

Muslim Kinship and Modernization: The Tyabji Clan of Bombay¹

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Much of the literature on kinship in India looks rather static in character to a non-anthropologist.² It has not explored in any detailed way the effects of modernization on Hindu marriage patterns, let alone among Muslims.³ On the face of it, one might expect to find that individualism, as a key component of modernization, would undermine parentally arranged marriages and thereby the first cousin endogamy typical of Muslims.⁴ But does this really happen among Indian Muslims,

1. The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the American Institute of Indian Studies and the State University of New York Research Foundation whose grants made possible field research in Bombay in 1969-70 during which he interviewed thirty-four members of the Tyabji clan. He is also indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies whose grant for 1974-75 gave him time to write this article.
2. A quick survey of articles in the *Social Sciences and Humanities Index* from 1968 to 1974 reveals only four titles under 'kinship' dealing with change and none of these are about India. Khare (1973) does, however, deal with kinship change in India.
3. For instance, Irvati Karve (1965) has nothing about Muslim kinship except a small section on the Moplahs. The need 'For a Sociology of India' including Muslims was first argued by Imtiaz Ahmad (see Ahmad, 1972).
4. See Murphy and Kasdan (1959) for the Arab Bedouin prototype; also see Granqvist (1931), Barth (1954), Ayoub (1959) and Khiri (1970).

or is this expectation another of the many normatively loaded confusions between modernization and westernization?

The Tyabji clan of Bombay, who were pioneers of both westernization and modernization in their community (see Chart I) illustrate within a relatively brief span of four or five generations the ways in which the change from close endogamy to exogamy may operate. This case study may foreshadow future trends for both minority and majority communities in India. It is significant for political scientists too because of the important all-India leadership role which the Tyabjis have played from time to time among Muslims.

The Tyabjis are descendants of Tyab Ali (ibn) Bhai Mian (1803-1863) and his younger brother, Feyzhyder (1805-1852). They were Sulaimani Bohras who migrated from Cambay in the present Gujarat state to Bombay early in the nineteenth century (Hollister, 1953: Chap. XVI). They rose from rags to riches in commerce. Like other Ismaili sects which had been persecuted intermittently by Sunni rulers, they did not share the increasingly dysfunctional feudal values of the North Indian and Deccani nobility, but exemplified the commercial skills and adaptability of the Weberian Protestant prototype. In short, they were early members of the new Indian middle class.

The question of how to justify including Feyzhyder's descendants, known by the surname of Fyzee, in an analysis of the clan is complicated by the fairly recent stabilization of family surnames among Bombay Muslims, although, as a group, they have done so far more readily than their North Indian co-religionists. Asaf A.A. Fyzee, in his translation of the autobiography of Tyabjee Bhoymeah quotes a family story of Abbas S. Tyabji that 'the name Tayyaballi was too long for his Parsi and Hindu friends, so they called him Tyabji and the name stuck' (Fyzee, 1962:10). But since the two sub-lineages, Tyabji and Fyzee, have been closely associated and have intermarried frequently, it seems logical to treat them as one in this study, as well as to include the descendants in the female lines of Tyab Ali's daughters and grand-daughters whose husbands later adopted the surnames Abdul Ali, Ahmadi, Futehally, Hydari, Latifi, Lukmani and Mohammadi. As Hussain B. Tyabji wrote in his biography of his father, Badruddin, 'Tyab Ali was the founder of a great *qabeela* or clan which consists

