

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME XIV

RAJASTHAN

PART VI - A

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

1. MALAR
2. KHAJOORA
3. SANWARA
4. MUKAM
5. NANGAL SOOSAWATAN
6. BHANGARH

Editor
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FOREWORD

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

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of 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 adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to nlarge 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 petterns 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 conclusion', 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 attenion 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 convassed. 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. 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. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

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

A. MITRA
Registrar General, India.

New Delhi,
July 30, 1964.

Villages selected for the Survey

Village	*Tehsil*	*District*
Rang Mahal ...	Suratgarh	Ganganagar
Mukam ...	Nokha	Bikaner
Mudh ...	Kolayat	,,
Bajawa ...	Udaipurwati	Jhunjhunu
Bhangarh ...	Rajgarh	Alwar
Hasanpur ...	Tijara	,,
Poonchhari ...	Deeg	Bharatpur
Aghapur ...	Bharatpur	,,
Sanganer ...	Sanganer	Jaipur
Chimanpura ...	Bairath	,,
Nangal Soosawatan ...	Amber	,,
Abhaneri ...	Baswa	,,
Shivpura Ghata ...	Beawar	Ajmer
Ramdeora ...	Pokaran	Jaisalmer
Bujawar ...	Jodhpur	Jodhpur
Kalijal ...	Jodhpur	,,
Malar ...	Phalodi	,,
Bhadwasi ...	Nagaur	Nagaur
Goriya ...	Bali	Pali
Tilwara ...	Pachpadra	Barmer
Ramsin ...	Pachpadra	,,
Janvi ...	Sanchore	Jalor
Hotigaon ...	Sanchore	,,
Nichlagarh ...	Abu Road	Sirohi
Bagor ...	Mandal	Bhilwara
Panarwa ...	Phalasia	Udaipur
Manpur ...	Phalasia	,,
Kailashpuri ...	Girwa	,,
Sadri Ranawatan ...	Bhupalsagar	,,
Khajoora ...	Kushalgarh	Banswara
Peepalkhoont ...	Ghatol	,,
Ramnagar ...	Bundi	Bundi
Sanwara ...	Shahbad	Kota
Gagron ...	Kanwas	,,
Kaithoon ...	Ladpura	,,
Kyasara ...	Dag	Jhalawar

INTRODUCTION

Presented in this volume are the first six of the thirtysix village studies conducted by the Census Organization of this State. Each of these has been earlier released as a separate monograph as soon as it came out of the press.

The first survey relates to Malar, a village inhabited by Pushkarna Brahmins, who are a very colourful people residing in western Rajasthan. The study attempts to present the cultural life of the community in detail. The next two studies viz. Khajoora and Sanwara, pertain to the tribal, the Bhils and the Sahariyas, the former an ancient aboriginal tribe, and the latter the most backward people in the State. The fourth survey portrays a cross-section of the life in Mukam, a village of the Bishnois, the mortal remains of whose founder-saint Jambeshwar lie buried there. Nangal Soosawatan is the subject of the fifth study. It is inhabited mostly by the Minas, a community which ruled over large parts of eastern Rajasthan immediately before the advent of Rajputs on the scene in the 10th Century A.D., but which is now listed as scheduled tribe. The sixth and the last study in this volume describes the socio-economic conditions of Bhangarh, a village located on the site on which the Stone-age man is said to have had his factory station. In its vicinity lie the mediaeval ruins of a once prosperous township of the same name.

CENSUS PUBLICATIONS

for

Rajasthan State

The Rajasthan 1961 Census Publications, which will have volume No. XIV in All India Census series, will be published in the following parts :—

Part I-A	...	General Report.
Part I-B	...	Subsidiary Tables.
Part II-A	...	General Population Tables (A Series) and Primary Census Abstract.
Part II-B (i)	...	Economic Tables (B Series, Tables I-IV).
Part II-B (ii)	...	Economic Tables (B Series, Tables V-IX).
Part II-C (i)	...	Cultural Tables (C Series).
Part II-C (ii)	...	Migration Tables (D Series).
Part III	...	Household Economic Tables (B Series, Tables X-XVII).
Part IV-A	...	Report on Housing and Establishments.
Part IV-B	...	Housing & Establishment Tables (E Series).
Part V-A	...	Tables on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
Part V-B	...	Ethnographic notes on Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes.
Part VI-A to F	...	Survey of Selected Villages. (A – The present Volume)
Part VII-A	...	Survey of Selected Crafts.
Part VII-B	...	Notes on Selected Fairs & Festivals.
Part VIII-A	...	*Census Administration Report (Enumeration).
Part VIII-B	...	*Census Administration Report (Tabulation).
Part IX-A & B	...	Census Atlas.

A separate District Census Handbook prepared by this office will be issued by the Government of Rajasthan for each of the 26 districts.

*Not for sale

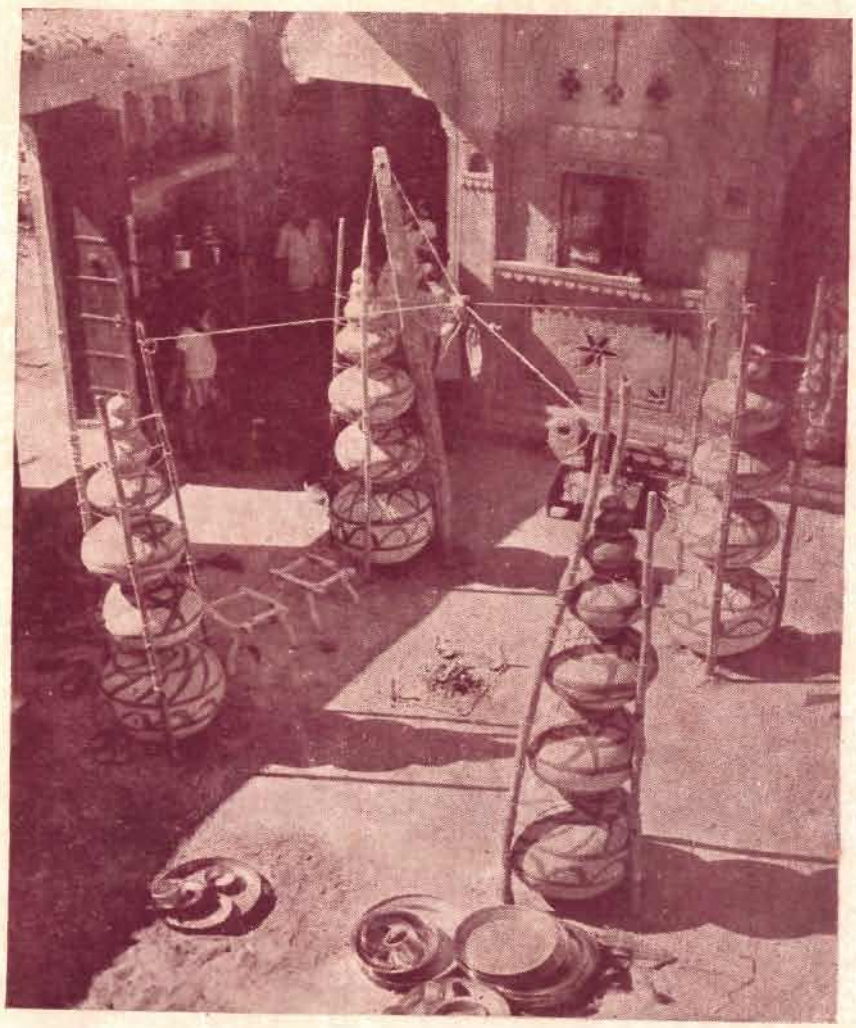
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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

Malar

A VILLAGE SURVEY

RAJASTHAN



PREFACE

In order to have a proper socio-economic background for the study of Census Statistics, the Registrar General, India, suggested that survey of selected villages, representative of typical agricultural communities, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes having peculiar modes of living and rural economy, may be intensively surveyed as a project of the Census of 1961. Consequently under his inspiration this work was begun, and as experience was gained the scope of enquiry was widened to make it as comprehensive as possible. Malar village was selected for survey because it is inhabited by the Pushkarna Brahmins who constitute a spectacular and important community of Rajasthan. They have got peculiar customs.

The village was originally surveyed by a team of Investigators consisting of Sarvshri G. D. Agarwal, M. Com. and B. R. Gulati, M. Sc. (Anthropology) from 6th October to 16th October, 1961, but later the investigation was carried on independently from 2nd March to 17th March, 1962, by Shri G. D. Agarwal. The draft report has been prepared by Shri G. R. Gupta, M. A., LL. B., Retired Deputy Secretary to Government of Rajasthan.

The field work was assisted by Shri Shiv Kishan, Sarpanch of the Village Panchayat and Shri Suraj Karan Bohra, an influential resident of Malar. Old records available in Sumer Public Library, Jodhpur were also consulted and they proved of great benefit in the drafting of this Report. The Arts Section under the able guidance of Dr. U. B. Mathur, Deputy Superintendent, Census Operations, has provided appropriate illustrations to this report. The assistance received from all quarters is gratefully acknowledged. Shri G. D. Agarwal, Investigator, is to be particularly complimented for labouring so hard to bring out this report.

C. S. GUPTA
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Operations, Rajasthan.

"Chandra-Alok",
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15th August, 1964.

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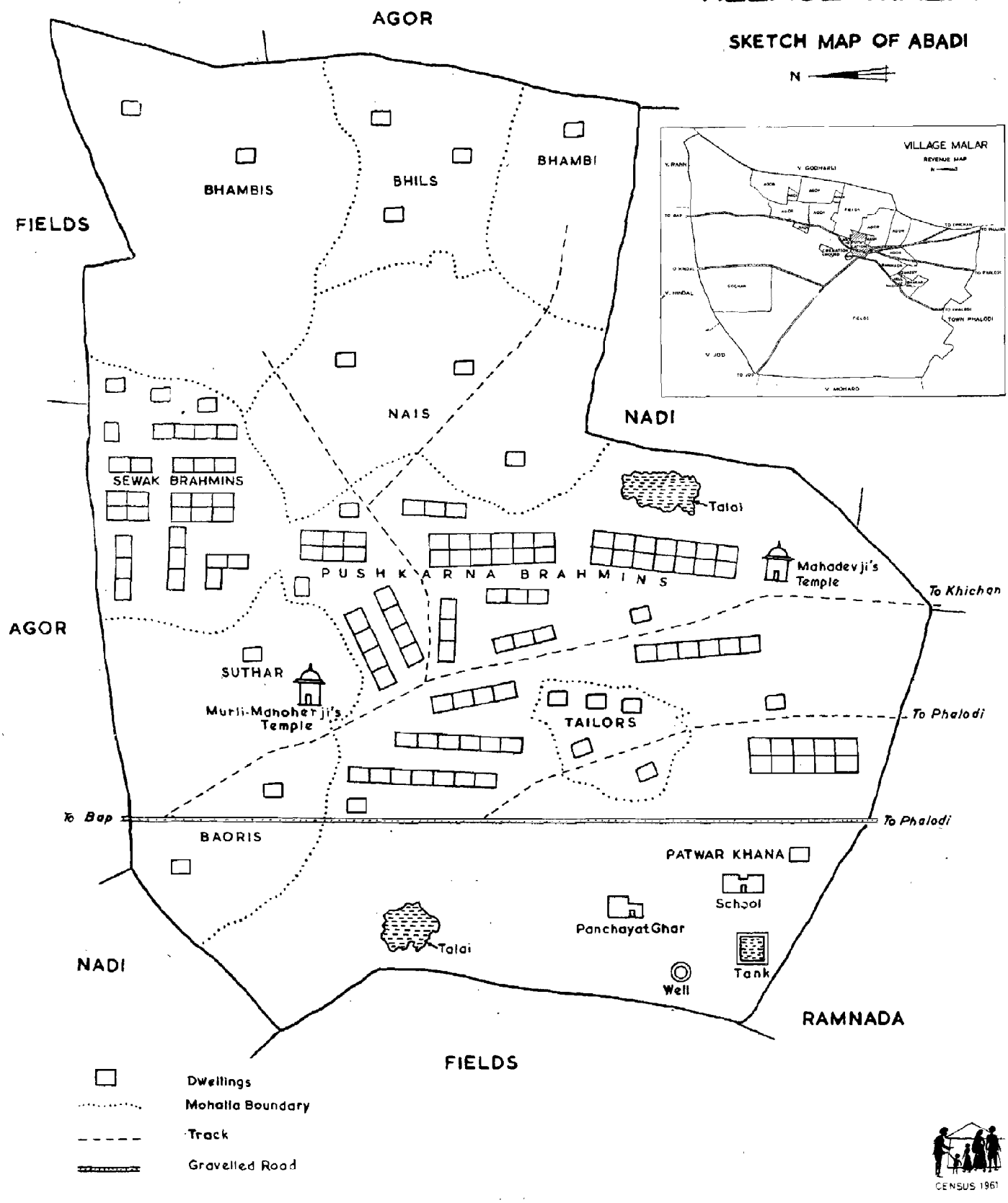
VILLAGE MALAR

TEHSIL PHALODI

DISTRICT JODHPUR

VILLAGE MALAR

SKETCH MAP OF ABADI



CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

MALAR is a small village situated in the north-west corner of Jodhpur district, 86 miles away from the district headquarters, and at a distance of 6 miles from Phalodi, the headquarters of the tehsil in which it is located.

2. Malar is approachable from Jodhpur by metre gauge railway train of the Northern Railway upto Phalodi and thence by bus which plies regularly between Phalodi and Nokh twice a day. On this route, at a distance of 14 miles, is Bap, which forms the headquarters of the Panchayat Samiti *i.e.* the Development Block in which Malar is included. From Bap regular bus services run upto Kolayat (40 miles) and to Bikaner (70 miles). In the south-west of Phalodi, at a distance of about 100 miles, is the historic city of Jaisalmer. Thus, Malar is located in the centre of the area covered by the three former Princely States of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer and amidst the Thar desert at 27°12' north latitude and 72°23' east longitude. It is situated on an elevated sand dune popularly known as *magri* 850 feet above the sea level. The surrounding mounds bear a lovely pink colour which imparts them an attractive appearance, very delightful to the eye.

3. The village, which has an area of 10,787 acres, is inhabited mainly by the Pushkarna Brahmins, who form the bulk of the population of the village. The following table gives the position of the different communities residing therein.

S. No.	Name of Community	No. of House-holds	No. of Persons			Percentage to total Population
			Total	Males	Females	
1.	Pushkarna Brahmin	121	520	281	239	80
2.	Sewak Brahmin	3	17	11	6	3
3.	Darzi (Tailor)	5	35	19	16	5
4.	Suthar (Carpenter)	1	8	5	3	1
5.	Nai (Barber)	3	19	10	9	3
6.	Bhil	3	23	11	12	4
7.	Bawari	2	7	3	4	1
8.	Bhambi	3	19	12	7	3
	Total	141	648	352	296	100

4. It was with a view to study the habits and social customs of the Pushkarna community, which is one of the most important communities of Rajasthan, that Malar was selected for socio-economic survey. The culture of the three States of Rajasthan, viz. Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer, is mirrored, to a considerable extent, in the culture of this village. The spoken language of the village people is a mixture of the dialects of the three places, with a tinge of Punjabi and Sindhi in it. Pushkarna males put on their *safa* (headgear) in the circular Jaisalmeri (Bhati) style. The Pushkarna women of this place, who are noted for their beauty and delicacy, put on ornaments which are commonly worn in Bikaner. The characteristic head ornament *rakhdi* studded with real or imitation jewels is a heritage from Bikaner. The common costume of the women-folk is again a mixture of the fashions current in Jodhpur and Bikaner. Songs sung by women on social and festive occasions are mostly those that are common in Marwar (Jodhpur), although they bear a typical Jaisalmeri

accent. There is a traditional maxim which tersely sums up the position as follows :—

मारवाड़ नर नीपजे, नारी जैसलमेर,
सिंधां तुरही सांतरा, करहल बीकानेर ।

(Marwar is the mine of robust men, Jaisalmer of beautiful women, Sindh of excellent horses, and Bikaner of best camels). This maxim is certainly applicable to Malar except that at present no good horses are to be found there.

Climate

5. The climate of Malar is dry and temperate. It is neither very cold in winter nor very hot during summer. The highest temperature recorded is 105 °F and the lowest 50 °F. The days are warm during summer but the nights are invariably cool and pleasant.

6. The village is visited very often by famine due to failure of rains. Once in three years the monsoon is favourable. The result is that when rains fail no water is available in the village tanks even for drinking purposes either for men or for the cattle. The scarcity of water, therefore, presents a great and outstanding problem to be faced by the villagers who have been making continuous efforts for improving their water supply. It is believed that due to its situation in the vicinity of a salt producing area, the climate of this place is very healthy. Dust-storms are, however, frequent in summer. During the rains the village presents a lovely appearance. Cuckoos and peacocks then sing their mirthful and melodious songs and lend a peculiar charm to the atmosphere.

Trees

7. There are very few shade-bearing trees in the village. Heaps and heaps of sand, extending over large areas, meet the eye everywhere. The shade-bearing trees, which can be counted on fingers, are those of Neem (*Azadirachta indica*), Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*), and Babul (*Acacia arabica*) which are found on the banks of tanks. Phog (*Calligonum polygonoides*), Kair(*Acacia catechu*)and Khejra (*Prosopis spicigera*) plants are, of course, common. They provide fodder for the cattle and also serve as vegetable and supplement the requirements of men specially during the time of drought.

Fruits and Vegetables.

8. *Kharbuja*, (melon), *tarbuza* (water–melon) *kakri* (cucumber), *ber* (jujube) and *anar* (pomegranate) are the fruits available and onion, garlic, carrot, *muli* (radish), *methi* (fenugreek) and *hengun* (brinjal) are the main vegetables.

Fauna

9. As regards fauna, jackals, wolves, leopards, sandgrouse etc. are commonly found in this area. Snakes and scorpions are there in abundance. Peacocks, cuckoos and parrots are the birds which give colour to the village. It was a crime under the penal code of the former States of Rajasthan to kill cow, peacock and monkey.

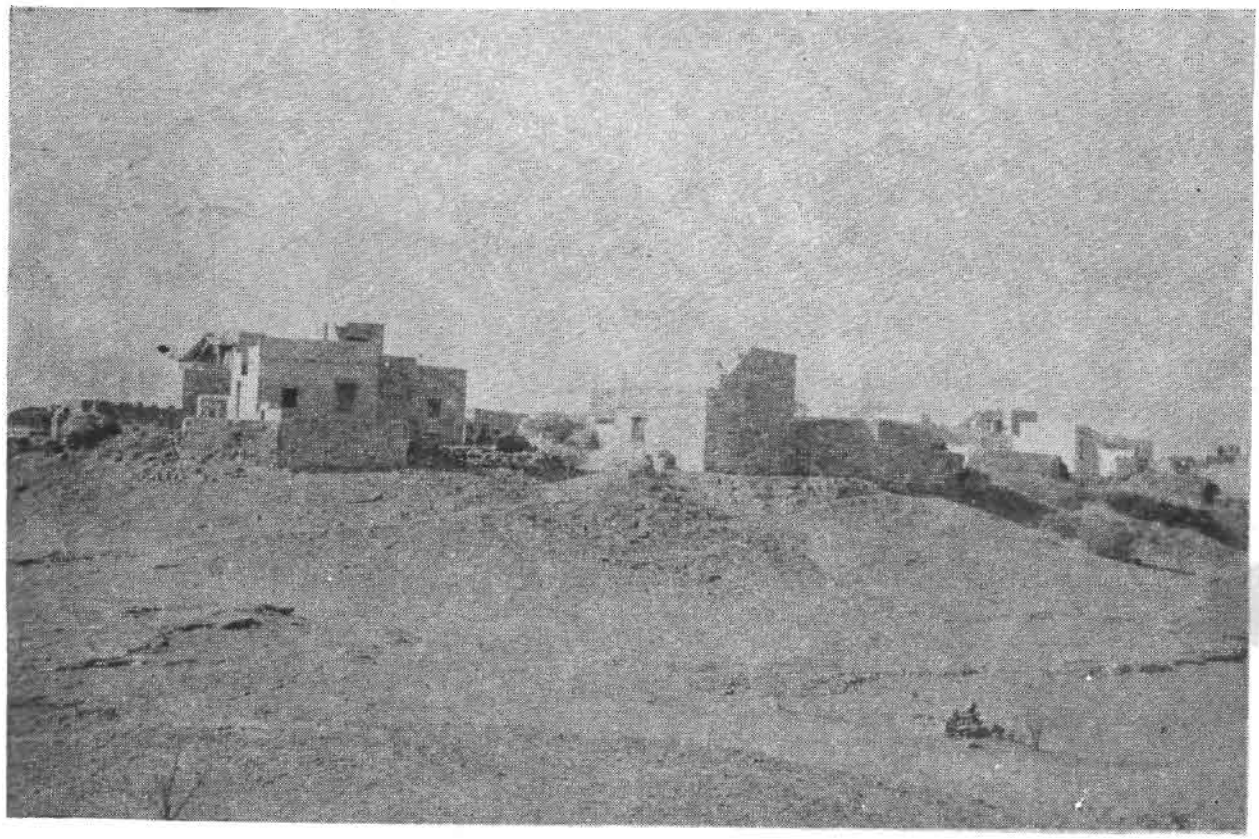
Domestic Animals

10. Camel, cow, bullock, buffalo, horse, donkey, sheep and goat are the main domestic animals. Horse and camel serve for riding. Bullock carts serve as a common mode of transport. It is, however, the camel which is most useful in this region. Apart from riding, it serves as a beast of burden and is used for transport of water, wood, fuel, stone, grain and other articles. It is also used for tilling the land.

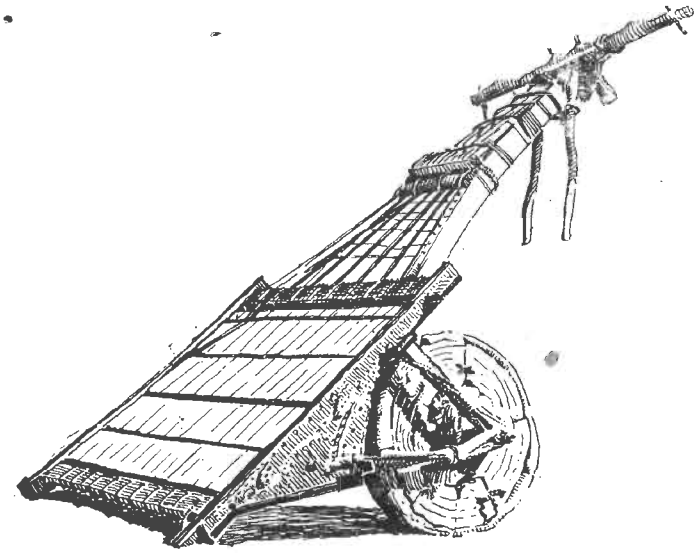
Abadi

11. The village *abadi* is laid out in rows of houses leaving enough space for light and air, i.e. in a shapeless cluster. The houses belonging to the Pushkarna Brahmins, Sewak Brahmins, Suthars and the Nais are mostly *pucca*. They are clustered at one place on the north of the main road going from Phalodi to Bap. The houses of Bhils and Bhambis are *kutcha*, made of mud walls and thatched roof. They are situated on the north-eastern border of the village at some 50 paces from the main *abadi*. On the southern side of the road are the *Patwarkhana* and the school building.

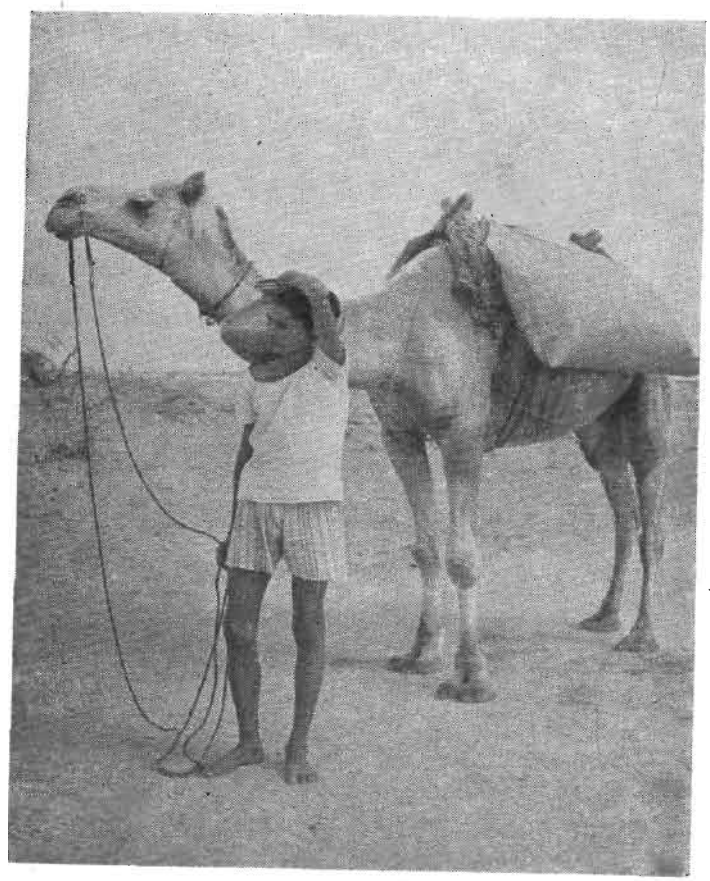
12. The houses of the village mostly face towards the north or the east, as it is considered inauspicious to have the face of the house towards the south. There are lanes and by-lanes in the village but no roads. The paths are full of knee-deep dust. In each lane there is a row of houses numbering from 5 to 8. There is no congestion.



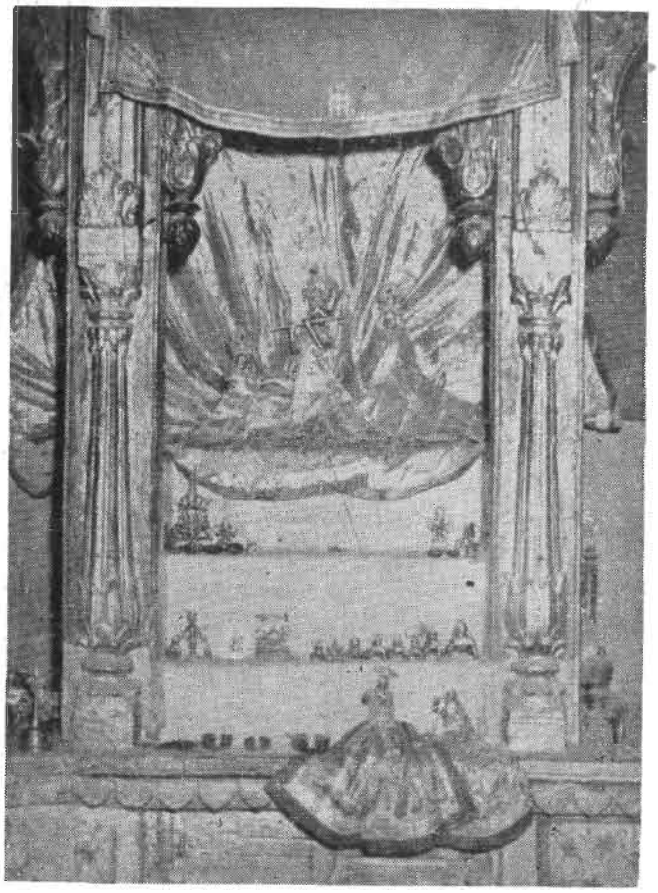
A view of Village Malar



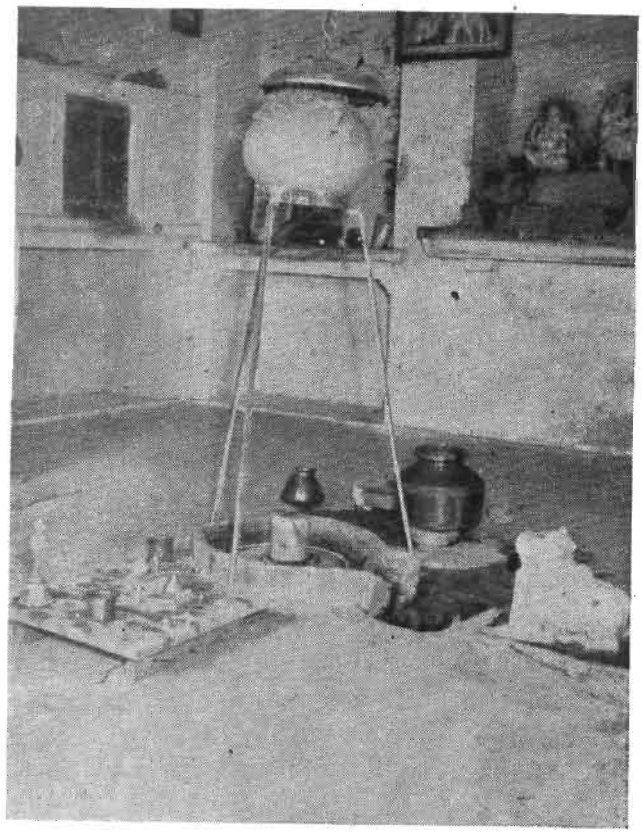
Bullock Cart



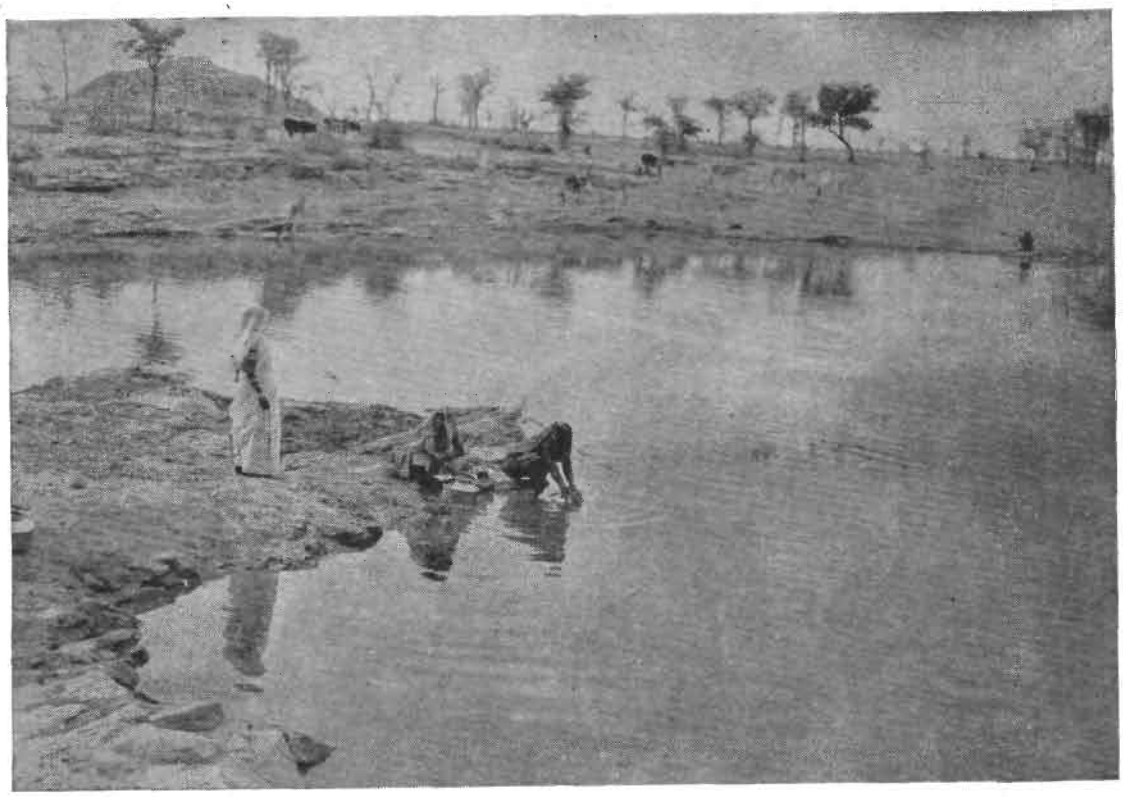
Camel carrying water in a *Pakhal*



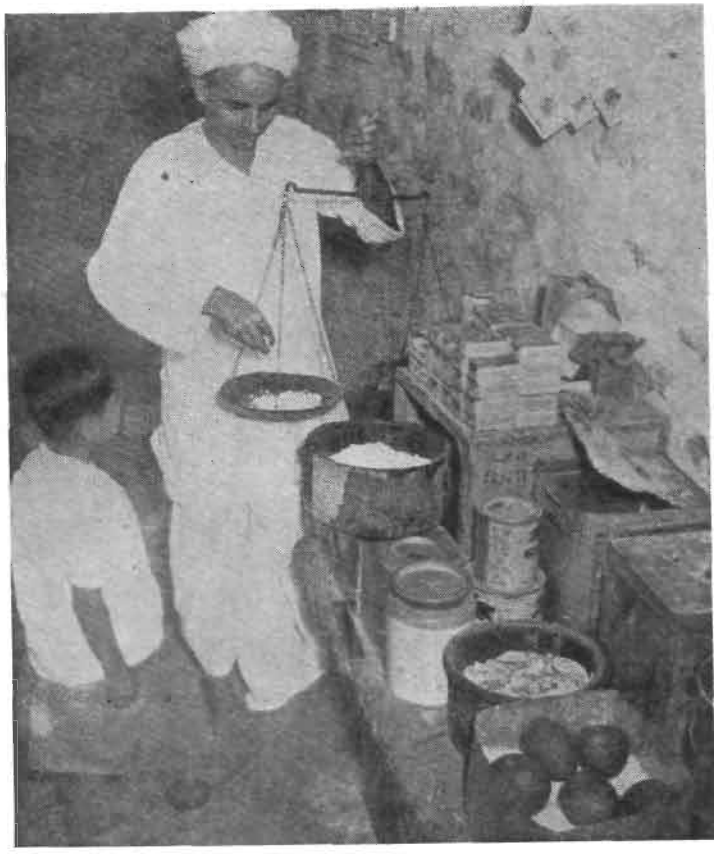
Inner part of the temple of Murli Manoharji



Shiva Linga



Ram Nada tank



The Village Shop

The place is clean and sanitary, very little filth being noticeable anywhere.

Temples

13. There is a temple of Murli Manoharji in the centre of the village in which the idol of Shri Krishna with his flute is installed by the side of his consort Radha. There is another temple at some distance from it which has a *Shiva Linga* installed in it. Both these temples are pretty old. They are believed to have existed there since the village was established. Within the precincts of the temple of Shiva is an idol of goddess Chamunda Devi which is worshipped by the Pushkarna community as its *kul devi*.

Crematorium

14. The crematorium is common for all the communities and is on the farther northern side of the village at a distance of about 3 furlongs from the *abadi*.

Water Supply

15. The most important source of drinking water for the village is the *Ram Nada* tank which is situated on the southern side of the village at a distance of about four furlongs from it. This small tank has a *pucca ghat* where women fill their pitchers with water and help one another to lift the pots on their heads. It has been named after the popular hero Ram devji, the emblem of whose feet has been installed on the dam of the tank. The water of this tank is sweet and digestive, and serves the requirements of the village for the whole year, provided the rainfall is normal. Bathing is not allowed in this tank. Whenever there is a drought, which is not infrequent, the tank dries up and the villagers have to go to the *Jod bund* which is at a distance of three miles on the western side of the village. This *bund* was constructed in the year 1898 A. D. when there was a country-wide famine, at the confluence of five streams, Khichan, Jod, Phalodi, Kundal and Kolu. By the construction of this *bund* the scarcity of drinking water for the nearby ten villages has been relieved to some extent. Apart from the *Ram Nada*, there is one *Nathu-ki-Talai* which is situated on the western side of the village. It is named after a former resident of the village, and it serves for bathing purposes till water is available in it. There are two other small tanks known as *Bhaiya-ki-Talai*, and *Gulab Chand-ki-Talai*, which lie on the eastern side of the village and the third one known as *Deva-ki-Talai* on the northern side. Water in these tanks is available for 3 or 4 months after the rainy season. They dry up by the end of January.

16. There are no fresh water wells in the vicinity. Upto the depth of 150 ft. water in the wells is mostly saline. According to the Great Trignometrical Survey referred to in the Gazetteer of Jaisalmer State (1891), sweet water may be available at least 250 ft. below the surface level.

17. In order to relieve the great scarcity of water the Village Panchayat has constructed three reservoirs, locally known as *tankas*, which are of the capacity of 63,000, 13,500 and 11,250 gallons respectively. Rainwater when available is stored in the reservoirs; otherwise water is brought on camels in *pakhals* (big leather bags), and is stored in them to afford relief to the villagers in times of scarcity and drought. The third reservoir is meant exclusively for the Bhils.

Market

18. There is no market in the village. One Pushkarna Brahmin, however, stores such articles of immediate necessity as are generally found in a grocer's shop, and sells them to the village people. Mostly people obtain their requirements from Phalodi.

Welfare and Administrative Institutions

19. There is a Middle School in the village which is meant for both, boys and girls.

20. The youngmen of the village have organised a *Yuvak Mangal Dal* which is intended to promote the cultural life of the village and render such social service to the village community as may be possible. The *Dal* was started by some enthusiastic young men in

December, 1961. It has established a first aid post, and its endeavour is to improve the condition of the village in all possible directions.

21. The Patwari lives in the village as a representative of the Revenue Department of the State, and carries on his work in a Government building constructed for him called the *Patwarkhana*.

22. Malar is represented in Village Panchayat, which is constituted by one Sarpanch, 8 Panchas and 2 co-opted women members from 7 villages, namely Malar, Jod, Malar Ram, Godarli, Hindal, Kherwa, Bapi and Bhojon-ki-Bap. The Sarpanch of the Panchayat and two other members are Pushkarna Brahmins of Malar.

Origin of the village

23. As to the origin of village Malar, it is stated that the Pushkarna Brahmins, who had settled at Pokaran in the Jaisalmer State, had some dispute with the ruler of Jaisalmer and they migrated to Phalodi which place is named after a mythical goddess *Latial Devi*, also known as *Phalvardhika Devi* from whose name Phalodi derives its name. There was a Pushkarna Brahmin named Shivji who resided there. His sister, Malari, got involved in a family dispute with him and she left her home. In a disconsolate mood she was sitting under the shade of a tree when a sage happened to go there. He consoled her and advised her to construct her cottage and reside there and pronounced a blessing on her that her family would flourish like fruits of the tree under which she had taken shelter. Malari settled there and the village that came into existence was termed Malar after her. This event is said to have happened in the Samvat year 1550 (1494 A.D.). With the advent of Malari, more Pushkarnas related to her came and settled there, and, according to the prophecy referred to above, they flourished very well. Pushkarnas were, therefore, the earliest settlers of this village. In course of time Bhils and Bhambis and other communities came and settled there.

24. Bhils are said to have come from village Kherwa in Jodhpur District 250 years ago, for agriculture. Bhambis came 50 years later to carry on hereditary work of skinning the dead animals. According to their own version they have been living in this village for the last 7 or 8 generations. The exact dates of coming of the Suthar, the Nai and the Darzi are not ascertainable. Baoris were called by the Pushkarna community, more than 100 years ago to guard the village against thieves.

25. A number of Sindhi Muslims also used to live in Malar until 1942. The Pushkarna Brahmins had called one Mangalia Muslim in the year 1792 to graze their cattle. Gradually more Sindhi Muslims came and settled there. There was great amity and friendship between Brahmins and Sindhi Muslims upto the year 1937. The Pushkarnas who were comparatively much better off used to help the Muslims by lending money and in other possible ways. The Muslims on their part grazed the cattle of the Pushkarna Brahmins and were always ready to fight for their welfare. All other communities had friendly relations with them. In the year 1937, however, trouble arose for the first time when Muslims objected to the carrying of a procession by the Pushkarnas on the occasion of Holi around a place which, originally, is said to have been a fold for sheep and goats but which they alleged to be a place for the mosque. As a matter of fact there was no mosque there but under the influence of communal sentiments, which were rampant all over the country in those days, they intended to build a mosque there and for that purpose collected some material. The villagers objected to this. The result was that tension between Sindhi Muslims and other residents of the place grew from year to year. The Muslims of nearby villages also got interested in the affair, and came to the support of Malar Muslims. In the year 1941 the Muslims tried to construct the mosque by force. This was resented by other villagers and it resulted in fracas. The Muslims used violence and some of the villagers were wounded. The police had to intervene and ultimately there was a judicial enquiry into the matter and as a result of which some Muslims are said to have been sentenced to imprisonment. They were further ordered not to construct the mosque which had no existence in the past. The Sindhi Muslims

felt chagrined at this decision, and they left the village in a body and settled down at another village called Malar Rann.

History of the communities

26. The predominant population of the village consists of Pushkarna Brahmins who form 80% of the population. The other communities account for the remaining 20%. In the Census report of 1931, the Pushkarnas are reported to be a section of Gurjar Brahmins. There are a number of legends connected with the origin of the Pushkarna community. Col. Todd, in his "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan" (Volume II, page 1,255), while giving a historical account of Jaisalmer, writes—

> "It is said that they were *Bildars* and excavating the sacred lake of Pushkar or Pokur for which act they obtained the favour of the deity and the grade of Brahmins with a title of Pokharna. The chief object of emblemic worship, the *Kodali*, a kind of pick axe used in digging, seems to favour the tradition".

The same thing has been repeated by John Wilson in his "Castes and Tribes", and also by Sir Ibbetson, Lieut. Governor of Punjab, in his book "Punjab Castes".

27. A similar story current in the Marwar region has been referred to in a Hindi book "Marwar State ki Jatiyon ki Utpatti ke Halat" (Part III, page 160). As the story goes, once Raja Nahar Rao Parihar of Mandor, while pursuing a wild boar, went upto Pushkar lake. The boar hid itself in the bushes on the bank of the lake. Nahar Rao felt thirsty. He dismounted and drank water from the lake with both of his hands. The Raja was suffering from leprosy. He was agreeably surprised to observe that he had been cured of the ailment. Out of gratitude for this he effected repairs to the lake, constructed *pucca ghats* and decided to feed one lac Brahmins. Not more than 80,000 Brahmins could be assembled. He, therefore, put sacred thread on the neck of 20,000 Odes who had been digging there at the lake, and included them in the category of Brahmins to complete their number, and thus fulfilled his vow of feeding one lac Brahmins and it is from that day that Pushkarna Brahmins are said to have originated. The story is, however, not corroborated by any reliable record. Raja Nahar Rao, who effected repairs to the Pushkar lake in the 9th Century was not of Mandor but of Bhinmal. Upto the 12th Century there were no castes and sub-castes among the Brahmins. It was after the Vikram Samvat year 1200 that castes came into existence amongst the Brahmins on account of some of them taking to non-vegetarian food while others confining themselves to vegetarian diet. (*Vide* History of Rajasthan by Thakur Jagdish Singh Gahlot).

28. There is another legend current in this regard. The story goes that at the foot of Mt. Abu in the Srimal area the marriage of Goddess Lakshmi, daughter of Maharshi Bhrigu, was celebrated with Bhagwan Vishnu. 50,000 Rishis assembled there, out of whom 5,000 Brahmins were from Sind. The followers of Gautam Rishi, numbering 45,000 proposed to give him the first place in the ceremony and to put the *tilak* first on his fore-head. The Sindhi Brahmins objected to it claiming that everyone of them should receive uniform treatment. The followers of Gautam Rishi were much enraged. They pronounced a curse on the Sindhi Brahmins to the effect that thenceforward they may not be recognised as Brahmins who follow the Vedas. The Sindhi Brahmins thereupon retreated to the Shal area and performed penances to obtain their rightful place in the hierarchy of Brahmins. There they happened to meet a female demon, named Sarika, who used to visit Srimal and take-away the daughters of the Brahmins at the time of their marriage. The Gautamites were so terrified that they left Srimal area and moved upto Abu. After some time a Raja named Sri Kunj, arrived at Srimal area while pursuing a wild animal. He felt very sad to find the place in a desolated condition. He recalled the Brahmins from Abu and, hearing their story, intended to put an end to the life of Sarika. Sarika pleaded innocence and suggested that Sindhi Brahmins, who were performing *tapasya* (penance) in the Shal area, should be reconciled so that the trouble may end for all times to come. Sri Kunj invited the Sindhi Brahmins and grantep

them pardon for having insulted Gautam Rishi. He further enjoined on them to support the religion of Vedas and to invite Srimali pandits on the occasion of marriage in their community. It is from this episode that the Sindhi Brahmins claim to have inherited the name of Pushkarna. The following Sanskrit Shloka is cited in corroboration of this episode:—

उदारा राज्य पूज्याश्च शुद्धः संतोषिणः सदा
ब्राह्मणानां पुष्टिकरा धर्मः पुष्टिकरास्तथा ।
ज्ञान पुष्टिकरा वास मात्पुष्कर्णा स्वाभविष्यथः
विवाह कार्य समये सान्निध्य मम सर्वदा : ।

(Henceforth you would be liberal hearted, generous and would receive honours from the State, would be of pure heart and habits, would remain always contented, would support the Brahmins and conform to religion and the teachings of the *Shastras* (*Pushtikara*) and you would invite the Srimali Brahmins for performance of the ceremonies at the time of marriage). The Pushkarna Brahmins then went to the forest situated between Jodhpur and Jaisalmer and called it Pokaran. On the basis of the above story, the Pushkarnas consider themselves to be descendants of the aforesaid 5,000 Sindhi Brahmins. Thay were grateful to Sarika for her help in the matter and they still adore her as Unta Devi, she having ridden on a camel. The custom of worshipping *kudal* is no longer prevalent among the Pushkarna community.

29. Pt. Yogendranath Bhattacharya has written about Pushkarnas as under :—

> "The Pushkarnas are very numerous in every part of Rajasthan, in Gujarat and Sindh also. They derive their designation from this town of Pokaran which is midway between Jodhpur and Jaisalmer. The Pushkarnas have no connection whatsoever with the holy lake called Pushkar near Ajmer".

According to Shri Pandav Gopal Shastri, Pushkarna is the sixth kind among the 84 types of Gurjar Brahmins. Mr. R. R. Sherring, in his book "Hindu Castes" has also called Pushkarna Brahmins as the "Gurjar branch of Panch Dravid".

30. From what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs, the position appears to be that the Pushkarna Brahmins are a branch of the Gurjar Brahmins and they originally resided in Sindh. The celebrated historian of Marwar Muhnot Nensi also held the same view. Due probably to the recurring muslim invasions from the north-west, the Pushkarna Brahmins migrated from Sindh to Jaisalmer State and established themselves at Pokaran. Later on they shifted to Ludrava now known as Lodarva village in Pokaran tehsil in District Jaisalmer. Due perhaps primarily to the hard conditions of life obtaining in the desert area and secondly to some dispute with the ruler of Jaisalmer, in course of time, they moved on to Phalodi and Malar in Jodhpur State.

Sewak

31. Sewaks are from among the various forms of Brahmins and belong to Bhardwaj gotra.

Darzi

32. In Marwar the Darzis are all Hindus. They are divided into two sections, the Peepavanshi and the Namdeovanshi.

33. The Peepavanshis take their name from Pipaji, a Khichi Rajput, who abandoned the secular world nearabout the year 1417 A. D. and induced his Rajput servants to adopt the profession of tailoring. They are also called Maru Darzis. The Darzis of Malar belong to this clan. The Rajput clans found among Peepavanshi Darzis are mainly as follows :—

1.	Parihar	2.	Panwar	3.	Chohan
4.	Solanki	5.	Tanwar	6.	Sisodia
7.	Dabi	8.	Bhati	9.	Mahecha
10.	Tak	11.	Daiya	12.	Sinklecha
13.	Makda	14.	Kachhwaha	15.	Gahlot

34. The other section belongs to Namdev, the saint of the Tak clan. They also claim descent from Rajputs who adopted the profession of Chhipas, i. e. the makers of chintz and other fabrics and subsequently became Darzis. They are distinguished by the name of Chhipa Darzi.

Suthar

35. The Suthars trace their origin from Vishva Karma and regard his oath as the most

solemn adjuration. They say that Eloregarh in the Deccan is their original home. The Suthars are said to be a composite class including various sections of Rajput origin. They are divided into 120 gotras, safter the names of their founders or of the villages they originally belonged to. They are mostly of Jakhra clan and worship Savitri as their *kul devi.* The Suthars of the village belong to Nakmal Bhati clan. Among the Khatis those who wear the sacred thread and abstain from the use of liquor and meat, are known as Bamaniya Khatis and they regard themselves as superior to the rest.

Nai

36. The Nais trace their descent from Rajputs. There is no authority available in support of their contention. When Nais meet, they address each other as Thakur. There are three divisions of Nais viz. (1) Maru (2) Baid and (3) Puraviya. The Nais of Malar are from the first division.

Bhil

37. Col. Todd calls the Bhils as "Vanputras" or sons of the forest, the "uncultivated mushrooms of India fixed as the rocks and trees on their mountainous walls to the spot which gave them birth." Herbert Risley measured some 200 Bhils from Rajasthan and put them racially as belonging to the Dravidian tribe. Modern research, however, does not accept this classification.

38. Whatever may be the truth, there is no doubt that the Bhils are the most ancient tribe of Rajasthan. The traditional and legendry accounts are not wanting to establish their ancient origin. One such legend says that Mahadev, sick and unhappy, was reclining in a shady forest when there appeared before him a beautiful woman. The first sight of her effected the complete cure of all his ailments. The god became attached to the strange female and the result was a numerous progeny. One of them was ugly and naughty who distinguished himself by slaying his father's favourite Nandi. Mahadev got enraged at this prank of his son and expelled him from the heritage of man. The Bhils are his descendants.

39. There are numerous other legends but the more important among them is a story narrated in Shrimad Bhagwat. It ascribes the origin of Bhils to a mythical Raja Vena who ruled the people with an iron hand, prohibited *Yagnas* and other religious rites and compelled them to worship him. The Rishis got disgusted of him and they brought an end of him by their *Mantras.* There was no one to succeed him, and hence there was a great turmoil in the kingdom. The sages then offered prayers and evolved a dwarf from the dead body of Vena. This was Nishad whose descendants are the Bhils who live in the mountains and the jungles.

40. Bhil, it has been suggested, is a generic name given to the various older and simpler people of the land by other invading peoples. There is not much affinity between Bhils and other aboriginal people either in anthropometric carcass or in blood groups.

Bhambi

41. The Bhambis trace their descent from a Brahmin Rishi called Megh. They are also called Balais and cultivate land to a small extent. Bhambis who remove the carcass of dead animals are called Dhed.

Baori

42. A story is current that a party of Rajputs was escorting a Rajput princess from Gujarat to the Zenana of the Emperor of Delhi. The party in their way halted near a big *baori* (step well). A Rajput girl of this place happened to meet the princess and she reproached her for bringing disgrace on hereself by agreeing to enter the harem of the Muslim emperor. Stung with remorse, the princess drowned herself in the *baori* and committed suicide. Her escort did not have the courage to go further or to return to their home without her. They remained near it and began to commit depredations. They were called by the people as *Baoriwalas,* which term in course of time came to be known as Baoris.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

Ethnic Composition

43. Of the 8 communities residing in Malar, the predominant one is that of the Pushkarna Brahmins, which is divided into a number of gotras as follows :—

1.	Lodun	8.	Sunkusp
2.	Bhardwaj	9.	Buchchwas
3.	Gautam	10.	Kansus
4.	Upmanyu	11.	Mudgal
5.	Kapil	12.	Chundra
6.	Parashar	13.	Kashyap
7.	Haritas	14.	Shandilya

Each one of these gotras has two separate *kul devis* or female deities. They can marry only in their gotra, the distinction of the *kul devi* alone being observed.

44. Out of the above mentioned gotras only two are found in Malar and they are the Bhardwaj and the Shandilya. The Pushkarnas of Bhardwaj gotra are also known as Kapta or Bohra. There is an interesting story about the term Bohra. It is said that Maharaja Udai Singh of Jodhpur (1538 to 1595) once stood in need of several maunds of ghee of yellow cow for some medicinal purpose. This could not be procured from anywhere else as the quantity required was unmanageable. Shivji Kapta of Malar having been in possession of several hundred cows of the specified colour arranged for the supply of the required quantity of cow's ghee. The Maharaja wanted to pay the price of the ghee but out of courtesy Shivji did not accept the money. The Maharaja in appreciation of his generosity conferred on the donor the hereditary title of Bohra which means the creditor. He also granted the Pushkarnas of Malar exemption from payment of rent of the land tilled by them.

45. Out of 121 households of Pushkarnas in Malar, 82 are of the Bohras while the remaining 39 belong to the Shandilya gotra. Two Sewak (Brahmin) families in Malar belong to the Bhardwaj gotra. They perfrom worship in the temple. One household is attached to the temple of Murli Manoharji and the other to that of Shiva.

46. Among the Darzis, the two sections, namely, Peepavanshis and Namdeovanshis do not intermarry, although they may eat or smoke together. Re-marriage of widows is allowed in both the sections. Namdeovanshi women do not wear *newari* or other ornaments of legs which cause a ringing sound.

47. The Bhils are divided into a number of clans some of which are as follows :—

1.	Dabi	2.	Margat	3.	Lekhia
4.	Gatar	5.	Dubal	6.	Gundhi
7.	Goyal	8.	Rathore	9.	Parmar
10.	Chauhan	11.	Daval	12.	Lavatia
13.	Karwaya	14.	Alia	15.	Lidia
16.	Thededa	17.	Ghur	18.	Kaleda
19.	Karwa	20.	Bochia	21.	Solanki
22.	Bhati				

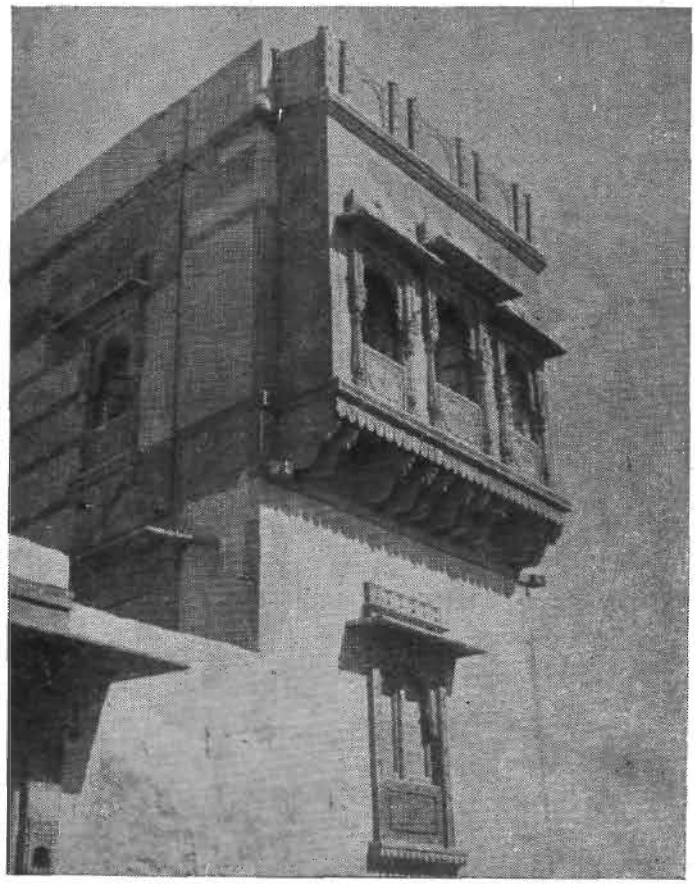
The first four claim to be un-mixed. Others are supposed to contain Rajput element in them. The Bhils living in Malar belong to the Bhati clan.

Baoris

48. Baoris of Malar belong to the Dahdi clan. During the pre-independence times Baoris were considered as a criminal tribe and the movement of its members was constantly watched and restricted according to the regulations applicable to these tribes. Since the advent of independence the disabilities under which the so-called criminal tribes had to work have been removed and they are now free. The Baoris of Malar have, however, never taken part in any criminal activities at any stage whatsoever. They were brought into the village for *chowkidari* and are doing their duty faithfully since then. No stigma of criminality is attached to them.

Bhambis

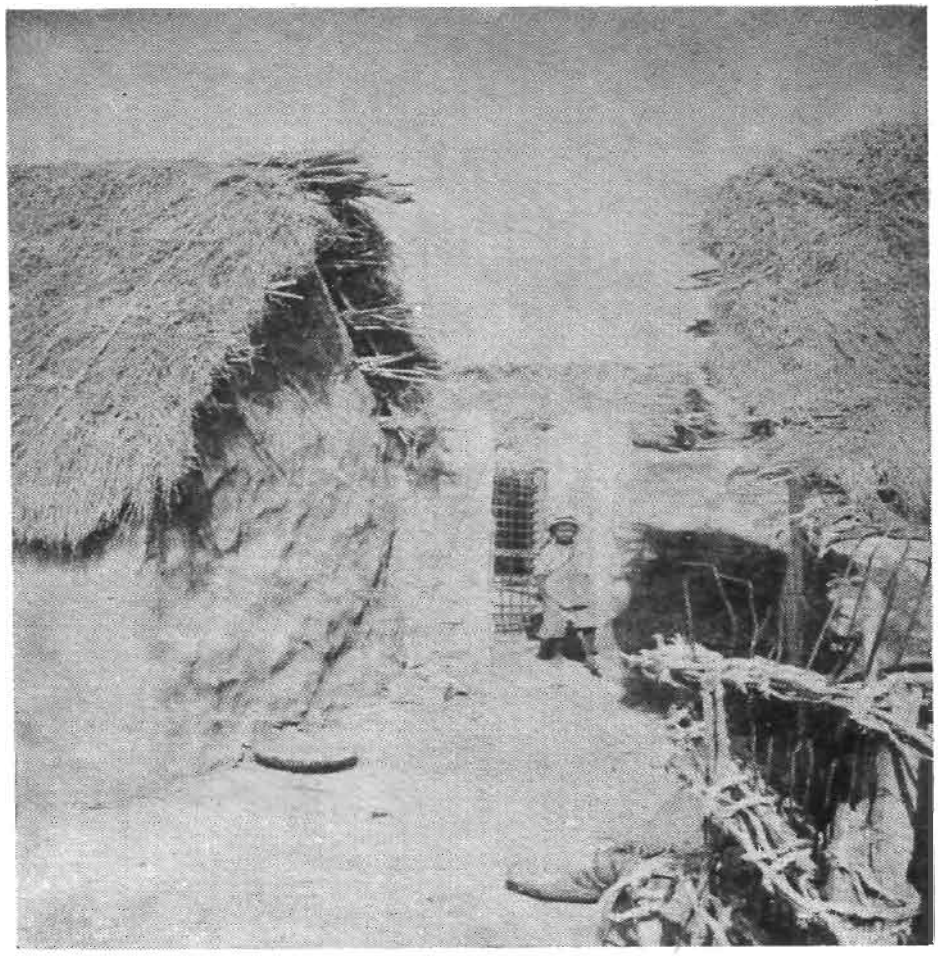
49. A tradition goes that in times of yore when Malar was troubled by foregin inroads, a



Double-storeyed house of a Pushkarna family



Indoor decorations



A Bhil house



A Bhil girl outside her house

large number of Rajputs, Jats and Charans joined the Bhambi community and thus in course of time there arose the following four sub-divisions among them: (a) Adu or the unmixed Bhambis, (b) Maru Bhambis comprising the Rajputs, (c) Jat Bhambis including Jats and (d) Charania Bhambis including the Charans. The first two sub-divisions are very closely connected and intermarry. The last two marry in their communities respectively. In pre-independence time Bhambis were not allowed to wear gold and silver ornaments. An exception was made in the case of the Bhambi, who was then the head-man of the village and his wife. The post of the head-man of the village has ceased to exist with the merger of the Princely State of Jodhpur in the State of Rajasthan. The Bhambis are divided into several *khamps* (sub-clans) and each has its own further sub-divisions.

Houses

50. There are two main types of houses in the village, *pucca* and *kutcha*. *Pucca* houses are 115 in number, 112 of these belong to the Pushkarnas and the remaining three to Darzis. Out of 14 *kutcha* houses, two belong to Darzis, 1 to Suthar, 2 to Sewak Brahmins, 2 to Bhils, 2 to Baoris and 5 to Bhambis.

51. The *pucca* houses may be classified into three categories—

1. Those one storeyed houses in which construction of the body is started on the surface of the ground *i. e.* they are without plinth. Such houses are 50 in number.
2. Those built on raised plinth. There are 55 houses that fall in this category.
3. There are 10 double storeyed houses. In the upper storey of these houses are the tiled *medis*.

52. The dimensions of the *pucca* houses are similar in most cases. They are 100 ft. to 112 ft. long, 40 ft. to 50 ft. broad and 8 ft. to 10 ft. high. There is a courtyard in front of each house which is called *chowk*. The main gate, which is called *khidki*, leads into a long room which is a sitting-cum-reception room. Inside this is again an open space, on one side of which is the kitchen and on the other a store-room which serves as a dining hall also. There are small rooms inside the store-room which are termed as *kothas* or *parbhitas*. The roof of the house is known as *dagla*. The *medi* which forms the second storey in some of the houses has got balconies which are known as *jharokha* and are made of stone cut in floral designs. The inside walls of the sitting and living rooms are often decorated with coloured drawings and paintings.

53. The *kutcha* houses are generally 20 ft. long, 10 ft. broad and 6 ft. high. They contain a reception room at the entrance followed by a small courtyard in which there is a kitchen and a store. The house of Suthar has got a workshop at the other side of the entrance which is known as *khatod*. In all these houses the domestic animals, which are in most cases cows, are kept in separate sheds. In the *kutcha* houses belonging to Bhils and Bhambis these sheds are particularly noteworthy. They are commodious and kept neat and clean.

54. The *kutcha* houses are made of mud walls and thatched roof. The *pucca* houses are built of stone. Instead of lime they use baked gypsum for cementing and plastering the walls. The roofs are made of stone slabs which are of the same quality as is found in Jodhpur. These roofing slabs are obtained from a hill at a distance of about 20 miles from the village which is known as Bhakar. The baked gypsum has a remarkable cementing power but it is unable to resist the effect of water for any long time. Where it does not come into contact with water *e. g.* on the ceilings and inner walls of the houses, it serves well but is washed away from the upper side of the roofs, walls and outer side of the house whenever there are heavy rains. As Malar is situated in an area which is deficient in rains, it does not present any serious problem. The *pucca* houses last from 10 to 20 years. The estimated cost of the houses is from Rs. 3,000/- to Rs. 15,000/- or even Rs. 20,000/-. Repairs have to be effected from time to time, once in 5 or 7 years. All the houses are airy and well lighted. The following table gives statistics regarding the total number of houses classified according to the number of rooms and the number of persons occupying them.

Number of rooms	Total No. of House-holds	No. of Households according to number of Persons				
		1	2-3	4-6	7-9	10 and over
No regular room	...	...	...	...	...	...
1 room	20	9	2	6	3	...
2 rooms	43	5	16	17	5	...
3 rooms	42	4	13	20	5	...
4 rooms	21	...	5	8	6	2
5 rooms and over	15	...	2	7	3	3
Total	141	18	38	58	22	5

Dress

55. The traditional dress of a Pushkarna Brahmin is a turban (*pagri* or *safa*), a double-breast shirt (*bagal bandi*) and a *dhoti*. The older people are still seen in the dress of this type but under the influence of modern age younger people put on a shirt or a *kurta*, *dhoti* and trousers and occasionally coat as well. They wear black cap as headgear. The Darzis, Nais and Suthars also wear shirt or *kurta* and *dhoti*. They do not wear *safa* on the head. The Bhils and the Bhambis wear a *kurta* or a shirt and *dhoti* and on the head a small piece of long-cloth which is known as *potia*. The main difference in the dress worn by Pushkarna Brahmins and other communities is that the dress of the former generally consists of superior and finer stuff while the latter use coarse cloth for their garments.

56. So far as the dress of the females is concerned, the older women dress themselves in *odhni*, *angarkhi* and the traditional *ghagra*. One end of the *odhni* is worn on the head and the other end of it is arranged into plaits and tucked at the waist to the *ghagra*. The same is the case with females of other communities also. The young women and girls of the Pushkarna community put on *saris* and blouses of the most up-to-date fashions.

Ceremonial dress

57. On festive occasions, which form a very important part of the social side of the life of the community, every home is in a holiday mood. They put on new, clean and colourful garments and prepare and exchange special articles of food which vary according to the season and the relative importance of the festival. On occasions of marriage, the bridegroom is dressed in a colourful cotton or silken *angarkha* or *achkan*, which is of *kasumal* (bright red) or *kesaria* (saffron) colour, and is adorned with a golden or silver *gota* lace. The head dress on this occasion is *zari safa* or *pagri* with a *turra* (crest). The bridegroom puts on a *churidar pyjama* or a *dhoti*. Formerly it was customary to get this dyed pink but these days white *dhoti* or *pyjama* is fairly common. Among other communities also dress of a similar type is worn with some variations which are not very significant. For example, in Bhambis and Bhils the bridegroom has a sword hanging at his waist or at times he bears it in his hand with its pointed end resting on his shoulder. The dresses of the females on occasions of marriage and festivals are of brilliant colours and are decorated with *gota* (silver or golden lace) of numerous designs. The colours of *odhnis* are either *kesaria* or *kasumal* which fit in very well with their complexion.

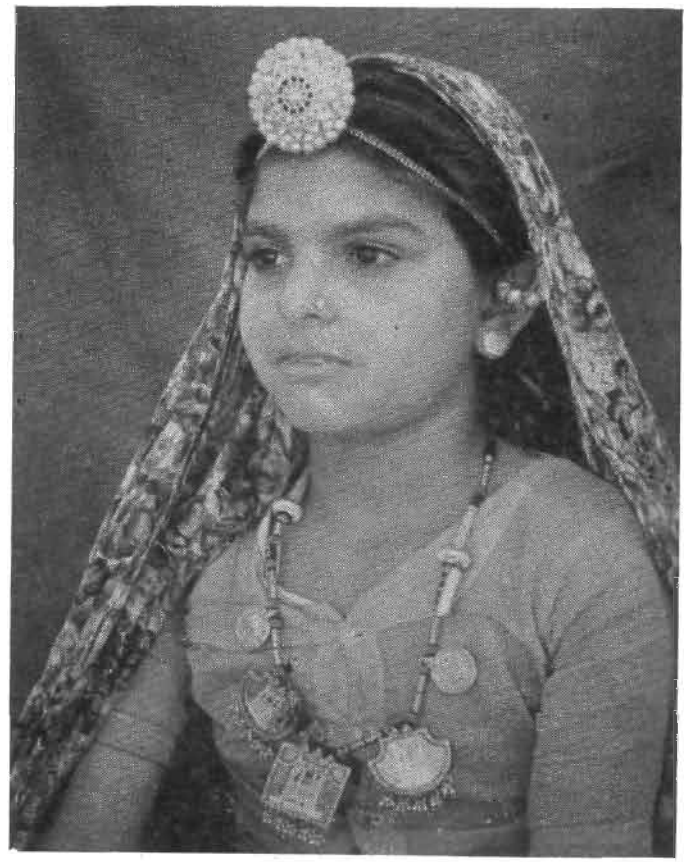
58. Among the Bhils, Baoris and Bhambis the dresses of females are made of the thick cloth which is known as *tool*. The laces that are used on them are cheap and imitation ones. There is no striking peculiarity in the dress of Bhambi women except that Maru Bhambi women wear a *ghagra* of country chintz while the women of Jat Bhambis dress like the Jat women. The former are distinguished from the latter only by the use of lac *churas* (bangles) instead of ivory ones. The women of Charania Bhambis wear a dress of yellow colour like the Charan women.



A Pushkarna Brahmin



A Pushkarna lady



A Pushkarna girl



Ornaments of the hands



A Bhambi girl

Ornaments for males

59. Pushkarna Brahmins put on gold or jewelled rings on the little or the ring finger of either the right or the left hand. Some older people wear on their neck a gold necklace which is called *balevara* and rings in the ear-lobes. The Bhils and Bhambis wear silver bracelets on their wrists. In their ears they wear silver rings and on the neck silver *khungalies* which are in the shape of a snake with one end hooked into the other at the back of the neck.

Ornaments for females

60. Married Pushkarna women put on certain ornaments which are considered as the emblem of their *sohag* (wedlock). The most important of these is the *rakhdi* made of gold studded with real or imitation jewels according as the family could afford. The *rakhdi* worn in Malar is quite peculiar and of the typical Bikaner style. It is to be distinguished from the Jodhpur *borla* which is made of solid gold and is studded with gold *gughries*. The next ornament which is worn on the nose is *nathdi*, a gold ring with a red or pink, real or imitation jewel in the centre and two real or imitation pearls on either side. Sometimes the *nathdi* consists of a lot of strings of pearls which are held in position by a gold wire. It is worn on very special occasions *i. e.* those of worship of the family deity or on festivals of Teej and Gangor and invariably at the auspicious times of child birth, betrothal and marriage when a sister is required to perform the *arti* ceremony of her brother or sister. It is, however, common these days for women to put on a nose pin which is called *lavang*, as it is in the form of a clove.

61. In the ears women put on circular gold ornament studded with real or imitation jewels. This is called *toti surliya*. To take its weight off the ear-lobe, a thin gold chain is attached and slung over the ear. They often wear a small stud of flower like design instead of *toti*. There is no chain attached to this ornament. In the upper ear, gold rings, sometimes studded with small jewels, are put in the holes that are pierced near the rim of the ear in the childhood. These rings are called *oganiyas*. On the neck they wear gold collar which is called *timaniya*. This also is studded with real or imitation jewels and sometimes gold chains of various designs hang from its lower side. On the arm Pushkarna women put on *bajubund* and *tadda* above the elbow. These are worn generally on the left upper arm but those who can afford to do so wear these on both the arms. Bangles of glass, lac, ivory or gold are put on the hand above the wrist. A number of ornaments are worn in between and on both sides of the bangles which are called *gajras, bangries, gokhrus etc.* as the case may be. Ivory bangles are studded with thin gold stripes. On the back of the palm a leaf like ornament of gold, called *hathphool* is worn on the left hand or both the hands. It is held in position by a chain which is hooked at the wrist and one or two rings which are worn on the fingers. When no *hathphool* is worn, plain or jewelled gold rings are worn on the fingers of one or both the hands. A silver chain of 3, 4 or 5 strings is put round the waist. This is called *kanakti*. Modernised women who can afford to do so, put on a three-stringed gold chain in its stead which is known as *kandora*.

62. In former days women used to put on a number of silver anklets on their feet which were cumulatively called *jor* and the different items of which were termed by the name of *kadla, anwala, nevri, hiranemi, tanka etc.*, sometimes numbering upto 7 on each foot. The last ornament that was worn on the feet was known as *ramjhol*. This has been recently replaced by *payal*, an anklet to which small trinkets are attached at the lower end. The *payals* are worn at the time of dance on the festivals of Gangor and Teej and on the marriage occasions. The heavy silver ornaments which were in vogue formerly have now been replaced by lighter ones which are made out of thick or thin silver wire of varying designs and are called *lachhas*.

63. On the toes of the feet silver ornaments with a high projecting knot are worn; the three rings representing a scorpion have the name *bichhiya*. The ring on the fore toe stands for the head of the scorpion ; those of the rings on the middle toes for the joints of tail. During the regime of the Princely States gold could be worn on feet only when it was awarded as a matter of grace by the ruler to any person but this distinction has now vanished.

64. Among the other communities ornaments vary according to the economic condition of the household. Bhil and Bhambi women put on rubber bangles on their wrists and on their arms. They wear silver *bhujbund*, *hathphool*, and *gujari* on the hand. Silver *hansli* is worn on the neck and silver *bor* in the middle of the forehead. On the feet they wear silver anklets known as *kada* and *santh*.

Body decoration

65. On all auspicious and festive occasions growing girls and married women decorate their hands and feet by colouring them with *mehdi (myrtle)* of which exquisite designs are contrived, generally on the night preceding the festival.

Tattooing

66. The practice of tattooing is not much prevalent amongst the Pushkarnas. Some of them, however, get their names, while there are others who get the image of goddess Durga or some other deity, tattooed on the right hand. Pushkarna women of Malar do not get themselves tattooed. Tattooing is, however, very common amongst the Bhambis and the Baoris. They get Ramdevji's feet or the Sun's image, or the figure of some other deity tattooed on the hand. Women sometimes get the name of their husbands tattooed on their fore-arm. Baori men get *trishool* (trident) of *Mataji* tattooed on their hands. The system of tattooing is fast disappearing among the Pushkarna Brahmins, but it is very common and persistent among Bhambis, Bhils and Baoris.

Food and drinks

67. The staple diet of the village is *bajra* (millet). Every one of the communities depends mostly on this grain. *Bajra* is ground into flour and bread is prepared from it which is called *sogra*. The other form of bajra preparation is the *khichra*. *Bajra* is thrashed with a wooden *musal* (pestle) in an *onkhli* (mortar) made of wood or stone. When husk is thus removed, it is mixed with pulse of *moong* or *moth* in a specified proportion and boiled in water till the whole thing takes the form of a pudding. The bread of *bajra* is eaten with milk, curd, pulse or some vegetable such as *palak*, *bathwa*, *muli* etc. The *khichra* is eaten with ghee or sweet oil or with the help of milk and curd. When no vegetable is available, *bajra* bread is eaten with the help of onion. Pushkarnas, however, do not use onion. They supplement their food with preparations from wheat flour and wheat *dalia*. On the occasion of marriage, wheat is boiled and distributed among the community and eaten at home. This is known as *ghugri*. Wheat is also ground into coarse *dalia* and cooked in water after mixing *moong* pulse in it. On festive occasions such as Dashera and Diwali wheat *dalia* is boiled in solution of jaggery and is called *lapsi*. It is very tasteful when mixed with a liberal quantity of ghee and is quite a wholesome and nutritious diet. It is taken at the time of marriage also. Other communities also have this article of food on the menu at the time of festivals. Rice is also eaten but only on auspicious occasions. It is served as a delicacy when guests are entertained.

68. Most of the communities take their meals three times a day; firstly in the morning as *siravan* or breakfast, then the mid-day meal *roti* and last of all the supper *byalu* in the evening.

69. The Bhambis, Bhils and Baoris take meat whenever they can afford to do so. They never eat beef and even the non-vegetarian diet is taken only occasionally. The association of these people with the Pushkarna Brahmins of the village and their economic condition have made them more vegetarian than non-vegetarian.

Household goods

70. In regard to the household goods, the Pushkarna Brahmins are equipped with all things of daily use. They possess brass, bronze or stainless steel utensils. Some of them own silver utensils also. They use mats and carpets and decorate the walls of their houses by pictures of gods and goddesses such as Ganesh, Shiva, Parvati, Sita and Ram, Radha and Krishna, Saraswati and Durga. They also have the pictures of national leaders and photographs of the members of their family, relations and friends.

71. The position in regard to the possession of furniture by the various communities would be apparent from the following table:—

Community	Number of Households possessing								
	Bed stead	Khatia	Chair	Table	Mirror	Bench	Stool	Jol Chowki	Wall Shelf
1. Pushkarna Brahmin	10	121	2	4	121	4	25	121	...
2. Bhil	...	3	...	...	3	...	...	3	...
3. Nai (Barber)	...	3	...	...	3	...	...	3	...
4. Darzi (Tailor)	...	5	...	...	5	...	...	5	...
5 Bhambi	...	3	...	...	3	...	...	x	...
6. Baori	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	2	...
7. Suthar (Carpenter)	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...
8. Sewak Brahmin	...	3	...	...	3	...	...	2	...

Social life

72. The Pushkarna community is one of the highly civilised and cultured sections of the Hindu society. Most of the customs of other sections of Hindu society are common among the Pushkarnas. In fact, by studying the beliefs and practices connected with birth, marriage and death of the Pushkarnas of Malar one will be having a peep into the life of the higher caste Hindus. There are a few special features in Pushkarna community which will be dealt with at the proper place.

Birth

73. The birth of a child and especially that of a son in a Pushkarna family is considered as a unique event of happiness. It is celebrated with great jubilation. During the first pregnancy, there is a wave of joy among the members of the household which is exhibited by the special attention which the pregnant lady receives from her mother-in-law, her husband and other near relations. The event forms the subject of beautiful songs which are sung generally in the eighth month of the first pregnancy. The progress and the physical feelings of the pregnant woman are depicted in these songs. One of the songs is given below:—

पेलो मास उलरियो ए जच्चा, व रो आलसिये मन जाय।
दूजो ए मास उलरियो ए जच्चा, वें रो थूंकतड़े मन जाय।
अलबेली ए जच्चा, चांदी रे प्याले केसर पावस्यां।
नखराली ए जच्चा, पाना रे वरख चढ़ावस्यां।
तीजो मास उलरियो ए जच्चा, वें रो नींबूड़े मन जाय।
चौथो मास उलरियो ए जच्चा, वें रो लाडूड़े मन जाय।
पांचवों मास उलरियो ए जच्चा, वें रो मालपूड़े मन जाय।
छटो मास उलरियो ए जच्चा, वें रो घेवरिए मन जाय।
सातवों मास उलरियो ए जच्चा, वें रो कंदरे पेड़े मन जाय।
आठवों मास उलरियो ए जच्चा, वें रो अगरणी मन जाय।
नमो मास उलरियो ए जच्चा, वें रो ओवेरिए मन जाय।
दसमो मास उलरियो ए जच्चा, वें रो झालरिये मन जाय।
केसर पावो बरक चढ़ावो, दोय परदा ताणो।
मुलक मुलक थे मुलको ए जच्चा, हंस कर मुखड़े बोलो।
नखराली ए जच्चा, चांदी रे प्याले केसर पावस्यां।

(The first month of pregnancy being over, the lady feels giddiness in her mind. In the second month of pregnancy the *jachcha* has a feeling of salivation every now and then. 'My delicate *jachcha*, you will be fed on saffron in a silver cup; my beautiful Rani you will be given a betel covered with a gold and silver leaf.' In the third month of pregnancy the *jachcha* has a longing for limes. In the fourth month she is desirous of taking *laddoos* (sweetmeat). In the fifth month she wishes to eat *malpua*. In the sixth month she would like to have *ghewar*. In the seventh month her desire is for *pedas* made with *kand*. (*Laddoo*, *malpua*, *ghewar* and *peda* are different forms of delicious sweets. All these sweets are actually given to the pregnant lady in fulfilment of her desires, as and when asked for by her). In the eighth month her attention is diverted to the celebration of *agarni*. In the ninth month she wants to confine herself to her apartment. In the tenth which is the last month of pregnancy, she thinks of nothing else but only of a newly born male child. Let she be fed on liquid saffron and betels covered with gold leaves. Arrangements be made for her complete seclusion by hanging double curtains at her door. (Everyone is solicitous of the delicate feelings of the would-be mother. They would gladden her heart as best as they can. Not a moment of sadness is allowed to come over her countenance). 'Smile, smile, smile, O *jachcha*. Be happy and talk to us with expression of joy on your face, O delicate *jachcha*, we will feed you saffron in a cup of silver').

74. Then the crucial time of delivery arrives. There is a delightful song for this occasion which runs as follows:—

ओ राजा सार रमंता पीव के पासा दूर धरो बे हां ।
ओ राजा सार धरो चित्रसाल के पासा रंग महल बे हां ।
ओ राजा जाजम देवो उठाय साथीड़ों ने सीख देवो बे हां ।
ए मारी सदा सवागण नार के थारे कईं हुयो बे हां ।
ओ राजा लाज शरम री बात पियाजी ने कईं कहूं बे हां ।
ए गोरी थारोमारो जिवड़ो एक दोन्यों बिच कूण सुणे बे हां ।
ओ राजा घसमस दूखे पेट कमर में चीस चले बे हां ।
ओ राजा होय घुड़ले असवार दाईजीने लेण चलो बे हां ।
ओ राजा पुछै शहर रो लोग दाई जी रो घर किसी बे हां ।
ओ राजा सूरज सामी पोल के आंगण एलची बे हां ।
ओ दाई बैठी दुलेची बिछाय ने बोले गरब भरी बे हां ।
ओ राजा कईं थारी कष्टी है माय के थारी बैनड़ली बे हां ।
ए दाई ना म्हारी कष्टी है माय ना म्हारी बैनड़ली बे हां ।
ए दाई कष्टी है घर री नार जच्चा राणी पीड़ मरे बे हां ।
ओ राजा के थारे जनमेला धीय दाईजी ने कईं देवो बे हां ।
ए दाई एक रुपय्यो रोक जच्चा राणी री चूंदड़ी बे हां ।
ओ राजा के थारे जनमेला पूत दाई जी ने कईं देवो बे हां ।
ए दाई सोलह सोनैया रोक अठारा सोंकली बे हां ।
ए दाई माथे नारेलां री पोट नगारों री ठोक बजे बे हां ।
ओ राजा झिरमिर बरसे मेह भीजे म्हारी चूंदड़ी बे हां ।
ए दाई तूं म्हारा थिरमा ओढ़ मैं उघाड़ा होय चलो बे हां ।
ओ राजा आंगण कादा कीच दाई थारी पितल पड़े बे हां ।
ओ दाई थूं घुड़ले असवार में पैदल होय चलों बे हां ।
ए दाई आइ डोडयांरे मांय के सांड धड़क्यो बे हां ।
ए दाई आई महलों रे मांय पदारथ जनम लियो बे हां ।
ओ राजा पूत दियो करतार दाई मारो कईं कियो बे हां ।

ओ राजा दाई रे पल्ले सूंठ, दाई थारी चोरटी बे हां।
ओ राजा दाई रे आंख्यां गीड़ जच्चा राणी सूग मरे बे हां।
ओ राजा दाई रो मोटो पेट जच्चा राणी लाज मरे बे हां।
ओ राजा आंगण मूंग बिखेर दाई थांरी रपट पड़े बे हां।
ओ राजा तेड़ो देवर जेठ दाई जी ने दोरे धका बे हां।
ए दाई दौड़ सके तो दौड़ कुत्तो मारो काटणो बे हां।
ओ राजा सुगरो हालरियारो बाप नुगरी आ मायड़ी बे हां।
जिण म्हां सू कवल कियो बे हां, जिण म्हां सूं कवल कियो बे हां।

(The husband of the pregnant woman is playing the game of *chaupar* (stakes) in his drawing room. The lady beackons him apart and asks him to put away the dice and the wooden pieces in the *Chitrashal* (almirah) of the *Rang Mahal* (palace of pleasure). The following dialogue takes place:—

Wife: Oh my lord, wrap up the carpet and send your friends away.

Husband: What has happened to you, my beloved? What is the trouble with you ?

Wife: How can I tell you, my lord ? I feel great shame and hesitation.

Husband: Do please tell me my dear, what is your ailment? What difference is there between you and me ? Both of us are but one, and there is no one else here to give ear to our talk.

Wife: Oh ! my darling, intense pain has started in my stomach. I feel needles pricking in my pelvic region. Ride over your horse and bring a *dai* (mid-wife) immediately.

The husband goes to the city enquiring the whereabouts of the *dai* and he is told that with its face towards the east where the sun rises, is the house of the *dai*, in the courtyard of which she has grown a plant of cardamom. The midwife is sitting on a carpet and visualising the embarrassment of the visitor, puts tantalizing questions to him.

Dai : O Raja, is your mother having pains or your sister ?

Husband : *Dai*, dear, neither my mother nor my sister is in trouble. It is my own beloved wife who is in the last stage of pregnancy. The *jachcha-rani* is dying of the pain in her stomach.

Dai : O Raja, supposing a girl is born to you, what will you give (by way of reward) to the *dai* ?

Husband : O *dai*, you will get Re. 1/- in cash and the *chundari* of the *jachcha-rani*.

Dai : And what shall the *dai* get if a son is born to you ?

Husband : O *dai*, in that case you will get 16 gold mohurs and Rs. 18/- in cash, a chain of gold along with a head-load of coconuts, by the beat of drum.

Dai : This is all right, but my Raja, you see rain is trickling down and if I go out, my *chundri* will be soaked in rain.

Husband : O *dai*, you cover yourself with my garments. I will go by your side without them.

Dai : O Raja, the way is full of mud. Will not thy *dai* slip and fall down ?

Husband : O *dai*, you ride my horse. I will walk on foot by your side.

The husband brings the *dai* to his house. A bull which is standing near the gate bellows on seeing a stranger going into the house. On

stepping into the apartment of the lady the *dai* finds that a son has already been born to her.

Jachcha : My lord, by the grace of the Almighty God, a son has been born to you. What brings the *dai* here ? The *dai* is a thief. She has stolen *soonth* (dry ginger) from here and tied it to the *palla* (corner) of her *odhni*. The *dai* has got mud in her eyes and I feel nauseated. She has got a big belly and I feel ashamed to look at her. Husband dear, be quick, scatter some *moong* (pulse) in the courtyard of our house so that the *dai* may slip and fall down to the ground. O my lord, call your elder brother and your younger brother who may drive away the *dai* from here forcibly. O *dai*, run away as fast as you can, there is a biting dog in my house.

Dai : Good God, what has it all come to ? The father of the new born child is a thorough gentleman, but the mother ? Ah !. She is very naughty. See, he has brought me here after making a number of promises. What will become of them).

