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## SIKLIGAR OF DELHI


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# CONTENTS


| | | Pages |
|---|---|---|
| | Foreword | iii |
| | Preface | iv |
| 1. | Name, identity, origin and history | 1 |
| 2. | Distribution and population trend | 2 |
| 3. | Physical characteristics | 3 |
| 4. | Clan, Family and Kinship | 3 |
| 5. | Settlements and Dwellings | 6 |
| 6. | Dress | 6 |
| 7. | Ornaments | 7 |
| 8. | Tattooing | 7 |
| 9. | Food and Drink | 7 |
| 10. | Utensils | 8 |
| 11. | Environmental sanitation and hygienic habits | 8 |
| 12. | Diseases and treatment | 8 |
| 13. | Language | 8 |
| 14. | Education and Literacy | 8 |
| 15. | Economic life | 9 |
| 16. | Life cycle | 11 |
| | Birth | 11 |
| | Name-giving ceremony | 11 |
| | Hair-cutting ceremony | 11 |
| | Sex life and marriage | 11 |
| | Widow marriage | 13 |
| | Divorce and separation | 13 |
| | Death rites | 14 |
| 17. | Religion | 14 |
| 18. | Inter-community relationship | 16 |
| 19. | Organisation of social control, prestige and leadership | 16 |
| 20. | Social Reform and Welfare | 18 |
| 21. | Biographies | 19 |
| | References cited and other Bibliography | 22 |
| | Annexure—Framework of ethnographic study | 23 |

## List of Photographs

*Physical Characters :*

1.2. Front and profile of a male Hindu Sikligar.

3.4. Front and profile of a male Sikh Sikligar.

*Settlement and Dwelling :*

5. Hutments of Sikh Sikligars at Bhogal locality at New Delhi.

6. Houses of Hindu Sikligars at Nabikarim locality in Delhi.

*Dress and Ornaments :*

7. A group of Sikh Sikligars of Motiakhan in different type of dresses.

8. A group of Sikh Sikligar women in their day-to-day dress.

9. A Hindu Sikligar woman in her best attire.

10. A Hindu Sikligar woman putting on beaded ornament in her coiffure.

11. Silver ornaments of traditional type used by Hindu Sikligar women. (L to R top) 1. *Chadde* (anklets), 2. *Tagri* (Silver chain worn loosely round the waist) 3. *Chan* (bracelets), 4. *Kare* (anklets), and 5. *Kare* (bracelets).

12. Bracelets and bangles put on by Sikh Sikligar women.

13. Some of the silver ornaments worn on the feet by the Hindu Sikligar women 1. *Chadde* and 2. *Jhanjhan.*

14. Tattooing marks on the fore-arm of a Hindu Sikligar woman.

*Economic Life :*

15. Preparing knives from old steel belts of saw-machines.

16. Sikligar women-folk preparing *Rakhis* (decorative wrist bands) at Nabikarim.

17. An old Sikligar polishing knives with hands, the traditional way.

18. A Sikligar sharpening knives on his traditional whetstone at Nabikarim.

19. A mobile 'shop' on cycle for selling and sharpening knives. The whetstone is fixed on the cycle.

20. Now-a-days modern techniques are employed. A Sikligar sharpening scissors on the electric whetstone at Nabikarim.

21. Two Sikh Sikligar boys repairing old parts of an automobile.

22. The art of preparing decorative objects of brass and silver is limited to a few families. A Sikligar at Nabikarim giving finishing touches to a brass serpent.

*Religion :*

23. A Sikligar child at Bhogal wearing *tabeej* (amulet) round the neck and black thread round the waist, a device to prevent the evil eye.

24. A temple built by the Sikligars at Nabikarim. Hanuman, Narsingh, Radha-Krishna and Ganpati can be seen in the background.

25. A devotional song is being sung in the Sikligar temple at Nabikarim.

26. Auspicious signs of the 'Swastika' and names of gods and goddesses are written on the walls by a Sikligar family on the occasion of 'Raksha Bandhan' festival.

27. *Sidh* (sorcerer) performing ritual for exercising the evil spirit.

# FOREWORD

The Indian Census has had the privilege of presenting authentic ethnographic accounts of Indian Communities. It was usual in all censuses to collect and publish information on race, tribes and castes.

The Constitution lays down that "the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation".

To assist States in fulfilling their responsibility in this regard the 1961 Census provided a series of special tabulations of the social and economic data on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are notified by the President under the Constitution and the Parliament is empowered to include or exclude from the lists any caste or tribe. No other source can claim the same authenticity and comprehensiveness as the Census of India to help the Government in taking decisions on matters such as these. Therefore, besides the statistical data provided by the 1961 Census, the preparation of detailed ethnographic notes on a selection of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in each State and Union Territory was taken up as an ancillary study. The present study of Sikligars of Delhi is the fruit of a joint effort of the Office of the Registrar General and the Superintendent of Census Operations, Delhi.

Sikligar is notified as a Scheduled Caste in Delhi, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. It is a community of traditional metal polishers. The present monograph succeeds in defining the economic and social structure of the Sikligars and depicts the winds of change that are blowing among them. The Sikligars, while still backward educationally, only about 10 per cent among them being literate, seem to be aware of the need for education--already two Sikligar girls have matriculated. Reform is very much in the air along with a desire for higher status by claiming Rajput origin. Prohibition is invoked for improving status. The community does not seem to suffer from the usual social disabilities of members of Scheduled Castes, which is, of course, only to be expected in the urban areas of Delhi.

Shri M. L. Sah and Shri S. S. Vasant conducted the investigation and Shri Baldev Raj, Shri N. G. Nag and Dr. Roy Burman edited the Report. To them I extend my warm thanks.

A. MITRA
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# PREFACE

As an adjunct of 1961 Census, preparation of ethnographic monographs on a number of selected Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and ethnic groups with special status and ethnographic glossaries on all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been taken up by the Census organisation.

In India the census organisation has a long tradition of undertaking ethnographic studies. Besides, there are certain reasons why, for its own operational purposes, it is necessary for the Census organisation to take up such studies. During census operation, the Census organisation is required to make a complete enumeration of all the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the country. The ethnographic studies are required to establish the identity of the various communities including their segments. The social boundaries of various communities are not always rigid, they are in a state of flux. Ethnographic studies are required to keep track of these changes as well, otherwise comparison of consecutive census figures would give altogether wrong picture in respect of them. There is another aspect of study in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in which the census organisation, as well as the welfare and planning agencies are interested—it is ethno-demography. In 1961 Census, separate tables were prepared in respect of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the following items :—

(i) industrial classification of persons at work and non-workers by sex,

(ii) age and marital status,

(iii) education,

(iv) religion,

(v) persons not at work classified by sex and type of activity for Scheduled Castes,

(vi) persons not at work classified by sex and type of activity for Scheduled Tribes,

(vii) mother tongue and bilingualism for Scheduled Tribes.

The data available in these tables are to be analysed in respect of each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe, so that the historical and cultural factors responsible for the demographic pattern can be identified and the impact of the emergent demographic pattern on the social structure can be determined.

The insight gained by the Census organisation, through ethnographic studies of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will be useful for interpretation of the demographic pattern for the country as a whole. Recent studies show that in India, even now, it is difficult to correctly appreciate the various social and economic processes without reference to caste. On the other hand, in the interest of ultimate national goal, caste is not being recorded in census, except in case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The insight gained through ethno-demographic studies of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is, therefore, of invaluable help for census.

At the same time, such study is very much useful for planning of development activities among the castes or tribes concerned. For instance, if the census shows that great deal of diversification of occupation has taken place among the Parayans

of Kerala, it is important for the planners to know whether the community consists of a number of disconnected segments or whether it means that a great deal of individual mobility is taking place where the main focus of community is other than traditional occupation. Again, when among the Bauris of Orissa, it is found that a very high proportion of the population is engaged in agricultural labour and next to them a high proportion is found in cultivation and also that there is considerable diversification of occupation, the following questions of sociological and practical importance arise :—

(a) What is the historical relation between the agricultural labourers and the cultivators among the Bauris of Orissa? The census data suggests one of the two possible developments, namely, (1) bulk of the Bauris were cultivators and by a process of degeneration of their economy have become agricultural labourers, (2) on the other hand, it is also possible that the bulk of them were agricultural labourers and through a process of improvement of their economic condition, many of them have become cultivators.

(b) The fact that a considerable diversification of occupation has taken place, suggests that the economy has not remained in a stagnant condition. Here, it is to be examined whether the diversification is the result of upward mobility, or downward mobility, or even horizontal mobility, and what is the actual process by which the diversification has taken place.

(c) The social dimensions corresponding to the diversification in economic life have to be examined. It is also to be examined whether inspite of diversification of occupation, the ethos of a particular occupation, for instance agriculture, continues to be dominant. In that case, diversification might have created problems of adjustment in values and attitudes.

Instances can be multiplied, but it is not necessary. What have been stated above, are enough to bring out the significance of ethno-demographic studies for planners.

The above dimensions of ethno-demographic studies have evolved through stages. In 1960, at the instance of Shri Mitra, Registrar General of India, a questionnaire for collection of ethnographic data was circulated among the Census Superintendents. In October, 1961, the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit was set up in the office of the Registrar General of India, to coordinate the ethnographic studies and a few other ancillary studies, like village surveys, handicraft surveys, etc. In December, 1961, a Study Camp was organised in Delhi, where the personnel engaged in ethnographic studies, handicrafts studies and other social investigations in the offices of the Census Superintendents, participated. In the Study Camp, it was considered that the ethnographic notes would mainly aim at making an objective assessment of the state of development of the different scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the context of the changes taking place in technology, economic organisation and total culture pattern of the country. It was further suggested that the primary focus of the study should not be on the exotic elements of the cultures of the different castes and tribes. It should be on the efforts of the communities concerned, to adjust to the modern conditions of life. In the light of the above decisions of the Study Camp, rapid ethnographic studies have been carried on by the staff of the Superintendents of Census Operations as well as by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit of the office of the Registrar General of India, in different parts of the country. These rapid surveys have brought out a number of methodological and operational problems. In May and June, 1966, two Ethnographic Study Camps were held at

Kurseong and Hyderabad, where personnel from the office of the Registrar General of India as well as from the offices of the Census Superintendents participated. In the Study Camp held at Kurseong, the Secretary, Tribal Welfare, West Bengal, and Director, Tribal Welfare, West Bengal, also participated. In these Study Camps, an integrated frame for preparation of ethnographic notes was discussed and adopted. A copy of the same may be seen at 'Annexure' I. In addition to the studies in respect of each scheduled caste and scheduled tribe separately, a number of subsidiary studies were undertaken by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General of India, for gaining insight into a number of problems of general nature, which have bearing on the different aspects of the lives of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes of the country. These subsidiary studies are as follows :—

1. Shifting cultivation in Santal Parganas of Bihar and Garo Hills of Assam.
2. Pattern of Rehabilitation of displaced tribals of Rourkela.
3. Socio-economic survy of the Scheduled areas of Rajasthan.
4. Socio-economic developments among the hillmen of North-East India.
5. Social structure and cultural orientation of Christians converted from scheduled castes.
6. Traditional rights of scavenging as claimed by scavengers in urban areas.
7. Grouping of castes and tribes with reference to occupation and inter-group and intra-group comparative study on the basis of the data available in earlier censuses.
8. Social mobility movements among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

On the basis of each of the subsidiary studies indicated above, a separate monograph is under preparation. It is also proposed to prepare separate monographs on a few scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and ethnic groups with special status in each state. Besides, ethnographic glossaries are proposed to be prepared in respect of all scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. For this purpose about one lakh references have been indexed.

The present Report on the Sikligars is one of the monographs proposed to be brought out by the Census Organisation. A preliminary investigation on the community was undertaken by Shri S. S. Vasant of the Office of the Superintendent of Census Operations, Delhi. A fuller investigation on the community was undertaken by Shri M. L. Sah of the Office of the Registrar General of India under the guidance of Shri N. G. Nag, Research Officer, Office of the Registrar General of India. The draft report prepared by Shri Sah was revised by Shri Nag. It was finally edited by the Editorial Board consisting of Shri Baldev Raj, Superintendent of Census Operations, Delhi, Shri N. G. Nag and myself.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to all the colleagues who collaborated in this project.

Shri H. L. Harit, Investigator, who is looking after the compilation of information from published sources in respect of all scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other special ethnic groups of India deserves mention.

I am grateful to Shri A. Chandra Sekhar, Officer on Special Duty, Office of the Registrar General of India, for his keen interest in the project of ethnographic studies. He has gone through the final draft and given a number of valuable suggestions.

Shri Mitra, Registrar General of India, whose farsighted initiative is responsible for social investigations in a large number of fields, including ethnography, deserves thanks of all students of Indology. I have been benefitted not only by his inspiration, but also by his valuable suggestions in connection with the ethnographic studies, as well as the other studies, conducted by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit. I take this opportunity to express my gratefulness to him.

B. K. Roy Burman

# SIKLIGARS

## Name, Identity, Origin and History

The name Sikligar is derived from Arabic, 'Siquol', meaning 'Polish on metal' and 'Sikligar' is used for one who polishes metal. Sikligar is thus an occupational name. There are Hindu Sikligars, Muslim Sikligars as well as Sikh Sikligars. In Delhi, only Hindu and Sikh Sikligars are residing. Muslim Sikligars are reported to be found in Uttar Pradesh. It is, however, generally agreed that the latter two are converts from Hindu Sikligars. Crooke as well as Russell and Hira Lal regard Sikligar or Bariya as a caste of armourers, polishers of metal and knife grinders (Crooke, 1896; Vol. IV: 257-258; Russell and Hira Lal 1916; Vol. I: 410-411). According to Russell and Hira Lal, they are partly Hindus and partly Muslims. Crooke has discussed about Muslim Sikligars only. But Ibbetson (Census Report, Punjab 1881) regards the word Sikligar as a purely occupational name, denoting an armourer or burnisher of metal. He also mentions that they may in some cases be Lohars. The ethnographic study of Hindu Sikligars, however, indicates that they form a distinct caste, with well defined social boundaries. The Hindu Sikligars of Delhi, who by and large follow their traditional occupations, refer to themselves as Rajput Lohars. According to them the name Sikligar got associated with them because of their unique occupation of polishing metal. Similarly, they also came to be regarded as Bariya or Baria, as they also sharpened knives and daggers. Here it may be mentioned that 'Bariya' is derived from '*Barh*' *i.e.*, edge of knife. In Delhi they are mostly referred to as Sikligars by their neighbours whereas in Uttar Pradesh, they are more commonly known as Bariyas. It is reported by Hindu Sikligars of Delhi that in Chittorgarh, from where they have originated, they were called Rajput Lohars. At one time these Rajput Lohars constituted a homogenous community, which was engaged in manufacturing swords; later on different sections arose among them through specialising in manufacturing different parts of a sword. Accordingly different occupational names got associated with the different sections. Some of them specialised in shaping the sword from steel, they were called *Garia;* some specialised in preparation of handles of brass and silver, they were referred to as Lohars. Again, some others specialised in polishing the swords, and they got the name of Sikligar. Those who sharpened the edges of swords came to be regarded as Bariya. A few prepared wooden cases of swords and wooden handles of knives—a carpenter's job—and came to be known as Tarkhans. But all of them continue to be regarded as sections of the same caste *viz., Rajput Lohar*. They cite a practice in support of their claim that they are Rajput Lohars. When a person brings his complaint or case before the caste Panchayat he gives one rupee to the *Panch* and utters, "*Lohar ke Samne mera rupia hai*" (A rupee is before the Lohar). It is, however, interesting to note that notwithstanding the above claims, they regard themselves as socially distinct from Rajputs, Lohars and Tarkhans.

The one community whom the Sikligars of Delhi consider as their agnate in Gariya Lohar. Traditionally, the Sikligars are divided into 12 gotras; they consider that once Gariya Lohars were their 13th Gotra. In support of this view they point out that both Sikligar and Gariya Lohar have got similar occupation, *viz.*, ironsmiths and common tradition of being Rajputs who took to nomadic way of life to escape persecution by Mugal rulers during the 16th and 17th centuries. They say that they parted company from a common stock when the Sikligars gave up nomadic way of life and took to urban oriented settled occupation, while the Gariya Lohars preferred to stick to the way of life which they were forced to take up in the past under special circumstances. It is difficult to say how much this account of the past is historically correct; but it is to be noted that this belief about the past has got some practical implications today. It has the potentiality of providing rallying platform to these two different groups of people for common politico-social action.

About their history, the Sikligars of Delhi say that they are the people who prepared arms for the Rajput warriors of Rana Pratap. As the Rajputs lost the battle against the Mughals, the Lohar Rajputs had to run away to save their lives. They took refuge in the forests. There they came in contact with the Bhils and lived with them for several years. At that time, just like the Bhils, they used to hunt and eat all sorts of animals without any discrimination; thus they lost their high social status. After many years of wandering life, the main group of the Lohar Rajputs was divided into different groups and proceeded in different directions. The branch which came to Delhi settled in their present localities after years of roaming in different areas. They say that Delhi was then ruled by a Muslim King and Nabikarim, their present main habiat, was full of wild growth.

Sikh Sikligars in Delhi are displaced persons from different parts of Punjab and Sindh. They mostly hail from Rohari and Sakhar in Sindh. After formation of Pakistan they had to leave their homes for safety. First, they arrived in Bombay from Karachi by ship. Later, they were settled in Alwar. Some land for cultivation was provided to them by the Government. But they could not stay there for more than a year as it was considered by them as an unsuitable terrain with scanty rainfall, difficult to cultivate. Moreover, they had no tradition of cultivation in Sindh; hence it was difficult for them to take up this occupation under such adverse conditions. Finally, they found their way to Delhi. At first they settled near Birla Mills in Kuccha Damdam locality where they lived for two years. Later on, they had to vacate the area and shift to Bharatnagar near Ganda Nala. There, they remained for ten years or so and then again had to shift to Zakhira near 'tanki' or reservoir, where they remained for a few months only. Finally, they came to Prem Nagar and Motia Khan, their present settlements.

The Sikh Sikligars of Delhi generally believe that they were converted to Sikhism by Guru Govind Singh. The Guru required men from Chittorgarh who could prepare arms for his warriors in Punjab. Accordingly, five Rajput Lohars from Chittorgarh went to Punjab. It is stated that while they were polishing the swords by pressing the same on the ground by one foot, some Sikhs noticed it and became furious A sword for them was like a deity and touching it with foot was an act of sacrilege. The matter was referred to Guru Govind Singh. The Guru came to the spot and asked the offenders to polish the sword on their complainants heads. They started the work accordingly with obvious discomfiture. The Guru then stopped them and addressing his followers said that Rajput Lohars were the 'hands' of the country, as they made the weapons which were necessary for the defence of the country against oppressors. Nothing should be done which would affect the efficiency of the 'hands'. They should therefore be allowed to manufacture the swords according to their traditional ways and also they should be respected and honoured.

These five persons were so much impressed by the personality of Guru Govind Singh that they adopted Sikhism. There are some minor variations of this legend.

Again, there are some who believe that it was not Guru Govind Singh but Raja Ranjit Singh who converted them to Sikh religion.