Ab Ali

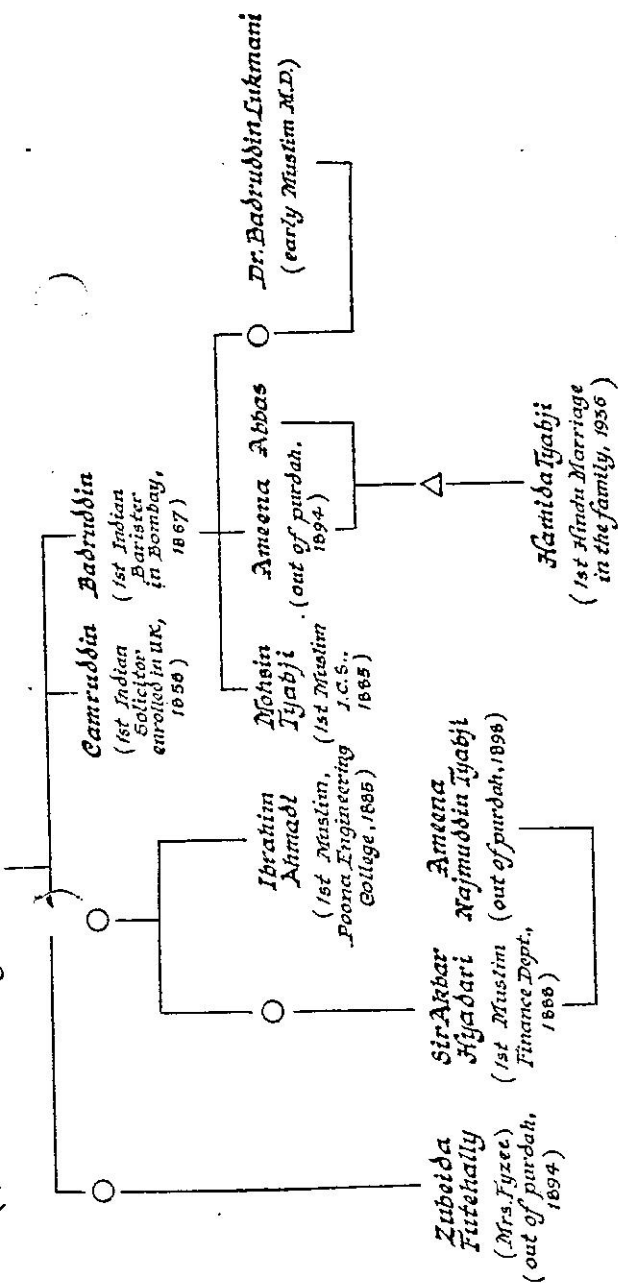


Chart 1: Pioneers of Modernization

not only of his direct male descendants . . . bearing his name, but also the descendants through his daughters who inherited his blood and whose course of life has been guided by his own principles of character, courage, independence and enterprise, of enlightenment and love for education and broadmindedness. The *qabeela*, closely knit together by common institutions and traditions, has been one of the largest and most influential families in India.' (1952:10-11). The truth of this claim is borne out by Chart 2 which shows the membership of the clan.

We can count a total of 216 marriages in the clan. Their distribution by generation and sub-clan is presented in Table 1.

The clan's marriage pattern for the first three generations after migration to Bombay continued what one must presume had been its practice for many generations, or at least since an early ancestor was converted from Hinduism by Arab missionaries, and a later ancestor shifted from the Daudi to the Sulaimani sect of the Mustalian Ismailis or Bohras (Misra, 1962:150-53): cousins, cross or parallel if available, and, in any case, tight sect endogamy, comparable to *jati* endogamy among Hindus. Tyab Ali's ten children (six males and four females) contracted a total of thirteen marriages, only one of which appears to have been from outside the Sulaimani *jama'at*. Camruddin Tyabji's (1837-89) second wife, Khanar Sultan bint Mashadi Kazim, was the daughter of a Persian (and therefore Shia) merchant of Bombay. A Sindhi and an Arab wife in this generation probably came from inside the sect since there have been Sulaimanis in both Yemen and Karachi from an early time.

Among the early subjects of modernization among the Tyabjis were three Muslims, and, for that matter, Indian, practices which impeded social acceptance by Victorian Englishmen: polygamy, child marriage and *purdah*. Perhaps one should add a fourth not shared by Muslims with Hindus: easy divorce for males. Present family members are naturally reluctant to reveal instances of the first two customs, proud as they are of their modernity, but one can infer cases in the second and third generations as long as contacts with

TABLE 1—Distribution of Clan Marriages by Generation and Lineage

	Tyabji	Fyzee	Ahmadi	Lukmani	Latifi	Futehally	Mirza	Abdul Ali	Hydari	Mohammadi	Totals
I.	1-(Bhai Mian)										1
II.	Tyab										3
III.	8										21
IV.	15(2)*	4	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	42
V.	18(5)	5(2)	2	2	4	2	1(2)	4	2	1	76
VI.	11(9)	2(1)	2	5	7(1)	7	(6)	7	6	9	72
		(3)	(1)	2	(1)	9(4)	1	11(1)	(9)	10(1)	216
Total											

* Figures in parenthesis show exogamous females.

