

THE KHATIKS OF KANPUR AND THE BRISTLE TRADE: TOWARDS AN ANTHROPOLOGY OF MAN AND BEAST

Maren Bellwinkel-Schempp

This paper tackles a couple of issues relating to a rather small Scheduled Caste community, the Khatiks of Kanpur, which had once been an economically powerful community. The Khatiks are a jati of vegetable sellers, pig-breeders, pork butchers, as well as bristle manufacturers and traders. The Khatiks of Kanpur city gained notoriety due to the so-called post-Ayodhya riots in 1992 as they were considered to be in the forefront of several brutal killings. Although Kanpur is a known centre of turmoil and turbulence due to the frequent outbursts of violence in its history, the more recent events were unique as for the first time a Scheduled Caste took a violent stance against the Muslims. At first glance, this is amazing as there had been peaceful coexistence between the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes in the city both at work and in times of leisure. Violence is also incongruent with the prevalent identity construction of the Scheduled Castes, who have until now perceived themselves as victims of upper caste Hindu dominance only. Over the last 30 years, the city of Kanpur has changed considerably. Earlier, white Zebu cows dominated the streets (Majumdar 1960), and although these cows constituted a substantial impediment for the traffic, they were patiently avoided and their paths circumvented by the people. Nowadays, pigs have taken over this public space. Large numbers of black, grey and white pigs roam the streets of the city. Even in the best residential areas, they feed in peaceful coexistence with the cows on large garbage heaps which are piled up along the roads. The public ignores these animals as long as they do not cause road accidents. This is because the Hindus regard cows as 'sacred', while the Muslims consider pigs as 'abominable' animals (Harris 1985). However, another reason for ignoring the animals is that retaliations are feared from their owners-and this has been markedly so after the riots-if they are harmed or hurt. One may legitimately ask how pigs began to appropriate public space in Kanpur, and whether this fact can in any way be seen as symptomatic of the aggravated Muslim-Khatik relationship. The economic and political analysis is not so much the focus of this paper as much as issues that relate to a future formulation of an anthropology of man

and beast in India. The leading question is to what extent the juxtaposition of purity and pollution as formulated by Dumont (1970) can be attributed to the relational positioning of man and beast. Though Dumont's concept of purity has been widely discussed and also deconstructed with regard to the role of the Brahmin (Quigley 1993), the aspect of pollution in the Scheduled Castes' discourse has been either discussed under the heading of emulative strategies (Srinivas 1966) or ignored in its idiosyncratic nature. According to Mary Douglas (1966), taboos concerning purity of matter, animals and human beings are meant to ward off highly charged and dangerous contacts. The danger attributed to pollution dominates the modes of perception, and the ordering and classification of things, beasts and men. The fear of danger itself has a transformative quality as it empowers the culturally defined realm of pollution. 'Within the ritual frame, the abomination is then handled as a source of tremendous power', on the other hand, dirt as a culturally unstructured matter functions as a residual category and can act as a 'symbol of creative formlessness (ibid.: 165, 169). Using Mary Douglas' notion of pollution in its ambivalent formulation of dangerous and creative, the attitude of Indian society at large towards cows and pigs shall be analysed in this paper to find out to what extent the overarching Hindutva discourse has opened up realms of aggression and danger which were formerly contained and fenced-off. The paper will finally document the rise and decline in the trade and manufacture of bristles. The economic situation of the Khatiks will be used as the background for the analysis of their ideology. The leading question in that respect will be to what extent the outburst of violence referred to above can be explained by the social degradation and economic decline of the Khatiks. The ideological representations of the Khatiks are not rooted in one coherent belief system but generally concern different discourses of Scheduled Caste politics and caste specific idiosyncratic notions. Concerning the analysis of food habits, it is to be asked whether Scheduled Castes generally and the Khatiks specifically share the notions of purity and pollution of the savarna discourse. It will be shown that the Khatiks as providers of pork represent cherished food notions of the Scheduled Castes, which are also extended to the Muslims, although in the latter case it is not pork meat but beef. Finally, it is to be asked to what extent the skills in butchery show similarities between Muslims and Khatiks on a structural level, and whether these are accepted or negated by the latter. The butcher's skill on a phenomenological level brings up the question of how the acquisition of this skill is viewed by the Khatiks themselves. Hypothetically, it will be postulated that their mastery over the life and death of beasts is extended to the human realm under conditions where the ideological, political and social containments are no longer present.

### **Scheduled Castes and Muslims in Kanpur**

Kanpur is the biggest city in Uttar Pradesh and the ninth biggest city in the whole of India. Kanpur city was founded by the British who set up leather and

textile industries here. The 1991 Census states that the Kanpur Urban Agglomeration had a population of 2,111,284 persons of which approximately 20 per cent were Muslims and 14 per cent Scheduled Castes (Census of India 1991). The Khatiks are a comparatively small community constituting only 5.8 per cent of all Scheduled Castes residing in the city. Their name is derived from the Sanskrit word 'khatika', meaning butcher and hunter (Singh 1993: 726). At the level of education, average income and status, the Khatiks rank highest among all Scheduled Castes (Majumdar 1960; Ram 1988). They live in close proximity with the Muslims in Babupurwa, Colonelganj and Latoucheroad. Babupurwa, where the severest rioting took place in 1992, is situated at the southern outskirts of Kanpur city. The centre for bristle manufacturing and trade is in Latoucheroad, which is one of the main thoroughfares of the town. Colonelganj is a prevalently Muslim area with a few ahatas<sup>i</sup> and residential areas where a large number of Scheduled Castes live. In Kanpur city, there are a number of Scheduled Castes of which the most numerous are the Chamar (leather workers, 37.3 per cent), the Kori (weavers, 16.9 per cent), the Pasi (vegetable sellers, 11.2 per cent), the Balmiki (sweepers, 10.8 per cent), the Dhanuk (pig breeders, 4.5 per cent), the Dhobi (washermen, 4.3 per cent) and the Shilpkar (stone cutters, 2.1 per cent) (Bhatnagar 1965). Earlier, Chamars and Koris worked mainly as industrial labourers in leather and textile industries. The Khatiks did not work in industry; instead, they were either self-employed tradesmen or General labourers and bristle manufacturers. The Balmikis, Dhanuks, Dhobis and Shilpkars were general labourers in the informal sector or worked in their traditional occupations. Close economic ties, however, bound a couple of Scheduled Castes together. As the Khatiks worked mostly as bristle manufacturers, the Koris did the dressing of the bristles. Besides, the Khatiks, Balmikis, Pasis and Dhanuks were also rearing pigs as all Scheduled Castes ate pork. The Khatiks were connected to all these castes as buyers and sellers of pigs and pork. Statistically, this has been well documented: in the mid-1950s, there were 104 pig breeders and 335 shops for beef, mutton and pork, all located in the city (Majumdar 1960:43). Historical evidence also suggests a close social and occupational proximity between Scheduled Castes and Muslims in the city. For instance, Muslims were mostly craftsmen, shopkeepers and industrial labourers. Leather was the domain of the Muslims as well as of the Chamars, who were regarded as ritually unclean and hence stigmatised by the savarna discourse. Until the 1960s, Muslims and Chamars were also tannery owners and shoe-makers (Briggs 1990 (1920); Verma 1964), but nowadays, there are several leather industries in which they work together in equal proportions (Ory 1997). There is, however, an occupational shift of the Chamars away from working of leather, as a sizable number are now employed in government and private jobs. The Muslims on the other hand continue to remain in the leather industry and are involved with its craftsmanship.

