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VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

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DISTRICT RAIPUR, TAHSIL RAIPUR, VILLAGE BENDRI

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(All the Census Publications of this State will bear Volume No. VIII)

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PART II- A	General Population Tables.
PART II-B (in Sub-Parts)	Economic Tables.
PART II-C (in Sub-Parts)	Cultural and Migration Tables.
PART III	Household Economic Tables.
PART IV (in Sub-Parts)	Housing and Establishment Tables (including Subsidiary Tables) and Report.
PART V (in Sub-Parts)	Special Tables for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
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FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this sub-continent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of Indian life—sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to their conclusions. In a country, largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple thnig as age was liable to be inaccurate, an understanding of the social structure was essential. It was more necessary to attain a broad understanding of what was happening around oneself than to wrap oneself up in 'statistical ingenuity' or 'mathematical manipulation'. This explains why the Indian Census came to be interested in 'many bypaths' and 'nearly every branch of scholarship, from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion'.

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralisation on the one hand and decentralisation on the other, my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive: the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

A brief account of the tests of selection will help to explain. A minimum of thirty-five villages was to be chosen with great care to represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnic diversity. Of this minimum of thirty-five , the distribution was to be as follows :—

(*a*) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, *e.g.*, fishermen, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers, etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(*b*) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(*c*) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500-700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustment to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extra-mural rigours of

the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an 'extra' over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959 the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet, dress, ornaments and footwear; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended; worship of deities, festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March 1960 by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September 1959 conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, movable and immovable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusions', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the census count itself was left behind in March, 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivendrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land-reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. In the latter half of 1961 again was organised within the Census Commission a section on Social Studies which assumed the task of giving shape to the general frame of study and providing technical help to Superintendents of Census Operations in the matter of conducting Surveys, their analysis and presentation. This section headed by Dr. B. K. Roy Burman has been responsible for going through each monograph and offering helpful criticism and advice which were much welcomed by my colleagues. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together.

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve: to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to 'the most fruitful single source of information about the Country'. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation.

The Schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in Appendices I and II.

NEW DELHI:
the 24th May 1962.

A. MITRA,
Registrar-General, India

VILLAGE SURVEYS IN MADHYA PRADESH

In Madhya Pradesh, forty-nine villages were initially selected for survey on the basis of four main considerations. The first was that the caste structure of the State should, to the extent possible, be reflected in the villages taken as a whole; it was, therefore, required that the caste/s indicated for a particular district should be dominant in the village/s. The principal castes of the district were determined on the basis of the 1931 Census returns as castewise or tribewise figures were not available *in full* for later censuses. The second, which was also sociological, was that the village should be, as far as possible, at a certain specified distance from the nearest urban area. It was felt that a study of villages at different distances from urban centres would help us understand the strength of the forces of urbanisation. The 43 districts of the State were arranged in the order of census location code numbers and a set of three distances (15, 25 and 35 miles) was repeated, only one figure appearing against each village. The hope was that this procedure would impart a somewhat random character to the sample in respect of urbanisation. Next came two administrative considerations: First, the village was to have a population within the range 250-400, yielding thereby some 50-80 households. It would have been impossible to cover a large number of households in the desirable degree of detail. Second, the village should not have been already surveyed by a different agency. Though normally it was to be one village per district, an extra village was selected in districts with a population of more than a million each so that the total number rose to 49.

2. It was never expected that it would be possible to stick to the exact distance (from the nearest urban centre) given for each village and the selection of a village of the given population size which *also* contained a large proportion of the members of a particular caste or tribe proved to be more difficult than expected. This to some extent has distorted the pattern of purposes that governed the selection. It was also difficult to re-do the selection because it was not certain that a second attempt would succeed. In the last thirty years, the composition of the population seems to have changed quite a lot in some areas. And, we had no figures whatever to go upon so far as the 1960-61 distribution of the population among castes/tribes in villages was concerned. In any case, the main purpose of these surveys was to obtain a detailed picture of present day rural life and the Statewise scatter of localities required for the purpose was ensured by making the district the primary group. Of the villages selected, 9 had each a dominant (scheduled) caste; 16 had each a dominant (scheduled) tribe; and the remaining were multi-caste and/or multi-tribal villages.

3. It was soon discovered that it would be impossible to make a reasonably good job of the survey in respect of all the 49 villages. We started with a very simple questionnaire which was expanded in due course to some 70 or 80 pages. An attempt was made to make them factual but whether the investigator's or somebody else's view of the hierarchical level of a particular caste (or tribe) is objective enough to be considered a substantially valid fact is a difficult question to settle but inquiries of this kind were included. This basic survey was left to an official selected by the district authorities; in quite a few villages the results were not unsatisfactory. But the official of the Census Organisation who had to write the report found it necessary to go to the village once or twice again not only to go through most of the schedules right on the spot but also to collect some more information on particular aspects and prepare the pictorial part of the survey (photographs and drawings). It was at this stage generally that I came into the picture. I have also myself seen a few of the

villages. My scrutiny of the first draft resulted in a number of suggestions which were incorporated, the draft finalised and sent up to the Registrar-General. The trouble with a survey of this kind is that there can be no end to it; it is no doubt microcosmic but, still, *cosmic*. We tried our best to modify the report again in the light of the criticism made by the Registrar-General. What happened as a result of the approach was that the number of villages we could deal with was determined by the number of officials we had in the Census Organisation who could write at least presentable first drafts. The initial ambitious design was, therefore, abandoned and the hope at present (October, 1963) is that we should be able to produce in Madhya Pradesh some 20-25 reports. The only apology I can offer for publishing them is that very hard work has gone into them even though a strictly sociological approach might have yielded different results. In every survey, an attempt has been made to delineate the 'personality' of the village even if in the process the mere recording of information on various generally important aspects may have suffered. It is like striking out the heading, 'relationship', in a census enumeration schedule and entering 'squint-eyed' in that space ! It seems to me that the Census Organisation should continue in coming censuses to supplement their macrocosmic operations with studies of this kind—which together will probably give a better picture of the varied life of our people than mere statistical reports. For the results to be more satisfying than they have been in this census, it will be necessary to make a careful study of the present schedules and draw up a new one.

4. I have to acknowledge the debt of deep gratitude that we in State Census Organisations owe to the Registrar-General, India, Shri Asok Mitra, who initiated and directed these studies. In this State, the main burden of dealing with matters relating to these surveys fell on Shri K. C. Dubey, Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, and Shri N. B. Basu, Chief Investigator (now District Organiser, Tribal Welfare, Durg) to both of whom I am extremely grateful. Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, who helped us with advice and criticism, deserves our particular thanks.

Bendri (Raipur Tahsil, Raipur District), chosen because the principal caste of the village is *Kewat* (fisherman), is now purely agricultural—fishing, which reportedly is an inconstant and poor earner, is not even a subsidiary occupation. This phenomenon of a total jettisoning of an occupational tradition without any significant change either in the social status of the caste or in the beliefs and rituals which had been originally built up about, and consistently with, that tradition is common in present-day rural India. In Bendri, the *Kewat* is now often a vegetable grower catering for the Raipur market some ten miles away and the shift of occupation is thus a response to the development of a proximate urban centre. Vegetables are usually grown in *"baris"* (small gardens) attached to the houses. Ordinary agricultural land in the village is owned for the most part by Brahmins and *Kewats;* the principal crop is rice and the next in importance, *kodon*, a cheap food-grain. There has not been much change either in net cultivated area or irrigated area during the last ten years (1950-51 to 1959-60) though double-cropped area has increased considerably (from about 141 acres in 1950-51 to about 183 acres in 1959-60). There is thus a tendency to practise more intensive forms of cultivation. The increase in gross cultivated area is about 19% and the growth of population has been slightly greater (about 20%). Owing to the fact that neither the methods of cultivation nor the degree of capitalisation has shown any improvement, the only influence on standards of living should have been the higher agricultural prices over the years. Absentee landlordism does not seem to be on the way out yet. Thus, there have been no radical changes in the structure of the economy and, consequently, the kind of social tension that results from a conflict between a traditional outlook and rapid economic change does not appear to exist. One would not, in these conditions, expect any great change in the 'cultural climate' of the village and the survey shows that this impression is by and large not incorrect. There is, in

statistical terms, a significant improvement in literacy since 1951 (from 3% in 1951 to 12% in 1961). But neither this development nor urban influence has loosened the rigidity of the caste-system *within* the village though, outside it—particularly in the context of the anonymity that a large urban mass confers—caste often ceases to be relevant; in fact, this kind of transitional dualism in the attitude to caste is probably to be found all over India. It has been argued that social and religious factors alien to an experimental and rational outlook are themselves the cause rather than the result of economic backwardness and should be dealt with first if progress at some pace is to be possible. That there is an interaction between the two is undeniable but the conclusion to which one is led by this survey is that the retardatory power of non-economic factors is considerable. There is no evidence that any of the villagers have tried to obtain employment in the growing industrial township of Bhilainagar—not among those of the younger generation. The difficult task of creating from within this milieu forces favourable to desirable change and to an outlook that does not shy away from the risks involved in drifting away from familiar moorings has yet to be tackled on the mass scale; Mahatma Gandhi performed this miracle in the political field by metamorphising the politician into a saint and a morally unmindful struggle for power into a meticulously scrupulous crusade for a cause. It is imperative that a synthesis be achieved in the economic field as well; otherwise developmental agencies of Government will continue to run their heads against a wall—with, as in recent years, damage more often to the heads concerned than to the wall. As Kaldor observes, 'the key to an accelerated growth of the underdeveloped areas of the world lies in bringing about fundamental changes in both the mental outlook and the technical knowledge and skill of their peasant populations' [Sinha, M. R.Ed. 'A Decade of Economic Development and Planning in India' (1962), p. 21]. This inner dynamic still eludes us. The site on which the villagers live in Bendri is threatened by floods frequently but the unwillingness even to look for a better one can only be explained by an unquestioning attachment to tradition whose obverse is often a fear of the new. The survey is a faithful picture of Bendri but, being the first of the Madhya Pradesh series of village surveys, has probably some of the deficiencies of a first effort. But the earnestness of the effort to understand the village is transparent—though I should add that the villagers did not very much like the prying into their lives that is inevitable in investigations of this kind. In spite of this handicap and in spite of the fact that he was heavily burdened with other responsibilities during the period of the survey, Shri K. C. Dubey, Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, who is the author, has done a commendable job. It is my belief that this is a valuable contribution to the continuing study of rural India.

Bhopal, Holi (Phalguna 8) 1885
(February 27, 1964)

G. JAGATHPATHI,
Superintendent of Census Operations,
Madhya Pradesh.

PREFACE

In the following pages is attempted a delineation of the different facets of a Chhattisgarh village—Bendri. Bendri is a small village situated in Raipur tahsil of Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh, 9 miles to the east of Raipur town. This village was selected for this study on the following considerations: Firstly, it had a preponderant population (82.9 per cent) of the *Kewat* (Fisherman) caste, the social, religious and economic conditions of which caste were intended to be studied in the survey; secondly, the village is included in a Community Development Block, the impact of which on rural life was to be a point of investigation; thirdly, it was decided that the village selected on the above two considerations should be within 15 miles from the town so that urban influence, if any, could be studied. And this is how Bendri offered itself for this survey.

Bendri is the name of an actual village. In the pages that follow, no pseudonyms have been used and the word 'caste', wherever used, does not carry with it the sense of the four categories of Hinduism (*varna*), but is used to refer to an endogamous group dispersed over several villages and referred to in common parlance by the words *jat* or *jati*.

The village was surveyed in two stages. A house to house survey was carried out from the 5th May 1961 to 23rd May 1961 and a 53-page questionnaire for each household was filled up. This work was done by Shri S. N. Verma, Revenue Inspector of Tilda R. I. circle. The information collected by Shri Verma was processed by me and after getting some bearings on the village, I resurveyed the village to get detailed information on the life-cycle rituals and religion, etc. I did this survey in two visits and two more visits were paid to the village by the Research Investigators before the drafting of this Report was undertaken.

All this was done when we were in the thick of sorting of the enumeration slips of the 1961 Census. The first three 'Tickets' were complete and steps were being taken to prepare 'boxes' for further sorting. I must place on record here the great debt that I owe to my Tabulation Assistant Shri J. P. Choube. He took the entire burden on himself and let me have some spare time in which I could give some thought to this Report. But when I sat down for drafting, I was immediately faced with a dilemma. I did not know how and where to begin and how to present the data. Fortunately for me, Shri Jagathpathi, Superintendent of Census Operations, M. P., came to Raipur for inspection and he very kindly sat down with me and scrutinised the schedules and discussed certain aspects with me and Shri Verma, R. I., Tilda. This put me on the start and, working almost round the clock, I completed the first draft in about ten days' time.

This Report has the privilege of being the first Report from this State and may be found very much short of a good Report. That is entirely due to the lack of ability of its author who was absolutely new to this field of work. The Report does not claim to be an anthropological or sociological work. It contains empirical facts about the village as they unfolded themselves. It is difficult to develop a deep understanding of village life in all its complexity even in two or three years; it would therefore be futile to claim that we have been able to present the whole picture of village life.

The Report, it should be made clear, suffers from two more shortcomings. Firstly, these village surveys intend to cover a large number of villages in a rapid stride and, as such, the time available for individual surveys is not such as to make possible long stays in any particular village, and, secondly, the eyes that have looked at the villages are not those of a trained sociologist or an anthropologist but of a person who was not, in his academic career, a student of these fascinating branches of knowledge.

I am extremely grateful to Shri A. Mitra, I. C. S., Registrar-General, India, for his valuable comments on this Report. Shri G. Jagathpathi, I. A. S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Madhya Pradesh, supervised the work from its very inception and went through the manuscript

of the first draft. It was due to the detailed questionnaire designed by him that the Report could be completed in such a short time. I owe a great debt to him for his guidance, suggestions and encouragement. I must not fail here to express my deep sense of gratitude to my staff in the Raipur Tabulation Office, who, after knowing that I was busy with this Report, carried on their work in a most exemplary manner and did not cause me any headache. As said earlier, Shri Choube deserves my special thanks.

The photographs for this Report were taken by Shri Khasnovis, Supervisor, Census Tabulation Office, Raipur, and the line-drawings have been done by Shri Premchand Jais of Raipur and Shri B.L. Parganiha, Research Assistant. The cover-design has been drawn by Shri B. L. Parganiha under the guidance of Shri Jagathpathi. To all of these, I am grateful for their co-operation. Last but not least, thanks are due to the simple folk of Bendri who co-operated wholeheartedly during the survey and but for whose unstinted help, the work could not have seen the light of day. I am also thankful to my colleague Shri P. K. Dixit for having read our proof at the final stage.

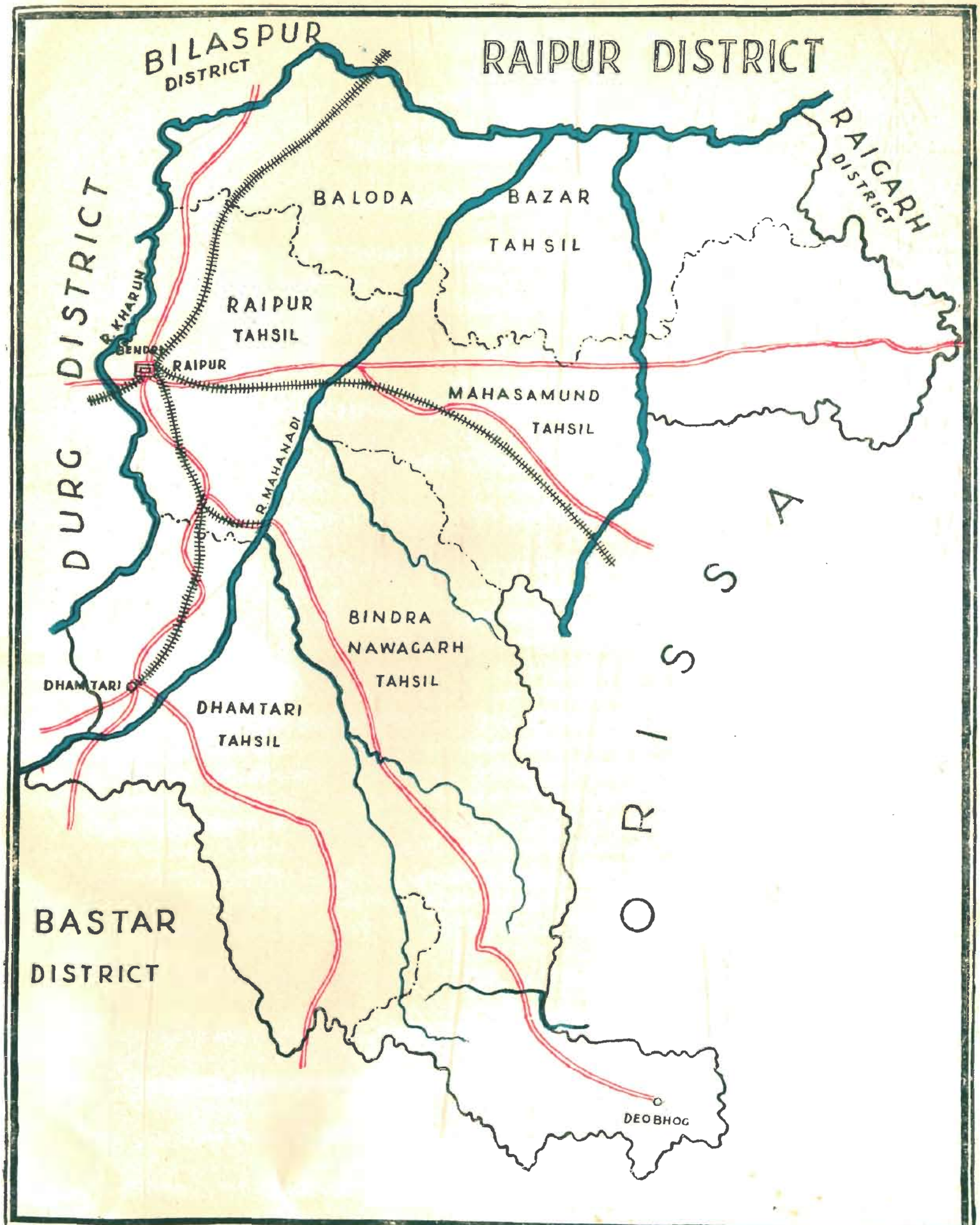
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K. C. DUBEY.

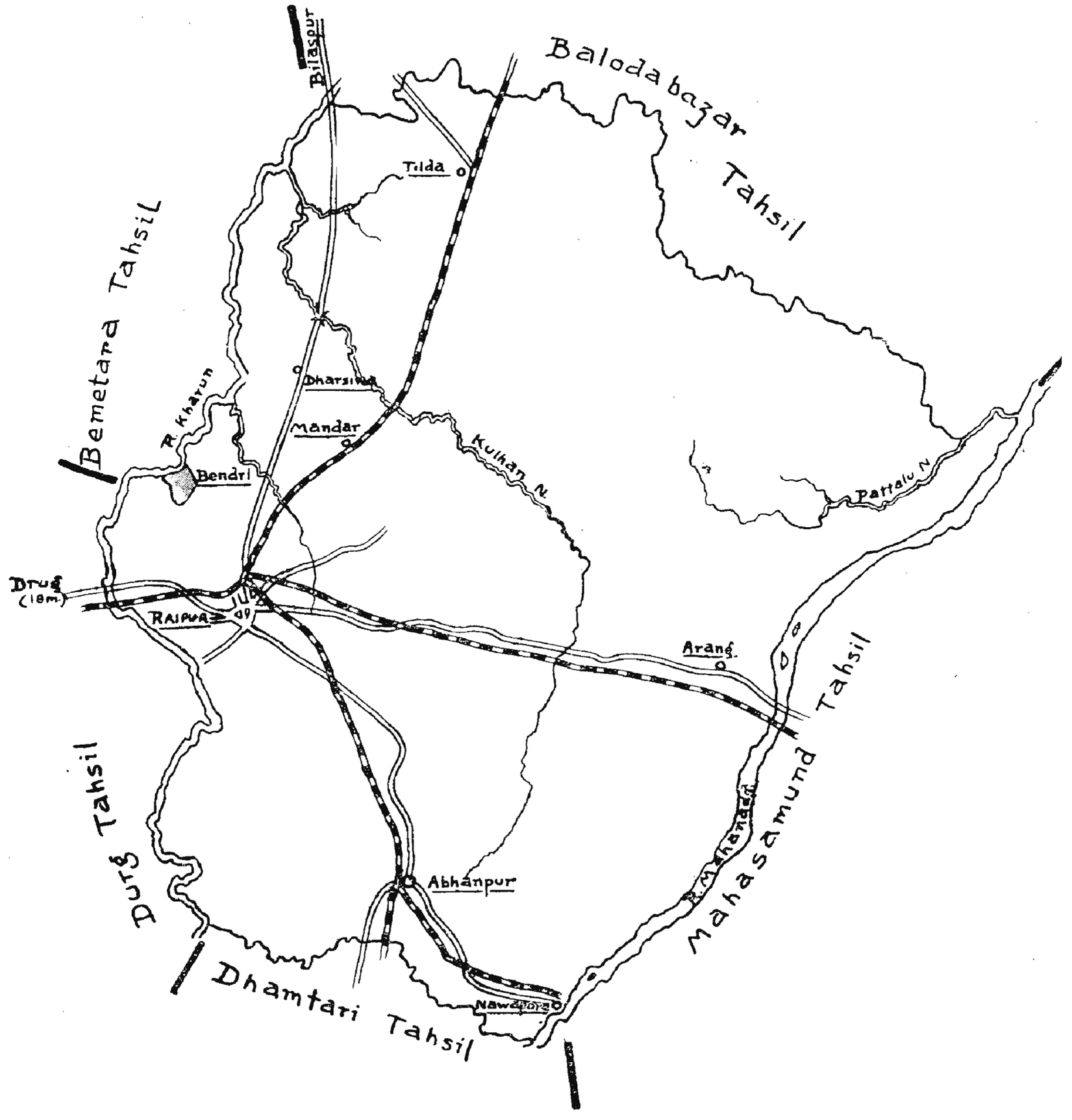
GLOSSARY

Abadi	The area reserved from time to time in a village in a non-urban area for the residence of the inhabitants thereof or for purposes ancillary thereto.
Alsi	Linseed; *Linum usitateiosimum.*
Arti	A ritual in worship consisting in waiving a lighted lamp before the idol to the accompaniment of devotional music.
Baiga	Village priest, usually but not necessarily, a member of some tribe.
Barat	Marriage-procession.
Bhanwar	Going round the marriage-post; a marriage-ritual.
Bharri	Unembanked field.
Bichhia	Toe-rings; an ornament of the toes.
Chatni	Sauce.
Chhind	*Phoenix acaulis.*
Choori	Glass bangles.
Dadaria	Short couplets set to music.
Dai	Village midwife.
Danda-nach	Stick-dance.
Dhan	Paddy; *Oryza sativa, L.*
Dheki	Husking-lever.
Diwala	Shrine of the village-Goddess.
Doha	The poetical composition, usually consisting of two lines.
Doomar	*Ficus glomerata.*
Dorsa	A kind of soil which is a mixture of *Kanhar* and *Matasi*.
Fulli	An ornament of the nose.
Ganj	Grain market in the towns.
Gath-bandhan	A marriage-ritual of the Pankas.
Gawan	A ritual in marriage-cycle.
Gayatri	A sacred text.
Ghee	Clarified butter.
Godan	Tattoo-marks.
Hamel	An ornament of the neck.
Hardahi	A ritual in marriage.
Jamun	*Eugenia jambolana.*
Jav	Barley.
Jhalar	The hair on the head of a new-born babe.
Jhanjh	A musical instrument.
Jhumka	An ornament of the ear.
Jiv	Soul.
Juari	Great millet; *Sorghum vulgare.*
Juna	Old.
Kacha	In relation to food, the term refers to food which is not fried in oil or *ghee.*
Kanhar	A black clay, very retentive of moisture.
Kewat	Fisherman.
Kham	Corruption of Hindi word *Khamb* meaning post or pillar.
Khooti	An ornament of the ear.
Khumri	Rain-hood.
Kodon	*Panicum meliceum, L.*
Kosa	Tasar Silk.
Kothi	Grain-bin.
Kubri	*Bent.*
Kunwari	Virgin.

Kurta	Upper garment for males.
Machana	To mix well.
Magrohan	Marriage-post.
Mandap	Marriage-shed, also known as Madwa.
Masoor	A variety of pulse; *Ervum lens.*
Mata dewala	Shrine of the village-Goddess.
Matasi	A yellow soil, not retentive of moisture but with heavy rainfall giving a far better outturn of rice than any other soil.
Mour	Marriage-crown.
Moharram	A Muslim festival.
Mouri	Marriage-crown for the bride.
Mukhia	Headman.
Mundan	Head-shaving of the child, a birth-ritual.
Munga	*Moringa pterygosperma.*
Nala	Stream.
Narva	Same as *Nala.*
Neem	*Melia indica.*
Pacca or pakka	Opposite of *kacha.* Means fried food.
Paga	Turban.
Pagbandhi	A death ritual consisting in the election of a new head of the family (if the deceased was the head of the family); literally means 'turban-tying'.
Paijama	Trousers.
Pair pakharana	A marriage-ritual; means ' washing the feet'.
Palkachhar	An alluvial soil in which clay predominates over sand.
Panchang	Almanac.
Pandit	Priest.
Para	Ward.
Pargana	An administrative unit in Chhattisgarh in the pre-British and early British period.
Parghani	Reception of marriage party.
Parikrama	Same as *'bhanwar'*, Circumambulation.
Pata	An ornament of the wrist.
Patparkachhar	An alluvial soil where sand predominates over clay.
Pej	Rice-grual.
Pind-dan	Symbolical offerings to the departed souls.
Pipal	*Ficus religiosa.*
Pooja	Worship.
Purohit	Priest.
Rahar	A pulse; *Cajanus indicus.*
Rath Yatra	A festival procession during this festival.
Salooka	An upper garment for males.
Sari	Garment for females.
Shiv ling	Idol of God Shiva.
Siyan	Elderly person.
Soota	An ornament of the neck.
Tahsil	An administrative unit of the district.
Teerath	Place of pilgrimage.
Til	*Seasamum indicum.*
Tonhin	Witch.
Urid	*Phaseolus mungo*; a kind of pulse.


BILASPUR DISTRICT
RAIPUR DISTRICT
RAIGARH DISTRICT
DURG DISTRICT
BALODA BAZAR TAHSIL
RAIPUR TAHSIL
R. KHARUN
BENDRA
RAIPUR
MAHASAMUND TAHSIL
R. MAHANADI
BINDRA NAWAGARH TAHSIL
DHAMTARI
DHAMTARI TAHSIL
ORISSA
BASTAR DISTRICT
DEOBHOG

Map of Raipur Tahsil showing area of Survey





A VIEW OF THE VILLAGE

CHAPTER I

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Bendri (population 315), the subject of the present socio-economic study, is a medium-sized, predominantly Kewat village in the Raipur Tahsil of Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh, situated in the extreme western part of the country and 9 miles to the North-East of Raipur Town.

Situated on the banks of the river *Kharun*, the village lies in a highly eroded terrain, the soil-erosion giving to the landscape the characters and features of a ravined country in miniature. The perennial river *Kharun* flows just within 200 yards of the village and a small tributory Nala *Bhutha Narva*, which flows to the west of the village, joins the *Kharun* near the North-West corner of the village.

Though located in close proximity of Raipur Town, Bendri village is not connected with it by an all-weather road. The nearest all-weather Nagpur-Bilaspur road is 6 miles away and this six-mile stretch of the feeder road can be negotiated by a jeep, cycle or bullock-cart, except in the rainy season when the only possible approach to the village is on foot. The native means of transport continues to be bullock-cart and there are 24 bullock-carts in the village. The carts except the one with the ex-*malgujar* (ex-proprietor) of the village, are crudely designed and a journey on them even for two miles is not a very pleasant experience.

'Bendri' in Chhattisgarh dialect suggests a she-monkey but the origin of the village name is obscure and none of the villagers are able to throw any light on the subject. The history of the village is equally dark. No written or oral record exists as to when the village came into existence. The following information extracted from the Settlement Report of 1869 by Hewitt[1] may be of some interest.

"Prior to 1820, Raipur (then written as Raepore) District was divided into about 20 Divisions. Colonel Agrew, the then Superintendent, reduced this number to 6 in 1820, but after the settlement operations the district seems to have been divided into 15 *parganas*. Raipur *pargana* was one of these. Subsequently these *parganas* were constituted into four and Raipur Tahsil was formed as an administrative unit. The present village must have, therefore, been in the Raipur *pargana* and the old Raipur Tahsil. When the district took its present shape, the village continued to be in Raipur Tahsil."

Village Bendri is now in the *Patwari* Circle 101 of the Revenue Inspector Circle Dharsiwa of Raipur Tahsil. It comes under the jurisdiction of Dharsiwa Police Station. A Development Block has started functioning with its headquarters in Dharsiwa since 1958 and this village is included in the Block-area in the Urla Village-Level-Worker Circle. There is no school in the village and the children have to go to the Primary School at Urla village which is two miles distant. Urla village holds a weekly market on Thursday and it is to this market that inhabitants of Bendri go for their transactions.

Village Settlement.—Bendri village has now two settlements—Bendri proper or Juna Para and Nawadih. Bendri proper, which is located just a furlong from river *Kharun*, is the original settlement and in the rainy season the village is in constant danger from floods.

Houses in Bendri proper are constructed on a more or less even level of ground and when the river is flooded, there is almost knee-deep water in the village. The safest part of the village is the north-western cluster of houses, which, being built on slightly higher ground, are not affected by ordinary floods. It is a little surprising to see the villagers clinging to the present site in the face of this danger every year. The reason probably is the attachment to land and early flooded condition of the river becoming an usual and ordinary event. When asked as to why do they not shift the village site, two replies are received. One is : 'The village is built by our fathers and fore fathers. They have lived and died here, enjoyed the life and faced the sorrows of it and they lie buried in the grounds here. How can we go?' The other answer is: 'Shifting necessarily involves money. We cannot manage it.' The former answer is given by a Kewat and the latter one by a Brahmin.

But a section of the population could not stand this persistent danger every year and the great flood of *Kharun* in 1940 broke their morale. A new settlement Nawadih was built in 1949 after this flood and is located one and a half miles to the south. Nawadih means 'New Village' or 'New Site' (*Nawa* in Chhattisgarhi dialect means 'new' and *dih* means 'site' or 'village')[1]. There are 45 houses in the old village settlement and 22 in Nawadih.

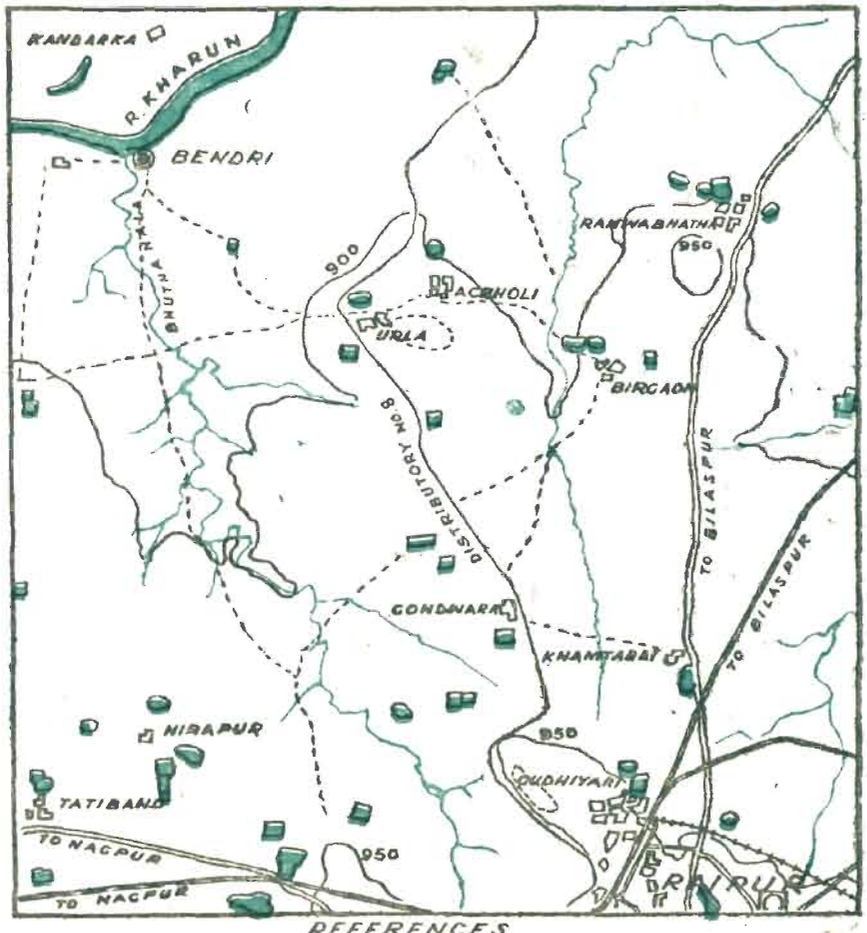
In spite of its close proximity to Raipur, Bendri continues to be an usual Chhattisgarhi village. River *Kharun* is used for drinking water and for bathing by residents at the old site. In the rainy season, when there is knee-deep water in the village, the people bathe in the village itself. Residents of Nawadih, however, have a private well for their drinking water. For bathing themselves and their cattle they go to the tank which is located nearby or else bathe near the well. The river banks, the *nala*-terrain and the nearby fields are used as lavatory-grounds.

The village-sanitation cannot be said by any standards to be good. The dwellings, as usual, are kept ordinarily clean and regularly washed with cow-dung and white-washed with clay (*Chhuhi*) once a year, but the village streets are not very tidy. The streets in Nawadih are not paved and in the rainy season become very slushy paths. In the old site, however, the streets are paved and traversing becomes comparatively easy. But these also require care and repair. The villagers do not seem to be in a mood to develop the village with the help of Development Block located at Dharsiwa and since the village does not have any development work going on, the Block officials have not been paying any attention to it. On the whole the old settlement looks much cleaner than the new one. Though in existence

1. Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Raepore District, Hewitt, 1869.

1. The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India, Russell and Hiralal, Vol. I, p. 153.

MAP SHOWING
THE LOCATION OF BENDRI



REFERENCES

ROADS — CART TRACKS - - - - - RAILWAYS B.GAUGE ═══
RIVERS ——— TANKS ● OTHER GAUGES ┼┼┼┼
CANAL ——— SETTLEMENTS ▷ CONTOURS ———

SCALE ——— 1" = 1 MILE

for 12 years Nawa lih still does not possess the look of a typical village.

There is no temple nor do the villagers seem to feel any need for it. In the north of the village and between it and the river is a *pipal* tree with a *chabutra* (platform) constructed beneath it. A *Shiv ling* is seen on this platform and provides the only place for offerings, etc. In the east of the village and by the side of the *nala* a *Mata-Dewala* exists under a *pipal* tree. It is small one-room low-roofed structure which is visited by the people at the time of *Jawara* festival or when some epidemic breaks out in the village.

In its eastern portion, the village has an open space. There is a *neem* tree and some distance away from it there is a young banyan tree and a raised earthen platform around it. In the evenings or at noon-time the people of the village assemble here for idle gossiping and smoking. Here one can meet a good cross-section of the village population and talk to the Kewats, Rawats, Brahmins and Kurmis at one place.

CHAPTER II

DEMOGRAPHY

At the Census of 1891, Bendri had a population of 160. At the next decennial count, a marked decrease was recorded when the population was found to be 131. Since then there has been the usual population growth except for a temporary decline at the Census of 1921. The population statistics are shown in the table below :

Year	Persons	Males	Females
1891 ..	160	Not available	
1901 ..	131	Not available	
1911 ..	234	116	118
1921 ..	174	Not available	
1951 ..	262	122	140
1961 ..	315	146	169

It would be seen from the above statement that there is a fall of 18 % or by 29 persons in the count of 1901. The inter-censal period, 1891-1901 was not in any way congenial for general growth of the population. "A succession of bad seasons culminated in the first great famine of 1896-97, which was followed, after a single year's respite, by the widespread calamity of 1899-1900. Epidemics of cholera prevailed in seven years out of the period and malarial fever was on several occasions unusually frequent and severe. These disasters, coming upon a weak and impoverished

people reduced their number....."[1] This period was again a period of reduced birth rate.[2] There was high infant-mortality. The birth and death rates for the country as a whole are shown below :

Year	Birth Rate	Death Rate
Average year ..	40·8	32·4
1895	33	..
1896	32	49
1897	27	69
1898	30	..
1899	47	..
1900	32	56·7

The Chhattisgarh plain was not left untouched by these various calamities which affected the whole country. In his Settlement Report of Raipur District, Mr. Hemmingway records that "in the famine of 1897 the price of rice was more than double what it had been two years previously and the distress was very great."[3] Decrease in the population in the year 1901 was a general feature and the Report of 1921 Census records a statistical picture of this decrease.

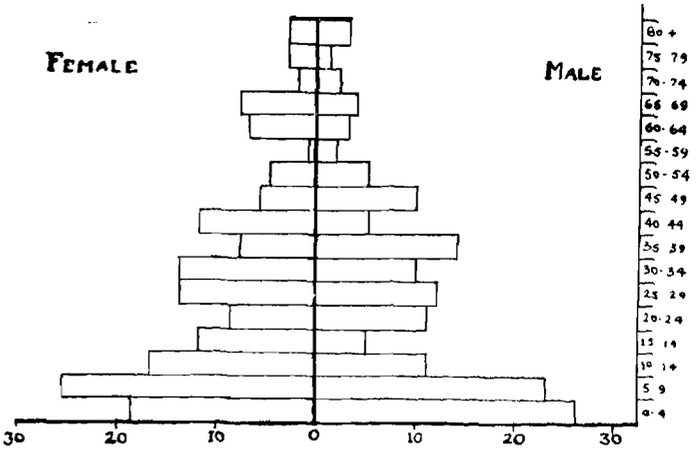
Variation of population per cent[4]

	Year	Per cent
C.P. and Berar ..	1872-1881	22·5
	1881-1891	10·7
	1891-1901	— 7·9
	1901-1911	—17·9
	1911-1921	— 0·3
Chhattisgarh Plain ..	1872-1881	39·6
	1881-1891	17·1
	1891-1901	—10·2
	1901-1911	20·3
	1911-1921	·3

Therefore, the fall recorded in the population of this village in 1901 reflects the general picture prevailing in the country; but it appears that the decrease may not be entirely due to this reason. A sudden rise of 103 in the population in the Census of 1911 at least suggests that at this census the decrease might be due to migration of the people in search of livelihood and their return with the coming in of a better period. Because, even granting that during the period 1901-1911, the population in the Province had grown by 17·9 % and in Chhattisgarh Plain it had grown by 23·3 % , a rise of 103 is far too great.

In 1921, the population of the village came down to 174 (—60). The cause of this decrease again seems to lie in the unfavourable times in the inter-censal period 1911-1921. The Census Report of 1921[1] describes that "the abrupt cessation of rains in September 1918, resulted in a failure of Kharif crops over the whole of Central Provinces and a widespread scarcity was experienced. The monsoons again failed in 1920 resulting in a second scarcity in the whole Province. The year of 1918 was again a year of severe influenza epidemic which took a toll of 6 % of the population of the Province. The influenza and the scarcity may thus account for the population decrease at the 1921 Census.

In the next three decades, *i. e.* in 1921-1951, the growth in population was 88 persons whereas in the period 1951-61 this growth is seen to be a little more than 20 % or 53 persons. Population has thus increased most in the inter-censal period 1951-61.



Since the beginning of the century (as per recorded population) there has been a preponderance of females over males in this village and in 1951 the proportion was 117 females per 100 males. In 1931 Census this proportion stood at 113 females per 100 males. The sex-wise distribution of population in the different

1. Census of India, 1901, Vol. I, Pt. I, Report, p. 60.
2. *Ibid*, p. 61.
3. Final Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of Raipur District, Hemmingway, p. 4.
4. Census of India, 1921, Vol. I, Report, p. 29.

1. *Ibid*, p. 29.

age-groups is shown in the preceding graph and table below :

Statement showing the distribution of population in the different age-groups

Age-group	Total	Male	Female
Years			
0-4 ..	45	26	19
5-9 ..	49	23	26
10-14 ..	28	11	17
15-19 ..	17	5	12
20-24 ..	20	11	9
25-29 ..	26	12	14
30-34 ..	24	10	14
35-39 ..	22	14	8
40-44 ..	17	5	12
45-49 ..	16	10	6
50-54 ..	10	5	5
55-59 ..	3	2	1
60-64 ..	10	3	7
65-69 ..	12	4	8
70 and above ..	14	6	8

It is, of course, not safe to make any generalisations on the basis of study of only one village; the population pattern of this village conforms to the general pattern in rural Chhattisgarh.

The very obvious feature, *viz.* the preponderance of females over males is common to the whole of Chhattisgarh region and the reasons cannot probably be correctly stated unless detailed biological and dietatic investigations are carried out over a wide region. Hybridization in a society also tends to increase the proportion of females in the population. Hybridization has no doubt been very active in the Chhattisgarh areas. Nothing, of course, can be said at present and, pending these investigations, Shoobert's[1] conclusion that "with certain exceptions, in those (Castes and Tribes) whose members generally follow sedentary occupations there is an excess of males". The reason obviously is that in such castes women are usually secluded and do not get proper air and exercise. In this predominantly Kewat village the women are used to a great deal of outdoor life.