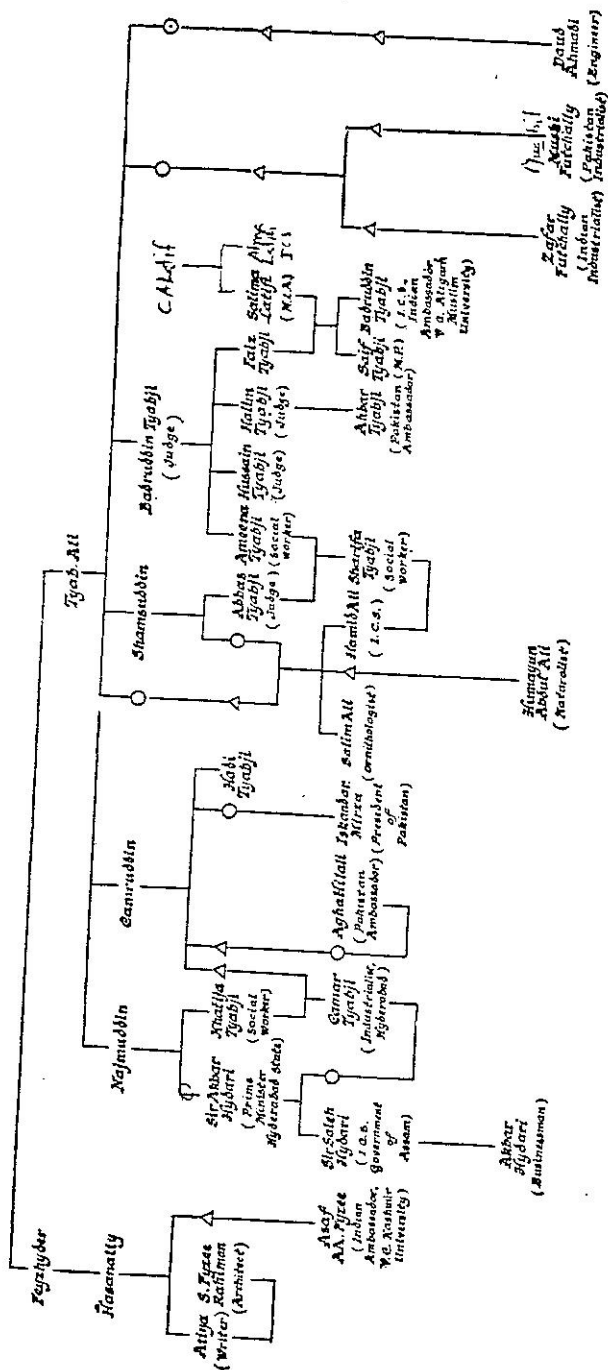


Chart 2: Khan Members in Who's Who in India and Pakistan

the British remained purely commercial, and before the requirements of higher education delayed marriage somewhat past puberty. The only acknowledged instance of polygamy was the Istambul marriages of Hasanally Feyzhyder (1838-1903) to two Turkish ladies when his Tyabji first wife refused to accompany him there on a prolonged business venture.

Regarding age at marriage, even Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1906), who followed his elder brother, Camruddin, to London for education in 1860, was engaged, as a precaution against European entanglements, at the age of fifteen to a girl of nine. He was married to her in 1865 when she was fourteen (Tyabji, 1952:22). The wives of his brothers appear, from their own and their eldest children's birthdates, to have been about thirteen at the time of marriage. Tyab Ali engaged two of his grandchildren when they were only two. Early marriage for the young men of this merchant community is not surprising when one considers how early they entered business. Tyab Ali himself was only ten when he had to abandon his education to work as a hawker.

A sharp rise in the age of females at marriage from about thirteen or fourteen to an average age of twenty-one coincided with their emergence from *purdah* in 1890s, a development of which the family is immensely proud. Badruddin, as the first Indian barrister in Bombay, mixed professionally almost entirely with Europeans. So he first encouraged his wife to introduce *zenana* parties made up of ladies of various communities. Then she learned some English and began meeting European women. In 1876, her husband sent three of his daughters to 'the first girls' school in Bombay which prolonged their education up to fifteen or sixteen. 'The circle of those before whom they appeared (unveiled) was constantly enlarged until it included practically all relatives and friends' (Tyabji, 1952: 79).⁵ The distinction of first discarding the *burqa* altogether went, however, to one of the Judge's nieces, Mrs. Ali Akbar Fyzee, who went to England with Badruddin's daughter Ameena (Mrs. Abbas Tyabji 1866-1942) in 1894. Then in 1898

5. For Tyabji's spirited attack on *purdah* and early marriage at the Mohamedan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference in 1903, see Noorani (1966:112).

another niece Mrs., afterward Lady, Hydari (Ameena Najmuddin 1878-1939) followed suit in Bombay itself at a party given by the Parsi, Jamsetji Tata. By 1904 Judge Tyabji's two youngest daughters were sent to boarding school in England.

The rising age of marriage and the prolongation of education also led to a sharp decline in the number of children per couple from 5.4 in couples married before 1898 to 2.3 for couples married after that date. Tyab Ali, as we have seen, had ten children and Badruddin had seventeen. By the fourth generation, a two-child family was practically the norm. One can speculate that contraception may have been introduced about this time. By way of comparison, great-grand-father of the author of this study, who lived from 1804 to 1885, had eighteen children by one wife; the next generation (who lived from 1832 to 1888) produced only three. In both cases there is a lag of at least one generation between urbanization and decline of the birth rate. These cases would seem to indicate that religion may have little to do with this phenomenon.

Although Judge Badruddin Tyabji is reported to have 'contemplated with favour not only intermarriages between different sects of Mussalmans, but also between good and broad-minded Hindus and Mussalmans' (Tyabji, 1952:77), endogamy remained the norm in the Tyabji clan for another generation. Of the thirty-one marriages in the fourth generations, no less than twenty-four were clan-endogamous, thirteen being parallel cousin and eight cross cousin unions, the others more distant. It was at this stage that the other Sulaimani families mentioned above were incorporated by the children of Tya' females of the third generation marrying back into the main line. Which fortunate families of the *jama'at* were so favoured seems to have depended upon longstanding business connections (Abdul Ali, Ahmadi, Futehally, Latifi), modern educational achievement (Hydari, Mohammadi), and reward for conversion from the rival Daudi sect (Lukmani). A sample of the complexity of the inter-marriage network and incorporation of other sub-clans is shown in Chart 3.

