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PART VI

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPH No. 1

General Editor

P. P. BHATNAGAR

of the Indian Administrative Service

Superintendent of Census Operations, Uttar Pradesh

VILLAGE RAJDERWA THARU

(Tahsil Balrampur, District Gonda)

BY

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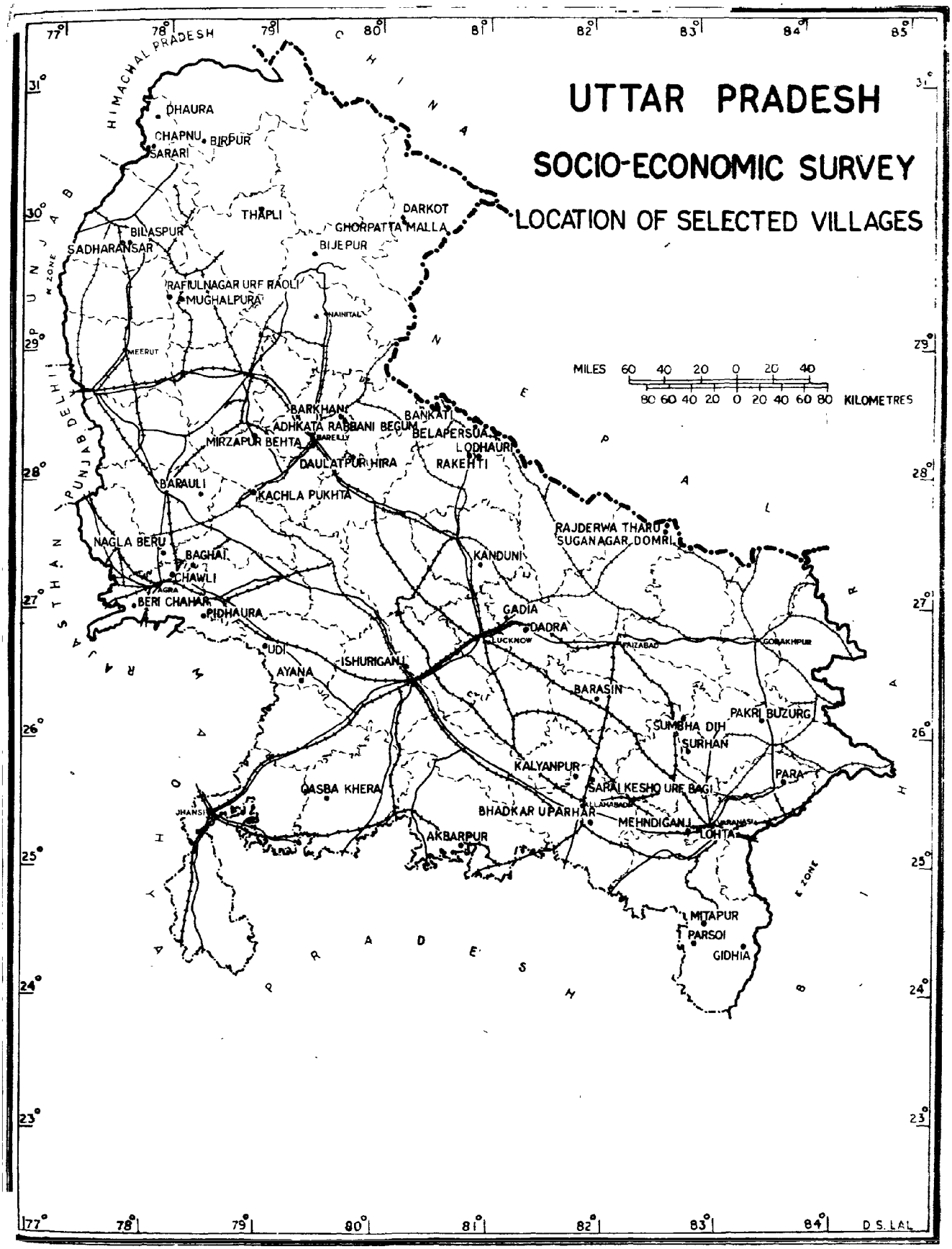
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FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundation of demography in this subcontinent, 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 thing 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 by-paths' 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 centralization on the one hand and decentralization 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 adjustments 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, moveable and immoveable 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 Trivandrum (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 organized 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 useful suggestions 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 adopted for this monograph have been printed in an appendix to the monograph on village Thapli of district Garhwal.

NEW DELHI :
24 *May* 1962.

A. MITRA
Registrar General, India.

PREFACE

In Uttar Pradesh the Census Organisation selected a number of villages for special study of the dynamics of change in the social, cultural and economic life of the rural community. An analysis of the structure and functioning of the village economy is expected to reveal the forces which promote or retard the processes of change coming into play, either in the natural course or as a result of various legislative measures such as the establishment of Panchayats, the abolition of Zamindari, the extension of Planning and Development activities, and the enforcement of various social laws. The knowledge thus gained can be utilised for the re-orientation of policies of rural development and village uplift.

2. The selection of villages for study was made in accordance with certain principles and criteria laid down by the Registrar General. Of the selected villages, some contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, some are populated by backward aboriginal people, and others have an old and settled character with a multi-ethnic composition and diverse occupations. Minor deviations from the standards prescribed for selection were inevitable because of the non-availability of the requisite number of villages having all the prescribed variables. This purposive selection has made it possible to study the impact of various factors of change upon the culture and economy of villages situated in the interior where outside influences are slow to penetrate and slower to act as also the normal types which are exposed to a greater degree to the winds of change from various directions.

3. Rajderwa Tharu, a village situated in the interior of the Tarai forest in district Gonda, was selected because it has a predominant population of the Tharu community and also because outside influences have been slow to penetrate this submontane region.

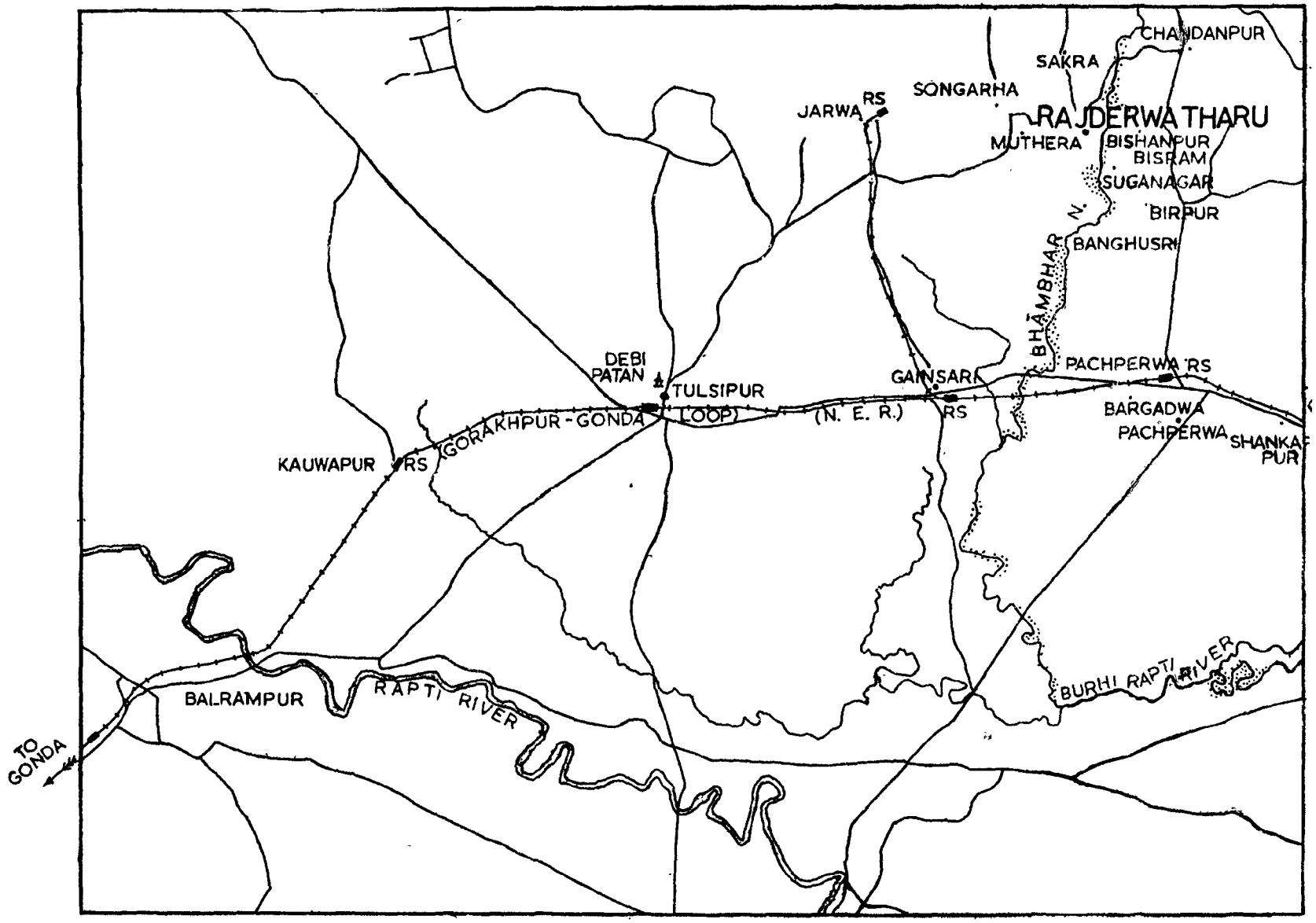
4. The research methods employed in this study have consisted of the use of schedules and questionnaires, case studies, village records, census data, interviews and group discussions. The local investigation was carried out by the field staff of this Organisation, having a well-trained pair of eyes. There was some difficulty in the initial stages because the investigator was viewed with suspicion, but after he gained the confidence of villagers and established rapport with them, the work of investigation became easy and simple. The data were collected in the month of January 1961. The study was of course subject to time pressure.

5. Field investigation in the village was carried out by Shri J. P. Misra, Socio-Economic Inspector, who had been borrowed from the National Sample Survey Organization. Shri R. C. Sharma, Deputy Census Superintendent, of the Uttar Pradesh Civil Service, is responsible for supervising the investigation, marshalling the statistical evidence, analysing the data and drafting the report.

6. Opinions expressed and conclusions reached by the writer of this monograph are based on the results of the investigation. They are his own and do not reflect the views of the Government in any way.

P. P. BHATNAGAR
Superintendent of Census Operations,
Uttar Pradesh.

LUCKNOW :
The 4th December, 1962.



NOTIONAL MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF VILLAGE RAJDERWA THARU IN TAHSIL BALRAMPUR

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

Location

Rajderwa Tharu is a forest village situated in the eastern corner of the dense forest of Rampur range in the Gonda Forest Division. It lies nearly in latitude 27° 31′ north and longitude 82° 39′ east with a height of 100 feet above sea-level. It is bounded on the north by village Rajehna, on the west by village Matehra, on the south by village Bankatwa and on the east by village Suganagar Domri. All these villages are populated by Tharus just like Rajderwa Tharu itself. Bhambar *nadi* separates it from Suganagar Domri and Ghogrol *nadi* from village Matehra.

The village falls in the newly created tahsil Balrampur of district Gonda. Till about 1959 when tahsil Balrampur had not been created, this village was part of tahsil Utraula. For reaching this village one has to get down at Pachperwa railway station which is at a distance of 57 miles from Gonda on the loop line of the North Eastern Railway connecting Gonda and Gorakhpur. Rajderwa Tharu is at a distance of ten miles only from Pachperwa railway station. The distance has to be travelled on foot ; cycle and bullock cart can be used except during the rainy season. At a distance of about 8½ miles the Bhambar *nadi* has to be crossed. About 100 yards of the footpath lies within the forest. A jeep cannot reach the village by this track, because it cannot cross this *nadi*. During fair weather the village can be reached by a jeep from Gonda *via* Tulsipur and Jarwa. There is a 8 mile *kachcha* dense forest road connecting Jarwa and this village. The total distance between Gonda and this village is about 68 miles. There is no bus route connecting this village to other places. Another method of reaching the village is to bank upon the courtesy of truck drivers of forest contractors casually plying between Pachperwa and Rajderwa Tharu and other villages in the forest from November to May.

The village is visible from a distance of about one mile as a cluster of huts of grass and thatch. As one draws nearer, Tharu men and women are seen engaged in cultivation or other work. Groups of naked and dirty children playing about in dust cannot escape one's eye. The young women blush at the sight of the stranger but to satisfy their curiosity they would watch him from behind and whisper among themselves as to what for has the *bajia* (*bajee* being the word used by them for a non-Tharu) come to the village. Every stranger is invariably looked upon with suspicious eyes. The villagers are shy by nature. The non-Tharus too think twice before going to the village because, according to common belief, the Tharu women are expert in witchcraft and would put the visitor to unnecessary trials and tribulations.

Rajderwa Tharu lies in the Tarai belt at the feet to the Himalayas. The border of Nepal is at a distance of about five miles and the hills of the Himalayan range at a distance of about six miles. Lying as the village does in the midst of the forest, the population is exposed to the ravages of wild animals and the onslaughts of mosquitoes, especially the anopheles.

Balrampur, the tahsil headquarters, is situated at a distance of 42 miles — 10 miles on foot and 32 miles by train — from the village. The Supervisor Kanungo has his headquarters at Pachperwa even though he actually lives at Balrampur. The Lekhpal also, within whose jurisdiction this village falls, lives at Balrampur. This village lies in the jurisdiction of police station Pachperwa, but no resident of the village has ever been a complainant or an accused in any police case up to this time. In October, 1961, a Development Block in Stage I, has also been opened, but its activities have not been extended to this village as yet. An allopathic dispensary under the administration of the Antarim Zila Parishad is also situated at Pachperwa, but more often than not, only the

compounder has to remain in its charge, because of the non-availability of a qualified doctor. Pachperwa is also the main market for transactions of all necessaries of daily life.

The post office nearest to the village is situated in village Banghusri at a distance of four miles to the south-east of this village. The distance has to be covered on foot. The scheduled visit of the postman is quite erratic. The dak, if any at all, is usually sent through residents of this village who happen to come across the postman. The nearest telegraph office is at the railway station Pachperwa ; the Railway Department provides the facility of sending telegraphic messages on usual payment.

The Nyaya Panchayat headquarters is in village Bishanpur Bishram at a distance of about four miles to the north-east of the village. No case from this village has been referred to the Nyaya Panchayat for adjudication, because whatever cases arise are decided by the Tharu caste panchayat whose headquarters is at village Songadha at a distance of about two miles from the village. Like any other village, this village too has a Gaon Sabha established under the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947. There is no co-operative society in the village, but two of the residents of this village are members of the Co-operative Credit Society in village Bishanpur Bishram.

The forest *chowki* is situated in the village itself. It is manned by a Forest Guard under the immediate control of the Ranger of Rampur Range. Fuel, grass and timber are supplied to the villagers free of cost from the forest ; cattle grazing is also allowed on payment of nominal fees. Additional requirements of timber of Tharus are met by the Forest Department on payment of concessional price.

Markets

The main markets of this village are situated at Pachperwa and village Barhaipurwa at a distance of six miles to the east of the village. Pachperwa is a big market for the area. In addition to the usual market, the weekly market is held at Pachperwa on every Wednesday and at Barhaipurwa on every Sunday. Cloth, *gur*, kerosene oil, salt and all other articles of daily use are available in the market. Rice, the main produce of the village, is sold in these markets. The village is connected by three roads leading to village Suganagar Domri in the south-east, Matehra in the west and Birpur in the east.

The People

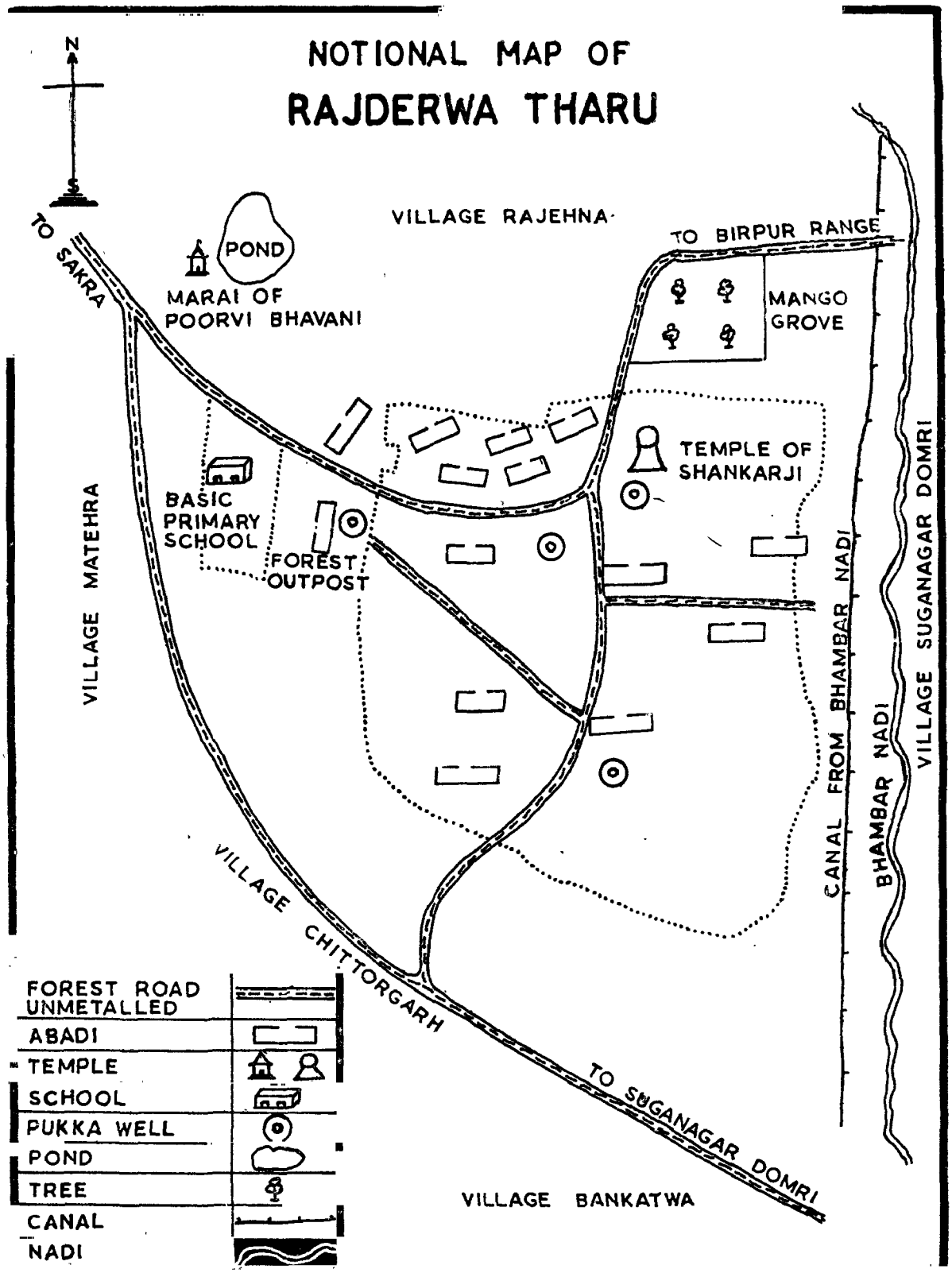
The village has 31 households with a total population of 337 persons, out of whom 329 are Tharus, six Brahmins and two Muslims. Thus it is a Tharu village. The area of the village is 403.76 acres and its density is 403 persons per square mile.

The Tharus are a simple and God-fearing people, having a firm faith in deities, demons, goblins and evil spirits. On the eastern outskirts of the village they have a small temple of Shankar Ji, which can be worshipped by the vegetarians only and on the western side is the *marai* (hut) sacred to goddess Poorvi Bhavani, where sacrifices are often made to propitiate the deity. In addition, every house has a deity room, set apart for Poorvi Bhavani.

Some believe that the Tharu women are fully conversant with witchcraft which they use on non-Tharus who happen to come across them. They claim to be Rajputs, but their features betray a Mongolian origin. They are believed to have migrated from village Dang in Nepal at a distance of about 40 miles to the north of this village. They are non-vegetarian and consume country liquor frequently.

They do not have a separate language of their own. Like other Hindus, they speak Hindi, of course with some elisions and local twists to pronunciation, one of the striking features being their invariable pronunciation of the letter 't' as it is pronounced in the words cat or rat. The standard of literacy and education is very low. There is a Basic Primary School run by the Antarim Zila Parishad in this village.

Cultivation of land is the main occupation, paddy being the main produce. Some people also work as lumbermen in the forest ; they also


NOTIONAL MAP OF
RAJDERWA THARU
N
S
TO SAKRA
POND
MARAI OF
POORVI BHAVANI
VILLAGE RAJEHNA
TO BIRPUR RANGE
MANGO
GROVE
TEMPLE OF
SHANKARJI
BASIC
PRIMARY
SCHOOL
FOREST
OUTPOST
VILLAGE MATEHRA
CANAL FROM BHAMBAR NADI
BHAMBAR NADI
VILLAGE SUGANAGAR DOMRI
VILLAGE CHITTORGARH
TO SUGANAGAR DOMRI
VILLAGE BANKATWA
FOREST ROAD
UNMETALLED
ABADI
TEMPLE
SCHOOL
PUKKA WELL
POND
TREE
CANAL
NADI

transport timber from the forest to outside places. They dogmatically stick to these occupations and are not keen to migrate in search of fresh fields and pastures new.

Drinking water is available without any inconvenience at the four wells in the village. The dead are cremated on the bank of Ghogrol *nadi* which forms one of the natural boundaries of the village.

Flora and Fauna

All types of trees and wild animals are found in this village and the surrounding forest. The principal species of commercial value found in the nearing forest are the *sal* (Shorea robusta), *asaina* (Terminalia tomentosa), *dhau* (Anogeissus latifolia), and *haldu* (Adina cordifolia). Other trees are of *shisham* (Dalbergia sissoo), *khair* (Acacia catechu), *mahua* (Phyllanthus emblica), *semal* (Bombax helphtaphyllum), *jamun* (Eugenia jambolana), *aonla* (Bassia latifolia), etc. The village has a mango grove and some guava trees. Among the wild animals, tiger, leopard, bear, wolf, wild pig, *sambhar*, spotted dear, black buck, hog-deer, *nilgai* (blue bull), porcupine, jackal, fox and hare occur in the forest. Birds like peacock, jungle fowl, bustard, partridge, quail and bill pigeon and poisonous creatures like snake, scorpion and chameleon are also found in abundance.

Origin of the Village

The village and the forest that surrounds it used to be the property of Balrampur Estate till the enforcement of the U. P. Zamindari and Land Reforms Act in July, 1952. During his hunting expeditions, the ruling prince used to camp here, because the site is at a higher level than the surrounding area and water from Ghogrol and Bhambar *nadi* was easily available. The Tharus who are themselves good at games were mobilised for helping these *shikar* parties. Hence the place came to be known as *Raja-ka-Derwa* or camping ground of the Raja and when the Tharus settled there at the instance of the Raja, the village began to be called Rajderwa Tharu.

It is not exactly known as to when the village came into existence. According to information collected during the Survey, out of 31 households in the village, two households settled earlier than five generations, two households between four to five generations ago, 21 households between two to four generations ago and six households consisting of three Tharus, two Muslims and one Brahmin during the present generation.

Reason for Selection

This village was purposively selected for survey with a view to studying the way of life of the Tharu tribe and finding out the nature and speed of changes in this remote village, which has few reasons to make deliberate efforts at change and more to remain conservatively stuck to its past.

CHAPTER II

The People and their Material Equipment

Ethnic Composition

Out of the total population of 337 persons consisting of 185 males and 152 females, the number of Tharus is 329 or 97.63 per cent, whereas out of the remaining population six persons are Brahmins and two Muslims. The village has 27 households of Tharus, two households of Brahmins and another two households of Muslims. The village has a predominant Tharu population and the number of *Bajees,* as the non-Tharus are termed by the Tharus, is very small. One of the Brahmins is a Government employee posted as Forest Guard in this village. Another person belonging to the Brahmin community was a widow who had come from her village Khajgaura temporarily for looking after the agricultural operations in her fields in this village. The two Muslims were seasonal migrants who had come to this village as fire watchers employed in the Forest Department for eight months only. Thus the non-Tharu population of this Tharu village consists of rank outsiders.

Origin of Tharus

The Tharus are a jungle tribe. According to some, the word Tharu is derived from Hindi *thahrey* (halted) because they are said to have halted after the alleged flight into the forest; others attribute the origin to the Hindi word *tarhua* (wet) in allusion of the swampy tracts in which they live. Some of the Tharus say that they are Rajputs, who ran away after the great fight of Hastinapur and that their name means "Quaker", from Hindi word *thatharana,* to tremble. Others say that the name simply means "residents of the Tarai". "Another etymology", says Mr. Nesfield, "suggested is from *thar,* which in the colloquial language of the lowest classes, but not in the language of books, signifies forest, a name which correctly describes the status of the tribe. On the whole, however, it is safer not to search for any Hindi etymology, but to consider the name as sprung from the language of the tribe itself, which is now for the most part obsolete. An aboriginal name underived from Sanskrit or neo-Sanskrit source is the fit appellative of an aboriginal, casteless, un-Brahmanized tribe whose customs have been only slightly modified by contact with those of the Aryan invaders."

The tradition in East Oudh is that after the fall of Buddhist Dynasty of Kannauj, the Tharus descended from the hills and occupied Ayodhya. They dispossessed the Buddhists, who called in Raja Sri Chandra of Srinagar in the hills near-about Badrinath who drove back the Tharus and marching north occupied Chandravatipur, now known as Sahet-Mahet.

All the Tharus in this village are of Dangwariya sect. They are supposed to have come from a place known as Dang in Nepal which is about 40 miles north of this village. They claim to be of Rajput descent, but their features betray a Mongolian origin. As observed on page 599 of A. C. Turner's Census Report, Vol. XVIII, Part I of 1931, "The Gonda Tharus are split up into many endogamous sections such as Buxa, Dangwariya, Detwar, Dhahwal, Dhaker, Jogi, Kathariya, Khun, Khusiya, Kachhila, Mushar, Pradhan Purbaiya, Rajbatar, Rautar and Umra, of which the Jogis and Kathariyas wear the sacred thread. The higher sub-castes look down upon the lower sub-castes such as Dhahwals and Kachhilas and will not even smoke with them. The Kathariyas do not keep hens though almost all other Tharus do."

The Tharus do not belong to the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes, but somehow the higher castes do not hold them in high esteem socially. In fact the Brahmin, the Rajput and the Vaish do not accept water from the hands of the Tharus. Even the lower castes do not

accept food touched by a Tharu. Such conservative persons who have sometimes to stay in the village are provided with utensils and *seedha* and they cook for themselves without hesitation. The Tharus would prepare their *chauka* and clean their utensils.

The Tharus are reputed to be "honest, brave, great hunters and good cultivators, their favourite crop being rice. As everywhere, the Tharus are highly superstitious and much under the influence of their priests; their disputes are settled by the tribal council, and at their gatherings, and on every possible occasion, they consume large quantities of liquor distilled from rice."*

Physical Features

Their features have a tinge of Mongolian origin, although these marks have somewhat softened. The faces of the men especially do not differ much from those of other Hindus. Still, however, a difference is observable even in the men, and in the women and children it is closely marked.

The males have a longish and rather flat face. They are lean and thin with a slightly flat nose and a dark or wheatish complexion. They have a scanty growth of beard and moustache. Most of them are short statured.

The womenfolk too have a dark or wheatish complexion and a rather flat nose, but their faces are round and they are stout and healthy.

According to Dr. D. N. Majumdar "the Tharu resemble the artisan castes in body characters, the Bhantu and the Habura in facial characters, and some of the higher castes in nasal characters . . . . the Mongoloid features are definite among them, and even the skin colour is yellow-brown, and oblique eyes are numerous."†

Dress

The Tharu male wears a *dhoti* or a *lungi*. The *dhoti* is generally five yards long with a width of 48 inches. The *lungi* is generally two and a half yards in length. Ordinary *markeen* cloth in length of five yards or 3 and 2½ yards is purchased for being used as *dhoti* or *lungi*. The Tharus do not, however, wear the *lungi* as the Muslims do. The *dhoti* is worn occasionally. They do not wear trousers or *pyjamas*. Underwears also made of *markeen* cloth are used as substitutes of *dhoti* or *lungi*. They also wear shirts with collars or without collars, *kurtas* and *sadri* or *salooka*. A *sadri* is a sort of cotton jacket with two or three pockets and a *salooka* is a sort of half-sleeved sport shirt without collar but with a big side pocket which serves as a tobacco pouch as well. In place of shirt, sometimes the *phatui*, having one anna pieces, four anna pieces and eight anna pieces as buttons, is also used. The *banian* (under-vest) is not used. The males use a white Gandhi cap made of *markeen* cloth, which in fact becomes quite dirty as a result of regular absorption of oil used liberally on head. Some males of the younger generations do not use a cap; they are neat and clean and are locally known as *chhaila*, a dandy. Up to the age of six or seven years the boys go about naked. Thereafter, they begin wearing underwears. Only some of the Tharu males use a shoe. Wooden sandals with strap of hemp string locally known as *paula* are used by men and women both, especially during the rainy season. Some use wooden sandals with a peg.