Statement showing the marital status of the population in different age-groups

Age-group in year	Marital Status							
	Never married		Married		Widowed		Separated	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0—4 ..	26	19	..	..	..	..	..	..
5—9 ..	22	25	1	1	..	..	..	..
10—14 ..	9	8	2	9	..	..	..	..
15—19 ..	1	..	4	12	..	..	..	..
20—24 ..	..	..	11	9	..	..	..	..
25—29 ..	..	..	12	13	..	1	..	..
30—34 ..	..	..	10	13	..	..	..	1
35—39 ..	..	..	13	8	..	..	1	..
40—44 ..	..	..	5	9	..	3	..	..
45—49 ..	..	..	9	4	..	2	1	..
50—54 ..	..	..	4	2	..	1	1	2
55—59 ..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..
60—64 ..	..	..	3	2	..	5	..	..
65—69 ..	..	..	4	2	..	6	..	..
70 and over ..	..	..	5	2	1	6	..	..
Total	58	52	85	87	1	24	3	3

1. Census of India, 1931, Vol. XII, Part I, Shoobert, pp. 152-153.

Marital Status.—The marital status of the population of Bendri is shown in the table on the preceding page. A study of this table reveals two important features:

(1) Child-marriage is not unknown though not common.

(2) The marriage-age for boys and girls is 12-15 years.

Statement showing the size and composition of the households

Category	Composition	Brahmin	Kurmi	Rawat	Kewat	Panka	Gorkha
Very Small ..	3 members and below	1	2	..	17	..	1
Small ..	4-6 members	1	..	1	20	1	..
Medium ..	7-9 members	1	..	2	10	..	..
Big ..	10-12 members	..	..	..	..	..	..
Very big ..	13 and over	..	..	..	1	..	..

Size of the Family.—As indicated in the table above most of the families in the village are very small or medium. There is only one family with over ten members; rest of the families being of medium size.

Literacy.—Notwithstanding the fact that Bendri has no school and children have to go to Urla village, 2 miles away, there has been considerable increase in literacy in the last decade. In 1951, 8 males and 2 females were returned as literates in the village; whereas, in 1961, 30 males and 7 females returned themselves as literates. In terms of percentage the figures stand as below :

Year	Percentage of literacy in	
	Males	Females
1951	6·5	1·4
1961	20·5	4·1

The Castes and Communities.—Bendri is a predominantly Kewat village and the Kewats live here with members of five other castes, *viz.* Brahmins, Kurmis, Rawats, Pankas and Gorkha. The Gorkha family came to this village as an employee of the then proprietor and since there are only two members in that family and the period of stay has not been such as to be of any social importance, the Gorkhas have not been dealt with in any detail in this Report. At the enumeration of 1961, the village population stood at 315, whereas according to the present survey 282 persons have been returned. The difference between the census figures and the present survey figures is due to the fact that 12 families had migrated towards the Bhilai Steel Project and were not counted in the survey.

CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE

The caste-wise population in this village is shown in the statement below :

Caste		Total persons	Males	Females
Kewat	..	234	113	121
Rawat	..	22	11	11
Brahmin	..	14	6	8
Kurmi	..	5	2	3
Panka	..	5	2	3
Gorkha	..	2	1	1
Total	..	**282**	**135**	**147**

Account of the castes in existing literature.— Account of the different castes in this village available in existing literature is being given below and the castes have been described in the same order as in the table above.

Kewat.—Hewitt[1] in his Settlement Report of 1869 has shown the Kewats as a land-owning caste and, in the then Tahsil of Raepore, one village is shown as owned by a Kewat proprietor. Sherring[2] describes the Kewats as "fishermen and boatmen; occasionally traders likewise".

1. Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Raepore District, 1869, Hewitt, pp. 42-43.

2. Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, M. A. Sherring, 1879, p. 119.



BATHING THE VILLAGE CATTLE



KEWAT BOYS FROM NAWADIH

Russell and Hiralal in "Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces"[1] give a fairly detailed account of the caste and describe them as "a caste of fishermen, chiefly found in the Chhattisgarh districts of Drug, Raipur and Bilaspur". They further say that "in the Central Provinces their two principal sub-divisions are the Laria and Uriya, or the residents of Chhattigarh and Sambalpur Plains respectively".

The further division of the Laria Kewats is shown below and is based on the description given in the "Tribes and Castes of C. P.".

LARIA KEWATS

(Residents of Chhattisgarh)

- Laria
- Kosbonwa (growers of Kosa or cocoons)
- Binjhwars
- Dhuri (grain parchers)

The above four divisions are endogamous groups and they are again sub-divided into a number of exogamous septs named after plants or animals. These exogamous septs are called *Got* and the word appears to be a corruption of the word *Gotra*. The *Gots* found amongst the Kewats are classified below :

- Based on plants or animals
  - (1) *Tuma* (gourd)
  - (2) *Karsayal* (deer)
  - (3) *Bhalwa* (bear)
  - (4) *Ghughu* (owl)
- Titular names ..
  - (5) *Garhtod* (destroyer of fort)
  - (6) *Jhagarha* (quarrelsome)
  - (7) *Dehri* (priest)
  - (8) *Kala* (black)
- Based on castes
  - (9) *Rawat* (Rawat caste)
  - (10) *Ahira* (grazier)
  - (11) *Rautele* (sub-division of Kol)
  - (12) *Sonwani* (a primitive tribe)

Russell's description of the Kewat marriage is probably based on the customs prevalent among the 'Kewats' of Bengal described by Sir H. Risley in his "Tribes and Castes of Bengal" and these customs differ in material detail from those in vogue among the Kewats of Chhattisgarh. The differences will be dealt with later on in the discussion about the Kewat marriage.

The original occupation of the Kewats is considered by the caste to be fishing and Russell[2] says that the Kewats "tell a story to the effect that their ancestors saved the deity in their boat on the occasion of the Deluge, and in return were given the power of catching three or four times as many fish as ordinary persons in the same space of time". Parching gram and rice is also a traditional occupation. It is said that the town of Bilaspur is named after Bilasa Kewatin, a woman of the Kewat caste.

The Kewats of Bendri village belong to the Laria group, but in addition to the *gots* which Russell has listed some more *gots* are found among the Kewats and at least four more *Got* names were discovered here. These *gots* are *Sarpa* (based on snake which is a totem), *Budha Jalia* (old thrower of the fishing net), *Kasturiha* (musk), and *Vinayak*. The last *got* name clearly appears to be a recent acquisition by the caste. Neither the persons reporting it nor any elders could give out its significance or the totem for the *got*. But they, however, admitted that as compared to other *got* names, the term *Vinayak*, which refers to God *Ganesh*, is very much a modern one and speaks of the effect of Hindu religion.

In physical appearance the Kewats are of dark complexion, though the wheat-colour complexion is not uncommon. They are of medium height and well-built. The shape of the nose in this caste is very characteristic and reminds one of Gond features. It is so conspicuous that the Kewat can be separated out in more than 90% of cases from a Rawat or a Kurmi. The study of ethnic affiliations of this caste would make a very interesting study, and till that is done, it cannot be said with any degree of exactitude as to which tribal stock these people belong to. Pending that investigation, Russell's observation that "both the Kewats and Dhimars are almost certainly derived from the primitive tribes,"[1] would hold good and it is this affiliation that probably has given to the Kewats the flat, broad nose.

Rawats.—The Rawats (pronounced also as a Raut) have not been described as a separate caste by Russell and Hiralal, but have been put under the Ahir caste. These authors[2] state: "Rawats, a corruption of Rajputra or a princeling is the name borne by the Ahir caste in Chhattisgarh." Hewitt[3]

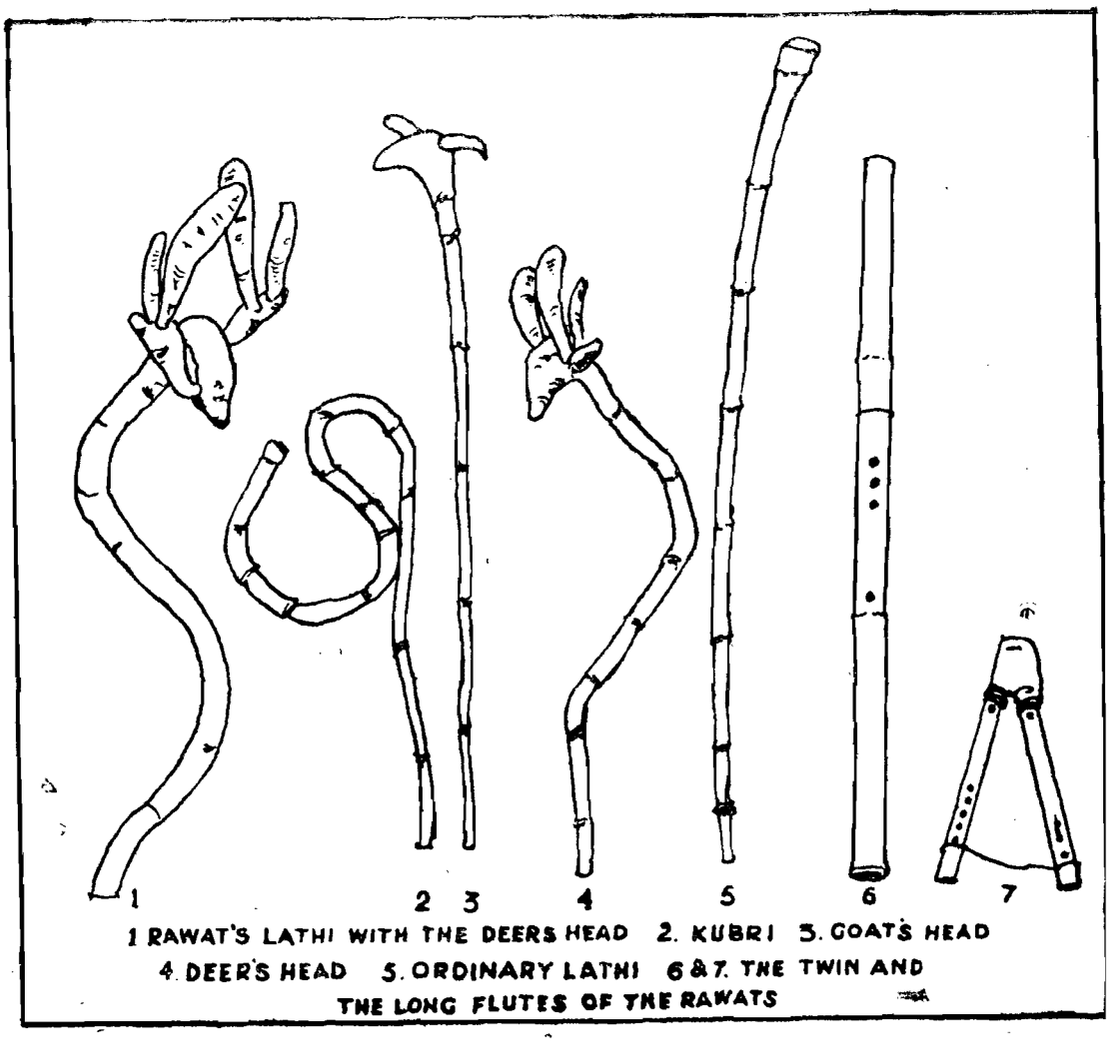
1. The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India, Russell and Hiralal, Vol. II, 1916, pp. 422-426.
2. *Ibid*, p. 425.

1. *Ibid*, p. 423.
2. Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces, Russell and Hiralal, Vol. II, p. 19.
3. Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Raepore District, 1869, Hewitt, p. 33.

has also described the Rawats as Ahirs but the term 'Rawat' does not find any mention in Hewitt's description and only the term 'Aheer' or 'Gairas' is used. The 'Gairas' of Hewitt is apparently the same as 'Gahra' of Russell and refers to the Ahir of Uria country. Whether the term Rawat has come into vogue after the report of Hewitt (1869) cannot by any means be ascertained now. At the present day, the caste is known only by the name Rawat or Raut. Some of them have also started calling themselves as Yadu, Yadava and Yaduvanshis; but these terms have not yet entered the villages.

The Rawats are divided into three endogamous divisions known as *Jharia*, *Kosaria* and *Kanojia*. Hewitt believes the *Jharia* and *Kosaria* to have settled here from time immemorial, whereas the *Kanojia* have been regarded as comparatively recent settlers. Russell derives the terms *Jharia* or *Jhadia* from the words Jungle or *jhar*; '*kosaria*' from 'Koshal', the ancient name of Chhattisgarh country.

All the above three divisions have certain exogamous sections with titular or totemistic names. It is really difficult to get a Rawat now who can tell us the names of all such sections and since these exogamous divisions or *gots* have not been compiled in any work so far, it is indeed difficult to say if there are only these divisions. The 22 divisions that follow have been compiled after enquiry in this and other villages :



1 RAWAT'S LATHI WITH THE DEERS HEAD 2. KUBRI 3. GOAT'S HEAD 4. DEER'S HEAD 5. ORDINARY LATHI 6 & 7. THE TWIN AND THE LONG FLUTES OF THE RAWATS

- Based on plants and animals
  - (1) *Amadali* (mango-branch)
  - (2) *Karsayal* (deer)
  - (3) *Nag* (snake)
  - (4) *Sarpa* (snake)
  - (5) *Baghwa* (tiger)
  - (6) *Kamal* (lotus)
  - (7) *Newra* (mangoose)
  - (8) *Bhodee* (snake-hole)
- Based on castes
  - (9) *Nayak*
  - (10) *Choudhary*
  - (11) *Raut*
  - (12) *Sonwani*
- Titular names
  - (13) *Katari* (dagger)
  - (14) *Besara*
  - (15) *Gurbhelia* (lump of *gur*)
  - (16) *Farsi* (axe)
  - (17) *Sendur* (vermilion)
  - (18) *Chhachan*
  - (19) *Bakchoria*
  - (20) *Jhounka*
  - (21) *Tekan*
  - (22) *Pahri*

Out of these, the three Rawat families of Bendri belong to the Jharia division and Karsayal *Got.* Their totem animal is the deer, which they refrain from killing and revere as an elder brother.

The Rawats of Chhattisgarh are a fine sturdy. looking people. They are the occupational caste of 'graziers' and those Rawats who continue this profession, as well as the Rawats in the interior, wear their hair long. A typical Rawat must wear a turban (*paga*), *bandi* (jacket) and keep a *lathi*. Usually the *lathi* (stick) is not a straight stick, but curved at two or three points. This *lathi* is known as *Kubri lathi* and is as characteristic of the typical Rawat as the *paga*. Sometimes the bamboo stick is of such a shape that its head resembles the head of a sheep or goat. The grazier Rawats also are very fond of keeping big flutes about three to four feet long or they may keep a twin flute. These accompaniments of Rawats are shown in the diagrammatic sketches. The Rawats of Bendri alongsid, however, do not keep hair on their heads, but get them cut as members of other castes do.

The Rawats till about 15 years back used to work as household servants and clean utensils, etc., but about the year 1947-48 there was wide-spread propaganda in Chhattisgarh as a result of which the *Kanojia* branch of Rawats stopped working as household servants and now practically all the ***Kanojias*** are engaged in keeping petty tea-stalls or sweetmeat shops, etc. This description does not pertain to village Bendri since there are no *Kanojias* there.

Brahmins.—There are three Brahmin families in the village and all the three belong to the class known as Chhattisgarhi Brahmin. The Chhattisgarhi Brahmins are old immigrants into Chhattisgarh and they have adopted the Chhattisgarhi dialect and the women have adopted the Chhattisgarhi dress in the sense that they do not usually wear a blouse or *choli* and the *sari* is worn slightly high, *i.e.* just below the knees. The Chhattisgarhi *sari* is put on in a different fashion altogether. Because the Chhattisgarhi Brahmins have long settled here, their connection with the land of their origin is broken and now they are an endogamous division of the Brahmins and do not marry out.

Regarding Chhattisgarhi Brahmins, Hewitt says that they are "residents of long standing in the district, whose families, as tradition asserts, were brought from *Kanoj* by Kullian Sen, the great Hyhybunsee Raja in the sixteenth century. These Chhattisgarhi Brahmins are regarded as impure by their brethren who have more recently left the land of orthodoxy and they are said, I believe with truth, to be exceedingly immoral, but they make good landlords and are not unpopular with their ryots." The following description of Chhattisgarhi Brahmins occurs in the District Gazetteer of Bilaspur District : 'The Brahmins of Chhattisgarh belong to the *kanojia* and *sarwaria* groups of Northern India. They say that they have been settled in the country for fifty generations, and it is believed that a considerable influx of Brahmins took place in the time of Raja Kalyan Sahai (1536-1573 A.D.) who went to Delhi."[2]

Russell[3] regards the Brahmins as mainly of the *Kanojia* division but the *Kanojias* of Oudh will neither take food nor inter-marry with them. The Chhattisgarhi Brahmins, according to Russell "have been long settled in this backward tract and cut off from communication with Northern India". The Chhattisgarhi Brahmins have sharp features and their women are fair complexioned and can be easily recognized among the population here.

All the three Brahmin families here were the exproprietors of the village before the Abolition of Proprietory Rights Act took effect in 1951

1. Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Raepore District, 1869, Hewitt p. 37.
2. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p. 83.
3. Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol. II, p. 358.

Kurmi.—Kurmis are a representative cultivating caste and are found in fairly large numbers in the area around Dharsiwa. The etymological origin of the word 'Kurmi' is not known. The Kurmis have in recent years shown great enlightenment and have one representative from here in the Vidhan Sabha. Many of them have also become highly educated.

The following extract about the Kurmis is taken from the "Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Raepore District, 1869" by Hewitt and is given here in detail because it happens to be probably the first description of the caste :

"The Koormees have next to the Chamars the most strongly marked characteristics of all the inhabitants of the district. They are indisputably the best and the most enterprising cultivators; are exceedingly frugal and thrifty in their habits, make money rapidly, and have indomitable perseverence. They do not appear to have been very long settled in Raepore, as I have found no family who claim to have been in the country for more than seven generations or about 200 years. They are divided into four principal *Gots* who do not inter-marry or eat together, called *Monoha Churnao, Durreria* and *Singrowl*, and all say that they first came here from Bundelk and." Hewitt, in the next paragraph of his report describes the Koormee *Gots* and says: "Of the four *Gots*, the *Monoha* are the most numerous and most enterprising and their thrift is proverbial throughout the district. They are found chiefly in the south of the Simgah Tahseel, where they hold large number of villages. The *Churnao* Koormees are settled principally in the centre of the district in the Patan pergannah of the Doorg Tahseel and in the east of that of Raepore.....".[1]

Reverend Sherring in his "Hindu Tribes and Castes" describes the Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces and Berar and in the introductory portion of the Chapter makes the following reference :

"The agricultural castes together form a very numerous community. Some of the chief of these are Kunbis or Kurmis, Telis, Lodhis, Chamars, Koris, Uriyas and, of course, many of the Rajpoots. The most important of these castes as cultivators are the Kurmis, who are the backbone of agriculture."[2]

In his description of the caste, Sherring gives the following details :

"The Kurmis and Kunbis are in reality one class of people and yet are known in various parts of the country by these separate designations and under them are subdivided into numerous tribes, some of which do not inter-marry. They are very industrious and persevering, commonly thrifty and frugal and living in the enjoyment of health and much social comfort."[1]

Sherring then describes the divisions of Kurmis and in it we find 4 divisions described as Chhattisgarh and Raipur Kurmis. These divisions are :

"1. *Kanojiya Kurmis*—These are in Chhattisgarh and keep themselves aloof from other tribes.

2. *Chandnehu Kurmis*—A tribe which immigrated into Chhattisgarh two or three hundred years ago. They do not inter-marry with other Kurmis.

6. *Desaha Kurmis*—A tribe in Chhattisgarh.

7. *The Kurmis of Raepore*—Consisting of six principal clans :

(*i*) *Monohas.*—The most numerous and enterprising; found chiefly in the Simgah Tahsil.

(*ii*) *The Charnaos.*—Settled in the centre of the district in the Patan pargannah and in the east of Raepore.

(*iii*) *The Darrerias.*—In the south-west of Droog and in Dhumturry. An inferior class.

(*iv*) *Singrowls.*—In the villages of Nawagarh, to the north-west of the Simgah Tahsil.

These Kurmis have been in Raipur for seven generations or about two hundred years.

(*v*) *Tirole.*

(*vi*) *Chandarya.*"

Russell has given a very detailed description of the Kurmi caste in his "Tribes and Castes" and a reference may be made to that excellent work for details.

The two Kurmi households in this village belong to Tirola or Tirole sub-caste which sub-caste, according to Russell, has 10 sections. The Kurmis here say that they belong to Bhardwaj *gotra* and according to them the other *gotras* in the Tiroles are *Mankhede, Kakde* and *Dote*. None of these terms are

1. Land Revenue Settlement of the Raepore District, Chutteesagarh Division, Hewitt, 1869, p. 32.
2. Hindu Tribes and Castes, Sherring, 1879, p. 87.

1. *Ibid*, pp. 100-101.

found in the ten sections given by Russell. But in an earlier portion of his description of this caste, Russell says, "Each sub-caste has a number of exogamous divisions and these present a large variety of all types. Some groups have the names of Brahmin saints as Sandil, Bhardwaj, Kaushik and Kashyap." The origin of Bhardwaj *gotra* can thus be found here but terms like *Mankhede, Kakde* and *Dote* are not found in books and the two families here are not able to give any explanation for them.

Ramdin Kurmi, who is about 70 years old, stated that his fore fathers originally came from Delhi and settled in Chhindwara. From there they migrated to Nagpur and then came to Chhattisgarh. That is how, he said, the women used to wear *choli* (the rather short blouse as worn in Maharashtra) but no such custom is prevalent now nor has Ramdin seen even his mother wearing it. This is, he said, due to contact with the customs of Chhattisgarh.

Reference to the relevant literature does not support the assertions of Ramdin. According to this,[1] the Kunbis entered Khandesh from Gujerat in the eleventh century and from Khandesh they entered Berar and adjoining areas in Nagpur and Wardha. Kurmis and Kunbis are probably the same caste settled in different regions and "where the Kurmis and Kunbis meet the castes sometimes amalgamate and there is little doubt that various groups of Kurmis settling in the Maratha country have become Kunbis and Kunbis migrating to northern India have become Kurmis."[2] In the background of this authority, Ramdin's assertions that his forefathers came from Delhi does not appear to be based on facts.

Panka.—There is one Panka family in the village, that of the village watchman. The Pankas follow Kabirpanth, *i.e.* the sect of Kabir and now regard themselves as the highest caste below the Brahmin. Their claim does not get any support in religious and social literature where they are classed as Gonds which is a very low caste. May be the assertion of being a very high caste is an attempt of the Pankas to disown their connection with the 'Gandas' and rise in the social hierarchy.

The etymological origin of the word Panka appears to be from two words *Pani-ka* which means 'from water'. There is a small rhyme which suggests this origin. The rhyme is :

"Pani se Panka bhaye, bundan rache sharir,
Age age Panka bhaye, pachhe Das Kabir."

This rhyme when rendered would be 'the Panka indeed is born of water and his body is made of drops of water, but there were Pankas before Kabir.[1]" "The derivation which is, of course, fanciful, appears to refer to the story of Kabir having been found as a baby floating in a lotus-leaf on a tank. The saying may be supposed to indicate obscurely that prior to the rise of Kabir, the Pankas were Hindus of low caste."[2]

Origin of the word 'Ganda' is obscure and inquiries in various villages of this region have not borne any fruit. Describing the 'Gandas', Hewitt says, "The Gandas, otherwise called Pankas, form that portion of the weaver caste who have accepted the Kubeer-puntee doctrines. Though they cultivate the land, they are not generally esteemed as cultivators, while the few villages they hold as landholders are miserable in the extreme."[3]

Sherring[4] describes the Panka as "properly weavers, but although many still adhere to their hereditary vocation, the majority of them have abandoned it for agriculture. They are a quiet and industrious people and in religion belong to the sect of Kabir-panthis. They avoid the use of spirit and meat, do not marry their children until they have reached maturity and bury their dead. The Pankas make bad cultivators, and the villages of which they are proprietors are miserable in the extreme. The Gandas are said to be an offshoot of the Pankas."

Russell[5] has given a more detailed description of the caste. According to him the "Pankas form a separate division of the Gandas consisting of those who have become members of Kabir-panthi sect". It is very difficult indeed to investigate into the ethnic affiliation of the Pankas (and the Gandas), because in the latter caste quite a substantial amount of hybridization has taken place. Neither of the castes preserve any feature which may help in this inquiry; but both

1. Tribes and Castes, Russell and Hiralal, p. 17.
2. *Ibid*, p. 56.

1. The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Russell and Hiralal, Vol. IV, p. 325.
2. Bilaspur District Gazetteer.
3. Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Raepore District, Hewitt, 1869, p. 34.
4. The Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, Sherring, 1879, p. 109.
5. The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Russell and Hiralal, Vol. IV, 1916, pp. 324-329.

are being regarded as aboriginal people. The Census Report of 1931 contains the following reference :

"The Gandas and Pankas, aboriginal people who have lost their identity and are not included in the list of primitive tribes, are regarded as untouchable almost throughout the Province."[1]

The Pankas do not find a place in the list of scheduled castes of the Province. The Gandas, however, are scheduled in Chhindwara, Seoni, Betul, Jabalpur Sagar, Damoh, Mandla, Hoshangabad, Narsingpur, Nimar, Balaghat, Bilaspur, Durg, Bastar, Surguja, Raigarh and Raipur Districts.

The Pankas are divided into *Kabirhas* and *Saktahas*. The *Saktahas* worship some of the Hindu deities but the *Kabirhas* refrain from doing so. Other sub-divisions are *Manikpurias* whose ancestors are believed to have come from Manikpur in Darbhanga State; the *Bajonia* who play on musical instruments and *Dom Pankas* who are a section of the 'Dom' caste become Pankas.

The one Pankas in this village is a *Kabirha* Panka and calls himself Manikpuria. The *chauka* of the Pankas is described under the section of religion later in this survey.

The Pankas are usually not an enterprising caste and "they are somewhat poorly esteemed by their neighbours who say of them, "Where a Panka can get a little boiled rice and pumpkin, he will stay for ever", meaning that he is satisfied with this and will not work to get more. Another saying is, "The Panka felt brave and thought he would go to war, but he set out to fight a frog and was beaten." Similarly another saying is, "Every man tells one lie a day but the Ahir tells sixteen, the Chamar twenty and the lies of the Pankas cannot be counted."

Caste precedence and social contours.— As everywhere else in rural India, caste divisions determine all social relations in this village also. For some time past there is a growing tendency in some of the castes in Chhattisgarh towards social elevation either by changing their caste-names, or by putting a restriction on taking food with other castes or by abandoning some occupations. For example, the 'Ganda' caste has started calling itself Devdas, Chhetrapal and Dongi-Chauhan and the Kurmi calling themselves as Verma; the Kanojia Rawats giving up working as household servants. In the background of this attempt towards pretentious social superiority, it becomes a little difficult to arrive at a scale of caste-hierarchy and caste-precedence. This difficulty has to be faced in this village also where there are only five castes (excluding the Gorkha family).

1. Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. III., p, 69.

There is only one Panka family in the village, that of the village watchman (*Kotwar*) Adhardas. In Raipur District the office of village watchman is held by members of Ganda caste in Bindranawagarh, Mahasamund and Dhamtari Tahsils and by Pankas in Raipur and Baloda-bazar Tahsils. Members of other castes make it to be a profession exclusively for these low-castes. According to Russell[1], "Pankas are a separate division of the Gandas and consist of those of the Gandas who have become members of Kabir-panthi sect. The Pankas have long been successful in disowning their connection with Gandas, but now they have also started regarding themselves higher to other castes of Chhattisgarh. In this village the *Kotwar* Adhardas Panka regards his caste to be lower only to the Brahmin and higher to all other castes.

This tendency of false social-elevation is reflected in the following table based on the survey made in this village and shows the Kurmis regarding Rawats as lower while the Rawats believe the Kurmis to be lower :

Caste	Higher caste	Lower caste
Brahmin	..	Rawat Kewat Kurmi
Kurmi	Brahmin	Rawat Kewat Panka
Rawat	Brahmin	Kurmi Kewat Panka
Kewat	Brahmin, Kurmi	Rawat
Panka	Brahmin	Rawat Kewat Kurmi

1. The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Russell and Hiralal, Vol. IV, pp. 324-325.

But whatever the Pankas may regard themselves to be, no other caste in the village would take water from them and the Panka fully reciprocates the courtesy.

The Brahmins are indisputably the highest caste in the Hindu social hierarchy and are being regarded as such in this village also. Since no caste has any objection in taking water from the hands of a member of the Brahmin caste and since all the castes would take *kacha* food at the Brahmins' place, the position of the Brahmins is admitted. The Rawats and Kewats have nothing to object regarding the Kurmis and are willing to place them below the Brahmins. Though the Brahmins do not take water from the hands of a Kurmi, the Kurmis are definitely higher than the Rawats from whom the Brahmins take water. Russell and Hiralal[1] dealing with the social gradation of castes divide the castes below the Brahmins into three categories: (*i*) the higher agricultural castes, (*ii*) higher artisan castes, and (*iii*) serving castes. The Kurmis definitely belong to the higher agricultural castes and the Rawats belong to the serving castes. In this village the Kurmi will take *pacca* food only with a Brahmin, whereas a Rawat takes *pacca* food with Brahmin, Kewat and Kurmi and a Kewat takes *pacca* food with Brahmin and Rawat. Secondly, the Kurmis regard only the Brahmins as higher castes and thereby the rites and customs of the Kurmis are more advanced; *e.g.* in marraige they employ a priest and use the sacred-post, known as the *Kham.* It is also likely that the Kurmis may have descended from a section of the Rajputs. All this helps to determine the place of the Kurmis in the social hierarchy.

The difficulty lies in determining the relative position of the Kewats and the Rawats in the caste-hierarchy, because the Kewats are unwilling to accept the Rawats as their superiors whereas the Rawats are equally strong in their opposition to Kewats' superiority in the scale.

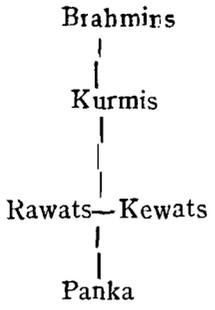
The statement alongsided and the statement in the preceding page show that the Rawats regard Kewats as lower to them and the Kewats regard the Rawats as lower to them. A question was put to them for consideration. Even a Brahmin takes water from the hand of a Rawat but not from Kewat. Should this alone not prove the caste-superiority of the Rawats? The Kewats and Rawats assembled at the time of enquiry were not willing to budge an inch from their position on the issue and a statement that the Kewats are higher, brought acclaim from 30-40 Kewats assembled, whereas the statement that Rawats are superior brought smiles on the face of the two Rawats:

Caste	Caste/s in the village from which it will take *pacca* food like sweets, dry fried, Chana etc.	Caste/s in village from which it will accept *kacha* food like boiled rice.
Brahmin ..	Rawat, Kewat, Kurmi	None
Rawat ..	Brahmin, Kewat, Kurmi	Brahmin
Kurmi ..	Brahmin ..	Brahmin
Kewat ..	Brahmin and Rawat.	Brahmin
Panka ..	None	None
Gorkha ..	Brahmin and Rawat	Brahmin

A study of the castes in this area, not in any way connected with the present survey, indicates that the Rawats and Kewats are on the same level and the fact of Brahmins and others taking water from the hands of Rawats does not confirm a higher status to that caste.

On the basis of this discussion these castes of this village or, for that matter, in this region, can be arranged in the following order:

1. The Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, Vol. I, p. 30.



This scheme of caste-hierarchy also receives support by the facts of salutations amongst different castes and the manner in which the different caste-members show respect towards each other.

The Brahmin is greeted with *pailagi* (I touch your feet), the Rawats, Kewats and Pankas would greet a Kurmi with the words *Jai Ramji ki* (Hail to Ram), whereas between a Kewat and a Rawat the form of greeting is *Ram Ram.*

According to the villagers of Bendri, the caste system is ordained by God and as such it cannot be destroyed. They say that the people in the town do not appear to follow caste-system and do not observe formalities in regard to taking of food and this is the cause of ruin of the societies in the towns. They said, for example, that everybody takes food in the hotels where it is cooked by people from low castes. They also said that people in the towns do not observe the formalities of dresses and even the Brahmins put on *paijamas* and dresses alien to the caste.

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Dress.—More and more urban contacts (urbanization) bring about a laxity in the customs and traditions—both in the economic and in the social field. The laxity is, however, more marked in the social field. There is a decay of traditional occupations, religion and dress and newer and alien ways of life are adopted. Village Bendri, in very close proximity of Raipur, is no exception to this lag in traditions. The change here is slow, but still conspicuous.

Kewat.—The Kewat males ordinarily wear *bandi* (jacket) and *panchha* or *patuka* (smaller size of *dhoti*). Some Kewat males also use ready-made mill banyans. Shirt is used when going out or when the work is over and they sit together for gossiping, etc. No special dress is prescribed for festive days but usually the clothes worn are all new. In marriage, the bridegroom wears *kurta, dhoti, safa,* (turban) and *maur* and the bride puts on *lugda, polka* (blouse), *maur* and *chappal.*

Rawat.—Rawats have a distinctive wear in the jacket (*bandi*) which is usually of a black colour or some other gaudy cloth. During festivals, they put on red or yellow satin *bandi*. *Bandi* can ordinarily be worn over a *kurta* or shirt or usually alone. *Kurta* or shirt is worn when going out. The lower garments consist of *dhoti* which is worn up to knees The

dhoti is not worn on usual days, but only when going out to market. On average days, a smaller piece known as *panchha* is worn. This is put on for the sake of convenience as well as from the point of view of economy.

An ordinary cloth turban, which is called *paga*, is put on by the Rawats; but this also is not an usual wear now.

The shoes are country-made. The usual village-made shoe is called *bhadai*. It is cheaper and more lasting.

The females wear *lugda* which is six-yards long and handloom made. Now, handloom *lugdas* have been substituted by mill *dhotis*. *Lugda* is the Chhattisgarhi word for *sari*. Blouse is used by females when they go to Raipur or on festive occasions. On usual days, blouse is not worn. Country-made chappals, known as *akataria*, are kept for wearing when going out to market or out of the village.

No special dress is put on during festivals except that new clothes are used. During the dancing period, of course, the Rawats put on a very special dress. They put on the gaudy satin *bandi* with belts of *cowries* on chest, wrists and shoulders and peacock feathers fixed in these belts.

Brahmin.—The Brahmins have no distinctive dress. They are the *ex*-proprietors and the clothes they wear are got from Raipur. Usual garments of the male are the shirt, *dhoti* or trousers and shoes or *chappals* The females wear *sari* and blouse. Boys put on shirt and half-pant or *dhoti* and the girls wear *saris*. Frocks are worn by children.

The females always keep a *kosa sari* at home. This is supposed to be pure and is worn during cooking food and at *pooja* ceremonies. Widows wear white *saris*. There is no special dress prescribed for festivals. At Diwali festival new clothes are made and put on.

During marriage, the bridegroom puts on a cotton gown called *Jama* which is coloured yellow with turmeric, and a new *dhoti*. For headgear, *safa* (turban) and *mour* are used The gown and *dhoti* and turban are coloured yellow with turmeric, this being regarded as auspicious. The *mour* is made of *Chhind* leaves and is got readymade from Raipur. The bride puts on a costly *sari* and blouse and her *mour* is a smaller one, and not as elaborately prepared as that of the bridegroom.

Kurmi.—The Kurmi male uses shirt and the under-garment known as *salooka* and *dhoti*. Ramdin Kurmi of Bendri uses Gandhi Cap as the headgear. The females use *lugda*. The Kurmi females in Bendri do not wear *polka* or blouse ordinarily except during marriage.

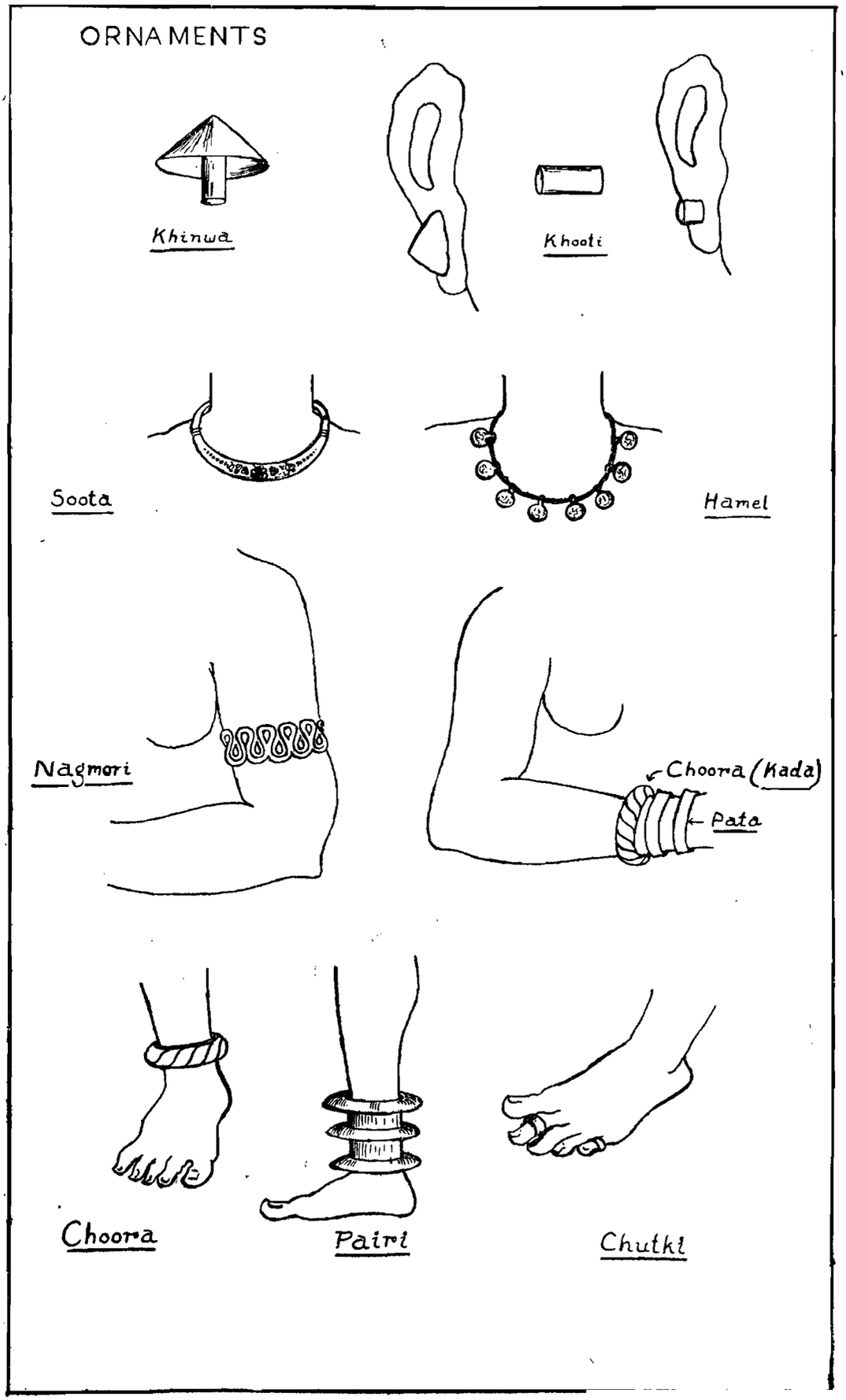
Panka.—There is only one Panka family, that of the village *Kotwar*. The male garments are *kurta* and shirt and *dhoti* and the female wears *lugda* and blouse. At festivals, Kotwar Adhardas puts on coat and puts a *safa* (turban) on.

During marriage, the Panka bridegroom puts on a gown which is known as *anga*. The *anga* of the Panka is smaller in size than the *jama* of the Brahmin and can be made out of 3 yards of cloth as against 6 yards used in Brahmin's *jama*. Turban and *mour* is also used by bridegroom. The bride puts on *sari*, blouse, *mouri* (headgear) and *chappal*.

The use of colouring the bridegroom's and bride's dress with turmeric or yellow colour is prohibited in Pankas. The prescribed marriage-dress must be of white cloth.

Further observations on dress.—It is noticed that mill-cloth has to a very great extent been substituted for handloom cloth in this village. The garments of the males are practically all those of mill-cloth except the *panchha* and *patuka*. The shirt, *kurta*, *salooka* and *bandi* are all purchased readymade at Raipur. Among the females, handloom *lugda* (*sari*) is still quite common. The size of *sari* in rural areas here is usually 6 yards and not five yards as are in use by women in urban areas. *Polka* or blouse is not generally used while working at home.

An old Chhattisgarhi proverb says, "What will the washerman do in a village where the people live naked." This saying is no longer true. Previously a cloth round the loins used to be the only item of clothing of the men in the villages. Now the people have started wearing bigger size of cloth and use of *dhoti* has also become quite common. Shirts are also being used. The women previously used to wear the *sari* of 8 to 12 yards' length and no blouse was used. The *sari* used to envelop the person in one fold from the waist to below the knee, hanging somewhat loosely and it also used to cover the upper portion of the body. Now the length of *sari* has come down to 6 yards and the reason evidently is


ORNAMENTS
Khinwa
Khooti
Soota
Hamel
Nagmori
Choora (Kada)
Pata
Choora
Pairi
Chutki

the cost. The use of blouse has also become quite common and in this village the women invariably use it when going out.