The gap between a theoretical acceptance of exogamy and its actual occurrence may be partly explicable by the continuation of the joint family until well into the twentieth century. Various dates—from the death of the Judge in 1906 down to

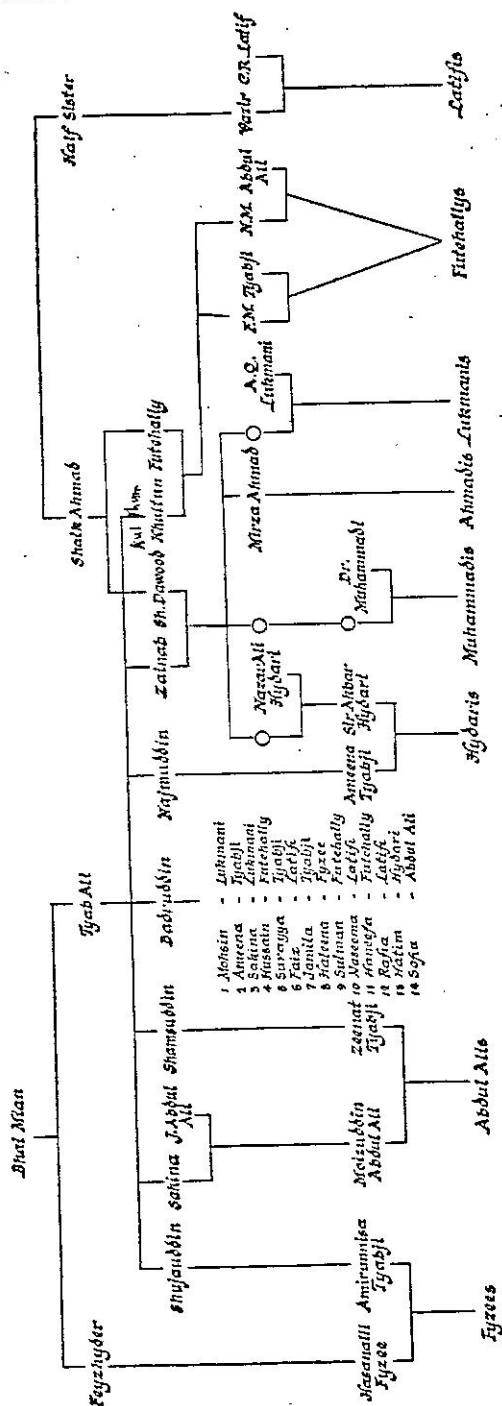


Chart 3: *Clan Intermarriages in Generation III and IV*

the partition of his estate in 1918 and the sale of the family houses in Khetwadi soon afterwards—are cited as the termination. Older members can still reminisce fondly about the rotation of family meals according to a fixed pattern of days of the week. Badruddin's son Hussain recalled that 'Badruddin's house was a patriarchal one like his father Tyab Ali's . . . surrounded by his sons living in adjoining houses to his, all taking meals together' (Tyabji, 1952:329).⁶ This pattern was actually little affected when the family moved out of the Mu'lim *mohalla*, first from Khetwadi to Byculla in 1871 and then to Somerset House on Cumballa Hill in 1881. Even after the various lineages separated residentially, some moving further out to Bandra, they all came together again for summer holidays at hill stations like Matheran or later at Fyzee's property in Kihim.⁷

If we can overlook Hassanally Fyzee's Turkish wives, sect exogamy began with Camruddin's second, Shia wife. Once started, this process becomes cumulative through marriage of the issue with the mother's relatives. Two of Camruddin's children acquired Shia spouses. Dilshad Begum (1879-1925) was married in about 1898 to Fateh Ali Mirza of the Murshidabad house of the former Nawabs of Bengal.⁸ Her brother Kazim, 'Mirza Jan' (1876c-1926) made an equally brilliant, if more modern, match about 1917 with the sister-in-law of Sir Mirza Ismail (1883-1959), the Diwan of Mysore State.⁹ These marriages mark the first of a series of hypergamous connections with the old and the new Muslim nobility of North

6. The papers of Badruddin Tyabji in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, contain his will and an indenture of partition, dated 1918.
7. Tambimuttu, a Sinhalese poet who married into the family, wrote a play, *The Land of Kim*, which gently satirized these family get-togethers. Badruddin F.B. Tyabji likens 'the annual "tribal" holiday exodus to Kihim to the migrations of nomadic ancestors in which the Chiefs, the grey beards, formed a Council of Elders which gave the tribe its solidarity and its essential character' (see Tyabji, 1962:114).
8. See P.C. Majumdar (1905), although neither this book, nor Walsh (1902), records the Tyabji marriage.
9. See Ismail (1954), although again, this book does not mention the Tyabji connection.