In the early phases of Kanpur's industrialization, it was mainly the Muslim Julaha and the Hindu Koris—the traditional hand weavers—who were recruited by the textile industry. When the upper castes came in as industrial labourers, the percentage of Muslims and Koris declined. In the early 1970s, the Chamars and Koris worked together with the Muslims in the textile industry, and all three combined constituted 15 per cent of the total labour force (Singh 1973). There was also a close spatial proximity between Muslims and Scheduled Castes. There were still ahatas, which had a mixed Muslim and Scheduled Caste population (Lavigne and Milbert 1983). Although that has changed considerably after the recent riots, there are wards in Latoucheroad and Colonelganj areas where Khatiks, Balmikis Chamars and Muslims live together even today. These wards are commonly known as communal trouble spots in the city.

### **The Cawnpore Brush Factory and Calcutta Bristle**

Kanpur was founded as a military camp in 1778 (Yalland 1987) but acquired the status of the first and oldest industrial town in the whole of India. It was primarily British industrialists who set up the leather and textile industries here (Yalland 1994) in contrast to Bombay and Ahmedabad where Indian capital was invested in the textile industry (Rothermund 1988). Enterprising and business-minded as they were, British industrialists put to good use the abundance of raw material, cheap labour and the availability of capital. Among the raw materials available were pig bristles because the United Provinces had the highest percentage of pigs in the whole of India (Shah 1977). The ravines around Kanpur were said to be full of wild boar, and pig sticking was the favourite game and one of the most popular sports of the British in colonial times. This rather risky game was played on horseback with a long spear, which was meant to catch the wild boars. There is also evidence of pig breeding in this period. The enlightened Collector Halsey, who pursued the first sanitary project in Kanpur's 'native town', also established the Agricultural Model Farm and introduced 'half-bred Leicester sheep, a fine Bhawulpore buffalo bull, imported pigs and an Arab stallion' (Yalland 1994: 167). It is a well known fact that the British promoted pig breeding just to have their ham for breakfast, although ham was still imported as tinned food. The Indians had no use for brooms and brushes, and the indigenous broom (*jharoo*) was made of vegetable fibre. However, from the 1860s onwards, the European and American brush and paint brush industries created a great demand for pig bristles. As the Americans and the British had switched over to pork production for mass consumption, their hogs were slaughtered at such a young age that they could not develop bristles of sizable length. Although in the 19th century bristles were mainly imported from Russia for which Leipzig in Germany was the main market, bristles from China and India became quite popular due to the opening up of the colonial markets. The British taught bristle dressing to the Chinese and to the Khatiks in Kanpur (or Cawnpore, as the city was called before independence). As the Khatiks were pig-breeders and

pork-butchers, bristle manufacturing became their domain. Thus, bristle manufacturing was a cottage industry, which included bristle trade, bristle extraction from the live or dead animal and bristle dressing.

It has been reported that bristles from Kanpur used to be exported to the Western countries since the 1860s (Yalland 1994: 330) and even general merchants had bristles *inter alia* on their tender. Although in the reports of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce there is no mention of that commodity, we know from British sources<sup>ii</sup> that since 1870 there was a regular bristle auction four times a year in London, which specialized in that commodity. Hence, bristle trade preceded the establishment of Kanpur's first, and for a long time only, brush factory. This factory had been established by the British under the name of Pioneer Brush Factory in 1896. However, in 1903 it was taken over by the managing agency known as Begg Sutherland & Company, under the name of 'Cawnpore Brush Factory', which continued to be called so until 1947. 'The factory is situated in the Mall and is worked throughout by electricity: expert brush makers were brought from England to instruct the workmen, and all kinds of brushes are made, large quantities being supplied to the army' (Nevill 1909: 82). The Cawnpore Brush Factory followed the same pattern as most of Kanpur's industrial enterprises under colonial rule- the blueprint, design, know-how and machinery were imported from England and set up primarily for import substitution and to cater to the needs of the British army. The army created a demand for shoe and horse brushes and as the raw material was easily available, it made sense to set up a factory there.

Bristles come only from the hog, pig or boar. They come mainly from animals of good age, which have lived long enough to produce hair of more than 50mm on their back. The unique characteristic of the bristle is the split end, which makes it possible to retain water. Therefore, bristles are used for paintbrushes also. The characteristics of bristles, which matter most to manufacturers, are length, colour and stiffness. Length is determined by age and breed, colour by breed, and stiffness by climate: the colder the climate, the softer the bristle. For this reason, Indian bristles have generally been the stiffest in comparison to those supplied from North China, which supplies the softest bristles.

For more than 100 years, bristles from Russia and China dominated the world market with Indian bristles forming a very small part of the trade. Although they only totalled 10 per cent of the Chinese turnover, they got higher prices because they were well sought after due to their stiffness. Bristle coming from India was used for hairbrushes; industrial brushes and-due to its extreme stiffness-even for sewing shoes and cricket balls. Chinese and Indian bristles were until the 1950s mainly black: 60 per cent of the Indian bristles were black, 30 per cent grey and 10 per cent white. The colour of the bristle indicates the genetic composition of the stock, and the fact that the Indian domesticated pig retains many of the characteristics of its wild brethren.<sup>iii</sup> Although Kanpur city developed into a centre for Indian bristle trade, the commodity was called 'Calcutta bristle' in Europe. It can be assumed that the

name was derived from the fact that the leading British trading companies were Calcutta-based.<sup>4</sup> The special quality of Calcutta Bristle was its stiffness, black colour and elasticity. The stiffness was due to the hot climate; its colour was due to the Indian breed being black like its predecessor, the wild boar; and the elasticity was due to the peculiar manner of bristle 'harvesting'. Originally, bristles were shipped via Calcutta but as the Great Peninsular Railway was already completed in 1870 and Kanpur was linked in 1886 with the Central Indian Railway, quite certainly from this time onwards bristles were sent by rail to Bombay and shipped from there. Although there is evidence that Calcutta bristle was already present in the European market before the First World War, its 'silver days' came in the inter-war period (1919-1939) when the supply for Russian bristles in the European market was severely hampered by the Russian revolution, famine 5 and the socialist economy. In other words, from the 1930s until the 1950s bristles were equated with silver and traded according to the price of silver.