Though modern designs of shoes have come in and factory-made shoes are not uncommon, the *bhadai* shoes are still used in good numbers. *Bhadais* are country-made shoes and cost about Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 per pair. Sometimes in the shoe-sole, seeds of *sirsa* (*albizzia lebbek*) or tamarind (*tamarindus indica*) tree are put within two layers of leather. This arrangement gives a peculiar sound while walking. *Bhadai* shoes are said to be of greater comfort in long walks over rough roads.

The country-made sandals for females known as *aktaria* are still quite common. A pair of these costs about Rs. 2. The *aktaria* does not have a high sole and the reason is that high sole is not very comfortable in long walks or during work.

Ornaments.—The women do not usually wear ornaments on the head. The ears are bored at the top and through the lobe. In the upper ear-bore, small rings are worn and in the lobe-bore large ear-rings known as *khinwa* are used. The latter appear to be more popular in this village. Nose-rings are not popular, but in the nose-bore a small piece known as *fulli* is worn. Among the men silver bracelet or *kada* and the amulet are the only pieces of ornaments.

Kewat.—Ornaments are worn by males in about 25 % of the Kewat families. In the rest, the males do not wear any ornament. The commonest type of ornaments worn by Kewat males is gold or silver amulet (*tabiz*). Silver *choora* (round wrist-band), silver *kardhan* (waist-band) and gold ear-rings are the other ornaments worn by Kewat males.

Kewat women in the village use all the ornaments used by women of other castes, *i.e. soota, hamel, khinwa. khooti, kada, pata, kardhan,* amulet (*tabiz*), *fulli, bichhia* and *chulki-chura*, etc. In addition to these ornaments, the following other ornaments are also used by Kewat females in the village. *Nagmori* or the serpentine silver ornament is worn on arm above the elbow. *Haraiya* is the hollow ornament worn on the wrist.

Rawat.—Among the Rawats, ornaments do not seem to be popular among the males and the only piece of jewellery worn by Rawat males is the amulet (*tabiz*) made either of gold or silver.

The Rawat women use *khutee* and *khinwa* for the ear. These ornaments are golden ones and are obtained from Raipur. The fact of these gold *khinwa* and *khutee* speaks of the prosperity of the Rawats and urban influences also because usually these ornaments are made of lac and the women in the interior villages use *khinwa* and *khuti* made of lac. *Hamel* and *soota* are the silver ornaments for neck. *Hamel* is a necklace consisting of old silver coins interlaced with the help of thread. *Soota* or *sutia* is solid silver neck-band. For the wrist *kada* made of silver is used.

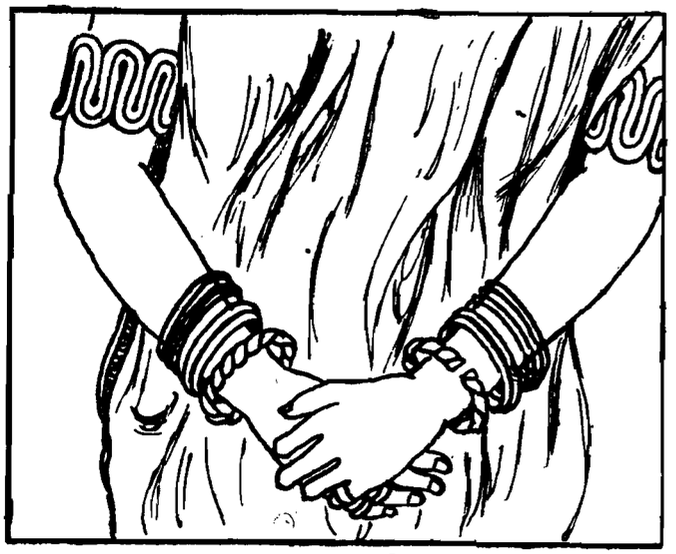
Brahmins.—*Kardhan* (silver waist-band) and *tabiz* (amulet) of gold, both purchased from the goldsmiths of Raipur are the only ornaments worn by the males in the two Brahmin families.

Brahmin women use more ornaments than women of other castes in the village. The ornaments of the ear are made of gold, and are purchased from Raipur. They are designed by town goldsmiths and are of the type of modern ornaments. Ear ornaments in use are the *jhumka* and ear-tops. The nose-wear is *fulli*. It is also made of gold. Ornaments of the wrist in use are *kada* (wrist-bands) and *pata* (beaten wrist-bands). *Bichhia* (toe-rings) are worn by Brahmin females. *Pair-Patti*, silver ornaments, are used for leg-wear.

Kurmi.—There are two Kurmi families in the village, one consisting of a 70 years old male and 65 years old female and the other family consisting of a widow of 40 years of age. Because of this old age and widowhood, the Kurmis of this village do not wear any ornaments. The widow wears only silver *pata* (or beaten silver wrist-bands).

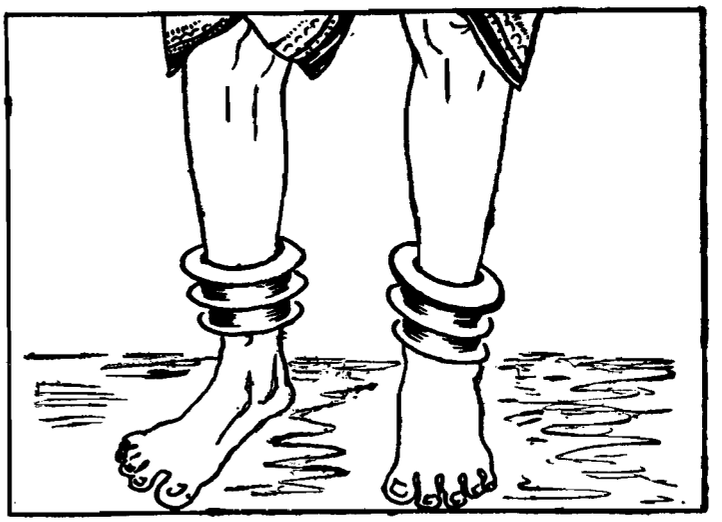
Panka.—Panka male Adhardas does not wear any ornament. The Panka woman uses the largest number of ornaments. All the ornaments have been described in connection with other castes.

General.—The amulet (*tabiz*) appears to be the commonest wear among males and is in use both by grown-ups and children alike. Women also wear this *tabiz* which is made of silver and is of rectangular shape. The *tabiz* is worn just as a piece of ornament and does not have any spiritual significance. Asked as to why it is then worn, one Rawat woman had said, "What to say of the number of ornaments worn by a woman. Even Shambhooji gets defeated in adorning a woman." (*"Douki man ke jewar ke bat ka kahibe. Jatika hey tateke thod hohi. Shambhooji ehi ma to hare he."*)



Kada Nagmori and ***Pata***

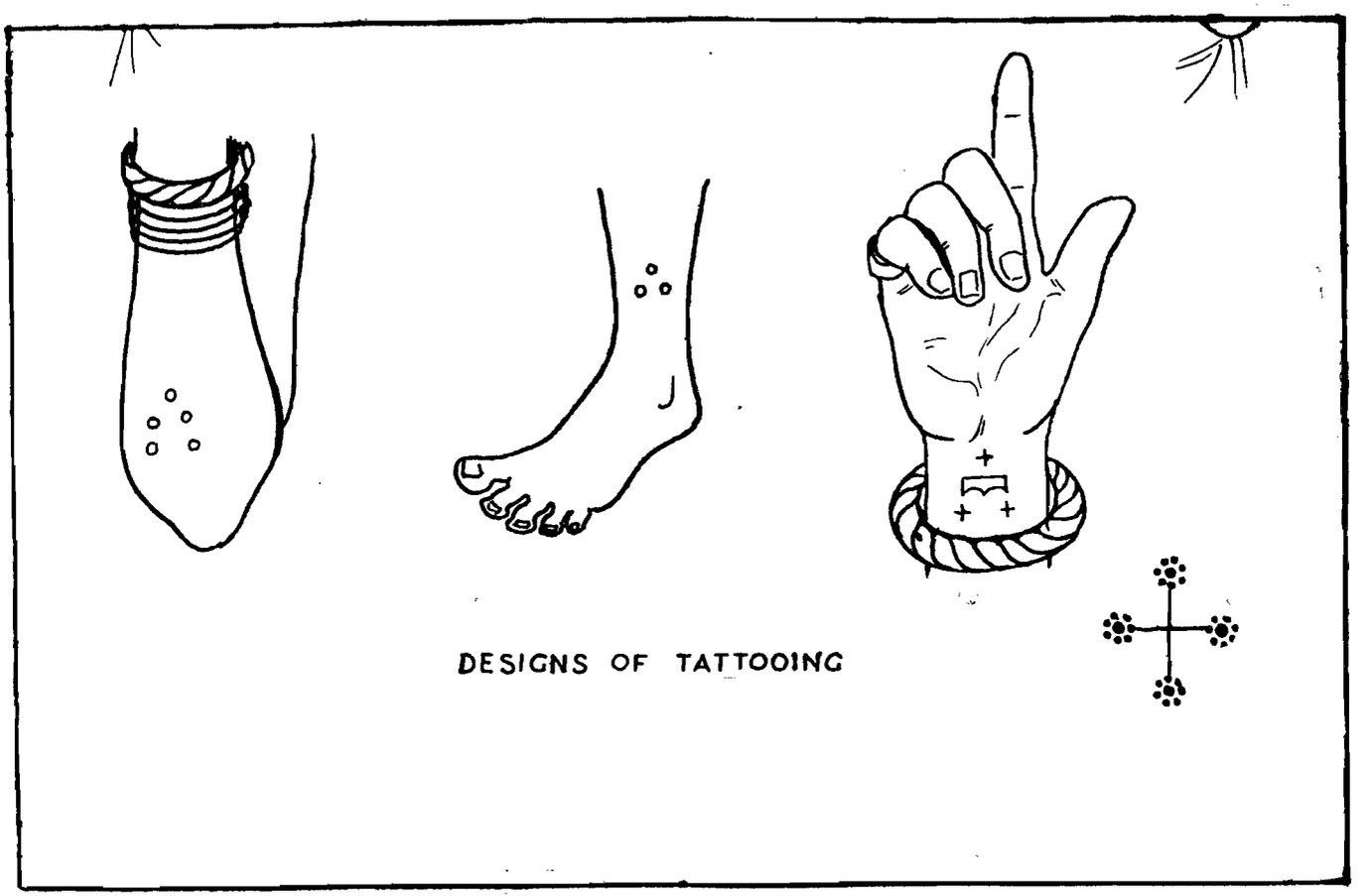
ORNAMENTS OF HAND AND FOOT



Bichhiya and *chutki*

Pairi





DESIGNS OF TATTOOING

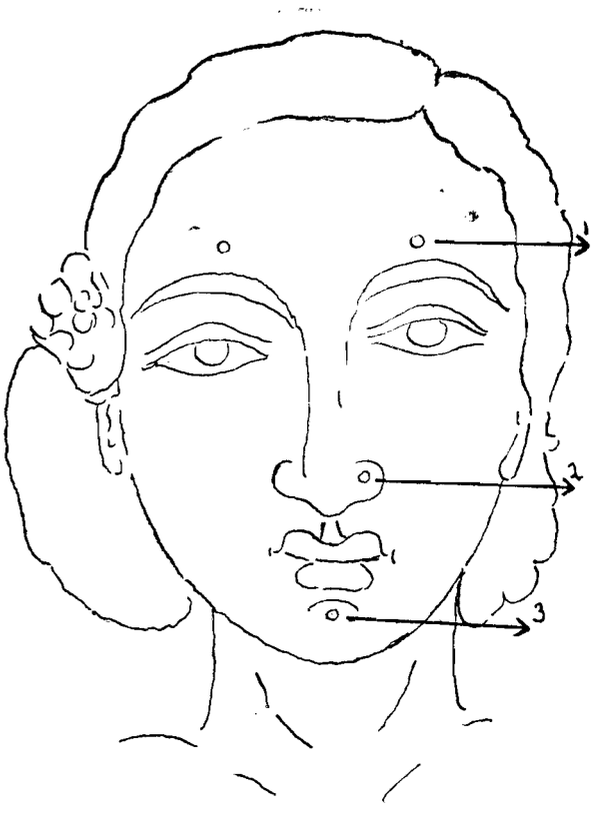
Tattooing.—Tattooing appears to be a common item of body-care. It is got done by the women of all castes and by married and unmarried women alike. Tattooing of bodies is now being discarded by the Brahmins and Kurmis also do not look upon it with approval, but other castes still approve of it.

Tattooing is done by female members of the wandering Dewar caste who go about from place to place for this purpose. In this village it is believed that tattooing has come to be practised from the Mughal Times when the Muslims used to abduct Hindu women. Since there were no differentiating marks, it was difficult to make out a Hindu woman from a Muslim and to create this difference the practice of tattooing was started.

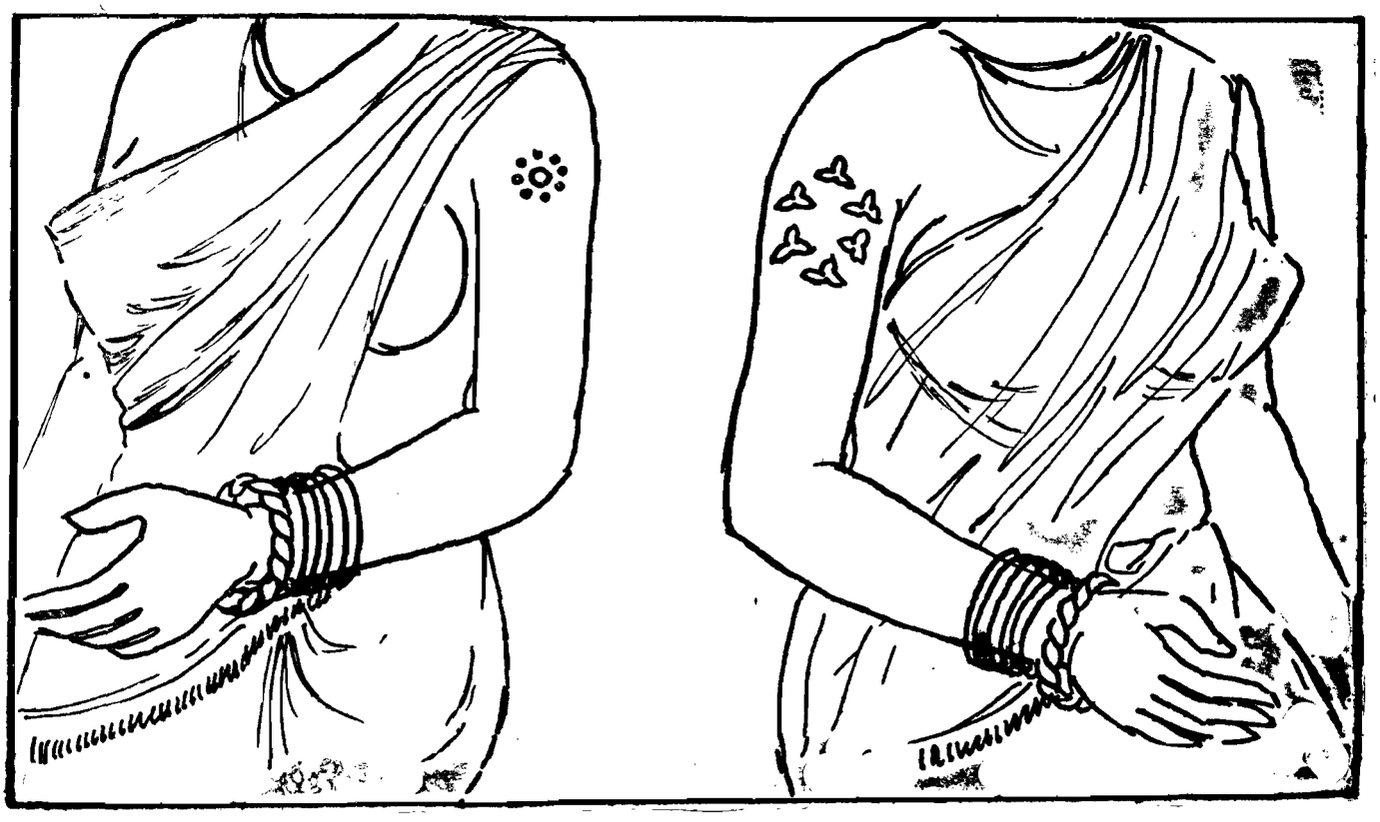
Both the married and unmarried females get themselves tattooed but there are different designs on their bodies and some designs can only be got done by married women. Before getting herself tattooed, a married woman first gets an unmarried girl tattooed and pays the charge for it herself. This is known as *godan-dan.* After the *godan-dan* the married woman gets herself tattooed.

DESIGNS OF TATTOOING





1. Bhursi, 2. Pirouni,
3. Mutaki.



Different designs in use are given here :

For unmarried girls :

Mutaki.—One dot at the chin below the lips.

Purouni.—One dot above the nose.

Bhoorsi or *Bhoorsi-dakshina*.—One dot above each eye-brow.

An unmarried girl cannot get herself tattooed in any other part of the body except these. A married woman can, however, get herself tattooed in the wrist, arm, shoulder or leg.

The different designs of tattooing have been shown in the accompanying diagrammatic sketches. Tattooing serves the purpose of both body decoration and as a distinguishing sign between a married and unmarried woman. The other distinguishing ornament for a married woman is *pata* which is a silver ornament worn on the wrist. It is prohibited for an unmarried girl. Vermilion placed in the hair-parting is, of course, a sign of marriage for a woman all over these regions. The widows cannot wear bangles.

The villagers differentiate the different designs of tattoos on unmarried girls' body; but they do not know the terms for the various designs tattooed on the person of a married woman except the *sita chouk*. They say that the professional tattooers may be able to give the terms for these different designs.

Tattoos are sometimes made on the bodies of young children also. A female child hardly a year old had the *bhursi-mutki-purouni* design on her face.

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The family.—Families in the village are patrilineal and patrilocal and they present unilateral social groups consisting of the parents and their married sons and/or unmarried sons and daughters. A study of families of the predominant caste shows that the joint family system is still intact. The results of this study have been shown in the table (p. 28) but no typology is being offered.

As the table at page 9 of this Report would show, the usual size of a family is from very small to medium. The family property in a formal sense belongs to the man who is the head of the family. In the event of the death of the accepted head of the family, a rite known as *Pagbandhi* is held and the family, with the approval of the caste, 'elects' another head of the family. The women exclusively own all property which they receive as a gift from their parents and when they run away or desert the husband, they take these ornaments with them and the husband has no claim over these.

The land and other property are shared equally amongst the sons with the eldest one getting a little more than others. This greater share in the property which the eldest son gets by virtue of his being the eldest is known as *Jethai*. When a man has no sons, his brothers share the property after his death; and when he has no brothers, the near relatives who preform the last rites share the property.

Description of the Family	Brahmin	Kurmi	Rawat	Kewat	Panka	Gorkha
1. *Husband and wife with unmarried issue or issues* ..	1	..	1	14	..	..
2. Only husband and wife without any issue ..	..	1	..	4	..	1
3. Single-member family, widows living alone ..	..	..	..	2	..	..
4. Husband/wife living with married son or sons ..	2	..	..	12	..	..
5. Husband and wife living with married son/s and their issues. ..	..	..	1	9	1	..
6. Husband and wife living with grandmother ..	..	..	..	1	..	..
7. Husband or wife living with daughter's issues ..	..	1	..	2	..	..
8. Husband and wife with husband's brother's children. ..	..	..	..	1	..	..
9. Mother-in-law and/or father-in-law living with son's-in-law family. ..	..	..	1	3	..	..
Total Families ...	3	2	3	48	1	1

Husband-wife relationship.—Customarily the husband is regarded as superior to the wife. Polygamy is permitted in the Kewat, Panka and Rawat castes and in the village 4 Kewats have two wives each. Both the wives may be married or one may be married and the other kept after *choori* ceremony.

The husbands usually show great kindness towards the wives. Cases where a man beats his wife are extremely rare. Even when the wife is suspected or accused of immorality, the husband will give her many warnings before breaking away with her. Cases where separation has occurred are usually those of the wife leaving the husband and cases where the husband leaves the wife are very very rare.

Parent-child relationship.—The relations between parents and children are extremely cordial and loving. In the whole of Chhattisgarh region, the love that is given to the children is exemplary. A child is rarely beaten and if somebody beats a child, the entire locality will turn out and prevent it, scold and ridicule the parent beating. The parents take a very lenient attitude towards such habits of their children as starting smoking at an early age or using vulgar language.

Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship.—Usually the relationship is cordial. Mothers-in-law who become fairly old simply sit at home and keep the children whereas the daughter-in-law goes to work. In cases where the mother-in-law is physically fit to work, she shares the work with the daughter-in-law. Quarrels are rare.

Father-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship.—A man and his daughter-in-law generally avoid meeting each other and if the father-in-law is met on the road, the daughter-in-law turns her face and keeps standing till he passes by.

Some kinship terms used in the villages

Relationship	*Kinship Terms*
Father	*Dada*
Mother	*Dai*
Father's father	*Baba*
Father's mother	*Budhi Dai*
Father's sister	*Fufu Dai*
Father's sister's husband ..	*Fufa*
Mother's mother	*Mama Dai*
Mother's sister (elder) ..	*Bade Dai*
Mother's sister (younger) ..	*Mousi*
Mother's sister's (elder) husband ..	*Bade Dada*
Mother's sister's (younger)husband	*Mousa*
Father's brother (elder) ..	*Bade Bap, Bade Kaka*
Father's brother (younger) ..	*Kaka*
Sister's son	*Bhancha*
Brother's son	*Bhatija*
Daughter's daughter	*Natni*
Son's son	*Nati*

Son's wife	*Bahu*
Husband	*Douka*
Wife	*Douki*
Bridegroom	*Dulha Douka*
Bride	*Dulhi Douki*

Head of the family.—The eldest male member of the household is usually regarded as the head of the family. On him falls the entire burden of running the family and arranging marriages, etc. The family also takes its name after the head, *e.g.* Raru's family or Shiv's family and so on. The head is called the *Mukhia* of the house. Respect for the elders is still intact in this village.

The daily life of villagers usually runs a monotonous course. The various life-cycle rituals bring about a break in this monotony. The birth and marriage rituals are participated by all members of the caste. In the case of a death in the village the whole village becomes one.

Life-cycle rituals.—The life-cycle of individuals in India ordains a number of rituals from birth to death. The rituals differ from caste to caste. The life-cycle rituals as they are found in the five castes of this village are described here.

There are no rites or ceremonies attendant on a girl attaining the age of puberty. When asked about this matter, a girl of 13 to 16 is usually referred to as *Bane samajhdar ho ge he* (has begun to understand well). The phrase used is clearly an expression that signifies that the girl has attained puberty. The corresponding reference to males is *Bane mechha age he* (moustaches have appeared).

Women during menstruation are referred to as *Chhua baithe he* (she is separate). No particular tabboos are attached to a menstruating woman except that she should not enter the kitchen. When a woman has conceived, the expression used with reference to her is "*Okar pair bhari he*" (Her legs are heavy).

Conception.—The villagers are aware of the biological basis of conception but they believe that mere biological union does not bring about conception. It is only when God wills that a woman gets a child (*Bhagwan dehi tabhich hot he*) and when talking about the number of children they say "*Bhagwan atek-atek de he*" (God has given such and such number).

Pregnancy is detected by the stoppage of the monthly periods. The pregnant mother is given the usual food. There are no compulsorily prescribed foods nor are any foods prohibited. A woman in advanced pregnancy is given whatever she desires to eat. A special celebration known as *Sidhori* takes place in which friends and relatives of the household are invited for a feast. In the feast all kinds of delicacies are prepared and the expectant mother is given all these to eat. ***Sidhori*** has a twofold significance. One is to let the pregnancy be known and the second explanation is that if the mother does not get the food she desires during pregnancy, the child will long for it all through life.

In the Bilaspur District Gazetteer the following description occurs : "The word *Sidhori* comes from the word *Sidhor* which signifies the 'craving of a pregnant woman' and the food is supposed to satisfy this."[1] Description of the custom is not found in the Raipur District Gazetteer. Russell has described the custom of *Sadhouri* in his description of the 'Ahirs' (Rawats) but the custom is found to be followed by all castes in this village. The birth of a male child is of course an occasion of greater joy but nobody becomes disappointed if a female child is born. A male child is referred to as *baboo* and the female child as *noni*. Birth customs followed by different castes are described here separately.

Kewat.—Birth customs of the Kewats are not described by Russell and Hiralal in their description of this caste. The relatives usually called at the time of delivery are the mother of the woman, her elder sister, brothers and husband's sister. The delivery takes place either at the father's house or at husband's. There is no separate house for this. The mother or mother-in-law, as the case may be, assists the village midwife, *mehrain*, in the delivery of the child. Approximate expenditure at the time of delivery varies from house to house depending on the economic status of the household and it ranges from Rs. 3 to Rs. 15 in this village. Birth of the first child is celebrated better than subsequent births. Usually no difference is made between the birth of a male and that of a female child.

The Kewats of Raipur are averse to a delivery taking place in the hospital or with the aid of the Government nurse. They still stick to the custom of inviting the *dai* or the *mehrain* for getting the child delivered. But the Kewats of Bendri said that there is no such prohibition on admitting a woman in the hospital. Khetaha's wife was taken to hospital on a cart because the case was a complicated one and the *dai* could not have done anything.

1. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p. 100.

The *mundan* and 'name-giving' ceremonies are performed on the 5th day after birth and these ceremonies are known as *Chhathi*. After the 5th day on Monday or Wednesday the relatives and friends of the household assemble and after the ceremony enjoy a feast. No *pandit* is necessary for the ceremony. The expenditure at the feast also depends on the economic status of the household and on the number of members assembled and it usually ranges from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 now.

Among the Kewats and Rawats a ceremony takes place just after a child is born. This is known as 'identifying the *jiv*'. The ceremony is in many ways similar to the ceremony in practice amongst the Murias of Bastar and the Bhunjias of Raipur District. It consists in identifying some marks on the body of the infant and correlating the same with the marks that are put on the body of dead persons.

When a person dies, the *siyan* or the old member of the family, male or female, puts some mark on the body, either with oil and turmeric or with soot. The dead body is buried with this mark on some part of the body. When a child is delivered and bathed, the *siyan* looks at his body and sees for some mark on the body. For example, when '*A*' died in the family five years ago a black line was put on his leg. When child births take place in the family subsequent to this death, they try to see if there is some mark on the leg. If it is the same as was put on the body of '*A*', it is said that the *jiv* of '*A*' has returned.

This practice is not followed by the Kurmis, the Brahmins or the Pankas.

Rawat.—The first birth takes place in father's house and subsequent births in husband's house, but there is no strict rule observed on this point. Regarding birth-customs, Russell[1] says : "Among the Rawats of Chhattisgarh, when a child is shortly to be born, the midwife dips her hand in oil and presses it on the wall and it is supposed that she can tell by the way in which the oil trickles down whether the child will be a boy or a girl." Enquiries in this village do not support this and the ladies say that the oil-dipped hands are pressed on the wall with a prayer to Parvati to unloosen the 'knot' (*Jaise ganth la bandhe hus, vaisney khol de, Parvati Mata*). According to them, it is not possible to ascertain the sex of the child in the womb. Nobody can tell what lies hidden in a dark room (*Andhiyar kotha ke bat la kon batawe sakhi*). The old ladies, however, say that it may be possible for experienced eyes to ascertain the sex of the child in the womb by the way in which the pregnant woman walks. If she throws the right leg forward, the child may be a male, but if the left leg is thrust foward more than the right, the child may be a female.

The relatives called at the time of delivery are the woman's mother, elder sister, brothers and husband's sister. The birth of the first child, irrespective of sex, is an occasion of great joy but the birth of a male child is celebrated more gaily. However, when the first child is a girl, there is more expenditure as in the case of Somnath Rawat's family who spent Rs. 50 in celebrating the birth of his first child who was a girl. At the subsequent birth of a boy, only Rs. 35 or so were spent. Gifts are usually not given or received.

In the Rawats, the *mundan* and 'name-giving' ceremonies are joined and these ceremonies take place on the 5th day after birth. Monday and Wednesday are supposed to be auspicious days. No consultation is made from a *pandit*. The *mundan* and name-giving ceremony is called *Chhathi*. After the child's head is shaved and the elders give it the name, a feast is given. The names of the children are now given after Gods and deities, and modern names like Premnath, Veena are not uncommonly found. Names based on days of birth are also common like 'Itwari-Itwarin', that is, those born on Sunday, or 'Budhiyarin' that is, born on Wednesday, etc.

Brahmin.—The first birth takes place in the father's house and subsequent births take place in husband's house. There is no separate house or hut maintained for the purpose of delivery, but one of the rooms of the house is used for this purpose. The relatives usually called at the time of delivery are the mother of the pregnant woman, her elder sister, brothers and husband's sister. The first birth is an occasion of greater joy and the celebration of the birth of the first child entails more expenditure. In this village this expenditure ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200. There is more expenditure on the birth of a male child. The child's aunt (father's sister) is usually given some present either in cash or in kind.

The name-giving ceremony of the child takes place on the 10th day of birth. The *pandit* (*purohit*) ascertains the auspicious day with the help of a *panchang*. This *panchang* is published from

1. The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Russell and Hiralal, Vol. II, p. 27.

Raipur and it is the *Raipur Dev Panchang*. Wednesday and Friday are regarded as auspicious days for this ceremony. At this ceremony, the presence of *Mama* (mother's brother) and *Bua* (father's sister) is necessary. The ceremony is celebrated with a feast afterwards.

The *mundan* or 'shaving of the head' of the child takes place when it attains the age of three years. Monday, Wednesday and Friday are regarded as auspicious days for *mundan* ceremony. At the *mundan* ceremony the presence of any relatives is not considered necessary.

The sacred-thread ceremony in the case of boys takes place in the 10th year. The auspicious date is determined by the *pandit*. At the sacred-thread ceremony (*Janeu*) all relatives on both the father's and mother's side are invited and people of all castes in the village attend the ceremony at the Brahmin's house. A *madawa* or shed is erected for this purpose. The barber shaves the whole crown of the child's head. He is then bathed and new cloth is given to him. Then he stands in the *madawa* and receives alms from the people. The priest then recites the *Gayatri* mantra in his ear and sacred-thread is put on his body by five Brahmins. Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 are easily spent in this function.

Kurmi.—Russell and Hiralal in the description of the Kurmi caste have given in detail the customs followed at birth, treatment of mother and child and ceremonies after birth. In this village, however, there are only two Kurmi families and a study of the customs is not attempted here.

In the Kurmis, delivery takes place at the husband's house and the relatives invited at the time of delivery are mother, sister, father and husband's sister and husband's sister's husband. Brother is also invited but he may or may not come. In case of both the families in this village the mother-in-law with the assistance of the village midwife *Mehrain* delivered the child. Whereas in other castes described above, it was the woman's mother who had delivered the child.

Name-giving ceremony takes place on the 12th day after birth and is called *barhi*. All the days except Sunday are supposed to be auspicious for this and the auspicious date is fixed in consultation with the *pandit*. The presence of any relation during the ceremony is not compulsory and the ceremony is celebrated at a reasonable expense of Rs. 20 to to Rs. 25.

The *mundan* or *jhalar utarana* ceremony is generally done in some sacred place (*teerath*). No particular auspicious date is selected for it and no special feast is arranged. The *jhalar utarana* ceremony is done within five years of birth and whenever the family happens to visit some *teerath*.

Panka.—The birth ceremonies of the Pankas are the same as in other castes. The *mundan* ceremony takes place five days after the birth, on Monday or Wednesday which are regarded auspicious days. The name-giving ceremony also takes place on the same day.

Marriage customs.—The villagers as a whole practise *got* or *gotra* exogamy but they do not marry outside their caste. If a man or a woman seeks a spouse outside his or her caste, then he or she is made an outcaste and his or her parents or relatives have to give a feast to the caste members. Marriages are usually arranged by elders in the family. Except the Brahmins, all other castes practise the *choori* form of marriage also. This marriage is not the regular form of marriage but is resorted to in three cases :

(*i*) when a man or a woman fails to marry at the proper age and develops intimacy with some person;

(*ii*) when a woman leaves her husband and seeks another man; and,

(*iii*) when a man or a woman after getting widowed, seeks another partner.

MARRIAGE RITES

Kewat.—Marriage rites of the Kewats have not been described in any book and as such it cannot be ascertained now, whether they have undergone any change. The rites in this caste are not so detailed as those in the case of Brahmin and Kurmi castes. As against a priest in the Brahmin and Kurmi wedding the Kewats do not employ one. Furthermore, there is no sacred post or *kham* in the *madawa* round which the couple is required to move.

Marriage-age for boys and girls is generally 15 to 19 years, but there are cases of early marriages also. In case a girl is married before she attains puberty, she goes to her husband's place for a day or two and then comes back to father's place. The *gawan* ceremony or the returning of the wife to the husband's place does not take place till she grows up. There is no particular custom for a boy or a girl to marry a

particular relative. Polygamy is practised in the caste and in Bendri village 4 men have two wives each. Widow re-marriage is permissible in the caste and is looked upon with approval. Close blood relations of father and mother's side (up to three generations) are avoided. The marriages are arranged by the elders and there is thought no necessity to ascertain the wishes of the young people to be married.

The marriages of the Kewat may be divided into following types :

(*i*) Regular marriage or *Bihaw.*
(*ii*) Widow re-marriage by *choori.*
(*iii*) Elopement.
(*iv*) *Paithoo* marriage or marriage by intrusion.
(*v*) *Barandi* marriage.

Regular marriage or *Bihaw.*—The marriage is arranged by elder members of the families without consulting the boy or the girl. Marriage celebrations take place in the house of the bride. No priest is consulted for fixing the auspicious day of marriage, etc.; the guardians of the boy and the girl settle it themselves.

Marriage celebrations in the boy's and the girl's houses start 3 to 5 days before the marriage actually takes place. Some ladies in both the houses go in a group to the fields singing some songs and bring earth from there. This rite is known as *chulh-mati.* This earth is used in the fixing of poles, etc. of the marriage-shed. The bridegroom and the bride are painted with oil and turmeric by five married women. This rite is known as *Tel-chadhana.* Before the bridegroom's party starts, the bridegroom puts on new clothes namely *kurta,* yellow turmeric coloured *dhoti,* white turban and the marriage head-gear of *chhind* (*Pho enix acaulis*) leaves. Then the party starts on foot with the bridegroom and the items of food, etc. on a bullock-cart and reach the girl's village. One or two people going in advance intimate the girl's side of the arrival of their party and the people from the girl's side receive the bridegroom's party in the outskirts of the village. After reception, called *parghani,* the younger and experienced people display some games of skill and a sort of competition is held between the boy's party and the people from the girl's side. Some of these games involve skill at *lathi,* lifting a water-vessel with teeth, breaking a coconut on one's head, etc. Significance of *parghani* appears to be in giving some rest and entertainment to the marriage party before they go to the bride's ouse. After the display of skill is over, the members of respective side embrace one another and the bride's people invite the boy's party to come to the place of marriage. The party goes to the bride's house with the accompaniment of *ganda-baja* (the band played by the members of 'Ganda' caste). Thereafter, 'touching the marriage shed' (*madawa chhuna* ceremony), the marriage-party is fed. Since the two sides have not yet been united in a matrimonial alliance, this feast is known as *Durbhatta, i.e.* cooked rice from a distance. By the time the party finishes dinner, it is usually late night.

Next morning the marriage party assembles below the *madawa* (shed) constructed in the bride's house and the people from the two sides sprinkle turmeric, colour and oil on one another. This sprinkling, etc. is known as *Hardahi.* The bride and bridegroom do not take any part in this colour-throwing ceremony.

After the colour-throwing is over, the bride and bridegroom are brought to the *madawa* and they go round the two pairs of bamboo sticks fixed at two places. This going round at this stage is known as *Kunwari-bhanwar.* In the Kewats, two *bhanwars* take place. The other *bhanwar* known as *Bihati-bhanwar* takes place subsequently.

Since the colour-throwing ceremony is quite a boisterous affair, a subsequent bath becomes necessary and people from the two sides go to the tank or river for washing. While going to the tank a competition develops between the two sides in recital of verses and giving a fitting answer to the verse question or taunt which the other side poses. Most of these verses amount almost to obscenity. This competition in verse recitation is known as *Kahra.* After return from the tank, lunch is arranged.

After some post-lunch rest the party again comes to the *madawa.* The bridegroom is fully decorated and similarly the bride, fully decorated in her bridal dress, is brought to the *madawa.* In *madawa,* pair of bamboos are fixed on ground at two places and it is these pairs of bamboos which are known as the *madawa* and they substitute the *magrohan* of a Brahmin and the *kham* of Kurmi marriages. When the party assembles beneath the *madawa, madawa-todana* (breaking the marriage-shed) takes place. This ceremony consists in the bridegrooms, felling some mango-leaves from the roof of the shed and shaking the two pairs of bamboos. The people are not able to offer any explanation as to the significance of this rite.

After the *madawa-todana* rite is over, the bride and the bridegroom are seated on small wooden seats, known as *peedhas*, which are of about 12" ×8" dimensions. Five to seven elderly persons from both the sides then tie the ends of the bride and bridegroom's cloths in a knot. After the knot is tied, the bridegroom puts vermilion in the hair-parting of the bride. Vermilion is a symbol of marriage. After vermilion is put, the couple get up and take seven rounds of the two bamboo posts. This *parikrama* of the posts is the final binding ceremony of the marriage. Next day morning the marriage party departs to the bridegroom's village with the bride.

Widow re-marriage by *choori*.—It is said that a woman gets married only once. The caste, however, looks at widow marriage, with approval but the marriage in such cases is not at all celebrated with any ceremony and simply consists of the man offering bangles to the woman to wear. This is known as *choori-paharana*. It is customary for a widow to marry the younger brother of the deceased husband. This custom of the Levirate is "held by some scholars to be a reminiscence of polyandry."[1]

Elopement.—When a man and woman fall in love and do not see any chance of their union being approved by the society, they simply run away.

***Paithoo* marriage or marriage by intrusion.**—Sometimes when after being in love for some time, the man backs out, the woman simply walks into his house and declares him to be her husband. It is usually resorted to when an unmarried woman or a widow has an illicit connection and becomes pregnant. The society is not altogether against the system and approves of it by saying *Paithoo baith ge he*.

***Barandi* marriage.**—In this marriage a very young widow is sought by another man. When a girl, married very young, becomes a widow, she is regarded as good as a virgin. The marriage is solemnised in a very simple manner at the girl's house. Full ceremonies cannot take place because, as already observed earlier, it is believed that a woman can be married only once with full ceremonies. The system of *barandi* marriage has been described in the Bilaspur District Gazetteer[2] under another caste and it is as below :

"Widows are either known as *barandi* or *randi*, the *randi* being a widow in the ordinary sense of the term and the *barandi* a girl who has been married but has not lived with her husband."

Rawat.—The Rawat marriages have also not been described in detail in any work so far. The following extract is taken from the description of an Ahir's marriage given by Russell[1] :

"The Jharia and Kosaria Rawats of Chhattisgarh employ a Brahmin only to write the *lagan* or paper fixing the date of the wedding and the ceremony is conducted by the *sawasins* or relatives of the parties. In Chhattisgarh the bridegroom is dressed as a girl to be taken to the wedding.....Widow re-marriage is permitted and a widow is expected to marry the younger brother of her deceased husband....Divorce is freely permitted."

In Rawats, marriage takes place at an early age and before the age of puberty. Polygamy is permissible but polyandry is not permitted. A woman may of course leave her husband and take another husband; but she cannot keep two husbands at the same time. Widow re-marriage is permissible and usually the younger brother of the deceased has the first claim on the widow of his brother. There is no rule that the girls should marry a particular relative. The degrees of relationship avoided in marriage are the close relatives of mother's and father's side up to 3 generations.

Among the Rawats, 6 types of marriages can be distinguished. These are :

(1) Regular Marriage or *Bihaw* ;
  (*a*) *Bade Bihaw*.
  (*b*) *Chhote Bihaw* or *Theeka Bihaw*.
(2) *Barandi* marriage.
(3) *Paithoo* marriage.
(4) *Choori* marriage.
(5) Elopement.
(6) Abduction.

Regular marriage.—Regular marriage is known as *Bihaw*. No other form of marriage is referred to as *Bihaw* (corruption of the Hindi word *Byah* meaning marriage). The regular marriage is arranged by the elders without consulting the boy or the girl. It is of two types depending on whether the boy's party goes to girl's house or whether the girl's party goes to the boy's. In the former case, the marriage is known as *Bade Bihaw*. This is the common form

1. District Gazetteer, Raipur, 1909, p. 116.
2. District Gazetteer, Bilaspur, p. 95.

1. Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces, Russell and Hiralal, Vol. II pp. 26-27.

of marriage. But in certain families and usually in those where the girl's father is poor, the girl goes to the boy's house and the marriage is celebrated there. This is known as *Chhote Bihav* or *Theeka Bihav.*

In arranging a marriage, boy's guardians go in search of a girl for him and meet the girl's father. If he is willing to give his daughter in marriage to the family, the marriage is settled and the boy's guardian comes back after some time with the *lagan.* He brings the *lugda* (sari), *polka* (blouse), *kangha* (comb) and *fundra* (hair ribbon) for the girl and *Arsa roti* which are prepared out of rice flour mixed with gur. The girl's father then sends word to his relatives and acquaintances who are known as *parihi* and also arranges for them a feast consisting of chicken or goat and liquor. Even when prohibition has been imposed, it is not difficult to procure liquor from Raipur. The *parihas* then partake of the feast and settle the date of marriage. When the *barat* comes to the girl's house, he has to feed them and his relatives. But where the girl's father is poor and he cannot spend much on the marriage, he along with his daughter and very close relations goes to the boy's house and the marriage expenditure is then borne by the boy's guardian.