India and Hyderabad. After Sir Akbar Hydari became Prime Minister of the latter state, there were intermarriages with the influential Shia Bilgrami family of UP and Hyderabad. Not to be outdone by the senior branch, the Fyzees soon married Nazli Begum (1874-1968) to Sidi Ahmed Khan, the Sunni Nawab of Janjira, a small state on the coast south of Bombay (see Vadivelu, 1915:324).¹⁰ With hypergamy set in a degree of, what Cora Vreede-de-Steurs calls, 'ashrafization'—'the attempt to rise in the Muslim social scale through . . . emulation of the life style of a higher class' (Vreede-de-Steurs, 1968:6).¹¹ Since the values of the old Mughal ruling class of North India were essentially feudal, a potential conflict was created between modernization and ashrafization as expressed in different kinds of exogamy.

Along with ashrafization went 'Urduization', the replacement of the clan's original Gujarati tongue by the North Indian, and largely Muslim, lingua franca of Urdu (Dittmer, 1972). This shift was already accomplished by Tyabji by family fiat in 1959.¹² His decision stemmed from family aspirations for all-India Muslim leadership. Badruddin is quoted as asking, 'How could a Mussalman be worthy of being a leader of Mussalmans if he did not know Urdu?' In his competition later with Sir Syed Ahmed Khan for Muslim leadership he was taunted by the *Times of India* as being a 'Sulaimani Bohra, a small sect . . . who have little in common with the war-like Mohamedan people of upper India'. There are certain parallels in the career of his grandson and namesake, Badruddin F.B. Tyabji (b.1907), ICS, who accepted the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's Aligarh Muslim University (1962-65) and later retired to Hyderabad where he ran unsuc-

10. The *Times of India* (1948) mentions Lady Kulsum Begum Dowager Begum of Janjira (b. 1897) so apparently Sidi Ahmed Khan remarried to get an heir when Nazli Begum bore him no son.
11. The manuscript letters of Camruddin Tyabji in the Bombay University Library include one dated 20 March, 1876, addressed to Sir Salar Jung of Hyderabad in which he recommended his brother, Amiruddin, for appointment to the state service, 'an aspiration which most of our family have always felt of serving a Muslim prince.'
12. Tyabji (1952:14) attributes this act to Badruddin, but the date is too early.

cessfully for Parliament in 1971.¹³ Since all members of the clan have known English too for over a century, knowledge of Urdu has not cut them off from Western influences and experiences.

One might suppose that the degree of ease or resistance to exogamy with other sects and religions would depend upon a sort of theological social distance scale. If this were true, then marriage outside the clan and the *jama'at* would be easiest with (a) the Daudi Bohras, from whom they split in the late sixteenth century; (b) the Khoja Ismailis, from whom the Bohras split in the twelfth century; and (c) with other Shias. Fourth (d) would be Sunni Muslims. Beyond the confines of Islam would come the 'ahl-e-kitab', the tolerated 'people of the book': (e) Christians, (f) Jews and (g) Parsis. Lastly (h) would come polytheists, which in the Indian context would mean Hindus and Buddhists.

Actually, the stages of exogamy have occurred in a different serial order and magnitude: (1) Shia (1860, 1898, 1917), 13 cases; (2) Sunni (1905, 1927), 23 cases; (3) European Christians (1919, 1929, 1930, 1937 ff), 15 cases; (4) Indian Christians or Anglo-Indians (1919-2, 1940s), 7 cases (total Christians, 22); (5) Hindus (1936, 1962 ff), 5 cases; (6) Khojas (1960s), 4 cases; (7) Jews (c.1927, 1960), 2 cases; (8) Daudi Bohras (1946, 1966), 2 cases; (9) Buddhist (1950?), 1 case?; (10) Parsi (c.1953), 1 case.

European, particularly British Christian, marriages are readily understandable once visits to and education in a metropolitan centre became the custom. It was against this very eventuality that Tyab Ali sought to guard by engaging his sons to girls of their own sect and religion before their departure from Bombay. Early and prolonged residence in England without this precaution is said by some to have been the cause of the marriage of three of Sir Akbar Hydari's (1869-1941) sons to Europeans (Swedish, French and English). Beginning with this family, we can generalize that exogamy began with the males and spread only much later to the more sheltered females, at

13. For Badruddin F.B. Tyabji's Vice-Chancellorship at Aligarh, see Wright (1966:53). For his candidacy in Hyderabad in 1971, see Bernstorff (1971:292) and Kundmiri (1972:23 ff).

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least as far as extra-Islamic marriages are concerned. Islam, like most religions, is more resistant to females marrying out of the faith than males (Levy, 1965:103, 138). After Indian independence and the replacement of the Indian Civil Service (ICS) with its youthful maximum age for taking the entrance examination, another reason for sending youth to England for their undergraduate education disappeared and present family policy is to send them abroad only at the post-graduate level.

To a stranger it might appear odd that there have been more marriages with European Christians than with Indian Christians or Anglo-Indians. The answer probably lies in the lower status which both of these groups had in the eyes of the British rulers and therefore of Indians themselves. After Independence, Indian Christians were somewhat suspect in nationalist circles for their loyalty to the foreign rulers. It may be surmized, therefore, that these marriages in the Tyabji clan are unlikely to have been arranged by the parents and to be among the earliest examples of unarranged marriages.

