PRG. 190.3 (N)
1,000



CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME VIII

MADHYA PRADESH

PART VI

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

No. 3

DISTRICT BILASPUR, TAHSIL MUNGELI, VILLAGE TILAIBHAT

K. C. DUBEY
Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations,
Madhya Pradesh

1964

PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI-8

Price : Rs. 4-45 nP. or 10 sh. 5 d. or 1 $ 61 C.

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT REGIONAL PRESS,
MADHYA PRADESH, GWALIOR

1961 CENSUS PUBLICATIONS, MADHYA PRADESH

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

PART I (in Sub-Parts)	.. General Report including Subsidiary Tables.
PART II- A	.. General Population Tables.
PART II-B (in Sub-Parts)	.. Economic Tables.
PART II-C (in Sub-Parts)	.. Cultural and Migration Tables.
PART III	.. Household Economic Tables.
PART IV (in Sub-Parts)	.. Housing and Establishment Tables (including Subsidiary Tables) and Report.
PART V (in Sub-Parts)	.. Special Tables for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
PART VI	.. Village Survey Monographs. (A separate Sub-Part for each Village surveyed.)
PART VII	.. Survey of Handicrafts of the State. (A separate Sub-Part for each handicraft surveyed.)
PART VIII-A	.. Administration Report—Enumeration.
PART VIII-B	.. Administration Report—Tabulation.
PART IX	.. Maps.

CONTENTS

Pages

Foreword

Village Surveys in Madhya Pradesh

Preface

Chapter I—General Description 3—5

Location of the village—Etymology of the village-name—Village-site and important landmarks —Extract from the **Mahalwar** *Abstract prepared at the time of the Settlement.*

Chapter II—Demography 6—7

Population variation since 1901*—Density of population—Sex-ratio—Marital status—Size and composition of the family—Caste and communities.*

Chapter III—The People 8—17

Account of the Telis in Literature—Endogamous divisions of the Telis—The Rawats and their Endogamous divisions—Rawat got—The Dhobis—Their mention in the Literature—Kshatri (Chhatri) caste—The Chhatris in Chhattisgarh—Chhatri gotra—Bairagi caste—Characters of the caste—The Nai caste—Endogamous sections of the Nais—The Panka caste—Some sayings about the caste—Sub-divisions of the Pankas.

Chapter IV—Dress and Ornaments 18—24

Changes in dress and ornaments—Expenditure on clothing in different castes—Dress in different castes—Ornaments in different castes—Tattooing—Significance of tattooing—The mode and designs of tattooing.

Chapter V—The Social Structure 25—42

The family—Size and composition of the family—Family types in the village—Intra-family relations —Husband-wife relationship—Parent-child relationship—Mother-in-law-daughter-in-law relationship —Father-in-law-daughter-in-law relationship—Other relations in the family—Joking relationship —Some kinship terms—Life-cycle rituals—Conception—Determination of sex of the child—Birth customs of the Telis—Of the Chhatris—Of the Bairagis—Of the Dhobis—Of the Rawats—Of the Pankas—Of the Nais—Marriage customs—Marriage customs of the Telis—Widow remarriage and Barandi marriage—Choori marriage—Recent attempts of the Telis to make improvements in their marriage customs—Marriage customs of the Chhatris—Of the Bairagis—Of the Dhobis—Of the Rawats—Regular marriage customs of the Rawats—Widow remarriage and Barandi marriage—Elopement and runaway marriage—Paithoo or marriage by intrusion—Divorce —Marriage customs of the Pankas—Of the Nais—The conception of female beauty in the village —Causes of divorce—Death and funeral rites—Death rituals of the Telis—Belief in rebirth—Death rituals of the Chhatris—Death rituals of the Bairagis—Of the Dhobis—Of the Rawats—Of the Pankas—Of the Nais.

Chapter VI—Village Economy 45—76

The livelihood classes in the village, 1951 *Census—Category of workers and non-workers in the village,* 1961 *Census—Land Revenue demand—Soil types—Soil classification of the village—The village cattle—Cattle diseases—Cattle statistics of the village—Agricultural tools and implements—Crops grown—Details of occupied and unoccupied areas—Cropped area classified according to crops— Agricultural operations and mode of cultivation—Agricultural statistics—Traditional occupations— Village settlement and homesteads—Construction of houses—Cost of homesteads—Living conditions —Household possessions—Food habits—Health and hygiene—Body-care—Diseases—Income —Expenditure—Indebtedness—Yearwise burden of debt—castewise burden of debt—Source of debt —Growth of the Cooperative society.*

Pages

Chapter VII—Superstitions, Religion and Festivals 77—86

Belief in supernatural spirits—Common superstitions—Family deities—Thakur Deo—Mahabir and Hanuman—Mata—Mahadeo or Shankar—Radhakrishna—Kabir—Religious influences and religious groups—Religious calendar—Holi—Hareli—Bhojli—Tija—Pola—Janmashtami—Dasahra——Diwali—Ekadasi—Satyanarayan-ki-katha—Chauka.

Chapter VIII—Recreation, ***Communication And Leadership*** 87—92

Recreations—The Rawat Nach—Dadariyas—Games of children—Communication—Leadership—Trends and opinions—Group study—The social laws—Village feuds and village leadership.

Conclusion 93—94

Bibliography 95

Appendix I 96-97

Sanskrit and Hindi references quoted in the monograph.

Appendix II 98—106

Tables I-XII

LIST OF TABLES

	Table showing	Pages
1.	Population variation since 1901	6
2.	Return of literates in 1961 Census	7
3.	The number of households and population of the different communities of Tilaibhat	7
4.	Exogamous divisions of the Tilaibhat Telis	10
5.	Exogamous divisions of the Rawats	12
6.	Exogamous divisions of the Dhobis	13
7.	Exogamous divisions of the Chhatris	14
8.	Exogamous divisions of the Bairagis	14
9.	Classification of exogamous divisions of the Nais	15
10.	Exogamous divisions of the Nais	15
11.	Exogamous divisions of the Pankas	16
12.	Monthly expenditure on clothing in different castes	20
13.	Size of the family in different castes	25
14.	Joking relationships	26
15.	Some kinship terms	26
16.	Marriage forms of Manu and those prevalent in Chhattisgarh	31
17.	Livelihood classes in 1951	45
18.	Livelihood classes in 1961	46
19.	Land Revenue Demand	46
20.	Soil classification	47
21.	Cattle statistics	49
22.	Agricultural tools and implements	49
23.	Details of occupied and unoccupied area	52
24.	Cropped area classified according to crops	52
25.	Details of Kharif and Rabi crops	52
26.	Quantity of chemical and other fertilizer used	53
27.	Agricultural statistics	55
28.	Traditional occupations	59
29.	Cost of homesteads	63
30.	Households having separate kitchen	63
31.	Number of metal and earthen vessels in different castes	65
32.	Number of persons reporting themselves ill	71
33.	Treatment of diseases	71
34.	Number of families requiring the services of *Baiga*	72
35.	Births and deaths since 1956	72
36.	Income-groups in different castes	72
37.	Sources of income	73
38.	Items of expenditure	73
39.	Yearwise burden of debt	74
40.	Number of households in debt	74
41.	Sources of debt	75
42.	Growth of the Cooperative society	75
43.	Yearwise recovery of loans obtained from the Society	75
44.	Worship of various deities	79
45.	Religious calender	84

LIST OF THE TABLES GIVEN IN APPENDIX II

I. Area, households and population.
II. Population by age-groups.
III. Size and composition of households.
IV. Households classified by religion and community.
V. Age and marital status.
VI. Households by number of rooms and number of persons occupying.
VII. Households engaged in cultivation, industry or business belonging to the household.
VIII. Diet.
IX. Staple diet and food habits of different communities.
X. Distribution of households by occupation, income and number of members.
XI. Indebtedness in different income-groups.
XII. Indebtedness by cause.

FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this sub-continent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of Indian life—sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to their conclusions. In a country, largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple 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 bypaths' and 'nearly every branch of scholarship, from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959 the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet, dress, ornaments and footwear; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended; worship of deities, festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March 1960 by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September 1959 conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, movable and immovable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusions', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the census count itself was left behind in March, 1961, a series of three regional seminars in 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. On the latter half of 1961 again was organised within the Census Commission a section on Social Studies which assumed the task of giving shape to the general frame of study and providing technical help to Superintendents of Census Operations in the matter of conducting Surveys, their analysis and presentation. This section headed by Dr. B. K. Roy Burman has been responsible for going through each monograph and offering helpful criticism and advice which were much welcomed by my colleagues. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together.

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

The Schedules adopted for this monograph have been printed in Appendices I and II to the monograph on village Bendri (No. 2) Vol. VIII, Part VI.

NEW DELHI :
The 24th May 1962.

A. MITRA,
Registrar-General, India.

VILLAGE SURVEYS IN MADHYA PRADESH

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

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

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

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

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

Tilaibhat (Mungeli Tahsil, Bilaspur District) was primarily chosen in the hope of studying the *Teli* (oilman) caste but, even though the population of the village is over 75% *teli*, the present position is that none of the 41 *teli* households is engaged in the traditional occupation. Economic forces have thus completely undermined the association between caste and function but the *teli*, for all that, is still a *teli*. The village lies far to the north-west in the relatively well-drained north-western part of the Seonath basin which ultimately feeds the River Mahanadi. But the situation of the river system is such that it is not of much use to Tilaibhat agriculture but, strangely enough, even the tanks in the village are not used for irrigation in a region generally dependent on tanks for that purpose. Agriculture is thus in a primitive state and the absence of irrigation has impeded the extensive utilisation of chemical fertilisers. It is not clear that the possibilities of irrigation have been fully explored in spite of the fact that the rise in agricultural prices that has been a consistent feature of the last 10 or 15 years should by any standards be considered a very strong incentive. It cannot be said that the land holdings are very small either, considering Indian conditions; out of the 55 land-owning households, only 11 have 3 acres or less each. Awareness is rudimentary; there is hardly any appreciation of either the need for change or the necessity for change. In so quaggy an economic morass, it is hardly surprising to find that child marriage is frequent. In sharp contrast, the relation between the sexes are to a considerable extent free from inhibition. In Chhattisgarh, the rice-bowl of this State around the Mahanadi, there has been for long an excess of females in the population but this has not resulted in any decline in esteem for the female sex which one would expect on the Shavian view that "It is a woman's business to get married as soon as possible, and a man's to keep unmarried

as long as he can". (*Man and Superman*). Divorce is common and easy; so is marriage. Apparently, it seems also to be the position that the woman more often develops the desire for a different partner. What there is in the ethos of this region that produces this enigmatic (though not uncommon) amalgam of a potentially sprightly society and a sticky economy one does not know. Tilaibhat thus presents a difficult problem: the economy must be relentlessly shaken out of its depths without at the same time letting grow those rigidities and inhibitions characteristic of wealth and status; it is of course not suggested that, for the distant fear of these blemishes developing, the pursuit of wealth be abandoned. In religion again, it is true that the traditional gods are giving place to gods of 'higher' castes; alternatively those latter are being added to the pantheon. But the basic outlook does not seem to have changed; for, this can be the only explanation for the people continuing to regard the traditional *Vaidya* as a dependable wonder-worker and the unlettered Baiga as a trustworthy intermediary between such gods as there be and themselves. Literacy is still at a very low level (7·7% compared with the State average of 17·1%) and there is not a single literate person among women. Insularity and fatalism have combined to produce an outlook that appears to be not merely intractable but also peculiarly hostile to progress. A gigantic effort in the field of development has to be undertaken here which must be truly based on the basic philosophy of the Community Development movement that the people's *attitudes* must be changed and their thoughts geared to the tasks of development. The survey is a very detailed exposition of the people's attitudes, habits, and occupations. The personality of the village emerges with a fair degree of clarity and is typical of this region where it is only a relatively less unfavourable population-resource ratio that continues to protect the people in spite of very low levels of productivity. One also gets the not incorrect impression that we are here facing a *cul-de-sac* with no obvious way out. Even though this is so, one should also remember that in Chhattisgarh there has been for long a tradition of enlightened leadership which one particularly observes in the cooperative movement and in the field of education. It is to be hoped that this leadership—an uncommon gift—will rise to new heights of achievement and awaken this listless mass to a new sense of hope and a new sense of urgency.

BHOPAL
Vijaya Dashmi, 1885
(Kartik 5: October 27, 1963)

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

PREFACE

Perhaps the largest single contribution that Indian Censuses have made is to the study of ethnology and anthropology. Studies on castes started with the Census of 1872 but presented such problems that the Committee of Officers appointed to report on the preliminaries of the Census of 1881 observed that preparation of tables and statements on castes and tribes was not the business of the Census. However, Sir H. H. Risley and E. A. Gait in the Census of 1901 and 1911 continued the legacy left by the Census of 1872 and the reports of those censuses shall stay for ever as classics in anthropology and ethnology. The Census of 1921 seems to have taken the same view as the officers of 1881, but the Census of 1931, conducted by Sir J. H. Hutton, again continued the course started by Risley and Gait. The Census of 1941 and 1951 departed from the path and the Census of 1951 followed the policy laid down by the Government of India that "caste-tables will no longer be a prominent feature".

Whether one likes it or not, caste has always been an important factor in the life of the Community and the Census of 1961 again undertook to study this aspect. Special tables have been prepared for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and the present monograph is also connected in a way with the same theme, *i.e.* study of caste.

Many changes are taking place in the country, social as well as economic. The urban and rural cultures are coming in more and more intimate contacts. As Mitra stated in his *Tribes and Castes of West Bengal:* "Whenever two cultures meet especially on different levels, there is a tendency on the part of the lesser culture to work in two directions. A part of it is attracted by the superior culture and imitates it, advantage of which is taken by the superior culture to dictate its terms and transform the lesser culture gradually. The other and more conservative part is repelled by the danger of absorption, draws its horns in, and makes every effort to preserve its identity in tact by isolation, conservatism and refusal to have any truck with the superior culture. It thus lives like an island besieged by a sea. But an island is sometimes washed away or submerged."

Village studies have, therefore, been taken from these two points of view—study of castes living in those villages, and study of culture contact from the social and economic standpoint. Village Tilaibhat, subject of the present study, has been selected for this survey on three considerations. The first consideration is the caste-structure of the village. 'Teli' (Oilpresser) caste which formed 7.2% of the population of Bilaspur District in the Census of 1931, is intended to be studied in the District, and Tilaibhat with 75% Teli population provided an ideal subject. The second consideration is that this village is covered by a Development Block and provides a study of the change in outlook in the villages being attempted by the blocks. The third consideration is the zone of urban influence. All these three considerations led to the selection of village Tilaibhat for the purpose of the present study and it has been described in these pages as it is.

Village Tilaibhat is one of the 49 villages which were initially selected for these surveys and I came into the picture after some preliminary information on the village had already been collected. This was done by the Development Block, Pandariya, and provided a base from which to start upon. It helped me to find out what the village was and what it contained.

On the basis of this information and other published works on the castes and tribes, I prepared a questionnaire and sent an investigator to the village to collect information on that basis and also according to the Household Schedule. Thus we were able to have a 'feel' of the village, if we can so term it. Four more visits were paid to the village subsequently before the draft was written.

In the field-work, I had the assistance of Shri H. N. Pandey, M. Sc., Research Investigator, and Shri R. C. Das, Sorter, both from my office at Raipur. Shri Das was found to be good at line-drawings and the drawings given in the monograph have been drawn by him. I had to visit the village and write the draft monograph while I, as in charge of the Tabulation Office, Raipur, was in the thick of sorting of census slips and I am very happy to put on record that but for Shri J. P. Choubey and Shri P. R. Chandel, Tabulation Assistants, who managed the office in my absence, I would not have been able to devote undivided attention to this monograph. I am grateful to both of them for having spared me from the somewhat arduous task of supervision of sorting work.

It must be made clear that Tilaibhat is the name of an actual village and the names of the persons described in this monograph are real names : I have not used any pseudonyms. Secondly, in this monograph, the word 'caste' has not been used in the sense of the four *varnas* or the four categories of Hinduism but just as a translation of the common parlance—word *jat* (*jats*) which is an endogamous group dispersed over several villages.

I am deeply indebted to Shri G. Jagathpathi, I.A.S., who not only guided the work from its very inception but also read the manuscript. I am also grateful to Dr. B. K. Roy Burman who offered constructive criticism of the monograph. I have been very much benefited by his advice. I am indebted to my colleagues and co-workers who have always been a source of inspiration and encouragement. I am also thankful to my colleague Shri P. K. Dixit for having read the proof at the final Stage.

Dated 30th June 1963

K. C. DUBEY

GLOSSARY

Abadi	The area reserved from time to time in a village in a non-urban area for the residence of the inhabitants thereof or for purposes ancillary thereto.
Admi	Literally meaning 'man', is colloquially used in Chhattisgarh to refer to wife, *e. g. mor admi bhaga gis* meaning 'my wife has run away'.
Agni	Fire.
Ajwain	A kind of aromatic seed.
Arti	A ritual in worship consisting in waiving a lighted lamp before the idol to the accompaniment of devotional music.
Asura	Demon; a form of marriage mentioned by the Hindu Law-giver, Manu.
Babool	Also spelt as *Babul; Acacia arabica* tree.
Bade osaha	Hot water in which some plant roots are boiled, given to the mother of a new-born babe. These plant roots are known as *Bade osaha.*
Badhai	Also spelt *Barhai*; carpenter.
Badhee	Seed-loans given by substantial farmers to those in need, usually on the condition of one and a half times return.
Bahara	It is a term denoting position of land. It means land down which the water flows. Crops grown in *Bahara* fields are magnificent and secure against famine.
Bahunta	A silver ornament of the arms.
Baiga	Village priest, usually, but not necessarily, a member of some tribe.
Bali	Also spelt as *Bari*; ear-rings.
Bandhia	Field-embankment.
Bara	A food item prepared at the time of festivities.
Barandi	Child-widow.
Bardiha	From Chhattisgarhi word *bardi* meaning a herd; herdsman, village-grazier.
Baretha	Honorific term for washerman.
Barhi	Meaning twelfth, is a ritual in birth ceremonies.
Barsi	Meaning yearly; a death-ritual.
Basi	Meaning left overnight; is a common item of food in Chhattisgarh. It is cooked rice soaked and left in water overnight and eaten next morning as breakfast.
Batki	A metal utensil. Also known as *Sekmi.*
Batua	A metal utensil.
Baybedung	Seeds of a medicinal herb.
Bhadai	Country-made shoe for men.
Bhajan	Devotional songs.
Bhanwar	Going round the marriage-post; a marriage ritual.
Bharawat	An agricultural operation consisting in filling the field with water.
Bhilawa	Fruit of *Semecarpus anacardium* tree.
Bhoot	Also spelt as *Bhut*; ghost.
Bichhiya	An ornament of the toes.
Bihav	Means marriage. Usually used for regular marriage performed with due ceremonies.
Biasi	Also spelt as *Biasie*; thinning operations in paddy cultivation.
Boonda	Marriage compensation.
Brahma	A form of marriage mentioned by Manu.
Chabutara	Platform.
Charkat	Debauchee.
Chatwar	An agricultural implement.
Chauk	A design made with flour during festivities.

Chaupal	The village meeting-place.
Cheela	A kind of food preparation, usually during festive occasions.
Chhalla	An ornament of the finger.
Chhaimasi	Meaning sixth month; is a death-ritual.
Chhathi	Meaning sixth; is a birth-ritual.
Chhind	*Phoenix Sylvestris* shrub.
Chhitaka	Broadcast sowing.
Chiklahi Joota	Shoes meant for use during the rainy season. *Chiklahi* means 'mud' or 'slushy'.
Chongi	Leaf-pipe for smoking.
Choora	An ornament.
Choori	Glass bangles.
Choupad	An indoor game, chequers.
Chulha	Cooking hearth.
Chulh-mati	A marriage ritual.
Churel	A malevolent female spirit.
Chutki	An ornament of the toes.
Dab	A part of plough.
Dadariya	Short couplets set to music.
Dadha	See *Darha*.
Dahrouri	A food preparation during festivities.
Dal	Pulses.
Dan	Gift.
Dandi	A part of plough.
Dantri	An agricultural implement used for puddling.
Darha	Also spelt as *Dadha*; a term of soil-classification meaning gently sloping land.
Dautela	A marriage ritual.
Dhenki	Husking-lever.
Dhav	Sanskrit word meaning 'to wash'.
Dhobi	Washerman.
Dholak	A musical instrument.
Dholki	Small *Dholak*.
Dhona	To wash.
Dhoti	A garment.
Diwan	Meaning Minister, is the assistant of the *Mahant* of Kabirpanth.
Doha	The poetical composition sung by *Rawats* during their dance.
Doli	Part of a field.
Doshdari	A term used for menstruating woman.
Dorsa	A kind of soil which is a mixture of *Kanhar* and *Matasi*.
Douri Chalana	Threshing operation.
Dua	Ladle.
Duggi	A musical instrument.
Dulha	Bridegroom.
Ekkaisa	A birth ritual.
Faldan	Betrothal.
Fully	An ornament of the nose.
Gabhar	A term used in Settlement denoting position of land. Means a flat land.
Gandaha Kothi	A kind of grain-bin.
Ganga jal	Literally meaning Ganges water; a kind of ritual friendship.
Gauna	A ritual in marriage cycle.

Gavan	Same as *Gauna.*
Gedee	Stilts.
Gorsi	An earthen receptacle.
Ghee	Clarified butter.
Ghunghroo	Jingles.
Got	Exogamous division.
Gotra	Same as *Got.*
Graha	Planets which are supposed in Astrology to influence man's life.
Gram devta	Chief deity of the village.
Gudi	Village rest-house.
Gur	Jaggery.
Guru	Spiritual guide.
Haldari	Throwing of colours on the persons who constitute the marriage procession.
Haldi	Turmeric.
Hamel	An ornament of the neck.
Hansiya	Sickle.
Home	Also spelt as *'Hom'* and also colloquially called *'Hoom'*—meaning fire-offering; a common practice during ceremonial worship. Also performed symbolically by burning incense.
Haraiya	An ornament of the wrist.
Hardai	A ritual in the marriage of Nai Caste.
Harpa	Footwear for women.
Haula	Brass pitcher.
Hauli	Smaller than *Haula.*
Janta	Grinding wheel.
Jantwa	Same as *Janta.*
Jhakdi	Also spelt as *Jhankari,* is a mat of *Chhind* leaves or stems of *Rahar* plant used to protect the walls from the direct showers of rains.
Jhankari	Same as above.
Jou	Barley.
Juadi	Yoke
Jutai	Ploughing.
Kada	An ornament of the wrist.
Kakni	An ornament of the wrist.
Kalash	Hollow-dough over which lighted wick-lamps are kept during religious worship of the Pankas.
Kalar	Liquor distiller and vendor.
Kalari	An implement used for separating fodder from the grain after threshing.
Kali	Name of a goddess.
Kamarpata	Waist-band.
Kamra	Chhattisgarhi word for blanket.
Kanhar	A black clay, very retentive of moisture and by far the best soil for rice because of its water-logging capacity.
Kankhe pani	Extract or decoction of *Flacortia ramondchi.*
Kanouji	Earthen pan for cooking vegetable.
Karahi	Frying pan.
Karyal	Decoction of tender bamboo shoots said to be very nourishing and given to the mother of a new born babe.
Kardhan	An ornament of the waist.
Katcha	In connection with food, the term refers to 'not fried' ; in relation to houses, it means 'mud-built house', in relation to well, the term means 'not lined'.

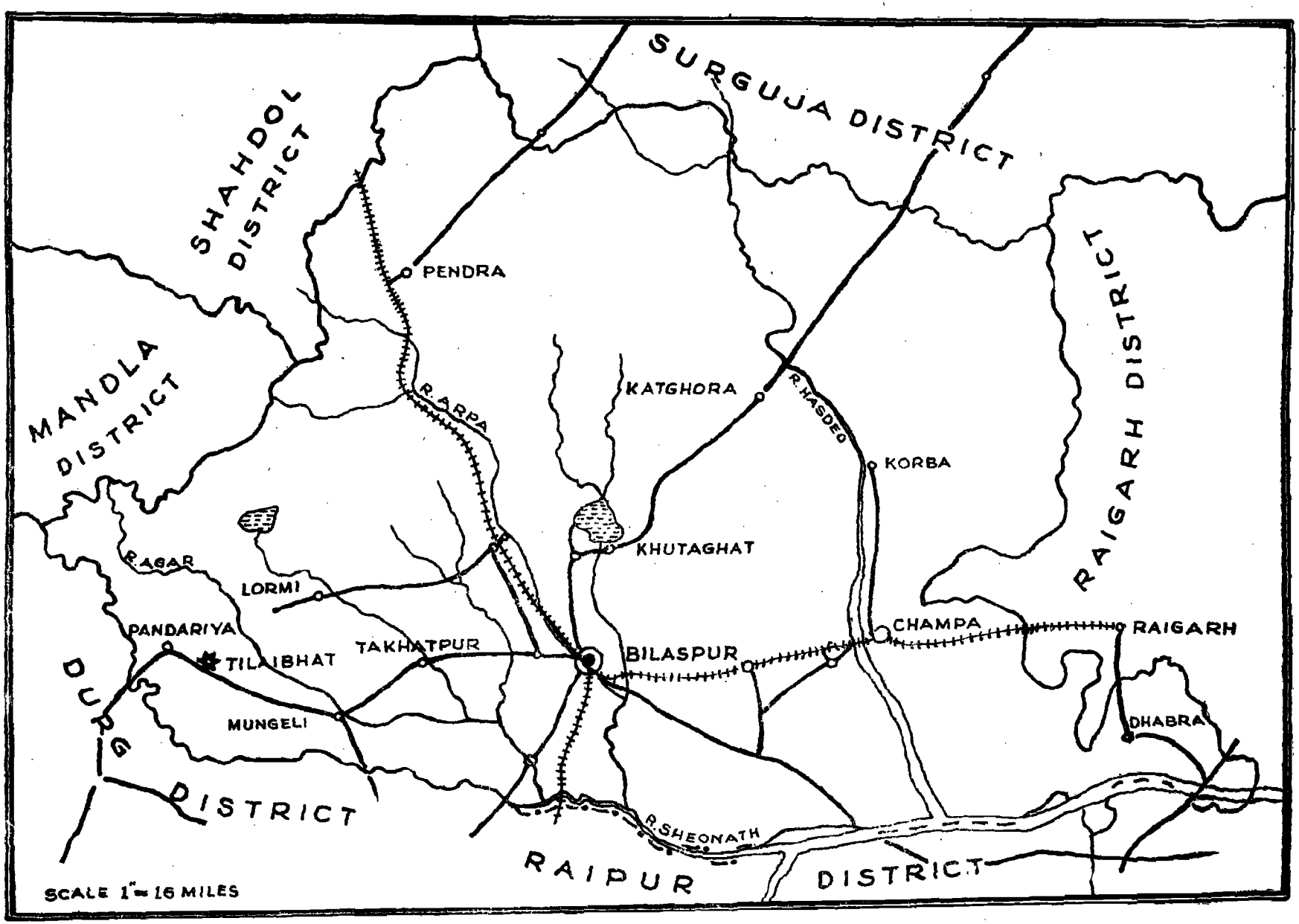
Katha	A religious story.
Kathri	A bedding equipment.
Katori	A utensil.
Katparchhi	A type of roof.
Khalihan	Threshing floor.
Kham	Corruption of Hindi word *'Khamb'*, meaning post or pillar.
Kharanta	A kind of broomstick.
Khassu	Itch, eczema.
Kheela	Nail, a part of plough.
Khero	Exogamous sections of the Nai Caste. Also known as *Kul*.
Khilwan	Also spelt *Khilwa*, an ornament of the ear.
Khudri	An agricultural implement.
Khumri	Rain-hood.
Khurmi	A kind of food prepared during festivities.
Kirat	A tribe.
Kirga	A kind of grain-bin.
Kol	A tribe.
Konia	A type of roof.
Kopar	An agricultural implement.
Kotwar	Village watchman.
Kudra	An agricultural implement.
Kul	Same as *Khero*.
Kunwar	Hindu calender month corresponding to September-October. Also known as *Asvina*.
Kumhar	Potter, maker of earthen vessels.
Kurta	Upper garment for males.
Ladoo	Sweetmeat balls.
Lai	Also known as *Lehi*; is a method of sowing paddy.
Lambardar	Headman of a village.
Luai	Reaping operations.
Lugda	The garment for females.
Madwa	Also spelt *Madava*, is a shed; particularly the marriage-shed.
Madwa chhuna	A ritual during marriage.
Magrohan	The marriage post.
Mahant	The priest.
Maipani	Literally meaning mother-water.
Mal	Meaning property; is used to refer to wife in Chhattisgarh.
Maliya	A utensil.
Mati-Machana	Preparing suitable mud for house construction.
Mamuli	Ordinary; a kind of soil which is best when unembanked.
Mandar	A musical instrument.
Mantra	A sacred text or word.
Masan	A malevolent spirit.
Mata	Goddess, mainly referred to the goddess of smallpox.
Matasi	A yellow soil not retentive of moisture but with heavy rainfall giving a far better outturn of rice than any other soil.
Mayan	A marriage ritual.
Misai	An agricultural operation.
Motiyari	Young girl, damsel.
Mouza	Village.

Mundri	Ring, an ornament.
Munga	*Moringa pterygosperma.*
Muni	Ascetic.
Murra	Parched rice.
Nagmori	An ornament of the arms.
Nain	Women of Nai Caste.
Nagar	Plough.
Neem	*Melia indica* tree.
Nindai	Weeding operations.
Nistar	Means easements and such other rights as grazing, etc., which the village people have on government land in the village.
Noni	A term of reference and address to daughters and girls.
Orkha	Also called *Tangar* is a term denoting position of land in Settlement vocabulary. Means sloping land.
Pacca	Opposite of *Katcha*. In relation to food, means 'fried food'; in relation to buildings, means those built of stone; in relation to wells, means 'lined'.
Padki	A part of plough.
Pagree	Turban.
Paijan	An ornament of the foot.
Paikhin	Midwife.
Paira	Paddy straw used as fodder.
Paisacha	A kind of marriage mentioned in *Manusmriti*.
Paithoo	Term to denote marriage by intrusion.
Panchha	A piece of cloth of the size of a big towel.
Pandit	Priest.
Panwarchal Pooja	A marriage ritual of the Chhatri Caste wherein the bride's father puts a mark on bride-groom's forehead and offers him some presents.
Parghani	Reception of marriage-party.
Parwana	Meaning summons, are the betel leaves which the *Mahant* distributes to the people assembled at the time of *Chouka* ceremony.
Pata	An ornament of the wrist.
Patel	A village official, one of whose main duties is to collect land-revenue.
Pathouni	Returning of the bride to her husband's house; Has more or less the same meaning as *Gauna*.
Peepal	Also spelt as *Pipal*, is *Ficus religiosa* tree.
Pej	Rice-gruel.
Pharika	Door.
Pind dan	Symbolical offering to the departed souls.
Pitra-Paksha	Literally meaning fortnight of ancestors; is the period when the departed ancestors are invoked and offered worship.
Polka	Blouse.
Ponchari	A part of plough.
Prasad	Offering.
Pret	A Malevolent spirit.
Pretin	A Malevolent female spirit.
Purgannah	Former spelling of *Pargana*, used to be on administrative unit in pre-British Government and early British rule.
Puri	Jagannath Puri, a place of pilgrimage.
Rahar	*Cajanus indicus.*
Rajak	Washerman.
Raksa	A Malevolent spirit.

Ramdhun	Singing the name and glories of God Ram; devotional music.
Randi	Widow.
Ranga	A cheap alloy.
Rishi	Sage.
Ropa	Transplantation method of sowing.
Rupiya	An ornament of the neck.
Sabal	Crow-bar.
Sadhu	Sage; a religious or holy man.
Sahu	Refers to Teli Caste.
Salooka	An upper garment for males.
Samaj	Society.
Sampradaya	A religious body.
Sanyasi	One who has renounced the World.
Sarai	*Shorea robusta* tree.
Sari	A kind of roof.
Sarpanch	Chairman.
Sathalla	A kind of game of cards.
Sekmi	Same as *Batki*.
Sendur	Vermilion.
Shauk	Luxury; pleasure-liking.
Siyari	Same as *Kharif*.
Sonth	Dry ginger.
Soopa	Winnowing fan.
Sradh	Worship of ancestral spirits; feast given at the time of death-anniversary.
Suasin	The ladies who assist in marriage rituals.
Suin	Midwife.
Sunhari	Fried dough.
Supari	Betel nut.
Sutiya	An ornament of the neck.
Tabij	Amulet.
Taila	Oil.
Tailika	Of oil, connected with oil.
Tailkar	Oil-man.
Talooqdar	Holder of a dependency.
Tangar	Same as *Orkha*.
Teen-do-panch	A game of cards.
Teen-masi	A death ritual.
Teel-tel	A marriage ritual.
Teerth	Place of pilgrimage.
Tel	A marriage ritual.
Tel chadhana	A marriage ritual.
Thari	Dish.
Tharkuliya	A utensil.
Thekedar	A revenue lessee.
Thethri	A kind of food-preparation prepared at the time of festivities.
Tija	A festival.
Tikra	Local name for poor, highlying land.
Til	*Seasamum indicum*.
Tilak	Mark put on the forehead.

Til-gur	Til and jaggery mixture.
Til ladu	Sweet balls made by mixing til in jagerry syrup.
Toda	An ornament.
Tona	Witchcraft.
Trisul	Trident, a weapon of God Shiva.
Tulsi	Basil plant, *Ocymum sanctum*.
Unhari	Same as *Rabi*.
Vaidya	A doctor practising Ayurvedic system of medicine.
Vairagya	Renunciation.
Vaishya	A caste; trader.

LOCATION OF
TILAIBHAT VILLAGE



CHAPTER I

General Description

Village Tilaibhat (population 325), situated in the southern part of Mungeli Tahsil of Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh, is the subject of the present Socio-Economic Survey. It is a medium-sized predominantly Teli (Oil-presser) village located 50 miles from Bilaspur town and 19 miles from Mungeli which is the tahsil headquarters. Situated about 3 miles from the all-weather Mungeli-Pandariya road, the approach to the village is not easy. In rainy season, the village can be reached only on foot and, since the fields are all sown, the track lies in a zigzag manner over the field embankments.

For Revenue administration, the village is included in Patwari Circle 32 of Revenue Inspector Circle Pandariya. In respect of Police jurisdiction, the village comes under Kunda Police-station. A Development Block, with headquarters at Pandariya, has started functioning for 3 years and village Tilaibhat is covered by this Block. Prior to the abolition of Zamindari in Madhya Pradesh, Tilaibhat was a part of Pandariya Zamindari of the Bilaspur District.

Pandariya, which was the seat of Zamindari, continues to be an important place for the inhabitants of Tilaibhat. It is not only the headquarters of the Revenue Inspector, the Patwari and of the Development Block; also it has a hospital, a weekly market and is the headquarters of the Forest Ranger as well as the venue of the Touring Talkies.

The name Tilaibhat literally means "the open ground of Telis" or "the open ground of *til* (sesamum)" and evidently the name is related to the preponderance of the Telis in the village. Telis happen to be numerically quite an important caste in Bilaspur District. As per Census of India, 1931, Bilaspur District had a total population of 1,400,248 and out of this population the Telis numbered 100,999 or 7·2 % of the total population of the district. There are many villages in the district whose names are related to this caste. Some examples are villages Tilsara, Tilkeja, Tilaikunda, Tilaikundi, Tilaidand, Tilaipar, Tilaipuran, Tilaikhami and Tilaipani, etc.

The inhabitants have no definite idea as to when and why the first settlement took place. They, however, say that they have been here for about three generations. According to them, the first settler here was a Teli and, since before the settlement the ground was open *bhata*, the village came to be so named. A reference to the Village Lists of Bilaspur District[1] prepared at the Census of 1901 shows that the village did not exist in 1891 since no population is recorded in 1891 Census. The Lists also show that in 1901, the number of occupied houses was 30 with a population of 124 persons and the *Lambardar Malguzar* of the village was of Raj Gond caste.

It appears that this village came into existence sometime in the period 1895-1900, because this was a period of scarcity and famine in the whole district and in the whole province, and Mungeli Tahsil was among the worst affected areas[2]. Large-scale migration had occurred and because of the famine and migration, Mungeli Tahsil returned the greatest decrease in the population in the Census of 1901[3]. Since the village is shown as not having any population in 1891 and the period from 1895 to 1898 was a very bad period in this area especially, it would not be wrong to fix the age of this village as 61 to 67 years. This also corroborates the villagers' idea that they have been here for some three generations.

Writing a century ago about villages of Bilaspur District, Chisholm[4] had stated : "A Chhattisgarh village is not ordinarily an inviting object of inspection. A cluster of mud-huts packed closely together with no kind of order or arrangement, and intersected by narrow and circuitous paths which seem to have no proper commencement or end. In most cases 'distance lends enchantment to the view', for the best villages have then their baldness hidden by clusters and groves of trees of varied tint and hue, peeping from under which the most conspicuous objects are not always the thatched houses of the people but the whited spires or domes of two or three ancient temples. Speaking generally, however, the plain is singularly destitute of shade. Like all tracks where clearance has been going on, it has been cleared too much. In the Belaspore and Sheorenarain Purgunnahs there are a fair number of villages possessing more or less extensive mango groves, but in the Moongeylee Purgunnah such villages are few and there is consequently no part of the district which in the hot weather months looks more bleak and desolate or in which moving about is more trying and irksome."

Though much water has flown in the River Arpa since Chisholm wrote that the Chhattisgarh village is not usually an inviting object of inspection, the position has not changed much, and village Tilaibhat which from a distance looks "enchanting" in the language of Chisholm, is really not so. The streets are narrow and dirty and the houses are of mud. There are no groves or thickets here and summer months are indeed a very trying time.

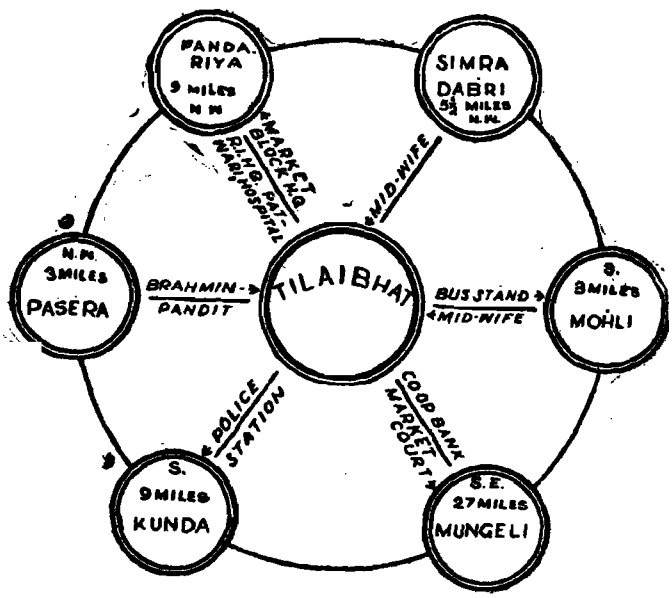
The village-site gently slopes in two directions, three-fourths to the north and one-fourths to the east. A stream flows from west to the east in the north of the village and there are two tanks. The bigger of these is the one in the west of the village. It is surrounded by some trees and the most important of these trees is a *peepal* (*Ficus religiosa*) tree. It is not only an object of worship itself, also an idol of God Hanuman is kept beneath it. This tank is used for bathing and as a source of drinking water. There is a smaller tank situated south of the village and it is used for bathing the cattle. It is also used by some villagers for bathing, but is not used for drinking water.

There are in all three wells in the village. One of these wells is situated within a house and the other two are situated on open space and available for water supply to the villagers. These two wells are situated on the two extremities of the village, one in the east and the other in the west. One of these wells is lined, the other is *katcha* and the water of this *katcha* well is not used for cooking purposes.

There is no temple or any other religious building in the village. The *peepal* tree, the idol of Hanuman beneath it and the stones representing Thakur Dev serve the villagers as places of worship. There is no common meeting place like *chaupal*, *chabutara*, etc., or any community centre. The tank-bank or the house of village Patel generally serve as places of meeting and exchange of gossip, views, etc.

1. Village Lists of Bilaspur District, Census of India 1901 pp. 192-193.
2. Final Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Bilaspur District 1904-1912, J. E. Hance, p. 53.
3. *Ibid* p. 56.
4. Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Belaspore District in the C. P. 1868, J. W. Chisholm, p. 4.

There is no school in the village and the children go to village Mohli, which is about 3 miles from here. The native means of transport is the bullock-cart but it is rarely used for going to Mungeli or even to Pandariya. The carts are used for carrying the manure to the fields and for bringing back the harvested crop or for taking the crop for sale to Mungeli market. The relationship of village Tilaibhat with other neighbouring villages is represented below :



Following note about the village occurs in the Mahalwar Abstract prepared at the time of the last Settlement of Bilaspur District.

"**Mouza Tilaibhat.**— Protected *thekelari* village near the Mungeli-Pandariya road held by Teli. There is a dispute between the *lambardar* and share-holder regarding the division of the village profits. Relations between tenants and *lambardar* are cordial The prevailing soils are *Kanhar* II and *Dorsa* I. There is some *Matasi* and a good *Bahara*. Occupation is steady and cropping normal. Most of the fallow is in tenancy land said to be due to the poverty of a few tenants. The rice area has been considerably well maintained and double cropping is steadily expanding.

Tenants are, mainly Telis are classed A-I, B-5, C-21 and E-5, all but three are free from debt and the latter owe sums below Rs.100. Seven are without plough cattle.

Demand for land is keen and tenants are unwilling to part with any of their fallow *dotis*."

CHAPTER II

DEMOGRAPHY

The village population, as arrived at the Census of 1961, is 325 persons and according to the Socio-Economic Survey the population of the village was found to be 330 persons. The reason for this difference is, firstly, that one household consisting of two persons was not counted in the census enumeration because it was away from the village during the enumeration period and, secondly, the census figures were obtained with respect to the sunrise of the 1st March whereas the Socio-Economic Survey was carried on some three months later and three births had taken place in the meantime.

The population of the village from the beginning of the present century is shown in the table below :

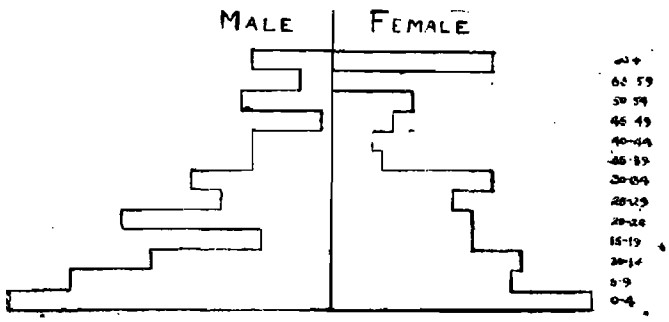
Year	Total persons	Male	Female
1	2	3	4
1901	124	57	67
1911	128	Not available	
1921	156	Not available	
1931		Not available	
1951	254	119	135
1961	325	166	159
Present Survey	**330**	**170**	**160**

The total area of the village is 692·26 acres and the area under *Abadi* (Village Settlement) is 3·51 acres. If the density of the population is calculated with respect to the total area of the village, then it comes to approximately 1 person in every 2 acres, whereas the density in respect of the actual area under settlement is approximately 93 persons per acre or 61,520 persons per square mile.

The census figures of 1901 and 1951 both show that the village had a preponderance of females over males. This ratio became inverted in the Census of 1961 when 7 more males have been recorded than the female population. The feature of excess of females is common to the whole of Chhattisgarh region. Whether this preponderance has something to do with hybridization or whether it is due to some biological or dietetic factor or due to the fact of outdoor life of the women, cannot be stated till this problem is studied in some detail.

The population statistics of 1961 show that in the age group 0-4 years, there are more males: in the age group 10-14 years the male and female population are equal; in the age group 15-44 years, males are in excess; whereas in the age group 45 years and over, there are more females. These are in conformity with the general features of age-cum-sex distribution of the population in these areas, *i.e.* there are more male children born, but the male infant mortality is also greater. In the child-bearing age, *i.e.* 15-45 years, the males tend to be excess because in this age group the female death-rate is higher due to bad midwifery and post-natal complications, etc. Once this age is crossed, the females tend to preponderate over males in the age-group 45 years and over. This is more or less the picture presented by village Tilaibhat also.

The sex-ratio in the village population is shown in the table appended at the end of the Report and the same is represented in the form of a graph below :



Marital Status.—Marital status of the population in different age-groups is shown in the table appended at the end. The table shows :

(*i*) Child marriage is quite common. In the age-group 5-9 years, 19 males and 7 females are returned as married and in the age group 10-14 years, 12 males and 17 females are recorded as married.

(*ii*) Marriage at pre-puberty age is frequent. In the age group 10-14 years, 6 males and 2 females are returned as unmarried against 12 males and 17 females as married.

(*iii*) Marriage in any case takes place before 19 years. The statistics of marital status show only one male as unmarried.

(*iv*) The people remaining divorced or separated is not a common feature. It appears that people who are divorced get remarried and that is how they are not recorded as 'separated' in the census.

(*v*) In the age group over 60 years, widowed persons are more females. In this age group, 13 females are found as widows against 5 males.

Size and Composition of the Family.—The size of family in village Tilaibhat is represented in Table III appended at the end of the Report. It is seen that about 70% of the families are very small to medium size and only 30% are big or very big. Families with over 10 members are not seen at all, in any caste other than Teli, and among the Telis there is only one family of this size.

Literacy.—In this village there is no literate woman and, among the men, the majority are just literate without having attained any educational standards; there is not a single matriculate.

In the Census of 1901, there was no literate person in the village; in the Census of 1951, only one man was returned as literate; whereas in the present census 25 men have been returned as literates. The census figures of 1961 give the following figures regarding literacy in the village :

Description		Males	Females
1		2	3
Illiterates	..	141	159
Literates & educated	..	25	..
Total	..	**166**	**159**

The results show that, in spite of the fact that the children have to go to a school 3 miles away, education has made very great headway and from 0·4% in 1951, the literacy in the village in 1961 is found to be 7·7%.