When the *barat* comes to the village, it is received outside the village by the girl's side. This is known as *parghanee.* At the *parghanee* both sides show games of skill and make a display of *lathis.* They are then brought to the girl's house where a small *madawa* has been constructed. The *madawa* is covered with mango leaves and in the centre a short wooden pole is fixed and a lamp is kept burning over an earthen vessel. When the boy's party comes to the *madawa* the girl throws rice at the boy and he in turn throws rice at her. Both try to protect themselves from the throw of rice with the help of bamboo fans.

The mother's brother or the husband of the bridegroom's father's sister takes a leading part in the celebration and is known as *Suwasa* or *Derha.* Similarly there is a woman on the girl's side, usually father's sister who is known as *Suwasin.* The *suwasa* brings the bridegroom in his lap and seats him in the *madawa.* Then the girl is brought and seated there and the ends of their apparel are tied intoaknot. A bamboo receptacle with rice is put before them and the bridegroom with his hands from over the shoulders of the bride takes five handfuls of these and puts them back in the vessel. *Pair pakharana* ceremony then takes place and consists of washing of the bridegroom's feet with milk by the parents of the girl and some other very close relatives. Then the boy and the girl take seven rounds of the wooden pole and the marriage is solemnised. No priest officiates at the marriage; but it is conducted by the *Suwasa* and *Suwasin.* The normal expenditure in the Rawat marriage is Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 on each side but it is always slightly more on the bridegroom's side.

Theeka Bihaw follows the same rites except that the expenditure of feeding the relatives, etc., has not to be borne by the girl's father.

The *Barandi, Paithoo* and the Elopement marriages of the Rawats follow the same rites as have been described under the Kewat caste. Hence they are not being stated again.

Choori **marriage.**—An unmarried man or a widower may keep a woman as his wife by *choori* form of marriage. It is known as *choori pahira le he. Choori* marriage is performed with the consent of the caste-panchayat. When a bachelor wants to marry a widow by this form of marriage he first performs the ceremony with an earthen pot, a bamboo basket or a dagger and taking the articles in his hand he walks round the marriage post. This is considered to be real marriage, as everyone should be properly married once. After this ceremony is over, he is free to keep the widow as his wife by giving her bangles to wear.

Divorce is common among the Rawats though none has taken place in this village in the families surveyed. When a woman leaves her husband and takes another husband, the new husband has to give a compensation to the old husband who in turn gives him in writing that he has no right over that woman. Non-payment of compensation results in disputes which are settled in the Panchayat and also in Court. After getting compensation, the former husband gives a feast to the caste-members which is the last feast in the name of that woman.

If a woman leaves her lawfully married husband, the compensation is substantial; but if she leaves her second husband to go to the third, the amount of compensation is very petty.

Brahmin.—The Brahmins of Chhattisgarh are called "Chattisgarhi Brahmins' and marriages between these and other Brahmins like 'Kanyakubja', 'Jijhotia', 'Saryuparis' and 'Sanadhyas' do not take place. Chhattisgarhi Brahmins are not a special section of Brahmins; but they were the earliest Brahmin immigrants into Chhattisgarh and their long stay here

has resulted in their adoption of the Chhattisgarhi dialect and a perceptible change has also come in the dress, specially of women. Writing about the Chhattisgarhi Brahmins, Russell[1] says that "the Brahmins more than any other caste, attach importance to strict ceremonial observance in matters of food and the daily ritual of prayer, and any group which was suspected of backsliding in respect of these on emigration to a new locali t y would be debarred from inter-marriage with the parent caste at home. An instance of this is found among the Chhattisgarhi Brahmins, who have been long settled in this backward tract and cut off from communication with northern India. They are mainly of the Kanaujia division, but the Kanaujia of Oudh will neither take food nor inter-marry with them."

The Chhattisgarhi Brahmins, therefore, marry only among themselves, but practise, as other sections of Brahmins, the *gotra*-exogamy. Thes Brahmin families live in this village and have been covered by the present Survey.

The marriage ceremony of the Brahmins takes a longer time than the other castes. The settlement of marriage is confirmed when the bride's brother goes to the prospective bridegroom's house and performs the ceremony of *lagan* or *tika* which among the Brahmins from Uttar Pradesh is called *faldan*. In this ceremony, the bridegroom's father gets some money ranging from 200 to 500 rupees and the future programme of marriage is finally settled.

The marriage-ceremony takes place at the bride's house. three to 4 days before departure for the bride's place, the elderly married ladies of the bridegroom's side perform what is known as *Tel chadhana* ceremony. In this ceremony, they dip their fingers in oil and then touch bridegroom's forehead with it. Before departure for the marriage, the bridegroom is decorated by ladies of his house. He is first massaged with oil by the barber and bathed and then he puts on all the marriage dresses, *i.e. Kurta*, yellow turmeric-coloured *dhoti* and the wedding gown (*jama*) and white turban over which is placed the marriage-crown (*mour*) made of *chhind* leaves (*Phoenix acaulis*) or bamboo sticks and paper. He also keeps a small dagger with him.

The marriage party consists of friends and relatives of the bridegroom's side. Mother's brother (*Mama*) and the husband of father's sister (*Foofa*) are very important in the party and must accompany it. The marriage party on reaching the bride's village is welcomed and then it halts at an appointed place. In the evening the party starts in a procession and is received at the bride's house by people from that side.

In the marriage ceremony the bride and the bridegroom are fully decorated in the conventional marriage dress and are seated near the 'sacred fire' (*Vedi*). The *pandit* (priest) after due recitation of sacred verses, ties the ends of bride's sari and the bridegroom's upper cloth together and then the two together perform the *hawan* ceremony. After this, the pair take seven rounds of the 'sacred fire'. This is known as *Bhanwar*. They also take an oath that they will lead a healthy marital life. Other members of the bride's side give certain presents to the bridegroom. Next day, the bride's father calls the marriage party at his place for a feast. Then the *Bida* or departure ceremony takes place and the marriage party with the bride returns to the bridegroom's place.

Among the Brahmins, the dowry system is not prevalent in the form in which it is practised in Uttar Pradesh and even in Madhya Pradesh among the Kanyakubja Brahmins. Of course, the bride's father gives whatever he can to the bridegroom's father, but no dowry is fixed as a condition.

Polyandry and polygamy are prohibited. But if the first wife fails to bear any issue, the man with the sanction of his relatives can marry a second woman for the purpose of getting a heir.

Marriage in any other form, *i.e.* elopement, seduction, abduction or intrusion is not practised among the Brahmins nor is widow re-marriage permitted.

Kurmis.—The usual marriage age for boys is 18 years and for girls 13 years and child marriages have become very much less frequent. It is not reported in this village but there is reason to believe that the practice still exists in Kurmi tracts. Russell[1] says that the "girls are usually wedded between nine and eleven, but well-to-do Kurmis, like other agriculturists, sometimes marry their daughters when only a few months old. The people say that when a Kurmi gets rich he will do 3 things: marry his daughter very young and with great display, build a fine

1. Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Russell and Hiraalal, Vol. II, p. 358.

1. The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Russell and Hiralal, Vol. IV, p.61.

house and buy the best bullocks he can afford....No penalty is imposed for allowing a girl to exceed the age of puberty before marriage."

The Kurmis also follow a practice of exchanging girls between two families. This is known as *gurawat* and means that the sister of the bridegroom is married to the brother of the bride. When such marriages take place, the ceremonies are not very expensive since the marriage has been purely an exchange.

The Kurmis look with approval on widow re-marriage and widow re-marriage was found to be customary in both the households. It is not customary for a widow to marry a particular relative. Marriage is prohibited between members of the same section and between first and second cousins on the mother's side. Marriage of a man with his wife's sister during her lifetime is forbidden.

In the Kurmis, the boy's father goes to the girl's house and makes an offer for marriage. The acceptance of the offer by the girl's father is indicated by a rupee and coconut which he sends to the boy's house. The next ceremony performed is the *god bharna* or 'filling of the lap' of the girl. The relatives of the boy go to the girl's house and put some sweetmeat, a coconut and a rupee in her lap. The ceremony is meant to induce fertility. The boy and girl then, seated together on a wooden plank, touch the feet of elders.

The marriage party consists of relatives and friends. Sister's husband or father's sister's husband must accompany the party. He is known as *Derha*. The marriage party is received out of the village by the people from the girl's side and there the younger members of the respective parties display various games of skill. Then the party comes to the *madawa* in the bride's house. The *madawa* is covered with mango or *Jamun* leaves, which by virtue of their remaining green for long periods, typify perpetual life. In the centre of the *madawa* is put a small pole known as *kham* painted with turmeric and oil. This is prepared out of *Doomer* wood.

At the auspicious time, the bridegroom and the bride, fully decorated in the marriage dress, are brought to the *madawa*. There they are seated near the *kham* and the ends of their apparel are tied in a knot. Then they take seven rounds of the *Kham* and take marriage, oaths. The couple receive various presents from the relatives of the bride's side in a ceremony of *Pav pakharna*.

Divorce is permitted in the Kurmis. If a married woman leaves her legally married husband and takes another husband, the former husband is entitled to receive some amount in compensation. The compensation is known as *Bihati*.

The Kurmi require the assistance of a priest in the performance of marriage ceremonies, whereas the Rawats do not need him. Then again the bride and the bridegroom in the Kurmi caste have to take seven rounds of the sacred post in the *madawa* (*mandap*). Going round the sacred post is not practised by the Rawats and the Kewats. The *god bharna* ceremony also suggests more affiliation with the higher castes than seen among the Rawats and the Kewats.

Pankas—In the Pankas, marriages are arranged by guardians without consulting the prospective bride and bridegroom. Blood-relations up to 3 generations are avoided in marriage. The marriage age for both males and females is 15 to 19 years. Pankas approve of widow marriage and polygamy is also followed in the caste.

The marriage takes place in the bride's house and is conducted by the *mahant* of the panka caste. About Rs. 500-700 are easily spent on the marriage; but there is no custom of dowry-giving. The main role of the *mahant* in the marriage is to conduct the *chauka* without which the marriage celebration is not complete. The *chauka* ceremony of the Pankas is described separately under the section on religion.

The marriage party goes to the bride's village and, as common in other castes of Chhattisgarh, is received outside the village in *parghani*. In the marriage party, presence of bridegroom's sister's husband and his father's sister's husband is compulsory.

The *parghani* is as in other castes. When the party reaches the *mandap* after rest, etc., the bride and bridegroom are decorated in the marriage dress. It is significant that the marriage clothes of the couple are white and are not coloured yellow. No explanation is coming forward for the avoidance of yellow colour except that it is said by the *Guru*. But it appears that this is simply an attempt to create some distinction from other castes who wear yellow clothes.

The binding ceremony of the marriage is done by the *mahant* in tying the ends of the apparel of the couple in a knot. No *bhanwar'* (going round the post) is done. After the *mahant* performs the *gath-bandhan* ceremony, he blesses the couple and wishes them a happy, prosperous and fertile married life.

Divorce is an accepted institution in the caste and is due to a variety of reasons. In the Pankas, and in other castes also, divorce or separation is rarely initiated by the husband; because, if he is not pleased with his wife or she is barren or continually ill, then he can keep another woman in *choori* form. This also is rarely done among the Pankas. But a woman runs away from her husband sometimes for apparently no reason at all.

When the married woman leaves her husband and takes another husband, the first husband is entitled to get compensation or *bihati* amount. If the new husband of the woman does not give this *bihati* amount easily, a caste-*panchayat* is called who prevail upon the man to settle this. After the *bihati* amount is given, the first husband gives in writing that he received this and this amount and that he has no right on that woman. After this, the former husband gives a sort of funeral feast called *marti jiti ka bhat*. The feast signifies that as far as the man is concerned, that woman is dead. *Chauka-arti* follows this feast.

Apart from the regular marriage, the Pankas also practice the *choori* form of marriage. It is a very simple ceremony and the woman with whom a man has developed intimacy is simply given some bangles to wear and she comes to live in his house. The *choori* form of marriage is usually done with widows.

Elopement and *Paithoo* marriage or marriage by intrusion are not so common among the Pankas.

Pre-marital and extra-marital sex-relations.—Though during the survey, all the households have answered this question in the negative, there is reason to believe that pre-marital and extra-marital sex-relations are very common. Detailed enquiries from villagers have not been made on this point for obvious reasons. Pre-marital relations are not viewed as seriously (unless the girl becomes pregnant) as the extra-marital sex-relations and the latter, when detected, become disputes to be settled in the *panchayat*; feast-giving, etc.

Some notes on the marriage and divorce system in the village.—In general, females preponderate over males in the population in the whole of Chhattisgarh. But in spite of this preponderance of females, the male has to go in search of a wife and the marriage negotiations start from the boy's side in the castes of the Kurmis, the Rawats, the Kewats and the Pankas. It also happens that if the bride's father is poor and is not able to meet marriage expenses, the boy's father or guardian bears all the expenditure by holding the marriage in his house. This kind of marriage is, of course, regarded inferior to the one held at bride's place and is referred to as *Chhote Bihaw* (inferior marriage). In the light of a dominant female element in the population, seeking of the bride remains to be explained.

Once married, the males seldom leave the wife and practically in all cases the separation is effected by the wife. Even when the wife runs away, the husband tries his level best to get her back by persuation and no stigma is attached even when she has lived with another man. A wife is referred to as *mal* (property) and when a man goes to the person who has got his wife, he would say *"Hamar mal la apis kar de"* (Return my property). This word *mal* is used in caste-*panchayat* and in courts too.

The wife is also referred to as *Admi* (male) by her husband and when asked about her, he would say, *"More admi bhaga ge he"* which would literally mean "my male has run away". Why this word is used is not easy to understand now; but it is a word of common use among the castes.

Divorce is fairly common among the castes of the Rawats, the Kewats and the Pankas and especially among the Rawats. In ninety-nine per cent of cases the woman runs away because she falls in love with another man. Most of such running away occurs at the time of *Teeja* festival in *Bhadon* month; because at this festival, it is a custom for a woman to go to her father's place.

This 'falling-in-love with other man' is very natural in the social settings of the castes. A girl is married early and after marriage she lives in her father's house and grows up. The segregation of sexes is not at all rigid and she has complete freedom to go to the fields to collect cow-dung, to go to markets and fairs. Naturally before she goes back to her legally married husband, the woman makes some friends in her father's village or in other nearby villages and it is very doubtful whether she goes to

her husband as a virgin. With a male friend in another place, it is really difficult for a woman to live attached to her husband and she leaves him on the slightest pretext.

Living with another man is permitted by the caste and the *choori* form of marriage is prevalent. If a man has offered *chooris* to a woman, the society does not see anything wrong in it. Of course, a *bihati* wife enjoys more social prestige than the *choori-wali* wife.

Polygamy is permissible among all the castes except the Brahmins, and a man may have two or more legally married wives or may have one legally married wife and one or more *choori-wali* wives. But usually more than two wives are not kept. Polygamy, apart from satisfying the need to accommodate more females in the society, also serves an economic purpose; that of providing the male with a worker for his economic pursuits.

If a woman leaves her husband for another man, this other man has to give a compensation known as *bihati* and after receiving the *bihati* amount, the divorced husband gives a feast to his caste. This feast is known as *Marti jiti ke bhat* and signifies that for that man the woman, though living, has died. He is then free to seek another woman.

DEATH AND FUNERAL RITES

The different castes in this village follow two systems of the disposal of dead body—that of burning or cremation and that of burying. The funeral rites are also as rigidly followed as other rites of birth and marriage.

Kewats.—The Kewats always bury their dead. In all cases the period of mourning is three days. The dead body is buried with feet towards the south. Russell's[1] description that "some clothes, cotton, *til* and salt are placed in the grave, apparently as a provision for the dead man's soul" is not seen in this village.

The funeral rites of the Kewats follow the same pattern as the Rawats, but the rite of bringing back the soul is not observed among them. There is no explanation from them for the non-observance of this rite but it may be due to the fact that fishing is the traditional occupation of the Kewats and naturally the idea of the soul coming back in a fish is not attractive to them.

1. Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Russell and Hiralal, Vol. III, 1916, p. 425.

Rawats.—There is no system of burning the dead among the Rawat caste and the dead are buried in all cases. The period of mourning lasts for 3 days. There is no rite for *pinda-dan* as in the Brahmins and the Kurmis nor is the *Sradh* or Death Anniversary customary.

The dead body is bathed and anointed with turmeric powder and oil and new clothes are put on it. It is said in this caste that an individual is anointed twice with oil and turmeric—once during marriage and the second time when he dies.

After the new clothes are put on the dead body, it is placed on the bier laid on a layer of *paira* (fodder) and the near relatives and friends in turn carry it to the burial ground. The digging of the grave starts after the funeral party reaches the place. Before the grave is dug, some money, at least a copper coin, is placed on the place signifying that the land has been purchased for burial.

The burial ceremony being over, the party goes to the tank and takes a bath and then returns home. Other households of the caste then send food-rations to the house of the deceased, which is cooked and eaten. This kind of food on the day of burial is called *Golhatthee*. To accompany the funeral ceremony is known as *Kathee me jana*.

After those who accompanied the *Kathee* send some rice, *dal*, etc. to the deceased's house, they get the nails of hands and feet cut by a barber and the clothes worn at the time of accompanying are given for washing. This is known as *Shudh hona* or 'getting purified'. The members of the deceased's family get their hair cut on the third day and take a bath. The clothes are given for washing and the house is washed with cow-dung and water solution. The earthen vessels used for cooking are thrown away. The females of the household accompanied by other females of the caste in the village then go to the tank in a single line and there the bangles of the widow are broken. When returning also they come in a single line. This procession of the females in a single line for a bath in the river or tank is known as *Nahawan*.

All the male members of the household younger to the deceased get the hair, beard and moustache clean-shaved; but if the father is alive, moustaches are not shaved. On the third day, a feast is given to all the members of the caste in the village in the nearby villages. After the feast *pagbandhi*

ceremony is done through which the household and the caste-members select the new *Mukhiya* of the house in the place of the deceased. The *pagbandhi* ceremony can be described as the 'Investing of Turban' ceremony and is in token of recognition of the new representative of the household. *Pagbandhi* is participated in by all the people assembled there and they give some presents to the person so elected.

Among the Rawats a special ceremony takes place on the third day of death. This is known as 'bringing back the soul'. Russell[1] has described this as below :

"The women put a lamp on a red earthen pot and go to a tank or a stream at night. The fish are attracted towards the light, and one of them is caught and put in the pot which is then filled with water. It is brought home and set beside a small heap of flour, and the elders sit round it. The son of the deceased or other near relative anoints himself with turmeric and picks up a stone. This is washed with the water from the pot, and placed on the floor and a sacrifice of a cock or hen is made to it according to as the deceased was a man or a woman. The stone is then enshrined in the house as a family god and the sacrifice of the fowl is repeated annually. It is supposed apparently that the dead man's spirit is brought back to the house in the fish and then transferred to the stone by washing this with the water."

The practice described by Russell is not followed by the Rawats of this village who are of the *Jharia* sub-caste. According to them "bringing back the soul" ceremony is observed by the *Kosaria* and *Kanoujia* sub-castes.

Brahmins.—In the normal death, the married males and females are burnt but the unmarried ones on their death are buried. The infant children are invariably buried. In cases of death by serpent-bite or by infectious disease like cholera, the bodies are buried but in abnormal deaths like suicide or accident the bodies are burnt. The mourning period for father, mother, husband, wife and married son is 10 days, whereas for infant son, daughter, brother (infant or unmarried) and sister it is only three days.

Cremation.—After the dead body is bathed, it is anointed with oil and scent and new clothes are put on the body after which it is placed on the bier. The eldest son of the deceased or husband (if it is a married woman) or in cases where they are not available, the nearest relative keeps some fire in an earthen vessel and precedes the bier. The bier is raised by the nearest relatives, but as it proceeds, other relations and friends relieve them in turn. This is known as *Kandha dena.* As the bier is taken to the cremation ground the people recite *Ram nam satya hai, Satya bolo gatya hai,* meaning that the name of Rama is the only eternal truth and salvation lies in speaking truth.

In the cremation ground the pyre is arranged and the body is placed on it. Usually the clothes which were put on the corpse when it departed from the house, are taken off and it is said that the body came naked from Heaven and should go naked to Him. The person who had brought the fire in the earthen vessel then lights the fire. Lighting the funeral pyre is known as *Dah dena.*

After the body is burnt, the people go to the tank or river and take a bath. Going to attend the funeral is known as *Kathi me jana.* These people then send flour, rice and *dal,* etc to the house of the deceased and this food is cooked and eaten in that house. The household where death has taken place does not cook its own food that day. This pooling of rations from other houses and cooking of the same at the house of the deceased, is known as *Golhatthee.*

The remains of the dead body, (*i.e.* bones), are collected from the cremation ground on the third day and the ash is thrown in the river or the stream. The last remains are taken to the river or Allahabad depending on the financial position of the household. This *asthi-visarjan* is performed on the 10th day. On this 10th day, which is known as *Daswan,* purificatory ceremony is performed. The whole house is washed with cow-dung and all members of the household, who are younger to the deceased, get themselves shaved. If the father is alive, then the sons do not get their moustaches shaved on the occasion. If the deceased is a husband, the bangles of the widow are broken on this day.

On the 13th day, the *Terhi,* a feast is given to the household and other relatives and friends. After this, if the deceased is the head of the household, another ceremony follows which is known as *Pagbandhi.*

1. Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India, Russell and Hiralal, Vol. II, 1916, pp. 28-29.

Its purpose is to elect the new head of the household and the person who is so selected gets a turban put on his head. Usually the eldest son succeeds the father and the younger brother succeeds his elder brother.

One year after the death, the *sradh* and *pind-dan* ceremony is performed. The *pind-dan* is done in some sacred place, usually Allahabad. The meaning of the *pind-dan* is to join the soul of the deceased in the souls of the dead-elders (*pitras*) of the family and it is believed that till the *pind-dan* is done, the soul does not get any rest and cannot join the *pitras*.

Kurmis.—Kurmi is the only other caste who burn their dead. In normal deaths, married males and females are burnt whereas unmarried ones are buried. A young unmarried male may also be burnt. Infants are buried. In deaths due to serpent-bite and infectious diseases and in deaths due to suicide and accident, the body is buried. The period of mourning is 10 and 13 days and in case of infants 3 days.

The cremation ceremonies of the Kurmis are similar to those in practice among the Brahmins. The bier of a married woman with her husband alive is covered with a red cloth and all other corpses are covered with white cloth. In the cremation ground, the pyre of a man is lit at the head and that of the woman at the foot.

In case of burial, the graves are dug from north to south. Graves are dug on the arrival of the funeral party to the cremation ground and not in advance as among the Christians and Mohammedans. Russell[1] says, "It is considered to be meritorious to assist at a burial and there is a saying that a man who has himself conducted a hundred funerals will become a Raja in his next birth." The Kurmis of this village do not know this but say that it is everybody's duty to assist in the funeral. Russell further states[2] that "when the grave has been filled in and a mound raised to mark the spot, each person present makes five small balls of earth and places them in a heap at the head of the grave. This custom is also known as *Panah lakariya* and must, therefore, be an imitation of the placing of the five sticks on the pyre; its original meaning in the latter case may have been that the mourner should assist the family by bringing a contribution of wood to the pyre. As adopted in burial, it seems to have no special significance...."

1. Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India, Russell and Hiralal, Vol. IV, p. 77.
2. *Ibid*, p. 77.

Pankas.—The Pankas bury the dead. The period of mourning is 3 days in all cases. Essentially the funeral ceremonies are the same as among the Rawats and the Kewats. The corpse is bathed and anointed with turmeric and oil and new clothes are put on the body. The bier is decorated with banana leaves, mango leaves and flowers and it is carried to the burial ground to the accompaniment of music and playing of *jhanjh*. The music consists in recitations of poetry composed by Kabir.

Some money or at least a copper coin is placed on the land before digging the ground, as in the case of the Rawats and the Kewats and the significance attached is the same. The dead body is placed with feet to the south and a coconut is placed with the body in the grave. After the funeral, the mourners bathe and then break a coconut over the grave and distribute it among themselves. A lamp made out of wheat-flour is kept burning for 3 days over the grave. On the third day the purification ceremony is performed. The house is cleaned and the earthen cooking vessels are thrown away. The women go in a single file to take a bath in the river or tank and there the bangles of the widow are broken. They return home in the same fashion. The male members get themselves shaved and those younger to the deceased get the head, beard and moustache clean-shaved. If, however, the father is alive, then moustaches are not shaved but only trimmed.

On the third day, the *Chauka-arti pooja* is done and then the persons assembled partake of the feast. On the 10th day, a coconut is again broken over the grave.

The Pankas, like the Kewats and the Rawats, do not follow the annual death ceremony or the *pind-dan*, etc.

Some further observations on the death ceremony.—It is seen from the foregoing account that the Kewats, Rawats and Pankas follow the burial system for the disposal of the dead body. In all these cases digging of the grave starts after the dead body is brought to the burial ground. The graves are dug in the north-south direction and, in the interior, are washed with cow-dung. Among the Pankas, preparation of the grave is more elaborate than among other castes. They first wash the grave with cow-dung and subsequently with white clay.

After the body is buried, the top mound is also washed with cow-dung and *chhuhi* and among the

Pankas, the shell of the broken coconut is fixed there in the earth.

Placing the dead body.—A very peculiar custom is observed in this village and that is the placing of the dead body on the funeral pyre or in the grave. The males are put on the chest, *i.e.* with face downwards and the females are laid on the back, *i.e.* with face upwards. It appears that this system is also followed in the nearby villages, but nobody is able to offer any explanation or attach any significance to this system. The Brahmins and the Kurmis also follow the same system of p acing the dead body while putting it on the pyre. No mention of this is found in the Raipur Distr ct Gazetteer, or so far as is seen, in Russell's *'Tribes and Castes'*. Other authors also working amongst various tribes in th s reg.on, *viz.* the Kamars, the Murias, and the Marias, have not mentioned this pr ctice among those tribes. The Brahmins of Raipur Town and those Brahmins also who still hold affiliation with Uttar Pradesh, do not follow this practice nor is the practice followed by the Gonds and the Bhunjias of this District.

A mention, however, appears in the Bilaspur District Gazetteer (p. 103) that "the Hindus bury the corpse of a man face downwards and that of a woman face upwards", but no significance of the same has been advanced anywhere.

Symbolical rites in the life-rituals.—An explanation of the various symbolical rites and ceremonies at the life-rituals may not be out of place here. The villagers practise these rites just as a matter of course and because such practice has been handed down to them by their forefathers. They do not have any explanation to offer nor attach any significance to these rites; but it appears that these rites have some symbolical significance and an attempt is being made here to explain the same.

Use of *Doomar* (ficus) wood in the preparation of *Kham* or *Magrohan* in the marriage.—The Kurmis and the Brahmins prepare a 3-feet long rectangular post known as *Magrohan* or *Kham* and round this post the bride and the bridegroom take their marriage-rounds (*bhanwar*).

Doomar tree represents perpetual life because it is always laden with fruits. New fruits come in the tree before the fruits of the previous season have fallen away. The use of the wood of this tree is a symbol of this perpetuity of life and for fertile marriage like the fertile tree of *Doomar* always laden with fruits.

It is also likely that the use of 'ficus' wood may have something to do with the fertility cult. Hutton[1] mentions that "It is probably on account of its milk-like sap that the ficus is associated with fertility cults in Africa, Italy and New Guinea as well as in Assam and Southern India...."

***God Bharna* or filling the lap ceremony of the Kurmis.**—Before the marriage, in the Kurmis, the *God bharna* ceremony takes place and consists in the relatives of the bridegroom's side putting some sweetmeat, a coconut and a rupee in her lap. Coconut is the symbol of a child and the symbolical meaning of the ceremony appears to be the idea that the bride should have her lap full with a child, *i.e.* the marriage should be a fertile one.

Use of *Jamun* and/or mango leaves in roofing of the *Madawa*.—The *jamun* and mango trees are evergreen and the leaves of these trees do not dry up quickly. The symbol appears to be perpetuation, continuity and stability of the union.

Breaking of the *Madawa*.—The Kewats have two ***bhanwars*** in their marriage ceremony One is known as the *Kunwari-bhanwar* or the 'virgin-rounds' and the other which is done after the party returns from the tank is the *bihati-bhanwar* or the 'married-rounds'. Before the second *bhanwar* takes place, the bridegroom plucks some leaves from the roof of the *madawa*, breaks some branches of the same and also shakes the two bamboo-pair posts. Then he sits with the bride in between the two posts and with the broken leaves and twigs and after the knot-tying ceremony takes rounds of the posts.

This ceremony, it clearly appears, is a sex-symbol and symbolises breaking the virginity, without which the marriage is not complete.

Burying the dead.—The females are buried or burnt with the face up, *i.e.* lying on the back whereas the males are laid with their face down. This is a peculiar custom and has no explanation. It is, of course, true that the chest region of the male and the waist region of the female take a longer time to perish but the difference in posture does not help to quicken this process, if that is the idea.

It cannot be said with any certainty at present, but it appears that this may also have some sex symbolisation.

1. Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, Hutton.

CHAPTER VI

VILLAGE ECONOMY

Bendri is mainly an agricultural village. The economic pattern of the Bendri population at the 1951 Census was as below :

Category	Total	Male	Female
Agricultural classes			
Cultivators of owned lands and their dependants.	134	63	71
Cultivators of unowned lands and their dependants.	..	..	..
Cultivating labourers and their dependants.	103	47	56
Non-cultivating owners, etc. and their dependants.	10	4	6
Non-agricultural classes			
Production other than cultivation.	8	5	3
Commerce	..	..	..
Transport	..	..	..
Other services and miscellaneous sources.	7	3	4

It is seen from the above that 237 persons, *i.e.* 110 males and, 127 females, were dependant on agriculture either on owned lands or on unowned ones.

In the Census of 1961 the village economy was reflected in the following pattern :

	Category	T	M	F
A.	Total workers	178	85	93
I	Cultivators	113	56	57
II	Agricultural Labourers	31	14	17
III	Livestock, Fishing, Hunting, etc.	27	10	17
IV	Household Industry	..	..	..
V	Manufacture other than household industry	..	..	..
VI	Construction	..	..	..
VII	Trade & Commerce	..	..	..
VIII	Transport, Communication	..	..	..
IX	Other services	7	5	2
B.	Non-workers	137	61	76

T=Total, M=Male, F=Female.

The total area of this village is 652·70 acres. In the Census of 1911, the Village Statistics at page 3 records the area of this village as 654·70 acres. This appears to be a clerical or printing error, because all Government Records show this area as 652·70. Utilization of the area in the last ten years is shown in the following table. It would show that the highest net area sown was in the year 1953-54. It shows further that double-cropped area has increased since 1956-57 and that the practice of land being left fallow is on the decline.

Lands in this village are under the command of Canal No. 8 of the Mahanadi Canal System. Area irrigated by wells is very little, because there were two irrigation wells and they have also fallen in disuse.

The following table has been taken from the Records maintained by the Revenue Department.

Year	Area under cultivation			Uncultivated Area							Double-cropped area	Irrigated area	No. of Irri. wells
	Total Area	Net area sown	Current fallow	Old fallow	Groves	Big tree forest	Shrubs (small tree forest)	Under water	Pahad Chattan	Street and abadi	Total			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1950-51 ..	652·70	411·41	28·68	62·19	..	..	109·38	37·07	..	3·97	..	141·49	208·48	..
1951-52 ..	652·70	467·49	4·22	27·76	..	..	110·71	37·07	..	5·45	..	170·11	223·82	..
1952-53 ..	652·70	488·54	5·72	5·21	..	..	110·71	37·07	..	5·45	..	158·45	218·54	..
1953-54 ..	652·70	496·54	6·22	2·04	..	..	43·63	3·95	100·32	..	..	170·45	218·54	2
1954-55 ..	652·70	496·07	27·30	2·91	..	..	43·63	3·49	99·30	..	..	186·77	223·32	2
1955-56 ..	652·70	476·95	18·68	10·33	..	0·17	53·64	2·98	89·95	..	146·74	154·11	212·41	..
1956-57 ..	652·70	471·13	19·35	14·40	..	0·17	54·76	3·13	89·76	..	..	129·03	208·12	..
1957-58 ..	652·70	469·11	11·84	24·31	..	0·28	54·68	3·61	88·87	..	..	147·44	210·66	..
1958-59 ..	652·70	472·57	10·30	22·03	..	0·11	54·86	3·96	88·87	..	147·80	150·77	211·70	..
1959-60 ..	652·70	474·15	8·90	17·93	..	0·11	54·86	3·96	88·87	..	147·80	183·12	211·54	..

Soil type.—Situated on a plain and on the bank of a river, the village has a very rich soil which is known as *Kanhar*. It is a black clay soil, very retentive of moisture and is the best soil in Chhattisgarh for wheat production. As a rice soil, it is apt to suffer from water-logging; but as it grows excellent second crops, it is certainly the most important and valuable soil.

Because of a good soil and facilities of irrigation through Government Canals, the cultivators sow both the crops, *i.e.* the kharif and the rabi, which are known as *Siari* and *Unhari* in the Chhattisgarh dialect. Double-cropping is done over about 35% to 40% of the area. Details of soil are shown in the table below :

Soil Class	Embankment			Un-embankment		Garden Land		Total
	Gabhar	Urkaha	Urkaha Irri.	Mamuli	Tikra	Bari Dry	Bari Irri.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Kanhar II	..	..	..	113	27	..	..	140
Dorsa I	44	78	..	95	38	16	..	271
Dorsa II	8	34	5	..	..	..	..	47
Matasi I	7	26	3	..	..	..	..	36
Pal Kachhar	..	..	..	..	1	11	..	12
Patpar Kachhar	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
Total	**59**	**138**	**8**	**208**	**66**	**29**	..	**508**

The embankment in the above table means that land which is embanked, and is brought under *kharif* cultivation; the unembankment means the land used under the *rabi* crops. The table has been taken from Form IV-B showing Soil Classification at present from the Settlement Misl. in which village Bendri has been included under Settlement No. 77 of the Group Kharoon Valley 51. This Settlement was carried on in 1921 by Shri C. D. Deshmukh, then of the I.C.S.

Year	Net cropped area	Double-cropped	Principal Crops			Total Kharif	Total Rabi
			Paddy	Kodon	Urid, Moong		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1950-51	411	141	208	135	22	285	267
1951-52	467	170	232	116	5	390	248
1952-53	489	159	222	76	5	332	315
1953-54	497	170	222	112	3	375	292
1954-55	476	187	223	78	1	339	324
1955-56	477	154	214	112	..	373	258
1956-57	471	129	209	54	..	292	308
1957-58	469	147	211	106	..	358	158
1958-59	473	151	215	65	1	313	310
1959-60	476	183	214	88	..	340	319

In the above table details of cropping in the last ten years have been shown. This table is taken from Form A of the Circle Note-book maintained by the *Kanungo* at the Tahsil Headquarters.

Though the village is a predominantly Kewat one, it is the Brahmins who own the major portion of the land. The ownership has nothing to do with caste-hierarchy but is due to the fact that the village was owned by the Brahmins before the Abolition of Proprietory Rights.

Many of the big cultivators are non-resident cultivators and are known as *Pahi Kashtakar*.

Castewise ownership of land-holdings is shown in the statement alongside :

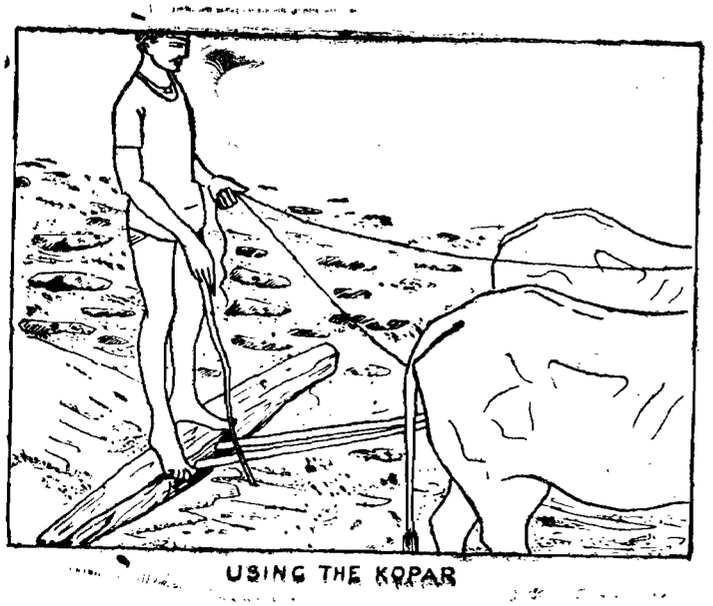
Caste	Acres
1. Brahmins	263·64
2. Kewats	219·75
3. Kurmis	15·16
4. Chhatris	4·35
5 Rawats	2·47
6. Pankas	0·64
Total ..	**505·01**

According to the Titamma Register maintained by the Land Records Staff, the cattle strength of the village in 1960-61 stood as shown in the following table :

Description	Total	Brahmins	Kurmis	Rawats	Kewats	Pankas
Plough (Nagar)	44	9	..	2	33	..
Carts	24	5	..	..	19	..
Plough Bullocks	48	16	..	1	31	..
Plough Buffaloes	49	10	..	..	39	..
Other Bullocks	1	..	..	..	1	..
Other Buffaloes	..	..	..	..	..	..
Milch Buffaloes	3	1	..	..	2	..
Milch Cows	85	23	2	2	56	2
Goats	44	..	..	8	36	..
Fowls	48	..	..	7	41	..
Horses	3	1	..	..	..	2

The economic activity of the village centres around agriculture, but except that the canal irrigation is done, the agricultural practices have remained practically unchanged.

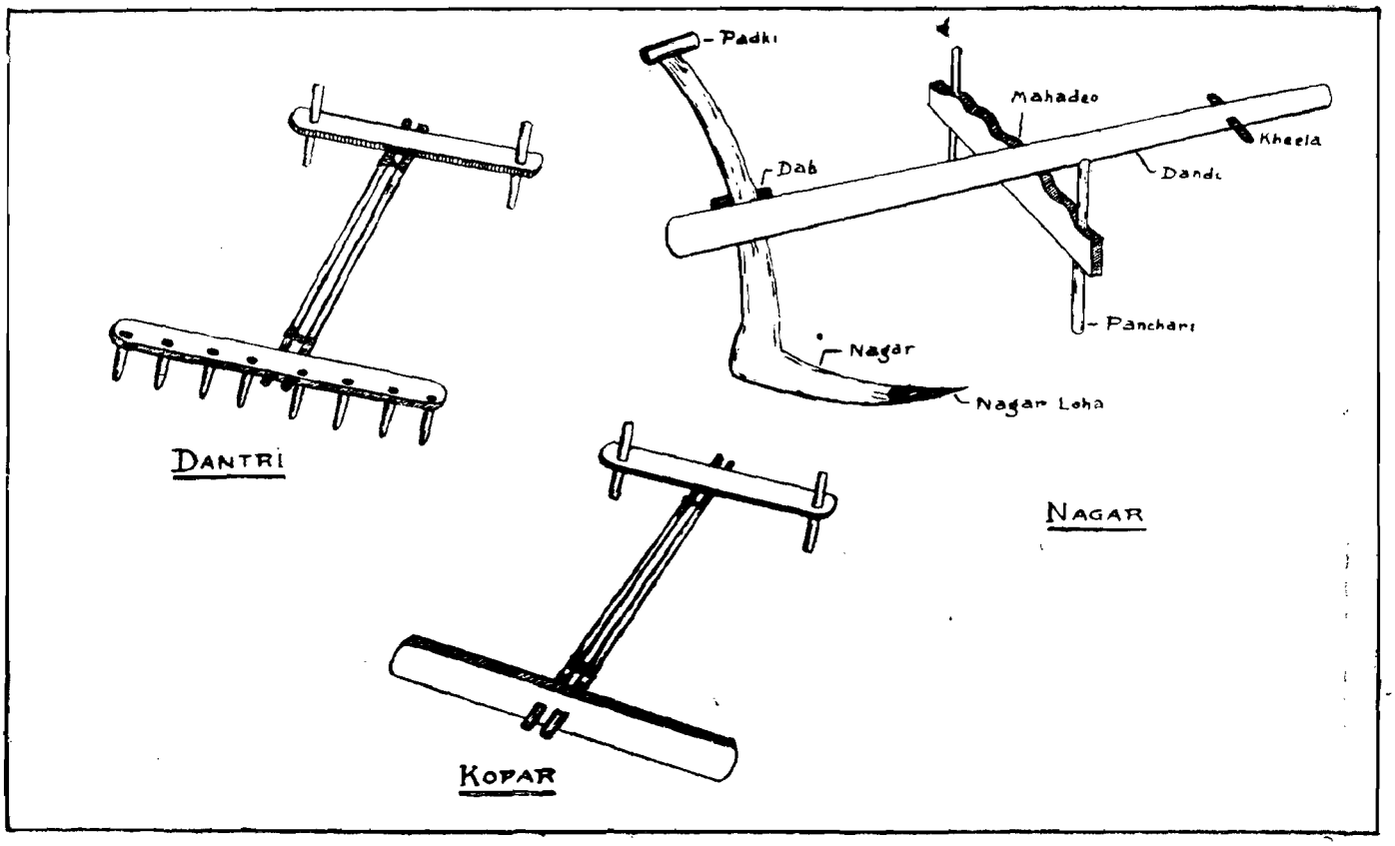
Agricultural implements.—Agricultural implements also remain age-old ones and are the plough (*Nagar*) and the sickle (*Hasiya*).Different parts of the *Nagar* are known by different names. The wooden-shaft of the *Nagar* is known as *Dandi*. At one end of it is fixed a wooden piece known as *Kheela*. At the other end of the *Dandi* is fixed the bent wooden portion known as *Nagar*. It is fixed by making a hole in the centre of the *Dandi* and the *Nagar* passes through it. The upper portion of the *Nagar* is of a smaller diameter than the lower end below the *Dandi*. A small wooden piece 1" to 1½" thick at one end and slightly less at the other end and four to six inches long is used to keep the *Nagar* in place. This wooden piece is known as *Dab*. At the upper end of the *Nagar* is fixed around wooden small bar, 6" to 7" long, known as *Pandki*, and this serves as a handle to apply the pressure. The lower end of the *Nagar* is bent inwards and to it is fixed the *Nagar-loha* or the iron-blade.