The breakthrough in North Indian Sunni Muslim marriages came in the mid 1920s for a very modern reason. It is said that Abbas S. Tyabji (1866-1936) read a book about genetics which dwelt upon the danger of increasing the incidence of undesirable and inheritable physical traits in a family as a result of too much inbreeding.¹⁴ Cases of bad eyesight and 'nervous disposition' in some branches of the clan were then attributed to the practice of repeated cousin marriages. Two coming engagements between cousins were consequently broken and one of the girls was then married to a Sunni from the United Provinces.¹⁵ Respondents emphasize more the regional

14. Actually, an earlier North Indian marriage was that of Munira Begum (1885-c. 1972), daughter of Najmuddin Tyabji, to Mazhar-ul-Haque (1866-1930), a Gandhian leader in Bihar in 1917 (see Ayde 1970:3).
15. Dr. Sewall Wright, a geneticist, offers the following observation on the question of the genetic effects of close endogamy: 'With respect to cousin marriages, there is undoubtedly a considerably increased risk of the segregation of unfavourable homozygotes. Unfavourable genes tend for various reasons to be recessive or of little effect unless inherited from both parents . . . which they might if the parents are closely related' (Personal communication dated March 7, 1975).

than the sectarian character of this broadening of the marriage network. Several such Sunni marriages are said to have ended later in separation or divorce which restored somewhat the preference for regional endogamy.

The first Tyabji wedding to a Hindu came in 1936 as a concomitant of the family's long participation in the Indian nationalist movement. Judge Badruddin had been the third president of the Congress in 1888 (Zakaria, 1970:52, 103)¹⁶ and his nephew, Abbas, joined Gandhi in 1920 and was one of his chief lieutenants in Gujarat during the second non-cooperation movement in 1931. Hussain Tyabji, in an appendix to his biography of his father, claims that seven family members went to jail during the struggle for Independence. The principal Indian nationalists in the clan and their relationships are shown in Chart 4.

Nevertheless, the marriage of Abbas's grand-daughter, Hamida (1910-65), to Prabodh Mehta is said to have occasioned quite a controversy in some family circles, especially as it was a female who was marrying out. It must be remembered, of course, that exogamy is a matter of reciprocal group attraction and repulsion on both sides. Those communities and sects which, like Hindu castes and like the Daudi Bohras and Khojas, exert strong pressures on their members to preserve group purity will be more resistant to intermarriage even if the attitude of the other partner's community or family is favourable. The Syedna of the Daudi Bohras has thus far successfully resisted efforts by some of his sect to curb his control over marriages, but the Tyabji clan was such an important component both in numbers and influence of the smaller Sulaimani Bohra sect that they were able to overcome their religious leaders' objections to exogamy (Wright, 1975).

Another factor inhibiting marriage alliances with Hindus is the subtle strain of 'Islamization' which runs parallel to, but is not identical with, 'ashrafization' and 'Urduization'. The Tyabjis, like other West-coast Muslims (D'Souza, 1955 and 1973), are proud of their partly Arabic ancestry as reflected in

16. The diary of Abbas Tyabji which he kept during his participation in the 1932 non-cooperation movement is in the possession of his son, Salahuddin Tyabji, Shamsabad, Andhra Pradesh.