**Distribution and Population Trend**

The Sikligars are included in the list of Scheduled Castes in Punjab and Himachal Pradesh in addition to Delhi. During 1961 Census, they were returned in largest number from Punjab. In Delhi, they were 1804 in number. From earlier census reports and other publications it is found that in addition to the areas where they are included in the list of Scheduled Castes at present the Sikligars are found in several other States and Union Territories, *viz.* Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra. A few persons are found as far South as Madras.

Out of the 1804 persons returned in Delhi during 1961 Census, 922 are Sikhs and 882 are Hindus. They are almost exclusively living in urban areas, as only 69 individuals are found in rural areas. The following table shows age and sex-wise distribution of Sikligars in rural and urban areas of Delhi.

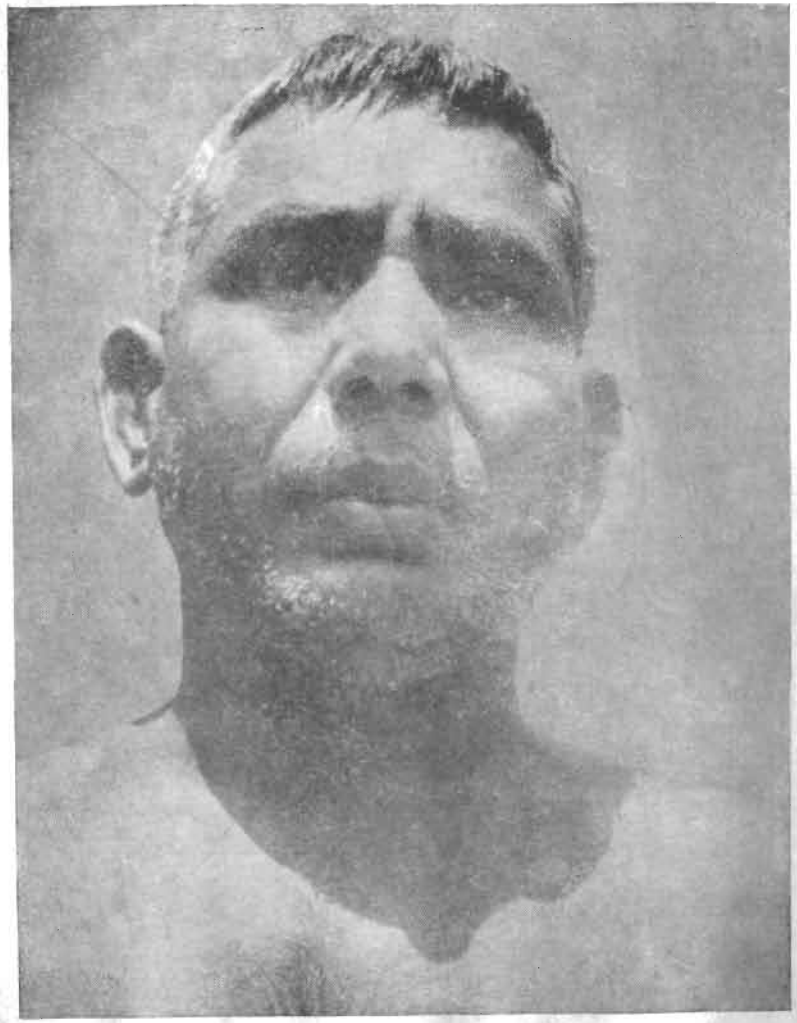
| | 0—14 age-group | | 15—44 age-group | | 45 & above age-group | | Total | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | P |
| Rural . . . | 19 | 20 | 11 | 14 | 3 | 2 | 33 | 36 | 69 |
| Urban . . . | 390 | 381 | 409 | 332 | 113 | 110 | 912 | 823 | 1,735 |

The distribution of urban population of Sikligars in the various zones and tracts is indicated below.

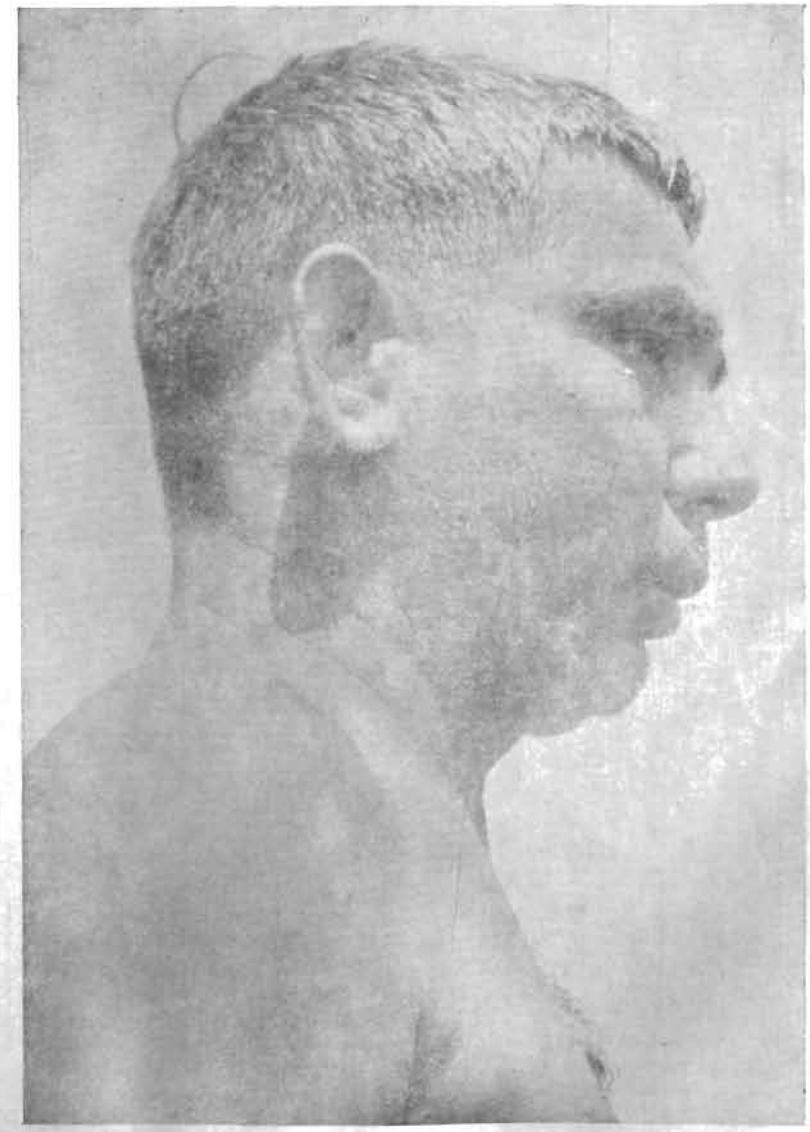
| Tract/Zones | Total population (Both sexes) | Males | Females | Percentage to total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| D.M.C. Urban . . . | 1,732 | 912 | 820 | 96·01 |
| Zone I Shahadara . . | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Zone II City Sadar, Paharganj . . . . | 480 | 297 | 183 | 26·61 |
| Zone III Karol Bagh, Patel Nagar . . . . | 532 | 248 | 284 | 29·49 |
| Zone IV Civil Lines, Subzi-Mandi . . . . | 289 | 170 | 119 | 16·02 |
| Zone V Transferred Area . | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Zone VI South Delhi . . | 386 | 188 | 198 | 21·40 |
| Zone VII West Delhi . . | 45 | 9 | 36 | 2·49 |
| New Delhi . . . | 3 | .. | 3 | 0·17 |
| Delhi Cantt. . . . | .. | .. | .. | .. |

It is not possible to throw light on the population trend of Sikligars as their population figures for previous years are not available.

A male Hindu Sikligar

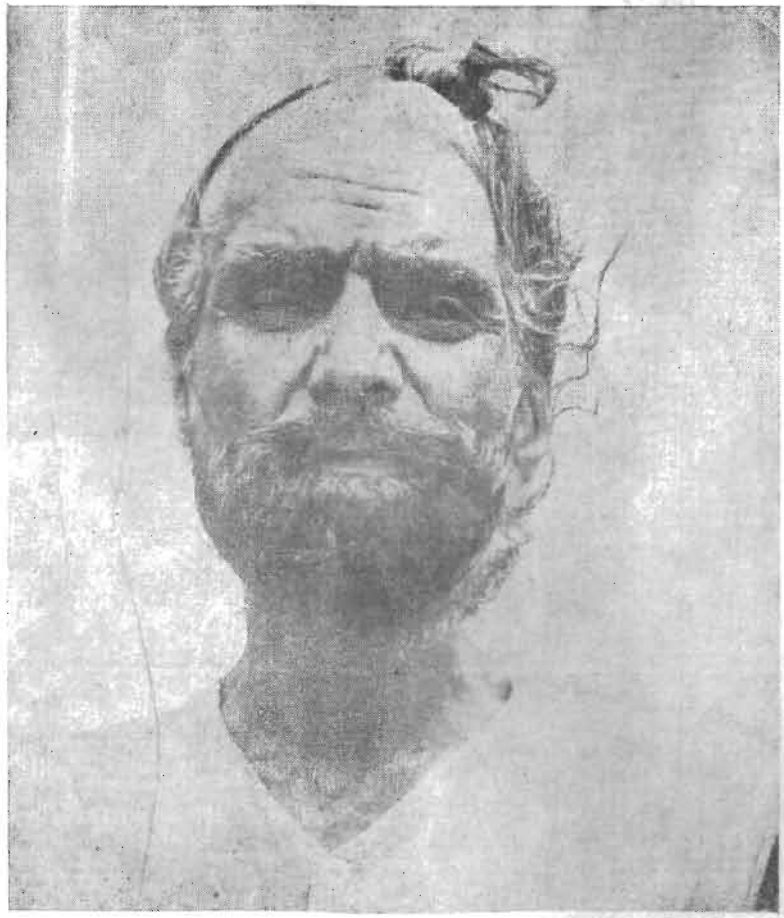


1. Front

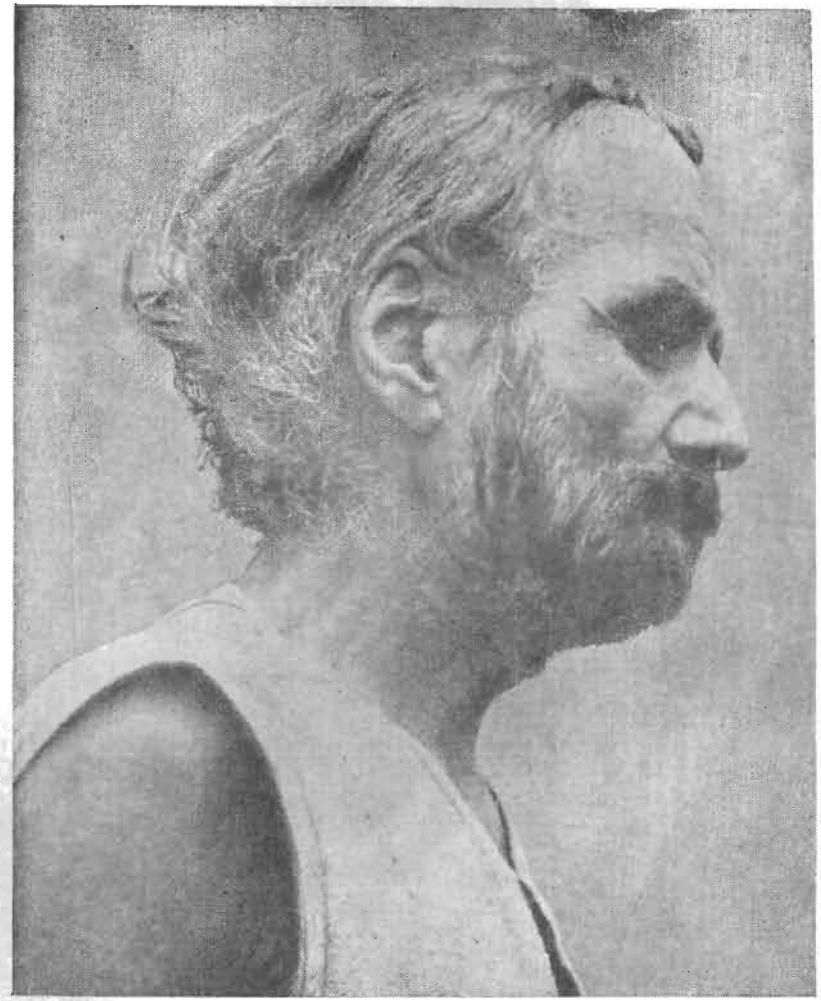


2. Profile

**A male Sikh Sikligar**



3. Front



4. Profile

**Physical Characteristics**

Somatoscopic observations were made in respect of 31 adult male Hindu and Sikh Sikligars. Their height vertices were also recorded. They are generally medium statured. The height vertex ranges from 157 cms. to 168·9 cms., with a mean of 163 cms. in case of Hindu Sikligars. In case of Sikh Sikligars the maximum height that was recorded is 172·5 cms. and the minimum 155·2 cms. The mean height vertex is 164·2 cms. They have mostly brown skin-colour on their face. A few individuals of chocolate-brown and yellow-brown colour are also found. The Sikh Sikligars have less pigmented skin; among them some persons of light-brown colour are also found. The hair form on the head is mostly wavy; most of the individuals have, however, hair with low waves and only 2-3 individuals possess hair with deep waves. The root depression of the nose is mostly shallow to medium. The alae is normal in all cases. The eyeslits are straight. Their faces are mostly oval to round; a few individuals with broad faces were also found. Their chins are fairly well developed.

**Clan, Family and Kinship**

The Sikligars are divided into twelve exogamous units, called *gots* (Sanskrit gotra). Members of each of these *gots* trace their origin from a common ancestor. The following twelve *gots* have been mentioned by the Hindu Sikligars of Delhi.

1. Dalpatie or Tilpatie
2. Dangi
3. Rathor
4. Juniya
5. Barhiya Turmarbhod
6. Bawori
7. Chouhan
8. Khinchi
9. Baghri or Bawari
10. Blad or Bhada
11. Makulana or Mattana
12. Tonk

It is interesting to note that some of the clan names, *e.g.* Baghri or Bawari occur in different areas of the country as distinct caste names. Again, some of the clan names, *e.g.* Rathor and Chauhan, are well-known Rajputs clan names.

Family among Sikligars is patrilocal with patronymic designation. After marriage the woman goes to stay with the husband. It is stated by the Sikligars that in the past they had a custom, called *Kaulparos*, which enjoined a person to live with wife and her family usually for two to three years after marriage and prove his loyality to her people. It is to be noted that during the period of his stay with his wife's people the husband used to be treated as an equal member of the group to which the wife's family belonged. The period of stay with the wife's people was usually limited to two to three years, but some times it was extended to 12 years. After that, the husband had the option to go wherever he liked. It is stated that sometimes even after a lapse of 12 years, the husband continued to stay with his wife's people.

The Sikligars explain that this custom arose to meet the special problems they were confronted with when they were roaming about from area to area after escaping from Chittorgarh. At that time it was a necessity, for the sake of physical security, to increase the number of adult males in a band. The custom of *Kaulparos* ensured that a young man would be with the band for sometime at least. The conditions changed when the Sikligars adopted settled life; as a result this custom also lost its *raison d'etre*. While the historical explanation of the system of *Kaulparos* as indicated above seems to be quite sound, it appears that the custom had some additional functions. It provided an opportunity to the wife's family to observe the character of the husband and to ensure that the wife was not ill-treated by him. This advantage is considered to be a bye-product of the custom and is referred to as *Chal Chalan Dekhana* by the Sikligars.

The Sikligars of Nabikarim stated that even now sometimes this old custom is invoked for dealing with the problem of ill-treatment of the wife by the husband. In such cases, sometimes the husband is asked to stay with his father-in-law for 3 to 4 months. During this period he is under observation. If a satisfactory relation is restored between the couple, the husband is allowed to take his wife with him, otherwise he has to go back alone. A few years ago, a youngman was subjected to such observation at Nabikarim. As his conduct was found to be satisfactory during the period of the observation, he was allowed to return with his wife.

At present in most cases the couple stays in a separate house set up by the husband. In some cases, however, they live in the house of husband's parents. But even in these cases they have mostly separate hearths. Extended families, specially collateral type of extended families, where married brothers along with their families live together and pool their incomes, are rare.

According to the Sikligars of Nabikarim their womenfolk are required to observe *parda* or cover their face with a veil, specially in presence of strangers and senior in-laws. During the field investigation, however, *parda* was found to be little in practice. A solitary instance of covering face with veil was observed when a married woman was passing a group of elderly males, among whom her father-in-law was also present. It is difficult to say whether *parda* or seclusion of women was more observed in the past or whether it is being adopted at present for gaining social respectability.

A women acquires her husband's *got* after marriage. Property, inheritance and reckoning of descent is along the male line. Property is equally distributed among the sons. Where a daughter's husband lives with her parents, he enjoys same rights as a son in respect of property and inheritance.

It is stated that an adopted son gets equal share with own son. But it could not be confirmed as the investigator did not come across any adopted son during the field study.

It seems that the Sikligars have a tradition of conferring status of 'inferior associate' to persons adopted from other communities. In Nabikarim locality there are four or five families, who are now considered to be Sikligars, but whose ancestors are believed to be of other castes originally. They were adopted by some Sikligar families and were called *gulams* or slaves. They were given some share of property by the families which adopted them and were considered to be as good as family members. But they could not seek spouse from full-fledged Sikligar families. A *gulam* could marry another *gulam* only. He could not participate in the community panchayat on equal terms. While the elders of the community used to sit on a mat, the *gulam* was expected to sit on the bare ground. He could not have the privilege of being a *Kandhiya* (carrying the dead body of a full-fledged Sikligar). Though traditionally the stigma lasted for six generations, it appears that in actual practice a *gulam* could frequently become a full-fledged member of the community after a lapse of two or three generations. At present though some families at Nabikarim are remembered to be erstwhile *gulam* families they are not subjected to any discrimination. During the present survey, particulars of one person who was adopted in the Sikligar caste about 50 years ago was recorded. This person 'P' originally belonged to Mali caste. His father and a Sikligar, who can be mentioned here as 'S', were friends. As 'S' did not have any son and only two daughters, he adopted 'P' as his son. The adoption was made with the permission of the caste panchayat and at that time a feast was given by 'S'. After adoption 'P' married a girl whose father was also a *gulam* and lived at Nabikarim. Now 'P' has two daughters, both of them have been married with full-fledged Sikligars and not *gulams*.

Kinship system among the Sikligars is bilateral. Kins on both mother's side and father's side have important ritual and social roles to play, especially during marriage, childbirth and death. Sometimes, affinal kins like sister's husband have also important social roles.

The Sikligars of Delhi reported that during the last decade they have developed an interesting device for restricting some of their kinship obligations. It is their customary norm that during marriage and other important ceremonial occasions they should invite all friends and relations. But with rise in prices, they now find it difficult to invite all friends and relations. They, therefore, have decided to restrict effective participation to members of a smaller unit called *tukri*.