### **Bristle Manufacturers and the Bristle Trade**

In the 1930s, bristle trade became so remunerative that the Kayasthas and Punjabis superseded the barriers of pollution and took up bristle manufacturing. Thus, among the founding members of the Indian Bristle Merchants Association were Khatiks, Kayasthas and Punjabis in equal proportional. Although the Kayasthas claimed supremacy in that business, this is strongly rejected by the Khatiks: 'The Kayasthas came much later. First, they used to collect pig hair and Transport it on their bicycles. This was long after we had already set up our business,' said Satish Chaudhury, the youngest son of Mithoo Lall. The versatile and educated Kayasthas used their social acceptance as a savarna caste for their business contacts, which especially bore fruit after India's independence. Contrary to this, the Khatik bristle manufacturers were traders and bristle dressers. Bristles were bought during the winter season at cattle fairs held in the countryside. They were supplied by the pig-rearing untouchable castes but also by one Adivasi group-the Kanjars-who supplied wild boar bristles, which were much sought after due to their high quality, which made them suitable for hairbrushes. Latoucheroad being the centre of the Khatik bristle manufacturers, and being situated quite near the railway station, many customers came by rail. They were well received by brokers called dalal who ushered them to the respective buyers in exchange for a commission. The bristles were derived from the live animal and were harvested twice a year: after the rainy season at the beginning of winter and in summer. This method of 'harvesting' was also known in Russia. The live pig was lifted over a branch of a tree by the hindlegs, rubbed down with ash, and amidst much squealing from the pig the bristles were extracted by hand. The longest bristles found along the spine were preferred. This was, however, a painful process and the shrieks of the animal were bloodcurdling. This yelling-accompaniment to the 'harvest' method of bristle extracting also used to draw the attention of

savarna castes in whose perceptions pigs and pig-rearing castes were beyond comprehension. The easier method was the removal of the bristles from the dead animal, which was usually done at the abattoir already set up by the British in the 19th century. Bristle dressing was done on the ground floor in the workshops of the bristle manufacturers on Latoucheroad. Workers were mostly Koris, Khatiks and Pasis as mentioned above although the Koris formed the majority. Since pigs are vulnerable to anthrax, which is a fatal disease, the bristles had to be boiled first-a procedure, which took at least two hours. As small particles of skin and flesh were not removed by boiling, the bristles were thoroughly washed and cleaned by the women and put on the roof to dry. Men and women alike did sorting and bundling. This was a multi-step process as flag and tail, colour and length had to be differentiated. The quality of the product and therefore the price depended on the standard of processing. The bristles were packed in wooden boxes, which had the mark of the specific bristle manufacturer stamped on them. Although women did the dirty jobs, they were paid less, which was sex-specific discrimination. However, it was argued that washing the bristles required less skill than the other processes. Work in this unorganised sector of Indian manufacturing was neither subject to Indian Labour Legislation nor did the unions become active. Hence, tariffs were regulated by the contractors or manufacturers. Labour relations were informal and strongly influenced by family and caste relations. In colonial times, those bristles which were not bought by the Cawnpore Brush Factory were sold to England. This was done through local British merchants like William Bird and Company, a raw product dealer. They had their head office in Calcutta and a branch office on the Mall Road in Kanpur. They exported bristles, skin, hides and furs, and acted as quality controllers for the government. William Bird was the oldest exporter and his annals reached back to the 19th century. In the 1930s, a second British firm called Murray and Company became quite prominent for raw products. It was followed by the Delhi-based Kayastha merchant, Shyamji Mal Saxena, who in the early 1930s exported wool, animal hair, bristles, skin, leather and hides abroad. This firm had a branch office in Kanpur too. However, British exporters who sometimes acted through the local agents bought most of the bristles from Kanpur. For the Khatik bristle manufacturers, selling to London was a multi-step process. They had to overcome the hurdles of colonial business practice where a chain of intermediaries took away a good share of their profits. First, Khatik bristle manufacturers received an advance from the exporters, which was a percentage of the average price determined at the last auction in London. This enabled them to ship the goods. Once in London, the bristle was displayed in a warehouse to enable buyers to check the quality. Before the auction, the brokers compiled a catalogue listing and describing the products according to their special marks. The brokers consisted of a small group of four to five traditional British families who had been in the

trade for a long time. When bristle manufacturers were finally paid, the advances and the various costs of packaging, storing and cataloguing were deducted. Around the 1930s, there were five to six Khatik firms on Latoucheroad, which rose to prominence as bristle manufacturers. Usually two close relations, either brothers, or uncle and nephew, or cousin brothers, set up a firm together. This was done to minimise the risk and keep the family together. The oldest firm, MM Mithoo Lall, Roshan Lall, and Mangal Devi, was established in the 1930s. The owners of the firm became the richest bristle manufacturers in Kanpur and Mithoo Lall styled himself as the 'King of Bristles', as the heading of his imposing and impressively coloured photograph of the 1940s shows. Being an uneducated man, he had a clerk of the Bank of Bengal to keep his book accounts. He was able to use the 'despised niche' of Indian society to his advantage by making a profit from bristle manufacturing. He invested his wealth cleverly in the city's real estate, and a whole block of houses on Latoucheroad belonged to him and nowadays belongs to his offspring. His all-India fame and name as the 'King of Bristles' can be disputed but locally he gained name and fame, and called himself Chaudhury, a hereditary title that continues to be used by his sons. The Khatiks in Kanpur city were not particularly bothered about their social esteem and advancement. There was a short phase in which they tried to form gotras by following the example of the Brahmins. However, this attempt failed. Apart from this, they never attempted to attain higher social status by changing their genealogy, as other Scheduled Castes like for example, the Chamars and Koris did (Bellwinkel 1980; Molund 1988). For them, economic success sufficed, which the owner of the firm Mukund Lall and Sons explained during a conversation as follows: 'There is no Hindu religion; there is only Sanatana Dharma and Arya Dharma. Followers of the former worship statues and of the latter believe in God as a supreme spirit. I am Arya Samaji and only use the word Om. I also believe only in what I can attain through work-, my work is my religion. The nonchalance with which the Khatiks ignore the Hindu laws of purity and the self-assuredness with which the bristle manufacturers look upon their despised trade may only apply to the rich dealers. However, it can hardly be interpreted as an expression of sanskritisation (Ram 1995: 164) as their frequent adoption of the surname Sonkar, derived from the Sanskrit word somkar (moonlight), might suggest. Unlike Mithoo Lall, Mukund Lall, who also gave his name to the above-mentioned firm, was however; an educated man and he took keen interest in the early Dalit movements in North India. He used to visit the weekly meetings of Swami Achhutanand (Gooptu 1993). After the Swami's death in 1933, Ram Lal Sonkar-a bristle manufacturer of Latoucheroad-became the leading political figure in the Dalit movement in Kanpur. On Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar's (the then Labour Secretary in the Viceroy's Council) only visit to Kanpur in 1944, Ram Lal Sonkar and Mukund Lall called on Babasaheb while he was