Caste and Communities.—Village Tilaibhat is predominantly a Teli (Oil-presser) village who live here with Rawats (graziers and herdsmen), Dhobis (washermen), Bairagis (religious mendicants), Kshatris (Rajputs) and Nais (barbers). The caste-wise population of the village as got from the survey is given below :

Caste		Total No. of house-holds	Persons	Males	Females
1		2	3	4	5
Teli	..	41	248	130	118
Rawat	..	7	34	18	16
Dhobi	..	4	17	5	12
Kshatri	..	3	12	8	4
Bairagi	..	3	11	4	7
Nai	..	1	5	3	2
Panka	..	1	3	2	1
Total	..	**60**	**330**	**170**	**160**

CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CASTES OF THE VILLAGE

The Telis who are the most important caste in this village are numerically one of the major castes in Bilaspur District and, according to the Bilaspur District Gazetteer[1], formed 8% of the population. The first enumeration[2] of the people which was carried out on the night of 5th November 1866 recorded 51,679 Telis in a total district population of 7,80,503. The Settlement of 1904-1912 describes[3] Telis as being "general all over the district". In the Census of 1911[4] the Telis numbered about 9,00,000 persons in the province, thus being the 5th on the basis of population. The 1931 Census recorded 7·2% of the district population as being the Teli caste. In the Hindu caste hierarchy, the Telis have been regarded as a low caste. Manu makes the following remark about the acceptance of gifts by Brahmins from different castes[1] :

"Na Ragyanh pratigrahniyadrajanyapra sutitah soonachakradhwajwatam weshenaiv cha jeewatam; Dashsoonasam chakram dashchakrasamo dhwajah Dashdhwajsamo wesho dashweshsamo nripah."

(Brahmin should not accept gifts from a Kshatriya and even from kings of other castes. He should also not accept gifts from a butcher, teli, distiller, or a prostitute.)

("The stigma of acceptance of gifts from a person of the Teli caste amounts to ten times the stigma of acceptance of gifts from a butcher; acceptance of gifts from a distiller (*kalar*) amounts to ten times the stigma of accepting gifts from a Teli.")

In his '*Ramcharitmanasa*'[2], Tulsidas makes a reference to Telis as follows :

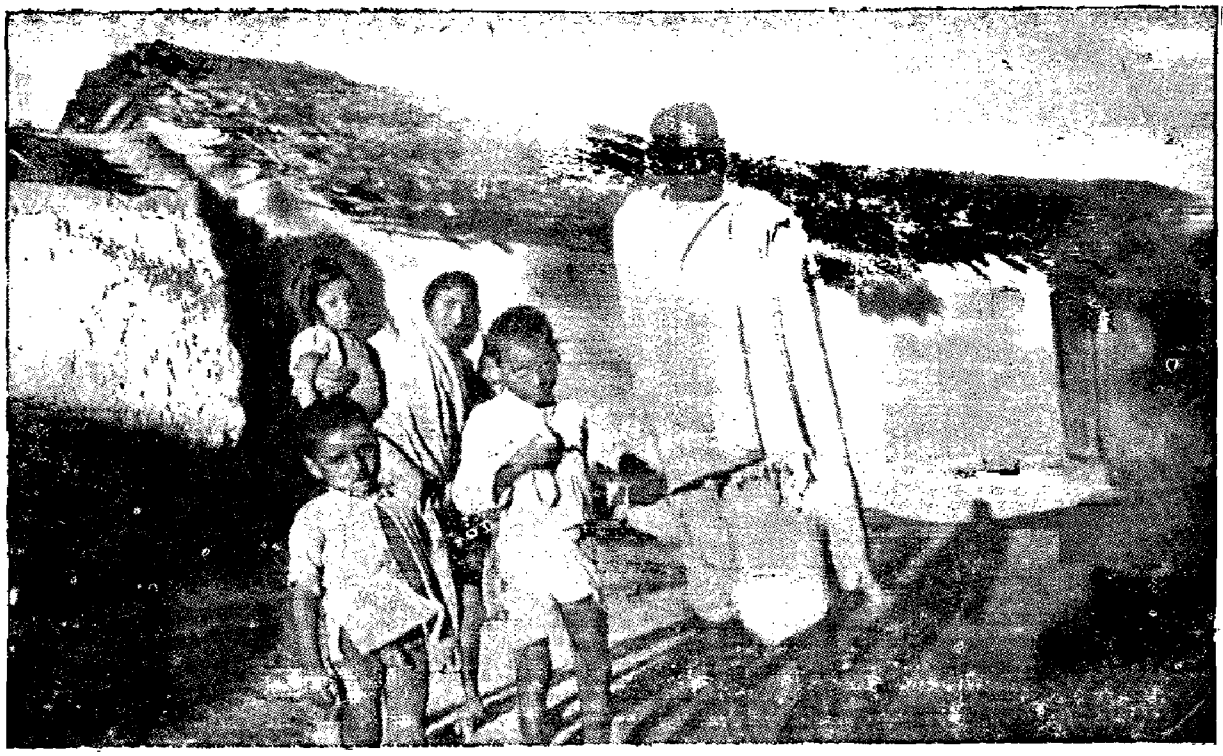
"Je warnadham teli kumhara
Swapach kirat kol kalwara."

(The poet talking about the characters of *Kaliyuga* says that, in the *Kali* aeon members of depressed classes such as Teli, Kumhar, Kirat, Kol and liquor-vendor also become *sanyasis*.....")

In some Sanskrit literature the Telis are regarded as of mixed origin. Shabda-kalpadrum which is a 19th century dictionary, regards the caste *Chakrin* as equivalent to Teli and states that *chakrin* is a mixed and low caste. Mitramishra[4]

1. Bilaspur District Gazetteer; p. 83.
2. Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Belaspore District in the C. P. 1868; J. W. Chisholm; p. 40.
3. Final Report on the Land Revenue Settlement, Bilaspur District; 1904-1912; J. E. Hance; p. 74.
4. Tribes and Castes of C. P. and Berar, Vol. IV; Russell and Hiralal, 1916; p. 542.

1. Manusmriti; IV Chapter; Slokas 84-85.
2. Ramcharitmanasa, Uttarkand, 99.
3. *Cf.* Teli Jati ka Itihas; Dr. A.S. Altekar; 1958; p. 16.
4. *Ibid*; p. 17.



DOMRA RAI TELI WITH THE VILLAGE CHILDREN



THE CHILDREN OF TILAIBHAT

in his book Anhikprakash imparts the same meanin to the word *chakrin*; but the correctness of this interpretation is very doubtful because Gautam *Dharmasutra*[1] regards *chakrin* as cartman and not Teli. Brihatdharma Puran[2] in its Uttar Khanda Chapter XIII mentions some mixed castes and *Tailkar* (Teli) occurs as one of these mixed castes. According to this *Puran* the *Gopa* are off-springs of a *Vaishya* father and 'Kshatriya' mother and the *Telis* are the off-springs of *Gopa* father and *Vaishya* mother. Oushnas Smriti[3] also regards Telis as a mixed caste. According to this *Smriti* the Telis are the off-springs of illicit relationship between a *Shudra* father and *Vaishya* mother. This Smriti says (22-3):

"Vaishyayam shudratashchouryat jatashachkreeti chochyate

Tailpishtak jeewze tu lawanam shrawayanpunah"

Shudrachar-shiromani[4], a book written by Shree Krishana Shesha in the 16th century, states that the off-springs of Kshatriya father and Vaishya mother were called *Ugra* and off-springs of Brahmin father and Shudra mother were called *Parasav*. The Telis were born as a result of the union of the *Ugra* father and *Parasav* mother. Jatibhaskar[5] also records this view.

The Brahmavaivarta Puran[6] in its 10th Chapter, *Slokas* 97-99, regards Telis as the fourth order of mixed castes. In the view of this *Purana*, the off-springs of a *Chitrakar* and 'prostitute' union were the *Attalikakar*; the off-springs of *Attalikakar-Kumhar* union were *Kolak* and the off-springs of a *Kumhar* father and *Kolak* mother were Telis. Brahmavaivarta Puran is also regarded[7] as a recent book written after the advent of the Muslim Rule in India. Jatibhaskar[8] has also quoted this view for the origin of the Teli caste.

Narada Smriti[9] says (Chapter I, *Sloka* 182) that some people should not be produced as witnesses in the court and the Teli caste occurs in this list

1. *Ibid*; p. 27.
2. *Ibid*; pp. 16, 30-33.
3. *Ibid*; pp. 16, 31, 33-34.
4. *Ibid*; pp. 17-18.
5. Jatibhaskar; Jwalaprasad Mishra; 1955, pp. 439-440.
6. Teli Jati ka Itihas; Dr. A. S. Altekar, 1958; pp. 18, 34-36.
7. *Ibid*; p. 35.
8. Jatibhaskar; Jwalaprasad Mishra; 1955; p. 469.
9. Teli Jati ka Itihas; Altekar; p. 28.

The Teli are the occupational caste of oil-pressers and sellers though "a great bulk of them has abandoned their traditional occupation"[1]. Hance[2] remarks that many Telis in Bilaspur District "carry on their traditional occupation of oil-pressing as a secondary occupation, but they are primarily agriculturists and are good and careful cultivators.

The caste name 'Teli' evidently comes from the Sanskrit *Tailika* or *Taila* meaning oil and this word is derived from *til* or sesamum seed.[3] According to Russell and Hiralal the caste have few traditions of origin and the usual story is that "during Siva's absence the goddess Parvati felt nervous because she had no door-keeper to her palace, and, therefore, she made the god Ganesh from the sweat of her body and set him to guard the southern gate. But when Siva returned Ganesh did not know him and refused to let him enter; on which Siva was so enraged that he cut off the head of Ganesh with a stroke of his sword. He then entered the palace, and Parvati, observing the blood on his sword, asked him what had happened, and reproached him bitterly for having slain her son. Siva was distressed, but said that he could not replace the head as it was already reduced to ashes. But he said that if any animal could be found looking towards the south he could put its head on Ganesh and bring him to life. As it happened, a trader was then resting outside the palace and had with him an elephant, which was seated with its head to the south. So Siva quickly struck off the head of the elephant and placed it on the body of Ganesh and brought him to life again, and thus Ganesh got his elephant head. But the trader made loud lamentation about the loss of his elephant, so to pacify him Siva made a pestle and mortar, utensils till then unknown, and showed him how to pound oil-seeds in them and express the oil, and enjoined him to earn a livelihood in future by this calling, and his descendants after him; and so the merchant became the first Teli. And the pestle was considered to be Siva and the mortar Parvati."

The Telis of village Tilaibhat are, however, unable to tell any story about their origin, but they regard this story as a probable origin of the caste.

1. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. IV, Russell and Hiralal, 1916; p. 556.
2. Final Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Bilaspur District, 1904-1912; I E. Hance; p. 74.
3. Tribes and Castes in the C.P., Vol. IV, Russell and Hiralal, 1916; p. 543.

The Teli caste is divided into three endogamous divisions. The principal groups in Chhattisgarh are 'Halia', 'Jharia' and 'Ekbahi' Telis. Most of the Telis in Bilaspur District are of the 'Jharia' sub-caste. It is said[1] that in all there are 742 divisions of the caste and Basorilal includes the Jharia, Kosariya and Halia Telis in the 'Umari' division.

All these endogamous divisions are again divided into a number of exogamous septs called *gotras*. The number of such *gotras* cannot be correctly stated and 63 *gotra*-names have been collected from "Sahu-Sandesh", a monthly journal of the Chhattisgarh Teli Society.

The Telis of village Tilaibhat are of the Jharia endogamous division. The name 'jharia' means jungly or savage,[2] and may also mean 'local'[3]. Chisholm has referred to this class as 'Jhirria' from Jharkund (the forest) and regards them[4] as settler here: "while Chhattisgarh was still a wilderness and have indeed been so long in the country that they have altogether lost count of the number of generations". According to Chisholm, the appellation 'Jhirria' invariably indicates length of residence.

The exogamous divisions and number of persons in each of them from among the Tilaibhat Telis are hown below :

Name of *gotra*	No. of families	Population		
		Total	Male	Female
Sonwani ..	35	219	115	104
Sonkalihari ..	4	18	9	9
Ardawna ..	1	7	4	3
Kahor Bahra	1	4	2	2
**Total .. **	**41**	**248**	**130**	**118**

1. Teli Bhaiyon ki Vanshawali; Chaudhari Basorilal, 1930; pp. 4-9.
2. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. IV, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, p. 445.
3. Final Report on the Land Revenue Settlement, Bilaspur District, J.E. Hance, p. 74.
4. Land Revenue Settlement of the Belaspore District in the C. P., 1868; J. W. Chisholm; pp. 52-53.

Out of the aforesaid *gotras* of the Telis of village Tilaibhat, the names Sonwani means gold water and Ardawna means a kind of gram. The origin of the terms Sonkalihari and Kahor Bahra is obscure and the villagers are not able to throw any light on the issue.

The Telis of this village, all of whom belong to the Jharia division, state that the use of ornaments made of *ranga* (an alloy) is prohibited but some of them have been found wearing ornaments of this metal. Similarly, though the Jharias are not permitted to eat meat according to caste-rules, it is doubtful whether this prohibition is respected in practice.

The Telis are very proud of the fact that the village of Rajim in the Raipur District and the Temple of Rajivlochan thereat are both based on the name of Rajia Telin, a woman of their caste. According to the history compiled by Chaudhari Basorilal[1], Secretary of the Teli Society, the Telis were originally of the Vaishya division of the Hindus. It is claimed that the name Tuladhar occurring in Mahabharat epic refers to a Teli. Similarly, it is said that Jaychand, the King of Kannouj, had a Teli hero named Dhanu, who was with Lakhan Rana. The authenticity of the statement made in this little book cannot be ascertained since the author has not given any source of his information. The book also says that Sir Risley thinks the Teli caste to be a puritive group which must have been recreated from the respectable class of Hindu Society because oil is used by all Hindus for domestic and ceremonial purposes. Manufacturing could only be carried by men whose social purity was beyond dispute. The quotation given by Russell[2] supports this statement.

Recent pamphlet issued by the Telis of Chhattisgarh records that the Telis have been victims of oppression by upper-caste Hindus. They say that the Smritis and Puranas are evidences of this oppression. This statement is, of course, baseless because except the references already quoted above which regard this caste as of mixed origin, the ancient scriptures nowhere refer to the Telis.

The pamphlet further states that in the conflict between Hinduism and Buddhism, the Telis supported Buddhism and because of this support they were

1. Teli Bhaiyon ki Vanshawali, Chaudhari Basorilal, 1930.
2. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. IV, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, p. 551.



GOING TO FETCH WATER FROM THE WELL



A TELI WITH HIS GRANDSON

made special victims after Buddhism was crushed. All these statements are unfortunately not supported by any relevant historical proof. All the same, the literature published by *Chhattisgarh Sahu Samaj* has quite a wide circulation and, whether having any basis or not, the Telis regard themselves as descendants from a puritive caste, probably the Vaishyas. Russell and Hiralal[1] have given instances of similar claims of the Telis of Mandla and Burhanpur areas.

But whatever the Telis may regard themselves to be, they are considered a caste of bad omen. To encounter a Teli in the morning is considered bad for the whole day and similarly any stingy and unscrupulous person is referred to as *Teliamasan* or the ghost of the Teli. Some proverbs have been given by Russell[2] and these are : "God protect me from Teli, a Chamar and a Dhobi" ; "Where there is a Teli, there is sure to be contention"; and similarly, "The Teli counts every drop of oil as it issues from the press but sometimes he upsets the whole pot".

Russell[3] further states that "a good magician in search of an attendant's spirit will, it is said, prefer to raise the corpse of a Teli who died on a Tuesday." It is also said that rice cooked in a Teli woman's skull under the *babool* (Acacia arabica) tree and given to a woman to eat, brings her under one's control. Another charm or supposed charm not mentioned in Russell's book is that the rope by which a Teli hangs himself to commit suicide on a Tuesday is of great value and pieces of it given to a woman to eat brings her under one's control. This rope is also said to be capable of curing rheumatism.

The Telis are medium-statured and medium-built people with dark to wheat-colour complexion, and in their appearance they are like ordinary Chhattisgarhi villager. There is nothing in their look to distinguish them from the Nais or the Dhobis.

Rawat.—A detailed description of the Rawats is given in the Socio-Economic Survey of village Bendri in Raipur District; it is not being repeated here. The Rawats are divided into three endogamous divisions, namely Kanaujia, Jharia and Kosaria and all these three endogamous divisions have certain exogamous septs with titular or totemistic names. A complete list of such sections of the Rawat has not been compiled anywhere and unless special investigations are carried out among the Rawats, an exhaustive list of different *gotras* or these exogamous sections cannot be obtained. The Socio-Economic Survey of village Bendri in Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh describes 22 *gots* of the Rawats; but 3 more *got* names are found from the present village.

Village Tilaibhat has brought out that in addition to the 3 endogamous divisions mentioned in Russell's and other authors' works, there is one more division present among the Rawats of Chhattisgarh. This division is known as 'Desaha'. Panch Rawat of this village states that he does not belong to the Jheria or Jharia section, but that he belongs to this Desaha group. As already stated this section has not been described by Hewitt, Sherring or Russell. Sherring[1], however, mentions Desahas as a section of the Kurmis and describes them as a 'tribe in Chhattisgarh'. It is possible that the Desahas may be an off-shoot from the Jheria section on account of some social accident. In any case this section is not as old as the Jharia one. A more detailed investigation on the origin of this section may bring out some interesting results.

Except Panch Rawat, the Rawat caste of this village belongs to the Jharia division and they are divided into 4 exogamous *gots*—the Karayat, Karsayal, Gautam and Kashi Sarwe. It has already been described in connection with Bendri Report that the 'Karsayal' *got* reveres the deer (Karsayal means a deer). The Karayat *got* likewise reveres the Krait and refrains from killing it. It is thus like the Sarpa *got* who do not kill a snake but whereas the Sarpa *got* do not kill any snake, the Karayat *got* may kill all snakes except the Krait. The other *got* names in the village are 'Gautam' and 'Kashi Sarwe' and the exact significance of these names is not clear. It, however, appears that both these names may be a recent acquisition by the caste and the Kashi Sarwe may mean those whose forefathers had made a trip to Kashi (Banaras). The name Gautam similarly speaks of the influence of higher castes.

1. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Russell and Hiralal1,916, Vol. IV, pp. 553-554.
2. *Ibid*; p. 554.
3. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. IV, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, p. 554.

1 Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. II; M.A. Sherring, 1879, p. 101.

In Tilaibhat, the Rawat family and persons are distributed among the four *gots* as below :

RAWAT

Got	No. of households	Population		
		Persons	Males	Females
Karsayal ..	2	12	6	6
Karayat ..	3	10	5	5
Kashi Sarwe ..	1	8	5	3
Gautam ..	1	4	2	2
Total ..	**7**	**34**	**18**	**16**

Dhobis (Washermen).— Dhobis are the professional caste of washermen. The name of the caste is derived from the Hindi word *dhona* (to wash) and the Sanskrit *dhav* (to wash). They are also called Baretha or Bareth which according to Russell[1] is "an honorific or complimentary term of address". In the Census of 1911, the Dhobis numbered 1,65,000 persons in the then Central Provinces.

Jatibhaskar[2] describes Dhobis as of mixed origin, as a result of union between a *Ugra* woman and *Vaidehak* man. This book also regards the Dhobis as the highest of the lower castes. The book says :

"Ugravaidehikabhyan cha jato manjushasangyakah Rajkah Shudratu hinah prathamashchantyajeshu cha."

(The off-spring of a *Ugra* woman and *Vaidehak* man is known as *Manjush* who is also known by the name of *Rajak*. He stands foremost amongst the lower castes.)

Though the Dhobis are regarded as the highest of the lower castes, the upper-caste Hindus do not take water and food touched by a Dhobi. Hutton[3] states: "One might have expected the washerman's to be a cleanly pursuit, but the fact that it brings him into contact with menstrually polluted clothes is enough to make him an out-caste no less than scavenger who removes nightsoil or dead bodies". In the foot-note on the same page, Hutton states: "This taboo is of course worldwide. There can be little doubt, but the reason why the adjectives 'bloody' and 'bleeding' are, or till recently were, regarded as indecent in English is because they have been used as swear-words with that particular association implied."

1. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. II, 1916, Russell and Hiralal, p. 519.
2. Jatibhaskar, Jwalaprasad Misbra, 1955, p. 441.
3. Caste in India; J.H. Hutton, 1945; p. 159.

The Dhobis have not been described in any detail by Sherring[1] who classifies them under "Traders, Merchants, Manufacturers, Artisans, and other Hindu Tribes" and describes them as "Washermen. They are called Warthis in Berar. They constitute a community of upwards of 70,000 persons."

According to Russell and Hiralal[2], the Dhobis are divided into territorial sub-castes like Baonia and Beraria, Malwi, Bundelkhandi, Nimaria, Kanaujia, Udayapuria, Madrasi, Dharampuria and so on. These sub-castes are all endogamous and each of these is divided into a number of exogamous groups called *khero*. The Dhobis of Tilaibhat belong to the Kanaujia endogamous section and according to them they belong to 'Barhar' exogamous group. The term *khero* is, however, not known to them.

An old Chhattisgarhi proverb says: "What will a washerman do in a village where the people live naked." It may be primarily due to this reason that in Chhattisgarh, where the provision that the villager makes for clothing is not particularly liberal, the Dhobis partly abandoned their hereditary profession and took to agriculture and other callings. In the Central Provinces Census Report, 1891, Sir Benjamin Robertson[3] writes of the Dhobis as below :

"The caste largely preponderates in Chhattisgarh, a part of the country, where, at least to the superficial observer, it would hardly seem as if its services were much availed of; the number of Dhobis in Raipur and Bilaspur is nearly 40,000. In both districts, the washerman is one of the recognised village-servants, but as a rule, he gets no fixed payment and the great body of cultivators dispense with his services altogether.....It may, therefore, be assumed that in Chhattisgarh, the Bareth caste has largely taken to cultivation."

In Tilaibhat, all the four Dhobi households are primarily cultivators and follow their traditional occupation as secondary means of livelihood. The village population is divided amongst them as clientele and they get a fixed amount per head for their services. The amount fixed in Tilaibhat is Re. 1 per year per adult and Re.-/8/- per year per child.

Due to their long residence in Chhattisgarh, the Dhobis in Tilaibhat have forgotten and left many of

1. Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, M.A. Sherring, 1879, p. 120.
2. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. II, Russell and Hiralal, 1916; p. 519.
3. Census of India 1891, Report, Central Province, p. 202.

the rules observed by this caste elsewhere. For example, the Dhobis who claim affiliation with Bundelkhand and Uttar Pradesh do not eat fowl and the women do not wear glass-bangles. They worship Ghatoia Devi and Kale-gore Dev. The Dhobis of this village, however, do not worship these deities and the women wear glass-bangles as other castes.

The population of the Dhobis of Tilaibhat is shown in the statement below :

DHOBI

Sub-caste	No. of households	Population		
		Persons	Males	Females
Badhar or Barhar	4	17	5	12

Kshatris.—There are three households of the Kshatri caste in this village. The word Kshatri is a corruption of the word 'Kshatriya' which refers to the second rank in the Hindu social order, and the caste is commonly referred to as Rajputs. The caste has been described under Rajputs by Russell and Hiralal, and Rajput, Kshatriya, Chhatri and Thakur are put as synonymous terms by these authors.

Regarding the Rajputs of Chhattisgarh, Hewitt[1] states that they are "generally descendants of immigrants from the North." Sherring[2] in his Introductory Note on the Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces and Berar says :

"Gradually the Aryans have encroached upon the Gonds and other aboriginal tribes, seizing patches of level country, the valleys, the fertile banks of rivers, and other desirable tracts, over which they have extended their jurisdiction and Government. For a long period, in some directions almost coeval with the occupation of the earlier inhabitants, they have held important districts, which have become famous in Indian History for their connection with them. They belonged, for the most part, to various tribes of Rajpoots. For example, the Haihayas were, doubtless, ruling in the upper part of the Narbada Valley in the 1st century of the Christian Era. They formed alliance with the Rajpoots of Malwa and Udaipur, known as Ponwars, Gahlots and others, they thus introduced into their own dominions, and who are still found in considerable numbers as wealthy and powerful land-owners."

Russell[1] is of the opinion that "the bulk of the Rajputs in the Central Provinces are of very impure blood. Several groups, such as Panwars of the Vainguna Valley, the Raghuvanshis of Chhindwara and Nagpur, the Jadams of Hoshangabad and the Daharias of Chhattisgarh, have developed into separate castes and marry among themselves."

The Daharia Rajputs have been referred to by Sherring[2] as below :

"This tribe has two villages in Doorg Tahsil, ten in the Simgah Tahsil and eighteen in he Raepore Tahsil of Raepore." Now whether the Kshatriva caste in this village and nearby areas are the representatives of Daharia class or the Haihayas cannot be ascertained in a study such as the present one. The Chhatris of this village, however, state that they belong to the Haihayas group.

A detailed description of the Haihaivanshi Rajput is given in "Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces" by Messrs. R.V. Russell and Hiralal. The present village of Ratanpur in Bilaspur District was the seat of Haihaivanshi Kingdom or the Dakshina Koshal. As history shows, this kingdom enjoyed a tranquil existence till A.D. 1740 when it fell to the Marathas. In the Bilaspur District Gazetteer Wills[3] states that "the only surviving representative of the Haihaya of Ratanpur is a quiet, simple-minded Rajput who lives at Bargaon in Raipur District.....The Malguzar of Senduras claims descent from the Ratanpur family, but his pretentions are doubtful." On the basis of above statement by Wills, claim of the Chhatris of this village that they together with the Chhatris of Senduras are descendents of the Haihaivanshi Rajputs, is very doubtful.

"The Rajputs have *gotras* named after eponymous saints exactly like the Brahmin *gotras*, and probably adopted in imitation of the Brahmins."[4] In this village all the three Chhatri families belong to Bhardwaj *gotra* after Saint Bhardwaj.

1. Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Raepore District, 1869, J.F.K. Hewitt, p. 37.
2. Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, M.A. Sherring, 1879, pp. 85-86.
1. Tribes and Castes of the C. P., Vol. IV, Russell and Hiralal, 1916; p. 411.
2. Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, 1879, Sherring, p. 96.
3. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, Chapter II, C.U. Wills.
4. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. IV, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, p. 418.

KSHATRI

Name of *gotra*	No. of house-holds	Population		
		Person	Male	Female
Bhardwaj	3	12	8	4

Bairagis.—Speaking of Bairagis of Bilaspur District, Chisholm[1] stated : "The Byragees and Goshains are the representatives of the principle of asceticism in the Hindoo system. There are more than 11,000 persons of this class in the district but they have fallen away from the notion of self-sacrifice which originated the order and hold the proprietory right of a considerable number of villages.... Strictly speaking, they should not marry and are expected in theory to remain like stoics of old models of manly purity. In point of fact, however, while maintaining the letter of the law, especially in all cases, where the inheritance of property is involved, they utterly ignore its spirit and their monasteries are too often dens of wickedness."

Sherring[2] describes them as "religious mendicants, a much larger community than the preceding one, (*i.e.* Jangam) and most numerous in Chhattisgarh." The name Bairagi evidently appears to have come from the Sanskrit word "*Vairagya*" meaning renunciation and signifies one who is free from human passions. Russell has given a detailed description of the caste and the various sub-divisions or the *sampradayas* included therein and details about these sub-divisions are also to be found in Wilson's "Hindu Sects" and Dr. Bhattacharya's "Hindu Castes and Sects". According to Russell[3], "a proper Bairage is one whose principal deity is either Vishnu or of his great incarnations, Rama and Krishna".

The Bairagi caste is divided into minor sects, *akharas* and *dwaras*. Russell has not given a list of the exogamous divisions of the caste but he says that the 52 *dwaras* (doors) serve as exogamous sections. The Bairagis of village Tilaibhat belong to the Vaishnava Sampradaya. According to them the different *akharas* are 'Digambari', 'Nirmohi', 'Mahanirmohi' 'Nirvani', 'Ramanandi', and 'Nivyadit'. Out of these six *akharas* only three occur in the list given by Russell[1]. Ramanandi is not actually an *akhara* but a *sampradaya* and the classification by the Bairagis of Tilaibhat regarding this is not correct. The *akharas* 'Mahanirmohi' and 'Nivydit' do not occur even in the additional list of three other *akharas* given by Russell. About these *akharas* nothing is known. Tilaibhat Bairagis belong to the Achutra exogamous division. The meaning of the word 'Achutra' is unknown. The Bairagis usually keep a *tilak* on the forehead. Different sects have different marks and the one used in this village is cup-shaped with a dot in the upper-middle part. The Bairagis usually keep their hair long but this is not the case in village Tilaibhat. They wear white clothes and every Bairagi wears a necklace of *tulsi* (Ocymum sanctum) beads.

Russell[2] observes that the Bairagis do not, as a rule, plough with their own hands. This is not found to be correct at least in this village. The Bairagis say that it is only the *sanyasi* who do not plough with their hands and that there is no bar for a Bairagi to do so.

Population of the Bairagis of this village is given below :

BAIRAGI

Exogamous group	No. of house holds	Population		
		P.	M.	F.
Achutra	3	11	4	7

Nais.—Jatibhaskar[3] regards the Nai (barber) caste as a mixed one born with the union of Kshatriya man and Shudra woman. It also regards the Nai to be the off-spring of *Ugra* woman and *Magadh* man. Another word for the Nai is *Napit* or also *Kuntal.*

1. Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Bilaspore District, 1868, J.W. Chisholm, p. 53.
2. Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, M.A. Sherring, 1879, p. 118.
3. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. II, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, p. 94.

1. *Ibid;* pp. 100-101.
2. Tribes and Castes of the C. P., Vol. II, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, p. 104.
3. Jatibhaskar, Jwalaprasad Mishra, 1955, pp. 447, 476.

There is only one Nai family in this village. 'Nai' is the occupational caste of barbers. The term Nai is said to be derived from the Sanskrit word *napit* and some also hold it to have come as a corruption of the word *snapitri* (one who bathes). The Nai in no doubt a functional caste. In this village the Nai is evidently a village servant and presence of a Dhobi (washerman) and a Nai (barber) in the village speaks about the organisation of the village society. Writing about the village servants and social characteristics in the Settlement Report of the Raipur District, Hewitt[1] says: "Society in Chuteesgurh was probably never founded on a very firm basis and except in the very earliest time the Talooqdar or Dan and Byga were probably the only permanent members of the community. The influx of Hindoo immigrants has swept away both Talooqdars and Bygas almost entirely, and has brought about some approach to the north-west village system, though the hereditary organization of a Hindoo village has never yet been thoroughly established as a recognised institution in Chuteesgurh." Hewitt further states that the Nai or barber is a recognised member of the village staff and is found in most villages.

The Nai caste is divided into exogamous divisions known as *khero* or *kul* and these exogamous divisions are named after saints as in case of Brahmin caste, or some Rajput castes or may also be titular and totemistic.

Based on saints	*Based on Rajput clans*	*Titular and totemistic*	
Gautam ..		Naik	(leader)
Kashyap ..	Surajvanshi	Seth	(banker)
Kosik ..	Jaduvanshi	Rawat	(chief)
Sandilya ..	Solanki ..	Nagesh	(cobra)
Bhardwaj ..	Panwar ..	Bagh	(tiger)
		Bhadrawa	(a fish)

The barber's trade appears to be of great antiquity. In the description of this caste in the United Provinces, Crooke[2] states: "The barber's trade is undoubtedly of great antiquity. In the *Veda* we read 'sharpen us like the razor in the hands of the barber'; and again, 'driven by the wind, *Agni* shaves the hair of the earth like the barber shaving a beard' Russell[1] describes that in early times the Nai (barber) must have enjoyed cons derable dignity. "Upali the barber was the first propounder of the law of the Buddhist Church." The importance of the 'Nai' in the Hindu social organization is evident from the fact that he is necessarily required in the various life-rituals of many of the higher castes.

In Tilaibhat, the Nai serves the function of shaving the villagers and attending life-ritual ceremonies wherever required. The Nai in Tilaibhat belongs to Bhardwaj Khero or Kul.

NAL

Khero or Kul	No. of house-hold	Population P.	M.	F.
Bhardwaj	1	5	3	2

Pankas.—There is one Panka house hold in the village—that of the village-watchman (or the *Kotwar*). The office of village watchman in Chhattisgarh is accepted only by members of the Panka and Ganda castes which are regarded as low castes and which in the past were one and the same caste and have been described as such in the books by Reverend Sherring and Russell.

Probably the first reference of any importance of this caste occurs in the proceedings of the Ethnological Committee[2] of 1866-67 and it is reproduc d below: "This race has exactly the same manners and customs as the Gonds in their marriages and births, but differ in their religion and in their living; although in appearance they are very similar, they are considered inferior caste to the Gonds, who will not eat with them; they dress in the same way, only the Punka wears a different kind of necklace—"kuntha".

"The Kubeerha caste is the highest and will neither eat nor intermarry with the people of the other two. This caste too does not drink spirits, eat pigs or carrion—the others do."

1. Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Raepore District, 1869, J.F.K. Hewitt, pp. 50-51.
2. Tribes and Castes of the United Provinces, Art. Nai, para 5.

1. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. II, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, p.
2. Report of the Ethnological Committee on papers laid before them and upon examination of specimens of aboriginal tribes brought to the Jubbulpore Exhibition 1866–67; pp. 91-92.

Chisholm[1] in his Settlement Report of 1868, states that in the enumeration carried out on the night of the 5th November 1866, there were 72,972 Pankas in the Bilaspur District. He[2] further describes the caste thus: "Majority of them are cultivators though originally they all seem to have been weavers and correspond with the Koree Tribe elsewhere. As it is, a considerable number still stick to weaving while others weave only during the intervals of field work The village-watchmen are usually of the Punkah class and are then called 'Gandas' being distinct however from the men known as 'Bujgurrya Gandas', the great musicians of Chuteesgurh."

Reverend Sherring[3] in his Hindu Tribes and Castes describes the Pankas under the "Agricultural Tribes" and writes that "these are properly weavers, but although many still adhere to their hereditary vocation, the majority of them have abandoned it for agriculture. They are a quiet and industrious people, and in religion belong to the sect of Kabir Panthis. They avoid the use of spirits and meat, do not marry their children until they have reached maturity, and bury their dead The Punkahs make bad cultivators and the villages of which they are proprietors are miserable in the extreme. The Gandas are said to be an off-shoot of the Punkahs."

The Bilaspur District Gazetteer (1909) in the description of this caste gives the rhyme already quoted in the Socio-Economic Survey of village Bendri of Raipur District and which rhyme is:

"Pani se Panka bhae
bundan rache sharir
age age Panka bhae
pachhe Das Kabir."

This rhyme when rendered into English would be: "The Pankas (Pani-ka) is born out of water and his body is made out of drops of water : but there were Pankas before Kabir."

The Gazetteer further says that "the derivation which is of course fanciful, appears to refer to the story of Kabir having been found as a baby floating in a lotus leaf on a tank. The saying may be supposed to indicate obscurely that prior to the rise of Kabir, the Pankas were Hindus of low caste."

1. Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Belaspore District, 1868, J.W. Chisholm, p. 40.
2. *Ibid*, p. 49.
3. Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, Sherring, 1879, p. 109.

In the notes appended at the end of his book, Elwin[1] writes that the Pankas are "a Dravidian caste of weavers and village watchmen numbering over 2 hundred thousand in the Central Provinces, the majority of whom have become Kabirpanthis. They are rather despised by the Gonds who like to make jokes about them, but they are a very clever and alert people and with proper education would go far."

"The Gonds say of the Pankas that if a Panka can find a pumpkin, you will get no more work out of him that week."

Some more such jokes about the Panka caste are given in Bendri Report.

The Pankas are divided into 4 sub-divisions—Manikpuria, Saktaha, Bajania and Dom Panka and these sub-divisions are further divided into some exogamous divisions. Russell[2] says that exogamous septs are named "after plants and animals; as Tandia an earthen pot, Chhura a razor, Neora the mongoose, Parewa the wild pigeon and others. Other septs are Panaria the bringer of betal-leaf, Kuldip the lamp-lighter, Pandwar the washer of feet, Ghughuwa one who eats the leavings of the assembly and Khetgarhia, one who watches the fields during religious worship." Russell has also named Sonwania or gold-water sept, Naurang or the nine-coloured and Sati septs.

The Panka household of village Tilaibhat belongs to Manikpuria sub-division of the caste, but the exogamous sept to which this household belongs is not given in Russell's book. The sept of the Tilaibhat Panka is Binghia. This sept is, therefore, an additional name in the list given by Russell. The Panka population of Tilaibhat is given below:

PANKA

Name of Sept	No. of household	Population		
		Persons	Male	Female
Binghiya	1	3	2	1

1. Leaves from the Jungle; Verrier Elwin; 1936; p. 240; p. 27.
2. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. IV, Russell and Hiralal, pp. 325-326.



WOMAN WEARING KHIHWA, RUPIYA AND MUNGAMALA

BAJURBAT MALA

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The saying that "what will the washerman do in a Chhattisgarh village where people live naked ?" is no longer true now. People have long since taken to *salookas* and *bandis* and now shirts and *kurtas* are quite common men's wear in the village. *Polka* (blouse) has also become fairly common among the women, and the young women almost invariably wear blouses while going out to the market etc. In the village-markets, there is quite a good number of hawkers selling readymade clothes and they seem to be having good business. Ornaments have always been a sign of richness and women wear as many ornaments as their economic condition permits. In ornaments, there is no distinctive wear for the different castes.

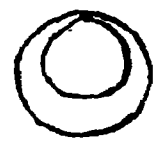
Culture contacts in the markets of Pandariya and Mungeli are now bringing about another factor of socio-economic significance. The women have acquired a passion for clothes and cosmetics used by women in the towns and, if the husbands are not able to fulfil this desire, they change husbands in the hope of better results. Chamroo Rawat of the village sadly remarked that these days the number of women running away from their husbands is on he increase because "the girls are desirous of having flashy, urbanish clothes and face-powder, etc. so that they may look like city-girls. We cannot afford





KHINWA

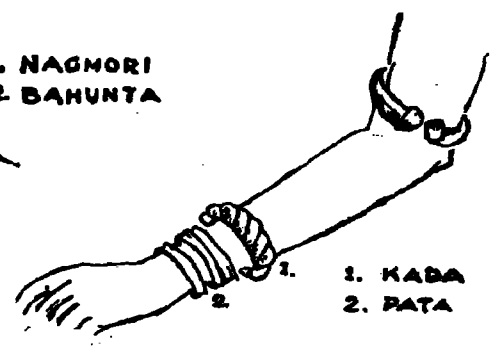




DARI



1. NAGMORI
2. BAHUNTA



1. KADA
2. PATA

this and they seek other fellows." In making this statement Chamroo reflected the general picture prevailing in the rural areas situated on the fringes of towns and in such places as Pandariya, Mungeli, etc. This contagion has not infected village Tilaibhat very much and Chamroo was not remarking particularly of this village. In the statement below the expenditure on clothing in different communities is shown:

Caste	No. of house-holds	Total monthly expendi-ture in rupees	Monthly expendi-ture on clothing only in rupees	Percen-tage to total expendi-ture
Teli ..	41	2,989	239	7·9
Rawat ..	7	369	31	8·1
Bareth (Dhobi) ..	4	220	20	9·0
Chhatri ..	3	151	10	6·6
Bairagi ..	3	125	15	12·0
Panka ..	1	69	6	8·7
Nai ..	1	50	3	6·0

DRESS IN DIFFERENT CASTES

Telis.—No special head-gear is used by the Telis. They usually have a 1½-2 yards long handloom cloth known as *panchha*. This is kept on the shoulders or is worn round the head somewhat like a turban. It is wrapped round the waist when they take a dip in the tank. It is a very coarsely woven cloth usually pink-red in colour.

For body-wear, *salooka* (jacket) is the common wear but one or two shirts are kept in the house and these are worn while going out or in spare time. Older people are commonly seen wearing *salooka* whereas among the younger generation, the shirt is preferred. The shirt is purchased readymade from the weekly market at Pandariya. The lower garment is the *dhoti*, 5 yards long; it is mostly mill-made now. The use of handloom *dhotis* is rare.

The women, as is common in Chhattisgarh, wear *lugda* (*sari*) up to the knee and throw one end of it over the shoulders to cover the upper part of the body. *Polka* (blouse) is worn by newly married women for some years regularly and, later, is worn only occasionally. The old ladies do not wear *polka* at all. The women have not yet started the use of brassiers.

Rawats.—The use of head-gear or a turban is common among the Rawats. They use a 3 to 4 yards long white cloth for this purpose. For the upper part of the body, the men commonly use white or coloured *salooka* (jacket), which is preferred to the white one. As the lower garment, *dhoti* worn up to knee is preferred. Trousers are not used in the rural areas; the people regard it as a garment not fit for the caste.

Country-made shoes, called *bhadai*, are used by men. They do not keep more than one pair of such shoes for use. These shoes are made by the country shoe-markers and are purchased for 4 to 6 rupees in the makets. The shoes are said to be very durable and fit for rough use. Even these shoes are not used as common wear and the Rawats when working in the village or while grazing the cattle do not ordinarily wear them. They are only used on festive occasions and when going out.

The women, as in the Teli caste, put on *lugda*. *Polka* (blouse) is kept as an item of luxury and occasional wear.

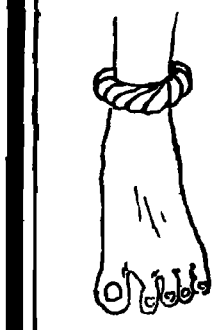
Dhobis.—The use of *pagree* or turban is quite common among the Dhobis; it is invariably worn when they go out. On other occasions, the cloth used for *pagree* is loosely hung on the shoulders. The use of shirts is more common among the men than *salookas*. The lower garment as in other castes is the *dhoti*. The Dhobis use country-made *chappals* as foot-wear.

The women wear a cheap and coarse type of mill made *lugda* and occasionally put on blouses also. Brassiers are not used.

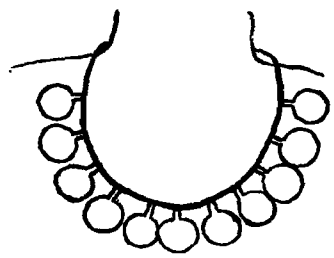
Kshatris.—The Kshatris do not commonly wear any head-dress. Old people do not wear even *salooka* and are bare-bodied in summer months and most of the rainy months. In winter, of course they put on shirts and *salookas*. For lower garments, they use *dhotis*.

The women wear coarse *dhoti* (*lugda*) as in other castes. Blouse is not a common wear with them though it is in more general use than among the Rawats, Telis and Dhobis.

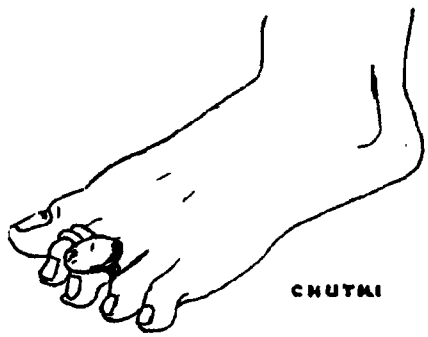
Bairagis.—The Bairagi men do not put on turbans like the Telis and the Rawats. Old people wear *salooka* and the younger people put on ready-made shirts. *Dhoti*, the lower garment, is worn up to knee as in other castes in Chhattisgarh. The



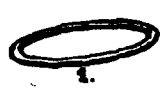
TODA



RUPIYA



CHUTKI



MUNDRI



CHHALLA



MUNDRI



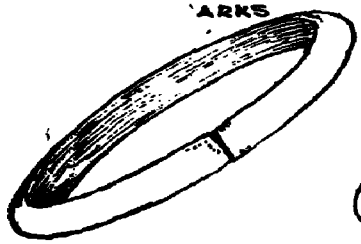
CHHALLA



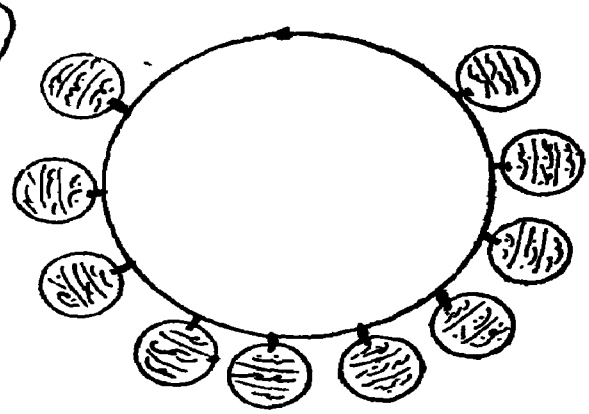
A WOMAN WITH TATTOO MARKS



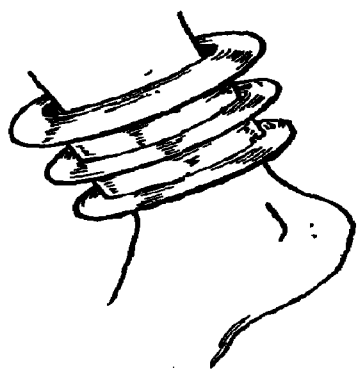
JHUMKA



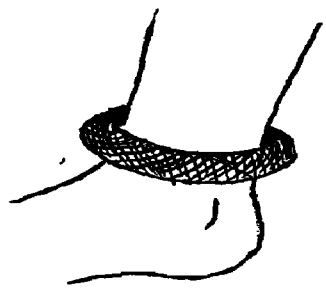
KADA



RUPIYA



CHURA



PAIJAN

Bairagis keep a separate *dhoti* to be worn at the time of taking meals.

Women wear the *sari* down up to the ankles and not up to knee like the Rawats and the Telis. They cover their head. Normally they do not put on blouses. It is only worn on festive days and when going to other villages or markets. The new bride usually puts on a blouse till she becomes familiar with the family. Brassieres are not worn.

Pankas.—The Panka is the village watchman. He wears the violet-blue coat and waist-belt given to him by the Government when going to t he Police station or when some official visits the vil lage. Cn other occasions he wears a *kurta* or shirt or *saloo ka Salooka* is worn when he is at home. The *dhoti* is worn up to the knee only. Panka boys put on shorts and readymade shirts. The women wear *lugda* and blouse as in other castes. The *lugda* is worn up to the knee.