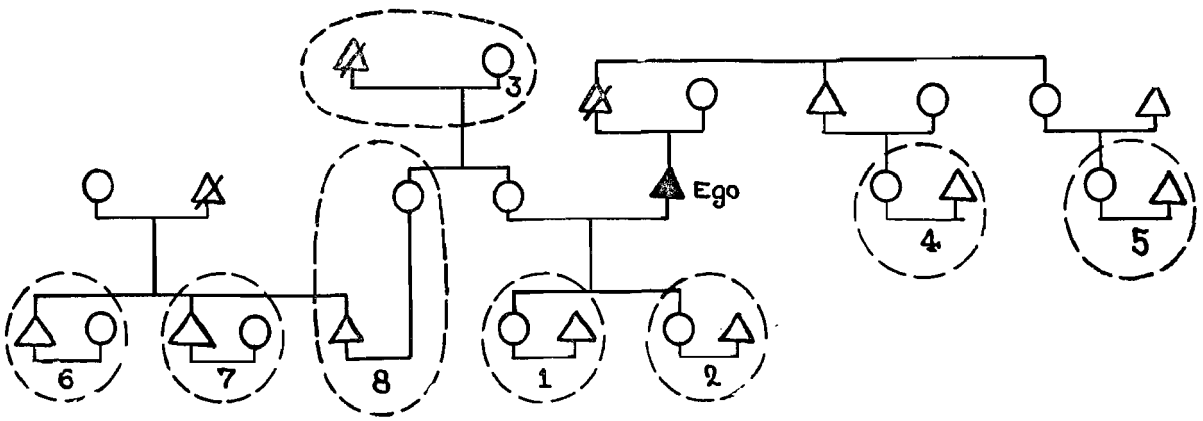
It is reported that the *tukri* system was introduced in 1952 especially on the initiative of three progressive youngmen of Nabikarim. According to this system, an unmarried youngman belongs to his father's *tukri*. On marriages he would belong to his wife's *Tukri*. Similarly, his daughter's husband would belong to his *tukri*. The Hindu Sikligars of Delhi stated that this innovation is confined to themselves and is not found among the Sikligars outside Delhi. They also stated that another community namely, Nayaks, who live in their neighbourhood tried to adopt the system but failed.

At the time of the survey the Hindu Sikligars of Delhi were reported to be divided into 10 *tukris*. The names of the following persons were mentioned as the heads of their respective *tukris*.

1. Ajodhiya Prasad
2. Buddhu Lal
3. Kale Ram
4. Kali Charan
5. Makkhan Lal
6. Mathura Prasad
7. Ram Shah
8. Raghuwar Dayal
9. Shyam Lal
10. Tara Chand.

Two diagrams indicating the composition of two of the *tukris* are furnished in the following page.

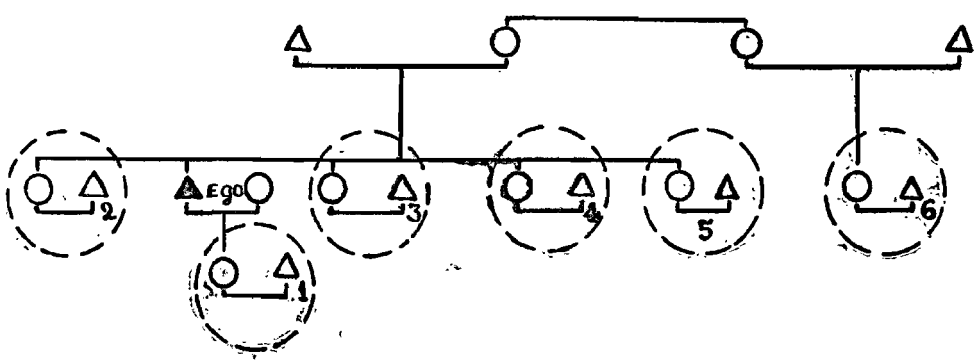
**I. Tukri of Raghuwar Dayal**




It can be seen from the above diagram that this *tukri* comprises 8 units. Each unit is called *got*. The members of the different *gots* are related to Raghuwar Dayal the head of the *tukri*, as follows:

1. Daughter and her husband
2. Daughter and her husband
3. Wife's father and mother
4. Father's brother's daughter and her husband
5. Father's sister's daughter and her husband
6. Distantly related cousin sister's son and his wife
7. Distantly related cousin sister's son and his wife
8. Distantly related cousin sister's son and his wife

**II. Tukri of Tara Chand**




In the above *tukri* there are six *gots*. The members of the different *gots* are related to Tara Chand, the head of the *tukri*, as follows:

1. Daughter and her husband
2. Sister and her husband
3. Sister and her husband
4. Sister and her husband
5. Sister and her husband
6. Mother's sister's daughter and her husband

There are some interesting features about the composition of these two *tukris* which deserve mention here. In the *tukri* of Raghuwar Dayal, the distantly related cousin sister's sons and their wives have been included not because of their kinship ties but because the distantly related cousin's husband was a friend of Raghuwar Dayal. Out of these 3 sons of the distantly related cousin, two had married outside;—one in U.P. and the other in Madhya Pradesh. Normally, they would have joined in respective wife's *tukri*, but as their wife's people do not live in Delhi, they had to join some other *tukri*. The friendship of their father with Raghuwar Dayal was the main factor which influenced them to join the *tukri* of Raghuwar Dayal. The relationship through their mother was an additional consideration. Their third brother also joined Raghuwar Dayal's *tukri*. In his case there was another more important consideration. His wife was the sister of Raghuwar Dayal's wife.

In Tara Chand's *tukri*, a slight change had taken place immediately before the present investigation. The members of *got* 2 and *got* 3 had decided to separate themselves from his *tukri* because of some

dispute. The heads of both these *gots* were related to Tara Chand as his sister's husband. One of them joined his father's *tukri;* the other had joined his brother's *tukri.* In the diagram, however, the earlier alignment has been shown to highlight the change.

The above instances show that *tukri* organization is not a rigid grouping of households. It also shows that it is still to be established as an element of the social structure of the Sikligars. There are certain other aspects of the organization which were not covered during the rapid field study. For instance, it is not clear what does the headship of the *tukri* organisation mean. Does it confirm certain privileges on the head and also are there certain corresponding responsibilities ? The position would be further investigated and would be brought out in a separate paper. Here only some idea has been given of this interesting innovation among the Sikligars.

The Sikligars of Nabikarim stated that whatever may be the nature and composition of the *tukri,* members of the same *tukri* in addition to immediate relations like brother, mother's father etc., are expected to attend marriage and other important social functions without formal invitation.

If a member of the same *tukri* fails to attend due to some reason, his *pattal* (share of feast) is sent to his residence. To other relatives is extended formal invitation or *neota,* as it is locally called. The latter usually give a monetary gift of, say Rs. 5.00 to 10.00, to help the host to bear the marriage expenses. The host in turn, when invited by *neota,* would similarly pay the same amount of monetary gift.

**Settlements and Dwellings**

At present the Sikligars are scattered mainly over the following areas in Delhi:

Nabikarim, Motia Khan, Daya Basti, Prem Nagar, Amarpuri, Kingsway Camp, Shadipur, Harijan Colony, Bhogal, Bharat Nagar, Karekhan Bagh, Rajouri Garden, and Silampur.

The main settlement of the Hindu Sikligars in Delhi is Nabikarim, where most of the field investigation was conducted. This locality is near about the junction of Qutab and Idgah Roads. In this locality the main concentration is on the south of Idgah Road but a few houses are also found within the triangle formed by a road which connects Qutab and Idgah roads. The houses are arranged in rows and the approach roads to them from the main roads are metalled. The inhabitants claim that they have been living in the same locality since last six or seven generations.

All houses of the Sikligars in Nabikarim are 'pucca' or cemented, having two or three rooms each. Some of these are double storeyed and have coloured decorated floors.

The Sikh Sikligars live in Motia Khan, Prem Nagar and other localities. Persons hailing from a particular region generally live in one cluster. For instance, the Sikh Sikligars inhabiting Prem Nagar are all from Sukhar and Rohari regions of Sindh; those inhabiting Motia Khan are mainly from Lahore and Rawalpindi regions of West Pakistan. Some are also from Jullundur in Punjab.

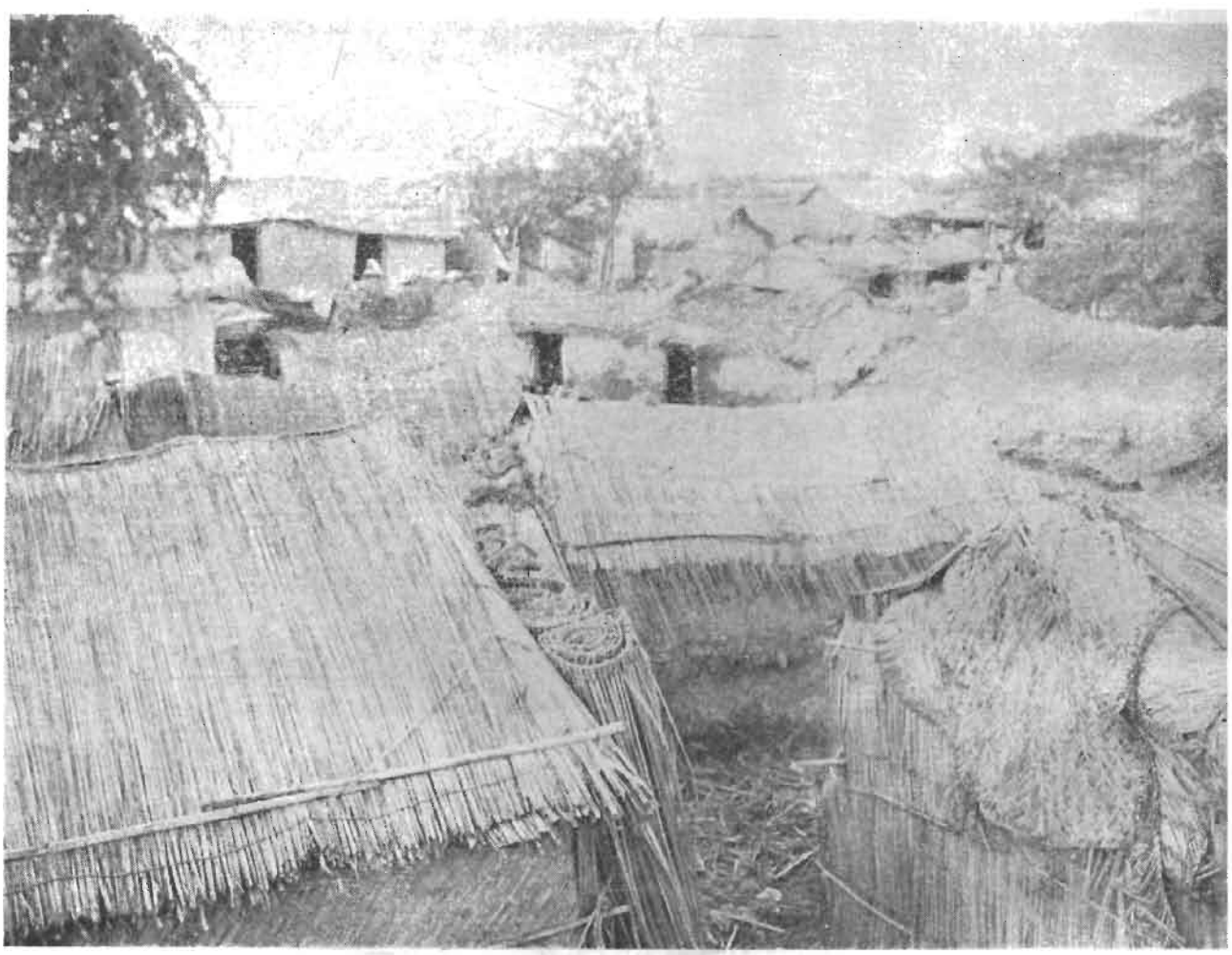
The Sikh Sikligars of Prem Nagar live in 'Kachha' hutments, just like the displaced persons belonging to others castes and communities of the area. In addition to their main concentration at Prem Nagar, they have constructed their hutments sporadically along the railway track between Daya Basti and Patel Nagar Railway Stations.

The Sikligars living in Motiakhan are hardly distinguishable from the other displaced persons hailing from West Pakistan. Many of them have been provided with housing facilities under the scheme of rehabilitation of displaced persons, but even then majority live in temporary hutments.

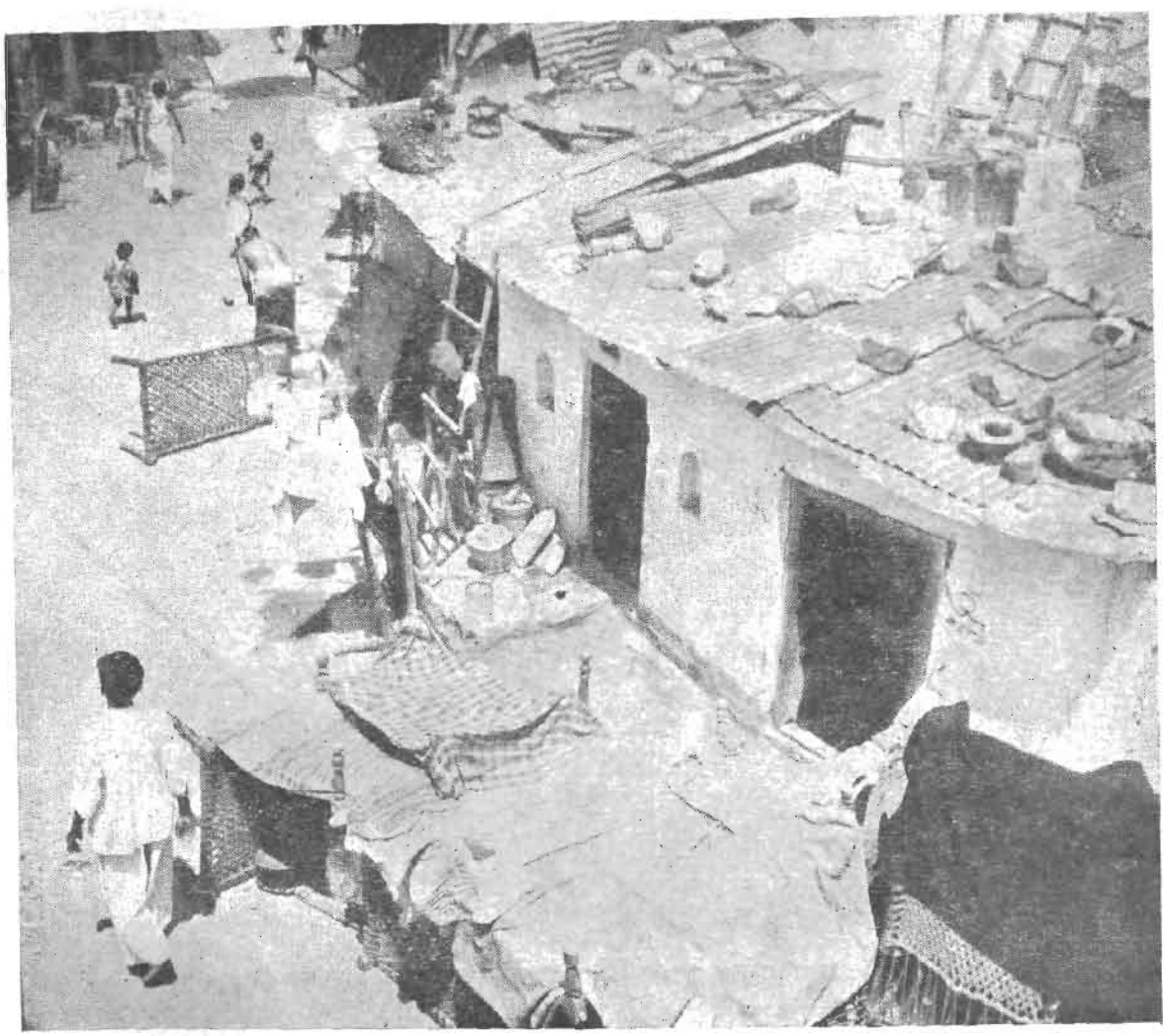
An important dimension of their settlement complex is their neighbourhood pattern. In Nabikarim locality, the immediate neighbours of the Sikligars are Naiks and Julahas; there are also households of displaced persons from West Pakistan belonging to lower middle class and lower strata of the society. A little away from the main cluster there are a few households of *Chirimar* or *Bahelias,* the fowler caste. Only the Sikligars living in the triangle near the junction of Idgah and Qutab road have as their neighbours people belonging to the higher strata of the society like the Baniyas, Brahmans and Khatries. But there are also a few Banjaras or Sirkiwalas in the same locality.

**Dress**

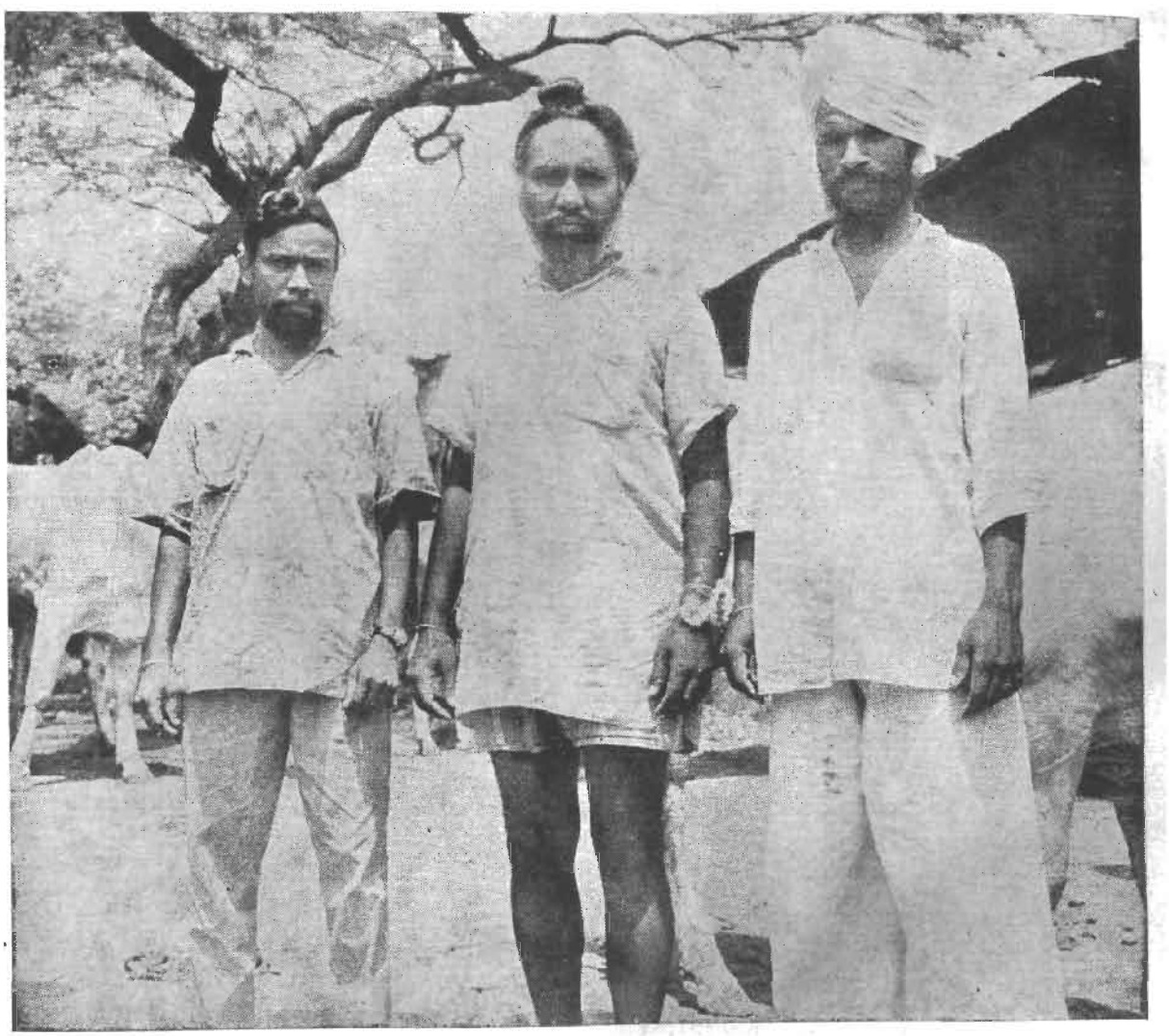
The traditional dress of females consists of a lose skirt called *lehanga;* a short blouse, called *choli* and a headcover called *orna.* Some women, particularly those belonging to Sikh Sikligar Section, also wear *salwar, kamiz* and *chunni,* like other Punjabi castes. But in recent years sari is being considered to be a more fashionable dress among all sections of the Sikligars. It is to be noted that there is no separate dress for ceremonial occasions.