USING THE KOPAR

The *Nagar* is fixed to the attachment to which the bullocks are tied. The attachment consists of a beam of which the upper end is sawn in a curved fashion and at the centre a small rounded portion of the shape of *Siv-ling* is made. This is known as *Mahadeo*. At the two extremes of the beam are two holes in which are fixed the wooden rods known as *Pancharie*. The *Dandi* of the *Nagar* rests on the central node of the beam known as *Mahadeo* and it is tied to the beam with a rope round the *Kheela*.

The field is first ploughed after the first rain but before the seed is sown the weeds and grass crop up. These are known as *Karga*. To kill this *Karga* and for levelling the field, *Kopar* is used. *Kopar* is a flat smooth piece of wood measuring 8 to 10 feet in length. Through the centre of this is fixed the *Dandi* and at the other end of this *Dandi* is fixed another beam at right angles. At the two extremes of this beam are two wooden rods on which the bullocks are tied. For levelling the field and for



clearing the *Karga*, the *Kopar* is used and to provide pressure the person using the *Kopar* keeps standing on the *Kopar*. The *Kopar* has another variant. In this the 8-10 feet beam has 10-12 wooden pieces fixed as nails or teeth. This variant of *Kopar* is known as *Dantri* because of its harrow teeth. The *Dantri* is used for puddling and thinning.

Both the *Kopar* and *Dantri* are used after the fields have been ploughed and there has been rainfall. *Kopar* is also used for levelling after the paddy has been sown and at this stage the levelling helps to flatten all the surviving plants in the mud.

Paddy is sown broadcast. Transplantation is not practised. The fields are manured in the last week of May or in the first week of June. The majority of the villagers follow the age-old system of manuring and no compost pits were seen in the village. The cow-dung and house-rubbish is thrown in the open pit about 4' in diameter and 4 to 5 feet in depth. Chemical fertilizer is used only by the Brahmins and the Kewats. Green manure is not used by any of the cultivators. Use of fertilizer is shown in the table alongside ;

Caste	Total families	Total area held	Chemical fertilizer used in bags	Other manure used in mds.
Kewat	48	219·75	7½	1,235
Rawat	3	2·47	..	40
Brahmin	3	263·64	8	240
Kurmi	2	15·16	..	30
Panka	1	0·64	..	12

The manure is carried in carts to the fields and left there in heaps. Soon after the first rain, the fields are ploughed twice or thrice and *Kopar* or *Dantri* is used for levelling and puddling.

Paddy is sown broadcast. When the plants are about 1 foot high, the land is ploughed which uproots many of the plants and covers some with mud. This process is spoken of as 'thinning'. Five or six days later the plot is levelled by means of the *Kopar*. This ploughing of the fields after the germination has taken place, is known as *Biasi*. It has been held to be a combination of an inferior method of



KHUMRI, KAMRA AND *SEEKA*



KHUMRI, KAMRA AND *SEEKA*



KEWATS WEAVING THE FISHING NET

transplanting with a weeding operation. Twenty to twenty-five days after the *biasi*, the plants again come up and it becomes necessary to clear the field of all the undesirable weeds and plants which come up. This is done by manual labour and the process is known as *Nindai*. Second weeding is again done when the ears appear in the plants.

The crop ripens in the month of October. A shower of rain before *Diwali* is very beneficial to the crop. Reaping is done with manual labour, using sickle and the harvested crop is made into bundles and taken to the *Khalihan*. Threshing and winnowing is done in the *Khalihan*. The stalks (*paira*) is used as fodder to the cattle.

In this village early and coarse variety of paddy is sown, because the fine variety is a more risky crop, is of late variety and requires more labour.

Other *Kharif* crops are *Kodon* and *Rahar*. The cultivation of *Kodon* is comparatively easier. The seed is sown broadcast in the fields after the rains and the fields are subsequently ploughed. The *Arhar* pulse crop is either sown on the embankments or together with *Kodon* in the fields.

The *Kodon*, *Rahar*, etc. are sown in comparatively poor class of land, known as *Bharri*. The paddy fields are likewise known as *Dhanha*. After the paddy harvest is over, *Utera* crop, *i.e.* alsi, gram, tiwara, etc., is sown in these fields. In the paddy fields other *Rabi* crops are not sown, but in the case of *Bharri* lands, *Rabi* crops like wheat, masoor, alsi, gram, etc. are sown. The *Rabi* crops are known as *Unhari*. Generally, the wheat fields are not manured.

Traditional occupations.—The traditional occupation of different communities represented in this village is referred to in the literature as given in the following table :

Caste		*Traditional occupation*
Brahmins	..	Priesthood
Kurmis	..	Cultivation
Rawats	..	Graziers
Kewats	..	Fishermen
Pankas	..	Weavers

Brahmins.—Only one Brahmin, Nizam Prasad, arries on the priesthood, but his main occupation is riculture. He is the *purohit* of the village and o visits villages up to seven miles. Priesthood is t a paying occupation and Nizam Prasad does not take it seriously. He only knows to read the *Satya-narayan ki Katha*, but has no knowledge of any scripture and his answers to some questions on super natural spirits, etc. were most flimsy.

Other Brahmins in the village are engaged in cultivation.

Kurmis.—Traditional occupation of the Kurmis is agriculture and they are regarded as first-class cultivators. As far as this village is concerned the Kurmis have grown old; they do not own much land.

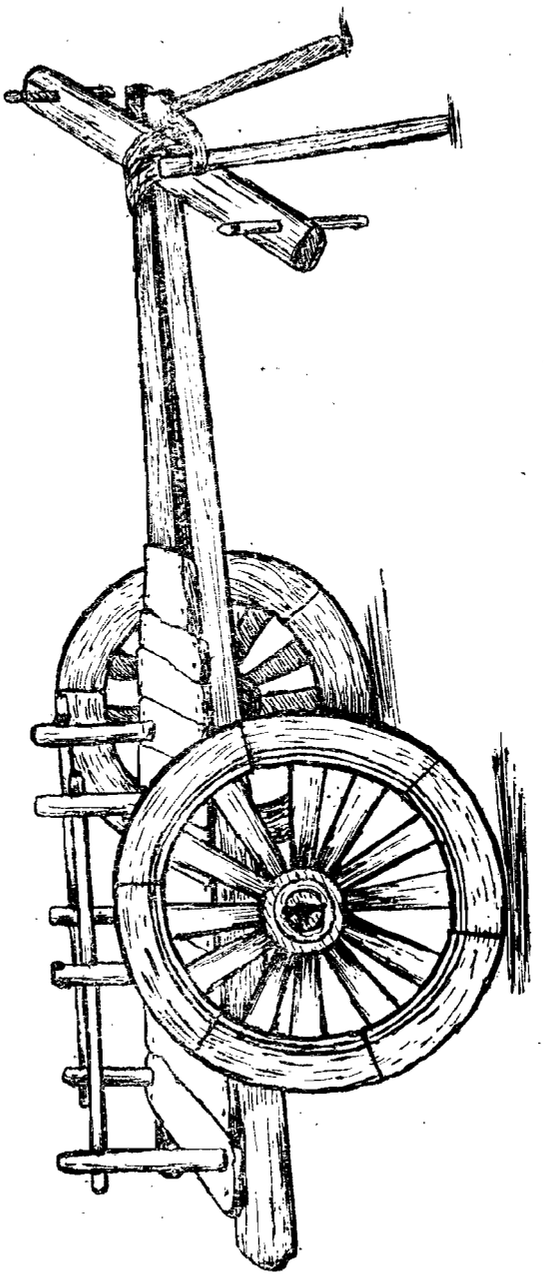
Rawats.—Traditional occupation of the Rawats is grazing the village cattle and this traditional occupation is faithfully followed in this village as this table shows :

Household	Total workers	Total persons engaged in grazing, etc.
1	6	2
2	2	2
3	5	2
Total 6	**13**	**6**

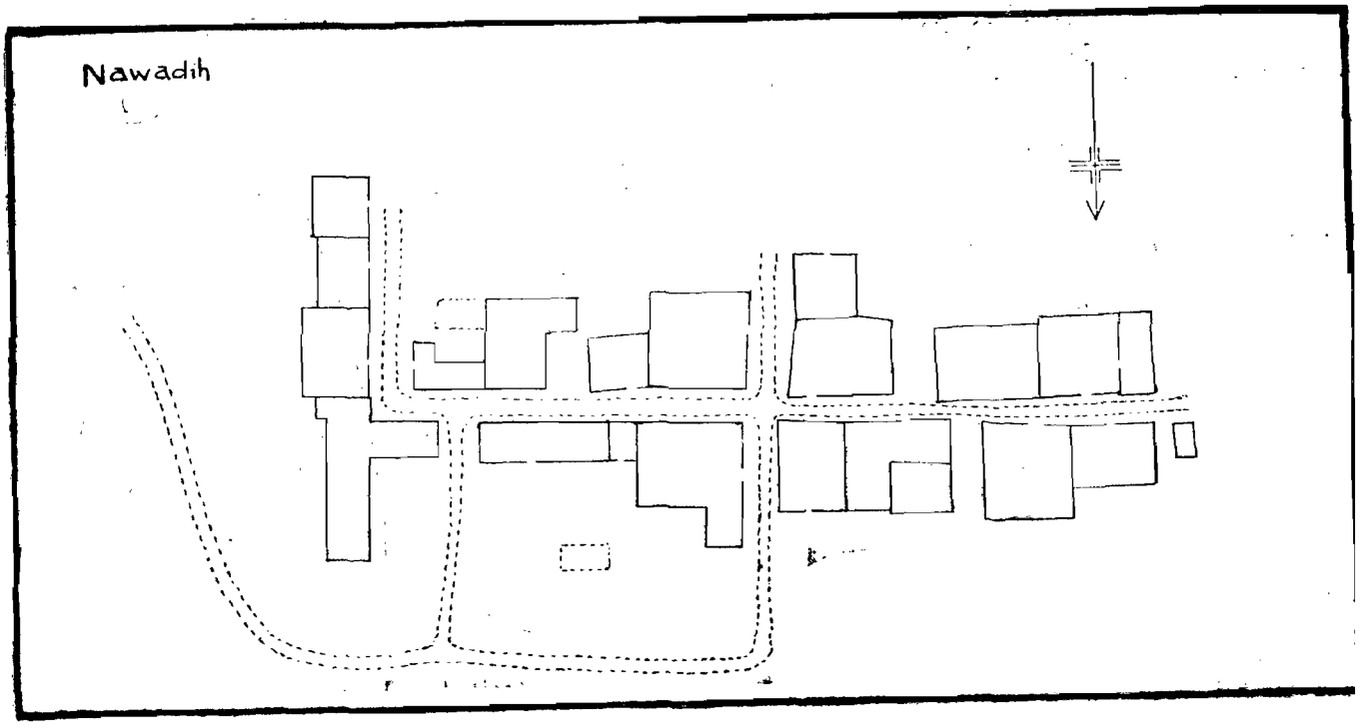
Kewats.—The traditional occupation of the Kewats is fishing; but they have left their occupation and taken to cultivation. Fishing is done only for self-consumption and if somebody nets more than what can be consumed and thinks that going to town would be worthwhile, then he sells the catch. Fishing has not been returned as a principal occupation even by a single Kewat.

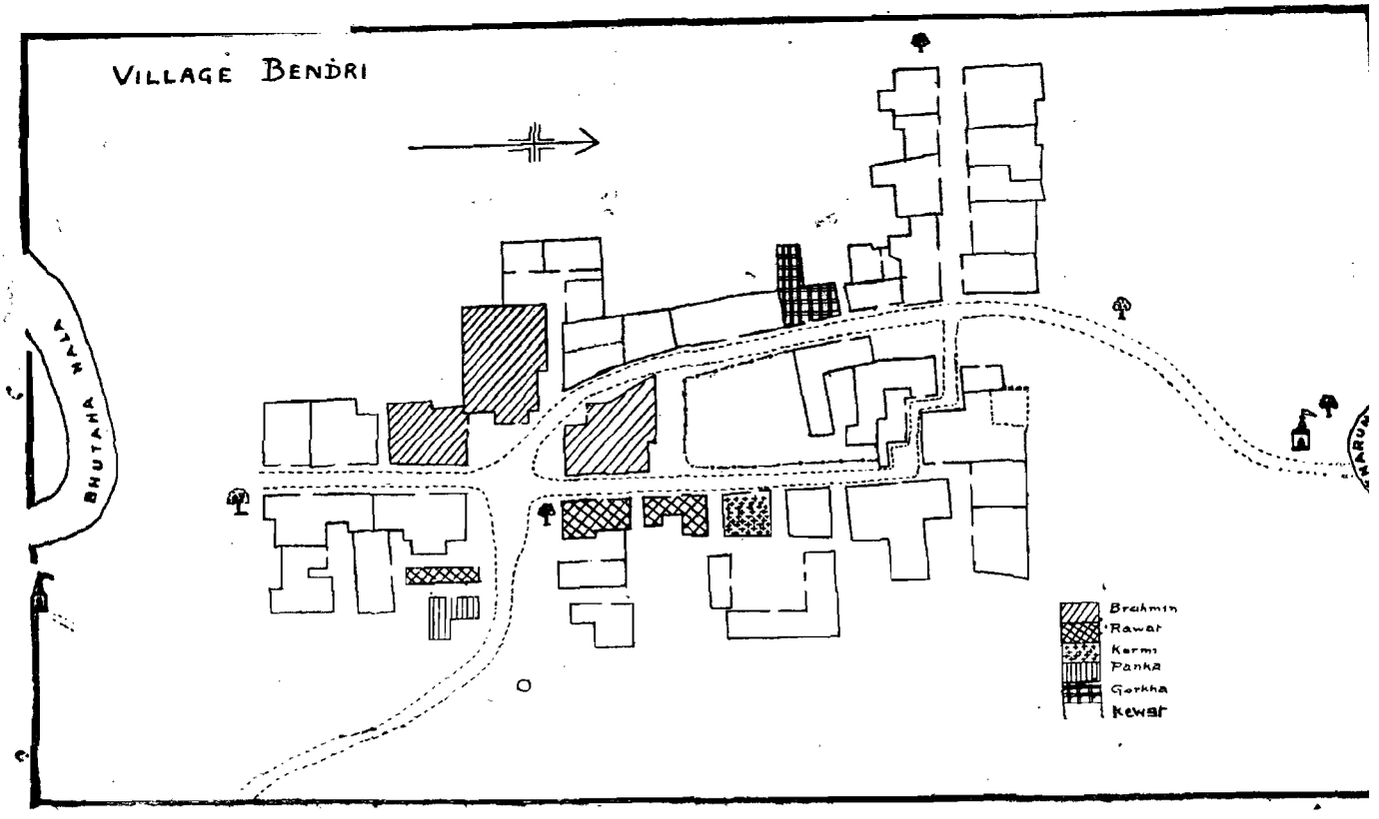
Fishing occupation has been to a very great extent replaced by vegetable cultivation and 27 people returned vegetable cultivation as the principal occupation. Situated as it is on the bank of the river, vegetable cultivation is comparatively easy and every Kewat family in Bendri (old site) has a *bari* or vegetable garden. Such vegetable gardens are not seen in Nawadih for lack of water-supply. The vegetables are taken to Ganj vegetable market in Raipur town after October and people like selling the vegetable there than at Urla or Birgaon market because they get better price at Raipur.

Asked as to why the traditional occupation of fishing is left, Shiv Kewat said that fishing was an unpredictable and uncertain economic pursuit. 'On some day when you cannot go out to market,



The Village Bullock-cart.


Nawadih


VILLAGE BENDRI
BHUTAHA NALA
Brahmin
Rawat
Kermi
Panka
Gorkha
Kewat

you get a lot of them and when you are in need, you do not get anything. What is the use in pursuing this activity'. Another Kewat said, 'After working the whole day sometimes we get just enough for our own consumption. But here in vegetable gardening and cultivation, there is a positive return. You work and you get. Your labours are not wasted as in fishing.'

It is for this reason that the Kewats have left fishing and taken to cultivation and vegetable gardening and now big fishing nets are not seen in Bendri. The Kewats have got small nets which one man can throw and they go out fishing when there is nothing else to do or on the market day at Urla or when they project a trip to Raipur. At other times the females go to the river and try to catch whatever they can for the meals.

Pankas.—The traditional occupation of the Pankas is weaving; but the Panka family here is that of the village watchman and he does not follow this occupation any more.

Household industries, etc.—There is no other household industry in the village. The Kewats prepare their own fishing net, but they do not prepare it for sale. The net is prepared first by winding the thread and then weaving it. For weaving they use bamboo sticks. Winding and weaving are done by the males in their leisure time.

Village settlement and dwelling places.—Total area of the village Bendri is 652·70 acres, but the total area under *Abadi* (settlement) is only 5·45 acres. On the basis of settlement area, the density of population per acre in the village is 53 persons but taking the total area into account the density of population in the village comes to be 1 person in every 2 acres.

The village has two settlements—the original settlement or the *Junapara* (Bendri proper) and Nawadih. The latter *para* of the village was settled in 1949 because of the danger by the flood in the old settlement. In spite of this danger, however, majority of the residents have preferred to stay on at the old site and only 22 houses have been constructed in the Nawadih area. Nawadih still lacks the appearance of a village settlement. It gives a rather barren and deserted appearance, though the houses there are bigger than those in the old site. *Junapara* presents the sight of a real village and on approaching it one really feels that he is reaching a village.

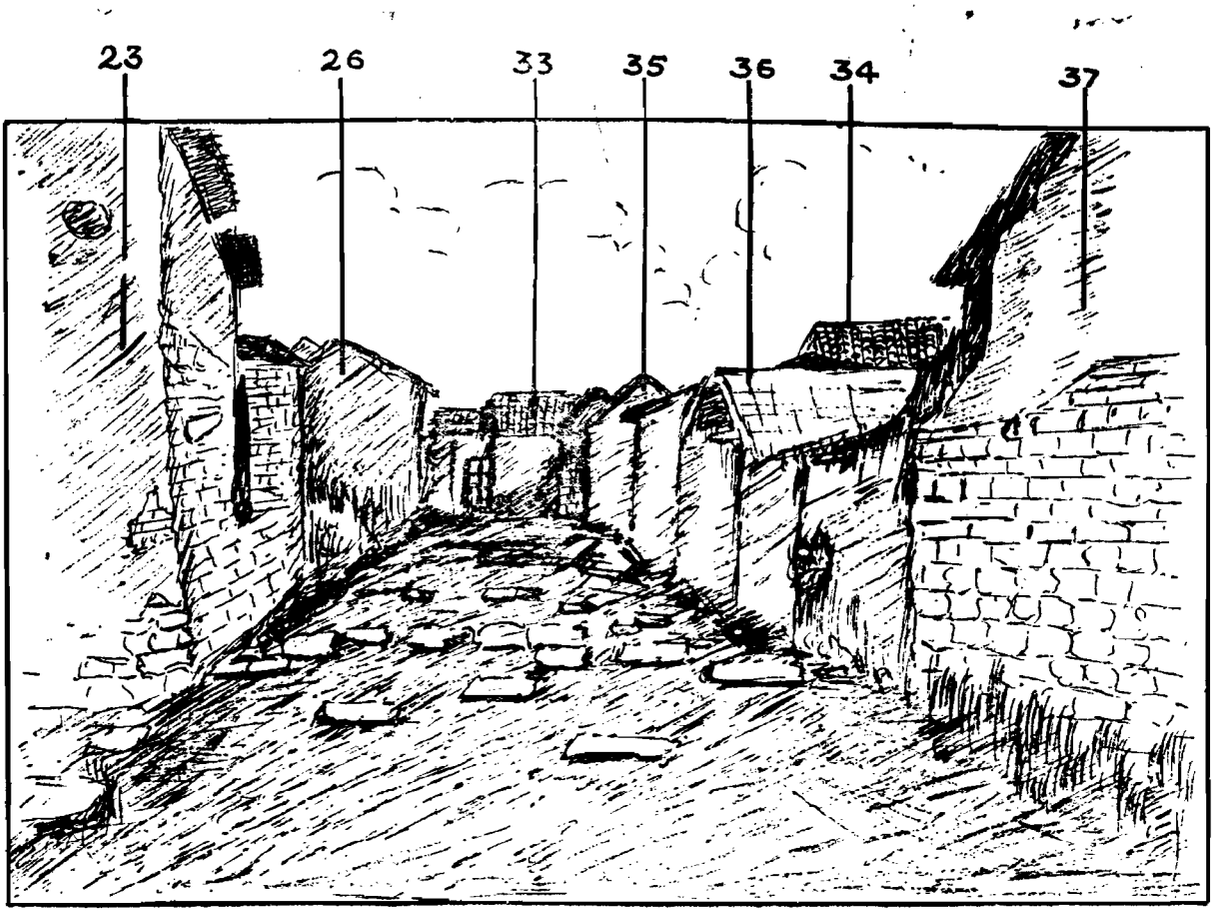
The houses are constructed on the two sides of the village street or lane and there is no particular custom regarding the placing of the front door. Irrespective of direction the front door always faces the road and, as situated, most of the houses in *Junapara* face east-west.

Raipur District Gazetteer describes village houses in the District as below:

"Every Chhattisgarh family, however poor, has at least two separate huts, one of which serves as a cooking and sleeping place and the other as a store-house for grain or fuel, a place for pounding rice and a guest chamber. These huts are surrounded by some kind of wall or hedge. If the family is well-to-do, it has a large number of huts; and as the married members increase, it becomes necessary to increase the number of sleeping places.....It is not uncommon to permit one or more farm labourers to construct their huts within the family enclosure. And an enclosure may thus contain only one family or several distinct families, either cognate or unrelated. The houses of landed proprietors who live in their villages are now usually large and commodious.....Practically all the houses have a courtyard which is kept clean and smooth.....The walls of the yard which may be about 30'×20' are of mud, and are usually about 4' high. They are covered with thatch in the rains. Most houses have only a gate of bamboos and the doors are not secured by locks."

Except the cattle-shed, the houses in this village have doors made of wood. No particular room is earmarked for a guest in the house. More or less every house in *Junapara* has an enclosure or *bari*, where vegetable, etc., is sown. The village has a number of trees of *munga*. It supplies the household with the vegetable and also fetches good price from Raipur. Other trees in the village (old site) are *neem*, tamarind, and *peepal*. The *peepal* trees are outside the village and under both the trees a deity has been installed. On the banks of the river, *Shiv-ling* is installed under the *peepal* tree on a platform and under the other tree is situated the *Mata-dewala*.

The *Junapara* of Bendri has a common meeting place where the old and young alike assemble and spend their time. It is at this place that the visitor may sit and meet all the villagers. The meeting place is nothing but a little open space in the east of village settlement and situated in its margin. Here stands a young *bargad* (*Ficus bengalensis*) tree and



A View of the Longest street in the Village

No. 23	Nizam Prasad	Brahmin
26	Leela	Kewat
33	Bakharnin	Kewat
35	Ramdin	Kurmi
36	Somnath	Rawat
34	Firangi	Kewat
37	Hirasing	Rawat

the villagers have constructed a high circular platform around it. Near from here is a *Neem* tree which also serves as a place to sit beneath it. No such meeting place as yet come up in Nawadih and there the people meet in the courtyard of Raru Kewat or go and sit at Asaram Patel's house.

In general, the houses of all the communities are of the same type. They are either made of mud or stone and the roof is usually tiled. The doors are low and either there are no windows or very small ones. There is no place in the house for bathing and no lavatory exists. In size, however, the houses of different communities differ. The Brahmins have bigger and better constructed houses in *Junapara*. The tiles for roofing are brought from Raipur or Kumhari village near Raipur. The cattle-sheds as well as some of the living rooms are covered with thatching grass. Most of the residents have their own houses. Eight households, however, live in rented houses and a nominal rent of Rs. 2 to 5 per month is paid to the owner.

Living conditions in the village are far from satisfactory and most of the households live in one or two rooms. There is only one house in the whole village which has four living rooms, but the number of members in this household is 14. In general, about 3 persons live in one room which is 8-10 feet square and the living space per member hardly comes to be 33-34 sq. feet. Every house has a separate structure for the cattle and this shed is constructed within the houses often by the side of the living room. The cattle-sheds are by no means clean.

Construction of houses:— No designs are prepared before constructing a house and it is not usual to consult a priest before laying the foundation. In cases of small and mud-walled houses the household does not engage any labourer, but the members themselves construct them. But in cases of stone-walled houses, assistance has got to be taken from professional ***mistries*** or ***Ladiyas*** as they are called.

The foundation in Bendri has to be quite deep and as much as about 4 feet. This is because of the *kanhar* soil which does not offer good foundation. The foundation is filled with mud or stone as the case may be. If the house is of mud, then lumps of mud are placed one over the other on the wall and the women members do the planing. The mud is prepared by putting some *pirousi* or paddy-husk and then preparing the mixture with water. This process is known as *machana*. Mixing of earth, *pirousi* and water is done by women by foot. A little more water is put first and after the first mixing, it is left for some time to dry. Second mixing is then done when the excess water evaporates and the mixture is then ready for use. In stone-walled houses, the stones are laid one over another and cemented with mud.

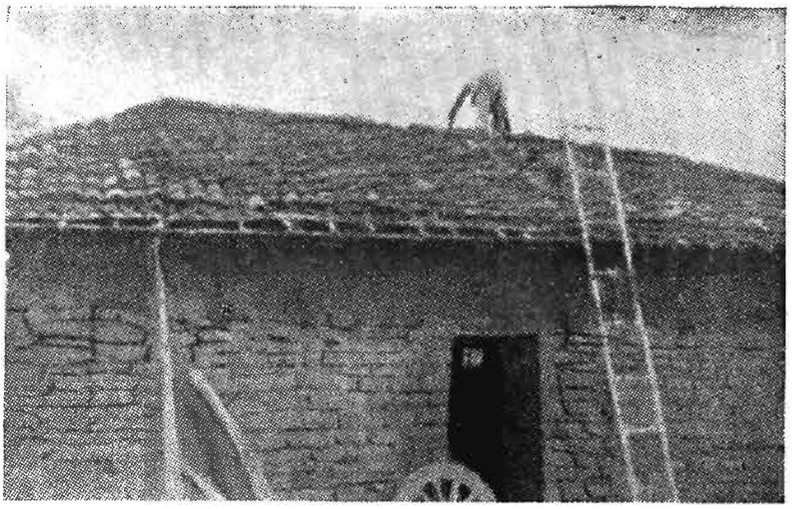
Height of the walls in this village is about 6' and thickness is about a foot. There are two types of roofs: in one type the tiling is done only on two sides and the roof slants on the two sides from the central beam. This is the ordinary type of roof as shown below. In the other type, known as *Choukadi*, the roof is on all the four sides. The villagers opine that the *choukadi* type of tiling is a better kind of roof but it involves more cost and labour.

In the rainy season the mud-walls are protected by a mat of stems of *rahar* plant woven together in a criss-cross manner. This woven piece is known as *Jhankari* and it shields the wall from the showers of rain. The roofs of the houses are repaired after the first one or two showers of rain. New plaster of mud is given after the rain is over. The house-floor is washed with cow-dung and bordered with solution of white-clay. External walls are washed with white clay after first giving them a coat of cow-dung solution.

The cost of houses in Bendri ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 4,000. Raru Kewat of Nawadih has the biggest house in the village and the cost of his house approximates to Rs. 4,000. Asaram Patel has also a big house in Nawadih costing Rs. 3,000. But leaving these exceptional cases apart, the Kewats and the



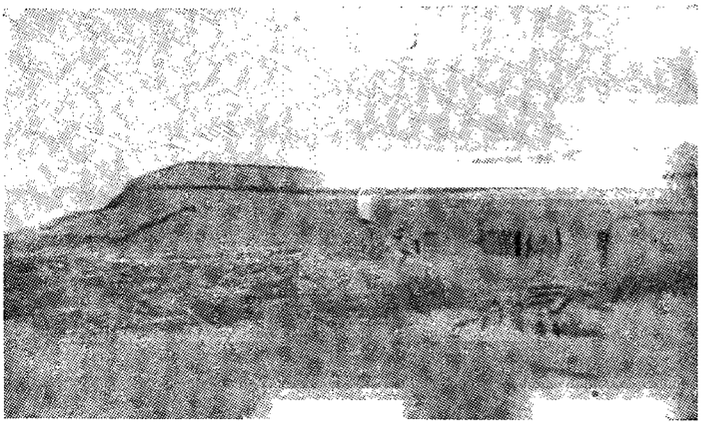
ROOF TYPES



ROOF TILING



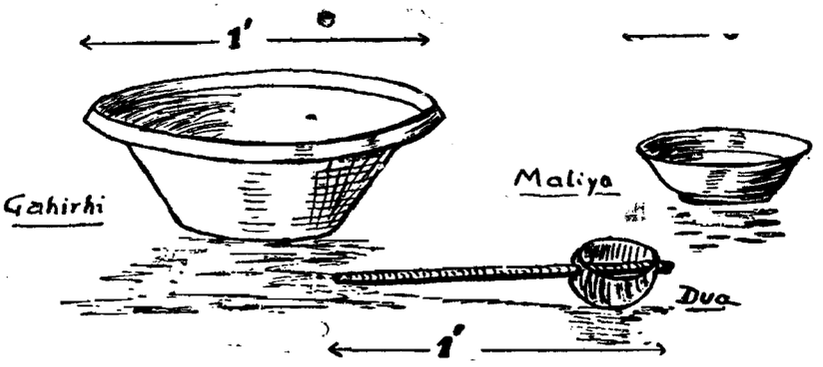
THE LONGEST STREET IN BENDRI



HOUSE OF RARU KEWAT (A HIGH INCOME GROUP HOUSE)

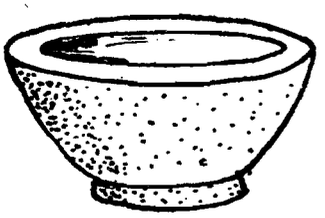


STREET-SCENE OF NAWADIH



Rawats have houses of costs ranging from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500. One-roomed house of approximately 10'×10' dimension and constructed of mud takes about Rs. 100 for construction.

Household possessions.—Each house has two or three *chulhas* made of earth for cooking. Rice is cooked in earthen pots and so is the pulse or *dal*. The eating utensil is a big, deep bell-metalled plate known as *sekami* or *gahirhi*; it is a shallow plate of about 12" diameter. *Dal* or vegetable curry is taken in a small plate of similar shape made of bell-metal. This plate is known as *maliya*. The *dal* or curry is stirred and taken out with a big spoon, called *dua*. It is made out of a coconut shell and fitted with a bamboo handle. All these utensils are purchased from the Raipur market. Dishes called *thari* are also used in some households, but for *basi* eating *sekami* is more convenient.



Gorsi



Haula

Water is stored in earthen pots of black colour. For bringing water from the river, brass vessels known as *haula* are used. Vessel of a smaller dimension is simiarly called *hauli*.

There is nothing in the shape of furniture in the houses. The *ex*-proprietor has one or two folding and crude type of chairs. Visitors are offered cots to sit upon. The cots are the same as seen elsewhere, but the size is somewhat smaller. During winter some fire placed in an earthen pot is kept below the cot for warmth. This pot known as *gorsi* is prepared by the women out of mud.

For protection against rain, the villagers use *khumri* which is a conical bamboo work and covered with leaves of *tendu* (Diospyros melanoxylon). The leaves are intersewn with the bamboo-work. The *khumri* is put like a hat on the head, but the traditional *khumri* has now got a competitor in the umbrella. There are five households in Bendri village where there are neither *khumris* nor umbrellas. Forty households possess fifty-three *khumris*; and thirty-one umbrellas distributed into twenty-four households have been noted during the survey. Asaram Patel (Kewat) also possesses a waterproof (rain-coat). There is only one torch and one cycle in the village and both of these modern items are possessed by Shiv Prasad Kewat.

In the rainy season some of the villagers wear special country-made shoes known as *chikhlahi juta* (mud-shoe). It is in the shape of pump-shoe and is purchased by the people from Urla or Birgaon markets. As stated in a preceding reference, *bhadai* shoe is used on other occasions. Country blanket of black colour is also used as a protection in the rain. It is thrown on the back and tied into a knot in front. Wear of this blanket is specially popular with the Rawats.

The grain is stored in a big earthen vessel known as *kothi*. This vessel is mostly prepared by, the women in the house. For dehusking the paddy, the villagers use *dheki* and almost every household has a *dheki* installed in one of the rooms. *Dheki* works on the principle of lever and the women press one end of it with a foot and then relieve the pressure.

Food habits.—In general, the food habits of the people are more or less common. As elsewhere in the rice-growing tract of Chhattisgarh, rice is the staple food of the people. The commonest preparation of rice is *Basi* which means 'left overnight'. In the evening the rice is cooked and eaten with pulse and

chatni or some vegetable curry. Usually the quantity of rice cooked is double the normal requirement for a meal. After the meal, the remaining portion of cooked rice is put in an earthen pot and covered with water. This cooked rice, soaked in water, is left over for the night and next day in the morning the people eat it with salt and chillies mixture and drink the water in which it is kept. It is said that *basi* is a very refreshing diet for this region and keeps the system cool.

Another preparation of rice is *pej*. The rice is cooked in the same way as ordinary rice, but the water is not allowed to dry up completely so that the product is a mixture of water and rice. The *pej* is eaten when hot and is given to the convalescing people. The food of the Brahmins of the village does not differ in material detail from that of the Kewats and the Rawats and the use of *basi* is common in their houses also, though they deny it at such enquiries in order to show a higher social status.

The pulses used are *rahar* (*arhar*), *moong*, *urad* and *masoor*. Vegetables are grown in their gardens and not much is spent on vegetables. Whe asking each other about the meal, the women invariably say: *Ka sag khaye has* ? (What curry have you eaten?) In fact, this is the first question that a woman in this village and other villages of Chhattisgarh would put to the other woman on meeting her after meals. The Kewats are a fishing community and fish is a common item in the diet. They ordinarily take the small fish *chingri machchhi* (shrimp or prawn) and keep the bigger fishes for sale.

Festivals bring about a change in the monotony of food. At the festivals or at the times of marriage, the households prepare *Sunhari* which are the same as the *puris*, *i.e.* thin cakes of flour fried in oil. The flour used is wheat but ordinarily rice flour is also used. *Bara* is another common item of food prepared at the time of festivals, etc. It is the preparation of *urad* pulse which is soaked in water, ground to a paste and then small cakes of it are fried in oil. *Thethari* is prepared out of gram-flour. The gram-flour is made into dough with water and salt to taste. The dough is then made in the shape of thin sticks as thick as the little finger and the pieces of it, about 1 inch to 2 inches, are cut and after giving them a little twist, put in oil for being fried. *Thethari* can also be prepared out of wheat-flour. *Khurmi* is prepared out of wheat-flour and sweetened with *gur*. Little rectangular pieces or rectangular one inch to two inch long sticks are made and then they are fried in oil.

On the festival days like *Jawaras* or in marriage, mutton is prepared. Mutton is less eaten than chicken. Reason for this is purely economic one.

The people, except the very old ones or the Brahmins who do not undertake as much labour as the Kewats and the Rawats, take 3 meals a day. In the morning is eaten the *basi* and the males go out to work. In the noon *basi* is again taken either in the field itself or on returning home. In the night at about 7-8 p.m. they take the *pej* or rice-*dal*-curry.

The diet necessarily predominates in starch and proteinous food as *dal* or meat or fish; but fat is consumed in a negligible quantity. Milk is given to the children or it is converted into curd and is not taken by the grown-ups. *Ghee* is not taken at all except on the festival days or on the visit of some guest when the host would say to his wife: "*Dar ma ghiv debe* (Put *ghee* in the pulse).

INCOME, EXPENDITURE AND INDEBTEDNESS

Income.—Village Bendri has a predominantly agricultural economy and, in general, the greatest income is from agricultural sources. After keeping the yearly requirements for consumption and the seed for next year's sowing, the excess harvest is sold in Raipur Ganj market and it is the income from this transaction that is regarded as income from agricultural sources in this Survey. The Kewats get substantial income from their vegetable crops also. Working in other's fields is another source of income. In the following table the average monthly income of the different communities is shown :

Community	Income in rupees from				
	Agriculture	Labour	Other sources	Service	Total
Kewat ..	675	1,940	995	490	4,100
Rawat ..	30	260	..	60	350
Brahmin	545	..	75	100	720
Kurmi ..	100	..	15	..	115
Panka ..	10	..	45	60	115
Gorkha ..	10	..	..	150	160
Total ..	**1,370**	**2,200**	**1,130**	**860**	**5,560**

Expenditure.—The main item of expenditure of the Kewats, Brahmins and Kurmis is over means of production, but among the Rawats the main item of expenditure is over clothing. The following table illustrates the monthly expenditure of different communities:

Items of Expenditure	Caste				
	Brahmin	Kurmi	Rawat	Kewat	Panka
1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Conventional necessities ..	2·00	..	4·00	86·00	2·00
2. Intoxicants	..	..	..	2·50	..
3. Fuel and lighting	21·00	2·00	12·00	145·50	..
4. Clothing	45·00	10·00	40·00	492·00	4·00
5. Education	20·00	3·00	6·00	6·00	10·00
6. Medicines	9·50	2·50	5·00	102·25	8·00
7. Over means of production ..	233·00	33·00	12·00	668·00	1·00
8. Fodder	..	..	..	32·00	4·00
9. Social obligations	7·00	1·00	3·00	60·50	5·00
10. Other domestic utilities ..	12·00	1·00	7·00	136·50	5·00
11. Dwelling	10·00	2·00	6·00	102·00	2·00
12. Religious	10·00	1·00	2·50	27·50	2·00
13. Recreation	..	..	..	..	2·00
14. Others	..	..	5·00	98·50	3·00

Though in a village, the residents have to undergo quite an amount of hardship in securing fuel. Because of the scarcity of trees, fuel wood is purchased and this purchase records the high expenditure under this item. On the average practically nothing is spent on 'recreation'.

Indebtedness.—Bendri is self-sufficient in the requirement of its agricultural seed and the people keep the requirement in advance. No indebtedness, therefore, occurs on that account. But on the occasional celebrations like birth of a son or a marriage in the family, purchase of plough, cattle or repair of the house, the villagers have to take loan. The burden of debt in this village is shown in the statement below :

Community	Total No. of households	No.of house-holds in debt	% of house-holds in debt	Amount of debt since 1958	Debt repaid	Balance outstanding at the time of survey
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kewat	48	14	29	1,842·00	240·00	1,602·00
Rawat	3	3	100	275·00	..	275·00
Brahmin	3	2	67	750·00	270·00	480·00
Kurmi	2	..	0	..	..	..
Panka	1	..	0	..	..	..
Gorkha	1	..	0	..	..	..
**Total .. .. ..

Yearwise burden of this debt of Rs. 2,867 is as below :

Year	Amount of debt taken
1958	500·00
1959	995·00
1960	587·00
1961	785·00
Total ..	**2,867·00**

The villagers utilised this debt mostly for purchasing plough, cattle, cart or for repair of house. Celebrations like marriage and birth were the second important items on which the amount taken in debt was utilised. Approximately ten percent of the amount was utilised on clothing and food. Utilisation of debt by the villagers is shown in the below given statement :

Items of expenditure	Amount	Per cent	Households of the communities in debt		
			Kewat	Rawat	Brahmin
Purchase of bullocks	1,450·00	50·6	3	..	2
Marriage	750·00	26·2	3	1	..
Clothing and food	292·00	10·2	3	..	..
Land and house	220·00	7·6	3	1	..
Cart	100·00	3·5	1	..	..
To pay fine	30·00	1·0	1	..	..
Birth of child	25·00	0·9	..	1	..
Total ..	**2,867·00**	**100·0**	**14**	**3**	**2**

It would be seen from the Tables that the Rawats are the greatest in debt in asmuch as that all the three households in the village are indebted. It is further clear that the Kewats have taken debts for all sorts of items ranging from payment of fine to the purchase of bullocks and celebration of life-rituals; the Brahmins have taken debt only to purchase plough-bullocks and the Rawats have taken debt for celebrating child-birth and marriage and only in one case, (*i.e.* 33%) has the debt been taken for house-repair.