Nais.—The Nai does not wear a turban for head-gear. He uses a *dhoti* as the lower garment and just puts on a cloth or *panchha* on the upper portion substituting for shirt. The Nai has only one shirt which he uses very sparingly. The women use *sari* and blouse; the use of blouse is only occasional.

Ornaments.—Ornaments are everywhere used to display wealth, and women, educated or uneducated, like to make a display of them. The women in village Tilaibhat are like women anywhere else in the world and like to get as many ornaments as they can. Ornaments serve the villagers in their crises also and then they are pledged (pawned) to some money-lender for petty amounts. In general men do not wear ornaments. The ornaments worn by different castes are the same and they are purchased from the local jeweller of Pandariya.

Telis.—Some of the Teli boys and men wear ornaments on the wrist, in the ear and around the neck. Out of 41 Teli households, males wearing ornaments were found in 10 households. The ornaments for children are the same as for males. *Bali* or the ear-rings are worn in the ear, *tabij* or the amulet is put around the neck, *kardhan* or silver waist-chain is worn around the waist and silver *choora* or wrist-band is worn in the wrist. Some people also wear silver or copper rings in their fingers. The rings are called *chhalla*.

Women in all households have ornaments. Ornaments of the ear are known as *khilwan*. These are worn in the ear-lobes as shown in the diagram. *Bali* or rings are also put on in the ear-lobes. In the nose, *fulli* is worn and the ornaments of the neck are *sutiya*. It is a solid silver ring worn round the neck. The other ornaments of the neck is *rupiya* which is the same as the commonly known *hamel*. The *rupiya* (*hamel*) is either the King-George rupees with hooks tied one to another with thread or silver cut and stamped in Urdu dialect. The name *rupiya* in use in this village for *hamel* is explained by the fact that the constituent parts of it are either rupees or imitation-rupees. Ornaments worn on the arm are the *nagmori* and *bahunta*. Nagmori is the serpentine silver ornament put on above the elbow and *bahunta* is the hollow silver-armlet. *Nagmori* and *bahunta* are not worn together because both are ornaments worn on the same part of the body. Ornaments of the wrist are *haraiya*, *kada* or *choora* and *pata*. The *pata* are the flat wrist-bands used either by themselves or in association with *kada* on the wrist. Commonly two *patas* are worn on each wrist. *Kada* are the round hollow ornaments of the wrist. *Haraiya* is another hollow ornament worn on the wrist. The difference between these ornaments is shown in the diagrammatic sketches. *Mundri* (ring) is used in the fingers. The ring used by the men is known as *chhalla* because it is just a ring. The *mundri* is a ring with a rupee or an imitation rupee fixed on the top.

Kardhan or waist-band is the ornament of the waist. It may also be known as *kamar-patta*. The *kardhan* used by men is just one single chain, whereas the one used by women is many chains arranged together.

Ornaments of the ankles are *toda* and *paijan* but the latter is very uncommon and only one pair of *paijan* was found to be in use. *Toda* are the anklets made of two pieces joined with a hinge at one end and the other end is fixed with a screw. *Paijan* is a more refined type of ornament and *bichhiya* and *chutkis* are the ornaments worn on toes.

The *fulli* (nose-piece), *chutki* (toe-rings), *mundri* (rings) and *toda* (anklets) are the common ornaments which married women wear. *Nagmori*, and *choora* are also worn by married women. The ornaments prohibited for unmarried girls are *fulli*, *toda* and *bichhiya* or *chutki* and the ornaments prohibited for widows are *toda*, *fulli* and *bichhiya*

or *chutki* (*chhalla*). The unmarried girls and widows cannot put vermillion in the hair-parting. The vermillion is used by married women only.

Rawats.—The use of *tabij* (amulet) by the Rawats is more common and out of 7 households, 4 reported the use of *tabij*. The amulet is just worn as an ornament and does not have any magical or spiritual significance. *Chura* or the wrist-ornament is also used but only one household reported this.

The Rawat women use the same ornaments as the Telis but the number of ornaments in Rawats is not as large as in the case of the Telis. The ornaments in use are *sutiya*, *rupiya*, *haraiya*, *bahunta* and *pachhela*. Ornaments prohibited for widows and unmarried women are *toda* and *chhalla*.

Dhobis.—Only one Dhobi household reported ornaments for men. These are ear-rings (*bali*) and *chura* (wrist-wear). Ornaments for women are the same. Ornaments prohibited for widows and unmarried girls are the same as among the Rawats and the Telis.

Kshatris.—Kshatri men do not wear ornaments or *tabij*, etc. Women use the same ornaments. Ornaments prohibited for widows and unmarried girls are the same as in other castes.

Bairagis.—*Bali* (ear-rings) are worn by Bairagi men. They also put on a bead-necklace of *tulsi* (Ocymum sanctum) plant. Women use *haraiya*, *pachhela*, *rupiya* and *kakni*. Ornaments prohibited for widows and unmarried girls are *toda*, *bahunta*, *chhalla* and *fulli*.

Pankas and Nais.—Panka and Nai households did not report any ornament in use in this village. Ornaments prohibited for widows and unmarried girls are the same as in other castes. Panka men put on *kanthi* or bead-necklace.

In general, use of ornaments by widows is prohibited in all castes in India. Some ornaments like *bichhiya*, which are called *chhalla* in Tilaibhat, and *fulli* (nose-ornament) are prohibited in practically all Hindu castes. *Toda* or the anklet ornament is also prohibited. Widows, however, may use wrist ornament like the silver *choora* and *pata*.

Sendur or vermillion is a common sign of married women. The powder in use in Chhattisgarh is not of the vermillion colour but of orange colour. It is not used dry as in urbanised areas, but a paste is prepared with oil and then put in the hair-parting.

Tattooing.—Tattooing is a common form of body-decoration for women in the villages. The Bairagis are of the opinion that Lord Krishna himself tattooed his consort Radha, and as such, this is an ornament (body-ornament) of the God Himself. It is also believed that this is the only ornament which is carried to the other world. The gold and silver ornaments are left here itself after death.

Tattooing is done by professional tattooers who are women and are known by the name Dewarnin, Godharin or Bhumnin. These women tattooers belong to the nomadic caste of Dewars. Tattooing is got done by both married and unmarried women and to bear the expense of tattooing an unmarried girl is considered to be a religious act.

The professional tattooers come to this village usually from the adjoining Mandla District and they come here after the rainy season. This is natural also because tattooing during rains is not safe and may result in the spot becoming septic.

The tattooing compound is a mixture of the juice of *bhilausa* (sem-ecarpus anacardium) tree and of soot. The skin is pricked with a needle and the juice is rubbed in. The operation results in painful swelling for some days and it is for this reason that the tattooing is done after the rains cease because in the monsoon there is danger of infection.

The designs of tattooing differ in case of married and unmarried women. In case of unmarried girls tattooing is done in the face at three places—below the lip, by the side of nose and over the eye-brows. These designs are known by different names as below :

Mutaki—One dot in the chin below the lips.

Purouni—One dot on the nose-tip or by the side of the nose.

Bhursi—Three dots or one dot above the eye-brow.

Married women get the wrist, arm and leg tattooed and the designs preferred are flower, geometrical forms or trees and plants, etc.

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Majumdar[1] defines a family as "a group of persons who live under the same roof and are connected by nuclear and kinship ties and own a consciousness of kind on the basis of locality, interest and mutuality of obligations. It is a defensive unit as well as an aggressive one, and its permanence is sanctioned by common property rights and residence under the same roof." He says further[2] "Indian family life has been characterised by attitudes which are largely derivative. There exist eloquent examples of the sanctity of domestic life, of such abiding relationship between father and son,, between brother and brother, between man and wife, relationship not merely of consanguinity of kinships territorial or totemistic, but durable and intimate in values and responses. Epics of all countrie exaggerate war and conquest, clash of personalities and contact of peoples, but the Ramayana and the Mahabharat speak of such duties as are incidental to the Indian theme, man's absolute ideals, Rama's love for his wife Sita, the respect and obedience that a son should have for his father the sacrifice expected of him and of a brother for a brother.... That is probably India's chapter that is undergoing revision due to an orientation in the context of dynamic problems facing her today."

Though, as Majumdar states, revision owing to new orientation in the context of dynamic problems is going on, the family in the rural country-side has to very great extent remained the same. Disturbance in the family ties and relationship is avioded when the younger brother marries the widow of his deceased elder brother. The family in the rural areas of Chhattisgarh continues to remain a biological, social, economic and functional unit. Polygamy is not merely due to biological needs; it is governed to a very large extent by economic needs, as other members contribute to family income as workers.

1. Races and Cultures of India, Majumdar, 1958; p. 163.
2. *Ibid*; p. 165.

Size and composition of the family in village Tilaibhat.—The majority of the families in village Tilaibhat are of medium size, *i.e.* consisting of 4 to 6 members. The size of families in the different castes of the village is shown here :

Caste	Total No. of families	Single members	2-3 members	4-6 members	7-9 members	10 & over members
Teli ..	41	3	4	19	8	7
Rawats ..	7	..	2	4	1	..
Dhobi ..	4	..	1	3	..	..
Chhatri ..	3	1	..	2	..	..
Bairagi ..	3	1	..	2	..	..
Nai ..	1	..	..	1	..	..
Panka ..	1	..	1	..	..	..
Total	**60**	**5**	**8**	**31**	**9**	**7**

Family types.—Normally a family is a group consisting of the husband, wife, and their unmarried children, but in the village, cases of married children living with parents is quite common and similarly the widow or widower living with her or his son or sons is a common feature. Joint families, *i.e.* married brothers living together are also met with in the village.

Intra-familial relations.—The eldest of the family is usually regarded as the head of it. The status of other members and the respect shown towards them generally depend on their respective ages. In case the mother is the eldest member in the family, she may also be described as the head, although effective authority is exercised by the eldest male member. As the parents advance towards old age and the son comes of age, the effective authority passes to the latter. It is expected that the sons, their wives and children should remain obedient to the parents. Any default or reluctance in their behav our towards the parents gets the censure from the village community. If the disharmony is increased it may ultimately result in the disintegration of the family.

Husband-wife relationship.—In spite of th face that females are in excess in this area, and it should be comparatively easier for a man to get a spouse, the husbands show great regard, consideration and leniency towards the wives and there is no case where the separation proceedings are initiated by the husband. If the wife has run away, the husband

tries his level best to get her back even when she has lived with another man. A woman is referred to as *admi* (man) and *mal* (property), *e.g.*, *mor admi bhaga gis* (my man has run away) or *mor mal la apis kar de* (return my property).

Husbands are not expected to exhibit affection towards their wives in the presence of elders. In Tilaibhat, the position of women in the family is better than in the families of upper-caste Hindus. The women have relatively more freedom to express dissent or disapproval of any of their husbands' decisions. There are practically no cases of a man beating his wife.

Extra-marital relations are disliked by the husbands, but they show quite some consideration in this regard and try to suppress the rumours and internal adjustments are seriously sought of. Although explicitly it is said that if the wife develops extra-marital relations, she should better be killed than permitted to live, it is doubtful if this ideal is practised. Extreme cases go to the caste panchayat for decisions.

Parent-child relationship.—Parent-child relationship in the whole Chhattisgarh is noteworthy in the love that is showered upon the children. There are extremely rare cases of parents beating children and if anybody else has beaten the child the mother or even the father of the child creates quite a scene. If and when a parent beats his child, a whole crowd would assemble and ridicule the person for doing such a thing by saying *ola mar dalbe ka* (would you kill him), *tor hath kaise uththe* (how does your hand lift to beat). Even if the parent has just given one slap, the ridicule would be *cho katek mare he* (Oh, how badly he has beaten the child). The result is that the parents show great laxity towards their children and do not mind their bad manners like smoking or abuses or sexual attention.

But it is only the love that is showered upon the children. The children are not trained and guided by the parents in the tradition and culture of the caste and family nor in better manners. The educative aspect is thus completely lacking and this is probably the major cause of the disintegration of village traditions. The children are, however, quite obedient to their parents and elders.

Mother-in-law and Daughter-in-law relationship.—The mother-in-law—daughter-in-law relations are quite cordial because after the daughter-in-law comes and the and mother-in-law becomes old, she well knows where she stands. In old age, the mother-in-law looks after her grand-children or simply keeps a watch over the house.

Father-in-law and Daughter-in-law relationships.—No *parda* system is followed in the village, but the father-in-law and daughter-in-law maintain a respectable distance. She covers her head before him and does not laugh in his presence. In normal cases she would not talk with her husband before him. The father-in-law also reciprocates the respect and love. He addresses her as *noni* (daughter) or as the mother of her son, *i.e. Chaitu ke dai* (Chaitu's mother) and so on.

Other relations in the family.—Brothers and sisters usually maintain cordial and good relations. Even when the parents are dead, the sisters visit the home of their brothers every year on the *Tija* festival.

Uncles and aunts are respected in the same degree as the parents. Grand-parents are respected for their age and for being the parents of the father. Cousins are regarded as siblings and addressed as brothers and sisters as the case may be. Male cousins, *i.e.* father's brother's sons are referred to *kaka bada ke bhai*. In some cases terms of reference are also used as terms of address.

Joking relationship.—Joking relationships exist between the following relatives:—

Grand-father	..	grand-daughter
Grand-mother	..	Grand-son
Younger brother	..	Elder brother's wife
Sister	..	Brother's wife
Woman	..	Husband's sister's husband
Man	..	Wife's brother's wife

Some kinship terms used in the village

Relationship	Term of reference	Term of address
Father	.. *Dada*	*Dada*
Father's father	.. *Baba*	*Baba*
Father's brother	.. *Kaka*	*Kaka*
Father's brother's wife	.. *Kaki*	*Kaki*
Father's mother	.. *Budhi Dai*	*Budhi Dai*

Relationship	Term of reference	Term of address
Father's sister ..	*Fufu Dai*	*Fufu Dai*
Mother ..	*Dai*	*Dai*
Mother's brother ..	*Mama*	*Mama*
Mother's sister ..	*Mausi Dai*	*Mausi Dai*
Elder brother's wife ..	*Bhauji*	*Bhauji*
Elder sister ..	*Didi*	*Didi*
Husband's brother (elder)	*Koora sasur*	..
Husband's brother (younger)	*Devar*	*Babu*
Husband's sister (elder)	*Derh sas*	*Didi*
Husband's sister (younger)	*Nananda*	*Noni, Bai*
Sister's son ..	*Bhanja*	*Bhanja, Babu*
Brother's son ..	*Bhatij*	*Babu*
Brother's daughter ..	*Bhatijin*	*Noni*
Son's wife ..	*Bahu*	*Noni*
Brother's son's wife ..	*Bhatij-bahu*	*Non*
Father-in-law ..	*Sasur*	*Dada*
Mother-in-law ..	*Sas*	*Dai*

Life-cycle rituals.—The life-cycle of the individuals in India involves a number of rituals, ordained by custom or religion, from the cradle to the burial ground and though different castes live together in the small compact areas of villages, and though there are no written codes for the performance of these rituals different castes follow rituals, which differ from one another in some minor details. The people themselves are now not able to explain the significance of these rites and practices and follow them just because they were followed by their parents. This ignorance about the significance and meaning of various rites is in itself an indication of setting decay and disintegration and, in this circumstance, chances of adoption of alien rites and practices increase. It is very likely that the original caste-rituals have undergone modifications and the different castes have adopted some rituals belonging to the higher castes or the numerically dominant caste in the village. The individuality of the caste is, however, still persisting and the various life-rituals as practised by the castes in this village are described here.

There are no rituals on the boys or girls attaining the age of puberty nor is there any rite at the time of first menstruation. A grown-up girl is referred to as *motiyari* or as *alga dar le he* (has begun to cover her breast with an end of the *lugda*). Speaking about the first menstruation of a girl, the people refer to it in an indirect manner in the form of couplet as below :

"Hardi ke rakba, baraha ke tel
Motiyari ke joban, dongar kas bel."

The exact meaning of this couplet does not seem to be clear and it appears that the first line has no meaning at all and has been composed just to make a rhyme. The second line appears to point out that the youth in a grown-up girl develops like the creeper in a jungle.

The taboos attached to a menstruating woman are the common ones, *i.e.* she should not enter the kitchen or touch the clothes of other members of the family. She is not allowed to take food in the utensils of bronze metal. She is not allowed to enter the cattle-shed during this period nor can she throw the cow-dung in the manure pit. She is also not allowed to go to the well to lift water from it. It is said that a woman in her periods should not talk to any man but as the elder people say, this restriction is not observed by the younger people these days. A menstruating woman is referred to as *chhuye bar nahin he* (not fit for touching) or *chhua baithe he* (is sitting apart). She is also referred to as *doshdari*.

It is believed that if while a menstruating woman, after the completion of her periods, is washing he, head and shadow of some man falls over her, the issue that will be born to her subsequently as a result of conception in that month would be exactly like that man. Because of this belief, women are very careful and do not let any man pass near them at the time.

Conception.—The villagers in Tilaibhat are aware that union of sexes is necessary for conception, but they also hold that this phenomenon by itself does not bring about conception. The number of children a man will have is determined by God and whatever man may do, he will not have a child till God gives him one. It is also believed that the past deeds of persons determine whether they will or will not have children.

A pregnant woman is referred to as *okar pair bhari he* (her legs are heavy). Pregnancy is detected by the stoppage of monthly flow. It is believed by the people that the lump of flesh developing in the womb during pregnancy upsets the digestive system and the appetite is lost. The woman starts having vomitting and nausea and she becomes lean and sickly looking.

The villagers are of the view that prediction can be made regarding the sex of the child in the womb and that this comes out correct in quite a good number of cases. The signs in a pregnant woman which help in making this prediction are:

(*a*) If the woman looks sickly and becomes thin with sunken cheeks, then the child in the womb is a male. On the other hand if she becomes fat and looks healthy, the child is a female one.

(*b*) If the delivery does not take place in the ninth month, the child would be a famale because a female child takes longer time in the womb.

(*c*) If the woman puts more pressure on her right foot while walking, the child is a male one and if she puts more pressure on the left foot, the child in the womb is a female one.

Birth customs of the Telis.—The pregnant woman keeps doing various household duties till the eighth month, but then as the time of delivery approaches nearer, she takes more and more rest. The first birth usually, but not necessarily, takes place in her father's house. Among the Telis a special rite is observed. In the eighth month of the pregnancy, the father and mother of the pregnant woman go to her house accompanied by some other relatives. They take five kinds of sweet with them and in the village of her husband, the caste-people are invited to partake of these. People of other castes may also be invited to this party, but women cannot participate in the feast. After the feast is over, the menfolk enjoy themselves singing to the accompaniment of *dholki-manjira*.

During delivery, the village mid-wife called *paikhin* is sent for. Village Tilaibhat does not have any *paikhin* and she is called either from village Mehli or from Simradabari, both of which are about three miles away. At the time of delivery one or two elderly women of the house assist the *paikhin*. If the parturition is delayed, then it is believed, that the woman has been affected by some *tona* (witchcraft) and the *Baiga* is called who recites some *mantra* over a glass of water and the same is given to the woman to drink.

The knife for cutting the naval cord of the child is brought by the *paikhin*. It is not sterilised before use. The placenta is buried in a corner of the room where delivery takes place and fire is kept burning over the place for six days. Soon after the birth, some elderly ladies examine the infant's body for locating some marks by which they may associate it with some deceased member of the family. It will be seen later in the description of death-rituals, how some marks are put on the dead body before burial. In the body of the infant child some greenish-blue marks are invariably present and which come up during delivery. It is these marks which are examined for the purpose of its identification with some previous member of the household.

The sixth day after delivery is known as *chhathi*. On this day the woman takes a bath in hot water in which *neem* (Melia indica) leaves are boiled. Between the delivery and *chhathi* the new mother is given some special preparations which are mostly liquid. Just before the placental cord is cut, cocoa-nut and *gur* is given to the mother to eat, but except this for three days she is not given anything, even water, to eat or drink. After three days she is given *kankhe-pani*, *karayal* and *til-gur* or *til-ladu*. *Kankhe-pani* is a decoction of Kankhe wood (Flacortia ram ondchi), *sonth* (dried jinger), *baybedung*, big cordamum and turmeric. This decoction is then treated with *ghee*, *til* and *ajwain* and sweetened with *gur* and is given for drinking. It is said to be effective in preventing post-natal complications and it is believed that this liquid decoction has been prescribed by God himself. *Karayal* is a decoction of tender bamboo shoots with water. This is also said to be very nourishing.

After the *chhathi*, the woman is given the normal diet, but she cannot take the *basi* but only freshly cooked rice. The twelfth day after the delivery is known as *barhi* and it is on this day that the child is named. The names are based on the days of the week or season, *e.g.* Itwari, Budhwaro, Budhiyarin, Chaitu, Manglu, Manglin, Sukalu, etc. or on God and Goddesses, *e. g.* Rampyari, Bhagwandas, Prahlad, Trilochan, etc. A ritual known as *ekkaisa* (literally

meaning twenty-first) is observed on the twenty-first day after delivery. *Ekkaisa* is a purificatory ritual. The house is washed with cow-dung and white clay. The clothes are washed either by members of the household by boiling them with water and washing soda or by giving them to the village washerman. The father of the new-born babe gets his hair shaved. All the earthen vessels in the house are thrown away and replaced by new ones. The woman also takes a bath and puts on new clothes. It is only after *ekkaisa* that the house is supposed to have become purified and the woman fit for entering the kitchen or the cooking place. Till the *ekkaisa* ceremony takes place the woman is supposed to be polluted and she can neither enter the kitchen nor serve the food to anybody.

Ekkaisa ceremony has not been mentioned by Russell and Hiralal in their description of the Teli caste. Further, the observations of these authors that "after the birth of a child, a woman is impure for seven or nine days in Chhattisgarh, and is then permitted to cook", is not correct, because the woman cannot enter the kitchen till the *ekkaisa* ceremony and is supposed to be impure for twenty-one days and not seven or nine days as mentioned by Russell and Hiralal.

Birth customs of the Chhatri.—There are only three households in Tilaibhat belonging to the Chhatris. When various life-rituals and festivals are celebrated they invite members of Chhatri caste living in villages Piparkhuti, Devgaon, Pandariya, Vijaytarai, Bhumiapara, Jhanki, Jeora, Khajri and Pendri. These villages are from four to thirty miles distant from village Tilaibhat.

There is no special rite associated with conception. A pregnant woman is provided with the variety of food she craves for. She is given milk, *ghee* and *gur* in plenty which are rightly supposed to give nourishment and spirit. There is no special custom that the birth should take place in father's or father-in-law's house. In the first delivery, however, it is desired necessary to invite the woman's mother and sister.

The mid-wife attending the delivery is known as *suin*. The Chhatris of village Tilaibhat have a particular *suin* in village Simradabari who is the only mid-wife called by this caste. They do not invite other mid-wives. The presence of *suin* is absolutely necessary and cannot be done away with because it is thought that it is only the *suin* who removes the pollution of birth. The payment made to *suin* is generally Rs. 5 per case. As far as the people remember no case in the village has been attended by a qualified medical practitioner. No part of the house is particularly reserved for purposes of delivery room. One of the living rooms of the house which has some privacy is selected for this purpose.

Before the placental cord of the infant is cut, the mother is given cocoanut and *gur* to eat and is given water to drink. After this she is not given anything to eat or drink for three days. On the third day liquid decoction of 'kankhe wood.' (Flacortia ramondchi) and *ajwain*, etc., is given to her to drink as in the Teli caste. The *chhathi* ceremony takes place on the fifth day after birth. On this day the new born babe and the mother bathe in hot water in which some plant-roots are boiled. These roots are called *bade osaha*. The clothes of the mother are given to the washerman, the house is cleaned and washed with cow-dung and earthen vessels are replaced. Sweetmeats prepared out of *til*-seeds and *gur* are given to the mother to eat, but she is kept on diet for eleven days. The diet consists of rice and vegetable curry of *munga* (drum stick) or soup of other vegetables. The rice is two or three years old. She takes this meal once a day.

Twelfth day after birth is known as *barhi*. On this day the father of the new born babe gets his head shaved and from this day onwards the mother can take two meals a day. She can, however, not take such foods as yet, as *pej* (rice gruel) or *basi* (rice soaked in water overnight). The Chhatris also observe *ekkaisa* on the twenty-first day but whereas among the Telis the shaving, etc., and throwing of earthen vessels takes place on this day, the Chhatris do this on the Chhathi itself. On *ekkaisa* the clothes of the woman and the child are given for washing and the woman and the child take a bath. The birth-pollution is supposed to be completely removed on this day.

Birth customs of the Bairagis.—The Bairagis do not observe *ekkaisa* and they require the assistance of a priest in the performance of certain birth-rituals. As in other castes, the Bairagis also invite the mid-wife (*dai*) from village Simradabri. Delivery takes place in a room of the house and the placenta is buried in a corner of that room. The Bairagis do not examine the child for locating 'ancestral' marks as the Telis do. The mother is given the same diet as in other castes, *i.e.* decoction of 'kankhe wood', etc.

The sixth day after birth is known as *chhathi*. On this day a priest is invited. The woman is bathed in hot water in which *neem*-leaves are boiled, and the house is washed with cow-dung. The priest, after consulting the position of the stars, gives a name to the child. On this day the members of the caste and other villagers are invited and a feast is given to them consisting of sweets and *suhari* (flour-cake fried in oil or *ghee*).

Barhi is observed on the 12th day after birth. On this day the house is washed, the woman and the child are bathed; they put on new clothes, the father of the baby gets his hair cut and the washerman takes away all the clothes of the mother and the child for washing. Till the 12th day the woman is supposed to be polluted. After this, she can enter the cooking room, etc., and also move about.

Birth customs of the Dhobis.—Birth customs of the Dhobis have not been described in Russell's book. The mid-wife (*dai*) is called from village Simradabri who attends on the first day, the sixth day and 12th day of delivery. As in other castes, the delivery takes place in one of the living rooms and placenta is buried in that very room. The woman is given decoctions (extraction) of 'kankhe' wood, etc., for drinking. On the *chhathi* day, the house is cleaned, all earthen vessels are thrown away and the rope of the cot on which delivery has taken place is also cut and thrown away. After the *chhathi*, the mother can take cooked rice once a day as her food.

Twelfth day after birth is known as *barhi* as in other castes and the birth pollution is removed on this day. The Dhobis do not observe *ekkaisa* as the Telis and the Chhatris.

Birth customs of the Rawats.—The woman goes on working till the eighth month. As the time of confinement comes nearer she takes more rest. There is no particular custom that the first delivery should take place in the house of the woman's father or of her husband. One of the living room serves for the delivery and as in other castes of this village, the mid-wife (*dai*) is called from Simradabri. After the birth some elderly persons of the house try to locate the ancestral mark on the body of the infant and, through that supposed mark, they associate it with some ancestor. The woman is not given any solid food to eat till the 6th day but gets the liquid decoctions of 'kankha' etc. On the *barhi* the Rawats invite a Brahmin priest who names the child and also performs *homa*. The birth-pollution is supposed to be partly removed on the 12th day but the woman can cook food only after the 21st day which day as in Telis and Chhatris is called *ekkaisa*. It appears that this ritual has been adopted by the caste from the Telis. Birth-pollution is completely removed after *ekkaisa* ceremony.

Birth customs of the Pankas.—Birth customs of the Pankas have not been described by Russell in his description of this caste. The Pankas call the mid-wife (*dai*) from Simradabri. She helps in securing a safe delivery and in cutting the placental cord of the child. She serves the new born babe and the mother for five days.

The Pankas celebrate the *chhathi* on the 5th day after delivery. On this day the mother is given cooked rice and soup of drum stick (*munga*) with *ghee*. She is also given dried ginger and some other drugs in a mixture. The *barhi* ceremony is ordinarily celebrated on the 12th day but sometimes it is also celebrated on the 9th day. Birth-pollution is supposed to persist till 21 days. On this day the *ekkaisa* ceremony is observed as in other castes. The name-giving is done on the fifth day, *i.e.* on the *chhathi*. The village *Kotwar* who is the head of the family gives name to the child. On the *chhathi* and *barhi* days caste-people are fed.

Birth customs of the Nais.—The Nai also depends on the *dai* (mid-wife) from village Simradabri for service during child-birth. The food, etc., prescribed for the mother is more or less the same as in other castes and the *chhathi*, *barhi* and *ekkaisa* are also observed similarly. The mother is given food on the sixth day. The woman's husband's sister or her brother's wife or any other woman of the caste, brings water from the tank. She is known as *suasin*. For bringing this water, she is given some rewards. This water is used by the new mother for bathing.

Marriage-customs.—In the third chapter of his great book, the Hindu Law-giver Manu lays down the rules of marriage among Hindus and in the 21st verse of this chapter[1], he recognises 8 different forms of marriages. These are *Brahma*, *Daiva*, *Arsha*, *Prajapatya*, *Asura*, *Gandharva*, *Rakshasa* and *Paisacha* forms. These different forms are described by Majumdar[2] who says further that "Hindu Society

1. Mamusmriti, Chapter III, Verse 21.
2. Races and Cultures of India, D.N. Majumdar, 1958, pp. 172-173,

now recognises only two forms, the *Brahma* and the *Asura*, the higher castes preferring the former, the backward castes the latter, though here and there among the higher castes the *Asura* practice has not died out." The *Brahma* form of marriage of Manu is that in which the parents invite a learned and virtuous young man and make over their daughter to him along with clothes and ornaments. As it is, this form consists in the parents arranging the marriage of the daughter with a man of their choice and celebrating the marriage at their house, and giving presents to the bridegroom.

The *Asura* form of marriage of Manu is that where the relatives of the bride receive money from the bridegroom, *i.e.* in this marriage the major part of the marriage expenditure is shared by the bridegroom's side and it is the bridegroom's side who go in search of a bride.

In rural Chhattisgarh, however, in addition to these two kinds of marriages of Manu, there are present three of the other kinds of marriages described by Manu as *Arsha*, *Gandharva*, *Prajapatya* and *Rakshasa*. *Arsha* form of marriage is based on a system of barter and as described by Manu consisted in the father of the bride receiving from a young man a pair or two of cattle in exchange for his daughter. Now the barter consists in mutual transfer of girls, *i.e.* girl of a house is married to a boy and the sister of the boy is in exchange married to the brother of the girl. The *Gandharva* marriage of Manu is marriage by mutual choice obviating the role of parents. The *Prajapatya* form is not attended with any solemnity or ceremony, the bride is given to a young man of her choice and the *Rakshasa* form of marriage is marriage by abduction often carefully planned and executed.

In Chhattisgarh the marriage practices can be equated with these forms described by Manu, *e.g.*

Bihav or *Bade Bihav*	..	*Brahma* form
Gurawat Bihav	..	*Arsha* form
Choori Bihav or *Paithoo Bihav*		*Prajapatya* form
Chhote Bihav	.. ..	*Asura* form
Choori Bihav and run away marriage		*Gandharva* form
Bhaga jana	.. ..	*Rakshasa* form

The *Paisacha* form of marriage is a very rare practice and such occurrences are extremely rare in rural society.

These equations, however, have not been given here with an intention to connote any legal significance as contemplated in Hindu Law of Marriages. For example, the *Choori* form of remarriage is held in the legal opinions to be a *Brahma* form of marriage, in view of its being regarded as valid by the caste. In a case under the Hindu Law, Justice Shevde[1] stated: "the presumption under Hindu Law is that a marriage should be deemed to be in an approved form and that a *pat-marriage* in *Choori* form or in any other form is no exception."

In general, people practise *got* or *gotra* exogamy but they marry endogamously within the sub-caste. Marriage outside the caste results in the excommunication of the members, or imposition of fines on them.

Marriage customs followed by the different castes in village Tilaibhat are described here.

Telis.—Russell and Hiralal[2] describe the marriage customs of the Telis as below :

"The marriage of persons of the same sept and of first cousins is usually forbidden. A man may marry his wife's younger sister while she herself is alive, but never her elder sister. An unmarried girl becoming pregnant by a man of the caste is married to him by the ceremony used for a widow and she may be readmitted even after a liaison with an outsider among most Telis..... The Halia Telis of Chhattisgarh, like other agricultural castes, sometimes betroth their children when they are five or six months old, but as a rule no penalty attaches to the breaking of the betrothal. The betrothal is celebrated by the distribution of one or two rupees worth of liquor to the neighbours of the caste..... Among the Jharia Teli the women go and worship the marriage-post at the carpenter's house while it is being made. In this sub-caste the bridegroom goes to the wedding in a cart and not on horseback or in a litter as among some castes. The Halia subcaste can dispense with the presence of a Brahman at the wedding but not the Jharia."

The betrothal of children at the age of five or six months is extremely rare now but the betrothal and marriage at the age of 4 to 8 years are fairly common. There are many kinds of marriages recognised which are :

1. Nagpur Law Journal, 1948, p. 74.
2. Tribes and Castes of the C. P. Vol. IV, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, pp. 547-548.

(1) *Bihav* or regular marriage.
(2) Widow remarriage and *Barandi* marriage.
(3) *Choori* marriage.

Regular marriage or *Bihav*.—Regular marriage performed with necessary rituals is known as *Bihav* and it is said that a person can be married only once, that is to say the *Bihav* takes place only once in life. The match is arranged by the parents or elderly persons without ascertaining the wishes of the boy and the girl. It is the boy's side which has to search for a bride and not *vice versa* in spite of the fact that women preponderate in Chhattisgarh. In the settlement of the marriage, the boy's father with some elderly persons goes to the girl's house and makes the proposal of marriage. If the proposal is accepted he returns home and soon makes a second visit with a *sari* (*lugda*) and other clothes for the prospective bride. These clothes are put on by the would-be bride who then touches the feet of the boy's father and other elder members of her family. On the same day another ceremony known as *faldan* takes place. In this the boy's father and girl's father exchange cocoanuts and the girl's father extends a feas to boy's party and some other caste members of the village. The *faldan* ceremony concludes and confirms the marriage negotiation. Distribution of liquor, as described by Russell,[1] does not appear to be in practice in this village.

An auspicious day of the marriage is fixed by the Brahmin priest. Invitation to relative and caste people is sent by giving one piece of turmeric and one arecanut (*haldi* and *supari*). One of the persons of the household where marriage is to be celebrated goes to the houses of the proposed invitees and giving them this arecanut and turmeric requests for their presence in the celebration. The marriage celebrations start in both the houses with the rite known as *chulh-mati* which consists in four or five women accompanying the mother of the boy or the girl going to the field singing with a lighted earthen wick-lamp and bringing some earth from there. These four or five ladies who accompany the bride's or bridegroom's mother are known as *suasin* and they play an important part in the subsequent celebrations.

The earth brought in the *chulh-mati* ritual is mixed with cow-dung and with this the place of the *madwa* (shed) is washed. It is also used in fixing the posts of the shed. The cooking-room of the house is also washed with cow-dung and this earth. The cooking-hearth, *chulha* for cooking purposes during the celebration is also made out of this earth. The next ceremony is known as *tel* in which the bride in her house and the bridegroom in his are annointed with *til*-oil and turmeric. Before the 'oil-annointing' rite, the women go to worship the *Gram-Devta* or village-God where they break a cocoanut. This rite is called *mayan*. After the *mayan-tel* ceremony, the marriage celebrations start.

The next rite is known as *haldari* in which turmeric powder wettened with water is thrown on the people assembled and especially on those who would constitute the marriage procession. The *barat* or the bridegroom's marriage party starts on the fourth day for the bride's village. The party is accommodated in as many bullock-carts as the bridegroom's side can muster; for places connected by bus, bus service is also availed of.

In the birde's village, the party is received on the outskirts of the village in *parghani* and after that they go and take rest.

In the bride's house, beneath the marriage-shed is put a post known as *magrohan*. The marriage ceremony consists in the bridegroom putting vermillion in the hair-parting of the bride seven times after which the priest ties the ends of their apparel and they make seven rounds of the *magrohan*. After the *bhanwar*, the bridegroom again puts vermillion in the hair-parting of the bride seven times and the marriage is finalised. There is no system of fixing a dowry in marriage. The prevalent practice is that the bride's father gives her five utensils, some clothes and ornaments and the bridegroom's father brings seven *lugdas* and ornaments like *kardhan*, *fulli*, *nagmori*. etc., for her.

The marriage party is fed with *suhari*, sweet, etc., and then the party returns with the bride. The very next day girl's father goes to bring back his daughter. But if she is married at marriageable age, she is allowed to pass one or two days in the house of her husband. Girls married at pre-puberty age are brought on attaining proper age after the *gavan* or *gauna* ceremony.

Widow remarriage and Barandi marriage.—Russell and Hiralal say that "widow marriages are permitted. In Chhattisgarh a widow is always kept in the family, if possible, and if her late husband's brother be only a boy she is sometimes induced to

1. Tribes and Castes of the C. P., Vol. IV, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, p. 547.

put on the bangles and wait for him. If a *barandi* widow, that is, one who has been married but has not lived with her husband, desires to marry again out of his family, the second husband must repay to them the amount spent on her first marriage."[1] In this village and among the Telis the description hold good. As far as possible, the widows marry the younger brother of the late husband. This is thus the phenomenon of levirate. Sometimes the disparity in age between her and her second husband is so great that she seeks illicit relations with other man.

The Bilaspur District Gazetteer[2] describes a *barandi* as below :

"Widows are either known as *barandi* or *randi*, the *randi* being a widow in the ordinary sense of the term and the *barandi* a girl who has been married but has not lived with her husband."
There is, of course, no bar to a widow or a *barandi* marrying outside he family of her deceased husband, bu her new husband has to give the *bihati* (marriage expenses) amount to her deceased husband's family.

Choori **Marriage.**—A woman who has divorced her husband or has been divorced by him, or a widow or an unmarried woman can be kept by a man as his wife after he puts bangles on her wrist. *Chocri* form of marriage has a social sanction but now people are gradually raising their voices against it.

Recent attempts of Telis to make improvements in marriage rules.—Opposition to child-marriage is becoming stronger because, according to those opposing it, this marriage leads to moral degradation of the caste. The reason, they say, is that on attaining age, the boy and the girl often do not like each other. In the book of geneology of the Telis it is stated[3] that on 2-11-1929 there was an All-India Teli Conference and it was unanimously resolved that marriages of boys below 18 years and girls below 12 years should be prohibited. This resolution has of course not been effective in practice, but the journal of the Teli caste in Chhattisgarh is making active propaganda opposing child-marriages. Extracts from a poem relevant in this context are quoted below. The poem is in Chhattisgarhi dialect :

"Chhote umar ma bihaw karthan toora hoge pilari,
Tooree man ke man nahi awe dooser kuriya nihari
Ela samajh lewa ga, badhe ladka ke sadi kar lewa ga".

(In child-marriages, it happens that on growing up the boy looks smaller and the grown-up wife does not like him : she starts looking to other quarters. O my fellows, understand this and marry the boys when they grow-up.)

Another Teli poet has spoken against the evils of *choori* form of marriage while praising widow remarriage and *barandi* remarriage. This poem is in the Chhattisgarhi dialect and is published in the organ of the Chhattisgarh Sahu Samaj[2] :

"Kon chalais churi la bhaiya
kable chale he churi ke chal
Budhwa baba nman sab janat he
Kaise bataiwon ekar hal
Rishi muni ke ham vanshaj han
Tumhoo man to kare vichar
Jable chhaden unkar rasta
Table chal ge churi ke chal
Ham sab hogayen banthadhar
Randi Barandi la choori pahiraithan
Ye har ay sundar byohar
Chhandwa ke choori pahiray bar
Jat bhare la khawathe har
Nan nan ma bihaw karke
beej churi ke be dethan
Fer adalai ma jake ham
Rupiya paisa la kho dethan
Ijjat bechat han beech bazar."

(Who has introduced this *choori* form of marriage, how long has this practice been in vogue. The elder people know it all, how should I relate it. We are the descendants of the *rishis* and the *munis*, you people also ponder over it. We have forsaken their ways and since then this *choori* form is in vogue.

We are all degraded. We accept the widows and *barandis* (child-widows) in remarriage by *choori*, this is a fine custom. But in accepting the divorced women and women running away from their husbands in the *choori* form of marriage, we degrade the whole caste.

1. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. IV, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, p. 548.
2. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p. 95.
3. Teli Bhaiyon ki Vanshavali, Choudhary Basorilal, 1930, p. 38.

1. Sahu Sandesh, Vol. I, No. 5, 1960, p. 26.
2. Sahu Sandesh, Vol. I, No. 12, 1961, p. 18.

In marrying the children at tender ages, we sow the seeds of *choori* and then, we go to the courts of law and loose all our money. Not only that, we loose our prestige in the midst of market.)

Such propaganda is slowly but definitely having effect.

Marriage customs of the Chhatris.—In the Chhatris the marriage rituals are more detailed than in other castes of the village. Usually it is the girl's father who goes to boy's house with the proposal of marriage and the betrothal is confirmed by the ritual of *faldan*. The presence of a Brahmin priest is necessary on all occasions in the performance of rituals. Invitation for marriage is sent through a member of the family who gives one cocoanut, one arecanut and one piece of turmeric to the invitee.

The first marriage ritual is *chulh-mati* when the women in the boy's and girl's house go to the field to bring some earth from there. The presence of the *nain* (Barber's wife) is necessary in this ritual. The women go to the field singing and in the field the *nain* digs the earth with the help of a crow-bar in which a new cloth containing a rupee is tied. After the ritual the cloth and the rupee are given to the *nain*. The earth thus brought from field is regarded as sacred and is used in washing the house, making the *chulha* and in preparation of marriage shed (*madwa*). After the *chulh-mati* ritual, the priest is called. He takes one yard of white cloth and prepares a geometrical design (*chauk*) on the cloth and with turmeric and rice he prepares symbols of the nine *grahas*. A cocoanut is put over the cloth and the Gauri, Ganesh and other deities are invoked. After the invocation, the cocoanut, turmeric, rice, etc., are tied in the same cloth and this is hung in the *madwa*.

Dautela is the next ritual and corresponds to the *mayan* ritual of other castes. The women dress themselves in good clothes and then take cocoanut, *gur*, rice, *ghee*, etc., in a dish to the village-God for worship. Family deities are also worshipped likewise. After the worship is over, the *tel* rite is observed. If the bridegroom's mother is alive, she puts oil on the bridegroom's forehead under a curtain. If she is not alive, his elder brother's wife performs this ritual. During the operation the bride and the bridegroom in their respective houses keep sitting with a cocoanut in their hands. The *tel* ritual is observed for five days.

The marriage procession is received outside the village by the bride's party which consists of her relatives but not her father. The party then comes to the bride's house where the bride's father puts a tilak on the bridegroom's forehead and presents him one rupee. This is known as *panwarchal pooja*. The next ritual consists in the bridegroom touching the top of marriage-shed with a stick. In this ritual he again gets a rupee and the ritual is known as *madwa chhuna*. The uniting ceremony of the marriage, *i.e.* the *bhanwar* takes place in the night. The bride's party carries the articles to the marriage-shed and the bridegroom goes in a litter. As soon as the litter reaches the bride's house, bride's mother puts a ring in his finger. The ring may be gold or silver one, depending on the economic status of the bride's family. At this time the bridegroom has a right to make a demand for anything from the bride's mother.

In the marriage-shed there is a marriage-post-*kham*—round which the couple make seven rounds while the priest recites *mantra* from the religious text. In taking rounds the girl leads the boy. The *bhanwar* being over, the relatives of the bride offer presents to the bridegroom.

If the girl is immature, she does not live long in the husband's house, but returns after a day or two. *Gauna* ceremony takes place when she becomes mature.

The community approves divorce and *chcori* form of marriage. If a woman leaves her husband and lives with another man, he has to pay *boonda* (marriage price) to her legal husband. The amount of the *boonda* is determined by the caste panchayat.

It is thus seen that the marriage customs of the Chhatris are more elaborate than other castes and it appears that their approval of the divorce and *chocri* form of marriage is influenced by association with other communities of Chhattisgarh.

Marriage customs of the Bairagis.—In 'Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces,' Russell and Hiralal[1] give the following description: "Large numbers of Bairagis now marry and have children..... The customs of the married Bairagis resemble those of the ordinary Hindu castes such as the Kurmis. They permit divorce and remarriage of widows....."

1. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol.. II, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, p. 104

In village Tilaibhat there are three Bairagi households which were formerly one household. The endogamous groups among the Bairagis are the Deotaha and the Kabirha, which are the religious groups. The former group consists of those who worship Hindu Gods and deities, and the latter group consists of persons who have adopted Kabir Panth.

The Bairagis in this district now generally marry and in Tilaibhat all the three households have members who are married. Before the marriage takes place, a Bairagi must undergo the sacred-thread ceremony without which he will not be entitled to marry. But the sacred-thread ceremony is a part of the marriage ritual and is not held separately as in the Brahmins. The sacred-thread ceremony or *yagyonpawit-dharan (upanayan)* is held just before marriage in the house of the boy and a Brahmin priest is called to conduct the ritual. In details the ceremony is same as among the Brahmins.

The Bairagis practise child-marriage. The marriage rituals run for 3 days and the presence of the Brahmin priest for conducting the ritual is essential on all days. The first celebration as in other castes is *tel* on which day oil is smeared on the bride and the bridegroom by some women. The next ritual is *mayan, i.e.* worship of the village-Gods and family deities before the marriage procession starts or is received. After the *mayan*, the bridegroom's party goes to the bride's village.

In general practices of the Bairagis are the same as of other castes. In the marriage shed—*madwa*-there is a 2 feet long rectangular post known as *kham* or *magrohan* and the couple are required to take seven rounds of this after the ends of their apparel are tied by the priest. In the Deotaha group it is the Brahmin priest conducting the rituals and in the Kabirha group the priest of the Kabir Panth sect (*mahant*) conducts the rituals.

Since child-marriages are common, the Bairagis have another ritual *gawan* or *gauna* or *pathouni* when the girl becomes of age. The boy accompanied by his father and other relatives comes and after staying for a day or two takes along the girl with him.

Sometimes the Bairagis keep women of other castes by *choori* form. If she happens to be a woman from such castes as the Brahmin, she is gladly accepted as a member of the caste and the children out of such union get all the privileges of those born out of regular wedlock. But if the woman happens to be of a low caste, the children of such woman by the Bairagi husband are accepted as Bairagis becau e they say "the children are the seed of the Bairagis".