5. Hutments of Sikh Sikligars at Bhogal locality at New Delhi.



6. Houses of Hindu Sikligars at Nabikarim locality in Delhi.



7. A group of Sikh Sikligars of Motiakhan in different type of dress.



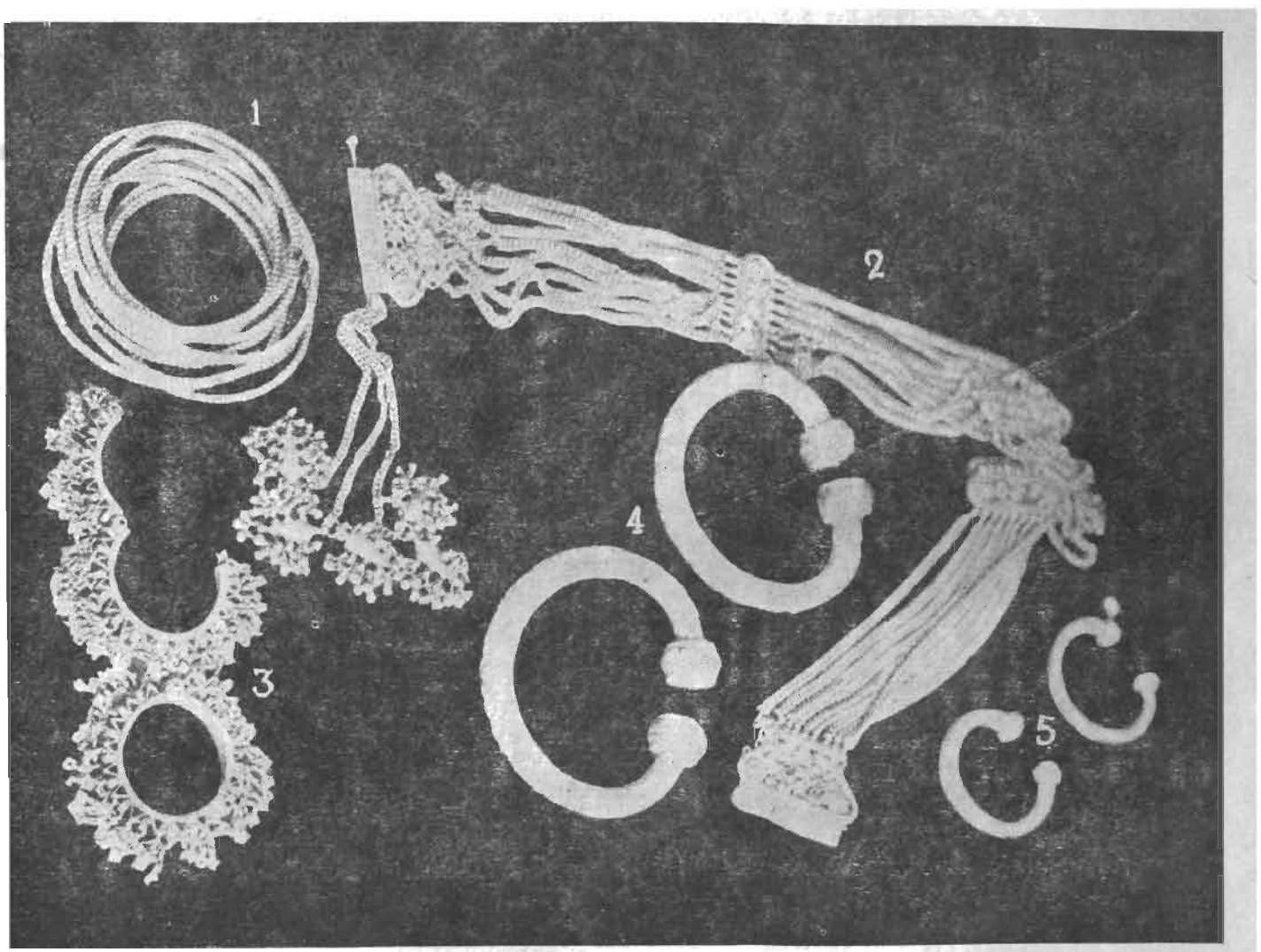
8. A group of Sikh Sikligar women in their day-to-day dress.



9. A Hindu Sikligar woman in her best attire.



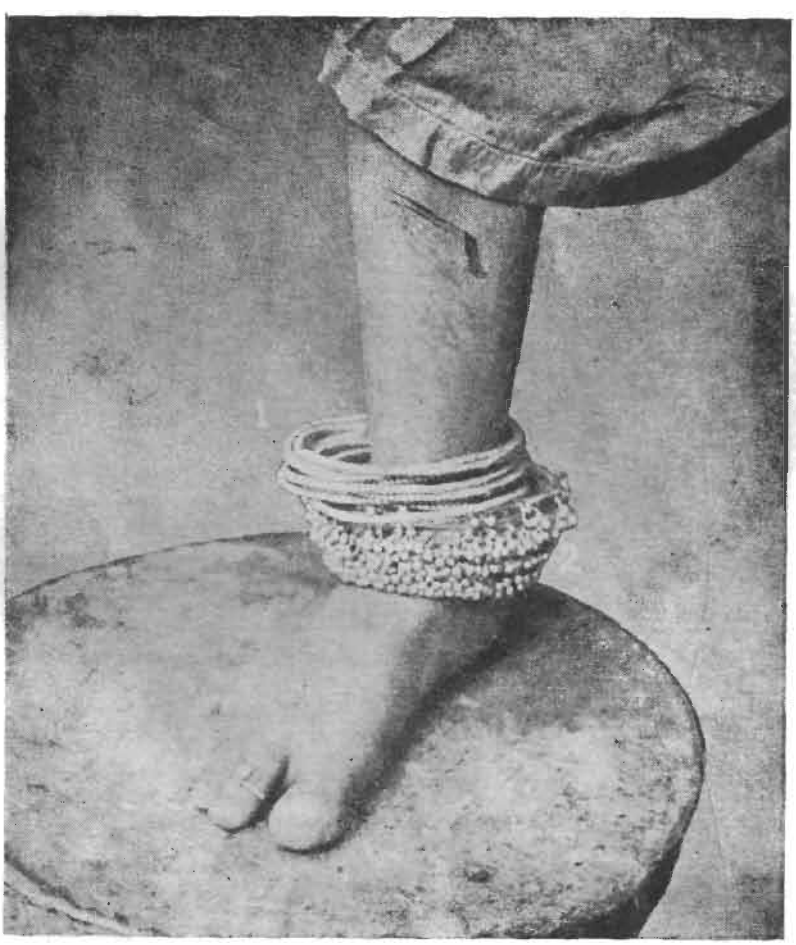
10. A Hindu Sikligar woman putting on beded ornaments in her coiffure.



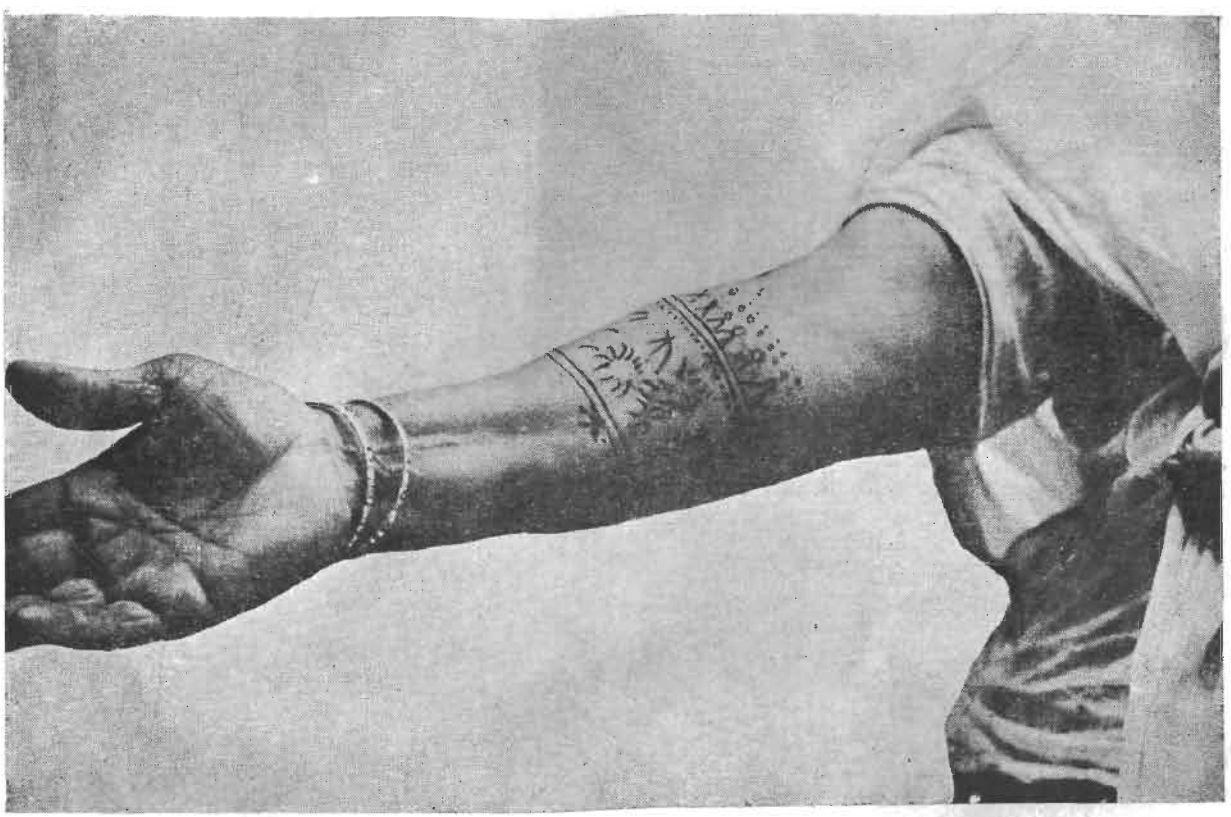

11. Silver ornaments of traditional type used by Hindu Sikligar woman. (L to R top) 1. *Chadde* (anklets), 2. *Tagri* (Silver chain worn loosely round the waist), 3. *Chan* (bracelets), 4. *Kare* (anklets), and 5. *Kare* (bracelets).



12. Bracelets and bangles put on by Sikh Sikligar woman.



13. Some of the Silver ornaments worn on the feet by the Hindu Sikligar woman. 1. *Chadde* and 2. *Jhanjhan.*



14. Tattooing marks on the fore-arm of a Hindu Sikligar woman.

Till recently, Hindu males used to wear a short *dhoti, kurta* and a *bandi,* under the *kurta.* Also they used to wear shoes of Rajasthani pattern, popularly known as *Salim Sahi* and turban. Today, all these have practically disappeared. They more frequently use *pyjama* and *kurta.* It is also not uncommon to see younger persons in trousers, shirts and bush-shirts. Among the Sikh Sikligars there is some regional difference in the matter of dress. In Prem Nagar locality the Sikh Sikligars from Sindh generally go about in *Kurta* and *tahmad* or *lungi* (a piece of cloth wrapped round the loin). Occasionally, specially while going out, they use turban as well. In Motiakhan locality the Sikh Sikligars from Punjab commonly put on *Salwar* and *Kurta* like other Punjabis. Use of turban is more common among them. In fact, except when working, they always wear it.

Sikh Sikligars keep whiskers and hair on the head like other Sikhs. But there are a few cases in Motiakhan where young people have shaved off their whiskers and keep short hair in western style.

In the past, Hindu Sikligars used to keep moustaches and beard like a Rajput warrior. Now the common practice among them is to shave off the beard and trim the moustaches; also they get their hair cropped in western style.

**Ornaments**

The ornaments worn by females are usually made of silver, gold, brass and alloy. They wear *teeka* and *bundi* on forehead, *jhumke* (ear-ring) on ears; *nath* (nose-ring), *long* (nose-pin) and *bullak* on nose. Varieties of necklaces, chains, beads and thick silver strings are also worn by them round their neck; the more common among these ornaments are *hansli, kunthi, gulaband, mohanmala, chandra har,* and *hamel,* etc. Bracelets and bangles like *kare, pacheli,* and *chan* are worn by them on wrist. *Baju* worn on upper arm and *bal* on lower arm near the elbow, are made of thick rounded silver strings. An ornament made of silver chains, called *tagri* is worn loosely round the waist. Various types of anklets are also worn by them. These include *chripathe,* which is 2 to 3 inches wide, *kara, chadde, jhanjhan* and *lachhe,* etc. Many of the ornaments have now, however, gone out of fashion and worn only by a few elderly women of the community. Today, a Sikligar woman ordinarily wears a few coloured bangles of glass and gold or alloy and one or two necklaces of silver or gold. Other ornaments are worn on certain occassions like marriage, etc. Unmarried girls do not wear many ornaments; generally they wear a few bangles made of gold or alloy.

In the past men used to wear silver buttons with or without chains on shirts; finger rings of gold or alloy, called *bera* and ear-rings called *mukri.* Very rarely they used to wear *malas* (necklaces or chains) of silver or gold. Now, wearing of ornaments is no longer popular with males. Only occasionally an old man is found wearing some ornaments. Among the youngmen, only a few are found with a ring on the index finger; other ornaments are not found among them at all.

**Tattooing**

Tattooing is practised by the Sikligars. The Hindu Sikligars of Nabikarim not only consider it to be an aid-to-beauty but also to be otherwise useful. Thus, tattooing on the fore-arm is supposed to envigorate the nerves of a man. A peacock design tattooed on the breasts of a mother is supposed to protect the child from evil eyes while he is suckling. A design called *sita ki rasoi,* when tattooed on the fore-arm of a woman, brings prosperity to the family.

The tattoo designs take various shapes on different parts of the body. For instance, the design most common on chin consists of dots in rows to represent moles. Other sorts of geometric motifs are also quite common.

It was, however, found that tattooing is more popular among Hindu married females. Among Sikh Sikligars it is not much practised. Only a few women hailing from Sindh were found to have tattoo marks.

**Food and Drink**

The Sikligars take mutton, fowl and pork but abjure from beef. They also consume fish and eggs. Their daily meals include pulses, boiled rice and bread of wheat. Sometimes they take vegetables also. It is only occasionally that they can afford to take meat and fish. On certain occasions like marriage and religious festivals *puri, kachori,* pulses, *halwa* and vegetables are prepared.

There are no particular rules or practices connected with serving and taking of food. Usually mother-in-law of a woman serves the food, even if the latter prepares it: but deviation from this practice is also quite common.

Drinking of country liquor is very common among the Sikligars of Nabikarim. Except a few males almost all are addicted to drinks. Smoking of *bidi* and cigarettes is quite common among the Hindu Sikligars. Old people smoke *hukkah*. Among the Sikhs smoking is strictly prohibited, but they also drink liquor and eat meat.

**Utensils**

Utensils of Sikligars are similar to those of other castes and communities of the locality. These are made of steel, brass, zinc and different alloys. Crockery or China-clay has also become quite popular with them. All these are purchased from the market.

**Environmental Sanitation and Hygienic Habits**

In Nabikarim and Motiakhan localities most of the Sikligars live in pucca houses. In other areas most of them live in kaccha houses. Not only is there difference in the housing materials, but also in the hygenic conditions of these houses.

The Sikligar settlements of Nabikarim comes under the administration of Delhi Corporation. There are service latrines in this locality and sweepers are employed to remove the garbage also. Sikligars living in Prem Nagar, however, do not enjoy the above facilities. They go along the railway track for defecation and garbage thrown just outside their huts go on piling up without anybody caring to remove the same.

As regards personal cleanliness, the position is slightly better. The Sikligars use washing soaps and alkalis as well as soils like *multani* or *reh* for washing their bodies and clothes.

**Diseases and treatments**

In the past, for treatment of diseases Sikligars of Nabikarim used to depend on local Ayurvedic medicinemen. For treatment of minor ailments, they used to obtain herbal medicines from some old women belonging to the community itself. Occasionally they also took recourse to magical treatment. There were a few sorcerers in the community called *sidh*, who used to diagnose the causes of a disease by observing the finger nails, eyes and mouth of the patient. They also used to undertake magical treatment in the light of the diagnoses. Now the position has been completely changed. These days most of the Sikligars go to allopathic doctors only for treatment of diseases.

**Language**

The ancestral language of the Sikligars of Nabikarim is Marwari. At present most of them speak in Hindi, very much mixed with Urdu, among themselves as well as with outsiders. Only a few old people are reported to speak sometimes in Marwari. The younger generation usually understands Marwari but cannot speak it. The Sikh Sikligars, who are settled in Prem Nagar speak in Sindhi among themselves and in Hindi mixed with Urdu with outsiders. They, however, reported that many individuals of their community can speak in Marwari also; in fact they look upon Marwari as their ancestral language. The Sikligars of Motiakhan speak in Punjabi among themselves and in Hindi with outsiders. None among them is reported to speak in Marwari.

**Education and Literacy**

The 1961 Census returns show a low rate of literacy among the Sikligars of Delhi. Only 193 out of 1804 persons (i.e. 10.06%) were returned as literates. In the rural areas the percentage of literacy is only 4·34. Out of 69 individuals only 3 males are literates. In the urban area the percentage of literacy is somewhat higher (10·95), out of 1735 individuals 190 being literates. It is interesting that there were two matriculates among the females in 1961, though there was no such person among the males.

A table showing the break-up of the population by educational standard is furnished below:

| Area | Illiterates | | Literates without educational level | | Primary and Junior Basic | | Matriculation or Higher Secondary | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| Rural | 30 | 36 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 33 | 36 |
| Urban | 764 | 781 | 130 | 34 | 18 | 6 | .. | 2 | 912 | 823 |

The position has slightly changed since 1961 Census. During the present survey two boys were found in Nabikarim area who had passed Matric Examination.