The Tharu women put on *ghaghra* or *lehanga* from the waist up to the ankles. These are just like voluminous skirts with big pleats. The cloth generally used is black cotton chintz with a border of red cotton cloth. *Kurties* of printed cloth, generally red or black, having contrasting borders are used to cover the thorax somewhat like a loose blouse extending up to the upper portion of the *lehanga*. On attainment of puberty the females also use an *orhani*, a two and a half yards long thin cloth red, yellow or green in colour, for covering their heads. The younger generation has started using *sari* and blouse but without petticoat or bodice. Girls do not use an *orhani* until they

*Nevill, H.R., Gonda : A Gazetteer, 1905, page 71.

† Majumdar, D.N. : Races and Cultures of India, 1961, page 70.

have attained puberty. *Orhanis* embroidered with pieces of silver (generally four anna pieces) are specially liked by the womenfolk.

Garments

The Tharu males sometimes put on *kardhani* round their waist with one rupee silver coins and corals (*moongas*) hanging from it. Sometimes the *goojaha*, a sort of bracelet of round solid silver, is also used; a silver or gold *kanausi*, a small thin ring, is worn by some males on the upper part of the ear; *bichkani* is similarly worn in the middle of the ear whereas the ring is used on the finger. Some use a *taveez* (amulet) round the neck. Wearing of ornaments among the males is becoming out of fashion.

The Tharu females love to adorn themselves with heavy silver armlets, bracelets, anklets, nose rings and necklaces of beads and many-coloured shells. The following ornaments are generally used by them :—

Local Name of Ornaments	Description
1. *Teeka* ..	.. A silver ornament weighing about 2 tolas worn on the forehead by married females only
2. *Tikuli* ..	.. A small piece of coloured thin glass pasted on the forehead by married females
3. *Biria* ..	.. A silver ornament weighing about 10 tolas worn in the lobe of the ears
4. *Jhumka*	.. A silver ear-ring weighing about 4 tolas worn in the lobe of the ear
5. *Tarki* ..	.. An ear stud made of lac, wood and small glass pieces, worn by married females only
6. *Sehra* ..	.. A silver ornament weighing about 2 tolas, worn in the lobe of the ear
7. *Motia* ..	.. A small nose stud made of gold, about ¼ tolas in weight
8. *Phophi* ..	.. A nose stud made of gold, slightly bigger than *motia*, about 3/8 tola in weight
9. *Nathia* ..	.. A big nose ring made of gold from ¼ tola to ½ tola in weight
10. *Bulak* ..	.. A gold nose ring bigger than *rathia*, ½ to one tola in weight
11. *Hansli* ..	.. A round ornament of solid silver worn round the neck, about 20 tolas in weight
12. *Kantha* ..	.. A gold ornament worn round the neck, just like a necklace
13. *Mala or Havel* ..	.. A silver necklace in which one rupee silver coins are woven together with a *haikal* (a broad piece of silver hanging below). It hangs up to the breast.
14. *Bijayath* ..	.. A silver armlet with a wide and thin plate 10 to 20 tolas in weight
15. *Joshan* ..	.. A silver armlet weighing from 10 to 20 tolas
16. *Tandia* ..	.. A round silver armlet weighing from 10 to 20 tolas
17. *Kangan*	.. A silver bracelet, weighing from 8 to 10 tolas, worn on the wrist ahead of bangles
18. *Choori* ..	. Bangles made of shellac, which must be worn on wrist by the married females
19. *Pachhaila*	.. A silver bracelet weighing from 8 to 10 tolas, worn on the wrist behind the bangles
20. *Paira* ..	.. A silver ornament weighing from 8 to 10 tolas, worn on the leg
21. *Lagurahi*	.. A silver ring weighing about a tola, worn on the foot fingers
22. *Kara* ..	.. A solid silver or German silver ornament weighing from 20 to 30 tolas, worn round the leg near the ankles

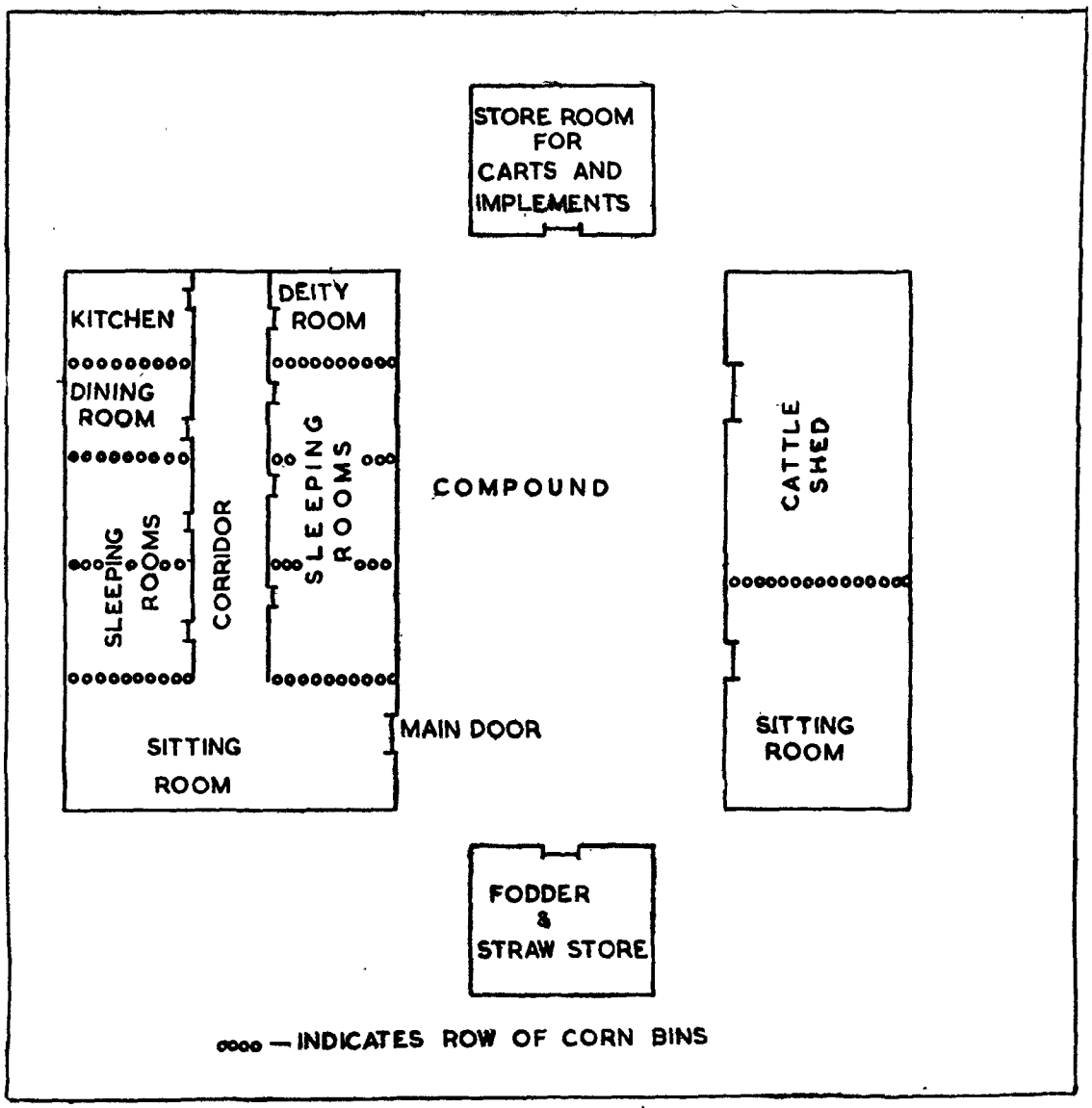
Tandia, lagurahi, phophia, havel, tarki, tikuli, kantha and *kara* are worn by the Tharu females almost always. Other ornaments are used at the time of festivals or ceremonies. *Tarki* and *tikuli* are used by the married females only.

Dwellings

The Tharus build their houses at some distance from one another for fear of fire because wood and reed of which these houses are made catch fire easily.

The houses are built of grass and wattle because this material is easily available in abundance from the nearby forests. The walls are made of the stems of *arhar* and *ghatera* reed, plastered with clay and dung and the roofs are thatches made of *ghatera* reed and grass, resting on wooden beams (*balli*) supported by wood pillars. The houses are spread in a rectangular area from north to south, their width being from east to west. Houses on a square plot are treated as inauspicious.

The following plan shows a typical Tharu house :—



As is evident the living portion is separate from the cowshed, the guest room which is also used by the watchman member of the household, the store room for carts and implements and the straw store. A big compound is left for various purposes such as sun-basking, drying of grain, sleeping during the summer, etc. The compound is not surrounded by any walls. The main door of the residential portion faces east. Inside, one row of residential rooms is separated from the other, lest privacy of individual couples be disturbed. Rooms in the same row are not separated by walls but only by rows of corn bins joined together by clay and mud so that one cannot peep through. Adequate space remains between the top of the corn bins and the inner portion of the roofs, enabling one to go from one room to another over the roof of the corn bins if one choses to do so. Every room has got a small hole of about six inches diameter in the broad gallery ; the rooms are without door leaves and hence doors of two rooms do not confront

back wall as a passage for air and light. Strangely enough, it is provided at a height of about 2½ feet from the floor.

In the north-eastern room of the residential portion is the deity room which is treated as the abode of the deity Poorvi Bhavani. The room is kept very neat and clean. Actually no puja is performed but whenever an animal is to be slaughtered to propitiate the deity by an individual, this room is utilised.

The kitchen is situated just in front of the deity room. Adjacent to the kitchen is the dining room or any other room.

The rooms are generally so dark that even during the midday one cannot read or write there without a lamp.

An average residential house is constructed in a plot 25 cubit long and 8 cubit wide. The biggest house in the village is 35 cubit long and 12 cubit wide.

Cost of Building

Since most of the material required for constructing a house is available free of cost, the average cost of construction is quite low. A house is constructed by members of the household assisted by the other households. The total cost of construction of the residential and other rooms over an area of 25 cubit length and 8 cubit breadth comes to about Rs.60.

Four households have houses with tiled roofs and pukka brick walls. Bricks and tiles have to be purchased from village Pachperwa at the rate of Rs.35 per thousand and Rs.25 per thousand respectively. Cement is also available at Pachperwa on payment of Rs.7 to Rs.10 per bag. Masons have to be imported from other villages and they charge Rs.2.50 nP. per day as their wages.

Customs relating to Construction of Houses

When a house is to be constructed they consult Pandit Baboo Ram for finding out an auspicious day for starting the construction by fixing the first *thunia* or *balli* into the ground. No other ceremonies are performed at this stage or when the house is occupied by the householder.

Dwelling Standards

The following table shows the types of houses occupied by various communities :—

TABLE NO. 2.1

Showing Types of Houses Communitywise

Type of Houses	Communities		
	Tharu	Brahmin	Muslim
1. Pukka houses	..	1	..
2. Partly pukka (brick wall and tile roof)	4	..	..
3. Reed and grass houses	23	1	2
Total ..	27	2	2

Thus 83.85 per cent of the houses are made of reed and grass. The only completely pukka house is the government quarter in which the Forest Guard lives.

The following table shows the number of rooms in occupation of various households :—

TABLE NO. 2.2

Showing Households by Number of Rooms

Number of Rooms	Number of House-holds	Percentage	Number of Persons
1	2	6.45	2
2	2	6.45	3
3	1	3.23	6
4	4	12.90	22
5	8	25.81	35
6 and more	14	45.16	269
Total ..	31	100	337

Out of 31 households 14 households or 45.16 per cent have houses with six rooms or more. The number is high because most of the households have a large number of members which is evident from the following table :—

TABLE No. 2.3

Size and Composition of Households

Number of Members per House-hold	Number of House-holds	Percentage of House-hold	Total Number of Persons	Percentage of Total Popula-tion
1	3	9.68	3	0.89
2—3	2	6.45	4	1.19
4—6	10	32.26	51	15.13
7—9	3	9.68	23	6.82
10 and over	13	41.93	256	75.97
Total ..	31	100.00	337	100.00

Thus 41.93 per cent of the households with 75.97 persons of the population have 10 or more family members.

Household Goods

The following table gives an idea of household goods in the village in possession of households of various communities :—

TABLE No. 2.4

Showing Household Goods Communitywise

Name of Article	Number of Households possessing		
	Tharu	Brahmin	Muslim
1. Bedstead	1	1	..
2. Chair	1	..	..
3. Cot	27	2	2
4. Hurricane lantern	20	1	2
5. Torch	14	1	2
6. Bicycle	4	1	1

There is no petromax or radio set in the village. Torches and hurricane lanterns are necessary in this village. There are only six bicycles. People ordinarily move about on foot or on bullock carts.

Utensils

The following utensils are generally used by the residents of this village :—

Local Names of Utensils	Description
1. *Batlohi*	Bell-metal vessel used for boiling rice and pulse
2. *Batoola*	Bell-metal vessel used for boiling rice
3. *Karahi*	Iron frying pan for preparing meat and vegetables
4. *Prat*	A big plate of brass, meant for preparing dough
5. *Thali*	A big plate of brass or bell-metal used for taking food
6. *Tawa*	A round and convex piece of iron used for baking *chapati*
7. *Karchhi, chamcha*	A big spoon made of brass or iron used for serving cooked pulse or vegetable
8. *Lota*	A small round utensil made of brass or bell-metal for taking water
9. *Gagra*	A big utensil made of brass or bell-metal for storing and carrying water
10. *Gagri*	A big clay utensil for storing water
11. *Balti*	Bucket made of iron
12. *Gilas*	A tumbler made of brass or bell-metal
13. *Adhiya*	Wooden dish used for taking meals by the children
14. *Katori*	Dish used for taking meals by the children
15. *Kathwat*	A wooden vessel used for keeping curd preparations

No crockery is used in the village because they do not take tea. Fuel collected from the forest is used as firewood for cooking. Dung cakes are not prepared because of the plethora of firewood in the forest.

Corn bins, locally known as *dehri,* are found in every house. They are used for storing grains; in addition they serve the purpose of walls between two rooms. They are made of clay mixed with cow dung and straw. The average life of a corn bin is about 25 years. Its capacity varies from 12 maunds to 20 maunds, according to size.

Fish nets are invariably found in every Tharu household because everyone takes fish. *Benda,* a sort of round mat prepared out of paddy straw, is also very common. It is used for sitting round the fire in the winter season or while taking meals in every day life. Similarly, *gondri* made of *moonj* grass and interwoven with hemp strings, is found in every Tharu house. It is used for sitting or for lying on the floor.

Food and Drink

Out of the entire population only the Brahmin widow is a vegetarian, the remaining 97.7 per cent population being non-vegetarian. The main diet of the Tharus consists of boiled rice and cooked pulse. *Chapaties* are seldom used. *Mand,* the liquid starch taken out of boiled rice, is relished by everyone with a pinch of salt and chilli. Chicken and eggs are available in plenty because poultry rearing is common in every house. They do not mind consuming the flesh of rabbit, fox, boar, jackal, mice and tortoise, in addition to mutton. *Daru* is the favourite drink of every household. In fact they are addicted to drinking so much that it is not possible for them to give up this habit. Liquor is available @ 25 nP. a bottle. *Jaund* is prepared by them locally by fermentation of rice.

The non-Tharus too take boiled rice and cooked pulse as a staple diet. They do not however take the flesh of jackal, boar, mice and tortoise.

Frequency

Out of the 31 households, six households consisting of 4 Tharus, 2 Brahmins and 2 Muslims, take two meals a day and the remaining 23 households, i.e., 80.65 per cent, which all belong to Tharu community, take three meals a day. At the time of *kaleva* or breakfast the Tharus take *mand,* at the time of *mingi* or lunch they take boiled rice and pulse whereas at *beri* or dinner time they take boiled rice, pulse and meat. They add spices and chilli to pulses, vegetables and meat in adequate quantity.

Birth Customs

Ordinarily the fact of pregnancy is indicated by the stoppage of menstruation. It stands confirmed when menstruation remains stopped for two months. During pregnancy, lifting of heavy weights is prohibited. The Tharu females continue working in the fields and inside the house right up to the time of delivery. No special diet is taken by them during this period. No ceremony is performed for celebrating the event.

The delivery takes place at the husband's place in the sleeping room. Elderly females of the household or the village are in attendance. If the case is too complicated for them, the more experienced females of the community are called in from other villages. Such an emergency has never arisen in this village. The umblical cord used to be severed by the wife of Shri Bachchoo Lal Tharu who belongs to the *Nau pad.* She has discontinued doing so because now she thinks that it is a degrading job. Hence a sweepress from village Banghusri, which is a non-Tharu village at a distance of about 4 miles from this village, is called in. The umblical cord is buried underneath in the fields, so that dogs might not consume it. Mrs. Bachchoo Lal attends to the mother and the infant for six days. Only the mother and the infant and the attendant women are treated as ritually impure.

For the first two days the mother is served *sonthaura,* a preparation of *gur,* ghee and *sontha* (dried ginger). Liquor is given during the period of confinement as well. It is also rubbed on the body of the mother, for giving her strength. The period of confinement is limited to six days only. On the sixth day the child is given a bath and laid in a *soop* (winnowing fan) over a small quantity of rice, as is done on the first day. While being bathed, water is poured on the body of the child through a nose ring of gold worn by a female. This ceremony is meant

for purifying the child. No feast is given to any one. The *gand dhuria* blesses the child and gives him a suitable name. During the period of confinement an iron weapon, such as knife or sickle, is kept by the side of the child to protect it from the ghost or the evil eye. Heads of snakes and scorpions are also burnt so that the child may remain protected from his enemies throughout his life. The *mundan sanskar* or the head shaving ceremony is performed after about one year at the shrine of Poorvi Bhavani. A barber from Suganagar Domri is called in for shaving the child's head with a razor. He is not paid specially for it. No feast is given to the *biradari.*

Rites attending on Puberty

A girl is considered to have attained puberty from the day of her first menstruation. *Orhani* ceremony is performed on the first day of the Dashera festival that falls after this event. An elderly woman of the Tharu household, generally an elder sister or a *bhabhi* (brother's wife) puts a new coloured *orhani* on the head of the girl by surprise. Sometimes the girl runs about here and there resisting the attempt to put the *orhani* on her head but ultimately she has to yield. Once the *orhani* is placed on her head she would never remove it.

Marriage Customs

The Dungwariya Tharus living in this village form one endogamous group. The bride and the bridegroom can be of the same village but cannot be of the same *pad,* e.g., a Hardaula can marry in any *pad* other than Hardaula. Marriage within the village is preferred. If a suitable groom is not locally available, one is searched out in the neighbouring Tharu village. Marital connection in far off localities is avoided so far as possible because in such a case closer relations between the two families cannot be maintained.

Although *mangni* or betrothal ceremony is performed at an early age, yet actual marriages are performed when the boy and girl are rather grown up. Actually speaking, marriages are performed according to the convenience of the parties irrespective of age consideration. No intercaste marriage has taken place ; similarly runaway marriages are rare. Extra-marital ties are severely dealt with. If both the parties are Tharu, penalty of *kachchi* or *pakki* feast is imposed by the caste panchayat but if the male belongs to another community a severe beating is given.

More often than not, the marriage contract is negotiated. It is the family of the boy which seeks the bride. The proposal always comes from the groom's side rather than the bride's. The betrothal is negotiated generally by the *phoopha* (father's sister's husband) or *mama* (mother's brother) of the groom. As mediator in marriage he is locally called *bhatoo* or *ganjwa.* If the families agree, a date for the *mangni* ceremony is fixed by the parties. A Tharu marriage has the following stages :—

1. *Mangni*
2. *Ghar Dikhwai*
3. *Bar Dikhwai*
4. *Vivah*
5. *Gauna*

1. *Mangni Ceremony*

The father of the groom goes to the bride's father for proposing the marriage of his son with his daughter. If the latter agrees, the groom's father gives a rupee and some sweets to the bride's father in token of the initial success of the marriage negotiations and a day is fixed for *ghar dikhwai* ceremony.

Mangni, ghar dikhwai and *bar dikhwai* ceremony can be performed in any month but the actual marriage ceremony invariably takes place in the *Shukla Paksh* of *Phagun* after Shivratri.

2. *Ghar Dikhwai Ceremony*

Six or seven persons of the bride's family go to the house of the groom to see the house, the condition of the family and its social and economic status and the land which the groom's father is holding. This is called *ghar dikhwai* (seeing the house) ceremony. The prospective groom touches the feet of the members of the bride's party as a token of respect. This constitutes an

introduction of the groom with his would-be father-in-law. Country liquor is served in abundance by the groom's father to the members of the bride's family. Before taking the liquor some one from amongst those assembled asks: "Brethren ! why are we going to take this liquor to-day ?" One of them explains that so and so has come to give his daughter in marriage to the son of so and so. Then another question is put as to whether so and so is accepting her as his son's bride. The father of the groom stands up and expresses acceptance of the bride in the presence of all.

It is also decided that a breach of this promise by either party will be penalized by giving away two grooms or brides or a fine of 100 *patris* (meals for 100 persons) by the offenders, as the case may be. The promise is rarely repudiated. The bride's party returns the same day after fixing a date for *bar dikhwai* ceremony when they come to see the bridegroom again with friends and relatives.

3. *Bar Dikhwai Ceremony*

For this ceremony the bride's party consisting of near relatives goes to see the bridegroom at his house. The near relatives of the groom are also invited on the occasion. Sometimes, even 100 or more persons assemble. Meat and drink are lavishly provided by the groom's father. Some of them get overdrunk. They drink and dance merrily.

A male pig or goat which is especially reared and preserved for this occasion from before is slaughtered. This is one of the costliest ceremonies among the Tharus.

4. *Vivah (marriage)*

The following six types of marriages are performed in the community :—

(i) *Kanyadan*
(ii) Marriage by exchange
(iii) Marriage by cash payment
(iv) Widow remarriage
(v) *Jarimar* marriage
(vi) *Gharbaitha* marriage

In a *kanyadan* marriage the father gives his daughter in marriage to the bridegroom by making *kanyadan* as is done among the caste Hindus in Northern India. The marriage ceremony is performed generally at night. The boy and the girl are made to sit side by side in the presence of the holy fire. A *pandit* presides over the function. He recites *mantras* or holy verses on the occasion. The actual marriage ceremony consists of *shaptpadi* or *pheras* (the circumambulation of holy fire seven times) and the recitation of marriage vows by the bride and the groom to the recitation of holy verses and performance of *havan* by the *pandit*. The *kanyadan* or the giving away of the daughter to the groom is performed by the father of the bride. The marriage ceremony is performed under a well-decorated *mandap* or canopy in the presence of a number of friends and relatives and women of the house and community. The marriage is complete as soon as *shaptpadi* ceremony is over.

This method has been adopted for the first time recently by Shri Lachhman Prasad Gaon Pradhan in the marriage of his daughter. Since the *bhanwar* ceremony is performed at the time of marriage there is no necessity of performing it round the funeral pyre as is done in all other cases among the Tharus.

(ii) *Marriage by Exchange*

Exchange marriages are common in this village. In such marriages, there is an exchange of sisters. The groom's father gives one maund of rice and 5 seers of pulse to the other party. Exchange with a widow is not allowed. In this village, 36 marriages took place by exchange.

(iii) *Marriage by Cash Payment*

When there is no sister to be exchanged with the bride, some payment has to be made to the bride's father. The payment includes Rs.50 in cash, 12 maunds of paddy, 2 maunds of rice, 10 maunds of *aksa* pulse, rape-seed or rape-seed oil, spices, *daru, jaund,* etc. This payment is made by the groom's father before the marriage party reaches the bride's residence.

(iv) *Widow Remarriage*

Widows with one or two children or without encumbrances are married, if they so desire, in the *sagai* form. The selection of the husband takes place at the initiative of the widow. She herself selects one within the caste if a suitable one is not available within the family. The deceased husband's younger brother is preferred. No ceremony takes place in the case of widow remarriage. Only a feast locally known as *bhujwat* is given by the groom to the community. After the feast, the widow puts on shellac bangles again at the instance of her new husband. Ram Autar has married his elder brother's widow in this manner.

(v) *Jarimar Marriage*

Marriage by a wife during the life of her husband is known as *Jarimar* marriage. She seeks separation from her husband by refusing to go to him from her father's house. She selects a man of her own choice and announces her intention to marry. A day is fixed for the ceremony when a small banana tree is fixed on the ground at a distance from the village. The woman and her fiancee go there in bridal dress in the company of some friends and relatives. The women holds a sickle in her hand. Then some one from the assembly enquires as to what she is going to do with the sickle to which the bride replies that she is going to cut at the throat of her husband. Then with one stroke she cuts off the banana tree into two indicating that she has cut the throat of her husband and has also broken the marital ties with him. Her fiancee then catches hold of her by the arm, accepts her as his wife and then brings her to his house in the presence of everyone present. In such a marriage the *parchhan* ceremony of the bride and the groom does not take place at his house.

In this village two marriages of this type have been performed. Smt. Thagni, at present wife of Bhawa, was formerly married in village Motipur. During the lifetime of her husband she has married Bhawa. Another case is of Smt. Jagrania daughter of Barkao Tharu who was married in village Bhagwanpur. Her husband is still alive but she has married Phulpati Tharu of this village.

(vi) *Gharbaitha Marriage*

This type of marriage takes place when the bride or the widow does not leave her place and asks the groom to come and settle with her. In case of virgins, all the formalities of marriage are gone through but in case of widow, the formalities ordinarily performed in the case of widow remarriage only are performed. The husband begins residing with his wife just after marriage. In this village Shubraj Tharu who was a widower married a widow and began residing at her house.

Ceremonies before Marriage

After the *bar dikhwai* ceremony is over, the groom's father sends 2 maunds of rice, one maund of pulse, 4 seers of *gur,* some *jaund* and curd as a token of the final settlement of the marriage. If the bride's father is of means, he takes only 5 *muththis* (handful) of rice and $2\frac{1}{2}$ *muththis* of pulse out of it and returns the balance to the groom's father but if he is rather poor he takes all of it and returns very little out of it. This carrying of grains from the residence of the groom to that of the bride is locally called *chawur karai* ceremony. On this occasion *daru* is served to some members of the *biradari*. The groom's representatives then return to their village, beating their *daphla* (a sort of drum) on their way back.

One day after the rice-taking ceremony, the *deolalahi* ceremony is observed at both the places. On this occasion all the near and dear ones are invited to attend. On this day grinding of *urd* pulse is done by two maidens. Before grinding, the pulse is carried to the bank of river Ghogrol, for being washed. While returning, the females sing and dance, the mother of the bride or the groom being the chief dancer. She dances all along the way. Next morning the *baras* (small fried cakes) are prepared from the *urd* pulse. These are distributed among friends and relatives who have assembled there.

Bridal Dress

The bridal dress is prepared by Shri Namdar a Muslim tailor of village Haidergarh which is situated at a distance of about four miles from this place. He is called to prepare the dress at the residence of the bride or the groom. The bridal dress for males is a *jama* (a long bridal gown from neck to the knee), a turban and a *pharhanda* (a long cloth tied round the waist). All these garments are made of white *nainsukh* cloth. The dress for females consists of a *kurta* (like a blouse), a *pharia* (an *orhani* used for covering the head), a *chadar* and a *lehnga* of *galta* cloth. These clothes are red in colour. The tailor is paid about Rs.35 for repairing all the garments of the bridegroom/bride and the family.

This bridal dress has a great significance in a Tharu marriage. It is invariably prepared for every bride and groom separately. It cannot be a borrowed one. After the marriage ceremony, it is carefully preserved, to be used after death at the time of cremation. The dead body, clad in bridal attire, is taken seven times round the funeral pyre. Thus it is after death that marriage ceremony is completed.

The bride comes to her husband's house in the bridal dress got prepared by her father and returns to her father's house in the dress got prepared by her father-in-law.

Marriage Ceremony

On the day of marriage the bridegroom, attired in his bridal dress and accompanied by his friends and relatives, goes to the house of the bride. The bridegroom's middleman, locally called *bhatoo* or *ganjwa,* carries earthen pots containing *daru, jaund* and fish to the bride's residence. This carrying of these articles is called *sikobarhi bokna.* He precedes the bridal party. The groom is generaly carried on a *doli* (palanquin) by honorary bearers, locally known as *surha.* The marriage party stays at a place known as *janwasa.* In the evening, the bridegroom and his party go to the house of the bride where her friends and relations receive them. The females of the bride's family assemble at the door and by way of reception sprinkle *urd, moong,* rice and pea on the groom and sing loudly. This ceremony is called the *duar* puja (reception at the door). The bride's father puts a rice and turmeric mark on the forehead of the groom. While returning to the *janwasa* after this ceremony, the *ganjwa* is made to dance and sing throughout on the way.

On return to the *janwasa,* the *gor dhowai* (washing of the feet) ceremony is held. In the midst of songs the females of the bride's family come to wash the feet of the *doolha* (the bridegroom) and the *sahbala* (the groom's younger brother). After washing the feet, the dirty water is thrown to the backside of the groom. The females demand *bhaint* (gift) and some cash payment is made to them.

