptions on the 'menstrual rites' constitute the data presented in this research. Bennett L., (1983) and Fruzzetti L. (1984) provide the two descriptions of 'menstrual rites' which constitute data on puberty rites in this research.

UPANAYANA RITUAL

The 'Upanayana' ritual is a composite ritual, it symbolizes initiation into student life, initiation into

religious life and initiation into manhood. The 'Upanayana' ritual has undergone historical evolution, during the earliest stage of its evolution it was a tribal puberty rite signifying a transition of an individual to the status of manhood. During the course of time the 'Vedic' texts became crystallized and out of it emerged a different social structure. In early Vedic period females could perform the 'Upanayana' ritual along with the males. During this time the scope of 'Upanayana' ritual' was extended to encompass initiation into religious life, as a precondition of studenthood. Gradually the females were excluded from performing the 'Upanayana' ritual'. So also only the upper castes : 'Brahman', 'Kshatriya' and 'Vaisya' could perform this ritual. This 'Upanayana' ritual took on overtones of religious initiation as a precondition of student-hood, however this Brahmanical 'Upanayana' ritual has retained traces of initiation into manhood. In the post-industrial society the 'Upanayana' ritual' is still performed, however due to the tremendous socio-cultural and other changes in modern society, the 'Upanayana ritual' has become a purely formal token -initiation into Brahmanahood, it is no longer representative of initiation into either religious education or adulthood.

An individual is called the 'twice born' after the performance of the 'Upanayana' ritual', 'twice born'

signifies the social birth of an individual and this entitles the individual to be admitted to the privileges of his caste and access to religious education. The 'Hindu World : An Encyclopedic Survey of Hinduism' (1983) Ed. Benjamin Walker has presented the fifteen steps marking the complete performance of the 'Upanayana' ritual'.

1. The boy wearing only a 'Kaupina' or loin-cloth was brought before the guru or preceptor thus giving the name 'Upanayana' to the whole ceremony.
2. In the 'paridana 'giving', the father requests the guru to accept the boy as a brahmachari student under his care, and then formally gives him into the custody of the guru.
3. The Guru in turn bands the boy over to the care of the Gods, Savitri, Pushan, the Asvins, Soma, Agni and Prajapati.
4. The 'namā prichchha 'name asking', the teacher asks the boy's name and other particulars.
5. In the svikarana 'accepting', the teacher extends his hand and touches the boy's thumb, hand, or shoulder as a token of acceptance.

6. The teacher then offers the boy a vaikaksha (upper garment) made of cloth and also a lower garment vasa.
7. The Guru ties around the boy's waist the mekhala 'girdle' made of triple cord. It was from the mantel and girdle that the sacred thread of the twice born evolved.
8. The Guru gives the neophyte a danda or staff, symbolizing the beginning of his long journey to perfection.
9. In the anjali-purana 'palm-filling' the Guru fills his cupped hands with water and empties them into the cupped hands of his pupil intoning mantras through out.
10. The asmarohana or 'stone-mounting' takes place, the Guru commands the student to mount a stone and enjoins him, "Like this stone be steadfast and firm".
11. This followed by the rite of dadhi-prasana 'curd-eating' in which the pupil is given some curd to eat, as a sign that he should clear his mind and ingest what is taught.
12. In the aditya-darsana 'sun showing' the pupil is shown the sun and it is explained to him that the light of the sun should be his ideal in his quest for knowledge.
13. Then comes the savitri vrata or the rules governing the Savitri Gayatri mantra, which is the climax of the

'Upanayana' ceremony. Only after this is the student formally taken in charge and accepted as a member of the twice born.

14. The samidh-adana 'firewood receiving', consists of the placing of a piece of sacrificial wood by the pupil into the fire chanting the mantra, 'May fire put intelligence in me, progeny in me and lustre in me'. This part of the ceremony symbolized the students right to tend the sacrificial fire and take active part in religious rites from now on.
15. The ceremony concludes with the rite of agni pradakshina 'fire circumbulation', when the student walks around the sacred fire."

These fifteen steps generally mark the performance of the 'Upanayana' ritual'.

The rules and dictates governing the performance of the 'Upanayana' ritual' are found in the Dharmashastras. The word 'Upanayana' literally means leading or taking near, the reference to acarya or teacher for instruction is unmistakable. Bhattacharyya N.N., (1968) has presented an account of the 'Upanayana' ritual as given in the Asvatayana Grhyasutraa. The Asvatayana Grhyasutra prescribes the 8th, 12th and 16th year, either from birth or from conception as

the age for performance of the 'Upanayana' ritual respectively of the Brahmanas, Ksatriyas and Vaisyas. Consequently the 16th, 22nd and 24th years circumscribe the upper limit before which the 'Upanayana' ritual has to be performed respectively for the three twice born castes. The rules laid down in the Asvatayana Grhyasutra are as follows:

1.19.

1. In the eight year let him initiate a Brahmana
2. Or in the eight year after the conception.
3. Or in the twelfth a Ksatriya
4. In the sixteenth a Vaisya
5. Until the sixteenth year the time has not passed for a Brahmana
6. Until the twentysecond for a Ksatriya
7. Until the twenty-fourth for a Vaisya.
8. After that (time has passed) they become Patitasavitrka (i.e. they have lost their right to learning Savit-mantra).
9. No one should initiate such men, nor teach them, nor perform sacrifices for them, nor have intercourse with them.
10. (Let him initiate) the youth who is adorned and whose (hair on the) head is arranged, who wears a (new) garment that has not been washed, or on skin if he is a

Brahmana, the skin of a spotted deer if a Ksatriya, a goat's skin, if a Vaisya.

11. If they put on garments, they should put on dyed (garments) the Brahmana a reddish yellow one, the Ksatriya a light red one, the Vaisya a yellow one.

12. The girdles are that of a Brahmana made of munja grass, that of a Ksatriya a bow string, that of a Vaisya wollen.

13. Their staffs are : that of a Brahmana of 'patasa' wood, that of a Ksatriya of 'udumbara' wood, that of a Vaisya of 'vilva' wood.

1.20.

1. Or all (sorts of staffs are to be used) by (men) of all (castes).

2. While (the student) takes hold of him, the teacher sacrifices and then stations himself to the north of the fire, with his face turned to the east.

3. To the east (of the fire) with his face to the west other one.

4. (The teacher then) fills the two hollows of (his own and the student's) joined hands with water, and with

the verse that we choose Savitr he makes with the full (hollow) of his (i.e. the students hands). Having thus poured (the water over his hands) he should with his (own) hand seize his (i.e. the students') together with the thumb, with (the formula), 'by the impulse of the God Savitr, with the arms of the two Asvins, with Pusan's hands I seize thy hand, N.N'.

- 5.6 With (the words), Savitr has seized they hand N.N.' a second time with (the words), Agni is thy teacher N.N.'; a third time.
7. He should cause him to look at the sun while the teacher says 'god Savitre, this is thy Brahmacin, protect him; may he not die'.
8. (And further the teacher says) 'whose Brahmacin art thou ? The breath's Brahmacin art thou. Who does initiate thee, and whom does (he initiate) To whom shall I give thee in charge ?
9. With a half verse, 'youth well attired, dressed came hither' he should cause him to turn round from the left to the right.
10. Reaching with his two hands over his (i.e. the student's) shoulder (the teacher) should touch the place of his heart with the following (half verse).

11. Having wiped the ground round the fire the student should put on a piece of wood silently. 'Silence indeed is what belongs to Prajapati. The student becomes belonging to Prajapati... this is to be understood (in the Smrti).

1.21.

1. Some (do this) with a mantra: 'To Agni I have brought a piece of wood, to the great Jatavedas. Though that piece of wood increase thou, O Agni, through the Brahman (may) we(increase), Svaha".

2. Having put the fuel (on the fire) and having touched the fire, he three times wipes off his face with (the words), 'with splendour I anoint myself'.

3. For the splendour does he anoint himself...this is understood (in the Sreeti)

4. "On me may Agni bestow insight, on me offspring, on me splendor".

"On me may Indra bestow insight, on me offspring, on me strength.

"On me may Surya bestow insight, on me offspring on me radiance.

"What thy splendour is, Agni, may I thereby come resplendent.

"What thy vigour is, Agni, may I thereby become vigorous.

"What is thy consuming power, Agni, may I thereby obtain consuming power"

With (these formulas) he should approach the fire, bend, his knee, embrace (the teacher's feet) and say to him 'Recite Sir: the Sairtr, Sir, recite".

5. Seizing with his (i.e. the student's) garment with (his own hands) (the student's) hand (the teacher) recites the Savitr (first) pada by pada, (then) hemistich by hemistich and finally the whole (verse)
6. He should make him recite (the Savitr) as far as he is able.
7. On the place of his (i.e. the student's) heart (the teacher) lays his hand with the fingers upwards with (the formula) , "Into my will I take thy heart; after my mind shall thy mind follow ; in my word thou shalt rejoice with all thy will; may Brhaspati join thee to me".