75. When a son is born, the household is full of bustle and rejoicing. The members of the family treat it as a historic event. They feel grateful for the benediction the Almighty has conferred on them and blessed them with the birth of a male child. They believe that God has graced them by taking birth himself in their house. Expression to this feeling has been given in the following song:—

घर आणंद हुया चतभुंज जलमिया, घर आणंद हुया ।
गवाड़ा तो बिचली पीपली, घर आणंद हुया ।
जिणके छे अड़बड़ पान, चतभुंज जलमिया ।
टपटप पड़िया मजीट, घर आणंद हुया ।
ज्यां तले दुगड़ियो मांडियो, घर आणंद हुया ।
दुगड़ियो बिजोरा भांत, चतभुंज जलमिया । घर ०
फूला भरियो छाबड़ो, थूं मालिण सिध जाय, चतभुंज ०
वसुदेव जी रे घर है बधावणा, घर आणंद हुया । चतुभुंज ०
बांधूंली बंदनवार, चतभुंज जलमिया । घर ०
ओढ़ पहर धण निकली, रावलिया गढ हेट, घर आणंद ०
कायथ लेखो राणी पूछियो, घर आणंद हुया ।
किसड़ा साजनियां री कुल बहू, चतभुंज जलमिया ।
वसुदेवसा री जच्चा कुल बहू चतभुंज जलमिया ।
खलक मुलक री धीय घर आणंद हुया ।

(In the centre of the courtyard of the house is a Pipal tree the leaves of which are rustling and dancing with the wind. It is an occasion for mighty rejoicing. For, Lord Shri Krishna has taken birth in the house. Under the shade of the Pipal tree where buds are trickling down one by one, *swastik* has been marked with a symbol of *kalash* (small earthen pot with cover) on it. Rejoice Oh my heart ! God Almighty himself has taken birth. Asks a way-farer, "O Malin, where art thou going with this basket full of flowers". The Malin makes the answer : "There are festivities going on at the house of Vasudev. I am going to put *bandanwar* (leaves and flowers strunged together in a line and suspended across gateways on festive occasions) at his house". Below the rampart of the fort of the town the mother of the newly born child passes dressed in her best and festive attire. The Rani asks her Secretary, "Whose wife it is, and whose daughter, that has given birth to a son?" The Secretary replies "the *jachcha-rani* is *kul bahu* (wife) of Vasudev. Aye, She is the daughter of *khalak mulak* (the entire populace, the whole country) who has given birth to His own self).

76. A peculiar custom has been noticed in village Malar which is in vogue on the occasion of the birth of a male child. Some seven days after the event there is a ceremony of giving the new mother the first bath. Before the bath is given to her, she is bodily lifted and taken back by her husband to the bed seven times from the place where she has to take the bath. This feature appears to be indicative of the great courtesy with which the mother of the newly born child is treated. Her husband considers her too delicate even for taking a bath and so he takes her back again and again, seven times, and it is after this traditional ceremony that she is given a bath.

77. The first delivery is arranged at the house of the girl's father. There is, however, no hard and fast rule regarding this. Sometimes the mother-in-law of the girl insists that the delivery should take place at her own house rather than at the house of her parents.

78. Maternity cases in Malar were formerly attended to by the women of Sindhi Muslims. However, since their departure from the village, one Baori woman is doing the work of midwife. The villagers seem to be fully satisfied with her services. She is said to be giving training to her younger sister in maternity work.

79. The day on which the child is born, the mother has to fast for 24 hours. Then she is given a concoction of jaggery. Afterwards she is fed for 10 days on *sonth* (dry ginger) and *ajwayan* (dill seeds). Both these things are reduced into fine powder. Each powder is separately mixed with fried gum and dry fruits, such as almond and pistachio cut into very fine slices and sugar and ghee. After this course is over, she is fed on nutritious food such as *dalia* and *khichri* and loaves of bread with lot of fresh butter added. During the interval, along with *sonth* and *ajwayan* pudding of almond is also given. *Sonth* and *ajwayan* are highly antiseptic and considered to be specifics to be administered on child birth. They cleanse the system of the new mother thoroughly and help in restoring her to full health and normal condition in a very short time. As a matter of fact a married woman appears in her full bloom only after the birth of her first child.

80. Mothers sing lullabies to put children to sleep or to stop them from crying when they become restless. One beautiful song which is commonly sung at Malar and all over Marwar is quoted below :—

म्हारा गीगा ने खिलाइए चिड़केली, गीगा ने खिलाइए।
म्हारो गीगो रोवे च्याऊं म्याऊं, गीगाने हंसायी ए चिड़केली। म्हारा०
पगांअक बांधूं घूंघरण थारे, गले मोतीड़ां रो हार, ए चिड़केली।
चाँचड़ली थारे हिंगली ढोलूं, पांखड़ल्यां रंग केसर ए चिड़केली। म्हारा०
आंगण छिड़कूं बाजरी ए नित उठ चुगबा आय ए चिडकेली।
म्हारा गीगा ने खिलाइए चिड़केली।

(O my little birdie come thou ! play with my little baby. My *geega* is crying *chaun myaun.* Could thou play with him and make him laugh ? I will tie trinkets to thy feet. I will tie strings of pearls to thy neck. I will colour thy beak with vermilion. I will colour thy feathers with saffron. I will scatter *bajri* (millet) in my courtyard. Come thou every morning, and play with my beloved child.)

Janeu **(Sacred-thread) ceremony**

81. When the boy attains the age of 12 or 13 years, *yagyopavit* ceremony is performed. Formerly child marriages were very common and so marriage ceremony used to be held in continuation of this ceremony, but now this is not the case. In most cases *yagyopavit* and marriage are held separately.

82. On an auspicious day which is fixed in consultation with the *purohit* (family priest) the hair of the boy is cropped. He is made to sit on a wooden *chowki* (a low stool) and his body is anointed with a paste prepared by crushing wet almond and mixing it with saffron. This paste is used only by very rich families ; otherwise flour of barley or of *urd* and *moong* is mixed with powder of turmeric and *til* (sesamum) oil. The following is one of the songs sung on the occasion :—

उड़द दलन्ती धण मूंग दले, ज्यां में मूगों रो कासुणओ भेल्यो ।
यां मूगों री पीठड़ली होसी ।
ओ पीठड़ली म्हारे लाडा (लाडली) रे अंग चढ़े, ज्यां आवे सूरज जी री नार ।
ओ ज्यां में आवें चन्द्रमाजी री ओनार, ओ ज्यां में आवे ब्रह्माजी री नार ।
ओ ज्यां में आवे.....जी (सब विवाहित घरवालों के नाम)
री ओनार

(The paste is made of the flour of *moong* mixed with that of *urd*. The body of my beloved child will be anointed with it. To witness the ceremony will come the wife of the Sun god and the wife of the Moon god and the wife of god Brahma and the wives of all the relatives of the *Banra* the groom.)

83. The boy is then given a bath and afterwards *havan* is performed. A Srimali Brahmin acts as *purohit*. As there is no Srimali Brahmin at Malar he has to be called from Phalodi. When the *havan* is over, the *purohit* chants the Gayatri Mantra in the boy's ear. In the evening the boy goes to the house of his mother's father with a bowl in his hand for *bhiksha*. He is also given a stick in his hand which he holds on his shoulder. To the other end of the stick a bag full of flour and *khichri* (rice mixed with *moong* pulse) is hung. This custom is a remnant of the ancient times when after the sacred-thread ceremony the boy used to go to Varanasi for prosecuting his studies in Sanskrit.

84. At the house of his mother's father, the boy is given milk and sugar.

85. A song sung on this occasion is given below :—

बनड़ो चाल्यो है पढ़ण बनारसी, बांरा दादाजी जावण नी दे,
बनासा थे यांइ भणोजी ।
थांरा गुरूजी ने पचरंग मोलियो, थांरी गुराणी ने दिखणी रो चीर,
बनासा थे यांइ भणोजी ।
थांरा गुरूजी ने मुरक्यां दोवड़ी, थांरी गुराणी ने नोसर हार,
बनासा थे यांइ भणोजी ।

(The *Banra* wants to go to Varanasi for studies. His grand-father prevents him from going. 'O my beloved child ! you stay here and complete your studies. We will give as a present to your *guru* a five colour *molia* (turban) and to your guru's wife a silk *dupatta* brought from the south. We will present to your *guru* double gold rings (to be put on his ears) and a gold necklace made of 9 chains will be given to your *guru's* wife. You stay here my boy, and read.')

86. If marriage ceremony is to be performed in continuation of the *Janeu* ceremony the boy's head is not cropped.

87. The marriage ceremony among the Pushkarna Brahmins is a very interesting affair. It begins with *Ganpati puja*. In fact every auspicious ceremony not only among the Pushkarnas but the entire Hindu community begins with the worship of god Ganesh. The following is one of the songs that are sung on such occasions :—

चालो हो गजानन जोशी रे चालां, आछा आछा लगन लिखावां हो गजानन ।
किल्लारे छाजे नोबत बाजे, नोबत बाजे इंदरगढ़ गाजे ।
झरण झरण झालर बाजे हो गजानन, किल्लारे छाजे नोबत बाजे ।
चालो हो गजानन सोनी रे चालां, आछा आछा गजरा घड़ावां हो गजानन ।
किल्लारे छाजे ०

चालो हो गजानन पंसारी रे चालां, आछा आछा मेवा मुलावां हो गजानन।
किल्लारे छाजे ०
चालो हो गजानन बजाजजी रे चालां, आछी आछी चुंदड्यां मुलावां हो गजानन।
किल्लारे छाजे ०
चालो हो गजानन कंदोई रे चालां, आछी आछी छाबां मुलावां हो गजानन।
किल्लारे छाजे ०
चालो हो गजानन तम्बोली रे चालां, आछा आछा बिड़ला मुलावां हो गजानन।
किल्लारे छाजे ०
चालो हो गजानन सजनारे चालां, आछी आछी बनड़ी मुलावां हो गजानन।
किल्लारे छाजे ०
नोबत बाजे इंदरगढ़ गाजे, झरण झरण झालर बाजे हो गजानन।
किल्लारे छाजे ०

(Hail ! Lord Gajanan, let us go to the Joshi and get the auspicious time of marriage fixed and noted down. Big kettle-drums are tolling at the rampart of the fort to the accompaniment of ringing gongs, and their sound is echoed and re-echoed from the heavens.

Hail ! Lord Gajanan let us go to the Soni's (goldsmith's) shop and fetch from him beautiful gold bracelets.

Hail ! Lord Gajanan, let us go to the Pansari's (grocer's) shop and fetch from him excellent dry fruits.

Hail ! Lord Gajanan, let us go to the Bajaj's (cloth dealer's) shop and fetch the finest *chundris* from him.

Hail ! Lord Gajanan, let us go to the confectioner's shop and let us bring from there baskets full of fresh sweets.

Hail ! Lord Gajanan, let us go to the Tamboli's (betel seller's) shop and let us bring delicious *birlas*, betel leaves with lime, *katha* (catechu) and nut and other things put in them.

Hail ! Lord Gajanan let us go to the bridegroom's father-in-law's house and let us bring the beautiful bride from there.)

88. *Ganpati puja* takes place some three weeks before the date of the marriage. Invitation goes from the side of the bride to that of the bridegroom who then begin preparations at their house. As an indication of the acceptance of the proposal it is customary to send a rupee from the bridegroom's to the bride's house. This rupee is given as a gift to the barber. Two *suhagin* (woman whose husband is alive) ladies then go from the bride's house to the bridegroom's house with presents of ornaments and dry fruits, flowers and sweets. The bridegroom is made to sit on a *chowki*. A garland of flowers is put on his neck and the above mentioned things are presented to him along with a coconut and a rupee. When the women return, 5¼ srs. of *gur* (jaggery), 11 coconuts and Rs. 5/- in cash are placed on a big plate and sent to the bride's house from the side of the bridegroom. After this function preparations are made for the marriage at the houses of both the parties. At both the places every small event is accompanied with a song by women. One of such songs sung at the bridegroom's place is given below :—

बनो म्हारो हसती लावेजी, हसत्याँ रे हलके पधारे जी।
म्हारो श्याम सुन्दर नन्दलाल, बनो म्हारी गलियां में आवेजी।
बनो म्हारो धूम मचावे जी, बनो म्हारो बंशी बजावेजी।

(The bridegroom brings elephants and he comes riding on them. He is our Shyam Sunder, son of Raja Nand. The bridegroom comes into my lanes. The bridegroom indulges in revelries. The son of Raja Nand, my Shyam Sunder, plays on the flute.)

89. A few days before the date of the marriage, Ganpati is again worshipped, this time on a bigger scale. This is called *bara Vinayak*. Henceforth, the bridegroom is designated as *bind raja* and the bride is called *bindani*. They are regularly anointed with *pithi* (turmeric paste), every day upto the date of the marriage. This is done to the accompaniment of various delightful songs by the ladies. In the evening the procession is taken out which goes round the village, the groom riding a horse. In case it is the girl, she is taken in a cart or a *behli* driven by bullocks. The local name for the procession is *chhikki*. On the *bara Vinayak* day a feast is held in the afternoon at which all the close relations of the party are invited. The main articles of food at this feast are *lapsi* and rice. The same evening flowers and sweets are sent with a woman to the bride's or the bridegroom's house as the case may be. *Gur* is also distributed among the relations and friends. It is considered to be the most auspicious article of food on all festive occasions.

90. On the night previous to that of the marriage, the bridegroom is attired in his ceremonial dress of *angarkha*, *pagri* and trousers and is made to ride a mare. The bridegroom's mother first worships the mare and feeds her with wet pulse of *moong*. The bridegroom is given milk by his mother. His sister or his father's sister catches hold of the mare's tail. This is significant of the demand of *neg* (customary present) which the sister or the father's sister is entitled to get on the occasion. The Srimali Brahmin, who acts as the *purohit* (family priest), puts an idol of Ganesh in a *kalash* (earthen jar), lifts it on his head and goes ahead of the procession, stopping at four places on the way, where worship is offered by the bridegroom. The procession goes round the whole village headed by the band consisting of a drum and a gong. The party goes in a festive mood and the men and women sing songs all the night over giving presents to the Nai (barber). The singing of songs by men is called *gammat*. The procession is again called *chhikki*.

91. The bridegroom's party next proceeds to the bride's place. There the bride's party holds a reception at which the *purohits* of each party recite Sanskrit verses. The members of the parties of the bride and the bridegroom formerly used to address each other by giving them Muslim names for the sake of fun. This may have been due to the close contact of the Pushkarnas with the Sindhi Muslims who formerly resided in the village. The custom has now become obsolete. Presents of dress, ornament and cash are made to the bridegroom by the bride's father and cash presents are also made to important members of the bridegroom's family and relations. This function is termed as *samela* or *milni*. It serves as an introduction of the members of each side with those of the other. On this occasion it is also customary for the bride's father to wash the bridegroom's feet with milk and water. The mother-in-law of the bridegroom sits with her husband during this ceremony which is called *sapardan*.

92. The day the *barat* (marriage party) arrives at the bride's place a feast is held from the side of the bride which is called *kanwari jan*. At this feast the party is fed with *lapsi* and rice. If ghee and sugar are served on the occasion, it is presumed that the bridegroom will receive a handsome dowry.

93. The most remarkable feature of the marriage ceremony among the Pushkarnas is that it takes place on one and the same day in the year for the whole community. This leads to great economy and adds greatly to the magnificence of the affair in the locality.

94. The next day, i. e. the actual day of marriage, the first item in the afternoon is that the bride is taken on a mare or in a cart to the bridegroom's house attended with a village band. The women of the family go ahead in a procession to the bridegroom's place. There the bridegroom's mother puts *kajal* (soot) in the bride's eyes and *tika* on her forehead. The bride then returns to her place. Afterwards the bridegroom proceeds in a procession to his father-in-law's house riding on a horse. The party is received there again by the bride's people. There the bridegroom touches the wooden *toran* which is hung by a string to a balcony of the house, with a wooden stick decorated with flowers. Her mother puts *tilak* (vermilion mark) on his forehead and *kajal* (soot) in his eyes and pulls him by the nose, for fun. Then the bridegroom is taken inside the house where he is

asked to lift a bowl of bronze filled with ghee, seven times. This is perhaps meant to see whether the boy is in perfect health and not suffering from any disability. His mother-in-law measures his chest which is intended perhaps to confirm that the boy is not a weakling or one suffering from a disease of the lungs. Afterwards, he is asked to chant Mantras (Sanskrit verses) in praise of god Ganesh which is for testing whether the bridegroom is acquainted with the Shastras. A number of other ceremonial items such as leading the bridegroom by the nose and placing of *janeu* on the neck of the bridegroom by his mother-in-law are performed. He then sits in front of the fire where the bride is also called and made to sit beside him. The *purohit* chants the ceremonial Mantras and in due course the *hathleva* (joining of the bride's and the groom's hands) and the *phera* ceremonies are performed. It is customary to have only four *pheras* (circumumbulations) among the Pushkarna Brahmins at Malar. The following song is sung on this occasion :—

पहले फेरे, पहले फेरे बाई भाबोसारी बेटी,
दूजे फेरे, दूजे फेरे बाई काकोसारी भतीजी ।
तीजे फेरे, तीजे फेरे बाई मामेसारी भाणजी ।
चौथे फेरे, चौथे फेरे बनड़ी हुई जी पराई ।

(At the first *phera* the girl is the daughter of her father. At the second *phera* the girl is the niece of her uncle. At the third *phera* the girl is the niece of her maternal uncle. After the fourth *phera* the girl belongs to the other party i. e. the bridegroom.)

95. The next day there are some small items such as *kanwar kalewa*, where the bridegroom and his friends are given breakfast, and entertained. This is followed by *kankan chhor* when the bridegroom and the bride untie the *kankans* (twisted ceremonial threads) from each other's hand. Titbits like *jua jui* (gambling) are also held in which the women of the bride's family make fun of the bridegroom by throwing a ring in a shallow pan filled with coloured water and helping the bride to win it every time in all the seven rounds.

96. Notwithstanding the fact that the birth of a daughter is considered as nothing short of a calamity amongst the high caste Hindus of Rajasthan, there is a great attachment of the mother towards her daughter. She loves her much more ardently than her sons. The reason is not far to seek. Till the girl remains unmarried she is of great assistance to her in attending to the younger children and in doing all sundry items of work in the family. She is an inseparable companion, a source of great relief and consolation, in times of stress and difficulty. Naturally, therefore, the partings of daughters with their mothers give rise to emotions that are 'too deep for tears.'

97. The vibrant note of sadness introduced in the atmosphere full of bustle, joy and jubilation accompanying the marriage function by the song sung at the time of the *pheras*

चौथे फेरे बनड़ी हुई जी पराई

assumes a far deeper and sombre tone, the next day at the ceremony of *pehrawani* which precedes the farewell of the bride. Presents of cash, dresses and ornaments are made from the bride's side to all the members, young and old, of the family of the bridegroom and to their near relations on this occasion. The bridegroom and the bride are made to sit on the *palang*, a new decorated bed-stead, which forms one of the articles of the various presents made to the bridegroom. The bride's family members and relations go round the bed in the order of seniority accompanied by their wives offering presents to the bride and the bridegroom and conferring their benedictions on them.

98. In the song which is sung on this occasion, the bride's mother is made to complain to her husband why in the game of *chaupar* (stakes) which he was playing with the bridegroom's father, instead of losing all the elephants, horses and ornaments, in fact all the wealth he possessed, he had put her beloved daughter at stake and lost the game. Tears trickle down the eyes of the ladies while they sing this pathetic song; and the melodious tune in which it is sung mixed with the sighs of the women singers, overwhelms the feelings of the hearers. The bride's father in the song consoles

his wife by telling her that there was nothing new or extraordinary in the defeat which he had suffered in the game at the hands of his rival. In the game of life, who wins or who loses ? Who it is that has not once been vanquished ? Who has not tasted the pleasures of victory ?

दोन्यू समधी बैठ्या तखत बिछायजी, ढ़ालो ढ़ालो चौपड़ रो खेल ।
कुण हारिया कुण जीतियाजी ? हार्‌या बनड़ी रो बाप, कोटड़ समधी जीत गया जी ।
हसत्या क्यूं नी हार्‌या म्हारा पिवजी, डाबां मेलो गहणू क्यूं नी हार्‌या म्हारा पिवजी ।
म्हारी राज कंवर क्यूं हार्‌या जी ?
पहली हार्‌या थांही का बाप म्हारी गोरी ।
पाछे म्हे भी हार्‌या जी ।

(Both the *samdhis*, the father of the bride and the bridegroom, are sitting on a raised wooden platform and playing the game of *chaupar*. With dice in their hand they try their luck at the game of hazard. Who has lost ? Who has won ? Ah ! it is the bride's father who has lost ! it is the bridegroom's father, who has won the game. "Oh my beloved husband ! why did you not put your elephants at stake ? Why have you lost my princess ? Was not there all the wealth in your coffers which you could have hazarded instead of my beloved daughter" ? "Oh my dear wife ! was it not your father who had once lost the game to my father ? I have merely followed in his foot-steps").

99. Then follows the magnificient farewell. The daughter is like a bird who is born in the family only to fly away. She does not belong to her father's family. She is bound to go somewhere else in due course of time. Is it not a vain thought which wishes the daughter to stay on in her father's house all her life ?

आंबा पाक्या ने आंबली, मउड़ो लेहरां खाय ।
आंबा पाक्या ने आंबली, हे आबां पाक्या ने आंबली,
मउड़ो लेहरां खाय, कोयलड़ी हद बोली ।
हे म्हे थांने पूंछा म्हारी धीवड़ी, हे म्हे थां से पूछां,
इतरो भाबोसा रो लाड़ छोड़ने बाई सिध चाल्या ।
हे आयो जी सगां रो सूवटो, हे आयो बागां रो सूवटो,
लेगो टोली में से टाल, गायड़मल ले चाल्या ।
हे म्हे थाने पूछां म्हारी बालकी, हे म्हे थाने पूछां धीवड़ी,
इतरो मायड़ रो लाड़ छोड़ने बाई सिध चाल्या ।
हे रमती भाबोसा री पोलियां, हे रमती भाबोसा री पोल,
हे थाने गायड़मल ले चाल्या ।
हे म्हे थाने पूछां म्हारी राधा बाई, हे म्हे थाने पूछां,
इतरो काकोसारो लाड़ छोड़ने बाई सिध चाल्या ।
हे आयो परदेशी सूवटो, हे आयो बागां रो सूवटो,
हे लेगो टोली में से टाल फुटरमल ले चाल्या ।
हे म्हे थांने पूछां म्हारा बाई जी, म्हे थांने पूछां,
इतरो बीरासा रो हेत छोड़ने बाई सिध चाल्या ।
हे आयो परदेशी सूवटो, हे आयो बागां मेलो सूवटो,
म्हें तो रमती सहेल्यां री साथ, जोड़ी रो जालम ले चाल्या ।

(The mangoes have ripened. The tamarind fruit has mellowed. The clouds are floating in the sky. The cuckoo is singing in her 'full throated ease.' It is time for her to depart, to leave her present abode and to go to stranger and far off lands. The woeful mother sings on her daughter's parting:

"I ask you, my beloved daughter, where art thou going away leaving your doting father behind? Oh my heart ! it is the parrot from the garden, the parrot belonging to the *sagas* (family of the bride's father-in-law); he has come, and that clever fellow is carrying you away from among the group of birds surrounding you. I ask you my cuckoo, tell me my child, what has happened to all the love which has been showered on you by your loving mother ? Thou, who played in the porch of your father, are now going away with a stranger. Would not you remember the unbounded affection of your uncle towards you and the immense love of your beloved brother whom you are now going to leave" ? The bride responds to the entreaties of her mother. She keenly feels the pang of departure and the helplessness of the situation: "How I wish I could have stayed on here and went on playing with my bosom friends and companions in the mansions of my beloved father. But alas ! it is not to be. Here has come my partner for life, who shall take me away").

100. The haunting melody of these songs clings to the memory of the hearers and makes so deep an impression on their minds and emotions that it is hardly possible to express it in the language of prose.

101. These beautiful songs have passed into classics in the literature of folk songs of Rajasthan. When they are sung at the moment of the departure of the bride with the bridegroom, the emotions are so over-powering that even the sky and the earth seem to move and take part in human affairs. At that moment one is irresistibly reminded of the departure of Shakuntala from the *ashram* of Maharshi Kanva for her husband Dushyant's home (*Abhigyan Shakuntalam* by Kalidas) and of the scenes in the *Ram Charit Manas* of Tulsidas where Uma is taking leave of her mother Maina and her father Himanchal to go with Shankar, and of Sita when she bids farewell to her mother Sunaina and her father Raja Janak to accompany her consort Shri Ram Chandra.

102. Not only the ladies who sing the songs and the bride's relatives and friends are overwhelmed with emotion but even the bridegroom's people who are taking away the treasure with them feel a pang in their heart which is unfathomable and defies analysis. There is a strange admixture of the feelings of joy, love and sorrow caused by the departure of one who is so dear to all her kith and kin. With poet Shelley we feel "Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought".

103. The tense atmosphere created by the high pitch of emotion roused by the farewell ceremony, however, soon calms down with the actual departure of the bride with the bridegroom. No tears are allowed to be shed, as it is considered most inauspicious to cry on such a happy occasion. Perfect serenity is restored when the ladies of the house sit down to offer a series of some half a dozen congratulatory songs of thanks-giving popularly known as *badhawas*. One of these songs runs as follows:—

मोत्यांरा लूंबक झूमका, किसतूरी हो राजा बंदनमाल ।
जग जीत्यो ए बहन बधावणो ।
जाय बांधो वसुदेव सा रे ओलेवे । श्री कृष्ण सरीसा पूत
जग जीत्यो ए आनन्द बधावणो ।
जाय बांधो.....सारे ओलेवे .....सरीसा पूत
जग जीत्यो ए बहन बधावणो ।

(There is the beautiful *bandanwar* made of clusters of pearls and flowers emitting the sweet smell of *kastoori* (musk). O my beloved sister, congratulations to you. We have achieved a signal victory over the world. Go and tie this beautiful *bandanwar* to the apartment of Vasudev who has given birth to a son like Shri Krishna. Yes, this is an occasion of great mirth, we have achieved the victory. Go and tie the *bandanwar* to the chamber of Shri..... who has given birth to a son like..... (and here the names of the members of the family are enumerated in the order of seniority along with the names of their sons.)

104. The rites and ceremonies observed by

Pushkarna Brahmins in regard to their marriage are simple and delightful. The mutual relations of the bride and bridegroom's parties always remain cordial. There has never been an instance of any quarrel amongst them. However, little the bride's father may pay by way of dowry and the presents to the father of the bridegroom, the latter does not at any time display the least dissatisfaction. On the other hand he would praise his relative, "What to say of your munificience. You are pouring wealth on us like rains by god Indra".

105. There is no bargaining between the parties when engagements are made. These people are very social. They would attend the ceremonies whenever invited, irrespective of the fact whether the person who invites is rich or poor. Even though a man is of very meagre means, they would join gracefully and partake of whatever frugal meal that may be served and would praise it as if they have enjoyed a banquet of nectar and ambrosia.

Death rites

106. There are some peculiarities in the rites connected with death prevalent in the Pushkarna community. They take dead bodies in great haste to the cremation ground. It is said that during the minority of Maharaja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur, Marwar was occupied by the Mughal emperors. The Muslim guards at the gate of the city tried to touch the dead bodies on the pretext of making a search. The people resented this and hurried away with the bodies as fast as they could to the place of cremation. The tradition appears to continue though there is no cause for it any longer.

107. While carrying the dead to the cremation ground they do not pronounce the usual chant of *Ram Nam Satya Hai*. On the other hand they cry aloud shouting the name of the dead in chorus. While burning the dead Chandwani Joshis keep the feet of the dead towards the north. Other Pushkarnas keep them towards the south. The womenfolk of the family accompany the procession and go with the bier upto half the distance. They put their fingers lightly on their breast and all of them make lamentation in chorus, the sound of which pierces the heart of the hearers. If the dead man is an old one, they cry *Hai Jami* (Oh father) ! and if he is young *Hai Jodh* (Oh my son) ! If it is an old woman they cry *Hai Jaman* (Oh mother) ! and if she is young *Hai Ladi* (Oh daughter) !

108. There is a story prevalent about the cry of 'Jodh' and 'Ladi' which is uttered when the dead body is carried for cremation. In the days of Maharaja Bhim Singh of Jodhpur, Singhvi Jodh Raj was the dewan of the State who happened to have a Pushkarna woman, by name Ladi, as his concubine. Some one told him, "Pushkarna women while accompanying funeral procession make lamentations *Jodh* and *Ladi* and in fact refer to you as *Jodh* and your mistress as *Ladi* and Joshi Manroop, who is a rich man, is at the bottom of this mischief. He instigates the people of his community to make the aforesaid lamentations with a view to humiliate you in the eyes of the public". Jodh Raj Singhvi was so inflamed on hearing all this that he got the Joshi's house looted and brought trouble on a number of other members of the Pushkarna community. When an old man dies, his relatives from the side of his son's and daughter's father-in-laws, come and throw flowers and *gulal* (vermilion) on the bier and place kernel of coconuts on it as a mark of respect.

109. Formerly, Pushkarnas used to offer *pindas* (balls of barley flour) to the dead at the cremation ground for nine days daily, but now all the nine *pindas* are offered on the ninth day. This also is a remnant of the old tradition that came into vogue at the time of administration of Marwar by the Mughal emperor, when it was considered risky to go every day to the cremation ground for offering *pindas*.

110. The funeral rites among the Pushkarnas are rather more expensive than other ceremonies. The near relatives are fed for ten days and on the twelfth day inviting of the whole community is considered more essential than on the occasions of joy. They consider it a great privilege to hold such caste dinners on occasions of death. A person who earns even a little makes herculian efforts to organise a feast for honouring his dead ancestors. He who does not do so has to repent all

his life and the people of the community pass sarcastic remarks on him :

'तुम्हारे बड़ेरे तो पीपल पर बैठे हैं, उनकी मुक्त नहीं हुई'।

(Your ancestors are hanging on the Pipal tree. They have not yet been redeemed).

111. The system of shaving heads, beards and moustaches prevails to an extreme degree in the Pushkarnas. Even the remote relations are bound to get their hair cropped on the demise of their kinsman.

112. Other communities of the village are greatly influenced by the customs of the Pushkarnas in regard to their rituals relating to birth, marriage and death. Their economic condition, however, compels them to reduce the expenditure on these occasions to a minimum. They do not indulge in prolonged festivities. Their marriage ceremonies are a tame affair. In matters of dinners on ceremonial occasions, they try to conform to those of the Pushkarnas so far as their circumstances allow.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Economic Resources

113. The total area of the village is 26,969 *bighas* (10,787 acres), the break up of which is as follows:—

	Bighas
1. Land used for other than agricultural purposes (Tank, *Nadi*, *Bhakar* etc.)	143
2. Uncultivable land	1,064
3. Pasture land	4,568
4. Banjar land (partly cultivable which includes 373 *bighas* of *Bhoodan* land)	16,595
5. Fallow land	2,267
6. Cultivated land (Un-irrigated)	2,332
7. Cultivated land (Irrigated)	...
8. Forest	...
Total	26,969

Land

114. The distribution of land owned by the communities of the village is as follows:—

	Bighas
1. Pushkarna Brahmin (94 families)	10,383
2. Sewak Brahmin (1 family)	2
3. Darzi (2 families)	168
4. Nai (3 families)	212
5. Suthar (1 family)	50
6. Bhil (1 family)	268
7. Bhambi (5 families)	215
8. Baori	...

115. 26 Pushkarna families of the village get their land cultivated by engaging labourers whom they pay in cash on daily wage system (Rs.3/– per male and Rs.1/8/– per female). The remaining 68 families of Pushkarna Brahmins and the households of other communities of the village till the land themselves engaging labour occasionally when required.

Live-stock

116. The following is the statement of live-stock owned by the different communities:—

Live-stock	Push-karnas	Sewak	Darzi	Bhil	Nai	Bhambi	Suthar	Baori	Total
Cow	80	–	15	8	5	2	5	–	115
Bullock	45	2	8	2	6	8	–	–	71
Calf (male)	18	5	10	–	1	–	–	–	34
Calf (female)	8	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	10
Buffalo	18	1	5	–	2	–	2	2	30
Camel	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10
Total	179	10	38	10	14	10	7	2	270

117. Malar being a desert village most of the well-to-do Pushkarnas of that place reside at Bombay. They are engaged there as businessmen doing speculation, some as brokers in the stock exchange, some as commission agents and some as *munims* in business firms. This temporary exodus of the members of Pushkarna community to Bombay has been going on for the last several decades. In the year 1860 the railway line was introduced in this area and it became a regular feature for these Pushkarna families to go to Bombay for earning their livelihood. Some twenty families of Malar have now their permanent establishments in Bombay. They come to the place of their birth occasionally, more especially at the time of marriage or death of some member connected with the family.

118. There are nine families of Pushkarna Brahmins the members of which go to Bombay for some 10 months in the year. Their womenfolk and other brothers and children reside in the village and look after the agricultural land, livestock and buildings which belong to them. They are unable to take their families to Bombay for difficulties of accommodation. They remit money from there to their homes for daily expenses and for undertaking agricultural operations. As soon as a child attains the age of 14 or 15 years he is taken to Bombay and given training in business matters.

119. The effect of this bifurcation has been to limit the number of members of the family. The size of the family is consequently smaller than what it is elsewhere, as there are fewer contacts between the husbands and their wives and the number of children born is, therefore, comparatively fewer.

Size of Households

120. The following table gives the size and composition of the households in the village:–

Total No. of House-holds.	Single member House-holds.	2 or 3 member House-holds.	4 to 6 member House-holds.	7 to 9 member House-holds.	10 and more member Households.
141	18	38	58	22	5

There are only five families in the village which have got 10 or more than 10 members in the household. The maximum number of families (58) is such as have only 4 to 6 members and 38 have only 2 to 3 members.

121. The temporary emigration to Bombay of these Pushkarna Brahmins is now on the decrease, for there is great difficulty in finding accommodation for the new comers in Bombay. Then, life at Bombay is getting more and more complicated. So many rules and regulations have been promulgated in regard to the various lines of business and commerce that it has become very difficult to follow them. Also there is the difficulty in securing permits and licences. Young boys are, therefore, discouraged from going to Bombay and starting business there. However, there being no lucrative source of livelihood at Malar, tendency of the younger generation is to find avenues of employment at the nearest places such as Phalodi and Jodhpur where they can find suitable work for themselves, and the vocations which they find at these places have an incentive of tying them permanently to their new abodes. The position is, however, yet in a nebulous condition and nothing can be said with certainty.

122. Another result of bifurcation of the Pushkarna families is that young men who come into contact with modern and more progressive conditions of life become dissatisfied with the conditions prevailing at Malar. The result is a social ferment. The girls being devoid of education do not come to the standard desired by the modernised young men. Some time ago there was a case in which a Pushkarna Brahmin of Malar who was residing at Bombay and who was married to a Malar girl, and had three children by her, got disgusted on account of her conservative habits and lack of education. Consequently, he left her and the children in the village and

married a Punjabi girl and went away with her to Calcutta. This had a sensational effect in the village and it has given the Pushkarna community a shock which perhaps it deserved. The result is that they now fully appreciate the value and utility of female education and are sending their girls to the local Middle School and they have no objection to the girls reading with the boys. The girl in question is now living with her parents in Malar along with her children. The pecuniary condition of the girl's father is fairly satisfactory and he does not grudge the return of the daughter to his family permanently.

Crops

123. Malar is a desert village which receives limited amount of rain i.e. 15 inches (38.13 cm.) in the normal years. There are no facilities in the village for irrigation. Agriculture in the village is dependent totally on rain water. Consequently only *kharif* crop is grown and no *rabi* crop is available. The produce of the *kharif* crop is hardly sufficient for the families who depend on agriculture, to make their both ends meet. They have to supplement their income by having resort to subsidiary resources. The Bhils do this by working as labourers. The Suthar and the Darzis have their own vocations. The Nai and the Darzis supplement their vocational income by producing salt at Malar Rann. The Pushkarnas whose standard of living is higher look to Bombay for meeting their household expenses.

Land Revenue

124. Malar was a *Khalsa* village. Due to the special favour which the Pushkarnas of Malar enjoyed from the Maharaja of Jodhpur, as a result of the gratitude of Maharaja Udai Singh towards the Bohra Pushkarna Brahmins, the entire village was free from payment of land revenue and rent, up-till Samvat year 1949 (1891 A.D.) As a result of survey made by the Settlement Department, a nominal sum of Rs. 32.62 was levied as land revenue to be realised from the entire village. The amount was, however, increased by 25% in the year 1894 A. D. Since 1954, according to the Land Revenue Act of Rajasthan the village now pays land revenue to the tune of Rs. 7,780.18 per annum.

Transport

125. Formerly the only means of transport was either the camel or the bullock cart. As Phalodi was not far away from Malar, people did not feel any great difficulty in transport and communication. Recently due to the introduction of bus service, communication has been greatly facilitated.

126. The produce from land being limited which is hardly sufficient for the needs of the village, there is no problem regarding its marketing. The families which have got surplus produce with them dispose it of locally. The requirement of grain over and above the village produce is obtained from outside mostly from Phalodi either on camel or in motor trucks.

Livelihood Classes

127. The changes in the population of Malar recorded in the year 1961 as compared to the Census of 1951 can be seen from the table given below:—

Livelihood Classes	1951			1961		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1. Cultivators	79	109	188	90	110	200
2. Agricultural labourers	6	4	10	10	15	25
3. Carpenter	–	–	–	2	1	3
4. Transport and Communication	2	–	2	–	–	–
5. Commerce	32	27	59	60	49	109
6. Others (Service, Salt etc.)	160	219	379	190	121	311
Total	279	359	638	352	296	648

From the above figures it would be seen that there has been a slight increase in the number of cultivators and a marked increase under the head 'Commerce' during 1961 as compared to the previous Census.

128. The increase in the category of cultivators hardly calls for any explanation. As far as 'Commerce' is concerned it appears that larger number of persons returned from outside places such as Bombay and elsewhere and hence the increase.

129. There has been no change in the ownership of land for the last several decades. The old pattern of agriculture still continues. Twenty families of the Sindhi Muslims who had left Malar in the year 1942, settled at Malar Rann, but they did not forego the 148 *bighas* and 16 *biswas* of land owned by them. They go to Malar to till it and to reap the harvest. The migration of these Sindhi Muslims from Malar to Malar Rann also accounts for the phenomenal decrease in the population of the village from 999 in the year 1941 to 638 in 1951.

Primary and Subsidiary Occupations

130. The data about the primary and subsidiary occupations is given below:—

Name of Community	No. of Households	Primary Occupation	Subsidiary Occupation
1. Pushkarna Brahmin	94	Business or service at Bombay	Agriculture, animal husbandry—6 families salt business.
2. Sewak Brahmin	3	Priest in the temple	
3. Darzi	2	Tailor's profession	Salt business.
4. Suthar	1	Carpentry	Labour.
5. Nai	3	Agriculture	Barber's work and salt business.
6. Bhil and Bhambi	7	Agriculture	Labour.
7. Baori	1	Labour	*Chowkidari.*

131. The statistical data in regard to the traditional occupation for the Census of 1951 is not available. However, in the year 1951 there was a great agitation amongst the Bhambi community regarding the removal of dead animals and their skinning. The Government of Rajasthan issued orders whereby none of the communities in the villages were to be forced to carry on against their will any occupation merely on the basis of tradition. Occupations regarding which there was any resentment among any of the communities were henceforth to be executed by the Panchayat Samitis or administrative village authorities on the basis of contract. The situation was thereby greatly relieved. The Bhambis and the Bhils of Malar who had given up removal of carcases resumed their traditional profession under the stress of economic situation. Previously, they were paid for this work by the villagers in grain at the time of harvest but now they are paid in cash for each item of disposal by the person concerned.

Agriculture

132. In the year 1960 the following crops were cultivated in Malar:—

1. *Jwar*	20	*Bighas*
2. *Bajra*	3269	,,
3. *Gwar*	615	,,
	Total 3904 (1562 acres)	

133. Agriculturists at this place carry on their work according to the age-long method. The same implements as were in vogue generations ago are still current. No improvement whatsoever has been made. The land is tilled by means of a plough and a pair of bullocks or camels.

Equipment

134. The *phaora* (spade), *kudali* (pickaxe) and *halbani* (pointed iron bar) are the main tools which are used by the villagers for their agricultural operations.

Organisation of man power

135. It is only the Bhils and the Bhambis whose men and women both go to the fields for purposes of agriculture. The women of Pushkarna Brahmins and other communities such as Darzi, Suthar and Nai do not go to the fields. The male members of these communities work themselves or engage agricultural labourers to do the work.

Finance

136. People make their own investment from their personal income, derived in the case of Pushkarna community from Bombay and of other communities from their primary or subsidiary occupations.

137. No debts appear to have been contracted by any member of any of the communities of the village for purposes of agriculture.

Animal Husbandry

138. Villagers graze their animals in the land attached to the village for the purpose. The following dues are levied by the State:—

Cow	Rs. 1.50 per annum
Buffalo	Re. 1.00 ,,
Bullock	Rs. 1.50 ,,

No charge is made for calves and camels.

139. On the average a buffalo yields 5 to 6 seers of milk and a cow from 4 to 5 seers per day. Milk and milk products are consumed by the households themselves. They do not sell them to any one in the village.

140. Fodder is stored by the villagers to serve during the period when no grass is available in the pasture land.

141. During the times of scarcity fodder is brought from Jod or Phalodi. Some people take their animals to Jod for grazing whenever there is famine.

142. There is no fishing or forestry in the village.

Village Industry

143. Except the work of carpentry, which the Suthar undertakes on payment of cash, there is no industry. Neither is there any commerce in the village. People store agricultural produce in their own houses. No barter is in vogue.

Loans

144. There are only six households in the village which are under debt. Out of the total debt of Rs. 13,500/–, 26% was obtained for house construction, 44% for expenditure in relation to marriages and 30% for feasts relating to death.

Credit

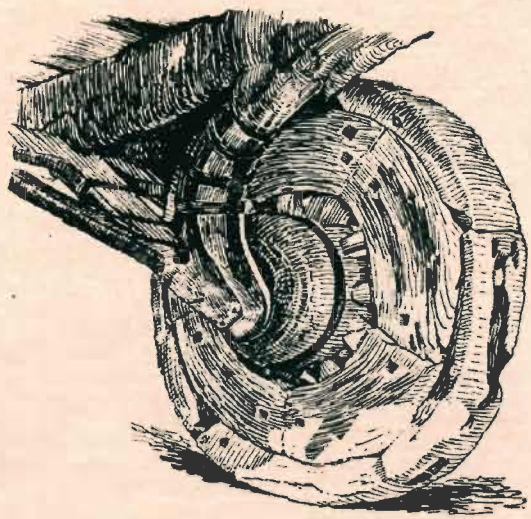
145. There are four persons in the village from the Pushkarna community who lend money at an interest of 2% per month. The debt referred to above was secured by the persons concerned from these money-lenders.

Co-operative Society

146. A co-operative society was formed in the village with a membership of 10 persons in the year 1959. The former Sarpanch of the Village Panchayat was the Chairman of the society. The society was advanced a sum of Rs 15,000/– by the State, which was distributed among the members by way of loans. The society had as its object the promotion of agriculture and house building in the village. The affairs of the society are, however, in a mess. The loans advanced to the members are still outstanding and there appears to have been no attempt to recover the loans from the persons concerned.



The Suthar at the workshop



Wheel of a bullock cart

Income

147. The average yield of produce during a normal year is 9 Mds. of *bajra* per *bigha*. Taking the price of *bajra* at Rs. 10 per maund, and making allowance for expenditure incurred in agricultural operations at 50 percent the net monthly income derived by various communities from agriculture and other sources works out as follows:—

Name of Community	Average monthly income (In Rupees)			Remarks (Sources of income other than Agriculture)
	From Agriculture	From other sources	Total	
1. Pushkarna Brahmin	94.00	125.00	219.00	Remittances from Bombay.
2. Sewak Brahmin	3.75	40.00	43.75	*Chadhava* & monthly pay from Village Panchayat.
3. Darzi	38.75	50.00	88.75	Professional work.
4. Suthar	67.50	100.00	167.50	—do— and labour.
5. Nai	30.00	100.00	130.00	Traditional *birat (Jijmani)*
6. Bhil	45.00	40.00	85.00	Labour.
7. Baori	—	50.00	50.00	Payment in kind for *chowkidari*.
8. Bhambi	30.00	40.00	70.00	Labour.

148. The distribution of the households in income groups will be evident from the following data:—

Income groups (p. m.)	No. of Households
Rs. 20 and below	3
Rs. 20 – 30	3
Rs. 30 – 40	—
Rs. 40 – 60	21
Rs. 60 – 80	3
Rs. 80 – 100	23
Rs. 100 and above	61

The 61 families whose income is more than Rs.100/- per month are mostly Pushkarna Brahmins who get their remittances from Bombay. There are 6 households of Pushkarnas who have some income from manufacture of salt at Malar Rann. Their income from this source ranges from Rs. 150/– to Rs. 200/– per month on an average. It may, however, be noted that the income from salt is derived during the summer season. During the winter very little salt is manufactured and during the rains the work remains at a stand still.

149. There are 27 households in which there are widows who depend for their maintenance entirely on the support of their relatives.

Expenditure

150. A sample study of a number of budgets of households belonging to the Pushkarna community shows that the monthly expenditure of each family ranges between Rs. 200/– and Rs. 550/– per month. The deficit which occurs is made good from the income from other sources e. g. remittances from Bombay. The percentage of expenditure on different items for an average family is indicated below:—

Food	40%
Light and fuel	10%
Clothes	25%

Education	3%
Medicine	2%
Miscellaneous	20%

151. The average income of a Bhambi household consisting of 3 males and 2 females is about Rs. 70/- p.m. which is derived from agriculture, labour, collection of fuel and animal husbandry. The main items of expenditure are as follows:—

1. Food	40%
2. Clothes	10%
3. Education	1%
4. Medicine	—
5. Fuel	—
6. Fodder	10%
7. Miscellaneous	39%

The average income of a Bhil family consisting of 2 males and 2 females is about Rs. 85/- which is derived from agriculture, labour which includes quarrying stones in the Bhakar and collection of fuel and domestic cattle. The expenditure is almost of the same pattern as that of Bhambis with the exception that they do not spend anything on education.

152. The Baori family depends for its livelihood on collection of grain for *chowkidari* which comes to about two maunds per month and income from labour (which includes quarrying stones in the Bhakar) and collection of fuel. It comes to about Rs. 50/-per month. The expenditure pattern of the Baori family is of the same type as that of the Bhil.

153. The income of the households of the Darzi, the Suthar and the Nai varies from Rs. 90 to Rs. 200 per month. The pattern of expenditure of the Darzi (Rs. 88.75) and the Suthar (Rs. 167.50) is similar to that of the Pushkarna Brahmins, the only variation being that they spend less on articles of dress and luxuries such as oil, soap and other cosmetics.

154. The aforesaid estimates are based on the result of sample survey of typical families of each community residing in the village. They are, however, based mostly on rough calculations as the people in the village do not give reliable information. The economic condition of the communities such as the Bhambi, the Bhil and the Baori appears to be rather pitiable.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Population

155. The total population of Malar is 648 out of which 352 are males and 296 females. The percentage of males is 53 and of females 47. Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribe form only 4% of the entire population. The following table gives statistical information relating to the distribution of sex in various age groups :—

	Total (All ages)	0–4	5–9	10–14	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–44	45–59	60 and above.
Male	352	33	32	44	30	38	24	30	54	40	27
Female	296	17	36	31	19	36	26	23	46	32	30
Total	648	50	68	75	49	74	50	53	100	72	57

156. From the above it would be seen that 193 persons in age group 0–14 form 29.67% of the entire population. In this age group 77% are females. The disparity between males and females is due to the fact that in age group 0–4 out of the total of 50 children only 17 are female and 33 male. The number of females in age group 25 - 29 and age group 60 and above, is more than that of males but there is no marked difference elsewhere. The persons in the age group 60 and above form 9 percent of the entire population.

Marital Status

157. The following table gives the data regarding age and marital status of the entire population of the village:—

Age group	Total population			Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All Ages	648	352	296	160	79	175	175	17	41	...	1
0–9	118	65	53	65	53	...	...	...	...	...	...
10–14	75	44	31	43	25	1	6	...	...	...	...
15–19	49	30	19	21	1	8	18	1	...	...	...
20–24	74	38	36	17	...	21	36	...	...	...	...
25–29	50	24	26	3	...	20	26	1	...	...	...
30–34	53	30	23	4	...	26	21	...	1	...	1
35–39	43	21	22	1	...	20	22	...	...	...	...
40–44	57	33	24	2	...	30	21	1	3	...	...
45–49	25	14	11	1	...	13	8	...	3	...	...
50–54	26	15	11	...	...	14	7	1	4	...	...
55–59	21	11	10	2	...	8	4	1	6	...	...
60–64	32	13	19	...	...	6	5	7	14	...	...
65–69	19	9	10	1	...	6	1	2	9	...	...
70 and over	6	5	1	...	...	2	...	3	1	...	...
Age not stated	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

158. It would be seen from the above table that child marriage is still prevalent in Malar. In the age group 10–14 although there is only one married male there are no less than 6 married females. In the age group 15-19 there are 8 married males and 18 married females and in age group 20–24, 21 married males and 36 females. This is quite a healthy sign.

Births and Deaths

159. Unfortunately no statistics are available regarding births and deaths in the village. It is for the Village Panchayat to maintain a register of births and deaths, but so far this work does not appear to have commenced, nor are any statistics regarding epidemics available.

Literacy

160. The following table gives the information in regard to literacy in the village:—

Age group	Total			Illiterate		Literate without educational standard		Primary or junior basic		Middle class		Graduate & above	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All ages	648	352	296	178	217	77	38	80	40	14	1	3	...
0–4	50	33	17	22	13	...	...	11	4	...	...	...	...
5–9	68	32	36	11	24	...	...	21	12	...	...	...	...
10–14	75	44	31	4	15	...	...	40	16	...	...	...	...
15–19	49	30	19	4	1	18	10	8	8	...	...	...	...
20–24	74	38	36	1	21	34	15	...	...	3	...	...	...
25–29	50	24	26	7	19	12	6	...	...	4	1	1	...
30–34	53	30	23	16	20	8	3	...	...	4	...	2	...
35–44	100	54	46	48	45	3	1	...	...	3	...	...	...
45–49	72	40	32	39	32	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
60 and over	57	27	30	26	27	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Age not stated.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

P=Persons M=Males F=Females

Out of the total number of literate persons in the village 77 are male and 38 female. Although the percentage of literate females in the entire female population is only 13, as compared to male literates it is almost 50%, which looking to the condition of the village is in no way strange. There is a distinct tendency towards growth of female education. No one in the village has acquired education higher than the Middle standard. 14 males and one female are educated up to the Middle standard. 3 persons, all male, who belong to this village are Graduates, but they do not reside in Malar. They are working at Bombay. They occasionally pay visits to the village to maintain the family contacts.

Family Pattern

161. The following statistics show the position in regard to the nature of families in Malar:—

	Caste, tribe or community	Total No. of households.	Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
1.	Pushkarna Brahmin	121	67	23	31	...
2.	Sewak Brahmin	3	2	...	1	...
3.	Darzi	5	1	1	3	...
4.	Nai.	3	3	...	...	...
5.	Bhil	3	2	...	1	...
6.	Bhambi	3	1	...	2	...
7.	Baori	2	1	1	...	...
8.	Suthar	1	0	...	1	...
	Total	141	77	25	39	...

It would be seen from the above table that there are 31 joint families, 23 families of intermediate type and 67 of simple type among the Pushkarna Brahmins. This shows that there is a clear tendency towards disintegration of joint family which is marching towards the simple type. It is obviously due to the changing economic conditions. In Malar, however, the process of disintegration is slower due to the peculiar circumstances in which some of the family members reside and carry on business at Bombay, while others are required to stay in Malar to look after their lands, houses and families. As to the other communities there are three joint families of Darzi, one of Sewak, one of Bhil, two of Bhambi and one of Suthar. They appear to be continuing joint in view of the economic advantage which they derive from this system. But here again the tendency is markedly towards the simple type,

Relationship in Family

162. So far as the relations of one member of family to the other members are concerned they continue to be on the traditional pattern among all village communities. The senior-most member whether he is father or uncle and in his absence the grand mother or the mother or the eldest brother occupies the first position. He is consulted in all matters relating to the welfare of the family. He is responsible for its welfare and prestige. It is he who arranges the marriages of younger members and is invariably respected by all.

163. Relations between husband and wife are mostly cordial. There may be differences between them on family matters which may lead to quarrels as the women of Marwar are reputed for their sharp tongue. But all such quarrels are temporary and insignificant and reconciliation takes place in no time. Excepting the one case which has been referred to previously, and which is in fact a case of desertion, divorce has not been heard of in the village. The standard of morality is high and there appear to be no scandals. The children are well looked after. A married woman will not uncover her face in the presence of the elder male relations of her husband nor would she speak to them.

Inheritance

164. The old rule of inheritance according to which the sons or reversioners of the deceased inherited the property still continues without any change. In joint familiy the widow is entitled to maintenance and to the *stridhan*, which she acquired during the lifetime of her husband. The girls are

not given any share in their father's property notwithstanding the fact that people are aware of the recent legislation enacted by the Government in this behalf. When a person dies, on the twelfth day a ceremony is held according to which the turban of the deceased is tied to the head of his eldest son.

Leisure and Recreation

165. Apart from the observance of festivals which are distributed over the different seasons and months of the year, very little of recreation is noticeable in the life of various communities residing in the village. The lanes being full of dust they do not allow of any games, even of a simple type such as *gilli danda*, hide-and-seek etc, by the boys. Young boys and even older people pass their spare time in playing cards and games of chess and *chaupar*. Women are occupied mostly in fetching water for their homes from the tanks and doing other household work. Very little spare time is left to them and whatever little time they get is spent in gossip and paying visits to friends and relatives.

166. Every morning and evening at the time of arrival of the bus from Phalodi and Bap people assemble at the bus-stand and spend an hour looking at the passengers and discussing day to day events.

167. Those who have received some education read newspapers and books of stories or novels, which they obtain from Phalodi.

168. At times *bhajans* are sung in the temples in which women of the village are more interested than men.

169. Boys of growing age sometimes arrange shows popularly known as *khayals* of religious type, such as *Gopichand Bhartrihari*, *Heer Ranjha* and the like. These are attended by the people with great applause.

Religion

170. All the communities in the village are Hindus. The temple of Murli Manoharji and Mahadevji are the only religious institutions in the village. Functions are held at the time of Janmashthami and Holi in the temple of Murli Manoharji and on Shivratri in the temple of Mahadevji. On the occasion of Janmasthami the idol of Murli Manoharji is placed in a *jhoola* (swing) and scenes from the life of Shri Krishna are depicted in the evening. On the festival of Holi coloured powder or *gulal* and coloured water are sprinkled in the temple on the visitors. On the Shivratri day night vigil is kept in the temple of Mahadevji and *Rudrashtak* (Sanskrit verse) is recited four times and *arti* held at the end of each recital. The temples are housed in ordinary buildings which have no speciality about them. Each of the temples is managed by a Sewak Brahmin who maintains himself on the proceeds of the offerings made by visitors to the deity. Each of the priests receives a monthly cash pay of Rs. 20/- from the Village Panchayat. One Sewak family derives some income from the two *bighas* of agricultural land which it owns. Apart from this there is no other source of income to the temples.

171. The family deity of the Pushkarnas is Chamunda Devi. Her idol is placed in the temple of Shiva and is worshipped on Navratra during the months of *Asvin* (September-October) and *Chaitra* (April).

172. In Samvat year 1962 (1905 A.D.) one Jaisiram Madhubani, Bohra Pushkarna Brahmin, died fighting against some twenty robbers, at a distance of about one furlong on the western skirt of the village. The robbers were running away with some ornaments belonging to the villagers. They were armed with guns. Jaisiram encountered them with a sword in his hand. He succeeded in recovery of the stolen property, but succumbed to the injuries inflicted on him by the robbers. He is worshipped in the village by all the communities as *Jhunjhar* (martyr). *Dhoop* (incense) is offered to him every day in the evening on a platform erected at the place of his demise. Since then no robbery or dacoity is said to have been committed in Malar.

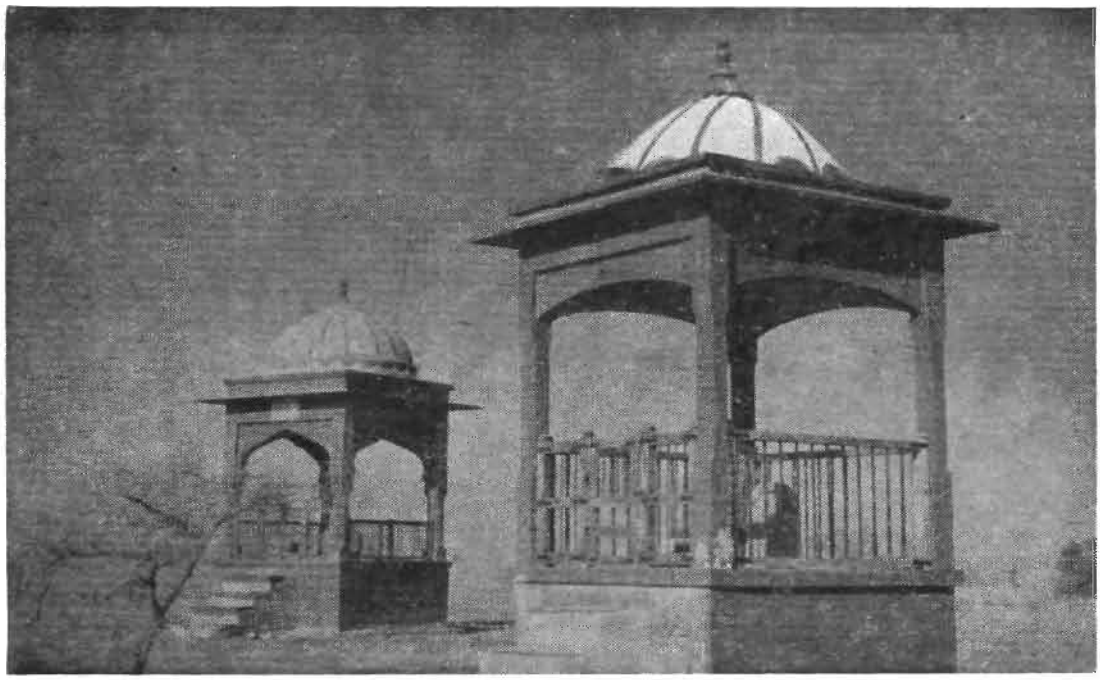
173. There is a *chhatri* (domed monument) dedicated to a lady of the Pushkarna community. She is said to have foretold the event of the



Fetching water from the tank



The memorial of the Pushkarna mother who immolated herself in grief of her son



Devalias of the *Pitras*



Pabuji, the god of Bhils

death of her son at the hands of robbers in Sind. The prophecy came true and the mother burnt herself out of sorrow for her deceased son. Occasionally women of the village offer incense and coconut at the platform built in her memory.

174. There are two *devalias*, monuments dedicated to the *Pitras* (spirits of deceased ancestors) at a distance of some 200 paces on the eastern side of the village. An earthen lamp is lighted and incense burnt every evening at each of these monuments.

175. On the southern side of the village near the *Ram Nada* the *paglias* (foot-prints in marble) of Ramdevji have been installed on a small pedestal. Bhambis celebrate *Ramdevji-ka-Jama* two days after Holi at this place when they sing songs on *tambura*, which is their only musical instrument. Other communities of the village also pay homage to Ramdevji.

176. Ramdevji is considered as an incarnation of god Shri Krishna and there are a number of legends and songs which are sung by his followers at the time of fairs in his honour. The following song signifies the coming of Ramdevji to Runicha (village Ramdevra). His meeting with Jambheshwarji the founder of the Bishnoi sect is also referred to herein:—

पीर हुया जद आलम जाण्या पोकरणे पद पाया–
रमता रामदेव रूणीचे आया ॥ १ ॥
माता मैणादे हर रो कियो बधाओ मोतिये कंवर बधाया–
रमता रामदेव रूणीचे आया ॥ २ ॥
माता मैणादे हर रो पिता अजमालजी, नैतल दे बर पाया–
रमता रामदेव रूणीचे आया ॥ ३ ॥
काढ़ खड़क रावल माल कोपियौ, हर थाली में बाग लगाया–
रमता रामदेव रूणीचे आया ॥ ४ ॥
घर धारू रे जम्मो जगायो, रूपादे ने बुलाया–
रमता रामदेव रूणीचे आया ॥ ५ ॥
दोठी थाली माले परचो पायो, फूलों का बाग लगाया–
रमता रामदेव रूणीचे आया ॥ ६ ॥
जल में जहाज बापतो सुमरे, जल में डूबती जहाज तराई–
रमता रामदेव रूणीचे आया ॥ ७ ॥
राछस मार धणी भूमि बसाई, पग से सिला धराई–
रमता रामदेव रूणीचे आया ॥ ८ ॥
हर शरणे भाटी हरजी बोले, बाने रा बिरद बधाया–
रमता रामदेव रूणीचे आया ॥ ९ ॥

(In the course of his wanderings Ramdevji arrived at Runicha. When he became *Pir* (prophet) he was known throughout the world. This distinction he, however, attained at Pokaran. His mother Mainade congratulated herself when he was born, as she knew that God himself had taken birth from her womb. On his birth she adorned him with pearls. His father Ajmalji had got him as his son as a result of the benediction conferred on him by Lord Krishna of Dwarika. The Rawal Mal was in rage and he drew out his sword against Ramdevji but Ramdevji remained calm and quiet and created a miracle by growing garden in a plate. Jambhaji, the founder of the Bishnoi sect came to Runicha and summoned Ramdevji to meet him. He was also astonished at the miracles wrought by Ramdevji. A Bania while performing journey over the sea was caught in a storm and was being drowned but in the moment of despair he remembered Ramdevji who hurried to assist him and rescued the ship from disaster. Ramdevji freed the land of ravages made by a monster and sent him away to the *patal lok* (nether world) and put a stone slab over the mouth of his cave. Harji

Bhati, devotee of Ramdevji, sings that the lord performed miracles out of his great mercy for the poor and the vanquished.)

177. The Bhils worship Pabuji Rathore regarding whom also a number of legends are current. He is considered as a hero and demi-god by his followers. His main place is in Kolhan, a village on Jodhpur-Phalodi bus route at a distance of sixteen miles from Phalodi. Bhils go there to offer worship. There is a place in the village on the north-eastern side at the extreme end of the *abadi* which is dedicated to Pabuji. At the time of worship Bhils sing songs in the praise of Pabuji to the accompaniment of the music produced by beating an earthen pot which is covered with skin at its mouth.

Fairs and Festivals and Dances

178. The village people celebrate the festivals, common to the Hindus elsewhere. The more important ones are:—

Name of festival	When held
Holi	*Phalgun* (March)
Gangor	*Chaitra* (April)
Akshaya Tritiya	*Vaisakh* (May)
Teej and Raksha Bandhan	*Shrawan* (July-August)
Janmashthami	*Bhadon* (August-September)
Navratra & Dashera	*Aswin* (September-October)
Deepmalika	*Kartik* (October-November)
Shivratri	*Phalgun* (March)

Holi is an occasion when the entire village is in hilarious mood for almost a fortnight. People go about singing songs some of which are obscene. They throw water and dust or coloured powder on each other and feel very happy and gay. The climax is reached on the 3rd or the 4th day following Holi. Men and women go round the village and recreate themselves by dancing *ghair* dance. It is a lively dance with a fast tempo and symbolises the gaiety which belongs to Rajasthan and captures everybody on Holi. In Malar on this occasion men wear white *angarkhas* and *dhotis* and coloured turbans which are further decorated by *turras* (crests). Women wear *ghagra* and *odhni*. The skirt finishes well above the ankles. The accessories are heavy silver ornaments, the emphasis being on the numerous anklets. The dance is performed with coloured sticks called *dandias* having tiny bells and trinkets. The movement of hands with *dandias* adds a musical and delightful note to the melody of the kettle-drums called *nagaras*. The women wave flashing scarfs which make the dance strangely fascinating adding colour to the *gulal* (coloured powder) which the spectators throw about. This dance has its origin in the *Raslila* of Radha and Krishna extolled in the celebrated Bhagwat Purana.

179. Strikingly in contrast with the *ghair* dance is *ghumar* the popular folk-dance of Rajasthan which is exclusively for women. In this dance dancers go round and round in circles sometimes two of them holding the hands of each other at other times singly, with a rhythmic movement to the harmony of *dhol* (drum) and *manjira* (cymbals), the only instrumental accompaniments. The beauty, splendour and grace of this dance is enhanced by the gorgeous *ghagra*. It is a full length skirt reaching below the ankles and has a lot of gathers at the waist. When dancers go round in slow rhythm in circle after circle, the skirt blows up revealing the exquisite ornaments worn on the ankles–the *payal* and *jhanjhar*-which make sweet and tinkling music. The dresses are of a bright and gay colour. This dance is dedicated to the goddess Parwati or Gauri as she is called in Rajasthan and is danced on the occasion of Gangor, Teej and also on the happy occasions of birth and marriage. It is accompanied by a number of songs one of which runs as follows:—

म्हारी घूमर छै निखराली ए मां, घुमेर रमबा म्हे जास्यां।
म्हारी सात सहेल्यां रो झुमको ए मां, घुमेर रमबा म्हे जास्यां।
म्हाने रमता ने लाडूड़ा लाघ्या ए मां, घुमेर रमबा म्हे जास्यां।
म्हारी रणक झणक पायल बाजे ए मां, घुमेर रमबा म्हे जास्यां।
म्हारा आलीजा री बोली प्यारी लागे ए मां, घुमेर रमबा म्हे जास्यां।
म्हारा आलीजा री बोली मोत्यां तोली ए मां, घुमेर रमबा म्हे जास्यां।

(The girl asks for permission of her mother to take part in the *ghumar* dance, which she says is most beautiful and delightful. She would go there not alone but accompanied by her seven girl friends. While dancing in *ghumar* she feels as great a pleasure as in taking sweets. The *payal* in her feet produces a lovely sound. She is enamoured of the amorous talk of her beloved which she considers more valuable than pearls and diamonds).

180. Almost a month after Gangor comes the festival of Akha Teej or Akshaya Tritiya. At this time the produce of the *rabi* harvest wherever it is sown is available in the villages. No *rabi* is, however, sown in Malar. Mirthful mood of the Holi festival continues. Special dish is prepared on Akshaya Tritiya by thrashing the whole wheat in a mortar with wooden pestle. After the husk is removed the grain is boiled with milk and sugar and thus a pudding is made. With the addition of fresh ghee it forms a very delicious and nutritious preparation. The occasion of Akshaya Tritiya is considered very auspicious and most of the marriages in the village are celebrated on this day. In *Shravan*, Teej is celebrated by the women-folk. On this occasion they offer worship to a clay idol of Durga with a twig of the Neem tree and sing songs which are intensely musical and appropriate for the rainy season. At the end of this month on the Poornima day Raksha Bandhan is celebrated when sisters tie *Rakhi* to the hands of their brothers wishing them all prosperity in life and reminding them of the privilege whereby the sisters can always claim the protection of their brothers. Janmashthami which falls in the month of *Bhadon* is observed by keeping a fast and by offering worship in the temple of Murli Manoharji. The Pushkarnas of Malar have a very close relationship with those of Phalodi. The latter, therefore, participate in their festivals specially during the rainy season when the climate of Malar becomes very pleasant and attractive. Other people from Phalodi and the neighbouring villages also visit the place during that season and enjoy picnics. Apart from this, however, there is no tourism in Malar.

181. In the first half of the month of *Aswin*, *Shradh paksh* is observed. During the fortnight people make offerings of food to their *Pitras*, the spirits of their dead ancestors, who are supposed to partake of the preparations that are offered to them by feeding crows, kites and eagles.

182. In the next half of the month falls the Navaratra. During these nine days worship is offered to *Navgraha* (9 planets) and goddess Durga. On the ninth day, most of the Pushkarnas go to Phalodi to offer prayers in the temple of Phalvardhika Devi. *Hawan* and *Kirtan* are also performed there on this occasion.

183. Deepmalika falls in the middle of *Kartik*. On this day all communities in the village cleanse their houses and offer worship to the goddess Lakshmi. They light their houses in the evening with rows of tiny earthen lamps. The women sing songs on this occasion one of which is given below:—

सोना रो म्हे दिवलो घड़ास्यां रेसम बाट बटास्यां जी।
चार बाट रो चौमुख दिवलो, घी सूं म्हे पुरवास्यां जी।
चांदी रे थाल मेल म्हारो दिवलो, रंग महल ले जास्यां जी।
मिहीं मिहीं बाट सुरंग म्हारो दिवलो, रंग महल जगवास्यां जी।

(We will get a *deepak* constructed of gold and put wicks of silk in it. The *deepak* will have four mouths and four wicks. We shall fill it with ghee and place it on a plate of silver and then take it to our *Rangmahal.* The fine wicks of the *deepak* will shed their brilliant light in the *Rangmahal* all the night over.)

Inter-relationship of Communities

184. The various communities inhabiting the village at present are living in perfect amity. There are no tensions among them. The place of prominence is naturally occupied by the Pushkarna community who are considered as *guru* (teacher) by the rest. The Darzi, the Nai, the Suthar and the Sewak are all serving classes and depend for their livelihood on the Pushkarna community. The Bhils and the Baoris have also very happy relations with them. They are invited by the Pushkarnas on ceremonial occasions and festivals. The Bhils, of course, keep themselves a little aloof from the other communities and do not mix with them as freely as others do. It, however, goes without saying that by virtue of their numerical strength, social and economic status and high caste position the Pushkarnas exercise great influence in the political sphere also, as is evidenced by their representation in the Village Panchayat.

Panchayat

185. Democratic Decentralisation of administration had its beginning in the village on the 2nd October, 1959. The village is, however, included in the Shadow Block which has got only the Block Development Officer, and two Extension Officers. The Village Level Worker is at present under training. The activities of the Block are confined to the working of the Village Panchayat. The influence of the Village Panchayat, then constituted, is being gradually augmented. Malar is represented in the Panchayat by one Sarpanch and two other Pushkarna Brahmins. The Sarpanch is a public-spirited man who is devoted to the welfare of all the villages which are served by the Village Panchayat. He is keenly interested in all activities relating to the betterment of the village.

186. The Panchayat is making a steady progress. At the moment all its efforts are directed towards supplementing the supply of water during times of scarcity. This is a standing problem of the village defying all attempts at finding a permanent remedy. There is a scheme for boring a tube-well. The proposal has, however, not yet taken any definite shape.

187. The Panchayat is interested in the growth of education. Through the efforts of the Panchayat the village Primary School has been raised to the status of Middle School.

188. A *Panchayatghar* is in the course of construction for which the Village Panchayat has made a contribution of Rs. 5,000/-. The village people will contribute as their share a similar amount in the form of labour and material.

189. Unfortunately party-politics is the bane of modern civilised life and it has been presenting an obstacle in the progress of Malar also. The ex-Sarpanch of the village is at loggerheads with the present Sarpanch notwithstanding the fact that both of them are close relatives. When there was a proposal to convert the village Primary School into a Middle School the ex-Sarpanch adopted a very obstructive attitude and it was after a lot of trouble that the proposal went through. A probe into the matter reveals that the unhelpful attitude of the ex-Sarpanch is based on personal rivalry. He is envious of the influence and the great popularity which the present Sarpanch enjoys in the village and the neighbouring area. The present Sarpanch is, however, a generous and broad minded person and has devoted himself to the progress of the villages in his charge and is straining every nerve to improve the social, economic and cultural life of Malar unmindful of the obstructions that he may have to face.

Caste Panchayat

190. The Caste Panchayat of Pushkarnas used to exercise tremendous authority in social affairs of the community in the by-gone days.

This influence, however, is now on the wane. With the growth of education and changing social, economic and political conditions the Caste Panchayat no longer holds its former sway. The venue of this Panchayat is a place known as *Kallon-ki-Chowki* at Phalodi. In matters of grave importance relating to the caste the Panchayat still holds its jurisdiction which is exercised with caution. Whenever a person is charged with any breach of caste regulations the matter is referred to the Panchayat and if the accused is found guilty the Panchayat inflicts suitable punishment on him. The offender is asked to go to a holy place or to have ablutions in the Ganges or to feed cows with fodder or pigeons with *Jwar* of such value as the Panchayat may determine according to the circumstances of each case. If the offence is considered to be more serious the person is ordered to refrain from taking part in a specified number of community feasts. He may even suffer a social boycott for a fixed period and his re-entry into the caste may be made contingent on giving a community feast.

191. The Bhils and the Bhambis have also got Caste Panchayats of their own communities which work on the lines similar to those of the Pushkarna Panchayat. The rigour in the working of these Panchayats seems to be as strong as ever. The Panchayat of Bhils comprises some 20 villages situated in Phalodi Tehsil. The Panchayat of Bhambis has 12 villages under it and the venue of their meeting is Ramdevra, the holy place dedicated to their god Ramdevji.

192. These Caste Panchayats have no relation with the statutory Village Panchayat. Their jurisdictions do not overlap and hence there has been no instance of any conflict between the Village Panchayat and the Caste Panchayats.

Voluntary Organisation

193. Apart from the *Navyuwak Mangal Dal* a reference to which has been made previously in a preceding Chapter, there is no voluntary organisation, club or library in the village.

Social Reforms

194. The people of Malar are conservative in their outlook so far as the problems relating to family planning, regulation of dowry and removal of untouchability are concerned. Very few persons attend the meetings that are organised to explain matters of family planning. They consider it as an uncalled for intrusion by the authorities in their social and family life and they do not at all consider that any restriction on the birth of children is called for. The village people have, however, no objection to the activities undertaken in pursuance of the anti-malaria campaign. The B.C.G. parties do not appear to have visited the place.

195. In regard to dowry they have got the same old views as were prevalent generations ago. Most of them are unaware of the reform measures that have been enacted in this behalf.

196. Untouchability also continues. The Pushkarna Brahmins do not take food at the hands of members of other communities. The Harijan member of the Village Panchayat suffers from inferiority complex. He sits apart from other members at a notable distance when the meetings of the Panchayat are held. There is, however, a growing tendency towards reform. Under the influence of the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi people of the village are becoming more humane and they no longer look down upon the members of the Scheduled Castes viz. the Bhambis and the Baoris, as they formerly used to do. The children of the Scheduled Castes are allowed admission in the local school without any trouble.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

197. From the account of social and economic life led by the people of Malar given in the foregoing pages, life there may appear to be quite beautiful and romantic. Ceremonies of birth, marriage and death, picturesque rites on feast days and occasions of festivals, local dances, accompanied by singing of melodious songs, the habit of adorning doors and walls of houses with drawings, all these things create an impression that the life of the village is attractive and happy.

198. One can not, however, overlook the dreary conditions in which the simple life of the village is carried on. Life in desert area is so hard that it can better be imagined than described. The apprehension of failure of rains always looms large on the horizon and a tinge of pessimism is, therefore, markedly present in the outlook of the inhabitants of this part of the country. Complete lack of irrigation facilities, primitive and indifferent methods of cultivation, back-breaking hard work during all the seasons, lack of working animals, and dearth of adequate agricultural equipments, ravages on fields by birds and wild animals, the danger of snakes and scorpions, poverty and punery, near starvation during the years of scarcity and times of unemployment in the lower strata of society, frequent failure of crops, lack of knowledge, punishment for breaches of caste laws imposed by communal panchayats, frequency of death in child-birth and infancy, epidemics of small pox and cholera, superstitions, fear of evil eye and such other things characterise the village life. The only redeeming feature is that the members of the Pushkarna community of Malar who carry on business at Bombay have their feet firmly fixed in the soil of their native village. Their attachment to the place of birth is quite strong and they consider it their duty to do whatever lies in their power for its betterment. The circumstances in which the Pushkarna women lead their life there from day to day in a place devoid of natural scenery and even the ordinary comforts of life available at places more favoured by nature, and living apart from their husbands who are away to earn their livelihood at Bombay are simply pathetic. Every morning a stream of women may be seen going from the village to the *Ram Nada* tank to fetch water for drinking and domestic purposes. This has to be accomplished before ten o' clock in the forenoon after which the sun becomes so hot that it is not possible to move out. And when due to the failure of rains the water in the tank dries up their plight is simply indescribable. Old women even of 50 or 60 are also seen with a pitcher on head and stick in hand, plodding their weary way to the Jod *bund* and spending a greater part of the day in procuring water for their use. Notwithstanding the step-motherly treatment afforded by nature, women of these regions have tried to fill up the vacuum by giving vent to their feelings and emotions in the form of songs and dances during festivals and ceremonies. After the day's hard labour having been accomplished, for more than half the part of the day they confine themselves within the four-walls of their houses and the only recreation in which they can feel delight is by having resort to folk songs which have been handed down from generation to generation. These are their treasure which are mostly sung without accompaniment of any musical instrument. These songs are unfettered by conventions and do not form monopoly of any single individual. They depict the civilization and culture of the people in a realistic manner.

199. The soil of Malar is fertile and if irrigation facilities are provided a buxom *rabi* crop can be raised.

200. The situation of the village at a distance of six miles from Phalodi, a big town, has its own repercussions on the life of Malar. The people of Phalodi take friendly interest in the

welfare of the village.Malar being inhabited mostly by the Pushkarnas, members of their community visit the place on all ceremonial occasions. People of Malar reciprocate these visits and also go frequently to the town to get all things of necessity. They can not, however, find permanent avenues of employment in Phalodi where opportunities are limited. They are forced to go and settle down at more distant places where they can earn their livelihood. Those who have gone to Bombay and have got property there are inclined to live there permanently along with their families. But life for those who do not possess residential accommodation in Bombay is very hard indeed and it is becoming increasingly difficult for them to continue there. They want to settle down at places which are free from the complications of modern life. The result is a gradual shifting away of households from Malar, and the day may not be far off when this place may present quite a desolate appearance, signs of which have already begun. The only solution of the problem which is leading Malar to denudation of population appears to lie in exploring possibilities for boring wells the water of which can be utilised for drinking and irrigation purposes. If efforts are made in this direction and improved methods of agriculture are introduced, co-operative movement gets a fillip, better conditions of life may be created which may afford an incentive to the people to stick on to the village. Greater facilities of education are also required for boys and particularly for girls.

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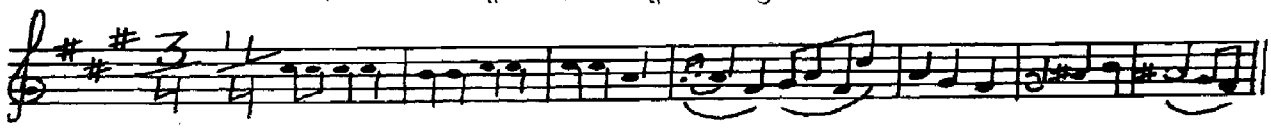
MUSIC OF VILLAGE MALAR

Staff notations of tunes for some traditional songs rendered on flute by Shri Sri Narain compiler of this office are presented below :

ओ राजा सार रमंता पीव के पासा दूर धरो बे हां । *(Page 14)*



उड़द दलन्ती धरण मूंग दले, जाँ में मूगों रो कासुरणओ भेल्यो । *(Page 18)*



बनो म्हारो हसती लावेजी, हसत्यां रे हलके पधारे जी । *(Page 19)*



पहले फेरे, पहले फेरे बाई भाबोसारी बेटी । *(Page 21)*



मोत्यांरा लूंबक झूमका, किसतूरी हो राजा बंदनमाल । *(Page 23)*



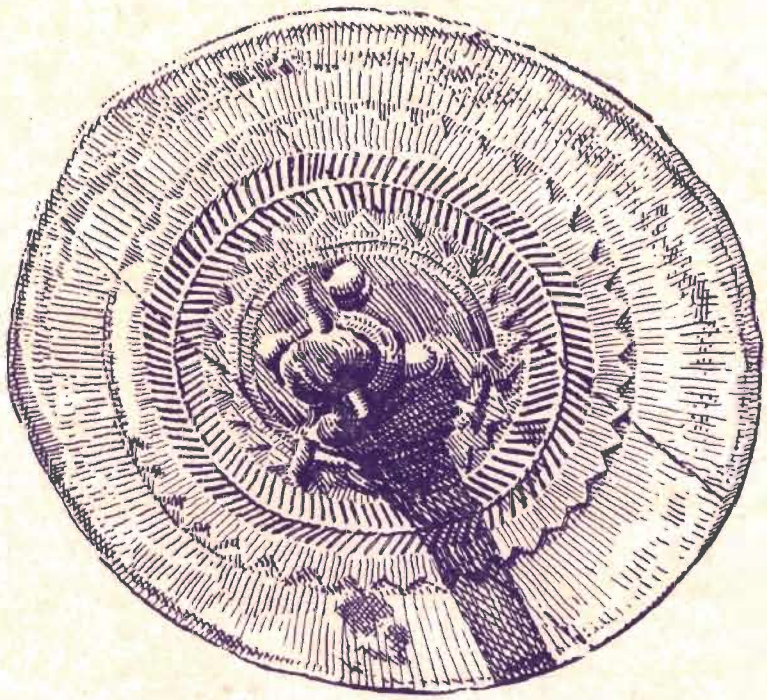
सत्यमेव जयते

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

RAJASTHAN

Khajoora

A VILLAGE SURVEY



PRG. 171 A 2 (N)
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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME XIV

RAJASTHAN

PART VI - A

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

2. KHAJOORA

Field Investigation and First Draft by
SHAMSHER SINGH

Supervision and Final Draft by
G. R. GUPTA

Editor
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1964

PREFACE

Bhils are the most ancient inhabitants of Rajasthan and now form the second largest membership of the Scheduled Tribes of the State. They continue to be a very backward community. Their social customs, language, music, in short, their entire way of life is, however, peculiar and provides interesting material to the students of Anthropology.

In this monograph an attempt has been made to study this community in its natural habitat at a village deep inside a tribal region of the State.

The study was made firstly by Sarvashri Shamsher Singh M. Sc. (Anth) and Baldevraj Gulati M. Sc. (Anth) jointly from 4th to 11th March, 1961 but later the work was carried on by the former alone from 29th March to 9th April, 1962 and 13th to 20th February, 1963. The work was supervised by Shri G. R. Gupta M. A., LL. B. Shri L. R. Pendharkar, who visited the village has made a number of fascinating drawings on the spot and Shri Sri Narain has rendered the music into staff notations. Dr. U. B. Mathur Deputy Superintendent, Census Operations has guided the work of providing appropriate illustrations to this monograph. I thank them all.

I extend my gratitude to Shri Asok Mitra, Registar General, India and Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, officer on special duty, for their guidance in this work.

I also thank Sarvashri Bhura Rat, Dhira Rat, Vagji Damor and Pitho of the village and the officials of the Block and the Tehsil for their assistance at the time of investigation.

"Chandra-Alok",
Bapunagar, Jaipur.
2nd October, 1964.

C. S. GUPTA
Superintendent of Census
Operations, Rajasthan.

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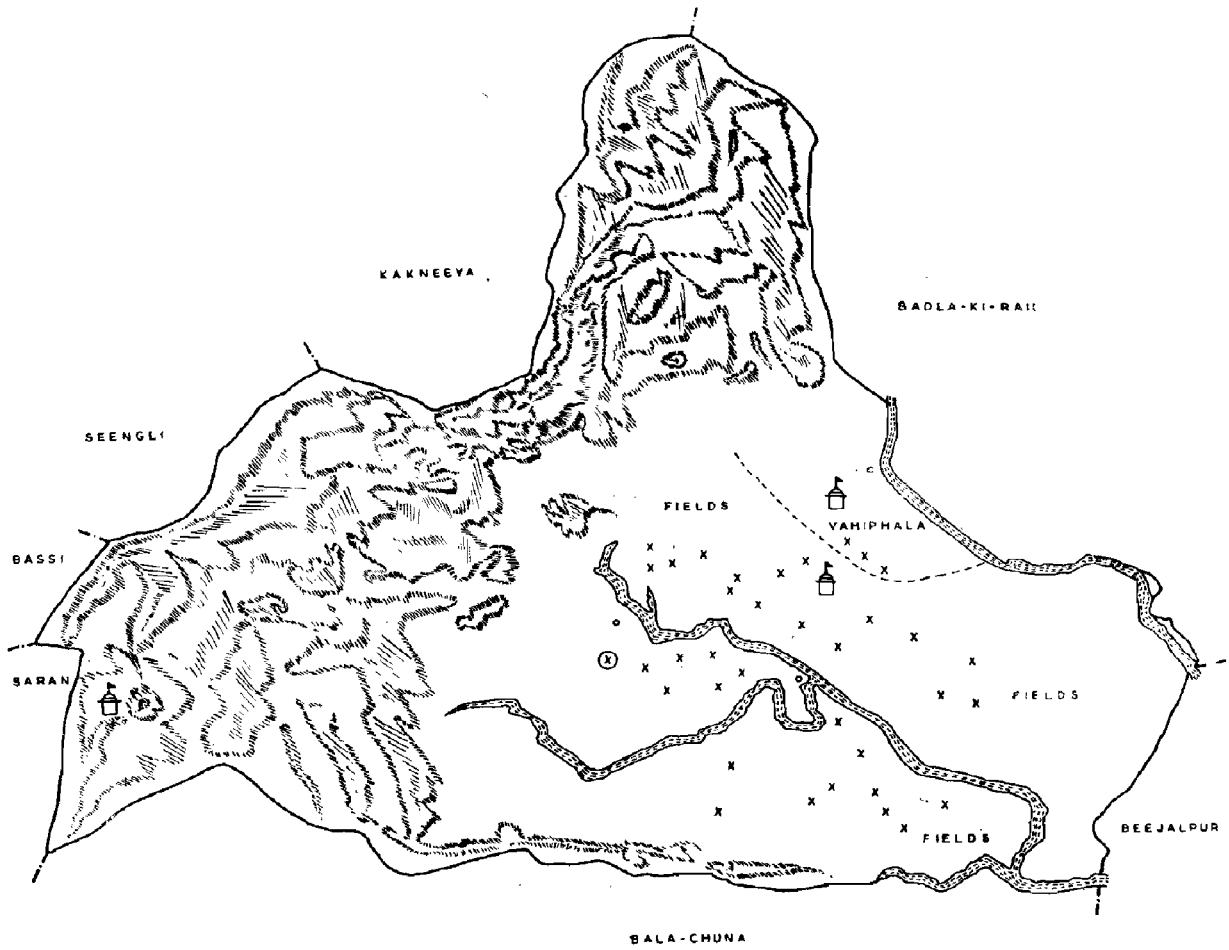
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VILLAGE KHAJOORA

TEHSIL KUSHALGARH

DISTRICT BANSWARA

VILLAGE KHAJOORA



REFERENCE :—

ABADI (HABITATION)	x
NALA (STREAMULET)	
WELL	o
HILLS	
GASA'S HOUSE	(K)
PLACE OF WORSHIP	
RASTA (PATH)	----

CENSUS 1961

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

KHAJOORA is a small village in district Banswara situated in the north-eastern side of Kushalgarh, the tehsil headquarters. It lies at a distance of 16 kilometres from Kushalgarh and 88 kilometres from Banswara, at 23°17′ north latitude and 74°29′ east longitude. It is bounded on the north and north-east by village Badla-ki-Rel, on the south-east by Beejalpur (the boundaries of Badla-ki-Rel and Beejalpur meeting on the mid-east of Khajoora), on the south by Balachuna, on the south-west by Saran and on the west by Bassi and Seengli and on the north-west by Kakneeya. The Panchayat headquarters and the Post Office are at Kotra at a distance of 6 kilometres from Khajoora. The block headquarters, the telegraph office, the dispensary, the Middle and the Higher Secondary Schools are all at Kushalgarh. The Police Station is at Patan, at a distance of 19 kilometres from Khajoora. There is a small grocer's shop at Kotra but the major business centre is Kushalgarh.