Widow remarriages are looked with approval as in other castes practising child-marriages.

Marriage customs of the Dhobis.—Marriage customs of the Dhobis are not described by Russell. The Dhobis strictly follow child-marriage and if a girl is not married before she shows signs of puberty, the parents become targets of ridicule by the society. The general practice is that the girl is married before she crosses her tenth year. With this strict rule present in the community, it is the girl's father who goes out in search for the boy. Usually this is not a difficult task as the community is a restricted one and the boy's party is only too willing to enter into negotiation. Mutual interchange of girls is also practised by some families, *i.e.* the girls marry each other's brothers. The presence of a Brahmin is not required in the celebration of the rituals but some people now invite a Brahmin. Otherwise, in the normal cases, the Brahmin simply suggests the auspicious date for marriage.

The marriage rituals of the Dhobis are, in general outline, the same as those of other castes, *i.e. tel, mayan, bhanwar*. The boy and the girl are annointed five times with oil and turmeric. The *mayan* rite is the same as in other castes. In the *bhanwar*, the couple take only five rounds and not seven as in other castes. The marriage celebration also runs for five days. This number five appears to be an auspicious number in this caste in this village.

Marriage customs of the Rawats.—Russell and Hiralal[1] describe the marriage customs of the Rawats as below :

"As a rule, girls may be married before or after puberty..... the Jharia and Kosaria Rawats of Chhattisgarh employ a Brahmin only to write the *lagun* or paper fixing the date of the wedding and the ceremony is conducted by the *sawasins* or relatives of the parties. In Chhattisgarh the bridegroom is dressed as a girl to be taken to the wedding widow remarriage is permitted and a widow is often expected to marry the younger brother of her deceased husband ....Divorce is freely permitted....."

1. Tribes and Castes of C.P., Vol. II, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, pp. 25-27

It is true that pre-puberty marriages take place and that the Brahmin priest is employed to fix the auspicious date of marriage. But Russells' statement that the bridegroom is dressed as a girl to be taken to the wedding is no longer correct and people at least in this village do not know if such a practice was ever in vogue.

Rawat marriages may be classified into the following five types :

(1) Regular marriage or *bihav* :
  (*a*) *Bade bihav.*
  (*b*) *Chhote bihav.*
(2) Widow remarriage by *choori.*
(3) *Barandi* marriage.
(4) Elopement or run-away marriage.
(5) *Paithoo* marriage or marriage by intrusion.

Regular marriage or Bihav.—As in the Telis, so in the Rawats, it is people of the boys' side who go to the girl's house to request for her hand. The proposal is sent through some messenger and after ascertaining that the girl's father is willing to consider the proposal, the boy's father goes to the girl's house and talks it over with him. The preliminaries being over, he comes back and makes a second visit after a short time. He takes clothes for the girl and some sweet. The girl's father then invites his caste-fellows in the village who partake of the sweets and the girl wears the clothes brought by him and touches his feet. The acceptance of the sweets by the other members of the caste suggests that they also approve of the proposal.

An auspicious date for the marriage is fixed by the Brahmin priest and this is the only role played by the Brahmin priest in a Rawat marriage. There are two types of *bihav.* One is *bade bihav* in which the bridegroom's party comes to the girl's house and stays there for 2-3 days and the marriage takes place there. But when the girl's father is poor and cannot undertake the expenditure of feeding the marriage party, the marriage celebrations take place in the house of the bridegroom where the girl's father along with his relatives and the girl goes and stays and the entire expenditure is then borne by the boy's father. This type of marriage is known as *chhote bihav* (inferior marriage).

The first marriage rite in the Rawats is the *chulh-mati* when the women in the respective houses go to the nearby fields and bring earth from there. With this earth they wash the house and the place selected for the marriage shed (*mandap*). The earth is also mixed with the earth which is used for fixing the shed-poles.

In the Rawats the presence of a Brahmin is not required at all anywhere during the ceremony and the rites are conducted by a group of five women known as *suasin.* The *suasin* in the girl's house necessarily include her sister-in-law (brother's wife) and in the boys' house, his sister is necessarily one of the *sausin.*

After the *chulh-mati* is brought, the shed construction starts and the shed is covered with mango or jamun (Evgenia jambolana) leaves. On the day next to this, the would-be bride and the would-be bridegroom in their respective houses are annointed with oil and turmeric and the ceremony is known as *tel chadhana*. Then the same day in the evening the *suasins* accompanied by the bride's and bridegroom's mother (in their respective houses) go to the tank singing and the boy's and girl's mothers bring water from the tank in a pot. This pot is kept in one part of the shed with four earthen lamps lighted. Bringing in of the water from the tank is known as *mai pani* (literally meaning ancestral water) and the place where this water is kept in the *madwa* (marriage shed) is known as *mardaru.* All the rituals are performed at *mardaru.*

Next rite is known as *mayan,* and this consists, as in the Telis, in the worship of the village God and the family deity. After the *mayan* is over, people of both sexes, if well-known to one another, forcibly put turmeric paste on one another's cheeks, etc. This necessitates a bath and the party goes to tank en-route to which the men and women often indulge in cutting obscene jokes and making retorts. No other ceremony takes place on this day. The bridegroom's house is busy with preparations for departure and the bride's people keep busy with preparations of receiving the guests.

Depending on the road to be covered, the marriage party starts either at the break of dawn or later. The marriage party is received on the outskirts of the village by the bride's father and his party. The reception is known as *parghani*, and after reception, the party is led to the place prepared for their rest. Usually the number of members is so small that they keep sitting and smoking under the marriage shep or on cots outside.

The final binding marriage rites consist in the tying of the apparel-ends of the bride and bridegroom by the *suasins* after which they take seven rounds in the *madwa*. The rite is known as *bhanwar*.

If the girl has not attained puberty, she returns to her father's house after spending just a day or two in her husband's house and she goes to live with him after she attains puberty. If she is already of age, she spends a longer time with her husband before returning to father's place. Where girls are not of age, a ritual known as *pathouni*, which is the same as *gawan* or *gauna* of the Telis and upper caste Hindus, is performed.

Widow-remarriage and *Barandi* marriage.—The caste approves of widow remarriage but, as in the Telis and other castes, the widow remarriage is not observed with any ritual, but only consists in the man offering bangles (*choori*) to the woman. Such marriage is socially accepted.

Elopement or run away marriage.—When a boy and a girl fall in love and do not see any chance of their being married in the normal course, they simply run away. Similarly, a married woman falling in love with any other man simply runs away with him and, accepting his bangles, lives as his wife.

The society accepts this marriage provided it is in the *choori* form.

***Paithoo* or marriage by intrusion.**—When after being in love, a man backs out, the woman walks into his house and declares him to be her husband. This is adopted by widows who become pregnant through illicit relations or by unmarried women in the same circumstances. Such a marriage is known as *paithoo baithe he*.

Divorce.—The Rawat caste permits divorce. The divorce does not involve any proceedings but, in most of the cases, the woman just deserts the husband. This running away is usually a consequence of the woman having fallen in love with another man but it appears that the market of Pandariya and Mungeli are bringing about an additional factor also into play. Chamroo Rawat of the village said sadly that these days the women desired costlier clothes and cosmetics to look like city women and since the poor husbands were not able to fulfil this desire they run away.

If a married woman is kept by another man, then he has to pay a compensation to the first husband. This amount is known as *boonda* (marriage price) and its significance is that in a marriage the man has to undergo quite some expenditure to secure a wife. She is 'property' and if she runs away, her husband has a right to get the amount of marriage expenses from the man who keeps her.

Marriage customs of the Pankas.—The Pankas follow child marriage and approve of divorce and *choori* form of marriage. Marriages are arranged by the guardians of the boy and girl. The *mahant* or the priest of the Kabir Panth sect conducts the ritual.

Among the Pankas, the negotiations are started by the boy's side. The Pankas do not wear yellow clothes in their marriage celebrations. The Pankas do not observe the *mayan* ceremony for the simple reason that they do not worship any deity or God except Kabir.

In Pankas, *tel* ceremony takes place for 3 days and is called *teen tel*. The marriage party is received in *parghani* as in other castes.

In the *mandap* (marriage shed) the *mahant* ties the ends of the apparel-ends of the bride and the bridegroom in a knot and the couple take five rounds around the *khan*. This is known as *kunwari bhanwar*. After this a second *bhanwar* also takes place. This is known as *bihati bhanwar* and consists of seven rounds.

Divorce and remarriage are permitted by the caste but, if a woman goes to live with another man in the life-time of her husband, then the man has to give *boonda* to her husband. Normally, the deceased's younger brother has a right to take his brother's widow as a wife, but if she remarries somebody else, the younger brother of the deceased has a right to receive the *boonda*.

Marriage customs of the Nais.—Russell and Hiralal[1] describing the marriage customs of the Nai, say: "The exogamous groups are known as *khevo* or *kul*, and marriage between members of the same group is prohibited. Girls are usually wedded between the ages of eigth and twelve and boys between fifteen and twenty. A girl who goes wrong before marriage is finally expelled from the caste. The wedding ceremony follows the ritual prevalent in the locality as described in the articles on Kurmi and

1. Tribes and Castes of the C. P., Vol. IV, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, p. 263.

Kunbi. At an ordinary wedding the expenses on the girl's side amount to about Rs. 150, and on the boys to Rs. 200. The remarriage of widows is permitted.....Divorce may be effected at the instance of the husband before the caste committee, and a divorced woman is at liberty to marry again."

In the marriage of the Nai caste, presence of a Brahmin priest is compulsory. The marriage ceremony consists of three rituals known as *tel*, *hardai* and *bhanwar*. Before the *tel* ritual, the common ritual of bringing the sacred earth from the field takes place. This, as in other castes, is known as *chulh-mati*. *Tel* ritual is observed for 3 days. After God and the family deities are invoked, a ritual known as *hardai* takes place. Turmeric powder is dissolved in water and kept in a dish. Hands are dipped in it and palm-impression is first made on the back of the girl and the boy in their respective houses. After this, persons having joking relationships make similar impressions on one another.

The marriage party stays in the bride's village for 3 days. The uniting ceremony of marriage is the *bhanwar* as in other castes.

Conception of female beauty in the village.—The opinion of the villagers of Tilaibhat regarding their conception of beauty in a female would not be out of place here. Everybody is unanimous in the view that fair complexion is a criterion of beauty and a fair complexioned girl is definitely more beautiful than a black complexioned one. It is also admitted that a good moral character is not necessary for a beautiful girl. Beauty and character are two different things and do not usually go together because a beautiful girl is sought after for friendship by everybody.

Breasts are regarded by all as another criterion of beauty. A woman having well-developed breasts is liked, even if she is lean and thin in body, but a fat woman with big breasts is not liked. It is also held that wife should be shorter in height than her husband. Since marriage takes place in childhood, the wife sometimes is found to be taller on growing-up. In such cases, either a divorce is effected or the husband is the target of ridicule in the village.

Causes of divorce.—In Chhattisgarh countryside, cases of divorce and separation are many. As stated earlier the men show great consideration and leniency towards the wives and start the separation proceedings only under greatest provocation. There are, however, numerous cases of the women running away from their husbands and choosing another man.

People in Tilaibhat state that the following are the causes of separation :

(*i*) If the wife is taller than her husband.

(*ii*) If the partners are not able to adjust to each other.

(*iii*) If any of the partner commits adultery.

(*iv*) If the wife is barren.

(*v*) If the wife has some physical deformity or incurable disease.

(*vi*) If the wife has no, or very undeveloped, breasts.

(*vii*) If the husband is impotent.

(*viii*) If the woman falls in love with another man.

(*ix*) If the husband is not able to satisfy the demands of his wife for clothes, ornaments, etc.

Out of the above causes, the last two are the most common causes. If a man keeps another man's married wife then the first husband tries his level best to get her back. In such a case it is said that the other man has broken one's back, or has taken away one's property or has wrecked one's house (*hamar kaniha tod dees*; *hamar ghar la ujad dees*; *hamar mal la le gis*).

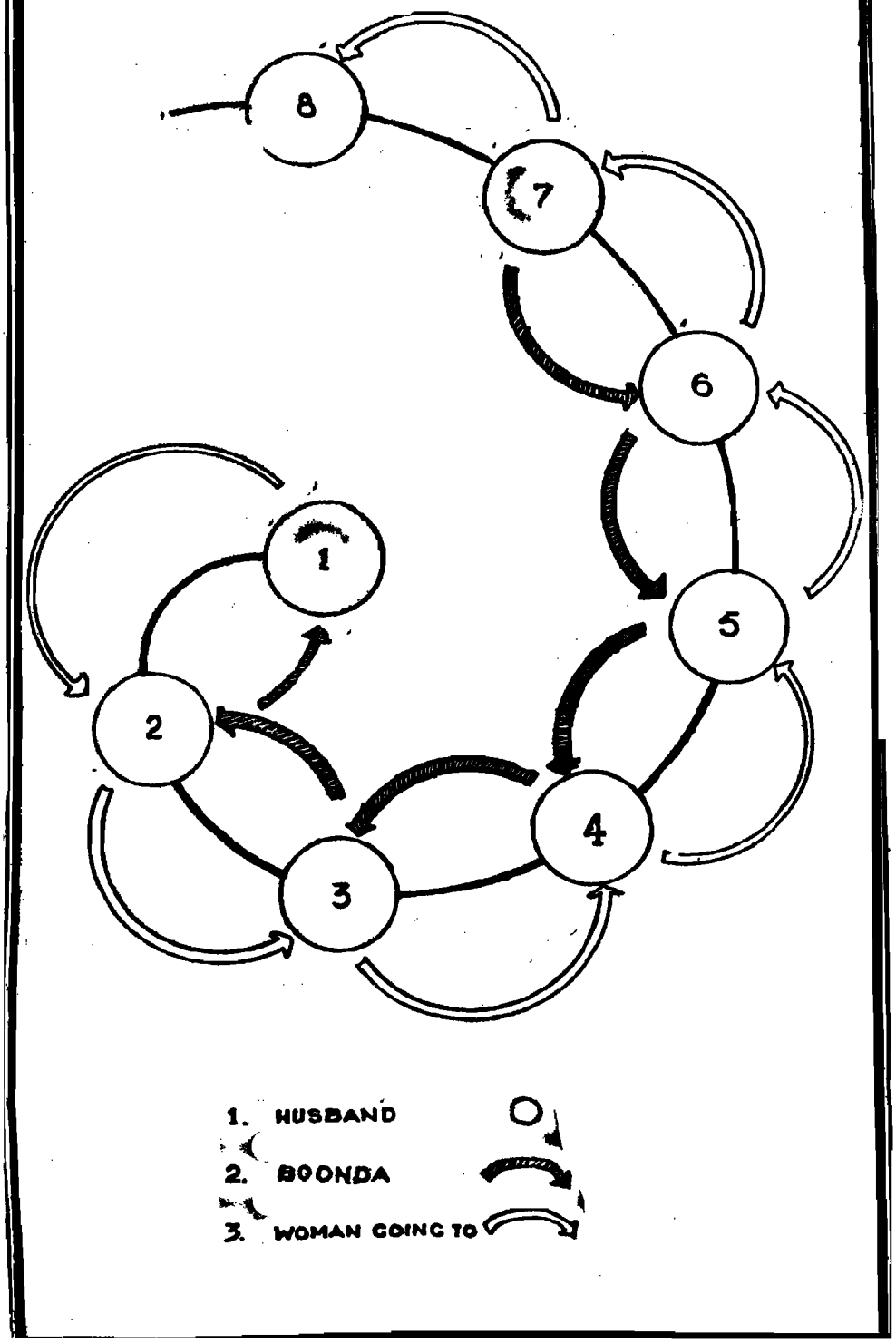
If a woman leaves her married husband and lives with another man of the same caste, the other man has to pay *boonda* or marriage expenses to the legal husband. If a woman, however, lives with a man of other caste, she is outcasted and the legal husband is not entitled for the *boonda*.

Theoretically *boonda* (marriage expenses) amount is admissible up to 7th husband. If a woman leaves her 7th husband and takes the 8th, then the 7th husband is not entitled to *boonda*.

A woman who goes on leaving husbands after husbands is known as *charkat* and her social status becomes very low.

Death and funeral rites.—Death also entails observance of certain rituals as necessary as in birth and marriage, and as in birth and marriage, the observance of these rituals also differs from caste to caste. In this village disposal of the dead body may be by burning or burial. The death customs followed by different castes in the village are described here,

DIAGRAM SHOWING
ADMISSIBILITY OF BOONDA



Death rituals of the Telis.—Russell and Hiralal[1] give the following note on the customs at death in the Teli caste: "The dead are either buried or burnt, cremation being an honour reserved for the old. The body is placed in both cases with head to the north and face downwards or upwards for a male or a female respectively."

In Tilaibhat, the Telis cremate the dead except in cases of small children who are buried. The mourning period for an adult lasts for 12 days and for children it is 3 days.

As soon as it is learnt that the person is dying, he is taken down from the cot and lain on the ground and *ganga jal* (the Ganges-water), *tulsi* (basil) lea and milk and curd is put into his mouth. After death the body is bathed and some mark are made on some part with either *ghee* or soot. It is believed that the person would be born again in the same family later with the same marks on the body. The dead body is also slightly massaged with *ghee*, in the limbs, forehead and chest. This is done by women folk and it is believed that this gives rest to the dead person. Since the men accompany the dead body to the cremation ground and perform services there, the opportunity to massage and thus serve the dead person for the last time, is given to the women.

The bier is prepared with two bamboo-poles about 7 feet long which are joined by cross bars and rope. As a rule, new clothes are put on the dead body but this practice is not observed by everybody. The first person to lift the bier is the eldest son or in his absence, the brother of the dead person performs this duty. When the body is carried, the people chant *Ram nam satya hai, satya hai to gatya hai* or *Hari bol Hari bol.*

In a winnowing pan, some paddy is carried and handful of this is periodically thrown over the dead body.

Before preparing the funeral pyre, a copper coin is placed on the ground as a token of the price of the land. The two religious groups Deotaha and Kabirha have separate cremation grounds. The dead body is placed on the pyre with head towards north and in case of a male, it is placed on the chest. In case of female the body is put on the back. No explanation for this difference in placing the dead body of the two sexes is available, but the practice appears to be a general one. The Bilaspur District Gazetteer[1] states that "the Hindus bury the corpse of a man face downwards and that of a woman face upwards". The practice of different postures in the two sexes was also observed in village Bendri of Raipur District, also studied for Socio-Economic Survey.

The eldest son places fire on the funeral pyre towards the head of the corpse. The people wait in the cremation ground till the body is completely burnt. From the cremation ground they go to the tank and after a bath return to the house of the deceased in a single line with the person who had lighted the pyre leading. The third, seventh, nineth, tenth and twelfth day after death, have ritual importance.

The bangles of the widow are broken on the first day on the banks of the tank. On the 3rd day, the ash of the dead body is collected from the cremation ground and is immersed in some river. A Brahmin priest is called on the ninth and tenth day, and he sprinkles *ganga-jal* (water of the Ganges) over the persons of the deceased's household. On the 10th day the Nai (barber) is called and all the near kin get themselves shaved. Caste people are fed on the 10th and 12th day. Pollution is supposed to be removed on the 10th day.

In the first year of the death, the caste people are fed in the third and sixth month and after 12 months. These feasts are known as *teenmasi, chhaimasi* and *barsi.* After *barsi* ceremony, the soul is supposed to be united with the other ancestral souls and in the month of *kunwar* on the *pitra moksha amavasya*, a common feast is given in the name of the departed.

Belief in rebirth.—The Telis believe in rebirth. Before the body is taken away to the cremation ground some distinguishing marks are made on some part of his body with soot or turmeric and it is believed that he would take birth in the same family with that mark present on his person. As described earlier, the elderly females of the house examine the infant's body to discover such marks. Actually speaking the body of the new born infant is so soft that a hold or press of a finger on any part leaves a dark spot on that part. In the process of the delivery also, some such marks appear on the infant's body and such marks are read by the ladies examining the body as ancestral marks.

1. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. IV, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, p. 551.

1. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p. 103.

Death rituals of the Chhatris.—The Chhatris burn the dead body of adults and bury the children. Mourning period for adults is 10 days and for grown-up children it is 5 to 7 days. For small children it is only 3 days. If the dead is a male, the corpse is bathed in the cremation ground. The female is bathed in the house. After bathing the dead body, oil and turmeric powder are put on the body. If the dead female is a widow, a borderless white *sari* is put on the body but a woman whose husband is alive, is adorned with all signs of a married woman, *i.e.* vermillion is put on the hair-parting and a good *sari* and blouse are put on the body.

While the bier is being carried, it is halted at four places and each time rice and wheat flour is put on the ground. The fire for lighting the pyre is carried from home in an earthen vessel. Putting of rice and wheat flour at four places is known as *pind*. The fifth *pind* is put on the cremation ground itself.

The dead body is put on the pyre with head to the north and five kinds of wood, *i.e. peepal*, mango, etc., and some white flowers are put towards the head side. The wood and the flower are put in an earthen vessel and some money is also put in this. The body of a man is put on the chest, *i.e.* face downwards and of a woman on the back with face upwards.

The fire is lighted by the eldest son. After the pyre is fully burnt out, the party goes to the tank for bathing. Before taking the dip in the tank, everybody takes *til* (seasamum) seeds in his hand. They return from the tank putting on wet clothes and then disperse from the deceased's house.

All the caste-members of the village send some food-stuffs to the house of the deceased and this food is cooked in that house. Bangles of the wife of the dead are broken on the 10th day on the bank of of the tank and the *sari* put on by her is given to the dhobi. All ornaments are also removed from her body. On the eleventh day a Brahmin priest is called who performs the *pind-dan* ceremony.

After six months the *chhaimasi* is observed and the caste-people are fed. In the first death anniversary a similar feast is again arranged.

Death rituals of the Bairagis.—Death customs of the Bairagis have not been described by Russell and Hiralal who only say[1] that they "burn the dead". Children are buried and adults are cremated. Mourning period lasts for 13 days. On the third, seventh, ninth, tenth, twelfth and thirteenth day, the caste-people gather in the house of the deceased.

The ashes of the dead are carried to the Ganges if the people can afford it or they are immersed in any nearby river. If the deceased person had no son, the daughter can go to the cremation ground and place fire on the pyre.

The death pollution is supposed to last for 10 days in case of adults and 5 to 7 days in case of children. In case of Kabir Panthi Bairagis, *chauka* is arranged. In the first death anniversary, a feast is arranged known as *sradh*. After the *barsi* the soul of the deceased mingles with other ancestral souls and on *pitramoksha amavasya*, five Brahmins are fed every year. "The Bairagis have a fairly good social position and respectable Hindu castes will accept cooked food from them".

Death rituals of the Dhobis.—Russell and Hiralal say[1] that among the Dhobis "the dead are buried or burnt as may be convenient, and mourning is observed for 3 days only, the family being purified on the Sunday or Wednesday following the death".

In this village the Dhobis cremate the adult and bury the infants. The mourning period for adults is 10 days and for infants only 3 days. No mourning is observed if the child dies before the *barhi* ritual takes place. For 10 days non-vegetarian food is prohibited. The Dhobis observe *chhaimasi* six months after death and *barsi* is observed a year after. In the month of *kunwar* dead ancestors are invoked in the *pitrapaksha*.

Death rituals of the Rawats.—Among the Rawats the dead body is buried in all cases. The period of mourning for adults is 10 days and for children 5 to 7 says. No rituals or mourning period are observed if the child dies before the *barhi* takes place.

The dead body is smeared with oil and turmeric. Some distinguishing marks are put on the dead body on some part and the Rawats, like the Telis, believe in rebirth in the same family. The ornaments are removed and new clothes are draped round the dead body. If the person dying is a widow, her bangles are also broken, but if her husband is alive, the bangles are not broken.

The bier is carried to the burial ground by the son of the deceased and other caste-members. In the burial ground, the first stroke for digging the grave is made by the son of the deceased. The grave is about 6 feet long and 4 feet deep. A copper coin is put in as

1. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. II, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, p. 104.

1. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol II, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, p. 521.

a token towards the price of the land. The head of the corpse is put towards the north and if a male, the body is put with face downwards. A female body is laid with face upwards.

When the body is lowered, the son puts the first handful of earth and then everybody puts a handful or two of earth and after this the grave is fully filled in and well-pressed. Some earthen pots and cooked rice are put beside the grave.

From the burial ground the party goes to the tank where they bathe and return to the house of the deceased. From there the people disperse to their respective places.

The tenth day of the death is known as *dasa*. On this day the kins of the deceased get shaved and the clothes are given to the washerman, the house is cleaned with cow-dung and if available *ganga-jal* (water of the Ganges) is sprinkled in the house.

Death rituals of the Pankas.—The Pankas bury their dead. The period of mourning for adults is nine days and for children it is 3 to 7 days. If the dead is less than 12 days old, no rituals are observed. The body is bathed and then carried to the graveyard to the accompaniment of music, and paddy and money is thrown over it. The music consists of the songs composed by Kabir.

Before digging the grave, some money is put on the ground as a token of price of land. The dead body of a male is put face downwards and of female face upwards as in the Telis and other castes. The grave is filled by the son or brother of the deceased. The grave is then washed on the outside with cow-dung. After a bath in the tank people return home.

On the 10th day after death, the *chauka* is arranged and this is repeated on *chhamasi* and *barsi*. The *chauka* is a special religious ceremony of the Kabir Panthis and is described later in detail. In the month of *Kunwar*, the Pankas observe *Pitra-paksha* and feed their caste-people in the name of dead ancestors.

Death rituals of the Nais.—Russell and Hiralal say[1] that "the bodies of the dead are usually burnt. In Chhattisgarh the poor throw the corpses of their dead into the Mahanadi and the bodies of children dying under one year of age were until recently buried in the courtyard of the house. The period of mourning for adults is ten days and for children 3 days.

The chief mourner must take only one meal a day, which he cooks himself until the ceremony of the tenth day is performed."

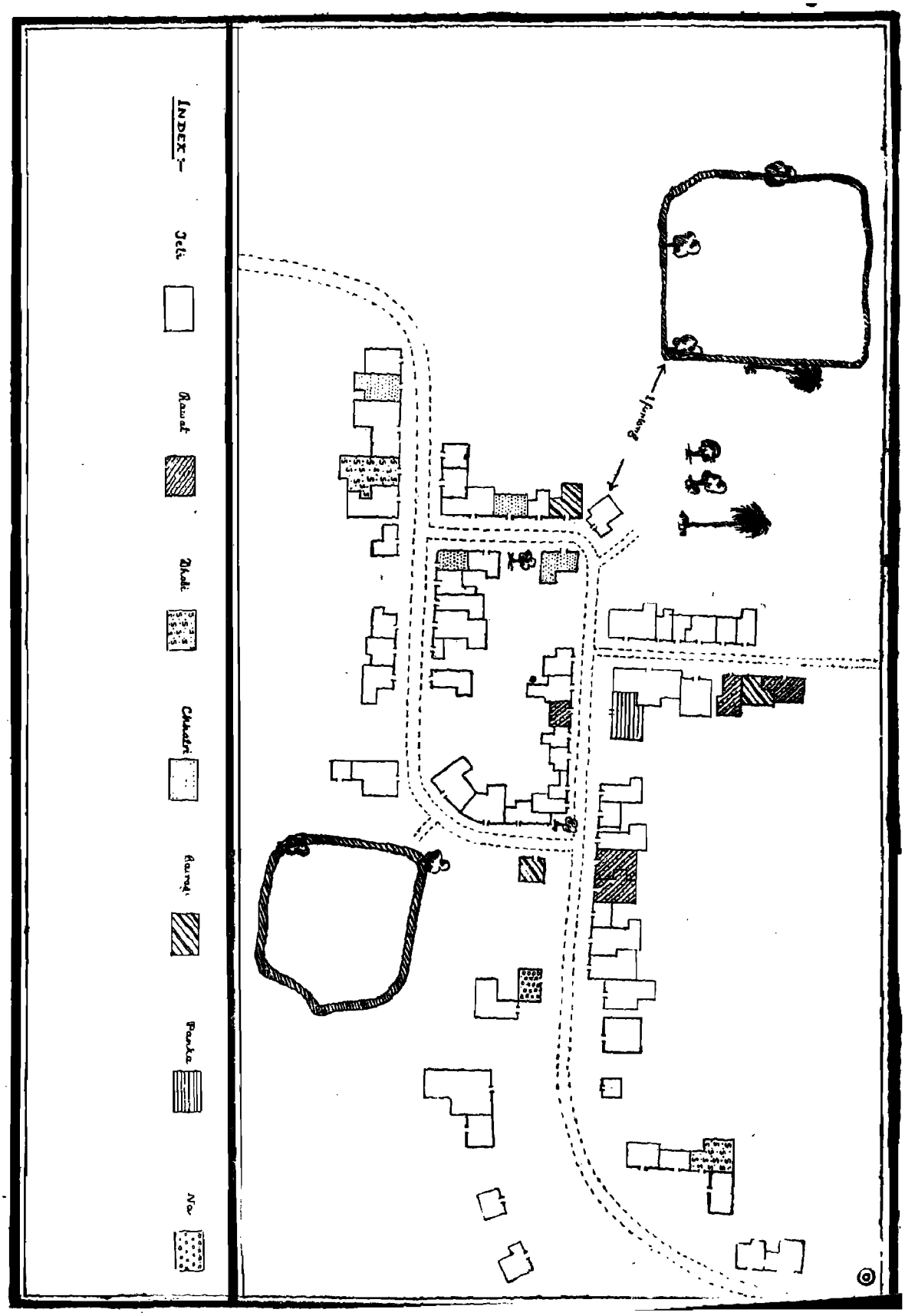
In Tilaibhat, the dead body is cremated if the person is married. Unmarried persons are buried. The position of the dead body on the pyre or in the grave is the same as in other castes. The practice of throwing the body in a river and of burying the children in the courtyard of the house is not followed here. The period of mourning is ten days for the adults and 3 days for children but this period of mourning can be lessened if the economic condition of the household is bad.

---

1. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. IV, Russell and Hiralal, 1916, pp. 263-264.



A MAN IN KHUMRI


INDEX :-
Jetti
Road
Well
Church
Temple
Pond
Tree
Pipal

CHAPTER VI

VILLAGE ECONOMY

Like practically all other villages, village Tilaibhat is mainly agricultural. At the Census of 1951, the village economy was reflected in the following pattern :

Class	Category	Total	Male	Female
Agricultural class	Cultivator of owned land and their dependants ..	238	112	126
	Cultivators of unowned land and their dependants ..	2	1	1
	Cultivating Labourers and their dependants ..	55	28	27
	Total ..	**295**	**141**	**154**
Non-agricultural class	Non-cultivating owners and their dependants ..	..	..	..
	Production other than cultivation. ..	6	2	4
	Commerce ..	..	..	..
	Transport ..	..	..	..
	Other services and misc. sources ..	8	4	4
	Total ..	**14**	**6**	**8**

In the Census of 1961, the village economy was as below;—

Category	Total	Male	Female
A—Total Workers	203	103	100
I—Cultivators ..	179	90	89
II—Agricultural Labourers	19	8	11
III—Livestock, fishery, hunting, etc ..	5	5	..
IV—Household industry ..	..	..	..
V—Manufacture other than household industry ..	..	..	..
VI—Construction ..	..	..	..
VII—Trade and Commerce ..	..	..	..
VIII—Transport and Communication ..	..	..	..
IX—Other services ..	..	..	..
B—Non-Workers	122	63	59
**Total .. .. ..

Soil Classification at last Settlement

Position Class	Soil Class: Kanhar I	Kanhar II	Dorsa I	Dorsa II	Matasi I	Gair-mumkin
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bahara	..	29	15	..	..	..
Gabhar	4	35	80	10	17	..
Orkha	..	12	36	47	55	..
Mamuli	..	140	74	3	..	..
Tikra	..	1	22	1	..	..
Badi Dry	..	..	4	2	..	..
Gair-mumkin	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	**4**	**217**	**231**	**63**	**72**	**1**
Rasanha	..	..	..	..	71	..

At the settlement made prior to the one shown above the soil-classification scheme was as below:

Position Class	Soil Class: Kanhar	Dorsa I	Dorsa II	Matasi
Rice Land—				
Bahara	..	29	..	..
Gabhar	..	..	8	4
Dadha	..	70	35	87
Tangar	..	..	7	1
Non-rice Land—				
Bandhia	..	8	1	..
Ordinary	2	182	7	..
Tikra	..	103	17	..
Gardao Land—				
Dry	..	..	2	..
Total	**2**	**392**	**77**	**92**
Black-soil Gaurase	..	..	..	..
Red-soil Gaurase	..	..	..	..

There are no irrigation facilities in the village and the people depend entirely on Nature for the success or failure of the crops.

Village cattle.—The village cattle are not particularly well-kept. Milk does not form an item of food in the village and the neglect of the cattle may be for this reason. The main value of the cattle seems to be in the supply of cow-dung which is used as the main manure. The cattle of the village are grazed by the Rawats and the village servant for the purpose is known as *bardiha*. The *bardiha* takes the cattle to whatever grazing ground is available. The area of grazing land available in the village is 86·38 acres and there are in all 354 cattle including goats, as per the Titamma Record. The incidence of grazing comes to be roughly 4 cattle per acre which is very high and accounts for the poor cattle-health. In the cattle shed the cattle are given straw of paddy (*paira*). Speaking about the village cattle in the Settlement Report of 1904-1912, Hance[1] had stated "The stunted growth and miserable stamina of the cattle of Chhattisgarh are a bye-word throughout the provinces. Under the system of cattle keeping, or rather cattle neglect, at present in vogue in this district, and in the Chhattisgarh Division in general, they are for the greater part of the open season turned out daily to graze in the charge of the village herdsman or *bardiha*. In the hot weather when there is practically no natural pasture to be had they are given, at night time, a quantity of rice straw just sufficient to support life upon. Stall feeding worth the name is practically unknown..... The heavy labour demanded from them at a time when their vitality has been sapped by the starvation that they have undergone in the hot weather results in heavy mortality apart from the ravages of the various forms of diseases (principally rinderpest and anthrax)."

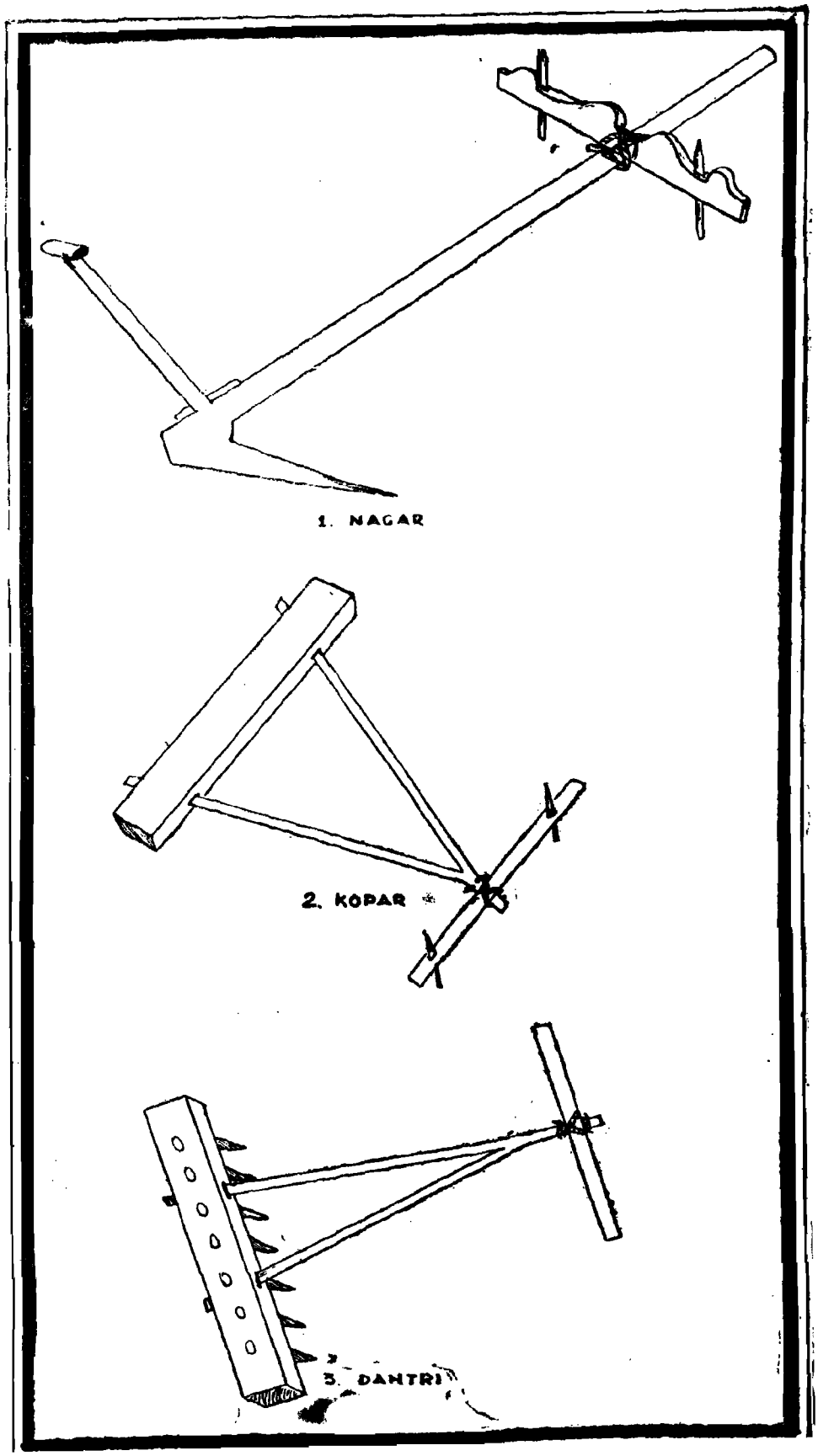
The various forms of cattle diseases recognised in the village are Khurra, Galghot, Mata, Ektangi, Sonahi and Chhai.

Khurra.—This is a foot and mouth disease. The animal gets temperature and constipated stomach membrane gets congested, ulceration takes place, mouth muscles twitch, lameness and ulceration occurs at the inter-digital places and shaking of legs occurs.

The disease spreads generally at the end of winter and the beginning of summer. It spreads quickly.

Galghot.—*Galghot* is the local name for the cattle disease 'Hæmorrhagic septicæmia'. This disease starts in the beginning of rains and if not checked in

1. Final Report on Land Revenue Settlement of the Bilaspur District, 1904-12, J.E. Hance, p. 21.


1. NAGAR
2. KOPAR
3. DANTRI

time results in the death of the cattle within 24-48 hours. The symptoms of the disease are constipation, high temperature, difficulty in breathing, swelling of the throat and tongue and salivation. The symptoms of difficulty in breathing and swelling of the throat have earned the name "Galghot" (neck-strangulation) to the disease.

Mata.—*Mata* is the local name for rinderpest and cattle-plague. The disease can occur at any time of the year and takes a heavy toll of cattle life. The symptoms are high temperature, constipation, diorrhaea with blood and mucous, peculiar smell in the cow-dung, pin-point ulceration in the mouth at the junction of gums and lips.

Ektangi.—The disease called 'black-quarter' is known as *Ektangi* in this village. The disease affects young animals and kills the animal in 24-48 hours. As the name suggests, the most important symptom is the lameness in the animal. Other symptoms are high temperature, swelling of the muscles of the leg. The local treatment for the disease is to foment the swelling. This is done with sickle made red-hot in the hearth and touching the swelling with it.

Sonahi.—No English term could be found for this disease. The villagers state that its symptoms are salivation in the mouth and bad smell in the dung. The animal does not take any food. It is a virulent epidemic.

Chhai.—The English name for this disease could not be traced out. It is said to be a disease of the chest region and the symptoms are stoppage of urine and bowels. The animal does not take any food.

As per records maintained by the Land Records Department, the latest statistics of cattle (*i.e.* 1960-61) stood as below :

Bullocks	47
Breeding Bull	1
Cows	95
Calves	114
Buffaloes (He)	49
Buffaloes (She)	4
Calves	13
Goats	28
Horses	3
Total ..	**354**

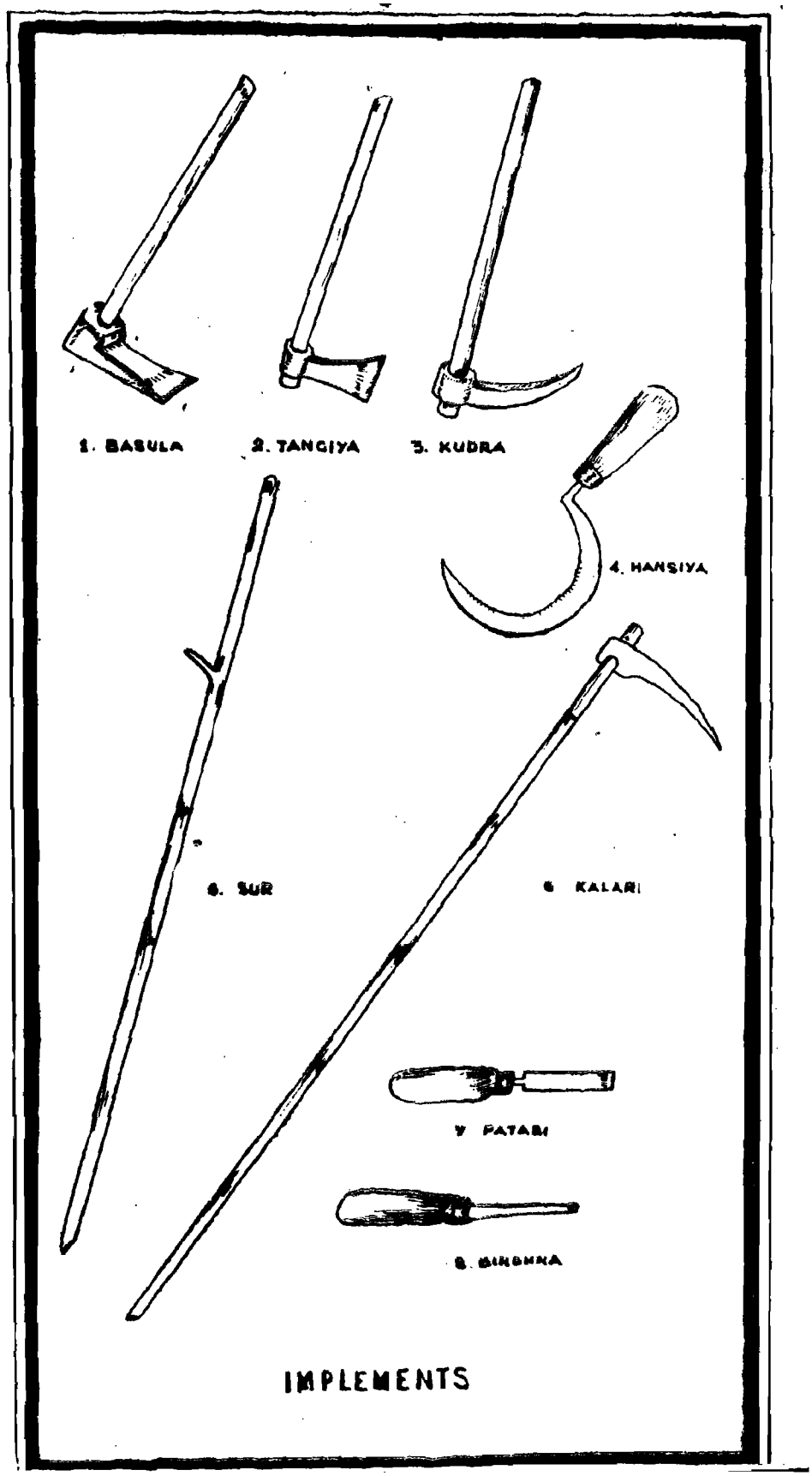
Agricultural tools and implements.—Agricultural tools and implements in Tilaibhat are age-old ones and the same as anywhere else in an ordinary Chhattisgarh village. The main among them are: *Nagar* (plough) and *Hansiya* (sickle). As per records available, there are 45 *Nagar* in the village.

The various tools and implements in use in the village are :

Local name	English equivalent.	Purpose
Nagar ..	Plough ..	For ploughing the field
Kopar ..	Planer ..	For levelling the field
Dantri ..	Serrated wooden plough	For weeding operations
Sabal ..	Crow-bar ..	For digging
Khudri ..	Shovel ..	For digging and removing the earth from the field
Chatwar ..	Non-available	For throwing the earth on embankment
Kudra ..	Pick-axe ..	For digging
Hansiya ..	Sickle ..	For cutting the crop

NAGAR.—The *Nagar* (plough) consists of a 9′ long wooden shaft known as *dandi*. At one end of it is fixed a wooden piece 4″ long known as *kheela*. At the other end of the *dandi* is fixed the bent wooden structure known as *nagar*. In all this is about 4 to 4½′ long consisting of a 2½′ long portion above the *dandi* and a 1½ to 2′ long part below the *dandi*. The *nagar* is fixed by making a hole in the *dandi* and passing the *nagar* through it. The upper part of the *nagar* is of a smaller diameter than the lower one. A small wooden piece, 1 to 1½″ thick at one end and tapering at the other end and four to six inches long, is used to keep the *nagar* in place in the *dandi*. This wooden piece is known as *dab*. At the upper end of the *nagar* is fixed a 9″ long round wooden bar to serve as a handle for applying pressure on the *nagar*. This portion is known as *padki*. The lower end of the *nagar* is bent inwards and to it is fixed the iron-blade known as *nagar-loha*.