1.22

1. Having tied the girdle round him and giving him the staff he should impose the (observances of the) Brahmacharya on him...

2. (with the words), 'A Brahmacharin art thou. Drink water. Do the service. Do not sleep in the day time. Devoted to the teacher, study the Veda'.
3. Twelve years lasts the Brahmacharya for (each) Veda, or until he has learnt it.
4. Let him beg (food) in the evening and in the morning.
5. Let him put fuel on (the fire) in the evening and in the morning.
6. Let him first beg of a man who will not refuse.
7. Or of a woman who will not refuse.
8. (In the begging he should use the words) ' Sir, give me food'.
9. Or (Sir give) anupravacaniya (food)
10. That(which he has received) he should announce to his teacher.
11. He should stand the rest of the day.
12. After the sunset (the student) should cook the Brahmaudana (or boiled rice with which the Brahmanas are to be fed) for the anupravacaniya sacrifice (the sacrifice to be performed after a part of the Veda has been studied) and shall announce to the teacher (that it is ready).
13. The teacher should sacrifice while the student takes hold of him with the verse, 'The wonderful Lord of the above'.

14. A second time with Savitr .
15. And whatever else has been studied afterwards.
16. A third time to the Rsis.
17. A fourth time (the oblation) to (Agni) Suistakrt.
18. Having given food to the Brahmanas he should cause them to pronounce the end of the Veda (study).
19. From that time (the student) should eat no soline food; he would observe chastity, and should sleep on the ground through three nights, or twelve nights or one year.
20. When he has fulfilled those observances (the teacher) performs (for him) the 'production of intelligence' in the following way.
21. While (the student) towards an unobjectionable direction (on the horizon) sprinkles thrice(water) from the left to the right with a waterpot round a patasa (the teacher) causes him to say 'O glorious one, thou art glorious. As thou, O glorious one, lead me to glory. As thou art the preserver of the treasure of sacrifice for the gods, thus I may become the preserver of the treasure of the Veda for men.'
22. Thereby, beginning with having the hair cut, and ending with the giving incharge, the imposing of observances has been declared.

23. Thus for one who has not been initiated before.
24. Now as regards one who has been initiated before.
25. The cutting of hair is optional.
26. And the production of intelligence.
27. Or the giving in charge there are no express rules.
28. And on the time.
29. (He should recite to him) as the Savitr, That we chose of the god Savitr.

MENSTRUAL RITUAL

Although women's puberty rituals are widely practiced in Indian society, it has however not received the degree of attention compared to male initiation rituals. Very few female 'puberty rites' : 'rites of passage' marking puberty, have been reported or described in detail and fewer still subjected to rigorous analysis applying alternative perspectives. The subject of female puberty rituals in the context of the Hindu tradition, have been discussed by Yalman, N. (1963: 25-28), who analysed rituals of initiation in the context of the local Kinship group, to highlight the relation between these rituals and the caste system. According to Yalman, the Sinhalese of Ceylon and the Nayars of India show similarity with reference to the performance of these rituals. Yalman relates the concept of 'purity' to

the 'caste' or 'kinship' concepts. 'Filiation through the mother, and the protection of female purity is fundamental to the caste system of Ceylon and Malabar and these principles may have structural implications in other Hindu castes (Yalman, N., 1963 : 25). "These rituals according to Yalman have social significance in that, they mark transition from sexually neutral status to a mature status and, subsequently they play a role in the marriage of the female individual.

Kathleen, Gough (1955) has studied female initiation rites among the Nayars who are an exogamous matrilineal group, living on the Malabar coast. The 'tale-tying' rituals and the 'sambandam' rituals are analysed from the perspective of the women's sexuality and purity. According to Gough these rituals have no social function, she hence presents a psychoanalytic analysis whereby these rituals are perceived as 'symbolic defloration'. The taboo against incest is thus fundamental to the psychoanalytic analysis of initiation rites presented by Gough.¹

The 'data' for the research is drawn from Lina Fruzzetti's [1984] description of 'menstrual rituals' in Bengal. The Bengal Hindu society portrays patrilineal form of descent and kinship which are interrelated. Fruzzetti has presented a very comprehensive description of the

performance of the 'menstrual rites'. Furthermore, the data relates to a patrilineal kindred society unlike Gough who deals with matriliney. In this research the problematic confronts the question of 'gender' as not only a biological fact, but more importantly as a socio-cultural construction which is by and large androcentric. A patrilineal system offers by way of uniformity a consistent depiction of the issue of 'gender, which is definitely androcentric. The presence of a patrilineal system or society and, a very comprehensive description of the 'menstrual rites' have influenced my decision to draw the 'data' for this research from Fruzzetti Lina (1982).

Lina Fruzzetti (1984 : 165-169) has described the performance of the 'menstrual ritual' in Bengal as follows : "In Bengal the menstrual ritual takes place before or after the girl has achieved puberty. The ideal is to perform the ritual before the girl actually achieves puberty, but even if it isn't the ritual is enacted in the same way. A woman beyond child bearing age aids the girl e.g. a grandmother, a distant classificatory, FZ or any women from one's caste group or neighbourhood. (Similarly, a bride-to-be is introduced to matters concerning sex and the meaning of marriage by women who are past child bearing age.) A mother of MZ does not take part in the ritual. The girl is secluded in a dark room for three days and is given special food to

eat [fruit and dried foods]. A 'nora' (a stone pestle used daily in Bengali households for grinding spices) is placed on her lap. Seclusion lasts for three days, the girl remaining within the confines of the room and only seeing the person attending her. On the fourth day she is taken to a pond for a ritual bath. She is dressed in new clothing unless she is already married, in which case she wears her marriage saree (lojja bastra). She is fed and blessed by three, five or seven women, the same number who take part in other stri acars (women's rituals performed at the various life cycle rituals). The women place five different kinds of sweetmeats and fruits on the initiate's acal (end part of the saree) as food offerings. The girl does not eat the food offerings, 'her own fruit", which symbolizes her maturity, sexuality, and femaleness. Instead she gives to very young pre-puberty boys and girls of the neighbourhood. From now on she is a "fruit" for men in other lineages (an expression often used for a girl about to be married is "the fruit has ripened").

In a sense the ritual transforms an immature girl into a woman, one who is capable of producing children for the lineage. A woman's 'matri shakti', the dormant female divine, power is activated; it is precisely the activation of the 'matri shakti' that causes the girl to be dangerous

while remaining in her father's household. Though the girl is afterwards reborn. The three days of seclusion are looked upon as seclusion from the society of the living, as a symbolic severance from one's past state. This is similar to the three day seclusion married women experience each month.

Married women are polluted and inactive for the first days of each menstrual cycle. Though she is not physically secluded from the rest of the family, a menstruating married woman does not partake in either daily chores or in sacred activities of the house. On the fourth day she goes through the bathing ritual after which she resumes an active life. She resumes worshipping the household deities, and cooking and feeding the young and elder members of the household. On the fourth day she can resume use of the symbols of married woman, vermilion and oil, which married women apply daily to their parted hairline and to their iron and conch shell bangles. Here we see that the three days a married woman stops using "married" symbols (with the exception of the iron bangle which is kept on throughout one's husband's lifetime) coincides with the ritual encountered by pre-puberty girls. A married menstruating woman is deprived use of the married symbols because of her polluted state whereas a girl going through the pre-puberty rites is separated from society since she is changing her status-neuter to maturity. The

married women observing menstrual pollution, however, is still recognized as married even though she avoids using certain objects on certain days of the month. Being polluted in this sense is not equated with being dead in which case even the iron and conch shell bangles have to be removed.

'What does the ritual change?' The performance of the menstrual rites makes the virgin's sexuality 'operative'. The Kumari's (pre-puberty), dormant 'matri shakti' is symbolically set in motion. A 'dagar meye', a full grown but unmarried girl, becomes a danger to men of her father's house: she could ruin her father's line. Although the girl becomes auspicious with the coming of menstrual blood this maturity can be a major concern for her brothers and father, if she remains unmarried for a long period of time. It is only through the change of status (again) from an unmarried girl to a married women that the fear of polluting her father's house is removed. The girl through marriage, is able to carry the male seed (by) for procreation. For the husband's line she is conceived of as a divinity, is introduced as a divinity, and is treated as a prospective mother. She and the other incoming women are the long legitimate bearers of children for the line.....

The fourth day of either the menstrual or marriage rituals establishes the person into a new setting as either a mature women or a married women. In the case of an unmarried girl she is now ready for marriage; her maturity is announced to other male lines within the same caste. The marriage ritual is finalized by the consummation of the marriage. Each category of women, married or unmarried, is now in a different status than before the ritual enactment."