2. The village is situated on undulating hillocks covered on all sides by a dense forest. On the south western side of the village is the Kasumar Hill, the highest in the Banswara district, the top of which is at a height of 600 metres above the sea level.* The village has an area of 2,450.11 acres and contains two communities of Bhils and Gasa with the following population :

Communities	No. of households	Males	Females	Total
Bhil	34	100	101	201
Gasa	1	3	2	5
Total	35	103	102	206

The density of population is 53.92 persons per square mile. A number of streams pass through the village which are in spate during the rainy season when it becomes difficult to cross them. They, however, dry up when the rains are over. During the monsoon there is a thick growth of vegetation all round the village.

3. It was with a view to study the socio-economic conditions of the Bhils who inhabit this village and who happen to be one of the most important scheduled tribes of Rajasthan that the village was selected.

Climate

4. The climate of the place is extreme. In summer, the heat is scorching and in winter cold is intolerable. The average temperature during the summer is from 33°C to 42°C. During the rains it ranges from 27°C to 29°C and in winter 14°C to 21°C. In the rainy season it rains heavily. The roads are blocked and the communication is at standstill. The average rainfall is about 94 cms. per annum. The following are the figures of rainfall from the year 1951 to 1960 :

Year	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Rainfall	58.9 cms.	125.7 cms.	108.8 cms.	174.2 cms.	107.7 cms.
Year	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
Rainfall	112.1 cms.	85.3 cms.	88.8 cms.	167.9 cms.	66.3 cms.

Flora and fauna

5. The following types of trees are found in the village :

Teak–*Tectona grandis*
Shisham–*D. sissoo*
Pipal–*Ficus religiosa*
Salar–*Boswellia thurifera*
Dhav–*Anogeissus pendula*
Bamboo–*Dandrocalamus strictus*
Mahua–*Bassia latifolia*

* Rajasthan Gazetteers. Vol. II-A 1908

Blackwood–*Dalbergia latifolia*
Ebony–*Dyspyros tomentosa*
Haldu–*Adina cordifolia*
Dhak–*Butea frondosa*
Timru–*Diaspyros melenorylon*
Aam–*Mangifera indica*
Semal, Jaman,
Bahera, Renjhawa,
Khejdi and Amli.

6. The following herbs and shrubs are noticeable in the village :

Gokhru—*Tribulus terristris*
Dudhi—*Euphorbia hirta*
Kubi—*Lucus aspera*
Tamat—*Nyctanthes arbortristis*
Kuba—*Spermacoce hispida*

Negur—*Vitex negundo*
Ratanjot—*Jatropha carcus*
Aak—*Calotropis prosera*
Katelia—*Flacourtia rementchi*

7. Besides ordinary small game including jungle fowl and spur fowl, the birds that are commonly found are dove, owl, parrot and woodpecker. Sambhar *(Cervus unicolor)* and Chital *(Cervus axis)* though not very common, are yet available in the surrounding forest. Black and ravine deer, Nilgai *(Boselaphus tagocamelus)*, wild pig, hyaena, are fairly common and four horned antelopes, wild dogs and hare, and wolves are also occasionally met with.

Residential pattern

8. The habitation of the village is not centered at one place but scattered adventitiously all over the area. This is the common feature of the Bhil villages in this part of the country. There is a common saying which throws light on this aspect of the mode of living of Bhils :

कई चारण री चाकरी, कई आरण री राख ।
कई भील रो गांवड़ो, कई सांठ्या री साख ।।

" Service of a Charan is of little consequence. So are the ashes of *aran* wood and a village inhabited by Bhils and the reliability of Santhia" A Charan's service is wholly dependent on the goodwill of his employer. It is very difficult to burn *aran* wood with the result that there are hardly any ashes. The Bhils are so scattered over the village that at times it becomes difficult to locate a house. A Santhia depends for his livelihood on the fancy of others so he cannot be trusted.

9. The habitations are scattered all over the fields. There are no well-defined lanes or by-lanes but *pagdandis* (narrow paths) leading from one *tapra* (house) to another. The village is divided into two parts, one the village proper and the other which is adjacent to it on the north-eastern side known as *Vahi phala*. The word *Vahi* in the local dialect denotes 'that' or 'there'. Kehro Rat, the younger brother of Damla Rat (son of the founder of the village Mokla Rat) first settled there. He separated from the latter due to some family dispute. Whenever the family members of Damla Rat desired to contact Kehro Rat they used to say :

वाही वाला भाई ने तेड़लो ।

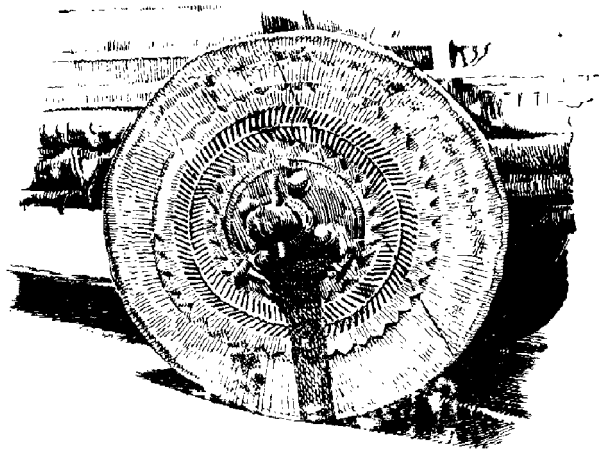
i. e . call the brother from that *phala*. It was thus, that the *phala* occupied by Kehro Rat came to be known as *Vahi phala*. The three Bhil families that are living there at present are the descendants of Kehro Rat .

Approach

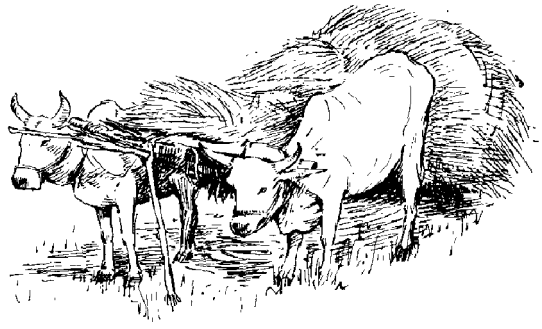
10. The village is approachable by a fair-weather road from Kushalgarh. The road was constructed three years ago by the Block authorities of Kushalgarh and is in a very poor condition. It passes through a dense forest which is very charming to the eye . The stone pebbles which were laid on both sides of the road have been crushed to a fine powder by the traffic of the bullock carts in which the villagers bring grass from the upper sides of the hill. This road has proved very beneficial to the village. Before it was constructed, the approach to the village was very difficult and no vehicle could be carried through. The nearest railway-station is Bamnia on the Delhi-Bombay line but there



A bullock-cart being drawn by six bullocks.



A solid wooden wheel.



The *Ghihri*.

is no road from Bamnia to Khajoora. It is, therefore, necessary to drop at Udaigarh railway station which is situated at a distance of 72 kilometres from Ratlam. Kushalgarh is at a distance of 32 kilometres from Udaigarh and a further distance of 16 kilometres has to be covered to arrive at Khajoora. Kushalgarh can also be reached from Banswara (district hqrs.) or from Dohad, a big business centre of Madhya Pradesh. No bus service plies between Khajoora and Kushalgarh. During the rainy season no vehicle can ply on this path which is negotiable on foot only. Many a time it happens that the road is completely blocked.

Communication

11. People generally go out on foot. They carry very little luggage and so locomotion is in no way difficult. Their sphere of movement is mostly confined within a radius of 32 kms which they can cover in one day and in case of emergency they can also make a return journey on the same day. They frequently go out for visiting their relations and friends. Occasionally ponies are also used as conveyance. Bullock carts are generally in use for transport of goods, but if luggage is not very bulky, donkeys are utilised for carrying it. Bullock carts are drawn ordinarily by four bullocks, and sometimes by six or even eight. It is necessary to engage more than two bullocks because heavy loads are required to be carried uphill which it is not possible to do with only two bullocks. In such cases four bullocks serve the purpose but where loads are heavier six or eight bullocks are requisitioned. The bullock carts are usually provided with solid wooden wheels. Travoises, called *ghihri*, are in common use for transporting grass and fuel. A travois consists of three wooden poles in the shape of a triangle with two of its sides, each some one and a half metres in length, extended by thirty cms. The extended sides rest on the ground and the apex of the travois is attached to the yoke which is drawn by two bullocks. The loads weighing from two to two and a half quintals are placed on the triangular device and easily transported from one place to another.

12. There is no fixed place for public meetings. People congregate under some big tree or under some one's spacious *dagla* (thatched verandah.).

Places of worship

13. There are three places of worship in the village. One on the south-western side of the village on the top of Kasumar hill where there is a rectangular platform under a cluster of small trees. On the right side of this platform there is a trident and a spear-head and on the left side only a trident which represent the emblems of god Kasumar. Terracotta figures, of horses and camels, of various sizes, musical rasps, small white flags, small wooden yokes, a wooden symbol of human foot and some other things are lying there as articles of worship. The second place is dedicated to Hovan Mata which is situated in the middle of the village under a Kadai *(Sterculia Urens)* tree. Here also a trident is stuck on the right hand side of the platform. The third place of worship is in the *Vahiphala* under a Haldu tree and is dedicated to Lal Mata. Here again there is a trident representing the goddess. The above mentioned deities are purely local ones. There are no counterparts of these in the hierarchy of gods worshipped by Hindus.

Cremation grounds

14. There is no fixed place demarcated for cremation in the village. Some barren land on the western side of the main *abadi* (habitation) area serves for this purpose.

15. There are no monuments in the village.

Water supply

16. In the middle of the village there is a small pond which serves for drinking and washing and for the cattle as well. Water is dirty and not fit for use without filtration. The villagers are, however, accustomed to drink it without the least hesitation. During the summer cattle make themselves comfortable in the pond and make it still dirtier. In the morning and evening women of the village and children of the age of 5–10 years bring water to their houses from this pond.

17. There are five wells in the village but the villagers prefer to have their supplies from the pond as they believe that the water from the wells causes the disease of guineaworm. The water

in the wells is available at the depth of about two metres. A wooden ladder is invariably fixed in the well. One can get down with its help in the well and take out water. A *dhankuli* (circular-wheel) is also fixed on each well with the help of which water can be drawn up easily. These wells were constructed some two or three years ago to provide additional source of drinking water but they are not sufficiently deep and do not contain enough water for irrigation. They, however, help in easing the shortage of water during the summer.

Public places

18. There is no welfare or administrative institution in the village, nor is there any market. The villagers have to go to the market at Kushalgarh for obtaining their requirements.

History of the village

19. Khajoora is situated in an area which is known as the *Ranga* area wherein there are thirteen villages all inhabited by Bhils. The Bhils were noted for their bravery and warlike activities and hence *Ranga* which seems to have its origin in the Sanskrit *Ranangan* meaning the battle-field correctly represents the characterstic feature of the area mainly inhabited by the Bhils. The other communities living with the Bhils are the Bhambis and the Gasas who make baskets. The whole area lies in a dense forest. It was first inhabited by Mokla Rat and his relations about a century ago. It was then notorious for thieves and dacoits. Mokla Rat came to Khajoora from the village Bori Gama of the former Banswara State. He was accompanied by his cousin, Partho Rat, who established himself in Badla-ki-Rel. The other persons who came with Mokla Rat were Deva Rat, Hajing Rat and Rahjing Rat of village Hamaria also of the former Banswara State. They settled in villages Kotra, Potliya and Talai Para respectively. These Bhils were of the Maida clan. *Rat* is a diminutive for *Rawat* meaning a headman. The rest of the villages came into existence afterwards. It was from Khajoora that the descendants of the headman Damla Rat and the descendants of other headmen of other villages moved out and established in the remaining villages.

20. Mokla Rat was succeeded by his son Damla Rat, who was the headman *(Tadvi)* or the Lambardar of the village and used to pay a lump sum of Rs. 100.00 as tribute to the Chief of Kushalgarh through the Tehsildar of Patan, as the village formed part of his jurisdiction at that time.

21. The village Khajoora derives its name from a number of *Khajoor* (date palm) trees which are said to have been in existence when the village was established. They are, however, no longer to be seen.

22. The first settlement was made in the time of Damla Rat in the year 1918 A. D. when the village was under a lease for ten years viz. from 1914 to 1924. When the settlement was made, rent was fixed varying from twenty five paise per acre to Rs. 1.25 per acre depending on the type of land under occupation, payable by the holder of each tenement. There were only nine households inhabiting the village at that time. Damla Rat was succeeded by Khema Rat and the latter by Bhura Rat, who is the present headman. Before the advent of Mokla Rat to Khajoora, another clan of the Bhils is said to have inhabited the *Vahiphala* of the village. There are remains of their houses scattered over the fields and also a tank which has now been gutted. How many persons of that clan were there in the village and when, where and why they went is not known.

23. Out of the thirty five households of Bhils seventeen are the descendants of Mokla Rat and are of Maida clan. Four households are of those persons whose great grand-father came with Mokla Rat from the village Rangia and all belong to Damor clan. Two households came here from the village Potliya about twenty to twenty five years ago due to economic reasons. One is of Bhagora clan and other is a Gasa of Maida clan. One household of Khadio clan came from *Navapada* of Lohariya village about twenty five years back. One household of Masar clan from Kotra is living here for about fifteen years. Two households of Masar clan came from Magardha village. Their father came here thirty years ago. Two households, one of Kharadi clan and another of Damor clan, came from Kakneeya about

thirty years back. One household came from Bhoora Kund twelve years ago. He is of Katara clan. Four households came from Bhojpur. Two households of these came twenty five years back and the rest about eight years ago. All these households came here due to economic reasons.

Origin of Bhils

24. The name Bhil by some is derived from the Dravidian word *Bil* for a bow, which is a characteristic weapon of the tribe and by others from the root of the Sanskrit word *Bhid* meaning "to pierce, shoot or kill," in consequence of their proficiency as archers.

25. There are numerous legends regarding the origin of Bhils. Some of them are to be found in Rajputana Gazetteers Vol. II (1908). According to one, Mahadeo sick and unhappy was reclining in a shady forest when there appeared before him a beautiful woman, the first sight of whom effected a complete cure of all his ailments. An intercourse between the god and the strange female was established. The union of the two resulted in a number of offsprings. One of these children was from his very infancy distinguished alike by his ugliness and mischief, slew his father's Nandi (bull) and for this offence was expelled to the woods and mountains. His descendants have been stigmatised with the names of Bhil and *Nishada*, which terms denote outcastes.

26. Another story is that the first Bhil was created by Mahadeo by breathing life into a doll of clay. In the Bhagawat Puran, however, it has been narrated that the tribe descended from a mythical Raja called Vena, the son of Anga, who ruled his people with great harshness. He compelled them to worship himself. Disgusted by his evil deeds the *Rishis* (sages) killed him by their incantations. There being no one to succeed him as a ruler, the country became greatly disturbed. To restore order, the *Rishis* begot two persons from the body of Vena. One was Prithu who came to be a good ruler and another was a dwarfish person who came to be known as *Nishada*. The latter is described as being crow-coloured, small limbed person with prominent cheek bones, flat nose and blood red eyes, whose descendants lived in the mountains and jungles.

27. In Adiparva of the Mahabharata, mention is made of a *Nishada* or Bhil, Ekalavya, who cut his thumb for the sake of pleasing his Guru Dronacharya. The Bhils do not make use of thumb in archery even to this day. The tribe has also been identified with the *poulindai* and *phyllitoe* of Ptolemy (150 A.D.) but the name by which they are at present known, cannot be traced far back in Sanskrit literature. The term *Bhilla* seems to occur for the first time about 600 A. D.

28. The following legend is current in the village regarding the origin of the Maida clan :

> Once upon a time the Thakur of a village named Dharna Kalan went ahunting and got stranded in the jungle. While searching for the way he came across a *tapra* (cottage) and asked a girl for water for quenching his thirst. After he was served with water he enquired of the girl as to which caste she belonged. She replied that she came from the Movi clan which was a low caste. The followers of the Thakur arrived there after sometime and when they learnt that the Thakur had drunk water at the *tapra* of the Movi low caste they outcasted him for the irregularity. The Thakur in his disappointment wandered about and came at a place crossing the river Mahi. His descendants were called Maida from the fact of his having waded the aforesaid river.
>
> माही उतरिया ते मइड़ा थेई ग्या ।
>
> "That he who has crossed the river Mahi has become Maida."

29. It appears that Aryans who came to India applied the term Bhil or *Nishada* to people who were found in various localities and opposed them strenuously. The latter were driven to forests and hills seeking protection from invasion of superior power.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENT

The Bhils

The Bhils of Banswara district are divided into a number of clans which are as follows :

1	Maida	2	Rana	3	Vaid	4	Neenama
5	Devda	6	Wadhari	7	Buj	8	Aari
9	Lambervada	10	Bargot	11	Khander	12	Pargi
13	Kharadi	14	Ada	15	Chauhan	16	Sarpota
17	Doki	18	Nihirta	19	Masar	20	Pagora
21	Bhumani	22	Dindoor	23	Armor	24	Bhabar
25	Sarel	26	Goda	27	Bhagora	28	Damor
29	Makhvano	30	Khadio	31	Bamnia	32	Khada
33	Kandor	34	Rathor	35	Moinia	36	Dodiar
37	Kalawa	38	Holki	39	Bharia or Bhuria	40	Denod
41	Manpuria	42	Hooar	43	Katara	44	Pandora
45	Solanki	46	Bad	47	Bagoda	48	Hingaz or Hinger
49	Mal	50	Daima	51	Gosain	52	Ganava
53	Baid	54	Girasia or Garhaia				

31. Many of these clans are further sub-divided into sub-clans. The bulk of population of Khajoora consists of Maida and Damor clans, sub-divisions of which are as follows :

Sub-clans of Maida

1	Dongot	2	Doodot	3	Jodia
4	Leelvai	5	Valot	6	Kamalia
7	Lemot	8	Karmot	9	Halot
10	Harot	11	Panwar	12	Kala

Sub-clans of Damor

1	Makot	2	Tamlot	3	Keekot
4	Mandavia	5	Roiyat	6	Dodia

32. The Bhils abound in the districts of Banswara, Dungarpur and Udaipur and take pride in calling themselves as Bhil Minas on account of the fact that they consider Minas to possess a higher status than that of the Bhils. But there is absolutely no connection between the Bhils and Minas and the designation of Bhils as Bhil Minas is a misnomer.

33. In Jhadol Tehsil of Udaipur district Bhils are known as *Palavies*. G. S. Ghurye in his book "The Scheduled Tribes (P. 232)" has made the following observations in regard to the Bhils of Mewar :

> "T. H. Handley describing the Mewar Bhils more than eighty years ago stated a fact about them which further afield and further down history has been true. And that is that generally they live in scattered hamlets each one consisting of a few huts which are not unusually even half a mile apart. According to S. C. Roy such a hamlet was called by them a *phala*. To us it appears that this word *phala* is the same as the Gujarati word *phalio* which means a section or a quarter of township. Thus *Nagarphalio* would mean the quarter of a township where the people of Nagar caste live in that town. According to Handley these scattered hamlets are grouped together and the unit-group of such hamlets is called *pal*. Roy has made it clear that a *pal* is a group of *phalas* or hamlets and has pointed out that it is

generally a group of betwcen ten to twelve *phalas*. The Bhils who have this organisation are known as *Palia* Bhils as against others more backward than they who are known as *Kalia* or black Bhils. It would be pointed out that the Bhil word *pal* for a group of hamlets cannot be utterly different from the Sanskrit word *palli* which is one of the words in that language for a village".

The Gasas

34. Along with the thirtyfour households of Bhils there is one household of Gasa consisting of three males and two females. In the village Khajoora the following observations made by Shri Ghurye in the book cited above are of interest :

> "Luard further gives the interesting information that at least three other castes are associated with the Bhils in their village organisation. Of these it is very interesting to note that the Balais and the Chamars are required, in the naive observation of the Bhils themselves, to do the Bhils village work, and the Gachas or sweepers evidently to clean it. It is further interesting to note that they look upon the Gachas as not only untouchables but as unapproachables because if a Gacha were to approach too near any food that is being cooked by the Bhils it is considered to be defiled. Needless to say that the Gachas are, or rather were, not allowed to draw water from the village wells of the Bhils. The Balais and the Chamars on the other hand can or could do so".

The Gasa of Khajoora, however, does not work as sweeper. He is considered as untouchable by the Bhils but not as unapproachable. He makes baskets and has a lower status than that of the Bhils.

35. The services of Chamar are performed by the Chamars residing in the neighbouring villages. Whenever an animal dies a word is sent to a person of the Chamar community who would undertake the skinning of the animal. He comes and does the skinning work. He is allowed to retain the hide as a remuneration for the work done by him. There is no Balai residing in this area.

36. The Gasas are classified into two groups :

(i) Mewaras and (ii) Rai

Mewara Gasas claim that they were originally inhabitants of Mewar, while Rai Gasas are said to have migrated to Rajasthan from Patan in Gujarat. In the Census Report of Marwar, 1891, the following six classes of Gasas have been mentiond :

1. Solanki	2. Panwar	3. Bhati
4. Sisodia	5. Parmar	6. Rathor

These are evidently the clans of Rajputs. The Gasas of Khajoora are of Maida clan which indicates the influence of Bhils on them.

Language

37. The villagers of Khajoora speak Wagadi. It is based on Gujarati but is intermediate between it and Rajasthani. It has been placed under non-Hindi section of the Central group of Aryan languages according to Grierson's classification.

House type

38. The houses in Khajoora are called *tapras*. Most of these *tapras* are situated at the foot of the hillocks on level ground. They have rectangular bases and gabled roofs. The walls are made of thick bamboo mats which are covered with mud plaster. The roofs are made of bamboo mats and are covered with earthen tiles. There are five wooden poles in each of the side walls of the *tapra*. The central pole is the highest and is called *mobri*. The two outer most poles are the smallest and called *nevri*. The two intermediate ones are called *gai*. On the central poles a long wooden beam is laid horizontally. Two beams are placed horizontally one on each of the intermediate and the outer-most poles. Wooden sticks are then placed on the three beams at right angles to them and fastened tightly. A net work of

split-up bamboos is placed on the wooden sticks in the direction of the beams, fastened securely and tiles are then placed over it. All the building material herein mentioned is available in the surrounding forest.

39. No particular ceremony is performed at the time of the construction of the house, nor any method of divination followed to ascertain the suitability of the site. A little jaggery or sugar-drops or pieces of copra are distributed amongst those assembled. Any day, except monday, is good enough for beginning the construction work. First of all *gai* i. e. middle pole of the side wall is fixed. Foundation of about thirty cms. is considered sufficient for a house. Vertical wooden poles on which the whole structure of the roof rests are stuck firmly and bamboo matting is placed around them which is covered with a mixture of cow-dung and mud. A door is also made of bamboo matting and fastened with the help of a *koel* (a loop of rope).

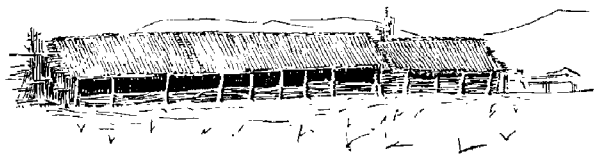
40. *Tapras* are mostly one room tenements which serve for living purposes and for cattle sheds as well. A *tapra* is usually 3.0 metres x 6.0 metres x 2.5 metres. It is divided into two parts either by erecting a small mud wall from one to one and a quarter metres high or by utilising big bamboo containers, covered by mud on the outer side, for partition. These containers are utilised for storing grain.

41. Outside the *tapras* a rectangular wooden platform which is called *dagla*, is constructed. It is used for storing fodder, and for sleeping during the summer. There is no separate kitchen in these huts. Meals are cooked on the hearth which is in one corner of the *tapra*. Sometimes horizontal wooden logs are fixed in the walls on the side where cattle are kept and by covering them with a bamboo matting a triangular shape compartment is made which is also termed as *dagla*. If more space is required a similar *dagla* is made outside the hut and it can be utilised for living purposes. No windows are provided but some gap is left between the roof and the walls which serves for ventilation. Outside the *tapra*, near the door or on the sides, is placed a wooden stand called *pandini* or *panni* on which pitchers containing water for drinking are kept. It is one and a half to two metres long and one to one and a quarter metres high and can accommodate five to six pitchers.

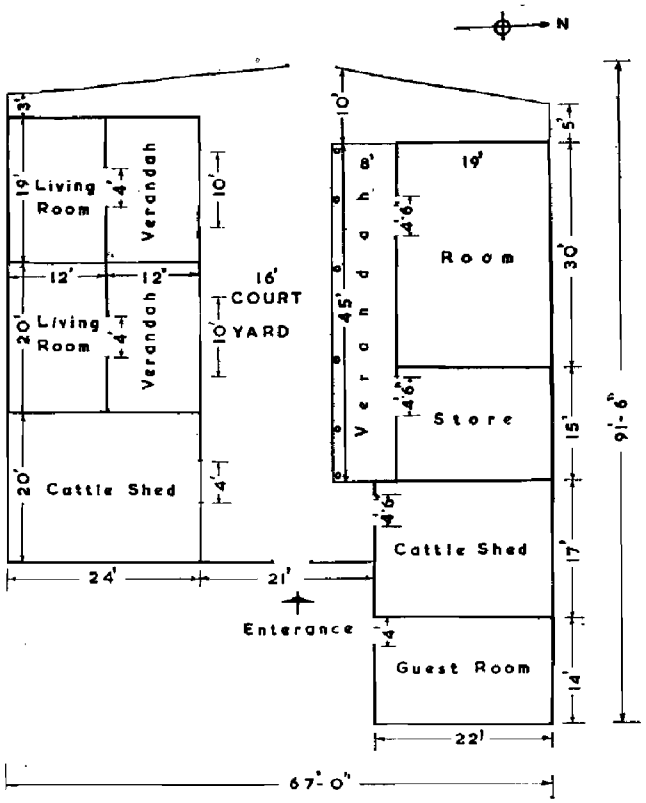
42. The following table gives the figures according to which the households of Khajoora can be divided into tenements on the basis of persons residing in them :

Number of rooms	Number of households	Number of persons				
		1	2–3	4–6	7–9	10 and more
One room	13	1	6	5	1	–
Two rooms	20	–	1	9	7	3
Three rooms	1	–	–	–	1	–
Four rooms	–	–	–	–	–	–
Five rooms	1	–	–	–	–	1
Total	35	1	7	14	9	4

43. In the construction of the *tapras* no masonry work is done and so the services of masons are not required. Services of a carpenter are, however, required at times and they are availed of from the neighbouring villages. The matter regarding his remuneration etc. will be dealt with later at proper place. The village people avail of the labour of their relations and neighbours in the construction of houses on reciprocal basis. The bamboo mats and earthen tiles in the houses are made by the Bhils themselves and the question of payment, therefore, does not arise. In the construction of the *tapras* the Bhils are not required to spend anything over labour as they do the work themselves or obtain assistance from the relatives and neighbours on reciprocal basis. It is only for the services of a carpenter whenever availed of and for the timber



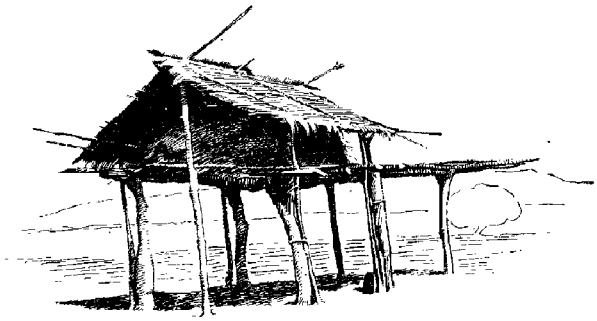
The *Tapras.*



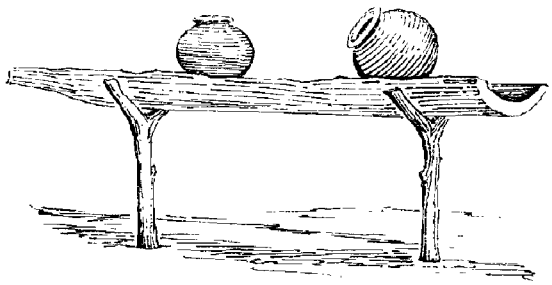
GROUND PLAN



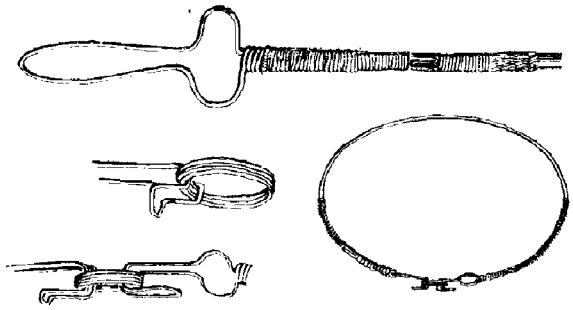
A side view of a *Tapra.*



A *Dagla.*



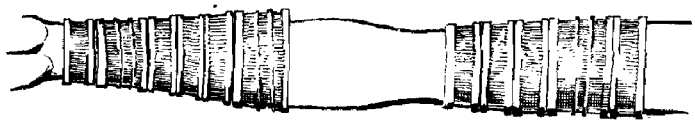
The *Pandini.*



The *Ahadi*. Mark details of the loop alongside.

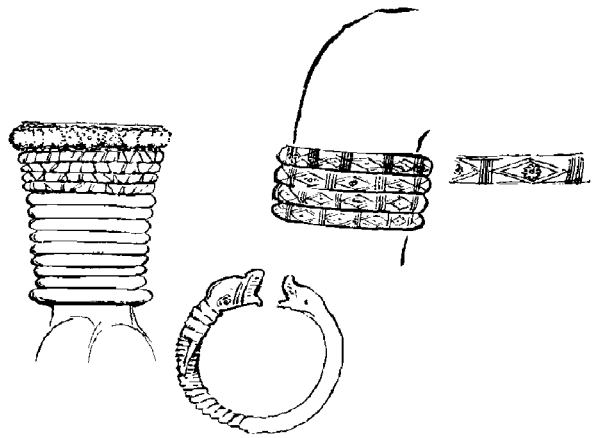


(A)



(B)

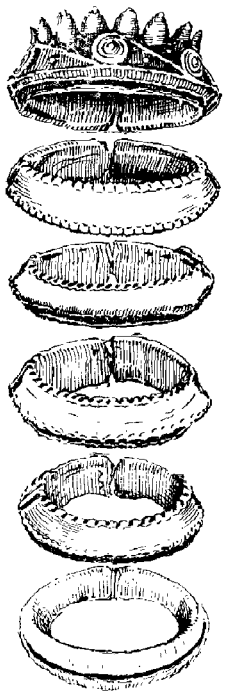
Coconut shell ornaments of arms.



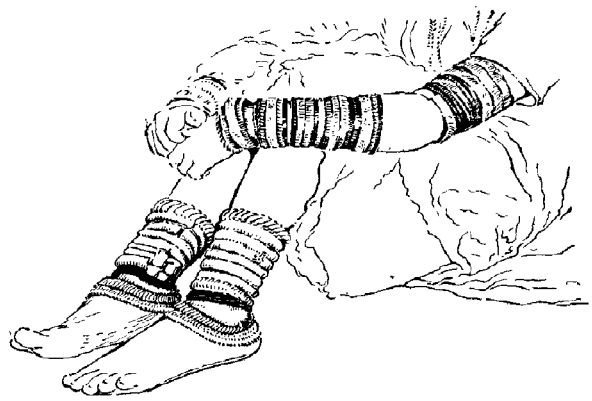
Aluminium ornaments of arms.



Ornaments of hands.



A set of anklets.



Ornaments of hands and feet. Mark the aluminium ornaments of feet.

which is obtained from the forest that the payment is required to be made. These two items hardly cost more than Rs. 50.00 for a *tapra*. The *tapras* are all more or less of a uniform type. Only the number of huts varies according to the number of inmates that are required to be provided with residential accomodation. In these circumstances it is difficult to assess the exact cost of a *tapra*. But on a rough estimate the value of a *tapra* does not exceed Rs. 300.00.

Dress

44. The villagers put on scanty dress. *Phento*, *potrio* and *angi* are the main items of male dress. The *phento* is generally white and is five and a half metres long and forty centimetres broad. It is tied on the head in a circular fashion making six rounds and then two times in a criss-cross way thus leaving the middle part of the head uncovered. *Potrio* is the loin cloth, four metres in length and ninety centimetres in breadth. It leaves legs below the knees uncovered. *Angi* is a shirt without collar. Shirts have also recently come in to vogue but are worn on festive occasions. The females wear *angi*, *kapri*, *ghagro* and *lugro*. *Angi* is a bodice with or without sleeves. *Kapri* (brassiere) is made of two pieces of cloth joined at the centre to cover the breasts and tied with strings at the back. It is made of printed cloth while *angi* is generally white. *Ghagro* is a skirt which is worn at the waist and its nether end is well above the ankles. Women tuck the lower part of the back of the skirt in the front between the legs. This allows a free movement of legs in brisk walk. *Lugro* is used to cover the head and body and is usually red or of chintz and 2.10 to 2.25 metres long and 1.20 to 1. 35 metres broad.

Hair dressing

45. Men do not wear their hair long. They keep small moustaches but beard is rarely to be seen. Normally they do not comb their hair nor do they part them in the middle of the head. The parting is done on the left side.

46. The females dress their hair rather elaborately. The hair in the front are combed towards the forehead and a sort of net work is made around the forehead touching the eye-brows. On the sides small plaits of hair are made which are tied to the main tuft. They part their hair at the centre and use coconut oil while combing.

Ornaments

47. The Bhil women are very fond of ornaments which are made of silver, nickel-silver, aluminium, brass and coconut shell. They decorate their head with a silver *boro* which rests at the parting of the hair in the middle of the forehead. It is held in position by thin cotton strings generally of black colour, which are tucked to the hair tuft on the back of the head. Some women put on a pair of chain ornaments made of silver called *jhelo*. Women get their ear lobes pierced. They put small twigs inside the holes. Gradually the thickness of the twigs is increased till the holes become sufficiently big to accommodate a wooden ornament *dhimna*. This has a diameter of one and a quarter to two and a half centimetres. The wooden *dhimna* is in course of time replaced by silver *dhimna* The upper rims of the ears are also pierced for wearing silver rings known as *oganio*. A small hole is made on the left side of the nose and a thin straw is put in it. When the wound is cured a silver ring *nathdi* is worn in it. The neck ornament which is in common use is the silver hansli locally known as *doiri ahadi*. It weighs from 120 gms. to 600 gms. Necklaces of coloured beads and glass bangles, specially of blue or green colour, are often put on by Bhil women. They wear bangles made of coconut shells on their forearms which are known as *muthia* The bangles are decorated by thin strips of silver. The *muthia* consists of a number of bangles which are worn on the forearms in an ascending order one *bangdi*, one *parochia*, two *dopatris* and one *dhyodia*. The set worn on the upper arm is known as *khanch*. It also consists of a *bangdi*, a *dopatri*, a *parochia*, and another *bangri*, in an ascending order as in Figure (A). Some of the women of more well-to-do families put on ornaments which contain more silver and are made o finer crafts-manship. In these sets the two *dopatris* of the

forearm are replaced by three silver *bangdis* and *dhyodia* by a *parochia*. In the *khanch* also *dopatris* are replaced by two *bangdis* as in Figure (B). Women of poor families and unmarried girls put on bangles made of aluminium. Widows put on bangles of silver or nickel-silver which are about seven and a half centimetres in breadth. They are known as *bahiyan*. In the fingers women wear rings or *bintis* and *bidi* (a joint ring for two fingers). On the back of the palm, a silver *hathphool* is worn. For decorating their legs women wear a set of anklets which consists of one *kada*, two *neories* followed by two or three *paijanias*, and lastly a serrated ring called *dantedar paijania* or *khokra*. Some wear another sort of set made of brass. It consists of one *kadi* which touches the ankle, above it four *patris* and lastly one *khokra*. Another type of leg ornaments is the aluminium set consisting of simple anklets, *sada kadas* or *langars* numbering upto three, one decorated *kada* carved with some designs, followed by a *sada kada*, after which a big anklet known as *bada kada* is worn. The *bada kada* has at times flattened ends. Some times aluminium *pajebs* are also used, but they have been introduced only recently.

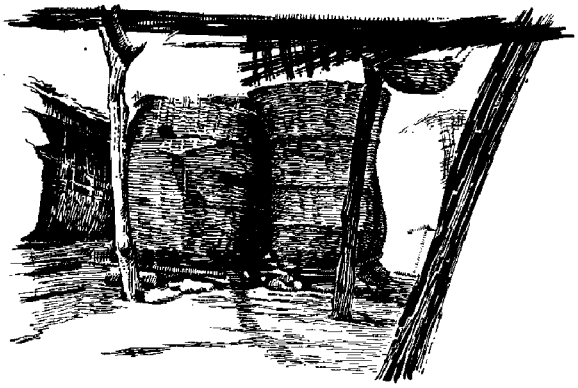
48. Males wear silver or gold rings called *murki* in their ear lobes, to which at times an ornament with three or four chains is attached. This is known as the *jhelo*. On the neck they put on *pathani ahadi* and *pahlo* or *kade* on the forearms. They also wear rings on their fingers. Some people put on silver buttons or *gontian* on their *angis* which are linked with each other with a chain having small pellets. On fingers they wear silver rings. Some Bhils put on a silver anklet on their right leg.

Tattooing

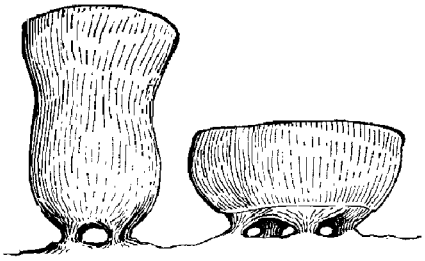
49. Both males and females are fond of tattooing. Males burn the skin of their fore-arms at three to sevn or even nine places with the help of cloth. The practice is resorted to by grown up boys when they are in teens while grazing the cattle. They form small circular burning marks which differ from person to person. Nor is the number of these marks fixed to any specification. It varies according to the whim of the person concerned. They believe that they also serve as a protection against the wrath of gods. Women get their faces tattooed. They get small dots tattooed on each cheek and two rows of dots on the chin. Sometimes the portion above the outer margin of the eye-brows is also tattooed with dots. The tattooing is done by professional tattooers at Kushalgarh or when the women go out to attend the fairs. It was observed during the fair at Baneshwar near Dungarpur that a Bania, a Brahmin and a Khatik were performing the work of tattooing. They seem to be experienced and proficient in this work. The remuneration of these tattooers varies from six paise to a rupee according to the amount of work to be done. So far there does not seem to be any aversion among the Bhils in regard to tattooing.

Household goods

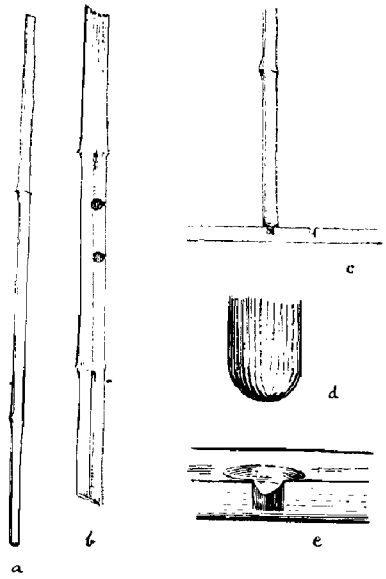
50. The villagers do not possess much household goods. Their possessions are few and can be counted on fingers. For furniture they have got only cots which are offered to the guests for sitting and used for sleeping at night. These are woven by bamboo strips or hemp strings. They also possess a number of baskets of varying sizes. In the smaller ones they keep grain for grinding, or use them for carrying cow dung. Bigger ones are used for storing grain. The baskets are plastered from outside with a mixture of mud and cow-dung. A cover is provided at the top. The body of the basket rests on four small earthen stands and an opening is provided at the lower end for taking out grain. The big bamboo baskets are called *karahio*. There is yet another type of container called *oridge* which is one and a quarter metres high and is provided with four stands, one at each of the corners. The opening for taking out the grain in the *oridge* is provided at the top. The handmill called *ghatti* is also placed over it. Thus these containers serve three purposes : one of storing the grain and the other as a place for keeping the handmill and the third for sitting to grind the corn. There are one or two boxes of tin for keeping clothes and ornaments etc. Both earthen pots and metal utensils are used for cooking. A few utensils or brass bowls may also be there. Water is stored in earthen pots. Occasionally one can find a few cups and saucers of porcelain also, which are used only for guests. A



The *Karahios*.

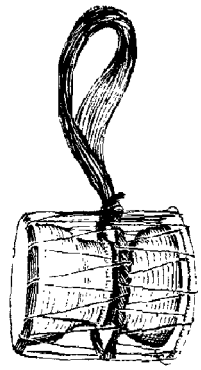


The *Oridge* along with a mud plastered *Karahio*.

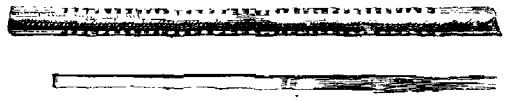


The fire-drill

(a) *Doio*
(b) *Agiyaro*
(c) *Agiyaro* fitted in *Doio*
(d) Pit of *Doio*
(e) A view of the pit



The hand drum.



The rasp called *Cagrach*.



The Jingle sticks.

wooden plate known *as kasavat* is used for kneading the flour. Occasionally it may be of stone. Aluminium kettle called *tapilo* is used for cooking rice. An earhen pan called *kailrhu* is used for preparing loaves of bread. Gourd containers are used for storing water. A pestle generally made of kheria wood, about a metre long, is used for grinding spices. The mortar is a stone having a small cavity and is called *uglo.*

51. Fire is always kept alive, buried under ashes, in every Bhil family. At times of necessity, however, fire is produced by a fire-drill if no match box is available. The hearth consists of a piece of bamboo called *agiyaro* which has a small pit. In this pit the drill stick called *doio* fits in exactly. There is a notch in the pit and below it are placed dry leaves which serve as tinder. The *agiyaro* is pressed on both the ends with the help of both feet and the hands are placed at the upper end of the *doio* which is held between the two palms. The *doio* is twirled between the hands briskly. The friction results in fire within a minute or two.

Food and drink

52. The staple food of the villagers is maize, although kodra *(Papalum serbicultaum),* koori *(Panicum miliaceum)* and batti *(Panicicum gusglli)* which are local grains are also in use. Rice which is called *sokha* in the local dialect is taken only on festive occasions. Wheat is also rarely used for domestic purposes but usually for entertaining guests. The villagers prepare large chapatis and *panya* (sort of *bati*) from the flour of maize or millets. *Rabdi* is a common preparation which is made by boiling flour in butter milk. Pulse of gram and *urad* (black kly) and green vegetables, when avaliable, are also taken. Leaves of gram plant, *sana-no-sag*, is frequently used. Spices are added when available, otherwise only salt is considered to be sufficient. It is, however, the *rabdi* which is mostly eaten. The inhabitants of the village are non-vegetarians. They eat mutton, flesh of hare, deer or other animals and birds such as partridge, sand grouse etc. which they may catch in the forest. They, however, abstain from beef and venerate the cow.

53. Food is taken thrice a day. In the morning they eat the food prepared the previous evening. In the evening loaves are prepared. The villagers are very fond of tea and take it very strong. Cow's or goat's milk is mixed with tea and when sugar is not available, they use jaggery. It is offered as an article of entertainment to guests. Their economic position, however, makes it difficult for them to take tea regularly.

Stimulants and narcotics

54. All the males smoke tobacoo. Even children are fond of smoking. Some persons chew tobacco mixed with lime. Some of them mix *bhang (Cannabis sativa)* with tobacco. They are not addicted to opium at all. Liquor is, however, very common and a cheap means of entertainment. Liquor made of *mahua* flower is most liked by them. They distil it themselves clandestinely and drink in copious quantities. They have recourse to illicit distillation of liquor, as liquor available from the shops is dear. On all festive occasions and on arrival of guests liquor is abundantly used. Specially on the occasion of Holi they run wild under its influence. They say that it is necessary to take liquor to mitigate the hardships of daily life and to give strength to their tired bodies.

Musical instruments

55. The village people have very few musical instruments. The most popular musical instrument is the drum which is called *dhol.* It consists of a hollow cylindrical wooden piece covered on both sides with goat's skin. It is played with slender stick about thirty centimetres long, slightly curved, which is kept in the right hand and a thin bamboo strip in the left hand. Occasionally a person sits on the left side of the drummer and he too beats the drum with two long and thin bamboo chips along with the drummer, near the circumference. Pellet belt is also in use. A hand drum is used at the time of religious ceremonies.

56. Musical rasps consist of a split up bamboo on both sides of which some serrations are made. A bamboo strip splitted at many places lengthwise is moved horizontally over it. This produces a rasping sound and is known as

cagrach. It is used on religious occasions. Jingle sticks are used as musical accompaniment to the *gair* dance.

Weapons and traps

57. The Bhils of Khajoora have bows and arrows for their weapons. The stave of the bow is made of a thick bamboo strip. The string is also made of a bamboo strip which is slightly thicker at the ends. There are two notches at the end of the string. The string is attached to the stave with the help of sinews. A loop of the sinew is made and passed over the end of the string and it fixes up in the notches at both the ends of the stave.

58. The arrows are of two kinds. One is called *hario* and the other *robdo*. The *hario* is made of reed and at one end of it feathers are attached and at the other end an iron arrow head. The arrow heads are of various shapes and sizes. They may have the shape of a lance or spear or some other pointed object. They may further be barbed or unbarbed. They are decorated with various designs generally in black. These designs do not carry any magical significance. They are made only for the purpose of decoration. The *robdo* is made of a bamboo stick to which a bamboo arrow head is shafted The essential difference between the *hario* and the *robdo* is in the notch. In *hario* the notch is made by fixing two small bamboo pieces while in the *robdo* it is made by cutting a part of the butt end into the shape of a semicircle. The *hario* is used for killing big animals and during fights, while the *robdo* is used for killing small birds and for teaching archery to the young boys. There is nothing among Bhils which may be considered as ceremonial hunting. People go out for hunt occasionally and individually. As such it does not influence the village economy to any appreciable extent. No magico-religious ceremonies are performed by the people when they go out for hunting.

59. The bow is called *tori.* It is held in the left hand. The middle portion of the stave is held between the thumb and the index finger in a vertical position. The arrow is put to the string with its notch properly adjusted. The head is held towards the left hand and the shaft between the index and the middle finger. The right thumb is on the left side of the string and the grip is released.

60. Another weapon used by the the Bhils is the sword, which is of ordinary cutlass type, slightly convex on the side of the edge. Daggers are also common and are found in every house. Swords are used for killing animals and in fights. The daggers are utilised for splitting bamboos and chopping meat or vegetables.

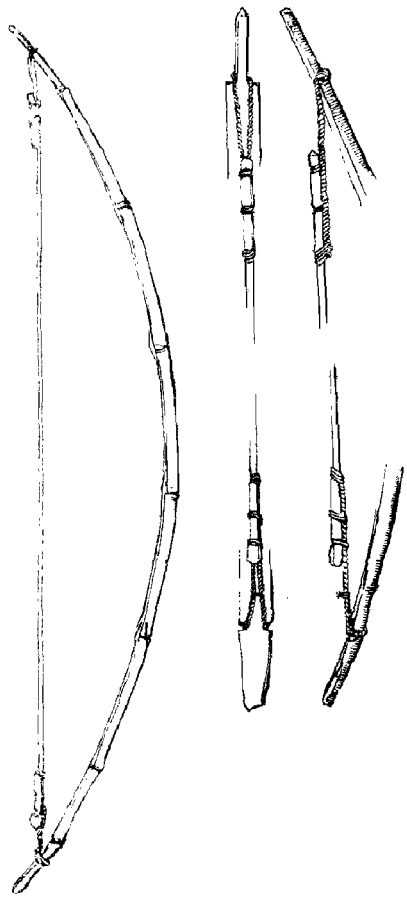
61. Muzzle loading guns are also in use. Almost fifty percent of the households are in possession of these indigenous weapons.

62. A trap known as *phatkia* is used for catching birds. It consists of two semi-circular strips one of which is made of horn and the other of bamboo. These are fastened to each other by a woolen string. In the middle of the string there is a small bamboo piece with a notch. Another small bamboo piece is fastened to it with a thread. The bamboo piece is fixed in the notch of the other bamboo piece by turning it over the bamboo arch. A grain of maize is fixed on it with the help of gum to serve as a bait. The contrivance is then placed in the open. When a bird is attracted and attempts to pick up the maize grain, the bamboo piece gets released from the notch and the neck of the bird is entrapped between the two arches. The bird gets entangled and is killed instantaneously.

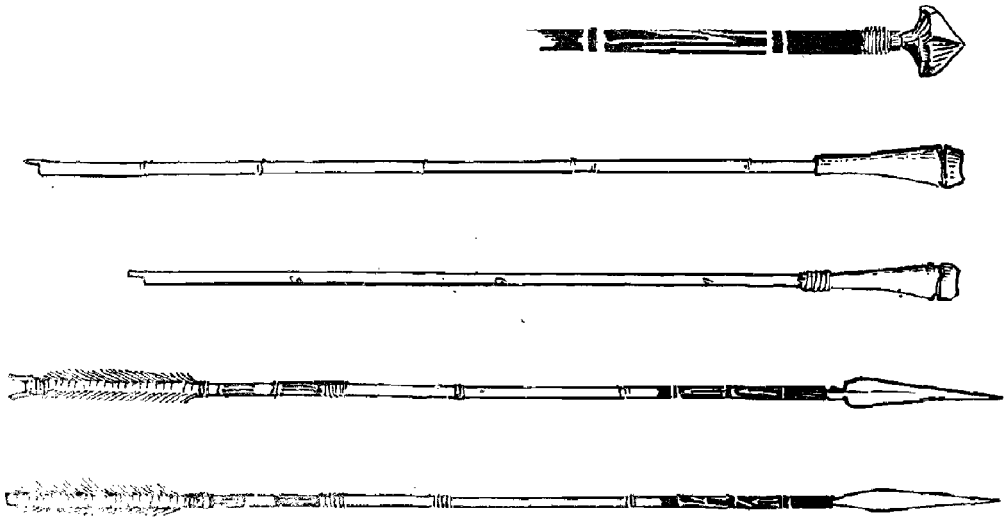
Life cycle

63. No ceremony is observed when a girl menstruates for the first time nor is she kept apart from other members of the family. She is allowed to do all the household work.

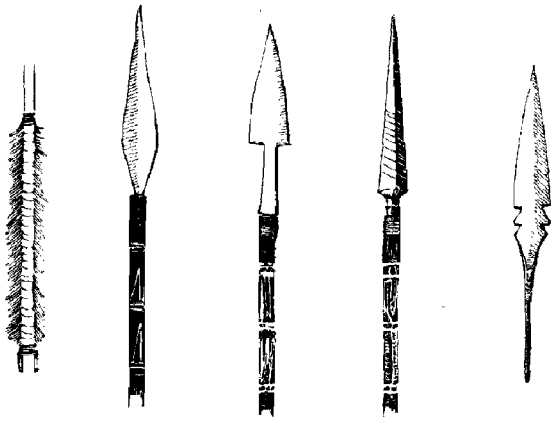
64. Barrenness in a woman among the Bhils, is considered to be a specially unfortunate condition. Every married girl expects to conceive and give birth to a child preferably a male one. There is no special superstition in the village regarding the causes of barrenness but in order to remove the condition and with a view to beget



The bows called *Tori.*



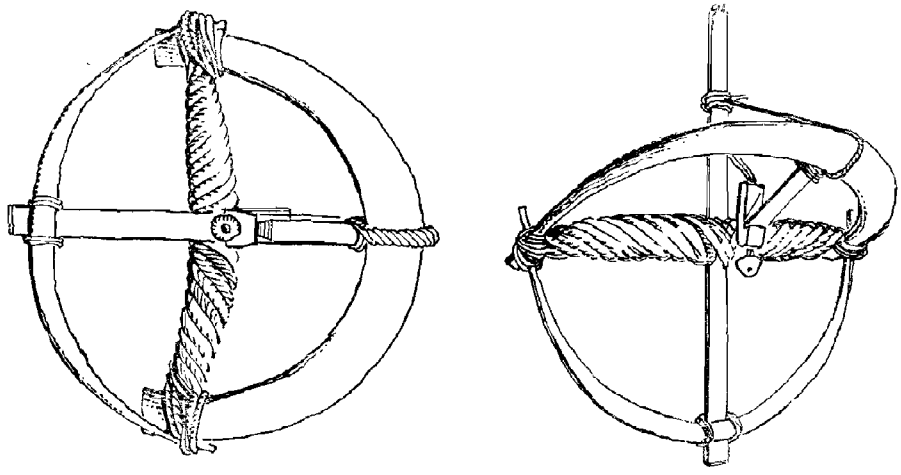
The various kinds of arrows. The first three are called *Robdo* and the rest *Hario.*



The butt and the arrow-heads.



An archer.



The *Phatkia*. Alongside is another view of the same.

children, women observe fasts and make special vows to local deities of whom the mountain god Kasumar is the most important and predominent one. Abortion is looked down upon and is never practised in the village. The villagers are not certain as to the causes of still-birth and infant death. These are generally ascribed to misfortune or to the evil influence of some super-natural being.

65. When a woman conceives then also no ceremony is performed whether it be the first pregnancy or a subsequent one. The pregnant woman is not allowed to do hard labour after the fifth month of pregnancy nor is she permitted to go near a mahua, khakra, khejra, pipal or sam tree lest she may be affected by evil spirits which are supposed to reside in them.

Birth

66. At the time of birth the usual custom prevalent amongst most of the Hindu communities, of ringing a brass or a bronze plate when a male child is born and of the winnowing pan *(soopda)* when a female child is born, is commonly observed. A newly born babe and its mother are given goat's milk. The work of the midwife is done by the women of the neighbourhood. There is no trained or regular midwife in the village. After the birth of a child the umbilical cord *(meli)* of the infant is cut by a scythe or a sharp dagger, by the woman in attendance. Umbilical cord and the placenta are placed in an earthen pot and put in a deep hole dug by the sister of the woman's husband or in her absence by the sister of husband's father. The baby's mother is not allowed to go out of the house for twelve days, nor is she permitted to do anything. On the twelfth day the woman who has attended at the time of delivery and on subsequent days, dresses the infant after giving it a bath and ties a red or blue string around its waist. Food is then distributed amongst five women, five boys and five girls. The odd number five is considered auspicious by the villagers. The mother of the newly born child is not given salt or chillies. She is fed on bread of wheat and porridge with milk. She is also given ghee in her food according to the economic circumstances of the household.

67. On the first Holi after the birth of the first child, whether it be a male or a female, the maternal uncle of the child brings some clothes, toys etc. for the baby. A feast is also given on that occasion. A daughter is not unwelcome to the family as she brings bride-price; but it is the birth of a son which is a matter of joy and happiness because he perpetuates the progeny.

Name giving ceremony

68. No special ceremony is observed when a name is given to a newly born child. The name is proposed by the father or the mother of the child or some relative when it is about an year old. The children are named after the week days on which they are born or according to the special days of the month such as Akha Teej or the Purnima on which the birth takes place or according to the complexion of the child or the names of grain or some other special consideration such as the continuity in birth of daughters or where the first issue is a male child.

69. The following names are given according to the days on which a birth takes place :

Day	*Male child*	*Female child*
Monday	Homla	Homli
	Homija	Heeman
	Hamji	Havli
	Heema	
Tuesday	Mangla	Mangli
	Manglia	Mangudi
	Mango	Metan
		Malu
Wednesday	Badhia	Baddi
	Barji	Baduri
	Bhalji	Bijli
	Gajhing	
Thursday	Vesta	Vesti
	Vesia	Jobhi
	Vagji	Velan
	Vagta	Vesan
		Jabri
Friday	Hakra	Hakri
	Hakria	
Saturday	Thavra	Thavri
	Thavaria	

Sunday	Deeta	Deetu
	Deepa	Deepan
	Devlo	Devli
	Dheera	Dheeran
Poornima	Poona	Pooni
	Poonja	Poonji
	Pemlo	Pemli
Doj	Beejia	Beeju or Beejan
Teej	Teejia	Teeju or Teejan
Hal Shashthi	Hamji	Hamli

70. If the child is of black complexion it is given the name of Kalia, Kalu or Kali. If it is of fair complexion it is named Bhuria, Bhuri etc. Sometimes contrary names are given with a view to save the child from the evil eye. Children who suffer from rickets are given the name of Hadia or Hadi. If the child is the proud possessor of profuse hair on the head it is named Babaria, Jhuntra or Babri or Jheetri.

71. Names given to signify the grains are Kodra, Kodri, Hamla, Hamli, Koori and Batti. If the prosperity of the house increases after the birth of a child, it is given the name Deepa or Deepan.

72. The first child is named as Jeewa, Amra, Jeevi, Jeevni etc. wishing the child a long life. If a number of girls are born one after the other the last one is named Etri, meaning enough and no more. Still if another daughter is born she is named Bhooli, meaning thereby that she was born by mistake, instead of a son. Even after this if a daughter comes she is named Bhoondi, meaning ugly. If the first few children die one after another then the one born after three or four pregnancies is named Kachru, Kachra, Kacharia, Kachri etc. with an idea that by giving it such abhorrent name it's life would be prolonged. Sometimes name like that of Rajputs is given e. g. Rameng, Ramhing, Rahming, which stand for the common name Ramsingh; and Arhing for Arisingh.

Marriage

73. The Bhils marry for social as well as economic reasons. Marriage increases progeny and a wife adds to the number of workers in the family. For economic reasons sometimes Bhils indulge in polygyny. In Khajoora proper there are at present two cases of polygyny. One of the Bhils got himself married a second time because of economic reasons. He was finding it diffiicult to cope with his agricultural work with one wife and so he married another. The second case appears to have been due to the force of circumstances. The sister-in-law of one of the Bhils got widowed and she fell in love with the husband of her younger sister and consequently the man went through another marriage with the widow.

74. Bhils are exogamous in respect of clans and endogamous in respect of tribe. Marriage cannot take place in the clan of the father. One can, however, marry in the clan of the mother provided, the sub-clan is different and the bride belongs to another village. Relations among the clan of the mother are, however, looked on with disfavour and are avoided as far as possible.

75. The following types of marriages are current among the Bhils of Khajoora :

1. *Hadi* 2. *Hamatia* or *Atta-satta*
3. *Ghar-jamai* 4. Elopement
5. *Nata*

The number of cases covered by each type are given in the following tables. It is to be noted that the figures given in these tables include widowers and widows also.

Types of marriages performed in first and subsequent marriages

Type of marriage	Males			Females		
	1st marriage	2nd marriage	3rd marriage	1st marriage	2nd marriage	3rd marriage
Hadi	28	–	–	35	–	–
Hamatia	2	–	–	2	–	–
Ghar-jamai	2	–	–	3	–	–
Elopement	8	–	–	6	–	–
Nata	3	3	1	4	4	–
Total	43	3	1	50	4	–

Ages of persons performing different types of marriages

Age groups	Males						Females					
	Total	Hadi	Hamatia	Nata	Elopement	Ghar-jamai	Total	Hadi	Hamatia	Nata	Elopement	Ghar-jamai
All ages	43	28	2	3	8	2	50	35	2	4	6	3
0 - 14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15 - 19	3	2	-	-	1	-	4	3	-	-	1	-
20 - 24	5	3	1	-	1	-	10	5	2	-	2	1
25 - 29	10	6	1	-	1	2	10	8	-	-	1	1
30 - 34	7	6	-	-	1	-	5	5	-	-	-	-
35 - 39	4	4	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
40 - 44	1	1	-	-	-	-	7	4	-	3	-	-
45 - 49	6	3	-	1	2	-	5	1	-	1	2	1
50 - 54	5	3	-	1	1	-	3	3	-	-	-	-
55 - 59	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
60 - 64	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
65 - 69	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
70 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Age not stated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

76. The first type of marriage is the commonest form called *hadi*. It is settled by the parents of the bridegroom and the bride on payment of a bride-price called *dapa*. The value of bride-price formerly used to vary from Rs. 60.00 to Rs.100.00 but during the last decade it has risen tremendously. The usual bride-price at present ranges between Rs. 400.00 to Rs.600.00. At times it is as big as Rs. 1000.00. Child marriages are not in vogue in Khajoora. The usual age for marriage of a boy is 16 to 22 and in the case of a girl 14 to 16. A table showing the civil condition (never married, married, widowed, separated, divorced) in different age groups amongst the Bhils and Gasas of the village will be found in chapter IV. The number of marriages that have taken place in different quinquennial periods in different age groups is, however, given bolow :

Age groups	Males			Females		
	1st marriage	2nd marriage	3rd marriage	1st marriage	2nd marriage	3rd marriage
All ages	43	3	1	50	4	-
0 - 9	-	-	-	-	-	-
10 - 14	4	-	-	15	-	-
15 - 19	29	1	-	34	1	-
20 - 24	8	-	-	1	1	-
25 - 29	2	1	-	-	1	-
30 - 34	-	-	1	-	1	-
35 - 39	-	1	-	-	-	-
40 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age not stated	-	-	-	-	-	-

It is the parents of the boy who search for a suitable girl for their son. When some likely girl is found a mediator is sent to ascertain the reaction of the parents of the girl. If the latter agree, further ceremony is arranged.

77. The boy's father goes to the house of the girl accompanied by five or six persons of the village and presents a sum of Rs. 5.00 in cash and some money for the purchase of liquor which the members of both the parties present on this occasion enjoy. This ceremony is called *aukhara* (proposal for marriage).

78. On acceptance of the proposal by the girl's father, a day is fixed for *sagai* (betrothal).

On the day so fixed, the father of the boy accompanied by his relatives goes to the girl's house and presents Rs. 100.00 along with some additional amount for the purchase of liquor which they drink and fix up the date for *haldi* ceremony and the marriage ceremony. Turmeric is mixed with sesamum oil and maize flour and the paste so prepared is applied to the body of the bridegroom and the bride. This ceremony of *haldi* is performed by the sisters every day till the marriage takes place. The bridegroom is given a sword in his hand which henceforth becomes his inseparable companion till the marriage ceremonies are over. This is meant to save him from the danger apprehended from evil spirits. A red thread is also tied to the wrists of the bridegroom and the bride. At the time of anointment of body with *haldi* (turmeric) women of the family sing songs to the accompaniment of beating of the drum.

कौण सी इणी माता, नै कौण सो इणो बाप ।
हीरा मायाँ इणी माता, नै नरजी इणो बाप ।।

" Who is the mother of the bridegroom (or bride) ? Who is his (or her) father ? Heera is the mother and Narji is the father." The names of other relatives are recited turn by turn.

हलदी तै मालै बढ़ै, हमलायां बढ़ै राज ।
हलदी तै घाटूलाँ, पीसाड़्यां बढ़ै राज ।
हलदी पासै तै बांटां कड़ै, घोलायां बड़ा राज ।
हलदी तै ताकड़ियां, तोलायां बड़ा राज ।
हलदी तो रुपये नी पांसेर, रुपायाँ बड़ा राज ।

"*Haldi* increases the beauty by massage, but the extent of *Raj* (State) will increase by proper checking. By continuous grinding *haldi* will be reduced to a fine powder and will decrease in volume but it is by the use of rod that the kingdom will increase. By mixing up the ingredients turmeric will decrease but by mixing up the kingdom with adjoining territories it will increase. Turmeric will decrease if it is weighed again and again but proper weighing i.e. constant supervision will increase the territory of the State. The turmeric is valued at five seers a rupee but there can be no estimate of the wealth of a kingdom." After the initiation of the *haldi* ceremony the bridegroom and the bride are required to sleep on bamboo carpets on the ground. They are not allowed to sleep on cots till the marriage ceremony is over.

79. A day or two before the date fixed for the marriage, the bridegroom and the bride are bedecked with such ornaments as the family may possess. The wearing of five *kaslas* on each hand is, however, incumbent in the case of the bride. From the day of first anointment of the body with *haldi* upto the day fixed for the marriage, the women of the household sing songs and take part in dances during the nights. All the girls of the neighbourhood, be they married or unmarried, assemble at the house of the bride or the bridegroom and singing and dancing goes on till late in the night. One such song is given below :

हे रसिया केवानो है लाडो नै रसिया हे ।
हे रसिया मइड़ा नो लाडो नै रसिया हे ।
हे रसिया केवानी है लाडी नै रसिया हे ।
हे रसिया कटारा नी कंया नै रसिया हे ।
हे रसिया केवानो है भाणजो नै रसिया हे ।
हे रसिया डामोरां नो भाणजो नै रसिया हे ।

"O *Rasia,* to which clan does the *Lada* (bridegroom) belong ? The bridegroom is of the Maida clan. Of which clan is the bride ? She is of the Katara clan. To which clan the groom is related as its nephew i. e. which is the mother's side ? The bridegroom is the nephew of the Damor clan." Thus the song is prolonged wherein the clans of the various relations on the father's and the mother's side are defined. The bridegroom is designated as *Lada* and the bride as *Ladi.*

80. A day before the marriage the bridegroom's parents invite all the relatives and friends to their house for *nauta* ceremony. They assemble in the evening and each one of them presents a rupee to the father of the bridegroom. Liquor is served to all those present. The marriage party then organises itself into a procession which is known as *jan* and they go to the bride's house. They dress themselves in new clothes and proceed singing and dancing. Women also accompany the party.

81. The marriage party starts at night and arrives at the bride's place early next morning. The bride-price is paid by the father of the

bridegroom to the bride's father. The bridegroom is dressed in red garments and his head is bedecked by a *mor* (ceremonial head gear) by his sister and the sister's husband ties a coconut to the hilt of the sword with a red thread. The bridegroom puts on new shoes. In the afternoon the procession goes to the bride's house. A Dholi (drummer) beating the drum, goes ahead of the procession and the boys and girls dance and sing. They stop at a little distance from the bride's house and wait there till someone comes from inside to receive them. Some coins are placed in a brass pot and it is shaken near the ears of the bridegroom to make a tinkling sound. This is continued till the marriage ceremony is over and is meant to drive away the evil spirits, to keep the bridegroom awake and to attract the attention of neighbours towards him.

82. A man comes from inside the house to inform the *barat* (marriage party) that women are coming to take the groom inside. Shortly afterwards the bride's mother accompanied by other women follows and they take the groom inside. While doing so the bride's mother moves back a little to fold her hands and throws some rice again and again on the groom till they get inside. The face of the bride's mother is veiled with *odhni*. A small earthen lamp is lighted and put in a plate and the bride's mother waves it around the face of the bridegroom and again scatters rice over his head. The groom is then seated at a decorated place reserved for him. A coil of cloth is made by folding a sheet lengthwise and a *lota* full of water is placed on it. Another pot filled with water is then placed on the first pot. The right hands of the bride and the bridegroom are then joined and tied together with a piece of white cloth and then the couple goes round the *lotas* seven times. In the first four rounds it is the bride who leads while in the last three the groom leads. This serves as completion of the marriage ceremony. All the while the Dholi beats the drum vigorously and the women go on singing continuously. After the marriage ceremony is over the groom returns to the *janiwasa* (resting place for the bridegroom's party).

83. Next morning the groom is again invited to the bride's house where his sister-in-law applies turmeric paste to his face, hands and feet. The lady receives a rupee by way of present.

84. The bride and the bridegroom are then taken to a place where a small *ghoogri* (basket), a *hario*, five pieces of *haldi* and one paisa lie hidden under a heap of cow-dung. The bride throws away five basketfuls of cow-dung after moving it over the head of the bridegroom. Similarly, the bridegroom takes an equal number of cow-dung baskets and throws them away after waving over the head of the bride. Then the bridegroom and the bride search for the *hario* and the *ghoogri* respeetively. The women then sing :

लाडा ने हरियो मलै रे, लाडो हरियो रमै है रे ।
लाडी ने घूघरी मलै रे, लाडी दरियो दरै है रे ॥

"The bride-groom finds the *hario* and he is playing with it. The bride has found *ghoogri* and she is grinding *dalia*."

85. The bridegroom's party then returns to the village with the bride. There the bride is received by her mother-in-law at her threshold. Songs are sung which continue all the day long and also during the night. One of the songs is given below :

मड़िया बेटा नै घेर में ले आओ, मड़िया हूरी तूरी ।
मड़िया बेटा नै गोल गूटी आलो, मड़िया हूरी तूरी ।
मड़िया बेटा नै दरना दली आलो, मड़िया हूरी तूरी ।
मड़िया बेटा नै रोटला दली आलो, मड़िया हूरी तूरी ।
मड़िया बेटा नै घेर में ले आओ, मड़िया हूरी तूरी ।
मड़िया बेटा नै बहियां रलि जाय, मड़िया हूरी तूरी ।
मड़िया बेटा नै हुआड़ो देओ रे, मड़िया हूरी तूरी ।
मड़िया बेटा नै घेर में ले आओ, मड़िया हूरी तूरी ।

"Bring the bridegroom Madia inside the decorated house. Give him *gol guti* (cold drink). Give him *dalia*. Give him *rotla*. Bring him inside the house. Give him a heap of cow-dung, and let him in the house and let him sleep."

86. The next day, the bride serves water to all persons who assemble at the bridegroom's house and they give presents to her which consist mainly of cash, coconuts and dresses etc.

87. The second type of marriage is *hamatia* or *atta-satta* meaning exchange of sisters by their brothers to take them as wives. Naturally the question of bride-price does not arise in such cases. In case the girl dies or runs away with someone else, the aggrieved person may induce his sister to leave her husband and thereby help him in obtaining another wife by exchange. No instance of this type, however, came to notice in Khajoora at the time of investigation.

88. The third type of marriage is called *ghar-jamai* marriage. In Khajoora, marriage by service is taken as synonymous with *ghar-jamai* marriage. There is no doubt that the term *ghar-jamai* is being loosely used here but the period of service during which the son-in-law stays at his father-in-law's house is supposed to give him the special status of *ghar-jamai*. It is usual in this type of marriage that the bridegroom serves in the household of his father-in-law for seven years and then gets married to his daughter. The father-in-law provides food and clothing. During this period the boy and the girl are not allowed even to talk. The marriage is generally performed three or four years before the period of service terminates. This was the case where a resident of Khajoora named Vagji kept his future son-in-law and married his daughter to him after four years. He continued to stay at his father-in-law's house where a son and a daughter were born of the marriage. The son-in-law in such case may stay on at his father-in-law's house even after the term of seven years is over. He is given some fields to till. If, however, he wants to go he is given some cattle heads, clothes and ornaments when he takes leave and returns to his own house with his wife. Such cases are not uncommon in the village.

89. Marriage by elopement takes place when the boy and the girl fall in love and run away together or the girl is abducted by the boy. In such cases the participants and the family of the boy have to pay the bride-price. In case they refuse to do so the girl is returned to her father's family and a penalty is imposed on the boy by the Tribal Panchayat which may vary from Rs. 50.00 to Rs. 500.00. When an unmarried girl runs away, all the ceremonies common in regular marriage have got to be performed on return, after fixing up the bride-price. If, however, a married woman runs away with her paramour no such ceremony is performed. It is at the fairs that such elopements take place.

90. *Nata* marriage is performed with a widow or with a woman already married to someone else. In such marriage no ceremonies are performed. In case of a widow *dapa* (bride-price) is less and is paid to the girl's father. In case of a runaway woman compensation has to be paid to the former husband and the amount of such compensation is more than the bride-price which the former husband paid to his father-in-law. Naturally, the penalty for disturbing the family life should be heavier than the bride-price originally paid at the time of the first marriage. The only ceremony which is observed in a *nata* marriage is that the woman brings a pitcher of water from the village pond or well to the house of the person desirous of marrying her. She is received by the man who takes the pitcher from her head and goes inside by the main gate. The woman, however, enters the house by breaking the side wall. Only a duly married woman is entitled to enter the house from the main gate. A marriage with full ceremonies is solemnized with a girl only once in her life-time. Marriage afterwards is necessarily a *nata* marriage.

91. Cases of divorce are not frequent in the village. Whenever there is continuous friction between the husband and the wife and the condition becomes intolerable either the woman runs away to her parents' home or with someone else. If, however, a person is desirous of divorcing his wife he tears of her *odhni* lengthwise. If, however, the garment is torn breadthwise the case goes before the Tribal Panchayat. The Pachayat then gives due consideration to all the circumstances and if rapprochement between the husband and the wife is considered impracticable the woman is allowed to leave the person and go her own way.

Death

92. Dead bodies are cremated except in the case of those who die in infancy or of small pox or leprosy, in which case they are buried. If a woman dies after the fifth month in pregnancy the



Vagji (first from the right) and his son-in-law with a necklace. In the centre is the village headman (*Tadvi*) Bhura Rat.

foetus is taken out of the womb by the husband and cremated along with the dead body of the mother. If the husband of the woman is not present this is done by some near relative.

93. When a person dies the body is first given a bath and dressed in new clothes. A *tarkhati*, of the shape of a ladder, is made by tying seven small pieces of bamboo, each about half a metre in length, to two bamboos which are about two and a half metres long. Some leaves of dhak or of some other tree are spread over the ladder and the dead body is placed on it. A shroud made of four and a half metres cloth is spread over it after putting a silver coin or a small piece of silver in the deceased person's mouth. The corpse is then tied to the ladder with a string. A ball of flour and a copper coin is placed near the right shoulder. In the case of male white cloth is used for shroud, while in that of female it is red. Water is now sprinkled on the dead body with a small twig of jamba tree and then it is borne to the cremation ground. The eldest son carries an earthen pot with fire. When the procession has covered about half the distance they halt under a tree, tear off a piece of the shroud and tie it to the tree. When the party arrives at the cremation ground a platform of dry wood is made which serves as funeral pyre and the dead body is placed on it. The fire is then applied to the funeral pyre by the eldest son of the deceased and in his absence by the nearest relative. After cremation, the persons attending it take a bath in the pond and return to the dead man's house from whence they disperse and go home. The next day, water is sprinkled over the ashes and they are collected and thrown away in the stream. Rest of the ashes are washed away by rain in course of time. On the twelfth day the *barah* ceremony is performed, when porridge of maize, pulse, rice, and *rabdi* are prepared and served to all those present.

94. On Kartik Krishna Chaturdashi (fourteenth day of the dark half of the month of Kartik) the members of the family of the deceased go to the village pond along with their relatives, Four bamboo pieces of the length of about sixty centimetres and four wooden sticks of similar length are brought to the pond and a *dagla* is made out of them. A cow-dung cake of twenty five to thirty cms. diametre is also taken to the pond. A lighted earthen lamp is placed on the cake and is slipped in the pond. Cooked rice, porridge of maize and pulse are served to those present. When they have eaten, they make a peculiar whistling sound and return home. The *dagla* is a symbolic representation of the house. Women do not accompany either the funeral procession or the ceremony performed on Kartik Krishna Chaturdashi.

95. On the following festivals of Holi and Dewali the women of the family of the deceased cry aloud early in the morning in rememberance of the dead person. This is to show their attachment to the deceased and they refrain from celebrating the festival, but this is done only once after the death.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Growth of population

The population of Khajoora was as follows at the last three Censuses :

Year	*Persons*	*Males*	*Females*
1941	209	108	101
1951	158	71	87
1961	206	103	103

As compared to the Census figures of 1951 there has been an increase in the population of the village by 48. In the year 1951 there were 71 males and 87 females as against 103 males and 103 females in 1961. The total population of the village in the year 1941 was, however, 209. In the Census Report of 1951 it has been stated that "no famine ever occured during the last one decade. Of course, damage to some extent has been caused to standing crops and residential houses, due to recent heavy rains." The probable cause of decrease of population during 1951 might have been the temporary emigration of the villagers due to the aforesaid heavy rains. They having returned to the village after the trouble was over, the population in 1961 is almost the same as it was in the year 1941 but some households do not appear to have returned to the village at all.

Livelihood classes

97. In the Census of 1951 the population of the village was tabulated under 8 heads of livelihood classes. In that year the total number of persons in Khajoora was 158 out of whom 154 were placed in category I (cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents), 1 in the category IV (non-cultivating owners of land; agricultural rent receivers and their dependents) and the remaining 3 under category VIII (other services and miscellaneous sources). According to the new classification of population by industrial categories, adopted for the Census 1961, the total population of Khajoora can be categorised only under two heads, namely, I (cultivators) numbering 201 and the remaining 5 under category IX (other services). Agriculture and forestry are the main economic resources. Animal husbandry is also resorted to, though the income derived from this source is very meagre. The Bhils supplement their food during the rains by catching fish. Only the household of the Gasa depends for its livelihood more on basketry than on agriculture.

Agriculture

98. The total area of the village as ascertained from the revenue records is 2450.11 acres, the break up of which is as follows :

		Area in acres
(a) Forest		1475.50
(b) Uncultivable land		32.26
(i) Land utilised for purposes other than agriculture	1.67	
(ii) Waste land	30.59	
(c) Other uncultivable land		517.96
(i) Pasture	194.58	
(ii) Trees	–	
(iii) *Banjar*	323.38	
(d) Fallow land		134.40
(i) Uncultivated for 1 year	129.72	
(ii) Other fallow land	4.68	
(e) Cultivated land		289.99
(i) Irrigated	–	
(ii) Unirrigated	289.99	
Total		2450.11

The forest area of 1475.50 acres falls in the category of protected forest, the control of which is in the hands of the Forest Department since the year 1916. Similar is the case with the *banjar* land and pasture which are under the control of the Revenue Department. The management of the pasture land has, however, been transferred to the Panchayat under the recent scheme of democratic decentralization of administration.

99. The following figures, given in the table, show the extent of the holdings of land on the basis of the number of members of the family :

No. of persons	Total No. of households	Acres					
		2.5–4.9	5.0–7.4	7.5–9.9	10.0–12.4	12.5–14.9	15.0–29.0
1	1	–	1	–	–	–	–
2	4	1	–	1	–	1	1
3 – 5	14	2	2	4	2	2	2
6 – 10	12	–	2	3	–	1	6
11 and over	4	–	–	–	–	1	3
Total	35	3	5	8	2	5	12

From the above data it appears that 12 households own land between 15 and 29 acres, and 8 households own land between 7.5 and 9.9 acres. The minimum holding is 2.5 acres.

100. All the households of the village own land, the average holding being 7.11 acres. The average holding of the 8 households possessing land outside the village apart from that held by them in the village is 10.77 acres. Pasture land is common for all the villagers and its use is not restricted. The village people have equal rights for grazing their animals in the pasture land. The villagers being agriculturists and residents of hilly tract are entitled to obtain timber for house building from the village forest, free of charge.

101. It has already been stated that the village was on 10 years lease to Damla Rat from the period 1914 to 1924 for which an annual rent of Rs. 101.00 was paid by him to the Chief of Kushalgarh. The lease was, however, terminated before its expiry, during the year 1918, when the settlement was made and the following rates of rent were fixed :

Type of land	Rate of revenue for the land actually under cultivation at the time of settlement	Rate of revenue for the cultivable land not under actual cultivation at the time of settlement
	(In rupees per acre)	
Kali Parat	0.62	0.44
Barani Parat	0.44	0.37
Badri Parat	0.25	0.19

The revenue is collected according to the rates then fixed, even now. The cancellation of lease granted to Damla Rat at the time of settlement during the year 1918, however, did not cause any complication. He had no grievance in the matters because formerly he was required to pay the lease money of Rs. 101.00 per annum irrespective of the fact whether he was able to collect that much of amount from sub-tenants or not. The settlement having been made Damla Rat became the Lambardar. He got a share of the land revenue by way of commission at the rate of five percent and was saved from the responsibility of paying the lease money. The village, after the settlement, came under *khalsa* (land owned by the state). The Chief of Kushalgarh enjoyed the privileges of a petty ruling Chief and with the merger of sixteen princely states in the bigger state of the former Rajasthan, which came into being in April, 1948, Kushalagarh also was integrated with it and the Chief got his fixed privy purse. Khajoora passed on like other *khalsa* villages in the Chiefship to the State Government. Thus the position that emerged as a result of the settlement of land revenue in the year 1918 continues upto the present day without the least change in it. All the tenants who then cultivated land received the *khatedari* (occupancy) rights leaving no sub-tenants in the village.

102. The main crop is *kharif*. Maize, rice, kodra *(Paspolum serobriculatum)*, *til* (sesamum) hemp and cotton are the major produce of this

crop. Agricultural operations begin with the start of rains from mid-July to mid-August and are over in November by Dewali.

103. The maize crop is sown by means of a seed-drill known as *pindni*. 11.6 kgms. of seed is required per acre of land and the yield is 3.75 quintals per acre. Kodra is sown by broadcasting and 9.3 kgms. of seed is sown per acre and the yield is about three quintals per acre.

104. Paddy is also sown by broadcasting. 45 kgms. of seed is required per acre and the yield is 2.25 quintals per acre. *Til* is also sown by broadcasting. 4.6 kgms. of seed is required per acre and the yield is about one and a half quintals per acre.

105. The local term for ploughing is *orna* and that for broadcasting *bavna*. In case of paddy the term for broadcasting is *halna*.

106. Only one crop is generally sown. The fields lie fallow for a pretty long time and the fertility of the soil is, therefore, sufficiently restored and the villagers are not required to worry regarding the rotation of crops.

107. There is, however, rotation of land for cultivation. Some fields previously sown are allowed to lie fallow and take rest and others which have rested are cultivated. There is, therefore, rotation of soil but not of crops.

108. The following tables give information regarding the area of the *kharif* and *rabi* crops sown in the village during the years 1958–59 to 1962–63 :

Area (in acres) under kharif crop

Crop	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63
Paddy	34.00	65.07	100.30	109.71	85.07
Maize	112.74	123.43	108.10	187.67	120.77
Jowar	0.60	–	–	–	–
Kodra°	4.71	7.25	9.08	–	4.18
Batti°	0.50	–	–	–	–
Bhadli°	4.90	–	–	4.94	–
Hamli°	–	5.34	1.00	34.81	–
Black kly (Urad)	2.00	4.92	1.57	1.15	1.40
Arhar	–	–	–	0.06	0.50
Sugar cane	–	–	0.42	–	–
Sesamum	15.29	8.09	8.28	24.46	9.57
Groundnut	3.86	6.80	0.16	0.66	9.18
Chillies	0.80	0.67	-	1.26	1.10
Cotton	13.20	9.32	16.80	16.76	22.50
Hemp	3.30	2.56	3.06	4.16	2.60
Lady finger	0.50	–	–	1.00	1.56
Tobacco	–	0.61	–	0.43	–
Total	196.40	234.06	248.77	387.07	258.43

° Smaller millets.

Area (in acres) under rabi crop

Crop	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63
Wheat	16.42	46.36	–	28.34	13.76
Gram	60.11	117.90	–	88.25	76.67
Batla$	–	0.40	–	–	–
Arni†	–	1.30	–	1.00	–
Total	76.53	165.95	-	117.59	90.43

$ Mixture of pulses. † A kind of pulse.

Manure

109. Dry cowdung is used by the villagers for manure. It is directly spread in the fields and takes quite a long time to decompose. The Block authorities have advised the villagers not to use dry cowdung as manure but to prepare manure by digging manure pits and letting the refuse material and leaves to decompose. The people are gradually taking to this method but their inclination is to go on following the traditional method. The chemical fertilisers are not in vogue. Once such manure was used in the village and the crop was spoiled for want of proper irrigation. The villagers have, since then been prejudiced against the use of such manure.

Irrigation

110. People depend on rains for their crops. There are no wells which could be put to use for the purpose of irrigation. Five wells were dug during the past few years but the land being rocky they do not yield sufficient quantity of water even for drinking purposes.

Agricultural implements

111. There are fortynine ploughs and fourteen bullock carts in the village. Plough, leveller, *danglo*, the instrument for covering the seeds with earth after broadcasting, *pindni*, the instrument for sowing seeds, and *dantudo* (scythe) are the implements used for agricultural operations. Improved agricultural instruments have not found access to this region.

Plough : It consists of a wooden body known as *al* in which there are two bores, one near the middle, in which the beam is fixed and another at the lower end, where an iron shoe is fixed. The bores are known as *vey*, the beam as *aal* and the iron shoe as *kau*. The shoe rests on a triangular wooden piece called *saudo*. The beam and the shoe are fitted in the bores tightly with the help of wooden splinters called *phani*. The bore in which the beam is fixed is called *aal khudvo walo vey*. On the upper part of the body, which acts as the handle, is attached a wooden piece at right angles to it and is known as *khili* and serves as an aid for lifting and pressing the shoe. A notch is cut on the upper part of the handle leaving a small thin end or else by attaching a separate wooden piece, a similar structure is made. It is called *saro*.