The groom is again called to the bride's place, taken to the deity room and then conducted to a decorated room, locally called *kohbar,* and made to sit on a cot. Dressed in her bridal attire, the bride comes and touches his feet. The sister or *bhabhi* or friends of the bride crack all sorts of jokes with the groom who is also the victim of many impish pranks. The groom touches the feet of the mother-in-law, the maternal uncle's wife, the wife of his elder brothers-in-law and wife's elder sister who give one rupee each to him in return. The couple then goes to the deity room with the females singing around to pay their respect to the deity.

In the meantime an amount of Rs.5 in cash, 5 *dhotis,* a *lehanga* and a *kurta* are given by the groom's father to the bride's father as *manjai* gift. The clothes so given are known as *chhauna kurta.*

Then all the members of the bridal party are called to dinner locally called *beri khilana.* Boiled rice, pulse, vegetables and meat are served to the party. The groom's father-in-law, locally called *Raut,* ties a rupee to the turban of the groom at the time of dinner.

When the groom tries to come out of the bride's house, her younger sisters obstruct him. The ceremony is called *duar chhikana.* The groom makes some payment to them and they

let him go. In his own turn, he catches hold of the *anchal* (hem) of the *orhani* of his wife's elder sister or *bhabhi*. They make some payments to him. Then the groom comes out and is taken back to the *janwasa*.

Next morning, the *barat* leaves the place along with the bride. Before leaving, the groom's father goes to the bride's residence with the party and pays the following token charges to the bride's father :—

Item	Details	Amount
1. *Bhuin Dhamkai*	Charges for the use of earth	Rs. 10.00
2. *Bhat Banwai*	Charges for preparing rice for the bridal party	Rs. 10.00
3. *Pata Lagwai*	Charges for preparing leaf plates	Rs. 5.00
4. *Pani Bharwai*	Charges for fetching water	Rs. 5.00
5. *Chirkawahi*	Charges for having made the surroundings dirty	Rs. 10.00
	Total ..	Rs. 40.00

The bride is carried in a *doli* (palanquin) carried by her father and/or brothers or near relations. She is also accompanied by a *lokandari*, an elderly female other than mother or aunt. She looks after the bride and 'protects' her from the overtures of her husband in the night.

When the marriage party reaches the groom's residence, the bride and the groom are received by the females of the family. The ceremony is called *doolha parchhana*. The mother or any other married female, if the mother is a widow, holds a *soop* (winnowing fan) in her left hand with a small clay lamp burning in it and a *paharuwa* (a big pestle) in right hand. She sways the pestle round the heads of the couple and then touches it with the *soop*. The operation is repeated five or seven times. Then the couple is conducted inside the house. They go and pay their respect to the deity. Then they are made to sit together on a cot. The bride rubs a little *bukwa* (paste of crushed rape-seed) on the left leg of her husband. This is the binding party of the marriage ceremony. Rest of the body is rubbed with *bukwa* by the elder brother's wife. In the night both sleep separately. The *lokandari* sleeps in the room of the bride. Next morning the bride leaves for her father's place in the *doli* now carried by her father-in-law or his men. The *lokandari* also returns.

5. *Gauna*

The second marriage or the *gauna* ceremony is performed sometimes afterwards according to the convenience of the parties, age of majority of the spouses being one of the major considerations. During the period between the marriage and the *gauna* ceremony the bride is not expected to do any household work at her parent's house. She is busy preparing *mauni* (small baskets made of *moonj* grass) and *machia* (a sort of small and low backless chair). For inviting the relatives to participate in the *gauna* ceremony, the bridegroom sends a *machia* and a *gunri* to all the relatives who send one rupee to him in return. For the *gauna* ceremony, the groom goes to the bride's house with a party of friends and relatives on the stipulated date. They eat and drink in the night and return with the bride the next morning. She carries with her all the baskets and *machias* prepared by her. The bride is carried to her husband's house in a *doli* borne by her father and other near relatives. Again there is a *dulhan parchhan* ceremony at the residence of the groom by the females. This time the marriage is consummated and the bride stays there for a long time.

Some Highlights of Marriage Customs

Marriage with maternal uncle's daughter or mother's sister's daughter is allowed. Marriage with other blood relations is not permissible.

Divorce and widow remarriage are allowed. Divorcees can remarry just as widows can. The social status of such a wife is, however, considered somewhat inferior to that of the regularly wedded wife. For purposes of inheritance both rank equally.

Polygamy is allowed but polyandary is prohibited. Two males had taken two wives each but now both the husbands are dead.

The younger brother can marry the elder brother's widow but the elder brother cannot marry his younger brother's widow.

Vermilion can be daubed in the parting of the hair only by the married females.

In every marriage a gift of five utensils namely *batoli, thali, lota, gagra* and *karchhul,* locally known *pauchbar bartan,* is given by the bride's father to the groom's father. The gift is given in the case of a marriage by exchange as well.

No priest or Brahmin presides over the marriage functions. In the only marriage by *kanyadan,* which was recently celebrated, the Brahmin did preside. Ordinarily the Brahmin is consulted only for indicating the dates of various functions.

Death Customs

Immediately after death the dead body is laid on the ground in the compound, with the head towards the north. Formerly burial was the usual form of disposal of the dead body but nowadays cremation is in vogue. Corpses of children up to the age of ten years only and of those who die an unnatural death are buried.

The dead body is bathed and attired in the bridal dress, wrapped in a shroud of *nainsukh* cloth and then tied to a bier. Sometimes, a shawl is also placed on the body. The bier is carried to the bank of river Ghogrol on the shoulders of four persons, generally the near relations of the deceased. In the case of the females the shroud is red in colour. At the time of cremation, the dead body of the male is placed on the pyre in a prostrate position and that of the female in a supine position. Before placing the body on the funeral pyre, it is taken round the pyre seven times in an anti-clock direction. This system of *bhanwar* of the corpse attired in bridal dress with the funeral pyre is quite unique. The pyre is generally lit by the eldest son of the deceased. The ashes are immersed in the river soon after the funeral. In some cases these are taken to holy places like Debi Patan or Ayodhya for being immersed. No relics are raised in memory of the deceased.

While returning after the funeral they would dig small pits on the ground with a spade so that the departed soul might fall into them if it wants to return to the house. It is a common belief that the soul cannot cross over a pit.

Chhoti roti or a small feast is given on the third day of death.

The *shuddhi* or purification ceremony starts on the tenth day in case of males and on the ninth day in case of females. Every male member of the family has to get his head and beard shaved. The moustache of a son is shaved in case of father's death and *choti* (tuft of hair) in the case of mother's death, if the father is alive. A feast is given to a few friends and relatives. A goat or a pig or chicken are sacrificed in honour of the deceased.

The final purification ceremony is held on the thirteenth day when *bari roti* or big feast is given to friends and relatives who arrive from distant parts even. Meat, fish and drinks are freely served. This ceremony is also known as *ghara* ceremony. If due to financial circumstances one cannot give this feast on the thirteenth day, it can be postponed but must be performed before the next Kartik month.

Shradh ceremony is performed by the Tharus just like other Hindus during the *Pitra Paksh,* the fortnight sacred to the deceased ancestors.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Occupational Pattern

The following table gives a detailed split-up of occupations, showing the number of persons in each occupation :—

TABLE No. 3.1

Showing the Number of Persons engaged in Different Occupations

Occupation	Number of Persons			Percentage of total Workers
	Persons	Males	Females	
1. Cultivation	133	70	63	67.8
2. Agricultural Labour	22	14	8	11.2
3. Transport (by bullock cart)	5	5	..	2.5
4. Cattle Grazing	25	25	..	13.0
5. Carpentry	2	2	..	1.0
6. Government Service	4	4	..	2.0
7. Domestic Service	5	3	2	2.5
Total workers	196	123	73	100
Non-workers	141	62	79	
Total Population	337	185	152	

The population has about 58 per cent workers ; out of the working force, 62.7 per cent are males. Agriculture is the most important occupation in which 67.8 per cent of the working population is engaged. Out of 133 persons engaged in cultivation, 70 persons or 52.7 per cent are males and 63 persons or 47.3 per cent are females. Out of the remaining workers, 22 persons consisting of 14 males and 8 females, are engaged as agricultural labourers, 25 males are engaged as cattle grazers, 5 males are engaged in transport service (carrying logs on their bullock carts from the forest to Pachperwa railway station), 2 males work as carpenters, 3 persons as fire watcher and one as a Forest Guard in the Forest Department. Three males and two females are engaged as domestic servants in the other Tharu households. In addition to these occupations, most of the male workers engaged in cultivation go to the forest to work as lumbermen on daily wages of Re.1.25 nP. under the forest contractors. The number of such persons fluctuates as this seasonal work is done according to one's needs and convenience. When these workers are engaged on contract basis, they sometimes earn from Re.1.25 nP. to Rs.2 per day.

Occupation by Caste

The following table gives a castewise distribution of the workers in various occupations :—

TABLE No. 3.2

Showing Occupation by Caste

Occupation	Castes					
	Tharu		Brahmin		Muslim	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1. Cultivation	70	62	..	1	..	..
2. Agricultural Labour	14	8	..	..	..	..
3. Transport (by bullock cart)	5	..	..	..	..	..
4. Cattle Grazing	25	..	..	..	..	..
5. Carpentry	2	..	..	..	..	..
6. Government Service	1	..	1	..	2	..
7. Domestic Service	3	2	..	..	..	..
Total ..	120	72	1	1	2	..

Out of 196 workers, 192 persons or 98 per cent are Tharus and the remaining 2 per cent are non-Tharus, comprising two households of Brahmins and two of Muslims. The two Muslims are fire watchers who were temporarily posted here. Of the two Brahmin households one is a govern-

ment servant and the other a cultivator. Agriculture is almost monopolised by the Tharus.

Occupational Mobility

There has been occupational mobility mostly within the village. No Tharu of this village has ever gone to city for service. The occupations of the present heads of the households with reference to the occupations of their fathers were studied. Out of 31 households in this village occupational mobility took place in 9 households only.

The following table indicates the details of occupational mobility in the village :—

TABLE No. 3.3

Showing Occupational Mobility

	Caste	Present Occupation	Father's Occupation	Number of Households	Cause of Change
1.	Brahmin	Forest Guard	Cultivation	1	Security in service
2.	Muslim	Fire-watcher	,,	2	,,
3.	Tharu	Carpenter	Share cropping in Nepal	1	Lost father and wife and migrated
		Cultivation	Agricultural Labour	1	Procured land by purchase
		,,	,,	1	Income not sufficient for maintenance
		Agricultural Labour	Cultivation	1	Lost the land due to poverty
		,,	Share cropping	1	No land available
		,,	Cultivation	1	Lost the land

The occupational mobility in respect of the Brahmin and the Muslim households occurred because they got employment in the Forest Department. The Forest Guard Shri Hazari Shukla, is a permanent resident of village Sonapur, tahsil Utraula, district Gonda. His father is a cultivator there. Ahmadullah Khan is a resident of village Khapripur and Mohammed Rubai is the resident of village Bargadhi in tahsil Balrampur. Their traditional occupation is cultivation.

Among Tharus mobility of occupations has taken place in respect of six households only.

Shubraj Tharu is the resident of village Sheoraj in Nepal. When his wife and father died, he shifted from Nepal to this place. Here he married the mother of Sita Ram and settled down. His father was a share-cropper in Nepal. Sita Ram's real father was a landless agricultural labourer, having no land. The step-father started working as a carpenter.

The father of Laley was an agricultural labourer. He was the resident of village Bhagwanpur, tahsil Balrampur. There he was unable to make his both ends meet. He purchased some land in this village some thirty years ago. Now he has 20.10 acres of land under cultivation and has settled in this village.

The father of Ram Prasad Tharu was an agricultural labourer in this village. With the increase in the number of family members, it was not possible for him to maintain a family of 14 members by working as a labourer. Hence land was procured about 20 years ago and cultivation was adopted side by side with agricultural labour.

Bhokhali aged 60 years is a widower and has an unmarried son aged 30 years. His father was a cultivator in this village but due to poverty, he lost his land. He has only 0.60 acres of land in his possession in place of 12.00 acres which his father possessed. Now Bhokhali works as an agricultural labourer and his son is an agricultural servant working on a monthly wage basis.

The father of Baboo Ram who is aged 66 years was a cultivator. He lost his land due to poverty and now his son works as an agricultural servant. He has five members in his family.

Ram Khelawan aged 16 years is an unmarried young man and lives with his widowed mother aged 55 years. Besides the 0.44 acres of land which he possesses at present, his father was a share-cropper. Now there is no share-cropping land with him and both he and his mother are engaged as an agricultural servant and an agricultural labourer respectively.

The heads of the 31 households were questioned as to the nature of their aspirations in regard to the occupations to be followed by their sons. All the Tharus except Dhokey like their sons to be cultivators only. Dhokey is the head of a household consisting of 15 members out of whom nine are engaged as agricultural labourers. He has no land nor is he hopeful of getting any. His father was an agricultural labourer. Since there is no likelihood of a change, he does not aspire for any other occupation. Non-tharus who are all in service want their sons to be in service.

Subsidiary Occupations

A study of subsidiary occupations among workers of this village was made. The two Muslims who are only seasonal employees cultivate some land in their own villages. Among the Tharus, the following subsidiary occupations are followed :—

Subsidiary Occupation	Number of Persons in the Occupation
1. Transport (by bullock cart)	9
2. Forest labourer	8
3. Cultivation	6
4. Agricultural labourer	5
Total ..	28

The number of workers who work as lumbermen could not be found out correctly. Whenever any one finds spare time, he works in the forest and earns about one rupee and a half per day.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the principal occupation of the residents of this village as 133 persons—70 males and 63 females — out of a total of 196 workers were found engaged in cultivation while another 22 persons, 14 males and 8 females, were found dependent on agriculture as labourers. In addition 11 persons were found engaged in cultivation and agricultural labour as subsidiary occupations.

The following table indicates the age-groups of workers in cultivation :—

TABLE No. 3.4

Showing Workers in Cultivation classified by Sex and Age-groups

Age-group (Years)	Cultivation			Agricultural Labour		
	Number of Workers			Number of Workers		
	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Ages	133	70	63	22	14	8
10—14	20	14	6	1	1	..
15—34	74	37	37	14	10	4
35—59	31	14	17	7	3	4
60 and over	8	5	3	..	..	..

In this village the females work equal to and sometimes even more than males. Except ploughing, the Tharu female does every odd job in connection with agriculture. In cultivation and agricultural labour there are 71 females or 45.8 per cent of the total persons engaged in agriculture.

Nature of Soil

The village is situated between Ghogrol and Bhambar *nalas* whose swollen water does not inundate the village site. The bed of the *nalas* has no doubt become sandy.

The Ghogrol *nala* cuts the village in the south-west. The land bordering it is sandy and sloping, producing only inferior *arhar*. The extreme north-east and south-west across the jungle produce the inferior *karengi*. The village stands on a little mound with slight sloping soil round it producing mostly maize and *lahi* near the *abadi* and wheat and barely in the distance. The west has a clayey soil but is infected with *reh* (clay salt) and produces inferior *satha*, barley and gram. About 25 per cent of the village is covered with jungle.

At the Settlement of 1942, the soil of the village was classified as follows :—

TABLE NO. 3.5

Showing Soil Classification and Rent

Class of Soil	Circle Rate per Bigha	
	Rs.	As.
1. *Domat I*	2	4
2. *Domat II*	2	..
3. *Domat III*	1	5
4. *Matiyar II*	1	7

Domat I and *Domat II* are the best soils in the village.

Irrigation

There are two sources of irrigation in the village, viz., wells and canal. With the exception of the well constructed by the forest Department, the remaining three wells serve as a source of irrigation also for the adjacent plots.

With concerted efforts the Tharus have constructed a canal by diverting the water of Bhambar *nala* towards the village fields. Whenever needed the water is diverted into this canal. Water reaches the paddy plots through small channels. For irrigating their plots in this way, the Tharus of this village are not required to pay anything even though they irrigate most of their plots with it. The officials do not keep any record of the land irrigated through these channels.

System of Land Tenure

Before the abolition of Zamindari, the village was in the then Balrampur Estate. The Tahsildar of the Estate used to live at Pachperwa and the village was under the Taluqdari system. The Estate Ziledar and the Tahsildar were responsible for collection of the revenue during those days.

Now there are only two types of land tenures, *bhumidhari* and *sirdari*. Six cultivators have *bhumidhari* rights over 271.35 acres of land. There is no *asami* in this village. The annual land revenue of the village is Rs.463.91 nP. only.

Payment of rent used to be generally made in kind by the tenants to the Ziledars who deposited the land revenue in cash in treasury. All the trees growing naturally belonged to the Estate. The tenants could fell trees in their holdings with the permission of the Tahsildar. So also the houses could be constructed only with the permission of the Tahsildar.

U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950

With the dawn of political freedom, the State government decided to do away with the much-maligned Zamindari system which was established by the British for reasons of expediency and administrative convenience. It was strongly felt "that without a radical change in the existing land system no co-ordinated plan of rural reconstruction can be undertaken to ensure agricultural efficiency and increased food production, to raise the standard of living of rural masses and to give opportunities for the full development of the peasants' personality." The

new system was expected to restore to the cultivator "the rights and the freedom which were his and to the village community the supremacy which is exercised over all the elements of village life."

The U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950, provided for the acquisition of intermediaries' rights on payment of compensation at 8 times of their net assets. The tenants were asked to make voluntary contributions of 10 times their rent; this provided finance for the speedy abolition of Zamindari, checked inflation and utilised the peasants' savings for a productive purpose. The tenants who made this contribution were called *bhumidhars* and were entitled to transferable rights in their holdings; they paid land revenue @ 50 per cent of their previous rent.

The bewildering variety of land tenures was substituted by a simple and uniform scheme of two main forms of land tenure. The intermediaries in respect of their *sir, khudkasht* and groves were classed as *bhumidhars*. So did also the tenants who paid an amount equal to 10 times their rent. The remaining tenants were called *sirdars* with permanent and heritable rights in land, the right to use their land for any purpose connected with agriculture, horticulture or animal husbandry, and to make any improvement.

A minor form of land tenure called *asami* applied to but a small number of men. It included non-occupancy tenants of land in which stable rights could not be given, such as tracts of shifting or unstable cultivation, and persons to whom land is let in future by *bhumidhars* or *sirdars* who are incapable of cultivating the land themselves. To prevent the re-emergence of the landlord-tenant system it was considered necessary to restrict the right of letting in the case of *bhumidhars* as well as *sirdars* only to disabled persons, such as minors, widows and persons suffering from physical or mental infirmity.

The general body of tenants of *sir* to whom hereditary rights could not accrue, and of the existing sub-tenants were given security of tenure for a period of 5 years after which they could, on payment of 15 times the hereditary rate or the rent of their tenant-in-chief, acquire *bhumidhari* rights.

All lands of common utility, such as *abadi* sites, pathways, wastelands, forests, fisheries, public wells, tanks and water channels vested in the village community or the Gaon Samaj consisting of all the residents of the village as well as *pahikasht* cultivators. The Gaon Panchayat acting on behalf of the village community was entrusted with wide powers of land management. This measure which made the village a small republic and a co-operative community was intended to facilitate economic and social development and to encourage the growth of responsibility and community spirit.

After the abolition of Zamindari, the system of land tenure was simplified. At the time of survey, the area of land under various tenures was as follows :—

TABLE NO. 3.6

Showing Area of Land under various Land Tenures

Tenure	Area (acres)	Percentage
1. *Bhumidhari*	23.56	5.8
2. *Sirdari*	272.72	67.5
3. Gaon Samaj (includes *abadi*)	20.57	5.1
4. Government Forest Area	86.91	21.6
Total ..	403.76	100.00

The tenants have to pay less rent now, since the intermediary has been eliminated. They are no longer subject to the tyranny of the zamindar. They are free to bring about any improvement on their land. But they are not very happy over the abolition of zamindari because the benefits of hunting, free timber and grass which they enjoyed at that time are not available to them

now. During the Estate regime whenever they felled any tree for construction of their houses or for any other domestic purpose, they were made to pay a fine of Rs.1.25 nP. only whatever the girth of the plant was. Now they have to pay a penalty according to the value of the plant. Hunting in the forest was freely allowed to them and meat was easily available to them but now hunting in the forest is prohibited. Although they used to work as forced labourers during the Estate regime, they feel that the benefits enjoyed by them over-weighed the toil involved.

Land Utilization

The total area of the village is 403.76 acres which is put to the following uses :—

Item of Utilization	Area in Acres
1. Area under water	10.48
2. „ population	9.95
3. „ grove and orchards	0.98
4. „ government forest	86.91
5. „ barren land	0.14
6. „ current fallow	2.82
7. „ cultivation	292.48
Total ..	403.76

Size of Holdings

An important aspect of land utilisation is the average size of holdings in a village. The holdings are continually sub-divided on every succession, in accordance with the existing law of inheritence. Although partition takes place in a Tharu family rarely such occasions do arise early or late. As a result of this continued process, some of the holdings become too small to support the holders and their families. Hence the cultivator has either to acquire fresh land or to reduce his standard of living. If he does neither, he will have to run into debt and ultimately join the rank of landless labourers.

The following table shows the size of the holdings in the village :—

TABLE NO. 3.7

Showing the Size of Cultivated Holdings

Land in Acres	Number of Households
0.10 to 1.00	3
1.00 to 2.50	1
2.50 to 5.00	2
5.00 to 10.00	10
10.00 to 15.00	6
20.00 to 25.00	1
25.00 to 30.00	1
31.00 acres and above	1
Total ..	25

Out of the total area under cultivation 229.73 acres are in the possession of the residents of this village and the remaining 66.55 acres are cultivated by residents of village Mutehra. Sri Sita Ram and Sri Gur Prasad of this village have their lands in this village as well as in the neighbouring villages.

Harvests

Only Kharif and Rabi crops are grown in the village. The Kharif Crops which are sown with the commencement of rainy season are harvested in the month of October. Paddy which is transplanted in the months of July—August is harvested in the months of November—December. It is locally called *Aghani* paddy. The paddy sown in June-July is harvested in the month of October is called *Kunwari* paddy. The variety called *Kalanamak,* which is known for its good smell, is generally sown. Paddy is the main crop of the village. It is also used in the preparation of *jaund,* the country liquor distilled by the Tharus themselves. Wheat and barley are the minor crops of the village. Among the Rabi

crops, *arhar* is the main crop, being sown in about 105.53 acres of land. This crop is sown in June-July and harvested in the months of March-April.

The following table shows the land under cultivation in Kharif and Rabi :—

Name of the Crop	Area of the Crop in the Village (in acres)
KHARIF CROPS	
1. *Kunwari* (Autumn) Paddy	10.06
2. *Aghani* (Winter) Paddy	221.74
3. Maize	31.63
4. *Kodon*	10.20
5. *Urd*	5.01
6. *Bhatwas*	2.47
7. Sugarcane	1.91
8. Fibre	0.12
9. Turmeric	0.27
10. Paddy (seedling)	6.01
Total ..	289.42
RABI CROPS	
1. Wheat	3.60
2. Barley	0.96
3. *Baijhar* (wheat, barley and gram mixed)	20.33
4. Peas	3.07
5. *Masur*	1.42
6. *Arhar*	105.53
7. Potato	0.91
8. Rape-seed	18.67
Total ..	154.49

The area under Kharif crops is almost double that under Rabi crops.

Important Crops

Paddy

Paddy is the most important crop of the village. Out of 289.42 acres of land cultivated in Kharif season, paddy alone occupies 237.83 acres or 82 per cent of the area. Seedling was prepared over 6.01 acres for transplantation, *Kunwari* paddy was sown over 10.06 acres and *Aghani* paddy over 221.74 acres. It is grown mostly in *matiyar* and *domat* soils. *Dindai, Karengi, Kalanamak, Bandhanwa,* and *Barhma* are the various varieties of paddy grown in this village.

Plots in which the *Kunwari* paddy is grown are ploughed up five to six times before the seed is sown. In case of *Aghani* paddy, the plot in which seedlings are prepared is ploughed seven to eight times and the locally prepared compost manure given at the rate of 6 bullock carts per bigha, i.e., about 360 maunds per acre. Paddy is sown with the onset of rains. In case of *Kunwari* paddy seed is sown at the rate of about one maund per acre but in the case of *Aghani* paddy seed is sown at the rate of about one maund and 20 seers per acre by the broadcasting method. When the seedlings grow to a height of six inches, weeding is done. For protecting themselves from sun, the cultivators use a special umbrella made of leaves and grass. It is locally called *chhata.* It is supported on three bamboo sticks. Weeding is done in case of *Kunwari* paddy only ; extra growth is weeded out about three to four times.

Transplantation is done only in case of *Aghani* paddy, when seedlings have grown to a height of 10 to 12 inches. In weeding and transplantation both men and women work. During the operation they are found sitting or bending in mud and water in the field singing songs and cutting jokes in a jovial mood. The labourers engaged for transplantation are paid at the rate of 4 seers of paddy or one rupee and four annas per day.

When transplantation is over in the whole village, a date is fixed with the consent of the *gand dhurias* of the village for observing the Hareri festival.

Kunwari paddy is harvested in the months of September–October. The plant is cut by the sickle at the lowest part of the stem. When all the plants are cut, they are collected together and brought to the *khaliyan* by the cultivators. If there is water in the plots and the stems are sufficiently wet, the harvested paddy plants are first laid to dry on the bund and then stored up in *khaliyan* where grain is separated from the stems. The yield is about 10 maunds per acre.

Aghani paddy is harvested in the month of November. It is also cut at the lowest part of the stem by the sickle. The labourers engaged for harvesting are paid at the rate of 4 seers of paddy or one rupee and four annas per day. The harvest is stacked in the *khaliyan* where grain is separated from the stem with the help of bullocks. The Tharus never weigh the yield but it is estimated at 15 maunds per acre.

In the harvesting season a large number of beggars come to this village for begging. Among the Tharus it is customary to give 1/40 of the total yield of paddy to beggars in charity.

After the *Aghani* paddy, the plots are generally left fallow, to be used for this very crop again.

Maize

The next important crop of the village in the Kharif season is maize which is grown in about 31.63 acres. The plot in which the maize crop is grown is ploughed up five or six times before sowing. Compost at the rate of 4 carts per bigha or 240 maunds per acre is used in these plots. Seed is sown at the rate of 10 seers per acre by the drilling method. The grass is weeded out by a *kudal* when the young plants are about six to ten inches. When there is an overgrowth of weeds, ploughing is resorted to for their uprooting. For guarding the maize crop from birds and wild animals *anti* or *machan* is constructed in the fields. It is a wooden structure on which the watchman sits. The crop is ready for harvesting by the month of September. The stems are cut near the middle. It is stored up at the *khaliyan*. The remaining portion of the stem including the root is called *donda* which is uprooted when the plot is ploughed three or four times for sowing the Rabi crop. The *donda* is used as fuel. The cobs are plucked from the stems and the grain is separated by beating them with a thick stick. The yield of maize is about 8 maunds per acre.

Arhar

Arhar crop occupies 105.53 acres during Rabi season. It is never sown pure; it is sown mixed either with maize or *kodo* or *bhatwas* or *urd* in the months of June–July. Maize, *kodo* and *bhatwas* are harvested in the month of September whereas *Arhar* is harvested in the months of March–April. The seed is sown at the rate of 5 seers per acre and the yield is about 8 maunds per acre. *Arhar* is used as pulse and its stems are used for making roofs and walls.

Baijhar

Baijhar consists of wheat, barley and gram. It is sown mixed and is also harvested accordingly. It is sown in the months of September–October by broadcasting method. Before sowing, the plot is ploughed up four or five times. The seed is sown at the rate of 1 maund per acre by the broadcasting method. When the young plants are about one foot high, weeds like *chaincha* and other grass are removed. Rape seed is also sown mixed with the *baijhar* crop. It is sown at the rate of 6 seers per acre by broadcasting method. The *baijhar* crop is irrigated three or four times as required. The rape crop is ready first and is harvested in the month of February whereas the *baijhar* crop is harvested in the months of March–April. The yield of the *baijhar* crop is about 8 maunds per acre. The plants are cut at the root of the stem. The crop is stored up in the *khaliyan* where grain is separated from the stems by crushing it by a pair of bullocks. Grain is used for human consumption and straw for animals.

Other Crops

Other Kharif crops are *urd, bhat,* sugarcane and hemp and the Rabi crops are wheat, barley, peas and *masur*. These crops are sown by

the broadcasting method. Breaking of clods is done with a *hainga* or leveller drawn by a pair of bullocks.

The seed sown in respect of various crops and the yield per acre is given below :—

Name of Crop	Seed in Seers sown per Acre	Yield in Maunds per Acre
1. Wheat	50	10
2. Barley	55	8
3. Peas	40	8
4. *Masur*	20	8
5. *Urd*	5	5
6. *Kakun*	5	6
7. *Kodon*	20	8
8. *Sawan*	5	4
9. Sugarcane	1,200	200

Manure

The cow dung, filth, leaves and other rubbish collected from the households are made to rot in manure pits dug by the road-side for this purpose to the north, the south, and the west of the *abadi*. Every pit is about three and half feet deep, four feet long and about three feet wide. Chemical fertilizers are not used in the village. *Sanai* is sometimes used as green manure specially in the plots where paddy seedlings are prepared. *Sanai* is used more as a fibre rather than a manure. Some of the cultivators also burn the shrubs and grass in the fields; the ashes are ploughed in the soil as manure. The manure is carried to the fields by bullock carts.