While Fruzzetti has presented an excellent analysis and interpretation, which has contributed immensely to my understanding of the 'menstrual rituals' in Bengal, nevertheless the data for this research is drawn primarily from her description of the ritual. Fruzzetti's description of the 'menstrual' ritual constitutes the data for this research with reference to female 'rites of passage' in the patrilineal Hindu society. To this data will be applied the theoretical - methodological framework discussed in the previous chapter. This being the case, my interpretation and analysis is expected to differ to a lesser or greater degree from Fruzzetti's analysis, even though the data has been drawn from Fruzzetti (1984 : 157-179).

The second ethnographic description of the data on puberty rites for this research is given by Lynn Bennett [1983]. Bennett L. [1983] has presented a description of

'menstrual' ritual among the Hindu society in Nepal. Bennett has analysed the menstrual ritual with reference to both unmarried and married girls in the Hindu society in Nepal. The data for this research examines the 'menstrual' ritual in the context of the unmarried girls only. According to Bennett L [1983 : 165] the status of female individuals in the patrilineal society is extremely ambiguous and ambivalent. Female individuals cannot achieve full ritual status in the patrilineal groups, a female individual is a full member of her 'natal' lineage to the extent that this membership in her 'natal' lineage is central or fundamental to the decision on her marriage. The membership in 'natal' lineage decides the lineage into which a female individual can marry. After marriage when she goes to live with her husband, she achieves full social and religious membership in her husbands lineage. However in her husbands lineage her status is lower to other female members of this lineage, the status of the daughter-in-law is lower than the daughters of the lineage. According to Bennet L. [1983 : 52-55] in the patrilineal society of Nepal, the sacred thread ceremony is exclusively for males, an equivalent transition from childhood to adulthood in female individuals, is not even considered as a 'samskara'. The 'menstrual' rite in this patrilineal society is called the 'Gupha Basne' ritual.

According to Bennett L. [1983 : 214] the female 'body' is a symbol around which are constructed various perceptions and concepts on femininity. The conception of femininity in a patrilineal society is constructed around the 'female body'. The element of 'menstrual blood' is the central symbol of the female body, so much so the female body does not possess a distinct identity when there is no reference to 'menstrual blood'. The ambivalence and ambiguity connected to the female status is based on the social construction of female sexuality. 'Menstrual blood' is the central physiological symbol of female sexuality. It is thus the contradictory social conception of 'menstrual blood' which result in the ambivalent, ambiguous status of women. This status of a woman can be perceived in terms of purity and pollution, where the status of 'purity' results in positive connotations and attitudes towards female sexuality. So also the 'impure' status gives rise to a different contradictory attitudes towards a woman's sexuality. The menstrual blood has positive connotations, build around the concept of 'purity' when menstrual blood is taken to signify fertility. Since a high positive value is placed on procreation and giving birth to an offspring for the continuation of patrilineal lineage, the 'menstrual' blood with reference to fertility and procreation of

'menstrual blood' is related to the concept "ritu dan" (season of fertility)

The ambivalence in womens sexualilty present a contradictory Hindu attitude towards female sexuality, giving rise to the concept of impurity. The attitude of a patrilineal Hindu society towards female sexuality, without any reference to proceation, has been aptly summarised by Carstairs, G. [1967 : 153]; "Sexual love is considered the keenest pleasure known to the senses. But is is felt to be destructive to a man's physical and spiritual well being. Women are powerful, demanding, seductive - and ultimately destructive" A womens menstrual period is a clear cut manifestation of a female's sexuality, the 'menstrual' rituals prescribe severe rules and regulations to be followed by the female initiate. This provides the patrilinear society a measure of control to curtail the potentially unruly destructives forces of female sexuality and, consequently to direct female sexuality towards socially acceptable objective - 'procreation' to carry on the male lineage.

GUPHA BASNE

Bennett L. [1983 : 234] presents an account of the ritual : 'Gupha Basne', this is the female menstrual ritual in the patrilineal society. The term 'Gupha' refers to a

cave, in Nepal the ritual of 'Gupha Basne' refers to the ritual of seclusion of menstruating girls in a cave. Seclusion in a cave is of course symbolic, the basic theme is derived from this symbolic seclusion. Among the patrilineal societies of Nepal, a female individual before the onset of her first menstruation is considered pure, they are perceived as the embodiment of the female 'goddess'. The onset of the first menstruation changes the 'pure' status to one of 'impurity'. The rules and prescriptions for the performance of the 'Gupha Basne' ritual are strictly followed in the case of unmarried girls and, in the case of married girls we find laxity in following rules governing the performance of this ritual.

Seclusion is the central theme of these menstrual rituals. Before the onset of menstruation, the girl is covered with a shawl by her mother and she is taken away from her home, through the back door. The female individual is taken to the house of an old high caste widow located far away from her own house. The aim and objective of such a separation to a distant place can be found in the rules and dictates regarding these rituals. The rules state that a girl is to be separated so far that she will not be able to see her own house (father's house in this case of unmarried girls), so also she should neither be able to see her father

or brother's faces, nor should she be able to even near their voices. The father and brother too should not either see or hear the female initiate. She is covered by shawl by her mother so that the Sun deity should not see her. Thus separated from her father's house, the female individual is kept secluded in the house of an old high caste widow.

The female in this new place of residence is kept secluded for a period of 12 to 22 days. During the first three days of her seclusion the menstruating girl is not allowed to enter the kitchen, touch food or water that others will drink or eat, or even worship the 'Gods' or the 'ancestor spirits'. She should not comb her hair or oil it and she sleeps separately in a downstairs room, this room is to be dark and no sun rays are allowed to enter in this dark room. The girl is also to remain out of sight of all males for the first three days. Food, water and a brasspan for bodily eliminations were brought to the female kept in the dark room. The food is to be taken without salt and the female generally has only one meal a day, the rest of the day the female is expected to maintain a 'fast' [Bennett 1983: 215-2].

On the fourth day, the girl gets up early in the morning, much before the sunrise and goes to the river to take a ritual bath. Prior to this the girl is not allowed to

come out of her seclusion in the dark room, on the fourth day before sunrise, she is accompanied by an other older women to a river where she takes a bath, this is a ritualized bath which is meant to purify the menstruating girl. After this ritual bath the girl is allowed to eat normal food, she may now even go out of her seeluded darkroom, 'gupha', however, she may leave her room only before sunrise. With menstruation begins the 'taruni' period in a females life, the 'taruni' period characterizes a female as healthy, sexually attractive and desirous of admiration despite the females' inherent shyness. 'Taruni' denotes the sexual maturity of a female [Bennett L. 1983:].

The rituals of purification after the 'gupha basne' are performed on the 12th, 15th or the 22nd day after menstruation. After a ritual bath, a 'Puja' is performed to the 'sun' deity, the girl then gives offerings to the family priest and takes his blessings, thus ritually purifying herself after menstruation. A shawl is held between the family priest and the girl so that the family priest does not get to see the female at the time of the offering. The girl must also receive from her father and brothers a red dhoti and blouse, she must also receive 'daksina' from them, before she can be seen by them or enter her own house (father's house). According to Bennett [1983] the father's gift is not a symbol of sexual claim, it is rather a symbol

of acknowledgement of her sexuality and fertility and, the need to transfer the female's sexuality, and fertility to an other lineage through 'marriage'. Bennett L [1983:] points out the norms and values of the patrilineal society, which are sought to be ingrained in an initiated female. These norms and values are those of obedience, duty, harmony, the good of the joint family and the wider group, purity, strict observance of dharma, sexual restraint and finally to be a faithful wife.

The descriptions of the 'menstrual' ritual presented by Fruzzetti [1984] and Bennett [1983] constitute the data on puberty rituals for this research.

1. The Nayars equate the 'mother' to a 'virgin' based on the relationship of the 'virgin' to goddess 'Bhagavadi' who is regarded as 'mother' by the Nayars. This subconscious association with mother and all other clan, sub-clan sisters make them forbidden sex partners since they fall into the category of 'own people'. The female's own lineage members must renounce her maturity, the ritual of 'tali-tying' is a ritualized symbolic renunciation of the girl as a sexual partner. See Gough K. [1952] and Gough K [1955].

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter; the description, the results drawn from this research on 'rites of passage' are presented. To the data on the 'Upanayana ritual' and the 'menstrual ritual' are applied the theoretical methodological framework to present a comprehensive description of the above 'rites of passage' in the Hindu context. While the rules and procedures governing the enactment of these 'rites of passage' in the Hindu tradition are explicit, the meanings, motives and interpretation of these rituals are not explicitly stated these depend upon the basic assumptions, postulates, the theoretical methodological framework and, the particular approach the research presupposes. Different theoretical methodological orientations and approaches can hence present different interpretations of these rituals, some of these different interpretations may even contradict the interpretations and conclusions drawn from this research.