Danglo : It consists of a semicircular thick wooden body called *danglo* at the centre of the upper side of which is attached a wooden handle called *nejyo*. On the lower side of the body are attached two wooden pieces called *data* to which iron shoes are attached. In the middle portion are fixed two long wooden rods called *dandia* which act as beam. It is used for turning the earth after broadcasting the seeds.

Pindni : It is a funnel shaped aid consisting of a bamboo piece of about one and a quarter metres length one end of which is split into many strips and then all of these are tied in the shape of a funnel and the other end is cut in a slanting direction. It is tied at the back of the body of the plough in a vertical position with the split end upwards. It is used for sowing the seeds.

Scythe : It consists of a crescent shaped iron blade with a sharp interior edge and a thick outer edge and its lower end is fitted into a wooden handle which acts as a grip. The lower portion of the handle is somewhat raised which prevents it from slipping out of the hand.

Trends of changes

112. The village has not experienced any change in the pattern of its life as a reasult of any new reforms. No land reforms have taken place nor any improvement in land effected so far. As a matter of fact no industry has been opened in this area so as to influence the traditional life of the villagers. The construction of road from Khajoora to Kushalgarh has facilitated transport of goods between Kushalgarh and the village. Marketing facilities remain the same as they were. People have to go to Kushalgarh for the disposal of their surplus produce or for obtaining the necessities of daily life. The main source of finance are the money-lenders residing in Kushalgarh some of whom are Banias and some Muslim Bohras.

113. Whenever there is a surplus of produce with the cultivators they take it to Kushalgarh for disposal. There is no scope for intervention of

middlemen in the disposal of the agricultural produce due to the difficulty of transport. The hire charges for a cart carrying a load of about seven and a half quintals being nearabout Rs. 14.00, it becomes altogether uneconomical for the tradesmen to go to the village and bring grain from there. When the villagers take it to Kushalgarh the question of transport charges does not worry the buyer. As businessmen are not interested in buying agricultural surplus produce in the village the question of forward buying does not also arise.

114. None of the households has changed its traditional occupation. As a matter of fact there has been no cause for any change and the old pattern continues. The following table gives the statistics in various age groups of persons engaged in agricultural operations primarily and those engaged primarily in basket making along with agriculture as subsidiary occupation :

Age groups	Primary occupation–Agriculture			Primary occupation–Basketry		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	142	72	70	5	3	2
0 – 14	38	19	19	-	-	-
15 – 34	67	36	31	4	2	2
35 – 59	34	16	18	1	1	-
60 and over	3	1	2	-	-	-
Age not stated	-	-	-	-	-	-

Out of the total number of workers, 142 (72 males and 70 females) are engaged in agriculture. The rest 5 (3 males and 2 females) are engaged mainly in basketry. They resort to agriculture only as a subsidiary occupation. Non-workers are all from the age group 0–14 excepting one whose age is above 60. The latter is unable to work on account of his old age and infirmity.

Organisation of man power

115. Life in the village is very hard. Each member of the family has got to work to the utmost in order to earn a living. The households can not depend on the income of any one member of the family for their support. The villagers rise early in the morning and work from dawn to dusk. Women cleanse the houses and the cattle sheds, grind corn and then cook their meals. Children of the age of about seven take the cattle to the pond for drinking water. They are then milked. All the members of the household then take their breakfast and set off for the day's work. Small children play or indulge in childlike activities near the fields where their parents work. The Children of ages between 6 to 10 years take the cattle to the jungle for grazing. At noon they return home with the cattle and then go to deliver food to their parents in the fields. They then go to the jungle, look after the cattle and return home in the evening. The chidren of ages between 10 to 15 years help their parents in their work. Boys go to the fields, assist the elders in making ropes, mats and baskets, bring wood from the jungle and do other sundry jobs. The girls look after the household affairs and work in the fields.

116. Agricultural operations occupy the first attention of all the family members. Whenever necessary, they seek assistance from other villagers on reciprocal basis. At the time of harvest they retain some grain of the best type for seeds. If they fail to reserve seed it has to be procured from shop-keepers at Kushalgarh or Kotra. The agricultural produce is stored in the big bamboo baskets in the huts and is utilised for the family use from day to day. If there is any surplus they take it to Kushalgarh and sell it there.

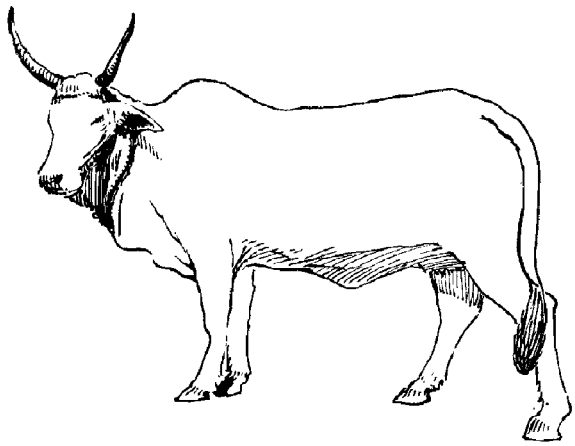
Animal husbandry

117. The villagers supplement their income by having recourse to animal husbandry but the income from this source is meagre.

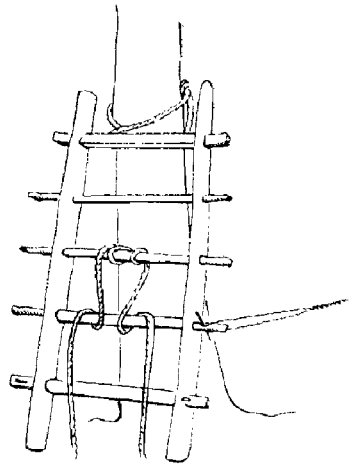
118. The following table gives the data regarding the animal wealth, poultry, ploughs and carts of the village for the period from 1958–59 to 1962–63 :



A Bhil cultivator in his typical dress. In the background is a bullock cart with solid wooden wheels. A few baskets, called *changeri* or *ghoogri*, *topli* and *topla*, are seen in the foreground.



A Malvi cow. Cattle of this breed are hardy and considered useful for ploughing in hard soils and as beasts of burden in hilly tracts of the region.



The *Rantio* - instrument for making ropes.

Cattle	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63
Bulls	4	-	-	-	-
Bullocks above three years	121	109	107	121	122
Cows above three years	69	71	89	69	69
He-calves	28	51	44	28	28
She-calves	36	48	31	36	36
Total	254	279	271	254	255
Buffaloes above three years	37	34	34	37	37
He-calves	13	3	11	13	13
She-calves	12	18	18	12	12
Total	62	55	63	62	62
Goats	41	48	41	41	41
Horses	3	2	3	3	3
Donkeys	8	11	10	9	9
Cocks and hens	33	25	13	33	22
Ploughs	54	48	49	54	51
Carts	17	14	14	15	16

119. The cattle yield very little milk. The village people totally depend on the pasture land for feeding them and do not give them any fodder at their houses. The cattle are of the Malvi breed. A cow yields on an average half a litre of milk per day and a buffalo one litre. An ordinary goat gives as much milk as a cow. The cows and the buffaloes are dry for almost five to six months in a year. The villagers mix goat's milk with that of cow's and buffalo's and prepare ghee which is sold at Kushalgarh.

Fishing

120. During the rainy season the villagers catch fish with the help of a net which is known as *jhampo jal*. It consists of a U-shaped bamboo frame at the end of which a net of conical shape is attached and resembles the net which is used for catching butterflies, the only difference being that the butterfly net is circular in shape while the *jhampo* net is semi-circular at the mouth. A person dips the net into the water and carries it against the flow. The fish are entrapped and are taken out. The villagers consume fish themselves and do not sell them.

Forestry

121. Forestry plays an important role in the economy of the village. More than half of the village area is covered by forest. Villagers get their supply of wood and fuel from the jungle. During the cold days of winter the poor villagers who have very little to clothe themselves have to depend on burning faggots to keep themselves warm. They collect grass, leaves and small dried up plants for feeding their cattle in times of scarcity. Timber is used for the construction of *tapras* and *daglas*. Bamboo is needed for construction of the roofs, matting of walls for the huts and the baskets. It is also utilised for making bows and arrows. A swing called *heensio* is also prepared from bamboo. It is thus evident that bamboo is of utmost importance in the economic life of the villagers. The Gasas also depend mostly on bamboo for their livelihood. As to the items of minor forest produce declared under the Indian Forest Act of 1927, the following articles are available in the village forest :

(a) Gum of khair, dhav and kadai trees
(b) Dholi moosli
(c) Doli (seeds of mahua)
(d) Lac
(e) Honey
(f) Wax

These are sold by the villagers to recognised contractors. Honey brings about Rs. 2.00 per kilogram and gum Re. 1.00 per kilogram. The usual income from this source varies from fifty paise to one rupee per day. Timru *(Diaspyros malenorylon)* fruit also grows in the forest and people collect it and eat it with great relish.

Village industry

122. The only industry in the village is that of basket making. The Gasas make the baskets of bamboo for the use of the village people and are paid by them generally in kind at the time of harvest, but baskets are also sold for ready cash. A Gasa gets hundred bamboos of the length of five and a half metres on payment of Rs. 6.25 from the Forest Department. The baskets are of four types :

i. *Changeri* or *ghoogri* : It is not provided with cover but is hollow and deep and is used for preservation of food. Four baskets are made out of one bamboo. One basket costs twenty to twentyfive paise. One man can prepare three baskets in a day.

ii. *Topli* : It is used for keeping rice and grain. Two *toplis* can be prepared out of one bamboo. One person can make three *toplis*, each one of which costs thirtyseven paise, in a day.

iii. *Topla* : It is of a larger size than *topli*. One and a half bamboos are required for making it. A man can prepare two *toplas* in a day. A *topla* costs fifty paise.

iv. *Hoopra* (winnowing fan) : It is used for separating husk from the grain. It requires three bamboos for making one *hoopra*. Only one *hoopra* can be prepared by a person in one day. It costs a rupee per piece.

123. *Tatis* (mattings) are made of bamboo and are used for sitting on ceremonial occasions, especially at the time of marriage, for the use of the bride and the bridegroom. One man can prepare three *tatis* in a day. Half a bamboo is required for one *tati*. A *tati* costs fifty paise. Bigger baskets for storing grains in the huts are made by the Bhils themselves.

124. The Bhils make ropes of hemp which they use for their own purposes. They do not sell them. Strings of hemp are prepared with the help of *takli* which is made of bamboo and wood and is locally called *tero*. Ropes are made from these strings with the help of *rantio*. This instrument consists of five horizontal wooden bars each usually about fortyfive centimetres long fixed horizontally at a distance of about thirty centimetres from each other in two vertical wooden sticks nearly a metre long. A string is so wound around the horizontal bars that each moves in the direction opposite to that of the other when the string is pulled. The string is held in both the hands at its ends and is pulled briskly through each of the bamboo pieces.

125. The Bhils prepare their own bows and the *robdo*. Shafts for the *hario* are made by Hargaras who live in the nearby villages. One shaft costs about six paise. The arrow-heads are made by blacksmiths at Kushalgarh. They cost from six paise to twentyfive paise per piece according to the size and quality of the iron used. The Bhils fix the arrow-heads to the shafts with the help of lac which is available in abundance in the jungle. A hole is made in the shaft of the arrow by piercing it with the pointed hind portion of the arrow-head. Some lac is then placed in it. The hind portion of the arrow-head is then heated in the fire and hafted in the shaft. The lac melts and the arrow-head is fixed firmly in the shaft. There is a smithy in the village Badla-ki-Rail at about three kilometres. The villagers of Khajoora have to go there for getting their requirements. Some villagers pay the blacksmith annually in grain, while others make payment in cash. When the articles required by them are prepared, the villagers have to assist the blacksmith in his work. A carpenter is also called from the nearby villages. He charges according to the nature of the work; otherwise his services are availed of on daily wage basis in which case he is given food and tobacco by his employer in addition to the wage which varies from Rs. 3.00 to Rs. 5.00 per day.

Commerce

126. Each villager has got a running account with the Mahajan or the Bohra at Kushalgarh. There is a grocer's shop at Kotra also, but people prefer to go to Kushalgarh. They sell their grain and ghee through their respective creditors. Other household things of daily use such as spices, cloth, etc. are obtained on cash payment from Kotra. Transactions are also held by barter.

Other occupations

127. The villagers sometimes earn some money by resorting to transport of goods in their carts from one place to another. They charge Rs. 12.00 to Rs. 14.00 for about seven and a half quintals of load for taking it in a bullock cart from Khajoora to Kushalgarh, a distance of 16 kms.

Income

128. Each of the families residing in Khajoora is having an income of less than Rs. 80.00 per month. There is only one household in the income group Rs. 60-80. The remaining 34 households are having income below Rs. 60.00 per month as would appear from the following table :

Income groups	Total No. of households	Primary occupation		Subsidiary occupation		
		Cultivation	Industry	Cultivation	Dairy products	Other sources
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Less than 20	7	7	–	–	5	7
20 – 30	8	8	–	–	6	7
30 – 40	11	10	1	1	10	8
40 – 60	8	8	–	–	8	8
60 – 80	1	1	–	–	1	1
Total	35	34	1	1	30	31

129. Each one of the persons residing in the village depends for his income on agriculture. Only five persons have industry as the primary source of livelihood. 192 persons of the village derive a part of their income from animal husbandry and 176 persons are such as supplement their income from other sources such as forestry. The position is summed up in the following table :

Income groups	Total No. of persons	No. of persons in various income groups drawing their income from			
		Cultivation	Industry	Dairy products	Other sources
1	2	3	4	5	6
Less than 20	27	27	–	24	27
20 – 30	33	33	–	27	30
30 – 40	71	71	5	66	44
40 – 60	62	62	–	62	62
60 – 80	13	13	–	13	13
Total	206	206	5	192	176

130. The average annual income of a family in Khajoora is about Rs. 388.20. Out of this Rs. 272.71 is from cultivation. The rest of the income of all the households excepting one, is derived from dairy products and other sources. One household has an average income of Rs. 300.00 per annum from industry. It is the household of Gasa. The overall position is shown in the following table :

Income groups	Total No. of households	Average income	Average income for households engaged in			
			Cultivation	Industry	Dairy products	Other sources
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Less than 20	7	218.57	144.29	–	39.00	46.43
20 – 30	8	296.87	222.50	–	34.17	55.56
30 – 40	11	423.64	300.45	300.00	56.50	61.25
40 – 60	8	512.12	350.00	–	83.75	78.27
60 – 80	1	925.00	650.00	–	175.00	100.00
Total	35	388.20	272.71	300.00	63.33	62.32

131. The total income of the village derived from cultivation is Rs. 9,545.00; from industry Rs. 300.00; from dairy products Rs. 1,810.00 and from other sources Rs. 1,932.00. The percentage of income from various sources to total income is 70.00, 2.21, 13.32 and 14.22 respectively. The position may be stated as under :

Source of income	Total income	Percentage of income from various sources to total income
1	2	3
Cultivation	9,545.00	70.25
Industry	300.00	2.21
Dairy products	1,810.00	13.32
Other sources	1,932.00	14.22
Total	13,587.00	100.00

132. The position in regard to the annual per capita income of the village for various income groups and from various sources is summed up in the following table :

Income groups	Total No. of persons	Total per capita income	Income per capita in different income groups			
			Cultivation	Industry	Dairy products	Other sources
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Less than 20	27	56.67	37.41	–	8.12	12.04
20 - 30	33	71.85	53.94	–	7.59	13.00
30 - 40	71	65.60	46.55	60.00	8.56	11.12
40 - 60	62	65.69	45.16	–	10.81	10.11
60 - 80	13	71.15	50.00	–	15.00	7.69
Total	206	65.95	46.31	60.00	9.43	10 98

133. It would be seen from the above table that the total per capita income is Rs. 65.95. The per capita income from cultivation is Rs. 46.31 per annum. The per capita income of the five persons engaged in household industry of basketry is Rs.60.00. In respect of the persons who are engaged in animal husbandry and other occupations the per capita income derived from these sources in the various income groups may be seen in columns 6 and 7 of the above table.

Indebtedness

134. Many of the households in the village i. e. 19 out of 35 are under debt. The minimum debt payable by a household is Rs. 60.00 and the maximum Rs. 675.00. The following table gives the position of indebtedness in different income groups :

Income groups	Total No. of households	No. of house-holds in debt	Percentage of column 3 to 2	Average debt.
1	2	3	4	5
Less than 20	7	1	14.28	28.28
20 - 30	8	4	50.00	100 00
30 - 40	11	9	81.81	194.09
40 - 60	8	4	50.00	110.62
60 - 80	1	1	100.00	675.00
Total	35	19	54.29	249.21

135. The average debt for each of the 19 indebted households is Rs. 249.21. The rate of interest which the villagers have to pay for securing debt varies from 25% to 50% per annum and compound interest is charged with the result that the debts mount up rapidly and the villagers are never free from the clutches of the money-lenders. Due to ignorance and false fears of hardship in repayment of loans the villagers are generally suspicious and do not avail of the taccavi and other loans obtainable from the Block Development authorities. There is no Co-operative Society in the village. The following table gives information about the purpose for which the loans were secured :

Causes of debt	Amount of debt	Average for families in debt	Percentage of debts due to various causes to total debt
Housing	525.00	175.00	11.18
Marriage	500.00	500.00	10.65
Ordinary wants	3,670.00	203.88	78.17
Total	4,695.00	249.21	100.00

136. In the above table the loans for housing have been advanced to the villagers by the Block authorities for the construction of the pukka houses. Three villagers have received the first instalment of Rs. 175.00 each. Each of them is to receive Rs. 750.00. Only one person i. e. the village headman has started construction work and he is experiencing difficulties. The other two villagers are already thinking of refunding the money because it is not possible to build a pukka house in Rs. 750.00. Moreover, the people are not acquainted with the technique of masonry work and have, therefore, to employ masons who are not easily available.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Population and literacy

The following table gives the distribution of population of village Khajoora in the various age groups :

Age groups	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	206	103	103
0 - 4	40	21	19
5 - 9	29	12	17
10 - 14	27	14	13
15 - 19	18	10	8
20 - 24	17	7	10
25 - 29	22	12	10
30 - 34	14	9	5
35 - 44	13	5	8
45 - 59	22	12	10
60 and over	4	1	3
Age not stated	-	-	-

138. The total number of persons in the age groups 0-4 and 5-9 is 33 males and 36 females. In the age group 10-14 there are 14 males and 13 females. In the age group 15-19 there are 10 males and 8 females, in the age group 20-24, 7 males and 10 females and in the age group 25-29, 12 males and 10 females. The apparent small disparity between the number of males and females in each of these groups almost disappears if we total up the number of males and females in all the three groups which comes to 29 males and 28 females.

139. In the age groups 30-34 and 35-44 the total number of males is 14 while that of females is 13 i. e. almost on par. In age group 45-49 there are 12 males and 10 females. On the whole there are 103 males and 103 females which is a striking feature of this village.

140. The following table gives information in regard to the marital conditions of the population of the village :

Age groups	Total population			Never married		Married		Widowed	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All ages	206	103	103	60	53	40	43	3	7
0 - 9	69	33	36	33	36	-	-	-	-
10 - 14	27	14	13	14	13	-	-	-	-
15 - 19	18	10	8	7	4	3	4	-	-
20 - 24	17	7	10	2	-	5	10	-	-
25 - 29	22	12	10	2	-	10	10	-	-
30 - 34	14	9	5	2	-	7	5	-	-
35 - 39	5	4	1	-	-	4	1	-	-
40 - 44	8	1	7	-	-	1	6	-	1
45 - 49	11	6	5	-	-	6	5	-	-
50 - 54	8	5	3	-	-	3	2	2	1
55 - 59	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	2
60 - 64	2	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	1
65 - 69	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
70 and over	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Age not stated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

141. It would be seen from the above table that at the time of survey, there was no case of any married person below the age of 14. In the age group 15-19, out of 7 persons there are 3 males and 4 females who are married. In each of the age groups 20-24, 25-29, and 30-34, there are two unmarried males. The two persons in the age group 20-24 have yet some chance of getting

married. The four persons in the other two groups have not entered into married life most probably due to economic reasons and there appears to be very little chance for them to get married in the future. They can, however, marry widows if they are in a position to pay the requisite compensation to the parties concerned. Altogether there are 113 persons who have never been married, 83 persons married and 10 widowed.

142. The number of married males is 40 and of females 43. This is explained by the fact that one of the Bhils has got two wives and one has got three wives.

143. There is neither any literate person in the village nor any school. There is, however, a school at Kotra but no advantage is derived by the villagers from that school. In this matter they appear to be very conservative as they have absolutely no incentive for sending their children to school.

Sickness

144. There are no statistics of diseases births and deaths available in the village. People generally suffer from ulcers, tumours and *naroo* (guinea-worm). Venereal diseases are also said to be prevalent in the village. This is due perhaps to the loose morals which are associated with Bhil community where adultery is not considered a great offence. Scabies is also commonly found. Infants suffer a good deal from smallpox, measles and chickenpox. No regular treatment is available. Mostly disease is attributed to supernatural causes and the villagers take resort to the worship of deities and spirits or at the most act on the advice of local quacks. The quacks, of course, do not charge any fee. The lambardar of the village and three other persons act as quacks. The lambardar also worships the local deities such as Hithla Mata in the case of measles and small pox. Sometimes sacrifice of a cock or a goat is offered to the gods to seek cure. In serious cases the villagers take the patients for treatment to Kushalgarh. They have, however, no faith in vaccination, B. C. G. or other preventive health measures. At the time of survey a party of B.C.G. workers arrived in the village. Census was also going on at that time and the Investigators were busy collecting finger prints and palm impressions in connection with anthropological investigations. All these factors created a great scare in the village community. They imagined that the Census of men and animals was being conducted with a view to reduce the population. The B. C. G. campaign they interpreted as being conducted to make the Bhils impotent so as to reduce their progeny. The family planning propaganda was also given a similar fantastic interpretation. The result was that the villagers were greatly agitated and they wanted to avoid all contacts with the Investigators and were actually hostile to collection of any information.

Inter-family relationship

145. Bhils are living here in simple nuclear families. Sons separate from their parents soon after the marriage. A new *tapra* is constructed for the couple and they begin to live in it. Some fields are allotted to the separating son and he then begins an independent life. The new *tapra* is constructed adjacent to the old one but if no space is available for it at the spot the additional *tapra* may be constructed at a suitable place at some distance.

146. Out of thirtyfour families of Bhils in Khajoora eighteen are simple, seven joint, five intermediate and four unclassified. The family of the Gasa is a joint one.

147. Among the Bhils descent is traced from father's clan as Bhils form a patriarchal society, In case of second marriage of a woman the children from the first marriage trace their descent from the first father and not from the stepfather. Children do not generally accompany their mother to the stepfather's house, but in special cases where children are in their infancy they may be taken by the mother with herself till they grow up to an age when they can live apart from her. Marriage of a son results in conflict in the joint family, so they adopt a safer course to separate the son soon after the marriage before complications arise.

Inheritence

148. The property of the deceased is shared equally by the male descendants. Daughters do

not get any share in the father's property. A person may donate land to his son-in-law or his sister's husband and there is no objection to such donation from the side of other members of the family. The recipients are allowed to enjoy the land in peace till they elect to go away from the village to some other place. A stepson is not entitled to inherit the property of his stepfather nor can a stepfather have any claim to the property of the stepson. There is seldom any case of adoption of a child from close relatives among the Bhils. There are, howover, cases of adoption of the son-in-law when there is no male issue but a daughter. The son-in-law resides as a member of the family in such case and inherits his father-in-law's property.

Leisure and recreation

149. The life in the village is full of hardship. Very little leisure is available to the villagers. The spare hours are, however, spent in idle gossip and smoking or chewing tabacco. Women relax by helping each other to remove lice from their hair and clothes. The children play in the fields or assemble in some open space and enjoy indigenous pastimes. Sometimes a long bamboo is split in the middle lengthwise and the upper end is fastened tightly with strings. It is then put on a branch of a tree and the two split sides of the bamboo hang on either side. Children take hold of the two pieces of the bamboo in each hand and enjoy a swing which is called *heensio*. Sometimes a small two wheel cart called *sakdi* is used for riding. Older boys play with small bows and arrows and learn archery. Grown-up boys put a bamboo in their left arm and try to create music by beating it on the front side like a drum with two pieces of stick.

Songs and dances

150. Bhils are very fond of songs and dances which are the most common modes of recreation among them. Persons of all ages join in these songs which are sung in a peculiar monotonous tune at a very high pitch. A few specimens of such tunes rendered into staff notations (on flute) are reproduced elsewhere.

151. Dances are held on festive occasions of births, marriages and community festivals. The *gair* and *gauri* dances are popular among them. In *gair* dance men dance in a ring. The drummer stands or sits in the centre and the dancers go round in a circle with sticks in their hands which they strike alternately against those in front and behind. As the tempo increases the dancers begin to dance briskly.

152. In *gauri* dance females dance in a semicircle, their feet moving in unison with the beats of the drum. The left foot is first put forward and the right foot is then moved and placed a pace towards right and the process is repeated in a reverse direction. A turn is then taken at fixed intervals. Some typical gestures are made with hands and movements of body. This dance is known as *kathakalli* dance of the Bhils and depicts various stories of Mahadeo and Parwati.

Drinks

153. The Bhils are too much addicted to drink. On all occasions when a guest arrives or when there is a festival or even a meeting of a few of them liquor is taken plentifully and this goes on to the accompaniment of singing and dancing. Bhil women are also very fond of drinking.

Gods and goddesses

154. Bhils worship a number of gods and village deities. According to them Shiva is the supreme God and is referred to as Bhagwan. The female deities commonly worshipped are Hovan Mata, Lal Mata, Hithla Mata, Dasa Mata and Kalka Mata. Hovan Mata is, however, the village deity and worshipped by the entire village during the Navaratra. Lal Mata is worshipped when the maize crop is harvested. Maize grain and maize cobs are offered to Lal Mata. There is no particular day fixed for her worship. When the maize crop is ready the villagers fix a week day which is generally Friday or Sunday for the worship of Lal Mata. Hithla Mata is worshipped during the Navaratra and also when any member of the family suffers from smallpox. In each *tapra* a space, about twenty to twentyfive centimetres, is reserved on the left side of the wall while entering it. This space is purifled by giving it a



The *Sakdi* - a small two wheel cart, while two to three kids ride in the cart, two draw the vehicle. And, it is a great fun.

STAFF NOTATIONS OF TUNES

(Rendered on flute)

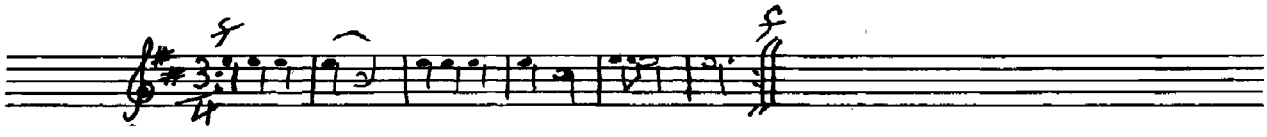
कौण सी इणी माता, नै कौण सो इणो बाप । *(Page 16)*



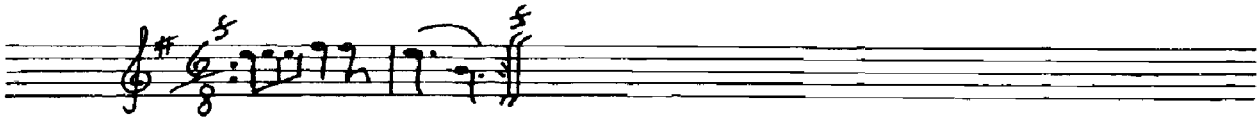
हलदी तैं मालै बढ़ै, हमलायां बढ़ै राज । *(Page 16)*



हे रसिया केवानो है लाडो नै रसिया हे । *(Page 16)*



लाडा ने हरियो मलै रे, लाडो हरियो रमै है रे । *(Page 17)*



कइड़ो नै कइड़ो वाजै कसूमरो, कइड़ो नै कइड़ो वाजै म्हारा राजरी । *(Page 33)*





The shrine of Kasumar on the hill called Kasumar Bavsi. Mark the terracotta figures of horses and a small wooden yoke lying in the foreground.



A Bhil worshipper offering liquor to Kasumar. A bottle of liquor is considered as an essential article of offering. While a little is offered to the god, the rest is consumed by the worshipper.

coating of cow dung. Three images of human beings, two in an erect position and the third below in between the two in an upside down position, are made on the wall. The *Tadvi* of the village performs worship and offers grain, *dhoop* (incense) *deep* (ceremonial lighting) etc. Dasa Mata is worshipped by married women on the festival of Dasa Mata-ka-Varat, on the tenth day of the dark half of Chaitra, for the welfare of the family. Among the male deities, Hanuman and Bhairon are worshipped. It is, however, the god Kasumar who commands the general recognition. Kasumar hill of Khajoora is called Kasumar Bavsi. It is symbolised by a silver horse. The priest of Kasumar lives at a distance of 10 kms. in the village Saran. He belongs to the Katara clan. The post of the priest is hereditary. The present priest is Mangla Katara. Each year on Chaitra Purnima (full moonday in April) he comes with the silver horse in a palanquin. The place dedicated to god Kasumar is worshipped. People go to pay homage to the god when their desires are fulfilled as a result of his supposed benediction. It is on this account that the worship offered is called *jatar* which is a corroupt form of *yatra* (pilgrimage). The local musical instruments are rasps, which are played to the accompaniment of songs, one of which, as sung by the villagers, is given below :

कइड़ो नै कइड़ो वाजै कसूमरो, कइड़ो नै कइड़ो वाजै म्हारा राजरी ।
पाड़ा नै खाइगो बकरो रे कइड़ो कसूमरो, पाड़ा नै खाइगो बकरो म्हारा राजरी ।।
तू मैयड़ को है लाड़ो कसूमरो, तू मैयड़ को है लाड़ो म्हारा राजरी ।
तू दुनिया नो दूथारी कइड़ो कसूमरो, तू दुनिया नो दूथारी म्हारा राजरी ।।

"How grand you look O Kasumar, our Lord and Protector ! How magnificent you appear ! Buffalo has been eaten by a goat. How has it happened under your protection ? O Lord Kasumar, you are the beloved of my mother. You are the protector of the entire universe. It is towards you that all living beings look for help. "

155. The other god worshipped is Ghotia Bavsi whose place is in Bori Gaman. The Bhils also worship the Jain god Rishabh Dev whom they call Kaliaji. Rishabh Dev is at a distance of 66 kms. from Udaipur. The place is dedicated to the first *Trithankar* (saint) of Jains and is also known by the name Dhulev.

Superstitions and omens

156. Magic and witchcraft play a great role in the life of the Bhils. In olden days, magic and wizardry used to have a great hold on the mind of the village people of this part of the country as has been stated in the Rajputana Gazetteers* as under :

"Witchcraft still has tremendous power and very few ruling Chiefs can resist the dread of what is really feared as a most dangerous method of secret assassination. Among the wild Bhil tribes, the terror of it has fostered as formerly in England, the profession of witch finding and horrible barbarities are practised on those who are denounced. " The passage of time has not made the inhabitants of Khajoora more rational. Superstition continues to dominate their daily life even now. Their very nature appears to be superstitious. Torture of women believed to be witches is, however, not indulged in any more. They have to remain satisfied with charms and amulets, different kinds of which are used by them to protect themselves against evil spirits. They are generally available from the *Bhopa* (Shaman) who resides in a nearby village.

157. A number of superstitions are prevalent in the village. Crossing of path by a cat is considered a bad omen. If a chirping black sparrow or a hooting owl is met on the left side while proceeding on a journey and on the right while reaching the destination it is considered to be a good omen. A braying donkey in the same direction is also considered good. The chirping of *bharvi* and *malare* (other kinds of sparrow) on the right at the time of starting and on the left on arrival at the destination is considered good. A

* Vol. I. (1879) P. 89.

woman coming with a pitcher full of water is considered good while with an empty pitcher a bad omen.

158. Some days are considered to be lucky. Friday, *Beej* (first day of the bright half of a month), Purnima (full moon day), Akshya Tritiya (third day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh) and Amli Ekadashi (eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Phalgun) are also considered very auspicious. Monday is taken as inauspicious. सोमो जाय सो सोमाई जाय is the common saying which means that a work started on Monday will soon prove to be an utter failure. They call the day following Purnima or Amawas as *Beej*. The oath of twelve *Beej* of the bright halves of the months is considered to be of utmost significance. They also swear by foodgrains e. g. maize, kodra and the like.

Memorials to dead

159. The Bhils of the Maida clan erect stone memorials called *Serro*, in commemoration of the dead. This practice is observed by the Maida clan as a sign of a higher status which they occupy than the other clans of the area and this is because the headmen of twelve out of thirteen villages of the *Ranga* area belong to the Maida clan. On the occasion of marriage *Pehrawani* (stitched dress) is offered to the *Serro*. This is the practice in all the villages of the *Ranga* area. Images of a male on horseback and two or three persons standing before him in attendance facing towards him, are carved on a rectangular piece of stone. The carving work is done by masons (Silawats) with the help of a chisel and small hammer. A charge varying from Rs. 10.00 to Rs. 25.00 is made for each image according to the artistic work which is required to be perfomed. This work is done when they visit the village from time to time for effecting repairs to the handmills. Engraved stones can also be obtained from village Talvada (24 kilometres from Khajoora). These stones are erected at a specified place in the village Jogrimal which is at a distance of 6 kilometres in the north-east of Khajoora. The stones are erected for married men only an year or two after the death on Kali Chaturdashi day. At the time of the erection of the stone women sing songs which are generally those sung on the occasion of marriage. A pit is dug and the *Tadvi* instals the stone at the place. A cock or a he-goat and liquor are then offered. Afterwards a feast is held in which near relatives and friends participate. When liquor is offered to the *Seero* the following sentence is recited :

धार है बावसी खतरियां नै धार है ।

" Liquor is offered to the *Khatris*, the heros who are dead. " When liquor is offered to any particular local god or goddess the name of such god or goddess is substituted for *Khatri*. When a cock or a goat is sacrificed the word 'धार' is replaced by 'कूकड़ो' or 'बोकड़ो' as the case may be. There are at present 180 such stones at Jogrimal. Worship is offered to them during Navaratra or whenever a person falls ill. The mementos are erected only by the Bhils of the Maida clan, but Bhils of other clans also offer worship to them.

Festivals and fairs

160. The following festivals are celebrated by the Bhils of Khajoora :

1. Deevo : It falls on Shravan Shukla Pratipada (the first day of the bright half of Shravan). Bullocks are washed on this day and worshipped. *Arti* is waved before them. People recreate and make themselves merry.

2. Rakhi : It is celebrated on Shravan Purnima. Sisters tie *rakhis* to the right wrist of their brothers. In the absence of sister, Bhils tie *rakhis* to each other. It is not obligatory to give present to the sister on this occasion.

3. Naurata and Dashera : These are observed from Ashwin Shukla Pratipada to Ashwin Shukla Dashmi. Hovan Mata, Kalka Mata, Hithla Mata, and *Seero* are all worshipped during this period at night. A night vigil is kept on Ashtami at the place of Hovan Mata when songs are sung continuously. A goat is sacrificed on Dashera in the honour of Hovan Mata. One of the villagers kills it and the meat is distributed among the villagers by way of *prasad*. The skin is taken away by a Khatik or a Dholi and is utilised for the drums.



The stone memorials to the dead, called *Seero*, erected by the Maida clan of the Bhils at village Jogrimal, six kilometres away from Khajoora. These memorials are located over the top of a hillock in a thickly wooded forest.



A Bhil worshipper at the stone memorials, called *Seero*, offering liquour. Note the horseman and his attendants engraved on the memorial stones.

4. Dewali : On Kartik Amavasya earthen lamps are lit in front of each house and at the places where the cattle are kept. The family members offer some rice and burn incense in front of these lamps. Apart from this no worship is offered. The family members then make themselves merry and enjoy their meals.

5. Kali Chaturdashi or Kali Chaudash : This falls on the fourteenth day of the bright half of Kartik. Bhils make offering of grain to their ancestors and perform their *shradh* (obsequies) also.

6. Holi : It is celebrated on Purnima of Phalgun. A bamboo is stuck in the ground on Magh Purnima, at the place where Holi is set on fire. A flag is hoisted on the bamboo after the ground has been purified by sprinkling water and fuel and cowdung cakes collected around it. On the Holi day the ground is smeared with cowdung and the Holi is kindled at four O' clock in the morning. The villagers drink liquor in plenty. Unmarried girls and boys go round each house in the village and collect jaggery and cash. From the family in which a marriage has been celebrated or a son is born more cash is demanded. They throw *gulal* (coloured powder) on each other and enjoy the *gair* dance. The girls stop the passers-by and demand money and jaggery as present from them. This merry-making goes on for about ten days. Married couples observe fast on Holi.

7 Amli Egyaras : It is celebrated on the eleventh day of the bright half of Phalgun. Unmarried boys and girls of ages between seven to eighteen keep fast on this day. They go to the pond in the afternoon, wash themselves and bring a small branch of the tamarind tree. Then they fix the branch in the ground with the help of earth and stones and go round it seven times, throwing grains of maize, wheat, gram and millets with the left hand and pouring water on the branch with the right. Girls bring a separate branch and offer grains and water to it. While going round the twig the girls sing :

ई ग्रामली नो ग्रोसीलो कइनो, ग्रामली कौन रमै है रे ।

"To whom does the twig of the tamarind belong ? Who is playing with it ?"

After completion of the seventh round they pick up some of the grains, bring them home and put them in the baskets meant for storing the respective foodgrains, considering them to be auspicious and hoping that such baskets may never go empty. In the evening they offer some sweet porridge of maize and ghee to the fire and then take their meals.

8. Dasa Mata-ka-varat : It is kept on the tenth day of the dark half of Chaitra. Married women keep fast on this day and worship Dasa Mata wishing prosperity for their families.

9. Akshya Tritiya : It is celebrated on the third day of the bright half of Baisakh which is considered to be a very auspicious day. A general holiday is kept. The villagers prepare *ghoogri* (boiled and sweetened wheat grain), boiled meat, *heero* (pudding) and porridge of maize etc. and enjoy while singing and dancing goes on.

161. The only fair held in the village is that of god Kasumar on Chaitra Purnima. Some three or four hundred people, from places as distant as thirtyfive kilometres, assemble for this fair and offer worship to the hill god.

Inter-community relationship

162. The village people being principally of one tribe have a feeling of oneness and treat everyone in a friendly and sympathetic manner. They extend their helping hand to each other unless there is a quarrel between any of the families. The relationship with Gasa is that of a master to a serving household. The Gasa family treats Bhils with respect. The Bhils do not take food cooked by the Gasa or from his hands. If a Bhil takes food or drinks water at the Gasa's house, he is liable to be outcasted. A Gasa does not sit on a cot in the presence of a Bhil. He offers his cot to the Bhil whenever the latter visits his house. A Bhil does not smoke with a Gasa.

163. On festive occasions, a Dholi (drummer) is called from Kushalgarh. Each of the eight clans in Khajoora has got a separate Dholi. Similar is the case with Bhat (bard) who resides

at another village and keeps on visiting these people. Occasionally in three or four years he visits Khajoora. Chamar and Silawat (mason) are called from the nearby villages, the former for mending the shoes and the latter for repairing the hand-mills. They are paid in cash for their services. At the time of marriage, a Dholi is called to beat the drum. He is paid about four rupees in cash and about ten kilograms of grain. The Bhat maintains the genealogy of the clan and recites it from his record to his *Jajmans* (patrons) at the time of his visit to the village. The Bhat, the Dholi, the Chamar, the Gasa and the Silawat flatter Bhils by using the epithets of *Datar*, meaning giver of money, or *Anna-data*, giver of grain. All these serving classes take food prepared by the Bhils but Bhils do not take food prepared by them. A Bhat is, however, allowed to sit on his cot by the Bhil.

Village organisation

164. Village Panchayat : Village Khajoora is included in Kotra Village Panchayat of Kushalgarh Panchayat Samiti which represents 210 villages. It has under it seventeen Village Panchayats and three Nyaya Panchayats. In the Kotra Village Panchayat there are the following 19 villages :

1.	Kotra	2.	Gopalpura
3.	Sadera	4.	Bijori Kalan
5.	Bijori Khurd	6.	Seemsagara
7.	Umar Jhonka	8.	Beejalpur
9.	Balachuna	10.	Khajoora
11.	Badla-ki-Rail	12.	Talai Para
13.	Jogrimal	14.	Phera Doongri
15.	Potliya	16.	Kundiya
17.	Khunta	18.	Perniya Deo
19.	Sarpota		

165. There are twelve Panchas in this Panchayat. Out of these, two are co-opted women and one Gasa Panch is nominated. The Sarpanch and eight Panchas are elected. Three Panchas and the Sarpanch are from village Potliya, two Panchas from Kotra, one each from Jorgimal, Khajoora, Sadera, Bijori Kalan, Gopalpura and Badla-ki-Rail. The Panch from Khajoora is a Bhil.

166. The Nyaya Panchayat is located in Sarwa Khurd. Each of the following six Village Panchayats is represented in it by one Panch elected from each Panchayat circle :

1.	Sarwa Khurd	2.	Bassi
3.	Mohakampura	4.	Kotra
5.	Sarwa Bari	6.	Pali

The people of this area are not yet fully conversant with the aims, objects and the procedure of the Gram Panchayat and the Nyaya Panchayat. They still give importance to the Tribal Panchayat which is known as *Bhanjgarh*. The Panchas of the Tribal Panchayat are known as *Bhanjgarhias*. Each of the villages in the *Ranga* area has got its own Tribal Panchayat. The *Tadvi* is the Lambardar (village headman) and gets commission for the revenue collected through him. The *Kotwal* serves as village messenger. The latter calls people from their homes when a meeting of the *Bhanjgarh* is to take place. In Khajoora the function is allotted to a Bhil as there is no man of the Bhambi caste there. The Tribal Panchayat deals with the cases of abduction, elopement and community relations in tribal matters etc. The meetings of the bigger Tribal Panchayat in which *Bhanjgarhias* of all the villages in the *Ranga* area participate are called whenever there is a dispute between two or more villages or when a question relates to the tribe as a whole. It is, however, on rare occasions that all the villages of the *Ranga* area are required to assemble. One such occasion arose during the life time of Mokla Rat, the first settler of Khajoora. The shrine of god Kasumar was at that time situated at the top of the hill. It was very difficult to climb up the hill, especially for pregnant women who were required to ascend it for fulfilment of their vows for the birth of a child or a male issue. The arduous journey sometimes caused miscarriages. The *Bhanjgarh* was held to consider the question at village Haran (Saran). More than twenty villages (including all the villages of the *Ranga* area) participated in the celebrations. It was ultimately resolved that the seat of god Kasumar may be taken to be at a spot some fifty metres lower in altitude than the original place. Since then the present spot is considered as the shrine of the hill god and



The original seat of the shrine of the god Kasumar at the top of the hill. Very much out of general use, it is now rarely visited.

worship is offered there. The original seat of the hill god is now seldom visited. Another case decided by the *Bhanjgarh* arose in the year 1912, when there was a dispute between Rahjing Rat of Talai Para and Manji Rat of Potliya as to which one of them was to be elected as *Tadvi* of village Phera Doongri. The dispute had been going on for nearly two years. Ultimately the Tribal Panchayat took up the case. A meeting of the *Bhanjgarh* was held at Jogrimal and it was decided that the village be divided half and half between Rahjing Rat and Manji Rat, with the result that there came to be two *Tadvis* for village Phera Doongri. The State gave recognition to this decision and it is valid even today. The village Phera Doongri alone has the perivilege of having two *Tadvis*. During the interval there was again a dispute between the descendants of the two *Tadvis* and it became necessary to hold a meeting of the *Bhanjgarh* to consider the issue, which was held at Phera Doongri. The decision of the former *Bhanjgarh* was confirmed and Birji Rat, son of Rahjing Rat, and Deepa Rat, son of Manji Rat, were recognised as the new *Tadvis* of the village. Another meeting of the *Bhanjgarh* was held at Badla-ki-Rail at the time of the cancellation of the lease granted by Kushalgarh Chiefship to Damla Rat. The Tribal Panchayat recommended that the proposal of the Thikana for cancellation of the lease should be gracefully accepted by Damla Rat. The last occasion for holding the meeting of *Bhanjgarh* was in the year 1956, when the Block authorities invited the *Tadvis* of the villages in the *Ranga* area to avail of the subsidies for the development of their villages. The question whether the subsidies may be accepted was discussed and ultimately it was decided that *Tadvis* may accept or reject the subsidies or grants according to their own discretion. It is, however, worthy of note that none of the villages in the *Ranga* area has got any special right of precedence as compared to another. Each one of them has got an equal status. Not even Khajoora enjoys any distinction in the area or special position in ceremonial and social affairs. The punishment whenever inflicted on any delinquent by the *Bhanjgarh* is of fine, the proceeds of which are utilised for the purchase of liquor which is enjoyed by its members.

167. Efforts are being made by the State Government and social reformers to improve the lot of the Scheduled Tribes residing in this area. The Block Development authorities have been desirous of effecting improvements in agriculture by advancing loans for digging wells for irrigation, teaching them the use of manure pits and providing better seeds and taccavi loans. A Primary School has been opened at Kotra but response from the villagers, is not encouraging. A Gram Sewak (Village Level Worker) visits the place once or twice in a month and tries to enlighten the villagers in regard to the various schemes launched for their uplift. The attempt of the social workers has been directed towards social reforms, e. g. exhorting people to give up liquor and anti-social activities.

168. There are no clubs or libraries in the village, nor is there any Co-operative Society. The feeling of untouchability continues among the Bhils in regard to the classes which are considered as untouchables.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Khajoora is a typical Bhil village situated in a hilly tract of the country isolated from other populous parts of the district. The Bhils who reside there are mostly ignorant of the tremendous changes that have taken place in the country elsewhere and are very conservative in their habits and outlook. Due to insanitary habits their health is not upto the mark. They suffer from a number of diseases and the age old superstitions prevent them from having recourse to the scientific methods of treatment. Their traditional poverty is made worse by indebtedness in which they have been engulfed through the viles of the money-lenders. To say the least, at the present moment their condition is deplorable in all respects.

170. The programme for upliftment of this village can be three-fold :

(i) Economic

(ii) Educative

(iii) Health uplift.

171. The solution of indebtedness among the Tribals is suggested by the Co-operative movement. The progress of the Co-operative movement among the Backward Classes is not, however, very encouraging so far. It is acknowledged on all hands that the problem of indebtedness is a complex one, connected with the tribal economy. The ultimate solution will have therefore to be found in the economic betterment of these people. Certain minimum relief measures are needed to reduce pressure on them and to give them new incentives for more and better production. For this purpose provision for cheap credit through Government agencies or Co-operative Societies though helpful will not by itself solve the problem. Simultaneously Purchasers' and Marketing Co-operative Societies will have to be formed so as to stimulate the process of improving their economic condition.

172. Education is the most important plank on which the development programme of the backward areas should be tackled. In each Tribal village a separate school should be started with a bias for agriculture. In these schools facilities for food, clothing, bedding and books etc. should be provided at Government cost. Training centres should be started where the womenfolk may be given training in spinning during their leisure hours. Similarly men may occupy themselves in learning how to weave cloth. They may also be taught to make useful articles of bamboo which may find a market elsewhere. The Tribal youths ought to be made conscious of their responsibility in organising welfare activities among their own people and they must be encouraged to do this work efficiently. This active participation of the Tribals in the attempts for their welfare will contribute towards creating a congenial atmosphere and direct their energies in constructive channels. Education will help in building up the personality of the children in an integrated manner. It is essential for the members of the Tribes to realise paramount importance of education in the present day set-up. It will instil self-confidence and a sense of equality in them and also help them to shake off any feeling of backwardness or inferiority. Every effort should be made to remove any feeling of exclusiveness in them and the Tribal people should be made to realise that they have to play their own part in regeneration of the country as equal partners with the rest of the population.

173. The general standard of health of the village people is very poor. Although they live close to nature, the conditions of squalor in which they reside are simply abominable. Due to their ignorance of the simple and fundamental principles of health they suffer from a number of diseases. To tackle this problem mobile health units should be commissioned to work in these backward areas of the State. These units may be provided with fully equipped mobile vans, a doctor, a nurse and a compounder to look after the health of the villagers.

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WAGDI EQUIVALENTS OF CERTAIN ENGLISH WORDS.

English words	Wagdi Equivalents in Devnagri	Wagdi Equivalents in Roman
1	2	3
Abdomen	पेट	Pet
Accused	मुलजिम	Mulzim
Acquittal	सोड़ देवो	Sor devo
Address	पत्ता	Patta
Aeroplane	चीलगाड़ी	Cheel gari
Afternoon	बपोर ने बाद	Bapor ne bad
Afterwards	पासे	Pase
Age	उमर	Umar
Agriculture	खेती	Kheti
Agriculturist	करसण	Karsan
Air	वायरो	Vayro
All	हारा	Hara
Allegation	गुनाह	Gunah
Alms	भिक्षा	Bhiksha
Alongwith	लारे	Lare
Always	हदा	Hada
Amendment	बखे करवो	Bakhe karvo
Angels	देव	Dev
Animal	जनावर / जीव	Janavar / Jeev
And	नै	Ne
Ankle	घोटणी	Ghotni
Ant	कीड़ी	Keeri
— White	ऊदी	Oodi
Anywhere	गमेताँ	Gametan
Apartment	ओरी	Ori
Apology	माफी	Mafi
Arm	हात	Hat
Arrest	पकड़वो	Pakarvo
Arrival	आवणो	Avno
Arrive (to)	आवणो	Avno
Arrogant	सड़ैला	Sarela
Arrow	हरियो / तीर	Hario / Teer
— Blunt	रोबड़ो	Robdo
Ascent	सड़नो	Sarno
Ash	राख	Rakh
Ask (to)	पूसणो	Poosno
As much	जेतरो	Jetro
Ass	गधेड़ो	Gadhero

1	2	3
Assets	मिलकत	Milkat
Attest	तस्दीक	Tasdik
Attestation	तस्दीक करवो	Tasdik karvo
Attorney	वकील	Vakil
Aunt (Paternal)		
(i) Father's sister	भूआ	Bhua
(ii) Father's younger brother's wife	काकी	Kaki
(iii) Father's elder brother's wife	मोटी आई	Moti Ai
— (Maternal)		
(i) Mother's sister	माही	Mahi
(ii) Mother's brother's wife	मामी	Mami
Awake	जागवो	Jagvo
Award	फैसलो	Pheslo
Baby (m)	नानो	Nano
— (f)	नानी	Nani
Bachelor	कंवारा	Kanwara
Back	मौर	Maur
Bacon	हूअर नो मांह	Hooar no manh
Balance	बाकी	Baki
Balance (weighing machine)	ताकड़ी	Takri
Bald (m)	टाँटला	Tantla
— (f)	टाँटली	Tantli
Bandage	पाटो	Pato
Bangle	सूड़ी	Soori
Bank	बैंक	Bank
Bank (of river)	धड़ो	Dharo
Barley	जौ	Jau
Barking	भूँवना	Bhunvna
Barn	खरा	Khara
Beak	सोंस	Sons
Beans	फर्यां	Pharyan
Bear	रीह	Reeh
Beard	दाढ़ी	Dadhi
Beat (to)	मारवो	Marvo
Because	केम	Kem
Bedding	विसावनो	Visavno
Bee	माखी	Makhi
Beef	गाई नो मांह	Gai no manh
Beehive	मारो	Maro
Begin (to)	हरू करवो	Haru karvo
Belly	पेट	Pet
Beside	बीजो	Beejo
Betrothal	हगाई	Hagai
Bier	तरखटी	Tarkhati

1	2	3
Bird	पखेरू	Pakheru
Bitch	कूतरी	Kootri
Black	कालो	Kalo
Blacksmith	लोहार	Lohar
Blood	लोई	Loi
Blotting-paper	साईसूस	Saisoos
Boat	नाव	Nav
Body	सीर	Seer
Bone	हाटकां	Hatkan
Book	सोपरी	Sopri
Bonnet	फेंटो	Phento
Bow	तोड़ी	Tori
	कामटी	Kamti
Boy	सोरा	Sora
Braying	भूँवना	Bhunvna
Brewer	हरो गारवो वारो	Haro garvo waro
Bride	लाढ़ी	Ladi
Bridegroom	लाढ़ा	Lada
Bride-price	दापा	Dapa
Brief	मिसल	Misal
Brinjal	रेंगड़ा	Rengra
Brisk	तरींट	Tarrant
Broad	सौड़ो	Sauro
Broadcast (to, seeds)	बावनो	Bavno
— (Paddy)	हालनो	Halno
Brother	भाई	Bhai
— (Wife's)	हाला	Hala
— (Husband's)		
(i) Elder	जेठ	Jeth
(ii) Younger	देवर	Devar
— (Father's)		
(i) Elder	मोटो बा	Moto Ba
(ii) Younger	काको	Kako
— (Mother's)	मामो	Mamo
Buffalo	डूबी	Doobi
Bug	माकण	Makan
Building	घेर	Gher
Bull	हांड	Hand
Bullet	गोरी	Gori
Bullock	बलध	Baladh
Bush	झाखरी	Jhakhri
	डूंगला	Doongla
Buttock	ढेका	Dheka
Buy (to)	मोलावनो	Molavno
Cabman	हाली	Hali
Calf (m)	केड़ो	Kero
— (f)	केड़ी	Keri

1	2	3
Call (to)	तेड़नो	Terno
Camel	ऊँटड़ो	Oontro
Camp	पड़ाव	Parav
	डेरा	Dera
Capture (to)	पकड़वो	Pakarvo
Cargo	हामान	Haman
Carpenter	हूतार	Hootar
Case (court)	मुकदमो	Mukadmo
Cat	मिनकी	Minki
Catarrh	जारा	Jara
Caterpillar	घिमोल	Ghimol
Cement	सिम्ट	Simt
Cemetery	महाण	Mahan
Channel	नाली	Nali
Charge (legal)	गुनाह	Gunah
Chatter	फांकनो	Phankno
Cheat (to)	धोखो देवो	Dhokho devo
Check (to)	रोकवो	Rokvo
—	हमालणो	Hamalno
Cheek	गाल	Gal
Chest	साती	Sati
Chicken	पोथला	Pothla
	सेला	Sela
	टेंटा	Tainta
Chilli	मिरस	Miras
Chin	दाढ़ी	Dadhi
Cholera	हैजो	Haijo
Church	पादरीखाना	Padrikhana
Cicatrization marks	दामला	Damla
Cigarette	धौलीबीड़ी	Dhaulibiri
	हिगरेट	Higarate
Cinema	हनीमा	Haneema
City	हैर	Her
Claw	पंजा	Panja
	पोग	Pog
Cliff	टुँक	Tunk
Climate	वायरो	Vayro
Climb (to)	सड़वो	Sarvo
Cloud	बादला	Badla
Cobler	समार	Samar
Cobra	नाग	Nag
— hood	फोण	Phon
Cock	कूकड़ो	Kookro
Coconut	गोला	Gola
Cold	ठंड	Thand
Colt	वसेरो	Vasero

1	2	3
Collar	कानरा	Kanra
Collector	कलेक्टर	Collector
Come (to)	आवनो	Avno
Confession	कबूलियत	Kabuliyat
Consequently	इना थकि	Ina thaki
Constitution (of body)	हालत	Halat
Convict (to)	गुनहो कायम होनो — — करनो	Gunho kayam hono — — Karno
Conversation	बात करवो	Bat karvo
Cook	रसोड़दार	Rasordar
Copy	नकल	Nakal
— book	कापी	Copy
Corn	धान	Dhan
Cot	मासो खाटलो	Maso Khatlo
Couple	जोड़ा	Jora
Courtyard	आंगनो	Angno
Courageous	नज	Naj
Cousin (m)	भाई	Bhai
— (f)	बेन	Ben
Cow	गाई	Gai
Co-wife	हौक	Hauk
Crab	केकड़ा	Kekra
Crane	हरड़ा	Harda
Cream	तरी थोर	Tari Thor
Crematorium	महाण	Mahan
Crime	गुनहो	Gunho
Crocodile	मगोर	Magor
Crop	जमानो	Jamano
Crow	कागलो	Kaglo
Cuckoo	कोयल	Koyal
Cultivator	करसण	Karsan
Custom-house	नाको	Nako
Cut (to)	काटवो	Katvo
Cutler	सिकलीगर	Sikligar
Damage (to)	नुकसाण करवो	Nuksan karvo
Dance (to)	नासवो	Nasvo
Dancer	नासवो वालो	Nasvo valo
Daughter	सोरी	Sori
— in law	वऊ	Vau
— (Son's)	सोरा नी सोरी	Sora-ni-sori
— (Daughter's)	सोरी नी सोरी	Sori-ni-sori
— (Brother's)	भतरीजी	Bhatriji
— (Sister's)	भाणजी	Bhanji
— (Wife's brother's)	भतरीजी	Bhatriji
— (Wife's sister's)	भाणजी	Bhanji

1	2	3
Day	दन	Dan
Debt	उधार माथे	Udhar Mathe
Debtor	करजदार	Karajdar
Decree	डिगरी	Degree
Decision	फैसलो	Pheslo
Declaration	जाहिरनामा	Jahirnama
Deer	हरण सिकारा	Haran Sikara
Deliver (to)	देवो	Devo
Demand	लेवई	Lavai
Demand (to)	मांगवो	Mangvo
Denial	मना करवो	Mana karvo
Departure	जावनो	Javno
Deposition	गवाही	Gawahi
Descend (to)	उतरणो	Utarno
Despise	गणे कोई नहीं	Gane koi nahin
Devil	भूत	Bhut
Diarrhoea	पेटाई	Petai
Diary	डायरी	Diary
Die (to)	मरवो	Marvo
Discharge (Pus)	पाक लोहीथाण	Pak Lohithan
Discipline	कायदो	Kaydo
Dislike (to)	गमे नहीं	Game nahin
District	जिल्ला	Zilla
Ditch	खाडो	Khado
Divorce	सोड़ देवनो	Sor devno
Do (to)	करवो	Karvo
Dog	कूतरो	Kootro
Double	बमणो	Bamno
Donkey	गधेड़ो	Gadhero
Drink	दारू	Daru
Drink (to)	पीणो	Peeno
Drive (to)	हांकवो	Hankvo
Driver	ड्राइवर	Driver
Drum	ढोल	Dhol
Drummer	ढोली	Dholi
Drunk	थग थेइ ग्यो	Thag thei gyo
Dwarf	बावनो	Bavno
Dust	धूलो	Dhoolo
Eagle	गरध गरड़	Garadh Garad
Ear	कान	Kan
Earless person (m)	खांडा	Khanda
— — (f)	खांडी	Khandi

1	2	3
East	उगमणो	Ugmano
Eclipse	गरण	Garan
Effects	असर	Asar
Egg	इन्डा	Inda
Eight	आट	Aat
Eighteen	अठारा	Athara
Either	बीजो	Beejo
Elbow	कोणी	Koni
Elephant	हाथी	Hathi
Eleven	इग्यारा	Igyara
Embrace (to)	मलणो	Malno
Embezzlement	गरि ग्यो / हजम करि ग्यो	Gari gyo / Hazam kari gyo
Enactment	कायदो	Kaydo
Enough	एतरी	Etri
Epilepsi	फोर	Phor
Estate	जायदाद / ताखरो	Jaydad / Takhro
Esteem	ताजो गणनो	Tajo ganano
Evening	हाँझ	Hanjh
Excuse	आड़ लेवो	Aar levo
Excuse (to)	माफ करवो	Maf karvo
Expense	खरसो	Kharso
Eye	आँख	Aankh
Eye-brow	नैना	Naina
Face	मुँहडो	Munhdo
Fair	मेलो	Melo
Fall (to)	पड़वो	Parvo
Family	कुटुम / घेरना	Kutum / Gherna
Fare	करायो	Karayo
Farmer	करसण	Karsan
Fast	वरत	Varat
Fasten (to)	बाँधवो	Bandhvo
Fat	मोटो	Moto
Father	बा	Ba
— Grand	गड़ो	Garo
— -in-law	हहारो	Haharo
Fatigue	थाकि ग्यो	Thaki gyo
Feather	पोंख	Ponkh
Feet	पोग	Pog
Festival	तेवार	Tevar
Ficus	पीपल	Pipal
Fifteen	पंद्रा	Pandra
Fine	जोर को / ताजो	Jor ko / Tajo

1	2	3
Finger	आंगरी	Aangri
Fins	पोर	Por
	पोंख	Ponkh
Fire	आग	Aag
Fire-drill	अगियारो–डोइयो	Agiyaro-doio
Fish	मासलो	Maslo
Fish hook	गिल	Gil
	गल	Gal
Fit	जोग	Jog
Five	पाँस	Pans
Flag	झंडो	Jhando
Flame	लौ	Lau
Flea	माखो	Makho
Flood	पूर	Poor
Flour	आटो	Aato
Flow (to)	वईनो	Waino
Fly (insect)	माखी	Makhi
Fly (to)	उड़नो	Urno
Foam	फोर	Phor
Fog	धुआँ	Dhuan
Foment (to)	हेंकना	Henkna
Fool	गाँडो	Gando
Foolish	गाँडो	Gando
Footpath	पोगडंडी	Pogdandi
For	हारू	Haru
Forehead	माथो	Matho
Forest	जंगल	Jungle
	मगरा	Magra
Forget (to)	भूलणो	Bhoolno
Forgive (to)	सोड़ देवो	Sor devo
	माफ करवो	Maf karvo
Fortnight	पाख	Pakh
Forty	सालीस	Salees
Four	सार	Sar
Fourteen	सौदा	Sauda
Friday	हकरवार	Hakarvar
Frog	डेटको	Detko
From	तां थी	Tan thi
Frying pan	कड़ाही	Karahi
Funeral pyre	काठ	Kath
	रती	Rati
Garlic	लसण	Lasan
Gate	बारनो	Barno
Genealogist	भाट	Bhat
Get (to)	लेवो	Levo
Ginger	आदो	Aado

1	2	3
Girl	सोरी	Sori
Give (to)	देवो	Devo
Go (to)	जावो	Javo
Goat	बोकड़ी	Bokri
God	बावसी	Bavsi
	भगवान	Bhagvan
Goldsmith	हुनार	Hunar
Good	हाऊ	Hau
Gourd	आल	Aal
Gout	वादी	Wadi
	हंद जोड़ाई ग्यो	Hand jorai gyo
Governess	धायण	Dhayan
Government	राज	Raj
Grain	सना	Sana
Gram	धान	Dhan
Grass	सारो	Saro
Green	हरो	Haro
Grind (to)	पीसनो	Peesno
Grindstone	निहाणा	Nihana
Grocer	वाणियो	Vanio
Guardian	देख रेख करवो वालो	Dekh rekh karvo valo
Guineaworm	नारू	Naroo
Gum (of the tooth)	महोड़ा	Mahora
Gum (of the tree)	गोंद	Gond
Hair	बाबरा	Babra
Hairy	बाबरा	Babra
	झीथरा	Jheethra
Half	फाड़	Phar
Hand	हात	Hat
Hand-mill	घट्टी	Ghatti
Hare	खरगो	Khargo
	हाहा	Haha
Hat	टोपी	Topi
Hay	बगदी	Bagdi
Headman	तड़वी	Tadvi
Heaven	हरग	Harag
Heifer	वसेरी	Vaseri
Hemp	हण	Han
Hen	कूकड़ी	Kookri
Her	इणी	Ini
Here	अटे	Aate
Highroad	गडार	Gadar
Highway	पोथ	Poth
Hill	डूंगरी	Doongri
Hire	भाड़ा	Bhara
His	इणो	Ino
Hit (to)	मारवो	Marvo

1	2	3
Holiday	सूटी	Sooti
Holiness	ताजो / असल / नज	Tajo / Asal / Naj
Home	घेर	Gher
Honey	हैत / हैतर	Hait / Haitar
Honour (to)	कदर करवो	Kadar karvo
Horn	हींगड़ो	Heengro
Horse	घोड़ो	Ghoro
Hospital	दवाखाना	Dawakhana
	डाकखाना	Dakkhana
Hotel	होटल	Hotel
Hour	कला	Kala
House	टापरा	Tapra
Howl (to)	रोवनो	Rovno
How many	कतरा	Katra
How much	केतरो	Ketro
Hunchback (m)	वाँको	Vanko
— (f)	वांकी	Vanki
Hunger	भूखो	Bhukho
Hungry (to be)	भूखो	Bhukho
Hurry	धामां	Dhaman
Husband	आदमी	Aadmi
	मोटयार	Motyar
— (Sister's)	बेनवी	Benvi
— (Daughter's)	जमाई	Jamai
Hut	टापरी	Tapri
Hyaena	जरखड़ो	Jarkharo
Idle (m)	नवरा	Navra
— (f)	नवरी	Navri
Illiterate	अणभणियो	Anbhanio
Imprison (to)	जेल करवो	Jail karvo
Imprisonment	जेल	Jail
Immediately	झट	Jhat
In	माँ	Man
Inflamation	वरना	Varna
Ink	साई	Sai
Inn	धरमशाला	Dharamsala
	सराय	Sarai
Insensible	सून	Soon
	झंझटी	Jhanjhati
Inside	मांय	Maany
Jaggary	गुड़	Gur
Jackal	गादड़ो	Gadro

1	2	3
Jail	जेल	Jail
Joy	मजो	Majo
Jump (to)	कूदवो	Koodvo
Keep	रखवो	Rakhvo
Kernel	कासली	Kasli
Kettle	तपीलो	Tapilo
Kill (to)	मारवो	Marvo
King	राजा	Raja
Kite	हामरी	Hamri
Knee	ढेसुण	Dhesun
Lame (m)	खोडा	Khoda
— (f)	खोडी	Khodi
Landlady	मालकण	Malkan
Landlord	मालक	Malak
Lane	गरियारो	Gariyaro
Language	बोली	Boli
Large	मोटो	Moto
Laugh (to)	हंसवो	Hansvo
Lawyer	वकील	Vakil
Lazy (to be)	ठंडो	Thando
Lean	पातलो	Patlo
Leech	जब	Jab
Leg	पोग	Pog
Lemon	लींबू	Leembu
Lentils (pulse)	महूर	Mahoor
Less	ओसो	Oso
Letter	कागद / सीठी	Kagad / Seethi
Letterpaper	कागद	Kagad
Lie	झूठ / कूड़	Jhooth / Koor
Lime	सोनो	Sono
Lip	होठ	Hoth
Liquor	मऊड़ी	Mauri
Literate	भणियो	Bhanio
Live (to)	रइणो	Raino
Liver	तिल्ली	Tilli
Lizard	घरोली	Gharoli
Lobster	केकड़ा	Kekra
Locust	टीड़	Teed
Log	बूंगड़ा	Boongra
Loss	नुकसान	Nuksan
Louse	जुआं	Juan
Luggage	हामान	Haman
Luncheon	बोपोरियो	Boporio

1	2	3
Maize	मक्की	Makki
Make (to)	बनावणो	Banavno
Man	मनख	Manakh
Mango	आम	Aam
Many	घणा	Ghana
Mare	घोड़ी	Ghori
Market	बजार	Bazar
Marriage	हादी	Hadi
— by exchange	अट्टा सट्टा	Atta-satta
— by service	घर जमाई	Ghar-jamai
— by elopement, abduction or with once married woman	नाता	Nata
Marriage party	जाण	Jan
Marry (to)	परणावणो / हादी करवो	Parnavno / Hadi karvo
Mason	राज / सिलावट	Raj / Silawat
Measles	माता	Mata
Mention (to)	कहवो	Kahvo
Merchant	वाणियो	Vanio
Messenger	काहिद	Kahid
Mewing	माऊं माऊं सीसायै है	Maun maun Seesaye hai
Midwife	दाई	Dai
Mile	मील	Meel
Milk	दूद	Dood
Milkman	दूदवालो	Dood walo
Mill	हंसो	Hanso
Minister	मिनिस्टर	Minister
Monday	होमवार	Homwar
Money	पइसो	Paiso
Mongoose	नोरिया	Noria
Monkey	वांदरो	Vandro
Month	माह	Mah
Months of the year	वर (हाल) रे माह	Var (Hal) re mah
Moon	सांद	Sand
Morning	हवेरा / परभात	Havera / Parbhat
Mosque	मजीद	Majeed
Mosquito	मच्छर	Machhar
Moth	रूणी	Rooni
Mother	आई	Ai
— Step	माही	Mahi
— -in-law	हाऊ	Hau
— Grand	गड़ी	Gari
Mountain	डूंगर	Doongar
Mouse	ऊंदरो	Oondro
Moustache	मूंछ	Moonch
Mud	कीसड़	Keesad

1	2	3
Muddy	डाबरो	Dabro
Much	घणा	Ghana
Nail (of the body)	नख	Nakh
Nail	खील	Kheel
Neither	कईं नो नी	Kain-no-n i
Nephew	भतरीजा / भाणजा	Bhatrija / Bhanja
Next	आगलो / बीजो	Aaglo / Beejo
Niece	भतरीजी / भाणजी	Bhatriji / Bhanji
Night	रात	Rat
Nobility	ठकरायत	Thakrayat
Nobleman	ठाकर	Thakar
Noon	बपोर	Bapor
Nose	नाकोड़ो	Nakoro
Nutcrackers	हरोंतो	Haronto
Of	नो / नी	No / Ni
Office	अफसर	Afsar
Oil	तेल	Tel
Old man	डोकरो	Dokro
Old woman	डोकरी	Dokri
One	एक	Ek
— third	पूणो	Poono
Onion	कादा	Kada
Opposite	आड़ो	Aaro
Orange	नारंगी	Narangi
Ornaments	गेणो	Geno
Owl	घग्घू	Ghagghu
Ox	बलध	Baladh
Oysters	हींपड़ी	Heenpri
Pair	जोड़ा	Jora
Palace	मल	Mel
Palanquin	पालकी	Palki
Palm	हथेली	Hatheli
Paper	कागद	Kagad
Panch (of statuatory Panchayat)	पंस	Pans
— (of community Panchayat)	भांजगड़िया	Bhanjgarhia
Panchayat (statuatory)	पँसायत	Pansayat
— (community)	भांजगढ़	Bhanjgarh
Pardon (to)	सोड़ देवो	Sor devo
Parents	आई बा	Ai-Ba
Path	वाट	Wat
Patron	जजमान	Jajman

1	2	3
Parrot	हूड़ा	Hoora
Paw	पोग	Pog
Pea-cock	मोर	Mor
	देलड़ो	Dhelro
Pea-hen	मोयड़ी	Moiri
	ढेलडी	Dhelri
Pencil	सिसपेन	Sispen
Papper	कारीमरस	Karimaras
Perspiration	परेवो	Parevo
Person	जणा	Jana
Petitioner	अरजदार	Arajdar
Physician	डाकदर	Dakder
Pig	हूअर	Hooar
Pigeon	कबूतरा	Kabutra
Pin	हुई	Hui
Pistol	तमंसो	Tamanso
Plank	पाटियो	Patio
Plaster	पटो	Pato
Platform	डागला	Dagla
Play (to)	रमवो	Ramvo
Pleader	वकील	Vakil
Pledge	हौगंध	Haugandh
	हम	Ham
Plough	अल	Al
Plough (to)	ओरवो	Orvo
Police	पुलिस	Pulice
— office	थाना	Thana
— post	चौकी	Chauki
— man	हिपाई	Hipai
	तकड़ो	Takro
Pork	हूअर नो मांह	Hooar-no-manh
Porridge	घाटड़ी	Ghatri
Portman teau	पेटी	Peti
Postage	टिकट	Ticket
Post office	डाकघर	Dakghar
Potato	आलू	Alu
Presently	हमणा	Hamna
Prescription	सीठी	Seethi
Previously	पहले	Pahley
Price	दाम	Dam
Prison	जेल	Zail
Procedure (criminal)	फौजदारी	Faujdari
— (civil)	दीवानी	Dewani
Profit	फायदो	Faydo
Pudding	हीरो	Heero
Pulse	दाल	Dal
Pumpkin	कोलो	Kolo

1	2	3
Purchase (to)	मोलावणो	Molvano
Quarter	बटको	Batko
Queen	राणी	Rani
Quietly	टाड़ो	Taro
Radish	मूरो	Mooro
Railway	रेल	Rail
Rainbow	धन कमाण	Dhan kaman
Rains	सोमासो	Somaso
Rape	माथे पड़नो	Mathe Parno
Rasp	कगरच	Cagrach
Rat	ऊँदरो	Oondro
Rate	दाम	Dam
Razor	पासणो	Pasno
Read (to)	भणावो / पढ़वो	Bhanvo / Padhvo
Recovery	हदरना	Hadurna
Red	रातो	Rato
Reins	लगाम	Lagam
Relative	हगो	Hago
Rent	किरायो	Kirayo
Report	रपोट	Rapot
Revenue	हाँसल	Hansal
Rice	सोखा	Sokha
River	नदी	Nadi
Rivulet	नाला / खाल	Nala / Khal
Road	पथ	Path
Rope	राहड़ी	Rahri
Rug	वलकिया	Walkia
Rupee	रूपियो	Rupio
Run (to)	भाजवो	Bhajvo
Saddle	काठी	Kathi
Saddler	जीनगर	Jeengar
Saturday	थावर	Thavar
Saucers	रकाबी	Rakabi
Sausage	चटनी	Chatni
Scarcely	केराँ केराँ	Keran keran
School	निहार / स्कूल	Nihar / School
Score	कोड़ी	Kori
Scorpion	वीसू	Weesu
Scythe	दाँतूड़ो	Dantudo
Seal	मोहर	Mohar
Seal (to)	वाई देणो	Wai deno

1	2	3
Sealing-wax	चपड़ी	Chapri
See (to)	जोइबो	Joibo
Sead-drill	पिंडनी	Pindni
Seldom	केराँ केराँ	Keran keran
Sentence	सजा	Saja
Servant	नौकर	Naukar
	हाली	Hali
Sesamum	तल	Tal
Shaman	भोपा	Bhopa
Sheath	म्यान	Myan
Sheep	गाडरा	Gadra
Sheet	पाठो	Patho
Shivering	टाड़	Tad
Shooting	निहाणा लगाणो	Nihana lagano
Shop	दोकान	Dokan
Shopkeeper	वाणियो	Vanio
Shoulder	खब्बो	Khabbo
Shovel	फावड़ो	Phavro
Sigh (to)	दम भरणो	Dam bharno
Silently	टाड़ो	Taro
Singer	गावो वालो	Gavo walo
Single	एकज	Ekaj
Sin	पाप	Pap
Sister	बेन	Ben
— (wife's)	हाली	Hali
Skirt	घाघरो	Ghagro
Sleeve	वाँय	Bany
Smallpox	माता	Mata
Snake	हाँप	Hanp
Soap	हाबुन	Habun
	हाबू	Habu
Socks	मोजा	Moja
Some	ओसो	Oso
Somewhere	केराँक	Kerank
So much	एतरो	Etro
Son	सोरो	Soro
— (-in-law)	जमाई	Jamai
— (Brother's)	भतरीजा	Bhatrija
— (Sister's)	भाणेज	Bhanej
— (Son's)	सोरा नो सोरो	Sora no sora
— (Daughter's)	सोरी नो सोरो	Sori no Sora
— (Wife's brother's)	भतरीजा	Bhatrija
— (Wife's sister's)	भाणेज	Bhanej
Soup	झोर	Jhor
Spinach	भाजी	Bhaji
Spinster	कंवारी	Kanwari
Sportsman (hunter)	हिकारी	Hikari

1	2	3
Squirrel	तालूड़ी	Taluri
Stalk	थोक	Thok
Stamp	टिकट	Ticket
Stand for keeping pitchers	पंडिनि	Pandini
	पन्नी	Panni
Standing	ऊबो	Oobo
Stirrup	पागड़े	Pagre
Stitch (to)	हीवणो	Heevno
Stockings	मोजा	Moja
Stone-mason	हिलावट	Hilawat
Strap	सिलावट	Silawat
	तंग	Tang
Street	गलियारो	Galiyaro
Study (to)	भणवो	Bhanvo
Stump	डंठून	Danthool
Sugar	हक्कर	Hakkar
Summer	उन्हाला	Unhala
Summons	सम्मन	Samman
	नोटिस	Notice
Sunday	दीतवार	Deetwar
Sup (to)	खावो	Khavo
Supper	रोटो खाणो	Roto khano
Surgeon	डाकदर	Dakdar
Swear (to)	हौगंध खाणो	Haugandh khano
Sweeper	भंगी	Bhangi
Swing	हींसियो	Heensio
Syringe	पिसकारी	Piskari
Tail	पूँछड़ी	Poonchhri
Tailor	दरजी	Darzi
Tamarind	आमली	Amli
Tattooing	गोदवो	Godvo
Tea	सा	Sa
Teacher	मास्टर	Master
Telegram	तार	Tar
Telegraph	तार	Tar
Temple	देवरो	Devro
	मंदर	Mandar
Tender	नमैलो	Namelo
Tent	डेरा	Dera
	तम्बू	Tambu
	छोलदारी	Chholdari
Theft	सोरी	Sori
That	ओ	O
There	वटे	Wate
Therefore	ऐम	Em
Thigh	हाँतोर	Hantor

1	2	3
This	ई	Ee
Three	तीन	Teen
— fold	तगणो	Tagno
Thoroughly	ठीक तराँ	Theek taran
Thumb	अंगूठो	Angutho
Thursday	वैस्तार	Vestar
Ticket	टिकट	Ticket
Tiger	वाघ / चीतरा	Wagh / Cheetra
Tiles	थापड़ा	Thapra
Toad	डेटको	Detko
Tobacco	तमाखू	Tamakhoo
Today	आज / हमना	Aaj / Hamna
Toe	पोग नी आंगरी	Pog ni aangri
Together	हाते हाते	Hate hate
Tomato	टमेटर	Tametar
Tomorrow	परदन / काल	Pardan / Kal
— Day after	पर ने दन	Par ne dan
Tongs	सीपियो	Seepio
Tongue	जीभ	Jeebh
Tortoise	काजबो	Kajbo
Transcribe (to)	लखवो	Lakhvo
Transport (to)	लई जाणो	Lai jano
Travois	घिहरी	Ghihri
Tree	रूखड़ो	Rookhro
Trial	मुकदमो	Mukadmo
Tribunal	कोरट / अदालत	Korat / Adalat
Troublesome	दख देवा वारो	Dakh deva waro
True	हांसी	Hansi
Trunk	पेटी	Peti
Tuesday	मंगलवार	Mangalwar
Turmeric	हल्दी	Haldi
Turkey	जल कूकड़ी	Jal kookri
Turtle	काजबा	Kajba
Twig	ओसीलो	Oseelo
Two	बे	Be
Two and a half	अढ़ाई	Adhai
Ugly (m)	भूंडो	Bhoondo
— (f)	भूंडी	Bhoondi
Upto	आईं तक	Aain tak
Uncertain	गम कोई नहीं	Gam koi nahin
Uncle		
(i) Father's elder brother	मोटो बा	Moto Ba

1	2	3
(ii) Father's younger brother	काको	Kako
(iii) Mother's brother	मामो	Mamo
Uncover (to)	उघाड़ो करवो	Ugharo karvo
Understand	हमजवो	Hamajvo
	गम पड़वो	Gam parvo
Unfit	जोग नहीं	Jog nai
Unpack (to)	गाठण खोलणा	Ganthan kholna
Unscrew (to)	पेस खोलवो	Pes kholvo
Unsewn	कोरो	Koro
Untrue	कूड़	Koor
Vaccinate (to)	हुई लगाड़नो	Hui lagarno
Valid	खरी	Khari
Viper	हांप	Hanp
Violet	लीला	Leela
Voyage	जात्रा	Jatra
Wasp	तातनिया	Tatnia
Wase	मीण	Meen
Wednesday	बधबार	Badhwar
Week	अठवाड़ियो	Athwario
Weigh	तोलणो	Tolno
What	हूँ	Hun
Wheat	गहूँ	Gahun
— flour	गहरां नो आटो	Gahran no aato
Where	कटे	Kate
Whetstone	निहाणा	Nihana
Whip	कोयड़ा	Koyra
Who	कण	Kan
Whom	कण रो	Kan ro
	कण री	Kan ri
Whose	कइ नो	Kai no
	कइ नी	Kai ni
	केवानो	Keva no
	केवानी	Keva ni
Why	केम	Kem
Widow	रांडी	Randi
Widower	रांडो	Rando
Wife	बैअर	Baiar
— (Brother's)	भाभी	Bhabhi
— (Wife's brother's)	हाली	Hali
Wing	पोर	Por
	पांखा	Pankha
Winnowing fan	हूपड़ा	Hoopra
Winter	हियारा	Hiyara
Wisdom	अक्कल	Akkal
Woman	बैअर	Baiar

1	2	3
Woodpecker	घट्टीटकारा हूतार टकफोर	Ghattitakara Hootar Takfor
Worm	कीड़ो जनावरो	Keero Janavro
Wrist	कांडो	Kando
Year	वर हाल	Var Hal
Yellow	पीलो	Peelo
Yesterday	पोम दन	Pom dan
— day before	पासला दन	Pasla dan

सत्यमेव जयते

CENSUS OF INDIA
1961



Sanwara

A VILLAGE SURVEY

ISSUED BY THE OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT
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VOLUME XIV

RAJASTHAN

PART VI-A

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

3. SANWARA

Field Investigation and First Draft by
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OF THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE
Superintendent of Census Operations, Rajasthan.

1965

PREFACE

Ancient dwellers of Rajasthan, the Sahariyas are the most backward members of the Scheduled tribes of the State. Colonel Tod found them but little removed from savage life and, although a long-time has passed since then, their condition has not appreciably improved. Sahariyas are concentrated in a pocket consisting of two tehsils in the Kota district on the Rajasthan-Madhya Pradesh border. An attempt has been made in this monograph to study this community in a village in this region.

The investigation was made firstly by Sarvashri B.R. Gulati, M.Sc. (Anth.) and G.D. Agarwal M.Com. jointly from November 30 to December 5, 1961; but later the study was carried on by Shri Gulati alone, who revisited the village and stayed there from October 22 to October 30, 1962 and again visited it in January, 1964 in the company of the photographer and his supervisor, Shri L.R. Pendharkar who, apart from making investigations, used this occasion to draw a few sketches on the spot which appear in this monograph.

I thank Dr. U.B. Mathur, Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, Rajasthan, who helped me in editing this work, Shri Pendharkar who prepared the draft report and the beautiful sketches, Shri Gulati who conducted the investigation, Shri P.C. Acharya who did photography and Shri Sri Narain, who has rendered some of the tunes of the songs into staff notations.

I extend my gratitude to Shri Asok Mitra, Registrar General, India and Dr. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty for their guidance in this work.

"Chandra-Alok",
Bapunagar, Jaipur.
26th Jan., 1965.

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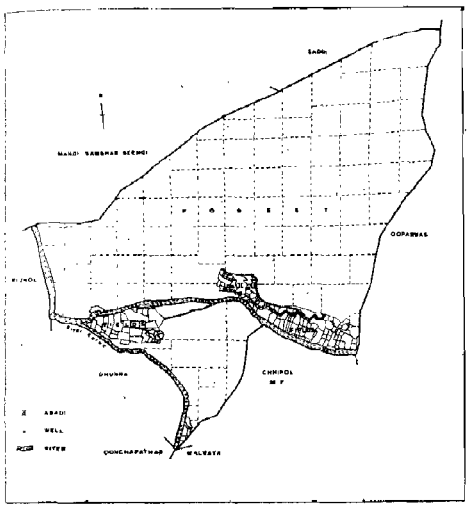
Cover : Design composed of floor drawings from the bangla of the Ahirs.