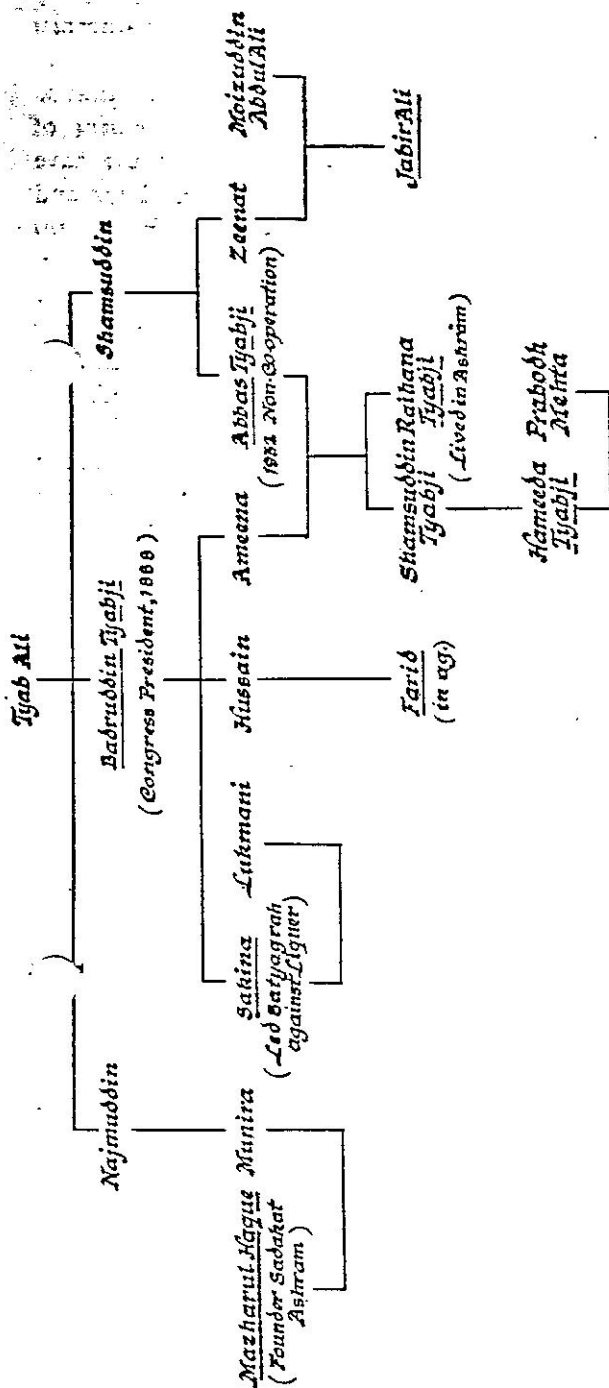


chart.4: Participation of Elan Members in the National Movement

Arabic names, scholarship and physiognomy. While modernist in belief and practice, few members of the clan would deny their Islamic identity outright. It is really no surprise that so many of the contributors to the recent debate over reform of the Muslim personal law in the English-language press have been Tyabji clan members: Asaf A.A. Fyzee, Zafar and Laeeq Futehally, Danial Latifi, Yasmeen Lukmani, Badruddin Tyabji and his sister, Kamila, and, on the orthodox side, Salahuddin Tyabji (See Wright 1970:72) as shown in Cl 5.

An obvious but necessary point to be made about exogamy is that once a precedent is established in a particular lineage, it tends to be repeated and becomes cumulative, with the eventual result that the endogamous and exogamous lineages may drift apart, stop socializing and cease to intermarry (Ahmad, 1973:185ff). Children of a mixed marriage have little reason not to make mixed unions themselves. For instance, the Fyzee, Hydari and Mirza lineages show a higher incidence of exogamy of all types (60, 64 and 100 per cent respectively) than those with the surname of Tyabji (43 per cent). The Mirza lineage, the most hypergamous, has tended to marry back into the Shi'a branches. Among the Tyabji lineages which have survived (Shujauddin's and Najmuddin's have practically died out in the male line), the main line of Judge Badruddin's descendants is the least exogamous (40 per cent) and Camruddin's the most (67 per cent). The lowest percentage of outmarriage, however, is shown by the Futehally (24 per cent) and Abdul Ali (17 per cent) families. These are the lineages which have remained largely in business and one can speculate that the same advantages that reinforced endogamy in the earlier generations of Tyabjis (chiefly trust) are still operative here. A few recent marriage alliances with Memon or Khoja business families (Parpia, Dossal) may indicate the beginning of a new direction of exogamy. Those clan members who oppose further endogamy point to the ill-effects of nepotism that is apt to result. It is quite natural for a member of a family who has achieved distinction to try to place his young relatives advantageously. The letters of Judge Badruddin Tyabji include many such efforts on behalf of his nephews. Is this really as harmful as an ultra-rationalist would insist? The recent work of Hanna Papanek and Thomas Timberg on Muslim and Hindu business