staying at the railway retiring room and requested him to visit their place. Babasaheb agreed to come to Latoucheroad on condition that a sahabhoj (communal feast) of all the Scheduled Castes in the city be organized. The narrative goes 7 that Ram Lal Sonkar managed to arrange a meeting for Dr. Ambedkar on Parade, the former drill ground of the British army - followed by a sahabhoj off Latoucheroad for all Scheduled Castes including the Balmikis who were considered to be the lowest in caste-hierarchy. Since nobody wanted to be the host of that sahabhoj, a tent was set up on an open ground. With great triumph, the carriages of the leading industrialists of Kanpur like Juggilal Kamlapat Singhania, among others, lined up during the sahabhoj. All of them wanted to speak to Babasaheb Ambedkar in his capacity as Labour Minister. However, he took his own time to finish the sahabhoj with the untouchables of the city. What is usually not mentioned is that Mithoo Lall did not attend this sahabhoj. To cap it all, those who had attended were ostracized from their respective castes.

### **Kanpur's Industrial Decline and the Khatiks**

Whereas Kanpur's textile and leather industries prospered during the Second World War because the industries located in the city produced mainly for the army, bristle export suffered a setback due to the war, as stated earlier. However, the Khatiks were still able to produce bristle for the Cawnpore Brush Factory, which received large supply orders for the army. At last, in 1946, Calcutta bristle was renamed Indian bristle. Independence brought a restructuring of political and economic relations, which were influenced by international political events. Kanpur's textile and leather industries had made large profits during the two World Wars as the British-dominated industries in the city were the main suppliers to the army. The Nehruvian policy of creating a socialist economy favoured investment in public sector enterprises and not in private business. As a result, Kanpur was not on the list of the newly introduced industrial growth centres (Singh 1990). The transfer of economic power in Kanpur city had, however, started right after independence with the last British industrialists eventually selling their enterprises to Indian merchants in the 1970s. These years were marked by labour unrest due to rationalization (Pandey 1970) resulting in a reduction of the industrial labour force (Awasthi 1981), and the change of Transport from rail to road. Kanpur lost its pre-eminence as a railway junction. Economically, those were years of stagnation but this was not felt severely because of the euphoria of decolonization and imagined growth potentials (Desai et al. 1968), which later led to the city's development programmes under the Master Plan (1968-91) for Kanpur and the Kanpur Development Authority (1975). The different bodies of planners, professionals and bureaucrats formulated those master plans. The implementation of the various programmes envisaged under these plans was, unfortunately, hampered by rivalry, corruption and inaction on the part of the implementing machinery. Hence, the severe shortages of water

and sanitation was left to be resolved with the help of the international development agencies in the early 1980s (Lavigne and Milbert 1983; ISESEP 1988).

For Kanpur's bristle manufacturers, the early years of independence were years of prosperity. The Korean War and the strained Chinese and American relations were a boom for Kanpur's bristle manufacturers.<sup>8</sup> Although the Americans had turned to pig-breeding for mass consumption, they did not produce sufficient hog bristles themselves (Wagmann 1952). They became the biggest buyers of Chinese bristles and even set up firms in China. However, the Chinese Revolution and the restructuring of the state under communism in 1949 placed a great strain on the American bristle trade. The import of hog bristles from China was finally prohibited when the Americans imposed, following the Korean war in 1952, a trade embargo on goods imported from China. American traders were prohibited from importing Chinese goods even through Third World countries. Therefore, Americans turned directly to the Indian market undermining the London auction. This also allowed some Parsi firms to enter the bristle trade, especially those who had settled in Kanpur after independence. Being educated, Parsis and Punjabis broke the hold of the middlemen and dealt directly with London's brokers. Still, Mithoo Lall did not leave the premises of Latoucheroad though the isolation of the colonial channels of commerce had broken him down. He was visited by one of his American customers who not only recalls Mithoo Lall's frankness and honesty in business matters but also the amount of alcohol which both of them consumed.<sup>9</sup> Once America started buying, air-freight became a more frequent form of Transport especially for the longer and more valuable varieties of bristle. In 1968, Nepal introduced an import/export scheme under which it was more advantageous to Indian shippers to send their goods to Nepal for re-export to the United Kingdom. Therefore, 'Nepal-bristles' became a brand name and underwent a change in quality control. Though the Government of India set up AGMARK grading scheme for cottage industry products, this could not apply to the grading of bristles. When the Chinese market was re-opened in 1972, the Khatiks' fortune started to look up again in Kanpur city. The Chinese were able to supply a much longer volume of better quality hog bristles at more competitive prices. Indian bristles and bristle dressing generally began to decline, a fact, which owes to the overall economic condition of Kanpur. From the 1970s onwards, traditional textile mills and leather factories were taken over by the government. As the British had failed to invest in new machinery, the production cost became too high, leading to low productivity, and this low productivity became uncompetitive vis-à-vis the newly established growth centres under the Five-Year plans. Although Kanpur's textile mills and leather factories were running at high losses, these were used as employment-creating schemes by the government, and Kanpur's labour force had a comparatively secure existence. In 1979, London's bristle auction was finally closed, marking the end of

colonial trade relations with Kanpur's Khatiks. Indian bristles were no longer exported abroad.