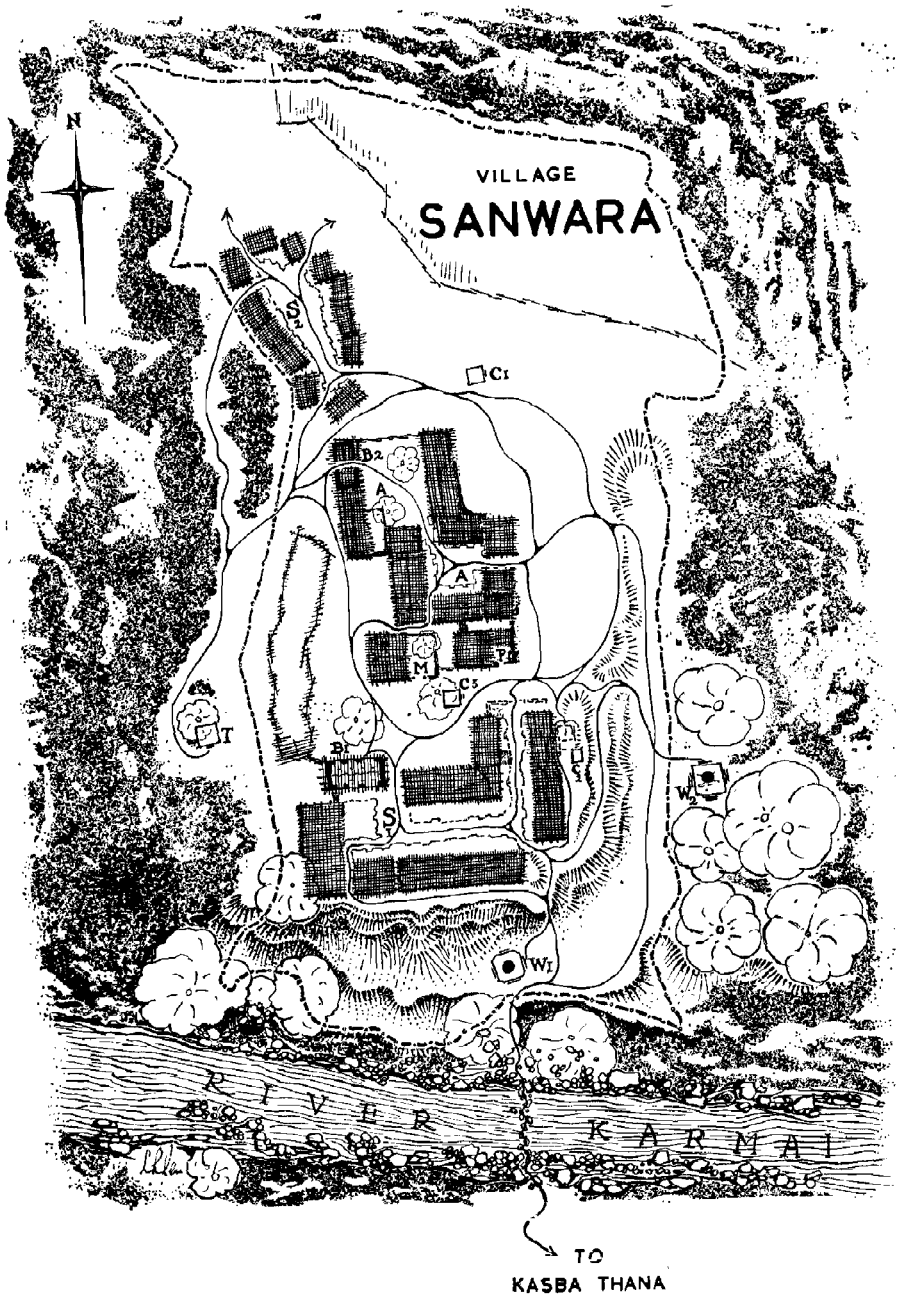
VILLAGE SANWARA

TEHSIL SHAHBAD

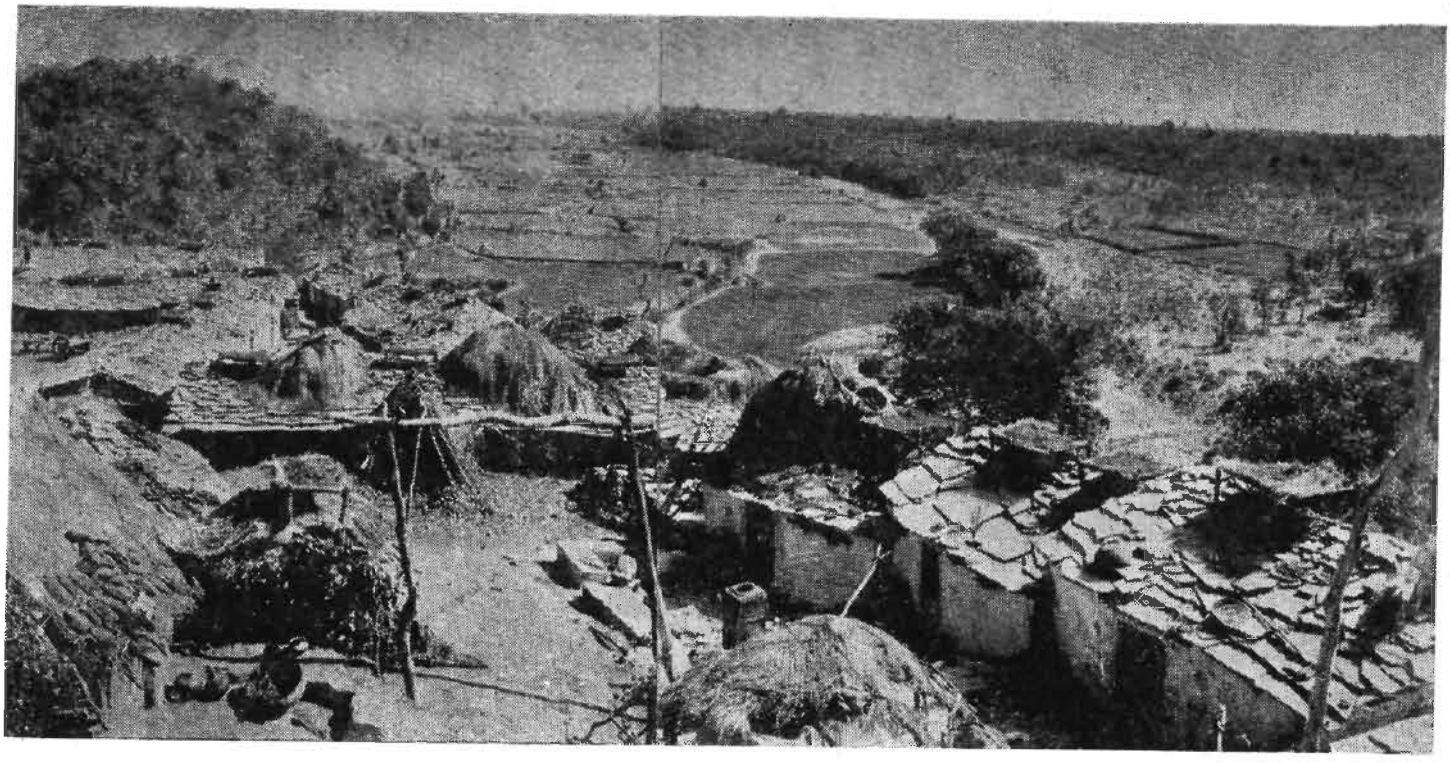
DISTRICT KOTA

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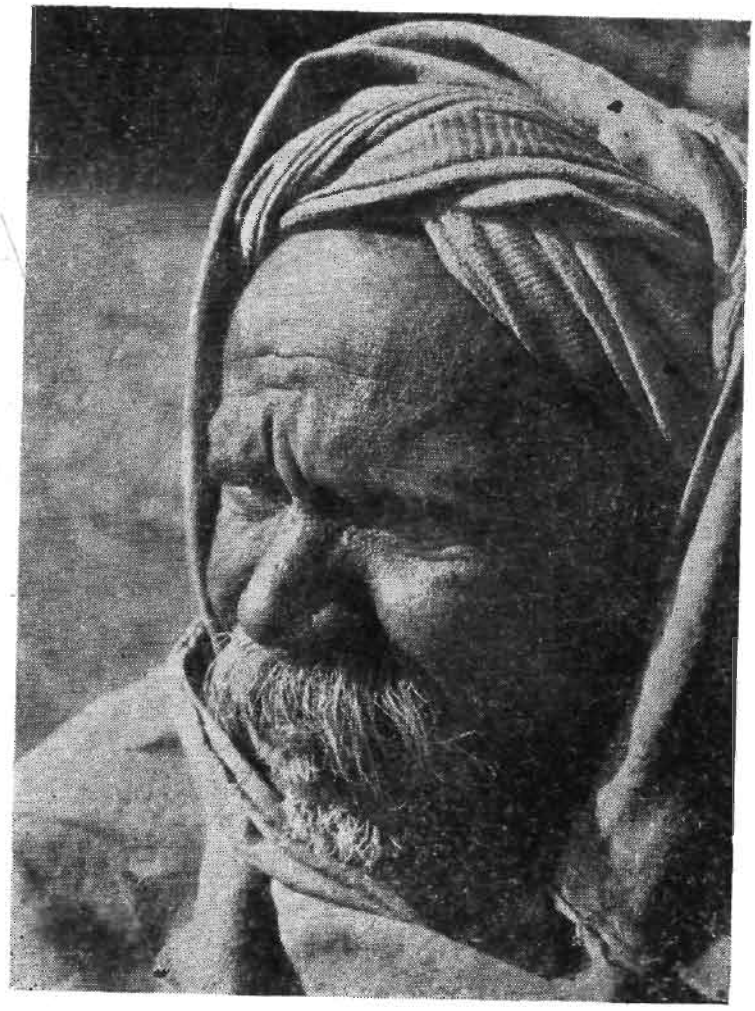




S1 - Sahariya huts
S2 - ,, ,,
A - Ahir houses
B1 - Bangla of the Sahariyas
B2 - Bangla of the Ahirs
P - Brahmin's hut
M - Muslim's hut
T - Hanuman temple and school
W1 - Well of the Sahariyas
W2 - Well used by the Ahirs, Brahmin and the Muslim
C1 - Heeraman-ka-Chabutra
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C3 - Kanwar-ka-Chabutra



The beautiful valley of river Karmai as seen from the Hanuman temple. In the fore-ground are the huts belonging to the Sahariyas.



A Sahariya elder.



Lost in the labyrinths of the dense forest on way to Sanwara,-about 2 kilometres from the village.

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

SANWARA, the forest-locked Sahariya hamlet situated almost on the Rajasthan-Madhya Pradesh border in a dacoit-infested area, is perched on the edge of a ledge; and, looking down on the river Karmai, presents an excellent view of the widening valley in front.

2. The Sahariyas, who form over three-fourths of the village population and are reckoned to be the most backward, hence the poorest, of the Scheduled Tribes of Rajasthan, were bought and sold like goods and chattels till half a century ago. They knew no settled life and practised what is called shifting cultivation, that is, they cleared and burned a small patch of land in the forest, laid seeds in holes made in the ashes by a *khunita*, the fore-runner of the primitive hand-driven plough; and earned the main part of their subsistence by collecting and selling jungle-products.

3. Besides the Sahariyas, the other important community in the village is that of the Ahirs. They live mostly by cattle-rearing and may be said to form the village aristocracy. A study of the hitherto neglected tribe of foresters in juxtaposition with the more fortunate cattle-rearers, the Ahirs, was sure to yield interesting and useful results.

Location

4. Sanwara (77° 20 'E, 225° 20 'N) is located about 10 km south-east of Kasba Thana, an important border village, in Shahbad tehsil of Kota district. The nearest railway station from which it can be reached is Baran, 113 km away on Western Railway. Regular service buses on Kota-Shivpuri (Madhya Pradesh) route pass through Baran, Shahbad and Kasba Thana. There is, however, no well-defined road linking Sanwara either to Kasba Thana or to Kota Naka (the nearest border village in Madhya Pradesh), but only tracks and bullock-cart ruts, which are more often than not deceitful and misguiding. Visitors to Sanwara usually get lost in the labyrinths of the forest, which is known to be a hiding place of the dacoits. The wild animals too are there. After negotiating the last 4 km of the dense jungle, clearings full of small and big boulders and breast-high wild growth, the visitor, more or less suddenly, comes to the high bank of the river Karmai. Sanwara stares at him from the top of a hillock on the opposite side.

5. There is no bridge or culvert on the river. A number of stones, suitably placed in shallow waters at a convenient point, obviate the necessity of wading. By hopping from stone to stone, the weary traveller reaches his destination.

6. The subject of our study, Sanwara, can now boast of a Primary School and the Panchayat Office. The nearest Middle School, the Police Station, Girls' Primary School and, lastly, the Dispensary are located at Kasba Thana. The nearest High School is 34 km away i. e. at the tehsil headquarters, Shahbad.

7. The river, Karmai, has its source at Meto-ji, about 30 km away, in Madhya Pradesh. After coursing by the side of Kara, Dighondi, Kota-Naka and Chhipol, it reaches Sanwara, from where it flows along Sadri, Khirkai, Basai, Potari, all small settlements and villages, to join another river, Raipi at Narora.

Rainfall

8. The average annual rainfall of Sanwara is about 80 cms. It is very hot in summer and inconveniently cold in winter. In December and January cold winds blow over the valley; and fires are kept burning, day and night, in the village to keep the scantily clad bodies warm. Knots of shivering men and women, sitting round the fire is a common sight then. A table showing the rainfall in cms. of the Shahbad tehsil for the period 1951-60 is given below :

Year	Rainfall	Year	Rainfall
1951	43·7	1956	108·2
1952	71·4	1957	86·8
1953	51·4	1958	73·4
1954	79·8	1959	89·3
1955	94·7	1960	101·0

Flora and Fauna

9. The forest around Sanwara is very rich in flora and fauna. Some of the important trees, shrubs and grasses available therein are the following : Mahua *(Basia latifolia)*, Achar *(Buchanania latifolia)*, Salar *(Boswellia serrata)*, Gurjan *(Lannea coromandelica)*, Tendu *(Diospyros melanoxylon)*, Bahera *(Terminalia belerica)*, Kohra *(Terminalia arjuna)*, Sirish *(Albizzia procera)*, Jamun *(Eugenia jambolana)*, Dhonkra *(Anogeissus latifolia)*, Khenjra *(Acacia leucophloea)*, Kadam *(Anthocephalus cadamba)*, Peepul *(Ficus religiosa)*, Bor *(Zizyphus jujuba)*, Salaria *(Terminalia tomentosa)*, Chhola *(Butea monosperma)*, *Bel (Aegle mauratiana)*, Dudhi *(Wrightia tinctoria)*, Harshingar *(Nyctanthes arboritristis)*, Negur *(Vitex negundo)*, Makoy *(Zizyphus cenopolia)*, Karonda *(Carrissa spinarum)*, Sen-Senta *(Schima nervosum)*, Gharnia *(Dactyloctenium scindicum)*, and Lapla *(Aristida depressa)*.

10. In addition to the above mentioned forest produce, certain tubers, locally known as Bajar, Chayin and Gwari, are also found in plenty and consumed copiously by the Sahariyas as substitutes for normal food materials. The forest trees and shrubs, besides being a source of considerable income to the State, offer a dependable means of subsistence to a large section of the villagers. It would be interesting to note some of the forest products here :

1. Mahua *(Basia latifolia)* — From its flowers liquor and from seeds oil is extracted.

2. Achar *(Buchanania latifolia)* — Its fruit has high nutrition value. They are sold at Rs. 8/- per kilo.

3. Kher *(Acacia catechu)* — Kher and Dhonkari yield gum of a high quality. *Katha* (catechu) is made out of Kher tree.

4. Tendu *(Diospyros melanoxylon)* — While the fruit is eaten, the leaves are used in *bidi* making (*Bidis* are poor man's cigars.)

5. Dhonkra *(Anogeissus latifolia)* — Dry wood from these as well as from some other trees is used as fuel and in the construction of houses and wells.

6. Bahera, *(Terminalia bellerica)*; Anwala, *(cassia auriculata)*; Makoy, *(Solanum nigrum)* and Harshingar *(Nyctanthes arboritristis)*.

These are used for medicinal purposes.

11. The white *moosli*, which is a root-tuber, fetches high price as it is credited with masculinity giving potency. Sen-Senta and Gharnia grasses are made into strings, cords and ropes used for various purposes. The Peepal and Kher trees are religiously significant, the former being so highly venerated that it is not felled or cut for using as fuel. Its twigs are, however, collected for making sacred fire which is lighted at the time of marriages, deaths, etc. The Sahariyas call the Kher tree Kher Baba and offer worship to it.

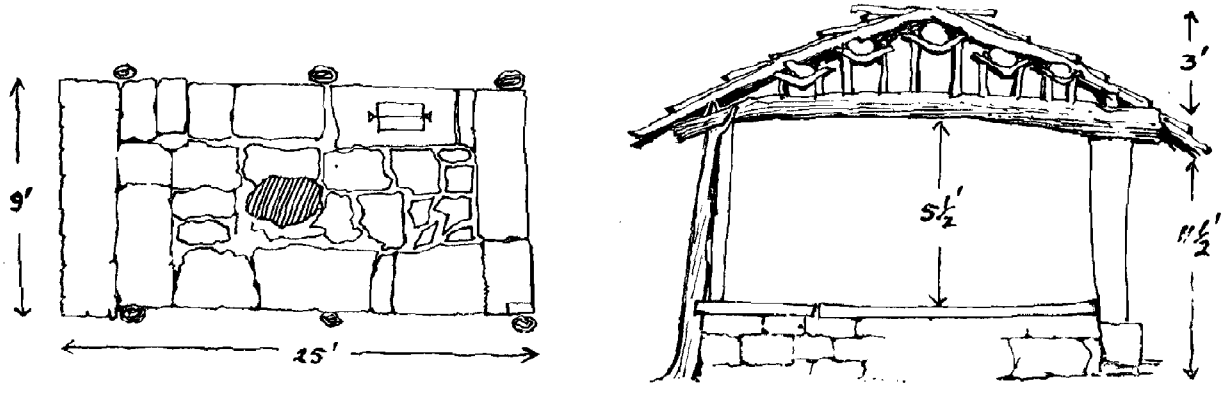
12. The suburbs of Sanwara abound in wild life which consists of Tigers, Leopards, Bears, Sambhar *(Cervus unicolor)*, Cheetal *(Curvus axis)*, Neelgai *(Bosalaphus tragocamelus)*, Jackal *(Canis aureus)*, Sloth Bear *(Melursus ursinus)*, Fox *(Vulpes bengalensis)*, and the Bush Rat *(Golunda ellioti)*. Many of these are seen roaming about fearlessly by the visitors to the village.

Households

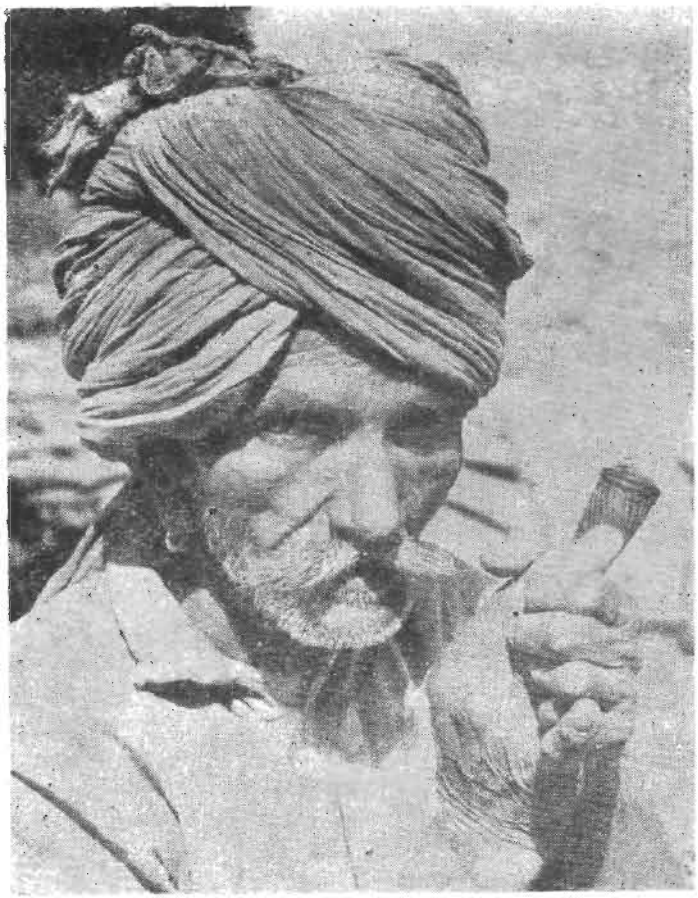
13. The total number of households in Sanwara is 44 of which 32 belong to the Sahariyas, 10 to the Ahirs, and one each to the Brahmin and the Muslim communities. The total number of persons in the village is 222. The following table shows the strength of each community :



Picture of a *bangla* – the community hall of the Sahariyas.



The plan and elevation of an open hutment called *bangla*. The supports for the sloping sides of the roof are noteworthy. The *bangla* belongs to the Sahariyas. Note the fire place in the centre of the Plan.



Nathua Mehta, an elder of the village.



The idol of Mahavirji
installed by Nathua Mehta.



The *Thakur-ka-Chabutra*. The idol is shown riding a camel.

Communities	Number of households	Number of persons	Males	Females	Percentage to total population
Sahariya	32	170	81	89	76·58
Ahir	10	45	22	23	20·27
Brahmin	1	5	2	3	2·25
Muslim	1	2	1	1	·90
Total	44	222	106	116	100·00

Settlement Pattern

14. The village stands on the edge of plateau sloping down to the river Karmai. After crossing the river one has to walk up the ascent nearly two hundred paces to reach the village huts. The residential pattern is compact, clustertype. There are four well-marked clusters, each having ten to twelve houses constructed adjacent to one another with common walls. The clusters are known as *thoks* and the *thoks* where the Sahariyas reside are called *seharanas*. The Muslim and the Brahmin families live in the Ahir locality called *Ahiran-ki-thok*. The Sahariyas and the Ahirs live in separate clusters due, firstly, to caste affinity and, secondly, because of the stigma of untouchability attached to the former group.

15. There are two *seharanas* in Sanwara, one of which is right in the centre of the village and the other on its outskirts to the north. The division of the Sahariya population in two separate clusters is not based on any social, political or economic differentiations.

16. In between the Ahir and the Sahariya settlements, there is an open ground, about 50 metres long and 70 metres wide, where the whole village often meets for discussion, gossip or recreation. It is here that the monthly meetings of the Panchayat are held and the elders sit or squat on the spacious platform under the neem tree, near *Kanwar-ka-chabutra*. Around the open ground are to be seen sheds for cattle and bullock-carts. In their own localities or *thoks*, both, the Ahirs and the Sahariyas, have constructed through community enterprise open hutments, called *banglas*, for holding community meetings and lodging guests. The word *bangla* seems to be a corruption of the English word bungalow. In the *bangla* of the Sahariyas, there is a central fire-place where, in winter, fire is kept burning day and night. When not required for warming or for lighting *bidis*, the fire is covered with ashes. The *bangla* also contains one or two cots for the use of the guests and if more are needed, they are brought from the *patel's* (headman) house. The *bangla* of the Ahirs is not very spacious, but it is very nicely kept.

17. Up the hill and right above the village is another place of gathering for the villagers. Till about a decade ago there was only an insignificant platform there. Then the villagers contributed an amount of Rs. 45 and Nathua Mehta, an elder of the village, brought from village Kolaras an idol of Mahavirji and installed it there. During the festival of *Phaag*, that is *Holi*, people gather here and, on the second day, they throw *gulal* (scarlet powder), etc. at each other. It is now considered very necessary for the prospective groom to pay a visit to the *chabutra* of Mahavirji and make suitable offering before setting out for the bride's house.

18. One more place of adoration and worship is what is known as the *Thakur-ka-chabutra*. It is under a *rehonjra* tree. The idol of *Thakurji* shows him riding a camel. It was brought from Kasba Thana about a dozen years ago and installed here.

Crematorium

19. One cremation site is located on the bank of the river Karmai. Two separate places, rather close to one another, are reserved for the Sahariyas and the Brahmins. The Sahariyas have theirs rather down the stream. The Ahirs burn their dead on the north of the village and not near the river. The question of location of the Muslim burial has not yet arisen as the family has comparatively recently shifted to the village.

20. There is no scarcity of water in the area. For the purpose of irrigation, the river meets almost all the needs. For drinking water there are two wells sunk at the foot of the hillock though a little above the level of the riverbed. The well owned by the Ahirs is quite old, but the one belonging to the Sahariyas was built some 8 years ago. The Community Block had granted a sum of Rs. 400 as a matching grant against an equal amount contributed by the Sahariyas in terms of *shramdan* i. e. voluntary manual labour, and some cash for the construction of their well. Prior to the digging of their well, the Sahariyas used to fetch water from the river as they were forbidden to draw it from the well of the Ahirs. The Sahariyas do not object to taking of water from their well by the Ahirs. They would probably welcome it. But the Ahirs do not do so .because they consider themselves higher in caste hierarchy than the untouchable Sahariyas. What to speak of taking water from a common source, when an Ahir woman carrying water comes across a Sahariya woman, the latter is expected to move to one side leaving the way clear for the former. The Brahmin and the Muslim households use the well of the Ahirs.

21. Water from the wells is drawn up by means of a rope tied to a bucket or a *ghada*. No pulley is, however, used but the bucket is let down the well and, when it is filled with water, it is pulled up. The whole operation is performed standing on the slippery edge of the well-mouth. Water from the river required for irrigation is, however, raised by means of simple locally made persian wheels.

22. There is no market, not even a weekly market in Sanwara. The Muslim gentleman sells some minor items of daily use such as match-boxes, bidis, salt, chillis, etc. People usually arrange purchases of foodstuffs and other articles from Kasba Thana.

History and Origin

23. No written records about the origin of the village are available. An incredible tale is offered by the elders of the Ahir community according to which Sanwara was founded about 150 years ago by the great grand father of the present patel of the village, Nathua Mehta who was a resident of Bainth, a hamlet 32 km away in Madhya Pradesh. Straitened circumstances compelled him to leave that village in search of a living. He had nothing with him but a she-calf. After wearily traversing some distance on foot he came to a place named Pawa, where he met a Sadhu who asked him for some tobacco. When it was readily offered, the holy man blessed the Mehta and advised him to repair to a certain hill near the river Karmai. The Mehta then came to the present site of Sanwara, where, to his great surprise, he noticed a herd of 750 cows, instead of one she-calf. Satisfied with the abundance of pasture land available there, he decided to settle down on the spot. This is one reason for the location of the village at the top of the hillock. The other, and apparently more convincing one, is that the river which, when in spate, inundates the vast area and often becomes so turbulent that if, hutments were constructed on the plain below, it would wash them away.

24. The story of the Ahirs given above is not accepted as true by the Sahariyas. They contend that their forefathers were the first to settle at the site and hence the real founders of Sanwara. They say that they were living like nomads in the forest close by, leading a life of great hardship. Unstable conditions during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb (1658–1707) and incessant raids by Muslim hordes compelled them to unite and take to settled life. They constructed their houses on the top of the hillock where they could have a defensive position and brave the attacking marauders. Availability of cultivable land in the vicinity in addition made them live there permanently. The Ahirs, they say, came to Sanwara only after the occupation of Northern India by the British, and prior to their coming the village was called Saharwara, which came to be known as Sanwara sometime later.

25. The Brahmin household is reported to have come to the village alongwith the Ahirs. As for the Muslim household, it is said, its head, Shri Ismail, traded in honey, gum and moosli, which he used to purchase from the Sahariyas. After the formation of the Sahariya Co-operative Societies for the marketing of jungle products, he could no longer conduct his business. Leaving Kasba Thana he came to the village; built a house and opened the shop as reported earlier.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

Ethnic Composition

26. Village Sanwara, as has been mentioned previously, has a population of 222 persons divided into 32 Sahariya, 10 Ahir, 1 Brahmin and 1 Muslim families. The Ahirs and the Sahariyas constitute two distinct sections of the population and retain their social identities. As a matter of course, the status of the Sahariyas ought to have been, and has been to a certain extent, equal to that of the other agriculturists; but, as a matter of fact, they are treated as inferior to the Ahirs and the Brahmins, and even to the Muslims. The Ahirs, no doubt, are in minority (20.27%) but they form a powerful group and play a dominant role in the economic life of the village. In social status they rank lower than the Brahmins but above the Sahariyas, who, for all practical purposes, are classed as untouchables; and, inspite of State legislation abolishing untouchability, their status has not perceptibly improved.

Sahariyas

27. Even in the absence of genuine historical data, it may be surmised and stated on other grounds that the Sahariyas were one of the first settlers of Rajasthan. Col. Tod has mentioned them alongwith Minas, Bhils and Gujars as the primitive dwellers of the region who "are still but little removed from savage life". Although their manners and way of living are much nearer to those of the Bhils, and differ considerably from those of other Hindus, they claim superiority over the Bhils, he reported.

28. The word Sahariya appears to have been derived from the Persian word *sahra* meaning desert. These people, some centuries ago might have been inhabiting the desert lands of Sindh. Occupation of the region along the river Indus by foreigners must have compelled them to flee from that area. They moved eastward and came to hilly tracts in Rajasthan where they secured adequate protection and settled down.

29. The following are other possible origins of the word Sahariya :

(i) It is conjectured by the villagers that the word has come down from *saria*, which means unrestricted or unsettled. Since these people were leading an unsettled life in the jungle they came to be named as Saria or Seria or Sahariya.

(ii) The word *sahr* in Persian denotes early morning, and the meal or breakfast taken at that early hour is called *sahri*, which implies a mouthful, a morsel or an insignificant quantity The people who were very easily taken in or mastered, as easily swallowed as a morsel of food or *sahri*, came to be known as Sahariyas. This is an explanation offered by the local school master.

(iii) No less interesting is another version offered by the Sahariyas. They claim to be *Adivasis* i. e. the original occupants of the land which later came to be known as *Aryavart*. . Bhils and Bhilodas (an admixture of Bhils and Odes) joined them afterwards, and were employed by them in some production works. Minas and Meds were born from unions between *Adivasis*, Bhils, Odes and Bhilodas. Prior to the immigration of the Aryans into India or the Indo-Gangetic plains, which comprised Aryavart later, these tribes were the sole tenants in possession of the country with the *Adivasis* as their supreme head i. e. *sirmod* or *sehra* meaning a tiara. They came to be addressed as Sehras by their followers. After the arrival of the Aryans the position underwent a change. Shri Ram, the illustrious King of Ayodhya, fraternised with them, and, due to his benign influence, they agreed to become, and became, a part of the Aryan socio-polity. This mutually advantageous partnership earned for them the appellation of Seharya or Seh-Arya i. e. Co-Arya.

30. In Buddhist scriptures there is mention of one Sehariapa, who led the Sehra tribe inhabiting

the region lying between the Chambal and the Jamuna. This tract was called Sehara; and possibly its inhabitants were Sahariyas, who due to the atrocities and raids of the early Muslim invaders, migrated to the hilly country near Shahbad.

31. The Sahariyas still retain in their *gotras* the names of Rajputs of Chouhan, Baghela, Solanki and Deora clans who were born of alliances between them and the Aryans. The following are some of their *gotras* :—Karond, Khelta, Kharadia, Chohan, Deoria, Dhancharga, Navanya, Dhoriya, Mohal, Maine, Maria, Bagoliya, Baghila, Bareya, Bhadosinga, Sohra, Solankhiya, Sanoria, Sameiya and Seliya. After a close examination of the different aspects of the people one cannot but be led to believe that the Sahariyas are much nearer to other Hindus in society than to the Bhils. They are as good agriculturists as the Ahirs; but, unlike the latter, they are non-vegetarians and live in abject poverty.

Ahirs

32. The Ahirs were a republican pastoral tribe of Central Asia that came and settled in the Indo-Gangetic plain sometime in 1500 B. C. They were a non-Hindu, if not a non-Aryan, tribe of shepherds or herdsmen. The Jats who followed them, pushed the Ahirs towards the Western region of Yamuna where they i. e. the Ahirs, founded independent republics of their own by waging wars against the earlier Aryan settlers. They also designated themselves as *Yaduvanshi*, as opposed to *Suryavanshi* Aryans.

33. Near about 1000 B. C. Shri Krishna, adored as Bhagawan Krishna, became the supreme head of this tribe which, it seems, was then controlling the region between Mathura (Uttar Pradesh) to Dwarka (Gujarat). It was Bhagawan Krishna who brought the Ahirs in the Aryan fold.

> "The term Ahir is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Abhir*. The Ahirs identify themselves with the herdsmen *Gopas* of the god Krishna and claim Mathura and its neighbourhood as their original habitat. But it has been fairly well established (vide Bulletin No. 1, Bombay Ethnographical Survey) that they were originally a non Hindu, If not a non Arayan tribe of shephards or herdsmen. In process of time they became Hinduised and adopted Krishna worship. As community of occupation and religion is often held to indicate community of origin, the Ahirs, who, like the original Indian *Gopas*, had become Krishna worshippers and shepherds were naturally looked upon as derived from the same stock and were soon incorporated with the *Gopas* into one community." *

34. The Ahirs are good agriculturists and are found in large number in north-east Rajasthan, western Uttar Pradesh, southern Punjab and Madhya Pradesh; and in all these tracts they are recognised to be excellent husbandmen and given a high social standing among the agricultural classes. In old days also they commanded respect of all the Hindus. For, was not Lord Krishna brought up by Nanda Baba and Yashoda; his foster parents from this community ?

35. The Ahirs are Vaishnavas, and, like other Vaishnavas, they worship other Hindu deities also. They consider themselves superior to the *Shudras*, the fourth and the lowest functional division of the Hindu society. Neither do they drink water nor eat food touched by men of lower castes. They are strict vegetarians. The Ahirs of Sanwara say that their ancestors came to the village from Karauli and Mathura region. In support of their claim they rightly point out the great similarity between their language and culture and that of the people in Karauli and Mathura. A list of words in common use in Sanwara is given else where in this report.

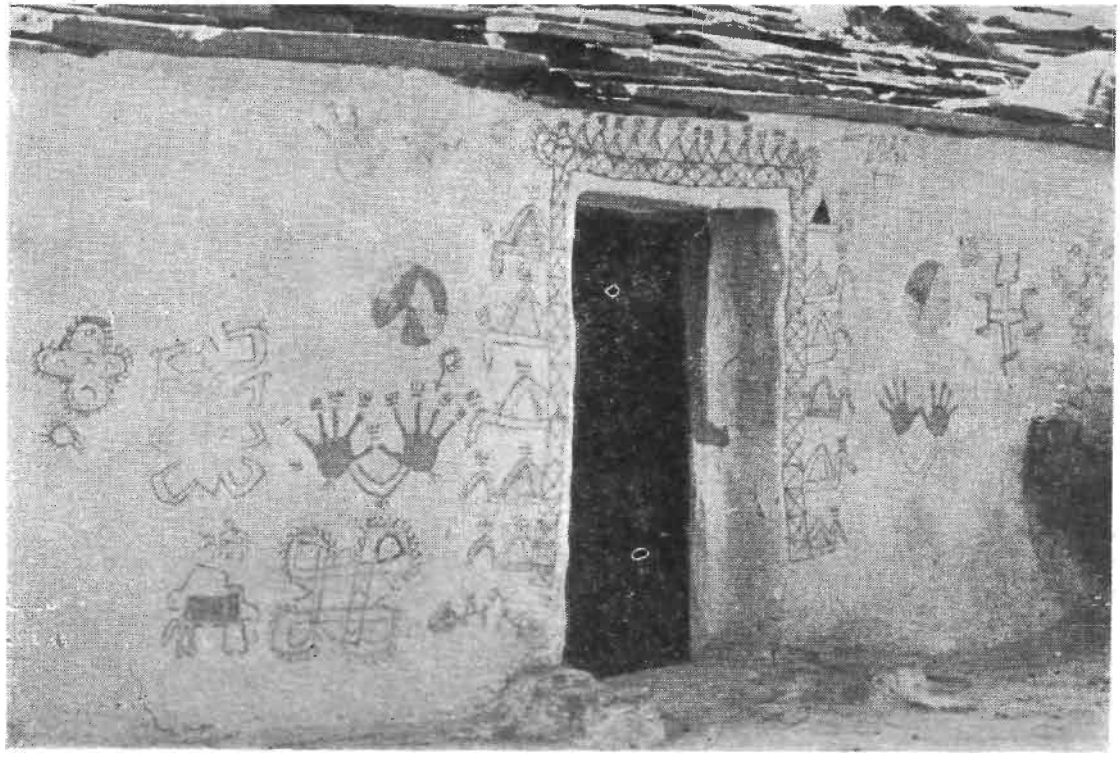
House Types

36. All the 44 households of the village have their houses constructed of stone walls. Blocks of stones, usually irregular, are placed one above the other; and plastered with mud. In many cases the outside is not so treated at all. The material used

* Census of India, 1911 vol. vii, Bombay Part I p. 229-230



The Sahariya section of the village. The cots placed on the roof-tiles are used for spreading chillis etc. for drying.



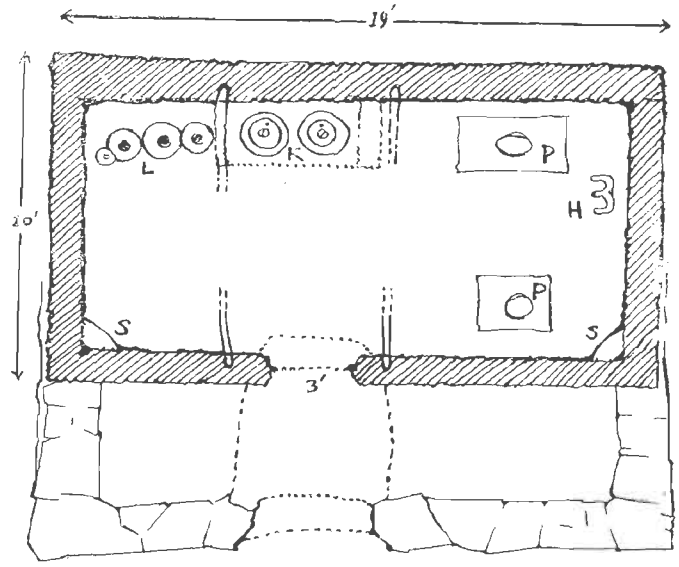
Profusion of designs over the door of a Sahariya tenement. Note the roof made of heavy stone slabs.



The house of a Sahariya family which has left for work.

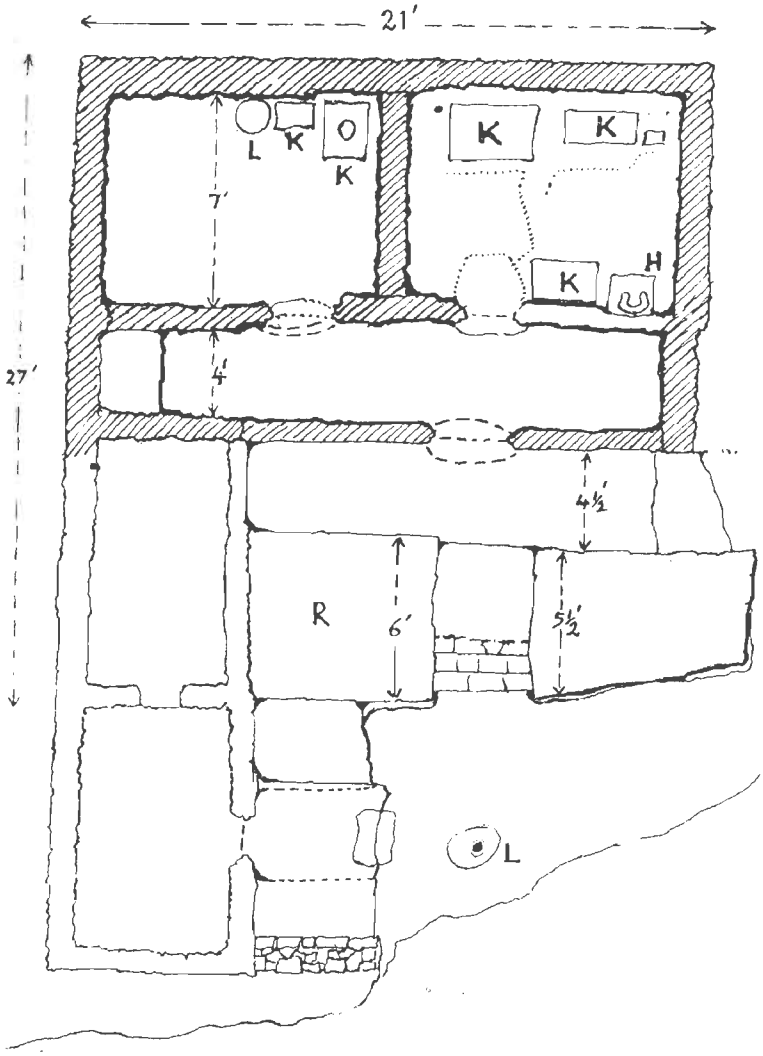
The plan of a Sahariya house :

P - Kothi for grains
H - Hearth
K - Ghatti—grinding stones
L - Water pot
S - Shelf



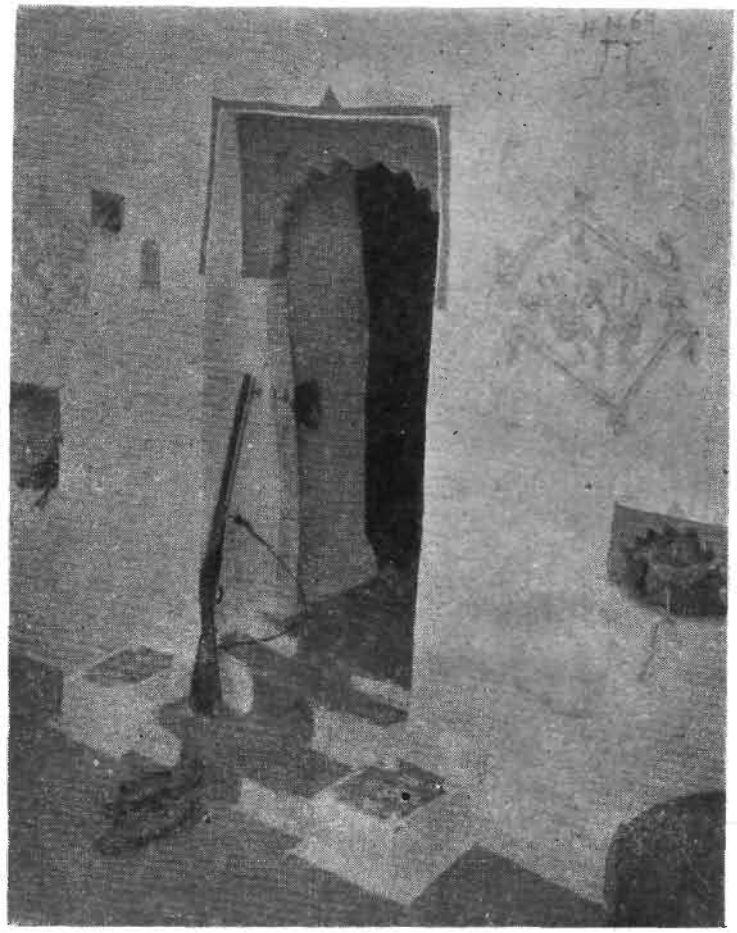
The only two storey house of an Ahir in the village.





The ground plan :

H - Hearth
L - Earthen pot for water
K - Earthen Kothi for grains
R - Covered platform



The neat entrance to the house of Nathua Mehta.



Note the ends of branches of a tree being used as pegs for hanging inverted pots. The woman in the foreground is engaged in rope making.

for roofs is, in most cases, stone slabs. The others have thatched roofs.

37. Most of the houses are just one-room tenements; and there is not a single household having more than 2 rooms. The following table will make the position clear :

Number of rooms	Number of households	Number of households according to number of persons				
		1	2-3	4-6	7-9	10 & over
1 room	29	1	9	14	5	-
2 rooms	15	-	1	10	3	1
3 rooms	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 rooms	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 rooms & over	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	44	1	10	24	8	1

38. The table given below shows that 80 percent of the Ahir households are living in one room tenements and the remaining of them have two rooms each. About 65 percent of the Sahariya households have one room houses and the rest have two rooms. The Brahmin and the Muslim households have two roomed houses.

Number of rooms	Number of households	Sahariyas	Ahirs	Brahmins	Muslims
1 room	29	21	8	-	-
2 rooms	15	11	2	1	1
3 rooms	-	-	-	-	-
4 rooms	-	-	-	-	-
5 rooms & over	-	-	-	-	-
Total	44	32	10	1	1

39. As has been already stated, the houses of different communities are located in clusters generally with common or adjacent walls. The ground plan of the houses is, generally speaking, rectangular. The door is in the centre of the front wall with small niches on either side of it. The entrance is so low that one has to bend down to go into the house. There is no window to the hut, and even in broad day-light there is complete darkness in the corners inside, especially where meals are prepared. On one side, usually the one facing east, the roof projects forth and forms a wide verandah, which some Ahirs have turned into an additional room.

40. The most important spots in the huts are the hearths. They are well-sheltered behind a screen of big earthen containers of food grain, etc.

41. The material used in the construction of roofs is the stone slabs and wooden or bamboo frames. The slabs are so arranged that the lower edge of the upper slab comes over the upper edge of the lower slab so as to facilitate easy flow of rainwater. Some huts have thatched roofs too.

42. As has been related earlier, the side walls are made of stones and plastered with mud. No mortar is used. The floor is made very hard by beating the earth and levelling it. It is regularly covered with a thin even layer of mud. The Ahir women use cow-dung for the purpose.

43. The entrance of the Ahir huts is flanked by raised platforms. Usually on one of them stands a stout branch of a tree with many sub-branches with no leaves or twigs. The ends of branches serve as pegs on which are hung inverted earthen pots, used for making curds., etc. The whole presents an odd spectacle of a 'tree of black pots.' The rays of the hot sun act as germicide and if the vessels were not so exposed to sun, milk

poured in them would turn sour. Three or four broad-mouthed big pots are also to be found imbedded in the ground nearby, only their mouths showing up like holes, for storing drinking-water for the buffaloes and cows.

44. The platform on the right of the entrance is usually covered with thatched dome-shaped roof on four pillars. Big earthern pots, baked black, and things and aids required for churning are stocked under it.

45. Among the Sahariyas and the Ahirs house building is an operation performed by the whole family; and the community does not much come in the picture. Neighbours may lend a hand in doing an odd job. The Ahirs being richer do some times hire Sahariyas to do hard work. The Sahariyas, however, do everything by themselves. There is clear understanding about the division of work relating to house construction among men and women. "We offer light jobs like fetching water and transporting building material to our ladies, and do the laborious tasks ourselves", said the venerable head of a family. The lady of the house, however, had her own views about the so-called 'lighter jobs' assigned to them. "If bringing water from a well about 200 paces down the hill is a lighter job, what would be the heavy one", she demanded to know.

46 It takes them about three months to complete a normal house. The material used is available in the neighbourhood. Since all that is taken or collected free of cost from the forest and no hired labour is generally utilized, it is not possible to compute the exact or the near about exact cost of a house. Moreover, the labourers and the builders do not put in regular hours of work. The construction work proceeds at a leisurely pace unmindful of delays. The roughest estimate may be near Rs. 300/-.

47. The ceremony performed at the commencement of the construction of a new house is very simple and is common to all the sections of the population. A Brahmin from Kasba Thana is consulted for his advice regarding the direction in which the proposed house should face. A big hole is dug in the ground at an auspicious moment suggested by him; a little of milk is sprinkled in it; and some coins and a piece of *haldi* (a root-stock of turmeric plant) are put into it. The central pole of the planned structure, which has already been touched by five elders of the community including the headman, is then driven into the hole and fixed.

Dress and Ornaments

48. Among the Sahariyas, boys and girls upto the age of about seven remain naked. Girls begin to wear a band of cloth to cover their loins earlier than the boys who might remain sky-clad upto ten years of age. The girls start covering their breasts with *angiyas* i. e. bodices after puberty. Men of all communities except the Muslim, wear *dhoti* which is tied knee-high. On festival days they put on a shirt, called *saluka*, with one or more pockets and silver buttons. Their simple headdress is called *khapta*.

49. An Ahir can be easily spotted even from a distance because of his big turban usually made of 8 to 10 metres of cloth.

50. To cover the lower limbs, women of all communities use *ghagra* i. e. a petticoat which is tied around the waist with a cord. It is generally reddish brown in colour with simple spotty designs in black. With *lugra* a piece of cloth about 2 metres in length, they cover their heads, shoulders and breasts.

51. There is no tailor in the village and all the items of the dress are purchased readymade at Kasba Thana.

52. The Brahmin family dresses like the Ahirs. The Muslim gentleman puts on a shirt and jacket and a loose pair of trousers which is often white. Some of the school-going children have taken to wearing Khaki shorts and shirts.

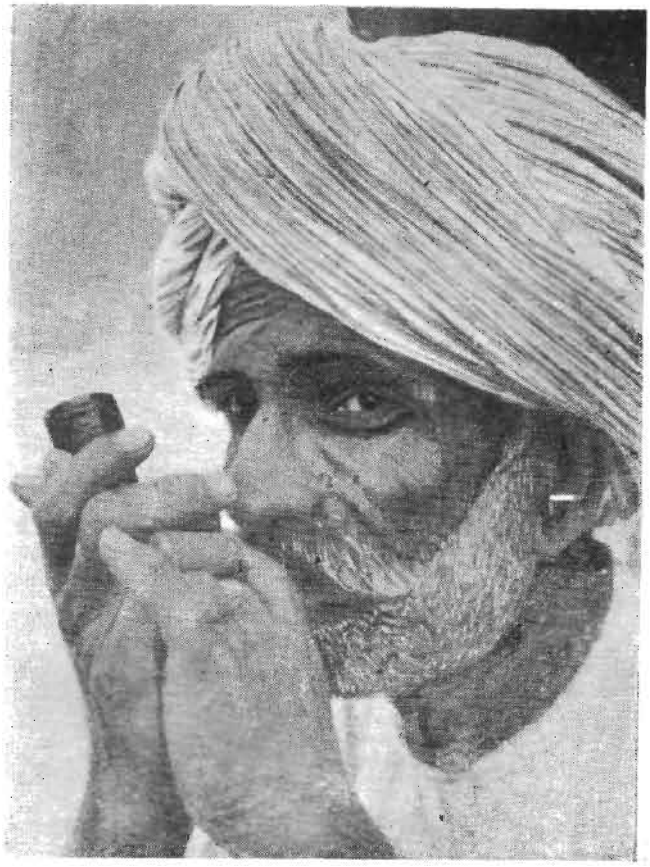
53. The Sahariyas, the Ahirs and the Brahmins get their hair cut in Hindu-fashion i. e. they cut their hair uniformly short leaving a *choti*, a tuft of long hair at the back. The Sahariyas keep a tuft of hair hanging over the fore head, to be offered to a particular deity. The Muslim gentleman has his hair cut in the Western style. Some young Sahariyas too have started doing the same, and are very particular in combing them regularly.





Rising
generation
of the
Sahariyas.





An Ahir with a typical turban.



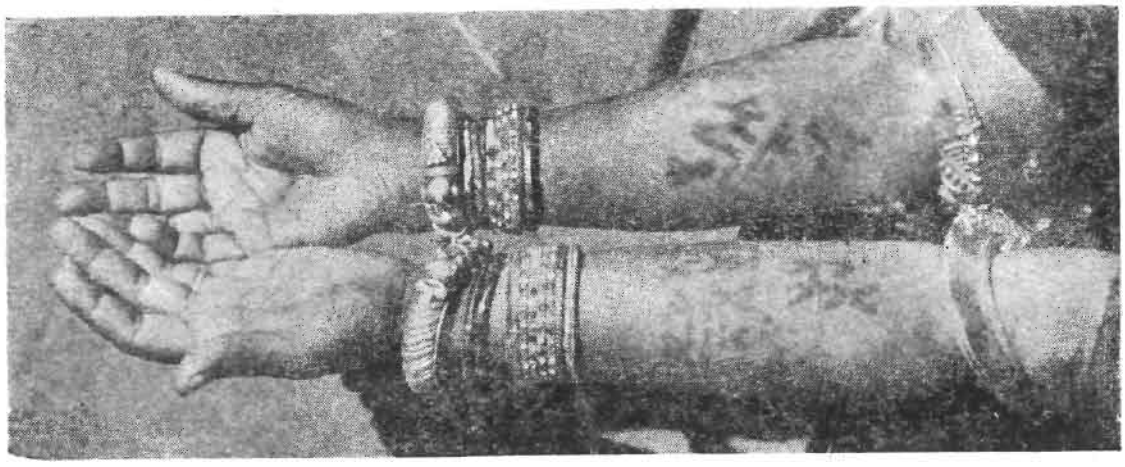
Hair styles for children.



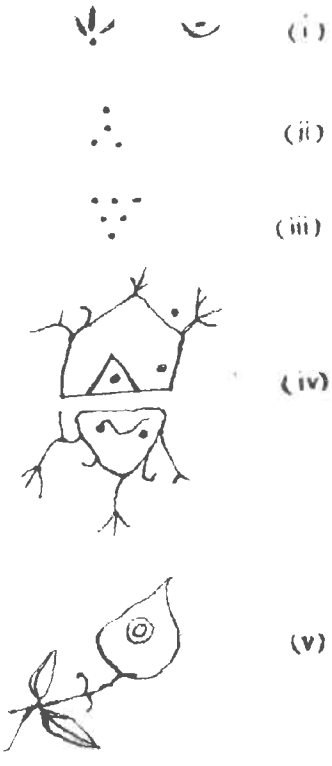
Daughter of Nathua Mehta wearing a *long* in her nose and *jhella* in her ear lobe.



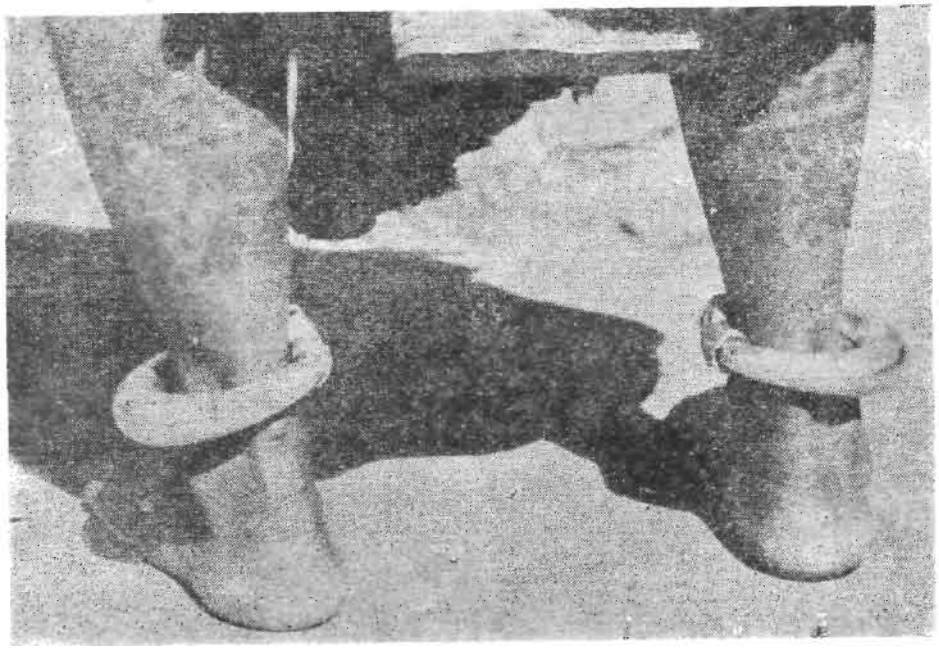
The *bara* on the elbow and the *mangji* on the forearm.



Tattoo marks on arms.



(i) Tattoo marks on fore head, (ii) On the left side of nose, (iii) On side of eyes, and (iv) & (v) On fore arm.



Tattoo marks on legs.

54. Women are by nature very fond of bedecking themselves with ornaments, and the Sahariya women are no exception. The Ahir women wear ornaments made of silver and, very rarely, even of gold. There is no ban, social or otherwise, on the Sahariyas regarding the use of the metals. They being poor, however, cannot afford to have them, and instead use those made of aluminium, brass or some other cheaper material.

55. Ahir women are often seen with golden studs shaped like cloves and locally called *long*, in their noses. The Sahariya women usually wear ones made of silver. Both the Ahir and the Sahariya women decorate their ears with *kan-phool* or *jhella*. It is fastened slightly above the forehead and its silver bands reach the ears on either sides. The ear lobe has a big hole and the *jhella* is fitted into it. Initially this hole is very small; but by successively inserting thicker wooden pins, the last of which is called a *tenta*, the hole is made bigger.

56. One of the very conspicuous ornaments worn by women of both the communities is the *bara* on elbow. It is round in shape and slightly sharper at the outer edge. It fits loosely around the elbow. The Ahir women have it made of silver, while the Sahariyas prefer to have one of baser metal. They also wear two to four aluminium bangles called *mangji* on the wrist.

57. On the legs the Sahariya women wear an aluminium anklet called *kada*, which rests on another called *nevari*, which has a hinge-joint and can be taken out easily. Below this another ornament called *tora* is worn. They also wear rings round toes, called *chotaki* or *bichhia* and two rings round the big toe called *joria*.

58. The unmarried girls are not permitted to put on lac-churas, the *joria*, and the *chotaki* or *bichhia* etc. They are also banned the use of *mehandi*, the soothing paste which is used for colouring feet and palms red. Nor are they allowed to use a brassiere like jacket, called *reja*. The first to be worn in their life is presented to them at the time of their marriage by their in-laws. They also cannot wear *bara* on the elbow. The widows, however, wear all ornaments except the *bichhia*.

59. Children of both sexes and of all the communities wear anklets and wristlets of metal. These items are usually hollow. Some pellets are encased in them so that when the wearers walk, they produce tinkling sound. Their local name is *paijna*. They also wear anklets of shells.

60. Ornaments worn by men are very scanty, There are brass or gold rings called *chonkarhi* which are worn on the ear lobe. The other one is *oopar kana*; it is worn on the upper part of the ear.

Tattooing

61. Women of all communities get themselves tattooed profusely and consider it a mark of beauty. One notices heavy tattoo marks on their forearms and tiny clusters of dots on their chins, cheeks and on either side of the eyes. Often legs and thighs are also embellished with designs, floral and other figures like those of scorpions, cobras and fish.

62. Tattooing is a social taboo for men among the Sahariyas, who believe that men are reborn as women if they indulged in this feminine activity. If some male villager showed personal interest in the art, his neighbours mock at him and doubt his masculinity.

Sanitary Habits

63. The Sahariyas are not particular about their daily bath even though a river is flowing by the village. They wash their bodies and clothes once or twice a week. For bath they have been using mud. The women wash their hair with it. The young generation is, however, developing a dislike for the age old cleaner because of its contacts with the urbanised city-dwellers at Kasba Thana.

64. The non-Sahariya residents of the village, who generally can afford to spare time for daily bath, usually use soap. Some of them even use the popular perfumed varieties like Lux and Hamam. The women of all the communities apply *alsi-ka-tel* i. e. linseed oil to their hair.

65. They sweep their dwellings daily and throw the dirt at some distance. The house floors are

regularly coated with cow-dung, which is a poor man's disinfectant. This gives their houses a neat and clean appearance. Twice a year all the communities whitewash their house-walls and besmear floors, on the eve of Dewali and Holi, and decorate them with painted motifs of peacocks, flowers and other designs.

66. Latrines are not considered a necessity in Sanwara. The term for answering the call of nature is *jungal-jana* i. e. going to the forest; and all men and women, old and young, go to the river-side and choose a spot for the operation after which they wash themselves clean at the river. Even the sick, unless they are too weak to move, go out for the purpose. Children ease themselves by the side or at the back of the huts.

67. Scrubbing and cleansing the kitchen utensils is done in front of the dwellings.

Household Goods

68. The inventory of objects found in the majority of houses in the village is not long. The most common article of furniture is a small cot, locally fashioned and woven with house-made hemp-string; couple of brass utensils, a *lota*, wooden troughs for kneading flour, earthen pots called *matkas* for storing water, grinding-stones called *ghatti*, urns for churning butter, winnowers for husking the grain, besoms for cleaning the house, rectangular earthen tanks for the storage of grain, called *kothi*, cheap tin lamps and a couple of stout sticks or clubs. In every household moreover an axe or a hatchet, in some cases a sword, is seen fastened to the ceiling-frame or tucked somewhere else.

69. In the houses of the Ahirs are found a few cheap prints of gods and goddesses, colourful calender pictures, and a couple of mirrors either fixed in the walls or in the niches. A *dholak*, *drum*, and a *bansary* i.e. a flute, are also in evidence in a few houses. The village can boast of three households owning dry-cell torches and hurricane lanterns, and four households including two of Sahariyas possessing sniders or muskets fitted with flint for ignition.

Division of Labour

70. Among the Sahariyas, the main responsibility of running the household rests with the women. Even children are burdened with domestic chores and tasks. The male members do not help the fair sex in their work. Men work in fields and on farms, women not being allowed to touch ploughs. They however can and do help men in other agricultural operations.

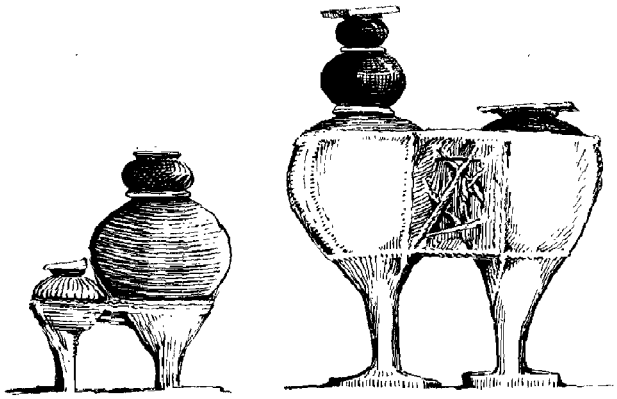
71. In a way the Sahariyas are a self-sufficient tribe doing nearly all jobs by themselves, viz. house construction, roofing, thatching, basket-making, cot-making, and grinding corn. Being poor and backward their needs are few, and being labourers they know all the jobs.

72. Among the Ahirs, men do the strenuous work and their women assist them by performing minor jobs in animal husbandry and agriculture besides doing their usual tasks like cooking, fetching water from the well, cleaning utensils, grinding corn and looking after children. Grown-up girls help their mothers, and boys their fathers in the outdoor activities. Unlike their counterparts in the Sahariya community, the women of Ahir, Brahmin and Muslim households have a different notion regarding dignity of labour, and they consider working outside the house for wages derogatory to their status. It can, however, be stated that women of all communities work hard and contribute substantially to the earning and upkeep of their families.

Standard of Living

73. It seems it is not correct to classify the villagers into well-marked rich, middle, lower middle and poor classes because such divisions are based on earnings, living conditions and capacity to exploit economic resources at one's disposal.

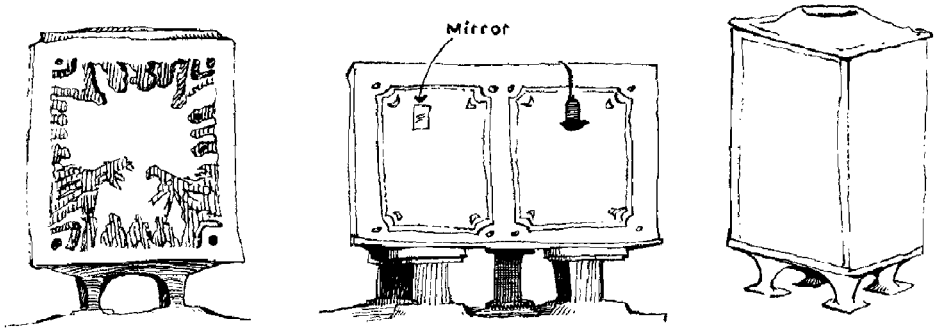
74. The survey indicated that the village consists of common farmers with small land holdings. One who owns the hut he lives in, has a pair of bullocks and a few heads of cattle, and is free from debts is considered to have achieved social distinction and becomes a well-to-do person. An average villager is one who produces enough



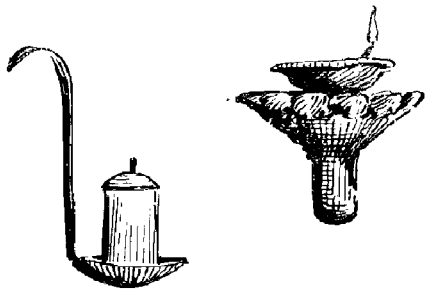
Earthen pots for storing grains called *kinari*.



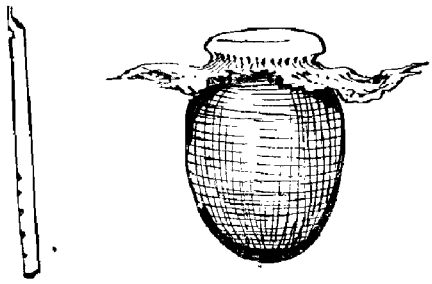
A water pot called *matka*.



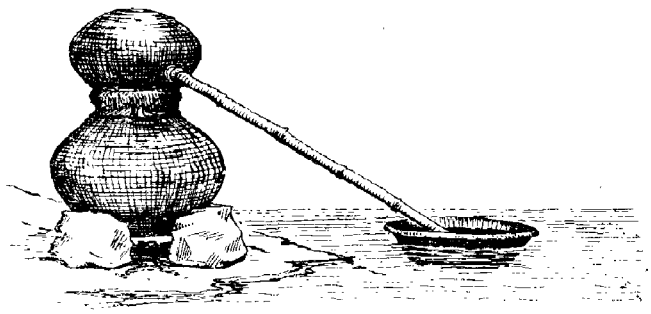
Earthen containers called *kothi* for storing grains. Note the mirror.



The tin lamps.



Musical instruments–
lute called *alguja* and
a baby drum *dhamari*.



Distillation apparatus.

to provide two frugal meals a day; and the one who has to struggle hard for bare existence, eats coarsest food and, failing that, subsists on wild fruits and leaves belongs to the category of the poor.

75. Dwelling places, household possessions, dress and ornaments are visible indications of one's standard of living. In a general way it can be stated that the Ahir, the Brahmin and the Muslim households manifest superior economic status as compared to the Sahariyas who are extremely poor.

Food and Drink

76. The Ahirs and the Brahmins are vegetarians whereas the Sahariyas and the Muslims are not so. Wheat, barley, and gram constitute the staple food of the richer classes while the Sahariyas depend mostly on maize, *jowar* and some inferior millets locally called *kodon*, *rali* and *sama*. The latter two have smaller grains and are usually available at 4 or 5 kilograms per rupee. They are the produce of graminaceous plants bearing abundant crop of seeds possessing nutritious value. The still poor Sahariya families eat wild seeds which they supplement with herbs and tubers. The most common roots and tubers eaten are *gawari*, *chayin* and *bajar* found plentifully in the area. These have an extremely intoxicating effect. The special method of preparing dishes of *gawari* and *chayin*, which are wild tubers, is noteworthy. The tubers are first boiled, then their skin is peeled off and sliced into thin chips. Placing them in *tangri* i. e. a bamboo basket, they are dipped in flowing water for 12 to 16 hours to remove their bitterness. When required, they are boiled with salt, turmeric and chilies and eaten. A little negligence in preparation results later in ulceration of the mouth and inflammation of throat and alimentary passage of the person. The Sahariyas consume lots of chillies. The *chatni* i. e. paste of chillies with onion and salt they use every day to add point to their food.

77. *Rabdi* is a dish relished by all the villagers. It is a preparation of barley or maize, which is pounded, mashed and then boiled in whey with sugar or salt added to it. The poor Sahariyas make *rabdi* from *ralt*, the inferior grain referred to above.

78. The Ahirs do not use the wild forest products as do the Sahariyas.

79. Every Ahir household has a separate apartment reserved as a kitchen. They eat *dal roti* (pulses and bread) at about eleven in the morning and again at seven in the evening. Every week they enjoy *kheer*, a preparation of rice boiled in milk and sweetened. Before setting off to work they take whey which is prepard fresh by churning curd. On festivals, especially on those coming during the rains, they prepare *mal-puas* by sopping viscous sweet dough in ghee.

80. The use of metal plates, *thalis*, and bowls, *katoris*, is very common among all communities except the Sahariyas, who generally use leafcups called *donas* for holding liquids and fluid preparations only. *Rotis* they hold in their hand and eat.

Stimulants and Narcotics

81. The Sahariyas used to be regular drinkers and drunkards till a few years ago. They still drink and, for the purpose, distill their own liquor. It is due to the propaganda of social agencies and regular watch by the State Government under its prohibition policy that the evil is not evident to the extent it was. The process of illicit distillation followed by the Sahaiyas is easy and cheap. They make it from *mahua* flowers which are either gathered free from the forest or procured at about 15 paise per kg; which yields a bottleful of liquor.

82. Away from the village, in the forest, the distillers dig holes and bury earthen pots full of *mahua* flowers and barks of some wild herbs in them. The fermented material is later placed on fire in a pot on the mouth of which they place another pot, head down, plastering the joint with clay to make it air-tight. In the upper or second pot a hole is made and the end of a hollow bamboo slanting down at an angle is fitted into it so as to allow the vapour to pass through it. The vapour is conveyed through the bamboo-tube to a trough kept in river water where it is cooled into liquor. The apparatus is simple, and, if perchance the operation is detected, can easily be dismantled and hidden or destroyed.

83. Very little fruit is eaten by the villagers. During the season they eat *tendu, jamun, achar, singaras,* and *mangoes.*

84. Smoking is very common in the village. Every Sahariya carries a small earthen pipe, called *sulphi,* and a pouch filled with tobacco. When they are at work, they smoke *bidis,* which are leaves rolled and filled with tobacco; and during leisure hours they enjoy the clay-pipe. The Ahirs use their *hookah.*

85. The villagers have taken to tea also; and, when they visit Kasba Thana, they enjoy it there at the tea-stall.

Births

86. To marry and beget children is probably the most dominant aim in the life of the villagers; and a barren woman is looked upon as a curse in the family. No ceremonies are prescribed for the prenatal period; and, among the Sahariyas, no special attention is bestowed on the pregnant woman till the day of delivery. The Ahir community, however, does not permit its women during advance stages of pregnancy to do hard work, to fetch water from the village well or to cross the river. They consult a Brahmin astrologer of a nearby village about the probable time of delivery, and send for the barber woman who is to act as a midwife from Kasba Thana. This is necessary because Sanwada does not boast of a barber household.

87. On delivery, the untrained midwife cuts the umbilical cord with a sharp strip of a bamboo and, in case of a male child, buries it in the darkest corner of the house. If the child born is a female, it is thrown away at some distance from the village.

88. The birth of a male child is celebrated with great rejoicing. Women of the comunity gather and sing songs traditionally prescribed for the occasion, and are given sweets. The female child is not so welcome; and this is not an uncommon attitude.

89. Special attention is paid to the diet of the mother during the period of confinement. An emulsion of dried ginger, *ajwan, gurh,* called *kachaunda,* is given her daily. She is not allowed to take oils and pulses until after she has performed the *jal pooja.*

90. For a full week from the day of her delivery the woman is given soup prepared by boiling barks of ten local trees like *Peepal, Kher, Ber, Dhonkra* and *Amaltas.* This is known as *dash mool,* is served cold, and has medicinal value as it is supposed to clean the reproductive system by helping the discharge of unwanted matter and help bring the genital passage to the normal state. She is fed with light food consisting of *daliya* (gruel) or *khichri* (malange), which is later substituted by more substantial and richer material, containing ghee and some dried fruits more difficult to digest, in the form of *laddus* or sweet balls. Fried flour, clarified butter, sugar, ginger, finkel (*methi*), resins and almonds are some of the ingredients used in these *laddus.* It is needless to add that these elaborate customs are followed among the Ahir community only.

91. Five or seven of the *laddus* are sent to the parents of the mother of the newly delivered, through the barber. The present announces the birth and intimates them that adequate care is taken of their daughter. The *laddus* are exhibited to the villagers. The woman's parents, on their part, send return gifts of clothes, ornaments and sweets.

92. Then comes the day of *man ghata poojna* or *jalpoojna.* This is observed on the 2nd or the 3rd Monday coming in the month calculated from the day of the delivery. The women of the community gather at the house. The gifts sent by her parents, though depending on their economic conditions are exhibited to the villagers on this occasion. The gifts must include a white *chaddar,* a piece of long-cloth, for her husband, clothes for the newly born baby, some wheat, rice and pulses. The mother can shift to normal diet only after taking the one sent by her parents. The mother is dressed in new garments and, singing songs, she is taken to the village well or the bank of the river. After offering worship to the water-deity, sweets are distributed and the procession wends its way back home. She brings two *lotas* of whey and her brother puts some coins in them. The baby does not accompany its mother to the well.

93. The name giving ceremony is performed by a Brahmin.

94. No such ceremonial rites are observed by the Sahariyas. On the fifth day of delivery or on a Monday nearest to the fifth day, the mother and the new baby are bathed and are taken out of the house for removing the ritual impurity. They fumigate the apartments by burning incense or dry *Neem* leaves or logs of *Kher* tree after they have smeared the walls and the floor with the usual cow-dung-mud solution. An elderly dame ties an amulet round the waist of the new child and conducts the simple name giving ceremony. The Sahariya women take to normal chores three weeks after their delivery,

95. The ears and nose of every girl are pierced on some festival day without any formal rites. Among Hindus including Sahariyas, the *mundan* ceremony of the child, male as well female, is performed by the barber. He uses a pair of scissors for the purpose. A tuft is left at the back of the head of a male child. This has great religious significance for without it the child is considered unholy and non-Hindu. The officiating barber, who comes from Kasba Thana, is paid Rs. 1.25 and Rs. 5.25 by the Sahariyas and the Ahirs respectively. The sex of the child makes no difference as far as the remuneration of the barber is concerned.

96. Persons whose children do not survive solemnly promise a particular deity the offering of the first tuft of hair; and children with tufts of hair is a common sight in Sanwara. These are invariably offered later to the deity.

97. Among the Brahmins the thread ceremony formally takes place when the boy is 10 years old. Among the Muslims the circumcision is performed any day after the child is two years old.

98. The Brahmin and Ahir girls pass four days in seclusion immediately after menstruation. After the period is over, they are given a bath and dressed in neat clothes. They are then permitted to perform all the tasks in the house.

Marriages

99. There is not much difference between ceremonies performed at the time of marriage among the Ahirs and those of the Sahariyas. The main difference lies in the form and to some extent in the way it is gone through. The Ahirs form an independent endogamous group but they are divided into exogamous *gotras*. In the past the prohibited degrees of marriage were many for they used to avoid the *gotras* of the mother, mother's mother, mother's sister, of the father and of father's mother. Now they avoid only three *gotras* viz. mother's, mother's mother's and father's.

100. After selecting a suitable match for his daughter, the father extends an invitation to groom's father and his kinsmen. On arrival they are enteratained and then begin deliberations. If they fructify in a firm engagement, the girl's father presents the groom and his party with Rs. 1.25 or 10.25 and a coconut. This is how the betrothal is performed.

101. A month prior to the day of marriage a Brahmin is invited by the bride's father for writing the *lagan* letters or invitations containing date-wise details of ceremonies of the marriage and to decide about *matiyana*, *rajjega*, *tel*, *mandha* and *phera* rites. This *lagan* is read out by the Brahmin on the groom's side to the relatives and neighbours collected for the purpose.

102. On the specified day the *matiyana* ceremony begins. It concerns women of the household. They invite other ladies to their house, and, in a small procession go to some chosen spot to fetch the best clay for preparing hearths and mud-washing of the house. Looking after the feeding of the guests and marriage party is their share of the work; and the *matiyana* symbolises the commencement of their task for they make as many as 7, 11 or 15 hearths depending on the number of the visitors.

103. The next day, the *rajjega* takes place when women sing songs at night and sweets are distributed. The next i.e. the third day is reserved for *tel mana*, which consists of applying oil-turmeric paste to the groom. A *kangan* or wrist-band of black cord is also tied to his wrist.

104. Some days before the *mandha* ceremony the mothers of the bride and the bridegroom go to their father or brother and offer them *batashas* or sugar-drops. This indicates demand of material assistance towards the expenses of the marriage.

105. On the actual marriage day the bride's party feasts the groom's party in the night on arrival and is lodged separately. Then at midnight the groom's party is invited again for *aagoni* ceremony at which the Brahmin officiates. The bride's father then presnts some ornaments and clothes to the groom, who thereafter mounts a caparisoned horse and breaks the ceremonial *toran*, fastened or hung above the main gate of the house. The party then returns to the *janwasa* for some rest after which it repairs to the bride's house for the most important rite of the *pheras*.

106. A *pandit* lights the holy fire, all the while reciting *mantras* and makes the bride and bridegroom sit side by side before it and makes sacrificial offerings to the fire. In all there are seven *pheras* or rounds. In the first four the groom leads the bride while during the last three the order is reversed. The parents of the bride having already given over their daughter in marriage by the *kanya-daan* ceremony, their only representative at the *pheras* is the *pandit*. The *pheras* for all intents and purposes bind the pair as husband and wife.

107. The pair is then led to the *janwasa* by the father's sister's husbands of the partners, where a bed is spread. The couple is seated on it and the assembled relatives make offerings of money.

108. The couple then returns to the bride's house where, in the presence of all the assembled, the bride's father hands over the dowry to the bridegroom's father. The dowry invariably consists of a *lota*, a *thali*, a cow or a buffalo or a she-goat and some cash which varies between Rs. 100 to Rs. 1000.

109. The newly-wed are then seated in a *palki* i. e. a palanquin, the *Dholis* i. e. the drummers beat their drums, and, to the accompaniment of whatever music is available, the visitors depart taking with them the new wife of one of their friends and relatives.

110. It is customary for the bridegroom to halt for some time or a few days at one of his relative's house before going home with his wife.

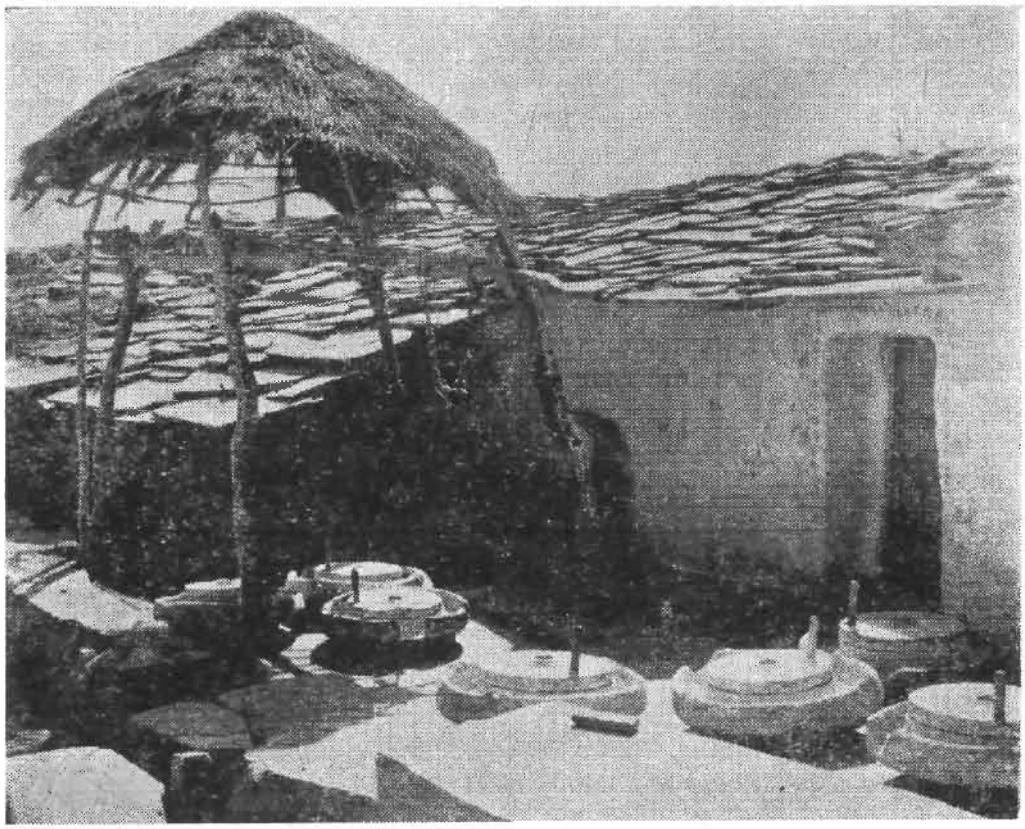
111. On reaching home the couple is received by the women of the household and a few neighbours. The mother of the groom applies a *tilak* to the forehead of her son and that of her daughter-in-law, feeds them with *makkhan* and *mishri* i. e. butter and candy, and blesses them. This ceremony is known as *dhok* which means invoking the blessings of the mother.

112. After spending some days in her new house and getting familiarised with the new relations, the bride returns to her father's house with her younger brother who is specially deputed to fetch her back.

113. Ceremonies connected with the Sahariya marriage, though similar to those of the Ahirs described above, are few and simple. They, however, are in no way less interesting and significant.

114. Having been informed of the address and other material details of a suitable young man, five persons, including the *patel* (headman) of the intending bride's village, go to the village of the prospective bridegroom and contact the *patel* there, for all social matters are required to be negotiated through the *patels*. If the young man is approved and the proposal is accepted, the boy's father at some later date places Rs. 1.25 on the palm of the girl. A necklace of beads, called *kaanthi*, is put round her neck by her future sister-in-law at the same time.

115. Then a *chowk* design is drawn with wheat, *jowar* flour and turmeric powder. A *lota*, full of water, and a sum of Rs. 14 are placed in the centre of the *chowk* design. The *patels* of the village are gathered there. The groom's father meets the bride's father; they greet each other by saying the customary word *chhak-vando*.



Community's contribution towards a marriage ceremony—the seven *ghattis* before a house show that marriage is in the offing and neighbours come in their free time to grind corn required to feed the guests.



A Sahariya woman.



An Ahir woman.

Some jaggery and liquor are then served to the guests. Occasionally a fowl is also sacrificed. The night is spent in merriment. This completes the *sagai* or betrothal. Three other important ceremonies are the following :

(i) *Rajjega* : This is observed by singing songs by the women. Later *ghungari*, which is a special preparation of boiled gram, wheat and maize mixed with *gurh* is distributed among the assembled women of the community.

(ii) *Tel* : On this occasion the women make a small earthen container, smear it with mud and decorate it with designs. This is called *maan* and it is believed that grain stored in it is never exhausted. Other local deities worshiped on the day are *Thakurji*, *Nahar Singhji*, and *Beejasan Devi*, who are supposed to control the spread of different epidemics.

(iii) *Malla* : On this day, the Sahariyas drive four poles in the ground, and, placing bamboo staves diagonally above them, cover them with leaves and twigs so as to form a shed. The four poles are from the *Sala*, *Jaman*, bamboo and the *Sainta* trees.

116. The bridegroom takes his bath and puts on clothes presented to him by his maternal uncle. He then sits under the leafy canopy. A *kangan*, made of 2½ leaves of *Peepal* tree, is tied to his wrist as well as to the bride's by their sister's husbands.

117. A significant deviation from the custom of the Ahirs is to be seen in the ceremonial breaking of the *toran*. The Sahariya bridegroom is not mounted on horseback but is simply lifetd up by his *sawasa*, i. e. sister's husband. The bride-price is paid to her father at this time. Another deviation, equally interesting, is that the seven *pheras* or rounds are taken by the bridegroom by circumambulating the bride, who is seated adjacent to the pole of *Sala* tree.

118. After the ceremony the bride is carried to the *janwasa* by her brother-in-law.

119. Among the marriage customs observed in the village is the one of hurling or showering rice and *urai*, which is a kind of grass, on the bridegroom when he appears at the gate for *toran* ceremony. The Ahirs use rice while the Sahariyas, being poor, substitute grass for it. The Sahariyas say that in old days marriages among them could be performed by force, and their forefathers had to resist the raiders with bows and arrows. The ceremony is, according to them, a reminder of the old events.

120. Widow marriage or remarriage called *natra* are permissible both amongst the Ahirs and the Sahariyas. A widow can be married only to a widower or to a divorced person. Even an unmarried person can marry a widow and vice-versa, but such a union is not very much welcomed by the society, An amount of Rs. 500 or 1000 is given to her previous husband's relatives by the new husband. Amongst the Sahariyas the amount is almost double. It is not in any way binding on the part of a husband to marry his wife's younger sister after her death and vice-versa. A man may have more than one wife at a time but a woman can never have more than one husband. Extra marital relations are, however, not uncommon.

Death Ceremony

121. Some time before the ailing person takes his last breath he is taken down from the cot on which he is lying, and laid on rough blanket or bare floor. When the unfortunate one has breathed his last, the neighbours belonging to all the communities gather at the residence of the deceased. The brothers and sons of the dead person bathe the body and apply turmeric paste to it. In its mouth they put a piece of holy sandalwood, some curd and rice; and dress it in new clothes.

122. The bier consists of five metre long parallel bars tied at equal distances to two 2-metre long poles, the frame in appearance, resembling an ordinary ladder. The wood used is from *Dhonkara* tree. Some dry grass is spread over it, the whole being covered with a white sheet.

123. In each of the hands of the dead body is placed a ball of kneaded flour. The corpse is tied to the bier with cords or strings. Four persons carry the bier on their shoulder and the nearest male relative of the deceased leads the procession holding some fire in an earthen pot.

124. Midway between the house and the *Ghat* i.e. the crematorium, the bier-bearers change their places and rest for a while. On reaching the *Ghat*, the members of the procession, irrespective of the community to which they belong, help in collecting wood and arranging the pyre.

125. Before placing the corpse on the pyre, all the knots, of whatever kind, are untied; knots of hair at the back of the head, of loin cloth, of his sacred thread etc. This is done probably to suggest that all worldly bonds are snapped and the soul of the dead is free to go soaring anywhere. Some wood of the sacred *Peepal* tree and ghee are spread over the dead body after it is rested on the pyre. The nearest male relative of the deceased then sets fire to the pyre near the head of the dead body. All those gathered then throw in small wooden sticks in the burning pyre saying आज तो ही तेरा हमारो सात हतो (i.e. upto today only were you destined to be with us) return to the house of the bereaved family,and then disperse to go home.

126. No fire in the kitchen of the bereaved family is lighted for a couple of days. Neighbours provide them with cooked meals.

127. On the third day the near relatives and a few other people again visit the cremation ground. They carry with them a *lota* of curd, a pitcher of water, some salt, maize, mustard grain, a few coins and a red-coloured earthen pot. The ashes (including the bone pieces) are collected in the *pachhoras* i.e. ends of scarfs or *dhotis* by all the members of the community of the deceased, and the actual cremation spot is plastered with cow-dung. Three stones are placed on it with the pitcher of water over them. The maize grain is heaped near the stones and mustard seeds are spread here and there. The ashes already collected are then consigned to the river.

128. On the fourth day the son or the nearest relative of the departed goes to the river Ban Ganga at Sita Bari, about 50 km away, to commit bones and other remains to the holy waters there.

129. A death-feast, called *kharach* is arranged on the 13th day. An amount as high as Rs. 1000 and the minimum Rs. 100 used to be spent by the Ahir and the Sahariya communities on these feasts; but now, due to Government legislation banning such costly festivities, the amount spent is considerably reduced.

130. A few other facts should also be noted here. Persons dying of smallpox as well as children who had not taken to normal food habits i.e. below four, are not cremated. They are buried. A pregnant woman's womb is slit open by the *Bhangi* i.e. a sweeper, and the foetus is taken out and buried while the woman is cremated. The *Bhangi* is paid an amount equal in value to the ornaments worn in one arm by the deceased woman. This is besides the clothes, etc. removed from the corpse before it is cremated. While a white sheet serves as a shroud for the purposes, a woman is covered with a red one.