These 'rites of passage' are rituals marking the transition of an individual from childhood to adulthood in the Hindu context. The analysis, interpretation and description of these rituals are hence grounded in Durkheim's theory of ritual, hence this research is essentially a sociological perspective on rituals, reflecting my dominant professional training and personal interest. Although an inter-disciplinary approach has been

used in this research, I must admit that the psychological and anthropological perspectives used in this research, cannot match in either depth, intensity or range the sociological perspectives used in this research. This research is hence predominantly a sociological understanding of the 'rites of passage' the anthropological and psychological perspectives have been applied to enhance and enrich the sociological understanding.

SACRED AND PROFANE IN HINDU RITES OF PASSAGE

Durkheim classifies phenomena into the realm of the 'sacred' and the 'profane'. While religion is 'sacred', the realm of 'profane' is made up of secular activities. Max. Gluckman (1962) asserts that 'rites of passage' are 'sacred' and can exist only in those societies where the social is also religious and, social relations are based on moral valuations. Arnold van Gennep (1960) is of the opinion that in primitive societies, so great is the incompatibility between profane and sacred that an intermediate stage is required between the profane and the sacred stage. The 'rites of passage' provide this intermediate stage which helps in the transition from a realm of profane to realm of the sacred. 'Sacred' and 'profane' are essentially human constructs and categories, they can be perceived as socio-cultural constructs or

projections which man conceptualizes to superimpose a system of meanings on his experiences. Thus the dichotomous, mutually exclusive categories 'sacred' and 'profane' do not exist at the level of empirical reality. According to Durkheim (1964) 'sacred' can be divided into 'good-sacred' and 'bad-sacred', since 'sacred' can be either good or evil, both of which are however incompatible with the realm of the 'profane'. Srinivas M.N. (1952) has followed this formulation of Durkheim, in his study of Coorgs, he associated 'purity' with 'good sacred' and 'impurity' with 'bad sacred'.

Dumont and Pocock (1959), have analyzed the relationship between the two dichotomies 'sacred/profane' and 'pure/impure'. According to Dumont the dichotomy of 'sacred' and 'profane' is operative at the cosmic level, while the dichotomy of 'pure' and 'impure' operate at the social level. The states of 'purity' and 'impurity' in Hinduism are not absolute categories, life according to Hindu philosophy is a continuous process of transformations between the two states of purity and impurity. In Hinduism the ordering of the 'sacred' differs from that of Durkheim, while Durkheim perceives 'sacred' in terms of 'good' and 'bad', Hinduism perceives 'sacred' in terms of 'life' and 'death'. The Hindu conception of life and death is given by

the theory of 'Karma' and the transmigration of soul' which presents an endless transformations in terms of 'birth' 'death' and 'rebirth' (Flaherty 1980). In this research the concepts 'sacred' and 'profane' given by Durkheim are applied synonymously with purity and impurity, following Dumont formulation on the relationship between these categories. So also Hindu view of life conceives of continuous transformations between states of 'purity' and 'impurity', hence unlike Durkheim's conception of 'sacred' and 'profane' which are mutually exclusive and incompatible, the states of 'pure' and 'impure' constantly interact with each other. This leads to creation of marginal exceptional states between 'pure' and 'impure' which can be conceived of in terms of 'liminality'.¹

In the case of 'Upanayana' ritual; male initiation rite marking the transition of an individual from childhood to adulthood, there is a change of status from profane to the sacred. Prior to the performance of the 'upanayana' ritual the status of an individual can be perceived of as a profane status. In Hinduism the status of a child is the lowest in the hierarchy of the 'Varna' i.e. caste system. The status of a child or that of an uninitiated male individual is equivalent to the status of the 'Sudra' i.e. the lowest caste. While the status of the child in Hinduism is the lowest in the caste hierarchy, the attitude towards

the child can be however conceived of in terms of protective indulgence. This status is definitely a status belonging to the realm of the profane. With the performance of the 'upanayana' ritual, the initiate learns the 'Savitr' mantra which signifies symbolically initiation to education in religious texts. The performance of the 'upanayana' ritual entitles the initiate to wear the sacred thread, the sacred thread symbolically denoted the new status of the individual which is that of the 'twice born'. In Hinduism only the first three castes comprising of the 'Ksatriya', 'Brahmana' and, 'Vaisya' are entitled to perform the 'upanayana' ritual and, consequently they are also entitled to wear the sacred thread. Thus the performance of the 'upanayana' ritual and the wearing of the sacred thread establishes the initiate as a full fledged member of his caste, the ritual enactment denotes initiation to the study of religious texts and also initiation to the adult status for the initiate. The initiate is now entitled to take part in religious education, activities and sacrifices. This new status of the individual is hence-forth a sacred status. The 'upanayana' ritual which is a 'rite of passage' is thus an intermediate stage between the profane and sacred stages. The 'upanayana' ritual is a medium through which is mediated a transition from a profane status to a sacred status for the male initiate.

The 'menstrual' rituals in females is equivalent to the 'initiation' rites performed by males. In the partilineal Hindu society the concepts 'pure' and 'impure' are manifested clearly in the performance of the 'menstrual' rites by females. The data on 'puberty' ritual for this research comprises of the performance of the 'menstrual' rites in Bengal and the 'gupha basne' ritual in Nepal. In Bengal as in Nepal the female child before the onset of menstruation, pre-puberty, is conceived of as the embodiment of the female goddess. Among the Nayars the female virgin is seen as an embodiment of goddess 'Bhagavadi' (Gough 1955) In Bengal a pre-puberty girl (Kumari) is perceived of as a pure and sacred person, for ritual purposes she symbolizes the deity 'Durga'. Thus the female child before puberty is seen as a pure and sacred entity at least with reference to ritual performances. With the onset of the menstruation process, during the period of first menstruation and the subsequent periods of menstruation the females are perceived of as 'impure'.

The female body serves the role of a metaphor for the society in the construction of femininity. If the female body is a metaphor then menstrual blood is the central symbol around which notions of femininity are constructed. It is the symbol - 'menstrual blood', which gives rise to

the concept 'impurity' with relation to a females life process. According to Freud [1918] women, and blood were the subjects of taboo for a primitive man. Primitive man has always feared female sexuality, the various taboos regarding menstrual blood reflect primitive man's fear of female sexuality, blood and consequently menstrual blood. A women's menstrual period is a blatant manifestation of a women's sexuality, it is hence not surprising to find the notion of 'impurity' attached to menstruation in a partilineal society.

Blood however is also a sign of life and menstrual blood signifies the potential to procreate, there are hence positive connotations attached to menstrual blood with reference to fertility. In partrilineal societies a female procreates and ensures the continuation of the lineage and regeneration of the larger group. In Nepal this aspect of menstruation with reference to fertility and potential to procreate are connected with the concept of 'ritu dan' (season of fertility). Female sexuality in the context of its socially legitimate end - procreation, leads to positive connotations constructed around menstruation. Thus during the period of menstruation females are considered 'impure' however it is this very aspect of menstrual blood in the context of procreation and fertility which lead to positive connotations attributed to female menstruation. The

performance of 'menstrual' rites thus have an important aspect of purification process requiring ritual bathing, puja etc after which the menstruating impure female is considered ritually purified.

The 'menstrual' rituals conclude with the performance of these purifying rituals after which the female is considered 'pure'. In this way a continuous transformation from pure to impure to impure take place in a female, the rites time and again bring about a transition from impure to pure. Gennep [1960] has presented a framework to analyse the structure of any 'rites of passage' in the context of a sequence of three stages : 'separation', 'transition' and 'incorporation' Later Victor Turner (1968: 198-268) has used the terms 'pre-liminal', 'Liminal' and 'post-liminal' to denote the stages classified by Gennep.

STRUCTURE OF 'RITES OF PASSAGE'

The structure of the 'upanayana ritual' and the 'menstrual ritual' can be broken up into the three component stages signifying 'separation', 'transition' and 'incorporation' using van Gennep's scheme. The basic assumption underlying Gennep's conceptual scheme is that, Gennep accepts the dichotomy between 'sacred' and 'profane'. 'Sacred' according to Gennep is not an absolute value,

sacred with reference to 'rites of passage' has a relative value, individual who enters a status different to the status previously held is considered 'sacred' in relation to others who remain in 'profane' state. The relative value Gennep places on the 'sacred' with reference to 'rites of passage' is different from 'sacred' used by Durkheim. Gennep's scheme and conception of 'sacred' does not however contradict Durkheim's conception of 'sacred'. The analysis of the structure of these rituals as given by Gennep, can be analysed from the perspective of Durkheim. Durkheim's theory of ritual and the basic presupposition regarding the function of the ritual in integrating an individual into his society can be applied concurrently with van Gennep scheme. Now instead of taking the rituals as a whole, the rituals can be seen in terms of the three constituent stages of separation, transition and incorporation. Such an analysis provides a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of the ritual. Such a structural analysis is analysed with reference to the Durkheim's conception of the function of ritual. The theme regarding the function of the ritual in integrating the individual into his society underlies the structural analysis of these rituals.