SOURCES OF DEBT

Community	Total households in debt	Debt raised from village itself house holds	Debt raised from Raipur town households	Debt from outside the District households	Whether mortgaged anything : household or property
Kewat	14	11	1	2	..
Rawat	3	2	..	1	$4\frac{1}{5}$ acres.
Brahmin	2	1	..	1	..
Total ..	**19**	**14**	**1**	**4**	..

Thus 70% of the debt is got from within the village. The debt is given by a Brahmin widow. Next source of debt is from outside the district, from nearby villages of Durg District.

CHAPTER VII

Religion, Festivals, Rites, Beliefs and Superstitions

Religion.—The religion of a people consists of beliefs and rites. In villages situated within the influence-zones of towns like Raipur, these beliefs and rites necessarily undergo change and because of adoption of new beliefs and new rites, the religion of a people now in such a village may not be able to give a correct picture of the religious thought of each people or caste.

People in Bendri as a whole believe in supernatural spirits. One such common spirit, according to them, is *Raksa* which haunts cremation and burial grounds and is seen in the form of burning lights. It is said that sometimes the *Raksa* obstructs the path in the night and in such cases it is not safe to cross it.

Other supernatural spirits which the villagers make out are *Shaitan*, *Bhoot* and *Pret* and among the female spirits *Churelin* and *Pretin*. But except the *Raksa*, they are not able to give any description of these spirits and nobody in the village has any experience of spirits.

It is vaguely believed that males dying unnatural death like by burning, drowning, etc. become *Pret*. A woman dying untimely death becomes *Pretin* whereas a woman dying during child-birth becomes *Churelin*.

People also believe in black art for *tona* and in the past there used to be great number of *tonhins* in the Chhattisgarh villages. The *tonhins* were considered to be responsible for spreading diseases like cholera and smallpox. There are no *tonhins* in village Bendri now, it is believed.

Omens and superstitions are commonly believed and the common superstitions in the village are :

(*i*) If there is a hiccup at the time of taking meals, it is believed that somebody is remembering.

(*ii*) While walking, if a stone is hit, it is believed that somebody has abused.

(*iii*) A sneeze at the time of setting on a journey or starting a good work is taken to be inauspicious.

(*iv*) Sight of a full pitcher in front while setting on a journey or starting a work is lucky.

In addition to these superstitions which are common among other castes, the Kewats hold another superstition. If, while they are going with their net for fishing, somebody asks as to where they are going, they take it to be very inauspicious and return home.

The Poojas.—Because of the influence of the Brahmins and, it appears, because of the propaganda of the *Pandits* to increase their clientele, the *Satya Narayan ki Pooja* has become common in the village and, apart from the Brahmins, the Kurmis, the Rawats and the Kewats have started holding these *Kathas* in their houses.

Satya Narayan ki Katha is recited in a different way in the village. It is read out in a rather singsong manner with nobody understanding what the *Pandit* says but he emphasises the bad effects of refusing the *Prasad* and the good effects of holding the *Katha*. The *Katha* does not entail any big expenditure but can be celebrated within an amount of Rs. 5 or so. Since the *Satya Narayan Katha* is a common *Pooja* all over, a detailed description is not being given here.

Religious ceremonial calendar.—Different castes in the village have different festivals which are celebrated with great pomp and show by that caste. But everybody participates in the celebration of festivals of other castes, *e.g. Jawara*, which is essentially a festival of the Rawats, is celebrated at Raipur in such a magnitude that villagers from round about come there and it becomes a problem for those in charge of Law and Order to maintain peace and prevent anti-social crimes.

The religious calendar of different castes of the village can be tabulated as under :

Calendar month	Brahmins	Kurmis	Rawats	Kewats	Pankas
1	2	3	4	5	6
January	Makar Sankrant	..	..	..	..
February	Sivratri	..	..	..	..
March	Holi	Holi	Jawara	Jawara	..
April	Ram Navmi	..	..	..	..
May	Brat-Savitri	..	..	..	..
June	..	..	..	..	..
July	Rath-Yatra	..	..	..	..
August	Hareli	..	..	..	..
September	..	..	..	..	..
October	Diwali	Diwali	Goverdhan Pooja, Jawara.	Jawara	..
November	..	..	..	..	..
December	..	..	..	..	..

Jawara.—*Jawara* is the important festival in the village being celebrated by the Kewats and the Rawats. Actually these people do not celebrate the festival in the village, but go to Raipur and spend their time there.

Russell[1] has described *Jawara* in his description of the Kurmi caste but the Kurmis in this village do not celebrate this festival and regard it as a festival of Rawats and Kewats. It cannot be stated with any certainty whether denial of this festival as theirs is an attempt on the part of the Kurmis to rise in caste-hierarchy. The description of the festival as given by Russell is reproduced here *in extenso.*

"The sowings of the *Jawaras*, corresponding to the garden of Adonis, takes place during the first nine days of the months of *Kunwar* and *Chait* (September and March). The former is a nine days' fast preceding the *Dasahra* festival and it is supposed that the Goddess Devi was during this time employed in fighting the buffalo-demon (*Bhainsasur*) whom she slew on the tenth day. The latter is a nine days' fast at the new year, preceding the triumphant entry of Rama into Ayodhya on the tenth day on his return from Ceylon (Lanka). The first period comes before the sowing of the spring crop of wheat and other grains and the second is at the commencement of the harvest of the same crop. In some localities the *Jawara* are also grown a third time in the rains, probably as a preparation for the *juari*-sowings, as *juari* is planted in the baskets or 'gardens' at this time. On the first day, a small room is cleared and whitewashed and is known as *Diwala* or temple. Some earth is brought from the fields and mixed with manure in a basket and a male member of the family sows wheat in it, bathing before he does so. The basket is kept in the *Diwala* and the same man attends on it throughout the nine days, fasting all days, and eating only milk and fruit at night.....During the period of nine days, called the *Navratra*, the plants are watered and long stalks spring up. On the eighth day, the *Hom* or the fire-offering is performed and the *Gunias* or devotees are possessed by Devi. On the evening of the ninth day the women, putting on their best clothes, walk out of the houses with the pots of grain on their heads, singing songs in praise of Devi. The men accompany them beating drums and cymbals. The devotees pierce their cheek with long iron-needles and walk in the procession. High-caste women who cannot go themselves, hire the barber's or waterman's wife to go for them. The pots are taken to a tank and thrown in, the stalks of grain being kept and distributed as a mark of amity. The wheat which is sown in *Kunwar* gives a forecast of the spring crops. A plant is pulled out and the return of the crop will be the same number of times the seed as it has roots. The woman who gets to the tank first counts the number of plants in her pot and this gives the price of wheat in rupees per *mani*. Sometimes marks of red rust appear on the plants and this shows that the crop will suffer from rust. The ceremony performed in *Chait* is said to be a sort of harvest thanksgiving."

The above description shows that *Jawara* is an agricultural festival but then why the Kurmis of this village have not returned it as theirs is a little surprising. The *Jawara* as celebrated in the village is described below :

Jawaras are sown in the name of the Devi in the *Navratra*. Head of the household keeps fast for the day and takes only fruit in the evening. *Akhand Jyoti* or perpetual light is burnt at the *Jawara* in the name of Devi.

Wheat, Gram, *Urad*, Paddy, *Rahar, Masoor, Jav,* and *Til* are sown in a pot full of earth and over this is placed the lighted lamp. Every night songs are sung in the praise of the Devi. On the eighth day, the Pandit performs the *Hom* ceremony. On the ninth day sacrifice of a goat is made and only the family members share the meat. If somebody wants to give the meat to others also, he sacrifices another goat and the meat of this is distributed. After the sacrifice the pot is carried by a married woman and to the accompaniment of music and devotional songs is taken to the tank.

Some people show some erratic signs which is known as *Devi Chadhna.* They start beating their bodies or piercing their tongues: it is said that *Sakti* enters their body.

It is out of the scope of the present work to describe the common festivals of *Holi, Diwali, Sivratri,* etc.

FAMILY GODS AND DEITIES

Brahmin (3)	Kurmi (2)	Rawat (3)	Kewat (48)	Panka (1)
Vishnu Bhagwan(3)	Krishna Bhagwan(2) Dulaha Deo (2)	Dulaha Deo (3)	Dulaha Deo (45) Satyanam Kabir(1) Budha Deo (1) Satti Deo (1)	Satyanam Kabir (1)

1. **Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Russell and Hiralal, Vol. IV, p. 82-83.**

Russell[1] has described that Kurmis worship Dulaha Deo. In this village, however, the two Kurmi families assert that their family god is Shree Krishna.

Dulaha Deo.—Dulaha Deo is the family god of the Kewats and the Rawats. According to Russell's description "Dulaha Deo is another godling whose shrine is in every village. He was a young bridegroom who was carried off by a tiger on his way to his wedding, or, according to another account, was turned into a stone pillar by a flash of lightning. Before the starting of a wedding procession, the members go to Dulaha Deo and offer a pair of shoes and a miniature post and marriage crown. On their return they offer a coconut. Dulaha Deo has a stone and a platform to the east of the village or occasionally an image of a man on horseback....."[2]

In the Raipur District Gazetteer[3] Dulaha Deo is described as the deity of the Rawats only; but, apart from the Rawats, the Kewats and the Kurmis also believe in Dulaha Deo in this village. But nobody is able to tell the details about Dulaha Deo. A very mixed-up and concocted story was told by one villager. According to it, a young bridegroom returning with the bride was attacked by the Mohammedans during the Mughal Period but he fought valiantly and defeated the attackers. But questioned as to how then he became a godling and came to be worshipped, no answer was forthcoming. The story given by Russell is the correct story; but the villagers do not remember it.

Sacrifice to Dulaha Deo is made after marriage. The first thing that the bridegroom's father or guardian does after returning home is to sacrifice a goat or a cock in the name of Dulaha Deo and similar sacrifice is made on the birth of the first child, but not on subsequent births. It is said that the Brahmins also pay homage to Dulaha Deo, but, instead of sacrifices they break coconut.

The image of Dulaha Deo is described as a rider on horseback made of clay; but no image is kept in this village and the sacrifice is made in the name of the godling.

1. Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Russell and Hiralal, Vol. IV, p. 82.
2. *Itid*, p. 82.
3. Raipur District Gazetteer, 1909, p. 98.

Satti Deo.—One Kewat family returned Satti Deo as the family god but neither he nor anybody else in the village was able to tell any legend or belief about this godling. It was said that this has come down from the elders but it was said that the worship may have come down after some *Sati* event in that family. Practice of *Sati* amongst the Kewats is, however, very unlikely and, as far as the village is concerned, the significance of Satti Deo remains untraced. No other Kewat or Rawat family believes in Satti Deo.

Burha Deo.—One Kewat family stated Burha Deo to be its family god. Burha Deo is a Gond godling and it is not known as to how it came to be the family god of this particular household. There is no image or symbol through which some conjectures could be made nor does the family have any idea of reverence for *Saja* (Boswellia serrata) tree[1].

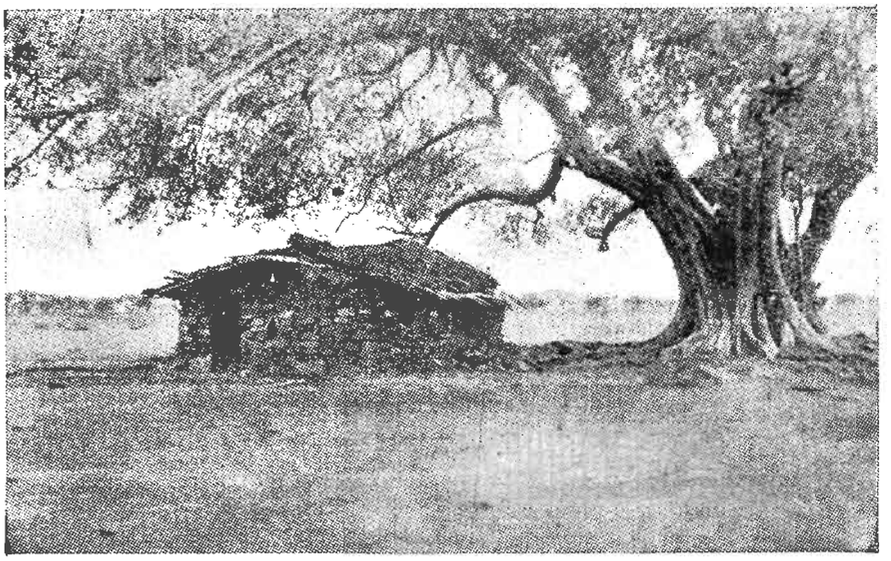
Satyanam Kabir.—The Panka family belongs to the Kabir-panth sect; but there is one Kewat family also in this village which has adopted Kabir-panth as its religion. The Kabir-panth is the path of religion started by Saint Kabir who, according to Bishop Westcott, lived in A. D. 1440-1518, and, according to Crookes, flourished between 1488-1512[2]. The Pankas of Chhattisgarh subscribe to the Damekheda branch of the sect. The Kabir-panthis do not touch meat, fish and liquor and the identifying mark of the panth is the *Kanthi* or the nacklace of beads which they wear round their neck.

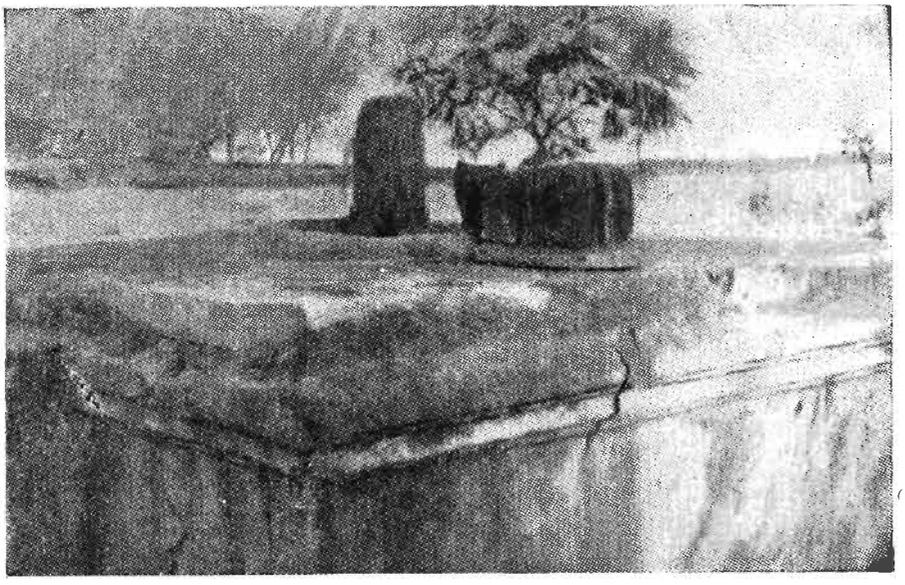
The religious service of the Kabir-panthis is called *Chauka* or *Chauka-Arti*. The name *Chauka* is in use because of the rectangular space marked out for it with lines of wheat-flour. Usually the dimensions are 5 to 7½ feet square. In the centre is made a pattern of nine lotus flowers to represent the Sun, the Moon and the seven planets. At one corner of the *Chauka* is put a small hollow pillar of dough serving as a candle-stick and a stick covered with cotton-wool burns as a lamp.

The *Chauka* ceremony is conducted by the Kabir-panthi *mahant* who is invited for the ceremony with his assistant known as *diwan*. There are many such subordinate *mahants* and they have got their separate jurisdiction.

1. The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Russell and Hiralal, Vol. III pp. 102-103.
2. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 232 (1916).

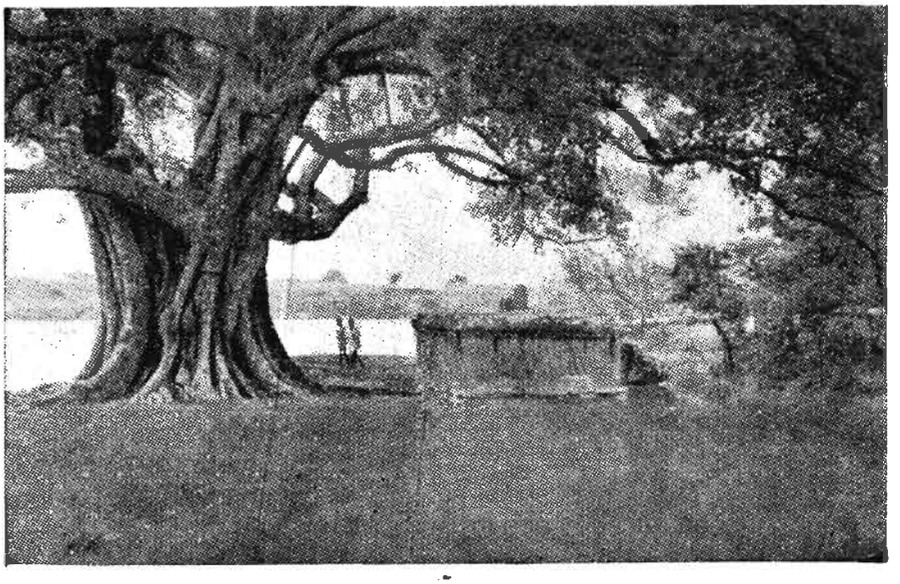
MATA-DEWALA





CLOSER VIEW OF SIV-LING

SIV-LING



In the ceremony, the *mahant* sits at one end and the worshippers sit around. *Bhajans* or religious compositions of Kabir are then sung and name of Kabir is repeated being counted on the *Kanthi* or beads. *Arti* ceremony, same as in the Hindu *poojas*, is then held and the *mahant* then breaks the coconut and distributes it as *prasad*. After this a religious talk by the *mahant* follows.

The next half of the ceremony consists in mixing the dough, on which the candle was burning, and the coconut and small *puris* are prepared. The *mahan* has a number of betel-leaves known as *parwana* (message) from the Head Guru and also the *chara namrita* or the water in which feet of the Head Guru have been dipped. This *charanamrita, parwana* and the small *puris* are then distributed by the *mahant*.

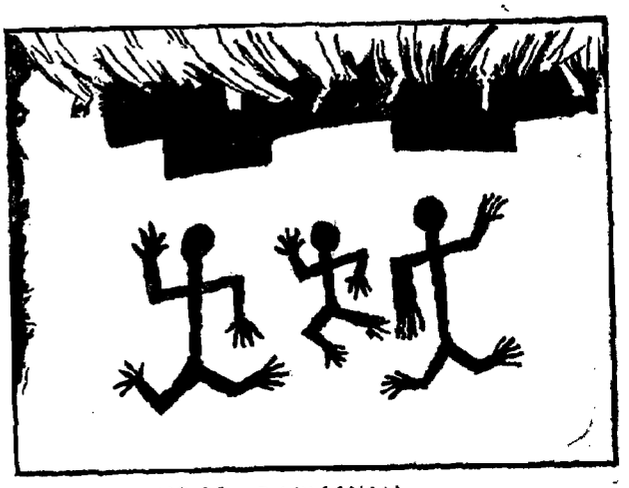
The *Chauka* ceremony is necessarily done at the time of marriage and after death. But it may also be got conducted at the time of child-birth.

One Kewat has adopted Kabir-panth. He was initiated after one such *Chauka* ceremony and given a *mantra* (text for daily repetition) by the *mahant*.

Mata-Dewala.—In the old settlement, outside the village and under an old *peepal* tree, is built a small one-roomed structure. This is known as *Mata-Dewala* and some villagers (the Brahmins) referred to this as *Mahamaya-ka-Mandir*. This is evidently an innovation and *Mahamaya* or no *Mahamaya*, the structure represents the abode of village goddess who is remembered only at the time of distress or at the *Jawara*. At other times nobody cares to visit the building for any offering, etc., and the Brahmins are quite indifferent to it. They stated that for the care and upkeep of the building and for performing daily worship of the goddess they had appointed a *Baiga*. This *Baiga* is Katik Kewat of Nawadih who comes here once a while and does the worship, etc. He represents the entire village before the goddess.

The Siv-Ling.—Between the village and the river Kharoon is a *peepal* tree and a *chabutra* has been constructed there. On this *chabutra* is installed a Siv-Ling and an image of Nandi. The *Baiga*, Katik, looks after this also and removes the leaves, etc. from the *chabutra*. At the time of floods, the *chabutra* is submerged.

Idea about Hindu Gods and Goddesses.—The villagers (the Kewats and the Rawats) have heard the name of various Hindu gods and goddesses like Brahma, Vishnu, Mahadeo, Ganesh, Krishna, etc.; but they know no more than this and sometimes loudly repeat the name of any of these, *e.g. Jai Mahadeo Bhag* or sometimes they make reference to all of these, *e.g. Jai Shankar Bhagwan Ganesh Vishnu Parvati*.



NO.22 SAWANIYA

Chaurasi Devi and Jaldewati.—Russell has mentioned that "the Kewats worship the ordinary Hindu deities and believe that a special goddess, Chaurasi Devi, dwells in their boats and keeps them from sinking. She is propitiated at the beginning of the rains and in time of flood and an image of her is painted on their boats."

The Kewats of village Bendri have never heard of the name of Chaurasi Devi nor had the oldest member ever heard his father referring to this goddess. The Kewats of Bendri do not have boats and it is, therefore, likely that the description given by Russell may be referring to that section of the Kewats who are professional oarsmen.

Bendri Kewats, however, take the name of another goddess known as *Jaldewati*, who is believed to be a goddess of water. The Kewats do not perform any sacrifice nor any worship is prescribed to propitiate this goddess nor is it known as to in what form is the wrath of this deity exhibited. The name of the deity is remembered before they throw the net in the water.

Enquiries about family deities were made from some Kewats in other areas of Raipur and names of such deities as Nammu Deota, Thakur Deo, Satti Deo, Dulaha Deo and Kankalin were got. But Nammu Deo, Thakur Deo and Kankalin are not worshipped or regarded as deities in Bendri village.

OTHER RELIGIOUS RITES

Sawaniya.—Before the onset of *Sawan* month, the houses are washed with *chhuhi*, etc., and on the outside of all the walls crude designs of human forms are painted with cow-dung. In the cattle-shed a cow-dung cake is hung.[1] These human designs on the walls and the hanging of the cow-dung cake is called *Sawaniya* and it is believed that it prevents disease in the cattle during *Sawan* month.

Hareli Amavasya.—On the morning of *Hareli Amavasya*, each cattle-owning household prepares balls of wheat-flour dough in roughly one and a half times in proportion to the number of cattle and then these balls are taken to the *Daihan*. There two to four balls are given to the grazier and the cattle are fed with the rest. Almost the whole village goes to the *Daihan* (place where village cattle assemble) and these balls are given to the cattle.

Khirka Deo.—*Khirka* in Chhattisgarhi dialect means an assembly of cattle. *Khirka Deo* is the deity who protects the cattle from diseases. This deity is propitiated by the Rawats in Rawat-predominant villages of Chhattisgarh. But in Bendri there are only three families and they do not pay any offering to *Khirka Deo*.

Deities of the Brahmins and Kurmis.—Vishnu and Krishna are the deities of the Brahmins and the Kurmis and they are not being described here for obvious reasons. The Kurmis vaguely remember a story in which the name of Hardeolal appears. This they have joined with the story of Dulaha Deo and as now reated it does not make any meaning Hardeolal may be the corruption of Hardaul whom Russell[1] has referred to as a "favourite godling" of the Kurmis. But the Kurmis do not have any shrine or image for Hard olal.

1. See specimen on preceding page.

1. Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Russell & Hiralal, Vol. IV (1916), p. 81.

CHAPTER VIII

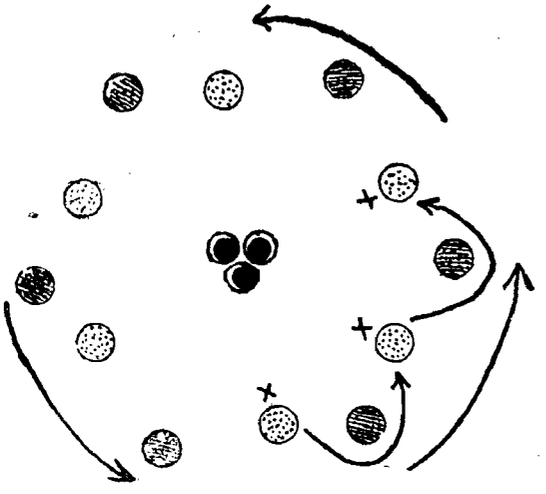
DANCES SONGS AND RECREATIONS

One of the many sad effects of urbanization is in the slow decay of the indigenous modes of recreation, mainly the dances and the songs. As the Prime Minister, Shri Nehru once said: "A tribe which dances, lives". Decay of songs and dances brings about a stagnancy in the tribal and rural societies, because, urbanization, though it kills the indigenous arts and aesthetics, does not offer any substitute. The above position is as true in village Bendri as in all the other villages. The only recreation that the people in this village know is to go to Raipur and see some *saneema* (movie-picture) or simply going about the town and be infected with the many vices that go with the town-life. And then back to the village, idle gossiping is the only mode of spending the time. At the time of our enquiry, it was difficult to get a villager who could recite a few songs, the *dohas* or the *dadarias*. There were many who were too willing to recite a line or two of some film-music.

Leave apart the older people, the children too not have any facilities of proper recreation. Small children play with their toy bullock-carts and the girls simply play some kind of going in a circle. The adolescents simply sit together and have some vile talks.

On the occasions of festivals, however, the village jumps to life. In the month of festival of *Holi*, the young and old alike participate in the *Danda* dance and, except the Brahmins, all other communities take part in it. In this village, it is celebrated with the Kewat and the Rawat boys and men. It is a mens' dance.

Some two or three people recite *dohas* or poems and, around these men, the participants in the dance form a ring, each with a small stick. Then when the *doha* ends, each person starts moving to his right and left or right-about-turn and hits one another's stick in a very rhythmic sequence. The dance is arranged in



such a way that the sound of sticks hitting one another comes as one sound. The dance can be illustrated in diagram as above. The arrows indicate the movements. In the movements they hit one another's sticks. The hit of sticks is shown by cross-mark in the diagram.

One *doha* sung at the *Danda* dance is given here :

"Chait Ayodhya janam liye Ram
(Chait Ayodhya birth took Ram)
Chandan se potwaya dham
(With sandal washed palace)
Gaj motin ke chouk puraye
(Gaj beads with designs laid)
Sone kalas me diya jalaye."
(Lighted lamp in golden wick-stand).

The song rendered in prose would be :

"The Great Ram took birth in the month of *Chait* and the whole palace was washed with sandal-wood powder. Designs were laid on the ground with *gaj motis* and lamps were lighted in golden lamp-holders."

Danda-nach is danced for practically the whole month in March. The beauty and the rhythm of this dance is slowly dying out and the villagers of Bendri cannot now dance it with the perfection which some villages in the interior can.

Another *doha* sung at the *Danda-nach* is:

"Birij man basiya—Birij man basiya ho
Gopin sang khele holi, gajab mor rasiya ho

(O the resident in the heart of Brij !
O the resident in the heart of Brij !
You play *holi* with the *Gopis*, what to
say of your merry nature)

The Rawat-nach.—In the month of October about the festival of Diwali, the Rawats engage in a dance known as Rawat-dance. They put on their traditional dress, the gaudy 'jacket' adorned with belts of *Cowrie* in which *ghunghroo* (jingle rings) are tied and peacock-feathers fixed; the turban with peacock-feathers and in the leg they tie *ghunghroo*. With their *lathi* (stick) or the *kubri-lathi* (bent stick) they go about in a group with *ganda-baja* for which they pay Rs. 10 per day. The dance is nothing but a haphazard and unsystematic sort of jumping to and fro to the accompaniment of music. The dance is interrupted when somebody raises his stick and recites a *doha* or a passage and after the passage is finished the entire group gives out a sound of *ho* simultaneously and the dance again continues.

The passages may or may not signify anything and some of the expert Rawats compose these passages extempore. Some of these passages with their English renderings are given here :

(*i*) *"Hat gew, bazar gew, uhan le lanew chuchuwa Dhar-bandh ke daiki lanew uhu la lege-musuwa.... Ho."*

(Went to market, went to bazar and brought *chuchuwa*,
Brought a wife after catching her
and tying her, but a mouse
took her away.)

(*ii*) *"Jagannath ke panth me Lamba ped khajoor, Chaghnewala chagh gais, gire so chaknachur."*

[On the way to Jagannath Pur there is a tall tree of *Khajoor* (date). He who well knows climbing can climb it; those who fall, get broken to pieces.]



TWO RAWATS IN DANCING POSTURE



DANCING OUTFIT



A RAWAT WITH PEACOCK FEATHERS AND DANCE DRESS



A RAWAT IN DANCING DRESS



A RAWAT IN HIS DANCING DRESS, LOWER GARMENT IS CHARACTERISTIC

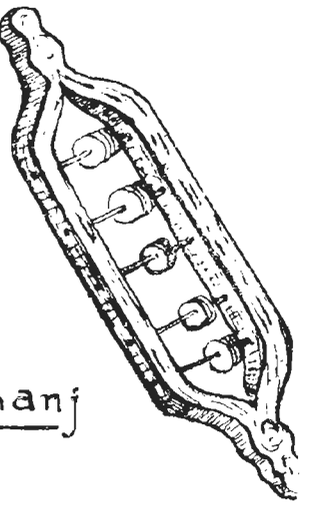


A RAWAT WITH KUBRI—LATHI

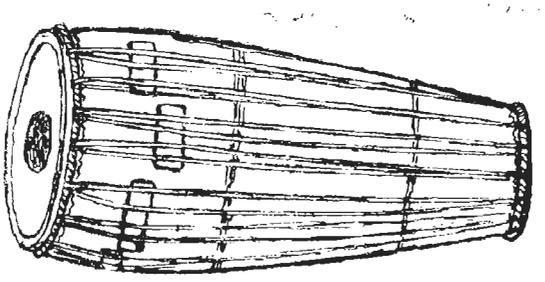


Manjira



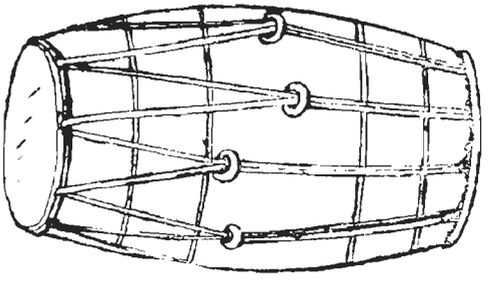


Jhanj



Mandar





Dholak

(*iii*) *"'Kacha doomar, jhan khabe, pet me pida dehi, Kari douki jhan bihabe, rat ke gari dehi"*

(Do not eat raw ficus fruit, otherwise it will give you stomach-ache; do not marry a black-complexioned wife, otherwise she would abuse you in the night.)

(*iv*) *"Arsi phoole ghamagham, munga foole safed Balakpan me kewra bade jawani me hogaye bhet."*

(The alsi plants are flowering profusely and the munga plant gives out white flowers; in the childhood was enacted a ritual-friendship-kewra, but in the youth, meeting occurred.)

(*v*) *"Chamra ghar ke cham chameta*
Teli ghar ke keet

Ahira ghar ke kubri lathi
Le danadan peet."

[The chamar has his leather-fork and the Teli has the dirt of his oil press. The Ahir (Rawat) has his *Kubri lathi*, pick it up and start beating.]

(*vi*) *"Adga tutage, badga tutage,*
toote bhoori bhains ke chhand
ghar se nikare Kunwar kanhaiya
bhage Bhoot-masan."

(The *adaga* broke, the *badga* broke, the rope of the grey buffalo broke, when the Krishna Kanhaiya came out of his house, the evil spirits ran away.)

Similarly, one passage which was got from a Rawat of Raipur town is being given below :

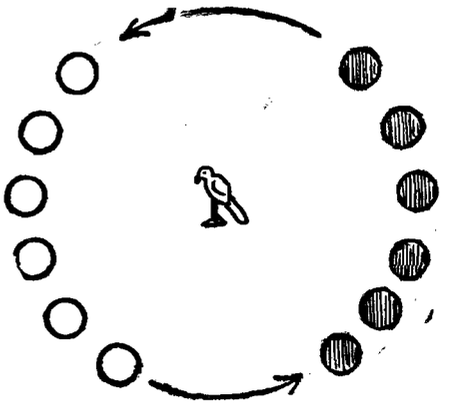
(*vii*) *"Arik dana, barik dana*
dana hai purana

Bangla me se mem pukare
Lao Babarchi khana"

(A minute grain, a small grain,
the grain is old;
The 'madam' calls from the bungalow
Cook, bring the meals.)

The Sua-nach—(*Parrot Dance*).—The Sua-nach or the parrot dance is purely a female dance and is danced at the time of *Diwali* Festival. It is danced by all castes here except the Brahmins.

In the Sua-nach, the women make an image of parrot in clay and place it on a pole. This pole is placed in a bamboo-basket. In some places, the



parrot is placed in a bamboo-basket and is covered with cloth. Then the women dance before this parrot.

The dance consits of two groups of females who sing and clap alternately.

The clapping is made and song is sung by the one group bending down. As they clap and sing, they keep on moving to the right and when the song is finished, they again straighten up, the other group bends forward as soon as the first group finishes. Mostly the songs are in question and answer form with one group putting questions and the other group answering.

The song which is a small piece of poetry, always starts with the axiom——

'Tari nari nana, ho nana ho nana
tari nari nana ho suana
tari nari nana ho suana"

This does not have any meaning but is just a set-out for the music and setting of tune. Two or three Sua-songs are given here :

(*i*) *"Pahir gawan kari dehari baithaye*
Piya Banij bar jay

Kakar sang Khaihon, kakar sang kheliho
Kakar sang rahihaw man lay

[The Lover (husband) has just brought me home after the first *gauna* and is going out for busines;

With whom shall I eat, with whom shall I play and with whom shall I live mingling my heart.]

(ii) *"Sas sang khaibe ; nanad sang khelibe*
Chhote dewar sang rahibe man lay"

[Take your meals with the mother-in-law, play with the sister-in-law (husband's sister),

And mingle your heartwith the husband's younger brother and live.]

(iii) *"Sas sayani mari hari jaibe*
nanadi pathahio sasurar
Chhote dewarwa betwa barabar
Kakar sang rahihon manlay"

(The mother-in-law has grown old and will die soon,
The sister-in-law will be sent to her husband's place,

The husband's younger brother is like my son.

With whom shall I live mingling my heart).

Another suwa-song has been given by Russell in his description of the Ahir caste. It is reproduced here:[1]

"Oh, parrot where shall we sow gondla grass and here shall we sow rice."
"We will sow gondla in a pond and rice in the field.
"With what shall we cut gondla grass and with what shall we cut rice".
"We shall cut gondla with an axe and rice with a sickle."

The parrot is referred to both as the *Suwana* and as *padaki*. Actually speaking *padki* is not the term for parrot but refers to another bird and probably is a Chhattisgarhi term for pigeon. The parrot or the pigeon is praised and addressed as a bird who carries messages from a lover to his mistress.

Russell[2] imparts the following significance to the parrot-dance and the song and says that, "it is probable that the parrot is revered as a spirit of the forest and also perhaps because it is destructive to the corn. The parrot is not, so far is known, associated with any God, but the Hindus do not kill it. In Bilaspur an ear of rice is put into the parrot's mouth, and it is said there that the object of rice is to prevent the parrot from preying on the corn."

1. Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Russell and Hiralal, Vol. II, p. 33.
2. *Ibid*, p. 33.

The Suwa-nach is carried on for 15 days or so and the groups of females go from house to house and sing and dance.

Sohar song of the Kurmis.—Songs sung during the birth of a child are known as *sohar* song. *Sohar* songs are also commonly sung among the Brahmins and other castes in Uttar Pradesh and immigrants from there as well as in Bundelkhand and whether the presence of these songs amongst the Kurmis is original or imported at a later period cannot be stated. The *sohar* songs usually state the birth of Krishna or birth of Rama. *Sohar* songs are usually sung without the accompaniment of any musical instrument.

One *sohar*-song is given below and has been obtained from the household of Ramdin Kurmi :

"Pratham Ganesh pad Dhyawo charan manawon
O Behini, vighan haran Gan-Raj
Sohar sukh gawon wo
Deoki Rani garabh ma rahe
wo man ma sochan lagi ho
Bahini kaise ke rakho ehi garabh
Kans kutir habay ho
Satputa Ram diye, sakal kas har liye
O bahinee mor,
Kaise ke rakho ehi garabh la
Kans kutir to habay ho."

(Deoki is pregnant. Her seven sons were killed by the cruel Kans and she asks her sister as to how she should protect this eighth son from the hands of cruel Kans.)

Songs from the Brahmins of the village.—When the *barat* (bridegroom's marriage party) comes to the bride's house to take the bride, the female members of the bride's house sing this line :

"Jabahi Gopal chale Madhuban ko
Ghar-angan na suhaya ju."

Child-birth.—On the *Chhathi* ceremony of a new born child, the following song is sung in the Brahmin houses in the village :

"It Mathura, it Gokul nagari
Beech me Jamuna dhara hoy
Deoki Rani Jamuna me awe
Lalana karate snan hoy."

(On one side is Mathura and on another side is the town of Gokul and in between flows Jamuna river. Deoki Rani comes to Jamuna and the young one is taking bath in the river.)

The festivals and joyous rituals of life bring occasions when the hum-drum existence gets a change. Since there is a conspicuous decay of avenues of recreation and enjoyment in the village, the celebrations are not held with that life and gaiety that is seen in some of the villages in the interior of Bindranawagarh, Dhamtari and Mahasamund Tahsils of this District. Giving a general description of the village-life in the district, following mention occurs in the District Gazetteer and is aptly applicable to this village :

"As for amusements, feast-days and holidays, they are simply days on which the villager eats more, drinks more, and makes more noise than usual. The essence of enjoyment for the individual is to be the member of a crowd and the larger the crowd the greater is his enjoyment. He, therefore, takes advantage of every excuse for a gathering of any kind, pays equal regard to Hindu and Mohammedan festivals and finds the same pleasure in a feast given at a marriage ceremony....."[1]

1. District Gazetteer, Raipur District, Vol. A, 1909 p. 111.

CHAPTER IX

COMMUNICATION, TRENDS AND OPINIONS

Bendri village is 9 miles from Raipur town as the crow flies but about 11 miles through the road and track. The town of Raipur is seen from Bendri and the tower of the newly constructed College of Engineering and the two chimneys of the Electric Power House conspicuously stand out in the horizon. Though situated so near and affected by urban contacts, the village is still a typical village, rather secluded and living its own life.

During the course of enquiry in this village, some off-hand but very significant remarks were heard. They signify trends of village thinking. These will be mentioned later.

Contacts with outside.—The villagers both men and women go to Raipur to sell the vegetables, the fish or the grain. But apart from such business visits, they also go there for seeing *saneema* (motion-picture) or the 'exhibition' or 'circus', to attend the beautiful *jawara mela*, *Rath-Yatra* or *Moharram*. Marriage parties go and come and the boys go to the Urla School. All such visits help exchange of information, valuable or otherwise.

The centre of information in the village is the *Kotwar* who goes to police-stations and to Tahsil Office at Raipur and also Pandit Nizam Prasad who goes round to various villages. *Satya Narayan Katha* function which is becoming more common in the

village is a collection of many short stories dealing with the lives of the people who neglected His worship. Each story has one or more morals in it. The *katha* is heard as a story and does not appear to have any reformative value.

The villagers, when asked about the Development Block functioning at Dharsiwa said, that no official of that block has visited the village nor has any work been taken up here. To get the supply of fertilizer etc. the people go to Birgaon which is the head-quarters of the Village-Level-Worker. "This vi lage is a neglected village and no officer ever comes here except the usual visits of the police constable or the Head Constable", the villagers sadly remarked and when they came to know that I was a Deputy Collector, they were extremely pleased and said that it was the first time an officer of that rank had come to the village. Regarding the functions of the Development Block, the people are not very hopeful and they are not at all enthusiastic about it. Only the Brahmins and the Kurmi families knew that such an institution exists at Dharsiwa. They did not know anything about the aims and objects of Community Development or the Five Year Plans.

When our party reached the village and photographs of houses and streets were taken, two ladies were heard joking with each other and saying, *"Filim wala man age he. Ab tor photu kheench ke tola sanima me legahi"*. (The film-people have come. They will take your photograph and recruit you in the film). They thus knew that a motion-picture is filmed and that good-young faces are recruited.

When the photographs of ornaments were being taken, some lady said to the one who was being photographed: *"Aankhi la tiptipa jhen, nahi to photu ma andhri dikhbe"*. (Do not wink otherwise you will look like a blind woman.)

About election, the remark was almost a sneer. When enquiries were being made about the households and members etc. one young man Khedoo Kewat said, *"Are bhai, ye man election wala hen. Abhi bane bane baat karhi, tahan le kaihi, ham ihan la khada hoy han"* (These people are electioneers. They will first talk nicely and then say that they are contesting the election from this place.)

At the time of our enquiry, an investigator of the National Sample Survey had returned from village Borjhara and was filling his schedules sitting in the house of Patel Asaram. When our people were asking about designs of tattooing etc. one woman said *"Ye Sarkar ham garib man la jiyan nai deye kotwar iela pat he uhi la eti tati puchhe bar la aat he."* (The Government will not let us poor people live in peace. This *Kotwar* brings all sorts of people here who pester us with such meaningless questions). The villagers in fact seem to be bewildered at the stream of enquiries made from them and very recently in the past five or six months, eight enquiries were made from the people, starting from the Census House-listing, Census enumeration and revision rounds, preparation of Panchayat electoral rolls, General Election electoral rolls, cattle census, National Sample Survey, Socio. Economic Survey enquiries and our enquiries. The anger of the lady, therefore, appeared very genuine and justified.