By and large, however, the Sikligars still want to remain aloof from higher education. They feel that higher education would be economically disastrous for them. In polishing of metals, they have got a fairly prosperous industry and they want that their children should stick to it; on the other hand they apprehend that if the boys receive higher education

they will aspire after white collar jobs, which they may or may not get. They will also not take interest in acquiring skill in their traditional occupation. Thus, for an uncertain social goal, they will lose the security of livelihood that they are having at present. Notwithstanding this attitude towards higher education, the Sikligars of Delhi are not averse to education as such. In fact, they feel that without a medium of education it is difficult to cope with the exigencies of modern world. The conflict in their mind is not between literacy and illiteracy, but between education at higher level and education at lower level. In Nabikarim and adjoining areas there are three primary schools. During the survey it was found that Sikligar children were attending these schools in fairly good number. But at the same time, their parents stated that they did not visualise that their children would read much beyond primary or middle standard. Most of these children going to school were required to assist their parents in their household industrial work outside the school hour, hence Education was not having much corrosive influence on their traditional occupation.

**Economic Life**

(a) **Working Force:** According to 1961 Census, out of 1804 persons belonging to the community, in the Union Territory of Delhi, only 575 are workers. Hence working force constitutes only 31.87% of the total population. Sexwise break-up of the working force shows that 532 out of 945 males and 93 out of 859 females are workers. In other words 56.3% of the male population and 5.0% of the female population constitute the working force. It, however, appears that the low female participation rate in active economic life, as indicated above, reflects their attitude towards work, rather than the actual practice. During the survey it was found that a good number of females assisted their males in preparing and polishing the knives. Besides, they have a distinct occupation of their own. They prepare *rakhi* (decorative wrist bands) every year during rakhi festival on contract basis. This keeps them busy for more than a month. In spite of their undertaking economic activities, when the Sikligars return their females as non-workers, it reveals a dimension of their social attitude. Among all the castes of the Union Territory of Delhi, manual work by women for earning cash is considered to be an index of low social status. Hence, even when females undertake activities which augments the income of the family, they fail to perceive it in its true economic import. They look upon it as household work only. The low participation rate of females in economic life, as revealed by 1961 Census, reflects this attitude.

(b) **Occupational details:** Industrial classification of the Sikligars of Delhi according to the 1961 Census is as follows :—

**Table showing Industrial Classification of Workers among Sikligars**

| *Occupation* | *Males* | *Females* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Household Industry . . | 296 | 38 | 334 |
| Manufacture other than Household Industry . . . | 124 | 4 | 128 |
| Construction . . . | 36 | .. | 36 |
| Trade and Commerce . . | 44 | 1 | 45 |
| Transport, Storage and Communications . . . | 3 | .. | 3 |
| Other Services . . . | 29 | .. | 29 |
| TOTAL . | 532 | 43 | 575 |

As will be seen from the above table their largest concentration is in household industry which in their case is mostly preparation of knives, cutlery, etc. Their next largest number, 128 persons, is engaged in manufacture other than household industry. This includes workers in steel workshops, railway workshops, manufacture of bicycle parts, workers in workshops engaged in manufacture of knives and brass and other metal decorative objects and toys. The 45 persons shown under the category of trade and commerce are mostly engaged as hawkers and shopkeepers, who sell and grind knives, and cutlery as well as utensils and decorative art pieces and toys of brass and other metals

Those engaged in construction, prepare steel frames and railings, used in the construction of buildings. Those who are engaged in other services, are mostly peons in Government Offices. Two or three persons are also engaged as compounders in hospitals. Sikligars have reported that in the past they used to process steel out of raw iron for which, it is said, urine of donkey was used. But at present the common practice is to buy steel belts of saw-machines from the old iron junk shops and prepare knives from the junks. The old junks of steel are purchased from the *Kabaris* (junk-men) in Kabbarmandi, at a cost of Rs. 4.00 to Rs. 6.00 per maund. Knives of different varieties such as those required for day-to-day use, with wooden or iron handle and those with three or four blades and refined qualities with or without teeth, are also manufactured. Most of this

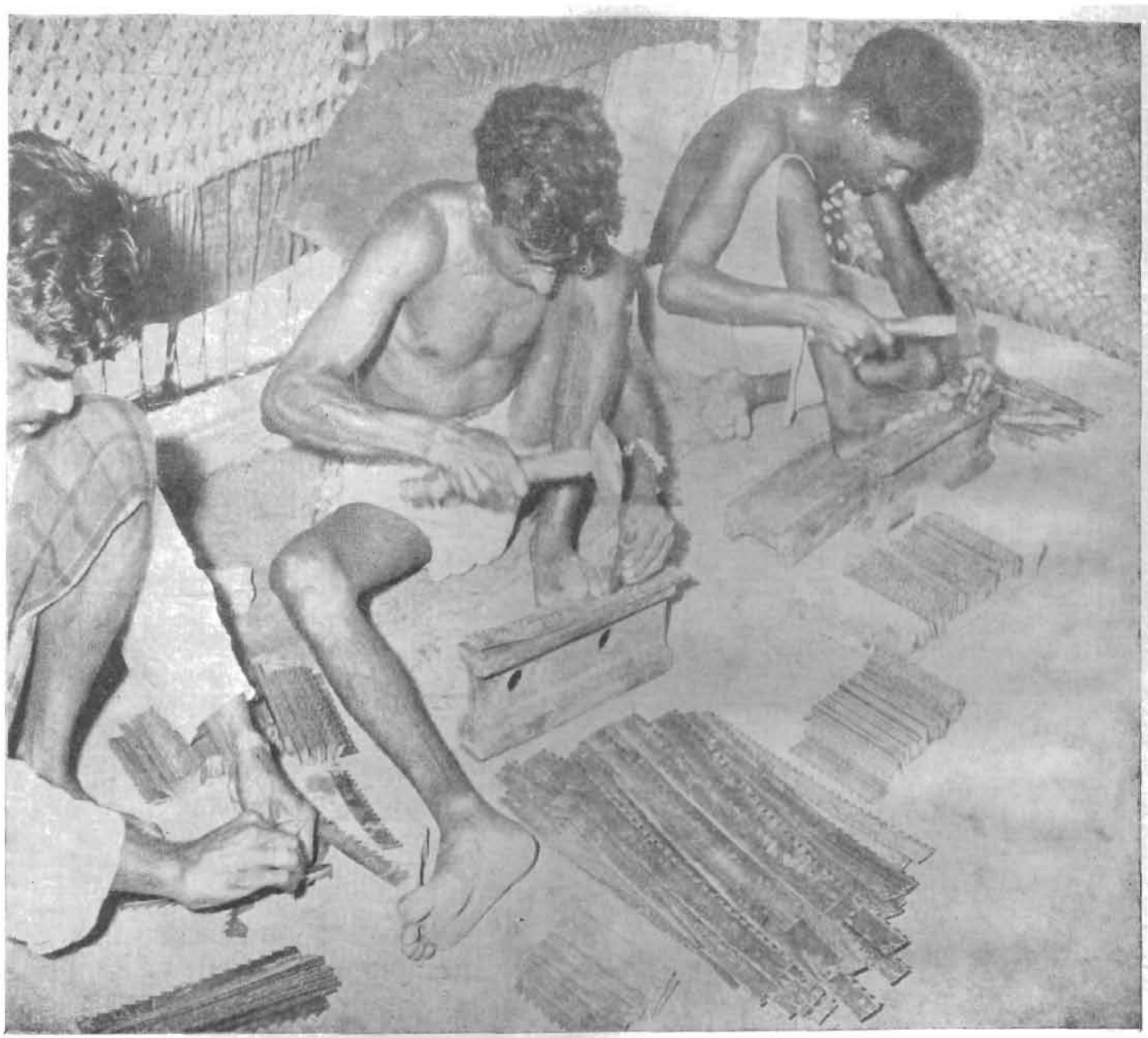
work is done on contract basis. The contractors purchase these knives from them at a rate varying from Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 6.00 each, according to the quality. Some of them sell knives prepared by them in markets. According to Sikligars the introduction of electro-plating machines has had a great impact on their traditional craft of polishing. Most of them have given up their traditional method of polishing with hands. At present only a few old men continue to 'Sikal' (polish) with hands, the rest use electro-plating devise for polishing knives and other metal objects. The few individuals still following their old techniques are, however, very proud of their work and repeat an old saying, namely that "workmanship should be like that of a Sikligar who removes the junk of ages in no time". According to them what brought them laurels in the past need not be given up at present. It was also seen that many of them possessed machines for polishing and sharpening the edges of knives, etc. A few, however, use the traditional *san* or circular whetstone. Some of them have got such whetstones installed on a bicycle so that the same can be conveniently carried to different localities for selling their merchandise. Sikligars engaged in the manufacture and/or selling of knives usually earn Rs. 5.00 to Rs. 8.00 per day. Those preparing utensils near Daya Basti Railway Station earn Rs. 4.00 to Rs. 6.00. per day.

A few families specialise in brass and silver work. They prepare flower vases, plates, plaques, cigarette cases, toys and several other decorative pieces. Work on brass or silver requires more technical skill and is limited to a few families who jealously guard their trade secret from others so as not to lose the monopoly. Children of these families work with their parents from a very early age and acquire the necessary technical skill. Though Sikligars themselves prepare these decorative pieces, at present they also purchase them and sell them at a profit. The biggest market for these articles in Delhi is reported to be the foreign embassies. Foreigners buy these articles and give a handsome return. Some of them engaged in this craft proudly display certificates which they have obtained from different embassies. They also make trips to cities and towns in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab to sell their merchandise. A few, like Raghwar Dayal, have specialised in wood-work. Raghwar himself prepares decorative pieces of wood and sometimes purchases these articles and sells them at a profit. The monthly expenditure of his family of 7 persons comes to about Rs. 250.00 which he easily obtains from his business. Raghwar's father used to do brass, silver and wood work. Raghwar is, however, of the view that work on brass and silver requires more time and labour as well as more 'hands' while his present wood-work requires less labour and gives a better return. It was said that about ten or twelve Sikligars of Nabikarim have gone to Singapore and Malaysia to sell their merchandise which mainly consists of handicrafts of silver, brass and wood. A few of them have even settled there along with their families; but others go there only as sojourners. They stay in Delhi for one or two years and then go to these places to sell their merchandise. During their sojourn in South east Asia, their families generally stay back in Delhi.

Only a few persons among the Sikh Sikligars prepare knives and at present none of them 'sikal' or do polish with hand. Quite a number of them are engaged in construction work. Some are working in the steel and iron workshops of Railways or other private concerns. Some of them also run blacksmithy shops in Motiakhan, where they are mainly engaged in repairing old parts of automobiles. Some also work on wages for a few shopkeepers who keep old junk and themselves sell repaired parts with a sizeable profit. In Prem Nagar, Sikh Sikligars are producing building materials made of iron and steel. A few also prepare utensils.

From the foregoing account it is seen that by and large the Sikligars of Delhi still follow their traditional occupations. They still fashion and shape goods of metals, steel, brass or alloy. There has not been much occupational mobility as they still do mostly iron-smith's work. They have, however, shown a remarkable adaptibility to modern conditions. They have taken to modern techniques and produce goods which ensure a fairly good income. They still prepare knives and polish metal, but barring a few, instead of traditional outdated techniques, they employ electroplating device for polishing and electric machines for sharpening knives and cutlery. They still deal in steel and other metal goods but instead of producing arms, they prepare utensils, using modern devices; some repair motor parts and produce wheels for bicycles. A few even specialise in turning out decorative and art pieces of brass and wood which brings them a good income.

By and large the occupations followed by Sikligars are able to provide them with a fairly good source of livelihood. Their faith in their traditional occupations is reflected in their adherence to their age-old occupations which have not been discarded but adjusted to the modern conditions. Unlike most of the Scheduled Castes of Delhi who speak of their depressed



15. Preparing knives from old steel belts of saw-machines.



16. Sikligar women-folk preparing Rakhis (decorative wrist bands) at Nabikarim.



17. An old Sikligar polishing knives with hands, the traditional way.



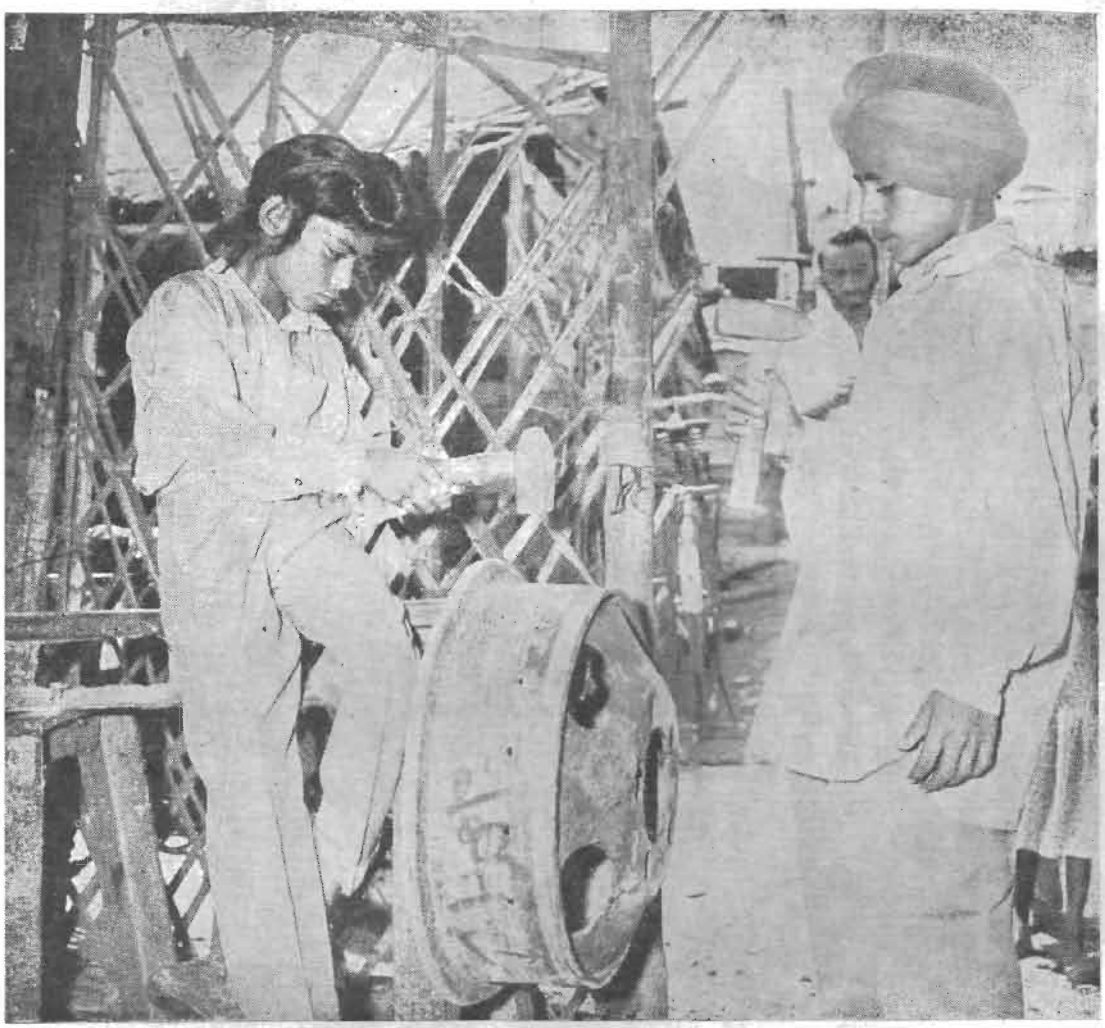
18. A Sikligar sharpening knives on his traditional whetstone at Nabikarim.



19. A mobile 'shop' on cycle for selling and sharpening knives. The whetstone is fixed on the cycle.



20. Now-a-days modern techniques are employed. A Sikligar sharpening scissor ons the electric whetstone at Nabikarim.



21. Two Sikh Sikligar boys repairing old parts of an automobile.



22. The art of preparing decorative objects of brass and silver is limited to a few families. A Sikligar at Nabikarim giving finishing touches to a brass serpent.

occupations, the Sikligars display full confidence in their traditional crafts. As mentioned elsewhere their faith and belief in their age-old traditional occupations do not encourage them to send their children to school. To them a "college degree is good but of doubtful utility; but the occupation of fore-father's ensures a gainful employment".

## LIFE CYCLE

### Birth

Among the Hindu Sikligars birth of a child is considered as a blessing of God. Miscarriages during child birth are taken as will of God. They do not observe any pre-natal ceremony. Though children of both sexes are equally welcomed, a male child is preferred during the first pregnancy. In the past they called a *dai* (midwife) of Dhanak or some other caste to assist in delivery. In case of urgency, help was sought from experienced women in the neighbourhoods. Now-a-days they generally call a trained *dai* from a maternity centre. The *dai* cuts the umbilical cord which she buries near the house. For a few days after the child birth the mother is given nourishing food, such as *harira* (a preparation of fried almond and milk and sugar) and *jira* (a concoction of dry fruits, *gur* and milk).

After child birth an elderly male member of the family, usually the father, ties *khopra* (kernel of coconut) and some paise together in a cloth and hangs the cloth in the corner of the room where the child was born. This is regarded as a token offering to the chief deity of the *got*, with a promise that a regular offering will be presented to her again whenever they get an opportunity to visit her temple.

### Name giving Ceremony

Name giving ceremony among the Sikligars is called *Pawal*. It takes place about forty five days after the birth of the child. On this occasion an elderly male member of the family dips a steel knife in water kept in a metal pot; then he sprinkles this water on the members of the family as well as the different parts of the room. This ritual is referred to as *suddhi* or purification. No Brahmin is required for performing this ceremony. But now-a-days, some Sikligars invite a Brahmin to perform *hawan*. Some people have also taken to the practice of getting the horoscope of the child prepared by a Brahmin.

The name-giving ceremony among the Sikh Sikligars is observed in the same manner as in the case of other Sikhs. On the tenth day after birth, the child is given a bath and then he is taken to a Gurudwara. There a Bhaiji or Granthi (Sikh priest) opens the Granth Saheb (the holy book of the Sikhs) at random and a name is given after the first letter of the first line of the page opened.

### Hair cutting Ceremony

Mundan or first hair cutting ceremony is observed both for boys and girls. Usually it is held when the child is aged about five or so. Sometimes the ceremony is deferred and held jointly for all the children of the family. In such cases a child may even grow up to the age of twelve before the mundan ceremony is performed. At the time of performance of the ceremony the child is taken to the shrine of a goddess, generally Bhawani, Lalita or Kalka. There the hair of the head are shaved and offered to the deity along with a coconut. Only family members take part in this ceremony and no Brahmin priest is engaged.

It is said that previously the Sikligars used to wear *Janeo*. (*sacred* thread); they gave up the same when Rana Pratap and other Rajputs took a vow that they would not wear *Janeo* until they could liberate their country. As a sequel to this vow, for centuries the Sikligars refrained from wearing sacred thread. Only after independence, a few persons have started wearing it.

### Sex life and Marriage

According to Hindu Sikligars of Nabikarim their community regards cases of pre-marital or extra marital sex relations with horror. The offender is publicly disgraced and ex-communicated. They could recollect one such case which was brought to the notice of their caste panchayat. It is said that about 25 years ago a Sikligar was discovered having sexual liaison with an unmarried girl of the community. Both admitted their guilt. The caste panchayat decided to punish the offenders publicly. They made the male offender ride on a donkey after shaving his moustaches on one side only. The donkey was taken through the lanes of the locality, followed by a jeering crowd. Later he was ex-communicated. For sometime he left the colony. After several years, he returned and remained bachelor throughout his life. The girl's father was fined 2 *chari* (Rs. 28.00). After some years the girl got married.