Separation, transition and incorporation are the three stages constituting the structure of these rituals. These three different stages, the symbols and, the processes

attached to these symbols are analysed not only as cultural entities but also more importantly from the perspective of its effect or influence on the individual as well as society. The analysis is directed towards an understanding of the function of these various symbols and processes in integrating the individual into his society. Thus a structural analysis of 'rites of passage' is directed towards or guided by the concept of 'function' given by Durkheim. The stages of separation transition and incorporation are subjected to a 'functional' analysis separately, with reference to the 'upanayana' ritual and the 'menstrual' ritual.

Separation

Separation is the first stage in the structure of 'rites of passage', this stage is clearly reflected in the 'Upanayana' ritual as well as the 'menstrual' ritual. By 'separation' we mean that the past of an individual either male or female is considered to be separated or cut off. This results in the creation of an exceptional marginal environment, the individual is now positioned outside normal social life. The individual regardless of the 'gender' aspect, prior to the performance of these 'rites of passage' belongs to the realm of the 'profane'. After the performance however he acquires a new status and, he now belongs to the

realm of the 'sacred'. According to Mircea Eliade (1965) this stage of separation is symbolized by death. A transition marking change of status, from profane to sacred, requires first of all severance of all relations with the realm of the profane, before incorporation into the sacred realm.

In the 'upanayana' ritual the age at which the ritual is performed, is prescribed respectively for the three 'twice born' castes. Similarly the upper age limit determines the period by which the ceremony has to be performed for the three 'twice born' castes. The 'upanayana' ritual also prescribes the type of dress, the girdle and the staffs for the initiate, different types of dress, girdle and staffs are prescribed for the different castes. The initiate whose appearance (dress, girdle and staff) is prescribed by the ritual is handed over to the guru or preceptor. The father of the initiate places the initiate in the custody of the guru, this process is called 'paridana'. The guru asks the initiate's name and other particulars, this is called 'nama prichchha' after which is the 'svikarana' signifying the acceptance of the initiate by the guru. The guru now finally bestows the initiate into the hands of the Gods, thus completing the process of separation. The above processes constitute the stage of separation in the enactment of the 'upanayana' ritual.

Fruzzetti [1984 : 166] In the case of the 'menstruation' ritual in Bengal we find that the individual undergoing her first menstruation is kept secluded or isolated for a period of three days in a dark room. During this period of seclusion, she is allowed to see only the person attending upon her. Since the mother is not allowed to participate in this ritual, the person attending upon the female initiate is usually any women (other than the initiate's mother) who is beyond child bearing age. The female individual confined to the dark room for a period of three days, implies the separation of the female initiate from normal social and domestic activities. The female initiate is separated because menstrual blood is a subject of taboo and menstruating females are considered 'impure'.

In the case of 'gupha basne' ritual in Nepal, the girl is taken far away from her house to the house of an old high caste widow, so that she will neither be able to see her house, her father and brothers nor even hear their voice. She is kept in a dark room and covered with a shawl with the intent that even sun rays will not fall upon her. 'Gupha' in Nepalese language means 'cave', gupha Basene' refers to seclusion in a cave. The girl is thus separated from her family and also from all forms of normal activities be it social, domestic or religious. [Bennett, 1983:215-17].

According to Durkheim the realm of the sacred is totally incompatible with the realm of the 'profane', the sacred realm is hence distinguished and separated from the realm of the profane. Gennep too considers separation in terms of separation from the realm of the profane. The first stage in a transition from profane to sacred status, according to Gennep requires a separation from the profane. In the 'upanayana' ritual a male initiate is handed over to the guru by the father of the initiate, consequently the initiate passes through a number of processes before he is finally accepted by the guru, who now places the initiate in to custody of the gods. The male initiate in the 'upanayana' ritual is symbolically separated from his family, mainly his mother and other female family members. The initiate on being accepted by the guru, now enters the abode of the guru : a 'gurukul' or 'ashram', he now lives in the 'ashram' of his guru during the period of religious study. The initiate is called a 'brahmacarin' from the time he is accepted by the guru. Prior to the performance of this ritual, the child is seen in the context of a mother-child matrix, the child does not have a status or identity of his own. Before the male child can enter the stage of 'brahmacarin' he must be separated from his family especially from the realm of females in the household. The mother-child matrix has to be broken, the boy should also be



separated from other women and girls in the household, because the stage of 'brahmacarin' requires the male individual to practice strict celibacy. A number of rules and prohibitions regarding the 'brahmacarin' stage refer not only to celibacy but also prohibit all forms of physical contact with women. Thus for a male individual the performance of the 'upanayana' ritual to gain adulthood and sacred 'brahmacarin' status and identity, requires the first central, fundamental stage or process of 'separation' from domestic life and the realm of females especially his mother.

The stage of 'separation' is a very important stage in the performance of the 'menstrual' ritual in the Hindu partilineal society. The performance of 'menstrual' rituals by a female individual, signifies for her a transition from sexually neutral to sexually mature state, from a state of impurity to the pure state and, from a profane status to a sacred status. Such a transition requires firstly a stage of separation. Menstrual blood is considered impure, consequently a menstruating female is also considered impure. It is the concept of 'impurity' attached to menstruating women and also the process of menstruation which requires the separation of the

menstruating girl from normal domestic, social and religious activities.

Bhattacharyya (1968) has shown that this aspect of separation and seclusion of females during menstruation especially the first menstruation is prevalent in almost all castes, subcastes, tribes and other patrilineal groups in the Indian subcontinent and even in Ceylon. The stage of separation is an essential first stage in 'menstrual' rites, a 'menstruating' woman is impure, impurity is considered contagious, hence all forms of contact with impurity is prohibited. An impure 'menstruating' female is perceived as contaminating all that she comes in contact with, she is hence separated and secluded during this period. Menstrual blood is polluting for females, because they are now sexually mature and can be impregnated by men of their own lineage as well as men of other lineages which will result in illegitimate children who will endanger the male lineage in patrilineal societies. A menstruating female hence has to be separated and secluded from not only all men from any lineage, but also from all normal activities which she might contaminate by contact. The activation of women's sexuality requires her separation and seclusion to maintain purity of male lineage in patrilineal societies. Thus the concept of impurity, the potential to pollute are central to the separation and seclusion of menstruating females from the

realm of normal domestic , social, cultural and religious activities, in the performance of the 'menstrual' rituals in Bengal as well as in Nepal. Separation is the first stage in the transition from neutral to mature sexuality, from impurity to purity and, from a profane status to a sacred status brought about by the performance of 'menstrual' rites.

Transition

Transition is the second stage in the enactment of 'rites of passage', the first stage of separation results in the severance of all relations with the realm of the profane. This stage of transition when relations with a profane status is severed and new relations with a sacred status is yet to develop, can be characterized by the concept 'anomie' as given by Durkheim (1951). A state of 'anomie' has the potential to evolve pathological and deviant traits. Transition is an essential stage in all 'rites of passage', a break from profane status does not automatically result in an incorporation into sacred status. There is a stage or period which exists between the break from profane realm to incorporation into the sacred, this stage or period is called the transition stage. The transition stage in the case of the 'rites of passage' can be analysed from a 'macro' as well as 'micro' perspectives.