At the beginning of the 1980s, conditions for the bristle merchants aggravated as the Chinese lowered the prices for their bristles and literally flooded the American and European market with big quantities of high quality bristles. As Indian bristles were not exported any longer, their price fell even in the Indian market, inducing a number of former bristle manufacturers to turn to brush making. The Parsi bristle merchants, for instance, left business as soon as the Korean boom was over. Three former well known Khatik bristle manufacturers also turned brush-makers, although the other two are still in business; one has become the first and foremost importer of Chinese bristles since 1989.<sup>10</sup> The son of the leading Kayastha bristle exporter had set up in the 1960s a highly successful paint brush factory which is now catering to the demands of the construction industry in Bangalore. In addition, the most successful brush manufacturer in the city is a Punjabi who has employed 35 workers and runs a semi-automatic plant. There are 18 brush factories in the city registered with the Directorate of Industries. However, according to one estimate, there are at least 500 brush makers in Kanpur who produce in family concerns, while those who learn the craft in the factories are employees. As modern construction activities are demanding regular application of paint, there is also nowadays an Indian demand for paintbrushes.<sup>11</sup>

At the end of the 1970s, a number of leather tanneries and leather factories began to modernise to be able to produce high quality products for the international market. They are run by Muslims and Punjabis. Over the last 20 years, they have transformed Kanpur into a renowned centre for leather industry whereas all the traditional leather and textile mills of colonial times finally closed down in 1991. The introduction of the New Economic Policy in the context of globalisation under the Narasimha Rao regime had a devastating effect on the old and renowned factories in the city. Kanpur's industrial labour force resorted to casual labour or petty trade. The oldest brush factory, the Brushware Ltd 12 of the city, also met the same fate as it was finally closed down in 1994 and four watchmen now guard its dusty rooms. However, the leather industry and brush manufacturing have continued to prosper.

### **Pig Farming in the City**

In Kanpur city, the Bhangis, Pasis, Dhanuks and Khatiks have been engaged in rearing pigs. In the early 1970s, pig farming was confined to the respective wards where the pig rearing castes lived. Since the beginning of the 1980s, pork production on a large scale has been introduced by one Khatik family in the city. Over the last 20 years, pigs have multiplied to the extent that it is said that this particular family nowadays owns 20,000 pigs in Kanpur. The pig-breeders use the garbage heaps of the whole city as feeding places for their pigs, although middle class residential areas where a better feed can be expected are preferred. Only the Muslim wards are omitted. The city is divided into four

feeding zones and in each zone the pigs are marked with a different brand by cutting a sign into their ear and tail. Three of these zones are supervised by the extended family and the other zone is given on rent to a near relation. Supervision of pigs is done daily by the members of the Khatik family themselves but pig farming depends on local servants who do the work. They tie up the pigs for slaughter and also turn up from nowhere immediately when a pig is killed in traffic. Their noisy complaints and threatening monetary demands are feared by the city's car drivers. Pigs constitute a considerable impediment to traffic and their droppings soil the streets. Not only that but any effort to change the system of garbage collection by private initiative was in vain in the past as the Khatiks retaliated immediately. In villages, the Khatiks keep their pigs in sties and feed them on rice straw, sugarcane stalks and maize. This is also occasionally done in the city to the more valuable 'Chinese' pigs which are big, fat and white, and are markedly different from their long-legged, skinny and black brethren with long hair on their backs frequently roaming in the city's open drains and garbage heaps. It can be surmised that the so-called Chinese pigs kept for meat production are a cross breed with a few European species which were introduced sometime in the past in India via China.<sup>13</sup> But when I examined their feed more closely, they were fed the same scavengers menu as their unrefined brethren.

Nowadays, as the consumption of pork is of great importance, a visit to the slaughterhouse may be an exciting experience. The British established slaughterhouses in Kanpur of which one in Fazalganj is meant for the Khatiks to slaughter pigs and goats, and the other at Bakarmandi for the Muslims to slaughter goats and water buffalo. (Cow slaughter has been banned in Uttar Pradesh since 1955.) These abattoirs are at opposite ends of the city. Interestingly enough, Khatik goat butchers (*kasai*) carry the same subcaste name as Muslim butchers, which indicate conversion of one section of the Khatiks to Islam (Ansari 1960). My visit to the Fazalganj abattoir was rather gruesome and repulsive but highly informative. The narrative of experience of the visit reads- 'In front of the abattoir are huge garbage heaps which are scavenged by sweepers and pigs alike. The abattoir is a large mud paved yard, which also serves as a market. There are sties all around to keep pigs there for a couple of days before they are also sold and taken away. Additional installations are a fireplace and a water tank. At seven o'clock in the morning, only the villagers, especially Dhanuks who have walked the whole night, come in with their herds. Two lorries parked by the roadside are meant to take the pigs to Assam where they fetch higher prices,' Munna, the pork butcher, explained. He is an expert in fixing the price of the animal just by sight and by a confirming grip on the pig's back. He elaborated, 'Buying and selling is done by fixing the price in advance and giving credit. Not a single banknote is exchanged in the entire process.' My narrative goes ahead, 'Then come some of the pigs from the city, tied and bundled on rickshaws. The pork butchers including a woman are there waiting in quiet equanimity for the specimen they were to process.'

Slaughtering is done the whole year round, even during the hot season. The bristles are plucked out in a swift and deft motion by the young men afterwards. This is followed by singeing on grill on the fireplace and the skin is cleaned in a basin of dark brown slop (water), which is probably seldom changed. Cleansing is often done by the youngest and is perhaps their way to start learning the craft. The slaughtered animal is put on the floor for further processing. During my visit to the slaughterhouse to observe the whole process, one of the men standing around commented on the slaughtering process- 'We do everything differently from the Muslims. The Muslims do the halal way of slaughtering so that the animal is completely bled. They cut-off the head and make all the blood come out. We prefer stabbing into the heart so that little blood is lost. We retain the blood and make blood pudding out of it. The more the blood in the animal, the juicier the meat. But, of course', he admitted, 'the meat also spoils more quickly.' The processing has to be done quickly by the pork butchers numbering around 200 in the city. There are an even greater number of ambulant pork restaurants, which sell curried pork dishes and pork sausages. The thelewallas and rickshawallas usually buy the meat from the butchers. Their women do the meat preparation and the men sit out in the evening with their carts in search of customers.