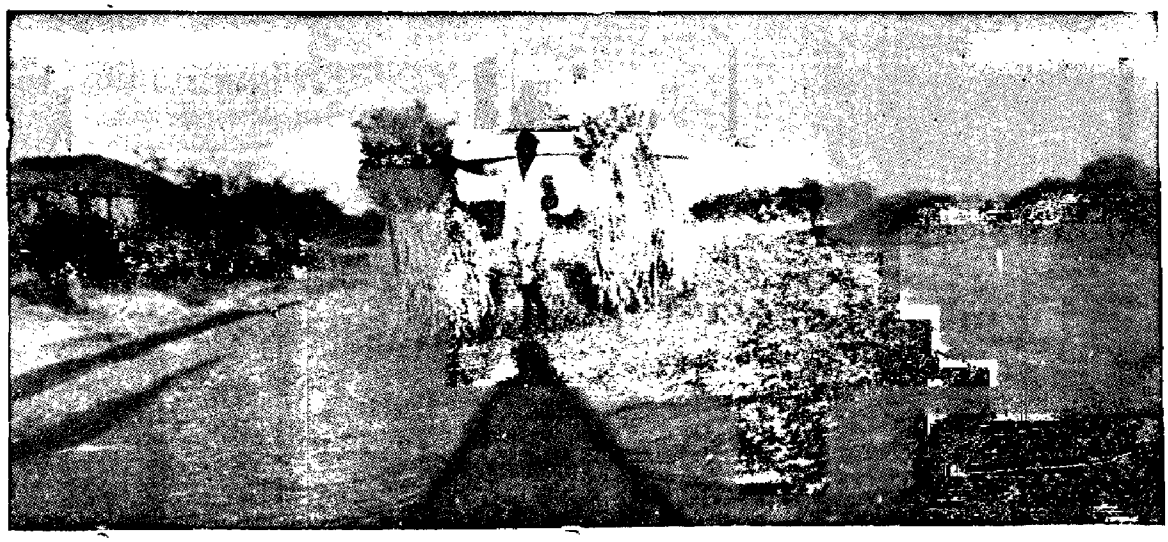
The *nagar* is fixed to the attachment to which the bullocks are tied. The attachment is known as *juadi* and consists of a beam the upper end of which


1. BASULA
2. TANGIYA
3. KUDRA
4. HANSIYA
5. SUR
6. KALARI
7. PATARI
8. SIRSHNA

IMPLEMENTS



HARVESTED CROP LYING IN THE FIELD



BRINGING THE HARVESTED CROP

has 3 ridges, the central ridge being known as *mahadeo*. At the two ends of the beam, bullocks are harnessed to the beam with the help of two attachments known as *ponchari*. The *dandi* of the *nagar* rests on the central ridge of the *juadi* and it is tied to the *juadi* with a rope round the *juadi* and *khaila*.

KOPAR.—*Kopar* is the implement used for planing the field, and also for weeding operations. It consists of a flat piece of wood about 10' in length and 1' wide. From the two ends of the wooden beam, two converging attachments are fixed. These are about 13' to 14' long. At the converging end another beam is fixed in which the bullocks are tied.

DANTRI.—*Dantri* is a variant of *kopar* and is used for weeding operations as well as for thinning operations. The implement is known as *dantri* necause of its narrow teeth. The *dantri* is also used for puddling.

SABAL.—*Sabal* or the crow-bar is not very much used in agricultural operations except to dig some holes, etc., through the embankment for passage of water. It is a 4 feet long bar with one end flattened and sharp.

KHUDRI.—*Khudri* is the shovel and has a broad iron-plate attached to a wooden handle. The working edge of the *khudri* is 6" to 8" long. It is used for digging purposes.

CHATWAR.—*Chatwar* is just a wooden handle with a flat broad portion at one end. It is used for throwing the earth from one place to another. It consists of four and a half feet long wooden portion at one end and a handle at the upper end.

KUDRA.—*Kudra* is the pick-axe. It consists of a 3½' long wooden handle and a 1' long and slightly bent iron piece fixed at one end of the handle. One end of the iron piece has a hole in which the wooden handle is fixed and the other end is pointed for digging operations.

HANSIYA.—*Hansiya* is the ordinary sickle consisting of a 6" long wooden handle and the bent sharp iron-blade.

Crops grown.—There are two main crops grown in the village. They are : Kharif and Rabi. The Kharif crops are also better known in the village as *Siyari* and the Rabi crops are similarly known as *Unhari*. The Kharif (*siyari*) crops are sown in *Asarh* (June-July), *i.e.* at the beginning of the rainy season and include :

(*a*) *Dhan* (Paddy—Oryza sativa L.)

(*b*) *Makai* (Maize).

(*c*) *Kodo* (inferior variety of rice— Panicum meliceum L.)

(*d*) *Rahar* (a variety of pulse, Casanus indicus).

(*e*) *Til* (Seasamum seed, jingili— Seasamum indicum).

(*f*) *Jowar* (Millet).

The Rabi crops (*Unhari*) include :

(*a*) *Gehun* (Wheat— Triticum vulgare).

(*b*) *Chana* (Gram— Cicer indicum).

(*c*) *Batra* (Peas).

(*d*) *Tiwra* (Lathyrus sativa).

(*e*) *Masoor* (a variety of pulse).

(*f*) *Urid* (a variety of pulse— Phaseolus mungovar rodiatus).

(*g*) *Moong* (Green gram— Phaseolus mungo).

(*h*) *Alsi* (Linseed— Linum usitateiosimum).

(*i*) *Mircha* (Chillies).

(*j*) *Dhania* (Coriander).

The most prominent *Siyari* crop is paddy and the important *Unhari* crops are wheat and gram. Some poor quality of land requires resting for 3-4 years for fertility recuperation. This lying-fallow is known as *padti*.

The last two Settlement Operations in Bilaspur District were made in 1904-1912 and 1927-28. In the Mahalwar abstract prepared at the time of Settlement of 1927-28, we find the cropped area classified according to crops and also the details of area of the village. These statements are being reproduced here for the facility of reference with the last 10 years' statements which follow the Settlement Statements :

Details of area

(From the Mahalwar Abstract prepared at the time of Settlement)

Particulars		At last settlement (1904-12)	At present settlement (1927-28)
1		2	3
* *Occupied area*—			
Area in cultivation	Under crop ..	533	508
	Fallow of 3 yrs. and older ..	30	61
	Total ..	**563**	**569**
Area out of cultivation, *i.e.* waste and fallow of more than 3 years		23	19
Total area occupied ..		**586**	**588**
Unoccupied area—			
	Groves	..	..
	Tree forests	..	..
	Scrub jungle & grass ..	82	83
	Under water, hill & rock and covered by roads and buildings ..	24	21
	Total area unoccupied	106	104
	Total	**692**	**692**
Area irrigated—			
	From tanks ..	..	..
	From other sources	..	..
	Total ..	..	..
No. of irrigation wells		..	1
No. of artificial tanks		1	2
No. of plough cattle		105	93
No. of she-buffaloes		..	10
Other cattle		232	228

Cropped Area classified according to Crops

(Based on the Mahalwar Abstract prepared at the time of Settlement)

Description	At last Settlement, *i.e.* 1904-12	At the Settlement 1927-28	In 1960-61
1	2	3	4
Rice	220	217	320
Kodon, Kutki, Rahar	156	123	76
Til	..	..	..
Sugarcane	..	4	..
Other	2	1	20
Total Kharif	**358**	**345**	**416**
Wheat	84	58	46
Castor	..	..	..
Gram	3	..	53
Masoor	45	42	35
Linseed	41	61	42
Batara	39	31	10
Urid, Moong	44	43	39
Other	3	15	38
Total Rabi	**259**	**250**	**261**
Total	**617**	**595**	**680**
Area double cropped	84	87	128
Net cropped area	533	508	552

The figures relating to the revenue year 1960-61 taken from the Land Records documents are as below :

Kharif crops or *siyari* ..	Paddy ..	320·17	acres
	Maize ..	4·8	,,
	Kodo, Rahar, Til	75·55	,,
	Kodo ..	5·33	,,
	Jowar ..	10·20	,,
Total Kharif ..	.. ..	**415·33**	**acres**
Rabi crops or *Unhari* ..	Wheat ..	45·75	,,
	Gram ..	52·79	,,
	Batara ..	10·40	,,
	Tiwara ..	27·50	,,
	Masoor ..	35·40	,,
	Urid ..	28·35	,,
	Moong ..	10·79	,,
	Alsi ..	42·42	,,
	Dhania (Coriander)	8·12	,,
	Chillies ..	2·40	,,
Total Rabi ..	.. ..	**263·92**	**acres**



HARVESTED CROP STACKED IN THE KHALIHAN



VILLAGE TILAIBHAT FROM THE WEST

Double cropped area	..	127·52	acres
Single cropped area	..	551·73	,,
Fallow—Current	.. 15·40	35·95	,,
,, —Old	.. 20·55		
Wells—Pacca	.. 2		
,, —Katcha	.. 1		
Gair-mumkin land	..	14·90	acres
Cultivable waste	..	3·30	,,
Grazing land	..	86·38	,,
Total area of village	..	692·26	,,

Agricultural operations and mode of cultivation.—As with the agricultural implements, so with the mode of cultivation, the technique of cultivation has remained age-old. In his 'Hindu Tribes and Castes', Reverend Sherring[1] has put the Telis in the description of 'Agricultural Tribes' and says that a large number of them "are engaged in agricultural pursuits, in which they exhibit great industry and skill". But the Telis along with other castes in this village have not taken to improvements and innovations in agricultural pursuits. Hance[2] had remarked in the Settlement Report of Bilaspur District: "The Chhattisgarhi cultivator is traditionally and constitutionally lazy. The common reply that one gets if one advocates an increased output of energy is 'who can take all that trouble'....In short it is hard to introduce improvements among a thriftless unenterprising people who enjoy cheap land but lack the necessary ambition to develop its resources."

The following table shows the use of chemical fertilisers by different castes in the village :

Caste	Quantity of chemical fertiliser used in mds.	Quantity of other fertiliser used in mds.
Teli	15½	6658
Rawat	..	530½
Dhobi	..	310
Chhatri	2½	180
Bairagi	..	50
Panka	..	100
Nai	..	..

1. Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, M.A. Sherring, 1879, p. 103.

2. Final Report on Land Revenue Settlement of Bilaspur District, 1904-1912, J.E. Hance, 1914, p. 23.

It can thus be seen that only 18 maunds of chemica fertilisers are used for some 540 acres of area or an average 1 maund over 30 acres. The chemical fertilisers have not been popular in the village and the reason possibly may be in the non-availability of irrigational facility. Green manure has similarly not attracted any attention so far and the villagers have not been told and persuaded about the efficacy of green manure by any official agency.

Other fertiliser used is the traditional cow-dung manure of no value. The villagers do not know the method to prepare compost manure and the manure they prepare in their open pits is of very little value as a manure. The cow-dung and other rubbish from the cattle-shed is thrown in a pit of about 4' diameter and is left open. Every cultivating household has one or two such pits. Before the onset of rains, the matter so collected in the pits is taken to the fields in carts and kept there in heaps.

The various operations connected with the cultivation of paddy, as known in Tilaibhat are : *Jutai Boni, Nindai, Biyasi, Nindai, Bharawat, Luvi* and *Misai*. These are described below :

Jutai (Ploughing).—Ploughing is done in the last week of May and first week of June. The ploughing is also known as *khurra*. The purpose of *khurra* is to loosen and aerate the soil. Ploughing may be done two times.

Side by side with this operation, the cultivator also repair the field-bunds.

Boni (Sowing).—Sowing is done after the first few showers. Three types of sowing are carried on in Tilaibhat :

(*a*) *Chhitaka* (broadcast).

(*b*) *Ropa* (transplantation).

(*c*) *Lai fatka ke bone* (the seed is kept soaked in water overnight or for 48 hours and is sown after it shows germination).

The broadcast method of sowing is followed by majority of cultivators.

Nindai (Weeding).—*Nindai* is done in two stages one before the thinning operations and the other after it. *Nindai* is done by manual labour, and grass, weeds and other undesirable plants are separated from the field.



HEAD-LOAD OF PADDY CROP (BHARA)



BULLOCK-CART WITH THE HARVESTED PADDY



THE THRESHING OF PADDY

Agricultural Statistics

Year	Occupied area	Area of tenant's and Malik-makbuza land	Area of home-farm	Details of cropping					Irrigated area	Total Kharif area	Total Rabi area	No. of plough cattle	Rental demand including Malik-makbuza revenue	Rental collections including Malik-makbuza revenue
				Net cropped area	Double cropped area	Principal crops								
						Rice	Kodo	Wheat						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1950-51 ..	591	421	161	449	Nil	300	61	37	3	362	286	93	460	226
1951-52 ..	591	Nil	Nil	518	158	305	82	47	Nil	409	267	82	669	905
1952-53 ..	591	Nil	Nil	515	122	299	90	10	Nil	413	224	50	669	664
1953-54 ..	591	Nil	Nil	514	78	351	46	48	Nil	411	181	93	670	670
1954-55 ..	591	589	2	546	64	302	76	50	Nil	400	210	102	670	670
1955-56 ..	590	590	Nil	546	45	302	97	48	Nil	401	192	99	456	486
1956-57 ..	599	590	588	548	45	302	96	46	Nil	400	191	98	682	675
1957-58 ..	599	590	585	621	132	310	86	22	Nil	409	212	50	682	658
1958-59 ..	599	590	Nil	519	140	308	85	27	Nil	415	244	102	682	676
1959-60 ..	599	590	588	538	123	310	85	28	Nil	413	247	143	682	682

Biasi (Thinning).—The field in which paddy seeds have already germinated is ploughed. This uproots the plants and helps in giving proper space for growth of survivors.

Nindai.—Second *nindai* or weeding is done 20 or 25 days after *biasi*. Whatever undesirable weeds, etc., take roots are removed by manual labour.

Bharawat (Filling the field).—After the seed has germinated well, the field is closed and the water is stored. The paddy plants grow in water.

Luai (Reaping).—When the crop fully ripens it is harvested by manual labour. The operation is known as *luai*. *Luai* is done in the months of *Kuar-Katik* (October-November).

Misai (Threshing).—*Misai* operation is done in the month of *Fagun* (March) consisting of separating the straw, etc., from the seed. The place where *misai* is done is known as *khalihan*. The *khalihan* is swept and well-washed with cow-dung by the women folk. There is then fixed a pole in the centre. The harvest is spread all around and 2 or 3 bullocks are tied in a row around this pole and they trample the crop. The seed separates from the stem in the operation. The operation is also known as *douri chalana* and in common language one would say *douri chalat he* (*douri* is going on).

After the threshing is over the stem-straw is separated and the seed settling on the floor is recovered. After this the men, standing on a high stool, take the seed in a winnowing pan (*soopa*) and slowly let it fall on the ground. The breeze separates the seed from pieces of straw, etc., which falls separately. A final blow with the *soopa* separates last remnants of straw.

The paddy is stored in the grain-bin constructed by the people at home. Two types of bins are seen in Tilaibhat. One is known as *gandaha kothi* and the other is known as *kirga*. The *gandaha kothi* is made of mud and is made into 3 steps. The *kothi* is about 9′ high from the ground. It rests on stands of 1½′ height. The *kirga* is made of bamboo frame and is then mud-plastered. It is about 2′ above the ground and 5½′ to 6′ high. Total height from the ground is thus about 8′.

The bins are constructed in the safest and one of the inner roomss of the house. They are regularly washed with cowdung. Houses of well-to-do people, like Ramprasad Teli and Chamar Rai Teli, have more than one such grain-bins in their houses.

In Tilaibhat the early and coarse variety of paddy is grown because the finer varieties are late-ripening and require more care and labour. The October rains are very necessary for a full harvest and since no irrigation facilities are available, the cultivators do not take any risk with the fine late-ripening variety of paddy.

Other kharif crops are *kodo* and *rahar*. Cultivation of *kodo* is comparatively easier. The seed is sown broadcast in the fields after the rains and the fields are subsequently ploughed. The *rahar* (a variety of pulse) is either grown on the embankments or together with *kodo* in the fields. The fields with better soils are sown with paddy and are known as *dhanha* fields. Comparatively poorer class of lands known as *bharri* are used for sowing *kodo*, etc. After the paddy harvest is over the second crop of *alsi* (linseed), gram and *tiwara* are sown in the fields. These crops are known as *utera*.

The fields in which wheat is sown are not used for paddy. Wheat fields are not manured.

Crop diseases and pests.—The villagers have their own names for various crop diseases and pests. These local terms are described here as told by the villagers. The diseases recognised in the paddy crop are—Maho, Bharbharha and Fanfa. The disease of the wheat crop is known as Roki and that in the gram is known as Sambal Keera.

Maho disease.—This is also known as *Mahu* in the village. It is described as a white insect which affects the paddy plants. It is said to suck the milk of the seedling. The villagers break a cocoanut in the field to propitiate the God to prevent the pest.

The scientific name of Maho pest is Nephotettix bipunctatus. This insect sucks the juice from the plant.

Bharbharha disease.—*Bharbharha* is the green rust which sets in the fields and retards the growth of plant.

Fanfa (Locust).—Locust sets in the fields in swarms and cuts the leaves of the plants.

Roki (Wheat rust).—This is a disease of the wheat crop. Its effect results in the reddish colour in the wheat and the wheat seed becomes inferior in quality.

Sambal Keera.—This affects the gram plants and cuts the leaves of the plants. This pest is known as gram caterpillar or Haliothis obsoleta. It eats the leaves.

Land-holdings.—The following table shows the position of land-ownership in the village. There are five households in the village who do not have any land at all for cultivation. Six households have taken land on *'adhiya'* from other people. In *'adhiya'* people take the land from other persons and do all the agricultural operations, etc. The person owning the land gets half of the produce. The caste-wise ownership of land-holdings are shown below :

Caste	Household having							
	no land	below 1 acre	1-3 acres	4-7 acres	8-10 acres	11-15 acres	16-20 acres	above 20 acres
Teli ..	1	..	9	11	5	6	2	7
Rawat ..	2	..	2	3	..	..	..	..
Dhobi ..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..
Chhatri ..	..	..	..		2	2	..	..
Bairagi ..	1	..	..	1		..	..	..
Panka ..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Nai ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	**5**	..	**11**	**20**	**7**	**8**	**2**	**7**

this *gudi* must have been outside the village and away from the houses because the villagers never want the visiting officials to be very near them. But now that the village has expanded, some houses have been constructed beyond the *gudi* also and now the villagers have no enthusiasm left to construct a new *gudi*. Even this *gudi* is lying in a neglected condition.

Construction of house.—The Brahmin priest and village *baiga* are not consulted for selecting the house-site. The only consideration is that the site should not be far from other settled houses. Before digging the foundation, the worship ceremony called *thun* is performed. A stone slab is kept and a cocoanut is broken with the prayer to God that the construction may be quick and good and there may be no casualty in construction. When asked whether a chicken or goat sacrifice could be performed at the time of *thun* ceremony, the villagers say that they would not like to take a life on this occasion.

No layout is prepared first on the ground. The reason is that the designs of the houses are so simple that layout is not necessary. The foundation depth in this village is 2′ to 2½′. The foundation is filled with earth. The earth for filling the foundation and for constructing the wall is prepared specially. Paddy-husk (*pirousi*) is mixed with the earth and the two are well mixed with water. The mixing is done by trampling over by foot and it is known as *mati machana*. After the mixture is well made, it is put into foundation. The earth mixture for filling the foundation contains more water than that used for wall construction. The earth mixture in the foundation is allowed to dry and then the construction of the wall begins.

In raising the wall, the members of the households do all the labour themselves and in normal cases do not employ outside labour. The wall is constructed by putting lumps of earth over one another and then properly planing them. All the four sides of the proposed room are raised simultaneously. The wall is raised about a foot at one time and then it is allowed to dry. It is thus constructed in layers of a foot or so. The walls are usually 6 to 7 feet high and about a foot in thickness. Some small holes are left in the walls to serve as windows. There is only one house in the village in the construction of a part of which bricks were used. This house is that of Ram Prasad Teli of the village.

A *badhai* (carpenter) is employed to construct the door-frames and door-panes. The carpenter is called from another village. Not all the houses in the village have wooden doors : some houses have doors made of bamboo-sticks woven together. This woven bamboo-door is made by the villagers themselves. The door is known as *pharika* and there is a saying common in this and other villages :

"jaisan jekar ghar duwar
taisan tekar pharika
jaisan jekar dai-dada
waisan okar larika"

(As the doors of a house are of the same quality and standard as the house, so the children are of the same quality and standard as the mother and father.)

The houses of poorer people have the bamboo *pharika* whereas houses of comparatively well-to-do people have secure wooden doors.

There are three types of roofs. These are known as :

(*a*) *Sari*,
(*b*) *Kat-parchhi*,
(*c*) *Konia*.

In the *sari* kind of roof, the roof slants down on the two sides, *i.e.* front and back, from the central beam. It does not fall on the side walls. In the *kat-parchhi* type, the roof has two stages—one covers the room and the other covers the verandah portion or another room-portion. In the *konia* type of roof, the roof slants on all the four walls. *Konia* type of roof is the most expensive one because it requires more timber. It is also a better protection to the side-walls. The three types of roofs are shown in diagrams in plan and elevation.

When starting to live in a new house some ceremony is performed. Oridnary people give a feast to their relatives or caste-people and well-to-do people get a *Satyanarayan-ki-katha* recited and *pooja* performed by a Brahmin priest.

In the rainy season the side walls in a house having the *sari* roof are protected from the direct showers of rain by *jhakadi* or *jhankar* which is a mat of *rahar* stems or *chhind* leaves woven together.

The house-wives take due care of the houses. The floor is well-washed with cow-dung regularly and bordered white with clay (*chhuhi mati*). The internal walls are also washed with clay. The external side of the walls is either left as it is or washed with

The largest area of cultivable land is held by Ram Prasad Teli of the village. He has 57·49 acres and has 8 members in his household. Land-holdings of over 15 acre size per household are held only by the Telis and there are 7 Teli households in the village who own more than 15 acres of land for cultivation.

Traditional occupations.—Traditional occupations of the different castes in the village as referred to in the literature are :

Caste	*Traditional occupation*
Teli	Oil-pressers
Rawat	Graziers
Dhobi	Washermen
Panka	Weavers
Nai	Barbers

Economic changes in the country have forced the castes to leave these traditional occupations because in face of the growing competition from the mill and factory products, the indigenous industries become less and less lucrative. The Telis have long since abandoned the indigenous oil-mill. The Telis of the village say that five households in the village used to have this traditional industry of the caste but they have abandoned this for the last 15 years because it was not economic. They felt that they would be quite willing to adopt the traditional occupation if it becomes paying but this is not possible now as the mill-product is cheaper.

The Dhobis practise their caste-occupation of washing clothes but this is not their main source of livelihood as in case of Dhobis in the towns. In the village, services of washermen are required only in the birth, marriage and death when clothes are got washed. The main source of livelihood of Dhobis also is agriculture.

The caste-occupation of the Rawats is cattle-grazing and herdsmanship but out of 7 Rawat families, only 2 families, *i.e.* those of Mayaram and Bhairam depend on this occupation as the sole means of livelihood. They are the village-graziers or *bardiha*. Others have taken to cultivation.

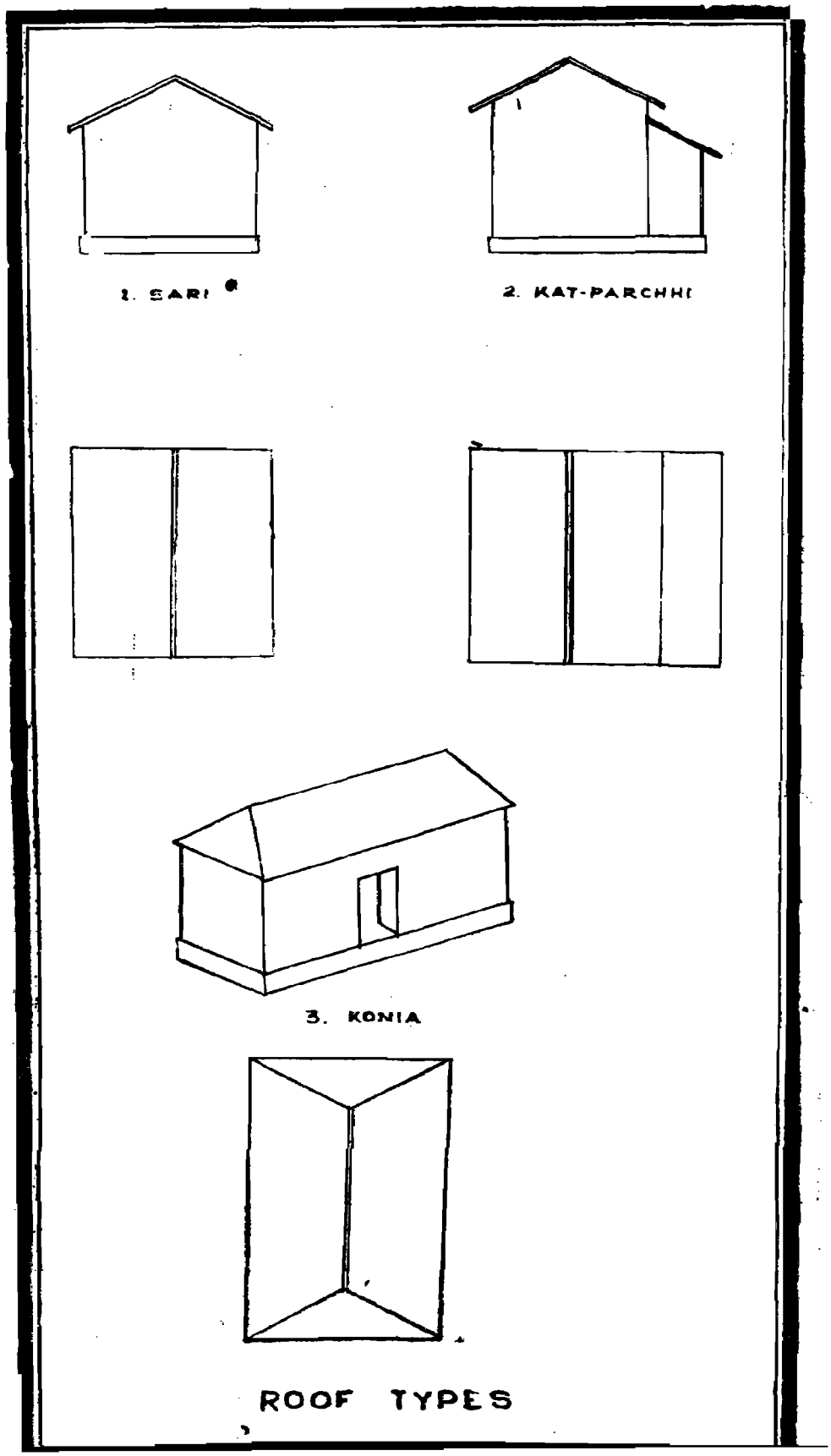
Panka caste is that of professional weavers. But this occupation is not followed by the one Panka family here. The occupation now followed is that of village-watchman.

Nai is the professional barber caste. The Nai in this village carries on this occupation as his sole means of livelihood. He is quite in demand and was invited to settle in this village some 14 years ago because prior to that people had no barber. This barber formerly lived in village Kabratola, 10 miles away from Tilaibhat. He was requested by the inhabitants of the village to come here and was offered land for house-construction. He performs service in every household and yearly quota of grain from each household is fixed for him. He gets 10 *kathas* paddy per male adult and 2 *kathas* paddy per male child per year from each of the households for his service. The village barber has at present no land for cultivation but he is keen to get some land for agricultural pursuits.

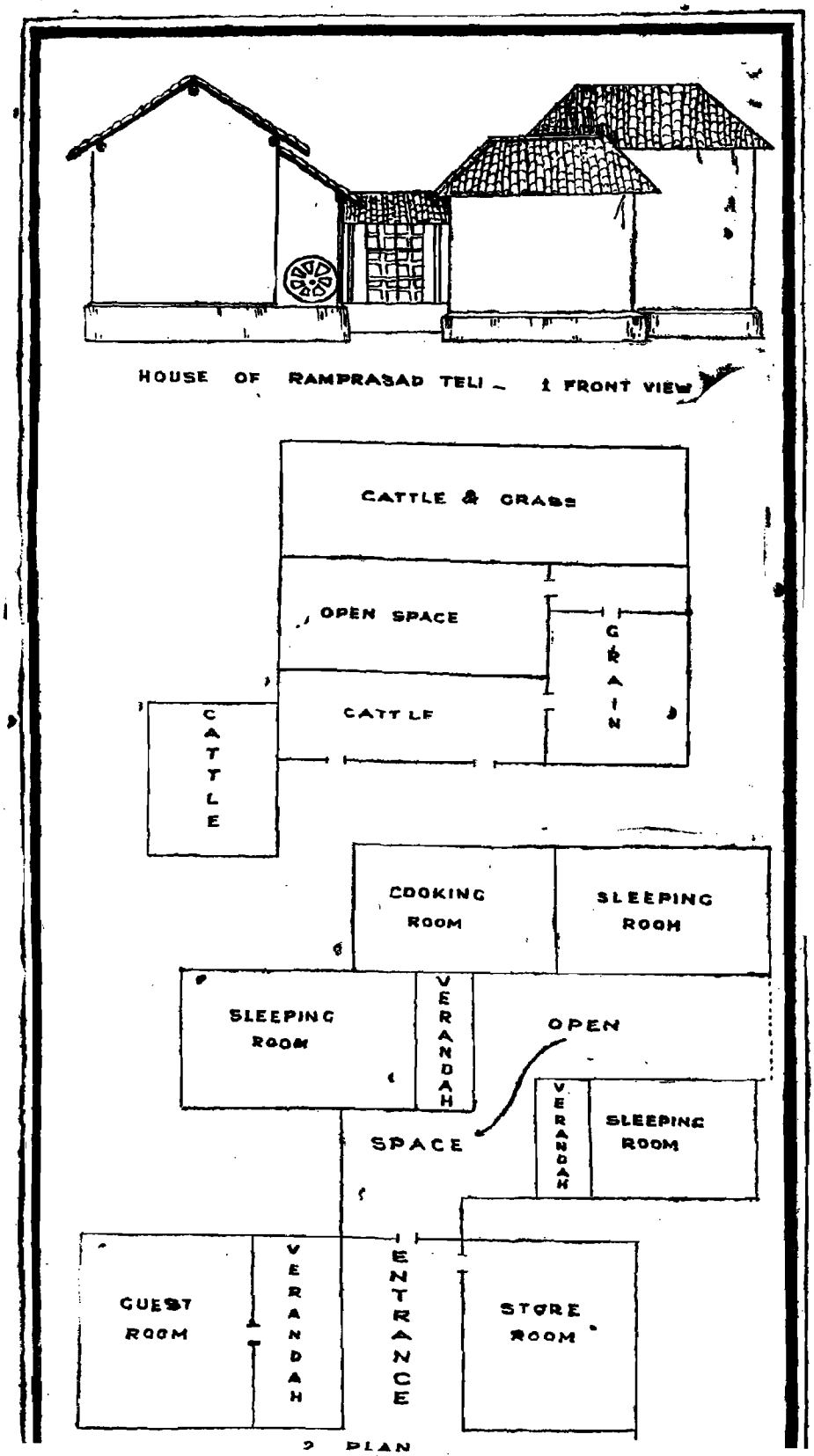
There is no Kumhar (potter) in the village and the earthen pots are brought from Pandariya market. The people are very anxious to get some potter family settled here who could meet the village demand of earthen vessels. But the main difficulty in this scheme is that the soil of the village is not fit for the manufacture of earthen vessels.

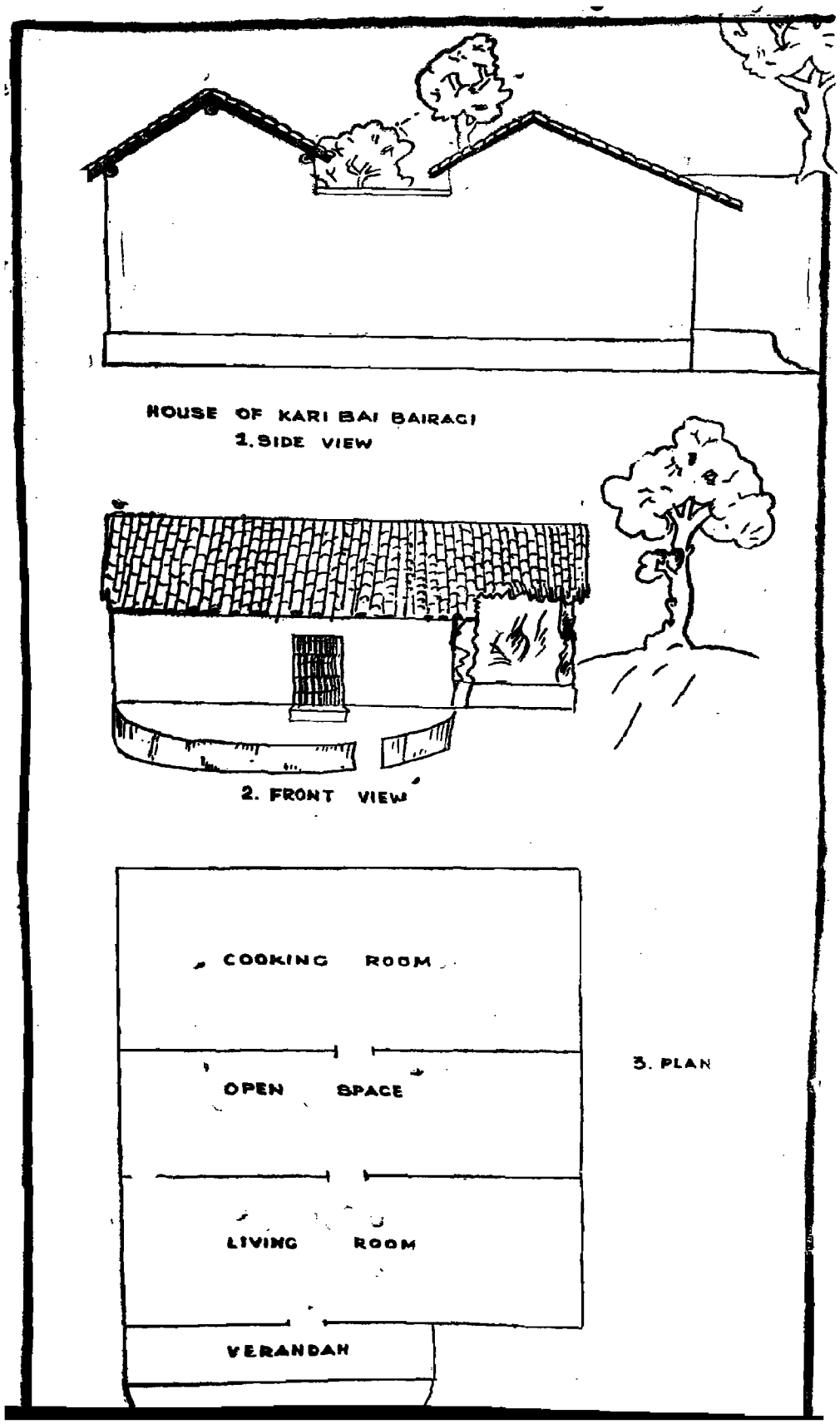
Village settlement and homestead.—The homesteads constructed by the different castes in the village do not differ from one another. Usually the homestead consists of two or more houses built in a line or at an angle from one another. Most of the houses have a separate shed constructed for the cattle by the side or near the living room. Except one Bairagi and two Teli households, all the households living in Tilaibhat have their own houses. Forty-nine houses in the village are 5 years and older, and 11 houses have been constructed or reconstructed within 5 years.

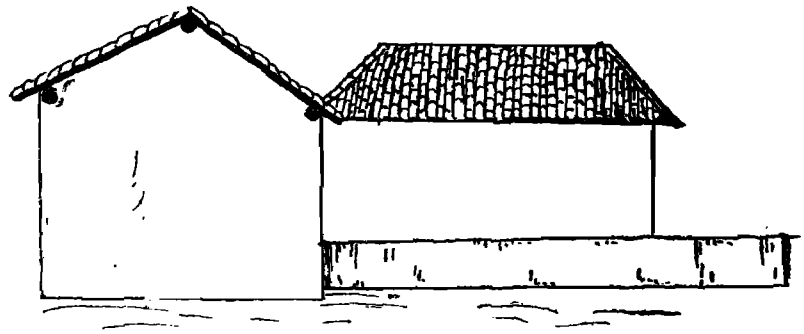
The houses in Tilaibhat are constructed on both the sides of two more or less parallel streets. These two streets are joined by a north-south street in the western part of the village and another small street goes northwards from the longer street. The houses face the street. Caste-wise segregation of houses is not noticed in the village and houses of different castes are all mixed-up. The people have made a *gudi* or rest-house for visiting officials in the east of the village. It is a one-roomed hut and there is no cot or any furniture in the hut. When constructed,



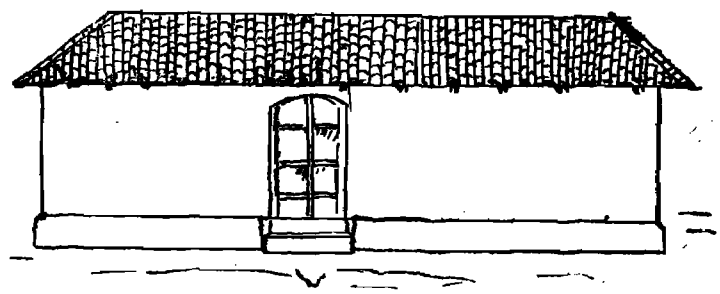
ROOF TYPES


HOUSE OF RAMPRASAD TELI — 1 FRONT VIEW
CATTLE & GRASS
OPEN SPACE
GRAIN
CATTLE
CATTLE
COOKING ROOM
SLEEPING ROOM
SLEEPING ROOM
VERANDAH
OPEN
SPACE
VERANDAH
SLEEPING ROOM
GUEST ROOM
VERANDAH
ENTRANCE
STORE ROOM
2 PLAN

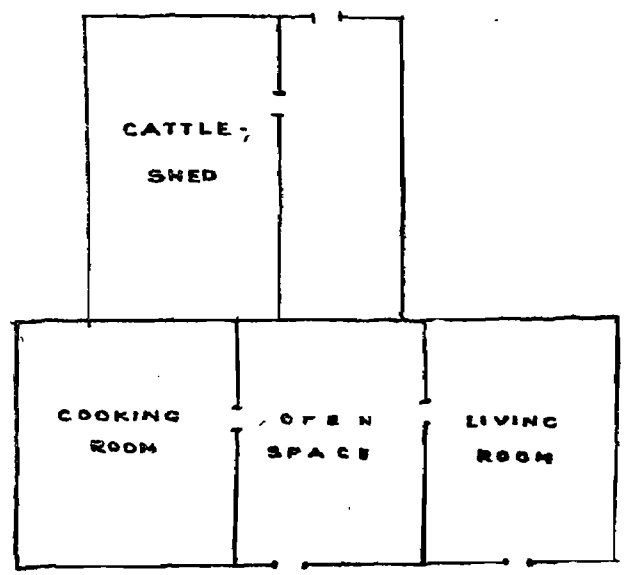

HOUSE OF KARI BAI BAIRAGI
1. SIDE VIEW
2. FRONT VIEW
COOKING ROOM
OPEN SPACE
LIVING ROOM
VERANDAH
3. PLAN



HOUSE OF SAMLOO RAM TE'' — 1. FRONT VIEW



2. FRONT VIEW



3 PLAN

red-clay. The roofs of the houses are repaired and retiling is done when necessary before the onset of rains. Houses are repaired and mud-plastered after the rains are over.

Costs of the homesteads in Tilaibhat.—Cost of the homesteads in the village ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 5,000. This range is a very big one in view of the size of the village. The bigger houses are all of the Telis. The Dhobis, Panka and the Rawats have houses ranging in cost from about Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,000. The cost of the houses of the various castes in the village is represented in the table below :

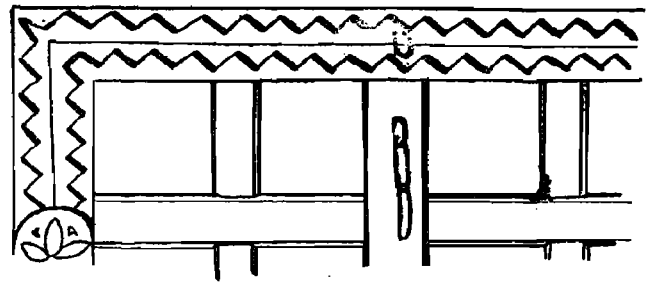
Caste	House-cost in Rupees						
	100	200-400	500-700	800-1000	1100-1500	2000	5000
Teli	1	4	9	13	7	5	2
Rawat	..	2	3	2	..	..	..
Dhobi	..	..	2	2	..	..	..
Chhatri	..	..	1	1	1	..	..
Bairagi	1	..	1	1	..	..	..
Panka	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Nai	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total .. .	**3**	**6**	**16**	**20**	**8**	**5**	**2**

Living conditions in Tilaibhat.—Living conditions in the village are not entirely satisfactory. Practically all the houses are ill-ventilated and ill-lighted. Of course, the village houses are such that the absence of windows is no hindrance to cross ventilation because there is always some space between the roof and the walls and the bamboo-thatch and tiles easily allow the smoke etc., to pass out. But all the same presence of windows at the proper level in the walls makes a big difference in the ventilation and lighting of the rooms. The villagers have not constructed windows at all or constructed very small sized windows for two main reasons. Firstly they just do not think that windows are necessary for better and healthier living and secondly the presence of big windows would make the house somewhat unsafe.

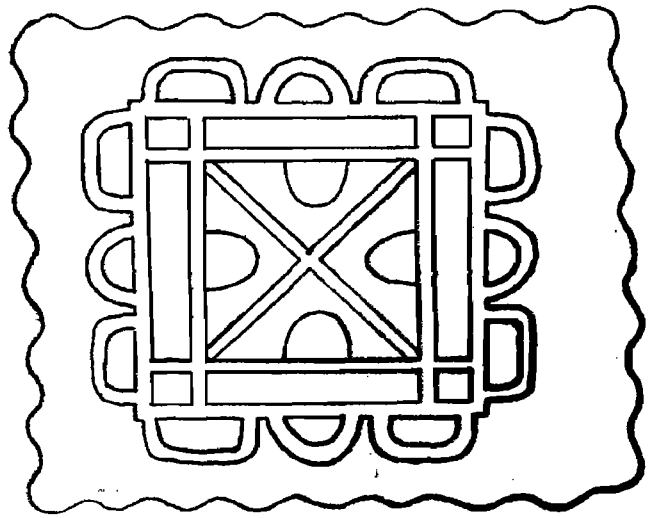
Table VI given in the Appendix shows the housing conditions in the village. It does not present any satisfactory picture as majority of the households have one or two living rooms only. Many of the households do not have a separate cooking room. After the food is cooked and eaten, the same room is used for sleeping, etc.

Caste	Household having	
	no separate kitchen	separate kitchen
Teli	30	11
Rawat	6	1
Dhobi	1	3
Chhatri	1	2
Bairagi	1	2
Panka	..	1
Nai	1	..
Total ..	**40**	**20**

This table shows that the Telis, Rawats and the Nai do not usually have separate cooking rooms, whereas the Chhatri, Dhobi, Bairagi and the Panka have separate cooking rooms. The position corresponds with the general prevalent customs. The Telis, the Rawats and the Nai do not think that after cooking, the room or the part of the room becomes polluted and needs washing with cow-dung. They just remove the cooking utensils and use the



1. CARVING ON THE DOOR-FRAME (CHAUKHAT)



A. SITA CHAUK



B NAHA

2 (A & B) DESIGNS ON THE WALL

place for sleeping. But the Dhobi, Bairagi, Chhatri and Panka feel that the cooking pollutes the room and one cannot sleep there unless the area is washed with cow-dung or at least water sprinkled over the place. This belief explains the table given above.

No motifs, etc., are found on the house walls. Females in some of the houses make some figures on the walls with mud. But the figure does not symbolize anything except decoration. Thes figures in general are as shown in diagrams. Human figures are also painted on some walls with cow-dung.

Household possessions.—The villagers ordinarily use cots for sleeping. These cots are very small in size as compared to the cots in towns and any person of normal stature cannot sleep on them with legs stretched. The usual size seen is $4\frac{1}{2}' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$. Hemp rope for weaving the cots is brought from Pandariya market.

The people do not use a pillow for resting the head. *Kathri* serves as the bed-sheet. *Kathri* is made up of old *lugdas* (*saris*) sewn together and then a comparatively newer cloth is covered over it. Thus it becomes about as thick as a woollen blanket. Country-made blankets are used for cover during winter. In the rains and summer, part of the *lugda* of the females and the *dhoti* of the males is used as cover-sheet. Cotton-quilt or mill-blankets are possessed only by Ram Prasad Patel but even in his house, all the members do not have such blankets and they ase the same country-blankets or *kamra*.

The people in this village and in other villages also are not able to explain why the size of the cots is so small. The reason is definitely not an economic one because bigger cot hardly costs anything more. The reason probably is that in the absence of proper covering like a good blanket or quilt, the people are forced to sleep in a huddled-up posture and in this posture the present size of cot is quite satisfactory. Lying in this posture becomes a habit and the cot-size is, therefore, persisting. Even if a bigger cot is provided the people will still occupy only three-fourths of its length.

In winter *gorsi* is put underneath the cot. *Gorsi* is a bowl-like structure made of earth in which cow-dung cake fire is kept. This provides the warmth from below. *Gorsi* is also used to give fomentation to children.

There are hardly any items for personal decoration in the house. The comb and mirror are of course there but the mirrors are of the cheap variety and of small size.

The cooking utensils and water-pots, etc., are earthen and of metal. Cooking and eating utensils in the different communities are of the following types :

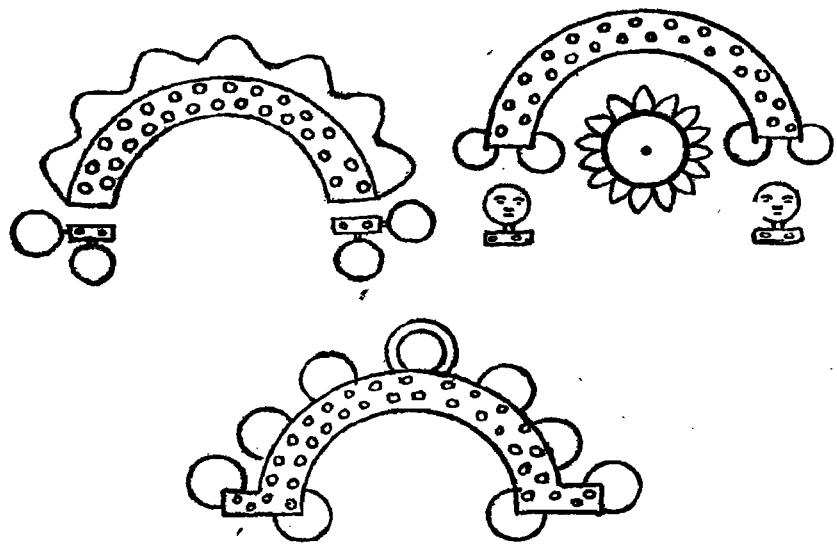
Caste	Earthen vessels	Metal vessels			
		Total	Brass	Bronze	Others
Teli	109	404	187	184	33
Rawat	18	45	20	24	1
Dhobi	6	31	10	21	..
Chhatri	10	26	15	11	..
Bairagi	7	34	16	18	..
Panka	Not available				
Nai	4	5	2	3	..