The macro and micro analysis is based on the conception of the primary dimension - 'time'. A micro analysis presupposes the dimension of time to encompass only the period of the enactment of the ritual. In this research a micro analysis is used in the above context, one can thereby discern a transitional stage within the structure of these rituals. A macro analysis considers the dimension of time to encompass the entire life cycle of an individual. In such a case the entire ritual can be perceived as a transitional 'rite of passage' for the preceding and succeeding rites of passage in an individual's life cycle. For example a menstrual ritual can be perceived as a transitional 'rite of passage' with relation to the marriage ritual or for ritual marking motherhood.²

Victor Turner (1968:198-268) analysed the initiation rituals; 'rites of passage', among the 'Ndembu' of Zambia. He further extends the concept of transition put forward by Gennep, Turner uses the terms 'pre-liminal', 'liminal' and 'post-liminal' to signify 'separation', 'transition' and incorporation. The 'liminal persona' according to Turner signify a personality where the initiate now enters or belongs to an exceptional marginal environment, the initiate is neither this nor that, neither here nor there, but rather betwixt and between. The period

of liminality is one of ambiguity and paradox, much of the symbolism is hence bivalent. The initiate is perceived as a 'pure possibility' or 'primal totality', the liminal persona lives beyond the norms and categories of the society, traditional taboos and moral injunctions do not apply to the liminal person. According to Turner the 'liminal' stage is marked by the element of 'paradox' consequently the symbols and the symbolism of the 'liminal' stage is 'bivalent'. For example the hut in which the initiate is secluded can symbolize 'death' (a devouring monster or spirit), as well as 'life' (mother's womb). Mircea Eliade (1965) has highlighted the aspect of religious education during the transitional stage. Psychoanalytic perspectives on the transitional stage have suggested that little if any significant knowledge is imparted during the performance of these rituals, while Sociological perspectives argue that education is germane or central theme of these rituals at the stage of transition. Given the time period of the performance of these rituals, it is not possible to impart a substantive amount of education to the initiate, in terms of quantity the education imparted to the initiate is almost negligible, however in terms of quality, the education of a novice during the transitional stage is very significant. While education is a long, never ending process, the transitional stage is important to the extent that it marks

the beginning of the religious instruction and education for the initiate. 'Sociolization' the sociological concept relating to the education or instruction of the initiate can be applied to analyse the instruction given to the initiate. Psychoanalytic perspectives emphasize the aspect of ordeals and ritual operations carried out on the initiate in the socialization of the initiate. It is in the performance of ritual operations and related ordeals, that Psychoanalysis seeks a ritual confirmation of the Freudian formulations. In the case of the 'upanayana' ritual the transition stage begins with the acceptance of the initiate by the guru and extends upto the learning of the 'Savitr Gayatri mantra'. The 'Savitr' mantra or the 'Gayatri' mantra signals the climax of the 'upanayana' ritual, the period of transition thus encompasses the period beginning with the acceptance of the initiate by the guru and, extends upto the time of learning of the Savitr mantra. During this period of transition, the initiate is provided with garments and girdle by the guru, the initiate is also given a staff. The initiate goes through the process of 'anjali-purana' (palm filling), 'asmarohana' (stone mounting), 'dadhi-prasana' (curd eating) and finally 'aditya darsana' (sun showing). At the end of the above processes the initiate learns the Savitr mantra. The incantation of the Savitr mantra signals the beginning of the third stage - incorporation.

In the case of the 'menstrual' ritual during the period of seclusion, the female initiate is in contact only with the person attending upon her. The person attending upon the female is usually a woman from the same caste or neighborhood. This period of transition which begins with seclusion of the female initiate for a period of three days, comes to an end on the fourth day when the female takes a ritual bath. During the period of transition in the females, there is hardly any formal or conventional education imparted to the female initiate. However, we find the presence of ritual ordeals and objects (symbols), these are symbolically communicated to the female initiate. Thus the very aspect of seclusion, the kind of food given during this period, the placing of the 'nora' (a stone pestle used in the household for grinding spices) on the lap of the initiate are all elements of ritual ordeals and operations operating during the period of transition for a female initiate (Fruzzetti, 1984).

In the case of 'gupha basne' ritual during the period of seclusion for the first three days a woman must not eat food with salt and, she may have only one rice meal a day. The female maintains a fast at other times during the seclusion. The female should not worship the gods or ancestor spirits, she must not comb her hair or oil it. Food water and a brass pan for bodily eliminations are

brought to the female in her room, as she is not supposed to leave the room (Bennett.L.1983).

The transitional stage in both the male and female rituals are significant in terms of the socialization of the initiate. As stated earlier this stage of transition can be perceived in terms of 'anomie', anomic situation has a potential for development of pathological and deviant traits. For a normal development during this period of 'anomie' it is essential for the initiate to be successfully 'socialized' in the norms and values prevailing in the society. Effective socialization into the norms, values, culture and tradition of the society is central to the integration of the individual into the collectivity or society. The absence of effective socialization of the individual will consequently be manifested in the development of pathological traits signifying the maladjustment or ineffective integration of the individual into the society. In the 'upanayana' ritual the various process constituting the transition stage, deal with the aspect of preparation of the initiate to receive religious education. The garments, girdle and the staff presented to the initiate by the guru symbolize the beginning of the initiate's long journey to perfection through the means of the study of sacred, religious texts. The act of palm

filling where the guru fills his hand with water and empties it into the hand of the initiate symbolize the flow of knowledge and, religious education and instruction from the guru to the initiate. The act of stone mounting, curd eating and aditya-darsana (sun showing) symbolize the instruction or directives given by the guru to inculcate in the initiate, a strong, steadfast character, to define for the initiate his aims and objectives in terms of pursuit or quest for knowledge. Thus the various processes in the transition stage of the male initiate symbolize the preparation of the student for the study of sacred texts by inculcating in the initiate a strong, steadfast character and the right attitude for education in sacred religious texts. According to Durkheim, religion is but the manifestation of social and moral values of the society. In primitive societies religion permeates almost all aspects of an individual's social and cultural life. Religion embodies the norms and values of the society, it is through religion, myths and taboos that knowledge was imparted be it social, cultural or religious knowledge. Religion embodies social and cultural norms and values, and since knowledge be it social, cultural or religious was also imparted through religious education, myths and taboos. The education of the initiate during the 'upanayana' ritual includes along with religious education like names of Gods, mystical relations

etc., the behavior patterns, norms and values, techniques and respect for the socio-cultural tradition. Thus religious education in the 'upanayana' ritual acts as an instrument for the socialization of the initiate, to serve the function of the integration of the individual into his society.

In the case of the 'menstrual' ritual there is no formal instruction with reference to the sacred, religious texts. In fact, women since the later Vedic period have been excluded from the performance of the 'upanayana' ritual as well as education in religious texts. The 'menstrual' rituals with reference to the stage of transition, have to be analysed in terms of the 'symbolic' elements found in this stage and, also in terms of the ritual ordeals which the female initiate undergoes. The symbolism found in the transition stage are bivalent by nature. The symbols characterize the 'paradox' aspect found in female rites. The 'paradox' in female rites refer to the perception of the menstrual blood and processes in terms of 'purity' and 'impurity'. The aspect of 'purity' and 'impurity' or 'pollution' is the basic theme underlying the enactment of female menstrual rituals, this aspect has already been discussed in this chapter. Thus the placing of the 'nora', a pestle used for grinding spices, on the lap of the initiate, can be symbolically interpreted as follows :- the

pestle is a male phallic symbol, the placement of the pestle on the lap of the initiate is thus a reference to her fertility and potential for procreation in a female. The bivalent symbolism found in women's menstrual rituals, signify the twin aspect of 'purity' and 'impurity', 'profane' and 'sacred' status of the female. The ritual ordeals found in female's 'menstrual' rituals refer to the aspect of seclusion of women for a period of three days, during which time she exists in an exceptional marginal environment which places the female initiate beyond the realm of normal social-cultural and religious activities. The function of these ordeals is to inform the female initiate about the 'paradox' in their status. The girl becomes aware of the 'paradox' in their status, both of which result from the same symbolic source - 'menstrual blood'. The female is made aware by means of these ritual ordeals the twin aspects of (1) purity and divine status resulting from her potential to procreate for the continuation of the male line, and (2) her sexuality which she must control and suppress, since the menstrual blood with reference to a women's sexuality is the cause for her impure status. By comprehending the bivalent nature of women status, the female can understand the 'paradox' in their life. It is this understanding of the paradox in a women's life which helps the female to transcend this

paradox. Socialization in the case of female menstrual rituals refers to the aspect of communicating to the female initiate the nature of paradox in her life and thereby helping her transcend this paradox. In the female is inculcated a strong respect and regard for social norms and values, the female is made to comprehend the socially sanctioned, legitimate aim of her sexuality, being that of procreation for the continuation of her male lineage and regeneration of the larger social group. In the female is also inculcated the need for controlling and suppressing her sexuality. In the case of 'gupta basne' ritual in Nepal, the socialization through the medium of the ritual refers to the inculcation of the attitude of obedience, duty, harmony, the good of the joint family, purity, strict observance of dharma, sexual restraint and faithfulness, in the female initiate [Bennett.L., 1983]. Thus in the 'menstrual' rituals performed in Bengal and Nepal, we find encoded the expected norms, values, attitudes and modes of behaviour of female existence as defined by the Hindu patrilineal tradition.