131. Both the Sahariyas and the Ahirs observe ceremonial mourning for twelve days. No other after-death rites are observed by them. The Ahirs, however, prepare *kheer* i.e. rice-milk pudding, on *Pitri Amawas* day i.e. the darkest night of the Hindu Calender month of *Aswin*, and offer a few finger-dips of it to fire in the name of the departed. It is noteworthy that the Ahirs, unlike other Hindus, do not make offering of *pinds* i.e. dough balls, to the manes. Instead, they offer a few handfuls of water to a hatchet, placed in the centre of the assembly, after they have taken the purificatory bath.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Economic Resources

132. Primarily Sanwara is a forest village and agriculture is the mainstay of its economy. The economic resources of the people can be conveniently discussed under the following four heads, viz. Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Exploitation of Forest Produce, and Manufacture of *Katha*.

Agriculture

133. The total area of the village according to Government records is 2,208 acres, out of which the site of the residential area including footpaths, etc. cover 32 acres; the rocks, forests and the rivers occupy 1,997 acres. This leaves a balance of mere 179 acres for cultivation. The land revenue collected by the Government from this is Rs. 269.64. The cultivable area can further be classified as below :

		Area in acres
1. Land under cultivation		165
(a) Irrigated	46	
(b) Unirrigated	119	
2. Fallow		14
3. Double crop area		51
(a) Irrigated	42	
(b) Unirrigated	9	

134. On cultivable land two crops viz. *kharif* and *rabi* are raised. For *kharif*, sowing is done during the rainy season i. e. in June and July and the crop is gathered in October or November about the time of Dewali. The *rabi* crop is raised in winter and harvested in summer.

Irrigation

135. Land holdings situated adjacent to the river are irrigated by means of *rehats*, all-wood locally made persian wheels worked manually, and the rest of the double crop land is irrigated by small privately owned wells. There are 12 such wells in the village. Of these 8 are owned by the Ahirs and the rest by the Sahariyas.

Ownership of Land Holdings

136. Out of the 44 households in Sanwara, 40 are in possession of land and the remaining 4, one Ahir and three Sahariya households, are landless. The former derives its entire subsistence from dairy products only while the latter resort to such means as collection of gum, honey, etc. in the forest and work as agricultural labourers for earning their livelihood.

137. From the table given below we find that the Brahmin household has the maximum land holding while the Sahariyas have the minimum :

Community	Total number of households	Number of households having land	Total land holding in acres	Average per household
Sahariya	32	29	114.37	3.94
Ahir	10	9	57.50	6.39
Brahmin	1	1	12.50	12.50
Muslim	1	1	10.94	10.94
Total	44	40	195.31	4.88

138. The area of the agricultural land in possession of the villagers exceeds the total agricultural land available in the village by 16.31 acres. It is explained by the fact that some of the Ahir households own land in the adjoining villages. On an average each household possesses

4.88 acres of agricultural land and the average holding per person comes to 0.94 acres, which is very meagre, and, assuming the conditions to be extraordinarily favourable, which rarely are, the per capita income from agriculture alone does not exceed Rs. 70 per year. The poor are forced to explore other possible means of subsistence.

139. Distribution of land among the households according to income groups is as follows :

Income groups	Total number of households	Total number of persons	Number of households having land	Number of persons having land	Area in acres
Less than 20	7	27	4	14	7.19
20 - 30	15	74	15	74	50.94
30 - 40	7	37	6	36	30.00
40 - 60	8	49	8	49	55.62
60 - 80	1	6	1	6	9.39
80 - 100	3	17	3	17	21.87
100 and over	3	12	3	12	20.30
Total	44	222	40	208	195.31

140. Mostly households are having land holdings between 2.5-12.4 acres. Only three households are having less than 1 acre of land. None of the households is possessing more than 12.4 acres of agricultural land. The following table sums up the entire position regarding land holdings:

Number of persons in the household	Total number of households	Land holdings in acres				
		Less than 1 acre	1 - 2.4	2.5 - 7.4	7.5 - 12.4	12.5 and over
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 - 3	9	1	2	3	3	-
4 - 6	23	2	6	9	6	-
7 - 9	7	-	2	3	2	-
10 and over	1	-	-	1	-	-
Total	40	3	10	16	11	-

Primary and Subsidiary Occupations

141. Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Salary and Wages, Business and Other Sources form the various occupations of the villagers. Apart from these, they supplement their income from other occupations. The following table shows primary and subsidiary occupations community-wise :

Community	Primary occupation					Subsidiary occupation				
	Agriculture	Animal husbandry	Salary and wages	Business	Other sources	Agriculture	Animal husbandry	Salary and wages	Business	Other sources
Sahariya	18	1	11	-	2	11	9	15	-	26
Ahir	1	9	-	-	-	8	1	-	-	-
Brahmin	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Muslim	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-
Total	20	10	11	1	2	20	12	15	-	26

142. From the above table it is clear that 20 out of 44 households are engaged whole-time in agriculture and the villagers derive a substantial portion of their income from non-agricultural sources viz. the Ahirs from animal husbandary, the Sahariyas from the forest produce and the Muslim from business.

143. The following information given about the two crops will be seen to be interesting :

Kharif crop	*Area in acres*
Maize	
Unirrigated	8
Bajra	
Unirrigated	64
Raali	
Unirrigated	46
Urd	
Unirrigated	13
Til	
Unirrigated	22
Tobacco	
Unirrigated	1
Sugarcane	
Irrigated	3
Total Irrigated	3
Total Unirrigated	154
Total land under *kharif* crop	157

Rabi crop	
Wheat	
Irrigated	31
Unirrigated	1
Barley	
Irrigated	6
Unirrigated	1
Gram	
Unirrigated	3
Mustard	
Unirrigated	3
Lintal	
Irrigated	1
Linseed	
Unirrigated	1
Corriander	
Irrigated	1
Tobacco	
Irrigated	3
Total Irrigated	42
Total Unirrigated	9
Total land under *rabi* crop	51

144. Land revenue, wages paid to hired labour if any, maintenance of implements and interest on loans are the main items of expenditure. The Sahariyas have to spend great amounts on two items; purchase of seeds and paying the interest on sums borrowed. The Ahirs preserve some of the produce to be used as seed later, but the Sahariyas cannot afford to do even that. Very few persons, moreover, secure agricultural loans from the Government or the Co-operative Societies; and they have perforce to go to the money-lenders who charge between 25% and 50% compound interest. The amounts borrowed from the money-lenders are generally to be paid in kind, which is yet another device for exploitation.

Organisation of Man Power

145. In most cases the agriculturists manage the farm work with the help of their family members and seldom employ casual labour. Those in possession of big holdings, however, do engage additional labour which is available for Rs. 1.50 and Rs. 1.00 for male adult and female adult respectively. These rates are considerably lower than those prevalent in the adjoining areas. Some ten years ago a Sahariya could be easily hired for a day on half a kilogram of *jowar* and his wife for a pitcherful of *chhachh*.

146. Some times the Ahirs keep *halis i. e.* whole time servants for farm work, for Rs. 200 per year. In the past the *halis* were often converted into slaves of a sort. The system has suffered a set back due to development activities of the State. There are at present four Sahariyas working as *halis*, three with the Ahirs and one with the Muslim shopkeeper.

147. Some of the Sahariyas work as *adhera* i.e. sharing the produce equally with the land-owner. The seeds are also shared equally. The Sahariyas provide labour, implements and bullocks while the owner pays the land-revenue.

Hali-banta System

148. For financing agricultural operations, borrowing in kind is very common in the area and it is called *hali-banta*. The money-lenders advance the required quantity of seeds and a fixed quantity of grain for the maintenance of the tiller's family on the understanding of sharing the produce equally. After harvest the quantities advanced are taken into consideration while fixing the shares. By this arrangement,

a Sahariya family of 4 to 5 persons receives hardly a quintal of grain as their share for 6 to 7 hours of daily work extending over four months.

149. The villagers follow the traditional pattern of agriculture i. e. no scientfic manuring or improved implements or better type of seeds.

Seasonal Operations

150. Late in summer i. e. in early June, they turn their attention to the fields and, anticipating rains, clear them. After the first shower, which usually comes in the last week of June, they start ploughing. When more showers are received, they sow the seeds for *kharif* crop, which, as reported earlier, mainly consist of maize, *bajra*, *rali*, *urd*, *til* and sugarcane. A month later weeding out of wild growth is undertaken. They are content with the little of natural manure which flows into their fields in the form of filth and dung from the slopes of the adjoining hills. The Ahirs no doubt carry cart-loads of cow-dung from the village to be spread over evenly in their fields; but other manures and fertilizers they do not use. Those who have to hire the ploughs, start sowing rather late and do not take advantage of the first showers as the rest do.

151. November and December are the busiest months for the villagers of Sanwara. They have to prepare their fields for *rabi* crop after completing harvesting, winnowing, etc. of the *kharif* crop in these two months.

152. They sow wheat, barley, gram, *sarson*, *dhania*, tobacco and onions in the winter season. Fields for this winter crop are required to be irrigated either by country-made *rehats*, fixed on the river bank or by well-water drawn by bullocks by means of big leather buckets. During the 3 or 4 months required for the crops to be ready for harvesting, they are regularly watched.

153. It is only after the harvest that the villagers get a spell of rest and during leisure in summer they settle accounts and negotiate marriages.

Agricultural Implements

154. The villagers follow the age old pattern of agriculture. Some of the agricultural implements used by the villagers are described below.

Urr : The plough is called *urr*. It consists of a wooden handle, *muthia*, and an iron plough share fitted at the lower end. The different parts with their local names are shown in the diagram.

Khunita : This consists of a semi-circular iron blade pointed at the lower end and hollow at the upper. It is about 23 cms. in length with a wooden club, about a metre in length, fitted into it. This was used as a plough by the Sahariyas when they practised shifting cultivation, now prohibited by law. As has been related earlier the Sahariyas used to burn a part of the forest and dig holes with *khunita* in the ash covered ground. In them a few grains of corn were sown, and covered with earth. According to the Sahariyas, the yield per acre in that type of cultivation was higher than from the fields wherein they work now.

Kurda, *Ansio* and *Chadi* : *Kurda* is a type of adze used for cutting grass. It consists of a wooden handle, *benta* and an iron blade. *Ansio* is the scythe used for mowing the crop, and *chadi* is a bamboo funnel with a hollow bamboo stem at the lower end. It is for dropping seeds in the furrows. Maize and *jowar* are sown by the simple broadcasting method while for other grains the *chadi* is used.

Animal Husbandry

155. Animal Husbandry is the primary occupation of the Ahirs. In their traditional economy it occupied a very high place, and to a great deal prosperity depended on the number and quality of cattle. The Ahirs keep cows and buffaloes for milk, and bullocks for farm work and transport purposes. The Sahariyas too own cows and buffaloes. Result of the survey of village animals is as follows :

Community	Number of households	Bullocks	Cows	Buffaloes	Camels
Saharia	32	69	51	26	–
Ahirs	10	22	75	84	1
Brahmin	1	2	12	–	–
Muslim	1	4	8	2	–
Total	44	97	146	112	1

According to a report of the State Animal Husbandry Department, the cattle wealth of this area is very poor. The breed is inferior, the animals look emaciated and their milk-yielding

capacity is very low. A cow gives about two litres while a buffalo not more than four litres per day. This quantity is obtained during the rainy season when green grass is available in large quantities. In summer it is reduced to half the normal yield.

156. The Ahirs own enough heads of cattle to meet their requirements, for shortage of milk not only affects their economy but also their nutrition. The bad quality of milch cattle is due to non-availability of pedigree bulls, lack of grazing grounds and menace of wild animals. The cattle and goats roam about the rocky terrain eating whatever forest growth falls to their lot.

Forest Produce

157. Surroundings of Sanwara offer good opportunities for the collection of wild fruits and other forest produce, which incidently is the mainstay of the economy of the Sahariyas. Utilisation of forest products is not open to all as the forests are controlled by the State Forest Department, which auctions the coupes according to its laws and bye-laws. Wood for ordinary requirements of fuel and that needed in the construction of houses, is allowed to be freely collected by the people. They are also permitted to collect stones for their use without having to pay for them. As for things like honey, *moosli*, and *tendu* leaves etc. the villagers have to make nominal payment at the rates given below :

Name of the produce	*Forest rates to be paid in Rs. per md.*
Katha	12.50
Chironji	10.00
Moosli	10.00
Wax	10.00
Honey	5.00
Gum	5.00
Lac	3.00
Tendu leaves	2.00
Wood (one truck load)	1.50
Mahua flowers	1.00
Herbs	0.50
Fruits	0.50
Anwla	0.50
Bahera	0.50
Wood (per Cu. foot)	0.25
Wood (per 6" of circumfrence)	0.12

158. The forest activities of the Sahariyas of Sanwara are confined to the manufacture of *katha*, and collection of honey, gum, *moosli*, *chironji*, and *tendu* leaves.

Katha

159. Katha (catechu) is manufactured out of *Kher* trees which abound in this area; and the Sahariyas are experts in this line. Till a few years ago forest coupes for *katha* manufacture used to be taken over by the Bohra contractors who had monopolised the industry. A person could make a net income of about Rs. 50,000 per coupe after paying royalty amounting approximately to Rs. 80,000 to the State Government and meeting the cost of manufacture. The Sahariyas were paid ridiculously low wages and received beastly treatment from the agents of the contractors. The Adim Jati Sewak Sangh and other Development agencies organised the Sahariyas and other tribals into Forest Produce Co-operative Societies with the right of securing contracts on concessional rates without bidding; and the amount of royalty was fixed by the Forest Department in consultation with the Co-operative Department.

160. The 'Sanwara Jangal Upaj Utpadak Samiti', which is one of the five co-operatives working in the area, was formed on 12th November, 1960 with 58 members. Now it has a membership of 63 hailing from five villages falling within its area of operations.

Process of Manufacture

161. *Katha* manufacturing is governed by a set of rules laid down by the Government; and the contractors are prohibited from cutting down trees with trunks less than 30 cms. in diameter. Then again such trees as are red inside, are considered suitable for the purpose. The test is carried out by making a cleft in the stem with an axe or a gimlet. Only one stroke is permissible under the rules. At the work camp the felled wood is cut into chips and bits of the required size with hatchets.

162. About 15 kilograms of chopped wood with an equal amount of water is put in big earthen

handis or earthen pots and placed on fire. After the water has boiled for some time, the chips are squeezed and removed and the rest is further boiled till it becomes viscous. With a stick, dipped alternately in *arandi* powder and *handi*, the boiling liquid is continuously stirred during the operation to prevent the simmering matter from spilling over.

163. The hot viscous matter is later cooled in big mud containers called *jamona*, and still later transferred to *bindas* i. e. wooden drums with mud plastered inside. The above operation is repeated throughout the day starting early morning to late in the evening, for from a single *handi* not more than $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ kg of liquid is obtained. This work of collecting liquid in the *bindas* continues throughout the season and all the while some water oozes out of it. This water, called *choarka*, is sold at the rate of Rs. 50-60 per quintal

164. When the season is over i.e. about the end of April, the fluid is dried in moulds, called *pasara*, and cut to different sizes; the tile-like blocks locally called *thapa*, are placed on dry ash. They are then cut into longer strips, called *sarre*, which are dried again in shade and re-cut into uniform cakes. The whole lot is heaped at one place, covered with *jamun* and *tendu* leaves and plastered with mud-cowdung mixture. The pile is called the *daali*; and, when it has stood in the sun for about four days, the catechu slabs are taken out, weighed and stored ready for sale.

165. All that we find in the last stages of manufacture is a gradual and very careful process of cooling, for a little negligence in any of the details related above greatly affects the quality of the final product.

166 *Handis* required in the manufacture of *katha* are imported from Madhya Pradesh. They are made of argillaceous clay found some 30 km away from Shivpuri. They are very resistent to heat and cost about Rs. 8 per *handi.*

167. The way the Co-operative Society goes to work deserves mention here. All the 63 member families shift to the site of operations in the month of Kartik i. e. late November, leaving one or two persons from each household in the village to attend to the winter crops, etc. If the members of a particular household feel that they cannot possibly cope with the work allotted to them, they seek the help of some other non-member Sahariyas whose position is that of hired labourers. Spread in groups they camp in the forest and live under temporary sheds constructed by the Society for their use during the winter season.

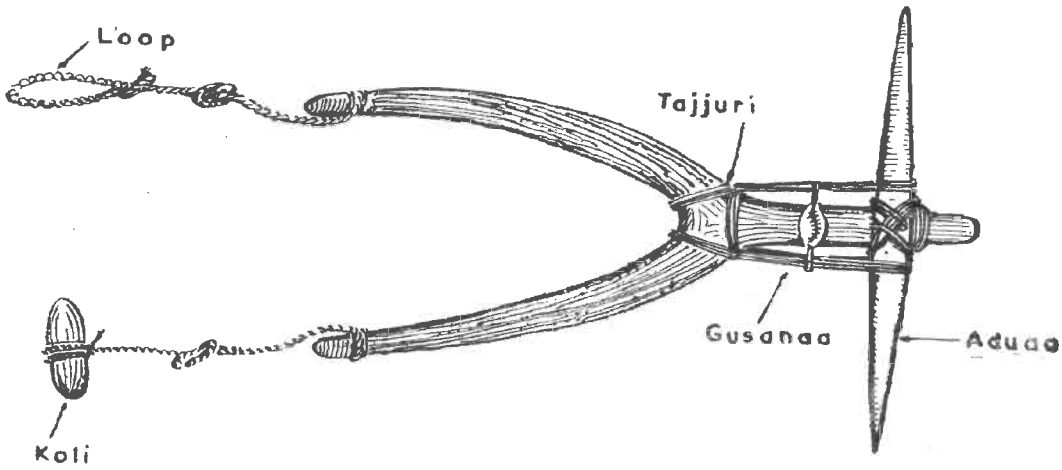
Finance Expenditure and Income

168. The Sanwara Jangal Upaj Utpadak Samiti secures loan from the Forest Department and the Co-operative Banks; and in order to stabilize the financial position of the society the Government purchases half its total number of shares.

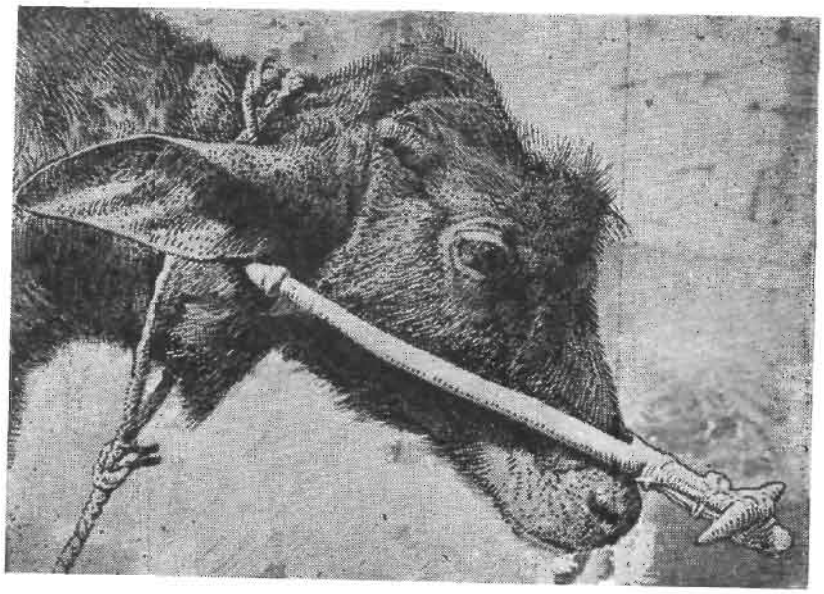
169. The quantity of *katha* manufactured during the year 1961-62 was 29,546 kg and its estimated value was Rs. 2,50,000. The total amount expended on the members of the society during the same period was Rs. 1,71,587.33. The average spending on a family came to Rs. 2,724, out of which each family had also to pay Rs. 1,000 as royalty to the State Forest Department. Deducting all the expenses incurred by the families and the Society, the Sahariyas hardly got anything more than what the old Bohra contractors used to pay them. As a matter of fact the Sahariyas did not touch any money, for the executive officers of the Society managed everything, and the poor members present such gloomy faces at the end of the *katha* operation, as if their entire crop had failed. The Sahariyas find that the place of the contractor has been taken by some one else.

170. Besides the manufacture of *katha* some other activities also engage the Sahariyas and provide them with subsidiary occupations. They are the following :

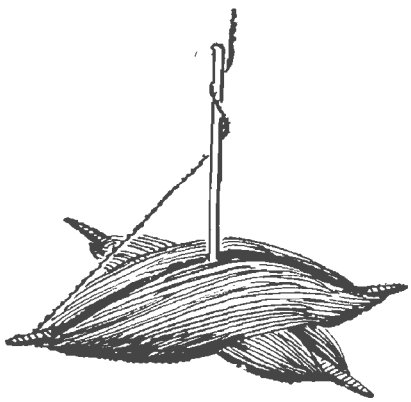
(i) Collection of gum : Gum is an adhesive substance secreted by many jungle plants. In most cases it exudes naturally but sometimes out of incisions made by the collectors. The



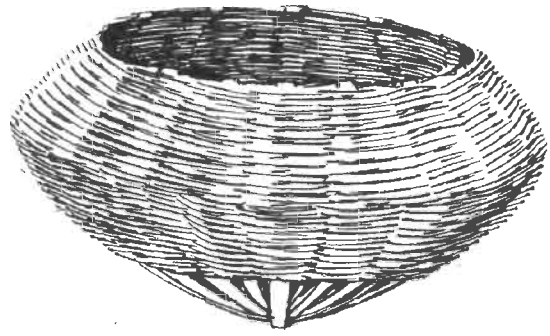
The *deela*.



A *deela* fitted round the mouth of a calf.



The *dherra* an instrument used in making the ropes.



A bamboo basket.



A young Sahariya basking in a basket.

Sahariyas go in search of gum during Phagun, Chaitra and Baisakh i. e. about March, April and May. A person usually collects two to three kg of gum in a month, and earns about Rs. 20 to 25 during the season.

(ii) Collection of *achar* : *Achar* is the fruit of a tree which grows abundantly in the forest and fructifies in April. They are required to be plucked from a height of about 6 metres during April and May, and a person collects about 5 kilograms of these working 3 to 4 hours a day. The kernel of *achar*, called *chironji* is a delicious dry fruit and is as big as gram. Twenty kilograms of *achar*, yield about three kilograms of *chironji*, which is sold at about Rs. 6 per kilogram.

(iii) Collection of *mahua* : The fruit of *mahua* is gathered during the months of May and June. A person usually collects about five kilograms of the fruit in about a days time and sells it to the shopkeeper for about 50 paise. When it is completely dried, its seeds are separted and crushed for oil. A kilogram of such seeds produces about 300 grams of oil which fetches about a rupee in the market.

(iv) Collection of *tendu* leaves : Good quality *tendu* leaves, found in abundance in the area, are used in the manufacture of *bidis* i.e. poor men's cigars. They are collected in May and June. Sahariya women in small groups roam about in the jungle, collect the leaves, and make *gaddis* i.e. bundles of 100 each. Selling one *gaddi* for two paise, each earns about Rs. 20 in the season.

(v) Collection of honey : Honey is obtained from beehives found hanging from tall trees, and from the mountainous rocks. The Sahariyas approach the hives at night and thrust iron bars into them to scare away the bees; then they place or hang container under them. The operational hazards are great but the Sahariyas are adepts in the art. Though honey is sold in the market at Rs. 3 per kilogram the poor Sahariyas part with their collection for the paltry sum of about 75 paise per kilogram.

171. From the above account of the jungle activities of these foresters, it is clear that the exploitation of the Sahariyas has not ended as they have to dispose of the fruit of their labour for petty sums offered by the old middlemen, and the Forest Department continues to hand over parts of the forest to the same old contractors who continue to exploit the poor through their agents.

Handicrafts

172. The Ahir men and women can be seen making ropes, *deelas* and *nianas* during their spare time. These ropes are made out of the fibrous tissues of *sen-senta*. Small pieces of this are first thoroughly soaked in water, then thrashed and finally turned into ropes. *Deelas* are contriviances tied round the mouths of calves to prevent them from sucking milk from their mother-cow's udders; and *nianas* are small pieces of ropes with which the hind legs of cows are tied to prevent them from creating troubles while being milked. The Sahariys too make ropes of *sen-senta* and *urai* used in various ways.

173. The Sahariyas and the Ahirs also make small bamboo baskets and other containers for daily use.

174. It may, however, be mentioned that these products are made only for their local consumption and since they do not make in large number, these do not find their way in the market.

Income

175. It is neither easy nor right to assess the income of the villagers in exact figures. They follow many kinds of activities, and the time spent on them varies. Moreover, the persons are unwilling to disclose their incomes; they often exaggerate their debts and minimize their earnings. Confirmation from other sources is not easy to secure; and where it is forthcoming, it cannot be fully relied. Under these conditions no detailed data could be collected about expenditure. It is in this light that the following tables of income and indebtedness and subsequent criticism should be viewed :

Community	Number of households	Land in acres	Total income	Income derived from				
				Salary and wages	Cultivation	Business	Dairy products	Other sources
Sahariya	32	114.37	10625.00	3490.00	4390.00	-	845.00	1900.00
Ahir	10	57.50	8900.00	-	3200.00	-	5700.00	-
Brahmin	1	12.50	600.00	-	500.00	-	100.00	-
Muslim	1	10.94	1700.00	-	500.00	1000.00	200.00	-
Total	44	195.31	21825.00	3490.00	8590.00	1000.00	6845.00	1900.00

It is clear from the table that the total income of all the 222 persons living in the village after tapping all their resources of income such as salary and wages, cultivation, business, dairy products and other sources comes to Rs.21825.00 per annum.

176. We see that though the maximum contribution to the village income is made by the Sahariyas, their number being the largest, their average income is the lowest; and even if the Brahmin household claims to earn the minimum amount it is not so badly off. The highest average income is that of the Muslim household. We find, morever, that the Sahariyas alone supplement their income from salary and wages and other resources, which implies that they work as labourers in fields or forests.

177. The households which own the largest acreage of land also own the largest number of cattle; and, it is found, are comparatively rich. The following table shows the number of households divided into various income groups, based on their monthly income, and their sources of income :

Income groups	Number of households	Land in acres	Income	Income derived from				
				Salary and wages	Cultivation	Business	Dairy products	Other sources
Less than 20	7	7.19	1300.00	550.00	340.00	-	20.00	420 00
20 - 30	15	50.94	4455.00	1440.00	1820.00	-	345.00	850.00
30 - 40	7	30.00	2840.00	900.00	980.00	-	630.00	330 00
40 - 60	8	55.62	5000.00	600.00	2450.00	-	1650.00	300.00
60 - 80	1	9.39	800.00	-	300.00	-	500.00	-
80 - 100	3	21.87	3100.00	-	1600.00	-	1500.00	-
100 and over	3	20.30	4300.00	-	1100.00	1000.00	2200.00	-
Total	44	195.31	21825.00	3490.00	8590.00	1000.00	6845.00	1900.00

178. From the following table, giving the distribution of households in various cummunities deriving their income from different sources, we find that the maximum number of households derive their income from cultivation. There is only one household engaged in business.

Community	Total number of households	No. of households having land	Number of households deriving their income from				
			Salary and wages	Cultivation	Business	Dairy products	Other sources
Sahariya	32	29	25	29	-	12	28
Ahir	10	9	-	9	-	10	-
Brahmin	1	1	-	1	-	1	-
Muslim	1	1	-	1	1	1	-
Total	44	40	25	40	1	24	28

179. From the income group-wise distribution of households deriving their income from various sources we find that all the households in all the income groups except those in less than 20 and 30–40, are engaged in cultivation. The position is revealed in the following table :

Income groups	Total number of households	No. of households having land	Number of households deriving their income from				
			Salary and wages	Cultivation	Business	Dairy products	Other sources
Less than 20	7	4	6	4	–	1	6
20 - 30	15	15	12	15	–	6	14
30 - 40	7	6	5	6	–	4	4
40 - 60	8	8	2	8	–	6	4
60 - 80	1	1	–	1	–	1	–
80 - 100	3	3	–	3	–	3	–
100 and over	3	3	–	3	1	3	–
Total	44	40	25	40	1	24	28

180. From the following table we find that only the members of Sahariya community resort to salary and wages. All the Ahirs derive their income from agriculture and dairy products.

Community	Total number of persons	Number of persons deriving their income from				
		Salary and wages	Cultivation	Business	Dairy products	Other sources
Sahariya	170	132	157	–	64	156
Ahir	45	–	44	–	45	–
Brahmin	5	–	5	–	5	–
Muslim	2	–	2	2	2	–
Total	222	132	208	2	116	156

181. In the table given below is contained the number of persons engaged in different occupations in various income groups. It is to be noticed from the table that the persons in the lower income groups only supplement their income from salary and wages and other sources.

Income groups	Total number of persons	Number of persons deriving their income from				
		Salary and wages	Cultivation	Business	Dairy products	Other sources
Less than 20	27	24	14	-	3	25
20 - 30	74	62	74	–	26	70
30 - 40	37	27	36	–	21	28
40 - 60	49	19	49	–	31	33
60 - 80	6	–	6	–	6	–
80 - 100	17	–	17	–	17	–
100 and over	12	–	12	2	12	–
Total	222	132	208	2	116	156

182. The annual average income of a family in the village comes to Rs. 496.02. The Sahariyas have the minimum average income whereas the Muslim household has the maximum. The community-wise distribution of the average income is contained in the following table :

Community	Total number of households	Average income	Average income for households engaged in				
			Salary and wages	Cultivation	Business	Dairy products	Other sources
Sahariya	32	332.03	139.60	151.38	-	70.42	67.86
Ahir	10	890.00	-	355.55	-	570.00	-
Brahmin	1	600.00	-	500.00	-	100.00	-
Muslim	1	1700.00	-	500.00	1000.00	200.00	-
Total	44	496.02	139.60	214.75	1000.00	285.20	67.86

183. The position regarding the annual average income for the households engaged in various occupations, in different income groups, is summed up in the table given below :

Income groups	Total number of households	Average income	Average income for households engaged in				
			Salary and wages	Cultivation	Business	Dairy products	Other sources
Less than 20	7	190.00	91.67	85.00	-	20.00	70.00
20 - 30	15	297.00	120.00	121.33	-	57.50	60.71
30 - 40	7	405.71	180.00	163.33	-	157.50	82.50
40 - 60	8	625.00	300.00	306.25	-	275.00	75.00
60 - 80	1	800.00	-	300.00	-	500.00	-
80 - 100	3	1033.33	-	533.33	-	500.00	-
100 and over	3	1433.33	-	366.66	1000.00	733.33	-
Total	44	496.02	139.60	214.75	1000.00	285.20	67.86

184. The following table relating to the annual per capita income in various communities is very revealing, and truthfully reflects the abject conditions of the Sahariyas :

Community	Total per capita income	Per capita income for persons engaged in				
		Salary and wages	Cultivation	Business	Dairy products	Other sources
Sahariya	62.50	26.44	27.96	-	13.20	12.18
Ahir	197.78	-	72.73	-	126.67	-
Brahmin	120.00	-	100.00	-	20.00	-
Muslim	850.00	-	250.00	500.00	100.00	-
Total	98.31	26.44	41.30	500.00	59.01	12.18

185. The per capita income from other sources, goes on decreasing in the higher income groups increasing while from dairy products. The position is revealed in the following table :

Income groups	Total per capita income	Per capita income for persons engaged in				
		Salary and wages	Cultivation	Business	Dairy products	Other sources
Less than 20	49.26	22.92	24.86	-	6.66	16.80
20 - 30	60.20	23.23	24.52	-	13.27	12.14
30 - 40	76.76	33.33	27.22	-	30.00	11.79
40 - 60	102.04	31.58	50 00	-	53.23	9.09
60 - 80	133.33	-	53.00	-	83.33	-
80 - 100	182.35	-	94.12	-	88.23	-
100 and over	358.33	-	91.67	500.00	183.33	-
Total	98.31	26.44	41.30	500.00	59.01	12.18

Standard of Living

186. It seems it is not correct to classify the villagers into well-marked rich, middle, lower middle and poor classes because such divisions are based on earnings, living conditions and capacity to exploit economic resources at one's disposal.

187. The survey indicated that the village consists of common farmers with small land holdings. One who owns the hut he lives in, has a pair of bullocks and a few heads of cattle, and is free from debt is considered to have achieved social distinction and becomes a well-to-do person. An average villager is one who produces enough to provide two frugal meals a day; and the one who has to struggle hard for bare existence, eats coarsest food and, failing that, subsists on wild fruits, belongs to the category of the poor.

188. Dwelling places, household possessions, dress and ornaments are visible indications of one's standard of living. In a general way it can be stated that the Ahir, the Brahmin and the Muslim households manifest superior economic status as compared to the Sahariyas who are extremely poor.

Indebtedness

189. Only 3 of the 44 households in the village have balanced budgets. The total amount of debt payable by the rest of the households is Rs. 16,250. The following table reveals the whole picture :

Community	Total number of households	No. of households under debt	Indebtedness caused by			
			Agriculture	Business	Social needs	Other purposes
Sahariya	32	30	21	–	21	29
Ahir	10	9	5	–	7	9
Brahmin	1	1	1	–	–	1
Muslim	1	1	–	1	–	–
Total	44	41	27	1	28	39

190. Debt amounting to Rs. 6,140 has been caused by other purposes; and another sum of Rs. 4,820 has been incurred for social needs. For both these causes it is the Sahariya community which is most affected. The following table gives the amount of debt for the various communities :

Community	Total debt	Amount of debt incurred due to			
		Agriculture	Business	Social needs	Other purposes
Sahariya	10300.00	2940.00	–	3570.00	3790.00
Ahir	4750.00	1200.00	–	1250.00	2300.00
Brahmin	200.00	150.00	–	–	50.00
Muslim	1000.00	–	1000.00	–	–
Total	16250.00	4290.00	1000.00	4820.00	6140.00

191. From the table given below showing the indebtedness for various causes, we find that the maximum percentage of debt has been caused by other purposes which means for the purchase of food grains, clothes and other things of daily use.

Causes of debt	Amount of debt	No. of households under debt	Average for households under debt	Percentage of debt due to causes to the total debt
Agriculture	4290.00	27	159.00	26.40
Business	1000.00	1	1000.00	6.15
Social needs	4820.00	28	172.14	29.66
Other purposes	6140.00	39	157.70	37.79
Total	16250.00	41	396.34	100.00

Income groups	Total number of households	Households under debt	Percentage of col. 3 to col. 2	Average indebtedness for households under debt
Less than 20	7	6	85.71	186.67
20 - 30	15	14	93.33	338.57
30 - 40	7	7	100.00	410.00
40 - 60	8	7	87.40	401.00
60 - 80	1	1	100.00	600.00
80 - 100	3	3	100.00	800.00
100 and over	3	3	100.00	566.66
Total	44	41	93.18	396.34

192. As detailed in the above table we find that there is 100% indebtedness amongst the households falling in the income groups of 30-40, 60-80, 80-100 and 100 and over. We also notice that the average indebtedness is maximum amongst the households in the income group 80-100, and minimum in the income group less than 20.

193. From the table given below we find that the maximum amount of debt of Rs. 1830 in a single income group has been incurred due to other purposes and this falls to the lot of persons in the meagre income group of Rs. 20-30 per month, also that the persons belonging to this income group have to discharge the maximum amount of dedt.

Income groups	Number of households under debt	Total debt	Indebtedness caused by			
			Agriculture	Business	Social needs	Other purpose
Less than 20	6	1120.00	390.00	-	200.00	530.00
20 - 30	14	4740.00	1260.00	-	1650.00	1830.00
30 - 40	7	2870.00	840.00	-	1050.00	980.00
40 - 60	7	2820.00	1000.00	-	770.00	1050.00
60 - 80	1	600.00	150.00	-	150.00	300.00
80 - 100	3	2400.00	650.00	-	700.00	1050.00
100 and over	3	1700.00	-	1000.00	300.00	400.00
Total	41	16250.00	4290.00	1000.00	4820.00	6140.00

194. That the maximum debt, Rs. 4740, has been incurred by 14 households in the income group 20-30, shows clearly that days of exploitation of the poor are not yet numbered. It may further be pointed out that each of the 20 families, all Sahariyas, having an annual income of under Rs. 360, has, on an average, 5 members each. It can be safely stated that they are as good as slaves of their money-lenders, who have become grafters and occupy key positions in the Panchayats and Party Organisations, and wield considerable influence in the area. The poor illiterate folk can not escape their clutches; and have even to repay time-barred loans.

195. No statistical data is available for comparing the above figures with those of the past years. The villagers state, however, that about a decade ago they owed more than double the present amounts as debts. They have paid back a portion in cash, kind or services. Whatever money they received as subsidies from the Government for the purchase of cattle, agricultural implements or as famine relief, mostly went into the pockets of the money-lenders who, on their behalf, had managed to secure the large sum from the Government.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

196. It has been previously stated that the Ahirs and the Sahariyas constitute two distinct sections of the village community. Their social structure is basically the same. However, as the Ahirs look down upon the Sahariyas as being inferior to them, their relations with each other are not very cordial. No doubt the questions concerning the welfare of the village as a whole are discussed sympathetically and local disputes settled amicably, and there exists inter-caste and inter-family co-operation in considerable measure. It is when hot words are exchanged and tempers are lost that the hidden animosities and suppressed iniquities are exposed.

Cultural Affinities

197. Except in some matters pertaining to food and rituals, and some tribal traits, the points of similarity between the Sahariyas and the rest of the Hindu population are so many that to a casual observer Sanwara presents a unique example of integration of cultures of two separate people. The tongue the people speak, the religion as shown by the gods and goddesses they worship and the rituals which they go thiough at the time of marriages and deaths in the communities are essentially the same. Although the social distance between the two communities, viz. the Ahirs and the Sahariyas, is still considerable, they are coming nearer as a direct consequence of Panchayat Raj.

Language

198. In language, the residents of Sanwara stand out from the rest of the people of Kota region, where *Harauti* is principally spoken. The tongue the Ahris and the Sahariyas speak is simple and sweet Brijbhasha. (A list of local words with their English equivalents is given in the appendix).

Population and Sex-ratio

199. According to the survey held in October 1961, the village has a population of 222. The Census figures for the last three decades are given below :

Year	Number of households	Number of persons	Males	Females
1941	51	254	133	121
1951	52	249	122	127
1961	44	186	92	94
Survey	44	222	106	116

200. It will be seen that during the inter-censal period of 1941-1961, the population registered a noticeable decrease. Why was it, so especially when the trend in the State and the country is towards increase ? And the difference between the Census and survey figures for 1961 also needs to be explained. One obvious reason is the mobile tendency of the Sahariyas which renders the task of knowing their numerical strength in Sanwara difficult. During the *katha* manufacture season, a number of families shift to the forest for a stay of 6 to 8 months; and at the time of the *kharif* crop some of the landless Sahariya families go in search of agricultural work to one of the half a dozen villages situated within a radius of 15 km. In such cases the Sahariyas shift temporarily to the fields of their employers. Due to such reasons it is likely that many of their households are left out of count.

201. The following table gives the number of persons in the different age groups :

Age groups	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	222	106	116
0- 4	43	17	26
5- 9	36	19	17
10-14	19	7	12
15-19	14	6	8
20-24	17	8	9
25-29	23	13	10
30-34	14	7	7
35-44	32	15	17
45-59	21	12	9
60 and over	3	2	1
Age not stated	–	–	–

202. The number of males and females are more or less evenly balanced in age groups between 15 and 44 years. Between 0-14 and 45 and over, males and females respectively are less in number.

Diseases Births and Deaths

203. No past record is available about the births and deaths in the village. On the basis of oral information collected, it can be stated that child mortality is comparatively higher. Malaria, small-pox, cholera and rickets take a heavy toll every year. This should be attributed to non-availability of medical aid and rigour of life.

Age and Marital Status

204. In the following table is contained the marital status of the inhabitants of the village in various age groups :

Age groups	Total population			Never married		Married		Widowed	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All ages	222	106	116	42	47	62	64	2	5
0 - 9	79	36	43	35	42	1	1	-	-
10 - 14	19	7	12	3	5	4	7	-	-
15 - 19	14	6	8	2	-	4	8	-	-
20 - 24	17	8	9	1	-	7	9	-	-
25 - 29	23	13	10	1	-	12	10	-	-
30 - 34	14	7	7	-	-	7	7	-	-
35 - 39	14	6	8	-	-	6	8	-	-
40 - 44	18	9	9	-	-	9	8	-	1
45 - 49	11	6	5	-	-	6	5	-	-
50 - 54	9	6	3	-	-	5	-	1	3
55 - 59	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
60 - 64	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
65 - 69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
70 and over	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Age not stated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

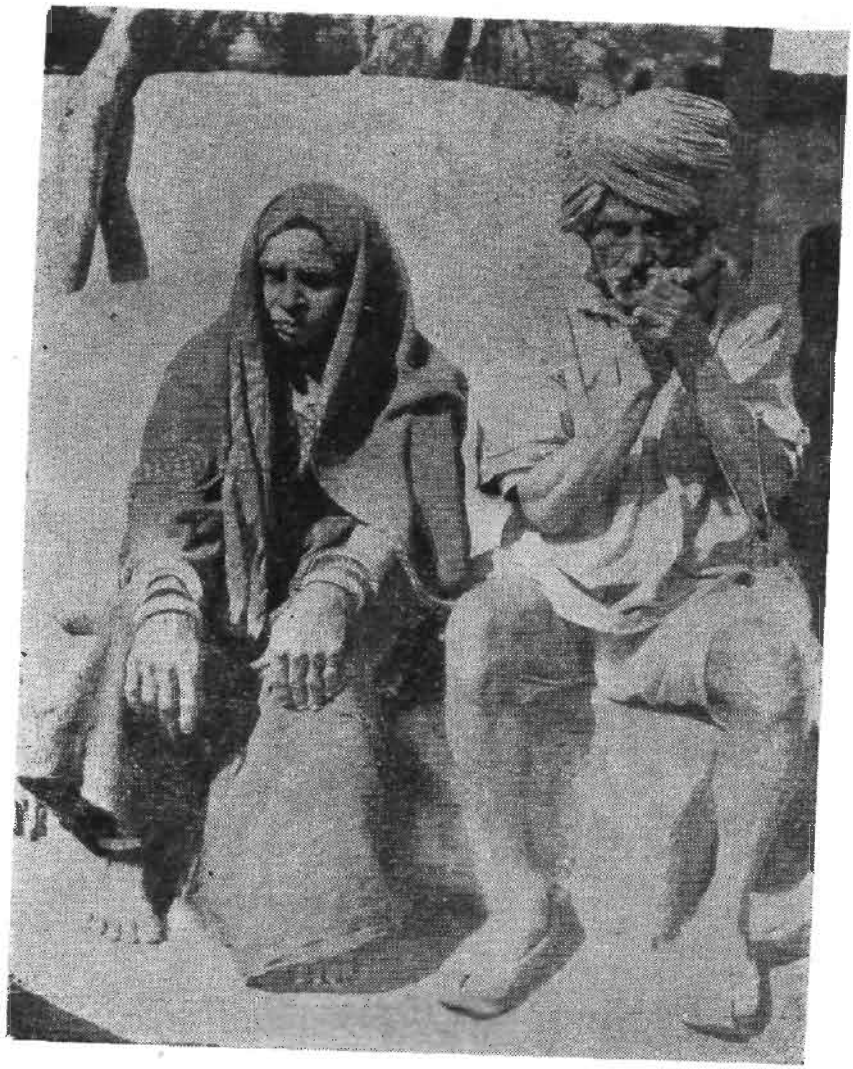
205. It will be seen from the above that the maximum number of married persons falls in the age group 25-29. Early marriages are not uncommon. There are 5 males and 8 females below 14 who are married. The general trend is, however, towards adult marriages. The village mothers insist on marrying their daughters young i. e. as soon as they start menstruating. The number of married males and females for all age groups is 62 and 64 respectively, the difference in number being due to an old Ahir having two wives aged 45 and 55; and one of his married daughters aged 25 is also living with him. A person may have second, third or even the fourth wife but usually after the death or deaths of the previous ones for the villagers are not in favour of polygamy.

206. It was revealed during the second round of survey that the woman, Amriti, living with the Muslim shopkeeper, Ismail Khan, is not his wedded wife. His real wife, Junno Bai, lives at his native place and has two issues. Amriti hails from Balera, a small place in Madhya Pradesh about 30 km from Sanwara; and has been living with him for the last 15 years.

207. The number of widowers is not high. For it is not difficult for the widowed to get a new wife. There are only two widowers in this hamlet of 222 souls, one each in the age groups 50-54 and 70 and over. The number of widows is five; one in 40-44 age group, three in 50-54 age group and one in 70 and over. The two unmarried males between 20-29 are contemplating early marriages.

Education

208. Prior to 1961 there was no school in the village, and only 4 persons could read and write. This included the Muslim shopkeeper. It was in December that year that the Panchayat



An Ahir elder having two wives -
Nathua Mehta with his second wife.



Ismail Khan–the shop-keeper with Amriti.

Samiti opened the Primary School. The number of children of school-going age in the village is about 50 but only 19 names appear in the school register, of which 2 are girls from Ahir families. The average daily attendence is six. When the teacher goes to the *thoks* (clusters of houses) to collect children, their parents usually hide them and often give lame excuses for not sending them to the school. Sometimes they clearly state that they have no food to eat, and hence they cannot afford the luxury of schooling their children. The four adults who can read and write can be said to have attained primary school standard.

209. The Social Welfare Department is running a hostel for tribal children at Shahbad where they are given free food, education, books, etc. Two Sahariya children from Sanwara were studying in the institution two years ago, but now there is none.

Family Structure and Trends of Changes

210. The basis of Hindu society is the joint family, which may be defined as a group of related people comprising of at least two nuclear families, generally living under one roof, eating food prepared in a common kitchen, and holding property, movable and immovable, in common. It is usually patrilineal, the male head wielding all authority. Various factors and forces, social, industrial, commercial as well as political, are working against it today; and the institution is being replaced by residentially nuclear and quasi-joint types of families. They may be termed as simple and intermediate.

211. The following table shows the community-wise break up of the 44 households in Sanwara into the three types of families referred to above :

Community	Total number of households	Types of families			
		Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
Sahariya	32	17	4	11	–
Ahir	10	6	–	4	–
Brahmin	1	–	1	–	–
Muslim	1	1	–	–	–
Total	44	24	5	15	–

212. The tendency as indicated above is towards creation of simple households. About 55% of the total families are of simple type. The Sahariyas always prefer to stay near their wives and whatever work they engage themselves in their wives accompany them. A high percentage of these women do not like to live in joint families.

Size and Composition of Households

213. There is only one single member household and, that belongs to the Ahirs. More than 50 percent of the households have 4-6 members, and there is only one household, belonging to the Sahariyas that has more than 9 members. The position is made clear in the following table :

Community	Total number of households	Number of households with number of persons				
		1	2-3	4-6	7-9	10 and over
Sahariya	32	–	7	16	8	1
Ahir	10	1	2	7	–	–
Brahmin	1	–	–	1	–	–
Muslim	1	–	1	–	–	–
Total	44	1	10	24	8	1

214. The following table contains the data regarding number of households with number of persons living therein according to the various income groups :

Income groups	Total number of households	Number of households with number of persons				
		1	2–3	4–6	7–9	10 and over
Less than 20	7	–	4	2	1	–
20 – 30	15	–	2	10	3	–
30 – 40	7	1	1	3	2	–
40 – 60	8	–	2	3	2	1
60 – 80	1	–	–	1	–	–
80 – 100	3	–	–	3	–	–
100 and over	3	–	1	2	–	–
Total	44	1	10	24	8	1

215. The single member household falls under the income group 40-60. Of the total number of 24 households having 4-6 members, more than 40 percent belong to the income group 20–30.

Leisure and Recreation

216. As the villagers are forced to spend greater part of their day in earning their living, they find very little time for what is generally called recreation. Whenever they are free, they are found forming themselves into groups of 3 , 4 or more persons, sitting in the *bangla* or on the open ground, and engaged in conversation. Breaches of established norms, cases of cawardice, suspected illegitimate sex relations are discussed threadbare and derisively. On festive or ceremonial occasions they gather at the temple of Hanumanji or at one of the *chabutras*, exchange greetings, and sing the few traditional songs they know.

217. Near *kunwar-ka-chabutra* a visitor will not fail to see some young men engaged in weight-lifting. There is a stone-ring with a carved handle weighing more than 50 kilos. In the *bangla* of the Sahariyas he may also come across some persons playing *solansar*, which is like Chinese chequers, and has 32 pieces.

218. Very often the young male Sahariyas put up farces at night. Some of them dress themselves up as women and others as police-men; and they stage acts in which they depict police interrogations and punishments and corrupt practices. Lighter sides of life are not forgotten; and the illiterate audience is many a time regaled with funny skits. *Ramlilas* and mimicry performances are also not unknown. The Sahariyas are frolicsome by nature and their performances are interesting.

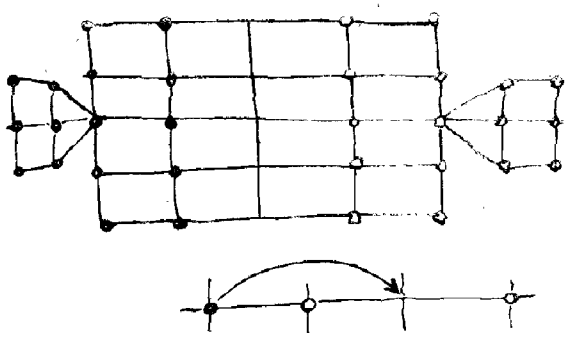
219. In the absence of dolls and toys, the children spend their time in playing with stones, pebbles and sticks. They begin imitating their parents' activities. The girls arrange three stones indicating the hearth, and go through the different actions suggesting that they are keeping house and looking after the children; and the boys pretend to go to the forest for felling trees or collecting gum.

220. The Ahirs though financially better off, do not have a different pattern of life from that of the Sahariyas. Rarely, a *harikathawachak* i.e. a reciter of Ramayan is called to the village; and when he comes, his performance is for the whole community. It is only at the time of marriage and birth of new babies that songs are sung and some dances performed. Some of the Ahirs do have *dholaks* or drums in their houses; and on some nights, especially the nights before the Holi, they are played.

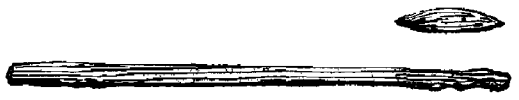
221. Some of the Ahirs spend most of their spare time in making ropes required in handling the large number of cattle they own.

Songs

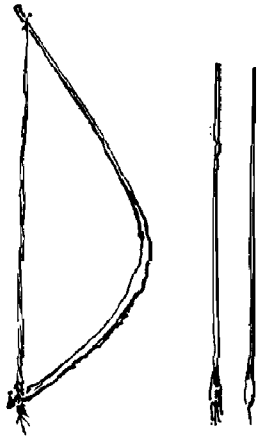
222. Songs form an integral part of all the social celebrations and are invariably sung on other



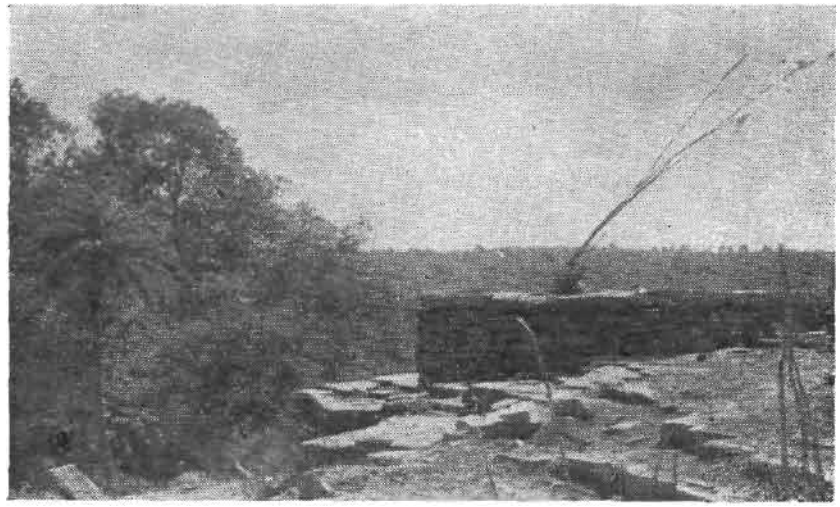
The board used for playing *solansar*- a game like Chinese-chequers-engraved on a stone slab in the Sahariya *bangla*.



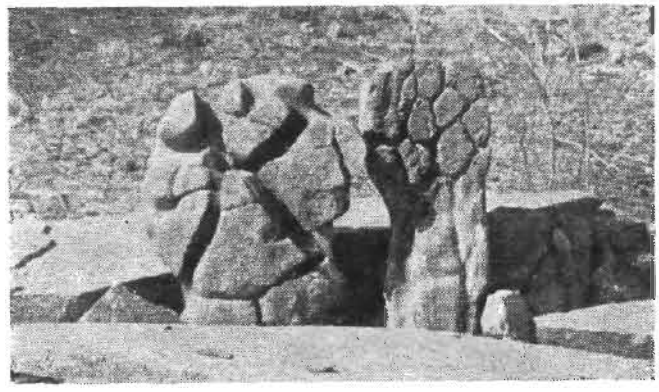
Boys above five play *gilli-danda*.



Some practise archery with *dhanas* (bow) and *teer* (arrow).



Thakur Sahib-ka-Chabutra where village elders sometimes gather. This is the first spot a visitor comes across when going up to the village huts.



The *Chabutra* of Heeraman.

festive occasions too. The songs of the Sahariyas are in sweet Brijbhasha language.

223. Some of the songs sung at the time of birth and marriage and at the festival of *Holi* are given in the appendix where some of the tunes of certain local songs rendered into staff notations on flute have also been given.

Religion

224. The village is almost wholly inhabited by the Hindus. To the illiterate villagers Hinduism means a few rituals, rites and worship of a few idols, and not the reading or knowledge of scriptures or discussions of philosophical subjects. The Brahmin performs the few rites required and, when necessity arises, he tells them about the auspicious days on which to start new work or to have the *mundan* of the children or to observe fasts. But he is a semi-literate fellow, who hardly even reads a religious book.

225. The Sahariyas worship Shri Ram and his consort, hold Ramayan in high esteem and also offer prayer to Hanuman. The Hanuman temple situated on an elevation overlooking the village, is the centre of their religious activities There is no *pujari* or temple caretaker appointed; and so daily worship is not offered. Usually on Tuesdays, the abode of the god is swept clean and incense burnt by some one or the other. Village brides and grooms have to visit this temple and offer coconut and *batasas* (sugar-drops) before setting out on *barat*.

226. Besides the Hanuman temple, there are three *chabutras* i.e. raised platforms named after local heroes. These are supposed to have been constructed over the mortal remains of the departed, and are similar to those found in other old villages of this tehsil, which was in old days a stronghold of the Kheechi Rajputs. Upto about the end of the 17th century, Sanwara formed a fief of the Bangi Rajputs some of whom earned great repute as warriors and men of high character; and songs relating the chivalrous deeds of Raja Nala of Narwar, Raja Hardol of Datia, Dangi Thakur and Dangi Kanwar of Sanwara are still sung by the people.

227. These *chabutras* are held in great reverence by the people, and on two of these stone slabs with male figures riding on horses and camels are erected. Villagers visit them on some special days and make small offerings.

Festivals

228. Festivals form a part of the religious life of the villagers. *Ram Navmi* (the day on which Shri Ram was born), *Rakhi* (the tying of thread by sisters round the wrists of their brothers), *Diwali*, *Akha Teej*, *Dussehra* and *Holi* i.e. all the Hindu festivals, are observed by all the villagers. Some other Hindu festivals like *Krishna Ashtami*, *Govardhan Pooja*, *Shiv Ratri* and *Sakat Chauth* are observed only by the Ahirs and the Brahmins who have naturally great affection for Lord Krishna the former being herdsmen themselves hailing from the regions round Mathura.

229. During *Dussehra*, the villagers worship *Kali Mai* (Mother Kali). This is done on *Ashtmi* i.e. on the eighth day. A small niche in the wall is cleaned and dressed with cowdung; and a few lines in vermillion are drawn on the surface. The deity is installed in it and the members of the household burn incense, offer flowers and invoke blessings. The Sahariyas sprinkle a few drops of liquor before the goddess by way of an offering and then drink it themselves.

230. The *Holi* is celebrated by the whole village; and as in other parts of the country, the people of all communities sing songs and dance; and throw red powder on brother-villagers. The beating of the *dholak* and the *thali* accompanied by simple folk tunes on the *bansari* fill the moonlit nights for about a week drowning the worries of the indigent people.

231. An important fair is held in Sanwara on *Bhadon Sudhi Chaudas* every year in memory of Dangi Thakur. A big crowd from far and near collects at the *chabutra* for the folks believe that the divine spirit offers cure for snake, tiger and dog bites. The sufferers offer Rs. 1.25, Rs. 5 and Rs. 25 respectively for the bites to the idol on the *chabutra*, and go round it seven times, sprinkle *gomutra* (cow's urine) with a *neem* twig over the

part of the body affected and offer coconut. After distribution of some sweets, they depart.

232. The villagers of Sanwara offer a coconut on every *chaudas* to the *Kanwar-ka-chabutra*. The Ahirs, moreover, make offerings to the idol of Heeraman, which is installed on the north of the village. He is credited with powers with which he prevents cows and buffaloes from going dry or barren. The inhabitants worship Moti Maharaj i.e. lord of the disease *moti jhaara* (typhoid).

Village Organisation

233. The villagers, as has been pointed out before, are divided into two groups, the Ahirs and the Sahariyas. While the Brahmin household sides with the Ahirs, the Muslim maintains neutrality vis-a-vis the two communities as it is to his advantage.

234. The strained relations between the Ahirs and the Sahariyas are very old. The former used to employ the latter for work in the fields and pay them nominal amounts-hardly enough to sustain them. Their indebtedness increased; and, inspite of all the work they did, they were considered untouchable by other communities.

235. The Government policies, following the Independence in 1947, have made it difficult for the Ahirs to treat the Sahariyas in the old way. The Ahirs do feel the loss of Sahariya's cheap labour to this day; but have now adapted themselves to it.

236. Some sort of tension does exist among the Sahariyas too. There are those who have fallen in for the new schemes initiated by the Government and there are old orthodox ones who do not yet do so. The advantages gained by the former faction are slowly influencing the latter, and the number of the orthodox is slowly going down. When there is, however, a common problem to be faced like the menace of a tiger or death in the village, the whole village assembles to face the situation forgetting their feuds.

237. It will not be correct to ascribe all the present differences among the two communities to the recent welfare work. The Sahariyas had been economically so subservient to the Ahirs that no love was lost between them, and the latter exploited the depressed section so thoroughly that for a mere cupful of curds the Sahariya was made to work the whole day.

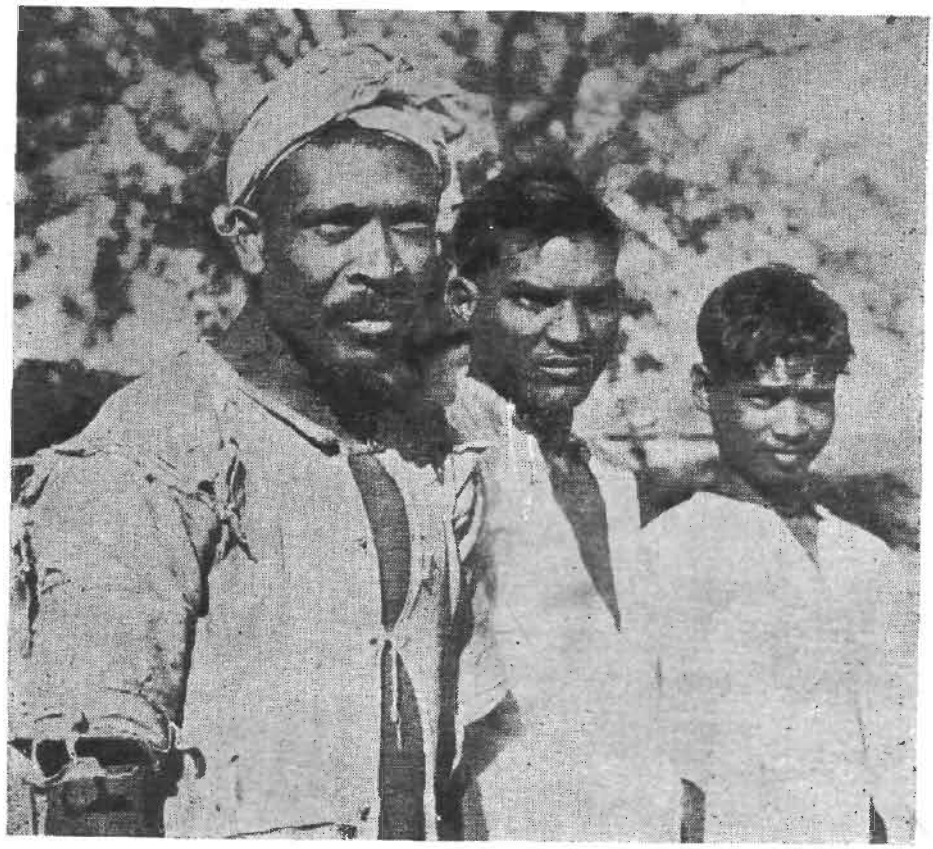
238. As in the rest of India, the Brahmin is at the apex of the social hierarchy in the village. He can eat at the Ahir's only. The Sahariyas do partake of the food given by the Brahmin and the Ahirs; but not by the Muslim household. The Ahirs can dine at the Brahmin's only. It will be seen from this that financial status alone matters little in social dealings.

Village Panchayat

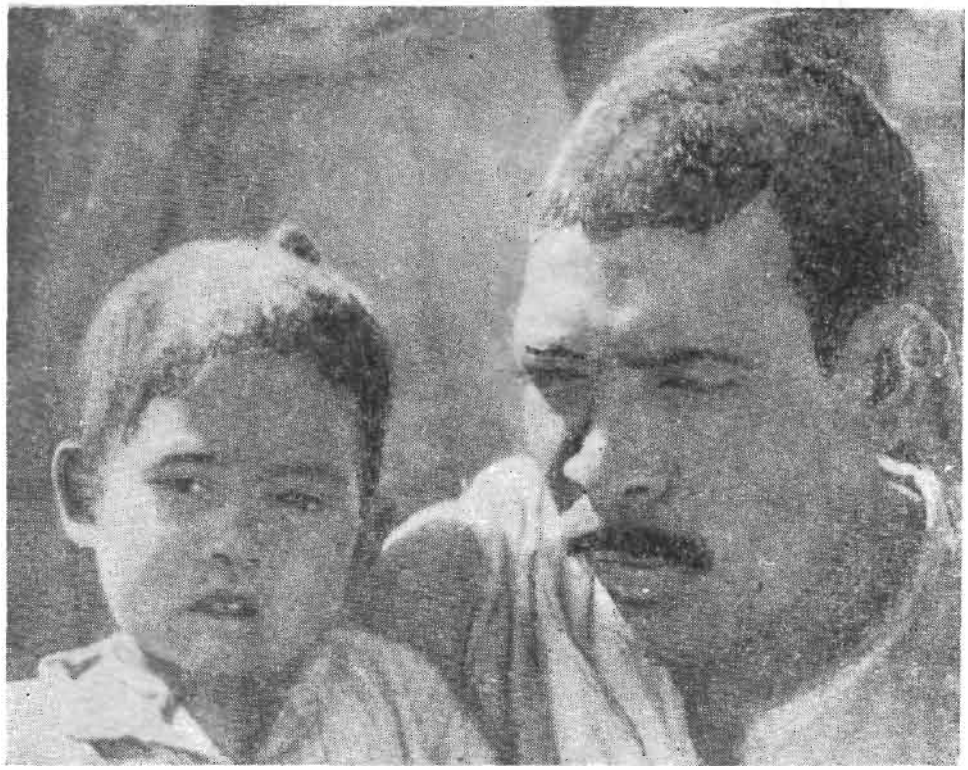
239. Sanwara is the seat of the village Panchayat formed as a sequel to the introduction of the scheme of democratic decentralisation by the State on October 2, 1959. The following 16 villages are under its jurisdiction :

Village	Distance from Sanwara (in km)
1. Sanwara	0
2. Patan	17
3. Sadari	6
4. Pathari	13
5. Basai	8
6. Meshpura	8
7. Talla	9
8. Khirkai	9
9. Doha	3
10. Tanda Ahiran	9
11. Majhola	9
12. Khirya	10
13. Churia	10
14. Ooncha Pathar	7
15. Madhi Sawar Singh	3
16. Reejhol	1

240. There are 11 panchas including the sarpanch, Shri Shankar Ahir, from village Khirkai. There are 5 Ahirs, 4 Sahariyas and a member each from Chamar and Kirad castes in the panchayat. Of these 3 Sahariyas and an Ahir belong to Sanwara. The Chamar hails from



Three faces of changing Sahariyas.



His only hope.

Khiria and the Kirad from Majhola. The Up-sarpanch is a Sahariya from this village.

241. The village Panchayat at Sanwara is one of the four village Panchayats which together constitute the Nyaya Panchayat with headquarters at Devri (about 24 km away). The other three village Panchayats are at Bilkhedaa Daang, Bilkheda Maal, and Devri. The representatives of these village Panchayats for the Nyaya Panchayat, are usually unanimously elected by the panchas. Shri Thakur Lal Kirar of village Majhola represents Sanwara village Pahchayat on the Nyaya Panchayat.

Caste Panchayats

242 Besides these State sponsered village bodies there are others called caste Panchayats coming down from times immemorial. In Sanwara the two major communities have their own Panchayats looking after their tribal interests exclusively.

The Sahariya Panchayat

243. Unlike the village Panchayats referred to above, the jurisdiction of the Sahariya caste Panchayat, extends not only over the villages of Rajasthan but also over the villages located in Madhya Pradesh. It is more or less like a central council of elders for the tribe, invested with quasi-judicial powers. It is composed of 12 members, called *patels* all equal in status, and each representing one of the following twelve villages with Sahariya inhabitants.

Village	State	Name of the headman
1. Sanwara	Rajasthan	Ganga
2. Patari	,,	Monghi
3. Sadari	,,	Chintu
4. Khirkai	,,	Sukha
5. Patan	,,	Saarnola
6. Gujari	,,	Amarchand
7. Doha	,,	Kishori
8. Kota Naka	M. P.	Dhanda
9. Chhipol	,,	Badhoi
10. Imlia	,,	Kalu
11. Toia Khera	,,	Shivlal
12. Chora Khari	,,	Dewa

244. To suit the convenience of all, meetings are usually held on festival days such as *Gangore*, *Akha Teej* and *Gangoj*, or on marriage days. It is mandatory for the *patels* to attend the meetings; and the expenses incurred by them are borne partly by the villagers of the place where they meet and partly by the party proclaimed defaulter in the dispute.

245. The office of the *patel* is hereditary and, in the absence of a male issue, the eldest male member in the line becomes a *patel*. The place and time of the meetings are not fixed. The Panchayat meets in session any time in any one of the 12 villages under its jurisdiction.

246. The Panchayat imposes fines upto Rs. 100 and in some cases awards corporal punishment too. A young man from a neighbouring hamlet enticed a young girl of 16 from Sanwara. When the fair one became pregnant, the Panchayat was informed. It met in Sanwara and, after due deliberation, imposed a fine of Rs. 100 on the guilty youth for robbing the virginity of the girl in addition to carporal punishment. The defaulter was beaten with shoes before the villagers.

The Ahir Panchayat

247. The caste Panchayat of the Ahirs also has 12 members, called *mehtas* representing the following villages :

Village	Distance from Sanwara (in km)	Name of the headman
1. Sanwara	0	Nathua
2. Patari	9	Ram Dhan
3. Basai	8	Phandi
4. Khirkai	9	Bansi
5. Patan	17	Pirgu
6. Sadari	6	Heera Singh
7. Bheejhol	1	Ganga
8. Reejhol	1	Ganga
9. Bhilkheda	17	Badri
10. Ooparvaas	1	Nathua
11. Seona	16	–
12. Churia	10	–

248. The two last mentioned villages are reported to be vacant since long time and their inhabitants have migrated to the adjoining villages.

249. The office of the *mehta*, like that of the *patel's* of the Sahariyas, is hereditary and only the eldest son of the deceased occupies his place in the caste panchayat. The other customs and rules for deciding a case are the same as those of the Sahariya Panchayat; and to illustrate the point the following case will be found to be very appropriate.

250. About five years ago an Ahir, Manna aged 35 years from the village Patan, abducted Meera, aged 20, from Kasba Thana. On the matter being reported to the village *mehta*, a meeting of the Panchayat was held at Patan. After hearing both the sides, the elders ordered Manna to pay Rs. 11 to Meera's husband, Gajra. The defaulter had also to pay all the expenses of boarding and loadging of all the members of the Panchayat.

General Remarks on Panchayat

251. Permanent Panchayats have always been a feature of the occupational and lower castes. They have always been local in jurisdiction and have concerned themselves with enforcing caste restrictions particularly with regard to eating, drinking and smoking, marriage and misconduct, occupational customs, and certain other social observances. The last 20 years have, however, seen a marked decline in their authority and influence ; and this is specially noticeable in the more progressive areas than in others.

252. The reasons for this loss of authority and influence are many. Improvements in the means of communications have brought the rural areas near the advanced and educated urban sections of the people. This has made the once docile villagers stand up against class tyranny exercised through tribal or caste Panchayats composed of ignorant conservative elders. The Government orders, regulations and directions, in many cases, go against the caste dictates ; and in these instances, the Panchayats yielded ground. Punishments imposed by the caste bodies are very often inoperative for the defaulters run away to other parts of the country. This results in loss of prestige to the caste Panchayats. The new Panchayats i. e. the Village Panchayats and the Nyaya panchayats, set up by the Government claim higher status and there is a tendancy among the members of the lower castes to abandon caste bodies and go to the all-powerful Government ones. The headmen of caste-panchayats had Government backing in old days. That backing being now removed, there is proportionate decrease in their effectiveness.

253. Before closing the chapter it would be worthwhile to refer to one of most important developments of recent times in the region. As has been said in the opening paragraphs of this monograph, Sanwara is situated on the border between Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. The area is infested with dacoits, the forests and hills affording them excellent protection ; and they frequently visit the villages for blackmailing and robbery. Not long ago a Block Development Officer, who was holding a meeting in a village near here, was approached by a party of these marauders in police uniforms, led by the dreaded Devi Singh. The bold stand taken by the officer on the occasion, and appeal to the higher sentiments of the dacoit-chief saved the situation; and the desperadoes left the place after taking of the meals offered by the Block Development Officer. From another village, Khatka, the dacoits abducted the sarpanch and two villagers, and released them on receipt of a ransom of Rs. 6,000 some three weeks later; and on August 14, 1964 they visited Sanwara itself, allegedly raped some women, beat up Nathua Mehta and decamped with Rs. 1500.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

254. So Sanwara, the Sahariya hamlet with 222 souls, shrouded in ignorance and resigned to their fate, leads a life of miserable contentment nourished on increasing indebtedness. It has its traditional exploiters and the Government agencies which have a habit of working with increased inefficiency the farther they go from the capital, and to become themselves corrupted and inefficient. The old tormentors appear under new names covering their operations under new forms.

255. Shahbad tehsil, in which Sanwara is situated, is a problem tehsil. It is predominantly populated by the Sahariyas living in abject circumstances controlled by vested interests.

256. It has been pointed out in the previous chapters how the masses in general and the Sahariyas in particular suffered for long such great disabilities that they accepted with resignation what they could not remove by their effort. Even the Independence in 1947, the consequential integration of the princely states in the region and the guarantee of equality enshrined in our Constitution gave them but little protection from supressing social demands and grinding economic exploitation. Total illiteracy, chronic poverty, indebtedness and ignorance have made them lethargic and indifferent to their fate. A number of ameliorative measures have no doubt been adopted for their uplift during the first two Plan periods, and work in the field of education, co-operation and rehabilitation had gone side by side. In 1956 the Government of Rajasthan introduced a scheme providing for allotment of 20 bighas of land to each Sahariya family with subsidies for construction of wells and houses, and purchase of bullocks. A plan for setting up model villages was also introduced, as a result of which three villages, viz. Shubhghara, Khushalpura and Ghattaghatti, all in the vicinity of Sanwara were remodelled. The results, however, were not encouraging.

257. It can be stated that despite all efforts by Government agencies for raising the economic standard of the people, the masses are not satisfied. One can notice waste and misuse of money at various places. The personnel employed is inefficient and corrupt, the people say. The working of the co-operative society is also a case in point. Inspite of the encouraging reports given by the offical agencies, the real situation seemed to be otherwise when enquiries were made during survey.

258. The truth is the Sahariyas of Sanwara are caught in a vicious circle. The Government with its money cannot achieve much; the co-operative societies fail even to accomplish as much, and the selfless missionaries do not operate in the region. The setting of industries is not possible for entrepreneurs do not exist in the area. And the Sahariyas cannot be expected to improve their lot in view of their ignorance and poverty.

259. When all means fail it is the duty of the State Government to come forward and do whatever it can. In this case, it should undertake a comprehensive industrial and agricultural survey of the region; and then set up some big industrial concern in the public sector. Power required can be secured from Kota and the adjoining forests and hills can supply some at least of the raw material needed. A newsprint factory, a huge saw-mill, and a State agricultural farm are some of the schemes, which after careful study may be found to be feasible. Some autonomous development body, like the one instituted in Dandakaranya, may have to be formed in this region also.

260. While these long term plans shall be taking shape, some ameliorative measures may be introduced immediately. Forest laws and regulations can and should be immediately

iberalised. The amounts of taccavi loans should be increased; as these are badly needed to meet new situations. Good schools with more teachers should be provided and adult classes started to instruct the villagers in the performance of their duties as well as to save them from their exploiters. Where possible private societies and associations with some experience of handling backward tribal people and putting them on the path of progress may also be invited to establish their branches and centres in the area.

261. Unless attack is mounted from all sides, no result can be achieved.

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APPENDICES

I. Staff notations of some tunes.

II. A few folk songs.

III. Some common words and their English equivalents.

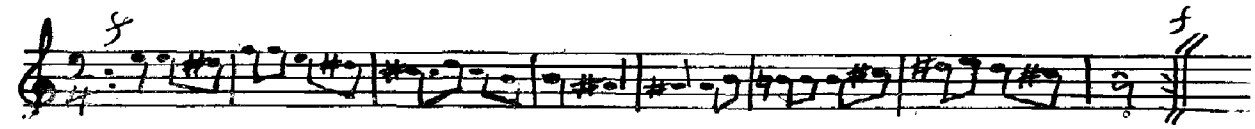
IV. Household & Village Schedules and Instructions.

APPENDIX I

STAFF NOTATIONS OF SOME TUNES

A few most popular tunes of songs sung in the village recorded by the investigator on the tape recorder have been rendered into staff notations by Shri Sri Narain, Music Compiler of this office. They are reproduced below to give an idea as to how rich are these tunes in their melody.

Tune I



Tune II



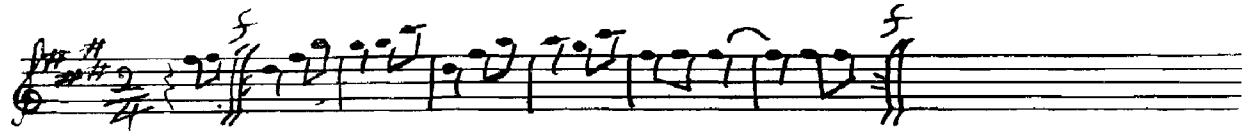
Tune III



Tune IV



Tune V



Tune VI



APPENDIX II

A FEW FOLK SONGS

A few traditional songs sung by the villagers (i) on the occasion of the Holi festival, (ii) at the time of child birth, and (iii) on marriage are given below in Devnagri script along with a free English rendering of the same.

(i)

माथे रगन्त सरला सोय कोरन बीच चिरईयां चुगती,
मनैयां चुगती बंगले में से बोल सुनादे गजरी ।।
चुटला विरोवर रखरी सोय करसन बीच चिरईयां.....।
पटियां विरोवर बिनयां सोय आड़न बीच मनैयां चुगती.....।
गोदियां विरोवर खंगरी सोय गोदियां विरोवर झलरा
सोय पानन बीच चिरईयां.....।

(You have long hair on your head, on one side
of which are little ornamental birds;
and on the other their young ones appear
as if they are pecking at grains strewn
on the floor. Gajari ! Let me hear you
sing from your hut.
You have a Bor on your hair-plaits, and
little decorative sparrows in their midst.
On your forehead are silver Patiyas, and in
your ears Adans. O Gajari ! Let me
hear you sing from your hut.
You have Godiyan round your neck and Khangari too.
On your breast you have the Jhala necklace.
Similarly, you have birds on your toes.
Gajari ! Let me hear you sing from your hut.)

(ii)

ओड दुसल्ला बाहर सो जाना सुनना हो राजा ।।
राजा तारा लगाए कुचि मोह देना सुनो तो राजा ।
राजा सासु आवे तो बिन मत आवन् दियो ।
राजा मेरी मैया को जगाए लियो मैं तो अकेली पिया ।
घर मत उजाड़ दियो मैं तो अकेली पिया ।
मेरी नन्दि को मत आवन् दियो जिठनी मत आवन दीयो
मैं तो अकेली पिया ।
मेरी बहिना को बुलालियो मेरी भोजी को बुलालियो पिया
मै तो अकेली पिया ।
ओड दुसल्ला बाहर सो जाना सुनना तो राजा ।।

APPENDIX II-*concld.*

(O beloved, put on the shawl when you go out.
Dear, give me the key after you have locked the door.
Dear, if my mother-in-law came, do not let her in.
Beloved, wake my mother up for I am all alone here.
Let you not ruin the household, for I am alone.
Please, let not your sister come in, and
let not your elder brother's wife come in.
I wish to be alone here, my beloved !
Let my sister be summoned, and my elder
brother's wife. I am all alone here,
O my beloved, put on the shawl when you go out.)

(iii)

सीता पुरियाँ खिचाई तेने भली करी ।
पुरियन के जिवईयां भोलानाथ भगवान अजोध्या के बासी ।
सीता जाड़ि ढुलाई तेने भली करी,
जाड़ि के ढुलइया भोलानाथ अजोध्या के बासी ।
सीता पलका ढुराये तेने भली करी,
पलकन के पोड़्या भोलानाथ अजोध्या के बासी ।
सीता तेने सोर ढुलाई भली करी,
सोरन के ओड़या भोलानाथ अजोध्या के बासी ।

(The composer addresses the bride as Sita and the groom as Rama, the king of Ajodhya :
O Bride ! you got nice Puris prepared.
For the eater of the Puris is none other than
the first resident of Ajodhya.
You got the holy Ganga-Jala (water) collected efficiently.
For the collector was none other than
the first dweller of Ajodhya.
You got the bed-stead arranged cleverly.
For the person using it is none other than
the ruler of Ajodhya.
You got the quilt brought together swiftly.
For the good person who is to use it is none other than
the first resident of Ajodhya.)

APPENDIX III

SOME COMMON WORDS WITH THEIR ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS

Common words in Roman script	Devnagri script	English Equivalents
1	2	3
Angutha	अंगुठा	Toe, Thumb
Bar	बार	Hair
Daant	दांत	Tooth, Teeth
Ghoonta	घूंटा	Knee
Hath	हाथ	Hand
Kaa-n	कान	Ear
Kule	कुले	Buttocks
Molo	मोलो	Mouth
Moond	मूँड़	Head
Naa-kh	नाख	Nose
Na-raa	नरा	Placental cord
Noho	नोहो	Nail
Nugainyan	नुगईंयाँ	Fingers
Pao-n	पाँव	Leg
Peeth	पीठ	Back
Peth	पेठ	Stomach
Toni	टोनि	Elbow
Chon-kadi	चौकंडी	Earring worn by men
Choo-raa	चूरा	Wristlet
Jhe-ela	झेला	Ear ornament
Kan-gan	कंगन	Wrist-band
Angi-ya	अन्गिया	Bodice
Dusalla	दुसल्ला	Shawl
Ghaa-ghara, Salooka	घाघरा, सलूका	Petticoat
Khap-taa	खपटा	Headgear
Rejaa	रेजा	Jacket
Baa-p	बाप	Father
Bahu	बहु	Daughter-in-law
Bho-jee	भोजी	Elder brother's wife
Damad, Jawan-i	दामाद, जवांई	Son-in-law
Jitha-ni	जिठानी	Husband's elder brothar's wife
Kakaa, Taa-ta	काका, ताऊ	Paternal uncle, Father's brother
Maa-maa	मामा	Mother's brother
Mai-yya	मैया	Mother
Moda, Modi	मोडा, मोडी	Son, Daughter
Moh	मोह	Myself
Nan-di	नन्दि	Husband's sister

APPENDIX III-*contd.*

1	2	3
Ansiyo	आन्सियो	Scythe
Arr	अर	Plough
Bain-to	बैंटो	Handle
Chhadi	छाडी	A Lighter
Ju-an	जुआँ	A Bamboo funnel
Ku-dra	कुदरा	Yoke
Mu-thiya	मुठिया	Adze
Nidaai	निदाइ	Weeding
Phar	फार	Ploughshare
Patai	पतई	A chip of stone
Ad-ua	अडुआ	Horizontal beam
Bangla	बंगला	Community house
Chaboo-tara	चबूतरा	Raised platform
Thon-k	ठोंक	Cluster of huts
Barsato	बरसात	Rains-the season
Garmee	गर्मी	Summer, Heat
Jad kaaro	जडकारी	Winter
Loo	लू	Hot winds
Sardi	सर्दी	Cold winds
Dhand	ठंड	winter
See-t-Pargo	सीत परगो	Cold
Daa-ng	डाँग	Forest
Gaon	गाँव	Village
Ghaat	घाट	Crematorium
Karaaro	करारो	Hill
Maidaan	मैदान	Plain
Nadee	नदी	River, Rivulet
Pahaar	पहार	Mountain
Rel	रेल	Railway
Sehr	सेहर	Town, City
Tesan	टेसन	Station (Railway)
Bu-khaar	बुखार	Fever, malaria
Janwaasa	जनवासा	Rest house for marriage party
Momi maharaj	मोमी महाराज	Typhoid
Motijhalaa	मोतिझला	Radio set
Redi-yaa	रेडिया	Cinema
Sanimaa	सनिमा	
Kanya-daan	कन्यादान	Giving away daughter in marriage
Kharach	खरच	Death feast
Lapak lolainyan, shyam	लपकलोलईंया शाम	Sunset, evening
Nataraa	नातरा	Marriage of a widow or a divorced woman
Sakaaro	सकारो	Morning

APPENDIX III-*concld.*

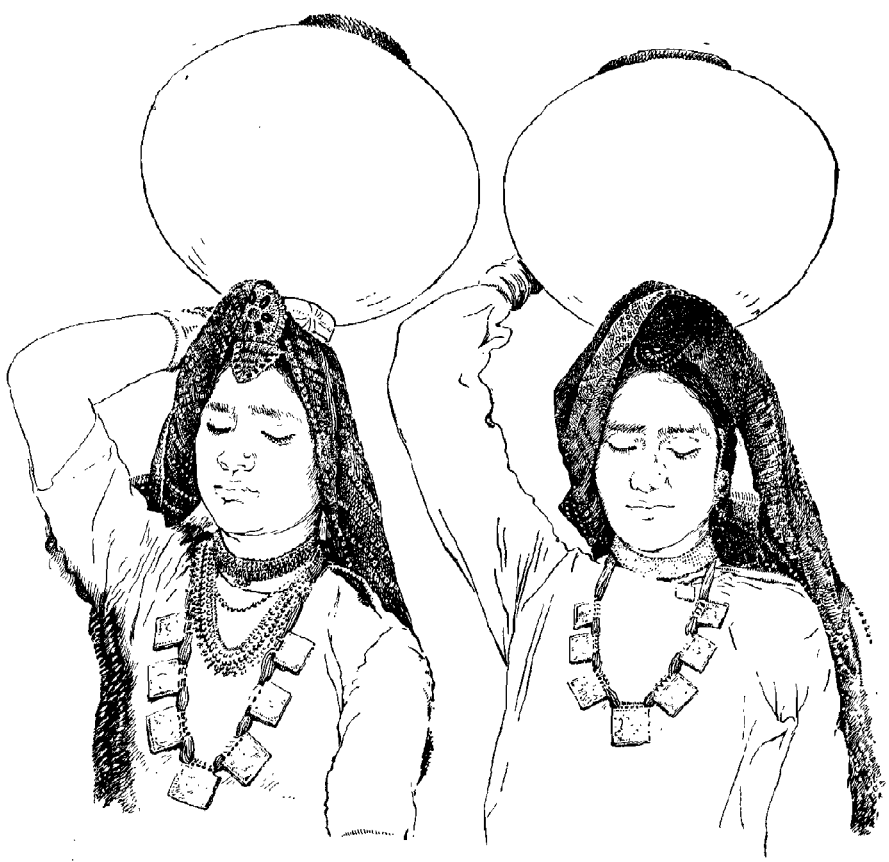
1	2	3
Sam-bandhee	सनबधी	Relatives
Saaro	सारो	Brother-in-law
Saa-su	सासु	Husband's mother
Sasur	ससुर	Father-in-law
Sa-wa-asa	सवासा	Sister's or Father's sister's husband
Bee-jana	बीजना	Hand fan
Choo-la	चूला	Hearth
Dal-i-ya, Taa-g-ali	डलिया या टागली	Bamboo basket
Do-naa	दोना	Leaf-cup
Ga-daa	गड़ा	Earthen pitcher
Ghat-tee	घट्टी	Grinding stones
Koth-i	कोठी	Earthern containers for grain
Tha-ali	थाली	Metal plate
Doo-dh	दूध	Milk
Ge-hen-u	गेहेंऊ	Wheat
Gur	गुर	Jaggery
Jwa-ar	ज्वार	Jowar
Ka-chon-daa	कचौन्दा	Nourishing emulsion
Lad-doo	लड्डू	Sweet balls
Mith-aee	मिठाई	Sweets
Sakar	सकर	Sugar
Samaa or Ra-ali	समा या राली	Wild millets
Sha-raab	शराब	Liquor
Bha-lya	भल्या	Dacoit, Accused
Boha-re	बोहरे	Shopkeeper, Money-lender
Byaa-j	ब्याज	Interest
Sar-kaar or Gower-mant	सरकार या गवरमन्ट	Government
Meh-taa	मेहता	Village leader
Ne-taa	नेता	Political leader
Patel	पटेल	Village elder or official
Pu-las	पुलस	Police
Ra-kam	रकम	Sum, Capital Amount
Thane-daar	थानेदार	Police officer
Wakil	वकील	Pleader
Bach-chha	बच्छा	Calf
Bichha-wadi	बिछबाड़ी	Shed for calves
Bae-l	बैल	Bullock
Bai-lan-wada	बैलनवाड़ा	Bullock-shed
Gai-yya	गैया	Cow
Ghodo, Ghodee	घोड़ो, घोड़ी	Horse, Mare
Khi-rak	खिरक	Cow-shed
Khir-kari	खिरकारी	Bull-shed
Pa-daa	पड़ा	Buffalo

सत्यमेव जयते

CENSUS OF INDIA
1961

Mukam

A VILLAGE SURVEY



RAJASTHAN

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VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

4. MUKAM

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PREFACE

Followers of saint Jambheswar who propounded twenty nine religious tenets, the Bishnois are an interesting community of Rajasthan. Strict vegetarians, they do not also allow anybody to kill and persons out for a game near their habitations have often been reported to have been disarmed by them. Mostly agriculturists, they are hardy people and their women-folk are known for their remarkable health and beauty. Hindu by religion, they do not cremate but bury their dead.