Water is brought from the tank or well in the brass *haula*. A vessel of a smaller size is called *hauli*. The water is stored in black earthen pots or pitchers (*matka*.)

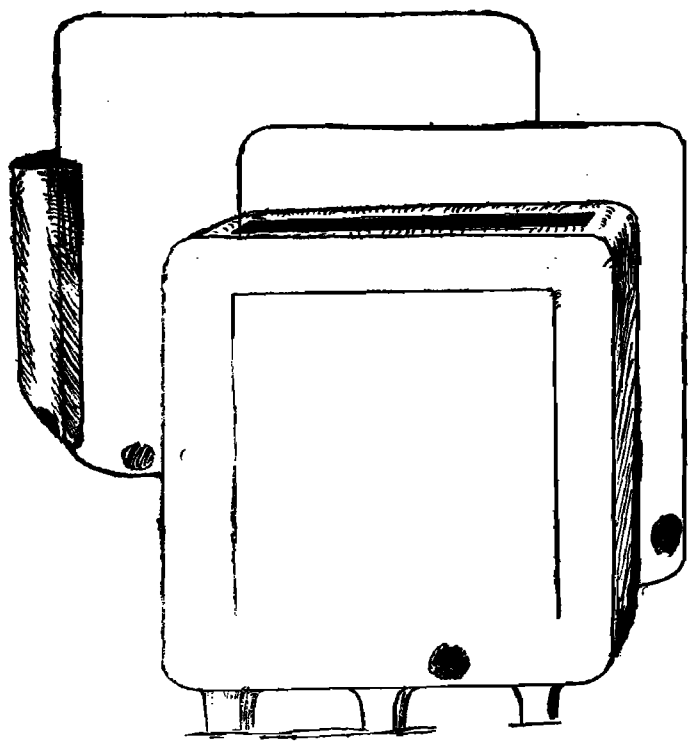
Every house has two or three *chulhas* or ovens made of earth for cooking. Rice is cooked in earthen vessels. The brass vessel called *batua* may also be used for this purpose. The pulse may similarly be cooked in an earthen or brass vessel (*batua*). Vegetables are cooked in *karahi* made of iron or in earthen *kanouji*. The pulse and curry is stirred and taken out with a big spoon known as *dua*. It is made out of a cocoanut-shell fitted with a wooden handle.

Eating utensils are *thari* (dish), *sekmi* or *batki* (eating bowl), *maliya* or *tharkuliya* (plate) and *katori* (plate). *Sekmi* or *batki* is a shallow plate of about 12"diameter. It is used for eating *basi*. Dishes on *thari* are also used for eating. The smaller plate of bronze is the *maliya* or *tharkuliya*.

Practically all the houses, except those of the Nai and other poor people, have in their houses the rice-pounding implement known as *dhenki*. The *dhenki* is a wooden beam at the end of which is fixed a wooden piece fitted with iron-ring. The *dhenki* works on the principle of lever. The women press one end of the *dhenki* with the foot and



1. DESIGNS ON THE WALL



2. GRAIN-BIN

then relieve the pressure. Similarly practically every well-to-do house possesses the earthen grinding implement known as *janta* or *jantwa*. It is used to grind wheat or rice into flour.

There are 17 bullock-carts in the village. In the houses possessing the bullock-carts, the cart-wheel, some baskets, and earthen utensils for cattle are kept in the cattle-shed. Each house has usually two brooms. One of these known as the *kharenta* is used for cleaning the cattle-shed. *Kharenta* is ususlly made up of the stems of *rahar* (a kind of pulse) plant. The other broom is used for the house. There are 2 bicycles in the village, both with the Telis.

For protection against rain, the villagers usually use *khumri* which is a conical-hat made up of two layers of bamboo work within which leaves of tendu (Diospyros melanoxylon) are put and inter-sewn with the bamboo work. *Khumri* is put on like a hat and is very useful when working in the fields in the rain or when grazing cattle because both hands are free. The umbrella is slowly entering the village and the Patel and some others possess umbrellas. But they also opine that for field work, *khumri* is the ideal wear against rain, umbrella being not suitable because it engages one hand.

Village-chappals used by women are known as *harpa*. The men use *bhadai panhi* and in rainy season *chiklahi joota*. All these are purchased from Pandariya and are country-made.

The musical instruments in the village are described under the chapter 'Recreation'.

Food habits.—Tables VIII and IX illustrate the food habits of the people in village Tilaibhat. As elsewhere in the rice-growing areas, rice is the staple food of the people and is taken in different forms. It is also ground to powder and some preparations made of it. The commonest preparation of rice is *basi* which means 'left overnight'. In the evening the rice is cooked and eaten with pulse and *chatni* or some vegetable curry. Usually the quantity of rice is double the normal requirement for the evening meal. After meal the remaining portion of cooked rice is put in an earthen pot and water is put into it to cover the rice. This is left overnight and eaten next day in the morning and noon time with salt and chillies,' mixture. The water in which rice is soaked is drunk. It is said that *basi* is a very refreshing diet and keeps the digestive system in order.

It would be interesting to note here the extracts from some poems written about *basi* which is a common food in the whole of rural Chhattisgarh. One poet[1] singing the glories of Chhattisgarh says about the *basi*:

"Bandoun Chhattisgarh ki 'Basi'
Sur durlabh ati saras sudhasi
Jo nit iska pasiya peeta
Nishchay sou warshon tak jeeta."

(I sing the glories of the *basi* of Chhattisgarh which is not easily available even to the Gods. It is like nectar. He who regularly drinks its water definitely lives for hundred years.)

A Teli poet[2] has composed a full poem about the *basi*. He says :

"Gajab pushtai bhare he bhai
Chhattisgarh ke Basi ma.
Tharh bera ma mai-peela
Khet-khar le at han ga
Ekak batki her her ke
Chatni-noon ma khat han ga
Jiv ha nichat jurhathe bhai
Katko rahis thakasi ma
Gajab pushtai bhare he bhai
Chhattisgarh ke basi ma."

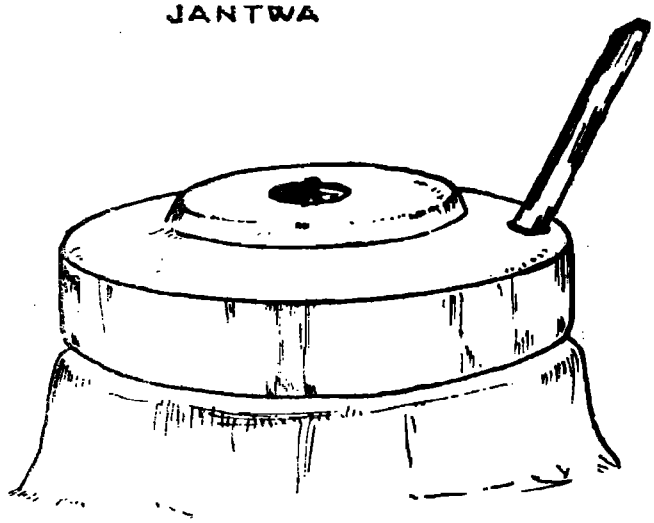
(O brother, how wonderfully nourishing and strength-giving is the *basi* of Chhattisgarh. We, the whole family, come in the noon time from the fields and taking the *basi* in the *batki*, we eat it with salt and *chatni*. However much may be the fatigue, the body feels fresh again. How wonderful is the *basi* of Chhattisgarh.)

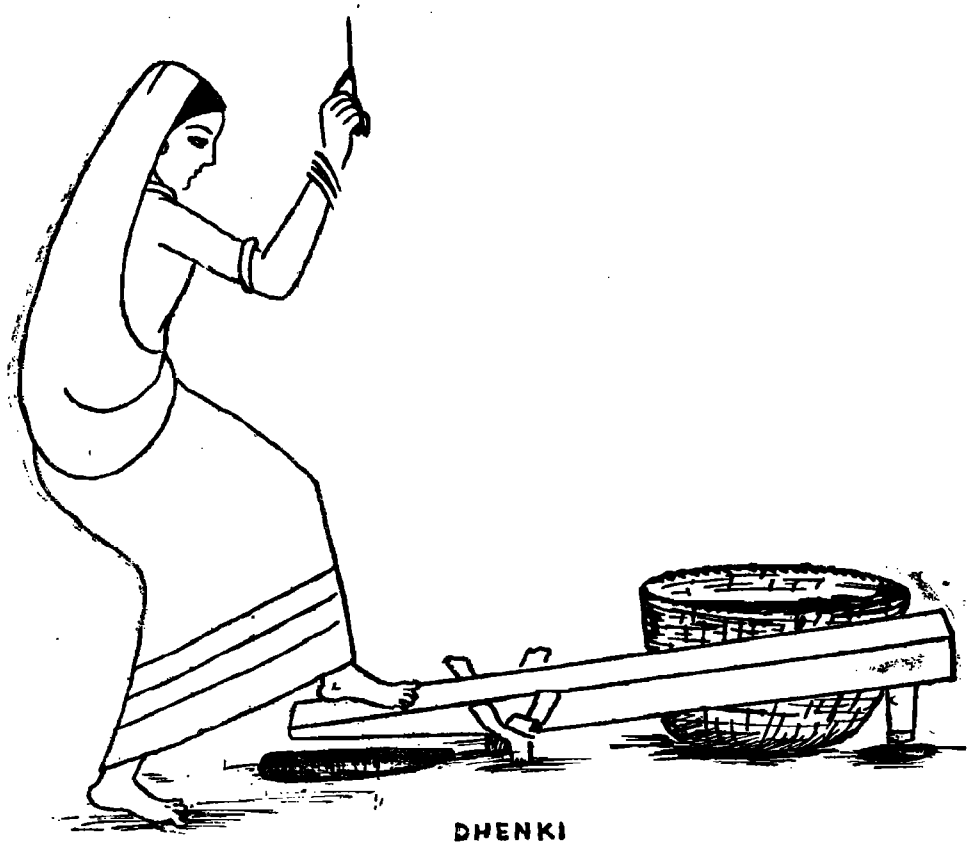
Another preparation of rice is *pej* (gruel). The rice is cooked in the ordinary way but the water is not allowed to dry up completely and the extract (*marh*) is not taken out. Thus the product is a mixture of water-rice. *Pej* is eaten when hot and is given to convalescing people.

Bhat is the rice cooked in the usual manner and eaten with pulse (*dal*) and curry. The pulses used are *arhar, moong, urid* and *masoor*. Vegetable is grown in some of the houses and is also

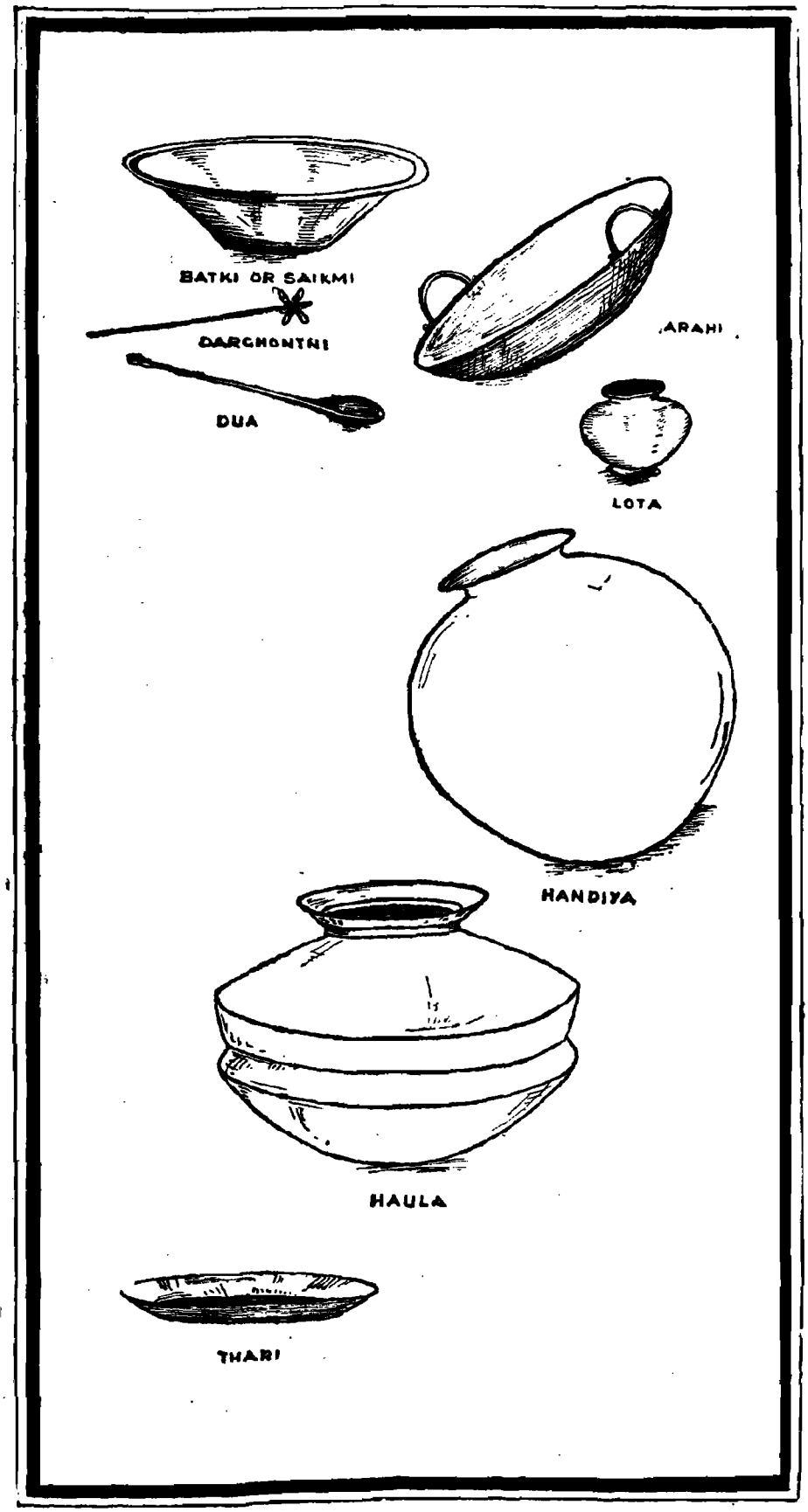
1. Sahoo Sandesh, Vol. I, No. 5 1960, Niranjanlal Gupta, p. 16.
2. Sahoo Sandesh, Vol. I, No. 11, 1961, Yogendra Singh Sahoo, p. 12.

JANTWA





DHENKI


BATKI OR SAIKMI
DARCHONTNI
DUA
ARAHI
LOTA
HANDIYA
HAULA
THARI

brought from Pandariya market. In fact the vegetable curry is regarded as a delicacy and the women start their conversation with the kind of vegetable they have cooked or eaten.

During festivities, the food preparations are different. The usual food is *sunhari* which are the same as *puri* or *luchi*, *i.e.* thin cakes of flour fried in oil. Both the wheat and rice flour are used to prepare *sunhari*. *Bara* is another common item of food at the time of festivals. It is a preparation of *urid* pulse which is soaked in water, ground to paste and small cakes of it fried in oil.

The sweets, etc., prepared in the village at the time of festivities or bought in the market are *thethri*, *khurmi*, *ladoo* and *dahrouri*. *Thethri* is prepared out of gram-flour which is made into a dough with water and salt and chillies powder to taste. The dough is then made into thin sticks as thick as the little finger and pieces of it about 1" to 2" long are cut and given a little twist are fried in oil. *Thethri* is also prepared out of wheat flour.

Khurmi is prepared out of wheat flour and sweetened with *gur*. Little rectangular pieces of one inch to two inches long are cut and fried in oil.

Ladoo is made of rice or wheat flour and sugar or *gur*. But a favourite sweet when in the market is the *murra-ladoo* which is parched rice and *gur* syrup made into balls. Flour of gram or *tiwara* made into dough and then fried after being passed through a sieve are also put in *gur* syrup and made into balls.

Dahrouri is prepared of rice flour. The flour is made into dough and small cakes of it are fried in oil. The cakes are then soaked in a syrup of *gur* for sweetening .

The Bairagis are strict vegetarians and do not take any non-vegetarian food. The Dhobis and the Telis take non-vegetarian food but do not eat chicken and eggs. It is, however, likely that some people take this stealthily. There is no such prohibition in the Rawat caste regarding chicken. The Panka is again a vegetarian caste because Kabir Panth does not allow meat-eating. Those Telis who have adopted Kabir Panth publicly refrain from meat-eating. The people are not able to say why chicken is prohibited.

In the village practically everybody takes 3 meals a day. In the morning is eaten the *basi* and the males go out to the fields to work. In the noon time, *basi* is again taken either in the field itself or on returning home. If the women in the house are free they may cook *bhat* or *pej* also for the mid-day meal. In the night at about 7 or 8 P. M. the *pej* or *bhat* is eaten with curry-*dal* or *chatni*.

The diet of the people in Tilaibhat necessarily predominates in starch because rice is the only food taken. *Dal* or pulse is the only common proteinous food but poorer people do not take it daily. Meat is only occasionally eaten. As stated earlier, taking vegetables is a delicacy. The people similarly do not take the required amount of fat. Milk is given only to the children and the sick, and the normal adults take it only rarely.

The appetite of the people in Tilaibhat, as in other villages also, is good. The quantity of cooked rice eaten by one person is undoubtedly at least 3 times the rice eaten by us. Of course, we take other things also in addition like *dal* or vegetable curry. But given *dal* and vegetable curry, a villager would consume more *bhat* because of taste.

Introduction of regular proteinous food in the diet of the people would definitely improve the condition of the people. An average Chhattisgarh cultivator looks so small before his counterpart in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab because the latter consume regular proteinous foods; the former lives only on starch.

Health and hygiene.—The villagers of Tilaibhat do not observe any code of personal hygiene. Children are not given any training in body hygiene and body-care and cleanliness. Urbanization and acculturation have introduced more elaborate forms of dress into the villages but has not taught that the clothes must be clean. In Chhattisgarh it was not very long ago that people lived on very little clothing. The men wearing nothing on the upper portion of the body and the females wearing just a *lugda*. Shirts and blouses have found places in rural life but the sense that these should be cleaned does not seem to have yet dawned on them. A shirt is worn, taken out and worn again. It is put on occasionally and this apparently is the only justification for its being used without washing for weeks and months. It is washed only when it becomes absolutely unfit for wear. It is believed that regular washing reduces the life of the cloth and so people prefer to wear them dirty and get infected with skin diseases.

Body-care.—Practically all adults bathe daily in the tank. Hot water is not generally used even

in the winter. Hot water is used only by women after delivery. It is not necessary to take a bath during sickness or when one is not feeling well nor is it necessary for the women to bathe before entering the kitchen. They can cook food without taking a bath but usually bathe before taking food. In summer, people bathe both in the morning and in the evening.

The use of soap is not common. They say that the use of soap is a *shauk* (luxury). The soap used for bathing is not a bath-soap at all but cheap washing soap purchased at 2 annas or so at Pandariya. For cleaning the head and hair, the women use *chikni mati* (soft earth) or *rakh mati* (washing soda). The body is rubbed with cloth or a piece of stone. The tank is the place for bathing, however dirty the water may be.

Clothes are washed after boiling them in water with washing soda. They are given to the washerman only after birth and death when ritual-purity is required. For cleaning the teeth, twigs of *Babool* or *Neem* (*datoon*) are used. But generally speaking not much care is given to teeth, and surprisingly enough, teeth diseases are rare. Ears are never cleaned. Nails are cut only when the hair is cut by the barber. Women use hot ash as depilatory.

The people do not hesitate to put on dirty clothes. When necessary, water is filtered through a piece of cloth irrespective of the fact that the cloth is very dirty. They spit everywhere—even in the kitchen.

Diseases.—Common diseases in the village are stomach troubles, fever and cough. Venereal diseases seem to be rare and only one case has come to notice, that of a woman aged 30 years or so. For these diseases, people prefer to take *sooji* (injections) from Pandariya. The Vaidya is also consulted by some people.

Fever is the most common ailment; this is natural also because the village surroundings are ideal places for mosquito breeding and people do not use any mosquito nets to protect themselves.

On the whole, however, the villagers are healthy and do not become ill. The cases of illness, as compared with the village population, are very few and in the last one year the cases of illness were only 17.

Community	Total population	Persons reporting themsleves ill and going to doctor/ vaidya for treatment	Percentage of illness cases to total population
Teli ..	248	14	5.6
Rawat ..	34	..	..
Dhobi ..	17	..	..
Chhatri ..	12	2	16·6
Bairagi ..	11	1	9·00
Nai ..	5	..	..
Panka ..	3	..	..
Total ..	**330**	**17**	**5·15**

The people have their own medicines for various diseases and go to the doctor only in refractory cases. The treatment to various diseases and ailments in the village is described below :

1. Ordinary bleeding wounds. Earth, kerosene oil.
2. Eczema, itch or other skin diseases. Turmeric powder.
3. Diorrhala, dysentry .. Aque camphor, *ark pudina*, curd.
4. Cough and cold .. Tea.
5. Fever .. .. Tea in which *tulsi* (*Ocymns sanctum*) leaves or ginger is boiled.
6. Scorpionbite and Snake bite .. *Mantra* by *Baiga* Doctor.

The villagers believe in the cure of diseases and expulsion of 'malign spirits' by *mantra*. The person who knows *mantra* or this art is called *Baiga*. Sukaloo Teli aged about 50 years is the village *Baiga* and he is called in cases while the child is not suckling mother's milk or when children are ill and also when the grown-ups are ill and suspect the effect of some malevolent spirit. Scorpion bites are also attended to by Sukaloo. It appears that Sukaloo has quite an appreciable clientale in the village.

Baiga is a common term in Chhattisgarh to describe a person who is supposed to know *mantra*, etc. by which he cures the effects of malign spirits and snakes, scorpions, etc. These *Baigas* have nothing to do with the Baiga tribe of Mandla District. The profession of *Baiga* is not a hereditary one. Sukaloo *Baiga* of Tilaibhat does not seem to have undergone any training in his supposed art. He is known as *Baiga* simply because one of his relatives living in another village is a Baiga.

Description	*Teli*	*Rawat*	*Dhobi*	*Chhatri*	*Bairagi*	*Nai*	*Panka*
No. of families who ever required the services of the *Baiga* for a member of the household.	33	6	4	3	2	1	1
No. of families who never required the services of the *Baiga*.	8	1	..	..	1	..	..
Total	**41**	**7**	**4**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**1**

Births and deaths in the village from 1956 till the date of this survey are shown in the table below :

Year	Births			Deaths		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1956	16	9	7	4	2	2
1957	16	8	8	6	3	3
1958	20	11	9	16	9	7
1959	15	9	6	9	5	4
1960	13	7	6	13	6	7
1961 (till the date of survey) ..	10	3	7	9	7	2

INCOME, EXPENDITURE, INDEBTEDNESS

Income.—Tilaibhat has a predominantly agricultural economy and in general agriculture is the greatest source of income. Table X illustrates the income position in the village. The households of different castes have been shown below arranged according to income groups :

Caste	Income group in Rs.				
	Less than 25	25-50	51-75	76-100	More than 100
Teli	1	11	14	6	9
Rawat	1	3	2	1	..
Dhobi	..	2	2	..	..
Chhatri	..	2	1	..	..
Bairagi	..	1	2	..	..
Panka	..	..	1	..	..
Nai	..	1	..	..	..
Total	**2**	**20**	**22**	**7**	**9**

The table shows that it is only the Telis who are in the monthly income group of more than Rs 100. As a whole, 70% of the households fall in the income group Rs. 25-75 per month. The table presented below shows the sources and monthly income of different castes :

Caste	No. of house-holds	Income in Rs. from						Total Income
		Agricul-ture	Animal Husbandry	Service	Forest Products	Labour	Others	
Teli ..	41	2,129	15	..	10	854	17	3,025
Rawat ..	7	194	11	10	..	138	1	354
Dhobi ..	4	191	..	23	..	..	6	220
Chhatri ..	3	135	..	..	..	..	22	157
Bairagi ..	3	114	1	..	18	..	15	148
Panka ..	1	36	..	33	..	..	..	69
Nai ..	1	..	..	50	..	..	..	50
Total ..	**60**	**2,799**	**27**	**116**	**28**	**992**	**61**	**4,023**

The average income per household is highest in Teli caste where it comes to Rs. 74 per month and the lowest income per household is in the Rawat and the Nai caste where it comes to Rs. 50 per household. The Bairagi, Chhatri and the Dhobi households have Rs 50-55 per month as average household income.

The tables appended at the end of the report illustrate the income picture of the village economy in detail.

Expenditure.—The table below shows the average monthly expenditure in different castes in Tilaibhat :

Item of expenditure in rupees	In caste						
	Teli	Rawat	Dhobi	Chhatri	Bairagi	Panka	Nai
1. Food ..	2,103	262	143	100	90	51	25
2. Conventional necessities	50	13	4	5	..	1	2
3. Intoxicants ..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Fuel and Lighting ..	150	22	14	9	3	3	3
5. Clothing ..	239	31	20	10	15	6	3
6. Education ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
7. Medicines ..	59	4	4	5	2	..	1
8. Other means of production	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9. Fodder ..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
10. Social obligation ..	84	5	6	3	..	2	1
11. Other domestic utilities	82	8	7	3	..	2	2
12. Dwellings ..	132	17	12	12	4	2	2
13. Religious ceremonies ..	71	7	8	4	1	2	1
14. Recreation ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
15. Other ..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..
Total ..	**2,986**	**369**	**220**	**151**	**115**	**69**	**40**

Apart from food, the items of expenditure in the village are conventional necessities, fuel and lighting, clothing, social obligation, dwellings, religious ceremonies and domestic utilities. Out of these, religious ceremonies, dwellings and social obligations are items over which expenditure may be required only once or twice in a year. But the other items like conventional necessities, fuel and lighting, clothing and domestic utilities are items of regular expenditure.

In conventional necessities, tobacco forms a major item. The people roll their own *chongi* (cigar) which consists of leaves of *sarai* (Shorea robusta) and tobacco. The tobacco is purchased from village Pouni and *sarai* leaves are purchased from Pandariya market. On an average each household spends about Rs. 10-20 on smoking per year. Well-to-do people smoke *bidi*. Another important item of expenditure is on fuel and lighting materials. They have to pay a tax to collect fuel wood and they suggest that the government should make an arrangement in which they are not required to pay to the contractor for fuel wood.

It may be seen that there is no expenditure on means of production, very little for cattle-fodder and similarly practically nothing on education.

Indebtedness.—The real picture of village indebtedness is not brought out in this enquiry. The people tell us only about the cash amounts they have taken for social obligations, house construction or religious ceremonies. But the real indebtedness, and the one which explains Patel Ram Prasad's becoming the spokesman of the village, lies in the indebtedness connected with seed and food-grains. Patel Ram Prasad loans out such requirements in *badhi*, *i.e.* he collects one and a half times the loan at the end of the harvest. In other seasons when he loans for consumption, he collects one and a quarter times. This loan is not acknowledged by the people and cannot be ascertained exactly unless sustained efforts are made. They fear that if they give out this figure Patel would not give them the loan.

Tables XI and XII given in the appendix illustrate the position in the village with regard to indebtedness. The loan for purchase of agricultural cattle and for improvement of land is got by the villagers from the Co-operative and Land Mortgage Bank at Bilaspur, but loans for marriages and religious celebrations are taken from different persons, among whom Ram Prasad Teli is quite prominant. Loans are given to the villagers by the Co-operative Bank through the Co-operative Society in the village.

The year-wise burden of debt in the village is as below :

Year	Amount of debt taken in Rs.
1958	510
1960	4,422
1961	70
Total	5,002

Caste-wise burden of this debt is not brought out in the tables given in the appendix and the same is shown here:

Caste	Total No. of house-holds	No. of house-hold in debt	Perceu-tage of household in debt to total households	Amount of debt since 1958 in rupees
Teli ..	41	22	53·6	4,433
Rawat ..	7	2	28·5	250
Dhobi ..	4	..	..	..
Chhatri ..	3	2	66·6	269
Bairagi ..	3	..	..	..
Panka ..	1	..	..	..
Nai ..	1	1	100·0	50
Total ..	60	27	45	5,002

Indebtedness by cause (Table XII) shows that the debt has been taken either for marriage celebration or for land reclamation, purchase of bullock or land improvement. But in the case of Khorbahara Nai (Barber) the debt has been taken for food. This also shows the economic condition of the barber in the village and the reason why he too wants to be an agriculturist rather than a village servant.

The source of debt is the Co-operative and Land Mortgage Bank, Bilaspur or some well-to-do villager. In rare cases it is from a registered money-lender. The source of debt in the village is shown below:

Caste	Total households in debt	No. of households raising debts from			
		Coop. and Land Mortgage Bank	From the village itself	Outside the village but within district	Outside the district
Teli	22	12	..	5	1
Rawat	2	..	..	2	..
Dhobi	..	..	..	..	..
Chhatri	2	1	1	..	..
Bairagi	..	..	..	..	..
Panka	..	..	..	..	..
Nai	1	..	..	1	..
Total	**27**	**13**	**5**	**8**	**1**

This statement shows that approximately 50% of the debt in the village is now got from the Co-operative and Land Mortgage Bank at Bilaspur and 50% from other sources. Within the village Ram Prasad Patel is the person who gives out this debt. In only one case did the villagers go out of the district for a loan and that too was a nearby tahsil of Durg District.

Information regarding the indebtedness in village Tilaibhat was verified from the Co-operative and Land Mortgage Bank at Mungeli Branch. This branch of the bank was started in 1944 and a Co-operative Society in Tilaibhat was organised in 1955.

The procedure of advancing loan by the Co-operative and Land Mortgage Bank is that the Bank advances the loan to the Co-operative Society in the village. The bank advances loan of Rs. 40 over one acre of land and the rates of interest are as below :

1. For Co-operative Society—
   - Short term 6%
   - Medium term 6½%
2. For Members —
   - Short term 9%
   - Medium term 9½%

The year wise growth of the Co-operative Society at Tilaibhat and yearwise distribution of loan is shown in the Table below :

Year	Shares	Loan taken in Rs.	Short term loan in Rs.	Medium term loan in Rs.	Purpose of loan
1955	13	2,430	..	..	Purchase of cattle.
1956	13	1425	954	471	Do.
1957	18	2,349	1,572	777	Do.
1958	24	2,653	1,777	786	Do.
1959	24	2,012	1,144	868	Do.
1960	26	2,296	1,615	671	Purchase of cattle and fertilizer.
1961	27	2,350	2,350	..	Agricultural purposes

The Co-operative Society in village Tilaibhat was formed in 1955 and was registered under Co-operative Societies' Act on 31st May 1955 and it has one Sarpanch, one Secretary and three Panchas. At present the office bearers are:

1. Sarpanch	..	Shri Domara Teli
2. Secretary	..	Shri Itwari Teli
3. Panchas	..	Shri Sahoran
		Shri Lakhan
		Shri Dhanau

The year-wise recovery of this loan from the village is as below :

Year	Amount of recovery in Rs.
1956	1,996
1957	1,912
1958	2,410
1959	3,153
1960	2,477
1961	3,081

The procedure of recovery of loan is that the short term loan is recoverable in one yearly instalment, medium term loan in 2 or 3 instalments and the long term loan in 6 instalments. The amount recoverable from the village up to date is Rs. 2,025·06.

It is to be noticed that the statement of debt shown on page 74 supra, does not corroborate the figures got from the bank, *e.g.* the total amount of debt in 1961 is shown by the villagers as Rs. 70 whereas as per the bank the loan advance is Rs. 3,081. The information from the bank is, however, to be taken as the reliable figure.

CHAPTER VII

SUPERSTITIONS, RELIGION AND FESTIVALS

The religious life of any people is expressed in manifestations in outward form, in beliefs and in rites. Durkheim, therefore, defined religion as composed of 'beliefs' and 'rites', beliefs about sacred things and rites addressed to them. Mere beliefs do not constitute religion, it is rites which make religion a living force.....Max Schmidt divided religion into its component parts, into *cultus* and *rites*. By *cultus*, Max Schmidt means 'all those acts by which men believe themselves to be brought into touch with the powers that are the objects of their religious faith !"[1]

It appears that as compared with the religion in Tribal societies, the religion in villages like Tilaibhat is on the decline. As Durkheim stated : 'Mere beliefs do not constitute religion, rites are required to make it a living force'. In rural life today there is a divorce between beliefs and rites and the rural religion as seen in Tilaibhat is more belief and little rite. The result is that religion is no more a living force. Life, therefore, seems to have become a purposeless routine.

Villagers in Tilaibhat are not atheists. On the other hand they are polytheists. They believe that the course of man's life is predestined by God and his 'everything"—health, wealth, life and death depend on the will of God. They have, however, no idea of what God is or of who among the various deities and divinities, is really the controller of man's life.

Belief in supernatural spirits.—Practically all the villagers believe in the existence of spirits and ghosts though none of them have any experience of encountering such spirits. They believe that the spirits live in the burial and cremation ground and that evil-minded people after their death become such spirits.

They identify many spirits, *e. g., raksa, masan, bhoot, pret, churel* and *pretin*. But except that of *raksa*, they are not able to give any precise description of any of these. *Raksa* is the supernatural phenomenon seen in the nights in the form of flames of fire which glows, flickers and then flares up and glows again. It is then seen at some distance away and the same phenomenon occurs. *Raksa* is supposed to be a male spirit and is supposed to obstruct the way sometimes. It is said that if a man is encountered by *raksa* he should return. Some *raksas* are believed to be benign ones and if a man has courage, it is said, they will give him light on the way on dark nights. It is believed that a Brahmin who dies without marrying becomes a *raksa* but members of other castes dying without marriage do not become *raksas* but become *bhoot*. The *raksas* are supposed to dwell near the trees. Chamar Rai Teli of Tilaibhat claims to have seen a *raksa* spirit. He says that he saw 3 *raksas* glowing and going off intermittently, These 3 *raksas* then joined into one.

1. Races and Cultures of India, D.N. Majumdar, 1958, p. 398.

A little dilation on the subject of *raksa* would no be out of place here. The *raksas* or the phenomenon of burning lights are an established fact in rural Chhattisgarh and it would not be justifiable to disbelieve everybody. The lights are seen in out of the way places and they are reported to be moving also. Whether they are some kind of incandescent algae or whether it is the presence of phosphorous near the cremation grounds or whether they are some supernatural phenomenon is a matter for serious investigation. The famous hunter of man-eating tigers, Jim Corbett[1], has mentioned in one of his books his experience of similar phenomenon. He says in that book : "The High Priest was emphatic that the lights were an established fact which no one could dispute;..... in this I was in agreement with him for I had seen them for myself." Whether the testimony of Jim Corbett is accepted by us or not, the phenomenon of *raksa* is believed in the village by those who claim to have seen it and also by those who have never seen it. It is said that in 1952-53, shortly before and during the small-pox epidemic, this phenomenon was very commonly seen and burning lights used to be seen here and there. But the villagers say that this phenomenon was not *raksa* but the *Devi* who was giving warning of the approaching epidemic.

It is believed that people who die an untimely death and have violent deaths like hanging, drowning, etc., become *bhoots*. Females dying during delivery become *churelin*. It is held that sometimes this *churelin* steals the *basi* from the kitchen and eats it.

Common superstitions.—Auspicious days, omens and superstitions are very commonly observed through out India—rural and urban. The superstitions of the tribal people are different from those of others. All others follow more or less the same superstitions related to the fall of a lizard or sneezing and so on. In village Tilaibhat the superstitions of the people are the same as everywhere else. They are :

(1) Meeting a Brahmin is a good omen.

(2) Meeting a Teli is a bad omen. (This is the opinion of other castes.)

(3) Meeting a one-eyed man is a bad omen.

(4) Empty vessels kept slightly slanting on the head is a bad omen.

(5) Empty vessel lying on the ground is a bad omen.

(6) Empty vessel kept straight on the head of a woman who is not holding it by hand, is a good omen.

(7) Filled up vessel on the head of a woman is a good omen.

(8) Deer going from left to right is a good omen.

(9) Deer going from right to left is a bad omen.

(10) Seeing crows cohabiting is a bad omen.

(11) Fall of a lizard on the left part of body is a bad omen.

(12) Fall of a lizard on the right part of body is a good omen.

(13) Falling of the excreta of a bird on the back is a bad omen.

(14) A vulture or other bird pecking a wound on the body; a very bad omen.

(15) Sneezing by somebody when starting for some work is a bad omen.

(16) If a cat crosses the path, it is a bad omen.

(17) If a fox crosses the path, it is a bad omen. But if a thorn is put on the path, then one can safely go ahead. The putting of the thorn on the path after the fox (jackal) has crossed, is supposed to nullify the bad effects of it.

(18) It is believed that the use of an amulet would protect them from scorpion and snake bites.

(19) The eastern direction is believed to be holy and is a good omen. The western direction is bad. While resting they do not keep their feet towards the east because it is believed that the holy river Narbada is in the east.

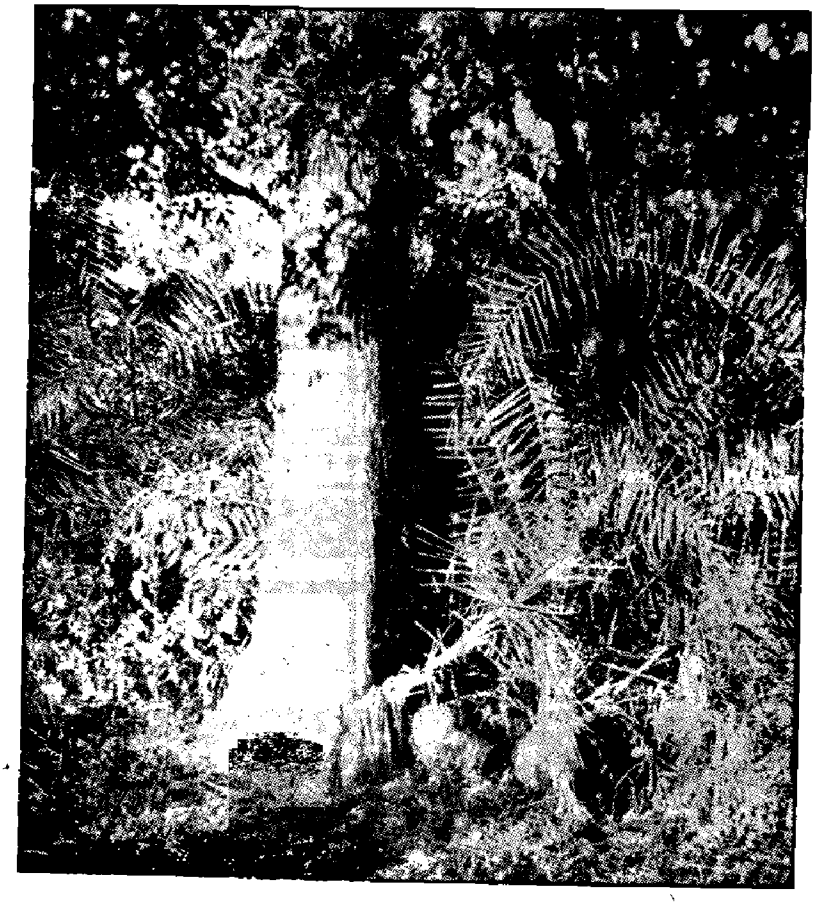
(20) Wailing of cows, dogs or the *ji-chirai* bird at night is a bad omen.

Family deities.—The deities and divinities worshipped in village Tilaibhat are Dulha Deo, Thakur Deo, Kankali, Ram, Krishna, Shankar, Hanuman, Radha-Krishna and Bhagwan. The presence of so many deities in the religious beliefs of the people suggests stages. Dulha Deo, Thakur Deo and probably Kankalin represent the age-old deities and Ram-Krishna, Bhagwan and Kabir, etc., are the deities adopted subsequently as a result of cultural contact.

1. The Temple Tiger and More Man-eaters of Kumaon, Jim Corbett, 1954, pp. 132-133.



THE GROVE IN WHICH THAKUR DEO AND MATA DEWALA ARE SITUATED



MATA DEWALA

Dulha Deo is the most popular deity among the people here and a similar survey of a village in Raipur District[1] showed that Dulha Deo is the commonest deity there, paid homage to by all castes. In Tilaibhat, all the castes except the Telis follow one or two deities. The Telis, however, pay homage to a combination of them but do not know any myth regarding them and do not know any rite regarding their worship. Their indiscriminate adoption of any and every deity is a sign of disintegration of their beliefs. The Dhobis have, for example, forgotten the 'Ghatoia Devi.' Lord Shankar, supposed to be the household deity of the Telis elsewhere, is not worshipped in this village where the Telis pay homage to Dulha Deo and other deities.

Below are shown the family deities of different castes in village Tilaibhat :

Deity	No. of families worshipping the deity in						
	Teli	Rawat	Dhobi	Chhatri	Bairagi	Panka	Nai
Total No. of families ..	**41**	**7**	**4**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**1**
Dulha Deo	10	6	4	2	..	..	..
Thakur Deo	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kabir	7	..	..	..	..	1	..
Dulha Deo and Thakur Deo both	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dulha Deo and Kabir both ..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
Thakur Deo and Kabir ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dulha Deo, Thakur Deo and Kankalin all.	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kabir, Thakur Deo and Shankar	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dulha Deo and Bhagwan ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Shankarji	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Dulha Deo and Mahabir ..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Mata	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Krishna	..	..	..	..		..	..
Krishna and Hanuman ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rama and Krishna ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..

It is evident from the above statement that it is the numerically dominant caste, *i.e.* the Teli which shows the greatest vagaries in religion. Numerically subordinate castes still cling to their old deities. Russell and Hiralal[2] observe that the Telis "especially revere Mahadeo or Siva who gave them the oil-mill". There is not even one household of the Telis in the village which returned Mahadeo or Shankar as the family God. Whether this is due to the fact of influence of other castes or it is because the Telis do not have the oil-mill (consequently not worshipping Mahadeo) cannot be determined with certainty but it appears to be more due to the influence of other castes in the area.

Dulha Deo has been described by Russell[1] as a "Godling whose shrine is in every village. He

1. Socio-Economic Survey of village Bendri in Raipur District, M.P.; Census of India, 1961.

2. Tribes and Castes of the C.P.; Vol. IV; Russell and Hiralal; 1916, p. 549.

1. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. IV; Russell and Hiralal, 1966, p. 549.

was a young bridegroom who was carried off by a tiger on his way to his wedding, or according to another account was turned into a stone pillar by a flash of lightning. Before the starting of a wedding procession, the members go to Dulha Deo and offer pair of shoes and a miniature post and marriage crown. On their return they offer a cocoanut. Dulha Deo has a stone and a platform to the East of the village or occasionally an image of a man on horseback." Describing the religion of the Telis, Russell[1] says: "In Chhattisgarh, Dulha Deo is the household god of the caste, and he is said not to have any visible image or symbol, but is considered to reside in a cupboard in the house. When any member of the family falls ill it is thought that Dulha Deo is angry, and a goat is offered to appease him."

In the Report of the Ethnological Committee[2], 1866, the following mention occurs : "As for Doola Deo, so commonly mentioned as a favourite Gond deity, he comes from Bundelkhund and is the apotheosis of a bridegroom (*dulha*) who died in the marriage procession and whose untimely end so affected the people that they paid him divine honours."

Captain Forsyth describing the religion of the Gonds says[3] of the Dulha Deo that he is "the apotheosis of a bridegroom."

It appears, therefore, from the above that Dulha Deo was introduced as a deity in these regions by the Gond influence in the past. Dulha Deo does not have any shrine or *chabutara*, etc., in the village. Some households, mostly the Rawats, keep an earthen image of Dulha Deo, *i.e.* a rider on horseback. It appears very likely that before the spread of Kabirpanthism, Dulha Deo must have been a very popular deity in these areas and allegiance to this deity is not confined in the Rawat caste only as is supposed[4] but all castes pay their homage to him. The villagers of Tilaibhat do not know any myth or legend about this deity nor is he worshipped regularly or with rites.

Thakur Deo.—Thakur Deo is another deity worshipped in the village but he is very much less popular than Dulha Deo. Unlike Dulha Deo, his worship is confined only to the Teli caste and no other caste has returned Thakur Deo as a family God. In Tilaibhat only one household ha Thakur Deo as the exclusive deity. There are 12 other Teli households who worship Thakur Deo along with other deities.