Rotation of Crops

The rotation of crops over three plots under cultivation of the Gaon Pradhan was studied. The local name of one of the plots is *unchawa-wala khet* (field at a higher altitude). Maize crop was harvested from it in September, 1962. Before maize crop it had been lying fallow since February, 1962, after *lahi* (rape) had been harvested. Rape was sown in October, 1961, and harvested in February, 1962. Before sowing *lahi*, maize was harvested from their field which was sown in the months of June–July, 1961. Thus the rotation over this field was maize (Kharif, 1961), rape (Rabi, 1961), maize (Kharif, 1962).

The local name of the next plot is *Bismilla-ka-khalwa* (low-lying field of Bismilla). In September, 1962, winter paddy was raised in the plot. Before transplantation of paddy this plot lay fallow from December, 1961, till July, 1962. Thus only winter paddy is grown in this plot.

The local name of the third plot is *chawmaswa*. In September, 1962, this plot was being ploughed and prepared for the wheat crop. Paddy seedlings were grown in it in July, 1962. Before the sowing of the paddy seedlings the plot had been lying vacant since March/April, 1962, after the harvesting of wheat crop. Thus this plot is used in preparing paddy seedlings for two months in Kharif and for raising the wheat crop in Rabi.

Pests and Crop Diseases

The crops are not free from diseases and pests. The following diseases and pests are generally found in the various crops :—

Season	Crop	Pests	Diseases
Kharif	1. Paddy	Karuka, Dahiya, Kapti	Blast disease of paddy and Leaf spot
	2. Maize	Grass hopper and Stem borer	Seed borer and smuts
	3. *Sawan* and *Kodo*	Grass hopper	
	4. *Bhatwas*	Hairaj caterpillar	
Rabi	1. Wheat	Goojhia, Gundhi	Smuts
	2. Barley	,,	,,
	3. Rape	Aphid	Rust

Nothing is done by the cultivators for fighting these diseases and pests. They are simply at the mercy of nature in the matter.

Agricultural Produce and its Disposal

The following table shows the agricultural produce of the village and its disposal :—

TABLE NO. 3.8

Showing Agricultural Produce and its Disposal

Name of Product	Annual Produce (in maunds)	Amount consumed (in maunds)	Amount sold (in maunds)
1. Paddy	2,747	2,000	747
2. Wheat	77	40	37
3. Maize	276	190	86
4. Pulse	67	67	..
5. Barley	19	19	..
6. Vegetables	587	587	..
7. Chilli	210	210	..
8. Tobacco	65	65	..
9. Oil seed	1,493	700	793
10. Fodder	2,590	2,590	..
11. Other crops like *sawan*, *kodon*, *masur*, *bhat*, etc.	2,747	1,800	947
12. Sugarcane	1,080	800	280

Paddy, wheat, maize, rape, *sawan* and *kodon* are sold in the market to meet other domestic needs. There is no cane crusher in the village, but it exists in hamlet Domri where they carry sugarcane for preparing *gur*.

Jaura of paddy is given to the following officials and servants as gift or payment for services rendered :—

Officials/Servants	Quantity of Paddy
1. Lekhpal	12 seers per plough per year
2. Forest Guard	6 „ „
3. Barber	18 „ „
4. Lohar	12 „ „
5. Sokha	12 „ „
6. Brahmin	12 „ „

Marketing

During the harvesting of the paddy crop, a number of *banias* (merchants) are found roaming in the village with sacks on their shoulders. They purchase the paddy at a cheap rate in the village and carry it to the market to sell at a higher rate. Besides selling it in the village to these *banias*, the Tharus themselves carry the paddy to the market whenever they attend it. Pachperwa market is about ten miles and the weekly market at Pachperwa takes place every Wednesday whereas the weekly market at Barhaipurwa, which is about five miles away, takes place every Sunday. Whenever minor purchases are to be made only male members go, but when major purchases are to be made, say one or twice a year after the harvesting of the winter paddy, wives too accompany the husbands to Pachperwa market on a bullock-cart with sufficient quantity of rice and bring from there the commodities essential for the household.

There is no co-operative marketing society in the village.

Source of Finance

There is no co-operative credit society in the village. There is one co-operative credit society in village Bishanpur Bishram, the Nyaya Panchayat headquarters. Only two cultivators of Rajderwa Tharu are members of the society. Everyone in need of loan in cash or in kind for agriculture or other purposes obtains it from Bhagwati Bania, resident of village Pachperwa. He charges an exhorbitant rate of interest. For one rupee of loan the annual interest charged is 5 seers of paddy in local weight, costing about 8 annas. Thus the annual rate of interest is 50 per cent. The Tharus go to him in spite of the high rate of interest, because he is the only man who helps them in need. He advances loan in cash and in kind, but realises it in kind only. The Gaon Pradhan, too, advances loan but to his friends and relatives only.

Agricultural Implements

The agricultural implements in use are prepared locally, The wood is available from the

forest free of cost; only iron has to be purchased. The blacksmith at Suganagar Domri shapes the iron for being used in various implements. The wood portion is prepared by the Tharus themselves, without the assistance of a carpenter. It is only in the preparation of bullock carts that the services of a carpenter are required.

The following agricultural implements are generally used in the village :—

Local Name	English Synonyms	Made of	Used
1. *Hal*	Plough	Wood and iron	For tilling the soil
2. *Hainga*	Leveller	Wood	For breaking the clods
3. *Jwatha*	Yoke	Wood	For putting a pair of bullocks together for pulling the plough or leveller
4. *Phar*	Plough shear	Iron	In plough for tilling the soil
5. *Kudal*	A long hoe	Iron with a bamboo handle	For digging the earth to an ordinary depth
6. *Kudari*	A small hoe	" "	" "
7. *Phaora*	Spade	" "	For digging the earth to a greater depth
8. *Hansia*	Sickle	" "	For harvesting and grass cutting
9. *Khurpa*	Scythe	" "	For grass cutting
10. *Khurpi*	"	" "	For weeding out grass from paddy plots

As regards the cost of the above implements, the wood is available free of cost from the forest. The cost of the iron portion of some agricultural implements is given below :—

Name of Implement	Cost of Iron used
1. *Phar*	Re.1.00 to Re.1.50
2. *Kudal*	Re.0.50 to Re.0.62
3. *Phaora*	Re.0.50 to Re.0.62
4. *Khurpi*	Re.0.25 to Re.0.50

Rites and Legends pertaining to Agriculture

The agricultural year begins from July and ends on June 30. Before the beginning of the agricultural season on the Tij of Baisakh (May) the Harawat ceremony is observed. On this day every cultivator goes to one of his fields, digs the earth by striking the spade five times against the ground and does five rounds of ploughing the field. This marks the beginning of agricultural operations for the coming agricultural year. In the evening delicious food is prepared and taken with liquor.

On the first day of paddy sowing in the month of June, a handful of paddy is thrown on the way to the field in the name of deities by every cultivator. The act of sowing paddy by the broadcast method is locally known as *mooth lena* or taking a handful of paddy (for the purpose of sowing).

When the arduous job of transplantation is over, a day of rejoicing is fixed in August by common consent of the cultivators. This festival is known as Hareri. It is observed by Tharus by sacrificing animals at the alter of goddess Poorvi Bhavani. Both men and women drink to the full and sing and dance merrily.

When the crops are ready in the months of Bhadon and Magh, the *Nava* (new) ceremony is observed. On this occasion the married daughters and sisters return to the *maika* (parent's house). The head of the household

goes to his fields on an auspicious evening and brings a few ears of the paddy crop; special food is prepared in the evening. Before dinner, the new grains of paddy mixed with *gur* are taken by everyone. The next morning, the paddy crop begins to be harvested. This ceremony is generally observed by all the households on the same day. A similar ceremony is observed throughout the village in respect of barley crop in the month of Magh (January/February).

Newly harvested paddy or maize or barley is consumed in the households only after this ceremony. It is also necessary to give some of the produce in charity to a Brahmin or a beggar. If none of them is available the charity is given to the sister's son. The new crop cannot be carried home till charity has been given.

It is also customary in the village to offer some ears (*bali*) of paddy at the *marai* of goddess Poorvi Bhavani just after harvesting, but before launching upon the operation for separating the grain from the chaff. This festival is called Aoli. This dedication to the deity is supposed to earn her blessings.

Livestock

The draught animals play an important part in the agricultural economy of the village. They are in fact treated as important members of the household. There is a great sentiment attached to the livestock especially the cow, called mother, and her progeny. They do not even milk the cows and leave the milk for the calf in order to have a strong bullock. The village life would be at standstill without the bullocks because they draw the plough, trample the grain on the threshing floor, pull the cart and work the cane crushers, besides supplying fuel and manure.

The following table shows the position of livestock in the village :—

TABLE No. 3.9

Showing the Distribution of Livestock

Items of Livestock	Castes, Households and Number of Animals					
	Tharu		Brahmin		Muslim	
	Number of House-holds	Total Number	Number of House-holds	Total Number	Number of House-holds	Total Number
1. Milch cattle	8	41	..	..	..	..
2. Draught animals	22	115	1	2	..	..
3. Goats and sheep	18	84	..	..	..	..
4. Poultry	26	142	..	..	..	..
5. Dry cows	25	103	..	..	..	..
6. Dry she-buffaloes	5	31	..	..	..	..

The number of poultry birds is more than even the number of bullocks in the village. All the bullocks are of ordinary indigenous breed. There are no arrangements of improvement in the breed of the bullocks. Cattle are grazed in the forest either by the old men or the children. A payment of 25 nP. per buffalo has to be paid every year to the Forest Department as grazing fees. The bullocks are fed in a manger kept on a raised platform called *dondwa*. The bullocks used for cultivation are not so well-fed as those used for drawing the bullock carts. Goats are reared for table meat rather than for milk and so are the pigs and poultry.

Fishing

All the Tharu households are engaged in fishing in spare time in Bhambar and Ghogrol *nadi*. The rivulets are shallow and hence, the fish are easily trapped. They are of small size and are used only for domestic consumption. For catching fish of better variety they go to the Kohargaddi reservoir which is at a distance of about three miles to the east of the village. Fishing is done only in day time.

Agricultural Workers

There are two types of agricultural workers other than cultivators, viz., agricultural labourers and agricultural servants. Agricultural servants too are of two types—first, those who work on *adha bhata* and secondly, those who work on *pura bhata*. Under the *adha bhata* the worker gets annually seven maunds of paddy, locally called *masaura,* and 1/10 of the total yield of the crop from the employer. In addition, every year he gets a gift of Rs.20 in cash or in the form of cloth. Such workers are generally engaged from June to April. They are whole-time workers, but at the same time they are allowed to have their own cultivation side by side. Under the *pura bhata* system, the worker gets one-fifth of the total yield and Rs.30 annually as gift. He is a whole-time worker for the whole year. He cannot work on his field or on any one else's.

Out of 22 agricultural workers, there are 14 males and 8 females. Out of the 14 males, 6 are agricultural labourers and 8 are agricultural servants. Five males work under the *pura bhata* system and 3 males on *adha bhata* system. The 8 females work as agricultural labourers.

Agricultural labourers are seasonal workers employed mostly in transplantation and harvesting of paddy. They are not so much in demand for any other agricultural operation. They get 4 seers of paddy or Re.1.25 nP. per day in lieu of their services without any perquisites. They work from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m., with a break in the noon for two hours and a half. There is no difference in the working hours of males and females.

Transport

Most of the Tharu households are engaged in transport of timber wood by bullock cart from the forest to Pachperwa railway station. Five males are engaged in this occupation throughout the season from November to April and others do it casually as and when they have spare time. They load the cart in the afternoon, carry the timber to the station in the night, halt there for the day to take payment and rest and return again in the night to load the cart again the next afternoon. Generally they earn Rs.5 to Rs.8 per trip according to the load in the cart.

Cattle Grazing

Only 25 males are engaged in grazing their own cattle. No one grazes the cattle of others on payment.

Government Service

Out of the four males engaged in Government service, three are fire watchers and one is a Forest Guard. Two fire watchers are Muslims who are immigrants to this village and one fire watcher is a Tharu of this village. The Forest Guard is also an immigrant to this village.

Domestic Services

Five persons, 2 males and 3 females, are engaged in domestic service. A girl aged 12 years has been engaged by the Pradhan of the village to take care of his young grandchildren. Another woman is engaged as a part-time servant for cleaning utensils at the house of the Forest Guard. Three males are engaged as domestic servants or agricultural servants with the Tharus of this village. All the domestic servants except those engaged by the Forest Guard are given full meals for both the times as well as clothes and some cash payment on ceremonial occasions and festivals. The maid servant engaged by the Forest Guard gets Rs.2 p.m. only.

Carpentry

Only two males work as carpenter. Their services are not required by the cultivators of this village except in preparation of bullock carts. The Tharus themselves are their own

petty carpenters. These two carpenters prepare bullock carts and sell these to Tharus and non-Tharus.

Lumbering

The Tharus also work as lumbermen in the forest casually. Only the able-bodied can do this strenuous work. They are engaged by the forest contractors.

Non-workers

Out of 337 persons in the village only 196 persons, 123 males and 73 females, are workers and the remaining 141 persons, 62 males and 79 females, are non-workers. Thus 42 per cent of the population was found dependant upon 58 per cent of the population. The following table shows the non-workers by sex, broad age-groups and nature of activity :—

TABLE No. 3.10

Non-workers by Sex, broad Age-group and Nature of Activity

Age-group (Years)	Total Non-workers			Full—time Students or Children attending School			Persons engaged only in Household Duties			Dependants, Infants and Children not attending School and Persons permanently disabled			Retired Persons		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Ages	141	62	79	5	5	..	25	..	25	101	55	46	10	2	8
0—14	115	60	55	5	5	..	9	..	9	101	55	46	..	..	..
15—34	11	..	11	..	..	..	11	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..
35—59	7	..	7	..	..	..	5	..	5	..	..	..	2	..	2
60 and over	8	2	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	2	6

Thus 42 per cent of the non-workers consist of dependants, infants and children not attending school and retired persons ; only 25 females are engaged in domestic duties.

Indebtedness

The following table shows the extent of indebtedness in the village at the time of survey :—

TABLE No. 3.11

Indebtedness by Income Groups

Income Group	Total Number of Households	Number of House-holds in Debt	Percentage of Column 3 to Column 2	Average Indebtedness by Household in Debt
Re.0 to Rs.25	..	..	..	..
Rs.26 to Rs.50	9	6	66.6	217
Rs.51 to Rs.75	5	3	60.0	263
Rs.76 to Rs.100	5	3	60.0	277
Over Rs.100	12	7	58.3	326
Total ..	31	19	61.3	274

Out of 31 households, 19 households or 61 per cent were found in debt. The highest percentage of households in debt is within the income group of Rs.26–50. The percentage of households in debt in other income groups is only slightly less. The amount of average indebtedness per household increases with the increase in income. The following table shows the extent of indebtedness by causes :–

TABLE No. 3.12

Showing Indebtedness by Causes of Debt

Cause	Amount of Debt (Rupees)	Number of Families in Debt	Percentage of Debt due to Cause to the Total amount of Debt
House construction or repairs to existing building	800	2	15
Marriages	100	1	2
Ordinary wants	2,740	10	53
Agriculture (purchase of bullocks)	1,567	6	30
Total ..	5,207	19	100

Thus 53 per cent of the debt has been incurred for meeting ordinary wants, 30 per cent for purchase of bullocks or for cultivation, 15 per cent for construction of houses and only 2 per cent for marriages. The fact that ten families have incurred debt for meeting ordinary wants indicates that some of the families are not able to make both ends meet. Only one household had borrowed Rs.100 for marriage which indicates that marriages are not a costly affair as in the plains. No dowry is given within this community. Only two families have borrowed Rs.800 for constructing pukka houses.

Income and Expenditure

The margin of error in the figures of income and expenditure is expected to be greater because due to obvious reasons no one feels inclined to indicate correctly his income and expenditure. Besides this, no accounts of income and expenditure are maintained and the residents of the village cannot recollect correctly all such details which are quite unnecessary from their point of view.

The following table shows the distribution of households by various occupations and monthly income groups :–

TABLE No. 3.13

Showing Monthly Income of Households by Occupation and Number of Households

Monthly Income (Rupees)	Occupation by Number of Households				
	Cultivation	Agricultural Worker	Service (in Forest Department)	Carpentry	Total
0–25	..	..	..	..	..
26–50	2	5	1	1	9
51–75	3	..	2	..	5
75–100	4	1	..	..	5
Over 100	12	..	..	..	12
Total ..	21	6	3	1	31

Cultivation is the most paying occupation in the village, as all the 12 households within the monthly income group of Rs.100 and over are engaged in cultivation.

The following table shows the number of households by caste and income groups :—

TABLE No. 3.14

Showing Number of Households by Caste and Income Groups

Caste	Number of Households	Number of Members in the Household	Income Group				
			Up to Rs.25	Rs.26 to Rs.50	Rs.51 to Rs.75	Rs.76 to Rs.100	Rs.100 and over
Tharu	27	329	..	7	3	5	12
Brahmin	2	6	..	1	1	..	..
Muslim	2	2	..	1	1	..	..
Total ..	31	337	..	9	5	5	12

Evidently the Tharus are better off.

Expenditure

For determining the expenditure pattern, the budgets of all the households of the village were studied. The budgets of the following three Tharu households, which are of representative character, are discussed below :—

(1) A cultivator named Lachhman Prasad with a monthly income of Rs.125 who is the Gaon Pradhan as well as the assistant *choudhari* of the community

(2) A cultivator named Ram Prasad with a monthly income of Rs.170

(3) An agricultural servant named Phagu with a monthly income of Rs.45

The household of Lachhman Prasad aged 47 years, consisted of only four members at the time of Survey. He reported that he has separated from his sons Thakur Ram and Mani Ram and his brother Sri Ram. He was found living with his wife aged 48 years and two married daughters Smt. Mahrania and Smt. Bishuni, aged 18 and 16 years respectively. He cultivates 9.70 acres of land. He is assisted by other members of his family.

His expenditure was as follows :—

Items	*Expenditure*
	Rs. nP.
1. Rice and pulses	24.50
2. Milk	4.00
3. Ghee and oil	6.00
4. Other food items	12.00
5. Light	1.25
6. Clothing and footwear	10.00
7. *Daru*	4.00
8. Other items, i.e., travelling, religious ceremonies	42.00
Total ..	103.75

Thus the expenditure on food items is about 47 per cent. There is no expenditure on education, but there is expenditure on country liquor which comes to Rs.4 per mensem only. Milk is available from the she-buffaloes that are with him. During the year 1961, he spent Rs.100 on travelling, Rs.125 over religious ceremonies and festivals like Dashera and Khichri and Rs.250 on *Bhagwat Katha.*

There is a surplus of Rs.21.25 nP. per mensum.

Ram Prasad is mainly an agricultural servant, the average monthly income of whose household is Rs.170. The family has 14 members out of whom 7 are less than 12 years old. He has only 6.06 acres of land under cultivation. As this land is insufficient to meet the needs of such a big family, the head of the household and his son Ram Panney work as agricultural servants. His brother Ram Lal, assisted by the females of the household, , cultivates the land. Another brother Somai is engaged in transport by bullock cart, earning about Rs.40 per mensem.

The expenditure pattern of the household was as follows :—

Items	*Expenditure*
	Rs. nP.
1. Rice and pulses	130.00
2. Oils	2.00
3. Other food items	2.00
4. Light	0.62
5. Clothing and footwear	30.00
6. *Daru*	2.00
7. Other items	5.00
Total ..	171.62

Out of the total expenditure of Rs.171.62 he spends about 79 per cent on food items only. Milk and ghee are not consumed. Although three children are of school-going age they have not been admitted to the school. He spends about Rs.2 on liquor and on an average Rs.5 per mensem on religious ceremonies and festivals. The budget is a balanced one.

Phagu, aged 32 years, is an agricultural servant. His household consists of his wife aged 36 years, two sons aged 8 and 2 years and two daughters aged 6 years and less than one year in age. He married by exchange. His wife is older than him by 4 years. He cultivates 0.44 acres of land with the help of his wife. He mainly works as an agricultural servant. The total income of the household is Rs.45 per mensem only. The expenditure pattern of this poor family is as follows :—

Items	*Expenditure*
	Rs. nP.
1. Rice and pulses	33.00
2. Oil	4.00
3. Other food items	6.00
4. *Daru*	2.75
5. Cloth and footwear	8.00
6. Other items	3.25
Total ..	57.00

No milk and ghee are consumed. Children are not sent to school. An amount of Rs.3 per mensem is spent on chillies and spices. The houeshold has incurred a debt of Rs.100 for purchase of grain and meeting other domestic needs in connection with the birth of a child. The household has a deficit budget because there is only one earning member to support five dependants.

CHAPTER IV

Social and Cultural Life

Brief Review of Population

At the time of survey in January 1961, the population of Rajderwa Tharu was 337 persons, consisting of 185 males and 152 females.

The population of the village from the Census of 1911 onwards is given in the following table :–

Table No. 4.1
Showing Population Trend

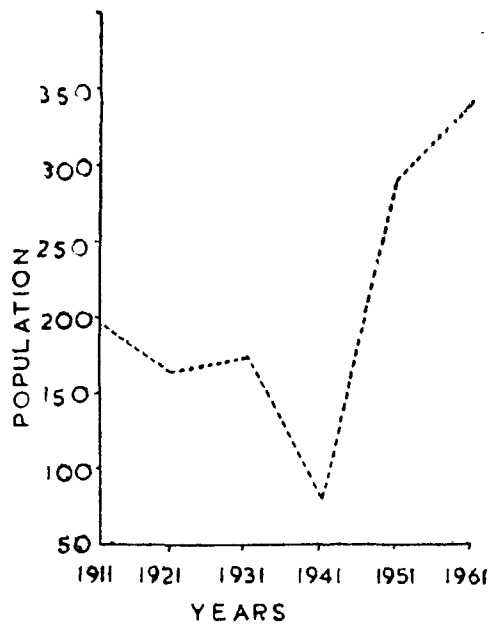
Year	Number of occupied Houses	Persons	Males	Females
1911	31	196	102	94
1921	28	163	88	75
1931	29	173	94	79
1941	10	79	42	37
1951	26	289	162	127
1961	29	343	189	154
January, 1961 (survey period)	31	337	185	152

The population of the village at the time of Census 1961 exceeded the population at the time of survey by six persons. Temporary migration is obviously responsible for the difference. At the time of survey, six persons were away from the village in connection with cultivation in another village ; at the time of 1961 Census they must have returned.

The population in 1921 decreased by about 17 per cent of the population in 1911. The influenza epidemic of 1919 was responsible for this fall. The population increased in the year 1931 by about 6 per cent only, but there was a marked fall in the year 1941. It is said that cholera broke out in this village in an epidemic form in the late thirties and took the lives of about 80 persons. This heavy toll of human lives scared away the population and hence there was a large-scale emigration from this village. Consequently, only 79 persons were found residing in this village in 1941.

The Tharus of this village used to render great help to the Raja of Balrampur and his guests when they would come to the forest of this area on hunting expeditions. Great inconvenience began to be felt due to the depleted population of the Tharus. Hence the Estate encouraged Tharus of other places to settle down here by offering them land for cultivation. Thus by the time of 1951 Census the population increased to about four times of what it was in 1941. During the period of next ten years it further increased by about 19 per cent which is the rate of normal growth.

The following graph shows the growth of population in this village during the years 1911–61 :–



Density of Population

The area of the village is 404 acres or 179.18 hectares. At the time of the survey, the density of population was 490 persons per square mile, which is lower than 734 persons per square mile, the density of population of the district.

Sex Ratio

At the time of survey, the village had a population of 185 males and 152 females. Thus there were 820 females to every 1,000 males while in the district the sex ratio is 930 females. The disparity is mainly due to the fact that the number of males born is more than the number of females born. There were 33 males and 27 females in the age-group 0–4 years, 32 males and 17 females in the age-group 5–9 years and 24 males and 18 females in the age-group

10—14 years. Thus in the age-group 0—14 years, there were 89 males and 62 females. A study of births from 1956 to 1961 indicates that in all, 50 males and 23 females were born, thereby showing an excess of males over females at the time of birth.

Births and Deaths

The birth and death register maintained by the Gaon Sabha shows the following births and deaths in the village from 1956 onwards :—

TABLE NO. 4.2

Showing Births and Deaths

Year	Births			Deaths		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1956	7	5	2	5	3	2
1957	10	7	3	4	2	2
1958	9	5	4	7	4	3
1959	15	10	5	9	5	4
1960	13	8	5	5	2	3
1961	26	20	6	9	5	4
Total ..	80	55	25	39	21	18

Thus during the last six years there have been 80 births (55 males and 25 females) and 39 deaths (21 males and 18 females).

The diseases prevalent in the area are malaria and small-pox.

Medical Aid

The nearest allopathic dispensary is at village Pachperwa which is at a distance of about 10 miles from the village. For long periods the dispensary remains without any doctor and the compounder remains in charge. It is only in an emergency that an ailing person is taken to such a long distance. Besides, the Tharus have more faith in the *Ojha,* locally known as *Sokha* or *Guruwa,* who cures them by his magical art and *mantras.* To most of them, disease and illness come upon them on account of the wrath or displeasure of gods and goddesses. Hence instead of rushing to a physician, they consider it better to propitiate the deities by pouring liquor on their statues or sacrificing animals in their honour. The *Guruwa* or the *Sokha* knows the art of propitiating these angry gods and goddessess and hence he is consulted for guidance and action in such matters.

Secondly, this tribe lives mostly in jungles and Tarai areas, which generally lie away from the hospitals and dispensaries. The *Sokha* or *Guruwa* is more readily available to them in time of need. Hence they have naturally to bank on him.

Thirdly, they have a blind faith in their gods and would not rely on any medicines given by a doctor. Even the wisest among them is not willing to betray his blind faith. For example, Lachchman Tharu, who is the Pradhan of the village and the Mukhiya of the village community and also the assistant *chaudhari* of the Tharu community of that area, has been suffering from a wound in his heel for the last two years. Even though the wound is very troublesome to him and he has got a cycle with him, he does not go to a doctor just because he apprehends that the doctor might amputate his heel. He is therefore content with the prescription given by his *Guruwa.*

At present the *Sokha* or *Guruwa* of this village is Ram Piarey Tharu of village Mutabra which lies at a distance of about two miles from this village. He is an illiterate person but is supposed to have gained the favour of deities by concentrated prayers and worship. One who can gain the favour of deities on one hand and the faith of the people on the other hand can become a *Sokha* or *Guruwa.* Formerly, Deoha Tharu of Rajderwa Tharu was the *Sokha* or *Guruwa,* but after his death Ram Piarey has been the *Guruwa* of the village. For his services, he is given 12 seers of paddy per plough by every household half yearly. The payment in grain is called *jaura.* Whenever he comes to cure any one, he is given a *seedha* (uncooked material for meals consisting of rice, pulse, salt, etc.) in addition to a meal.

He goes to the place where the ailing person is lying, feels his pulse, studies the case and then orders the preparation of a *chauka* by coating a small portion of the ground with a cow-dung paste so as to make it pure enough for offering of prayers. He sits in the *chauka* and offers prayers by reciting incantation or *mantras* and offering *havan* (sacrifice in holy fire) for warding off the evil spirits.

Recently Ram Piarey has cured two persons namely Barkawwa, aged 10 years and another boy aged one year, who were suffering from fever. Prayers and *havan* offered by him cured the patients.

Sometimes, two pieces of clove are placed at the palm of the ailing person for a minute or so and then the *Guruwa* examines each piece and diagnoses the disease by his skill and magical art. If the disease has been caused by an evil spirit, which the *Guruwa* only can know, a promise for sacrificing an animal such as goat or pig is made by the kith and kin of the patient. When he is cured, the animal sacrifice is made afterwards in honour of the deity in whose favour the promise was made.

Maternity cases are ordinarily conducted by the old and experienced Tharu females. They are unqualified *dais,* having gained experience in this art in course of time. Even complicated cases are handled successfully by these women. If needs be, other women, having greater experience in this line, residing in the neighbouring villages can also come. So far no occasion has arisen for taking the help of outsiders. After the birth the mother and the child are attended to by the wife of Bachchu Lal Tharu of the village. As she is a *Nau pad* Tharu, she serves all the newly born infants and their mothers. In lieu of her services in maternity cases, she is given two maunds of paddy by local weight which is equal to 32 seers. She caters to the females of this village only.

Sanitation

The village *abadi* is situated on a higher level than the surrounding plots. Hence it is generally free from water-logging except the northern portion of the village, which gets filled with mud and water in the rainy season. The village has a slope towards north and that is why rain water accumulates there, especially on the *kachcha* road coming to the village from the north side. The rain water flows out of the village and goes to the rivulet Bhambhar which flows to the east of the village. The mud, filth and the rain water make the village unhealthy during the rainy season. Mosquitoes are in abundance. Grass and dung are burnt to create heavy smoke for scaring these away.