The 'transition stage' in both 'upanayana' ritual and 'menstrual' ritual is significant because it is in this stage when the individual is socialized. The creation of a marginal, exceptional environment in which the individual is

neither here nor there, but betwixt and between has a tremendous influence on the initiate. The breaking of the mother-child matrix and subjugating the male initiate to strict rules, prescriptions and prohibitions along with separation from domestic realm puts the male initiate on the edge, he becomes keenly aware and sensitive to the power of his preceptors and in the process indelible, life long impressions are made. In this way, the male initiate is socialized in the transition stage of the performance of the 'upanayana' ritual. In the case of 'menstrual' ritual, the female initiate is kept in a dark room, in her secluded state in a dark room, a marginal environment is created. This environment makes the female keenly sensitive to the paradox in her life related to her sexuality. The female in such a state can perceive the power of the society over her life and sexuality, socialization of the female is achieved by making her comprehend the fact that she should control and suppress her sexuality and directs it to socially acceptable objective of procreation.

INCORPORATION

Incorporation is the final stage in the enactment of 'rites of passages. After separation of the individual from the realm of the profane, a marginal environment is created in which by means of ritual ordeals and by other

means the socialization of the initiate takes place. In the 'rites of passage' the process of socialization is central to the stage of transition. After the transition stage the initiate is ritually purified and then incorporated to a new status, thus concluding the enactment of the 'rites of passage'.

Incorporation stage in the 'upanayana' ritual is connected to the incantation of the Savitr mantra. The incantation of Savitr mantra by the initiate marks the climax of the 'upanayana' ritual. After the incantation of the Savitr mantra, the student or initiate takes part in the 'samidh-adana' a ceremony related with sacrificial fire. The ritual concludes with the 'agnipradakshina', fire circumbulation, when the initiate walks around the sacred fire reciting the Savitr mantra.

In the performance of the menstrual ritual in Bengal, the ritual concludes with the ritual bath taken by the female on the fourth day of the ritual. After the ritual bath on the fourth day, the female is dressed in new clothing, she is then fed and blessed by three, five or seven women, who then offer sweetmeats and fruits to the female [Fruzzetti 1983:166]. In the case of 'gupha basne' ritual in Nepal the rituals of purification take place on the 12th, the 15th or 22nd day after menstruation. After a

ritual bath early in the morning before sunrise, the female offers 'puja' to the 'sun' deity. The female then makes offerings to the family priest in order to purify herself. A shawl is held between the family priest and the girl so that the priest does not see the female during the offering. The female must also receive from her father and brothers a red dhoti and blouse along with daksina before she can be seen by them or enter her own i.e. father's house [Bennett 1983:].

The important aspect of the stage of incorporation are the rites of purification. During the stage of transition, the liminal person is perceived as a pure possibility or primal totality and till the individual is finally incorporated the status of the individual is a profane status. Thus the individual has to be purified before he or she can be incorporated into a new sacred status. In the case of male ritual, the incantation of the Savitr mantra during the 'agni pradakshina' marks the end of the 'upanayana' ritual and signifies the incorporation to adult status, a religious status which now entitles the individual to wear the 'sacred thread' and commence religious education. The status of the individual is the status of the 'twice born', a sacred status. The 'upanayana' ritual now comes to its conclusion, the

transition from the profane status is now considered as accomplished.

In the case of the female ritual the 'menstrual' rite concludes with a ritual bath and offering of prayers and puja to the 'sun' deity. The female is dressed in new clothes and she receives blessing from either the family priest or old women. She is offered sweetmeats and fruits in Bengal which symbolically denotes the incorporation to an adult, sexually mature, pure and sacred status. The fruits offered to a Bengali female during the rites of purification is the symbolic equivalent of the sacred thread for boys. The fruits have symbolic connotations to fertility, this can be seen in the use of expressions like - "the female is now a fruit to be enjoyed by men of other lineages" and "the fruit has ripened" [Fruzzetti, 1983:167]. In the case of 'gupha basne' ritual in Nepal, the female takes a ritual bath to purify herself, she then worships the 'sun' deity which is a symbol of male purity. She is then blessed by the family priest. The most important symbol of this stage is the red dhoti and blouse given to the female by her father and brothers. The father's gift is not a symbol of sexual claim, it is rather a symbol of acknowledgement of the female's sexuality within the context of fertility and the potential for procreation, and the need to transfer the female's sexuality to an other lineage through marriage.

The 'menstrual' rituals lead to a transition of the female from a sexually neutral state to a sexually mature state, from a impure status to a pure sacred status, thus signifying the transition of a female from childhood to adulthood.

In this chapter the 'Upanayana' ritual and the 'menstrual' rituals have been described and analysed in accordance with the theoretical-methodological framework and the inter-disciplinary perspectives this research presupposes. The function of the 'Upanayana' and 'Menstrual' rituals is to integrate the individual into the collectivity : society. A child does not possess any social status and is hence not considered a full member of the society. The 'Upanayana' and 'Menstrual' rituals, ritualize the transition of an individual from childhood to adulthood. The performance of these 'rites of passage' effect the incorporation of a child into adult status, he or she is subsequently considered a full fledged member of the society. Thus these rituals function to effect the integration of a child into full membership of his or her society. These rituals compressing of stages of separation, transition and incorporation effect the change from a profane childhood stage to a sacred adult status and

membership in the society. These rituals in the first stage separate the individual from the realm of the profane, consequently the individual is placed in a liminal state of existence and is socialized in the norms and values of the society, this socialization is central to effecting the integration of the individual into society and maintenance of social solidarity and order. The socialized individual is then incorporated into the larger group or society. The 'rites of passage' hence serve to integrate the individual into society, they also serve as instrument of socialization, this is the function of these 'rites of passage'.

1. Refer fo Veena Das [1977] who argues that the profane in Hinduism can be analysed in terms of 'liminality'.
2. Refer to La Fontaine [1972] and Richards AI [1956] for a discussion of the given assertion.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This research deals with a study of the period of transition from childhood to adulthood. The transition of an individual from childhood to adulthood is located in the historical period prior to the industrial revolution. An understanding of this period of transition in pre-industrial societies is grounded in a description and analysis of the 'rites of passage' which manifest this transition in a ritualized form. Separate 'rites of passage' are selected for representing this transition in male and female individuals. This 'initiation rites' for male individuals and 'puberty rituals' for female individuals constitute the 'rites of passage' considered under this research. This area of this research is limited to the realm of Hindu tradition, the 'initiation rites' and 'puberty rites' are thus located in the pre-industrial Hindu society. In the case of this research these rituals are analysed with reference to a patrilineal society and not a matrilineal society.

The 'Upanayana' ritual and the 'menstrual' rituals are the specific rituals which constitute the data for this research keeping in mind the pre-requisites stated in the above paragraph. The data comprising of the 'Upanayana' ritual and the 'Menstrual' ritual are subjected to analysis, this analysis is grounded in a theory of ritual. The analysis of these 'rites of passage' is aimed at a

description of these rituals in terms of the structure of these rituals and more importantly the function of these rituals. Durkheim's formulations on religion and rituals is selected to represent the theory of ritual in this research. So also Arnold Van Gennep's formulations on the rites of passage are representative of the analysis of structure of these rituals. The 'Upanayana' ritual and the 'menstrual' rituals are thus analysed in terms of the stages of separation, transition and incorporation, denoting the analysis of the structure of these rituals. The function of these 'rites of passage' is perceived with reference to the aspect of integration of the male/female individual into his/her society. An inter-disciplinary approach has been applied in this research, the Sociological, Anthropological and Psychological perspectives used in this inter-disciplinary approach facilitates a comprehensive description and analysis of these rituals from the co-ordinates of the individual, his/her society and its culture. The previous chapter presents the description and analysis of the 'Upanayana' ritual and the 'Menstrual' ritual in accordance with the basic assumptions the theoretical methodological framework and, the inter-disciplinary perspective this research presupposes. The description and analysis of the respective 'rites of passage' being the aim and objective

of this research, the previous chapter brings the research process to its culmination.

In this chapter the conclusion I will avail of the opportunity to reflect upon my research. In this conclusion I have reflected upon my research, with reference to the problematic for this research, hence the reflection is grounded in the realm of ideas, an abstraction of thought, as opposed to the domain of action the analysis of which has been brought to its culmination in the previous chapter. The basic questions that are logically bound to be asked upon reflection are the questions relating to what ? and why ? Pursue this research. I have been deeply fascinated by the periods of transition, the phases of liminality, situations reflecting anomie, 'adolescence' which is one such phenomenon, I felt is a fascinating subject for the purpose of research. This research has been pursued with a hope that this study could add to an understanding of this phenomenon, not merely to generate meaning to understand my adolescence, abut also to help me develop a perspective on the phenomena adolescence in general, to contribute however insignificantly towards a growth in human knowledge. This explains the question why? I have chosen to study 'adolescence' in this research.