In this monograph an attempt has been made to study this community in the village where the mortal remains of the founder-saint lie buried. The study was made firstly by Sarvashri R. C. Bhargava, M.Com. and B.L. Sharma, M.A. from 7th May, 1961 to 15th May, 1961 but later the work was carried on by the former alone from 27th September, 1962 to 29th September, 1962 and from 2nd August, 1963 to 5th August, 1963. The work was supervised by Shri G. R. Gupta, M.A., LL.B. and Shri L. R. Pendharker has provided beautiful illustrations to this monograph. Dr. U. B. Mathur, Deputy Superintendent, Census Operations has assisted me in editing. I thank them all.

I extend my gratitude to Shri Asok Mitra, Registrar General, India and Dr. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty, for their guidance in this work. I also thank Sarvashri S. S. Pareek and R. S. Bishnoi of the Vidya Mandir Shodh Pratishthan, Bikaner and the Secretary Bishnoi Mahasabha of Hissar for their assistance.

"Chandra-Alok"
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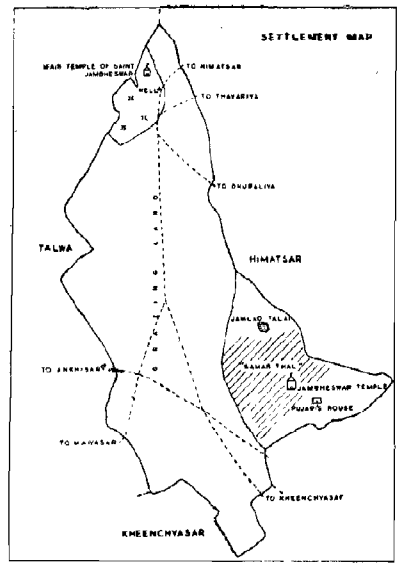
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VILLAGE MUKAM

TEHSIL NOKHA

DISTRICT BIKANER

VILLAGE MUKAM



TO SUJANGARH

TO NOKHA

N

TALWA

TEMPLE
WELL
DHARAMSHALA
CHABUTRA
PUCKA HOUSE
SCHOOL
CHAUDHARY'S HOUSE
HOUSE OF BISHNOIS
" " MEGHWALS
PUBLIC TAP

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

IN the south-east corner of Bikaner district of Rajasthan, some 80 km away from Bikaner city, at 27° 42′ north latitude and 73° 35′ east longitude lies a small village called Mukam, the sacred place of the Bishnoi community where the earthly remains of the celebrated Jambheswarji, founder of the Bishnoi sect, lie deposited. It is bounded on the north by village Nimdiyasar, on the east by Himatsar, on the south, partly by Himatsar and partly by Kheenchyasar and on the west by Talwa. On the main road from Bikaner

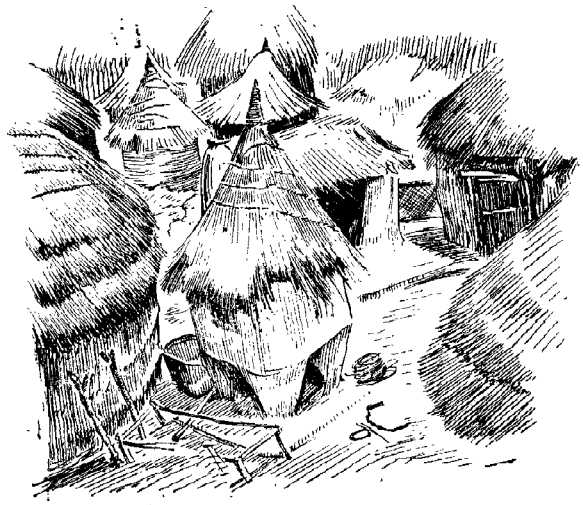


to Jodhpur, at a distance of 64 km from Bikaner and 164 km from Jodhpur, is the town of Nokha which forms the tehsil headquarters of the circle in which village Mukam is situated at a distance of 16 km on the 375 km long Nokha-Jaipur road. Nokha is a *Dhan mandi*, a rail-head of Northern Railway metre gauge system, a Police Station and the headquarters of the Development Block. There is a bus stand for the village Mukam on the Nokha-Jaipur road and a kutcha diversion of about a kilometre has to be covered to approach the village from it. Regular bus services plying from Bikaner to Jaipur, Bikaner to Salasar and Nokha to Sujangarh touch the Mukam bus stand some fifteen times a day. The village is thus in regular and constant touch with the tehsil and district headquarters and neighbouring villages.

2. Mukam has an area of 1,071 acres and a population of 298 persons. The density of population comes to 69 persons per sq. kilometre. There are 65 households in the village amongst which the population is distributed as under :

Community	Number of households	Population		
		Persons	Males	Females
Bishnoi	58	248	140	108
Meghwal	7	50	27	23
Total	65	298	167	131

3. This village, which was the main scene of the activities of Jambheswarji, is a centre of pilgrimage for the members of this community who flock from all parts of the country twice a year to pay their homage to the Saint. It was especially with a view to study the socio-economic life of the Bishnoi community which forms bulk of the population of the village, that Mukam was selected for survey.



Physical aspects

4. The village lies in that part of western Rajasthan which is known as *maroosthal*, i.e. the region of death. It is sterile, sandy and inhospitable. It is a dreary waste covered with sand-dunes rising sometimes to a height of 60 to 90 metres

above the ground and desolation becomes more and more marked as one goes westwards. It has been said of this region that "there are more spears than spear grass-heads and blades of steel grow better than blades of corn". The country resembles an undulating sea of sand. Water is exceedingly scarce and is obtainable at 60 to 90 metres below the earth surface.

5. Some of the sand-dunes surrounding the village are moving, while some have by now got fairly stabilized with trees and shrubs growing on them. Forest does not exist any where nor are there any hills in the vicinity. There is no perennial stream of water in this region. The rainfall hardly averages 20 cms a year and there is practically no surface run-off. There are, however, a few local nullahs. Only rain water from hard surface finds its way into them. Most of these nullahs have been impounded in small tanks and the water therein serves for drinking purposes; others get lost after flowing a short distance in the surrounding sand.

6. The period of the early monsoon showers is short and only a limited acreage can be ploughed up. There is no source of irrigation except the rains. The soil is light, sandy and lacks humus.It is, however, quite fertile but it cannot stand heavy cropping because of insufficient rains and lack of irrigational facilities. Everywhere there is dearth of wood even for fuel and people largely rely upon dung cakes for cooking. There is hardly anything in the village like a pasture. During the short period of the rains the land provides a little grazing but the grass is nipped down to its roots by hungry cattle almost as soon as it appears. In the rest of the year the cattle are fed on fodder consisting of dried leaves of Khejra tree and Camel-thorn shrubs and stalks of *bajra*, *moong* and other crops.

Flora and fauna

7. The following trees and shrubs are commonly found in the village :

Ber–*Zizyphus jujuba*
Jal–*Salvadora elioides Dene*
Khejra-*Procopis spicigera willd*
Bavalia-*Acacia arabica willd*
Keekar-*Acacia aratitriea*
Aak–*Calotropis procera*
Phog–*Calligonum polygonoides*
Pala–*Zizyphus rotundiabia*
Thor–*Euphorbia rolyeana Boiss*

8. The bark of the Khejra tree is quite valuable. Apart from its being used as fodder for the cattle in time of famine, it is utilised to supplement human diet. The wood of this tree is of a very inferior quality but it is said to become durable if dipped in salt water for sometime.

9. The most common animal found in this region is deer. Fox, hare, hyaena and wolf are also frequently found. Snakes, sand lizard, chameleon, porcupine and reptiles of various kinds are also of common occurrence.

Climate

10. The climate of the place is dry and characterised by extremes of temperature. During summer, heat is intense; hot winds blow with great velocity in the months of May, June and a part of July. Heavy sand-storms are of a frequent occurrence which at times cause breach of rail and road traffic. The heat of the summer during the day is extreme and it becomes unsafe to travel during the afternoon on a summer day as such travel may result in sun-stroke. During the winter, cold is also very severe and trees and vegetables are frequently injured by frost. In summer the temperature rises to 49°C while in winter it falls to -2°C. A relieving feature during the summer season, however, is that every time when there is intense heat continuously for a period of a week or so, a sand-storm or a thunder-storm occurs and it brings down the temperature appreciably for a couple of days. The nights are cool and pleasant as the sand cools down quickly soon after the sun sets.

11. The average annual rainfall recorded at the tehsil headquarters comes to about 20 cms. Two third of the rain is received in the months of July and August. It is easy to appreciate the hardness of the bargain that the people living in

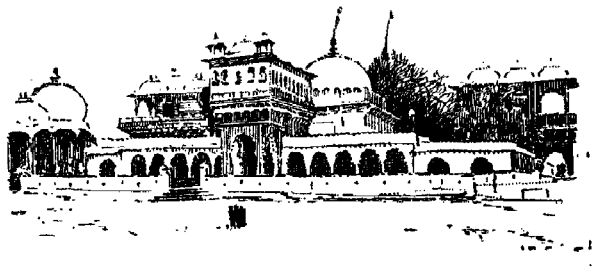
this tract have to make with niggardly nature which surrounds them. The people can grow only limited types of crops, the area they can plough is limited and the ploughing season is also quite short. The farming season is confined to few months of monsoon period, which follow the summer months which are hard and enervating. Despite considerable cattle wealth the people are precluded from serious dairying as there are no pastures worth the name.

12. The struggle for life imposed by nature somehow seems to breed independence in the nature of the persons of this area. Wide open spaces make for self-reliance and harsh nature makes hospitability a law of everyday life. Men and women in this part of the country are healthy and handsome. This is perhaps due to the process of selection and weeding done by nature itself.

Residential pattern

13. The village is situated at one place with lanes and by-lanes intersecting each other. It is, therefore, a linear cluster or assemblage with a regular open space or straight streets provided between parallel rows of houses.

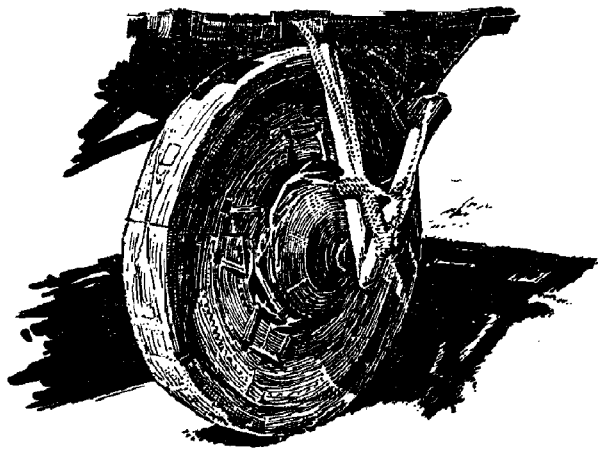
14. In the centre of the village, there is the temple of Shri Jambheswarji. On both sides of



the shrine there are three *dharamshalas*, presently under construction. Proceeding towards the south of the street one would find on both the sides conical or gable roofed huts occupied by the Bishnois. On the southern end of the village is a small sand-dune on which there is a house belonging to Shri Birma Ram Chaudhary, headman of the village. On the southern side of the shrine there is a separate block of huts belonging to the Meghwals. These huts are distinctly placed apart from those belonging to the Bishnois and the distance between the two groups clearly marks the division which separates these communities.

Communication

15. The common mode of transport in the village is either the bullock-cart or the camel. Camels are used as beasts of burden and are also yoked to the carts. The bullock-carts in Mukam



are of the common type current in Bikaner. A wheel has radial and a pair of spokes. Axle projects through a hub which is of V-type and it gives additional support to the cart. The diameter of the wheel is 90 cms. The local name and size of the various parts of the wheel are as follows :

Circular round ring (*pudi*)	10.0 cms
Felly (*patla*)	12.5 cms
Radial pokes (*ara*)	2.5 cms
Hub round (*napo*)	2.5 cms (diameter)
Support 'V' (*talava*)	

Cemetery

16. Neither the Bishnois nor the Meghwals cremate their dead. Both the communities bury them. The Bishnois bury the dead bodies of the grown-up persons in the plain before the shrine of Jambheswarji and that of children in their own

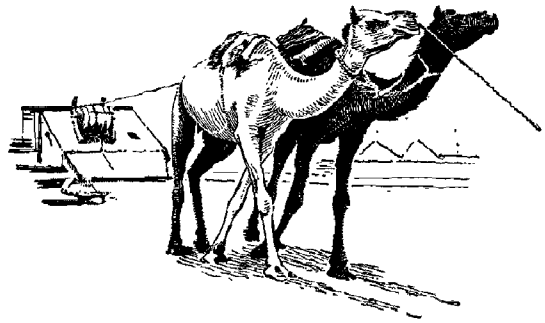
courtyards. The Meghwals bury their dead at a place on the southern extremity of the village behind their households.

Electricity

17. The village has been getting its supply of electricity from Nokha for the last two years. Electric light is provided inside the shrine and at all its four entrances. A few lamp posts have also been installed in the street near the shrine. The *dharamshalas* are also electrified. People have, however, not yet taken electricity in their houses.

Sources of water

18. There is only one well in the village which is the main source of the supply of water. Recently, however, through the good offices of the Bishnoi Mahasabha, water-pipe connections have been obtained from a well in a nearby village Talwa. Due to shortage of power, however, the scheme has not started functioning and the village people have to rely on their own well which is 90 metres deep and is situated about half a kilometre from the village. Water from this well is drawn with the help of bullocks or camels through a *charas* (big leather bag). There are separate arrangements at



this well for the two communities of the village for drawing water. The bullocks and camels and the labour for drawing water from the well are arranged turn by turn, according to their mutual understanding.

Sanitation

19. The village is quite sanitary. Every morning the housewives sweep their houses and lanes and deposit the rubbish at a safe distance from the house at a place which is reserved for it. They also give a coating of cow-dung to the floor of their houses which helps to maintain them in a neat and tidy condition.

Places of worship

20. Apart from the shrine of Jambheswarji there is a replica of the same at Samarthal, the sand-dune near the eastern border of the village where it touches the boundary of village Himatsar.

Public places

21. There is a Primary School and a Panchayatghar in the village. There is no Post-Office but a postman from Himatsar occasionally brings the dak on his periodical rounds once in a week. Mostly letters are delivered to the people when they go to Himatsar on casual visits or are sent with someone who goes there from Mukam, to be delivered to the addressees. The arrangement is, however, very defective. There are a lot of complaints of misdelivery. There is no shop in the village. People have to go to Himatsar to obtain everyday necessities of life.

Origin and history of the village

22. The original settler of the village is said to have been one Malaram Jat, who established himself there in the Vikram Samvat 1535 (1478 A. D.). Seven years later he came under the influence of Jambheswarji and became one of his most ardent followers. At present there are some two hundred families in Mukam and some other villages who trace their descent from him. In Mukam, Shri Birma Ram Chaudhary claims to be the descendant in the fourteenth degree in the direct line of Malaram. He has a son and several grand children.

23. From the *pattas* and *parwanas* granted to the Bishnois of Mukam from time to time by the then Sultans of Delhi and the Rulers of Jodhpur

and the entries in the old records of Bikaner State, copies of which are given in the appendix, the date of establishment of the village appears to be correct.

24. The following extracts from the Punjab Gazetteers (1908) are of special interest :

> "The Bishnois probably form a true religious sect among the agricultural population, so much so that the sect has developed into a separate caste which holds no social intercourse with other Hindu tribes. Their social customs will be dealt with in another section, here the main features of their creed only will be noticed. Their principal object of worship is one Jambhaji who was an incarnation of Vishnu. The legend connected with his incarnation is given in the Narsingh Puran as follows :
>
> "One day the door-keepers of the house of Vishnu (Bishanpuri) by name Jai and Bije refused to allow Brahma's sons to go in and see Vishnu. Brahma's sons cursed them and they became *rakshas* or demons under the names of Harnakash and Harnakashap. In order to slay Harnakashap Vishnu became incarnate as Berah. Brahma's son became incarnate as Phailad, a son of Harnakash. In order to procure salvation *(mukti)* to Harnakash, Vishnu became incarnate as Narsingh. With Phailad 33 *krors* of other creatures *(jiv)* were born. They opposed Harnakash who slew 5 *krors*. When Vishnu, in the form of Narsingh, had killed Harnakash, he asked Phailad what he desired. Phailad said that he desired salvation *(mukti)* for the 28 remaining *krors*. In order to effect the salvation of 12 *krors* who survived the *Kalajug* Vishnu became incarnate as Jambhaji".
>
> "As an incarnation of Vishnu he is the principal object of veneration among the Bishnois, but Phailad is also worshipped. The Bishnois are of course Hindus, and according to the orthodox standard would be classed as Vaishnavas, but they probably never think of themselves as such. Their deity is Vishnu, who is to be worshipped through his incarnation Jambhaji. The other deities of the pantheon are neglected or rather regarded as other manifestations of Vishnu. None of the common local deities, such as Guga Pir, appear to be worshipped by them, except the smallpox goddess, Sitla, who as usual comes in for a share of adoration by the women".

25. It is said that Jambheswarji also known as Jambha Devji, Jambh Rishi or Jambhaji, was born at Peepasar, 16 kilometres from Mukam, on Bhadrapada Krishna 8, Vikram Samvat 1508 (1451 A. D.). His father was one Jhabar



Lohat of the Panwar clan of Rajputs and was the *jagirdar* of that village. It is believed tha Jambheswarji was born in the thirtysecond generation in the direct line of the celebrated King Vikramaditya. According to a legend Jambhaji was found by Jhabar Lohat lying under a Khejra tree outside his house.

26. In his childhood Jambheswarji is said to have begun tending the cows which he continued upto the age of twentyseven. After the attainment of this age he is said to have propagated the teachings of his sect. According to another legend Jambheswarji was dumb upto

the age of twelve. The parents were greatly worried on account of this disability of their son and they sought the services of a learned person from Nagaur to perform some ceremonies for curing Jambheswarji of this trouble. Some earthen lamps put at the place of worship by the learned man could not be lighted. Jambheswarji is then said to have lowered an unbaked earthen pot in the well with the aid of an untwisted thread and to have drawn out water from it. As soon as the water was sprinkled on the earthen lamps arranged by the learned man they began to burn spontaneously. All those who witnessed this miracle were wonder-struck and from that moment onwards Jambheswarji was taken to be an incarnation of Lord Vishnu.

27. According to Major Walter § the following is the account of Jambheswarji's life and the Bishnoi sect :

> "In the Samvat year 1542 (1486 A. D.) Merta was taken from Rao Duda by Mohindra and he was obliged to fly ; he happened in his flight to alight at the village Peepasar; and at the time of his arrival the dumb Jamba was watering his flocks and herds at the village well. Duda observed that as he made a sign by lifting up his hands only so many of the cows as there was room for at one time at the well came to drink, as one set finished he again held up his hand when another lot of animals came forward to drink and this went on until all had quenched their thirst. Duda thought this a very wonderful proceeding and concluded that the cowherd must be imbued with supernatural powers; he did not like to speak to him there, but when he drove off the cattle, followed him on horse-back. He found that when riding though always keeping in sight he could never over take him; this again appeared most extraordinary. So dismounting he followed on foot and came up with him. Duda then put his hands together in a position of entreaty and asked his name. The man who had been dumb for thirtyfour years then spoke, said his name was Jamba, and in return asked Duda what he wanted. Duda related all that had occured, how he had lost Merta and asked his advice as to what he should do to recover it. Jamba had a small *koolari* (axe) in his hand, and with this he cut a piece of stick from a Kher tree and out of it manufactured a straight sword, this sword, he gave to Rao Duda, told him at once to proceed to Merta and retake it, and that so long as the sword remained in his family he would hold Merta as his appanage. Duda did as he was told and was successful.
>
> "From that time Jamba abandoned his occupation of shepherd and took up his abode on the top of a hill in the boundary of the village of Talwah of Bikaner, three *koss* from Peepasar. In the same year 1486 A.D. there was a great famine in the land. The Jats of all the countries round about where Jamba was living, began to make preparation to emigrate to more favourable lands. Jamba, however, told them that if they would become his followers he would feed them and that there was no necessity for their leaving their country. They obeyed his instructions and became his disciples. He taught them 29 articles of religion and hence his followers took the name of Bishnois from the word *bees* signifying twenty and *nov* or *noi* i. e. nine. They were as follows :
>
> The first two articles are concerning the purification of women and are very similar to the rules laid down in the Levitical law.
>
> The rest are as under :
>
> From the day that a child, whether male or female, begins to eat grain, it should be daily bathed in water.
>
> To be faithful always to one woman.
>
> Whatever a man possesses therewith always to be content.
>
> Always to salute each other five times a day.
>
> To pray to the deity every evening.
>
> Everyday before partaking of food to pour ghee on a fire.

§ Report on the Political Administration of the Rajputana States, 1875-76

Never to speak without consideration.

Water used for drinking or bathing to be filtered.

To carefully examine all wood for burning to see that insect or other living thing is in it.

Never to give way to anger.

Never to thieve.

Never to speak evil of anyone.

Never to tell an untruth.

To fast on the 15th of the dark part of each month.

Always call on the name of Vishnu.

Never to take life nor as far as is possible permit others to do so.

Never to cut a green tree.

To eat only such food as is cooked by those of the sect.

To fix a mark on the ear of every goat and sheep so that its life may be safe and as far as possible to make others do the same.

Never to geld a bullock.

Not to eat opium.

Not to drink spirituous liquor.

Not to smoke.

Not to take *bhang*.

Not to let indigo touch the body.

Never to bear enmity to another.

So to live as to be always prepared to die.

"In Jamba's time the Mohamedans rule over Nagore; they did not approve of his starting a new religion of his own and told him to include some of their tenets in it. Jamba agreed and added the following Mohamedan customs (this is, however, contradicted by later enquiries on the subject) to his articles of religion :

All Bishnois to be buried after death.

In the same way as Bishnois are to call the name of Vishnu so after Vishnu they were to say the words *Allah Bismillah.*

At marriage ceremonies the *phera* or circular movement not to be performed. Two stools to be placed on the left of which is to sit the bride and on the right the bridegroom, when the two are seated ghee is to be burned on a fire before them. The bride and bridegroom's clothes are to be united by a knot, two pice and some wheat flour mixed with *mehdi* to be placed together. When half the ceremony is over the seats of the two are to be changed, and the priest, who has hitherto been reading from Hindu books, is then to commence to read from Mohamedan ones such as were selected by Jamba. After this is done, the officiating priest pats both bride and bridegroom on the back and the ceremony is at an end.

To shave the top of the head.

Not to separate the hairs of the beard.

" Jamba during his lifetime built a large tank in a jungle tract in the *pergunnah* of Phalodi and near it founded a village which he called after himself Jamba. On the banks of the tank he dug a grave with his own hands and told his disciples to bury him there when he died.

"Jamba died on the ninth of the dark half of the month of Margshirsha, Samvat 1593 (A. D. 1536) on the top of the sand-hill to which he had gone after leaving Peepasar, his disciples, who were with him when he died, would not allow his body to be taken to the grave he had dug for himself near his tank, but said they would bury him where he had died, and this they accordingly did. His grave and a temple erected to him are still to be seen near the village of Talwah of Bikaner, the place is called Mukam from Jamba's having taken up his *mukam* or abode there.

"On the 15th of the dark part of the month of Phagoon (March) a fair is held at Mukam at which Bishnois assemble in large numbers, and on the 15th of the dark of the month of Chait (April) a similar fair is held at the empty grave prepared by Jamba for himself.

"In the house of a Bishnoi who lives in the village of Rohtoo of Nagore there is still a straight two-edged sword once the property of Jamba with which in former days Bishnois used to kill themselves in the belief of an immediate transfer to paradise. Jamba happened to go to the village of Rohtoo one day, and in alighting from his conveyance, one foot hit on a stone and the impression of the foot was left on it. All Bishnois worship this sword and the stone on which is the impression of Jamba's foot.

"In many Bishnoi villages is a covered *chabutara* or platform with a model of Jamba's shrine, and on it a figure of one foot at which all the sect worship as they also do the Khejree and Kunkharoh trees, on the 15th day of the dark part of each month. A Sadh performs the service of the temple, for which he gets his daily food from the village. He does not marry and when one Sadh dies another takes his place by choice; if he has a wife or children he foresakes them and the children live with their mother, in that case she can not remarry, but may do so if she has no children".

28. The following extract from the Punjab Census Report of 1891, regarding the Bishnoi community is also of special interest :

"Mr. Ibbetson writes of them : They abstain entirely from animal food, and have a peculiar strong regard for animal life, refusing as a rule to accompany a shooting party; they look upon tobacco as unclean in all its forms; they bury their dead at full length, usually at the threshold of the house itself or in the adjoining cattle-shed, or in a sitting posture like the Hindu *Sanyasis;* they shave off the *choti* or scalp-lock; and they usually clothe themselves in wool as being at all times pure. They are more particular about ceremonial purity than even the strictest Hindu; and there is a saying that if a Bishnoi's food is first on a string of 20 camels and a man of another caste touches the last camel, the former will throw away his meal. In their marriage ceremonies they mingle Mohamedan with Hindu forms, verses of the Koran being read as well as passages of the *Shastras,* and the *phera* or circumambulation of the fire being apparently omitted. This intermixture is said to be due to the injunctions of one of the Kings of Delhi to the founder of the sect".

29. The following extract from the Census Report of Bikaner State, 1931, based on the investigations made during that Census, contradicts certain points contained in the observations of Major Walter and Mr. Ibbetson.

"Swami Randhirji succeeded Shri Jambhaji on the latter's demise, but died soon after by poison administered by Chaina alias Chokha Thapan. After this, Chokha being afraid of consequences fled to Delhi where after embracing Islam, he married a Kazi's daughter and through his influence secured help from the Emperor and took possession of the shrine and all holy books at Mukam. Chokha then offered the shrine back to the Bishnois on the condition of their owning him after purification and adopting a few Islamic customs. To this they agreed. After that, the practice of wishing a *Niwan Salam* instead of *Niwan Pranam* on a meeting between two Bishnois, that of burying the dead instead of burning them and that of shaving the scalp-lock etc. came into vogue. In the U. P. the Bishnois have been burning their dead now and in the U. P. as well as parts of the Punjab they have started keeping also a *choti.* In any case according to this account it was not through the founder of the sect, as mentioned by Mr. Ibbetson, but through Chokha that

the Islamic customs came to be observed by the Bishnois".

30. In Jambhaji's teachings as preserved by his followers in the 29 tenets and 120 *sabdas* attributed to him, there is nowhere any reference to the observance of Mohamedan customs or recitation of the verses from the Koran at the time of celebration of marriage among the Bishnois. On the other hand the contents of his *sabdas* 10,11 and 12 make it clear that he was a bitter critic of the practices followed by the Muslims of his day. It appears to be certain that the introduction of the Muslim rites in the ceremonies of the Bishnois and which are conspicuous by their absence now-a-days, relates to a period after the death of Jambhaji, and the account given as a result of investigation done in 1931 Census appears to be more correct than what has been said by Walter and Ibbetson. The Bishnois of Mukam maintain that no recitations from Koran have ever been made at the time of marriage in the village during their living memory.

31. The foregoing observations give only a bird's eyeview of the life and work of Jambheswarji. In order to have a correct appreciation of the importance of his teachings and the influence he exercised, it is necessary to have a detailed study of the biographies written by his followers suh as Mahatma Sarjandas and Swami Brahma Nand and the collection of his *sabdas* entitled 'Jambh Sagar'. In the mediaeval times when ignorance and darkness prevailed in Rajasthan and cruelty occupied the hearts of men, Jambhaji was the torch-bearer who gave them the spark of light and brought forth their latent sense of equality, fraternity and humanity.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENT

MUKAM is an ancient village. The population figures of the village as recorded during the last three Censuses are as follows :

Year	*Persons*	*Males*	*Females*
1941	204	114	90
1951	262	141	121
1961	298	167	131

33. It would be seen that there is a steady increase in the population of the village. The figure for 1951 shows an increase of 28% over the population of 1941. The exact reason for this phenomenal increase of 13% over and above the general increase in Rajasthan during this decade is not known. Enquiries made in this regard indicate that there has been no migration during the last two decades. The increase during the last decade has been only 15% which is 11.20% less than the general increase in the population of Rajasthan as a whole. It is, however, worthy of note that there has hardly been any severe famine during the last two decades, nor was the village, visited by any epidemic, during this period. This suggests accelerated growth of population in this village.

34. Out of 298 persons residing in the village 248 (83.22%) are Bishnois and the rest are Meghwals. This shows that the Bishnois in Mukam are almost five times as many as the Meghwals.

Bishnoi

35. Originally the Bishnoi sect was founded in a cosmopolitan spirit and persons belonging to any sect could join it. It was then open to everyone to embrace the new faith. Even the Muslims could be admitted to its fold. In course of time, however, the rigidity of caste system amongst other communities having had its influence on them, Bishnois have also formed themselves into a distinct caste and now the rigour of the caste is as firm as in any other community. Mostly the persons who joined the Bishnoi sect were Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Jats. They follow the 29 tenets of religion given by Jambheshwarji. No distinctions of the original caste from which the persons were admitted to the Bishnoi sect are now maintained.



Bishnois of one sub-sect freely enter into marital relations with those originating from another sub-sects.

36. In his 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan', Col. Tod writes of the Bishnois as follows :

> "Brahmins-Bishnava is the most common sect of Brahmins in the desert and Sinde. The doctrines of Manu with them go for as much as they are worth in the desert, where

'they are a law unto themselves'. They wear the *Junnoo* or badge of their tribe, but it here ceases to be a mark of clerical distinction as no drones are respected; they cultivate, tend cattle, and barter their superfluous ghee for other necessaries. They are most numerous in Dhat, having one hundred of their order in Chore, the residence of the Soda Rana, and several houses in Omurkote, Dharnas, and Mittie. They do not touch fish or smoke tobacco, but will eat food dressed by the hands of a Malli (gardner), or even a Nae (barber caste), nor do they use the *chowka*, or fire place, reckoned indispensable in more civilised regions. Indeed, all classes of Hindus throughout Sinde will partake of food dressed in the *serai* or inn, by the hands of the butearin. They use indiscriminately each other's vessels, without any process of purification but a little sand and water. They do not even burn their dead, but bury them near the threshold; and those who can afford it, raise small *chabootras*, or alters, on which they place an image of Siva and a *gurra* or pot of water. The *Junnoo* or thread which marks the sacerdotal character in Hindustan, is common in these regions to all classes, with the exception of Kolis and Lohars. This practice originated with their Governors, in order to discriminate them from those who have to perform the most servile duties"†

37. Bishnois marry among their own community but are exogamous so far as their own *gotra* is concerned. Some of the *gotras* which are akin to those of Jats are mentioned below :

1. Kaswan	2. Godara	3. Khibri
4. Dahukya	5. Bola	6. Dahra
7. Gora	8. Punia	9. Jani
10. Kapsin	11. Banjar	12. Panwar
13. Loea	14. Bhadu	15. Khandal
16. Bidar	17. Khor	18. Sahu
19. Thori	20. Janode	21. Karwa

† Vol II p. 258-259

38. In Mukam all the Bishnois are of Godara *gotra* excepting one household which belongs to the Punia *gotra*. The latter came from outside and married a Godara girl and settled in the village. The Bishnois of this village have, therefore, to go to other villages for marital relations with the Bishnois of other *gotras*. Bishnois are sturdy people, healthy and possess a very strong and tall physique. They are notable for their strength, vigour and longevity. A Bishnoi can easily be recognised by his typical features.

39. There are ten centres in the country which are considered as sacred by the Bishnois. They hold these villages in special esteem by way of *gurudwaras* :

Jambha : This village is at a distance of 22 kilometres from Phalodi, a sub-division of Jodhpur district. There is a tank in this village which is named *Jambh Sarovar*. This tank is said to have been constructed by Jambheswarji himelf. A fair is held at this place on the Amavasya day of Chaitra (April) every year.

Rodu : There is a tradition that one Jokharam Bishnoi who had a daughter was in very strained circumstances. The father and the daughter were both devout followers of Jambheswarji. When the time of the girl's marriage came, there being no one from the side of the maternal uncle of the bride, the question arose as to who was to present *bhat* according to the established custom to the bride's mother. The parents of the girl felt very sad and disconsolate but the girl who reposed implicit faith in Jambhaji kept calm and cheerful and prophesied that Jambhaji would come to her help. When the time for *bhat* arrived every one was holding his breath as to who was going to perform the ceremony as there was none to officiate for the girl's maternal uncle at the function. To the great surprise of all those present, at the crucial moment Jambhaji appeared in response to the silent prayers of the girl, and clad her mother with a *chundri* of nine colours and made

most valuable presents on the occasion which none could even dream of.

Samarthal : This is a lovely sand-dune at a distance of one kilometre from Mukam. It was the principal seat of Jambhaji during the period he propagated his religion. It is indeed a most calm and quiet place for "life more sweet than that of painted pomp; a life 'exempt from public haunt' in a quiet retreat, where for turbulent citizens, the deer, poor dappled fools, are the only native burghers". Almost a 30 metre below is a wild landscape presenting an enchanting valley of sandy ground, interspersed with greenery, which is said to have been the traditional tank dug by the Jats during the famine of St. year 1542, (A. D. 1485). There is no habitation at present at this place except that of a *Sanyasi* who offers worship to the replica of Jambhaji's shrine located in a small temple there, and performs *agnihotra* morning and evening. Bishnois who happen to be near-about at the time of worship go and pay their homage at the temple. It is believed that the place is permeated with the spirit of Jambhaji who is present there in his ethereal body ever since he laid down his mortal body. It is also believed by the Bishnois that the *Svarna nagri* and the golden *Singhasan* (throne) of the celebrated Emperor Vikramaditya lie buried under this sand-dune.

Jangloo-ki-Sathri (Nagaur district) : Saint Jambhaji is said to have taken rest for a night at this place.

Bheemsar-ki-Sathri (Nagaur district) : This is also a place which is supposed to have given shelter to the Saint for a night.

Lohawat-ki-Sathri : It is believed that the Saint once delivered a sermon to Maldev, Ruler of Jodhpur state, at this place.

Lodipur (Muradabad district, U. P.) : Here Jambheswarji planted a Khejra tree at the request of his followers. It is worthwhile mentioning here that Khejra tree is a special feature of the desert area of Rajasthan and it is seldom to be found in Uttar Pradesh. The existence of a tree of this species at Lodipur is, therefore, quite significant.

Mukam : The village under survey. Jambheswarji was buried here and his *Samadhi* was erected at this place.

Peepasar (Nagaur district) : This is the birth place of Jambheswarji and is situated at a distance of about 17 kilometres from Mukam.

Lalasar (Bikaner district) : Here Jambhaji breathed his last.

40. It is believed that owing to scarcity conditions of recurring famine the Bishnois from Marwar emigrated from time to time to various other places where they could find better conditions of livelihood. At present a large number of this community, the total of which may be several lakhs, is spread over various parts of the country specially in Hissar, Firozpur, Bijnor, Muradabad, Meerut, Hoshangabad, Jabalpur and Kalpi. In the Punjab most of the Bishnois have their origin from Jats. In the U. P., M.P. and Bengal many Bishnois trace their origin from Brahmins and Agarwals of Vaish community. Some of the Bishnois of U. P. continue to have their marital relations with the Agarwals of the neighbouring places. It is said that Bishnois can now be found in eastern Bengal and in some countries overseas also.

41. The Gayanas are said to have originally been the *Bhats* (Chroniclers) appointed by Jambheswarji. They were proficient in music and hence the name Gayana. They used to compose verses and to record the genealogies of Bishnois and also detailed accounts of notable events regarding the Bishnoi families.

42. In order to officiate as master of ceremonies on the occasions of birth, death and marriage, Thapans were appointed. The word *thapan* is derived from the Sanskrit *sthapan* which means to establish or to set up on a permanent basis. The very nature of the work entrusted to

the Thapans imparted it a special sanctity, and its sacredness was perhaps the only justification for calling them by that designation. The Thapans were prohibited to have marital relations with any other sect except their own. They were expected not even to marry among the Bishnois. But this restriction did not hold good for any long time with the result that the Thapans had marital relations among the Bishnois and in course of time they merged themselves into the Bishnoi community.

43. The Gayanas on the other hand gave up the work of recording the genealogy of the families. They took more and more to the performance of priestly work on ceremonial occasions, so much so that they completely replaced the Thapans. The Gayanas who originated from the Bishnois are now a separate sect, who do not marry except amongst the Gayanas. They now only officiate at the ceremonial functions of this community. They do not go to beg at the doors of other communities. They observe all the rules prescribed for the Bishnois and worship Jambheswarji as their family god.

Meghwal

44. The Meghwals trace their descent from a Brahmin Saint called 'Megh'. Their traditional occupation was the removal of dead animals and their skinning. Those of them who did this work as a profession were termed as *dedh*. They now live on agriculture and agricultural labour It is said that some hundred years ago when Marwar was troubled by foreign inroads a number of Rajputs, Jats and Charans proclaimed themselves to be Meghwals to save their skin and took to agriculture.

Language

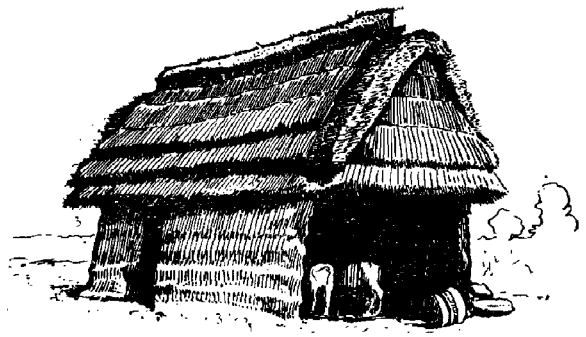
45. The language spoken in the area is Rajasthani with Bikaneri accent.

House type

46. The common type of dwellings in the village are circular huts or gable huts. The walls of these houses are made either of mud or of bamboo *jafri* (skeleton) which is also plastered with mud. The houses have got thatched roofs. A household usually possess a number of circular huts and one or two gabled ones. In a typical household there is a separate structure known as *kotha* which is meant for storing the grain. Then there are three or four huts which serve as living rooms.

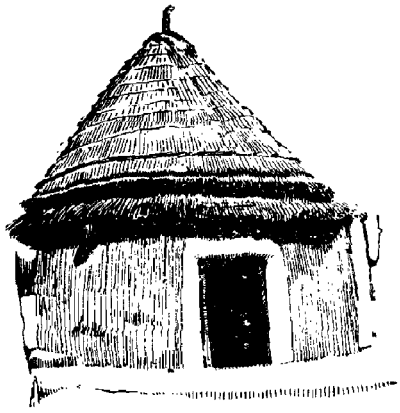


There is a separate kitchen and a cattle-shed. The separate apartments lead to convenience, privacy and maintenance of good sanitary conditions. In times of necessity, cattle-shed is converted



into a guest hut. A circular hut is locally termed as *jhopa* and the gable ones which are closed on three sides as *paidwa*. Five households in the village have houses of brick and mortar and are roofed with stone slabs which are obtained from Nokha or Jodhpur. The temple of Jambhaji and the *dharamshalas* are also pucca. The cost of building a circular hut is Rs. 150 to Rs. 200, of gable hut Rs. 200 to Rs. 250 and in the case of a pucca house expenditure of Rs. 500 to Rs. 800 per room is incurred. The circular hut have a diameter varying between 1.5 to 2.5 metres. The gable huts are 1.5

to 2.5 metres long, 1.2 to 2.0 metres broad and 2 to 2.1 metres high. Huts belonging to Meghwals are smaller in size. Each Meghwal household consists



of two huts on an average. No provision is made for ventilation in the walls of the kutcha houses. The space between the walls and the thatched roofs allows passage for air and light in the cottages. No ceremony is performed at the time of begining the construction of a house. When the house is complete, at the time of inauguration some jaggery or sweetmeat is distributed among the neighbours.

47. Every household has got a fencing which is generally made of dry thorn hedges. In the compound of the household there is sufficient open space, in the front as well as at the back. No latrines are provided as people go out for answering the calls of nature in the fields or among the sand-dunes, away from the *abadi*. Floors of the houses are swept twice a day and are coated with the mixture of cow dung and earth, periodically. There are no decorations on the inner walls of the households nor any at the doors of the houses.

48. The table given below gives the distribution of households in each community according to number of rooms, type of construction etc :

Communities	Number of households	Number of persons	Ancestral	Self constructed	Number of living rooms	Average No. of rooms per household
Bishnoi	58	348	26	32	179	3.0
Meghwal	7	50	3	4	9	1.3
Total	65	398	29	36	188	2.8

49. It would be seen here that about 55.4% of the total number of residential structures have been constructed by the existing households. The table further provides data regarding the number of rooms per household. It will be seen that the average number of rooms in the Bishnoi community are 3.0 as against 1.3 in Meghwals. The average number of rooms per household for the village as a whole works out to 2.8. But the number of rooms per household does not give an adequate picture of the housing conditions of the village. To assess the same one must take into consideration the number of persons living therein. The relevant data is provided in the following table:

Households with number of rooms	Total number of households	Number of persons				
		1	2–3	4–6	7–9	10 and more
One room	5	5	–	–	–	–
Two rooms	22	7	10	5	–	–
Three rooms	20	–	4	14	2	–
Four rooms	11	–	–	4	7	–
Five rooms	7	–	–	–	3	4
Total	65	12	14	23	12	4

50. It would be seen that only 5 households are living in one room houses. About one third of the total households are living in two roomed houses, 30 percent are living in three roomed houses, another 16 percent are living in 4 roomed houses, and those who live in 5 roomed houses constitute a minor proportion of the total number of households in the village.

Dress

51. The dress of the villagers is pretty simple. The items of male dress are *safa* or *phenta* which is tied in a circular fashion on the head, a *kurta* and a *dhoti* which are of hand spun cloth or coarse mill cloth. Women put on *odhni*, *ghagra* and *kanchli* (corset). The *kanchli* is covered by a



kurti (a half sleeved blouse). Girls below 14 wear *salwar* and *kamij* (shirt). During the winter they put on woolen coats but the common article in use is the blanket or the *lohi* which is really very warm and gives effective protection against severe cold of the desert. Men and Women put on country made shoes, the price of a pair varies between Rs. 7 and Rs. 10. Widows do not wear bright coloured garments. They put on dresses of black or deep blue colour and do not put on ornaments.

Tattooing

52. Tattooing is not very common among the Bishnois. Some Bishnoi women, however, bear tattoo marks on their forearms, which are not heavy.

Body decoration

53. On festive occasions, unmarried girls and married women of the entire village apply *mehandi* (Myrtle paste) to their hands and feet.

54. The Bishnoi men wear their moustaches in a singular fashion. They are separated in the middle by the removal of hair at the centre. The beards are also trimmed and the two sides



separated at the middle under the lower lip, right upto the middle of chin. This appears to be a remnant of the muslim influence. Meghwals, however, wear plain moustaches, and no beard.

Ornaments

55. Bishnoi males put on gold *murkis* (ear-rings) in their ears and *bhinthis* (rings) on fingers. Occasionally they wear gold locket also on their

neck which is hung with a thin black woolen or silk string.

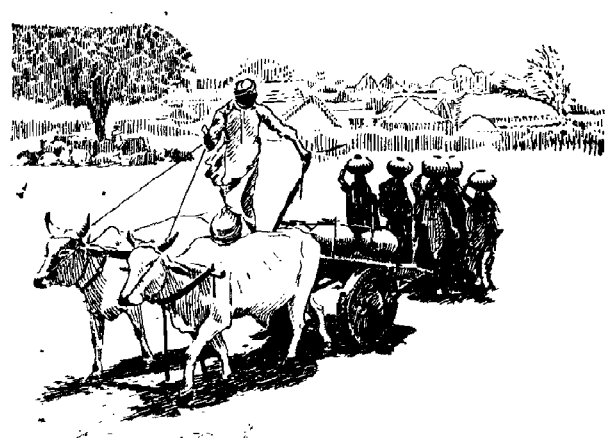
56. The following is the list of ornaments worn by Bishnoi women :

Name of ornament	Where worn	Material used	Remarks
Bor	Head	Gold or Silver	The diameter of Bor is 7.5 to 10 cms. It is worn in the middle of the forehead.
Churi	Forearm	Lac	
Chura	Hand	Silver	
Hansali	Neck	Silver	
Kanthla	Neck	Gold	
Kanthi	Neck	Gold	
Toti	Ear	Gold or silver	
Long	Nose	Gold	
Bhanwaria	Nose	Gold	
Kari and a number of other anklets	Leg	Silver	

57. The most prominent of these is the *bor* or *rakdi* which is worn on the forehead and is of a considerable size. It is studded with bright real or imitation jewels. It is a costly ornament, and its price is at times several hundred rupees. It is, however, invariably worn by married women, as an emblem of their *sohag* (wedlock). The price of the ornaments varies according to the quantity of gold or silver contained therein.

Daily life

58. People in the village start their life pretty early in the morning. They go to the fields by 7 A. M , work there till noon, then take rest for a couple of hours and again resort to work right upto 6 or 7 P. M. The women also get up early in the morning, grind their corn for the day's necessity, milch the cows and buffaloes, churn the curds, fetch water from the village well, sweep their houses, and courtyards and the lanes outside the houses, and then go out into the fields to assist their husbands in agricultural work. After performing all routine household duties, in the evening the Bishnoi males congregate at a central place, gossip among themselves for an hour or two and then go to bed.



Food

59. The staple food of the villagers is *bajra*. Wheat, barley and gram are also in vogue but used sparingly. Wheat and rice are a delicacy reserved only for special occasions or for the guests. The common preparation which accompanies the loaves of bread is the *rabdi* prepared by boiling *bajra* flour in butter milk. Bishnois are strictly vegetarian. They abhor non-vegetarian diet. Pulses of *moong*, *moth* and *chana* are common enough. Occasionally vegetables such as *ganwar-ki-phali*, *matiri* (raw melon), *kakri* (cucumber), *kachri*, *sangri*, dried up *kakri* and *tindsi* (locally termed as *phophalia*) are preserved and boiled to serve as vegetables when fresh ones are not in season. The loaves of *bajra* (millet) called *sogra* (with a lot of ghee in them) taken with *ganwar-ki-phali* or *phophalia* serve as an ideal meal, very delicious as well as nourishing. Milk and ghee are freely available. They are the best

articles of food and go a long way in the maintenance of health and strength. After delivery a Bishnoi woman is given at least half a quintal of fresh ghee during the period of her convalescence. It is mainly due to the wholesome diet, hard labour, regular habits and outdoor life led in fresh air that the people of this village both males and females have got robust health and excellent physique. The Bishnoi women are remarkable for their beauty and strength. It is said that if a young Bishnoi woman holds an adversary under her arm it would be difficult for him to get out of her grip. No one would, therefore, dare insult a Bishnoi woman who is by nature, of a strong character.

60. The Meghwals occasionally take non-vegetarian diet either when a guest is to be entertained or on the eve of festivals.

61. On the occasions of festivals, marriages and feasts the Bishnois make very rich and delicious preparations. Pudding is prepared from *moong* pulse. It is soaked in water, and after removing the husk it is crushed into a very fine paste and then fried in fresh ghee and mixed with a saturated solution of sugar and dry fruits. Sweet or saline preparations of rice, and *churma* (prepared by crushing baked *bajra* bread into a



fine powder and mixing the same with *gur* and profuse quantity of ghee) are served as delicacies on such occasions. On Akshya Tritiya they prepare *khichra* which is of more than one variety. The common preparation is that of husked *bajra*, crushed into coarse powder mixed with *moong* or *moth* pulse and boiled in water so as to form a pudding. The special dish prepared on this festival is, however, of the whole wheat husked after being soaked in water and then boiling it in milk dressed with ghee. The feasts of Bishnois are very expensive specially those performed after the death of an old family member.

62. People generally take meals thrice a day, firstly the morning breakfast, after which they go to work in the fields and then the mid-day meal and lastly the supper. The common articles of food are the *sogra* (*bajra* bread), and *khichra* with the accompaniment of milk, curds or some simple vegetable. A lot of home made ghee is consumed with *bajra* bread and *khichra* pudding. Ghee is obtained by churning curds. The Bishnois are



very particular about washing themselves early in the morning before their break-fast. This holds good for everyone whether he be a man, woman or a child. It is against etiquette to put on shoes while taking food which is always taken in a clean place. The plate is put on a *patta* (a low pedestal) which helps in the preservation of cleanliness and sanitary conditions. Bishnois do not take meals at the hands of or cooked by other communities. After supper they offer a prayer of thanks giving to the Almighty.

Stimulants and narcotics

63. The Bishnois are forbidden by their religion to drink and smoke. They, therefore, scrupulously avoid liquor as well as tobacco. The Meghwals, however, have no objection to either, although on account of their continued association with the Bishnois they also avoid drinking in the village, but they are habitual smokers. They mix jaggery with tobacco and smoke it with their wooden or earthen pipes.

64. The village people, particularly the Bishnois have developed a great fondness for tea. It is drunk many times during the day by both men and women, and is invariably offered to the guests and visitors as a matter of courtesy. Meghwals can not afford to drink tea to that extent. They have it in the mornings and evenings using *gur* (jaggery) to sweeten it instead of sugar.

Household goods

65. The village people especially the Bishnois are in possession of household goods which are sufficient for their day-to-day requirements. They have got a good number of cooking utensils such as the *patili* (metal pot for preparing pulses and vegetables), *parat* (a shallow pan) for kneading flour, brass or bronze *thalis* (plates) for serving food, *katoras* (big bowls) for serving milk and



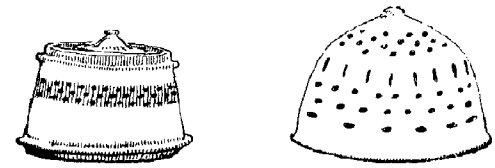
vegetables, *bhagona* or *kadhai* (pans) for heating water and milk, *batkis* (cups), iron *tawa* (heating pan), *lotas* and such other things of day-to-day use. The Meghwals can not afford to have so many metal utensils and have to depend more on earthen ones. A stone mortar and pestle for



crushing condiments, covered earthen pots, small and big for cooking food and storing water, earthen



hara for preservation of food, earthen covers (provided with a number of holes which allow free passage of air and are specially suitable for



guarding food stuffs against flies and insects), wooden ladles or spoons for stiring pulses, *khichra* and *rab*, are generally used by most of the households. A stone *ghatti* (flour mill), apparatus for churning curds, wooden *chakla* (flat and circular disc) and *belan* (roller) for spreading loaves of bread and mud-bins for storing grain are also to be found in every household. Cots woven with *moonj* or hemp strings are the main articles of furniture, although some of the Bishnoi households have got a few chairs, tables and *chowkis* (pedestals) also. A mirror is to be found in each household. There is a radio set with Shri Birma Ram Choudhary and two time-pieces, about half a dozen wrist watches and three torches with some of the Bishnoi households. There are hurricane lanterns in 17 Bishnoi and 2 Meghwal households. The rest of them use earthen lamps or tin boxes called *chymnis* for lighting their houses. Many of the Bishnoi families have got fine carpets made of camel wool.

66. The following table gives the statistics regarding articles of furniture and other things possessed by the households in the village :

Communities	Total No. of households	Number of households possessing									
		Khatia	Chair	Table	Mirror	Chowki	Radio	Watch	Time-piece	Hurricane lantern	Torch
Bishnoi	58	58	5	2	58	11	1	7	2	17	3
Meghwal	7	7	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	2	–
Total	65	65	5	2	63	11	1	7	2	19	3

Life cycle

67. Girls acquire knowledge of sex from the conversation with their intimate friends and from their observation of the married life of their relations in the family. Menstruation starts at the age of 13 or 14. At the time of the first menstruation the girl is kept apart from the other members of the family for five days in complete seclusion. She is not allowed to touch water and fire during this period. On the fifth day she is given a bath and dressed with new clothes. The practice is observed at every subsequent menstruation. Pregnancy is detected by cessation of menses and physiological changes in the body specially the enlargement of breasts and of abdomen at a later stage. No special ceremony is performed at the time of first pregnancy.

68. The villagers are not acquainted with the use of contraceptives. The importance of the methods of Family Planning do not appear to have been explained to them. They are not aware of these things.

69. Abortion is considered as a heinous crime and is not practised. There is no case of barrenness among the married women in the village. When pregnancy is delayed unusually e. g. a woman does not conceive even till the age of 25, special prayers are offered at the shrine of Jambheswarji and vows are kept so that the woman may be graced with the birth of a male child. Cases of still birth are rare and infant mortality is also very limited.

Birth

70. There is no qualified nurse or midwife in the village. Delivery is attended by old and experienced women of the family or of the near relatives. The umbilical cord is cut by a sharp knife or sickle. The placenta is buried in a deep hole outside the cottage.

71. Among the Bishnois as in so many other communities of Rajasthan the birth of a male child is heralded by the ringing of a bronze plate while at the birth of female child a winnowing fan is beaten. Immediately after birth the infant is given a concoction known as *ghunti* with a view to purge its system. On the sixth day after the birth the mother of the new child is given a bath. The members of the family who are considered unclean from the date of the birth of the child are not henceforward considered as such. The *namkaran* (name giving) ceremony is performed on an auspicious day which is determined by a *pandit*. Relations and friends are invited to participate in the function. On the 29th day after the birth, the mother of the child cuts the infant's hair if it be a male one, and on the 30th day the new born baby is baptized into the Bishnoi sect. This is followed by a *havan* which Bishnois term as *yagya*. The ceremony is performed by administering *pahal* which in effect is giving a few drops of water to the accompaniment of the prescribed *mantras* and *sabdas*. A Gayana Brahmin assists at these ceremonies. The new born child is fed on breast milk for an year, and even afterwards if the mother does not go dry. When the child is more than an year old he is given the milk of cow and is initiated to take some semi-solid food such as *dalia* or *khichri*. Milk is, however, the main component of a child's diet till he attains the age of five.

72. When a girl attains the age of 10 or 11 years, her nose and ears are pierced and zinc rings are put in the holes, which are replaced by silver or gold rings when the wounds heal up.

Marriage

73. Marriage is performed when the boys and girls are sufficiently grown up, marriageable age for boys being 18 and that for girls 14. Child marriages are not in vogue in the village. Marriage among the Bishnois is arranged by the eldest male member of the family. Negotiations for betrothal are made through third parties. No marriage relation can take place among the persons belonging to the *gotras* of the paternal and maternal side. Bishnois never marry outside their sect. At the time of final decision the girl's father or some other member of the family pays a visit to the boy's house. No bride price is given or is acceptable. Nor is any stipulation made for payment of dowry. The girl's father may present to the bridegroom or his relatives whatever he thinks proper according to his means at the time of marriage. If a Bishnoi can afford to do so he would present a cow and a she-camel to his daughter. According to a very old custom a *charkha* is invariably presented to her and dress of *khaddar* (hand spun and hand woven coarse cloth) is considered especially auspicious for the occasion.

74. The most notable feature of marriage ceremony of the Bishnois is the performance of *Agnihotra*. At the time of *havan* the bride and the bridegroom are seated with their faces towards the north. Marriage ceremony always takes place at the bride's house. The bridegroom accompanied by his relatives and friends goes to the bride's place so as to arrive there early in the morning on the day fixed for the marriage. The ceremony takes place in the evening. While *havan* is being performed recitation of *mantras* from the Vedas and Upnishadas in praise of God and *agni* and verses relating to *avatars* etc. is held. Then they recite their own *gotras* etc. which is called *shakhochar*. As to the performance of *pheras* it is reported that there are different customs at different places. At some places, specially in Utter Pradesh, the customary seven *pheras* are performed. At other places *pheras* are totally omitted. At some places e. g Mukam only four *pheras* are in vogue. The statement that verses from Koran were recited along with the *mantras* from Vedas at the time of marriage is highly controvertial. Whatever may have been the practice in the remote past the Bishnois of today assert that at no time in their history verses from Koran were recited at a Bishnoi marriage ceremony. There is a printed book named, 'Vivah Paddhati' of Bishnois which contains the entire text of the *mantras* and verses that are recited at the time of marriage. In this booklet there is not even a single phrase from the Koran. It appears that in the days following the demise of Jambheswarji some of his followers like chokha Thapan, with a view to gain some ulterior ends, introduced the custom of recitation of some stray phrases from the Koran at the time of marriage. But in course of time, when the Bishnoi society was free of this extraneous influence, the custom of reciting verses from the Koran gradually died out and there is no trace of it left now.

75. Divorce is not allowed amongst the Bishnois. No Bishnoi can forsake or drive away his wife. This is strictly forbidden by their religion. Widow marriage is however, permitted. A widow may marry the younger brother of her husband, if she so desires but it is not obligatory for her to do so. The elder brother of the deceased husband cannot marry his younger brother's widow. The rule regarding the exogamy in regard to the *gotra* of the family is applicable to the case of a widow as well. On the occasion of a widow's marriage the would-be husband presents a new suit of clothes and a set of bangles and he takes her to his home on a Saturday night after dining at the house of her parents.

Death

76. Whenever a death takes place amongst Bishnois, the cause of which they are unable to explain by natural causes, they attribute it to some supernatural factors such as the wrath of God or the *pitras*. The dead body of a Bishnoi is buried.

77. When the person is in the last stage and there is no hope of his survival he is taken down from the bed and placed on the ground which is purified with a coating of mixture of cow-dung and cow-urine. The family members remain in attendance and try to make the end as smooth and peaceful as possible.

78. There is nothing in the *sabdas* of Jambheswarji which might be interpreted to mean that

he gave any specific directions for the disposal of dead body among his followers. The present day Bishnois deny that the custom started under the influence of Muslims. They claim that it was partially in vogue amongst the Hindus from times immemorial. On the authority of Vilh Swami, a noted disciple of Jambheswarji, they say that the founder of the sect desired that Bishnoi's dead may be either buried, or thrown away in running water, in accordance with a tenet of Swami Sankaracharya. As Jambhaji's dead body was buried, his followers perhaps considered this method as an ideal one for disposal of the dead. The custom of *sati* was also then in vogue and women used to bury themselves alive along with the dead body of their husbands. There are, however, reasons to believe that this custom, which is in marked contrast to the custom of disposal of dead body amongst Hindus by cremation, started as a result of Muslim influence on the Bishnoi society. The custom of giving burial to the dead was not commonly in vogue amongst the Hindus during the time preceding that under review. Moreover, the burial of dead body at full length is another pointer in the same direction. It is, however, reported that Bishnois have begun to cremate their dead in the Punjab and U. P.

79. When death takes place, intimation is sent to relations and friends in the village, and also other villages in the vicinity. The dead body is washed and covered with a new cloth, white in the case of male and red in the case of female. *Pind* (a ball of flour) is put near the left hand of the deceased which is afterwards shifted to the chest. The dead body is then taken to the open space near the temple and is buried their at full length. The *pind* along with a rupee is then moved towards the head. The very same persons carry the dead body from the house of the deceased to the place of burial without being relieved in the way by others. When the funeral ceremony is over, the persons who attend it take their bath and then return to their homes. On the third day after the death purificatory rights involving cleansing of houses, washing of all household equipments, etc. take place. All earthen pots used for cooking and for storing water are thrown away. On this day food and water are offered to the soul of the deceased. Friends and relations are also fed. No further ceremony remains to be performed after the aforesaid *tiya* (third day ritual). Children are buried in the open space of the house. No exhumation and secondary disposal of the dead body is in vogue. Nor is it customary to construct a shrine or erect any memorial at the place of burial. After the body has been disposed of by burial no relics remain.

Peculiarities of Meghwal

80. Meghwals have also their own peculiar customs. When a girl becomes pregnant for the first time a feast is held during the seventh month of pregnancy which is termed as *Baiyaji-ka-bhojan*. After delivery takes place the mother of the newly born child is considered unclean until the *Surya pujan* ceremony (worship of Sun god) is performed which takes place nearly a month after the delivery.

81. Engagements for marriage are arranged by the parents. On this occasion both parties exchange presents of coconuts, jaggery, opium etc. The marriage ceremonies are simple enough. Seven *pheras* are current among the Meghwals. They engage a priest (Garuda Brahmin) to officiate at the ceremony, each item of which is accompanied by appropriate songs. A person can have more than one wife but two real sisters can not marry the same person, nor is a widower permitted to marry the sister of his deceased wife. Remarriage of widows is, of course, current as in other communities of their status. Being the followers of Ramdevji, Meghwals also bury their dead. Their family goddess is Khetla Mata. Tulsi plant is worshipped by Meghwal women as is customary amongst all other Hindu communities.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

MUKAM being a desert village has got a very limited economy. The people have to depend for their maintenance and other basic needs on agriculture. Although their economic activities consist of maintenance of cattle, goats and sheep, their economy is primarily based on agriculture and most of the households residing in the village have a patch of land on which they grow mainly food grains for their own consumption.

83. Apart from agriculture and animal husbandry, the villagers have no other ostensible means of occupation. During slack season some of them no doubt work as labourers and a few Meghwals engage themselves in leather work as also a few Bishnois as teachers in the neighbouring villages but broadly speaking all the families residing in Mukam are agriculturists.

84. The scope of agriculture is also limited. The people have got limited means. Only one crop is sown, namely the *Kharif* crop. The villagers have to depend totally on rain water. *Rabi* crop is practically unkown as no other source of irrigation is available. Very few wells have so far been constructed. These wells also do not provide sufficient water. The village has not been effected in any way by the reforms introduced by the Government in regard to land nor has any improvement been made on the land in the surrounding villages owned by the inhabitants of this village. Apart from agriculture, animal husbandry, and the traditional occupation of the Meghwals, no industry is to be found in the village.

Land utilisation pattern

85. The total area of the village according to tehsil records is 1,071 acres. Out of this land 1,010 acres is donated to the temple of Jambheswarji and the remaining 61 acres is used for non-agricultural purposes. No cultivation is allowed in the land belonging to the temple. It is utilised only for grazing cattle with the following restrictions :

(i) No game is played in this area;

(ii) No Khejra tree is permitted to be destroyed;

(iii) No individual is allowed to own any part of the area.

A sum of Rs. 45 per annum is paid by way of land revenue in respect of this land which is controlled by the caste Panchayat.

86. The following are the details of the uncultivable land in the village :

	Area in acres
(a) *Abadi* land	5.40
(b) Tanks *(Kund)*	1.76
(c) Well	0.44
(d) Temple	0.58
(e) Ponds	3.12
(f) Others	49.70
	61.00

Land holdings

87. Although no agricultural land is available in Mukam, the inhabitants of this village own land in the neighbouring villages and use it for cultivation.Some of these holdings are very near to the village while others are situated at a distance of 3 to 4 kilometres from the village. With a view to get a clear picture of the land held by the villagers, information about total land held by them in surrounding villages was collected. This information, though not quite accurate, gives some idea of the land held by them :

Land in acres	Number of households		
	Bishnoi	Meghwal	Total
Less than 4	–	1	1
4 – 8	6	2	8
8 – 12	7	1	8
12 – 16	7	2	9
16 – 20	7		7
20 – 24	5	1	6
24 – 28	7	–	7
28 – 32	7	–	7
32 – 36	2	–	2
36 – 40	2	–	2
40 and over	1	–	1
Total	51	7	58

88. It would be seen from the above table that out of 65 households in the village only 7 i.e. 10.7% do not own any land. 51 households of the Bishnois possess 970.8 acres and 7 households of Meghwals 123.6 acres of land. The average land holding per household in Bishnoi community comes to 19 acres as against 17.7 acres in Meghwal community. Among Bishnois the minimum holding is 4 acres while the maximum being 42 acres. In Meghwal community the position is, however, different. The maximum holding in Meghwals is 24 acres and the minimum being 2 acres. Out of 51 households of Bishnois, 7 get their land cultivated by engaging labourers who are paid in cash or kind. The remaining 44 households of the Bishnois and 7 of the Meghwals till their land themselves.

Livelihood classes

89. It would be interesting to compare the economic data derived from the Census of 1961 with those of the previous Census of 1951 :

Whereas the total number of workers during 1951 was 97 males and 71 females, it was 123 males and 80 females during 1961. As against 96 male and 71 female cultivators in 1951, there were 102 male and 70 female cultivators in 1961. In other services there was only 1 male in 1951 whereas in 1961 there were 3. As to the persons engaged exclusively in household duties the figure for 1951 for both male and female is nil as against 18 males and 10 females of 1961. It appears that in this category only those persons have been included who on account of their old age or incapacity to take part in agriculture or other outdoor activities have to confine themselves within doors. The number of non-workers during 1951 was 44 males and 50 females while during 1961 it was 56 males and 57 females.

Primary and subsidiary occupation

90. The following table denotes the primary and subsidiary occupations of the village people :

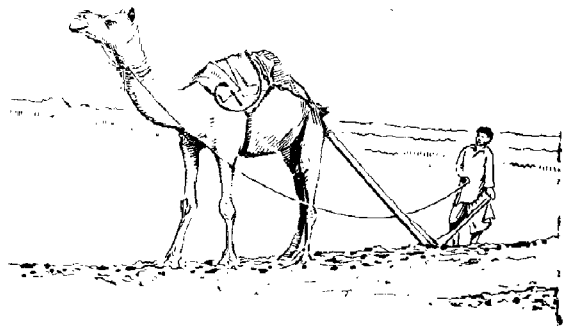
Communities	Number of households	Occupations	
		Primary	Subsidiary
Bishnoi	58	Agriculture	Animal husbandry and Labour
Meghwal	7	-do-	Leather work, Animal husbandry and Labour

91. The leather work done by the Meghwals as subsidiary occupation is confined to manufacture of shoes of the indigenous type, leather buckets and effecting repairs to them. A pair of shoes costs from Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 and a leather bucket about Rs. 30.

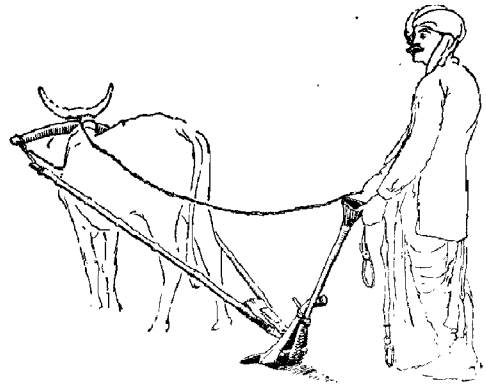
Agricultural implements

92. The plough used in the village is not much different from that in vogue in the other parts of the State. It consists of a thick curved wooden piece of a sufficiently heavy log of the Kikar wood pointed at both ends. The entire body of the plough is about 1 metre high. The bend in its middle divides it into two equal parts. In the centre there is a hole in which the *hal* is fitted. The lower part of the plough is fitted with an iron share *halbani* which is held fast by an iron *chohu* (iron piece). The *hal* is a straight pole which differs in length according as it is to be driven by a pair of bullocks or a camel. In the former case

the length is about 1.5 metres and in the latter about 3 metres. The draught pole is held in position by a small wooden piece *gangda* and at the other end by an iron *kili*. A yoke is fastened to the farther end of the pole which is driven by a pair of bullocks. If the plough is intended to be driven by a camel, the draught pole is attached to a frame



work *pinjdi* fastened tightly to the saddle which rests on the hump of the camel. The movements of the camel are regulated by a pair of strings which are fastened to a small wooden piece passing through the perforated nose of the camel. In the case of light sandy soil only one bullock is sufficient to till the ground. In this case the mechanism



differs from the one used for a pair of bullocks. Instead of one draught pole there are two thinner poles which are attached to the plough by pieces of wood called *tadiyas* and attached to the plough by *bagada*. At the other end is a fixed semi-circular wooden piece *jamanta* which rests on the neck of the bullock. The *halbani* (plough share) is fixed to the inner side of the lower end of the plough. It is about 30 cms long, slightly pointed at the lower end and resembles a spear head. It is affixed to the lower part of a plough and slightly overlaps it at the tapering end. When the plough is moved forward the *halbani* is tightly pressed against the wooden body. At the time of sowing, a *beejani* (drill) is attached to it. It is a bamboo tube fastened to the plough in such a way that its lower end is just a few cms behind the plough share. The seeds fall through the tube into the furrow and are covered with soil when the next furrow is drawn.

93. *Kudi* (clod crusher) is a heavy and flat piece of wood about 15 cms thick and 30 cms wide. Its length varies from 1 to 1.5 cms according as it is used by one bullock or a pair of bullocks or a camel.

Cost of implements

94. The approximate cost of the implements used by the villagers is as under :

Impliments	Cost in Rs.
Plough complete with *hal*, draught pole and plough share.	10.00
Leveller	10.00
Clod crusher *(kudi)*	70.00
Seed drill *(beejani)*	0.50
Axe *(kulhari)*	3.00
Pick-axe *(kassi)*	3.00
Spade (*phawra*)	5.00
Chosangi	2.50
Chober (*gandasa*)	1.50
Iron blade with handle (*khurpi*)	2.00
Sickle *(dantli)*	0.50

Agricultural operations

95. Crop pattern has remained largely unchanged over the decades. It has already been explained that no part of the land in the village is tilled. The villagers have to go outside the village for cultivating the lands which are attached to the neighbouring villages and the grain which they grow is not sufficient for the village popula-

tion. It has to be supplemented by imports from Nokha. The soil is sandy and very little labour is required for ploughing. The actual ploughing operations begin with the first fall of copious rain. The harrowing of the fields is done within three days after the first fall of rain. The beginning of the monsoon is expected in the latter part of Jeth (June). There is a common saying that on the first day after the end of the month of Jeth if there is a rumbling of clouds in the sky the next two months of Asadh and Shrawan would go dry and rain could not be expected before the month of Bhadon.

जेठ बीती पहली पड़वा कठैक अम्बर घर हरे
आसाढ़, सावन काढ़ सूखो भादर हुए बिरखा करे ।

It is also commonly beleived that it is inauspicious to plough fields on Tuesday. Wednesday is considered auspicious for ploughing and Thursday for harvesting according to the saying :

बुध बावनी, बृहस्पत लावनी

96. Agricultural operations are started by harrowing the fields twice; first lengthwise and then crosswise. When new land is to be brought under the plough bushes and shrubs are first cut. The ground is then roughly levelled by *suhaga*. The cleaning process is called *sur*. The actual ploughing operations start with the first rainfall. The number of ploughings depend on the hardness of the soil. The first ploughing is called *cheer*, second *chank* and the third *bijari*. A bullock ploughs one acre while a pair of bullocks or a camel ploughs two acres per day.

97. Fields are manured by the refuge of the animals which is stored in pits. Cow dung and decomposed hay and the rubbish collected from the houses forms manure.

98. *Nidan* (weeding) is done when seedlings are about 15 to 20 cms high. A harrow is passed between the rows of young plants to remove weeds.

99. Locust menace is also very frequent and to be carefully guarded against. The villagers protect their crops by digging deep trenches round the fields in which the swarms of hoppers are buried.

Rotation of crop

100. Rotation of crop is hardly known. The fields are sown for 2 to 3 years continuously till the soil shows signs of exhaustion when new land is broken or previously abandoned land re-cultivated. Due to this fact a considerable portion of the holdings of the cultivators consists of waste or fallow land.

Crops

101. *Bajra* is the most important crop grown in this area. It can be sown in Jeth (May or June) but the more propitious time for growing it is Asadh or Shrawan i.e. the later part of June to July. If the corp is sown after July the yield is very poor. The crop although unirrigated ripens quickly within a period of three months. The produce is estimated from 1 to 2 quintals per acre. The stalks of *bajra* are of no use as fodder. They are utilised for thatching roofs of the houses.

102. *Moth* is the next important produce. It is sown upto the middle of August and takes about 60 days to ripen. It thrives best in light soil. The yield per acre is much the same as *bajra*. The stalks and leaves are utilised as fodder for animals. *Bajra* and *moth* produced here are of a very high quality.

103. The principal fruits available are *matiras* (melons) and *kakri* (cucumber). The former is available in plenty during the rains and is so abundant that big quantities are thrown to the camels. The seeds of melon are crushed into powder and mixed with the flour of cereals. In regard to melon, a quotation from Elphinstone has been given in the Census Handbook, Part I of Bikaner District for 1951.

> "In the midst of so arid a country, the watermelon *(matira)* the most juicy of fruits, is found in profusion. It is really a subject of wonder to see melons three or four feet in circumference growing from a stalk as slender as that of a common melon in the dry sand

of the desert. They are sown and perhaps require cultivation but they are scattered about, to all appearance as if they are wild. The natives assert that a large melon suffices to allay the thirst of a horse and his rider".

104. Among the vegetables, radish is most common and easily produced.

Crop Calender

Crop	Tillage and soil preparation	Sowing period	Irrigation	Harvesting
Moth	Sowing with first rain fall (End of June or beginning of July)	10th July to 15th August	Not required	End of September to 15th October
Bajra	Sowing with first rain fall	20th June to July	-do-	End of September

Animal husbandry

105. In the desert villages where rainfall is scarce, people do not wholly depend upon agriculture but also confine themselves to stock breeding and stock rearing. The grass of the desert tract is very nutritious and in addition there are the fodder trees and fodder bushes which act as 'green meat' for the live-stock. Mukam lies in this tract of Rajasthan and its people are very fond of keeping domestic animals. They keep cows, bullocks, goats and sheep. Few persons also maintain buffaloes. Almost all the families residing in the village have one or more domestic animals. These animals keep themselves alive by grazing in the jungle as the people do not care to give them any regular feed at home. Some well-to-do families, however, store some grass at home and occasionally feed the cattle with the same.

106. The total live-stock population of the village is as under :

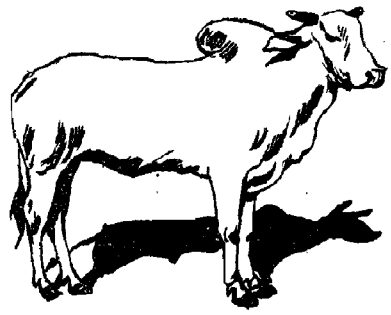
Cattle	58-59	59-60	60-61	61-62
Bulls	2	2	1	2
Bullocks above 3 years	18	21	21	25
Cows above 3 years.	48	56	60	64
He calves	45	41	50	48
She calves	54	60	65	70
Total	165	178	196	207
Buffaloes above 3 yrs.	19	22	26	29
He calves	5	6	8	8
She calves	22	28	30	28
Total	46	56	64	65
Goats	12	17	13	8
Sheep	8	10	16	16
Camels	42	43	45	45
Total	275	306	335	343

107. During the time of investigation there were 101 milch cattle including buffaloes and goats. They were owned by 63 families. 26 such families had more than one milch cattle

each. 87 out of 101 milch cattle were owned by the Bishnois.

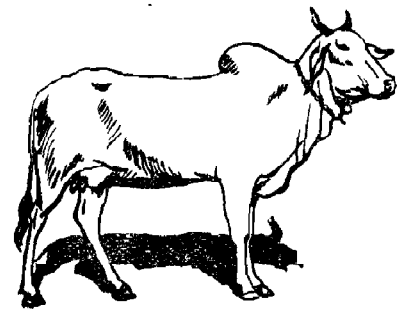
108. Draught cattle are important in an agricultural village as they provide motive power for plough. There are 70 draught cattle possessed by 50 families. Thus not even all the 58 land owning families possess draught cattle. Out of 51 land owning families of the Bishnoi community, 46 such families maintain draught cattle while 4 out of 7 families of Meghwals possess draught cattle.

109. The cattle found in the village are of Nagori breed. The bullocks of this breed are



regarded as the best in the whole of India for all kinds of agricultural operations. They have great stamina and surefootedness in work on medium heavy soils or in putting the heavy weights. Being leggy, they are very good and fast trotters. They are famous for their speed in the carts, wells and *raths* (chariots) too. They are in demand in all parts of India and fetch the highest price than any other breed of cattle in India. It is not at all fit for beef purposes. The prevailing colours are the white the grey and the silver-grey. The average price of a male calf about 1½ years old fatches about Rs. 1,000 and the matured good bullock about Rs. 1,300.

110. Income is derived from cattle in various ways of which the principal are the sale of ghee and young stock of cows and buffaloes. Buffaloes are more valuable than cows as they give more milk and ghee but they do not thrive on brackish water. It is, therefore, difficult to keep them. The average milk yield of cow is about 4 kg a day. A cow in milk with fair grazing gives about 100 grams of ghee per day for six months



and a buffalo 150 grams for eight to nine months. The heifers *(bachri or jhoti)* of cows and buffaloes are always kept. Male calves are generally kept for 3 to 4 years and then sold to travelling traders or at the fair. The buffalo male calves *(jhota)* are sold for transporting. As a cow calves once in a year and a buffalo once in two years, the sale of the stock is probably not an unimportant source of income.

111. The production of good camels is almost a monopoly of Rajasthan. Besides its use in all kinds of agricultural operations, it is employed as a beast of burden. The camels found in the village are of Bikaneri breed. Being a little more leggy, they possess more speed and the heaviness in the body being absent cover long distances without any strain whatsoever. Their average march per day is about 40 kms. In the village camel is used in a variety of ways. He is used to carry water, grains and other loads. He is harnessed to the plough. He is used as a riding animal and his owner makes fair proceeds from the sale of the camel's young and his wool. Camel is generally regarded as a source of larger income than cow or sheep.

112. Sheep of Marwari breed are found in the village. The Marwari sheep is the finest sheep of India both for its fineness and good yield of wool. It is the hardiest sheep and it thrives even on coarse grasses and goes without water for couple of days. Its wool is famous and the

profit from its sale considerable. From enquiries made in the village the yield of wool may be put at two kilograms per sheep per annum.

Fishing and forestry

113. Mukam lies in the heart of the desert. There is neither any river nor any lake in this area. Hence there is no fishing. The old tank which was constructed in the time of Jambheswarji does not retain any water as its bed is full of sand. There is no forestry in the village.

Commerce

114. It has already been mentioned that there is no market in the village. People obtain their requirements from Himatsar which is situated at a distance of two kms from Mukam.

Marketing

115. No improvement has taken place in the facilities for communication during the recent years and there is very little surplus of agricultural produce or products regarding which there could be a problem of marketing.

Indebtedness

116. The financial position of the villagers is on the whole satisfactory. Their main regular expenditure are on food, spices, clothes etc. Their living is very simple and economic and they incur practically no expenditure on recreation such as games, cinemas or dramas. If there be any savings, they purchase extra clothes for their children and wives. But very few of them are able to save much and infact some of them have to incur debts for purchase of cattle, seeds and agricultural implements. Apart from this most of them have to borrow money for social functions such as marriage and death. Many have also to incur debts for food grains and clothes during lean years. But their debts are not heavy and in most of the cases are repaid in full with interest after harvest.

117. At the time of investigation 31% of the Bishnoi households and 71.5% of the Meghwal households were under debt. The position in regard to indebtedness of 18 families of Bishnois is as under :

Purposes for which debts incurred	Total debt in rupees	Percentage to total debt
a. Purchase of cattle, seed and agricultural impliments	2400.00	34.8
b. House building	800.00	11.5
c. Marriages	2400.00	34.8
d. Death ceremonies	200.00	2.9
e. Sickness	100.00	1.5
f. Household expenditure during lean period	1000.00	14.5
Total	6900.00	100.0

118. It would be seen that the major part of debt is incurred for the purchase of cattle, seeds and agricultural implements or for solemnization of marriages. Each of these items amounts to 34.8% of the total debt. As far as borrowing money for the purchase of cattle etc. is concerned, this is inevitable for the person whose economy is based on agriculture. But incurring such a huge expenditure on marriages is simply a waste.

119. Among Meghwal community 5 households are under debt. They have obtained loans for the following purposes.

Purposes for which debts incurred	Total debt in rupees	Percentage to total debt
a. Purchase of cattle, seed and agricultural impliments	600.00	42.8
b. House building	200.00	14.3
c. Marriages	200.00	14.3
d. Household expenditure during lean period	400.00	28.6
Total	1400.00	100.0

Finance

120. Mostly people make their own investments for agricultural operations. They store seeds of the previous year for using them in the current year.

121. The economic condition of the agriculturists is fairly satisfactory. It has greatly improved during the last few years, due to the high prices of grain. Indebtedness has been wiped out to a great extent. Debts are obtained from money-lenders at Himatsar on interest, the rate of which varies from 12 to 24 percent per annum. No other banking facilities or co-operative societies are in existence in the village. Loans are advanced without any security. Very few persons have taken advantage of *taccavi* loans from the Government. The reason appears to be that the economic condition of the villagers is fairly sound and consequently they want to avoid the complications which they apprehend, may arise as a result of obtaining loans from the Government. The apprehension is obviously unfounded and could be removed by the Block authorities by suitable publicity and propaganda.

Income and expenditure

122. The households of Mukam can be broadly classified into the following income groups:

Income groups (p. m.)	No. of households
Rs. 20 and below	5
Rs. 20 - 30	11
Rs. 30 - 40	7
Rs. 40 - 60	8
Rs. 60 - 80	2
Rs. 80 - 100	6
Rs. 100 and over	26

123. From the above it would be seen that most of the families fall in the income group of Rs. 100 and above per month. The income of the families mentioned above is derived from agriculture, animal husbandry and labour. In the normal years the economy of the village appears to be on a sound footing. There are only 16 families in the village whose income is below Rs. 30 per month, but the meagreness of their income does not appear to put any undue strain on their economy as there are limited number of members in these families and their habits are very simple.

124. The above observations are based on rough calculations because it was not possible to extract accurate and reliable information from the villagers regarding their actual income and expenditure. According to what they say the main items of expenditure in these households are as under :

1.	Food	50%
2.	Clothing	10%
3.	Agriculture	20%
4.	Social ceremonies	15%
5.	Miscellaneous	5%

125. It has been observed that for the item like fuel they have not to spend anything because they use dry cow-dung cakes for this purpose. They have also not to incur any expenditure on education as there is a Primary school in the village where education is free. Normally they have not to spend anything on medicines as they are remarkable for their health and sturdiness. For ordinary diseases they do not take any treatment and if there is a case of serious nature they avail of the medical aid at Nokha. It is thus apparent that the inhabitants of Mukam are able to make both their ends meet out of their meagre incomes.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

AS stated previously, the population of Mukam recorded in the Census of 1961 is 298 persons comprising of 167 (43.7%) males and 131 (56.3%) females. The scheduled caste of Meghwal forms 16% of the entire population.

Population and sex-ratio

127. The distribution of population of the village according to various age groups is given in the following table:

Age groups	Persons	Males	females
All ages	298	167	131
0 - 4	36	16	20
5 - 9	53	32	21
10 - 14	38	18	20
15 - 19	26	18	8
20 - 24	24	14	10
25 - 29	23	14	9
30 - 34	8	7	1
35 - 39	12	4	8
40 - 44	20	10	10
45 - 49	12	9	3
50 - 54	16	7	9
55 - 59	1	-	1
60 and over	29	18	11

128. From the figures given above, it would be seen that the infants and children belonging to the broad age group 0-14 years account for 42.6% of the total population. In this group 52% are males and 48% are females. This group is followed by the adults in the age group 15–54 years, who account for 47.4% of the total population. Old persons in the age group 55 years and above form a very minor proportion of the total population, their strength being only 10% of the whole.

129. A study of sex-ratio amongst different age groups shows that it is highest amongst the children (95 females per 100 males) and lowest (61 females per 100 males) amongst the old of the age of 55 years and above. Among the adults, there is a great disparity between the two sexes. The comparatively lesser sex-ratio amongst the adults may to a certain extent be attributed to the fact that about 25% of the total persons in this group are unmarried. The sex-ratio for the village as a whole comes to 78 females per 100 males.