The animals are kept in separate structures located near the residential houses. Generally, males who are either too old or who have no wives sleep in these structures and keep a watch on the animals in the night. Guests and outsiders too are accommodated in this cow shed which serves as a sitting room (*baithak*) too. Six well-to-do households have *baithaks* separate from the cow shed. The Tharus keep their dwellings very neat and clean. The floor is coated with cow dung every fourth day. Dung is removed from the cow sheds early in the morning by the females of the households. In spite of the best efforts of the Tharu females to keep their houses neat and clean, the chicken and children rarely allow it to remain neat and clean for long.

The houses have an open courtyard surrounded by residential rooms, cow sheds, fodder store, etc. Water is seldom thrown inside the house or rooms. The kitchen water can easily flow outside. All the houses are well-built in spacious surroundings. Adequate open space is left in and around the houses, but proper window arrangements for allowing fresh air to come into the rooms do not exist. Only small holes with a radius of three inches or so are provided in every room in the back portion of the wall to serve as windows. Most of the rooms remain dark even at midday.

Drinking Water, etc.

Drinking water is available in the village at four wells. Two of these are well-built pukka wells plastered with cement and two are ordinary wells of pukka bricks without a mound. The wells are not very deep; water inside is available just at a depth of ten to twelve feet. One of the pukka wells belongs to the Forest Department and is near the quarter of the Forest Guard and the other has recently been got constructed by the Gaon Sabha at a cost of about Rs.400. Thus there is no scarcity of drinking water in this village.

There is no washerman in the village nor have they engaged any washerman of any neighbouring village to clean their clothes. The females of the households clean the clothes of the family by boiling it in water and washing it

with *reh* (clay salt). Soap is seldom used. The Tharus ordinarily take their bath daily.

There is no barber residing in the village. Chinku barber of village Suganagar at a distance of 1½ miles comes to attend them. He gets a *jaura* of six seers of paddy per household per season, i.e., 18 seers of grain per year. At the time of marriage he gets four annas per marriage as his *neg* (perquisite) and ration (*seedha*) for a day.

Population by Age-groups

The following table gives the distribution of population of this village according to age-groups :—

TABLE No. 4.3

Showing Population by Age-groups

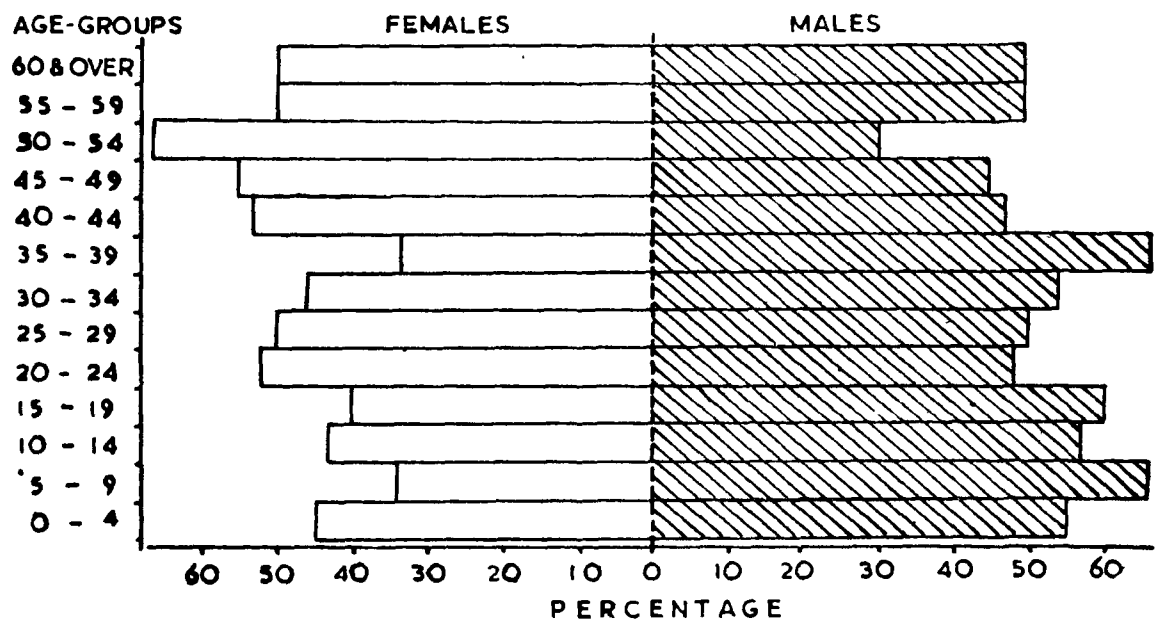
Age-group (Years)	Total Population		
	Persons	Males	Females
All Ages	337	185	152
0—4	60	33	27
5—9	49	32	17
10—14	42	24	18
15—19	30	18	12
20—24	27	13	14
25—29	30	15	15
30—34	26	14	12
35—39	12	8	4
40—44	15	7	8
45—49	11	5	6
50—54	9	3	6
55—59	8	4	4
60 and over	18	9	9

Thus 151 persons of 44.8 per cent of the total population belong to the age-group 0—14 years and an equal number belongs to the age-group 15—49 years, leaving only 35 persons (10.4 per cent) in the age-group 50 years and above.

The proportion of population in the age-group 0—14 years is more than twice that in the group 50 years and over and hence the population of the village is progressive, just like the population of the whole State.

There is a marked excess of males over females in the age-group 0—19 years, which is due to the fact that the number of males born is more than the number of females. The following diagram shows the percentage of population of males and females in the various age-groups :—

PERCENTAGE OF MALES & FEMALES BY AGE-GROUPS



Marital Status

The following table shows the marital status of the population according to various age-groups :—

TABLE No. 4.4

Showing Marital Status by Age-groups

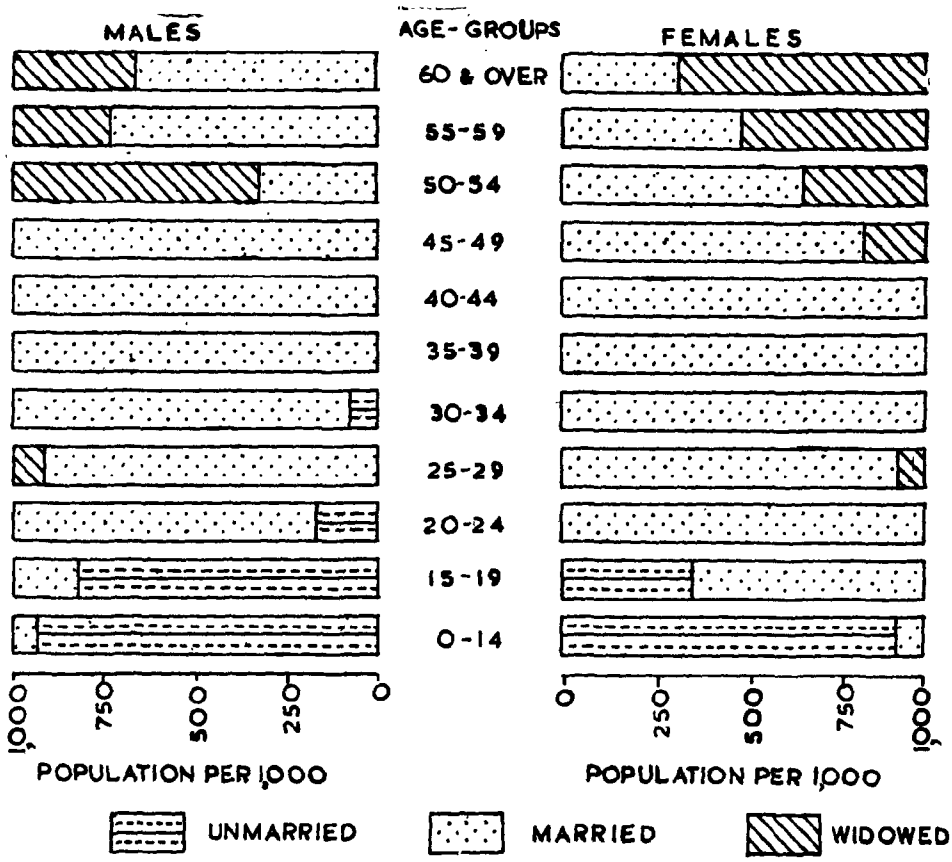
Age-group (Years)	Total Population			Never-married		Married		Widowed	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All Ages	337	185	152	101	61	77	80	7	11
0—14	151	89	62	83	57	6	5	..	..
15—19	30	18	12	15	4	3	8	..	..
20—24	27	13	14	2	..	11	14	..	..
25—29	30	15	15	..	..	14	15	1	..
30—34	26	14	12	1	..	13	12	..	..
35—39	12	8	4	..	..	8	4	..	..
40—44	15	7	8	..	..	7	8	..	..
45—49	11	5	6	..	..	5	5	..	1
50—54	9	3	6	..	..	1	4	2	2
55—59	8	4	4	..	..	3	2	1	2
60 and over	18	9	9	..	..	6	3	3	6

Out of 337 persons, 162 persons or 48 per cent were never-married, 157 persons or 46.4 per cent were married and 18 persons or 5.6 per cent were widowed. Out of the never-married persons, 89.5 per cent belonged to the age-group 0—14 years. Two of them are in the age-group 20—24 years and one named Ghurahi has crossed the age of 30 years. He is a poor agricultural labourer with only 0.60 acres of land. He lives in celibacy with his father.

The great disparity in the number of males and females in the never-married group is explained by the excess of males over females in the age-group 0—14 years. In the age-group 0—9 years no males or females are married. In the age-group 10—14 years, out of 24 males six are married and out of 18 females five are married. In the age-group of 15—19 years, out of 18 males and 12 females, only 3 males and 8 females are married. There is no unmarried girl beyond the age of 17 years and there is no unmarried male beyond the age of 31 years.

The following diagram shows the number of never-married, married and widowed persons per 1,000 by age-groups and sex :—

NUMBER OF NEVER-MARRIED, MARRIED & WIDOWED PERSONS PER 1,000 BY AGE-GROUPS & SEX



Age at Marriage

Marriages are performed according to the convenience of the parents and the availability of a suitable groom, age of the spouse being no consideration. The following table shows the age at marriage of all the ever-married persons in the village :—

TABLE No. 4.5

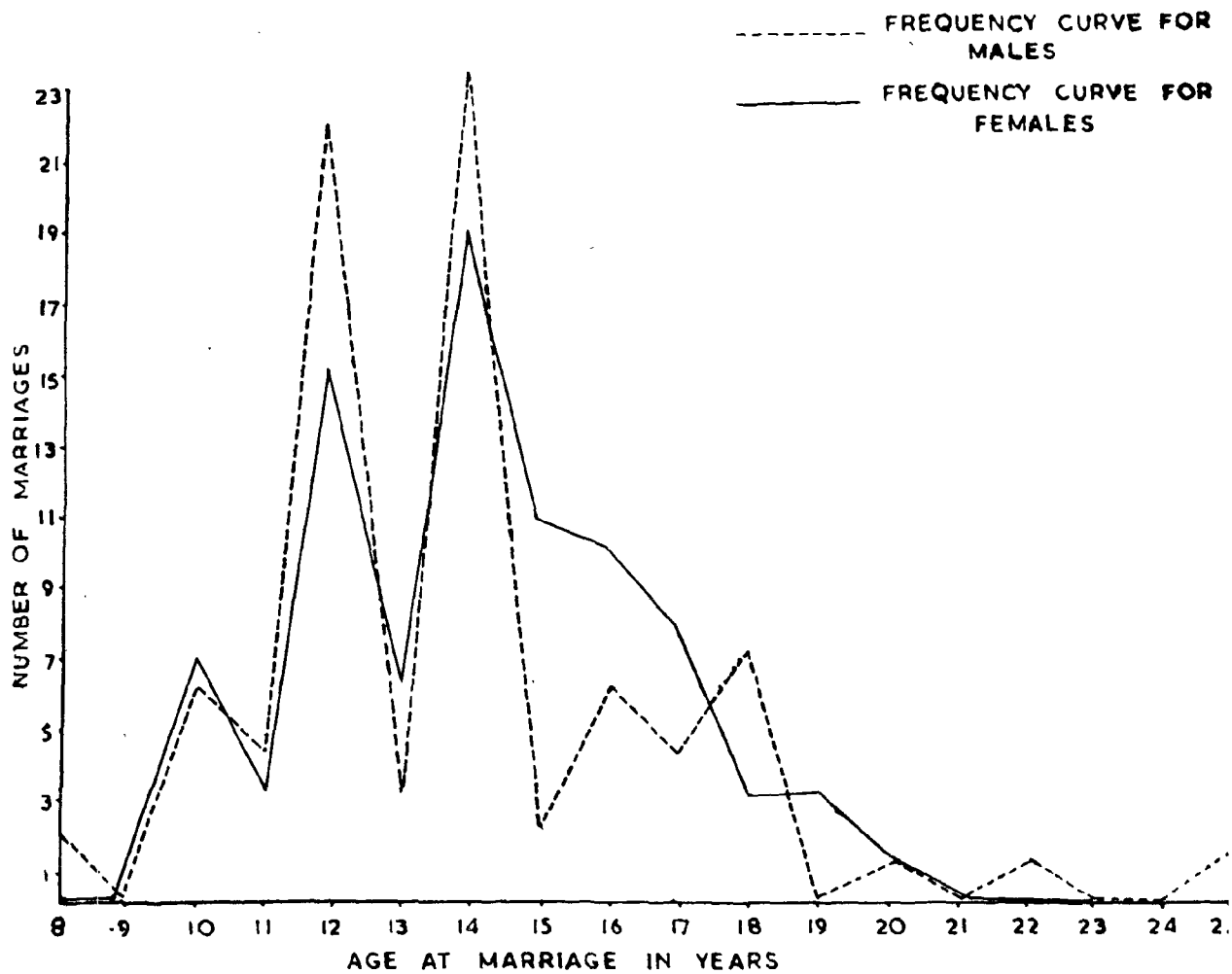
Showing the Age at Marriage

Age at Marriage (Years)	Number of Ever-married Persons		Number of Ever-married Persons who were married after 1955	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
8	2	..	..	..
10	6	7	..	..
11	4	3	1	..
12	22	15	1	3
13	3	6	1	1
14	23	19	2	4
15	2	11	1	2
16	6	10	1	1
17	4	7	3	..
18	7	3	2	..
19	..	3	..	1
20	1	1	..	1
22	1	..	..	..
25	1	..	..	..
Total ..	82	85	12	13

Out of 82 ever-married males, 72 or 87.8 per cent were married before attaining the age of 18 years and out of 85 ever-married females 50 or 58.8 per cent were married before attaining the age of 15 years. Thus early marriages have been quite common in the village. In 1955 the Hindu Marriage Act (No. 25 of 1955) was enforced. In this village 12 males and 13 females were married after enforcement of this Act. Out of the 12 males, 10 or 83.3 per cent were married before 18 years of age whereas out of the 13 females, 4 or 30.7 per cent were married before 15 years of age, that is, in contravention of the provisions of the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955. People in general are not aware of the provisions of law nor do they care to know about it so long as the penal provisions thereof remain unextended to them in actual practice.

The following graph shows the frequency of marriage at various ages both for males and females :—

GRAPH SHOWING AGE AT MARRIAGE BY SEX



The peak is touched at the age of 12 and 14 years.

The following table shows the percentage of married persons within the different age-groups :–

TABLE No. 4.6

Showing percentages of Married Persons in various Age-groups

Age-group (Years)	Number of Persons	Number of Married Persons	Percentage of Married Persons within the Age-group
0—9	109	..	..
10—14	42	11	26
15—19	30	11	37
20—24	27	25	93
25—29	30	29	97
30—34	26	25	96
35—39	12	12	100
40—44	15	15	100
45—49	11	10	91
50—54	9	5	56
55—59	8	5	63
60 and over	18	9	50
Total ..	337	157	..

The percentage of married persons in the age-group 35–39 years and 40–44 years is the highest. It is more than 90 per cent in the age-groups 20–24 years to 45–49 years. After the age of 45 years, the percentage begins to fall because of the death of one of the spouses.

There are 7 widowers and 11 widows in the village. One widower is 25 years old and the remaining six are more than 50 years old. Widow remarriage is allowed in the community but all the widows in this village have crossed the age of 45 years and are, therefore, beyond the marriageable age.

Size and Composition of Households

The following table indicates the size and composition of the households :–

TABLE No. 4.7

Showing the Size and Composition of Households

Total Number of Households	Size of Households: Single member			2—3 members			4—6 members			7—9 members			10 and above		
	Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females
31	3	2	1	2	3	1	10	26	25	3	11	12	43	143	113

On an average one household has 11 members which indicates the big size of families in the village. The 27 Tharu households have 329 persons which gives an average of 12 members in a Tharu family. The largest number of households has 10 members and above. In 8 households the number of members in the family is more than 15. The households of Kanhai and Sahas Ram have 41 members each ; the household of Bamma has 24 members and those of Bhairon, Laley, Gur Prasad and Bhola, have 18, 19, 20 and 21 members respectively. Partition in the family takes place rarely. The Tharus have an unshakable faith in the virtues of a joint family system. In every family the oldest man is the head of the household and is locally called *gand dhuria*. His is the final word within the household.

Two of the single member households were those of two Muslims who were found in the village at the time of the survey and are now no more in that village. They were the seasonal employees of the Forest Department. The other single member household is that of Smt. Sukhpali an old Brahmin widow, who is a permanent resident of village Khajgaura at a distance of seven or eight miles, but has cultivation in this village also. She comes to this village in the agricultural seasons only, for supervising agricultural operations. She was found to be the only female head of the household in the village.

Literacy and Education

The following table indicates the position of literacy and education in the village :—

TABLE No. 4.8

Showing Literacy and Education

Age-group (Years)	Total Population			Illiterates		Literates							
						Literate without Educational Standard		Primary or Basic		High School		Total	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0—14	151	89	62	82	61	7	..	..	1	..	..	7	1
15—34	113	60	53	48	52	7	..	4	1	1	..	12	1
35—59	55	27	28	24	28	3	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
60 and over	18	9	9	9	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
All Ages	337	185	152	163	150	17	..	4	2	1	..	22	2

Out of the entire population 313 persons or 92.9 per cent of the total population are illiterate and only 24 persons or 7.1 per cent are literate. Thus percentage of literacy in the village is low in comparison to the literacy percentage of the district which is about 10 per cent for rural population. Out of 185 males and 152 females in the village only 22 males or 11.9 per cent and 2 females or 1.3 per cent are literate. Out of these 22 literate males in the village, 19 are Tharus and 3 are non-Tharus.

The non-Tharus are government employees posted here temporarily. The only person who has passed the High School examination is the Forest Guard. Among the Tharus Kirpa Ram, son of Sahas Ram Tharu, aged about 20 years, who has studied up to VII class has the highest education.

In the whole village only two women, the wife and sister of the Forest Guard, are literate. No Tharu woman can read or write. It is interesting to note that not a single Tharu girl has attended the local Primary School, which was established in this village on August 30, 1957. Out of 91 children of school-going age (5 to 14 years) only 17 boys attend the local school.

In the age-group 0—14 years, out of 151 persons only 8 persons or 5.2 per cent are literate, in the age-group 15—34 years, out of 113 persons only 13 persons or 11.4 per cent are literate, in the age-group 35—59 years, out of 55 persons only 3 persons or 5.4 per cent are literate and in the age-group 60 years and above there is no literacy at all.

Literacy by Caste

The following table shows literacy by caste :—

TABLE No. 4.9

Showing Literacy by Caste

Caste	Population			Literates			Percentage
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	
Tharu	329	181	148	19	19	..	5.7
Brahmin	6	2	4	3	1	2	33.3
Muslim	2	2	..	2	2	..	100
Total ..	337	185	152	24	22	2	7.1

Literacy among the Tharus is only 5.7 per cent. Education is not compulsory. The Tharus are not convinced of the utility of education. "Education", they say, "would not make their sons a Collector or a *Daroga*. Even after education they will have to till the soil. So why waste so much energy, time and money over education." The children either go on playing about or are employed for miscellaneous domestic duties or in connection with cattle-rearing and agricultural pursuits not because the Tharus have paucity of workers and want to be assisted by the younger generation, but just because they are ignorant of the utility of education. Recently the Antarim Zila Parishad has launched upon the *Bal Shiksha Vridhi Andolan*, a movement for enrolling a larger number of students in the school. The teachers are required to take a census of children of school-going age (up to 11 years). They also impress upon the parents the advantages of education and then persuade them to send their children to schools. The movement has been quite effective in enrolling more students. In September, 1961, there were 27 students in the school, but in September, 1962, the number had shot up to 56 students.

Educational Institution

There is a Basic Primary School in the village. It started functioning on August 30, 1957. It continues to be under the management of Antarim Zila Parishad, Gonda. It imparts education up to the primary standard only. The school is located in a cemented white-washed one-room building, situated near the Forest Guard *chauki*, on the western corner of the *abadi* of the village.

The school made a start with one teacher, but on January 10, 1959 another teacher joined it. He remained in this school only up to July 22, 1960. Another teacher has again been posted to this institution on October 13, 1962, with the increase in the number of students. One of the teachers is a Tharu of village Mutehra at a distance of 2 miles.

The following table shows the number of students in the school on September 30 of every year :—

TABLE No. 4.10

Showing the Number of Students

Year	Number of Students		
	Total	From the Village	From outside the Village
1957	30	15	15
1958	11	3	8
1959	23	8	15
1960	25	7	18
1961	27	12	15
1962	56	17	39

Thus except in the year in which the school was started the number of students sent up by the village was small. More students have been sent up in 1962. There has been no girl student on the roll of the school. The other teacher had to be withdrawn because of the small number of children attending the school. As soon as the number increased, another teacher has been appointed.

Family Structure

Family plays an important role in the socio-economic life of the Indian village. It is a dominant force of social control, economic progress and ritual performance. By tradition, a joint family system has been prevalent in the Indian society. In a joint family the presence of parents is a great uniting factor among their children in spite of their individual idiosyncrasies.

Among the Tharus the oldest person, who is the head of the household by virtue of his old age, is called *gand dhuria* of the family. He manages the household affairs till his death even after his sons and grandsons have grown up and attained maturity of judgment. Kanhai Tharu aged 55 years continues to be the head of his joint family of 41 members although he has four brothers, four sons and five nephews who have all grown up and attained maturity of judgment. Similarly Sahas Ram Tharu aged 60 years is the head of a joint family having

41 members with one brother, five sons, and five grown-up sons of his deceased brother. The order of the head of the household is carried out ungrudginly by the younger generations. With the advancement in the age of parents, the younger generation is made to learn the art of controlling the joint family with the casual guidance and advice of the parents. Even the death of the *gand dhuria* does not start the process of disintegration of the joint family among the Tharus. The disintegration generally starts among the grandsons, the bickerings being accentuated by the back-bitings and uncompromising attitude of the womenfolk.

In the village out of 31 households, 6 households (i.e., 20 per cent) were simple consisting of a husband, wife and unmarried children, 5 households (i.e., 16 per cent) were intermediate consisting of a married couple, unmarried brothers and sisters and one of the parents, whereas 15 households (i.e., 48 per cent) were joint, consisting of a married couple with married sons/daughters or with married brothers/sisters. The remaining five households (i.e., 16 per cent) are without either of the spouses.

The following persons are members of the household headed by Sahas Ram :—

	Name	Sex	Age	Relation to Head of Household	Economic Activity
1.	Sahas Ram	Male	60	*Gand Dhuria*	Cultivation
2.	Partabi	Female	60	Wife	,,
3.	Ram Lal	Male	26	Son	,,
4.	Paota	Female	24	Son's wife	,,
5.	Pargi	,,	6	Son's daughter	Dependant
6.	Ram Prasad	Male	5	Son's son	,,
7.	Daughter of Ram Lal	Female	1	Son's daughter	,,
8.	Raja Ram	Male	24	Son	Cultivation
9.	Wife of Raja Ram	Female	20	Son's wife	,,
10.	Roppey	Male	22	Son	,,
11.	Baoti	Female	20	Son's wife	,,
12.	Bhagat Narain	Male	1	Son's son	Dependant
13.	Kripa Ram	Male	20	Son	Cultivation
14.	Tunna	Female	17	Son's wife	,,
15.	Angad Ram	Male	18	Son	,,
16.	Gunai Prasad	Male	16	Son	Goat rearing
17.	Thagni	Female	14	Daughter	Domestic work
18.	Sarjoo Prasad	Male	45	Brother's son	Cultivation
19.	Kashi Dei	Female	44	Brother's son's wife	,,
20.	Shewat Ram	Male	13	Brother's son's son	,,
21.	Parbhi	Female	10	Brother's son's daughter	Domestic work
22.	Ghinni	,,	4	,,	Dependant
23.	Drupadi	,,	1	,,	,,

	Name	Sex	Age	Relation to Head of Household	Economic Activity
24.	Ram Piarey	Male	42	Brother's son	Transport by bullock cart
25.	Bijhaona	Female	40	Brother's son's wife	Cultivation
26.	Jwala Prasad	Male	12	Brother's son's son	Cattle grazing
27.	Ram Pati	Female	6	Brother's son's daughter	Dependant
28.	Darshani	Female	2	,,	,,
29.	Triloki Ram	Male	32	Brother's son	Forest labourer
30.	Barki	Female	34	Brother's son's wife	Cultivation
31.	Ram Harakh	Male	32	Brother's son	Cattle grazing
32.	Somal Dei	Female	32	Brother's son's wife	Cultivation
33.	Chhanno	Male	2	Brother's son's son	Dependant
34.	Phairoo	Male	25	Brother's son	Cultivation
35.	Sakta	Female	24	Brother's son's wife	,,
36.	Daughter of Phairoo	Female	1	Brother's son's daughter	Dependant
37.	Ajodhia	Male	45	Brother	Cultivation
38.	Gangajali	Female	42	Brother's wife	,,
39.	Bachaoni	Female	14	Daughter	Domestic work
40.	Dashrath	Male	11	Brother's son	Cultivation
41.	Nibra	,,	2	,,	Dependant

Meals are cooked for the whole family of 41 persons in the same kitchen. Relations within the family are cordial. They have 14 rooms in the house including the kitchen, the sitting room and the deity room. The household provides a unique example of joint family system.

Intra-family Relationship

The relations within the family are generally cordial. The word of the *gand dhuria* is final. It is he who makes the division of labour among the family members, and allots work to each according to his individual capacity. The wisest among them (which generally the *gand dhuria* himself is) deals with marketing, entertaining guests and attending to Government servants. The work of cultivation is allotted to the strongest and the work of grazing cattle is allotted to the older generation or boys. During the regime of Balrampur Estate when the custom of forced labour was prevalent, every household had an able-bodied person known as the *begariya* who was to render forced labour whenever required.

The joint family system is strong and the coming in of a bride does not in any way affect the compact life of the family. The daughters-in-law have to pay greater respect to the older women of the household in preference to her own mother-in-law. The wife of the *gand dhuria* commands great respect. Individualism is not allowed to creep in, lest the family might disintegrate. The females in the households generally keep harmonious relations among themselves. They are generally engaged in doing some work or the other ; hence they do not get an opportunity of quarrelling among themselves. Moreover the control of the *gand dhuria* is strict and his attitude impartial. He treats all justly without any distinction between his own family and the family of his brother.

There is no purdah system among the Tharus. Whenever required, the daughter-in-law can speak with the father-in-law or the elder brother of her husband. A wife does not, by custom, touch the elder brother of her husband.

The relations outside the family are usually formal. The relatives who are scattered in distant neighbouring villages meet on ceremonial occasions, community festivals or the caste panchayats and also in fairs or markets. The relations of Tharus with their neighbours are cordial ; in case any one lags behind in any process of cultivation, others help him to come up to the mark. Thus there is great co-operation and unity among them.

Inheritance of Property

Only the sons inherit the property after the death of the father. All sons get equal share. No share is given to the daughters. Even if there is no male issue the daughters are not given any share. There is nothing like *Niwasa* rights (the daughter's son getting share in the property of his mother's father). The property is distributed among the nearest members of the family if the deceased has only daughters and no sons.

The member of a family cannot transfer his share or part thereof without the consent of the *gand dhuria* and other coparceners unless there has been a family partition. During one's lifetime one's descendants do not have any claim to the property, ancestral or self-acquired. It cannot be partitioned during his lifetime. The *gand dhuria* can transfer the property *inter vivos* in whatever way he likes. The widow of a coparcener inherits the share of her deceased husband if he dies issueless after the vesting of the property in him.

Provisions of the Hindu Succession Act, 1956 apply to this community. In actual practice it is not being followed by them. In fact the provisions are enforced only when a case is decided by a court of law.

The Tharus are not in favour of any share of property going to the daughter because that would shatter their joint family to bits, besides creating a lasting bitterness between the daughter and her parents and brothers.

Adoption

A childless couple can adopt the son of a near relation, generally a brother's son. An auspicious day for adoption is fixed in consultation with a Brahmin. Members of the community gather on this day at the house of the adopter. After taking a bath, the boy to be adopted sits in the lap of the adopter who puts a turmeric and rice mark on his forehead and also puts his cap on the head of the boy. The fact of adoption is then proclaimed. In the evening a feast is given to *biradari*. Meat, *daru* and boiled rice generally constitute the menu of the feast.