Sikh Sikligars appear to be somewhat more liberal in such cases. The offender is required to pay a fine and after that he is taken back in the community.

Hindu Sikligars and Sikh Sikligars practically form two separate endogamous groups. In the past these two were socially closer and there were also a few

cases of inter-marrying between them. But even at that time it was more of an one sided affair—the Sikhs used to take girls from the Hindus, rather than give girls to the Hindus. Now the social distance between the two groups is increasing, and exchange of girls rarely takes place. One of the reasons which in the eyes of the Sikh Sikligars stands in the way of marital relation with the Hindu Sikligars, is that the Hindu Sikligars indulge in smoking which is a taboo among the Sikh Sikligars.

A boy among Hindu Sikligars is usually married at the age of 18, and a girl at the age of 14. Among the Sikh Sikligars this marriageable age is reported to be higher, 20-22 years for a boy and 18-19 years for a girl. During 1961 Census, only 2 males and 5 females in the age-group 0-14 years were found to be married among the Sikligars of Delhi. This confirms that early marriage is not very frequent.

Hindu as well as Sikh Sikligars do not marry within the same gotra. In addition to one's own *got* a Sikligar is not permitted to seek his spouse within the *got* of his maternal grandfather. They call it got of Nanihar (mother's father's house). Cross cousin or parallel cousin marriage is not allowed.

Monogamy is generally observed by both Hindu and Sikh Sikligars but there is no serious objection against polygyny. It is reported that previously some of them followed the custom of marriage by exchange wherein two persons gave their sisters to each other in marriage. This however, is no longer much in vogue.

It has been mentioned earlier that the Sikligars have a custom called *Kaulparos*, which requires a man to live with the parents of his wife. The Hindu Sikligars of Nabikarim report that previously they used to practise it quite frequently. At the time of the survey however, there was no such case.

Previously, the proposal of marriage used to come from boy's side and usually the maternal uncle or maternal grand father of the boy used to visit the girl's house and negotiate with the counter part. Now-a-days the proposal is made by the girl's side and the girl's father or brother, alongwith a Brahmin priest and elders of the community, goes to the boy's father with presents of sweets, fruits and *jora* (a shirt and a dhoti or trouser) for the boy. The *jora* sometimes includes a pair of shoes as well. The acceptance of present signifies approval of the proposal. But usually before this formal proposal is made, the boy's parents are informally sounded through friends and relatives in the matter.

The *sagai* or betrothal takes place after a few days of acceptance of the proposal. For this purpose, on a mutually agreed day, the boy accompanied by his father, brother and sister's husband and other close relatives, visits the girl's house. Each party deposits Re. 1.00 as customary *teep* (due) for the caste panch. The girl's father formally lays down his conditions for the marriage. Normally these conditions are of very general nature, such as that the girl would be free to visit her parents and other kins during certain occasions of sorrow or rejoicing and that she should be well treated by her husband's family. After these conditions are accepted by the boy, the girl's father and the boy's sister's husband break a *khaki* (piece) of *gur* (jaggery) and distribute the same to the community *panch* (elders) and relatives. Now-a-days, some persons distribute sweets and betal instead of *gur*.

Marriage takes place on an auspicious day a few days after *sagai*. Before proceeding to the girl's house, the boy's father gives a feast to *biradari* (relatives). All the members belonging to father's *tukri* (Unit comprising certain specific relatives) are informed and it is their duty to attend this marriage. In case, a member of father's *tukri* fails to attend the feast, a *pattal* (share of dinner) is sent to his house. Kins other than members of *tukri* are invited by *neota* or formal invitation.

The bridegroom rides a mare while he goes to the bride's house along with the *barat* (marriage procession). Sometimes he goes in a car. The *barat* is preceded by a musical band. A Brahmin priest also accompanies the *barat*. The marriage party is received by the relatives of the bride in front of her house. The maternal uncle of the bride is the first person to receive the bridegroom. This formal reception is called *dwar pujana*. After that, before the groom and his party are allowed to enter the house, a few rites are performed, which are supposed to test the valour and skill of the bridegroom. First the bride's mother measures the chest of the groom with her *pallu* (free end of the *orni* which is usually 1¼ yards in breadth). It is expected that a man's chest should at least be equal to the width of the *pallu*. Next, the bridegroom has to undergo a test. Seven vertical sticks with round or triangular heads are placed on a horizontal bar at a distance of 4 to 6 inches from one another. These sticks represent seven birds. The bridegroom takes out his sword and cuts all the seven 'birds'. It is expected, that he should cut all the seven 'birds' with a single stroke. These rites are performed in good humour. After

these are over, the bridegroom's party hands over the presents brought by them. These include among others *jora* (full dress of the bride) and *shringar* (box containing ornaments and cosmetics). The bride's dress consists of red coloured *lehanga* (skirt), a *choli* (short blouse) and a *chunri* (a piece of cloth wrapped over *choli*). All these are made of cotton. The *Shringar* includes ornaments of silver and gold, betel nuts, coconut, turmeric and dry fruits. The bride puts on the dress and ornaments brought by the groom at the time of solemnisation of the marriage.

The marriage is solemnised by the bride and the groom by circumambulating the sacred fire seven times.

After the circumambulations are over, the ceremony of *perpujan* or *hath-peele-karna* is performed, when the maternal uncle of the bride anoints the forehead of the groom (*tilak*) with a paste of turmeric and barley. After that the same paste is applied on the palms of the girl. Then the maternal uncle and other relations touch the feet of the new couple with their hands, to indicate that they have become full-fledged members of the community, with all the dignity and respect which such membership carries.

A Brahmin priest accompanying the bridegroom's party presides over the ceremony.

Generally three types of items are ceremonially served during marriage. The first type is called *Sakarna roti* which consists of boiled rice, *sakkar* (sugar) and *ghee*. The second type is called *Lapsi roti*. It consists of powdered boiled rice with addition of *sakkar* and *ghee* at the time of serving. The Third type called *Kathwa roti* consists of pulses and bread of wheat. The first type is generally served by richer households and the third type is served by poorer households. The second type is more commonly served.

The bride's father usually provides three feasts. On the first night a feast is provided to the bridegroom and his close relatives only. It is called *Karam Kalew ka bhat*. Next morning breakfast is provided to the close relatives of the groom. On the same evening a dinner is given to bridegroom's party as well as the relatives of bride's father. These days *puri*, vegetables, pulses and sweet dishes are served at dinner. Now-a-days they mostly serve tea or cold drink and sweets instead of traditional meals. After the dinner, the bride takes leave of her relatives, and repair to the house of the bridegroom. This occasion is called *bidai*.

She takes with her *dahej* or present of ornaments and clothes. Usually these ornaments are made of silver, but at least one piece is made of gold. The more common golden ornament given as *dahej* is nose-ring or nose-pin. Clothes for bridegroom, bride, her father-in-law and mother-in-law are also included in the *dahej*. On reaching the bridegrooms house the bride first worships the chief deities of her husband's family and *got*. Next morning she offers sweet rice to the ancestors of her husband. These rituals signify that the bride has become a member of her husband's household. Later in the evening women of the neighbourhood and other relatives come to see the bride. They bring presents, usually in the form of cash, varying from Rs. 2.00 to Rs. 10.00. The ritual of formally seeing the bride and offering presents to her is called *munh dikhai*.

The Sikh Sikligars perform the marriage ceremony in the same manner as the other Sikhs. They go to Gurudwara where Bhaiji or Granthi performs the ceremony. Bride and bridegroom walk round Granth Sahib four times. The bridegroom's party provides a feast for the *biradari* and close relatives. Those who are not in a position to give a feast, may serve *parasad* only. A Sikh Sikligar bride also brings *dahej* which includes ornaments and clothes.

**Widow marriage**

Hindu Sikligars as well as Sikh Sikligars allow their widows to remarry. Widow remarriage is referred to as *baithna* among the Hindu Sikligars. A widow can marry the younger brother of the deceased, but it is not obligatory. If, however, she marries an outsider, the deceased husband's relations can claim the ornaments given to her, by the deceased husband.

No elaborate rites are performed during widow remarriage. If either the bride or groom is a widow or widower or divorcee, only three and half, circumambulations are performed during the marriage. If both of them are widows and widowers or divorcees, no circumambulation is performed and only the ends of their garments are tied into a knot. No Brahmin priest is invited to officiate over the ceremony and no feast is given to the community.

**Divorce and Separation**

Divorce is permitted by Sikligars, Hindus as well as Sikhs. During 1961 Census, 5 men and 2 women in the age group 15-44, were returned as divorced and separated. Divorce is permitted on the grounds of adultery on the part of husband or wife, ill-treatment and incompatibility of temper, and

incurable disease such as leprosy. A woman can also seek divorce if her husband is impotent. Divorce is termed as *chhut chhutaw* by Sikligars. It is allowed only with the consent of the caste panchayat.

**Death rites**

The Hindu Sikligars cremate their dead. Previously, the body of small children were buried but now they are also cremated. Corpse is carried on a structure of bamboo called *arthi.* If the corpse is of a man, it is covered with a white cloth. If it is of a woman, it is covered with a red cloth. A purification bath is given to the corpse before it is put on the bier. Sometimes the *arthi* (bier alongwith the body) itself is dipped in the water. The relatives who carry the *arthi* are called *Kandhiya.* A son-in-law, may not carry the body as it is considered inauspicious for him. The funeral pyre is lit by the son. In case for a man, in absence of a son, his brother puts fire to the pyre. In case of a woman, her husband may lit the fire in absence of a son. *Phool* (ashes) are immersed in the river Jamuna.

No fire is lit in the house of the deceased for 3 days. During this period food is served by relations who do not belong to the *gotra* of the deceased.

On the third day a ceremony called *tira,* takes place. Those relatives who carried the *arthi* are called and given a feast. The feast or *bhar uthara* is given to pay them for their services.

The members of the gotra of the deceased observe a period of pollution for twelve days. On the thirteenth day, ritual called *terwi* is performed in which a Brahmin priest officiates. On this occasion a feast is given to close relatives and members of the same *tukri.* It is reported that in the past when the Sikligars used to lead a nomadic life, the members of the nomadic band to which the household of the deceased belonged, shifted their habitation immediately after the death. Further it is reported that in the past it was customary among the Sikligars to mourn collectively for their deads.

When they were roaming about from place to place news of the death of a relative sometimes used to reach them after several months. So once a year, fifteen days before Dewali festival, married persons used to go to some distant place for mourning. On such occasions, seven earthenwares used to be filled with water, rice and sweets. Each member of the party would touch those earthenwares before they were buried in the ground. Then a mound of earth called *yadgar thelie* used to be built up on the spot.

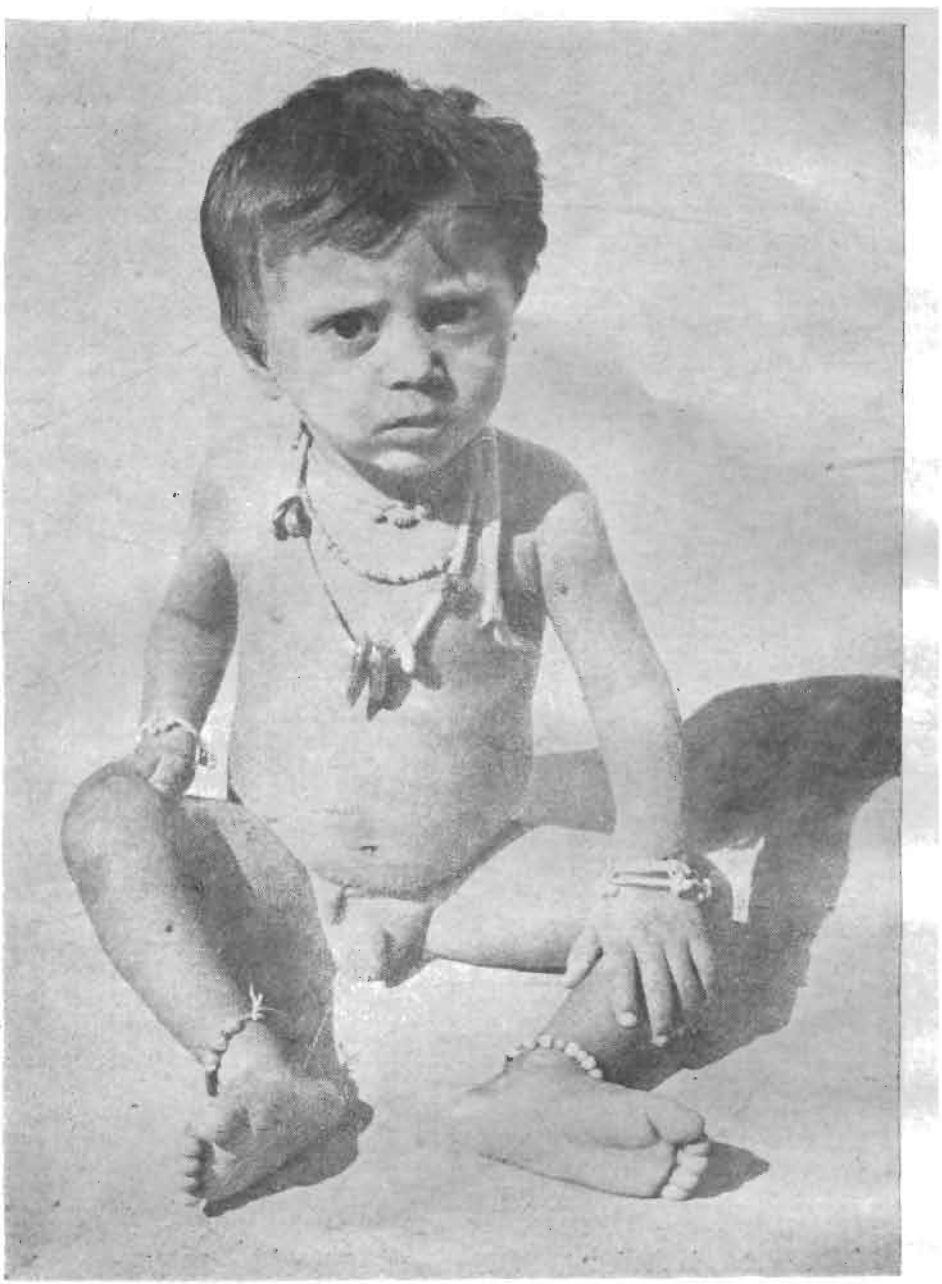
The Sikh Sikligars also cremate their deads like other Sikhs. On the fourth day after cremation they visit the cremation ground to collect the *phool* (ashes) which are immersed in Ganges or any other river. On the seventeenth day after death a *path* (religious discourse) is arranged in Gurudwara. The *Granthi or Bhaiji* reads Granth Sahib, (the holy book of the Sikhs). Later, *prasad* is distributed among the close relatives.

**Religion**

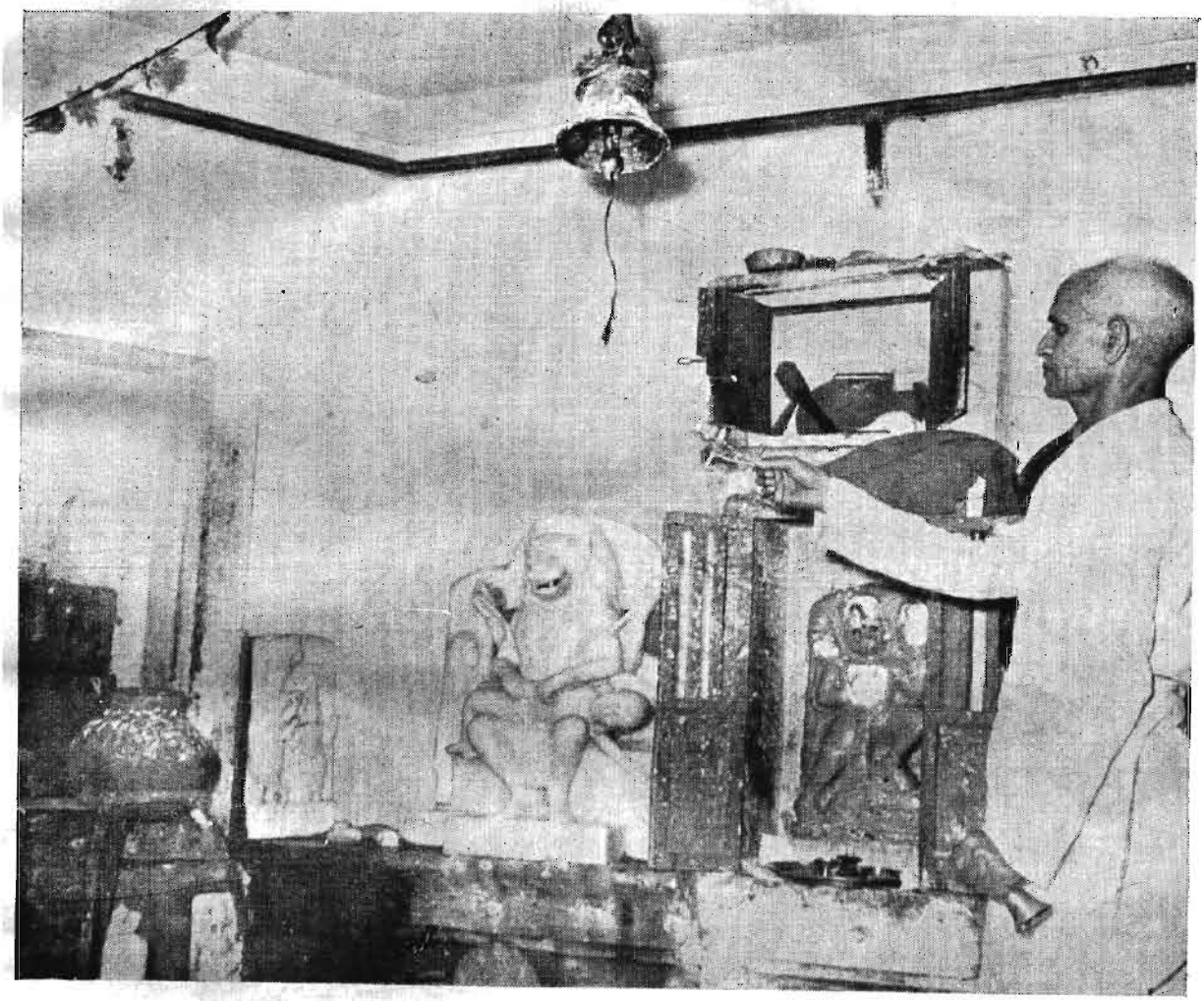
In Delhi the Sikligars are followers of two religions. Hindu and Sikh. The Sikh Sikligars are slightly more in number than Hindu Sikligars. The 1961 Census enumerated 972 Sikh Sikligars as against 832 Hindu Sikligars.