CONCLUSION

Situated under the very shadow of the growing Town of Raipur, village Bendri is still steeped in rural sleepiness. But this is as for the economic system. Urban influences are positively breaking the social ties but have not been able to induce an awareness for development.

Inter-caste distinctions are, of course, as rigid today as they were fifty years ago. But a noticeable feature in this village is the attempt by every caste to rise in the social-hierarchy. The Kurmis have adopted many of the rites and customs of the higher castes to show their elevated position; the Pankas do not take food with anybody and they deny their ever having any association with the Gandas whom they regard as a very much lower caste. The Kewats and the Rawats both regard themselves as higher than each other.

The younger generation of the village does not seem to know the structure of the caste they belong to. They do not know any of the *Gots* or their totems and significance. The older people as well know hardly the names of three or four *Gots* and their explanation is that in arranging marriages what they require is to know their own *Got* and that is all. This is certainly not the picture in a tribal village, where more or less all the older people know the caste-structure in its entirety.

In religion, worship of the caste-deities is almost dying out and is now confined in making sacrifices on some occasions. Even those who pay homage to Dulaha Deo, Satti Deo or Burha Deo do not know any legend connected with those deities. They remember these names simply because their fathers remembered it. They do not know, for example, that the image of Dulaha Deo is that of a man sitting on a horse or that the place of Burha Deo is in the 'saj' (Terminalia tomentosa) tree. The Kurmis, though they pay homage to Dulaha Deo at the time of marriage or on the birth of first child, feel shy of admitting Him as the family deity and return Krishna Bhagwan as the family deity. The *Pooja* of Satyanarayan is being adopted under the influence of the Brahmins. It appears, however, that the village is slowly forgetting the family deities and it will not be long when the Dulaha Deo and Satti Deo will not be remembered. Probably Vishnu Bhagwan or Krishna Bhagwan may take-up the place vacated by these age-old family deities.

A very great role of religion in the tribal and rural societies lay in the fear that it held in the minds of people, for example, it is believed that if such and such bad deed is done, the Burha Deo or the Dulaha Deo would get angry and the anger would result in such and such consequence. This fear helps to regulate the code of conduct in the rural and tribal societies. It cannot be visualised whether the Vishnu Bhagwan and the Krishna Bhagwan would be able to play this role as effectively as the Burha Deo, Dulaha Deo and the like.

Dances and songs which were the mainstay of rural recreation and healthy recreation, are fast dying out. Nothing is coming up as a substitute. The younger generation have more liking towards the modern 'film-music' and the *dohas* and the *dadarias* are not remembered as well as they were being done by their fathers.

Conspicuous changes have taken place in the matter of dress. The *bandis* and the *salukas* are slowly giving place to shirts and *kurtas*. Use of blouse is becoming more popular among the women. Mill-cloth has to a very great extent substituted the handloom.

Though all these changes are coming, the village is still clinging to the age-old methods in the means of production and agriculture. Transplantation or the Japanese method of cultivation is not followed, nor are improved techniques and implements used. The younger generation, on whose shoulders lies the future, do not seem very keen for development. They seem to be averse to labour and would pass days together in idle gossiping and smoking, but will not put some stones on the slushy village-streets which become so inconvenient in the rainy season to walk.

There are many avenues in which development of this village can be taken up. Use of green manure, chemical fertilizer, improved method of sowing and use of improved implements can be introduced in the field of agriculture. The Kewats have almost left their traditional occupation—fishing, because, for the individuals, it is not paying at all. If they are induced to join together into a society and pool their catch for being sold at Raipur, fishing would not be so unproductive as it looks today. Village well which presents a very unhygienic and unsanitary appearance can be almost immediately taken-up for improvement. Paving of village streets and improvement of cattle-sheds, technique of compost manuring are the minimum items in which development by inducement and constant persuasion can be attempted.

All said and done, Bendri is still a real village It is still a way of life, inspite of contact and communication. Cultural-lag is, of course, noticeable. For development of this village on proper lines, we cannot eignore the way of life, the value and the sentimental systems that the village has presented and if we want to level it up, it would be through intimate knowledge of the village life that we would be able to discover the ethos and aspiration of Bendri.

APPENDIX I

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY, MADHYA PRADESH

1. HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE—
   - 1. (1) Districts
   - 1. (2) Tahsil
   - 1. (3) Police Stations
   - 1. (4) Village
   - 1. (5) 1961 Census L. C. No. of Village.
   - 1. (6) Patwari Circle No.
   - 1. (7) R. I. Circle

2. INVESTIGATOR—
   - 2. (1) Period of Investigation
     From
     To
   - 2. (2) Name
   - 2. (3) Designation
   - 2. (4) Department.

3. INFORMANT—
   - 3. (1) Name
   - 3. (2) Age
   - 3. (3) Date of birth
   - 3. (4) Relationship to the Head
   - 3. (5) Caste/Tribe
   - 3. (6) Literate, Yes/No
   - 3. (7) Educational Standard, if any
   - 3. (8) Sex, Male/Female

4. HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD—
   - 4. (1) Name
   - 4. (2) Caste and Sub-caste/Tribe and Sub-tribe, Clan

5. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION— 5. (1) Total Members—

S.No.	Name	Relationship with the Head	Sex M/F	Marital Status: Single: S; Married: M; Divorced or Separated: D; Widow/Widower: W.	Economic Status: Earner: E Earning Dependent: ED; Dependent: D.	Age at last Birth-day in complete years	Actual Caste/Sub-Caste/Tribe/ Sub-tribe— Clan if different from Head of the Household	Religion: Hindu: H; Muslim:M; Sikh: S; Christian: C; Parsi: P; Specify for others	Remarks
5.2	5.3	5.4	5.5	5.6	5.7	5.8	5.9	5.10	5.11
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)

6. HOUSE—OWN (O); RENTAL (R). | | Number of Houses under Occupation | |

6. (1) Accommodation—

Number of Rooms		Use	Approximate area in sq. ft.	
611		Living and Sleeping		615
612		Cooking and Storing		616
613		For Cattle and other Live-stock ..		617
614		For Non-residential purposes ..		618
..		Lavatory and/or Bath-room ..		619
..		Varandah		6110
		Open space		6111
		Total area of Household ..		6112

If, most or all of the area used for non-residential purposes is not distinguishable as such write ND.

If there is no separate Lavatory or Bath-room—

6113 Which place serves the purpose of a Lavatory

6114 How far it is from the House .. | Miles | Furlongs |

6115 Where do they bathe? .. ..

6116 How far it is from the House ..

6117 Is the house part of a building (P)? or a whole building (B) | P/B |

OWN (O) [ ] RENTAL (R) [ ]

6. (2) Structural Details—

	Height	Width
6.21 How many years ago constructed? [ ]		
6.22 Size of doors		
6.23 Size of windows		

Component	Material mainly used	
Roof of rooms		6.24
Walls of rooms		6.25
Floor of rooms		6.26
Roof of Varandah ..		6.27
Door of Varandah ..		6.28

6.29 Is open space (compound), etc., paved ? Yes/No

6.210 No. of stories other than ground-floor ? [ ]

6.211 Approximate present value of the house with plot ? [Rs.....]

MAINTENANCE

6.212 Is maintenance like white washing, etc., done regularly? Yes /No.

6.213 If regular, how much expenditure is incurred? [Rs....]

6.214 If the house was completely reconstructed during the last 25 years, how many times was this done ? [ ]

SKETCH OF THE HOUSE

7. AGRICULTURE.—If family is not dependent on Agriculture, enter a cross.—

7. (1) Holding—

7.11 Total Area .. .. Acres

7.12 Total Irrigated .. .. Acres

7.13 Total Food Crops .. .. Acres

7.14 Total Commercial Crops .. Acres

7.15 Total Fodder .. ..

7.16 Total Uncultivated Fallow Land .. Acres.

7.17 Total Number of separate plots in the holding

7. (2) Crops Grown Last Season—

Name of the Crop	Area in acres	Output in mds.	Period (Actual month)

7. (3) Cultivation Methods—

7.31 (*a*) Quantity of chemical fertilizers used ..

7.31 (*b*) Quantity of other fertilizers used ..

7.32 If irrigated, source : Well/Tank/River, etc. ..

7.32 Is the source of irrigation owned? Yes/No.

7.34 Means of transport used for cultivation ..

7.35 Any modern implements used (Please describe below) :—

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

7.36 If improved seeds used, since when ?

7. (4) Live-stock and Poultry

7.41 Do you have any cattle — Yes/No

7.42 If yes, please give the following details :—

Cow .. .. Dry
Milch

Bulls.. .. Breeding
Stray

Bullocks .. Ploughing
Carting
Stray

Buffaloes (She).. Milch
Dry

Buffaloes (He).. Ploughing
Carting
Stray

Pigs
Others
Poultry

7. (4) Payments and Receipts—

Holding	Area (acres)	Land Revenue paid	Rent paid or value of crop share given	Cost of cultivation	Cost of cultivation borne by landlord, if any	Rent received or value of crops shared	Income from sale of produce in case of cultivation	Amount of produce retained for consumption.	
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	(Mds.)	(Rs.)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Holder-cultivator									
Tenant-at-will									
Landlord (rent receiver)									
Total ..									

7. (5) Employment in Agriculture—

No. of	Working whole time, during the season	Working part-time, during the season	Not working	Hired workers throughout season (whole time)	Hired workers engaged part-time throughout the season	Hired workers casually engaged	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Males ..							
Females..							
Total ..							

8. OCCUPATIONS OTHER THAN AGRICULTURE—

Details	Occupations
(1)	(2)
No. of members of household engaged—	
Males	
Females	
Duration (months in a year) Actual period:	
Distance from home to place where occupation is carried on (In miles and furlongs).	
Value of implements and equipments owned ..	
Value and Hire of implements and equipment, etc., hired- Value	
Value	
Hire	

8. OCCUPATIONS OTHER THAN AGRICULTURE—

Details	Occupation
(1)	(2)
Approximate annual cost of repairs to implements, etc.	
Value of output (Rs.)	
Place where marketed (if Urban : N).	
Distance (in miles)	

Note.—Where occupation is casual, enter "C."

All occupations should be entered in respect of males and females : in case of the latter occupations like that of "Dai" should be mentioned.

9. FOOD HABITS :

9. (1) Materials used—

Type	Annual requirements		Value in Rs.	Remarks	Type	Annual requirements		Value in Rs.	Remarks
	Actually purchased	Otherwise obtained				Actually purchased	Otherwise obtained		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
9.11 Cereals:					9.14 Meat:				
1					1				
2					2				
3					Total				
4					9.15 Fruits				
5					1				
Total					2				
9.12 Pulses:					3				
1					Total				
2					9.16 Spices, Condiments, etc.				
3					1				
Total ..					2				
9.13 Sugar or molasses					3				
					Total				
					9.17 Salt				
					9.18 Fuel				
Total					G. TOTAL				

9.(2) Types of food tabooed or prohibited—

9.21 Number of Vegetarians in the household	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)

N.B.—(Vegetarians are those who do not eat meat, fish or eggs). Is vegetarianism traditional among Males/Females/Special Groups? If so, describe. If non-vegetarian, does the household eat—Mutton—Yes/No. Fish—Yes/No. Chicken and other birds—Yes/No.

9.(22) What particular types of food are prohibited ?

Among animals	Why	Among birds	Why	Among Eggs	Why	Among cereals, pulses, vegetables, oils etc.	Why
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							

9.(31) Food routine (ordinary).

9.(32) Food routine (Festivals)

Time of day	Items in the meal, if taken	Name of Festival	Time/s of principal meals	Items
1	2	3	4	5
Morning— (Before 10 a. m.)				
Noon— (After 10 a. m. but before 3-00 p. m.)				
Evening— (After 3-00 p. m. but before dark night).				

9. 4. Please describe method of making three usual items of food commonly eaten and two principal items of festival food.

Ordinary food	Festival food
Item No. 1—Name Method of preparation.	Item No. 1—Name Method of preparation.
Item No.2—Name Method of preparation.	Item No.2—Name Method of preparation.
Item No.3—Name Method of preparation.	

9.5 Beverages—

9.51 Common Beverages, if any (like tea etc.).	Name	When drunk	Whether purchased	Cost Rs.	If made at Home, how ?
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
9.52. Liquor types—					
1.					
2.					
3.					

9.53 Water—

Source .. ..

Distance .. ..

How taken: Natural condition/boiled/after keeping for .. some time in pots.

9.6 Utensils—Total No. ——————

Made of Metal

Made of earth

Made of wood

Names of Metals

Kacha/Pucca

Others

Is there any prohibition of metals/wood/earth from use in making utensils? If so, give details and explain why the prohibition ?

10. DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.—

10. (1) Dress : Ordinary—

Details	Description of Garments	Numbers	Value	Length of quantity of cloth used	Stitching charges	Home made	Mill	Khadi	Material			Season Summer/ Winter	Average life of a Garment	Remarks
									Cotton	Silk	Wool			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
MALE														
Upper Garments														
Lower Garments														
Head-gear														
Foot-wear														
FEMALE														
Upper Garments														
Lower Garments														
Head-gear														
Foot-wear														
Upper Garments														
Lower Garments														
Head-gear														
Foot-wear														
GIRL														
Upper Garments														
Lower Garments														
Head-gear														
Foot-wear														
BABY														
Upper Garments														
Lower Garments														
Head-gear														
Foot-wear														
	Umbrella													
	Khumri													
	Raincoat													

Note.—Social restrictions, if any, on use of particular head-wear:—

Foot-wear

Body-wear

10. (2) Dress: Festivals.—

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12) Occasion (13)	(14)	(15)
MALE													
Upper Garments													
Lower Garments													
Head-gear													
Foot-wear													

10. (2) Dress: Festivals..—

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	Occasion (13)	(14)	(15)
FEMALE														
Upper Garments														
Lower Garments														
Head-gear														
Foot-wear														
GIRL														
Upper Garments														
Lower Garments														
Head-gear														
Foot-wear														
BABY														
Upper Garments														
Lower Garments														
Head-gear														
Foot-wear														

10. 3 Dress: Social—Custom—

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
BRIDE-GROOM												Marriage		
Upper Garments														
Lower Garments														
Head-gear														
Foot-wear														
BRIDE														
Upper Garments														
Lower Garments														
Head-gear														
Foot-wear														
ANY OTHER RELATIVE														
Upper Garments														
Lower Garments														
Head-gear														
Foot-wear														
MOURNING WIDOWER														
Upper Garments														
Lower Garments														
Head-gear														
Foot-wear														

10. 3 Dress: Social—Custom—

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
WIDOW												Marriage		
Upper Garments														
Lower Garments														
Head-gear														
Foot-wear														
SON														
Upper Garments														
Lower Garments														
Head gear														
Foot-wear														
OTHER RELATIVE														
Upper Garments														
Lower Garments														
Head-gear														
Foot-wear														

10. (4) Ornaments.—

Description of Ornaments	Material, gold, silver, brass, copper, iron bronze, bell-metal, glass nickle, etc.	No.	Value	Maker, Caste/ Tribe	From where procured (Distance)	Use	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
From head to foot							
Male							
Female							
Boys							
Girls							

(1) TATTOOING:—

Who does....., Caste /Tribe....., Sex.....,

Clan....., Villages.....(Distance)

Subject..... Age.....

Different Designs: Sketches—

Importance of Tattooing:—.....

Social.....

Decorative.....

(2) Any compulsory ornament or sign for a married woman....

(3) Any ornament prohibited for—

(*a*) Widow.....

(*b*) Unmarried Girl .....

(4) Is there any social prohibition—

(*a*) for a man/woman to use any particular ornament .....Any particular metal.....

(*b*) If yes, why ?.....

(*c*) If the same be violated what repurcussion would there be ?.....

10. (5) Bedding.—

Details of bedding articles	No.	Cost	From where procured (distance)	Material used, (of what rope is made of)	Last purchase made		Remarks
					No.	Amount	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
(Including cot, carpet, matress, bed-sheets, pillows, wrappers, quilt, mosquito-net, etc. etc.)							

11. (1) RELIGION:—

S. No.	Calendar month	Occupation, Functions and Operations	Associated Festivals observed	God/Gods propitiated	Dance and fair associated
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					

11. (2) Who propitiates ? (A) Brahmin Priest/Caste Priest—

Name.....

Caste/Tribe.....

Cost.....

11. (3) Observances—

(1) Preparation before the festival day.....

(2) How is the day settled.....

(3) Details of ceremony.....

11. (4) Family Gods—

(1) Names.....

(2) Of which Gods idols are kept.....

(3) Name of shrine frequently visited, location, distance, etc.

11. (5) Description of changes in the last generation (25 years) in the observance of festivals.—

(*a*) Which festivals are not now observed.....

(*b*) Particular aspects in which festival procedure has become less/more elaborate.....

(*c*) Change in dress worns.....

(*d*) Change in cost.....

(*e*) Any charge in grams plased on occasion of particuiars festivals.....

12. CULTURE—

12. (1) Principal Dances.—

Festival	Duration	Participation				Limited to			
		Male	Female	Boys	Girls	Family	Caste	Tribe	Village
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)

12. (2) Principal Musical instruments used—

(1) Names.....
(2) How made or where obtained ?
(3) Approximate cost
(Draw sketches)

12. (3) Principal sengs sung (Please give text of two songs with meaning—

.....
.....
.....
.....

12,(4) (1) Are religious gatherings frequently held for 'Kathas discourses ?

12.(4) (2) If yes, how often ?

12.(4) (3) Principal stories related other then those relating to Ramayan and Mahabharat ?

12.(5) Common superstitions (Omens, Taboos, Meanings of Common inhabititions like "somebody is thinking of you when you cough", etc.).

13. EDUCATION:

13. (1) Educational standards in the household:—

S. No.	Name of the member of the household	Standard up to which studied	Age	Technical/General Craft-based	Sex	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						
11.						
12.						

Abstract—

Total Number of household members..... Males.....Females.....

Number of illiterates.....

Number of just-literates.....

Number of well-educated (general, capable of reading Newspapers).....

Number of technically educated.....

Number of those who have received crafts-based education.....

Number of children receiving education.....

Number of children not going to school.....

13. (1) Number of household members who have relapsed into illiteracy after having become literate ?

Causes.....

14. SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND ATMOSPHERE—

14. (1) Caste: Its restrictive character—

(*a*) Caste/Tribe in the village with which household will sit and eat.....

(*b*) Castes/Tribes in village from which it will take water.....

(*c*) Castes/Tribes in village from which it will take. 'Pacca' food like sweets, dry, fried 'Channa' etc.....

(*d*) Castes/Tribes in village from which it will take 'Kacha' food like boiled rice, boiled 'Dal' etc.....

(Against each item above, please underline each caste/tribe, from which it would not have taken the item concerned 25 years ago).

(*e*) Castes/Tribes to which household will have no objection to give girl in marriage.....

14. (2) (*a*) Does the practice of concubin age exist in the family? Yes/No.

(*b*) If ever practised, when given up ?.....

(*c*) Social attitude Disapproving/Approving.

---

14. (3) Commensality in use of Water/Food/Smoke—

Drawing water from the same well	Using the same 'Ghaat'	Smo-king	'Kacha' Food	'Pacca' Food
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Upper Caste				
Lower Caste				

---

15. THE LIFE CYCLES —

15. (1) Birth.—

(*a*) Method of ascertaining pregnancy.....

(*b*) Food for the pregnant mother—

Articles of food prohibited	Articles of food compulsorily prescribed
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
4.	4.
5.	5.

15. (1) (*c*) Describe any celebration/customarily held to celebrate the expectant motherhood (like 'Godbharna').....

(*d*) List of relatives usually called at the time of delivery.—

1.	5.
2.	6.
3.	7.
4.	8.

(*e*) (*i*) Where does the birth take place?

For first birth—

(1) Father's house ?

(2) Husband's house ?

For subsequent birth—

(*ii*) Is it the same place as in the case of first birth ?

(*iii*) Does the birth take place in the same house itself or in a separate hurt ?

(*iv*) Did any birth take place in hospital ?

(*v*) Who delivered the last child ?

(1) Mother and other relatives only ?

(2) Mother-in-law and other relatives only ?

(3) Either (1) or (2) with the assistance of a 'Dai' ?

(4) A 'Dai' or a male attendant only ?

(5) A nurse in a hospital ?

If a 'Dai' attendant, give the following details—

Sex	Caste/Tribe; Sub-Caste/Sub-Tribe	Whether occupation traditional Yes/No.

(*f*) Approximate expenditure on actual delivery ?

(1) Fee paid to 'Dai' or Male attendant.....

(2) Other expenditure.....

(3) Total .....

15.(*g*) (*i*) Is a feast usually given on the day of birth or a few days afterwards?..... Yes/No

(*ii*) Did you give a feast at the last birth ?.. Yes/ No

(*iii*) If yes, approximate expenditure ? Rs.....

(*iv*) (*a*) What is the difference, if any, between the amounts spent on celebrating first birth and subsequent birth ?

First birth	Subsequent birth	Difference

(*b*) What is the difference, if an between the amount spent on Male-Birt and Female-Birth ?

Male Birth	Female Birth	Difference

(*c*) Explain differences in (*a*) and (*b*) above.

(*d*) Give details of any traditional payment made like 'Nazarana' by the father of new child.

To whom ? (Landlord, Brahmin, etc.)	Amount

(*h*) Give details of presents customarily made by the family of the child to the others (whether or not for services rendered).

To whom made ?	Amount

(*i*) Give details of presents customarily received by the child or family of the child from others.

Received from	Amount

(*j*) Describe the manner in which priest—whether Brahmin or of some other caste or of same caste/ tribe—is associated with birth and connected ceremonies

16. NAME GIVING, "MUNDAN" WEARING SACRED THREAD CEREMONIES.—

Ceremony	Who ascertains the date and how ?	What Omens are observed for selecting the dates? Which are the auspicious dates ?	At what age of the boy/ girl is the ceremony held (if different, why ?)	What relations are compulsorily invited— Role of Mother's brother and Father's sister of the child	Feast given If given, approximate cost		Role of Brahmin or other Priest	Presentation, rewards, etc., if any		A brief description of the ceremony
					Given/ Not given	Cost		Made to	Recd. from	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Name giving ..										
Mundan ..										
Wearing of Sacred Thread ..										

17. MARRIAGE—

	Now	25 years ago
17. (1) Age of marriage—		
(*i*) For woman		
(*ii*) For man		
(*iii*) In case of woman, is it after the attainment of puberty ?		
17. (2) (*a*) Is it customary for a girl/widow to marry a particular relative (like father's sister's son, etc.)?		
(*b*) If yes, which relative ? (with probable explanation).		
(*c*) Is it generally followed as custom in the household ?	Yes/No.	
(*d*) Is it customary for a boy to marry any part cular relative(like mother's brother's daughter)?	Yes/No.	
(*e*) Is this custom followed in the household ? If yes, name of the relationship.		
(*f*) Is polyandry/polygamy customarily followed in the household ?	Yes/No.	
(*g*) If any particular method of securing a bride is common in the household, please desoribe *viz.*, Marriage by elopement, seduction, abduction, intrusion.		
(*g*1) Is widow marriage customary in the household. If yes, name.	Yes/No.	
Social Attitude....	Approving/Disapproving.	
(*h*) Are there any pre-marital sex relations customary ?		
(*i*) What degrees of relationship are avoided in marriage ?		
(*j*) If marriages are arranged, who initiates and conducts the negotiations ?		
(*k*) What is the usual composition of 'Baarat' party (Mention in particular relations who customarily are invited).		
(*l*) (*a*) Boys/girls select their own match with the approval of guardians ?		
(*b*) Do guardians select the match with the consent of boys/girls.		
(*c*) Do guardians select the match without consent of the boys/girls		
17. (3) Marriage Customs:—		
(*i*) Where does the marriage usually take place ?	Bride's place, Bridegroom's place, Temple.	
(*ii*) How long after marriage does 'Gauna' takes place ?		
(*iii*) How long after marriage does actual union takes place ?		
(*iv*) Expenditure on marriages:—		
(*a*) On functions before marriage,		
(*b*) On marriage ceremony,		
(*c*) On functions following marriage.		
(*v*) Usual range of—	From Rs.	To Rs.
(*a*) Bride price : Virgins		
Widow		
(*b*) Bridegroom price:		
(*c*) Manner in which paid :		
(*d*) Who receives the bride price: Virgin		
Widow		

17. (4) Marriage ritual and its description:—

(*b*) Who officiates ? What he is paid ?

(*c*) Describe briefly the role of the priest (and mention in particular his castes, sub-castes or tribe, sub-tribe).

17. (5) Caste : its exhibitionist character:

(*a*) Are any caste-marks worn by—

Men	Yes/No
Women	Yes/No
Boys	Yes/No
Girls	Yes/No

(*b*) Please describe below each caste mark used (including material used, manner of putting it on oneself, etc.).

Men	Women
Boys	Girls

(*c*) If there is a method of wearing clothes peculiar to the caste, please describe for men and women separately (please describe method, colour, etc,.)

(*d*) Describe the method by which women exhibit their marriage status (apart from marks on forehead).

17. (5) (2) Caste : Economic aspects—

(*a*) What is/was the traditional occupation of the household ?

(*b*) Does the occupation now sustain the household at a standard of living considered satisfactory ?

18. DISEASE AND SICKNESS—

S. No.	Names of persons falling sick for more than three consecutive days in the last year.	Details regarding attendant who treated, if other than qualified Medical Practitioner.	Nature of illness, as diagonised.	Nature of treatment (Do they take injections?)	Diet given (if normal, write 'N,' otherwise give details).
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)

18. (1) Nature of Medical Aid available—

(*a*) Allopathic
Ayurvedic
Unani
Homoeopathic
Other

(*b*) Distance of Medical Aid available from the village.

(*c*) Were you ever required to have a 'Baiga' or 'Ojha' to serve you or any member of household? Yes/No

(*d*) If so, name of the 'Baiga' or 'Ojha', his caste/tribe and clan.

(*e*) Nature of the treatment by the 'Baiga/Ojha'.

18. (2) How following diseases are treated—

(*a*) Cholera

(*b*) Smallpox

(*c*) Ulcer

(*d*) V. D.

(*e*) T. B.

(*f*) High fever

(*g*) Snake-bite

18. (3) Are there any occasions in your household to propitiate God/Gods for curing the sick? If so, name the God/Gods and give details. Was anybody cured through 'Mantras' only? If so, give details. — Yes/No

18. (4) Annual Medical Expenses

19. DEATH, FUNERAL, PURIFICATORY CEREMONY—

19. (1) How is the dead body disposed of—

(*a*) Normal deaths—

Male		Female		Infant
Married (1)	Unmarried (2)	Married (3)	Unmarried (4)	(5)

(*b*) Serpant-bite

(*c*) Infectious disease

(*d*) Suicide and Accident

19. (2) Who are the chief mourners ?

19. (3) State the mourning periods for different relatives.—

(1) Father
(2) Mother
(3) Husband
(4) Wife
(5) Son
(6) Daughter
(7) Brother
(8) Sister
(9) Others

19. (4) (1) Expenses before the disposal of the corpse—
(2) Expenses after the disposal of the body
(3) Expenses for purification

19. (5) Disposal of Ashes/Bones, etc.—

(*a*) Do you customarily collect bones/ashes, etc. of the departed ones? — Yes/No

(*b*) If yes, how do you dispose them of ?

(*c*) Do you offer 'Pind' ? If so, where?

(*d*) Expenses involved

19. (6) Describe briefly the funeral ceremony (from treatment of the corpse to offering of 'Pind').

20. DIVORCE—SEPARATION—DESERTION—

20. (1) Is divorce/separation an accepted institution in your caste/tribe ? — Yes/No

20. (2) Is there any case of separation of males in your family? — Yes/No

If yes, probable cause for separation—

(*a*) for non-payment of bride-price
(*b*) mal-treatment by the in-laws
(*c*) continuous illness
(*d*) indolance
(*e*) barrenness/impotancy
(*f*) adultry
(*g*) others
(*h*) At-will

20. (3) Agency settling the dispute ? Its composition?

20. (4) Amount of compensation paid towards aggrieved party?

20. (5) Process of separation ?

21. DESCENT/INHERITANCE AND SUCCESSION—

(1) Draw a geneaology

(2) What was the total property of your parents?—

(a) Land
(b) House
(c) Cash
(d) Live-stock
(e) Others

(3) Who owns the parent's property?

(4) How much of the property of the parents did you receive?

(5) What is your total property?

(6) How would it be distributed?

(7) What is the share of—

(a) Unmarried daughter?

(b) Widow (yours)?

(c) Married daughter?

(d) Issueless widow daughter living with parents?

(e) Issueless widow daughter-in-law living in her in-law's house?

(f) Does the eldest son get any extra?
If so, why and how much?

(8) Who are the present traditional office-bearers in the village?

(a) Patel
(b) Kotwar
(c) Village priest
(d) Caste priest
(e) Others

(Draw a line of succession for each)

(9) How did they come to the present post?

(a) Nominated by the Government

(b) Selected by the elders

(c) If selected, describe the method

(10) Who will succeed them?—

(a) Customarily the son

(b) Is it to be confined to any particular family/caste/clan?

(c) Any other deserving candidate?

(11) What remuneration do the office-bearers get for their services?

Name of the office	In cash/kind and who pays
(1)	(2)
Patel	
Kotwar	
Priest	

22. HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY:—

22. (1) Income:—

(Monthly average)	Serial No.	Name of the Earner	Agriculture	Animal Husbandry	Crafts	Services	Forest Products	Labour	Others	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)

22 (2) Expenses (Monthly average)—

Food	Conventional necessities (Tobacco/Pan /Bidi, etc.)	Intoxicants	Fuel and Lighting	Clothing	Education	Medicines	Over means of productions	Fodder	Social obligations	Other domestic utilities	Dwelling	Religious	Recreations	Others
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)

22. (3) (*a*) Household Debt—

Serial No.	Sources/ Agencies	Amount	Terms	Causes: Purchase: Implements Tools	Purchase: Agr. Land/ Reclamation	Purchase: Bullocks	Purchase: Seeds/ Fertilizers	Purchase: Irrigation	House: Construction/ Repairing	Food	Liquor/ Intoxicants	Social obligations (like marriages, etc.)	How actually utilized
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)

(*b*) (*i*) How much debt was raised in kind/cash:
In Kind ..
In Cash ..
(*ii*) If raised from a person, name, caste and residence ?
(*iii*) Is he a professional money-lender?
(*iv*) When was the loan raised?
(*v*) Were you required to mortgage anything?
(*vi*) If so, what?
(*vii*) How much repaid:—
Interest Principal Mortgage redeemed

22. (4) Household Credit—

Loans Advanced—(other than professional money-lenders)

To whom: Name	To whom: Caste	To whom: Residence	When	Why given	Terms for giving credit	How much received back: Interest	How much received back: Principle	How much received back: Mortgage redeemed	Deposit in the Bank	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
In—										
Cash										
Kind										

23. RECREATION—

Serial No.	Name of daily/weekly/ monthly papers/magazines subscribed to	Amount of subscription	Whether a member of a Library	If so, monthly subscription paid	Monthly expenditure over Radio/ 'G' Phone/Musical instruments, etc. including repairs and licences	Frequency of visit to a Cinema/ Theatre, etc.	Expenses for	Remarks. Other subscriptions on charity, etc.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)

24, SPORTS AND GAMES.—

Serial No.	Age Group	Sex	Age Limit	Game	Game Material	Where played and when	Descriptio
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Adult ..	Male ..					
		Female					
		Both ..					
	Non-Adult.	Boy ..					
		Girl ..					
		Both ..					

25. HOUSEHOLD LITIGATION—

(*a*) Were you ever involved in litigation?—Yes/No

(*b*) If so,.....

No. of Cases	Against whom	Reasons for litigation			Where settled in?			If Pleader engaged, Name, Caste etc.	Result	Cost of litigation
		Economic	Social	Personal	Pan-chayat	Court or	Mutu-ally			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)

25. (*c*) If convicted—Social repercussion in case of—

Fine .....

Jail .....

Warning .....

26 (1) HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY—

(*a*) Do all school-going children attend the school ? Yes/No.

(*b*) If so, Number .....

(*c*) Do all members of the family have Woollen Rug/Pull-over/Quilt? .....

(*d*) Do you and your family run in debt ? Yes/No.

(*e*) If so, why ? .....

26 (2) Do you have/have not a too big/small/adequate size of family in relation to your means of maintenance ? .....

26 (3) If your family is too large—do you wish to practise 'Family Planning'? (If the wives in the household have not crossed forty-five years of age). ..... Yes/No.

26 (4) What is the ideal size of the family related to your income ? .....

27. FAMILY AND CASTE/TRIBE PANCHAYAT—

(1) Is there a Caste/Tribal Panchayat in the village ?

(2) Are you a member of it ? .....

(3) Is it compulsory to be a member of it ? .....

(4) Were you/your family involved in any case against Panchayat ? .....

(5) What is the outcome, if involved? .....

(6) Penalty, if any, for disobedience of the verdict of the Panchayat ? .....

(7) What is your opinion about the Panchayat ?

(*a*) Should it continue ? .....

(*b*) Is it beneficial ? .....

28. ART AND DECORATION—

(1) Enumerator should note the decorations of the Household and reproduce three common designs below:

(2) Is any particular significance attached to motiff ?

(3) (Enumerator should note the carvings on the doors, etc. and reproduce the designs, etc., below:)

Who does the carving	Caste/Tribe	Motiff	Any specific rites preceding decorations.

APPENDIX II

THE VILLAGE SCHEDULE

I (*i*) Name of Village:
1961—Census L. C. No.

(*ii*) Name of Tahsil: 1961—Census L. C. No.

(*iii*) Name of District: 1961—Census L. C. No.

(*iv*) Distance from Tahsil H.Q.:

(*v*) Distance from District H.Q.:

(*vi*) (*a*) Name of Police Station:
(*b*) Distance from Police Station:

(*vii*) (*a*) Total area of the village (in acres):
(*b*) Area of *abadi* (in acres):

(*viii*) (*a*) No. of buildings:
(*b*) No. of Census houses:
(*c*) No. of Census households:
} 1961 – Census figures.

(*ix*) (*a*) Total population:
(*b*) Males:
(*c*) Females:
} ,,

(*x*) (*a*) Location: Is the village situated on the plains/or a plateau (rising ground)/on top of a hill in a depression/on an undulating (uneven) surface ?

(*b*) Please state why, according to the villagers the village came to be situated in this particular manner.

(*c*) Give a good topographical sketch (on a separate sheet of paper)showing the location of the village—the village itself need not be shown in the *village* in any detail; a point or a cross will do but the surroundings may be shown as clearly as possible.

(*xi*) (*a*) Is there any legend associated with the origin of the village ? If so, please give below a brief version. If there are some differences in details in the versions given out by different persons, these may be mentioned.

(*b*) Does the name of the village mean anything ? If so, what ? Why did the village get this name ?

(*c*) In the name of the village, is there any peculiar suffix like 'dih (डीह)' or para (पारा) ? Is this common in the area ? If possible, please give a short list of other suffixes commonly occurring in the names of villages in the area.

II (*i*) Please give a sketch on a separate sheet of paper showing the lay-out of the houses in the village. If possible, the sketch should be to the approx. scale: 1" = 100'—it should be neither too big nor to small and should ordinarily be as big as a foolscap page (approx. 13½" × 8½"). Roads, temples, mosques or other places of worship, tanks in the village and nearby, public buildings like Schools, Panchayatghars, etc. and all other important features should be clearly, neatly and legibly shown. You may, with the approval of the Tahsildar, use the local Patwari or some other suitable official for this purpose but please ensure that a good sketch is drawn.

(*ii*) Do you notice any peculiar features in the arrangement of houses ? For example, are all the houses in a simple row either on one or on both sides of a road? Or, are the houses of each caste in a cluster—mostly or wholly ? Are the houses of the so-called "untouchables" within the main *basti* or away from it ? Kindly explain any peculiar features observed. Why are the houses in general grouped in the manner in which they are ?

(*iii*) What are the materials commonly used in the construction of houses (including huts)? For the walls, roofs, plinth, floor, doors, windows and ventilators.

(*iv*) Please choose at least three houses as typical of the village for purpose of photographs, sketches, etc. One of them should be a typical house of the more well-to-do section of the village. There is no objection to your choosing more than three houses if you think that the variety of structure justifies it. For each selected house, take three photographs—front view, side view and general view and showing the house as a whole; with the assistance of the Block Overseer, please draw (or get drawn) for each house three sketches: one showing the internal arrangement of rooms, one giving the front elevation and the last giving the side elevation. These sketches have of course to be drawn to scale and the important measurements (including, among others, those relating to the position of the windows) must all be clearly shown. Finally, if possible, an artistic sketch in pencil of the house may be added which should prominently bring out characteristic or important features not brought out by the photographs or the sketches. In each case, details required for the identification of the house must be given—number, name of head of household, location (if possible), etc.

(*v*) (*a*) Is there any particular method by which the date on which the construction of a house is started is fixed? If so, please give details. If it differs from caste to caste or religion to religion, please give only: (*a*) the most common and (*b*) the most peculiar. Please note how site is selected and what are the auspicious omens observed to commence the construction like day, date signs, etc.

(*b*) Is any ceremony performed at the time of commencement of construction ? If so, please give details (again, if there is a lot of variation, the most common and the most peculiar).

(*c*) Is any ceremony performed at the time of occupying a new house? If so, please give details. (If there is a lot of variation, the most common and the most peculiar need alone be described).

(*vi*) Are there any peculiar features in the houses of particular castes/tribes in the village ? If so, please give details.

III. Agriculture :

(*i*) (*a*)	No. of households	Population		
		Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5
1. Engaged wholly in agriculture.				
2. Engaged partly in agriculture.				
3. Engaged wholly in agricultural labour.				
4. Engaged partly in agricultural labour.				

(*b*) (*i*) *Cultivation in the last decade*—

(In the horizontal column at the top of the table below, enter the names of the four principal crops of the village and give the relevant figures in the vertical columns. *If at the same time,* more than one crop is grown, both may be mentioned thus;—wheat, Channa, cotton, Jowar, etc.

If, however, different crops are grown one after the other in the same year in the same area, they may all be bracketed together):—

Names of Crops	1	2	3	4	5 Rest
Area and year					
1950-51					
Irrigated (*i*)					
Unirrigated (*ii*)					
1951-52					
(*i*)					
(*ii*)					
1952-53					
(*i*)					
(*ii*)					
1953-54					
(*i*)					
(*ii*)					
1954-55					
(*i*)					
(*ii*)					
1955-56					
(*i*)					
(*ii*)					
1956-57					
(*i*)					
(*ii*)					
1957-58					
(*i*)					
(*ii*)					
1958-59					
(*i*)					
(*ii*)					
1959-60					
(*i*)					
(*ii*)					
1960-61					
(*i*)					
(*ii*)					

(*ii*) Write a short note explaining noticeable trendsi n cultivation in the village as exhibited in this table.

(*c*) *Total area of the village (in acres)*:

(*i*) Area under forest:

(*ii*) Area under current fallow:

(*iii*) Area under old fallow:

(*iv*) Area (net) under cultivation (irrigated):

(*v*) Area (net) under cultivation (unirrigated):

(*vi*) Area (net) under shifting cultivation:

(*vii*) Area under *abadi*:

(*viii*) Area under the common use of the village:

(*ix*) Other area:

(*x*) Total:

(*xi*) Double-cropped area:

(*xii*) Triple-cropped area

(*d*) *Shifting Cultivation*;

(*i*) Is shifting cultivation practised in the village:— Yes/No.

(*ii*) What is the local name of such cultivation, *viz.* Bewar, Dippa, Jheem, etc., etc.

(*iii*) Who practise shifting cultivation:—

Caste/Tribe	No. of House-hold	Persons	Males	Females

(*iv*) How is the shifting cultivation practised—technique—

(*v*) What do they grow in such fields?

(*vi*) In how many years is the first field sown again?

(*vii*) Do they shift their families too as they shift their fields?

(*viii*) What is the land revenue paid?

(*ix*) Is there any legal objection to such practice?

(*x*) What is the attitude of the families practising/which were practising such cultivation towards legal objections?

(*xi*) What is the improvement in economic condition of families once practising shifting cultivation which have now abandoned it?

(*e*) *Land tenures*;—Please indicate the extent to which absentee landlordism or *batai* cultivation or any similar type of cultivation by tenants at-will is prevalent. Why is this practice resorted to even though it is illegal—is it because it is very profitable or is it because the owners for various genuine reasons (which should be explained) find personal cultivation impossible?

(*f*) *Agricultural techniques*:

(*i*) **Use of fertilisers:**

How many households use fertiliser?

In how many acres in the village?

Total quantity used : —

	Ammo-nium sul-phate	Super-phos-phate	Others, *i. e.*, Com-posted pet	Green manure
1956-57				
1957-58				
1958-59				
1959-60				
1960-61				

(*ii*) **Irrigation :**

Additional area brought under irrigation during the last 5 years.

Irrigated area in	Acres
1956-57	
1957-58	
1958-59	
1959-60	
1960-61	

Sources of irrigation:	1956-57	1960-61
Tanks ..		
Wells ..		
Dams, reservoirs, etc.		