Leisure and Recreation

There are no sources of recreation in the village as it is situated in the midst of a forest far from the modern civilization. At leisure they get together in small groups and discuss the village affairs and casual scandals. At these get-togethers country liquor is served in small receptacles made of leaf and everyone has a pull at the common hookah. The males are used to smoking and drinking on a large scale. Even children pick up this habit quite early. The father does not hesitate in offering drink and hookah to his young son. When overdrunk, they forget their worldly worries and sometimes indulge in vulgar utterances. In a state of drunkenness sometimes they sing, sometimes they dance and sometimes they weep as well. This community smoking and drinking promotes brotherhood and maintains affinity among members of the Tharu community. The females too have separate smoking and drinking sessions.

Other means of recreation and amusement are the local festivals when both men and women assemble, sing and dance. The singing and dancing in public places by the Tharus is limited to their own sectors. No female would ordinarily dance in public except in her own community festivals. They also go to fairs at village Domri at a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, village Chittorgarh at a distance of 4 miles and village Debi Patan at a distance of about 20 miles.

They do not play cards nor do they gamble. "When a rupee can fetch four bottles of *daru* (country liquor)," they say, "what is the fun of wasting it on gambling." They have a marked preference for *daru* over any other thing. Tharu and *daru* are said to be inseparable.

There is no radio, no library, and no reading room in this village. Living in the interior of the forest, they remain aloof from the rest of the country and do not evince any interest in the affairs of the world outside them.

Religious Institutions

The Tharus are staunch believers in Hinduism. They observe various festivals and perform religious ceremonies at the family level, the village level and the community level. Fasts are not so material to them as feasts. Drinking and merry-making play an important part in their daily life.

There is only one temple in the village on the eastern outskirts of the village near the well got constructed by the Gaon Sabha. Exactly speaking it does not look like a temple from outside. Its roof and walls are of reed and grass. The walls are coated with clay, thereby giving the looks of a mud wall. The building is 10 feet high, 12 feet long and 8 feet wide. Inside, a few stones representing the idol of Lord Shankar are kept. Only vegetarians of the village (and their number is six only) can worship in this temple. Water is poured on the idol by them after taking a bath. The non-vegetarians can only make a gesture of reverence simply in passing by the temple. They feel that they are not pure enough to worship Lord Shankar because they drink and take meat. The temple is properly looked after by the local Tharus.

In every Tharu house there is a deity called by the name of Sayar or Poorvi Bhavani. The deity is invariably located in a room to the north-western corner of the house.

Poorvi Bhavani is also called Devi or Deota. In addition to a room set apart for the deity in every household, the villagers have jointly constructed a clay mound representing the symbol of the deity on the western outskirts of the *abadi*. The mound is covered with a small roof made of reed and grass locally called *marai* for protecting it from rains. Hence the place is generally called *marai*.

Poorvi Bhavani, being the village goddess, is specially worshipped on the occasion of Dashera and Hareri festivals. Animals such as goat, pig and fowl are sacrified at her altar by the *gand dhurias* of various households. Everyone present on the occasion takes *daru*. After the sacrifice and worship, the flesh is distributed among the devotees. In addition to these community sacrifices, such sacrifices are occasionally offered by individuals to the deity housed in the residences or the deity at *marai*.

The Tharus also organise *Satyanarayan ki katha* to be recited by a Brahmin when some calamity has been warded off. Pandit Babu Ram resident of village Harkhari at a distance of 3 miles has his *jajmani* (clientele) in this village. He is paid Re.1.25 nP. in cash and one *seedha*, whenever he recites the *katha*.

Fairs

The Tharus take a keen interest in observing festivals and attending fairs. The fair nearest to the village is the Domri fair which is held in the month of October every year on the occasion of Dashera on the day when the effigy of Ravana is burnt, as part of the Ram Lila celebrations. About one thousand persons from various villages assemble in the *melo*. Everyone dons a gaudy dress and looks in a festive mood. A dramatic party is also engaged for singing, dancing and dramatics. The fair lasts for a day only.

Another fair attended by the residents of this village is held in the unpopulated village Chittorgarh at a distance of about 4 miles south of the village on the confluence of river Bhambar and Ghogrol. The fair takes place on the Kartik Poornmasi (November) and it lasts for one day and night only. About 1,000 persons assemble there on this occasion. Most of the transactions in the *mela* take place on barter system, the Tharus giving paddy in lieu of the articles purchased from shopkeepers.

Village Chittorgarh which existed about seventy or eighty years ago was destroyed totally by floods. It is said that Raja Digvijay Singh of Balrampur, during his hunting expeditions to this forest, used to take his bath at the confluence of rivers at Chittorgarh. He got a temple constructed at this place for worshipping the deity after taking his bath. The temple is visited by the people once a year.

The most important fair attended by the residents of this village is that of Debi Patan, which is near Tulsipur railway station on the Gonda Gorakhpur loop line. There is a temple which stands on a large heap of bricks and rubbish. Close by are a tank and a well. Some broken images and fragments of sculptures, dilapidated houses of devotees, two walled gardens and some small shrines are also there. The fair is held from the first to the ninth of the light half of Chait (March/April) and attracts about one lakh pilgrims and traders. Hill ponies, brought down from Nepal in large numbers, cloth, utensils, spices and other articles are also sold there. The religious observances consist of sacrifices of buffaloes, goats and pigs.

Festivals

In spite of poverty many festivals are observed in the village. They provide a natural relief from the monotonous life of the village and serve as an interlude full of mirth and merriment.

The Hindu festivals are spread almost evenly over the whole year. According to the western calendar, the Hindu months which determine the dates of the festivals are as follows :—

Hindi Month	*Corresponding English Month*
Magha	January/February
Phalgun	February/March
Chaitra	March/April
Vaisakha	April/May
Jyastha	May/June
Ashadha	June/July
Sravana	July/August
Bhadrapada	August/September
Kuar	September/October
Kartika	October/November
Aghan	November/December
Paushya	December/January

The following Hindu festivals are mainly observed in the village :—

Name of Festival	*Month*
1. Naag Panchami or Gooria	Sravana
2. Janam Ashtami	Bhadrapada
3. Barka Itwar	Last Sunday of Bhadrapada
4. Dashera	Asauj or Kuar
5. Diwali	Kartik
6. Khichri	Magh
7. Holi	Phalgun
8. Hareri	Bhadrapada

Naag Panchami

This festival is observed on the fifth day in the month of Sravana in honour of the snake-king. On this day the entire house is cleaned and the floor is coated with cow dung and the walls with clay. Ordinarily, the wife of the head of the household keeps a fast. During the day she takes some gram and puffed maize ; a little milk is offered at the bimawat or habitat of snakes. She then prays to the cobra to save her and her family from snake-bite. The common belief is that the snake does not bite any member of a family where Naag Panchami is celebrated. This festival is observed by the Tharus in the same way as is done by the rest of the Hindus of the district.

Naag Panchami is also known as the festival of Gooria. On this occasion, the unmarried girls prepare a number of cloth dolls. In the evening all the unmarried boys and girls and younger people assemble at one place in a circle in the village. The girls come singing and rejoicing ; the boys too reach there with newly-cut long and thin bamboo sticks in their hands. The girls continue singing for some time and then drop the dolls on the ground. The boys beat these dolls with their sticks and then bury them in the maize fields. According to common belief the fertility of fields increases in this manner.

Janam Ashtami

This impotrant festival is observed on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Bhadrapada, to celebrate the birth of Lord Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu, who is believed to have taken

birth at midnight. Fast is observed till midnight. This is another festival on which meat and *daru* are not consumed. *Panjiri* (a sweet preparation of wheat flour, ghee and sugar) *charanaamrit* (curd mixed with cow milk, ghee *gur* and pieces of dry fruits) and fruits like bananas are kept ready. These edibles are distributed among members of the family after midnight when the birth of Lord Krishna is supposed to have taken place.

Barka Itwar

This festival is observed on the second Sunday of the *Shukla Paksh* (moonlit fortnight) of the month of Bhadrapad. On this day fast is kept by most of the men and women in the households to purify their souls and stomach. Everyone abstains from meat and drink. Ghee, barley and twigs of *dhoop* tree are burnt in a *chauka* to purify the atmosphere. Those participating in the ceremony have to take a bath first. The males wear only a *dhoti,* just like a Brahmin sitting for puja.

Dashera

It is observed on the 9th day following the moonless Amavas day in Kuar (October). Everywhere it is celebrated to mark the conquest of Lord Rama over the demon Ravana but the Tharus celebrate it to mark the conquest of their family gods, locally called Devis and Devtas, over the evil spirits.

In the evening the *Jaura Dharai* ceremony, i.e. offering barley and maize to the deity is performed; while going to the *marai* for performing the ceremony everyone is dressed in his best. They sing on the way; the menfolk dance as well. The *gand dhuria* of the household offers barley and maize to the deity. They also drink on the occasion and put a turmeric and rice mark on the forehead of the oldest man of the village and receive his blessings.

Next morning sacrifice of goats, pigs and fowl is made at the altar of the deity. Every *gand dhuria* of the village brings a goat, a pig or a hen and sacrifices it at the altar of Poorvi Bhavani. This is done to propitiate the goddess so that she might protect them and their families from evil spirits. The flesh of the animals is taken in the household as a gift (*prasad*) from the deity.

On this day *daru* is consumed heavily by men and women alike. Community songs, dances and merrymakings continue for the whole day.

Diwali

The festival of lights is one of the major festivals of the Tharus just as of other Hindus. It is observed by the Tharus generally in the same manner as is observed by other Hindus. It falls on the Amavas day in Kartik (October). The rainy season is over, the houses are cleaned, the floor is plastered with cow-dung and the walls with clay. No animal is sacrificed on this occasion but *daru* is taken almost in every house. In the evening a *chauka* is prepared, in which is kept a pitcher filled with water. A lighted clay lamp (*deepak*) with mustard oil is placed on the pitcher. All the women and children assemble round the *chauka.* An elderly woman of the family narrates the significance of Diwali. To them the *deepak* is the symbol of the goddess or Devi and its lighting in the household indicates her presence in the family. The houses and cow sheds are illuminated and special dishes are prepared according to one's means. No gambling is indulged in nor is Lakshmi puja done.

Khichri

This festival is observed on the Makar Sankranti day which generally falls on 14th January. On this day rice mixed with *urd* pulse, salt and ginger is boiled for preparing *khichri* which is consumed at lunch time. Before taking meals everyone takes bath and gives uncooked *khichri* to Brahmins by way of charity. On this day, too, meat is not taken but in the evening they drink, dance and sing.

Holi

This festival is also observed in the same manner as is done by the rest of Hindus. It falls on the 15th day of Sudi Phagun (February–March). This festival is popular amongst all,

but has a particular appeal for the younger age-group. Ten days before, a castor-seed plant is fixed on the ground where the Holi bonfire is to be burnt. A pile of fuel is collected from the forest and placed round the plant, which represents Bhakt Prahlad. When the pyre is burnt some time at midnight the castor-seed plant representing Prahlad is taken out of the heap of fuel. Tradition goes that Prahlad was a staunch devotee of Lord Rama ; his villainish father Hiranakashyap did his best to make Prahlad desist from worshipping Lord Rama. He was made to sit on a burning pyre in the lap of his father's sister Holika who was wrapped in a fire-proof sheet. The conspiracy to burn Prahlad failed as he came out alive. Instead she was burnt to ashes in spite of the fire-proof sheet. It is to celebrate this victory of a devotee over a non-believer that Holi is observed.

In this village, Holi pyre is not worshipped nor do the women keep a fast on this day. The next day, known as *Phag,* begins with taking a round of the Holi bonfire by the males and the females. After returning from there both the males and females indulge in singing obscene and lewd songs. They drink in plenty on this day. They throw water, mud and filth at each other ; soot mixed with oil is also smeared on the faces. There is merry-making, shrieking and laughter alround. Hindus of all ages participate freely in the celebrations. They hug each other warmly out of affection.

Special dishes are prepared during the day in all the houeholds.

Hareri

It is a festival connected with agriculture. After the transplantation of winter paddy is over, the *gand dhurias* assemble together and fix the day on which this festival is to be observed. It can be observed on any day except a Tuesday, a Thursday or a Sunday. One day before the stipulated day, all the males and females assemble at the *than* of Bhavani which is located at a place to the west of the *abadi.* They drink and sing to mark the end of paddy transplantation. Next morning animal sacrifices are made at the altar of the deity. The flesh of the slaughtered animals is taken by the *gand dhurias* of the households only. After the puja, the *gand dhurias* go to the paddy fields and sprinkle cow milk therein. The sprinkling of the cow milk is believed to increase the average yield of paddy.

Festivals of Muslims

At the time of survey the village had two Muslim households but they were temporary residents. They celebrated the Muslim festivals such as Id-ul-Fitr, Id-uz-Zuha, Mohorram, etc.

General

The festivals and fairs provide occasions not only for merry-making but of reaffirming the family ties and strengthening the community or village solidarity and expressing one's faith in gods and goddesses. They keep the culture and religion of the community alive and active.

Beliefs and Superstitions

In one form or the other, beliefs and superstitions are so mingled in the life of our countrymen that not to say of the uneducated even the educated persons are firm believers thereof. The Tharus too have their own beliefs and superstitions.

While starting on a journey it is considered inauspicious if some one sneezes or a person with empty vessels is met or a cat crosses the way from left to right or a one-eyed person comes across or an oilman (*teli*) is met. Meeting a person with filled-up vessels or the sight of a magpie on the right hand or the calf suckling the cow or a washerman carrying dirty clothes for washing are considered auspicious. Also it is an ill-omen if some one inquires the destination of the prospective traveller on the commencement of his journey. Similarly it is considered inauspicious if just after getting up from one's bed the first person whom one sees happens to be one-eyed or squint ; or if a lizard falls on any one. To ward off the evil effect of a lizard a bath has to be taken and some *seedha* given in charity to a Brahmin. A cot is not woven after sunset, the common belief being that one who does so will beget a one-eyed daughter.

The Tharus consider sickness to be due to the curse of some deity and in order to cure the patient, an offering of *daru* is made to the deity. Animal sacrifices are also made in serious cases. Sun, moon, cow, serpent and the *peepal* (ficus religiosa) tree are also worshipped. They believe in *bhoots* (evil spirits) ; it is said that a *bhoot* haunts the *chauki* in which the Forest Guard lives. The Forest Guard attributes the frequent illness of his children to this *bhoot*.

Village Organization

The village organization is an integrated whole and no tension is visible. The different *pad* (sects) of the Tharus marry with each other since marriages do not take place within the same *pad* (sect). Inter-marriages among the various *pads* of the village have created harmonious relations in the community. The village Pradhan too has created lasting ties of intimacy and goodwill between the households in the village. There is no social rivalry between the different *pads* of the Tharus. They mix freely with each other, smoke the same hookah, drink together and observe all the festivals together without any reservation. All of them being Dangwariya Tharus, they maintain a status of equality. Residents of the village are interdependent and share the joys and the sorrows of each other. Thus a hue of cordiality prevails within the village.

Inter-caste Relationship

Within the Hindu society, caste is an important factor in the life of a person. Ordinarily, his status in life is determined by his caste at birth. Hence every caste at the lower rung of the social ladder makes an attempt to get a step upward. The Tharus claim themselves as Kshatriyas, but the non-Tharu residents of the neighbouring villages do not accept them as such and treat them as untouchables. The upper caste persons do not take water from their hands.

Although they do not require the service of a washerman, services of a barber, a priest and a blacksmith who are residents of other villages are a necessity to them. They do not face any inconvenience while dealing with persons of other castes. There is no occasion for an inter-caste dissension and hence the relations are quite cordial.

Inter-hamlet Relationship

The village has no hamlet. The villages in the neighbourhood visited by the residents of this village are Suganagar Domri, Rajehna, Matehra, Bankatwa, etc. ; all these villages have a predominant population of Tharus. They visit each other at the time of meetings of village panchayats or some other occasions. They go to Suganagar Domri to visit fairs. Their relations with the residents of these villages are quite cordial. There has been no occasion for any rift or tension. Inter-village rivalry does not exist.

Organs of Democratic Decentralization

The following organs of democratic decentralization are functioning in the village :—

(1) Gaon Panchayat
(2) Nyaya Panchayat
(3) Gaon Samaj
(4) Caste Panchayat

Gaon Panchayat

The village panchayats were established in the State under the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947. The idea underlying the establishment of panchayats was to introduce and develop a sort of local-self government in the rural areas of the State. As in other villages of the State, a village panchayat was established in this village also in 1949. The village being too small, two other villages namely Songadha and Mutehra were joined with it. Shri Paras Nath Tharu of village Songadha was elected as Pradhan of the panchayat without any opposition because he, his father and his grandfather had been the *chaudharis* of the community. At the time of 1951 elections, each of the three villages was to have a separate Gaon Panchayat. Thus a separate Gaon Panchayat was carved out for village Rajderwa Tharu. There is so much unity among the Tharus that no one ever contested against Lachhman Prasad Tharu who has been holding the post of Pradhan since 1951 till now. He is about 47 years of age and is educated up to the Primary standard.

Ever since its establishment, the only work done by the Panchayat is the construction of a pukka well in the village on the eastern outskirts of the *abadi* near the Shiva temple. The Gaon Panchayat has a scanty income as would be evident from the following income statement for the period from April 1, 1961 to October 14, 1962 :—

Source of Income	*Amount*
1. Previous Balance	Rs. 2.30 nP.
2. Income from Panchayat Tax	Rs. 40.34 nP.
Total	Rs. 42.64 nP.

The following figures indicate the expenditure incurred by the Gaon Panchayat during the above period :—

Items of Expenditure	Amount
	Rs. nP.
1. Stationery	10.00
2. T.A. of the Panchayat Secretary	16.00
3. Election Expenses	13.65
Total	39.65

The achievements of the Gaon Panchayat are poor. The members of the Gaon Sabha do not take an active interest in the development of the village. The Gaon Sabha has the following sixteen members, all Tharus, including the Pradhan :—

Name	*Age (years)*	*Occupation*
1. Lachhman	47	Cultivation
2. Mani Ram	24	,,
3. Thagai	28	,,
4. Sukhram	35	,,
5. Rameshwar	30	,,
6. Khandhai	55	,,
7. Ram Dass	30	,,
8. Ram Dayal	32	,,
9. Gur Prasad	32	Transport
10. Mangrey	36	Cultivation
11. Roopey	24	,,
12. Bammoo	50	,,
13. Lal Bihari	35	Agricultural labour
14. Somal	38	Cultivation
15. Ghothoo	40	,,
16. Thakur Prasad	26	,,

Gaon Samaj

After the enforcement of the U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950, all lands of common utility such as *abadi* sites, pathways, wastelands, forests, fisheries, public wells, tanks and water channels vested in the village community or the Gaon Samaj consisting of all the residents of the village as well as the *pahikasht* cultivators. The Gaon Panchayat acting on behalf of the village community was entrusted with wide powers of land management. The total area of the village is 403.76 acres, out of which an area of 21.55 acres only is vested in the Gaon Samaj with the following details :

1. Area under water	10.48	acres
2. ,, population	9.95	,,
3. ,, grove and orchards	0.98	,,
4. ,, barren land	0.14	,,
Total	21.55	acres

There has been no income and expenditure of the Gaon Samaj from April 1, 1961 to March 31, 1962.

Nyaya Panchayat

The Nyaya Panchayat headquarters of this village is at village Bishanpur Bishram which is at a distance of about 6 miles from the village. The Sarpanch of the Nyaya Panchayat is Lalla Prasad Tharu. In the last Panchayat elections, fresh nomination of Panches did not take place. The panches of Nyaya Panchayat from this village are Ram Dass Tharu and Bishram Tharu. It is interesting to note that no case of this village has so far been referred to the Nyaya Panchayat for decision.

Caste Panchayat

Among the Tharus the caste panchayat is very powerful. All disputes of civil and criminal nature are referred to the caste panchayat for decision. It is creditable that no case from this village has ever been referred to the police or the law courts or the Nyaya Panchayat. Caste panchayat is of two types—of the community and of the village.

The community panchayat of the Tharus consists of the Tharus of villages Rajderwa Tharu, Rajehna, Sakri, Songadha, Matehra, Bankatwa, Bhojpur, Kusahwa, Mohkampur, Baitahania, Kanhayidh, Vijaypur, Bhaunrisal, Akalgarhwa, Nawalgarh, Jagan Bhariya, Mahdewwa and Jarwa. All these villages lie in the jungle surrounded by Bhambhar *nala* on the east, Jarwa on the west, Himalayas on the north and Chhitorgarh on the south, comprising an area of about 12 square miles. These villages lie in the Rampur range of the Gonda Forest Division. Any major dispute in which persons of two villages or more are involved is referred to this panchayat. Disputes which could not be decided by the village caste panchayats are also referred here. This panchayat is the supreme judicial authority for the Tharus.

Paras Nath Tharu is the *chaudhari* of the community panchayat. It is a hereditary post without any remuneration. The *chaudhari* continues to hold this post so long as he enjoys the confidence of the community.

Whenever any case or dispute is refrerred to the *chaudhari* for decision, he fixes a date for its hearing. The opposite party is also informed of the allegations and the date of hearing through special messengers who are also the members of the community. This honorary work can be entrusted to any one. Side by side the Pradhans of all the villages comprising the panchayat are informed about the nature of disputes and the date of panchayat meeting. The message is passed from village to village.

On the appointed day the Pradhan along with two or more elderly and experienced persons reaches the place, fixed for hearing. Everyone takes his own ration. The panchayat meeting may last for two or three days. When a panchayat meeting is held, a number of cases are settled. Generally when five or six cases accumulate, a meeting of the panchayat is summoned. If any dispute of urgent nature comes up, the panchayat meeting can be called even for a single case.

When all have assembled, they make a joint subscription for *daru* which is consumed during the session. Sometimes residents of the village where the panchayat is held themselves arrange for the *daru*. They sit under a *pandal*, the *chaudhari* sitting in a superior position than others. Then one from the assembly enquires of the *chaudhari* and the members as to why so many persons have assembled there. The *chaudhari* or any one fully conversant with the matter in dispute stands up and narrates the events. The parties concerned put up their points of view, pointing out the names of the witnesses in support of their statements. When the parties have put up their cases before the panchayat, the members discuss the matter in whispered tones. When adequate discussion has taken place, the *chaudhari* asks one of the members to express his opinion. He stands up and explains his views. The supporters of his views express their support by nodding their heads in the affirmative. The dissidents raise a loud protest and put up their points of view. In this way, discussions and arguments continue till a final decision is reached. Sometimes, votes are taken by show of hands for ascertaining the view of the majority. The decision reached by the majority is pronounced by the *chaudhari* or his nominee.

The panchayat imposes a fine up to five rupees and also penalty in the form of *kachchi* (feast of *biradari* with rice, pulse, meat and vegetable as menu) or *pakki* (feast of *biradari* with *purees*, vegetables and meat as menu). *Daru* is essential in both *kachchi* and *pakki*. The offender who has been penalised arranges the feast as ordered. All the *panches* and other persons accompanying them and residents of the village where the panchayat meeting is held are invited to the feast. It is in this way that cases are decided, judgments pronounced and penalty realized. Particulars of some of the cases decided by the caste panchayat are given below.

A meeting of the Tharu community panchayat took place at Bitaharia in the second week of October 1962 where the Tharus considered giving up the use of *daru* altogether as the *thekedars* of Jarwa and Siswa liquor shops harassed their brethren whenever they went to purchase *daru* from their shops. The matter was under active

consideration of the Tharus for four days but no decision could be arrived at because all of them are accustomed to *daru* and it cannot be given up easily.

One Guptar Tharu of village Songadha died, leaving four sons who quarrelled among themselves for the distribution of property. The panchayat met and ordained equal distribution of property among the four brothers.

The 23-year old widow of Mangal Tharu resident of village Bhojpur fell in love with a young man aged 20 years named Pateshwar, son of Bijleshwari Tharu of the same village. The matter was referred to the caste panchayat. Since both the parties were keen to marry, they were allowed to marry but only after the boy had given a *kachchi* feast to the caste panchayat and the village community by way of penalty.

Caste Panchayat of the Village

In addition to the regional community panchayat, the village has a separate caste panchayat of which Shri Paras Nath Gaon Pradhan is the head and all the *gand dhurias* of the village are members. Trifling matters like trespass, boundary disputes, *marpit,* exchange of hot words, etc. which do not require the attention of the entire community are referred to it. The cases are decided by the Gaon Pradhan in consultation with some elderly persons and *gand dhurias.* Every effort is made to settle these small disputes amicably so that everlasting enmity might not be created.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

The foregoing study of the various aspects of the social, cultural and economic life of the village leads to the obvious conclusion that Rajderwa Tharu is a backward and undeveloped village of Tharus, situated within a forest in the Tarai area of the Himalayan region. It is not easily accessible and also has nothing to attract the outsider to it. Hence outside influences are slow to penetrate and slower to act. The socio-economic conditions have therefore remained more or less static and the population continues to stick dogmatically to the old concepts and standards in the various spheres of life.

A Forest Guard is posted in the village but rather than influencing the Tharus he himself gets influenced by their way of life. *Daru* and meat and the gay life of the Tharus are sufficient temptation for any one. The Supervisor Kanungo, the village Lekhpal, and the Forest Ranger are casual visitors to the village; sometimes some people visit the place in connection with wild game and employ the local Tharus in that connection. No one would however like to stay there for the night. One who happens to cast a glance over the dirty-looking Tharus in whose houses pigs and hens loiter about freely, does not even feel like taking a glass of water from them in spite of one's feeling very thirsty. Hence closer contact of any one with them is not ordinarily established. If a *Bajee* happens to suggest a change in their way of life or thinking they would look at him with an eye of grave suspicion and misgiving and hence nothing that is suggested by a non-Tharu can be easily accepted by them. A suggestion given by a Tharu is easily accepted provided it suits them and does not constitute a radical change in the prevailing set of values in the community.

The Tharus of this village are stay-at-home. None of them has migrated outside in search of employment. No one has passed the High School examination even. The highest education received is up to the VII standard and that too only by one person. The Gaon Pradhan has been to Lucknow only twice and two males have visited Ayodhya, a pilgrim centre in district Faizabad. Practically speaking the only contact of males and females with the outside world takes place during their visits to Pachperwa market or village Suganagar Domri, where they watch the way of life of non-Tharus and pick up and adopt whatever suits their convenience. It is by this contact that some womenfolk belonging to the younger generation are taking to *sari* and blouse in place of the *lehanga* and *kurta* or Lachhman Tharu adopted the *kanyadan* system of performing the marriage of his daughter, which was a radical departure from the usual form of Tharu marriage, or in place of *bhagua* (a loin-cloth) the males have started using the *lungi* or *dhoti*. Four Tharu households have cycles too. Four households are also using the Meston plough, an improved implement.

These changes however are quite insignificant. They are totally unaware of the social reforms and legislative measures enforced by the Government such as the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, the Hindu Succession Act (No. 30 of 1956) or the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956 (No. 78 of 1956). In fact these Acts are dead in so far as the Tharus are concerned because they act according to their own convenience sticking to the customary code prevalent within their community. Only two Tharus were found aware of the existence of the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955. They live in a world of their own, neither bothering about nor being bothered by the Nyaya Panchayat, the police, the courts and the administration. None of the planning and development activities have been extended to them in the field of agriculture or the socio-economic sphere. No special efforts to emancipate them have been made either by Government or by social bodies. They continue to observe the same religious ceremonies and social

functions almost without any change. There is no radio and no newspaper to keep them abreast of the economic and political developments within the country and outside. They are totally indifferent to any change because it does not materially affect them. Perhaps the only change material to them is the change of Forest Guard.

The Tharus are on the whole self-contained and happy in their own environments, almost completely segregated from the main currents of the winds of change blowing from various directions. They eat and drink to their heart's content, not bothering much for the past or the future.

TABLE I

Area, Houses and Population

Area in Acres	Area in Hectares	Density	Number of Houses	Number of Households	Population Persons	Population Males	Population Females
403.76	179.18	403.49 Persons per square mile	31	31	337	185	152

TABLE II

Population by Age-groups

Persons	All Ages Males	All Ages Females	0—4 M	0—4 F	5—9 M	5—9 F	10—14 M	10—14 F	15—19 M	15—19 F	20—24 M	20—24 F	25—29 M	25—29 F	30—34 M	30—34 F	35—44 M	35—44 F	45—59 M	45—59 F	60 and over M	60 and over F
337	185	152	33	27	32	17	24	18	18	12	13	14	15	15	14	12	15	12	12	16	9	9

TABLE III

Size and Composition of Households

Total Number of Households	Size of Households: Single Member — Households	Single Member — Males	Single Member — Females	2-3 Members — Households	2-3 Members — Males	2-3 Members — Females	4—6 Members — Households	4—6 Members — Males	4—6 Members — Females	7—9 Members — Households	7—9 Members — Males	7—9 Members — Females	10 Members and Over — Households	10 Members and Over — Males	10 Members and Over — Females
31	3	2	1	2	3	1	10	26	25	3	11	12	13	143	113

TABLE IV

Caste and Nature of Families

Caste	Total Number of Households	Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
Tharu	27	6	4	15	2
Brahmin	2	..	1	..	1
Muslim	2	..	..	..	2
Total ..	31	6	5	15	5

N. B. Simple family consists of married couple and unmarried children.

Intermediate family consists of married couple and unmarried brothers or sisters or one of the parents.