### **Khatiks, Muslims and the post-Ayodhya Scenario**

Events of the so-called Indian mutiny of 1857 which led to the extinction of British Kanpur's military and civil population (Ward 1996) created the impression of the city as a 'city of violence' (Molund 1988). It proved to be so throughout the 20th century when the city was shaken by several communal riots and industrial strikes, which are to be seen in the light of the city's urban and industrial development and its failure to improve the living conditions of the working class (Awasthi 1981). Rioting is to be seen as historically rooted when communalism developed as a force during the Non-cooperation/Khilafat movement of the 1920s, as the form in which nationalist demonstrations took place had a decisively 'Hindu' connotation (Freitag 1989), and as such was unacceptable to Muslims. As the Arya Samaj's influence was rather strong on labour and national movements, it led to an additional alienation of the Muslims. The Hindu-Muslim riot of 1931 was the most severe in pre-independence India. Around 400 people died and 1,200 were injured. Temples and mosques were destroyed, houses and shops burnt (Barrier 1976). In the aftermath of these riots, a rearrangement of localities had taken place as Hindus moved out of Muslim-majority areas and vice versa. The ahatas got fortified to serve defence purposes. This process of homogenisation of population locally was counteracted by the explicit agenda of the communists to fight communalism. The universalistic and humanitarian appeal-'First we are people'-was to counterbalance this. To what extent communist propaganda was successful is, however, not certain as minor riots kept flaring up in the 1930s. Yet, there was no riot during partition although the ahatas went under guard.

The post-Ayodhya Hindu-Muslim riots in Kanpur city in 1992 did not catch the headlines of many newspapers. But these were equally severe in the city as four days of nearly uncontrolled violence gave the riots the character of a pogrom (Brass 1997). Around 69 deaths were registered although the unofficial number was much higher. Over 70 per cent of the victims were poor Muslims and many of the Hindu victims belonged to the Scheduled Castes. The Hindu nationalists (fundamentalists) the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and its splinter groups, which had a stronghold among the merchants and upper caste employees in the city, instigated the riots. The BJP had gained prominence in Kanpur since the 1980s and was successful in the 1991 elections to the Parliament as well as to the State Assembly. But the most striking feature of the 1992 riots was the strong involvement of one section of the Khatiks under the leadership of 'Kala Bacha' (literally, 'black child', a nickname).

The Black Child, as this hero of the dark side was called, was a Khatik who lived in Babupurwa. His real name was Munna Sonkar but since childhood, he had been called Kala Bacha. That is how he was known even in his school records. Black colour is associated with low status, notoriety and viciousness, as also playfulness, as the god Krishna was also considered to be of dark complexion. Kala Bacha owned about 200 pigs and had built a large multi-storey house, which he mainly let out, to tenants including Muslims. He became a municipal corporator as an independent candidate, joined the Congress Party afterwards and switched over to the BJP, although it is said that ideologically he was not a very committed person (Brass 1997:227). Within a short time, he became the President of the BJP unit in Kanpur city. Although it is well established that during the post-Ayodhya riots in the city Muslims were the first ones to come out, the selective, pointed and aimed rioting against them is largely attributed to Kala Bacha. Among the BJP and the Hindu public at large, it is said that he was considered by them to be a hero who saved Hindus from the Muslim areas. Contrary to this, the Muslims attributed to him the prime agency for the selective and organized looting and killing. Police and the city administration on their part considered him just a criminal element belonging to those institutionalized riots which had taken place in the last couple of years in the city. There is even hearsay that he had taken to stealing pigs and changing their brand. In February 1994, he was killed in a bomb blast while driving on his scooter with a near relative. Fortunately, this time the police and the city administration were able to suppress further rioting (The Pioneer 1994).

### **Towards an Anthropology of Man and Beast**

The pig is called *suar* in Hindi. The term's etymological root goes back to the Indo-European *Schwein* in German and *swine* in English. There is no linguistic differentiation between the wild and the domesticated species, although the Sanskrit term *varaha* for wild boar is used in a number of Indian languages (also for one of the incarnate forms of Lord Vishnu). The wild boar is called

*jungli suar* (the forest pig). Yet, there is no historical evidence concerning the Indian pig. The ancient cultures of Mesopotamia and Egypt domesticated the pig in the 4th-5th millennium BC, but in Mohenjo Daro and Harappa (2300-1700 BC), centres of the Indus Valley civilization, any remnant of the domesticated pig is conspicuous by its absence (Kosambi 1956). The Vedic Aryans were nomads and when they migrated to India about 1250 BC, they had horses, cattle, goats and sheep (but no pigs) and the male animals were used for sacrifice (O'Flaherty 1980) and their meat was eaten.

Cows were treated as clean animals but their super elevation to the realm of holiness started as a Hindu reaction to Buddhism and preceded the first formulated theory of ahimsa (non-violence). Both Jainism and Buddhism had objected to the killing of animals and the consumption of meat. The development of vegetarianism and the ban on cow slaughter is a well-researched realm especially in German Indology. The cow protection movement, which started in the late 19th century, was, however, a move directed against the Muslims. Interestingly enough, it was intended as a ban on ritual slaughtering (*qurbani*) at the end of the Muslim fasting period, and not against the slaughtering of cows for beef among the Muslims and the British (Pandey 1992). Veterinary research has focussed on the Indian cow, and its breeding history is well known, but we know very little about the domestication of the pig in India. For the Hindu, the cow is not only considered to be a clean animal but is super elevated to a sacred animal. Her five products-milk, butter, fat, urine and dung-are mixed and eaten in cow worship. Cows and priests are said to have been created at the same time. Traditionally, the Scheduled Castes were not allowed to breed cows as the cow was regarded as the abode of numerous gods, and her worship and care for her led to salvation. The cow is also considered to be the mother of India and a mother is not to be killed. For the Muslims, on the other hand, the cow is a clean animal and as such is preferred for ritual slaughter and consumption. Hinduism has made an implicit equation between Scheduled Castes and pigs. As the pig is an omnivore and eats garbage, faeces, carrion and dirt, it is considered an unclean animal even by those castes who traditionally undertook the ritually polluting tasks. According to the Koran, the pig is considered an unclean animal and the Muslims all over the world are not allowed to eat pork. Harris (1985) holds that ecological reasons underlie the food taboo. The pig became an 'abomination' in the Middle Eastern countries because it directly was rivalling human foodstuff. Regarding the feed of Kanpur's pigs, I doubt that thesis. Be it as it may, it can certainly be argued that the pig, considered unclean as it is by *savarna* castes and Muslims alike, belongs to the despised realm of Indian culture. This general juxtaposition of Brahmin and cow against untouchable and pig has no scriptural foundation in Hinduism. In the epic and puranic scriptures of Hinduism, there is no mention of the pig. Only the wild boar is referred to as the

cherished prey of aristocratic hunts. The wild boar of the jungle is praised for its strength, power and ferocity. Categorically, the wild boar is beyond culture; his savageness is attributed to the woods where he resides. Wild boar is said to have been eaten by the Buddha also and, nowadays, it is eaten even by the savarna castes. In the old scriptures of Hinduism, the opposite of the holy cow is the despised dog and not the pig (Malinar 1997). In Hindu mythology, the wild boar is the third incarnation of Lord Vishnu as mentioned above. When a demon cast the earth into the depth of the cosmic ocean (a heap of filth, according to another version), Vishnu assumed the form of an enormous boar, killed the demon and retrieved the earth with his tusk. 'This mystic scenario probably developed through a primitive non-Aryan cult of the sacred pig' (Eliade 1987:364).