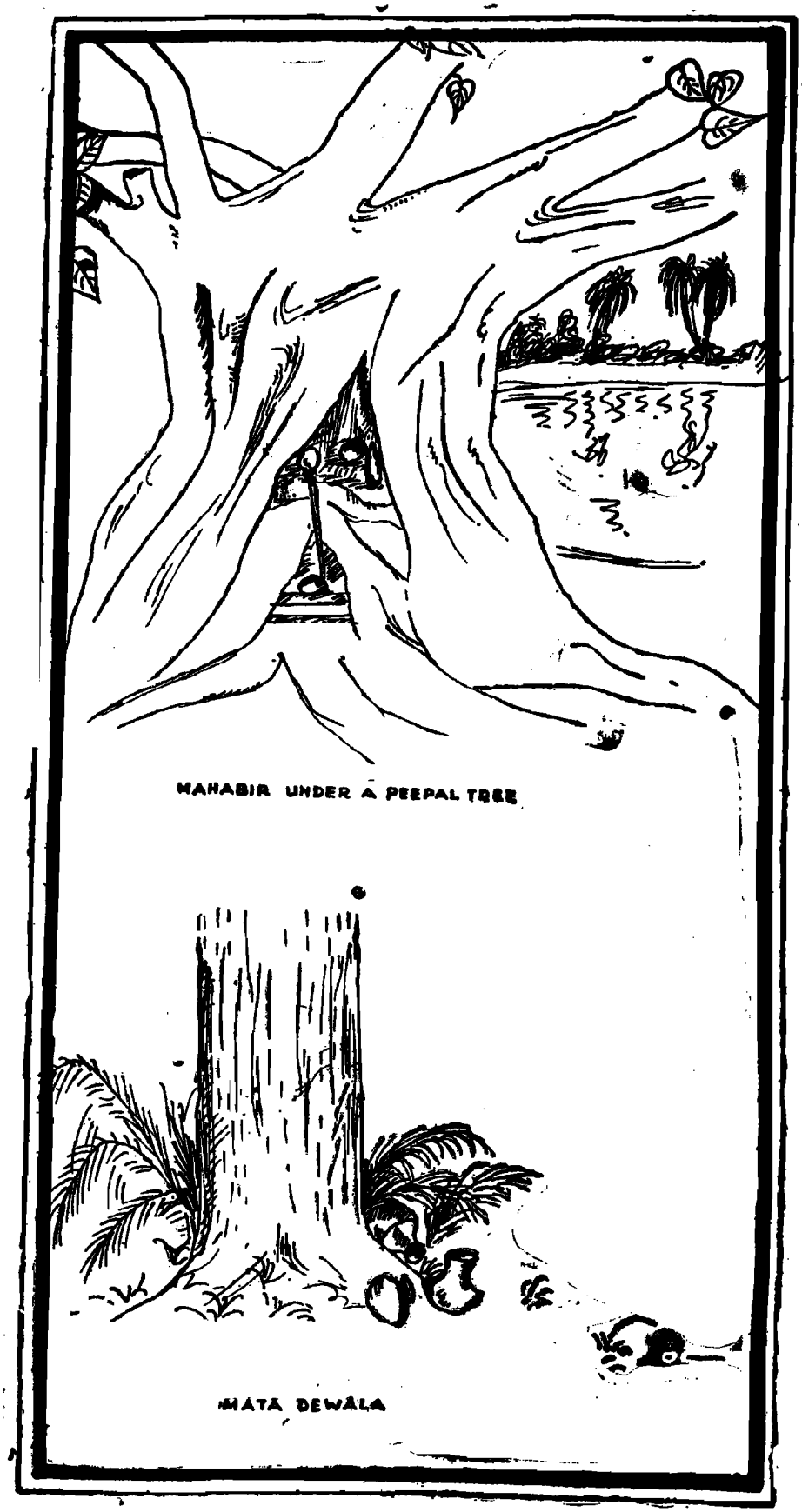
Thakur Deo is a protector God of the village. Regarding the etymology of the term, Grierson[1] says: "The Aryan origin of the word Thakur has been doubted, but no other possible derivation has been proposed. The word occurs in late Sanskrit in the form *thakkura*. The form *thakkura* shows that the word has been borrowed from Prakrit. It has almost the same significance as *sthavira* and is used as a respectful title." Fuchs states[2] that the name Thakur Deo "is very common in Bengal and as far west as the Bilaspur District, probably the original home of the Bhumia". Fuchs further says that the abode of Thakur Deo is in a tree. "A large stone slab is brought and laid on the ground at the base of the tree. On this slab another stone slab is placed in a vertical position and made to lean against the trunk of the sacred tree."

The Thakur Deo in village Tilaibhat is situated under the trees to the west of the village. The stones are slabs but they do not present any arrangement as described by Fuchs and are laid without any design. Thakur Deo is a Bhumia deity. As Fuchs[3] states : "When the Bhumia worship Thakur Deo, the Gond look on. They scarcely ever take an active part in a worship of this god." Bilaspur District has been considered by Fuchs to be the original home of the Bhumias and one village in Mungeli Tahsil has the name, Bhumiapara. It is, therefore, not unlikely that this deity has been adopted by the Telis from the Bhumias and given the place of a family deity and village God.

Thakur Deo is worshipped when there is an illness in the family or when any celebration like marriage or child-birth takes place or when any desire has been fulfilled and any *badna* (promise) has been made to the Thakur Deo. The worship consists of offering flowers and cocoanut and small flag, or, if economic condition permits, sacrifice of a goat. *Ramdhun* is also sung near the Thakur Deo. Recitation of the name of 'Ram' near the image of Thakur Deo speaks of the Hinduisation of the worship rites.

1. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. IV, Russell and Hiralal, p. 550.
2. Report of the Ethnological Committee, 1866, p. 10.
3. The Highlands of Central India, J. Forsyth, 1919, p. 120.
4. Raipur District Gazetteer, 1909, p. 98.

1. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV, G.A. Grierson, 1906, p. 31.
2. The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla, Stephen Fuchs, 1960, pp. 383-384.
3. *Ibid*, p. 385.



MAHABIR UNDER A PEEPAL TREE

MATA DEWALA



SATYANARAYANA PUJA

Mahabir or Hanuman.—Below the *peepal* (Ficus religiosa) tree on the bank of the western tank is placed a wooden club (*gada*) and a stone slab. This is supposed to symbolize the God Hanuman or Mahabir. After bath people pour water over the slab. On special occasions vermillion powder mixed with oil is rubbed on the slab and a flag is offered.

Mata or village Goddess.—The village Goddess or Mata is propitiated at the time of epidemics like small-pox. In the year 1952-53 there was this small-pox epidemic in the village resulting in a heavy toll of children's life and then Mata was propitiated. She is also worshipped at the time of 'Bhojli' festival. Allegiance to village Goddess is rare and her worship takes place only occasionally. She is symbolized by a stone slab with a *trisul* (trident) placed near it.

Mahadeo or Shankar.—Mahadeo or Shankar, according to Russell, is a God of special reverence for the Telis because He is supposed to have given them the oil-mill. In this village Mahadeo seems to have lost influence and now Shankar is regarded as family deity along with Kabir and Thakur Deo by only 5 Teli households. He is symbolized by a stone below the *peepal* tree on the tank.

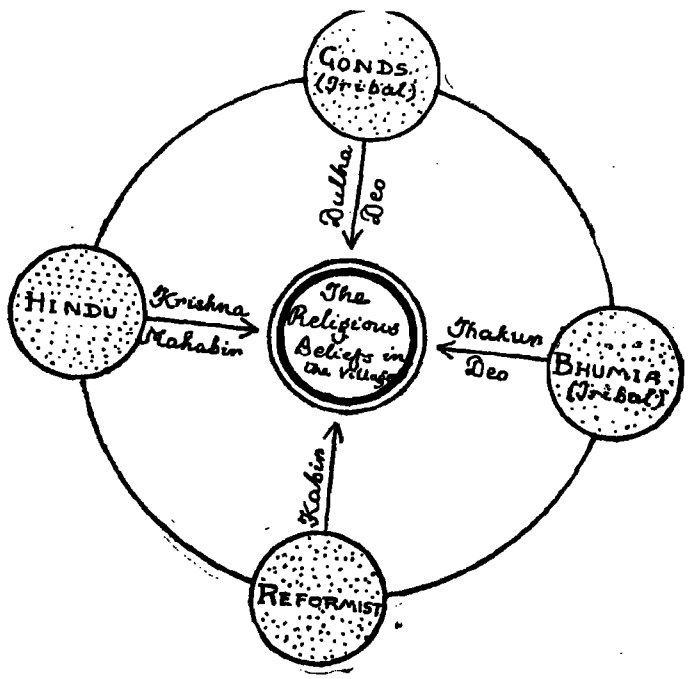
Radha-Krishna.—The Bairagis keep pictures of Lord Krishna in their houses. There is no image or temple dedicated to the deity.

Kabir.—Kabir is the family deity of the Kabir panthis. "Bishop Westcott gives the date of Kabir's life as A.D. 1440-1518, while Mr. Crooke states that he flourished between 1488 a d 1512."[1] "The religion preached by Kabir was of a lofty character. He rejected the divine inspiration of the Vedas and th whole Hindu mythology. He taught that there was no virtue in outward observances such as shaving the head, ceremonial purity and impurity and circumcision among Muhammadans. He condemned the worship of idols and the use of sect-marks and religious amulets but in all ordinary matters allowed his followers to conform to usage in order to avoid giving offence. He abolished distinctions of caste. He enjoined a virtuous life, just conduct and kindly behaviour and much meditation on the virtues of God. He also condemned love of money and gain."[2]

1. Tribes and Castes of the C.P., Vol. I, Russell and Hiralal, p. 232.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 234-235.

Kawardha in neighbouring Durg District and Damakheda in Raipur District are strongholds of Kabir Panth and the village Tilaibhat has been influenced by this sect to quite an appreciable degree. The religious service, *chauka* of the sect is described elsewhere in this chapter.[1]

Religious influences and eligious groups.—It is seen from the foregoing description that there is some kind of admixture of religious beliefs and practices. This appears to be due to the influence of various dominating castes and dominant religions in the past. The religious influences in the village are shown in the diagram below :



Out of 41 Teli households (248 persons), 22 households (133 persons) returned Kabir as the family deity either exclusively or in association with other deities. The allegiance to Kabir Panth has divided the Telis into two main religious groups—the Kabirha and the Deotaha. The former are supposed not to worship any idol or image or any other deity and refrain from taking meat and other non-vegetarian food, while the latter worship various deities and idols and there is no restriction on food. The divisions are purely religious and not social because intermarriage between the two groups is permissible. The distinction between the two groups is, however, not well defined now. The Kabirhas worship idols, if necessary, and do not observe the restriction on food

1. *Infra*, p. 66.

They stealthily partake to meat and fish, etc. It is, however, said that if the Guru comes to know of this, he may ridicule, abuse and even beat the persons so offending against the code.

Religious calendar.—It has been shown in the foregoing that religious beliefs in the village have been imported at least from four directions—the Gonds, the Bhumias, the Kabir Panth and the upper-caste Hindus. Thakur Deo and Dulha Deo who are the most popular deities do not require any particular festival for their propitiation and are worshipped or invoked as and when necessity arises. The Kabir Panth, which prohibits worship of any idol, similarly does not ordain the celebration of any special festival. But the beliefs introduced as a result of influence of the upper Hindu castes require some definite celebration. In the table below the religious calendar observed in the village is given :

Calendar month	Occupations, functions and operations	Associated festivals observed	God/Gods propitiated	Dances and fairs
1. March	.. Social	*Holi*	Holika	Local songs.
2. August	.. Agricultural	*Hareli*	Village God	Bullock race competition.
3. August	.. Do	*Bhojli*	Goddess	Songs.
4. September	.. Religious	*Tija*	Shankar Parvati	Local songs.
5. September	.. Agricultural	*Pola or Pora*	..	..
6. September	.. Do	*Janmastmi*	Krishna	*Bhajans.*
7. October	.. Do	*Dasahra*	Ram	Ramleela.
8. November	.. Do	*Diwali*	Laxmi	*Bhajan*
9. November	.. Do	*Ekadasi*	..	..

Holi.—The *Holi* festival is celebrated by the people in Tilaibhat as well though not with that violence (literally) with which it is celebrated in some of the towns. The festival is celebrated in imitation of the upper-caste Hindus.

Holi is celebrated on the full-moon day in the month of *Fagun* (March). A fire is burnt in the night at one place and the next day men throw coloured water over one another.

Hareli.—*Hareli* is celebrated on the new moon day in the month of *Srawan* (July-August). The festival appears to be an agricultural one. Fuchs[1] describes *Hareli* as "something of a spring festival. After the dry months of the hot season the monsoon sets in; every tree and bush is reviving; all vegetation begins to bloom and blossom. The peasants have ploughed their fields and sown their seeds. Now the brown nakedness of the fields assumes a green hue and soon the young plants will sprout."

In this festival, the cattle are fed with wheat flour made into dough and they are also given salt. The *bardiha* or the grazier is also given a share of the flour-dough. The people also wash the agricultural implements and perform a ritual worship in the cattle-shed of their house.

The children bring out their bamboo stilts and they play on stilts for a month or so and then immerse them in the tank.

Bhojli.—*Bhojli* is celebrated in the month of *Srawan.* The women sow wheat in a basket in their houses and let them remain for seven days. In this time the seeds sprout up. On the day next to Rakhi day, the women then take their baskets and immerse them in the tank.

Tija.—*Tija* is an important festival of the women-folk in rural Chhattisgarh. It is celebrated in the month of September one day before Ganesh Chaturthi. All the women go back to their parents' house. The women keep fast on this day.

Pola or Pora.—*Pola* or *Pora* is evidently an agricultural festival. It is celebrated in the month of *Bhadon* (September) before *Tija.* The children

1. Gonds and Bhumias of Eastern Mandla, Stephen Fuchs, 1960, p. 470.

purchase earthen or wooden toy-bullocks and adorn these. The elder people decorate and worship their agricultural cattle and take them out in a procession. The people prepare special food on this day consisting of *thethri-khurmi, bara, cheela, sunhari,* etc.

Janmastmi.—*Janmastmi* is the festival celebrating the birth of Lord Krishna. It is especially celebrated by the Bairagis who regard this as the biggest festival. They keep fast the whole day and worship Krishna in the night.

Dasahra.—*Dasahra* is celebrated in the month of October to symbolize the victory of Ram over the demon king Ravana. Some people sacrifice a goat before Thakur Deo.

Diwali.—*Diwali* is celebrated in the month of November rather but on a small scale. People worship the cow who is regarded as Laxmi. The houses are washed and repaired. A statue is made out of cow-dung and is called Gobardhan. In the evening the people light earthen lamps and also indulge in a display of fireworks purchased from Pandariya market. In the *Diwali* night and subsequent nights some villagers also engage themselves in gambling. The Rawats go to all the houses in the village in a dancing party and dance. In return they are given money or grain by the households.

Ekadasi (Katrik Ekadasi).—Some people fast and worship sugarcane, guava and gram-plant.

THE POOJA AND CHAUKA

Satya Narayan ki Katha.—*Satya Narayan ki Katha* is being introduced in the rural area under the influence of the Brahmins and in this village it is the Brahmin priest from Pusera who gets this *pooja* performed. The Telis and the Bairagis are the main clients of this *pandit* from Pusera.

On the day of the *pooja* the *pandit* comes in the morning to the village and prepares the *prasad*, etc., for the *pooja*. Normally the *prasad*, etc., is prepared by the households themselves. But in this village, since the Brahmin would not take the *prasad* cooked by a Teli or a Bairagi, he prepares it himself.

In the *pooja* the room is washed with cow-dung and then the Brahmin decorates a wooden seat with banana leaves and places it over a design (*chouk*) prepared on the ground with wheat flour. He then places the image which he brings in his bag over this seat.

The *pooja* or the *katha* is a recitation by the *pandit* of a series of stories of persons who suffered because of refusing or not partaking of the *prasad* and the good resulting from accepting the *prasad*. The *pooja* is a common one and is not being described in detail.

One story relates to a wood-cutter who on seeing a Brahmin performing this *pooja* asked from him the good results of it. After taking the *prasad* he wished that he would also perform a similar *Pooja* and that day he received double the price for his fuel wood. Another story is that of a Vaishya who learnt this *pooja* from a king named Ulkamukh. He wished that he would perform this *pooja* when he gets a child. Just after this his wife Lilawati conceived and in due course gave birth to a female child named Kalawati. But the Vaishya did not fulfil the promise and postponed the *pooja* to the occasion of his daughter's marriage. But even when Kalawati was married the Vaishya did not fulfil this promise and, on a sojourn, he along with his son-in-law, was falsely implicated in a theft. A theft was also committed in his house and Lilawati and Kalawati were reduced to pauper. One day Kalawati listened to the *pooja* in the house of a Brahmin and when Lilawati heard of it, she was reminded of her husband's promise and soon promised to the God Satyanarayan that she would preform the worship if her husband and son-in-law return back quickly. In the king's gaol the Vaishya and his son-in-law were released as a result of the King seeing a dream in which h was ordered by God Satyanarayan to relieve them. While the Vaishya was returning home the God Satyanarayan in the guise of a *sadhu* asked them the contents of the boat in which they were travelling and the Vaishya replied that it was full of leaves and straw. To his great dismay he discovered that the gold and silver in his boat had disappeared and it was full of leaves and straw. Great sorrow fell upon the Vaishya and seeing him in this condition the *sadhu* returned and reminded him of his promise to perform the *pooja*. The boat was again full of gold and silver and he returned home. His wife and daughter who were performing Satyanarayan *pooja* when they received information of his coming, left the *pooja* without accepting the *prasad* and because of this God Satyanarayan was enraged and the Vaishya and the son-in-law were drowned. The God appeared and told the ladies of the mistake they had committed. They then again made a promise and the Vaishya and his son-in-law appeared again. Returning home they performed the *pooja* with due rites and

ceremonies and lived many long years in this world. There are some one or two similar stories recited by the Brahmin *pandit.*

After all the five stories are over, the *hom* is performed in which a fire is kindled at the place of worship and a mixture of barley (*jou*), *til*, sugar and *ghee* is put into the fire to the recitation of some *mantras*. The people assembled then partake of the *prasad* and after some chat disperse.

Chauka.—*Chauka* is the religious worship of the Kabir panthis The Kabir Panth prohibits idol worship and *chauka* ceremony consists in merely the recitation of songs composed by Kabir and of his teachings. *Chauka* is performed on all occasions, *i.e.* after birth, marriage and death and on the ulfilment of some wish.

Chauka has been described by Russell[1] as below:

"A Kabir Panth religious service is called *chauka*, the name given to the space marked out for it with lines of wheat flour, 5 or 7½ yards' square. In the centre is made a pattern of nine lotus-flowers to represent the Sun, Moon and seven Planets, and over this a bunch of real flowers is laid. At one corner is a small hollow pillar of dough, serving as a candle-stick, covered with cotton-wool burns as a lamp, which is fed with butter. The *mahant* sits at one end and the worshippers sit all round. *Bhajans* or religious songs are sung to the accompaniment of symbols by one or two, and the others repeat the name of Kabir counting on their *kanthi* or necklace of beads. The *mahant* lights a piece of camphor and waves it backwards and forwards in a dish. This is called *arti*, a Hindu rite. He then breaks a cocoanut on a stone, a thing which only a *mahant* may do. The flesh of the cocoanut is cut up and distributed to worshippers with betel-leaf and sugar. Each receives it on his knees, taking the greatest care that none falls on the ground. If a part of the coconut remains, t is kept by the *mahant* for another service....After his the *mahant* gives an address which is followed by an interval. Some little time afterwards the worshippers reassemble. Meanwhile a servant has taken the dough candle-stick and broken it up, mixing it with fragments of the cocoanut, butter and more flour. It is then brought to the *mahant* who makes it into little *puris* or wafers. The *mahant* has also, a number of betel-leaves known as *parwana* or message which have been blessed by the Head Guru at Kawardha or Damakheda. These are cut up into small pieces for delivery to each disciple and are supposed to be the body of Kabir. He has also brought *charan amrita* or nectar of the feet, consisting of water in which the feet of the Head Guru have been washed. This is mixed with fine earth and made into pills. The worshippers reassemble, any who may feel unworthy, absenting themselves, and each receives from the *mahant*, with one hand folded beneath the other, a wafer of the dough, a piece of the *parwana* or betel-leaf and a pill of the 'foot-nectar'. After partaking of the sacred food they cleanse their hands and the proceedings conclude with a substantial meal defrayed either by subscription or by a well-to-do member."

The *mahant* usually visits this village once a year or more frequently if invited. He has an assistant known as *Diwan* who always accompanies him. In the *chauka* ceremony in Tilaibhat 360 lamps are lighted. These lamps are made of wheat flour made wet with milk and ghee. The idea is that since there are 360 days in a year, the quota for the whole year is completed in one day. (The villagers do not know that there are 365 days in a year.) There are 9 candle-sticks made of hollow dough. These represent the Sun, Moon and the seven Planets. These are known as *kalash*. The *kalash* is placed on rice and *kudai* grain. About four seers of *ghee* and four seers of oil is used for the purpose of lighting the lamps, etc. The *mahant* is given a cloth to sit on and the items put in the *bhauka* —like rice, flour, *gur*, utensils, cloth, umbrella, shoe and money belong to the *mahant* who takes them away on the conclusion of the ceremony. The use of umbrella and shoes, etc., in a religious service is a very uncommon feature and has probably been introduced by the *mahants* in the recent past to get their economic needs fulfilled.

The person who convenes the service (*chauka*) gives clothes and money to his sister's son (*bhanja*) also. It is thought that giving presents to the sister's son amounts to giving presents to 100 Brahmins.

1. Tribes and Castes of the C. P., Russell and Hiralal, Vol. I, 1916, pp. 239-240.

CHAPTER VIII

RECREATIONS, COMMUNICATION, LEADERSHIP

Village Tilaibhat does not have many organized pastimes or forms of recreation. Birth and marriage rituals and the different festivals bring about a break in the monotony of life but even during these celebrations also, singing is the only item of recreation. The Rawats engage in Rawat dance during *Diwali* but that is all. The women do not have any recreation at all. They pass their leisure time in idle gossip, talking about the vegetable cooked or ornaments or mostly scandals and quarrels, etc. The men similarly spend their time in idle gossip. The children have some games to play but these are on no organized lines.

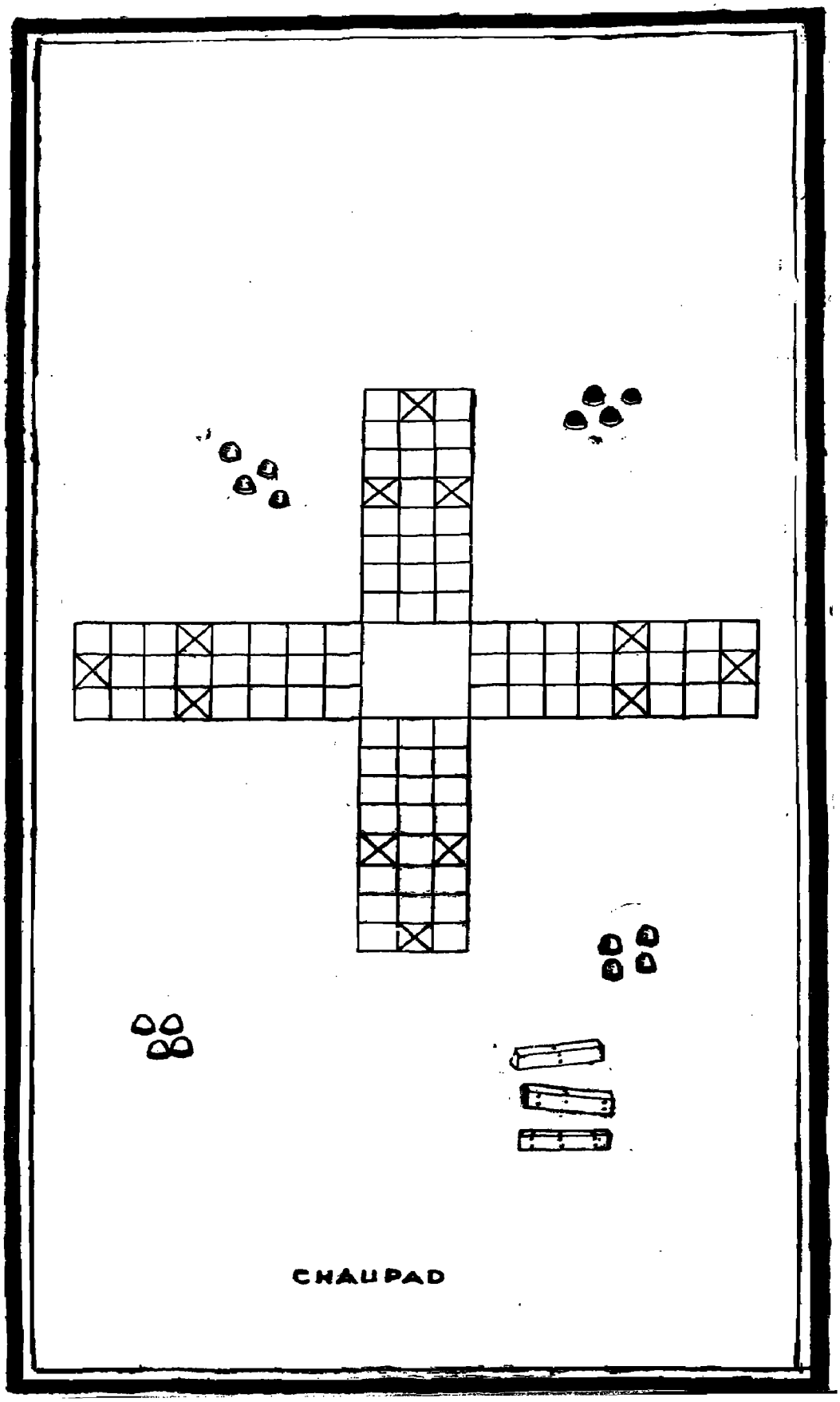
The pastimes in which the villagers indulge are as follows :

Conversation is a pastime with the villagers. They either assemble on the bank of the tank or more commonly in the verandah of Patel Ram Prasad and talk over many matters with *chongi* (smoking leaf-pipe) and *bidis*. The conversation is seldom intellectual or serious and various subjects of day-to-day life are discussed such as requirement of seed, success or failure of crops, rain, preparation of the field, cattle disease, quarrels, scandals and so on. When any of the villagers goes to Mungeli or Bilaspur, he relates some of his experiences over there.

In the verandah of the Patel, some people pas their time playing the *choupad* and the rest simply become the onlookers. There is only one *choupad* board in the village and it is with the Patel Ram Prasad Teli. Some games of cards are also played in the village but as far as could be ascertained, gambling is not played except during *Diwali* festival. The games of cards are very ordinary ones like *teen-do-panch* and *sathalla*. The *teen-do-panch* game is played by three persons with a set of thirty selected cards. *Sathalla* is the game played by four persons with fifty two cards and the players form two pairs. The pair who makes seven hands is considered to be the winner and the losing pair shuffles the cards.

Bhajans (devotional music) are occasionally sung and the songs sung are the poems of Kabir or *dohas* of Ramayana or some other compositions. The musical instruments are *dholak* or *mandar* and *duggi*. In this village *dholak* is also known as *mandar*, but actually speaking, *mandar* is not the appropriate word because *mandar* refers to another instrument common in the tribal areas. *Dholaki* has a barrel-shaped structure and *mandar* has a cone-shaped structure. *Duggi* is the instrument played with *dholaki*.

The Rawat Nach.—The Rawats jump to life in the month of October, about the festival of *Diwali*. They take out their colourful dress, the coloured *salooka* and the *courie*-belt and peacock feathers, put on jingle-rings (*ghunghroo*) and taking the *lathi* in the hand go on singing *dohas* and dancing. 'Dance' would actually be a misnomer as applied to the sequence because it is nothing but a very haphazard and unsystematic kind of jumping to and fro. The *dohas* sung at the time of such 'dances' may or may not have any meaning. Some of them are being given on page 89.



CHAUPAD

1. *Bhainsee charaye Nand ban ma*
tedhi pagdee jhukale jawani pan ma.
(Nand is grazing she-buffalo in the forest; lower down your turban in your youth.)

2. *Chheri charaye panrha bokra*
goti marke balawe rawat chhokra.
(The white goat is grazing the she-goat. The Rawat boy is inviting by throwing a pellet.)

3. *Chhote he kera, bade he keri*
Ramnam lelo Saheb chale ke beri.
(The banana is small, the banana is big. Now at your departing from this world, take the name of Ram, O Saheb.)
(Saheb is a term of address among the Kabir-panthis.)

4. *Jhan ja re Ganga, jhan ja re tirith.*
Man bodhna me bana le, mati ke murit.
(Do not go to the Ganges, do not go to the sacred places. Create the image of God in your heart.)

5. *Futha mandir, kalash nahin he*
Mor aye Ganga baru, darash nahin he.
(There is no pinnacle in the dilapidated temple. I have a ritual-friend but I do not have his vision.)

Dadariyas.— *Dadariyas* are the mainstay of Chhattisgarh music. They are small two-line couppetscomposed by village geniuses, sometimes even extempore. Most of the *dadariyas* do not mean anything in the sense that the two lines have entirely different meanings or one line may not have any meaning at all and is composed just to make a rhyme. These *dadariyas* are sung at the time of marriages, festivals, while working in the fields, while playing and while returning from other villages or markets. Some of the *dadariyas* are in the form of questions and answers and one part is sung by the boys, the other part is sung by the girls in reply to the question or the taunt made. The *dadariyas* sung at the time of marriage, when the boys in the bridegroom's party taunt and make joke of the girls in the birde's party, ares metimes obscene and imply sexual significance. But as W.G. Archer says in 'Wedding of the Writers', in these sexual jokes there "is a release of repressed energy which when applied to the marriage must necessarily make it fertile."

Some of the *dadariyas* noted from village Tilaibhat are given here :

Boys : *Singee re bhata*
Bohe la kanwar
Mor jat saga ke hote
Bana lete janwar

Girls : *Singee re bhata*
Patal neruwa
Turee marthe kanakhi
Toora he maruwa

Boys : *Nawa re doliya*
Boyela jeera dhan
Tor lamba he chundi
Khopa ma beeda pan

Girls : *Nanmun Doliya*
Biyasi dale
Nanpan ke bihata
Ninasi dale.

(Meaning of all the lines of this *dadariya* is not very clear. The boys sing in the first couplet that "the brinjals are carried in the *kanwar*. If you were of my caste, I would have made you my partner in life." To this the girls in their reply say something about brinjals and tomatoes and say that 'the girl is winking at the boy but the boy has not courage, he is exhausted". The brinjals and tomatoes seem to have some symbolic meaning. In the second couplet the boys say that the field is new and fine quality of paddy is sown. The girls hair is long and she has a betel in her mouth. To this the girl's reply that the field is very small and *biyasi* (thinning operation) is done. The husband of the child-marriage is so boring that he brings sleep.)

Some more *dadariyas* are :

"Tore balaye mai aye hon khachit
Tai pade has palang ma, mait hade hon pachhit."

[I have come immediately at your invitation but now you are sleeping comfortably and I am standing (waiting) on the rear of the cot.]

"Jhinee pichhouri chana ke bundki
kala ma patew to karatew binati."

[Your *pichhouri* (shawl) is thin and has spots like gram. If I could get you lonely, you would have earnestly requested me to leave you.]

"Tor ghar gayew, baithew machiya
Baithan nahi payon chalaye akhiya."

(I went to your house and sat on the *machiya*. But I had hardly sat, you winked at me.)

"Pake he Boir halawon kaise
par angna ma khade, balawon kaise"

[The *boir* (plum-berry) is ripe, how should I shake the tree. You are standing in another's yard, how should I call you.]

"Chandi ke mundri, utaron kaise
pardesia raja la balawon kaise."

(The ring is of silver, how should I take it out. How should I call my love from another village.)

Dadariyas are a pleasant music to hear in the village fields and in marriage celebrations and sometimes when girls are singing unconcernedly in the fields, one is reminded of Wordsworth's "The Solitary Reaper":

"Behold her, single in the field,
Yon solitary Highland Lass !
Reaping and singing by herself ;
Stop here, or gently pass !
Alone she cuts and binds the grain,
And sings a melancholy strain ;
O listen ! for the Vale profound
Is overflowing with the sound."

Games of children.—The children also do not have any organised pastime. In fact they have no organised pastime at all. At the time of 'Pola' festival, boys and girls get the earthen toy-horse and bullocks to which they tie a rope and drag. But this game is short-lived. Similarly short-lived is the game of *gedee* (wooden-stilts) which the boys prepare in July-August and play with them for about a month. At other times of the year, the boys sit in group with the elders and see them playing cards or *chowpad* or gossiping. They may also form their own group and have some gossip. But that is all.

The girls and women have almost no pastimes. Topics of the talks by women are simply the vegetables they have prepared, their clothes, husbands and children or some village scandal. Feasts, festivals and marriage are the only occasion which bring about some change in their monotonous life.

COMMUNICATION AND LEADERSHIP

In the context of the present condition of the country, no village can afford to live apart. Every village, however, remotely situated, is being affected by culture-contact and inter-communication of ideas. Village Tilaibhat which is situated only three miles from the Mungeli-Pandariya road, six miles from Pandariya village and 19 miles from Tahsil headquarters of Mungeli, can hardly escape from the changes and intrusion of new ideas and communication.

Visitors from outside like the Patwari, police constables and Priest Chinta Prasad are the sources of information on varied subjects. The Patwari tells them of the changes that have taken place in the system of land-tenure in recent years. The information imparted is, however, neither accurate nor adequate. The police constable tells them of the crime or crimes that have taken place elsewhere in the Police Station.

Satya Narayan ki katha is becoming more and more common for two reasons. Firstly, it seems to be due to the efforts of the priest from Pusera to expand his clientele and secondly, the villagers see in the *katha* an easy and unexpensive religious ceremony. The *katha* consists of many stories dealing with the lives of people who worshipped Satya Narayan (The True God) and also with the lives of those who neglected His worship. Each story has one or more morals in it.

Though the *katha* ceremonies are becoming more common, it is doubtful whether they have any reformative value. As already stated, while the intention of the priest seems to be to get some more money, the intention of the people is to perform a ceremony in a cheap manner and feeling elevated by participation in religious worship prevalent among higher castes.

The villagers themselves go out and make contacts. The important places are Pandariya and Mungeli. These visits and observations thereat are reflected in the following '*dadariyas*' and speak of the influence of road construction :

"Cycle chalaye handil dharke
Tola rat ke balayon kandeel dharke"

(A cycle is ridden by holding the handle. I invited you in the night by lighting the candle and placing it as a sign.)

"Nawa re sadak, bichhaye gitti
Doshdari bar bhajeon karad-chitti."

(The road is new, the road-metal is laid on it. I have sent a letter in post-card to the young girl.)

"Gaye re dongar, phodela gitti
Bara baj gaye Daroga dede wo chhitti."

(I went to the quarry (hill) to break the stones. It is now twelve O' clock, Time-keeper, now give a break.)

"Nawa sadak ma gadel chukiya
Bane rahay Pandariya, khopa ma rupiya."

(A *chukiya* is buried in the new road. Long live Pandariya as long as we have money in the purse.)

Some of the villagers have acquired the habit of tea-drinking from Pandariya market. The people taste tea in the market at Pandariya and then slowly become addicts like Ram Prasad Teli and Khorbahra Nai. Water, milk, sugar and tea-dust are all put in a pot and boiled. Poorer people have heard about tea but have not tasted it so far. Drinking tea is recognised as a sign of higher status.

Some of the younger people have smoked cigarette in Mungeli and Pandariya just to see how it feels but none of the elder people have smoked cigarettes so far.

Thus visits of Government officials, markets at Pandariya and Mungeli, visits to different villages in marriage celebrations, boys going to school and the visits of the priest all help as media of communication.

It is, however, noteworthy that the only Government agency which should have been the main agency in communication, *viz.* the Development Block at Pandariya, seems so far to have been ineffective. This Block has been in existence at Pandariya for the last three years and, as per aims and objects of such blocks, by now the Block officials should have been taken as the "friends, philosophers and guides" of the people. The picture presented is gloomy. None of the villagers, except Patel Ram Prasad (whose information is also extremely meagre), know who or what the Block Development Officer of the Block is. The saddest part is that the villagers do not know even the *Gram Sewak* (Village Level Worker). The people do not know where Bhilai[1] is or what is being done there.

Trends and opinions.—People in Tilaibhat want to keep themselves as aloof from the higher Government officials as possible. The Patwari and police constables are the only officials they would like to come to the village. This does not mean that they are not hospitable. They would welcome any official, make arrangements for him, wait on him but would like that he should go away as soon as possible. The reason for this feeling is their suspicion that more likely than not, the official has some sinister motives.

The questions which were put by them during this Socio-Economic Survey were :

(*i*) Why has only Tilaibhat been selected for this study ?

(*ii*) Are we going to gain by such studies ?

(*iii*) The Government never made this kind of investigation before.

(*iv*) After all, how will the information about the tattoo marks on the bodies of our women or their ornaments or the *dadariyas* we say, be of any use to you ?

(*v*) Will we get more land for cultivation ?

(*vi*) Will we get timber free of cost as before for our agricultural implements and house construction ?

(*vii*) Will we get some *abadi* land for house construction without going to courts time and again fruitlessly.

The talks with the people showed that they are interested in their lands, cattle, timber requirements and houses. They are not interested in anything else. Going to court for attending some case is regarded as a curse. They fear the police most. The most pressing demand, according to them, is the *nistar* facility for timber for agricultural implements and house construction and easy availability of fuel without cost.

Some questions were put to the villagers when they were sitting in a group and represented a good cross-section of the population. The reactions of the people towards the questions and their answers thereto are very significant and are mentioned below :

Q. 1. Should a school be started in village Tilaibhat where children may get education ?

(Reaction).—No keenness. It is not necessary.

Q. 2. Should a hospital be started in the village ?

Answer.—Getting treatment in a hospital is very costly. We cannot bring money for injections.

Q. 3. Should a *Vaidya* be posted in the village ?

(Reaction).—Everybody willing.

Q. 4. Should the village well be made *pacca* ?

(Reaction).—No eagerness or keenness.

Q. 5. Should the village tank be repaired and deepened ?

1. Bhilai is the place where Bhilai Steel Project is situated as a result of Indo-Soviet Technical co-operation.

(Reaction).—Everybody very keen and willing.

Q. 6. Should a police station be started in the village so that there may be no theft?

Answer.—We do not want police anywhere near-about.

Group study.—After the day's work the people assemble in two or three groups to smoke *bidi-chongi* and spend their time in gossip. One group assembles in the verandah of Patel Ram Prasad. Usually the pastime is idle gossip. The groups also discuss agriculture, Pandariya market, attendance at court, *Kotwar's* visit to police station and information therefrom, rain, marriage, running away of some woman and so on. The topic of discussion in one such group during the period of this enquiry was as below:

The wife of 'A' was not of a good character. Once she fought with her husband's sister and the quarrel took a violent turn. They grappled with each other and the woman cut her husband's sister's breast with her teeth causing a bleeding wound. The matter was reported to the police, but a compromise was effected later on. The woman left her husband and has changed many husbands since then. She is a big debauchee now."

The social laws.—If a girl becomes pregnant before marriage, she is declared an outcaste by the caste panchayat. She is then free to go anywhere or be anybody's wife.

But if the girl of some caste in the village establishes illicit relations with a Brahmin, or a Teli girl with a Chhatri (*i.e.* with man of higher caste) and then breaks that relation, she is not put out of the caste.

If a girl becomes pregnant before marriage and the man responsible for pregnancy does not accept her as his wife, the child born is accepted by the girl's parents. In their opinion, the child cannot be blamed for his origin.

But if some person keeps the woman as his wife by *choori* marriage, he has to take this child also.

The caste panchayat usually keeps quiet about illicit relations of woman. In general, men are very lenient towards their wives and exhibit extraordinary tolerance. The caste panchayat does not intervene for the simple reason that this is an individual affair and the caste panchayat comes into operation on the complaint of the husband. The proceedings usually result in separation.

If a woman leaves her husband and lives as another man's wife, the man has to pay compensation or *boonda*. In case of non-payment, the caste panchayat is convened for decision.

Village feuds and village leadership.—The villagers say that they are a 'cold' people. They never get violent or quarrel. But it was not long ago that there was a dispute between a Bairagi and a Teli regarding a house boundary. The village elders tried their level best to settle the dispute but failed. The difficulty was that the Bairagi was willing to compromise, but the Teli did not agree.

But these are very rare cases. The villagers usually respect the elders and especially Ram Prasad Patel and Chammar Rai. Ram Prasad is the Patel of the village and is responsible for collecting land-revenue. The patwari and the police constable visiting the village meet him and he entertains them. He is the *Sarpanch* of the Gram-Panchayat also. All these factors help him to be the leader of the village and one whose word is respected.

There is, however, an additional and a very strong factor (though Ram Prasad would not accept it), and it is that Ram Prasad gives loans of seed to the needy. This loan is known as *Badhee*. This dependence of the people on Ram Prasad for seed appears to be a very strong factor, if not the only factor, of his acknowledged dominance.

In the village nobody seems interested in the Panchayat or its activities, general election and politics, which party is in power and so on. They do not seem to know anything about the various big projects being built in India as the "Modern *Teerth*". They are ignorant about Community Development and the Development Block. They do not read any newspaper or journal (except Ram Prasad who subscribes for Sahu-Sandesh, a journal of Teli caste) and do not know about any provincial, national or international activity going on. All they are interested in is their agriculture and in idle gossip about this woman running away or that beating her children, and all they want is that they should get the timber for agricultural implements and house construction when they need it and as they used to get before; they want the cases in court disposed of quickly and that they should be left alone.

The people want the minimum of facilities. They do not want a hospital but only a *vaidya*; they do not want a *pacca* well but the tank repaired; and they do not want a school. It appears evident that a tremendous task lies ahead in bringing about a "change of outlook" in village life and life-values.

CONCLUSION

Of-late, in India, the attention of anthropologists and sociologists, both Indians and foreigners, has been directed to the study of our rural life. Srinivas's 'Mysore Village', Dube's 'Indian Village' and Majumdar's 'Caste and Communications in an Indian Village' are examples of such studies. Papers on Indian village life have been edited and brought out as Mckim Marriot's 'Village India', Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society's 'Rural Profiles' and Srinivas's 'India's Villages'. A healthy controversy is going over the term for the acculturative processes and different terms like 'Sanskritization', 'Secularisation', etc., have been put forward. It is not the intention of this work to enter into this controversy and as such these terms have not been used anywhere in this report.

In the preceding pages has been described the silhouette of a Chhattisgarhi village. It may be typical or atypical but it has been described as it is. Tilaibhat is neither an absolutely communicating village nor is it urbanised. Its communication with the tahsil headquarters and the district headquarters is through the persons who occasionally go to these places and return from there. In spite of contact and communication, Tilaibhat still is a way of life. The people still live more or less as they did before, they still retain their values of life.

But Tilaibhat has not remained static. It has moved on with the tide of time and suffered the disintegration and dissolution as the village societies are suffering all over. The people do not know any legends about the origin of their castes, they do not know caste structure and they do not know more than one or two septs (*got*). This is certainly an indication of decay of the social organisation. In dress and ornaments, many changes have taken place. People started putting on sufficient hand loom cloth long before; now the mill-cloth has substituted hand-looms. Pandariya and Mungeli-tailored shirts have to a great extent substituted the *bandis* and the *salukas*. Women no longer remain satisfied with what they have in the village; they like better clothes and ornaments and love a man more if he can give them more of these. Shirts and mill-made cloth appear to be loved more than their counterparts of the past, *i. e.* the *salukas* and hand-loom *dhotis*. The shirts are washed much less and only when it is absolutely necessary. And so with more modern wear has come the *khassu* (eczema and skin disease) which were unknown to their ancestors.

Decay and disintegration is seen most in the field of religion. As it is, the religion in the village is mere beliefs. Mere beliefs do not constitute a religion, it is rites which make religion a living force. The Dhobis have almost forgotten their Ghatoia Devi and Thakur Dev and Dulha Dev have, to a large extent, been replaced by Kabir. But it has not been a complete displacement, but a co-existence, and Kabir finds a place in the household together with deities. Dulha Dev and Thakur Dev are slowly being replaced by Vishnu Bhagwan, Krishna Bhagwan and Hanuman and the Brahmin Pandit from the nearby village has successfully introduced 'Satyanarayan' in the village. Old recreations like songs and dances have died out but new recreations have not substituted them. The village life has thus become very dull and monotonous.

But whereas the village society is by itself forgetting the old and trying to adopt the new in the socio-religious and cultural fields, village economy is stagnant. Old methods, practices and implements are persisting and cultivation practices and implements remain age-old. The people are reluctant to experiment and innovate and there does not seem to be any

agency to persuade them for this, to demonstrate to them the efficacy of new methods. Houses are the same in which probably the first Teli settling in Tilaibhat lived.

The people do not know that there is a country-wide community development movement and that they have an agency in their midst representing this movement. They do not like Government officials, they do not like electioneers; they do not like the Gram-Panchayat. They do not want a well, do not want a doctor, and do not want a school. They want only th easy availability of timber for their implements and houses; they want a *vaidya* and want to get their cases decided expeditiously in the courts.

Out of this study emerges a rather sad picture of Tilaibhat. The villagers do not have any idea and programme of development and regeneration on proper lines. Officials and non-officials have so far failed to gain their confidence and hav consequently failed to evoke in them any initiative towards various schemes. The villagers look upon every official move with suspicion. Even our inquiries were viewed with this suspicion. As somebody said : "the Government is making this inquiry so that at any time they can take our land". The non-officials from outside are also viewed with equal suspicion. The people want to be left alone; they feel that they are happy as they are. They ask : "why should somebody else be interested in their development and happiness and construct schools, roads and wells for them, when they do not get the most necessary requiremenis of day-to-day life."

Majumdar[1] has stated that "the numerous empirical studies of culture change point to one important lesson: that an innovation—whether an idea, a tool or a technique—can be self-regenerative only if it is institutionalised." He further states: 'For any change in the social attitudes of the backward, rural and tribal groups, it is necessary to start with a change in their cultural environment : that is to say, technical improvement at the material productive level, and institutional change at the inter-group relational level, rather than any piecemeal attempt at converting, reforming or educating individuals."

Probably the most instructive and appropriate advice is given by the authors of the "All-India Rural Credit Survey' Report. They say[1] : "For one thin there is nothing yet in human history to disprove—just as there is nothing in it yet to demonstrate—that economic welfare in its highest sense cannot be achieved, even where it is most lacking, by the planned, deliberate and organized effort of a Government, relentless as to purpose but not relentless as to means, provided the effort is not only emotionally impelled but is scientifically guided. In this latter aspect, a whole apparatus of technique, knowledge and research, comparatively recent and painstakingly accumulated, is available to Governments, if only they will make use of it, through the development of the social sciences of economics and sociology and of the sciences no less than art of public administration. It is irrelevant whether economic good is or is not a lesser objective than spiritual good. The fact remains that economic good is the highest practicable objective so far as Governments are concerned. In India, the process of increasing and more equitably distributing the economic good must, on purely rational grounds, be conceived in terms of rural India.