Joint family consists of married couple living with married children or married brothers.

'Others' refers to single members or unmarried brothers and sisters or one parent living with unmarried sons or daughters.

TABLE V

Households classified by Religion, Caste and Sub-caste

Religion	Caste	Sub-caste	Number of Households	Number of Persons		
				Persons	Males	Females
Hindu	Tharu	Dangwariya	27	329	181	148
	Brahmin	Shukla	1	5	2	3
		Pande	1	1	..	1
Muslim	Muslim	Pathan	2	2	2	..
		Total ..	31	337	185	152

TABLE VI

Age and Marital Status

Age-group (Years)	Total Population			Never Married		Married		Widowed	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All Ages	337	185	152	101	61	77	80	7	11
0—4	60	33	27	33	27	..	..	..	..
5—9	49	32	17	32	17	..	..	..	..
10—14	42	24	18	18	13	6	5	..	..
15—19	30	18	12	15	4	3	8	..	..
20—24	27	13	14	2	..	11	14	..	..
25—29	30	15	15	..	..	14	15	1	..
30—34	26	14	12	1	..	13	12	..	..
35—39	12	8	4	..	..	8	4	..	..
40—44	15	7	8	..	..	7	8	..	..
45—49	11	5	6	..	..	5	5	..	1
50—54	9	3	6	..	..	1	4	2	2
55—59	8	4	4	..	..	3	2	1	2
60 and over	18	9	9	..	..	6	3	3	6

TABLE VII

Education

Age-group (Years)	Total Population			Illiterate			Literate without Educational Standard			Primary or Basic			Matric or High School		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Ages	337	185	152	313	163	150	17	17	..	6	4	2	1	1	..
0—4	60	33	27	60	33	27	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5—9	49	32	17	46	29	17	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10—14	42	24	18	37	20	17	4	4	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
15—19	30	18	12	28	16	12	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
20—24	27	13	14	25	11	14	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
25—29	30	15	15	26	11	15	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30—34	26	14	12	21	10	11	1	1	..	3	2	1	1	1	..
35—39	12	8	4	11	7	4	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
40—44	15	7	8	15	7	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45—49	11	5	6	10	4	6	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50—54	9	3	6	9	3	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55—59	8	4	4	7	3	4	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 and over	18	9	9	18	9	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE VIII

Workers and Non-workers by Sex and broad Age-group

Age-group (Years)	Total Population			Workers			Non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All Ages	337	185	152	196	123	73	141	62	79
0—14	151	89	62	36	29	7	115	60	55
15—34	113	60	53	102	60	42	11	..	11
35—59	55	27	28	48	27	21	7	..	7
60 and over	18	9	9	10	7	3	8	2	6

TABLE IX

Workers classified by Sex, broad Age-group and Occupation

Age-group (Years)	Cultivation			Agricultural Servant			Transport			Cattle Grazing			Government Service			Domestic Servant			Carpentry		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Ages	133	70	63	22	14	8	5	5	..	25	25	..	4	4	..	5	3	2	2	2	..
0—14	20	14	6	1	1	..	..	..	..	14	14	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
15—34	74	37	37	14	10	4	5	5	..	5	5	..	2	2	..	1	..	1	1	1	..
35—59	31	14	17	7	3	4	..	..	..	4	4	..	2	2	..	3	3	..	1	1	..
60 and over	8	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE X

Households by Number of Rooms and by Number of Persons occupying

Total Number of Households	Total Number of Rooms	Total Number of Family Members	Households with one Room		Households with two Rooms		Households with three Rooms		Households with four Rooms		Households with five Rooms		Households with more than five Rooms	
			No. of House-holds	Total no. of Family Mem-bers	No. of House-holds	Total no. of Family Mem-bers	No. of House-holds	Total no. of Family Mem-bers	No. of House-holds	Total no. of Family Mem-bers	No. of House-holds	Total no. of Family Mem-bers	No. of House-holds	Total no. of Family Mem-bers
31	156	337	2	2	2	3	1	6	4	22	8	35	14	269

TABLE XI

Livestock

Community	Milch Cattle		Draught Animals		Goats and Sheep		Hens		Cows		She-buffaloes	
	No. of House-holds owning	Total Number	No. of House-holds owning	Total Number	No. of House-holds owning	Total Number	No. of House-holds owning	Total Number	No. of House-holds owning	Total Number	No. of House-holds owning	Total Number
Tharu	8	41	22	115	18	84	26	142	25	103	5	31
Brahmin	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE XII

Agricultural Produce of Cultivation run by the Households and its Disposal

(In Maunds)

Name of Produce	Paddy	Wheat	Maize	Pulses	Barley	Vegetable	Chillies	Tobacco	Oil-seeds	Fodder	Other crops	Sugar-cane
1. Annual quantity produced	2,747	77	276	67	19	587	210	65	1,493	2,590	2,747	1,080
2. Total annual quantity consumed by the producing households	2,000	40	190	67	19	587	210	65	700	2,590	1,800	800
3. Total annual quantity available for sale	747	37	86	..	..	...	..	..	793	...	947	280

TABLE XIII

Indebtedness by Income Groups

Income Group	Total Number of Households	Number of Households in Debt	Percentage of Col. 3 to Col. 2	Average Indebtedness by Households in Debt (Rupees)
Re. 0 to Rs. 25	..	..	..	..
Rs. 26 to Rs. 50	9	6	66.6	217
Rs. 51 to Rs. 75	5	3	60.0	263
Rs. 76 to Rs. 100	5	3	60.0	277
Rs. 100 and over	12	7	58.3	326
Total ..	31	19	61.3	274

TABLE XIV

Indebtedness by Causes

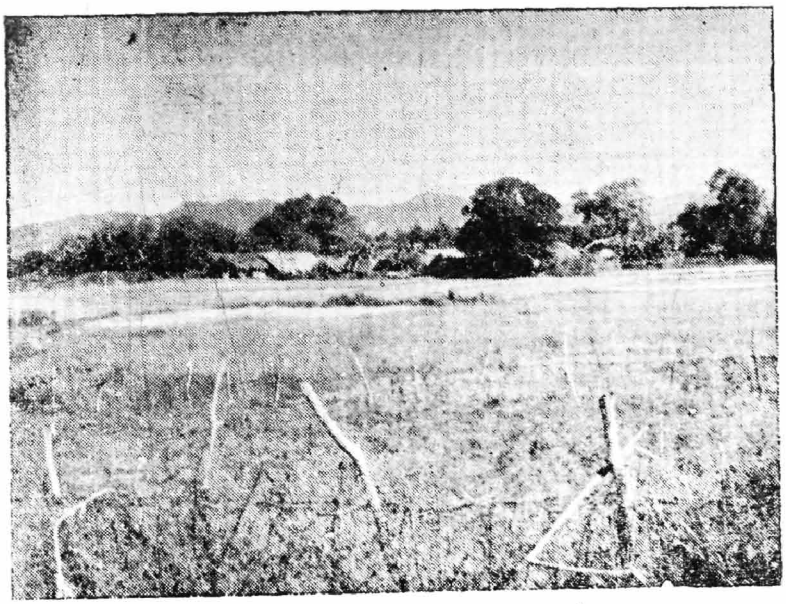
Cause	Amount of Debt (Rupees)	Number of Families in Debt	Proportion of Debt due to Cause to the Total Amount of Debt
1. House construction or repairs to existing building	800	2	15 per cent
2. Marriages	100	1	2 per cent
3. Ordinary wants	2,740	10	53 per cent
4. Agriculture (purchase of bullocks)	1,567	6	30 per cent
Total ..	5,207	19	100

Some Glimpses

of

Rajderwa Tharu

PLATE I



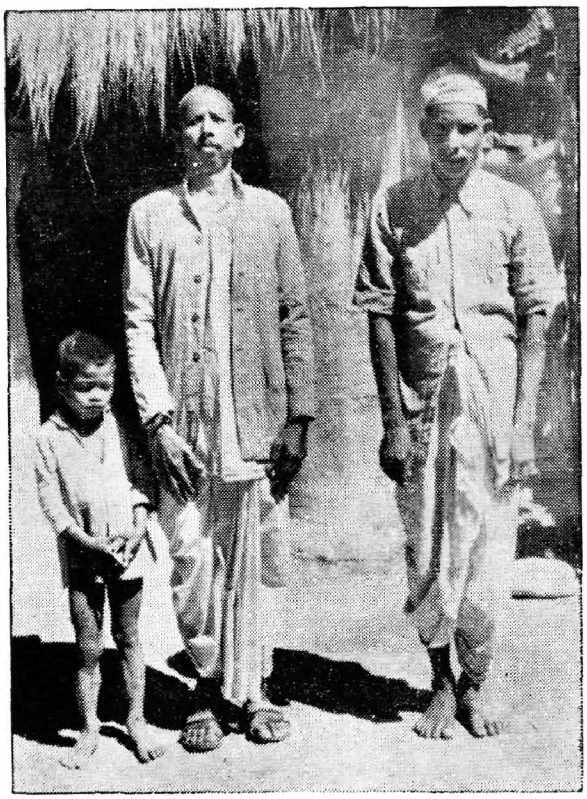
A distant view of village Rajderwa Tharu with the Himalayas in the background and a fenced field in the foreground. Thatched huts and trees are quite prominent.

PLATE II



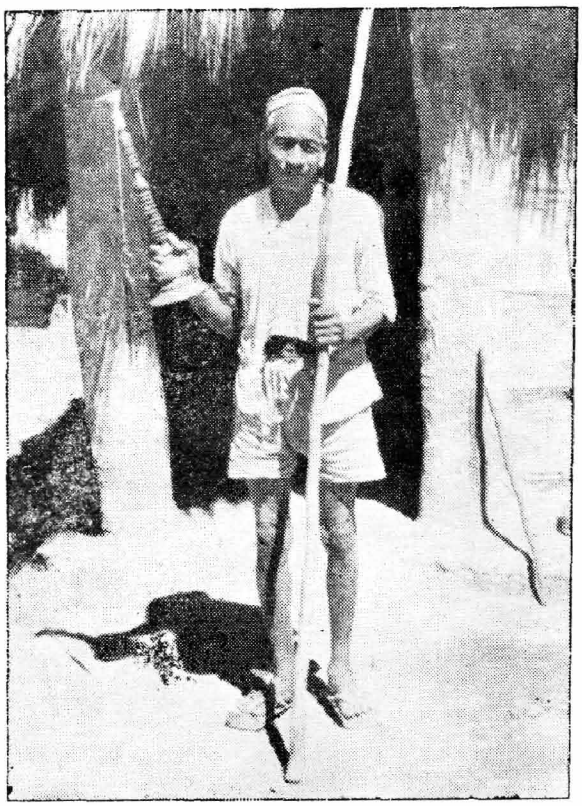
The teacher taking a class of students in the Basic Primary School, Rajderwa Tharu. The school has a one-room cemented building and is managed by the Zila Parishad.

PLATE III



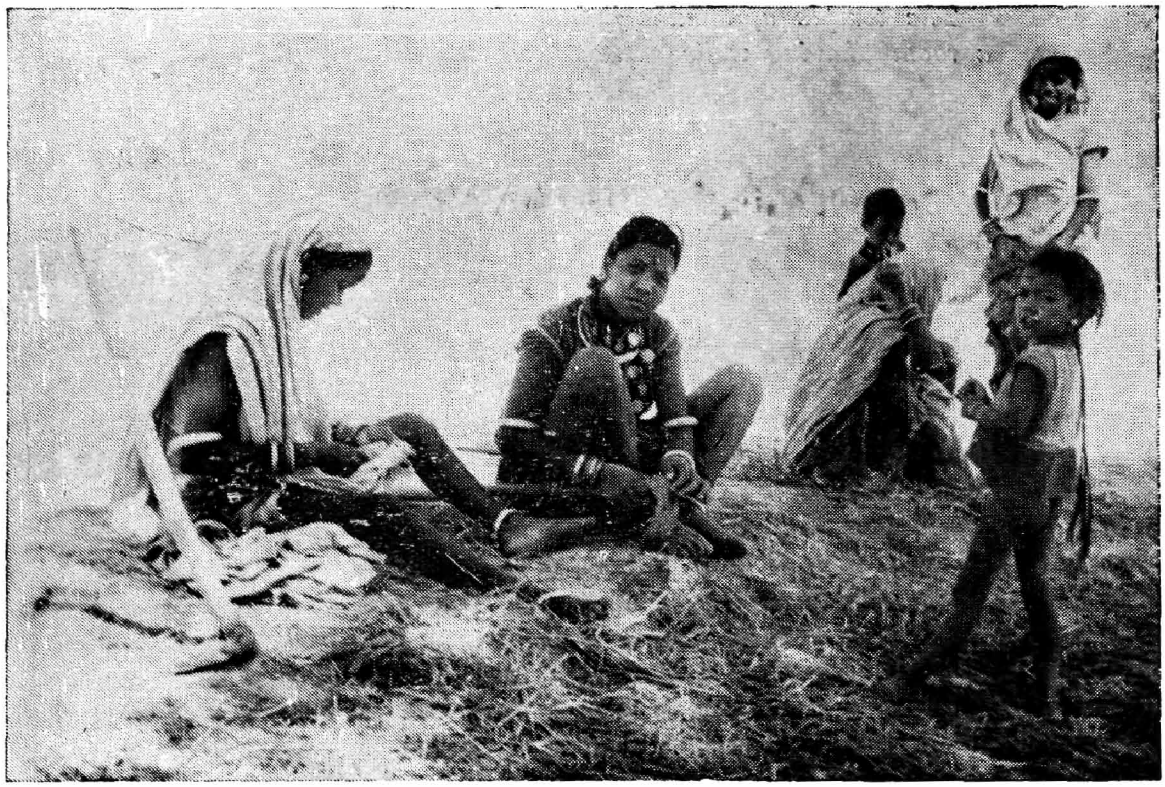
Lachhman Prasad Tharu, the Gaon Pradhan with his brother and son

PLATE IV



A Tharu male with a hookah in his right hand, a lathi in his left hand and paola on his feet

PLATE V



A group of Tharu children and females, resting for a while after working on the field

PLATE VI



A Tharu female heavily loaded with ornaments; the tattoo marks on her hands and forearms are quite prominent.

PLATE VII

The temple of Shankarji housed in a room having walls of reed coated with clay, and roof of thatching grass; only vegetarians can worship in this temple but the non-vegetarians can make a gesture of reference only in passing.

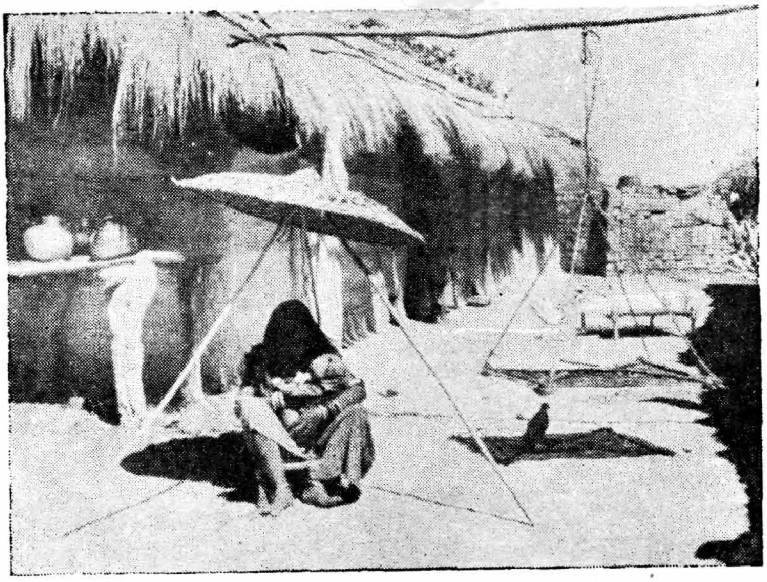


A typical Tharu hut having a roof of thatching grass, with vegetable creeper spreading over it

PLATE VIII



PLATE IX



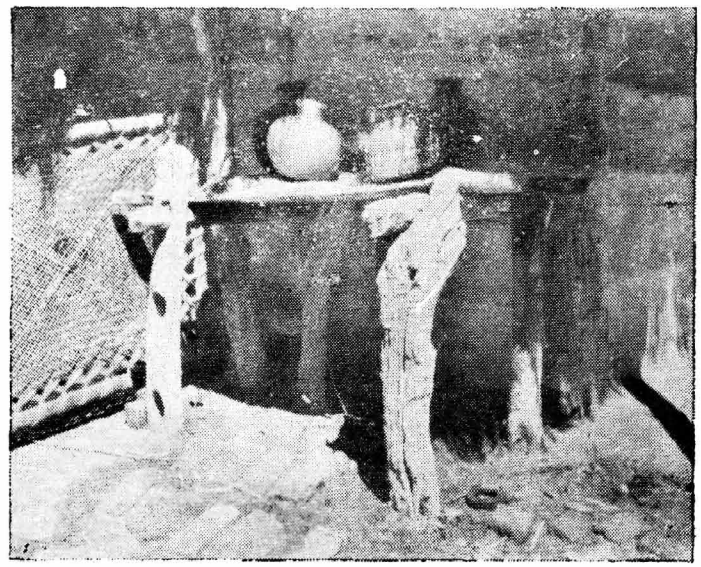
A Tharu female and child sitting in the shade of an umbrella which is also used as a protection against the sun at the time of weeding

PLATE X



Some of the utensils used in a Tharu household

PLATE XI



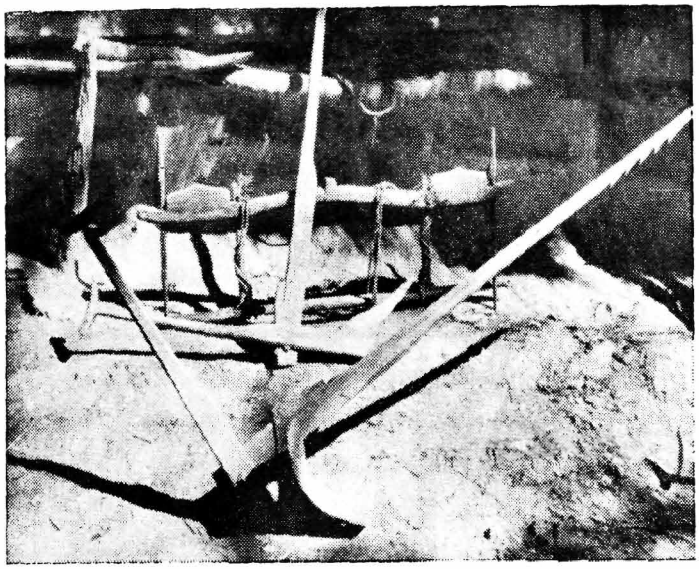
Pitchers used for potable water placed on a wooden stand

PLATE XII



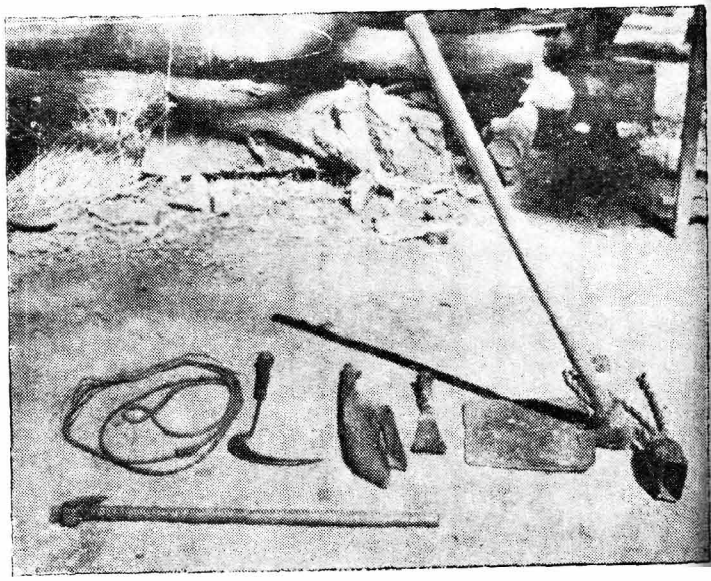
Tharu males weaving a gondri from moonj grass and hemp strings

PLATE XIII



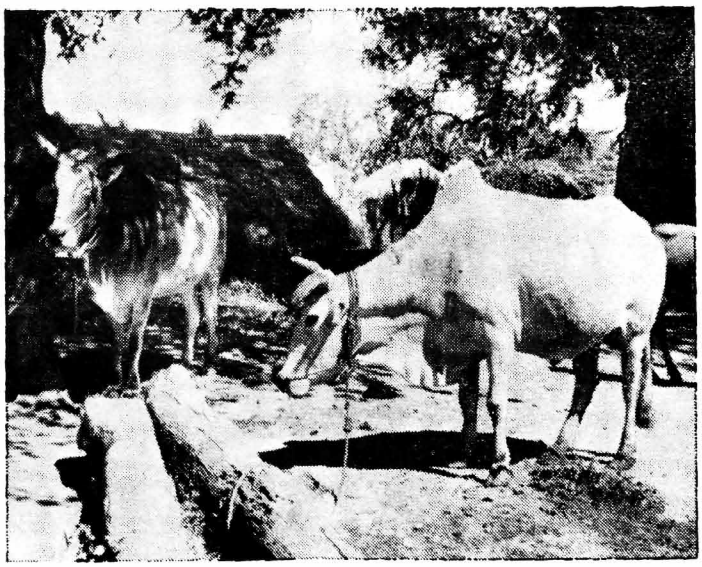
Ploughs and yoke used by cultivators

PLATE XIV



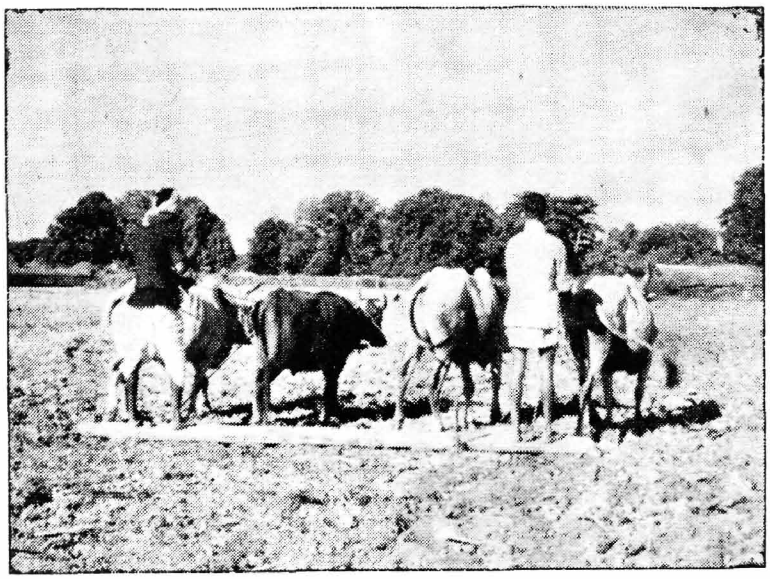
Some agricultural implements — spade, scythe, gandasa, sickle, pick-axe, hemp string, etc.

PLATE XV



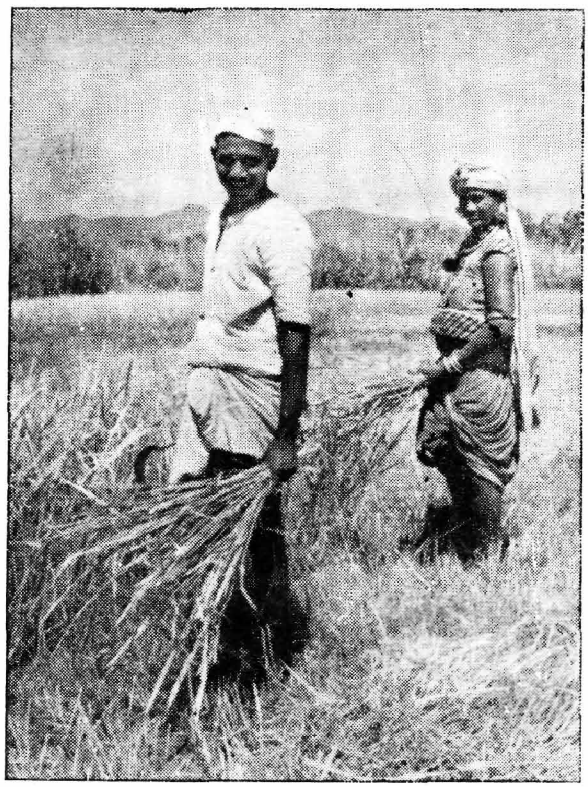
A pair of bullocks used as draught animals by a Tharu cultivator

PLATE XVI



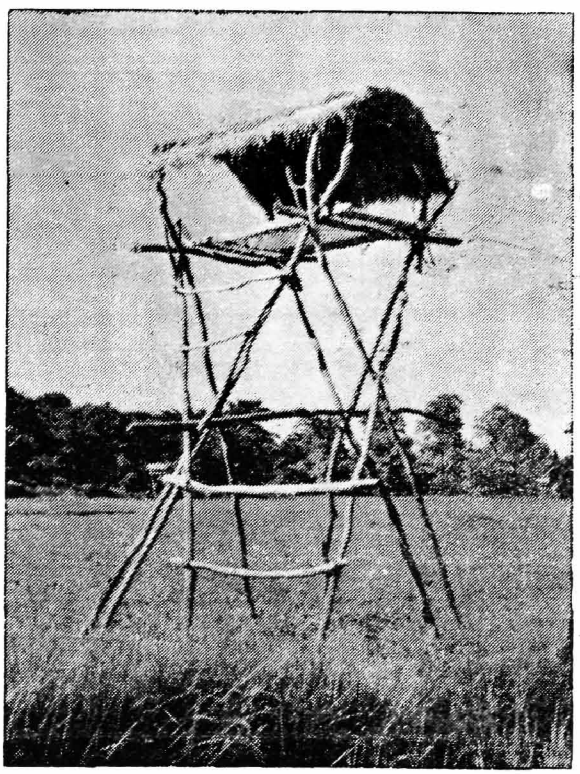
A flat leveller being pulled by four bullocks over a ploughed field for breaking the clods and making the soil even

PLATE XVII



A Tharu male and female busy in harvesting the paddy crop

PLATE XVIII



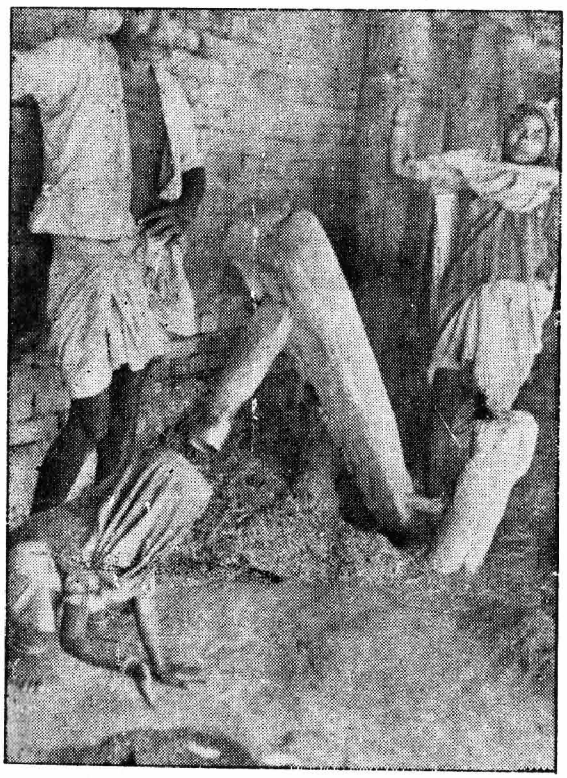
A machan (watch-post) constructed in the field. The watcher sits high up for guarding the crop from birds, wild animals and trespassers.