The Scheduled Castes were meat-eaters (Singh 1993). They ate beef, pork, chicken, dog, cat and rat, mice and meat (Randeria 1993). In the Scheduled Castes' mythology, however, the consumption of beef was instrumental in their losing their status as a clean caste (Vincentnathan 1993). For instance, the Dhanuks of Kanpur are said to have lost their clean status of the Ahir caste when they took to pig rearing (Singh 1993). Traditionally, the Chamars were given the dead cows for processing and they ate carrion. But in the 1920s, the so-called 'disgusting and heterodox practices of eating pork, beef, carrion and the leftover of food of other castes was on the decline' (Briggs 1990 [1920]: 47). Dr. Ambedkar also had strongly objected to the intake of carrion (Keer 1954), which was given up altogether by the Mahars of Maharashtra and the Chamars of northern India. Yet, there is an odium attached to pig rearing which is based on an implicit equation of pig and sweeper, as both scavenge amidst the dirt. The sweeper belongs to the most polluted caste because he takes away the excreta from the upper castes. As the pig eats that matter which is defined as polluted, pig in the savarna discourse is considered a polluted animal. Nevertheless, pork is generally eaten by all Scheduled Castes not only in Kanpur city but also in the whole of India. For instance, it has an eminently nutritious and ritual value for the Chamars. It is the only fresh meat they could obtain in the past. For them, pig was also the preferential sacrificial animal (Bellwinkel 1980; Cohn 1987), which used to be the food at weddings. A piglet was sacrificed when a child was born or was sick, or a boon had to be granted.<sup>14</sup> But now there are few Chamars in Kanpur city who are willing to recall that tradition.

As stated earlier, the upper caste Hindus in general and in Kanpur city in particular show the highest amount of repulsion towards the pig. The repulsion generally expressed by Kanpur's middle classes towards the pig has different connotations reflecting the 'Westernised' orientation of the respective discussants. Those exposed to European modes of living are able to differentiate between the animal and its unsavoury feed. They do not mind eating pork if the pigs are kept properly and are not fed on garbage heaps. They would certainly eat pork abroad as it is juicy and delicious irrespective of the feeding pattern of

the pig. However, here in Kanpur city, they can give endless examples of washermen who have died of tapeworm in the brain, which was certainly transmitted from pork. A general warning is displayed in Chinese Restaurants in the city not to eat pork, as it is injurious to health. The second discourse of the middle classes takes a paternalistic stance. According to them, the consumption of pork is regarded suitable only for the Scheduled Castes as their stomach is considered to be adjusted to the digestion of pork. In such arguments, pork eating and drinking country liquor among the poor and labourers is also condoned, as they are believed to know no better. Health hazards attributed to the intake of pork are partially a rationalization of the savarna discourse of the polluted pork. However, from a nutritional point of view, this is not true as physiologically that kind of feed is harmless. It only shows the highly adaptive capacity of the pigs' intestines to split up faeces and leftovers. What would certainly be injurious to health are the unhygienic conditions at the Fazalganj slaughterhouse, the total lack of veterinary inspection, and the lack of cooling facilities at the abattoir and the butchers' shops.<sup>15</sup> But many office goers from the savarna castes, on leaving office come to the roadside pork Restaurants. They do not argue about what they eat; instead, they relish the pork, unnoticed by their mothers, wives and children. Contrary to this, the educated amongst the Chamars have partially taken over the savarna discourse on the polluted pork as stated earlier. The consumption of pork was something they had done in childhood but it is something their not so advanced brothers still do. Nowadays, they have taken to the cherished food of the middle classes like chicken, goat, and to a lesser extent, mutton, although some of the educated Chamars, especially the convinced Buddhists, are strictly vegetarians. Meat-eating in the Hindu, or rather Brahmanic, tradition has been treated exhilarating; hence, undesirable. However, for the Khatiks of Kanpur, pork eating has remained an overt and cherished tradition, which they are proud of. In their opinion, pork is tasty and cheap, and is suitable for all. They claim that even Muslims eat pork, although they do it on the sly. They send their children to the butcher's shop to make sure that nobody notices it. The Khatiks have most probably never taken to beef eating as they traditionally had enough pork to consume. Probably consequent upon that, cow protection is strongly implanted in their belief system and also governs their relationship with the Muslims whom they regard to be ritually polluting on account of their eating beef. 'If a Muslim touches our water vessels, they will be polluted,' they say. Untouchability practised between Khatiks and Muslims has also repercussions on their business relationships. For instance, his caste fellows reprimanded a Khatik bristle manufacturer in the past because he had bought cattle and horsetail hair from the Muslims to blend them with pig bristles. However, from these notions a general hostility between Khatiks and Muslims cannot be deducted. There are Khatik families on Latoucheroad who follow Muslim Pirs and their male members maintain close friendship with Muslims. They visit each other on Id and Diwali, and take food in the respective houses.

In retrospect, the rise and decline of the bristle trade showed that the notion of pollution worked to the advantage of the Khatiks. Being mainly pork butchers and associated with the most defiling notion of pollution, Khatiks have traditionally been allowed a low ranking in the gradation of the Scheduled Castes though Ram (1988) has found them fairly at the top in such gradation. In spite of that, they became successful entrepreneurs and used the 'despised niche' of Indian society to their own advantage. These findings are surprising to the extent that these are contrary to the common notion of the norms of pollution, which worked to the disadvantage of the Scheduled Castes as a whole. The bristle trade became so remunerative that even businessmen of the savarna castes entered this trade, as stated earlier. Thus, bristle became a ritually neutral commodity for which the norms of purity and pollution (Dumont 1970) were not applicable. In the case of the Khatiks of Kanpur city, the economic realm has superseded the ritual realm. There is certainly a noticeable change regarding the rigidity of pollution norms.