To explain 'what' exactly this research is about

one has to refer to the problematic. The problematic has been discussed in the first two chapters, in this chapter I shall try to capture the basic idea underlying the problematic. I felt that the understanding of the period of transition of an individual from childhood to adulthood in pre-industrial society would greatly enhance and enrich my understanding of 'adolescence' in modern society, and idea consistent with the phrase - 'search for roots'. Yet another reason is that 'adolescence' is a socio-cultural category, a human construct which refers specifically to the transition of an individual from childhood to adulthood in a modern society. There is no category for this transition in pre-industrial societies which can be considered equivalent to 'adolescence' in modern societies. Whether in pre-industrial societies or in post-industrial societies, there has always existed a period of transition between childhood and adulthood, 'puberty' is the universal biological fact around which this idea has been constructed. To understand this period of transition in pre-industrial societies one has to look beyond the perception of 'puberty' as a biological fact. This research perceives 'puberty' with reference to socio-cultural notions and perspectives on 'puberty' the 'rites of passage'; 'Upanayana' ritual and the 'menstrual' ritual, are symbolic phenomenon. Which I feel are the embodiment of socio-cultural notions and

perspectives on 'puberty'. The aim and objective of this research, provides an answer to the question, what is this research? This research is a description and analysis of the 'rites of passage' which symbolize and ritualize the transition of an individual from childhood. The previous chapter presents a description and analysis of these rituals and brings the research to its completion.

To analyze the relationship between the 'rites of passage' and 'adolescence' from the findings of this research requires the answering of the question what will it be? With reference to the phenomenon under study. This question requires a prediction for the future, such an exercise is hampered by the fact that a descriptive research is not conducive to answer this question with any degree of scientific certainty. Ramakrishna Mukherjee (1979) who has pointed out the above aspect, cautions against answering this question as part of the research findings. The conclusion projects my reflections upon this research and it is consequently perceived as not belonging to the domain of research findings. This being the case I shall attempt to tentatively answer this question with reference to the relationship between 'rites of passage' and adolescence.

Before I attempt an answer to the problem, what

Before I attempt an answer to the problem, what will it be? I would like to highlight a few impediments to answering the question scientifically, these impediments reflect the drawback's or weakness inherent in myself (as a researcher) as well as those located in the theoretical-methodological orientations or perspectives applied in this research. Reflections, introspection, objective evaluation require the highlighting of these drawbacks I feel (optimistic evaluation) reflect the need to make changes in my approach, at the same time these drawback need not necessarily negate the findings of this research. The first drawback refers to the inter disciplinary approach used in this research. Although I have used Sociological, Anthropological Psychological perspectives, this research is biased in favour of Sociological perspectives, this reflects my dominant academic in Sociology and consequently Anthropological and Psychological perspective cannot match in depth or range my grasp over sociological perspectives.

The second drawback relates to the type or mode of research, this research is a descriptive mode of research the objective of the research being to describe a phenomenon according to the theoretical - methodological framework the research pre-supposes. There is hence a pre-deterministic quality to the research, the research is quite rigid and

lacks flexibility, this is reflected in the fact that emphasis is placed only on those features or processes which manifest the theoretical methodological orientation the research pre-supposes. The system of variation is analysed in terms of the pre-determined orientation and approach of the research. The final hurdle to examining the relation between 'rites of passage' and adolescence' is the basic or prime requisite of a relatively comprehensive understanding of both the categories. This research has provided a relatively comprehensive understanding of 'rites of passage' only which is the objective of this research. A total exposition of the problematic however requires relatively comprehensive understanding of the category 'adolescence'. While this is a requisite for the problematic for this research, for practical purposes however it is beyond the scope of this research.

A tentative relation between 'rites of passage' and 'adolescence' can be attempted which will necessarily be excluded from the research findings. Both 'rites of passage' and 'adolescence' share the basic theme, the transformation accompanying the onset of puberty in human individuals. The relationship between 'rites of passage' and 'adolescence' will consequently be embodied in the relation of these two categories to the central theme. While at this stage I cannot scientifically prove the

relevance of 'rites of passage' to adolescence 'Rites of passage' in pre-industrial societies effect a smooth transition from childhood to adulthood and they serve to dissipate the disruptive potential of pubertal transformations. Adolescence in modern societies definitely manifest this disruptive potential, hence 'rites of passage' (different from the ritual found in pre-industrial societies and relevant to modern societies) could help to dissipate the disruptive potential of adolescence.

APPENDIX

<i>Phase</i>	<i>Appearance of sexual characteristics</i>	<i>Average ages</i>	<i>Age range</i>
Childhood through preadolescence	<i>Testes and penis have not grown since infancy; no pubic hair; growth in height constant. No spurt.</i>		
Early adolescence	<i>Testes begin to increase in size; scrotum grows, skin reddens and becomes coarser; penis follows with growth in length and circumference; no true pubic hair, may have down.</i>	12-13 yrs.	10-15 yrs.
Middle adolescence	<i>Pubic hair—pigmented, coarse, and straight at base of penis becoming progressively more curled and profuse, forming at first an inverse triangle and subsequently extends up to umbilicus; axillary hair starts after pubic hair; penis and testes continue growing; scrotum becomes larger, pigmented and sculptured; marked spurt of growth in height with maximum increment about time pubic hair first develops and decelerates by time fully established; prostate and seminal vesicles mature, spontaneous or induced emissions follow, but spermatozoa inadequate in number and motility (adolescent sterility); voice beginning to change as larynx enlarges.</i>	13-16 yrs.	11-18 yrs.
Late adolescence	<i>Facial and body hair appear and spread; pubic and axillary hair become denser; voice deepens; testes and penis continue to grow; emission has adequate number of motile spermatozoa for fertility; growth in height gradually decelerates, 98 per cent of mature stature by 17½ yrs. ± 10 months; indentation of frontal hair line.</i>	16-18 yrs.	14-20 yrs.
Postadolescence to adult	<i>Mature, full development of primary and secondary sex characteristics; muscles and hirsutism may continue increasing.</i>	onset 18-20 yrs.	onset 16-21 yrs.

Note: Normal range was accepted as 1st to 9th decile (80 per cent of cases).

Source: Table 4-1 in "The Body and the Body-Image in Adolescents," by William A. Schonfeld, Chapter 4 in *Adolescence: Psychosocial perspectives*, edited by Gerald Caplan and Serge Lebovici, © 1969 by Basic Books, Inc.

<i>Phase</i>	<i>Appearance of sexual characteristics</i>	<i>Average ages</i>	<i>Age range</i>
Childhood through preadolescence	No <i>pubic hair</i> ; <i>breasts</i> are flat; <i>growth</i> in height is constant, no spurt.		
Early adolescence	Rounding of <i>hips</i> ; <i>breasts</i> and nipples are elevated to form "bud" stage; no true <i>pubic hair</i> , may have down	10-11 yrs.	9-14 yrs.
Middle adolescence	<i>Pubic hair</i> : pigmented, coarse, straight primarily along labia but progressively curled and spreads over mons and becomes profuse with an inverse triangular pattern; <i>axillary hair</i> starts after <i>pubic hair</i> ; marked <i>growth</i> spurt with maximum height increment 18 months before menarche; <i>menarche</i> : <i>labia</i> become enlarged, <i>vaginal secretion</i> becomes acid; <i>breast</i> : areola and nipple elevated to form "Primary" breast	11-14 yrs.	10-16 yrs.
Late adolescence	<i>Axillary hair</i> in moderate quantity; <i>pubic hair</i> fully developed; <i>breasts</i> fill out forming adult-type configuration; <i>menstruation</i> well established; <i>growth</i> in height is decelerated, ceases at $16\frac{1}{2} \pm 13$ months.	14-16 yrs.	13-18 yrs.
Postadolescence to adult	Further growth of <i>axillary hair</i> ; <i>breasts</i> fully developed	onset 16-18 yrs.	onset 15-19 yrs.

Note: Normal range was accepted as 1st to 9th decile (80 per cent of cases).

Source: Table 4-2 in "The Body and the Body-Image in Adolescents," by William A. Schonfeld, Chapter 4 in *Adolescence: Psychosocial perspectives*, edited by Gerald Caplan and Serge Lebovici, © 1969 by Basic Books, Inc.

CHILDHOOD SAMASKARAS FOR MALE INDIVIDUAL IN HINDU TRADITION

Childhood Period	Stage	Central mode of relationship	Rite making transition into following stage
Garbha	Foetus	Symbolic	Jatakarma
Ksheerda	(0 - 1) Early infancy Middle infancy(1-3/4) Late infancy (3/4 - 6/9)	Dyadic intimacy Dyad in family Dyad in world	Namakarana Nishakarmana Annaprasana
Ksheerannada	Early childhood (6/9 months - 2/3 years)	Dyadic dissolution (Psychological birth)	Chudakarana
Bala	Middle childhood (2/3 - 5/7)	Familial	Vidyarambha
Kumara	Late childhood (5/7 - 8/12)	Familial dossolution Social birth	Upanayana

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