The Hindu Sikligars of Nabikarim traditionally accept all the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon of the region and perform all the important Hindu festivals. Their special tie is, however, with goddess Chandi or Bhawani, the primeval female power symbol, with all India spread. Other deities, who are popular among them, are local or regional in their spread. Among them mention may be made of Lalita Devi, whose temple is at Gurgaon, Sanwal Dev of the village Sewa in Panipat; Hansadevi, whose headquarters is at Tanakpur near the border of Nepal in Uttar Pradesh; Jawalamai who has her abode in Kangra district and Bhural Dev whose temple is situated near Meerut in Uttar Pradesh. It is interesting to note that though the Sikligars claim to have migrated from Rajasthan, none of their popular deities has seat in Rajasthan. This seems to suggest that their world view is more influenced by social relationship of the area where they actually live then by attachment to traditional homeland.

The supernatural world of the Sikligars seems to be a midland between belief and non-belief; in some cases non-belief seems to have even crystalised into disbelief. They are aware of the concepts which give shape to many of their practices. For instance, many of them wear black-thread and *tabeej* (amulet) around their neck and they know that underlying this practice is the belief that there are evil spirits and ghosts, who are out to do harm to man and whose evil designs can be neutralised by these black threads and amulets. This awareness does not, however, mean their personal commitment to the belief; it only means their role consciousness. They know what is their community norm and whatever may be their personal inclination, they mould their behaviour according to this norm. There are several instances of



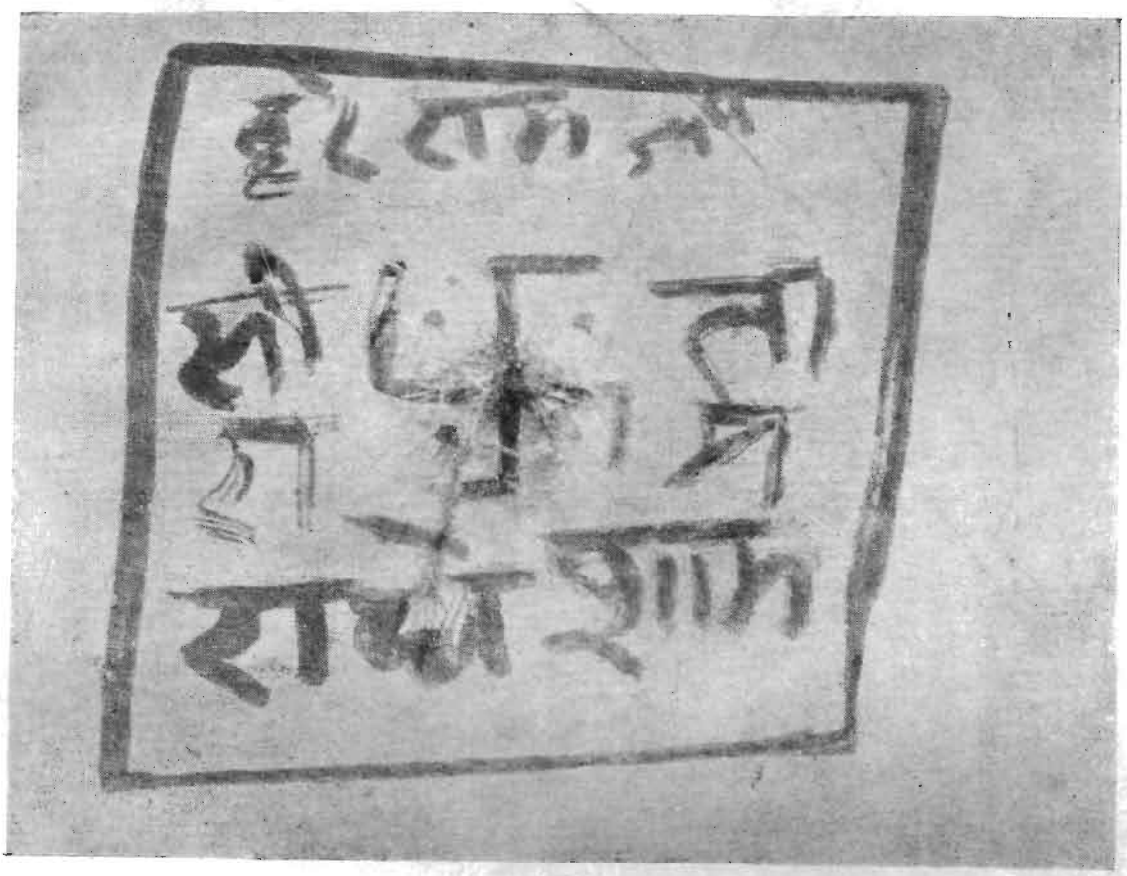
23. A Sikligar child at Bhogal wearing *tabeej* (amulet) round the neck and black thread round the waist, a device to prevent the evil eye.



24. A temple built by the S kligars at Nabikarim. Hanuman, Narsingh, Radha-Krishna and Ganpati can be seen in the background.



25. A devotional song is being sung in the Sikligar temple at Nabikarim.



26. Auspicious signs of the 'Swastika' and names of gods and goddesses are written on the walls by a Sikligar family on the occasion of Raksha Bandhan festival.



27. *Sidh* (sorcerer) performing rituals for exorcising the evil spirt.

this. It is the community norm of the Sikligars to believe that during the rainy season, that is, in the months of *Sawan* and *Bhadon* (July-August and August-September), all gods and goddesses come out of their abodes, and float about in the sky on their *hindolas* (swings). If somebody comes under the shadow of the *hindola,* woe will surely betake him. To avert the calamity, he is to seek the help of a *siah*—a person who can wipe away the evils with his magic incantations. The *sidh* does not necessarily always belong to the Sikligar community. The Sikligars of Nabikarim sometimes seek the protection of a *sidh* belonging to Bagri community, living in the same locality. But it is difficult to say that even those who seek the assistance of the *sidh* in case of some ailment or misfortune, believe in the same way that they are expected to believe, though they act in the same way that they are expected to act. It would be more appropriate to say that there is a good deal of conformism in the community. The number of non-conformists, however, is not small. Most of the younger people among the Sikligars are avowedly sceptic about the traditional beliefs and are non-conformists in their behaviour. They do not have any faith in the *sidhs;* they more readily turn to physicians who know the anatomy of the body, rather than to the magicians who know the anatomy of the heaven.

Notwithstanding the corrosive tendency at the individual level, at the group level the solidarity of the community still thrives under the shadow of 'gods'. The Hindu Sikligars have built a temple for themselves in Nabikarim. The temple is on the ground floor of a double storeyed building; the first floor is used as the panchayat hall for the community. There are images of different Hindu gods and godesses including Chandi and Hanuman in the temple. A picture of Rana Pratap is also found among these images. A Brahmin priest has been employed to conduct the worship of the various deities. Sometimes *keertans* (devotional songs) are performed in the temple and on those occasions *prasad* or consecrated food is distributed.

Worship of Chandi, the tutelary deity of the community is performed in the month of *Jeth* (May-June). But the festivals performed with great eclat are *Talwar Poojan* (worship of the sword) and *Rana Pratap Jayanti* (birthday anniversary of Rana Pratap). *Talwar Poojan* is performed on Basant Panchami day. On this day, a sword is placed in the temple beside the stone image of the goddess Chandi and the Brahmin priest worships the goddess and the sword. This is followed by *keertan* and distribution of prasad. The birth anniversary of Rana Pratap is celebrated in the month of June. On this occasion special arrangements are made. A *shamiyana* (canopy) is errected in front of the temple in the lane. The portrait of Rana Pratap is placed over a raised decorated platform under the *shamiyana.* In the morning, men and women participate in the *keertan.* People of the neighbouring communities and prominent citizens and political leaders of Delhi are also invited. Speeches are delivered on the heroic deeds of Rana Pratap. Youths of the community take an active part on this day. The function continues for about two hours. It is concluded with the distribution of consecrated *halwa* (a preparation of flour, ghee and sugar). The expenditure on account of the celebration is met from contributions made by the various households of the community.

Among other festivals performed by the Hindu Sikligars mention may be made of Holi, Dewali and Raksabandhan. Personally some elderly Sikligars observe *vart* (fasts) on *puranmasi* (full moon day) and *amavas* (last day of new moon).

The Sikh Sikligars have their own Gurudwaras in their respective localities. In the Gurudwara located at Premnagar, they have weekly gatherings on every Sunday evening. Besides, on certain occasions they hold *shabad* (resitation of religious hymens) in the Gurudwara and distribute *karah prasad.* In Motiakhan and Prem Nagar localities, they have *Granthis* belonging to their own community.

They observe all the Sikh festivals. Most important among these are birth anniversaries of Guru Nanak Dev and Guru Govind Singh and martyrdom of Guru Arjun Dev and Guru Teg Bahadur. The Sikh Sikligars of Prem Nagar who have come from Sindh, occasionally visit some Hindu temples also, and pay their respects to the Hindu gods and goddesses in those temples. More popular among these deities, are the goddesses Barimata, Kalika and Jawalamai. Another object of their reverence is the legendary Gugapir. He is considered to be a favourite deity of the Bhangis; but it appears that he is same as Guhggapir-a culture, hero of the many of the so called lower castes of North West India.

Some Sikh Sikligars, alongwith their Hindu compeers pay special reverence to Viswakarma, the celestial master craftsman. According to a legend current among a section of the Sikligars, blacksmiths,

and carpenters have originated from two sons of Visvakarma. On the second day of Diwali, Hindu and Sikh Sikligars, Lohars and Tarkahans visit the temple of Vishwakarma located near New Delhi railway station.

**Inter-community Relationship**

As stated earlier, Sikligars claim to be Rajput Lohars in origin. They, however, do not claim the status of Rajputs; they consider that they were degraded by living with Bhils and taking all kinds of food during their nomadic state.

As the Sikligars of the Union Territory of Delhi mostly live in the heart of the City their social status is a function of many diffused factors. Ritually they hardly suffer any disability. They receive traditional services from Dhobi (washerman) Nai (barber) and Brahmin priest. They fetch water from taps and hand pumps alongwith others, without any restriction on the ground of ritual purity or impurity. In the tea shops situated in their locality, they are not restricted in any way. Though there are separate temples of ritually pure Hindu castes in the locality, their temples are also visited by other caste Hindus.

It is obvious that the Sikligars are by no means considered to be ritually impure.

The other scheduled castes of the locality like Chuhra, Chamar, Balai, Julaha, Koli, etc. also consider them to be of higher status.

But at the same time, it cannot be said that the social status of the Sikligars is high. In this connection the following factors are to be taken into consideration. They live in clusters; hence their group identities are known to their localities. They mostly follow an occupation, which is not considered high in the hierarchy of occupations. They live along with poor menial and manual workers. All these combined together creates an image of somewhat depressed social status for the community. But though the contributory factors to this somewhat depressed status are more secular than ceremonial, the status itself is expressed in terms of caste referrent, rather than class referrent. It is because of the fact that the localities inhabited by them are the pockets of folkways within the city.

In terms of caste frame of reference the Sikligars are considered to be lower in status than Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Baniyas and Khatris. They also accept this ranking. But they claim superiority to the castes in the middle rungs of the hierarchy, like Ahirs and Telis. It is doubtful whether their neighbourers belonging to other castes always accept this position.

**Organisation of Social Control, Prestige and Leadership**

The Sikligars have traditional panchayats of their own which play important roles in regulating the affairs of the community.

Disputes within the family or among relatives are settled by the elderly members of the kinns group or *tukri*. Disputes involving other members of the community are referred to the caste panchayat. If persons belonging to different localities are involved in any issue, inter-locality panchayats are convened. These panchayats at the different levels do not have formally elected or appointed members. Generally, elderly persons, who carry some influence, because of their character or wealth or any other reason are drafted to constitute a panchayat as and when an occasion arises. Hence there is some amount of fluidity in the membership of panchayat. But some members remain more or less constant. It may be appropriately stated that the panchayat is constituted on the basis of consensus of the community, rather than on the basis of any formal sanction. It is primarily a moral entity, though not infrequently it is buttressed by some sort.

It seems that in the past the caste panchayat was a rudimentary political organ as well. The Sikligars of Delhi and adjoining areas had a recognised headman called Chaudhury. It was a hereditary office. The Sikligars of Nabikarim still remember the name of an outstanding Choudhury of a few generations ago. His name was Preetam Singh. It is stated that he was an excellent swordsman and was received with honour in the court of a Mughal Emperor. His descendants are still there; but none is competent enough to be recognised as headman of the community. At present one Kishori Lal, aged 70, is considered to be leader of the Hindu Sikligars of Delhi. In fact he is known as the Chaudhury of the Hindu Sikligars, though the connotation of the term is very much different from what it was in case of Preetam Singh, mentioned above.

A study was made of how actually caste panchayats of the Sikligars functions

If a person wants to raise an issue before the caste panchayat, he approaches an influential and elderly person of the locality and deposits with him Rs. 5.00. In addition for each issue raised by him, he deposits Re 1.00. This is called *teep* (customary due

for the panch). The person with whom the amount is deposited consults other members of the panchayat, (recognised influential elders of the community) and a meeting of the panchayat is fixed. The accused is also asked to appear before the panchayat and prove his innocence. He also deposits Rs. 5.00 and Re. 1.00 extra for each charge.

When the proceedings start, the members of the panchayat advise both the parties to amicably settle their disputes. If they fail to come to terms only then the case is formally opened. At first, the complainant is asked to state his case and advance the evidence in support. Then the accused is given an opportunity to defend himself. Both the parties are free to produce witnesses. Before giving his evidence each witness is required to take an oath by touching *gangajali* (a vessel containing water of Ganges) that he will speak the truth. It is considered that if a person tells lie, while touching *gangajali*, he would fall ill within a short time and would be exposed to the community.

After both the parties have presented their case, a discussion starts among the members of the panchayat. Decision is arrived at unanimously.

In majority of the cases, the decision of the panchayat is accepted. In case a party does not accept the decisions, a higher panchayat consisting of the representatives of the various localities in Delhi is called. This higher panchayat is called *Kulecha*. Previously its siting used to take place away from the locality to which the disputant parties belonged. Now-a-days whenever *Kulecha* is convened, it meets at Jhandewala Mandir near Naaz Cinema. None who is related to any of the disputing parties is included in the *Kulecha*. Generally the *Kulecha* does not disperse, till it arrives at some decision by consensus. If the participants cannot complete the discussion in one day, they stay overnight and resume the discussion next day.

The winding up of a case is marked by an interesting practice which is called *Khatta dabana*, wherein 7 pieces of stones in the name of complainant and another 7 pieces of stones in the name of defendant are buried in the ground, indicating that the account has been settled. If later on one of the disputants wants to reopen the case, he is required to pay *talwana* (fine) for re-opening the *Khatta* (account). The *talwana* varies from 2 to 7 *chari* (1 chari is equal to Rs. 14.00).



The Sikh Sikligars of each locality have separate panchayat. Their headmen are called Lambardars. The meetings of the panchayats take place in the Gurudwaras. Ordinarily the Hindu Sikligars have nothing to do with the panchayats of the Sikh Sikligars; similarly Sikh Sikligars also have nothing to do with the panchayats of the Hindu Sikligars. But in special circumstances, deviations from the practice takes place. Besides, if in a dispute where members of both the communities are involved, joint meetings of the panchayats of both the communities invariably take place.

A few cases dealt with by the panchayats in recent years are noted here.

(1) About 15 years ago, daughter of R.D. a Hindu Sikligar, was married to another Hindu Sikligar of Meerut. Her husband was a lazy fellow and whenever she asked him to go to work, he used to beat her. R.D. took up the matter to his local caste panchayat; but the panchayat failed to arrive at any decision. Later on a *Kulecha* was convened to which the Sikh Sikligars were also invited. The panchayat took a decision in favour of dissolution of the marriage. Besides, the husband had to pay a fine of Rs. 14.00.

In this case it is noteworthy that though both the parties were Hindus, their caste fellows following Sikh religion were also associated in deciding the issue. When this matter was brought to the notice of persons, who were interviewed for the purpose of the present study, they explained that the Sikh Sikligars were invited as the great-grandfather of the girl was a Sikh, though her grandfather and father were Hindus. This, however, does not appear to be convincing reason for inviting the Sikh Sikligars to the meeting of the panchayat. It is more likely that inspite of the built-up ethos of their differences, there is a large community sense both among the Hindu Sikligars and Sikh Sikligars and that during crucial situations the same asserts itself.

(2) Five years ago, G. L. of Meerut made a charge of immorality before the caste panchayat of the Sikligars of Delhi, against B.R. whose wife hailed from Meerut. Both G.L. and B.R. had gone together to Singapore; after returning from Singapore G.L. made an allegation that B.R. was having illicit sex relation with a foreign girl at Singapore. Before the panchayat formally took up the matter, close relations of G.L. and B.R. and a few elderly members of the community held a closed door meeting. It was found that G.L. had maliciously made the charges against

B.R. only to defame the latter and that there was no substance in it. G.L. was therefore threatened with severe action by the panchayat for falsely malinging an innocent person, in case he did not withdraw charges. He withdrew his charges.

(3) Eight years ago two daughters of P.P. of Nabi Karim were married to two brothers of Agra. Both the brothers worked in a steel factory. After sometime, the two sisters filed divorce suits against their respective husbands in Agra court, on the grounds of ill-treatment and bad character. The husbands also made counter charges of immorality against their wives. At the intervention of some friends, the cases were, however, withdrawn; but the two sisters deserted their husbands and returned to Delhi to live with their parents. For the last six years they are not having any relations with their husbands. Though these separations have taken place by mutual agreements among the two pairs of husbands and wives, the position is considered to be anomalous as formal approval of the panchayat has not been obtained. The people of the locality stated that till the panchayat formally recognised the separation, the girls would not be able to remarry.

The above cases indicate that the caste panchayat is an important force to reckon within the community life of the Sikligars.

But it appears that many among the Sikligars consider that panchayat is rapidly losing ground. It is facing challenges from several directions. The most important challenge is constituted by what may be termed as "loss of focus". In the world view of the Sikligar individuals, their caste is gradually becoming less and less the primary referrent of life. In the context of the city they are being subjected to multiple pulls—the pulls exercised by cut-throat economic competitions, social and political ideologies, class conflicts, peer group sub-culture and so on. It is therefore not a matter of surprise that except during certain crucial occasions in their life cycle, caste plays a subsidiary role in their day to day life. In other words caste has ceased to be a value in the mental focus of most of the people; it is only an instrument to some. Perhaps the situation would have been otherwise, had a substantial number of their people lived in the villages.

It is obvious that the position described above can by no means be considered to be congenial for the traditional panchayats to flourish.

Another challenge that the traditional leaders of the community are facing is the emergence of new elites with new sources of influence. There are some younger Sikligars, who are members of a political party and have contacts with high-ups. They evoke an uncanny feelings, specially among the elderly members of the community, but at the same time they wield considerable influence. They are considered to hold the key to the new world whose seductive charm is more compelling than that of the fading heaven of the ancestors. But at the same time, it cannot be said that the community has definitely lined up behind the new elites. It is both for and against the old leaders and the new leaders. The attitude of the community can be summed up as pragmatic acceptance and rejection of both.

**Social Reform and Welfare**

The conflict between the old and the new should not, however, mean that there is any serious attempts on the part of any organised segment of the community to completely break with the past. In fact the younger generation is also trying to give a modern stance to the aspirations of the community in the traditional framework. As early as 1943, a 'Rajput Lohar Sabha' was formed at Ambala, whose main objective was to obtain recognition for the community as a Rajput caste. Similar caste associations were also formed at Meerut and Kanpur. In Delhi an association known as "Shri Rajput Lohar Seva Samaj" was formed in 1948. In the beginning there were only nine members on its roll; they were all young in age. The membership fee was fixed at Re. 1.00 per annum. In order to gain popularity, the first task that the association took up was the construction of a temple building. For this purpose a Sikligar was persuaded to donate a piece of land, and fund was raised by way of subscription from the members of the community. The present temple-*cum*-community hall is the outcome of these efforts.