PLATE XIX



The village carpenters at work

PLATE XX



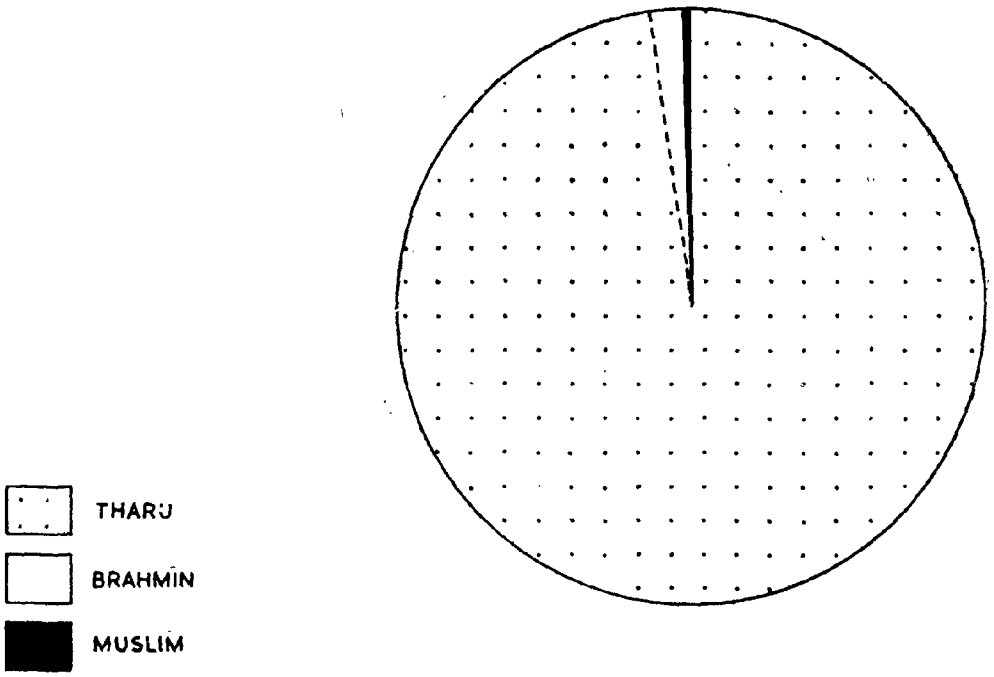
Paddy husking being done with the help of a pestle which is fixed at one end of a wooden lever. For working it, a woman treads on and off the other end of the lever. Its operation requires less human labour.

Rajderwa Tharu

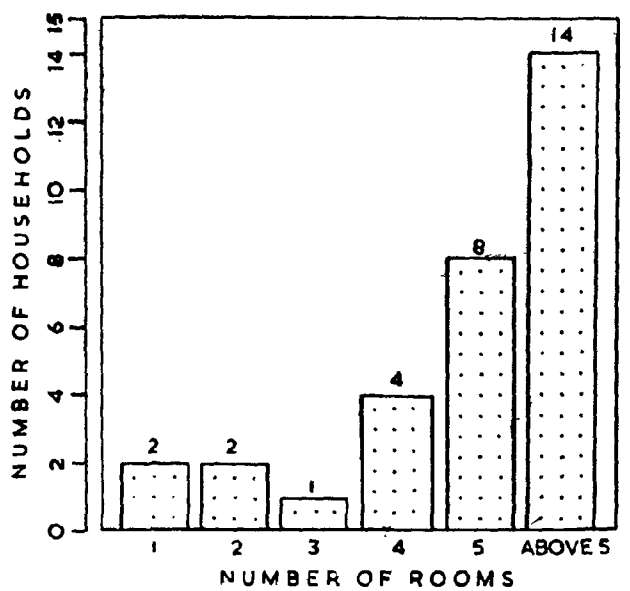
in

Diagrams

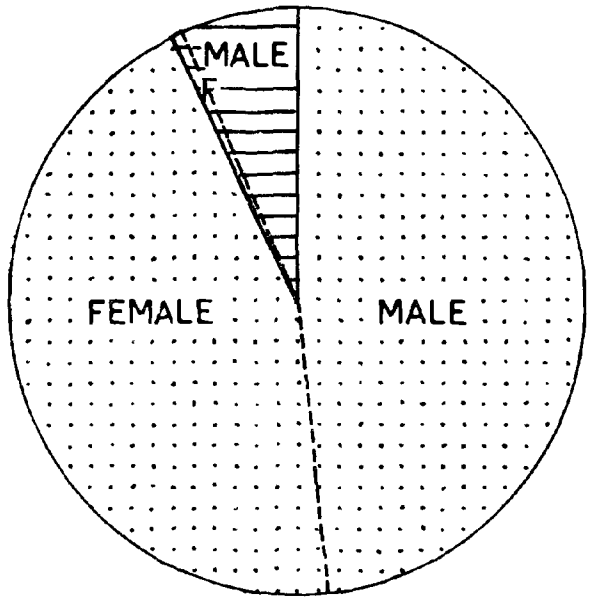
POPULATION BY CASTE



HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS



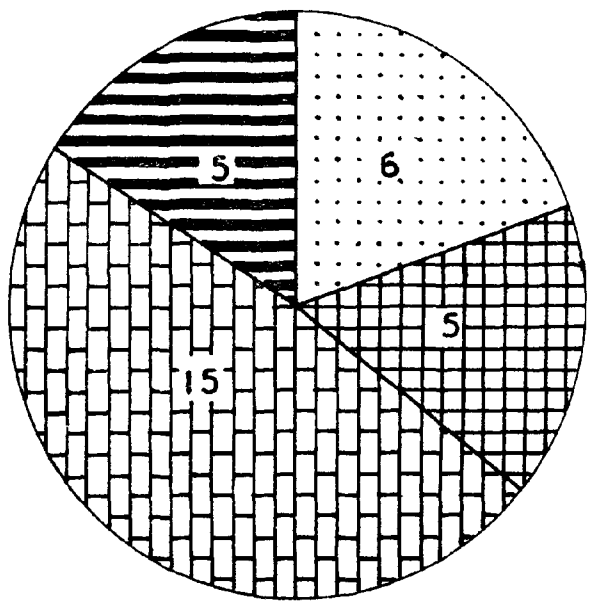
EDUCATION BY SEX



LITERATE

ILLITERATE

NATURE OF FAMILIES



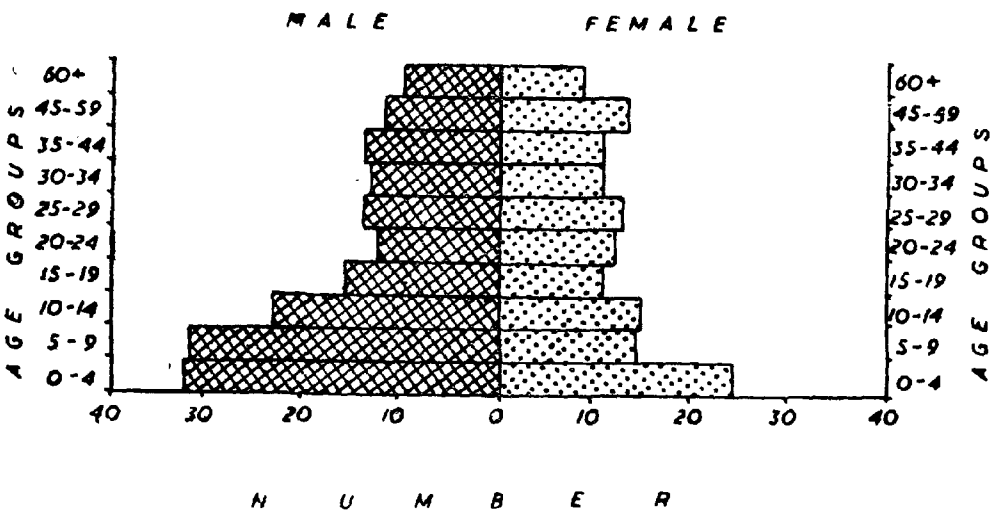
SIMPLE

INTERMEDIATE

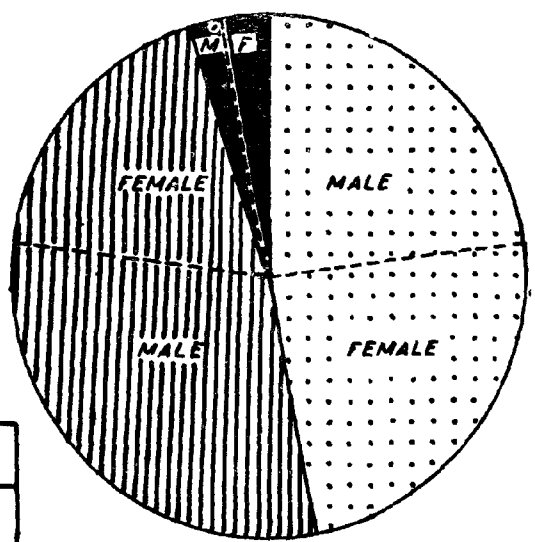
JOINT

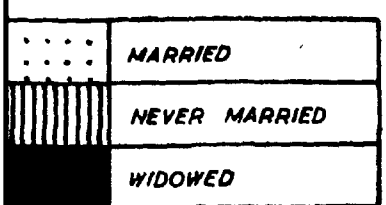
OTHERS

POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS

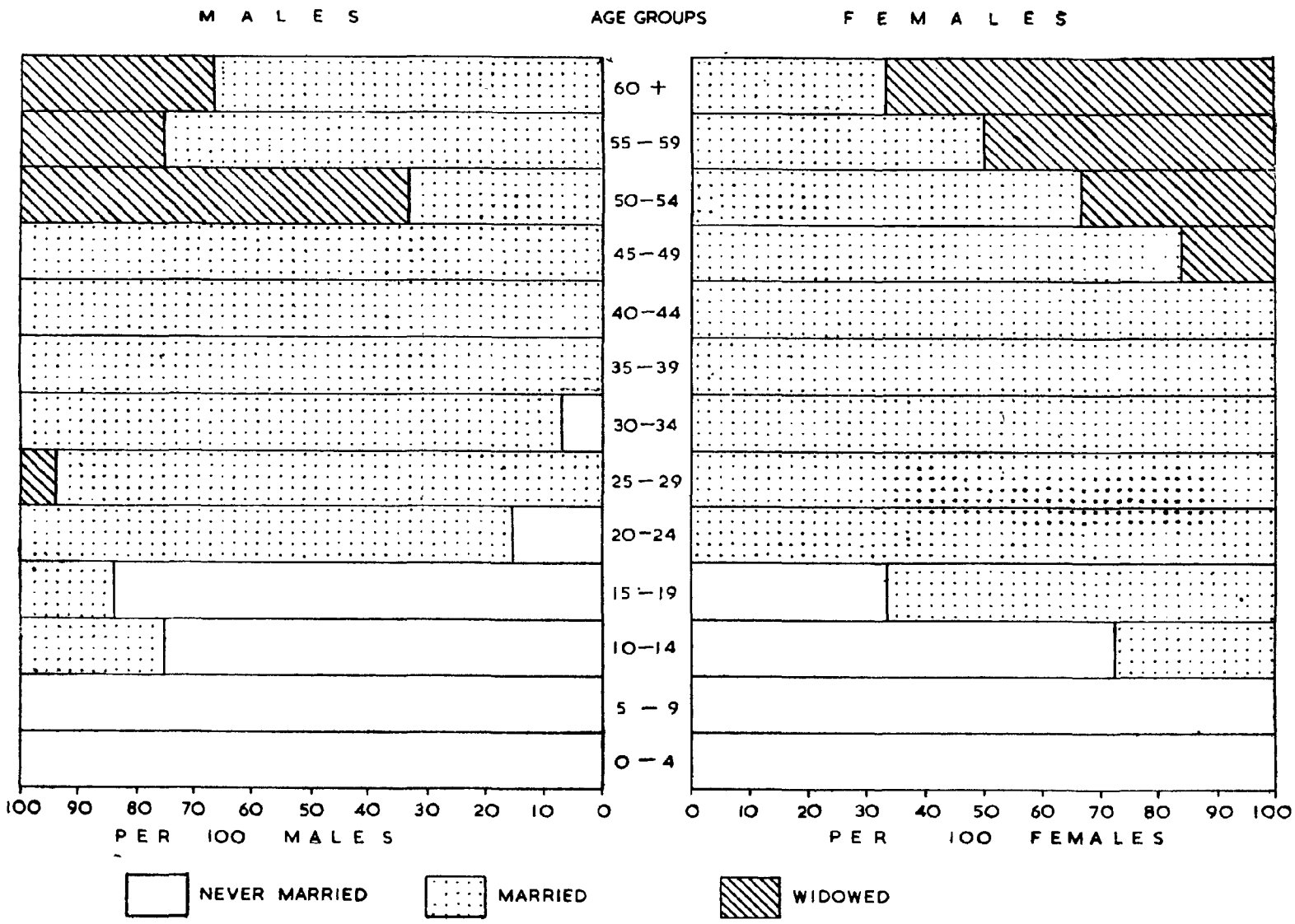


MARITAL STATUS

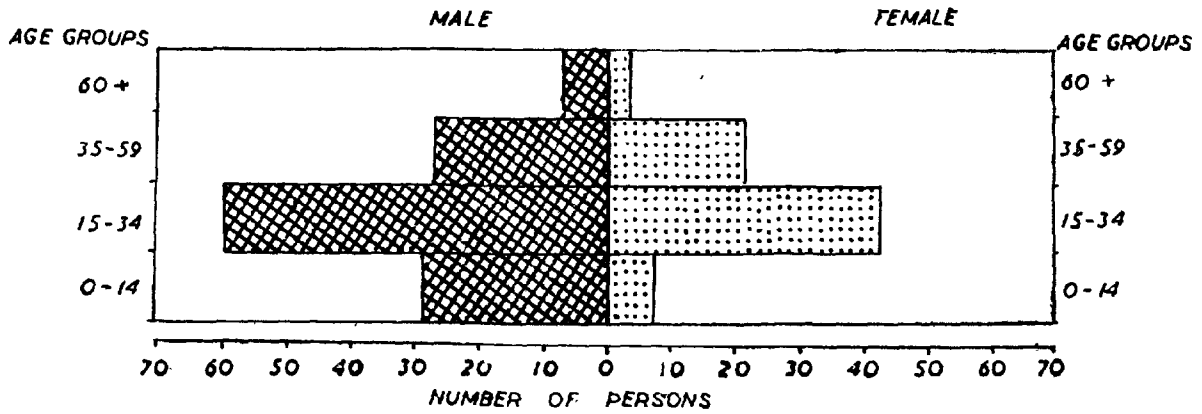




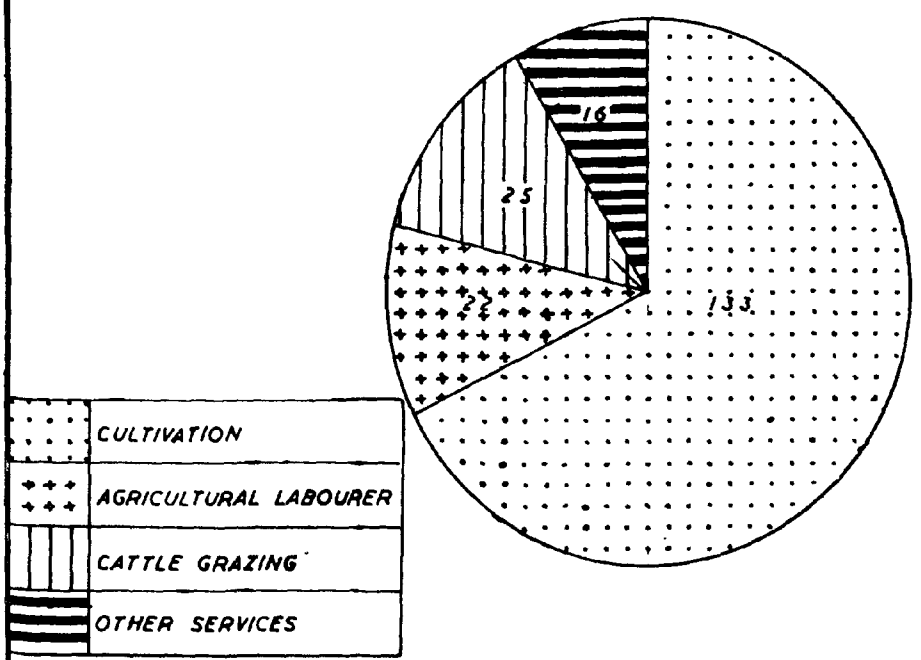
MARITAL STATUS BY SEX & AGE GROUPS



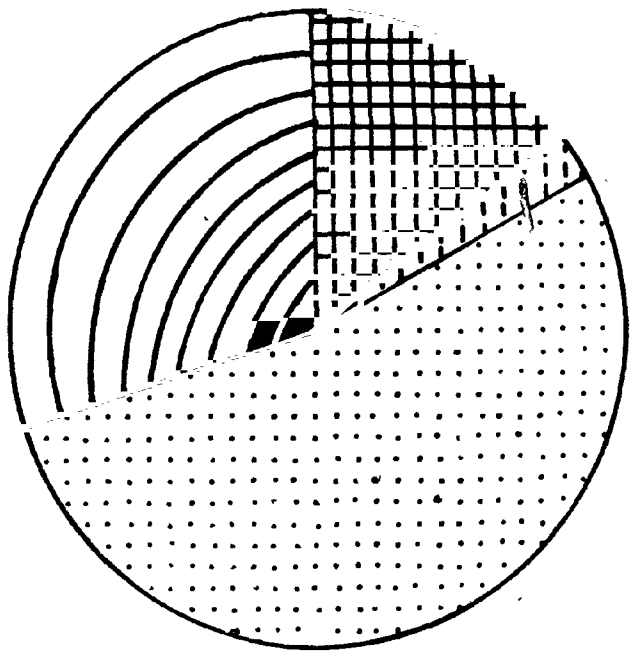
NUMBER OF WORKERS BY SEX AND AGE GROUPS



OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN



INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSES



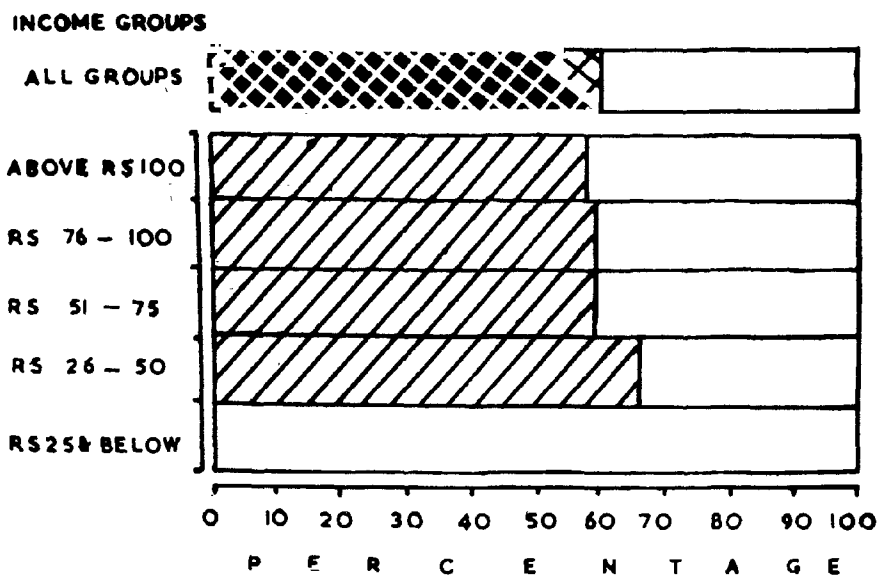
HOUSEHOLD CONSTRUCTION OR REPAIRS TO EXISTING BUILDINGS

MARRIAGES

ORDINARY WANTS

AGRICULTURE (PURCHASE OF BULLOCKS)

INDEBTEDNESS BY INCOME GROUPS



GLOSSARY

	Local term	*English synonym*
1.	Abadi	Population
2.	Adha Bhata	System of agricultural labour where the worker gets 1/10th of the total yield, etc. by way of wages
3.	Aksa	A kind of coarse pulse grown in rabi season
4.	Anchal	Hem of *sari* or scarf
5.	Arhar	A kind of pulse
6.	Baijhar	A mixture of wheat, barley and gram crop
7.	Baithak	A sitting room
8.	Bajia or bajee	Non-Tharu
9.	Balli	Beams used in construction of house
10.	Bania	Trader belonging to Vaish community
11.	Barat	Bridegroom's marriage party
12.	Bara	Small fried cake made of *urd* pulse
13.	Bar Dikhwai	A function among the Tharus for seeing the bridegroom at his residence
14.	Bari Roti	The funeral feast given on the thirteenth day after death
15.	Begaria	A Tharu male earmarked for doing forced labour
16.	Benda	A sort of round mat prepared out of paddy straw
17.	Beri	Dinner
18.	Bhabhi	Brother's wife
19.	Bhaint	Gift
20.	Bhatwas	A variety of inferior pulse
21.	Bhatoo	The mediator in marriage among the Tharus ; same as Ganjwa
22.	Bhoot	Evil spirit
23.	Bhujwat	A feast given on the occasion of taking a widow as wife
24.	Bichkani	A small ring worn in the middle part of the ear
25.	Bimawat	Habitat of snakes
26.	Biradari	Clansmen
27.	Bukwa	Paste of crushed rape seed
28.	Chadar	A cotton shroud
29.	Chaincha	A weed found in wheat and barley fields
30.	Chauka	(1) A small place coated with clay and cow-dung paste for performing a sacred ceremony (2) A kitchen room

Local term	*English synonym*
31. Chaur Karai	.. Ceremonial taking of rice, pulse, gur, etc. from groom's residence to that of bride
32. Chowki	.. Outpost
33. Choti	.. Tuft of hair, generally worn by the Hindus
34. Chhaila	.. Dandy
35. Chhata	.. Umbrella
36. Chhoti Roti	.. A small feast given on a ceremonial occasion
37. Dai	.. An indigenous untrained nurse
38. Daphla	.. A sort of tambourine
39. Daru	.. Country liquor
40. Deepak	.. Clay lamp
41. Dehri	.. Corn bin
42. Deolalahi	.. A ceremony before marriage in which all relatives are invited
43. Domat	.. A kind of soil
44. Donda	.. Stem of maize plant generally used as fuel
45. Dondwa	.. A manger kept on a raised platform for feeding the bullocks
46. Doli	.. Small palanquin
47. Doolha	.. Bridegroom
48. Duar Puja	.. Reception of bridegroom at the door of the bride
49. Galta	.. A kind of cloth
50. Gand dhuria	.. Head of Tharu household
51. Ganjwa	.. The mediator in marriage among Tharus ; same as Bhatoo
52. Gauna	.. Second marriage ceremony
53. Ghagra or lehanga ..	.. Voluminous skirt extending up to ankles
54. Ghar Dikhwai	.. Ceremony of seeing the house of the prospective groom in connection with marriage
55. Ghara Ceremony.. ..	.. Purification ceremony on the thirteenth day after death
56. Ghatera	.. A kind of reed used for making thatched roof
57. Gondri or gunri	.. A mat made of grass and string
58. Goojha	.. A sort of bracelet of round solid silver
59. Gor Dhowai	.. Ceremony of washing of the groom's feet by the bride
60. Hainga	.. A leveller made of wood
61. Havan	.. Sacrifice in holy fire to the recitation of *mantras* or verses from scriptures
62. Hookah	.. Hubble-bubble

Local term	*English synonym*
63. Jama	.. Long bridal gown
64. Jajman	.. Clientele
65. Janwasa	.. Place where the marriage party stays
66. Jarimar marriage ..	.. Remarriage by a wife during the life time of her husband
67. Jaund	.. A kind of liquor prepared by fermentation
68. Jaura	.. Payment made in kind for services rendered
69. Kachchi feast	.. A feast consisting of rice, pulse, bread and vegetable or meat
70. Kalewa	.. Breakfast
71. Kalanamak	.. A fine variety of paddy
72. Kanausi	.. A small thin silver ring worn in the upper part of the ear
73. Kanyadan	.. Giving of daughter to the groom in marriage
74. Karengi	.. A variety of paddy
75. Khaliyan	.. Place for storing, thrashing and winnowing of grains
76. Kudal	.. A spade-like agricultural implement
77. Kodon	.. Inferior variety of millet
78. Kohbar	.. A room where the groom is made to sit and meet the females of the household after marriage
79. Kurta (for females) ..	.. A shirt-like blouse
80. Lahi	.. Rape (a variety of mustard)
81. Lokandari	.. An elderly female who accompanies the bride after marriage to 'protect' her from the overtures of her husband in the night
82. Machan or Anti	.. A watch-post fixed in corn field for protecting it against birds, beasts and men
83. Machia	.. A sort of small and low backless chair
84. Maika	.. Parental house of the bride
85. Mama	.. Mother's brother
86. Mandap	.. Canopy
87. Mangni	.. Betrothal ceremony
88. Mantras	.. Holy verses
89. Marai	.. A small hut
90. Markeen	.. A kind of thin cloth
91. Masaura	.. A kind of perquisite
92. Matera	.. A kind of soil
93. Mand	.. Liquid starch taken out after boiling rice
94. Mauni	.. A small basket made of *moonj* grass

Local term	*English synonym*
95. Mingi	Lunch
96. Moonj	A type of grass
97. Mooth lena	Taking a handful of paddy for the purpose of sowing on the first day of paddy sowing
98. Mundan Sanskar	Head-shaving ceremony
99. Muththi	Handful
100. Nadi	River
101. Nainsukh	A kind of cloth
102. Nala	A rivulet
103. Nava	New
104. Neg	Perquisite
105. Niwasa rights	The daughter's son getting share in the property of his mother's father
106. Ojha or Sookha	One who cures the disease or effect of evil spirits by magical art
107. Pad	Sub-sect
108. Paharuwa	A big pestle
109. Pahikasht	Cultivation done in village other than that of one's actual residence
110. Pakki feast	A feast consisting of *puries*, fried in ghee, with meat, vegetable, curd, etc.
111. Pandal	An open camp
112. Parchhan	Reception of the couple by the females at the door of the husband
113. Patri	Plate of *dhak* leaves
114. Paula	Wooden sandals
115. Phatui	A male garment
116. Pharia	An *orhani* used by a female for covering the head
117. Phoopha	Father's sister's husband
118. Pitra Paksh	The fortnight sacred to the deceased ancestors
119. Pura Bhata	System of agricultural labour where the worker gets 1/5th of the total yield, etc. by way of wages
120. Puri	A fried piece of cake
121. Raut	Bride's father
122. Reh	Alkaline efflorescence used for washing clothes by the village washerman
123. Sadri	Waist-coat
124. Sagai	Taking a woman as wife without performing the actual marriage ceremony
125. Sahbala	Groom's immediate younger brother

	Local term	*English synonym*
126.	Sanai	.. Hemp
127.	Satha	.. A kind of autumn paddy
128.	Shaptpadi or Bhanwar or Phera	.. The circumambulation of bridal fire seven times by the couple
129.	Seedha	.. Provisions for preparing meals
130.	Shikar	.. Hunting
131.	Shradh	.. Annual ceremonial feasts performed in honour of the .. deceased ancestors
132.	Shuddhi	.. Purification
133.	Shukla Paksh	.. The moonlit fortnight
134.	Sikobarhi Bokna ..	.. Carrying *daru, jaund,* and fish in earthen pot in marriages from groom's house to bride's place
135.	Soop	.. Winnowing fan
136.	Sonthaura	.. A preparation of dried ginger mixed with *gur* and ghee
137.	Surha	.. Honorary bearers of bride's/groom's *doli* during marriage
138.	Teli	.. Oilman
139.	Taveez	.. Amulet with charm
140.	Urd	.. A variety of fine pulse—phaseolus mungo

LIST OF VILLAGES SELECTED FOR STUDY IN UTTAR PRADESH

	Name of District	Name of Tahsil	Name of Village	Revenue Number
1.	Uttar Kashi	Dunda	Birpur	44
2.	Pithoragarh	Munsiari	Ghorpatta Malla	45
			Darkot	25
3.	Garhwal	Pauri	Thapli	55
4.	Almora	Ranikhet	Bijepur	51
5.	Bijnor	Bijnor	Rafiulnagar *urf* Raoli	161
			Mughalpura	175
6.	Budaun	Bisauli	Mirzapur Behta	110
		Budaun	Kachla Pukhta	21
7.	Bareilly	Nawabganj	Adhkata Rabbani Begum	8
			Barkhan	198
8.	Pilibhit	Bisalpur	Daulatpur Hira	174
9.	Dehra Dun	Chakrata	Dhaura	118
			Chapnu	332
			Sarari	224
10.	Saharanpur	Deoband	Sadharansar	98
			Bilaspur	22
11.	Aligarh	Atrauli	Barauli	71
12.	Mathura	Sadabad	Nagla Beru	122
13.	Agra	Kheragarh	Beri Chahar	104
		Etmadpur	Chawli	47
		Bah	Pidhaura	109
14.	Etah	Jalesar	Baghi	91
15.	Etawah	Etawah	Udi	34
		Auraiya	Ayana	14
16.	Kanpur	Kanpur	Ishuriganj	17
17.	Allahabad	Soraon	Sarai Kesho *urf* Bagi	216
			Kalyanpur	24
		Phulpur	Bhadkar Uparhar	151
18.	Hamirpur	Rath	Qasba Khera	4
19.	Banda	Naraini	Akbarpur	2

	Name of District	Name of Tahsil	Name of Village	Revenue Number
20.	Kheri	Nighasan	Belapersua	122
			Bankati	..
			Lodhauri	492
			Rakehti	301
21.	Sitapur	Biswan	Kanduni	354
22.	Gonda	Balrampur	Suganagar Domri	383
			Rajderwa Tharu	312
23.	Bara Banki	Nawabganj	Gadia	124
			Dadra	20
24.	Sultanpur	Sultanpur	Barasin	42
25.	Azamgarh	Phulpur	Sumbha Dih	364
			Surhan	87
		Ghosi	Pakri Buzurg	444
26.	Ghazipur	Ghazipur	Para	64
27.	Varanasi	Varanasi	Lohta	123
			Mehndiganj	248
28.	Mirzapur	Robertsganj	Mitapur	104
			Gidhia	36
			Parsoi	70