"The larger thesis, in which our concrete recommendations can find place only as a part, is that what India most needs today is a comprehensive and determined programme of rural regeneration which has the ethical impulse and emotional momentum of its highest traditions; which has, moreover, the calculated design of a project that is scientifically conceived and scientifically organized; and which, above all, attempts to render to rural India, in the economic realm, those opportunities for growth and fulfilment which, without distinction between man and man, but with especial compassion for the weak and the disadvantaged, more than one religious leader at more than one period of the country's history attempted to render to the masses of India in the realm of the spirit."

The study of village Tilaibhat, and various programmes of rural regeneration, somehow remind one of a very significant remark by Hippolyte Taine : "We have been losing more and more the ability to look at things directly. Weighed down by tedious, meticulous book-learning, we find ourselves studying not the objects themselves, but mere representations of them, maps rather than the actual landscape."

1. Caste and Communication in an Indian Village, 1958, D.N. Majumdar, p. 341.

1. All-India Rural Credit Survey—the General Report cabridged edition), 1956, p. 296.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. DOCUMENTS

1. Mahalwar Abstract prepared at the time of Settlement of the Bilaspur District.
2. Circle Note Books of Bilaspur Tahsil.
3. The Land Records documents, *viz.*, Khasra, Titamma, Jamabandi.

II. JOURNALS

4. Nagpur Law Journal, 1948.
5. Sahu Sandesh, Vol. I, No. 5, 1960.
6. Do. Vol. I, No. 11, 1961.
7. Do. Vol. I, No. 12, 1961.

III. REPORTS

8. Report of the Ethnological Committee on papers laid before them and upon examination of aboriginal tribes brought to the Jubbulpore Exhibition, 1866-67.
9. Census of India, 1891, Central Provinces.
10. Census of India, 1901, Village List Bilaspur District.
11. Gorwala, A.D. 1956 .. All-India Rural Credit Survey. The General Report (Abridged Edition).
12. Chisholm, J. W., 1868 Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Belaspore District in the Central Provinces.
13. Hewitt, J. F. K., 1869 Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Raepore District in the C.P.
14. Hance, J. E.,1912 .. Final Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Bilaspur District, 1904-12.
15. District Gazetteer .. Raipur District (1909).
16. District Gazetteer .. Bilaspur District (1909).
17. Socio-Economic Survey of Village Bendri, Census of India, 1961 (M. P.), K.C. Dubey.

IV. BOOKS

18. Altekar, A.S.—1958 Teli Jati ka Itihas.
19. Basorilal, Choudhari, 1930. Teli Bhaiyon ki Banshavali.
20. Corbett, Jim—1954 .. The Temple Tiger and more Man-Eaters of Kumaon.
21. Crooke, W. .. Tribes and Castes of the United Provinces.
22. Elwin, Verrier, 1936.. Leaves from the Jungle.
23. Forsyth, J. 1919 .. The Highlands of Central India.
24. Fuchs, Stephen, 1960 The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla.
25. Grierson, G.A., 1906.. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV.
26. Hutton, J.H., 1945 Caste in India.
27. Manu .. Manusmriti.
28. Mazumdar, D.N., 1958 Races and Culture of India.
29. Mazumdar, D.N., 1958 Caste and Communication in an Indian Village.
30. Misra, Jwalaprasad, 1955. Jatibhaskar.
31. Russell, R.V. and Hiralal, 1916. Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces, Vol. I.
32. Do. Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces, Vol. II.
33. Do. Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces, Vol. III.
34. Do. Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces, Vol. IV.
35. Sherring, M.A., 1879 Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. II.
36. Tulsidas .. Ramcharitmanas.

APPENDIX I

Sanskrit and Hindi references quoted in the Survey Report

Page 8

न राज्ञः प्रतिगृह्णीयादराजन्यप्रसूतितः ।
सूनाचक्रध्वजवतां वेषेणैव च जीवताम् ॥८४॥
दशसूनासमं चक्रं दशचक्रसमो ध्वजः ।
दशध्वजसमो वेशो दशवेशसमो नृपः ॥८५॥

(*Manusmriti, IV*, 84—85)

Page 8

जे वरनाधम तेलि कुम्हारा,
स्वपच किरात कोल कलवारा ।

(*Ramcharitmanas*)

Page 9

वैश्यायां शूद्रतश्चौर्यात जातश्चक्रीति चोच्यते ।
तैलपिष्टक जीवी तु लवणं श्रावयन्पुनः ॥

(*Oushmas Smriti*, 22—3)

Page 12

उग्रावैदेहिकाभ्यां च जातो मंजूषसंज्ञकः ॥
रजकः शूद्रतो हीनः प्रथमश्चान्त्यजेषु च ॥८६॥
वस्त्रनिर्णेजनं कुर्यादात्मवृत्यर्थमेव च ॥८७॥

(*Jatibhaskar, P.* 441)

Page 16

पानी से पनका भये
बूंदन रचे शरीर,
आगे आगे पनका भये
पाछे दास कबीर ।

Page 33

छोटे उमर मा बिहाव करथन
टूरा होगे पिलारी ।
टूरी मन के मन नहिं आवे
दूसर कुरिया निहारी ।
एला समझ लेवा गा
बाढ़े लड़का के शादी कर लेवा गा ।

Page 33

कौन चलाइस चूरी ला भैया
कब ले चले हे चूरी के चाल
बुढ़वा बबा मन सब जानत हे
कैसे बतावों एकर हाल
ऋषी मुनी के हम वंशज हन
तुम्हू मन तो करो विचार
जबले छांड़ेन उनकर रस्ता
तबले चलगे चूरी के चाल
रांडी बरंडी ला चूरी पहिरापन
ये हर आय सुंदर ब्यौहार
छंडवा के चूरी पहिराव बर
जात भरे ला खवाथें हार
नान-नान मा बिहाव करके
बीज चूरी के बो देतहन
इज्जत बेचत हन बीच बजार ।

Page 60

जैसन जेकर घर दुवार
तैसन तेकर फरिका ।
जैसन जेकर दाई-ददा
वैसन ओकर लरिका ॥

Page 67

बंदौ छत्तिसगढ़ के बासी
सुर दुर्लभ अति सरस सुहाती
जो नित इसका पसिया पीता
निश्चय सौ वर्षों तक जीता ।

Page 67

गजब पुष्टई भरे हे भाई
छत्तिसगढ़ के बासी मां
ठाढ़ बेरा मा माई-पीला
खेत खार ले आतहन गा
एकक बटकी हेरहेर के
चटनी नून मा खातहन गा
जिव हा निचट जुड़ाये भाई
कतको रहिस थकासी मां
गजब पुष्टई भरे हे भाई
छत्तिसगढ़ के बासी मां ।

Page 89

१ भैंसी चराये नंद बन मा
टेढ़ी पगड़ी झुकाले जवानीपन मा ।
२ छेरी चराए पंडरा बोकरा
गोटी मारके बुलावे रावत छोकरा ।
३ छोटे हे केरा, बड़े हे केरी
रामनाम ले लो साहेब, चले के बेरी ।
४ झन जा रे गंगा, झन जा रे तीरिथ
मन बोधना में बना ले माटी के मूरित ।
५ फुटहा मंदिर कलश नहीं हे
मोर बास गंगा बारु, दरश नहीं हे ।

Page 89

लड़के– सिंगी रे भाटा
बोहे ला कांवर
मोर जात सगा के होते
बना लेवेव जांवर ।

लड़कियां— सिंगी रे भाटा
पताल नेरुआ
टूरा मारथे कनखी
टूरा हे मरुआ ।

लड़के— नया रे डोलिया
बोयेला जीरा धान
तोर लंबा हे चूंदी
खोपा मा बीड़ा पान ।

लड़कियां– नानमुन डोलिया
बियासी डाले
नानपन के बिहाता
निदांसी डाले ।
तोर बलाये मैं आये हों खचित
तैं पड़े हस पलंग मा, मैं ठाड़े हों पछित ।

Page 89-90

झिनी पिछौरी चना के बूंदकी
अकेला मा पातेबं तो करातेबं बिनती ।
तोर घर गयेवं, बैठेव मचिया
बैठन नहीं पायों, चलाये अंखिया ।
पाके हे बोइर, हलावों कैसे
पर अंगना मा खड़े, बलावो कैसे ।
चांदी के मुंदरी, उतारो कैसे
परदेशिया राजा ला बलावों कैसे ।

Page 90

साइकिल चलाए हैंडिल धरके
तोला रात के बलावों कंडील धरके ।

नवा रे सड़क बिछाये गिट्टी
दोषदारी बर भेजेवं कारड-चिट्ठी ।
गये रे डोंगर, फोड़ेला गिट्टी
बारा बज गये दरोगा, दे देवो छुट्टी ।

Page 91

नवा सड़क मा गड़ेल चुकिया
बना रहे पंडरिया, खोपा मा रूपिया ।

TABLE I

Village Tilaibhat (p. 5)

Area in Acres	Area in Square miles	Total No. of Households	Population			Density
			Persons	Males	Females	
692	1.08	60	325	166	159	One person per 2 acres or 300 persons per square mile (approximate).

TABLE II

Population by Age Groups

Name of Village—TILAIBHAT (pp. 5-6)

Total of all ages			0—4		5—9		10—14		15—19		20—24		25—29		30—34		35—44		45—59		60 and over		Age not stated	
Persons	Males	Females	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
325	166	159	32	27	26	18	18	19	7	14	21	14	11	12	14	16	16	9	13	14	8	16	..	..

TABLE III

Size and Composition of Households

Name of Village—TILAIBHAT (p. 6)

Caste	Size of household														
	Single member			2-3 Members			4-6 Members			7-9 Members			10 Members and over		
	House-hold	Males	Females	House-hold	Males	Females	House-hold	Males	Females	House-hold	Males	Females	House-hold	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Teli	3	1	2	4	4	4	19	48	46	8	30	30	7	47	36
Rawat ..	..	..	..	2	3	2	4	10	11	1	5	3	..	..	..
Dhobi ..	..	..	..	1	1	1	3	4	11	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chhatri ..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	7	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bairagi ..	1	..	1		..	..	2	4	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Panka ..	..	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nai	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	**5**	**2**	**3**	**8**	**10**	**8**	**31**	**76**	**80**	**9**	**35**	**33**	**7**	**47**	**36**

TABLE IV

Households classified by Religions, Communities, Castes and Sub-castes

Religion	Community	No. of Households	Number of Households		
			Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6
Hindu	Teli	20	115	63	52
	Rawat	7	34	18	16
	Dhobi	4	17	5	12
	Chhatri	3	12	8	4
	Bairagi	3	11	4	7
	Nai	1	5	3	2
Kabir Panth	Teli	21	133	67	66
	Panka	1	3	2	1

TABLE V

Age and Marital Status

Age Group	Total Population			Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated		Unspecified Status	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
All ages 0— 4	59	32	27	32	27	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5— 9	44	26	18	7	11	19	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
10—14	37	18	19	6	2	12	17	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—19	21	7	14	1	..	6	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
20—24	35	21	14	..	..	20	14	1	..	..	..	..	..
25—29	23	11	12	..	..	11	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
30—34	30	14	16	..	..	14	14	..	2	..	..	..	..
35—39	13	8	5	..	..	7	4	1	1	..	..	..	..
40—44	12	8	4	..	..	7	2	1	2	..	..	..	..
45—49	7	1	6	..	..	..	5	1	1	..	..	..	..
50—54	17	9	8	..	..	6	5	3	3	..	..	..	..
55—59	3	3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 and over ..	24	8	16	..	..	4	3	4	13	..	..	..	..
Age not stated	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE VI

Households by number of rooms and by number of persons occupying

Community	Total number of households	Total number of Rooms	Total number of family members	Households with no regular room		Households with one room		Households with two rooms		Households with three rooms		Households with four rooms		Households with five rooms		Households with five rooms and more	
				No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Teli (41) ..		81	248	..	..	16	67	13	71	9	83	3	27	..	..	..	..
Rawat (7) ..		11	34	..	..	3	9	4	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dhobi (4) ..		7	17	..	..	1	2	3	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chhatri (3)		6	12	..	..	1	5	1	1	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bairagi (3)		5	11	..	..	1	1	2	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Panka (1) ..		2	3	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nai (1) ..		1	5	..	..	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 Households		**113**	**330**	..	..	**23**	**89**	**24**	**125**	**10**	**89**	**3**	**27**	..	..	..	..

TABLE VII

Households engaged in cultivation, industry or business belonging to the household

Total number of households	Households engaged in cultivation only	Households engaged in only service	Households engaged in only labour	Households engaged in cultivation and other activity	Households in cultivation and industry	Households in cultivation and business	Households engaged in industry and business
60	13	1	1	45	..	..	..

TABLE VIII

Diet

Community	Total number of households in each community	Households taking			
		One meal a day	Two meals a day	Three meals a day	More than three meals a day
1	2	3	4	5	6
Teli	41	..	..	41	..
Bairagi	3	..	..	3	..
Chhatri	3	..	..	3	..
Rawah	7	..	..	7	..
Panka	1	..	..	1	..
Dhobi	4	..	..	4	..
Nai	1	..	..	1	..

TABLE IX

Staple diet and food habits of communities

Community	Number of households in community	Households taking					
		Rice	Wheat	Grains other than rice or wheat	Roots including tapioca	Vegetarian	Non-vegetarian
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Teli	41	41	..	..	..	..	41
Bairagi	3	3	..	..	..	3	..
Chhatri	3	3	..	..	..	..	3
Rawat	7	7	..	..	..	..	7
Panka	1	1	..	..	..	..	1
Dhobi	4	4	..	..	..	..	4
Nai	1	1	..	..	..	..	1

TABLE X

Distribution of households by occupation, income and number of members

Occupation	No. of House-holds	Income of Household in Rs.					Total No. of members in house-holds mention-ed in	No. of Persons or Household				No. of equivalent adult males per house-	No. of gainful employed by people per house.
		Less than Rs. 25	25-50	51-75	76-100	101 and over		Males above 12	Females above 12	Males below 12	Females below 12		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Cultivation ..	54	1	15	22	7	9	303	98	100	65	60	..	179
Animal Husbandry ..	2	1	1	..	..	..	5	2	1	1	1	..	2
Labour ..	2	..	1	..	..	..	5	1	3	1	..	..	3
Service (Barber) ..	1	..	1	..	..	..	5	1	2	2	..	..	1
Others (Beggar) ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rent receiver ..	1	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	..	..
Total	**60**	**2**	**20**	**22**	**7**	**9**							

TABLE XI

Indebtedness

Income Group in Rs.	Indebtedness by Income Group			
	Total No. of households	No. of households in debt	Percentage of Col. 3 to Col. 2	Average indebted-ness household in debt
1	2	3	4	5
25 and below	2	1	50	200·00
26 to 50	20	8	40	121·11
51 to 75	22	8	36·3	183·75
76 to 100	7	5	71·3	276·00
101 and above	9	5	55·5	216·06
Total ..	**60**	**27**	**45.0**	**195·4**

TABLE XII

Indebtedness by Causes

Name of Village—TILAIBHAT (p. 78)

Cause	Indebtedness by cause of debt		
	Amount of debt	Number of families in debt	Percentage proportion of debt due to cause to the total amount of debt
1	2	3	4
(*a*) (*i*) Purchase of land	1,440	5	28·56
(*ii*) Purchase of cattle	2,662	14	52·80
(*b*) House-construction or repairs to existing building			
(*c*) Marriage	290	3	5·75
(*d*) Funerals	..	..	..
(*e*) To give dowry	..	..	..
(*f*) To clear out standing debt	..	..	..
(*g*) Sickness	..	..	..
(*h*) Food	100	2	1·98
(*i*) House construction	250	2	4·96
(*j*) Industry run by the household	..	..	..
(*k*) Business run by the household	..	..	..
(*l*) Purchase of fertilizer	300	1	5·95

GRPG—923—SCB—11-11-63—1000.

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVT. OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS AS ON 31st DECEMBER 1962

Agra

National Book House, Jeoni Mandi .. .. (Reg.)
Wadhawa and Co., 45, Civil Lines .. .. (Reg.)
Banwari Lal Jain, Publishers, Moti Katra .. (Rest.)

Ahmedabad

Balgovind Kuber Dass & Co., Gandhi Road .. (Reg.)
Chandra Kant Chimanlal Vora, Gandhi Road .. (Reg.)
New Order Book Co., Ellis Bridge .. .. (Reg.)
Mahajan Bros., Opp. Khadia Police Gate .. (Rest.)
Sastu Kitab Ghar, Near Relief Talkies, Patthar Kuva, Relief Road. .. .. (Reg.)

Agartala

Laxmi Bhandar Books and Scientific Sales .. (Rest.)

Ahmednagar

V. T. Jorakar, Prop. Rama General Stores, Navi Path. .. .. (Rest.)

Ajmer

Book-Land, 663, Madar Gate .. .. (Reg.)
Rajputana Book House, Station Road .. (Reg.)
Law Book House, 271, Hathi Bhata .. .. (Rest.)
Vijay Bros, Kutchery Road .. .. (Rest.)
Krishna Bros., Kutchery Road .. .. (Rest.)

Aligarh

Friends' Book House, Muslim University Market (Reg.)

Allahabad

Supdt., Printing & Stationery, U. P.
Kitabistan, 17-A, Kamla Nehru Road. .. (Reg.)
Law Book Co., Sardar Patel Marg, P. Box 4 .. (Reg.)
Ram Narain Lal Beni Madho, 2-A, Katra Road .. (Reg.)
Universal Book Co., 20, M.G. Road .. .. (Reg.)
The University Book Agency (of Lahore), Elgin Road. (Reg.)
Wadhwa & Co., 23, M. G. Marg .. .. (Rest.)
Bharat Law House, 15, Mahatma Gandhi Marg .. (Rest.)
Ram Narain Lal Beni Prashad, 2-A, Katra Road (Rest.)

Ambala

English Book Depot, Ambala Cantt. .. .. (Reg.)
Seth Law House, 8719, Railway Road, Ambala Cantt. .. .. (Rest.)

Amritsar

The Law Book Agency, G. T. Road, Putligarh .. (Reg.)
S. Gupta, Agent, Govt. publications, Near P. O. Majith Mandi. .. .. (Reg.)
Amar Nath and Sons, Near P.O. Majith Mandi .. (Reg.)

Anand

Vijaya Stores, Station Road, Anand .. .. (Rest.)

Bangalore

The Bangalore Legal Practitioner, Co-op. Society Ltd., Bar Association Building .. .. (Reg.)
S.S. Book Emporium, 118, Mount Joy Road .. (Reg.)
The Bangalore Press, Lake View Mysore Road, P.O. Box 507 .. .. (Reg.)
The Standard Book Depot, Avenue Road .. (Reg.)
Vichara Shitya Private Ltd., Balepet .. (Reg.)
Makkala Pustaka Press, Balamandira, Chandinagar (Reg.)
Maruthi Book Depot, Avenue Road .. .. (Rest.)
International Book House (P) Ltd., 4-F, Mahatma Gandhi Road .. .. (Reg.)
Navakararataka Publications, Private Ltd., Majestic Circle .. .. (Rest.)

Bareilly

Agarwal Brothers, Bara Bazar .. .. (Reg.)

Baroda

Shri Chandrakant Mohan Lal Shah, Raopura .. (Rest.)
Good Companions Booksellers, Publishers & Sub-Agent .. .. (Rest.)

Beawar

The Secretary, S. D. College, Co-operative Stores Ltd. .. .. (Rest.)

Bhagalpur

Paper Stationery Stores, D. N. Singh Road .. (Reg.)

Bhubaneswar

Ekamra Vidyabhaban, Eastern Tower, Room No. 3 (Rest.)

Bhopal

Supdt., State Government Press
Lyall Book Depot, Mohd. Din Bldg., Sultania Road (Reg.)
Delite Books, Opp. Bhopal Talkies .. .. (Rest.)

Belghria

Granthlok, Antiquarian Booksellers & Publishers (24 Paraganas), 5/1, Amlica Mukherjee Road .. (Reg.)

Bijapur

Shri D. V. Deshpande, Recognised Law Booksellers, Prop. Vinod Book Depot, Near Shiralshetti Chowk. (Rest.)

Bikaner

Bhandani Bros .. .. .. (Rest.)

Bilaspur

Sharma Book Stall, Sadar Bazar .. .. (Rest.)

Bombay

Supdt., Printing and Stationery, Queens Road
Charles Lambert & Co., 101, Mahatma Gandhi Road .. .. (Reg.)
Co-operators Book Depot, 5/32, Ahmed Sailor Bldg. Dadar. .. .. .. (Reg.)
Current Book House, Maruti Lane, Raghunath Dadaji St. .. .. (Reg.)
Current Technical Literature Co., (P) Ltd., India House, 1st Floor .. .. .. (Reg.)
International Book House Ltd., 9, Ash Lane, M.G. Road .. .. .. (Reg.)
Lakkani Book Depot, Girgaum .. .. (Reg.)
Elpees Agencies, 24, Bhangwadi Kalbadevi .. (Reg.)
P.P.H. Book Stall, 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road.. (Reg.)
New Book Co., 188-190, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road (Reg.)

Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road .. (Reg.)
Sunder Das Gaian Chand, 601, Girgaum Road, Near Princess Street .. .. .. (Reg.)
D.B. Taraporewala Sons & Co. (P) Ltd., 210, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road .. .. (Reg.)
Thacker & Co., Rampart Row .. .. (Reg.)
N.M. Tripathi Private Ltd., Princess Street .. (Reg.)
The Kothari Book Depot, King Edward Road .. (Reg.)
P.H. Rama Krishna & Sons, 147, Rajaram Bhuvan, Shivaji Park Road, No. 5 .. .. (Rest.)
C. Jamnadas & Co., Booksellers, 146-C, Princess Street .. .. (Reg.)
Indo Nath & Co., 24, Bhangwadi, Kalbadevi Road (Reg.)
Minerva Book Shop, Shop No. 1/80, N. Subhas Road .. .. (Reg.)
Academic Book Co., Association Building, Girgaum Road .. .. (Rest.)
Dominion Publishers, 23 Bell Building, Sir P.M. Road .. .. (Rest.)
Dowarnadeo & Co., 18, Naziria Building, Ballard State .. .. (Rest.)

Calcutta

Chatterjee & Co., 3/1, Bacharam Chatterjee Lane (Reg.)
Dass Gupta & Co. Ltd., 54/3, College Street .. (Reg.)
Hindu Library, 69A, Balaram De Street .. (Reg.)
S.K Lahiri & Co. Private Ltd., College Street .. (Reg.)
M.C. Sarkar and Sons Private Ltd., 14, Bankim Chatterjee .. .. (Reg.)
W. Newman & Co. Ltd., B, Old Court House Street .. .. (Reg.)
Oxford Book and Stationery Co., 17, Park Street.. (Reg.)
R. Chambray and Co. Ltd., Kent House, P. 33, Mission Road Extension .. .. (Reg.)
S.C. Sarkar and Sons Private Ltd., IC, College] Square .. .. (Reg.)
Thacker Spink and Co. (1933) P. Ltd., 3, Esplanade Est .. .. (Reg.)
Firma K. L. Mukhopadhaya, 6/1A, Banchha Ram Akrar Lane .. .. (Reg.)
K.K. Roy, P. Box No. 10210, Calcutta-19 .. (Rest.)
Sm. P. D. Upadhydy, 77, Muktaram Babu Street (Rest.)
Universal Book Dist., 8/2, Hastings Street .. (Rest.)
Modern Book Depot, 9, Chowringee Centre .. (Rest.)
Soor and Co., 125, Canning Street .. .. (Reg.)
S. Bhattacharjee, 49, Dharamtala Street .. (Rest.)
Mukherjee Library, Sarba Khan Road .. (Rest.)
Current Literature Co., 208, Mahatma Gandhi Road (Reg.)
The Book Depository, 4/1 Madan Street (1st Floor) (Rest.)
Scientific Book Agency, Netaji Subhash Road .. (Rest.)
Reliance Trading Co., 43/A, Netaji Subhash Road (Rest.)

Chapra

Alok Pustak Sadan .. .. .. (Rest.)

Chandigarh

Supdt., Govt. Printing and Stationery, Punjab
Jain Law Agency, Flat No. 8, Sector No. 22 .. (Reg.)
Rama News Agency, Booksellers, Sector No. 22 .. (Reg.)
Universal Book Store, Booth 25, Sector 22-D .. (Reg.)
English Book Shop, 34, Sector 22-D .. .. (Rest.)
Mehta Bros., 15-Z, Sector 22-B .. .. (Rest.)
Tandan Book Depot, Shopping Centre, Sector 16 (Rest.)
Kailash Law Publishers, Sector 22-B .. (Rest.)

Calicut

Touring Book Stall .. .. .. (Rest.)

Chhindwara

The Verma Book Depot .. .. .. (Rest.)

Chochin

Saraswat Corporation Ltd., Palliarakav Road .. (Reg.)

Cuttack

Press Officer, Orissa Sectt. .. .. (Reg.)
Cuttack Law Times .. .. .. (Reg.)
Prabhat K. Mahapatra Mangalabag, P. B. 35 .. (Reg.)
D. P. Sure Sons, Mangalabag .. .. (Rest.)
Utkal Stores, Balu Bazar .. .. (Rest.

Dehra Dun

Jugal Kishore & Co., Rajpura Road .. .. (Reg.)
National News Agency, Paltan Bazar .. (Reg.)
Jugal Kishore & Co., Rajpura Road .. .. (Reg.)
National News Agency, Paltan Bazar .. (Reg.)
Bishan Singh and Mahendra Pal Singh, 318 Chukhuwala .. .. (Reg.)

Delhi

J. M. Jaina & Brothers, Mori Gate .. .. (Reg.)
Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmeri Gate .. .. (Reg.)
Federal Law Book Depot, Kashmeri Gate .. (Reg.)
Bahri Bros., 188, Lajpat Rai Market .. (Reg.)
Bawa Harkishan Dass Bedi (Vijaya General Agencies), P. B. 2027, Delhi Ahata Kedara, Chamalian Road .. .. (Reg.)
Book-Well, 4 Sant Narankari Colony, P. B. 1565, Delhi-9 .. .. (Reg.)
Imperial Publishing Co., 3, Faiz Bazar, Daryaganj (Reg.)
Metropolitan Book Co., 1, Faiz Bazar, Delhi .. (Reg.)
New Stationery House, Subzimandi .. .. (Reg.)
Youngman & Co., Nai Sarak, Delhi-6 .. (Reg.)
Indian Army Book Depot, 3, Daryaganj .. (Reg.)
All India Educational Supply Co., Sri Ram Buildings, Jawahar Nagar .. .. (Rest.)
Dhanwant Medical & Law Book House, 1522, Lajpatrai Market .. .. .. (Rest.)
University Book House, 15, U. B. Bangalore Road, Jawahar Nagar .. .. .. (Rest.)
Govt. Book Agency, 2646, Balimaran .. .. (Rest.)
Summer Brothers, P. O. Birla Lines .. .. (Rest.)
Universal Book & Stationery Co., 16, Netaji Subhash Marg .. .. .. (Reg.)
B. Nath & Bros., 3303, Charkhawalan (Chowri Bazar) (Rest.)
Rajkamal Prakashan (P) Ltd., 8, Faiz Bazar .. (Reg.)
Universal Book Traders, 80, Gokhla Market .. (Reg.)
Tech., & Commercial Book Co., 75, Gokhla Market (Rest.)
Saini Law Publishing Co., 1416, Chabiganj, Kashmeri Gate .. .. .. (Rest.)
G. M. Ahuja, Booksellers & Stationers, 309 Nehru Bazar .. .. .. (Rest.)
Sat Narain & Sons, 3141 Mohs. Ali Bazar, Mori Gate (Reg.)
Kitab Mahal (Wholesale Div.) Private Ltd., 28, Faiz Bazar. .. .. .. (Rest.

Hindu Sahitya Sansar, Nai Sarak .. .. (Rest.)
Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Oriental Booksellers & Publishers, P. B. 1165, Nai Sarak .. .. (Rest.)
K. L. Seth, Suppliers of Law, Commercial & Tech. Books, Shanti Nagar, Ganeshpura .. .. (Rest.)

Dhanbad

Ismag Co-operative Stores Ltd., P. O. Indian School of Mines .. .. .. (Reg.)
New Sketch Press, Post Box No. 26 .. .. (Rest.)

Dharwar

Rameshraya Book Depot, Subhas Road .. (Rest.)

Ernakulam

Pai & Co., Cloth Bazar Road .. .. (Rest.)

Ferozepore

English Book Depot, 78, Jhoke Road .. .. (Reg.)

Gaya

Sahitya Sadan, Gautam Budha Marg .. (Reg.)

Goa

Jairam Sagoon Dhoud, Booksellers, Panjim .. (Rest.)

Guntur

Book Lovers Private Ltd., Kadiguda, Chowrasta (Reg.)

Gorakhpur

Vishwa Vidhyalaya Prakashan, Nakhes Road .. (Rest.)

Gauhati

Mokshada Pustakalaya, Gauhati, Assam .. (Reg.)

Gwalior

Supdt., Printing & Stationery, M. B.
Loyal Book Depot, Patankar Bazar, Lashkar .. (Reg.)
M. C. Daftari, Prop. M. B. Jain & Bros., Booksellers, Sarafa, Lashkar .. .. .. (Rest.)

Ghazibad

Jayana Book Agency .. .. .. (Rest.)

Hyderabad

Director, Govt. Press .. .. ..
The Swaraj Book Depot, Lakdikapul .. (Reg.)
Book Lovers Private Ltd. .. .. (Rest.)
Labour Law Publications, 873, Sultan Bazar .. (Rest.)

Hubli

Pervaje's Book House, Koppikar Road .. (Reg.)

Indore

Wadhwa & Co., 56, M. G. Road .. .. (Reg.)
Swarup Brothers, Khajuri Bazar .. .. (Rest.)
Madhya Pradesh Book Centre, 41, Ahilya Pura .. (Rest.
Modern Book House, Shiv Vilas Palace .. (Rest.)
Navyug Sahitya Sadan, Publishers & Booksellers, 17, Khajuri Bazar .. .. .. (Rest.)

Imphal

Tikendra & Sons, Booksellers .. .. (Rest.)

Jaipur City

Govt. Printing and Stationery Department, Rajasthan .. ..
Bharat Law House, Booksellers and Publishers, Opp. Prem Prakash Cinema .. .. (Reg.)
Garg Book Co., Tripolia Bazar .. .. (Reg.)
Vani Mandir, Swami Mansingh Highway .. (Reg.)
Kalyan Mal & Sons, Tripolia Bazar .. .. (Rest.)
Popular Book Depot, Chouri Rasta .. (Reg.)
Krishna Book Depot, Chaura Rasta .. .. (Rest.)
Dominion Law Depot, Shah Building, P. B. No. 23 (Rest.)

Jawalapur

Sahyog Book Depot .. .. .. (Rest.)

Jamshedpur

Amar Kitab Ghar, Diagonal Road, P. B. 78 .. (Reg.)
Gupta Stores, Dhatkidih .. .. .. (Reg.)
Sanyal Bros., Booksellers & News Agents, Bistapur Market .. .. (Rest.)

Jamnagar

Swedeshi Vastu Bhandar .. .. .. (Reg.)

Jodhpur

Dwarka Das Rathi, Wholesale Books and News Agents .. .. (Reg.)
Kitab Ghar, Sojati Gate .. .. .. (Reg.)
Choppra Brothers, Tripolia Bazar .. .. (Reg.)

Jabalpur

Modern Book House, 286, Jawaharganj .. (Reg.)

Jullundur City

Hazooria Bros., Mai Hiran Gate .. .. (Rest.)
Jain General House, Bazar Bansanwala .. (Reg.)
University Publishers, Railway Road .. (Rest.)

Kanpur

Advani & Co., P. Box 100, The Mall .. (Reg.)
Sahitya Niketan, Sharadhanand Park .. (Reg.)
The Universal Book Stall, The Mall .. (Reg.)
Raj Corporation, Raj House, P. B. 200, Chowk .. (Rest.)

Karur

Shri V. Nagaraja Rao, 26, Srinivasapuram .. (Rest.)

Kolapur

Maharashtra Granth Bhandar, Mahadwar Road .. (Rest.)

Kodarma

The Bhagwati Press, P. O. Jhumritelaiya, District Hazaribagh .. .. (Reg.)

Kumta

S. V. Kamat, Booksellers and Stationers (N. Kanara) (Reg.)

Lucknow

Soochna Sahitya Depot, (State Book Depot) .. ..
Balkrishna Book Co. Ltd., Hazratganj .. (Reg.)
British Book Depot, 84, Hazratganj .. (Reg.)
Ram Advani, Hazratganj, P. B. 154 .. (Reg.)
Universal Publishers (P) Ltd., Hazratganj .. (Reg.)
Eastern Book Co., Lalbagh Road .. .. (Reg.)
Civil and Military Educational Stores, 106/B, Sadar Bazar .. .. (Rest.)
Acqurium Supply Co., 213, Faijabad Road .. (Rest.)
Law Book Mart, Amin-Ud-Daula Park .. (Rest.)

Ludhiana (E. P.)

Lyall Book Depot., Chaura Bazar .. .. (Reg.)
Mohindra Brothers, Kathcyri Road .. .. (Rest.)
Nanda Stationery Bhandar, Pustak Bazar .. (Rest.)
The Pharmacy News, Pindi Street .. .. (Rest.)

Madurai

Oriental Book House, 258, West Masi Street .. (Reg.)
Vivekananda Press, 48, West Masi Street .. (Reg.)

Mathura

Rath & Co., Tilohi Building, Bengali Ghat .. (Rest.)

Madras

Supdt., Govt. Press, Mount Road .. ..
Account Test Institute, P. O. 760, Emgore .. (Reg.)
C. Subbiah Chetty & Co., Triplicane, Madras-5 .. (Reg.)
K. Krishnamurty, Post Box 384 .. .. (Reg.)
Presidency Book Supplies, 8, Pyerafts Road, Triplicane. .. .. (Reg.)
P. Vardhachary & Co., 8, Linghi Chetty Street .. (Reg.)
Palani Prachuram, 3 Tycrafts Road, Triplicane .. (Reg.)
South India Traders, Exporters, Importers, Agents and Govt. Booksellers, Rapapettah .. .. (Reg.)
NCBH Private Ltd., 199, Mount Road (Rest.)
V. Sadanand, The Personal Book shop, 10 Congress Building, 111, Mount Road .. .. (Rest.)

Mandya

K. N. Narimhe Gowda & Sons, Sugar Town .. (Rest.)

Mangalore

U. R. Shenoye Sons., Car Street, P. Box 128 .. (Reg.)

Manjeshwar

Mukenda Krishna Nayak .. .. (Rest.)

Meerut

Hind Chitra Press, West Kutchary Road (Reg.)
Prakash Educational Stores, Subhas Bazar (Reg.)
Loyal Book Depot, Chhipi Tank .. .. (Reg.)
Bharat Educational Stores, Chhipi Tank .. (Rest.)
Universal Book Depot, Booksellers & News Agents (Rest.)

Monghyr

Anusandhan, Minerva Press Building .. (Rest.)

Mussouri

Cambridge Book Depot, The Mall .. .. (Rest.)
Hind Traders .. .. .. (Rest.)

Muzaffarnagar

Mittal & Co., 85-C, New Mandi .. .. (Rest.)
B. S. Jain & Co., 71, Abupura .. .. (Rest.)

Muzaffarpur

Scientific & Educational Supply Syndicate .. (Reg.)
Legal Corner Tikmanis' House—Amgola Road .. (Rest.)

Mysore

H. Venkataramiah & Sons, New Statue Circle .. (Reg.)
Peoples Book House, Opp. Jagan Mohan Palace .. (Reg.)
Jeevana Pustakalaya, 1254/1, Krishnamurthipuram (Rest.)
News Paper House, Lansdowne Building .. (Rest.)

Nagpur

Supdt., Govt. Press & Book Depot .. ..
Western Book Depot, Residency Road .. (Reg.)
The Asst. Secretary, Mineral Industry Association Mineral House .. .. .. (Rest.)

Nandid

R. S. Desay, Station Road .. .. (Rest.)

Nanded

Book Centre, College Law General Books, Station Road. .. .. .. (Rest.)
Hindustan General Stores, Paper & Stationery Merchants, P.B. No. 51 .. .. (Rest.)

New Delhi

Amrit Book Co., Connaught Circus .. .. (Reg.)
Bhawani & Sons, 8-F, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
Central News Agency, 23/90, Connaught Circus (Reg.)
Empire Book Depot, 278 Aliganj .. .. (Reg.)
English Book Stores, 7-L, Connaught Circus, P. O. B. 328 .. .. .. (Reg.)
Faqir Chand & Sons, 15-A, Khan Market, New Delhi-1 .. .. .. (Reg.)
Jain Book Agency, C-9, Prem House, Connaught Place .. .. .. (Reg.)
Oxford Book & Stationery Co., Scindia House .. (Reg.)
Ram Krishna & Sons (of Lahore) 16/B, Connaught Place .. .. (Reg.)
Sikh Publishing House, 7-C, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
Suneja Book Centre, 24/90, Connaught Circus .. (Reg.)
United Book Agency, 31, Municipal Market, Connaught Circus .. .. .. (Reg.)
Jayana Book Depot, Chhaparwala Kuan, Karol Bagh (Reg.)
Navayug Traders, Desh Bandhu Gupta, Road, Dev Nagar .. .. .. (Reg.)
Saraswati Book Depot, 15, Lady Harding Road .. (Reg.)
The Secretary, Indian Met, Society, Lodi Road... (Rest.)
New Book Depot, Latest Books, Periodicals Sty. & Novelles, P. B. 96, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
Mehra Brothers, 50-G, Kalkaji, New Delhi-19 .. (Reg.)
Luxmi Book Stores, 42, Janpath Street .. (Rest.)
Hindi Book House, 82, Janpath .. .. (Rest.)
Peoples Publishing House (P) Ltd.. Rani Jhansi Rd. (Reg.)
R. K. Publishers, 23, Beadon Pura, Karol Bagh (Rest.)

Sharma Bros. 17, New Market, Moti Nagar .. (Reg.)
Aapki Dukan, 5/5777, Dev Nagar .. .. (Rest.)
Sarvodaya Service, 66A-1, Rohtak Road, P. B. 2521 (Rest.)
H. Chandson, P. B. No. 3034 .. .. (Rest.)
The Secretary, Federation of Association of Small Industry of India, 23-B/2, Rohtak Road. .. (Rest.)
Standard Booksellers & Stationers, Palam Enclave (Rest.)
Lakshmi Book Depot, 57, Regarpura .. (Rest.)

Pathankot

The Krishna Book Depot, Main Bazar .. (Rest.)

Patiala

Supdt., Bhupendra State Press ..
Jain & Co., 17 Shah Nashin Bazar .. .. (Reg.)

Patna

Supdt., Govt. Printing (Bihar)
J. N. P. Aggarwal & Co., Padri Ki Haveli, Raghu Nath Bhawan .. .. .. (Reg.)
Luxmi Trading Co., Padri Ki Haveli .. (Reg.)
Moti Lal Banarsi Dass, Bankipore .. .. (Reg.)
Bengal Law House, Chowhatta .. .. (Rest.)

Pithorgarh

Maniram Punetha & Sons .. .. (Rest.)

Poona

Deccan Book Stall, Deccan Gymkhana .. (Reg.)
Imperial Book Depot, 266, M. G. Road .. (Reg.)
International Book Service, Deccan Gymkhana .. (Reg.)
Raka Book Agency, Opp. Natu's Chawl Near Appa Balwant Chowke, Poona-2 .. .. (Reg.)
Utility Book Depot, 1339, Shivaji Nagar .. (Rest.)

Pudukkottai

Shri P. N. Swaminathan Sivam & Co., East Main Road. .. .. .. (Rest.)

Rajkot

Mohan Lal Doccabhai Shah, Booksellers and sub-Agents. .. .. (Reg.)

Ranchi

Crown Book Depot, Upper Bazar .. .. (Reg.)
Pustak Mahal, Upper Bazar .. .. (Rest.)

Rourkela

The Rourkela Review .. .. .. (Rest.)

Rewa

Supdt., Govt. State Emporium, U. P. .. ..

Saharanpur

Chandra Bharata Pustak Bhandar, Court Road .. (Rest.)

Secenderabad

Hindustan Diary Publishers, Market Street .. (Reg.)

Silchar

Shri Nishitto Sen Nazirpatti .. .. (Rest.)

Sinnar

Shri N. N. Jakhadi, Agent, Times of India, Sinnar, (Nasik) .. .. (Rest.)

Shillong

The Officer-in-Charge, Assam Govt., B. D. Chapla Bookstall, P. B. No. 1 .. .. (Rest.)

Sonepat

United Book Agency .. .. .. (Reg.)

Simla

Supdt., Himachal Pradesh Govt. Press .. (Reg.)
Minerva Book Shop, The Mall .. .. (Reg.)
The New Book Depot, 79, The Mall .. (Reg.)

Srinagar

The Kashmir Bookshop, Residency Road .. (Reg.)

Surat

Shri Gajanan Pustakalaya, Tower Road .. (Reg.)

Tuticorin

Shri K. Thiagarajan, 18-C, French Chapal Road .. (Rest.)

Trichinopoly

Kalpana Publishers, Woaiur .. .. (Reg.)
S. Krishnaswami & Co., 35, Subhash Chander Bose Road .. .. .. (Reg.)
Palamiappa Bros. .. .. .. (Rest.)

Trivandrum

International Book Depot, Main Road .. (Reg.)
Reddear Press & Book Depot, P. B. No. 4 .. (Rest.)

Udaipur

Jagdish & Co., Inside Surajapole .. .. (Rest.)

Ujjain

Manak Chand Book Depot, Sati Gate .. (Rest.)

Varanasi

Students Firends & Co., Lanka .. .. (Rest.)
Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Gopal Mandir Road, P. B. 8. .. .. .. (Reg.)
Kohinoor Stores, University Road, Lanka .. (Reg.)

Vizianagram

Sarda & Co. .. .. (Rest.)

Vijayawada

The Book & Review Centre, Eluru Road, Governpet (Rest.)

Vezegapatam

Gupta Brothers, Vizia Building .. .. (Reg.)
Book Centre, 11/97, Main Road .. .. (Reg.)

Vellore

A. Venkatasubhan Law Booksellers .. .. (Reg.)

Wardha

Swarajeya Bhandar, Bhorji Market .. .. (Reg.)

Govt. of India Kitab Mahal, Janpath, Opp. India Coffee House, New Delhi.
Govt. of India Book Depot, 8, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
} FOR LOCAL SALES.

High Commissioner for India in London, India House, London, W. C. 2.

Date Loaned

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS AS ON 31-12-1962

(On S and R Basis)

The Head Clerk, Government Book Depot, Ahmedabad.

The Assistant Director, Extension Centre, Kapileshwar Road, Belgaum.

The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Dhar.

The Assistant Director, Footwear Extension Centre, Polo Ground No. 1, Jodhpur.

The O. I/c Extension Centre, Club Road, Muzaffarpur.

The Director, Indian Bureau of Mines, Government of India, Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel, Nagpur.

The Assistant Director, Industrial Extension Centre, Nadiad, (Gujarat).

The Head Clerk, Photozincographic Press, 5 Finance Road, Poona

Government Printing and Stationery, Rajkot.

The O. I/c Extension Centre, Industrial Estate, Kokar, Ranchi.

The Director, S. I. S. I. Industrial Extension Centre, Udhna Surat.

The Registrar of Companies, Narayani Building, 2, Erabourne Road, Calcutta-1.

The Registrar of Companies, Kerala 70, Feet Road, Ernakulam.

The Registrar of Companies, H. No. 3-5-83, Hyderguda, Hyderabad.

The Registrar of Companies, Assam, Manipur and Tripura, Shillong.

The Registrar of Companies, Sunlight Insurance Building, Ajmeri Gate Extension, New Delhi.

The Registrar of Companies, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, Link Road, Jullundur City.

The Registrar of Companies, Bihar Jammal Road, Patna-1.

The Registrar of Companies, Rajasthan and Ajmer; Shri Kumta Prasad House, 1st Floor, 'C' Scheme, Ashok Marg, Jaipur.

The Registrar of Companies, Andhra Bank Building, 6 Linghi Chetty Street, P. B. 1530, Madras.

The Registrar of Companies, Mahatma Gandhi Road, West Cott. Bldg., P. B. 334, Kanpur.

The Registrar of Companies, Everest 100, Marine Drive, Bombay.

The Registrar of Companies, 162, Brigade Road, Bangalore.

The Registrar of Companies, Gwalior.

Assistant Director, Extension Centre, Bhuli Road, Dhanbad.

Registrar of Companies, Orissa, Cuttack Gandhi, Cuttack.

The Registrar of Companies, Gujrat State, Gujrat Samachar Building, Ahmedabad.

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS AS ON 31-12-1962

(Railway Bookstall Holders)

S/S. A. H. Wheeler & Co., 15, Elgin Road, Allahabad.

Gahlot Bros., K. E. M. Road, Bikaner.

Higginbothams & Co. Ltd., Mount Road, Madras.

M. Gulab Singh & Sons (P) Ltd., Mathura Road, New Delhi,

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS AS ON 31-12-62

(Foreign)

S/S Education Enterprise Private Ltd., Kathumandu (Nepal).

S/S Aktie bologat, C. E. Fritzes Kungl, Hovobokhandel Fredsgation-2 Box, 1656, Stockholm-16 (Sweden).

Publication Division, Sales Depot, North Block, New Delhi.

The Development Commissioner, Small Scale Industries, New Delhi.

The O. I/c University Employment Bureau, Lucknow.

O. I/c S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, Malda.

O. I/c S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, Habra, Tabaluria, 24 Parganas.

O. C. I/c S. I. S. I. Model Carpentry Workshop, Piyali Nagar, P. O. Burnipur.

O. C. I/c S. I. S. I. Chrontanning Extension Centre, Tangra 33 North Topsia Road, Calcutta-46.

O. I/c S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, (Footwear), Calcutta.

Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Hyderabad.

Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Krishna District (A. P.)

Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Jhabua.

Deputy Director, Incharge, S. I. S. I. C/o Chief Civil Admn. Goa, Panjim.

The Registrar of Trade Unions, Kanpur.

The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Gopal Bhavan.

GRPG—889—Census—5-11-63-16,000.