The association also arranged *keertans* (devotional songs) and religious discourses. But whereas to the old traditionalists these were ends by themselves, to the new reformists these provided the media for mass contact. Alongwith religious discourses there were talks on social reforms and social aspirations. The people were reminded again and again about their Rajput origin and were asked to behave in such a way that their claim to high status would be recognised by others as well. For instance, they were asked to abjure from drinking and gambling.

In pursuit of its aim, the association distributed printed leaflets. One of the leaflets distributed at that time contained the following objectives and course of action.

1. *Hari Keertan* (recitation and singing of devotional songs).
2. Arrangement for propaganda and spread of education among Sikligars.
3. Eradication of evil habits from the community.
4. Abolishing partiality among the members of the community.
5. Propaganda on the history and heritage of the community.
6. Efforts for acquiring social and political rights amicably.
7. Efforts for providing employment to the educated and working youths of the community in the Government Offices.
8. Co-operation with the Government in its various activities.
9. Management of the community temple.

It is reported that for a few years after its inception, the association was functioning quite satisfactorily and its membership also went on increasing. Later on, the association met with opposition from the orthodox section of the community; it was also riven by factional conflicts among the members themselves.

In 1956-57, the question of giving up the habit of drinking liquor was hotly debated in the community. It is said that in a general gathering of the members of the community, vote was taken on this issue, and that majority voted in favour of continuing the old habit. This was a setback for the reformists. The matter, however, did not end there. There were several cases of physical confrontation between the members of the association and their opponents. Finally the caste panchayat stepped in and decided to close the association.

At present there is another organisation of the young Hindu Sikligars. It is called 'Nav Yuvak Sabha'. The main function of the sabha is to organise *Talwar Poojan* and *Rana Pratap Jayanti* by raising subscriptions from the members of the community.

Some youngmen are trying to give outlet to their reformist zeal, through other forums. In Nabi Karim locality, several youngmen have joined the local unit of a political organisation and under the aegis of that organisation they are trying to persuade the people to send their children to school; also they are trying to improve the sanitation of the areas inhabited by them. Regarding other social issues also, for instance, abjuring from alcoholic drinks, they are trying to form public opinion through the forum of that organisation.

A few years back, some Sikh Sikligars of Motia-khan tried to form an association of their own, but it did not succeed.

It seems that the community is going through a phase of social flux. Its economic base is more or less sound; hence there is little motivation for it to give up its traditional occupation. But at the same time, the individual members of the community are aware of the fact that unless they change their way of life and acquire various symbols of status, they would not command respect of their neighbours notwithstanding their sound economy. The status symbols they aspire after are both traditional and modern. By harping on the theme of their Rajput ancestry and remodelling their social customs accordingly, they try to acquire status symbols in the traditional frame. In the context of the city life, however, this frame is not of much relevance. Some of them are aware of this. They emphasise the need for higher education and better way of life etc. But they feel that it is not easy to overcome the general apathy of the community in these matters. They also complain that except in the matter of education, they are getting practically no assistance from the government or from any other quarter in their effort to ameliorate their condition of life. This, however, appears to be a statement of their general sense of inadequacy rather than of any specific grievance.

**Biographies of Three Sikligars**

1. *Lakshmi Chand*

Lakshmi Chand is one of the few persons at Nabi Karim who has seen 80 years of life. He was born in the same locality. His family has been living here for 5 to 6 generations. His father worked in brass and also prepared swords of steel. It was the traditional occupation of their family. Thus craftsmanship is "in his blood", as Lakshmi Chand likes to tell his interrogators proudly. His father used to go to Calcutta where there was good demand for the articles produced by them. In his younger days Lakshmi Chand also used to go to Calcutta, for 4 to 5 months, every year. During the second world war, the personnel of the allied troops used to purchase from him, his 'bizzare' goods,

After the war he did not find good market in Calcutta and stopped going there. He is leading a settled life in Delhi since then.

Lakshmi Chand did not have the advantage of getting education during his childhood. He remains illiterate. It is difficult to say whether he is sorry for it or not.

He belongs to Dangi gotra. He married at the age of 16; his wife hails from Patna in Bihar. He has three sons. All of them are married. The eldest one lives separately with his family. The other two sons live with Lakshmi Chand. They, however, prepare their own articles and sell the same independently. Only the hearth is common.

Though aged more than 80, Lakshmi Chand is still economically active. He prepares three to four knives every day. He hands over the same to one of his sons for selling in the market. He receives Re 1.00 per knife. If the selling price is more the balance is taken by the son.

Lakshmi Chand is not, however, happy with the present. "These are hard days and it is difficult to survive". Lakshmi Chand would moan when asked about the changes that he has seen. But at the same time, the picture of the past that he gives does not appear to be very rosy. In his childhood, Nabi Karim was a forest area and even in the broad day light the people were afraid to pass through it. It was not infrequent that bandits would waylay the passers by. There were no roads; the dwelling huts were all kaccha. Gradually the population increased and the whole landscape has changed. Some Sikligars have left the area, but many new families have come. Their previous isolation has also been broken. Many families belonging to other communities are their neighbours. Now there are more facilities. They get tap water; they can walk on pukka lanes and live in better houses.

When asked whether Lakshmi Chand thinks that social changes have taken place in the right direction to keep pace with the changes in their physical environment, he made the caustic remark; "what are the people of the Sikligar Sabha doing? Nothing. Things are becoming dearer and dearer. Rather than wasting their time for changing the ways of life paved by the ancestors, they should approach the Government, so as to secure employment for our youngmen".

2. *Raghuwar Dayal*

Raghuwar Dayal is a middle aged man of forty-four years. His grand father hailed from Ambala where he was engaged in brass work. From Ambala he migrated to Meerut with his wife and three sons. Raghuwar Dayal's father was the second son and like his father he too was engaged in brass work at Meerut. Raghuwar Dayal was born at Meerut and read upto 7th class at that place. Even when he was a student he used to assist his father in his work and thus he could acquire skill in melting, casting and polishing, etc., of brass metal. His father died when Raghuwar Dayal was 24 years old. His mother married his father's younger brother. Two years after the death of his father, Raghuwar Dayal married a girl belonging to Delhi. His father-in-law had two daughters and no son. Raghuwar Dayal constructed a house adjacent to the house of his father-in-law and began to live there with his wife. When his father-in-law died he took over the responsibility of his mother-in-law and his wife's younger sister.

Raghuwar's mother has three sons and one daughter by the second husband. Out of the three sons two migrated to Singapore and settled there. They are doing business in brass, wood, and horn products in Singapore. The third son is a tourist's guide at Agra. The daughter has been married to a person belonging to the same community who is now living in Singapore. Raghuwar Dayal's father's elder brother's son has also settled in Singapore.

Raghuwar has three sons and two daughters. The eldest son is preparing for school final examination. The other two sons are also going to secondary schools. Both the daughters have been married out.

Previously Raghuwar was himself preparing brasswares. Now he is not doing so. He gets these supplies from craftsmen living in Delhi, Jaipur, Moradabad and Agra. According to him there is a good demand for these articles in the foreign embassies.

Raghuwar Dayal is one of the four or five persons in Delhi who are responsible for initiating social reforms in the community. At the outset the older generation opposed him, but later on they accepted most of the reform measures advocated by him. Raghuwar Dayal is considered to be the driving spirit behind 'Rajput Lohar Sabha,' which is working for improving the social and economic conditions of the Sikligars.

3. *Saran Singh*

Saran Singh is a young man of 23 years. He looks quite smart in his bush-shirt and trousers and with his fine trimmed moustaches. He likes to see Hindi movies and is frequently found humming film songs.

The traditional occupation of his family is sharpening of knives, scissors and swords etc., on *san* or whet-stone. Saran Singh has three brothers. He is second among all the brothers. His father wanted to give education to his sons but none of them could read upto matric. Saran Singh read upto the 7th class and then left the school. After that he roamed about for one year without any job. At the age of 16 he got a job of assisting in electroplating in a local factory. During the next four years he continued in the same job but changed the place of occupation thrice. The last one was at Ghaziabad, where he served for about two years. By this time he had gained considerable skill in his work and was earning around Rs. 130.00 per month. He asked his employer to increase his pay; when this was turned down, he left the job.

After coming out of the factory, Saran Singh fell back upon the traditional occupation of the family *i.e.*, sharpening of knives etc. But the tools that he began to use were not of traditional type. The traditional type of whet-stone is a circular one, which is fixed on a horizontal bar, and is operated by a strap which is pulled in two opposite directions alternately. This type of whet-stone requires two persons for operation. Saran Singh observed that a few youngmen belonging to his community were using a modified type of movable whet-stone, which was fixed to a bicycle, and could be operated by a single person. He preferred this type of whet-stone to the traditional one.

Alongwith the work of sharpening of knives etc. Saran Singh has taken up the occupation of sale of knives. He has fixed a board on the handle of his bicycle and as he moves about in search of a client interested in sharpening of steel-wares, he displays knives of different types on the board. He, however, does not prepare the knives himself. He obtains these from other members of his community, who manufacture the same.

Saran Singh starts on his bicycle in search of work at about 7.00 in the morning and returns home in the noon. According to his own statement he is earning about Rs. 150.00 per month.

He married at the age of 20 when he left his job at Ghaziabad and took to traditional occupation of the family. His wife hails from Moradabad in U.P. He has one son and one daughter. He has very strong desire to send his children to school when they grow up.

Saran Singh is a member of 'Rajput Lohar Sabha'. He takes an active interest in arranging the birthday anniversary of Rana Pratap. He thinks that the standard of living of his people has improved in recent years. He also thinks that they have got a brighter future. In his own words, "the people are now coming forward for getting their children educated. They have better sense of hygiene and cleanliness and they dress better; also they earn more than in the past". In spite of his association with 'Rajput Lohar Sabha' it appears that Saran Singh is a happy-go-lucky type of young man. He considers it rather foolish to spoil the fun of life in bothering too much about the problems of the family or the community.

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## ANNEXURE

FRAMEWORK FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

### I. Name, Identity, Origin and History

1. Name; synonym; sub-caste/sub-tribe as in President's Order and is in other published sources such as Census reports, monographs etc; grouping with other castes and tribes during various censuses. Affinity with other castes and tribes according to recognised authorities.
2. Etymological significance of the name; names by which the community is referred to by (a) others and (b) itself.
3. Identification of the community by occupation or any other way of life.
4. Myths and legends connected with the origin and history of the community and its segments; historical references and popular beliefs about history and migration of the community.

### II. Distribution and Population Trend

1. Area where found; population and concentration in the State and outside; physical aspects of the areas of concentration.
2. Numerical strength in 1961 and population variations during 1901-1961; sex ratio; age-groups and rural-urban distribution in 1961.

### III. Physical Characteristics

1. Racial Stock; appearance and affinity with other known communities.

### IV. Family, Clan, Kinship and other Analogous Divisions

1. Family, size (observed and published), Types, residence after marriage, descent, lineage and its economic and religious function and inheritance.
2. Clan/gotra and sub-clans; names, etymological meaning, clustering of clans, belief and mythology about origin, status among clans, clan and regulation of marriage (preference & prohibition), occupation and clan, clan and rituals, clan and food (restrictions, prescriptions etc.).
3. Others: Phratry, Duel organisation, like moieties etc., as in 2 above.

### V. Dwelling Dress, Food, Ornaments and Other Material Objects Distinctive of the Community

1. Settlement: Village site, location, settlement pattern (agglomerated, nucleated, dispersed, sprinkled, isolated, amorphous, star-shaped, horse-shoe-shaped, linear, rectangular, circular or ring-shaped etc.) and variations; regional pattern vis-a-vis pattern of the community.
2. Neighbourhood pattern on the basis of religion, castes (Caste Hindus, untouchables) and tribes etc., with segregations, if any, and the basis thereof.
3. Dwelling unit: compound, entrance, source of water, the use of different parts of the house (latrine, cattle shed, isolation huts etc.); shape (square, round, irregular etc.); storeys; nature of floor, plinth; wall; roofing, thatching; ventilations and doors; materials used; decorations and embellishments; temporary structures.
4. Dress including head gear and foot wear used ordinarily, on ceremonial occasions and special occasions, sex-wise and according to majority or minority; dress of priests and office bearers; variations.
5. Ornaments: use; material used; from where obtained; variations according to sex and age.
6. Personal decoration: tatooing; mutaliation (chipping of teeth, etc.); hair cutting; how done, purpose, attitude and variation according to sex and age.
7. Food and drink: Materials (staple and other), prescriptions and prohibitions, fuel, utensils and mode of preparation; practices connected with serving and taking of food; preservation of food rituals, if any.
8. Equipments connected with economic pursuits, religion and ritual; how procured, material used, construction, manipulation and purpose.
9. Other household equipments. As above.
10. Equipments connected with recording of time, space and weight and their methods of use: As above.

## VI. Environmental Sanitation, Hygienic Habits, Disease and Treatment

1. Environmental sanitation, settlement, disposal of night soil, garbage etc.
2. Hygienic habit : cleanliness of body, teeth, dress, houses, utensils etc.
3. Diseases : Incidence ; local names ; interpretation of the causes ; symptoms ; dignosis and cure-persons and methods involved.
4. Modern systems of medicine and attitude of the community towards it.

## VII. Language and Education

1. Ancestral Language: Classification according to Grierson, persistence of ancestral language and literature.
2. Mother tongue : Classification according to Grierson ; bilingualism and multilingualism ; regional language.
3. Information collected during 1961 census on language and literature.
4. Education and literacy : Traditional and modern attitude, information collected during 1961 census—literacy and levels of education.

## VIII. Economic Life

1. Economic resources: Land, community land, individual ownership and types of land possessed and land utilized.
2. Forest wealth: Flora and fauna ; nature and extent of right in the forest ; forest utilization.
3. Fishery, Livestock and others.
4. Working force : Sexwise, Urban and rural variations and comparison of the same with the region.
5. Non-workers.
6. Industrial classifications : Details as collected in the field and comparison with that of the 1961 census figures, traditional occupation and changes in the pattern ; main and subsidiary occupations.
7. Forced labour, bonded labour, patron-client relationship (jajmani), mode of payment.
8. Seasonal migration connected with occupation : recruitment, formation of working groups.
9. Nomadic movement: cycle and occupational pattern.
10. Shifting cultivation : method, implements and equipments, produce, participation, cycle of rotation. measure to regulate shifting cultivation and its impact.
11. Terrace cultivation : As above.
12. Income & expenditure : Sources of income, extent, expenditure on food, clothing, house, education, social functions and others.
13. Other aspects of economic life

## IX. Life Cycle

### A. Birth

1. Beliefs and practices connected with conception, barrenness, still birth, miscarriage, abortion, child death, regulation of sex, etc.
2. Pre-natal and natal practises : Residence, diet, work, toboos, etc., delivery place, assistance, equipments used in delivery, position during delivery, severance of umbilical cord (who does and how done), disposal of placenta.
3. Post natal practises : Confinement and segregation, ceremonial pollution, diet for mother and child, rituals.
4. Protection and care of child and training.
5. Attitude towards birth of child, Preference about sex, preference about number, segregation of sex, etc.

### B. Initiation

1. Initiation ceremony ; descriptions.
2. Pre-marital sex relations within the community, outside the community, sanctions and taboos

### C. Marriage

1. Age at marriage for both sex ; prohibited degrees of relationship, preferences, widow remarriage (preferences & toboos).
2. Civil status and social status.
3. Types of marriage: Monogamy, polygamy (Polyandry and polygyny).
4. Selection of spouse : Qualities valued (for bride groom) mode of selection, procedure.

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5. Modes of acquiring mate : By negotiation, force, intrusion, elopement, etc.
6. Terms of settlement : Payment of bride price, dowry, service, exchange, adoption, etc.
7. Ceremonies connected with marriage : Details including who presides over the marriage and services of functional castes.
8. Statistical data as per 1961 Census.
9. Divorce : Reasons and procedure

**D. Death**

1. Concept about death, measures to ensure future well being of the soul, measures to avert harm by the spirits.
2. Methods of disposal : Burial, cremation, exposure, floating on water, etc.
3. Preparations for disposal of dead, informing friends and relatives, treatment of the dead body, digging of pit etc. for disposal ; how carried, who carry, who accompany, place of disposal, methods of disposal, norms and taboos.
4. Ceremonies connected with disposal.
5. Death rites : Details.
6. Monuments : Tombs, megaliths, etc.
7. Pollution : duration, restrictions in work, food, dress, shaving, hair cropping, sex life etc. ; removal of pollution.
8. Mourning : mourners and duration.

**X. Religion**

1. Deities ; supreme deity, benevolent deities, malevolent spirits, presiding deities of village and other aspects of life including occupation, clans, gotras etc.
2. Place of the deities in the regional pattern and Brahmanical and other traditions.
3. Rituals and concepts associated with the pantheon.
4. Spots associated with the deities, pilgrim centres and methods of worship.
5. Religious functionaries.
6. Calendar of festivals and their observance.
7. Concept of soul, hell, heaven, rebirth, trans-migration of soul, etc.
8. Sects and denominations : Name, distribution, beliefs and practises etc.
9. Statistical information.

**XI. Leisure, Recreation and Child Play**

1. Use of leisure time : For male, female, children and adult ; seasonal variation in leisure time.
2. Recreations their mode and extent, for males, females and children.
3. Leisure and recreation with reference to work,

**XII. Relation among Different Segments of the Community**

Recognised segments—name, basis (territorial, ceremonial, social, prestige, religion, sect, education, age etc.); Interrelationship among various segments ; status of the segment ; status of women.

**XIII. Inter-community Relationship**

1. Ceremonial relationship : Service by Brahmins, traditional service by castes like barbers, washermen etc.
2. Pollution by touch or proximity to high Caste Hindus, use of well, admission to temple.
3. Secular relationship : Model for other communities ; dominance due to economic resources, political status, social status, etc.
4. Bridge role, buffer role, alliance and antagonism of the community.

**XIV. Structure of Social Control, Prestige and Leadership**

1. Social control : Levels of social control, community level, regional level, hereditary, special functionaries etc., social control by other agencies.
2. Mode of acquiring offices.
3. Control exercised by traditionally recognised leaders, functionaries of statutory bodies of the region, powerful individuals belonging to the community, etc., at the regional level and local level.

4. Relationship between spheres of social control and agencies of social control.

5. Leadership : For social change, for technological change, for political action and for other organised activities at the community level, regional level and local level.

6. Social prestige : Method of gaining social prestige (by performing ritual, merit of feast, associating with historical association etc.) symbols of social prestige.

**XV. Social Reform and Welfare**

1. Social reform movements : Intensity ; reasons (for raising social status, establishing traditional norms, for westernisation, etc.) ; history and import of the movements.

2. Social welfare : Agency, religious organisation, community as a whole Govt. Official and non-official, role of the social welfare measures and impact.

**XVI. References cited and other bibliography.**

GIPN—S1—3 R. G. India/67—10-7-68—750