Methods of Irrigation :

	1956-57	1960-61
Field channels (Persian-wheel type)		
Moat ordinary		
Other methods		

Crops irrigated:—

Name of crop	Irrigated area in 1956-57	Irrigated area in 1960-61
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5. Others		

(*iii*) If there are any other improvements in technique—like use of machinery, better seed, transplantation, etc.—kindly write a brief note giving the relevant figures.

(*iv*) Any other remarks (particularly touching on the pattern of cultivation, *i. e.*, more horticulture or gardening, etc.).

(*g*) *Cattle*:

(*i*) No. of households owning cattle for agricultural purposes :—

No. of households owning milch-cattle:

No. of bulls in the village:

No. of cows in the village:

No. of buffaloes in the village:

(*ii*) Have any attempts been made to improve the breed of the cattle ?

(*a*) No. of bullocks castrated—

(*b*) No. of cows/she-buffaloes covered by Pedigree Bulls/Buffaloes :

(*c*) No. of successful cases of coverage under Artificial Insemination Scheme—

(*d*) Please note the reaction of villagers to above scheme.

(*iii*) Nearest veterinary hospital: Distance.

Is it commonly used by the village :

(*iv*) Where do the cattle graze ? Distance.

(*v*) Is the pasture sufficient ?

(*vi*) If not, how is it met ?

(*vii*) Is there village grazing fields ?

(*viii*) Is there any attempt for improved pasturage ?

(*ix*) If yes, in how many acres ?

(*x*) What have been introduced for improved fodder, *viz.* 9.73;

Napier Grass, Luschan Grass, etc., in how many acres.

(*xi*) What is the reaction of the village.

IV Industry:

(*i*) *Factory Employment*:

(*a*) Are there any people *in the village* who are employed as—

Workers in a factory? If so, please give details :

Name of factory	Date of establishment	Location and Distance of factory from the village	No. of Household engaged		Males		Females		What does the Factoy
			Part-time	Full time	Part-time	Full time	Part-time	Full time	

(*ii*) Names of Mines/ Quarries	Date of establishment	Location and Distance of Mines/Quarries from the village	No. of Households engaged		Males			
			Part-time	Full time	Part-time	Full time	Part-time	Full time

(*b*) How many among *these* people have some other occupation also like agriculture, household, industry etc. ? Give details:

Subsidiary occupation	No. of men	No. of women
1. Agriculture		
2.		
3.		

(*c*) How many of the workers shown in (*a*) above are skilled workers ?

IV Industry—Small-scale:

(*a*) How many are employed in small-scale factories owned and seen by others ?

Name of small-scale factory	Number employed		No. of skilled workers
	Men	Women	

(*b*) Give in tabular form shown below details regarding other crafts owned and managed by the families themselves:

Name of household industry/ cottage industry.	Number employed		Period in a year for which occupied
	Men	Women	

V. Transport and Communicatcns:—

(*i*) How is the village connected with the outside world?

(*a*) Distance by road to Tahsil Hq.

Is it an all-weather road or a fair-weather road?

(*b*) How far is the nearest railway station?

Name of railway station:

How is it reached?

(*c*) What is the means of transport commonly used?

For short distances :

For long distances:

(*d*) Please draw (get drawn) a sketch of a bullock-cart (or other cart commonly used) giving all important measurements.

(*e*) Nearest Post Office: Distance:

How reached:

Nearest Telegraph Office: Distance:

How reached:

(*f*) How do marriage parties commonly travel ?

VI. Trade and Commerce:

(*i*) Nearest market place (wholesale)
Distance:
Nearest market (weekly bazar)
Distance:
Are there any shops in the village?
If yes, what is the nature of shop?

(*ii*) Please give a detailed description of the weights and measures used in the village. All important weights and measures should be illustrated by diagrams. Also, give their equivalents in lbs. (or kilograms) or cubic inches (or litres), or acres (or sq. yds.).

(*iii*) Do those who sell their produce in the *mandi* feel that they get fair prices? If not, what, according to them, are the unfair practices?

(*iv*) Is there any co-operative marketing society in the village? Is it functioning effectively? If not, why?

(*v*) What is the number of traders in the village itself? Are they money-lenders also? What are the rates of interest charged by them? Do they carry on the business of landing money on pledge of articles like ornaments, vessels, clothes, etc.? If so, give details.

VII. Health and Sanitation:—

Allopathic *Ayurvedic*

(*i*) (*a*) Nearest dispensary:
Distance:

(*b*) Nearest hospital:
Distance:

(*ii*) (*a*) What is the common source of drinking water in the village?

(*b*) How many houses have wells of their own from which they draw their drinking water?

(*c*) How many wells for public use are there in the village?

(*d*) If the bigger source is more than a furlong away from the *abadi*, give the actual distance

(*e*) Is there a scarcity of drinking water duringany particular season? If so, please give details

(*iii*) (*a*) Nearest Maternity Home:
Distance:

(*b*) Is there any *dai* in the village? Is she trained

(*iv*) Nearest Small-pox Vaccination Centre:
Distance:

(*v*) Is there any Vaidya/Hakim in the village? Is he/are they a/both registered medical practitioner/s?

(*vi*) Is there any epidemic(s) /disease(s) that the villages usually suffer from? Any known reasons?

(*vii*) Is the village regularly sprayed with D. D. T.? If so, date of last spray:
What do the villagers think about these sprays?

(*viii*) Are there any public latrines in the village?
How many?
Who put them up?
Are they used?
Are they properly cleaned and maintained?
By whom?

(*ix*) Comments on the general cleanliness of the village.

(*x*) Is a bath taken regularly at least once a day by the villagers? What is the common practice?
Is any soap used? Yes/No.
If no, with what do they clean their bodies and hair?
Do they apply oil on their bodies or hair? Yes/No.
If yes, after/before bath.

(*xi*) Is personal clothing washed every day? If not, how often? Is it also croned and pressed now and then and, if so, how often?

(*xii*) (*a*) What is the manner in which a bleeding wound or cut is first treated by ordinary people?

(*b*) What is the manner, in which fever is first treated by ordinary people *i. e.*, before going to any doctor?

(*c*) What do they do for the common cold?

VIII. Education:—

(*a*) *Literates in village:—*

Age group/ Standard	Below Primary (5th class)		Passed Primary but not Matriculate		Age-groups 5—10: Passed Matriculation but did not go to College		11—20: Went to College but did not secure any degree		21—40: Degree Holder or Holders of qualification equal to degrees		40 and over: No. of illiterate	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
5—10 ..												
11—20 ..												
21—40 ..												
40 and over ..												

(*b*) *Educational Institutions:—*

B —G

(*i*) 1. Nearest Primary School:
Distance.
2. Nearest Middle School:
Distance.
3. Nearest High School:
Distance.
4. Nearest Arts College:
Distance.
5. Nearest Science College:
Distance.

(*ii*) If the number of educated females is too low as compared to boys, causes may be inquired to.

(*iii*) In each case above, kindly mention the number of boys and girls *from the village* attending the institution, under B and G respectively.

(*iv*) Are any newspapers, magazines, etc., subscribed to or brought regularly by any institution like a club or Panchayat in the village? If so, give details, indicate approximate expenditure per month/year incurred and state how this money is raised.

(*v*) Are any classes run for adults in the village or nearby?
How many attend—men or women separately?
For how long have these classes been running?

(*vi*) Please comment on the attitude of the villages towards education.

(*vii*) *Language:—*

Name of language/dialect	Does it have a script? If so, which?	Number of speakers
1	2	3

IX. Caste :

(a) Population—Caste—Occupation relationship :

The table below shows dependence; so workers and non-workers should be included in the figures given :—

Name of Caste/ Tribe (and religion)	Name of sub-Caste/ sub-Tribe	Solely Dependent on cultivation		Solely dependent on agricultural labour	
		M.	F.	M.	F.
1	2	3	4	5	6

Dependent on cultivation and agricultural labour		Solely Dependent on Household Industry		Dependent on cultivation and household industry, Name of the industry			
		Name of Household Industry					
M.	F.		M.	F.		M.	F.
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14

Dependent on agriculture and household industry			Dependent on cultivation agricultural labour and household industry			Other details of occupation		
Name of household industry	M.	F.	Name of household industry	M.	F.		M.	F.
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23

(b) Caste and Education—

(i) (The totals must match with the total number of literates).

Name of Caste	Name of Sub-Caste	Number of literates	
		M.	F.

(ii) Which are the Castes/Sub-Castes/Tribes/Sub-Tribes that are keenest on education? Give facts in support of your view.

(iii) Any other comments on the importance of caste in the life of the village. (In particular, please indicate the present position regarding 'untouchability').

X. Religion:—

(a) Population: Religion-wise

	Males	Females
Hindus		
Muslims		
Christians		
Jains		
Parsis		
Tribal		
Others		

(b) (*i*) Is there a temple in the village?

(ii) If not, which is the nearest temple visited by Hindus?

(iii) What is the name of the deity? How was the idol installed and when? There is bound to be some traditional legend regarding the idol; please give a full account.

(*iv*) Please give good photographs of the deity (at least one front-view and one side-view).

(*v*) Please give a sketch on a separate sheet of paper of the interior of the temple showing the position of the idol with all the relevant measurements.

(*vi*) Please give two or three good photographs of the temple in various aspects (front-view, side-view, etc.)

(vii) How is the temple managed and how old is it? Is there any property attached to the temple; if so, who manages it?

(viii) Any other interesting details :

(c) (*i*) Is there any Church in the village? If there is, please give, to the extent applicable, the same information as given in respect of the temple.

(ii) How old is the Christian community in the village, if it is?

(d) Is there any mosque in the village? If there is, give similar details, to the extent applicable, as in the case of a temple.

(e) It may be that in the village you have some place of worship which it is difficult to call a temple-particularly in tribal villages. If so, give a full description with photographs.

(f) Please give a full description of two of the most important annual festivals with particular reference to the legends, ways and peculiarities of celebration, etc. A special note may please be made of Tribal Jatras, Communal Shikars, etc.

(g) Tattooing.—Please give photographs and drawings of the principal designs. Why it is done? Who does them? What does it cost?

(h) Superstitions relating to :

(*i*) Birds,
(*ii*) Animals,
(iii) Castes,
(iv) Days of the week,
(*v*) Months of the year,
(vi) Hours of the day,
(vii) Others.

XI. Panchayats and Co-operatives —

(a) (*i*) If there is a panchayat in the village, give a brief description of its role and effectiveness in the village.

(ii) Who are the office-bearers ?—Status and caste. Is there a caste preference in the composition of the Governing Bodies ?

(b) (*i*) If there is a Co-operative in the village, give similarly a description of its role and usefulness.

(ii) Who are the office-bearers? Status and Caste—Is there a caste preference in the composition of the Governing Bodies?

XII. Community Development :

Please give a short account of the progress made in the village as a result of the community project movement. In particular, what are the views of the leading villagers regarding this matter?

XIII. Historical:

(a) Is the village associated with any historical event? If so, please give details.

(b) Is there any ancient monument in the village? If so, please give historical details and also a description (including photograph) of the monument.

(c) If there are any interesting historical details in the settlement records of the village, please indicate.

XIV. Recreation; Culture—

(a) Give a brief description of the common games of skill and games of chance played in the village.

(b) Other cultural activities, if any—like folk-dances, bhajan mandalis, etc. Give full details.

XV. Any other matter relating to the village.

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVT. OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS AS ON 31st DECEMBER 1962

Agra

National Book House, Jeeni Mandi .. .. (Reg.)
Wadhawa and Co., 45, Civil Lines .. .. (Reg.)
Banwari Lal Jain, Publishers, Moti Katra .. (Rest.)

Ahmedabad

Balgovind Kuber Dass & Co., Gandhi Road .. (Reg.)
Chandra Kant Chimanlal Vora, Gandhi Road .. (Reg.)
New Order Book Co., Ellis Bridge .. .. (Reg.)
Mahajan Bros., Opp. Khadia Police Gate .. (Rest.)
Sastu Kitab Ghar, Near Relief Talkies, Patthar Kuva, Relief Road. .. .. (Reg.)

Agartala

Laxmi Bhandar Books and Scientific Sales .. (Rest.)

Ahmednagar

V. T. Jorakar, Prop. Rama General Stores, Navi Path. .. .. (Rest.)

Ajmer

Book-Land, 663, Madar Gate .. .. (Reg.)
Rajputana Book House, Station Road .. (Reg.)
Law Book House, 271, Hathi Bhata .. .. (Rest.)
Vijay Bros, Kutchery Road .. .. (Rest.)
Krishna Bros., Kutchery Road .. .. (Rest.)

Aligarh

Friends' Book House, Muslim University Market (Reg.)

Allahabad

Supdt., Printing & Stationery, U. P.
Kitabistan, 17-A, Kamla Nehru Road. .. (Reg.)
Law Book Co., Sardar Patel Marg, P. Box 4 .. (Reg.)
Ram Narain Lal Beni Madho, 2-A, Katra Road .. (Reg.)
Universal Book Co., 20, M.G. Road .. .. (Reg.)
The University Book Agency (of Lahore), Elgin Road. (Reg.)
Wadhwa & Co., 23, M. G. Marg .. .. (Rest.)
Bharat Law House, 15, Mahatma Gandhi Marg .. (Rest.)
Ram Narain Lal Beni Prashad, 2-A, Katra Road (Rest.)

Ambala

English Book Depot, Ambala Cantt. .. .. (Reg.)
Seth Law House, 8719, Railway Road, Ambala Cantt. .. .. (Rest.)

Amritsar

The Law Book Agency, G. T. Road, Putligarh .. (Reg.)
S. Gupta, Agent, Govt. publications, Near P. O. Majith Mandi. .. .. (Reg.)
Amar Nath and Sons, Near P.O. Majith Mandi .. (Reg.)

Anand

Vijaya Stores, Station Road, Anand .. .. (Rest.)

Bangalore

The Bangalore Legal Practitioner, Co-op. Society Ltd., Bar Association Building .. .. (Reg.)
S.S. Book Emporium, 118, Mount Joy Road .. (Reg.)
The Bangalore Press, Lake View Mysore Road, P.O. Box 507 .. .. (Reg.)
The Standard Book Depot, Avenue Road .. (Reg.)
Vichara Shitya Private Ltd., Balepet .. (Reg.)
Makkala Pustaka Press, Balamandira, Ghandinagar (Reg.)
Maruthi Book Depot, Avenue Road .. .. (Rest.)
International Book House (P) Ltd., 4-F, Mahatma Gandhi Road .. .. (Reg.)
Navakaranataka Publications. Private Ltd., Majestic Circle .. .. (Rest.)

Bareilly

Agarwal Brothers, Bara Bazar .. .. (Reg.)

Baroda

Shri Chandrakant Mohan Lal Shah, Raopura .. (Rest.)
Good Companions Booksellers, Publishers & Sub-Agent .. .. (Rest.)

Beawar

The Secretary, S. D. College, Co-operative Stores Ltd. .. .. (Rest.)

Bhagalpur

Paper Stationery Stores, D. N. Singh Road .. (Reg.)

Bhubaneswar

Ekamra Vidyabhaban, Eastern Tower, Room No. 3 (Rest.)

Bhopal

Supdt., State Government Press
Lyall Book Depot, Mohd. Din Bldg., Sultania Road (Reg.)
Delite Books, Opp. Bhopal Talkies .. .. (Rest.)

Belghria

Granthlok, Antiquarian Booksellers & Publishers (24 Paraganas), 5/1, Amlica Mukherjee Road .. (Reg.)

Bijapur

Shri D. V. Deshpande, Recognised Law Booksellers, Prop. Vinod Book Depot, Near Shiralshetti Chowk. (Rest.)

Bikaner

Bhandani Bros. .. .. .. (Rest.)

Bilaspur

Sharma Book Stall, Sadar Bazar .. .. (Rest.)

Bombay

Supdt., Printing and Stationery, Queens Road
Charles Lambert & Co., 101, Mahatma Gandhi Road .. .. (Reg.)
Co-operators Book Depot, 5/32, Ahmed Sailor Bldg. Dadar. .. .. .. (Reg.)
Current Book House, Maruti Lane, Raghunath Dadaji St. .. .. (Reg.)
Current Technical Literature Co., (P) Ltd., India House, 1st Floor .. .. .. (Reg.)
International Book House Ltd., 9, Ash Lane, M.G. Road .. .. (Reg.)
Lakkani Book Depot, Girgaum .. .. (Reg.)
Elpees Agencies, 24, Bhangwadi Kalbadevi .. (Reg.)
P.P.H. Book Stall, 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road.. (Reg.)
New Book Co., 188-190, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road (Reg.)

Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road .. (Reg.)
Sunder Das Gaian Chand, 601, Girgaum Road, Near Princess Street .. .. .. (Reg.)
D.B. Taraporewala Sons & Co. (P) Ltd., 210, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road .. .. (Reg.)
Thacker & Co., Rampart Row .. .. (Reg.)
N.M. Tripathi Private Ltd., Princess Street .. (Reg.)
The Kothari Book Depot, King Edward Road .. (Reg.)
P.H. Rama Krishna & Sons, 147, Rajaram Bhuvan, Shivaji Park Road, No. 5 .. .. (Rest.)
C. Jamnadas & Co., Booksellers, 146-C, Princess Street .. .. (Reg.)
Indo Nath & Co., 24, Bhangwadi, Kalbadevi Road (Reg.)
Minerva Book Shop, Shop No. 1/80, N. Subhas Road .. .. (Reg.)
Academic Book Co., Association Building, Girgaum Road .. .. (Rest.)
Dominion Publishers, 23 Bell Building, Sir P.M. Road .. .. (Rest.)
Dowamadeo & Co., 16, Naziria Building, Ballard State .. .. (Rest.)

Calcutta

Chatterjee & Co., 3/1, Bacharam Chatterjee Lane (Reg.)
Dass Gupta & Co. Ltd., 54/3, College Street .. (Reg.)
Hindu Library, 69A, Bolaram De Street .. (Reg.)
S.K. Lahiri & Co. Private Ltd., College Street .. (Reg.)
M.C. Sarkar and Sons Private Ltd., 14, Bankim Chatterjee .. .. (Reg.)
W. Newman & Co. Ltd., B, Old Court House Street .. .. (Reg.)
Oxford Book and Stationery Co., 17, Park Street .. (Reg.)
R. Chambray and Co. Ltd., Kent House, P. 33, Mission Road Extension .. .. (Reg.)
S.C. Sarkar and Sons Private Ltd., IC, College Square .. .. (Reg.)
Thacker Spink and Co. (1933) P. Ltd., 3, Esplanade Est .. .. (Reg.)
Firma K. L. Mukhopadhaya, 6/1A, Banchha Ram Akrar Lane .. .. (Reg.)
K.K. Roy, P. Box No. 10210, Calcutta-19 .. (Rest.)
Sm. P. D. Upadhydy, 77, Muktaram Babu Street (Rest.)
Universal Book Dist., 8/2, Hastings Street .. (Rest.)
Modern Book Depot, 9, Chowringee Centre .. (Rest.)
Soor and Co., 125, Canning Street .. .. (Reg.)
S. Bhattacharjee, 49, Dharamtala Street .. (Rest.)
Mukherjee Library, Sarba Khan Road .. (Rest.)
Current Literature Co., 208, Mahatma Gandhi Road (Reg.)
The Book Depository, 4/1 Madan Street (1st Floor) (Rest.)
Scientific Book Agency, Netaji Subhash Road .. (Rest.)
Reliance Trading Co., 46/A, Netaji Subhash Road (Rest.)

Chapra

Alok Pustak Sadan .. .. .. (Rest.)

Chandigarh

Supdt., Govt. Printing and Stationery, Punjab
Jain Law Agency, Flat No. 8, Sector No. 22 .. (Reg.)
Rama News Agency, Booksellers, Sector No. 22 .. (Reg.)
Universal Book Store, Booth 25, Sector 22-D .. (Reg.)
English Book Shop, 34, Sector 22-D .. .. (Rest.)
Mehta Bros., 15-Z, Sector 22-B .. .. (Rest.)
Tandan Book Depot, Shopping Centre, Sector 16 (Rest.)
Kailash Law Publishers, Sector 22-B .. (Rest.)

Calicut

Touring Book Stall .. .. .. (Rest.)

Chhindwara

The Verma Book Depot .. .. .. (Rest.)

Chochin

Saraswat Corporation Ltd., Palliarakav Road .. (Reg.)

Cuttack

Press Officer, Orissa Sectt. .. .. (Reg.)
Cuttack Law Times .. .. .. (Reg.)
Prabhat K. Mahapatra Mangalabag, P. B. 35 .. (Reg.)
D. P. Sure Sons, Mangalabag .. .. (Rest.)
Utkal Stores, Balu Bazar .. .. (Rest.

Dehra Dun

Jugal Kishore & Co., Rajpura Road .. .. (Reg.)
National News Agency, Paltan Bazar .. (Reg.)
Jugal Kishore & Co., Rajpura Road .. .. (Reg.)
National News Agency, Paltan Bazar .. (Reg.)
Bishan Singh and Mahendra Pal Singh, 318 Chukhuwala .. .. (Reg.)

Delhi

J. M. Jaina & Brothers, Mori Gate .. .. (Reg.)
Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmeri Gate .. .. (Reg.)
Federal Law Book Depot, Kashmeri Gate .. (Reg.)
Bahri Bros., 188, Lajpat Rai Market .. (Reg.)
Bawa Harkishan Dass Bedi (Vijaya General Agencies), P. B. 2027, Delhi Ahata Kedara, Chamalian Road .. .. (Reg.)
Book-Well, 4 Sant Narankari Colony, P. B. 1565, Delhi-9 .. .. (Reg.)
Imperial Publishing Co., 3, Faiz Bazar, Daryaganj (Reg.)
Metropolitan Book Co., 1, Faiz Bazar, Delhi .. (Reg.)
New Stationery House, Subzimandi .. .. (Reg.)
Youngman & Co., Nai Sarak, Delhi-6 .. (Reg.)
Indian Army Book Depot, 3, Daryaganj .. (Reg.)
All India Educational Supply Co., Sri Ram Buildings, Jawahar Nagar .. .. (Rest.)
Dhanwant Medical & Law Book House, 1522, Lajpatrai Market .. .. .. (Rest.)
University Book House, 15, U. B. Bangalore Road, Jawahar Nagar .. .. .. (Rest.)
Govt. Book Agency, 2646, Balimaran .. .. (Rest.)
Summer Brothers, P. O. Birla Lines .. .. (Rest.)
Universal Book & Stationery Co., 16, Netaji Subhash Marg .. .. .. (Reg.)
B. Nath & Bros., 3303, Charkhawalan (Chowri Bazar) (Rest.)
Rajkamal Prakashan (P) Ltd., 8, Faiz Bazar .. (Reg.)
Universal Book Traders, 80, Gokhla Market .. (Reg.)
Tech., & Commercial Book Co., 75, Gokhla Market (Rest.)
Saini Law Publishing Co., 1416, Chabiganj, Kashmeri Gate .. .. .. (Rest.)
G. M. Ahuja, Booksellers & Stationers, 309 Nehru Bazar .. .. .. (Rest.)
Sat Narain & Sons, 3141 Mohs. Ali Bazar, Mori Gate (Reg.)
Kitab Mahal (Wholesale Div.) Private Ltd., 28, Faiz Bazar. .. .. .. (Rest.

Hindu Sahitya Sansar, Nai Sarak .. .. (Rest.)

Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Oriental Booksellers & Publishers, P. B. 1165, Nai Sarak .. .. (Rest.)

K. L. Seth, Suppliers of Law, Commercial & Tech. Books, Shanti Nagar, Ganeshpura .. .. (Rest.)

Dhanbad

Ismag Co-operative Stores Ltd., P. O. Indian School of Mines .. .. .. (Reg.)

New Sketch Press, Post Box No. 26 .. .. (Rest.)

Dharwar

Rameshraya Book Depot, Subhas Road .. (Rest.)

Ernakulam

Pai & Co., Cloth Bazar Road .. .. (Rest.)

Ferozepore

English Book Depot, 78, Jhoke Road .. .. (Reg.)

Gaya

Sahitya Sadan, Gautam Budha Marg .. (Reg.)

Goa

Jairam Sagoon Dhoud, Booksellers, Panjim .. (Rest.)

Guntur

Book Lovers Private Ltd., Kadiguda, Chowrasta (Reg.)

Gorakhpur

Vishwa Vidhyalaya Prakashan, Nakhes Road .. (Rest.)

Gauhati

Mokshada Pustakalaya, Gauhati, Assam .. (Reg.)

Gwalior

Supdt., Printing & Stationery, M. B.

Loyal Book Depot, Patankar Bazar, Lashkar .. (Reg.)

M. C. Daftari, Prop. M. B. Jain & Bros., Booksellers, Sarafa, Lashkar .. .. .. (Rest.)

Ghazibad

Jayana Book Agency .. .. .. (Rest.)

Hyderabad

Director, Govt. Press .. .. ..

The Swaraj Book Depot, Lakdikapul .. (Reg.)

Book Lovers Private Ltd. .. .. (Rest.)

Labour Law Publications, 873, Sultan Bazar .. (Rest.)

Hubli

Pervaje's Book House, Koppikar Road .. (Reg.)

Indore

Wadhwa & Co., 56, M. G. Road .. .. (Reg.)

Swarup Brothers, Khajuri Bazar .. .. (Rest.)

Madhya Pradesh Book Centre, 41, Ahilya Pura .. (Rest.

Modern Book House, Shiv Vilas Palace .. (Rest.)

Navyug Sahitya Sadan, Publishers & Booksellers, 17, Khajuri Bazar .. .. .. (Rest.)

Imphal

Tikendra & Sons, Booksellers .. .. (Rest.)

Jaipur City

Govt. Printing and Stationery Department, Rajasthan .. ..

Bharat Law House, Booksellers and Publishers, Opp. Prem Prakash Cinema .. .. (Reg.)

Garg Book Co., Tripolia Bazar .. .. (Reg.)

Vani Mandir, Swami Mansingh Highway .. (Reg.)

Kalyan Mal & Sons, Tripolia Bazar .. .. (Rest.)

Popular Book Depot, Chouri Rasta .. (Reg.)

Krishna Book Depot, Chaura Rasta .. .. (Rest.)

Dominion Law Depot, Shah Building, P. B. No. 23 (Rest.)

Jawalapur

Sahyog Book Depot .. .. .. (Rest.)

Jamshedpur

Amar Kitab Ghar, Diagonal Road, P. B. 78 .. (Reg.)

Gupta Stores, Dhatkidih .. .. .. (Reg.)

Sanyal Bros., Booksellers & News Agents, Bistapur Market .. .. (Rest.)

Jamnagar

Swedeshi Vastu Bhandar .. .. .. (Reg.)

Jodhpur

Dwarka Das Rathi, Wholesale Books and News Agents .. .. (Reg.)

Kitab Ghar, Sojati Gate .. .. .. (Reg.)

Choppra Brothers, Tripolia Bazar .. .. (Reg.)

Jabalpur

Modern Book House, 286, Jawaharganj .. (Reg.)

Jullundur City

Hazooria Bros., Mai Hiran Gate .. .. (Rest.)

Jain General House, Bazar Bansanwala .. (Reg.)

University Publishers, Railway Road .. (Rest.)

Kanpur

Advani & Co., P. Box 100, The Mall .. (Reg.)

Sahitya Niketan, Sharadhanand Park .. (Reg.)

The Universal Book Stall, The Mall .. (Reg.)

Raj Corporation, Raj House, P. B. 200, Chowk .. (Rest.)

Karur

Shri V. Nagaraja Rao, 26, Srinivasapuram .. (Rest.)

Kolapur

Maharashtra Granth Bhandar, Mahadwar Road .. (Rest.)

Kodarma

The Bhagwati Press, P. O. Jhumritelaiya, District Hazaribagh .. .. (Reg.)

Kumta

S. V. Kamat, Booksellers and Stationers (N. Kanara) (Reg.)

Lucknow

Soochna Sahitya Depot, (State Book Depot) .. --
Balkrishna Book Co. Ltd., Hazratganj .. (Reg.)
British Book Depot, 84, Hazratganj .. (Reg.)
Ram Advani, Hazratganj, P. B. 154 .. (Reg.)
Universal Publishers (P) Ltd., Hazratganj .. (Reg.)
Eastern Book Co., Lalbagh Road .. .. (Reg.)
Civil and Military Educational Stores, 106/B, Sadar Bazar .. .. (Rest.)
Acqurium Supply Co., 213, Faijabad Road .. (Rest.)
Law Book Mart, Amin-Ud-Daula Park .. (Rest.)

Ludhiana (E. P.)

Lyall Book Depot., Chaura Bazar .. .. (Reg.)
Mohindra Brothers, Kathcyri Road .. .. (Rest)
Nanda Stationery Bhandar, Pustak Bazar .. (Rest.)
The Pharmacy News, Pindi Street .. .. (Rest.)

Madurai

Oriental Book House, 258, West Masi Street .. (Reg.)
Vivekananda Press, 48, West Masi Street .. (Reg.)

Mathura

Rath & Co., Tilohi Building, Bengali Ghat .. (Rest.)

Madras

Supdt., Govt. Press, Mount Road .. ..
Account Test Institute, P. O. 760, Emgore .. (Reg.)
C. Subbiah Chetty & Co., Triplicane, Madras-5 .. (Reg.)
K. Krishnamurty, Post Box 384 .. .. (Reg.)
Presidency Book Supplies, 8, Pyerafts Road, Triplicane. .. .. (Reg.)
P. Vardhachary & Co., 8, Linghi Chetty Street .. (Reg.)
Palani Prachuram, 3 Tycrafts Road, Triplicane .. (Reg.)
South India Traders, Exporters, Importers, Agents and Govt. Booksellers, Rapapettah .. .. (Reg.)
NCBH Private Ltd., 199, Mount Road (Rest.)
V. Sadanand, The Personal Book shop, 10 Congress Building, 111, Mount Road .. .. (Rest.)

Mandya

K. N. Narimhe Gowda & Sons, Sugar Town .. (Rest.)

Mangalore

U. R. Shenoye Sons., Car Street, P. Box 128 .. (Reg.)

Manjeshwar

Mukenda Krishna Nayak. .. .. (Rest.)

Meerut

Hind Chitra Press, West Kutchary Road (Reg.)
Prakash Educational Stores, Subhas Bazar (Reg.)
Loyal Book Depot, Chhipi Tank .. .. (Reg.)
Bharat Educational Stores, Chhipi Tank .. (Rest.)
Universal Book Depot, Booksellers & News Agents (Rest.)

Monghyr

Anusandhan, Minerva Ices Building .. (Rest.)

Mussouri

Cambridge Book Depot, The Mall .. .. (Rest.)
Hind Traders .. .. .. (Rest.)

Muzaffarnagar

Mittal & Co., 85-C, New Mandi .. .. (Rest.)
B. S. Jain & Co., 71, Abupura .. .. (Rest.)

Muzaffarpur

Scientific & Educational Supply Syndicate .. (Reg.)
Legal Corner Tikmanis' House—Amgola Road .. (Rest.)

Mysore

H. Venkataramiah & Sons, New Statue Circle .. (Reg.)
Peoples Book House, Opp. Jagan Mohan Palace .. (Reg.)
Jeevana Pustakalaya, 1254/1, Krishnamurthipuram (Rest.)
News Paper House, Lansdowne Building .. (Rest.)

Nagpur

Supdt., Govt. Press & Book Depot .. ..
Western Book Depot, Residency Road .. (Reg.)
The Asst. Secretary, Mineral Industry Association Mineral House .. .. .. (Rest.)

Nandid

R. S. Desay, Station Road .. .. (Rest.

Nanded

Book Centre, College Law General Books, Station Road. .. .. .. (Rest.)
Hindustan General Stores, Paper & Stationery Merchants, P.B. No. 51 .. .. (Rest.)

New Delhi

Amrit Book Co., Connaught Circus .. .. (Reg.)
Bhawani & Sons, 8-F, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
Central News Agency, 23/90, Connaught Circus (Reg.)
Empire Book Depot, 278 Aliganj .. .. (Reg.)
English Book Stores, 7-L, Connaught Circus, P. O. B. 328 .. .. .. (Reg.)
Faqir Chand & Sons, 15-A, Khan Market, New Delhi-1 .. .. .. (Reg.)
Jain Book Agency, C-9, Prem House, Connaught Place .. .. .. (Reg.)
Oxford Book & Stationery Co., Scindia House .. (Reg.)
Ram Krishna & Sons (of Lahore) 16/B, Connaught Place .. .. (Reg.)
Sikh Publishing House, 7-C, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
Suneja Book Centre, 24/90, Connaught Circus .. (Reg.)
United Book Agency, 31, Municipal Market, Connaught Circus .. .. .. (Reg.)
Jayana Book Depot, Chhaparwala Kuan, Karol Bagh (Reg.)
Navayug Traders, Desh Bandhu Gupta, Road, Dev Nagar .. .. .. (Reg.)
Saraswati Book Depot, 15, Lady Harding Road .. (Reg.)
The Secretary, Indian Met. Society, Lodi Road... (Rest.)
New Book Depot, Latest Books, Periodicals Sty. & Novelles, P. B. 96, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
Mehra Brothers, 50-G, Kalkaji, New Delhi-19 .. (Reg.)
Luxmi Book Stores, 42, Janpath Street .. (Rest)
Hindi Book House, 82, Janpath .. .. (Rest.)
Peoples Publishing House (P) Ltd., Rani Jhansi Rd. (Reg.)
R. K. Publishers, 23, Beadon Pura, Karol Bagh (Rest.)

Sharma Bros. 17, New Market, Moti Nagar .. (Reg.)
Aapki Dukan, 5/5777, Dev Nagar .. .. (Rest.)
Sarvodaya Service, 66A-1, Rohtak Road, P. B. 2521 (Rest.)
H. Chandson, P. B. No. 3034 .. .. (Rest.)
The Secretary, Federation of Association of Small Industry of India, 23-B/2, Rohtak Road. .. (Rest.)
Standard Booksellers & Stationers, Palam Enclave (Rest.)
Lakshmi Book Depot, 57, Regarpura .. (Rest.)

Pathankot

The Krishna Book Depot, Main Bazar .. (Rest.)

Patiala

Supdt., Bhupendra State Press ..
Jain & Co., 17 Shah Nashin Bazar .. .. (Reg.)

Patna

Supdt., Govt. Printing (Bihar)
J. N. P. Aggarwal & Co., Padri Ki Haveli, Raghu Nath Bhawan .. .. .. (Reg.)
Luxmi Trading Co., Padri Ki Haveli .. (Reg.)
Moti Lal Banarsi Dass, Bankipore .. .. (Reg.)
Bengal Law House, Chowhatta .. .. (Rest.)

Pithorgarh

Maniram Punetha & Sons .. .. (Rest.)

Poona

Deccan Book Stall, Deccan Gymkhana .. (Reg.)
Imperial Book Depot, 266, M. G. Road .. (Reg.)
International Book Service, Deccan Gymkhana .. (Reg.)
Raka Book Agency, Opp. Natu's Chawl Near Appa Balwant Chowke, Poona-2 .. .. (Reg.)
Utility Book Depot, 1339, Shivaji Nagar .. (Rest.)

Pudukkottai

Shri P. N. Swaminathan Sivam & Co., East Main Road. .. .. .. (Rest.)

Rajkot

Mohan Lal Doccabhai Shah, Booksellers and sub-Agents. .. .. (Reg.)

Ranchi

Crown Book Depot, Upper Bazar .. .. (Reg.)
Pustak Mahal, Upper Bazar .. .. (Rest.)

Rourkela

The Rourkela Review .. .. .. (Rest.)

Rewa

Supdt., Govt. State Emporium, U. P. .. ..

Saharanpur

Chandra Bharata Pustak Bhandar, Court Road .. (Rest.)

Secenderabad

Hindustan Diary Publishers, Market Street .. (Reg.)

Silchar

Shri Nishitto Sen Nazirpatti .. .. (Rest.)

Sinnar

Shri N. N. Jakhadi, Agent, Times of India, Sinnar, (Nasik) .. .. (Rest.)

Shillong

The Officer-in-Charge, Assam Govt., B. D. Chapla Bookstall, P. B. No. 1 .. .. (Rest.)

Sonepat

United Book Agency .. .. .. (Reg.)

Simla

Supdt., Himachal Pradesh Govt. Press .. (Reg.)
Minerva Book Shop, The Mall .. .. (Reg.)
The New Book Depot, 79, The Mall .. (Reg.)

Srinagar

The Kashmir Bookshop, Residency Road .. (Reg.)

Surat

Shri Gajanan Pustakalaya, Tower Road .. (Reg.)

Tuticorin

Shri K. Thiagarajan, 18-C, French Chapal Road .. (Rest.)

Trichinopoly

Kalpana Publishers, Wosiur .. .. (Reg.)
S. Krishnaswami & Co., 35, Subhash Chander Bose Road .. .. .. (Reg.)
Palamiappa Bros. .. .. .. (Rest.)

Trivandrum

International Book Depot, Main Road .. (Reg.)
Reddear Press & Book Depot, P. B. No. 4 .. (Rest.)

Udaipur

Jagdish & Co., Inside Surajapole .. .. (Rest.)

Ujjain

Manak Chand Book Depot, Sati Gate .. (Rest.)

Varanasi

Students Firends & Co., Lanka .. .. (Rest.)
Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Gopal Mandir Road, P. B. 8. .. .. .. (Reg.)
Kohinoor Stores, University Road, Lanka .. (Reg.)

Vizianagram

Sarda & Co. .. .. (Rest.)

Vijayawada

The Book & Review Centre, Eluru Road, Governpet (Rest.)

Vezegapatam

Gupta Brothers, Vizia Building .. .. (Reg.)
Book Centre, 11/97, Main Road .. .. (Reg.)

Vellore

A. Venkatasubhan Law Booksellers .. .. (Reg.)

Wardha

Swarajeya Bhandar, Bhorji Market .. .. (Reg.)
Govt. of India Kitab Mahal, Janpath, Opp. India Coffee House, New Delhi.
Govt. of India Book Depot, 8, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
} FOR LOCAL SALES.
High Commissioner for India in London, India House, London, W. C. 2.

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS AS ON 31-12-1962

(On S and R Basis)

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The Assistant Director, Extension Centre, Kapileshwar Road, Belgaum.

The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Dhar.

The Assistant Director, Footwear Extension Centre, Polo Ground No. 1, Jodhpur.

The O. I/c Extension Centre, Club Road, Muzaffarpur.

The Director, Indian Bureau of Mines, Government of India, Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel, Nagpur.

The Assistant Director, Industrial Extension Centre, Nadiad, (Gujarat).

The Head Clerk, Photozincographic Press, 5 Finance Road, Poona

Government Printing and Stationery, Rajkot.

The O. I/c Extension Centre, Industrial Estate, Kokar, Ranchi.

The Director, S. I. S. I. Industrial Extension Centre, Udhna Surat.

The Registrar of Companies, Narayani Building, 2, Erabourne Road, Calcutta-1.

The Registrar of Companies, Kerala 70, Feet Road, Ernakulam.

The Registrar of Companies, H. No. 3-5-83, Hyderguda, Hyderabad.

The Registrar of Companies, Assam, Manipur and Tripura, Shillong.

The Registrar of Companies, Sunlight Insurance Building, Ajmeri Gate Extension, New Delhi.

The Registrar of Companies, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, Link Road, Jullundur City.

The Registrar of Companies, Bihar Jammal Road, Patna-1.

The Registrar of Companies, Rajasthan and Ajmer; Shri Kumta Prasad House, 1st Floor, 'C' Scheme, Ashok Marg, Jaipur.

The Registrar of Companies, Andhra Bank Building, 6 Linghi Chetty Street, P. B. 1530, Madras.

The Registrar of Companies, Mahatma Gandhi Road, West Cott. Bldg., P. B. 334, Kanpur.

The Registrar of Companies, Everest 100, Marine Drive, Bombay.

The Registrar of Companies, 162, Brigade Road, Bangalore.

The Registrar of Companies, Gwalior.

Assistant Director, Extension Centre, Bhuli Road, Dhanbad.

Registrar of Companies, Orissa, Cuttack Gandhi, Cuttack.

The Registrar of Companies, Gujrat State, Gujrat Samachar Building, Ahmedabad.

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Gahlot Bros., K. E. M. Road, Bikaner.

Higginbothams & Co. Ltd., Mount Road, Madras.

M. Gulab Singh & Sons (P) Ltd., Mathura Road, New Delhi,

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S/S Education Enterprise Private Ltd., Kathumandu (Nepal).

S/S Aktie bologat, C. E. Fritzes Kungl, Hovobokhandel Fredsgation 2 Box, 1656, Stockholm-16 (Sweden).

Publication Division, Sales Depot, North Block, New Delhi.

The Development Commissioner, Small Scale Industries, New Delhi.

The O. I/c University Employment Bureau, Lucknow.

O. I/c S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, Malda.

O. I/c S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, Habra, Tabaluria, 24 Parganas.

O. C. I/c S. I. S. I. Model Carpentry Workshop, Piyali Nagar, P. O. Burnipur.

O. C. I/c S. I. S. I. Chrontanning Extension Centre, Tangra 33 North Topsia Road, Calcutta-46.

O. I/c S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, (Footwear), Calcutta.

Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Hyderabad.

Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Krishna District (A. P.)

Employment Officer, Employment Exchange Jhabua.

Deputy Director, Incharge, S. I. S. I. C/o Chief Civil Admn. Goa, Panjim.

The Registrar of Trade Unions, Kanpur.

The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Gopal Bhavan.

GRPG—889—Census—5-11-63-16,000.