Although most of the Scheduled Castes in Kanpur city tried in the past to sanskritise their behaviour to achieve upper caste status (Niehoff 1959; Bellwinkel 1980; Molund 1988; Ram 1995), the Khatiks did not bother about it at all. The repulsion associated with their name, which directly discloses the profession of butchery, has made them change their surname to Sonkar. I do not regard this as an indication of sanskritisation; instead, only of their ambivalence concerning their butcher's role. However, in all other realms of behaviour such as specificities of their trade, business, food and drinking habits, they show great confidence and self-assuredness. In respect of butchery, they openly do not want to be referred to as a butcher's caste although within the walls of Fazalganj abattoir the young butchers are tremendously proud of their craftsmanship. As butchers and masters of the beast, Khatiks control their (the beasts') life and death. Although until the Ayodhya riots their mastery of killing was contained within the walls of the slaughterhouse, its extension into the human realm was possible only under very specific and complex socio-political and ideological conditions.

The Scheduled Caste politics in Kanpur city has remained fragmented and only on specific occasions unified as Ram (1995) has shown. Although the Khatiks of the city had received Dr. Ambedkar when he came to Kanpur on his aforesaid first and only visit, they were not very much involved in Scheduled Caste politics. It is the Chamars who were the spokesmen, although they also were fragmented between different factions and orientations (Niehoff 1959). In the past, neither the Ambedkar movement nor neo-Buddhism had any lasting political impact on Kanpur. Scheduled Caste industrial workers were with the Congress party as long as the fortunes of the Nehru dynasty ran high. They have recently shifted to the Bahujan Samaj Party and a faction of the Khatiks to the BJP. The Khatiks are also fragmented in their political orientation. One faction is with the communists who have always taken an anti-communalist stance. In addition, evidence suggests that Kala Bacha's ideological identification with the BJP

was superficial, although he became the president of the city unit of the party, as mentioned above. Thus, it cannot be construed from the short-term association of Kala Bacha and a faction of the Khatiks with the BJP that the latter have become sanskritised, distanced from the other Scheduled Castes, and have crossed the pollution barrier and began to enjoy the status of an upper or *savarna* caste. The economic decline of the Khatiks from international trade relations to pig breeding certainly meant a loss of status for them. The BJP used the hidden animosity between Khatiks and Muslims, which revolved around the pig, to absorb one fraction of the former into their fold. Kala Bacha gained recognition and esteem through his association with the BJP, the winner in Kanpur's urban politics since the 1980's. The overarching ideology of Hindutva was directed by the BJP against the Muslims and the polluting character of the Khatiks' occupation was negated as long as the Khatiks served its ends. To use Dumont's argument in contradiction to his theory, pollution was subsumed to power, and Kala Bacha himself cleverly stuck to the 'Orientalist' image (Brass 1997) of the complacent and non-violent Hindu. In his own definition of the happenings, he was 'only saving' those Hindus living in the Muslim-dominated areas who feared for their lives. Under very specific conditions, the Hindutva ideology bottled up that danger which until now is contained in the specific profession of the BJP.

### **Conclusion**

There is power derived from the fear of pollution of matter, beast and man, and this power is contained by the caste system. The pollution part of the caste system is until now seen only in its suppressive, exploitative and unjust aspects. The Khatiks share with all Scheduled Castes the power derived from the abomination of dirt, pollution and death, which the *savarna* castes hand down to them. The pig as the realm of pollution and dirt is the creative and nutritious element for the Khatiks, which they have used to their advantage as bristle manufacturers, pig breeders and pork butchers. This notion is shared by most of the Scheduled Castes in the city and outside, for whom the pig is of high symbolic and ritual value.

### **NOTES**

The author is grateful to Professor Nandu Ram, Dr.Ambedkar Chair Professor of Sociology at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, who made valuable comments and suggestions on the earlier draft of this paper.  
 1. Ahata means enclosure, which is the prevalent residential area of the labour class and the urban poor. Most of the ahatas are listed as slums.

2. Most of this information I owe to Edward Barber from the firm Michael Barber and Sons. They were the leading auctioneers of bristles in London.

3. This statement is corroborated through an observation made by Reinhold Hörz, an eminent and experienced German bristle dealer of Stuttgart. I showed him a photograph of bristle

- dressing in Latoucheroad. Judging from the flag of the bristles, he thought they came from the wild boar. But as far as I know, they came from Kanpur's domesticated pigs.
4. I came across the name 'Calcutta Bristle' first in the German brushworkers journals which I consulted in the Leipzig National Library and in the Economic Archives of Baden-Württemberg.
  5. The Russians ate up all their pigs.
  6. I am grateful to Suresh Saxena, the former secretary of the Indian Bristle Merchants Association who not only supplied me with information but also allowed me to consult his files.
  7. In the discourse of the sahabhoj, I follow the narrative of Mukund Lall's son Nawal Kishor—the most objective and trustworthy informant. Many information on the bristle trade I owe to him and his monthly *Brushes, Hairs and Fibre*, published in English and Hindi. In the editorials, Nawal Kishor raises historical issues on the bristle trade, bristle dressing and brush manufacturing.
  8. At that time German bristle dressing also prospered.
  9. 'Drinking like a fish' is an abusive term in Germany for brushmakers also. The dusty work of brush-making allows German craftsmen, according the Board of Craftsmen Regulations, to drink one bottle of beer a day during work although usually alcohol is prohibited at the work site.
  10. This is the firm A. K. Export Trading Corporation, which still deals with Indian bristles and does dressing on demand.
  11. Houses were usually whitewashed after the rainy season just before Diwali. For the application of lime, vegetable fibres were used.
  12. After independence, the Cawnpore Brush Factory was renamed Brushware Limited.
  13. This insight I owe to Howard Wagmann, Senior of the American Bristle Dealers. I am also grateful to Prof. H. Geldermann of the Institute of Animal Genetics of the Agricultural University, Schloss Hohenheim, Germany, who pointed out to me that not only bristle trade but cross-breeding of pigs also was an international affair.
  14. Most of the information regarding the ritual importance of the pig for the Chamars I owe to Prof. Nandu Ram of Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi as Briggs is very scanty in his information.
  15. I discussed this point at length with Prof. Becker of the Institute of Animal Production in the Tropics and Subtropics, Agricultural University, Schloss Hohenheim, Stuttgart, Germany. Using my material on Kanpur's pig feed, he gave a stimulating lecture to his students and me on the pigs' intestines and their adaptive capacity. For me, this proved to be a physiologically sound refutation of a substantialist's deduction of pollution concept.

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