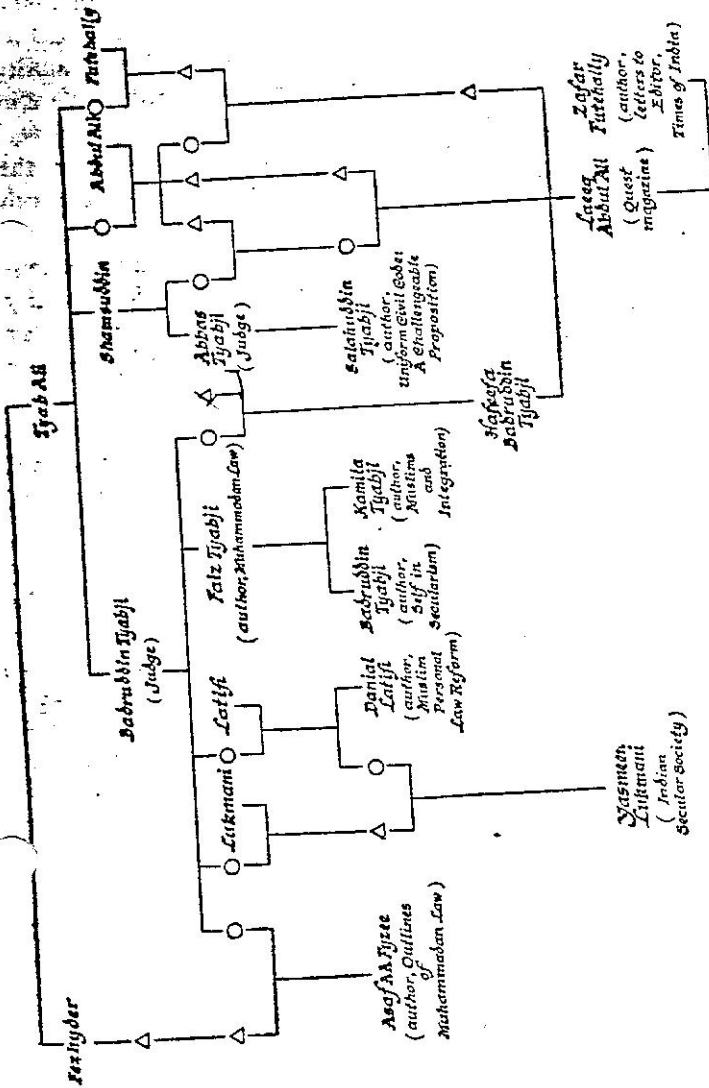


Chart 5: Participation of Clan Members in the Muslim Personal Law Debate

castes show that nepotism can be economically functional (and therefore modern) where it generates a level of trust and responsibility which cannot be expected of strangers recruited on 'merit' (see Papanek, 1973; Timberg, 1969 and 1973). Minority groups tend to dwell on the evils of ascription until they are in a position to be its beneficiaries.

The drifting apart of the more exogamous lineages from the main stem may be expressed in a decline of social contacts (both routine and at rites of passage) or by actual emigration to Pakistan or England. When interviewed, partners and descendants of outmarriages said that they regarded a close family social life as restricting their contacts with others too much, or lacking in variety, or as a burden for the non-family partner to meet and keep track of so many relatives.

A particularly acute form of separation was caused by the partition of 1947 and the three wars between India and Pakistan. Some members of the clan were already resident in Karachi in 1947—for instance, Judge Hatim Tyabji and his son, Akbar, the Pakistani Ambassador. Naturally they continued to live there. Due to the family's strong Indian nationalist tradition, however, those who were in the Indian Civil Service at that time (Badruddin F.B. Tyabji, Hamid Ali, Alma Latifi, Salah A. Hydari) opted for India. During the following years a few of the younger generation emigrated in search of career opportunities in business or civil service. Surprisingly, there is no negative correlation between the more nationalist lineages (Badruddin's and Shamsuddin's) and migration to Pakistan. Those who went came from all lineages about equally. The Shi'a progeny of Kazim Tyabji and his sister Dilshad migrated and provided the new country of Pakistan with one of its Presidents, Iskandar Mirza (1899-1969). Those who made ashrafi hypergamous matrimonial alliances tended to emigrate more than those with endogamous, or, of course, Hindu wives. Of forty-two recorded emigrants from India and long time residents abroad, eighteen (43 per cent) were children of exogamous parents and thirty-one (74 per cent) had themselves made marriages outside the clan. Thus exogamy seems to be a much more important cause of emigration than ideology.

Unlike the poorer and middle class Muslims of Delhi whom Basu and Ray (1972) studied, the Tyabji clan is somewhat more

mobile and has not limited its marriages to one province. Partition and emigration did, therefore, render more difficult a pre-existing endogamous exchange. More easily ascertainable is the fact that those women from the Indian side who did marry Pakistanis experienced a high divorce rate. As one family member commented, 'coming from a Nationalist family, they couldn't stand the anti-Indian atmosphere on the other side.' It seems likely, therefore, that completely separate lineages are developing on either side of the frontier, with the Pakistani segment choosing the path of ashrafization/Urduization/Islamization in its marriage patterns and style of living, and the Indian part pursuing a double course of close endogamy on the one hand and extra-Islamic exogamy and emigration to the West on the other hand. Some lineages will display more of the former and others more of the latter, but neither are likely to practise endogamy or exogamy exclusively because continued modernization loosens parental control and replaces arranged marriages with individual choice.

So far, despite the high degree of Westernization and modernization in the clan, it appears that most matches still involve a larger amount of parental initiative, or at least participation, than in the West. But it should not be assumed that this is necessarily resented by the young people, or that it is less 'modern', in the sense of rational, than the emotional and romantic bases upon which Westerners choose their partners which produce such an horrendous divorce rate. The Tyabji clan's divorce rate—10 per cent of marriages (and 68 per cent of the 22 broken marriages are exogamous unions)—is lower than in the West although higher than the overall Indian divorce rate because of the continuing disapproval of divorce and remarriage by the Hindus majority.

Since the 1940s, Tyabji women have been prolonging their education to the B.A. level and a few (Yasmeen Lukmani and Salima Tyabji) beyond that to the M.A. This implies further strains on endogamy and marital stability, to judge by Western experience. It is possible for Westerners and modernists to conceive, however, as argued by Papanek (1971) in a paper on joint family and women's education, that women's 'liberation' in India may actually be facilitated by relatively early, endogamous marriage and the joint family which will allow talented

women to pursue their advanced education and careers, undiverted by the individualistic search for a mate in the American-style 'dating game' and enjoying built-in babysitters from among the older women and younger sisters in the extended family? Out of the turmoil of the late 1960s in America has come a greater appreciation of the disadvantages of the nuclear family for child-rearing and of the advantages of larger group living. What the communes of the period failed to provide, however, was stability and I would argue that the long historic experience of human kind demonstrates that this can be provided only by multi-generational groups tied together by blood relationship.

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