Marital status

130. The following table provides statistics in regard to age and marital status of the population of the village:

Age groups	Total population			Never married		Married		Widowed	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All ages	298	167	131	98	65	56	54	13	12
0 - 9	89	48	41	48	41	-	-	-	-
10 - 14	38	18	20	18	19	-	1	-	-
15 - 19	26	18	8	16	4	2	4	-	-
20 - 24	24	14	10	8	1	6	9	-	-
25 - 29	23	14	9	4	-	10	9	-	-
30 - 34	8	7	1	1	-	6	1	-	-
35 - 39	12	4	8	1	-	-	7	3	1
40 - 44	20	10	10	-	-	9	8	1	2
45 - 49	12	9	3	2	-	6	3	1	-
50 - 54	16	7	9	-	-	5	5	2	4
55 - 59	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
60 - 64	15	11	4	-	-	6	3	5	1
65 - 69	5	1	4	-	-	1	3	-	1
70 and over	9	6	3	-	-	5	-	1	3

131. The table shows that out of the total population of 298 souls, 163 are unmarried, 110 are married and the remaining 25 are widowed. There is none in the village belonging to the two groups i.e. divorced and separated. The following table gives the percentage of unmarried, married and widowed persons in the village :

Sex	*Unmarried*	*Married*	*Widowed*
Persons	54.7	37.0	8.3
Males	58.5	34.5	7.0
Females	49.6	41.2	9.2

132. So far as the marital status in the age group 0-14 is concerned we find that marriage amongst infants and children is an exception, more so for males than for females. This age group consists of 66 males and 61 females. Out of this only one female is married. The following table gives the percentage of marital condition of the population over the age of 14 :

Sex	*Unmarried*	*Married*	*Widowed*
Persons	21.7	63.7	14.6
Males	31.7	55.4	12.9
Females	7.2	75.7	17.1

133. Among the persons above the age of 14, we find that married proportion is higher for females than males. Data reveals that only 5 out of 131 females are unmarried and 4 of them are in the age group 15-19 years and one in the age group 20-24 years. In fact three of them are 15 years old, one 17 years while the fifth one has just attained the age of twenty years. Three out of five have already been betrothed. So far as males are concerned, the table show that 32 i. e. 31.7% are still unmarried. While 16 of them are in the age group 15-19, 8 are in the age group 20-24, 4 in the age group 25-29, one each in 30-34 and 35-39 and two in 45-49. It is interesting to note that except for 4 persons in the comparatively higher age groups, the rest of the persons are all expected to get married sooner or later as the marriage amongst Bishnois is performed at a later age.

134. Among the married persons, there are 56 males and 54 females. The wives of the two married males were not present in the village at the time of enumeration. They were newly married and their *gauna* ceremony had not taken place by that time. There is no case of bigamy.

Literacy

135. The following table shows the position of literacy in the village :

Age groups	Total			Illiterate		Literate without educational standard		Primary or junior basic	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All ages	298	167	131	121	126	44	5	2	–
0 - 4	36	16	20	16	20	–	–	–	–
5 - 9	53	32	21	10	20	22	1	–	–
10 - 14	38	18	20	3	17	15	3	–	–
15 - 19	26	18	8	12	8	6	–	–	–
20 - 24	24	14	10	14	10	–	–	–	–
25 - 29	23	14	9	12	8	1	1	1	–
30 - 34	8	7	1	7	1	–	–	–	–
35 - 44	32	14	18	13	18	–	–	1	–
45 - 59	29	16	13	16	13	–	–	–	–
60 and over	29	18	11	18	11	–	–	–	–

136. It is quite evident from the above table that the extent of literacy for the village is very low. Only 51 or 17.1 per cent of the total population reported themselves to be literate. But this includes the infants (below the age of 5 years) also, for whom the question of literacy does not arise. Thus if we exclude the 36 infants from the total population then the rate of literacy comes to19.4%.

The corresponding figure of 1951 Census is 14.6%. Taking separately the figures of literacy amongst males and females we find that the percentage of literacy is comparatively higher amongst the males (90%) and rather low amongst females (10%).

137. The position in regard to literacy in the village during the Census of 1961, as compared to the Census of 1951 is given below:

Population		Variation	Literacy in percentage			
			1951		1961	
1951	1961		Males	Females	Males	Females
261	298	-4.1	25.5	1.4	27.5	3.8

138. The above table indicates that literacy is going up both amongst the males as well as the females. Now there is a growing tendency amongst the villagers to send their childern to school. This is evidently the result of opening of a Primary school in the village which has now been in existence for the last four years. People generally send their children to school after they have attained the age of 5. In the age group 5-9 whereas boys are 22, girl is only one. In the age group 10-14, 3 girls are receiving education as against 15 boys, but in the age group 15-19 as against 6 boys the number of girls is nil. In the age group 20 and above there are 3 boys and one girl. It is obvious from the above that the village people are not keen about the education of their girls and it will take some time before they realise the value and utility of female educatoin. There is no one in the village having acquired even Middle standard.

139. The village Primary school is housed in a *dharamshala* having five rooms with very scanty furniture. There are four classes which are looked after by a single teacher. The children of Meghwal also attend the school. The old prejudice of not permitting their boys to sit with Meghwal boys in the school is gradually dying out. There is, however, need for a multi-teacher school in the village.

Births and deaths

140. The following statistics of births and deaths in village Mukam for the years 1959 to 1962 have been furnished by the village Panchayat:

Year	Births	Deaths
1959	5	2
1960	6	2
1961	5	3
1962	1	4

141. It is obvious from the figures given above that the number of births during 1959, 1960 and 1961 exceeds the number of deaths. In 1962, however, there have been four deaths as against 1 birth. All the deaths are reported to have occurred due to natural causes. The village is reported to have been free from epidemics during all these years.

Family structure

142. The following table indicates the types of families in Mukam:

Communities	Total No. of households	Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
Bishnoi	58	39	11	8	-
Meghwal	7	2	3	2	-
Total	65	41	14	10	-

143. From the above figures it would be seen that the percentage of joint families in the village is 14.5, that of intermediate, having married couple and unmarried brother or sister and one of the parents, 21.5, and the rest 41.0 are simple, having husband, wife and unmarried children. There is thus a clear tendency towards disintegration of joint families. There is, however,

no fixed time or period during which joint family may break up. The family breaks up more often when the father dies and the sons find it difficult to pull on amicably. Then they separate and give rise to simple families. Sometimes sons become separate even during the lifetime of their father. The main cause of separation in these cases is the dissension among the females. The wives are unable to pull on amicably for temperamental reasons or in some cases, due to disparity in inome earned by their husbands. In such cases there is no scramble for division of the ancestral property during the life time of the father. The sons begin to keep their earnings separate and do not bring them to the common pool.

144. The composition of the households is as under :

Communities	Total No. of households	Single member households	2 or 3 members	4 to 6 members	7 to 9 members	10 and above
Bishnoi	58	11	13	20	10	4
Meghwal	7	1	1	3	2	–
Total	65	12	14	23	12	4

145. There are only four families in the village having 10 or more than 10 members. The maximum number of families i. e. 23 are such who have only 4 to 6 members in a family. There are 12 single member families in the village.

Relationship in family

146. In family matters such as contracting of marriages, performance of caste dinners, celebrations of festivals or religious functions the eldest member of the family is invariably consulted by the juniors and his consent is obtained in regard to the proposal in view. He then takes a leading part in the celebration of the functions.

147. The marital relations between husband and wife are most cordial. The wife is invariably consulted in all matters relating to the family and her advice receives the greatest weight. The husband hands over the entire income to her and she is responsible for running the household.

148. Married women and daughters-in-law of the family observe *purdah* to the extent of keeping their faces veiled in the presence of their elders and not talking to their husbands before them. Every morning women would pay respects to the elders by touching their feet before starting their household work. No *purdah* is observed in the presence of husband's younger brothers and other juniors. It is a privilege of the *bhabi* (elder sister-in-law) and the *dewar* (husband's younger brother) to cut jokes and indulge in innocent and harmless tit-bits and merry-making.

Inter-community relationship

149. The village consists of only two communities i. e. Bishnois and the Meghwals. The relations between the two are very cordial. The Meghwals are, of course, the serving class but they are treated in quite a humane way by the Bishnois. They are invited to their functions and they also help them in times of need. The Meghwals take food prepared by the Bishnois but the later do not take food prepared by the former.

150. There is a cluster of villages surrounding Mukam which are more thickly populated in comparison to other villages of the desert area. The people of these villages take keen interest in the affairs of Mukam and they pay visits to it on all social functions.

Inheritence

151. On the death of the father his property is divided equally between the sons. The girls do not get any share in it. The widowed mother is maintained by the sons with whom she resides, turn by turn, if they do not remain joint and

become separate. The recent legislation conferring rights of inheritence on daughter in the property of the deceased father has no effect in the village. The people are, of course, aware of it but they do not pay any heed to this law, and consider it to be against the tenets of their religion.

Religious activities

152. The day of Amavasya in each month has got a special importance for a Bishnoi. He keeps fast on that day and does not conduct any work. A congregational *havan* or *agni hotra* is performed in all Bishnoi villages in which all the members of the family, male and female, take part. They burn ghee, kernel of coconut, camphor, refined sugar, sandal wood etc. and chant vedic *mantras* and *sabdas* from the *vani* of Jambheswarji. At times people congregate in the temple and sing *bhajans* or read books, which they call *vani*. Two of their *bhajans* are reproduced below :

बाबे आप लियो अवतार, श्याम समरथल आवियो ।
आवियो छै आप अलेख, भाग परापत पावियो ।
भाग परापत पावियोने, जै मानो त्याग भाण ।
अन्दो अजाण अबूझ, मूरख किया स्वामी सुजाण ।
कुमल कुल धरण पर हरया, शुद्ध हुआ करणी सार ।
भगवो बाने विष्णु आयो, आप लियो अवतार ।
श्याम समरथल आवियो, घुरी ओलख जै आचार ।
परमेश्वर पूरा धणी, ठग पासीगर चीर ।
जीव दया पाले घणी, जीव दया पाले घणी ।

(Lord Krishna himself took birth (in the person of Jambheswarji) and came to Samarthal. He came to Samarthal unobstrusively to the great good fortune of the inhabitants of the place. He conferred his benediction on the blind, the ignorant, the poor, the lowly and the lost. He taught the lesson of right and pure conduct to all and sundry. God Vishnu put on the garments of a *sanyasi* during this incarnation. He brought the thugs, the thieves and the robbers to the right path. Being all merciful he taught men the lesson of mercy and pity).

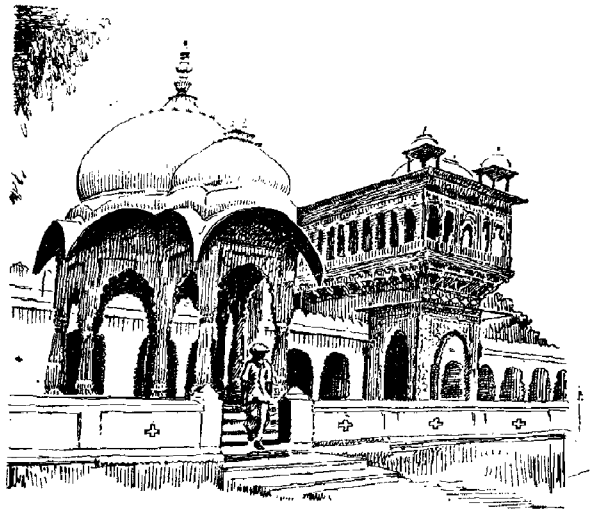
पहला फल लेना चाहे तो गुरु चरण में पडजा ।
संत गुरू दाता सैन बतावे, सेजई सेज चढ़जा–सतसंग गंग समाना ।
दूजा फल लेना चाहे तो सत संग नित करना ।
भोले सैने की सबकी सुननी, सुन सुन चित में धरना–सतसंग गग समाना ।
तीजा फल लेना चाहो तो ध्यान उसी का धरना ।
आपा उलट आपन देखो सन्मुख दर्शन करना–सतसग गंग समाना ।
चौथा फल लेना चाहे तो पिछम देश करना ।
साक साक सत गुरुजी सागे पाक ज्यू फल लेना-सतसंग गंग समाना ।
नाथ दिलाई चौथा फल पाया, पाया सो फरमाया ।
निर्गुण सुगुण सागे लिया सत में णाम समाया–सतसंग गंग समाना ।

(If thou desirest to get the first fruit, lie down prostate at the feet of thine *guru*, and follow implicity all his teachings. *Satsang* (the company of the blessed) is purifying like the touch of the Ganges. If thou desirest the second fruit, come daily into contact with saints; give thine ear to everyone whether he be simple or learned, and try to remember what thou hearest. If thou

desirest the third fruit, contemplate on the virtues of God. Look into thine heart and thou wouldst find that the Lord is before thee. If thou desirest the fourth fruit, go to the western part of the land, follow the tenets of the master and enjoy fruits as they gradually ripen. The master alone is capable of making the disciple taste the fourth fruit. The *nirgun* (the formless) and the *sagun* (incarnate) are both combined in the unique personality of Shri Jambheswarji.)

Leisure and recreation

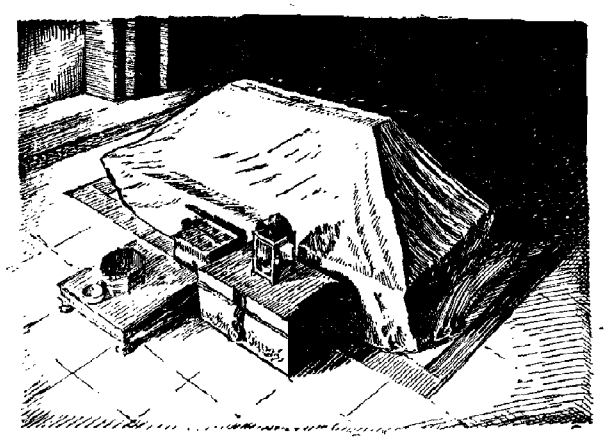
153. Apart from the common social and religious festivals and fairs which occur during the various seasons and months of the year, the village people do not have any special mode of recreation. On summer evenings they assemble in groups at the temple compound and spend an hour or two in



idle gossip and comment on news local and those received from the nearby villages. Children play *kabaddi*, ball and stick, hide and seek and similar other games.

The shrine

154. All social and cultural life of the village revolves round the temple of Jambheswarji. The foundation of the shrine was laid in the village on Margshirsha Krishna 11, Samvat 1593 (A.D. 1537). The building was completed in Samvat 1600 (A. D. 1544), by Jambheswarji's disciple Randhirji. It is a double storyed building and has got entrances from three sides which have artistic designs carved on them. There is a stone-payed platform on all the four sides of the temple. In the shirne on the first floor, at a height of some 16 metres from the ground floor in the central hall, is to be found the *samadhi* of Jambheswarji. The



actual vault in which the dead body of the saint was buried is, however, said to be some 30 metres under the ground. There is only one entrance to this hall; the rest of the three sides are closed. On the back of the *samadhi* there is a life size portrait of Jambheswarji. All the three entrances have got balconies on them and are electrified. On all sides of the central hall on the first floor there is marble payement. In the back side of the hall is a verandah in which *havan* is performed. There is a small aperture in this verandah, which opens in the big room on the ground floor, through which the grain received by way of donations is dropped, from time to time.

155. On the ground floor, behind the main hall there are five rooms, in one of which grain is stored. The rest of the rooms are kept vacant and they serve as a guest house for the members of the Managing Committee when they visit the place at the time of the fair. The teacher of the Primary school is permitted the use of some of these rooms during the rest of the year.

156. The temple is looked after by a *pujari* (priest). Entry into the temple including its central



hall at Mukam is open to everybody. Shoes are not allowed inside the temple, nor is any one allowed to enter the temple bare-headed. On one side of the shrine there is a platform covered by wire gauge which is utilised for scattering the grain to feed pigeons, peacocks and other birds.

157. The affairs of the institution are managed by the Bishnoi Mahasabha. The Executive Committee of the Mahasabha consists of the members from Rajasthan and the Punjab. The committee also administers the fairs which are held in the village.

158. The building of the shrine at Samarthal is very small and simple. Here a replica of Jambheswarji's *samadhi* is installed in one room.

159. At both these places *dipak* (an earthen lamp) is kept lighted all the 24 hours of the day. An *arti* in the praise of the saint is sung every morning and evening in a fascinating tune, the rendering of which in staff notations is given below :



The exact wordings of the *arti* are as under.

कू कू केरा चरण पधारो गुरू जम्बदे महात्मा पुरुष थारी आरती करे.....
जम्बे गुरू ध्यावे तो सरव सिद्धी पावें कोटि जनम केरा पाप झरे... ....
हृदय ज्यू हवेली मांहीं रहो प्रभू रात दिन मोतीड़ा की प्रभू माला गले
कर्म कमंडल सोवे सीस सोवे टोपी नैना मांही दोय मशाल सी जले.....
सोने को सिंहासन प्रभू रेशम केरी गादियां फूला हंदि आसन प्रभू बेढ़यां ही तरे
प्रेम केरा प्याला प्रभू पीवे थारा साधूजन जटा मुकुट तेरे चंवर ढुरे... ....

संख शहनाई बाजे झींजा बाजे झन न न भेर नगारा बाजे नोबत घुरे
मजिरा तिकोरा बाजे घंटा बाजे घन न न सबद सुन्या पाप झरे.... ...
कंचन केरो थाल कपूर केरी बत्तियां अगर केरो धूप रवि इन्दर ज्यू कदे
सेज तो सेवे कुबेरसा भंडारी शिव ब्रह्मा थारी आरती करे.....
आरती में आवे २ शीश निवावे जागरण सुन्यां सू जमराज डरें
जाहेबे सुतावे गावे नव निधि पावे सीधी मुकती सिधारे बाल ब्रह्म ज्यू तरे

(English rendering given at Page 40)

Fairs and festivals

160. Twice a year a fair is held at Mukam in commemoration of Jambheswarji. The main fair is held on Phalgun Krishna Amavasya. The fair was initiated by his disciples on Phalgun Krishna Amavasya St. 1648. This is attended by more than 12,000 persons who come from all parts of the country to pay their homage to the illustrious founder of the sect. Donations of the value of more than Rs. 20,000 comprising mainly of ghee and *moth* and cash are received at the time of the fair. The *moth* is stored and utilised for feeding the pigeons and birds all the year round which is a special feature of Mukam. Ghee is used for the performance of *havan* on the occasion of the fair and afterwards daily till it does not become stale.

161. The fair which is held on Aswin Krishna Amavasya is a smaller one. The last one was held on the 27th and 28th Sept., 1962. This was attended by about 4,000 persons, most of whom came from the nearby villages riding on camels, bullock-carts and on foot. Some came in carts driven by camels. More than 300 camels out of which some were of the very best type, could be seen in this fair. It was a lovely sight to see healthy young ones of camels accompanying their mothers. There were about 25 shops most of which were from Nokha and Himatsar and some came down even from Bikaner. There were shops of grain, ghee, cloth, books, general merchandise and barbers etc. About half a dozen shops were those of sweetmeat sellers and almost an equal number of tea stalls. Some four shop-keepers were selling the hides which were brought down from the neighbouring villages in carts driven by camels. A few cobblers were also there who mended the *pakhals* (leather bags for water) and the country made shoes. Three or four heaps of winnowing fans coated with cow-dung were also there. Melons and local cucumber were also brought on camels and carts, for sale at the fair. All persons did roaring business.

162. Big *havans* were held on the platform of the shrine morning and evening extending four to five hours each time at which *mantras* and *sabdas* of Jambheswarji were recited. Women kept awake all the night over singing songs of religious nature many of which were dedicated to Jambheswarji. In the evening of the 27th september, there was quite a heavy shower and it produced chilly cold but this did not deter the enthusiasm of the pilgrims who kept the night vigil on the platform of the temple under an open sky. At Samarthal also *havan* was performed and a stream of visitors could be seen going from Mukam to the sand-hill to pay their homage to the saint who used to preach there in his life time.

163. The fair was also attended by a number of Bishnoi *sanyasis*. When a Bishnoi renounces the world and decides to lead an ascetic life he takes *diksha* from a *sanyasi* and is then initiated into their order. He puts on the saffron coloured garments worn by *sanyasis* and then spends his time in preaching religion to the members of the community. Most of the *sanyasis* wear their hair long and keep beards. Bishnoi *sanyasis* do not beg at the door of other communities. The members of the Bishnoi community see that the *sanyasis* are well fed and are not put to difficulty for want of clothes. Some of the learned *sanyasis* delivered sermons at the fair which were attended with rapt attention.

164. It is customary for the people who visit Samarthal to take some sand from the *talai* (tank)

at Mukam and deposit it at the foot of the Samarthal dune when they go to pay their homage there. The village people celebrate the following festivals which are common to Hindus elsewhere.

Name of festival	When held
Sheetla Saptmi	Chaitra (March)
Gangor	Chaitra (April)
Ramnavmi	Chaitra (April)
Akshaya Tritiya	Baisakh (May)
Teej	Shrawan (July-August)
Rakshabandhan	Shrawan (July-August)
Janmashthami	Bhadon (August-September)
Navratra	Aswin (September-October)
Dashera	Aswin (September-October)
Deepmalika	Kartik (October-November)
Sankranti	(January)
Basant Panchmi	Magh (January-February)
Shivratri	Phalgun (March)
Holi	Phalgun (March)

Beliefs

165. Apart from the tenets which the founder of the sect Jambheswarji laid down for the conduct of Bishnois, they honour the village gods and heroes such as Hanumanji, Pabuji and Rangaji. The general belief in *Shitla Mata* (the goddess of smallpox) is also current here. The goddess is worshipped on the *Sheetla saptmi* day which falls on the 7th day of the first half of the month of Chaitra. It is, however, the teachings of Jambhaji which play a predominent role in Bishnoi's life. They are very orthodox in this matter.

166. Bishnois have a great veneration for the cow. Even the urine and the dung of a cow are considered sacred. Every ritual is accompanied by a coating of the floor of the house with a mixture of cow-dung and cow-urine. The urine of cow, considered antiseptic, helps in keeping the households neat, tidy and healthy. The Khejra and the Pipal trees are held in great esteem by the Bishnois. They take Khejra as a counter part of Tulsi and offer worship to it along with the later. Every Bishnoi woman considers it a part of her daily routine to offer water to the sacred plant of Tulsi and the trees of Pipal and Khejra. There is a tradition among the Bishnois that two celebrated women of their community laid down their lives in the defence of Khejra tree when they were being cut down in the village named Khejarla, in the former Jodhpur State.

Village organisation

167. Caste Panchayat : The affairs of the temple of Jambhaji at Mukam used to be managed by a caste Panchayat constituted of the leading members of the community residing in Mukam and some other villages in the neighbourhood. There were various complaints of mis-management of the temple and its funds. Consequently at the instance of Bikaner *Durbar* the community on the occasion of Mukam fair held on Phalgun Krishna Amavasya St. 1979 (1922 A.D) by common consent decided that a committee may be formed under the name of Mukam Gurdawara Managing Committee with the following objects:

1. (a) To manage the affairs of the temple of Mukam and the property attached to that temple and the temple at Samarthal.

   (b) To encourage education and to effect general improvement in the conditions of the Bishnoi community.

2. The office bearers of the committee were to be the following:
   (a) President
   (b) Manager
   (c) Cashier
   (d) Store-keeper
   (e) Auditor

3. The committee was empowered:
   (a) to establish schools, libraries and reading rooms and to frame rules for the management thereof;
   (b) to establish *dharamshalas*, orphanages and *sewa-sanghas* for the service of the community and build water tanks, dispensaries, kine-houses etc. and to frame rules for the working of the same;
   (c) to undertake publication of religious books, magazines etc ;
   (d) to frame rules for the working of the Panchayat;
   (e) to collect taxes or subscription at the time of fair and to accept endowments or *chadhava* at the temple.

168. The committee was registered at Lucknow in the name of Bishnoi Mahasabha on the 22nd April, 1936. It has its head office at Hissar. The committee holds its elections at the time of the annual fair. Local Panchayats of the Bishnois residing in various villages are empowered to decide the local cases according to the rules framed by the Executive Committee. Appeals against the decisions of the local Panchayats are heard by the Executive Committee at the time of its annual session at Mukam. The local Panchayats hold their meetings on the Amavasya day of each month and their annual sessions on the Amavasya of Chaitra and Aswin. The Executive Committee holds its general meeting quarterly. The cases dealt with by the Panchayats are of the following nature :

(a) cases regarding selling of a cow to butcher which is against the Bishnoi religion ;
(b) cases regarding abetment of killing of animals in the private fields ;
(c) cases regarding marrying one's daughter against the will of him to whom the girl has already been betrothed ;
(d) cases regarding marriage of widow without the express consent of her deceased husband's relations ;
(e) cases of breach of rules of conduct prescribed by Jambhaji.

169. The punishment given by the Panchayat is in the shape of cash money which is payable immediately on the spot. In cases of serious offences if the Panchayat considers ex-communication necessary, it is difficult for the offender to regain entry into the caste. These are the cases of eating meat, drinking wine and committing adultery.

170. Village Panchayat : The village panchayat of Mukam consists of the representatives of the villages mentioned below :

1.	Mukam	2
2.	Talwa	1
3.	Nmidiyasar	1
4.	Kheenchyasar	1
5.	Maiyasar	2
6.	Bhomasar	1

171. Two women members have been co-opted both of whom are Bishnoi women from Mukam. The Sarpanch of the Panchayat is a Rajput who comes from Maiyasar. Up-sarpanch is a Bishnoi from Mukam. The secretary of the Panchayat is a teacher who is paid Rs. 15 p. m. The Panchayat meets generally twice a month.

172. The village Panchayat tries to render whatever service it can, on the occasion of the fairs held at Mukam. It is trying to help in the promotion of education in the villages which it represents. Funds are being collected by the village Panchayat for constructing a new school building at Mukam. The Panchayat has got its own house. It is also taking interest to improve the arrangement for the supply of water to the villagers.

173. There is no voluntary organisation or a club or a library in this village.

Social reforms

174. The people are conservative in their views and they are indifferent to reforms such as Family planning and regulation of dowry.

175. The Bishnois consider themselves a separate entity distinct from other Hindu castes notwithstanding the fact that they profess the *Vaishnava* religion which is a part and parcel of Hinduism. Anyway, a place can be allocated to them in the caste hierarchy which may lie somewhere between the Brahmins and the Jats.

176. Bishnois of Mukam treat Meghwals as untouchables. They do not take food or water from their hands nor do they allow them to draw water from the village well. When water is supplied from the well in village Talwa the Meghwals are allowed to have their supply from a tap which has been specially allotted to them.

AN ENGLISH RENDERING OF THE ARTI

Welcome to Lord Jambheswar, I offer thee *arti*. Whosoever worships thee attains success and gets the sins of all births washed away ;

Pray, reside in my heart night and day my Lord, who wears a garland of pearls, has a *kamandal* in hand, dons a beautiful cap and has eyes glittering like a flame ;

Thy devotees, who drink from the cup of the nectar of thy love, attain salvation my Lord, who adorns a golden throne with silken cushions spread with flowers and whose hair plaits waive over his crown ;

The conch shells, the clarionet, the bells, the cymbals and the drum all play in thy praise and the hearing of such musical notes removes all the sins ;

In a golden plate with wicks of camphor burning, Lords Sun and Indra offer thee incense. Kubair, the Lord of wealth, spreads thy bed and Lords Shiva and Brahma offer thee *arti* ;

Yamraj, the Lord of death, fears those who attend the *arti*, bow to thee and listen to the night-long prayers, for, those who recite and sing in thy honour attain success, wealth and salvation .

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

VILLAGE Mukam, which has a population hardly of 300 souls, has now been in existence for more than five centuries. Being a desert village, it has to face difficulties that arise out of its geography. Only one crop, *Kharif*, is possible in the region, and for that too, it is totally dependent on the vagaries of the monsoon. Even drinking water is scarce. Famine stares very often in the face of the inhabitants. That the residents of Mukam have successfully withstood the cruelities of nature, speaks highly of their hardihood and stamina.

178. The importance of Mukam is, however, religious as the *samadhi* of Jambheswar, the spiritual preceptor of Bishnois is situated here; and the village will continue to be looked upon with reverence as long as the Bishnoi community lives. The economy and the cultural outlook of the village are dependent on the Bishnois as they are a dominant section of its population. Modern technology and engineering will undoubtedly make available to them soon drinking water and such other necessities of life which will make it easier and pleasanter. But this is possible only when the primitive, outmoded, orthodox social taboos are given up and education is made to permeate the ignorant mass of villagers for it is in the wake of education that other benefits come.

179. Shall the sturdy men of this village continue to spend their lives in battles against nature, sticking to their traditional views and customs ? Will the women folk remain content with carrying precious water in beautiful pitchers and doing other domestic chores, feeling glorified in domestic happiness; or will they ever send their daughters to school to learn new lessons ? These are some of the questions to which answers shall have to be quickly found. For it is on these answers that the future of the village depends.



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APPENDICES

I. Pattas and Parwanas.

II. Sayings of saint Jambheswar

III. Some common words with their English equivalents.

IV. Household & Village Schedules and Instructions.

APPENDIX I

PATTAS AND PARWANAS

(i)

Copy of the *Patta* dated Asoj Sudi 12 Samvat 1851V (1795 A. D.) granted by Maharaja Bhimsingh 1 of Jodhpur.

श्री राजराजेश्वर महाराजाधिराज महाराजा श्री भीमसिंहजी बचनात् (हुक्म से) जोधपुर वगैरै परगना सम सुतरां गांवरा पटायतां दिसे तथा बिश्नोइयां सु लाग जो सदा बन्दलागे है तिण माफक लीजो सिवाय खेचल न हुवे ।

(विक्रमी) सम्बत् १८५१ आसोज सुदी १२ गढ़ जोधपुर ।

(English translation)

By the Order of Raj Rajendra Maharaja Dhiraj Shri Bhim Singhji (1) of Jodhpur.

In all the parganas of Jodhpur and the villages which have been given by virtue of the *Pattas*, the cesses from Bishnois should be collected at the rates which are in vogue from old times. No extra demands should be made; Asoj Sudi 12 St. 1851; granted at Jodhpur.

(ii)

Copy of *Patta* dated Baisakh Budi 1 Samvat 1900V (1844 A. D.) granted by Mahraja Takhat Singh of Jodhpur.

।। श्री परमेश्वर जी सत्य छै ।।

श्री राजराजेश्वर महाराजाधिराज श्री तखतसिंह जी बचनात् थापन बिश्नोइयां रां गांवां री सीव में नीली खेजड़ी कोई बाढ़ण (काटने) पावे नहीं, सिकार खेलण पावे नहीं, कोई नीली खेजड़ी बाढ़सी सुकार खेलसी सो दरबार से गुनोगार हो सी-सम्बत् १९०० (विक्रमीय) वैशाख बदी १ – गढ़ जोधपुर ।

(English translation)

By the order of Raj Rajeswar Maharaja-dhiraj Shri Takhat Singhji of Jodhpur. It is hereby ordered that in the villages of Bishnois, cutting of Khejri within the limits of these villages is banned. *Shikar* (game) is also prohibited. If anyone cuts green Khejris or plays *Shikar* he shall be punished by the State. Dated Baisakh Budi 1 St. 1200; granted at Jodhpur.

APPENDIX *I-contd.*

(iii)

Hindi translation of the original *Parwana* written in Persian dated 15 Jaiked, 980 Hijri (1562 A. D.)

शौर्यशरण राज कल्याणसिंह वाली बीकानेर को यह मालूम हो कि जो आजकल थापन चोखा ने सदर कचहरी में आकर निवेदन किया कि अपने साथ बहुत सी जमात रखता है – और कोई वजह गुजारे की मुकर्रिर नहीं है इसलिए उम्मेदवार है कि हमारे गुजारे की सूरत नियत हो जावे–फिर यह अर्जी उनकी, हजूर तक पहुँची हुक्मन मंजूर इस वास्ते माफिक हुक्म के लिखा जाता है कि फी शादी (विवाह) ३) बिश्नोइयों से दिलाते रहो–और गांव तालवे में जमीन करीब ८०० आठ सौ जरीब पुख्ता मन्दिर के पीछे दरबार बादशाहो से दी गई है–और दश घर मोचियों के पांच घर मुसलमान कलाल मन्दिर के जमीन में रहते हैं जो कुछ टहल सेवा आदि मन्दिर की होगी वह सब करते रहेंगे कुल जमीन तीन हजार पुख्ता जरीब से मन्दिर की पीछे हैं–जब मेला होगा–बीका–मनोहर सिंह कुवे से पानी खींच कर मेले वालों को पिलावेगा और गांव हिमढ़सर उत्तर कोण में है और गांव खींचियासर दक्षिण को है और गांव धूपालिया पूर्व को है ।

अणखीसर आदि २० बीउ गांव इलाके जोधपुर के और १५ पन्द्रह गांव इलाके बीकानेर के कुल ३५ गांव तो मन्दिर के नीचे हैं–सारी आमदनी गांव के रहने वाले मन्दिरवालों को देते रहेंगे अर्थात् मन पीछे एक सेर गरज है कि बिश्नोई मन्दिर वालों को देते रहेंगे । और उनके ही कब्जे (अधिकार) में रहेगा और गांव जंगल में उस जगह शिकार करना (खेलना) हरेक छोटे बड़े को मना है–और तमाम चीजों का महसूल उनको माफ कर दिया गया है–तारीख १५ जियेकद सन् ९८० हीज़री ।

दरबार तारीद १५ जियेकद । नकल दफ्तर हजूर वाला–नकल दफ्तर दीवान आलिया (बड़ा) ।

The following is rendered into English from the Hindi translation of the original *Parwana* written in Persian issued by the Emperor of Dehli on 15 Jivekad, year 980 Hijri (1562 A. D.) to His Highness Maharaja Kalyan Singhji, Ruler of Bikaner.

Chokha Thapan presented himself at the Emperor's court and prayed that a number of persons depended on him for maintenance of which there was no provision and that a grant should, therefore, be made in his favour. This petition received due consideration of his Majesty who was pleased to accept the request. It is, therefore, hereby ordered that a cess of Rs. 3 may be levied on the Bishnois for each marriage celebrated by them. 800 *bighas* of land by pucca *zarib* (chain) has been granted in village Talwa for the temple. There are 10 households of Mochis and 5 households of Muslim Kalals who reside in the land attached to the temple. They will render the usual service to the temple. The total land attached to the temple is 3,000 *bighas* by *pucca zarib*. At the time of the fair Bika Manohar Singh will draw water from the well for the piligrims. The village Himatsar is in the northern corner, Kheenchiyasar in the south and village Dhupalia in the east. 20 villages including Ankhisar of Jodhpur State and 15 villages of Bikaner State total 35 villages are attached to the temple. From the agricultural produce one seer per maund will be paid by all the villagers to the management of the temple who will utilise it for the purpose of the temple. No one, big or small, will be allowed to play game *(shikar)* in the jungle of the village and no customs shall be levied on any thing imported in the village.

APPENDIX I-*concld.*

(iv)

Copy of entry dated Jeth Badi 1, St. 1558 Vikrami in the *Patta* book of the former State of Bikaner.

नकल कागद मोहर छाप श्री रामजी

।। स्वस्ति श्री महाराजाधिराज महाराजा श्री सुजांणसिंहजी बचनात् श्री महाराजाजी मया कर तालवे मुकाम रै थापना समसत नूं धरती दीवी छै तेरी बिगत श्री झांमेजी रे देह रे चाढी छै धरती तेरी बिगत १ खेत ५ अखरे खेत पांच तेरी धरती बीघा हजार १ अखरे बीघा हजार एक बीस री डोरी रा श्री बाबेजी आगे मेले रे ऊंठा सू ढांढा के पीउौ चरउौ रे वास्ते पड़त रखाई छै ते मां बीघा हजार १ एक थापनों समसतां नूं दीवी छै अर बीघा हजार १ एक पड़त मेले रे वास्ते रखाई छै सू राखसी–खेत ५ अखरे खेत पांच तेरी बीघा हजार १ अखरे बीघा हजार एक बीसरी डोरी री थापना समसतां नूं दीवी छै सूबाह सी अर कोहर १ रा तेवण २ मों – तेवण १ तो आगे सदामन थापन बेगार बाहवे छै – अर तेवण १ सरकार सूं तै बीवै छै सू पांणी तेवण थापन बेगार बाहसी कोहर रा तेवण २ दोय थापन बेगार बाहसी मेले में पाणी री बोहोताइत राखसी – अर कुंड १ पांणी नूं सरकार सूं मेले मां कराड़ देज सी अर थापन कुंड आगूंच भर राखसी अर तेवण २ को हर रा थितिया बाहसी अर पुराणा कोहर छै सू राठौड़ सुजांणो दुवारो रुघनाथोत बाहसी अर धरती – बीघा हजार १ अखरे हजार एक बीस री डोरी री पड़त राखी छै मेले रे वास्ते सू मेले देह रे नजीक री पड़त राखसी सू ऊंठ बलद धरती मां चरसी सरब खेत १० अखरे दस धरती बीघा हजार २ दाई इयै मांत दीवी छै सू बाहसी पड़त राखसी सं० १७५८ मिती जेठ बदी १ मुकाम किसनाजी नदी डरां ।। ।। ।। ।। ।। ।। ।।

(English translation)

His Highness the Maharaja Dhiraj Shri Sujansinghji of Bikaner hereby orders that he has kindly granted land to the Thapans of Mukam in dedication to the *Samadhi* of Shri Jambhaji, the details of which are as follows :-

5 fields comprising of 1000 *bighas* measured by a chain of 21 Cubits *(Ek-bisri dori)*. The land under village Talwa measuring 2000 *bighas* with a chain of 22 cubits. This land shall be reserved for the camels and animals brought to the fair in commemoration of the *Babaji* (Jambhaji). Out of this 1000 *bighas* of land is granted to the Thapans and 1000 *bighas* will be reserved as fallow land for fair. Five fields comprising land measuring 1000 *bighas* (measured by a chain of 21 cubits) is granted to all the Thapans who may cultivate it. Out of the two *Tewans* § one *Tewan* is worked in *begar* by Thapans and another *Tewan* is worked at the instance of the Government. The land will be watered by Thapans in *begar*. Thus both the *Tewan* will be worked by Thapans without any payment. Adequate arrangements for supply of water shall be made by them during the fair.

A tank will be constructed at state expense for use in the fair. The Thapans shall fill the tank with water before the *mela* starts, Two *Tewans* from *Kohar* will be worked permanently and the old *Kohar* will be tilled by Rathore Sujan S/o Duha Rughnathot. Land comprised of 1000 *bighas* measured by a chain of 21 cubits will be kept fallow for the fair. This land shall be adjacent to the village. Camels and bullocks will graze in this land. In all 10 fields comprising of 200 *bighas* of land have been granted which will be tilled or kept fallow as per directions contained herein.

Jeth Badi 1 St. 1758. Given to Kishna of Mukam.

---

§ *Tewan* is a big hole in the stone slab which is fixed at the mouth of the well and through which the big rope, known as *lao* tied to the leather bucket, passes when the water is drawn from the well.

APPENDIX II

SAYINGS OF SAINT JAMBHESWAR

The following selection of sayings, from the 120 sabdas of Jambheswar give the substance of his teachings.

(i)

रसुवन गोरस घीयन लीयूं
तहां दूध न पाणी ।
गुरु ध्याइये रे ज्ञानी
तोड़त मोहा अनिवुर साणी ।
छीजत लोहा पाणी ॥

(ii)

म्हे जपां न जाया जीऊं ।
नव अवतार नमों नारायण
तेपण रूप हमारा थीयूं ।
जपां तो एक निरालम्भ शम्भू
जिहिं के माय न पीऊं ।
न तन रक्तुं न तन धातू
न तन ताव न सीऊं ।

(iii)

अति आलस भूला वै भूला
न चीन्हो सुर राया ।
पार ब्रह्म की सुध न जाणी
तो जागे जोग न पाया ।

(iv)

विष्णु ने दोष किसो रे प्राणी
तेरी करणी का उपकारूं ॥

(v)

विष्णु विष्णु तू भज रे प्राणी
पैंके लाख उपाजूं ।
रतन काया बैकुण्ठे बासो
जरा मरण भय भाजूं ।

(vi)

मच्छी मच्छ फिरे जल भीतर
तिहिं का माघ न जोयवा ।
परम तत्व के रूप न रेखा
लीक न लेहूँ खोज न लेहूँ ।

(vii)

जोगी जंगम नाथ दिगंबर
संन्यासी, ब्राह्मण, ब्रह्मचारी,
मनहठ पढ़िया पंडित,
काजी मुल्ला खेलै आप दुबारी
निश्चै कायों बायों होयसी ।

(viii)

जै कोई आवहो हो हो करता
आप जै हुइये पानी ।
जाके बहुती नवणी बहुत ही खवणी
बहुती त्रिया समाणी ।
जाकी तो निज निरमल काया,
जोय जोय देखो ले चढ़ियो असमानी ।

(ix)

क्षमा रूप तप कीजै थोड़े महिं थोड़े रो दीजे
होते नाहिंन कीजे कृष्ण मया तिहु लोका साक्षी
अमृत फूल फलीजे जोय जोय नाम विष्णु के बीज
अनन्त गुण लिख लीजे ।

(x)

जद पवण न होता पाणी न होता
न होता धर गैणरूं ।
चन्द न होता सूर न होता
न होता गंगदर तारूं ।
सप्त पताल फुणींद न होता
न होता सागर खारूं ।
तब होता एक निरंजन शम्भू
के होता धन्धू कारूं ।
बात कदो की पूछै लोई
जुग छत्तीस विचारूं ।
ताह परै रे और छत्तीसूं
पहला अन्त न पारूं ॥
म्हे तद परण होता अब परण आछे बल बल होयसां
कह कद कद का करूं विचारूं ।

APPENDIX III

SOME COMMON WORDS WITH THEIR ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS

Common words in Roman script	Devnagri script	English Equivalents
1	2	3
Avtar	अवतार	Incarnation
Abadi	आबादी	Village habitation site
Adalat	अदालत	Court
Afsar	अफसर	Officer
Akal	अकाल	Famine
Ara	आरा	Radial spokes
Bajra	बाजरा	Millet
Barat	बरात	Marriage party
Barati	बराती	A member of marriage party
Basa	बासा	Stale (food)
Batki	बाटकी	A small metal cup
Batna	बटना	A paste made with perfumes, turmeric and flour
Beejni	बीजनी	Seed-drill
Bees	बीस	Twenty
Bhagat	भगत	Disciple
Bhagona	भगोना	A Iron pan
Bhat-h	भाट	Chronicler
Bhat	भात	Presents given by the mother's brother at the time of marriage
Bheja	भेजा	Brain
Bind	बींद	Bride groom
Bindni	बींदनी	Bride
Binthi	बींठी	Ring
Birkha	बिरखा	Rain
Byah	ब्याह	Marriage
Chabutra	चबूतरा	A masonry platform
Chadar	चादर	Sheet or covering
Chana	चना	Gram
Charas	चरस	Leather bag for drawing water
Charkha	चरखा	Spinning wheel
Charpai	चारपाई	A cot
Chaudhary	चौधरी	Headman
Chhach	छाछ	Whey
Chhadi	छड़ी	Stick
Chhati	छटी	A ceremony on the 6th day after birth

APPENDIX III-*contd.*

1	2	3
Chilam	चिलम	Smoking clay pipe
Choti	चोटी	Scalp-lock
Chowka	चौका	Cooking place
Chowki	चौकी	Pedestal
Chunao	चुनाओ	Election
Chundri	चूंदड़ी	A saree of various colours
Churma	चूरमा	A sweetmeat
Dadi	दाढ़ी	Beard
Dai	दायी	An midwife
Dantli	दान्तली	Sickle
Deewla	दीवला	An earthen lamp
Dhaga	धागा	Thread
Dhan	धान	Grain
Dharamshala	धरमशाला	An inn
Dhoonga	ठूंगा	Buttock
Dhoti	धोती	Long cloth covering the lower part of the body
Dokra	डोकरा	An old man
Dokri	डोकरी	An old woman
Gandasa	गन्डासा	Chober
Gaon	गांव (गांओ)	Village
Gauna	गौना	Nupital Ceremony
Ghagra	घाघरा	Skirt
Ghar	घर	House
Ghatti	घट्टी	Flour mill
Ghunti	घूंटी	Concoction
Gilas	गिलास	Tumbler
Gobar	गोबर	Cow-dung
Gotra	गोत्र	Sub clan
Gunga	गूंगा	Dumb
Gur	गुड़	Jaggery
Gurudwara	गुरूद्वारा	Sacred place
Hal	हल	Plough
Hath	हाथ	Hand
Havan	हवन	Fire offering
Jaccha	जच्चा	Woman who has delivered the birth
Jafri	जाफरी	Skeleton
Jamin	जमीन	Land
Jannao	जनेऊ	Sacred thread
Janwasa	जनवासा	Haulting place for marriage party
Jhopa	झोपा	Circular hut

APPENDIX III-*contd.*

1	2	3
Jhota	झोटा	Buffalo male calve
Jhoti	झोटी	Buffalo female calve
Jiman	जीमन	Feast
Jimna	जीमना	To take food
Jinawar	जिनावर	Animal
Jiv	जीव	Creature
Juti	जूती	Laceless shoe
Kachri	कचरी	A kind of vegetable
Kadhai	कढ़ाई	Couldren
Kakri	ककड़ी	Cucumber
Kaljug	कलजुग	Age of Kali i. e., this world
Kamij	कमीज	Shirt
Kanchli	कांचली	Corset
Kapal	कपाल	Forehead
Karor	करोड़	Ten million
Karza	करजा	Debt
Kassi	कस्सी	Pick-axe
Katora	कटोरा	Big metal bowl
Kazal	काजल	Soot
Khaddar	खद्दर	Hand woven cloth
Kharif	खरीफ	Rain crop
Kheer	खीर	A pudding made of rice & milk
Khet	खेत	Field
Khurpi	खुरपी	Iron blade with handle
Kisan	किसान	Farmer
Kooa	कूआ	Well
Koolari	कुलाड़ी	Axe
Kos	कोस	Distance about 3 kilometres
Kotha	कोठा	Place for storing grains
Kudi	कुडी	
Kurta	कुड़ता	Collarless shirt
Kurti	कुड़ती	Blouse
Laddo	लाडू	A sweet meat
Lohi	लोही	Blanket
Lota	लोटा	Brass jug
Mandi	मन्डी	Market
Maroosthal	मरूस्थल	Sandy tract
Matha	माथा	Head
Matira	मतीरा	Water melon
Meetha	मीठा	Sweet
Mehandi	मेंहदी	Myrtle paste
Minakh	मिनख	Man
Murki	मुरकी	Ear-ring
Moong	मूंग	Green gram

APPENDIX III-*concld.*

1	2	3
Moonj	मूंज	Hemp string
Mukam	मुकाम	Abode
Mukti	मुक्ती	Salvation
Mundan	मुन्डन	Ceremonial haircut
Namkaran	नामकरण	Namegiving
Nidan	निदान	Weeding
Pag	पग	Leg
Pagothia	पगोथिया	Steps
Parat	परात	A shallow pan
Patta	पट्टा	Deed
Patta	पाटा	Wooden Plank to sit on
Pergunnah	परगनाह	Small administrative division
Phasal	फसल	Crop
Phawra	फावरा	Spade
Phenta	फेंटा	Turban
Phera	फेरा	Circumambulation
Pind	पिण्ड	A ball of flour
Pitra	पित्रा	•Progenitors
Poojan	पूजन	Worship
Rabi	रबी	Winter crop
Rakshas	राक्षस	Demon
Rath	रथ	Chariot
Rewar	रेवड	Flock
Sabda	शब्द	A word (Saying of Jambhaji)
Safa	साफा	Turban
Sagai	सगायी	Engagement
Salwar	सलवार	Baggy trouser
Samadhi	समाधी	Tomb
Sanyasi	सन्यासी	Mendicant
Singashan	सिंघासन	Throne
Sogra	सोगरा	A bajra bread
Suhag	सुहाग	Wedlock
Suhaga	सुहागा	Levellor
Tabar	टाबर	Child
Taccavi	तकावी	Government loans
Talai	तलाई	Tank
Teela	टीला	Dune
Tilak	तिलक	A turmeric mark on forehead
Tingar	टींगर	Child
Tiss	तिस	Thirst
Tiya	तीया	Third day ritual

सत्यमेव जयते

CENSUS OF INDIA
1961

Nangal Soosawatan

A VILLAGE SURVEY



RAJASTHAN

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VOLUME XIV

RAJASTHAN

PART VI - A

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

5. NANGAL SOOSAWATAN

Field Investigation and First Draft by
G. D. AGARWAL

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G. R. GUPTA

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C. S. GUPTA
OF THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE
Superintendent of Census Operations, Rajasthan.

1965

PREFACE

Once the rulers of the region which later came to comprise the Rajput principality of Jaipur, the Minas are now considered to be a backward community and listed as a scheduled tribe. The village under survey, Nangal Soosawatan, is situated not far from Amber, the famous tourist attraction, which was the scene of intense political Mina activities in the ninth and the tenth centuries, that is, before the Kachwahas wrested leadership from them. The residents of the village are believed to be descendants of those who were granted fiefs by the Rajputs in appreciation of their loyal services.

Though the investigation was first undertaken by Sarvashri G. D. Agarwal M. Com. and N. D. Sharma M. A. (Soc.) it was completed by Shri G. D. Agarwal alone. The draft was prepared by Shri G. R. Gupta, M. A. LL. B., while Sarvashri Prakash Chandra and L. R. Pendharkar supplied necessary photographs and sketches respectively. Shri S. R. Luhadia, Tabulation officer, saw it through the press. Dr. U. B. Mathur, Deputy Superintendent, assisted me in editing the report. I thank them for their ready cooperation.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Shri Asok Mitra, Registrar General, India, and Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty, who guided us in the conduct of the survey.

Rambagh Palace Annexe,
Jaipur.
15th April, 1965.

C. S. GUPTA
Superintendent of Census Operations,
Rajasthan.

CENSUS PUBLICATIONS

for

Rajasthan State

The Rajasthan 1961 Census Publications, which will have volume No. XIV in All India Census series, will be published in the following parts :—

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Part I-B	...	Subsidiary Tables.
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Part II-B (i)	...	Economic Tables (B Series, Tables I-IV)
Part II-B (ii)	...	Economic Tables (B Series, Tables V-IX).
Part II-C (i)	...	Cultural Tables (C Series).
Part II-C (ii)	...	Migration Tables (D Series).
Part III	...	Household Economic Tables (B Series, Tables X-XVII).
Part IV-A	...	Report on Housing and Establishments.
Part IV-B	...	Housing & Establishment Tables (E Series).
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Part VI-A to F	...	Survey of Selected Villages.
Part VII-A	...	Survey of Selected Crafts.
Part VII-B	...	Notes on Selected Fairs & Festivals.
Part VIII-A	...	*Census Administration Report (Enumeration).
Part VIII-B	...	*Census Administration Report (Tabulation).
Part IX-A & B	...	Census Atlas.

A separate District Census Handbook prepared by this office will be issued by the Government of Rajasthan for each of the 26 districts.

*Not for sale.

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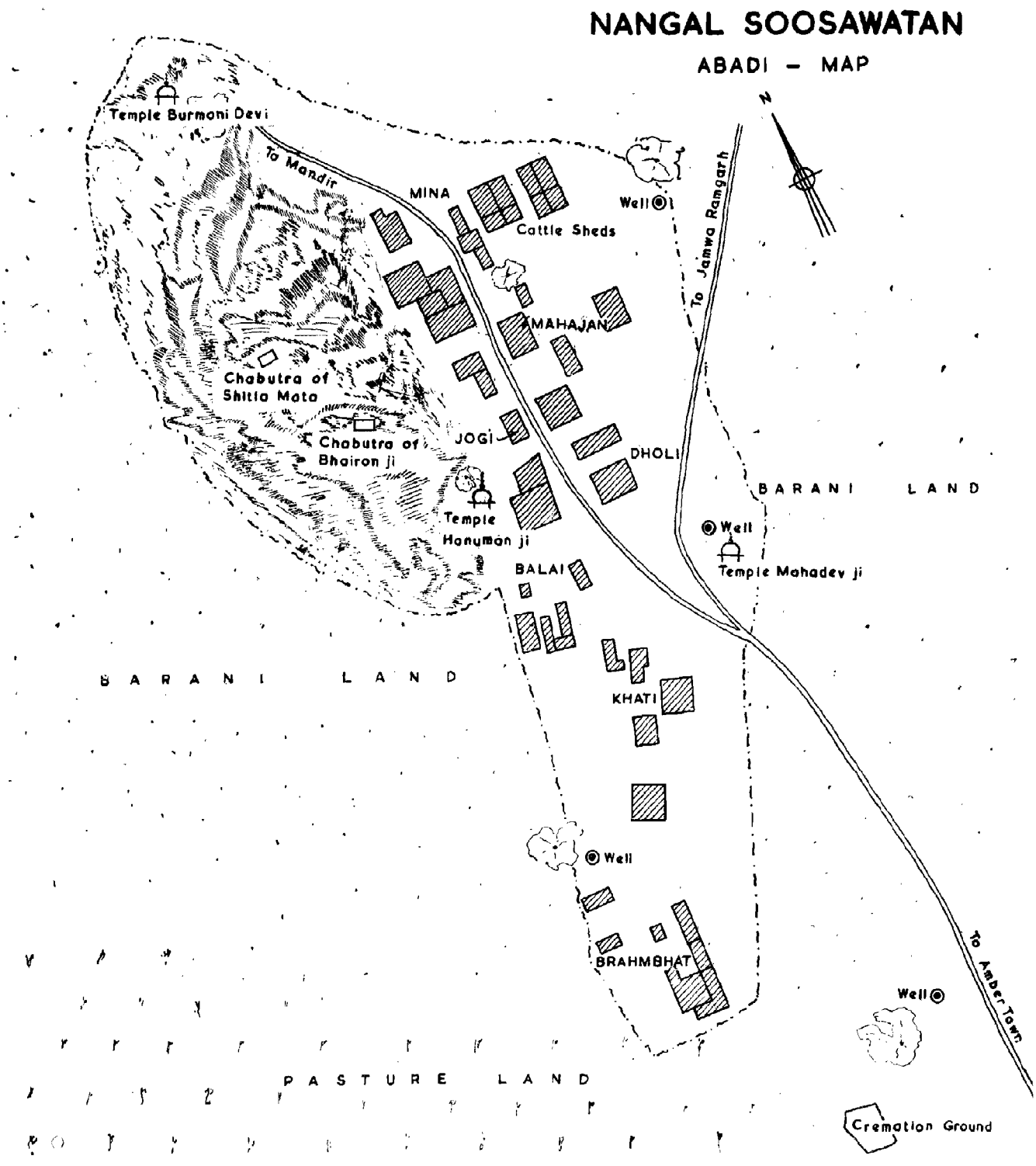
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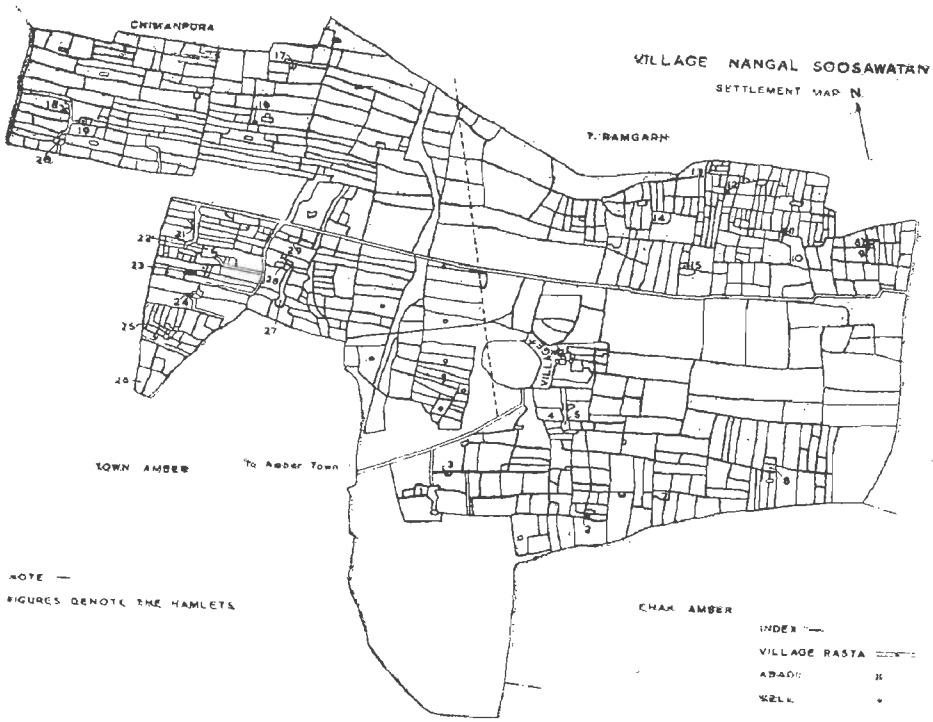
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Idols in the temple	,,

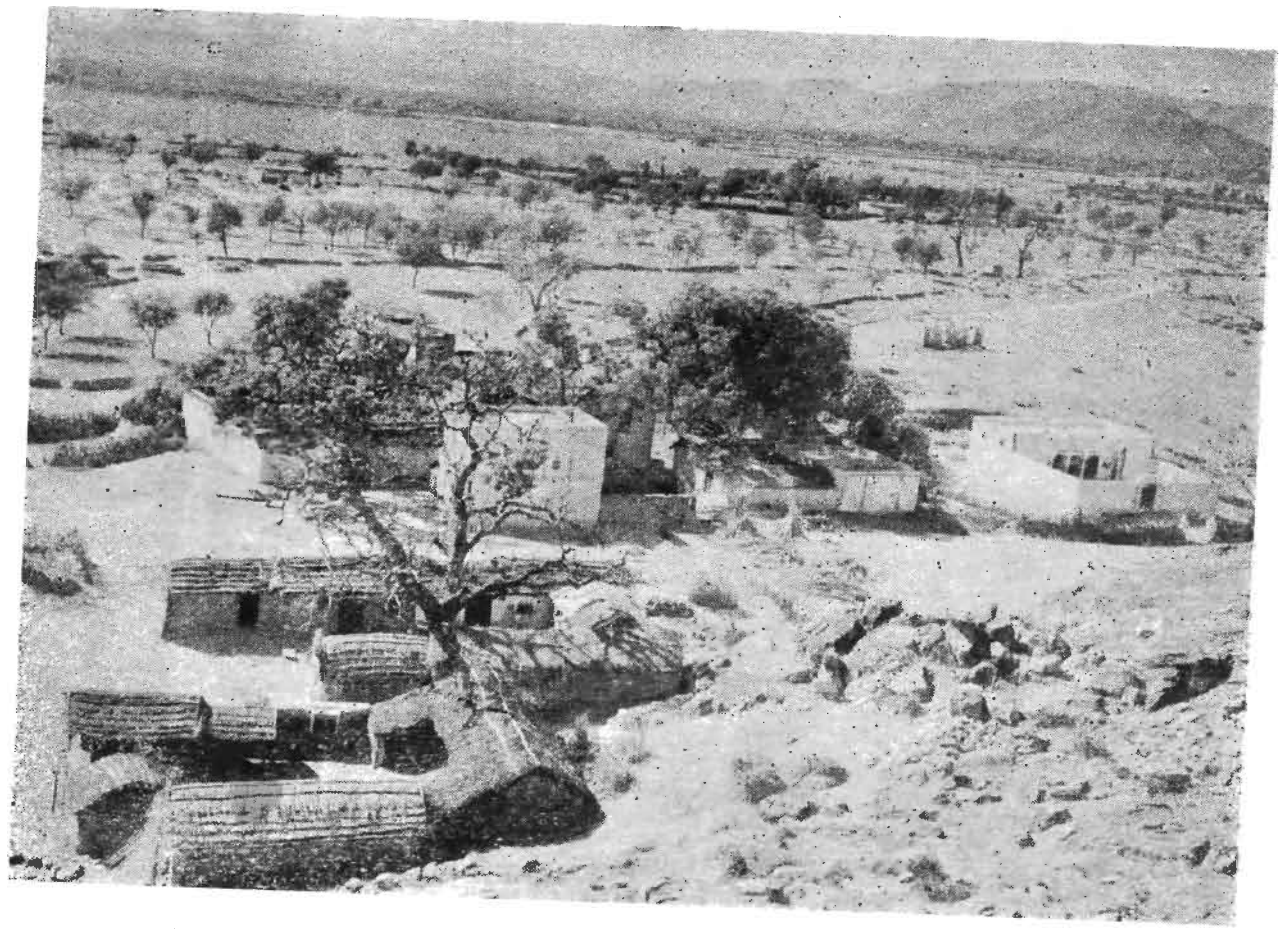
VILLAGE NANGAL SOOSAWATAN

TEHSIL AMBER

DISTRICT JAIPUR


NANGAL SOOSAWATAN
ABADI – MAP
N
Temple Burmoni Devi
To Mandir
MINA
Well
Cattle Sheds
To Jamwa Ramgarh
MAHAJAN
Chabutra of Shitla Mata
Chabutra of Bhairon ji
JOGI
DHOLI
BARANI LAND
Temple Hanuman ji
Well
Temple Mahadev ji
BALAI
BARANI LAND
KHATI
Well
BRAHMBHAT
To Amber Town
Well
PASTURE LAND
Cremation Ground





A view of the village as seen from the Burmani Devi's temple

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

NANGAL SOOSAWATAN is a small village situated on 26°59′ north latitude and 75°51′ east longitude, some 321 m above the sea level, at a distance of 13 km from Jaipur, the Capital of Rajasthan. The village is surrounded by hills of varying heights from 350 m to 372 m above the sea level in north-east and south which form a part of Aravalli range. It is bounded on the north by the village Natata (5 km) and the river Kukas (1 km), on the east by the village Saiwad (6 km) and Chimanpura (5 km), on the south by villages Khoh (4 km) and Lalwas (5 km) and on the west by village Shisawas (8 km). This village and all these surrounding villages are inhabited mainly by the Minas, an important scheduled tribe of Rajasthan.

2. The village derives its importance from its nearness to the tehsil headquarters Amber which is a place of great historical importance. It was once the capital city of Kachwaha Rajputs and is now a small town. The nearest railway station is Jaipur while the Police Station and the headquarters of Development Block as well as the Sub-Post and Telegraph Office are at Amber. The village is linked to the metalled Jaipur-Delhi highway by a kilometer long kutcha track at the eleventh kilometer stone. The village is easily approachable from Amber by a jeep, bullock-cart, or any other means of conveyance.

Physical Features

3. An important feature of the village is the Kukas river which has its source from the hills near Jamwa Ramgarh and which passes by it and after covering 8km from the village, terminates at village Kukas, where a dam has been built to store its water. Unfortunately, the dam at Kukas is at lower level than village Nangal Soosawatan and, therefore, it is not possible to irrigate any area of this village from the dam water. The village has, however, been benefitted by the dam in as much as the water level in the wells at Nangal Soosawatan has been raised appreciably. The Panchayat Samiti Amber is now thinking of constructing another dam on the Kukas at a higher point so as to obtain water for irrigation for the agricultural land in this village.

4. The village for the most part is an undulating plain. The soil is generally sandy and fertile. Land on the northern and the western sides of the village is rocky and that on southern and eastern hilly and is known as *Ada Doongar*.

Climate

5. The climate of the village is dry. During the hot season, winds from the west blow furiously. Consequently, the days are very hot but the nights are generally pleasant. The mean temperature of the place is 26°C. The maximum rises upto 44°C and sometimes the minimum goes below the normal. The figures of rainfall for the last 10 years are given below :

Year	Rainfall	Year	Rainfall
1951	62.99cm	1956	98.67cm
1952	76.70cm	1957	38.50cm
1953	64.13cm	1958	62.18cm
1954	58.80cm	1959	96.90cm
1955	100.27cm	1960	53.00cm

The annual rainfall on an average is 68.58cm, a major portion of which is received during the months of July, August and September. Sporadic rains are also received in winter but hardly exceed two or three cm.

Flora

6. The trees commonly found in the village are the Neem (*Azadirachta indica*),the Bargad (*Ficus bengalensis*),the Pipal(*Ficus religiosa*),theGular(*Ficus glomerata*),the Khejra(*Prosopis spicigera*),the Dhak (*Butea frondosa*), the Seesam (*Delbergia sissoo*),the Siras(*Albizzic lebbek*),the Babool (*Acacia arabica*)

and the Shokra (*Anogeissus pendula*). The fruit bearing trees are Mango (*Mangifera indica*), Anvla (*Phyllanthus emblica*) and Jamun (*Eugenia jambolana*). Thorny bushes of pink and yellow colour are found in abundance. The wood of Babool and Seesam is of great use to the villagers as they make their carts, and shutters of doors and windows of it. Dhak, Ker (*Acacia catechu*) and Khejra serve mostly for fuel. The wood of Pipal tree is not of very great use as it is held sacred. It is utilised for cremating dead bodies.

Fauna

7. The surrounding area of the village abounds in the usual small game including the sandgrouse, small antelopes, hedge hogs, hares, partridges, jackals etc. In the hills nearby a tiger, a panther or a Sambhar are met with occasionally.

Area

8. The area of the village as recorded in the District Census Hand Book 1951 (Vol.II) was 1334 acres and population 738. The area as reported during the Census of 1961 is 945 acres and the population 708. The decrease in land is due to some territorial adjustments as a result of which a part of it formerly attached to this villge was transferred to the nearby village Kukas. Consequently the density of population of the village rose from 138 persons per square km in 1951 to 187 persons per square km in 1961.

Households

9. The following table gives the number of households of each community residing in the village :

S. No.	Name of the community	Number of households	Total	Males	Females	Percentage to total population
1.	Mina	87	476	253	223	67.23
2.	Balai	13	72	44	28	10.17
3.	Mali	6	40	20	20	5.66
4.	Khati	5	36	17	19	5.09
5.	Brahm Bhat(Jaga)	7	36	14	22	5.08
6.	Brahmin	4	25	13	12	3.53
7.	Mahajan	1	14	5	9	1.97
8.	Dholi (Rana)	2	6	2	4	0.85
9.	Jogi	1	3	1	2	0.42
Total		126	708	369	339	100.00

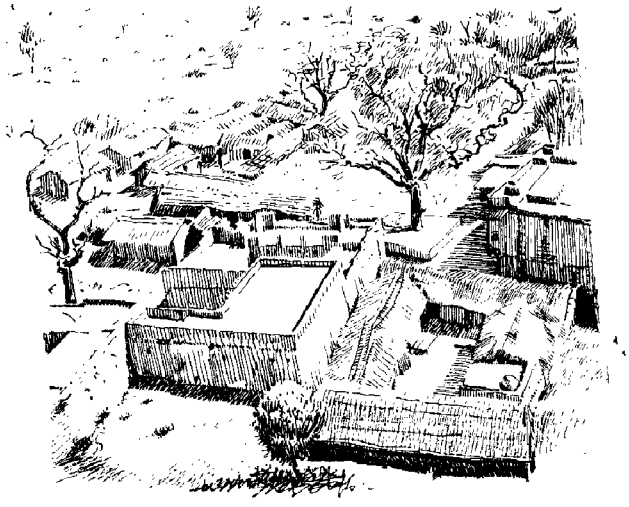
Residential Pattern

10. The houses in the village lie scattered. The communities of the village reside in different groups. The houses of Minas are at one place, those of Balais at another and of Brahm Bhats (Jagas) at a third place. The houses of Jogis, Dholis, Brahmins and the Mahajan lie in the middle of the village. The houses of Khatis are located near those of Minas in the village proper. The Malis reside in Ladoo Ki Dhani and Ganglya Ki Dhani. All the houses are separated by sufficient space in between. There are kutcha lanes and bye-lanes which lead from one place to another. Only 42 houses are situated in the village proper, the rest numbering 84 lie scattered over the 29 *dhanis* (hamlets) which are named after the ancestors of their present occupants as indicated below :

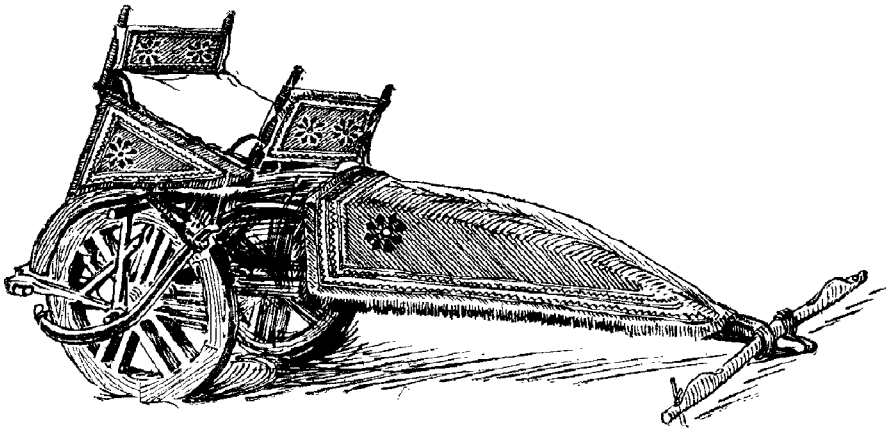
1.	Dhani of Bhairon s/o Jiwan Mina	3
2.	,, Barda s/o Giarsi Mina	1
3.	,, Soso s/o Bhanwaria Mina	3
4.	,, Sukhdeo s/o Soma Mina	4
5.	,, Mangla s/o Jiwan Mina	2
6.	,, Nangi s/o Bardya Mina	5
7.	,, Bhanwaria s/o Nanda Mina	1
8.	,, Manglo s/o Parma Mina	3
9.	,, Nanu s/o Jhuntha Mina	2
10.	,, Balu s/o Mangla Mina	4
11.	,, Mangilal s/o Mangu Mina	8
12.	,, Kuro s/o Chuna Mina	3
13.	,, Ladoo s/o Godu Mali	1



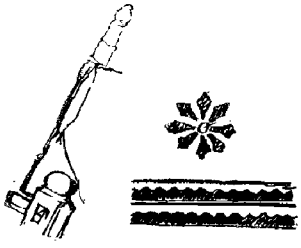
A Mina enjoying a camel ride with his wife



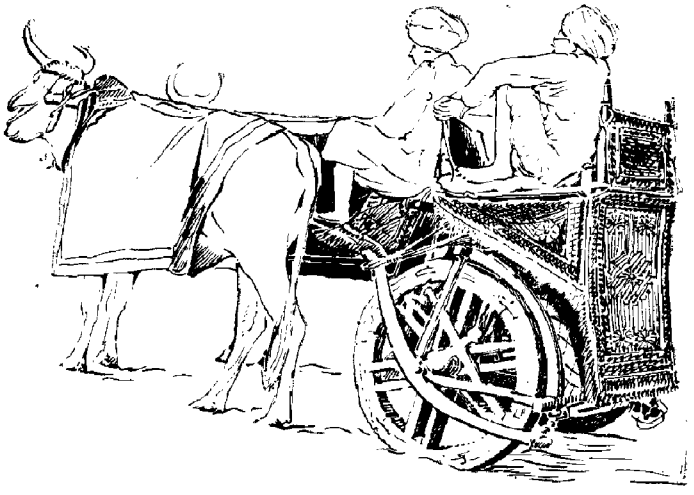
Another view of the village. Note the platform (around a tree) locally called *hathai* or *chopal*



A light vehicle, called *bahli* drawn by a pair of bullocks



Decorations over the carriage



The village patel having a joy ride on his *bahli*

14.	,,	Bhairon s/o Narain Mina	3
15.	,,	Narain s/o Khemla Mina	2
16.	,,	Kana s/o Sheobux Mina	5
17.	,,	Lachma s/o Chothu Mina	1
18.	,,	Ramsahai s/o Hardeo Mina	1
19.	,,	Kano s/o Harla Mina	4
20.	,,	Rewad s/o Rambux Mina	5
21.	,,	Bhura s/o Dhola Mina	2
22.	,,	Mahadeo s/o Nanu Mina	3
23.	,,	Bhanwaria s/o Chotu Mina	6
24.	,,	Mangal s/o Bhura Mina	1
25.	,,	Mohan s/o Ramdeo Mina	2
26.	,,	Chatru s/o Kajod Mina	1
27.	,,	Chotu s/o Sukha Brahmin	3
28.	,,	Jalu s/o Ramdeo Brahmin	1
29.	,,	Ganglya s/o Ramdeo Mali	4
		Total	84

11. The *dhanis* are situated at distances varying from half to one km from each other. They are located near the wells in the fields belonging to the households for the obvious reason that the occupants can easily look after their farms.

Communication

12. The bullock cart forms the back-bone of communication in the village. It is a most useful vehicle for agricultural purposes and for transport of goods to the market. There are a few decent light vehicles drawn by a pair of bullocks, known as *bahli*, meant exclusively for riding. The camel is also a very useful mode of communication in the village. It is used for riding and also for transporting goods. Many people in the village own and use cycles.

Public Places

13. The most important place where the village people assemble every day and on special occasions is the village *hathai* or *Chopal* which is situated in the centre of the village under a big Neem tree. A platform has been constructed around the tree which can accommodate about 50 persons and the open space surrounding it can accommodate about 100 persons more.

14. There are two temples of Shiva, one on the eastern side of the village and the other on the southern, the distance between the two being 1 km. On the northern side of the village, near a hill top, is situated the temple of goddess Burmani Devi. On one side of the same hill, some 25 paces downwards, is a small platform dedicated to goddess Shitla Mata. At the foot of the hill, behind the habitations of the Minas, lie platforms dedicated to Bhairon and the celebrated saint Bhartrihari. On the southern side of the village, at the foot of the hill, is the temple of Gopalji. There are no monument and historical relics in the village.

Crematorium

15. There is a common crematorium at a distance of about one and a half kilometer from the village near the bank of the Kukas river. All the communities of the village burn their dead at this place. No particular part of the crematorium is specified for any particular community.

Sources of Water

16. The main source of supply of drinking water in the village are two wells, one near the Shiva temple and the other inside the village *bagichi* (small garden). The Panchayat Samiti has constructed soak pits near each of these wells which absorb the spill over and help in the drainage and maintenance of sanitation. Apart from these wells there are 40 others situated in various hamlets. As the water in all these wells is sweet it is used for all purposes.

Welfare and Administrative Institutions

17. The Primary School is housed in a room recently constructed by the Village Panchayat. A proposal for construction of a *panchayatghar* is also under consideration, the site for which lies adjacent to the school building. For the present, the Panchayat meets at Shri Mangal Patel's house situated near the *hathai*.

Market

18. The village shop is also situated in the vicinity of the *hathai* where articles of daily use are

available. People however make their bulk purchases from Amber.

Origin and History of the Village

19. The origin of village Nangal Soosawatan is inseparably connected with the history of the Minas who are the predominant community of this place.

20. The Minas are considered to be one of the aboriginal tribes of the country and one of the oldest inhabitants of Rajasthan. In the Cambridge History of India it has been stated, "To the oldest stratum of Pre-Dravidian blood probably belonged the savages termed by the ancient poets, Villavar (bowmen) and Minavar (fishers) of whom the former may possibly be identical with the modern Bhils while the latter may have the descendants in the Minas." (Vol. I Page 539)

21. The Minas themselves claim noble descent from the *matsya avtar* or the fish incarnation of Vishnu. They also trace their origin from the Vedic Kshatriyas and cite the Vedic word *mehna*, meaning prowess, in support of their contention.

22. There is a legend also current in the village in regard to the origin of the Minas. It is said that when Parshuram resolved to annihilate Kshatriyas from the earth, countless Kshatriyas took to agriculture and animal husbandry to save themselves from slaughter. Whenever they were asked whether they were Kshatriyas they would invariably exclaim in reply "Main Na, Main Na", that is "I am not, I am not". This is how the Mina community is believed to have come into existence.

23. Col. Tod in his Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan while dealing with the 'Annals of Amber' observes, "The original, pure, unmixed race of Meenas, Mynas or Mainas of Dhoondar, were styled 'Puchwarra', and sub-divided into five grand tribes. Their original home was in the range of mountains called *kali-kho*, extending from Ajmer nearly to the Jumna, where they erected Amber, consecrated to *Amba*, the universal mother, or, as the Minas style her *Ghatta Rani*, 'Queen of the pass.' In this range was Khogong, Mauch and many other large towns, the chief cities of communities. But even so late as Raja Baharmull Cuchwaha, the contemporary of Baber and Hemayoon, the Meenas had retained or regained great power, to the mortification of their Rajpoot superiors. One of these independent communities was at the ancient city of Naen, destroyed by Baharmull, no doubt with the aid of his Mogul connections. An old historical distich thus records the power of the Meena princes of Naen :

"Bawan Kote Chappan Durwaza
Myna Murd Naen Ca Raja
Booro Raj Naen Ko
Jub bhoos myn bhutto mango"

That is "there were fiftytwo strongholds, and fiftysix gates belonging to the manly Myna, the Raja of Naen, whose sovereignty of Naen was extinct, when even of chaff (*bhoosa*) he took a share". If this is not an exaggeration, it would appear that, during the distractions of the first Islamite dynasties of Delhi,the Meenas had attained their primitive importance. Certainly from Pujoon, the vassal chieftain of Prithi Raj to Baharmull the contemporary of Baber, the Cuchwahas had but little increased their territory. When this latter prince destroyed the Meena sovereignty of Naen, he levelled its half hundred gates and erected the town of Lowain (now residence of Rajavat Chief) on its ruins". (Vol. II pages 282-283)

24. Prior to this Col. Tod had written : "A case of simple usurpation originated the Cuchwaha state of Amber; but it would be contrary to precedent if the event were untinged with romance. As the episode, while it does not violate probability, illustrates the condition of the aboriginal tribes, we do not exclude the tradition. On the death of Sora Singh, prince of Nurwar, his brother usurped the government, depriving the infant, Dhola Rae, of his inheritance. His mother, clothing herself in mean apparel,put the infant in a basket, which she placed on her head, and travelled westward until she reached the town of Khogong (within five miles of the modern

Jeipoor), then inhabited by the Meenas. Distressed with hunger and fatigue, she had placed her precious burden on the ground, and was plucking some wild berries, when she observed a hooded serpent rearing its form over the basket. She uttered a shriek, which attracted an itinerant Brahmin, who told her to be under no alarm, but rather to rejoice at this certain indication of future greatness in the boy. But the emaciated parent of the founder of Amber replied, "What may be in futurity I heed not, while I am sinking with hunger"; on which the Brahmin put her in the way of Khogong, where he said her necessities would be relieved. Taking up the basket, she reached the town, which is encircled by hills, and accosting a female, who happened to be a slave of the Meena chieftain begged any menial employment for food. By direction of the Meena Rani, she was entertained with the slaves. One day she was ordered to prepare dinner, of which Ralunsi, the Meena Raja, partook, and found it so superior to his usual fare, that he sent for the cook, who related her story. As soon as the Meena Chief discovered the rank of the illustrious fugitive, he adopted her as his sister, and Dhola Rae as his nephew. When the boy had attained the age of Rajput manhood (fourteen), he was sent to Delhi, with the tribute of Khogong,to attend instead of the Meena. The young Cuchwaha remained there five years, when he conceived the idea of usurping his benefactor's authority. Having consulted the Meena *dhadi* or bard, as to the best means of executing his plan, he recommended him to take advantage of the festival of the *dewali*, when it is customary to perform the ablutions *en masse*, in a tank. Having brought a few of his Rajpoot brethren from Delhi, he accomplished his object, filling the reservoirs in which the Meenas bathed with their dead bodies. The treacherous bard did not escape; Dhola Rae put him to death with his own hands, observing, "He who had proved unfaithful to one master, could not be trusted by another". He then took possession of Khogong. Soon after, he repaired to Deosah, (about 30 miles from Jeipoor), a castle and district ruled by an independent chief of the Birgoojur tribe of Rajpoots, whose daugther he demanded in marriage. "How can this be", said the Birgoojur, "when we are both Suryavanshi and one hundred generations have not yet separated us ?". But being convinced that the necessary number of descents had intervened, the nuptials took place, and as the Birgoojur had no male issue, he resigned his power to his son-in-law. With the additional means thus at his disposal, Dhola determined to subjugate the Seroh tribe of Meenas, whose chief, Rao Natoo, dwelt at Mauch. Again he was victorious, and deeming his new conquest better adapted for a residence than Khogong, he transferred his infant government thither, changing the name of Mauch, in honour of his great ancestor, to Ramgurh.

25. "Dhola subsequently married the daugther of the prince of Ajmer, whose name was Maroni. Returning on one occasion with her from visiting the shrine of Jamwahi Mata, the whole force of the Meenas of that region assembled, to the number of eleven thousand, to oppose his passage through their country. Dhola gave them battle; but after slaying vast numbers of his foes, he was himself killed, and his followers fled. Maroni escaped, and bore a posthumous child, who was named Kankul, and who conquered the country of Dhoondar. His son, Maidul Rao, made a conquest of Amber from the Soosawut Meenas, the residence of their chief, named Bhatto, who had the title of Rao, and was head of the Meena confederation. He also subdued the Nandla Meenas, and added the district of Gatoor-Gatti to his territory.

26. "Hoondeo succeeded, and, like his predeccessors, continued the warfare against the Meenas. He was succeeded by Koontul, whose sway extended over all the hill tribes round his capital. Having determined to proceed to Bhutwar where a Chohan prince resided, in order to marry his daughter, his Meena subjects, remembering the former fatality, collected from all quarters, demanding that, if he went beyond the borders, he should leave the standards and *nakarrs* of sovereignty in their custody. Koontul refusing to submit, a battle ensued, in which the Meenas were defeated with great slaughter, which secured his rule throughout Dhoondar.

27. "Koontul was succeeded by Pujoon, a name well known to the chivalrous Rajpoot and immortalised by Chund, in the poetic history (Rasa) of the emperor Prithi Raj". (Vol. II Pages 281-282).

28. At another place Tod has again written about the Meenas as follows :

"The immunities and privileges preserved to the Meenas best attest the truth of the original induction of the exiled prince of Nurwar to the sovereignty of Amber; and it is a curious fact, showing that such establishment must have been owing to adoption, not conquest, that this event was commemorated on every installation by a Meena of Kalikho marking with his blood the *teeka* of sovereignty on the forehead of the prince. The blood was obtained by incision of the great toe, and though, like many other antiquated usages, this has fallen into desuetude here (as has the same mode of inauguration of the Ranas by the ondeva Bhils), yet both in the one case and in the other, there cannot be more convincing evidence that these new outcastes were originally the masters. The Meenas still enjoy the most confidential posts about the persons of the princes of Amber, having charge of the archives and treasure in Jeygurh; they guard his person at night, and have that most delicate of all trusts, the charge of the *rawula*, or seraglio. In the earlier stages of Cuchwaha power, these their primitive subjects had the whole insignia of state, as well as the person of the prince, committed to their trust, but presuming upon this privilege too far, when they insisted that, in leaving their bounds, he should leave these emblems, the *nakarras* and standards with them, their pretensions were cancelled in their blood. The Meenas, Jats and Kirars, are the principal cultivators, many of them holding large estates." (Vol. II Pages 347-48).

29. The Cambridge History of India gives the following account of conquest of Amber from the Minas, which corroborates the story of Col. Tod : "The Kachwahas of Amber and Jaipur claim descent from the ancient Rajputs of Gwalior of that tribe. Tej Karan known as Dulha Rai or the bridegroom prince, who was eighth in descent from Vajradaman, the first Kachwaha prince of Gwalior, left that city for some undetermined reason, in charge of his sister's son, a Parihar who usurped the throne. Tej Karan married the daughter of the Badgujar Rajput chief of Dausa and inherited the principality then known as Dhundhar from the Dhundh river. Maidal Rao, Tej Karan's grandson, took the fortress of Amber from the Meena chief Bhato and made it his capital. The Amber State, as it was known after the establishment of that town, as the capital, was of little importance until the reign of Humayoon." (Vol. III Page 539)

30. There appears to be some difference of opinion amongst the historians in regard to the events that happened in the last phase of the life of Dhola Rae as would appear from the following account given in the Settlement Report of the Jaipur State, 1930 : "Before the establishment of the Kachwaha clan of Rajputs, the tract was in possession of petty Meena Chieftains, and Jamwa Ramgarh Pargana was then known to be 'Mach'. Dhola Rae, the founder of the Jaipur Raj, after the conquest of Dausa in 967 A.D. concentrated his attention on the acquisition of this Pargana. In the beginning he was on several occasions unsuccessful in his encounters against the Meena chiefs. And once he met with a very powerful humiliation when he was going on his way towards Jodhpur for marriage. The legend goes that on the arrival of his marriage party in the pass through the hills near Jamwa Ramgarh the Meena chief of the place being proud of his power and wealth sent word to Dhola Rae that the party might be allowed to pass unmolested provided the sounding of the musical trumpets and drums accompanying the party should be stopped while passing through his territory, or he (Dhola Rae) should gird himself up for fight. This challenge the brave Rajput could not pocket, but in view of the impending marriage, which also could not be given up according to the adage "that a Rajput can leave his married wife but not a betrothed bride", he conceded to acquiesce in the terms of the Meena chief for the time being saying that on his return from marriage, he would,

of course, be ready for fight. Thus on their return from marriage the Rajputs under Dhola Rae had a hard contest with the Meenas in the narrow pass of the hills near Jamwa Ramgarh and the Meenas practically became victorious, Dhola Rae having become a fugitive. At this time the newly married bride prayed to the goddess, Barwa Mata of the hills, who being pleased appeared in person in the mid-night and gave word as a boon on the entreaties of the bride that her husband will come out successful in the next struggle. Accordingly Dhola Rae having mustered courage and forces again attacked the Meenas and conquered the whole of the 'Mach' pargana. After this he became a staunch devotee of the goddess and changed her name to Jamwa Mata (the goddess who gave him footing), at whose shrine the first shaving ceremony of each heir of the throne is being still done. He built a temple for the goddess on the hill and named the Mach town also after her.

31. "It has further been reported that half a century later *i. e.* near-about 1037 A. D. Hamji wrested Amber also from the Meenas. It is said that Amber was acquired with a strategem. The Meena chief with his relatives and caste fellows was enjoying a Gangore festival, in which drink was the most pet revelry. Finding this the most opportune time through a spy the Kachwaha chief with his followers made a sudden attack, and having killed the revellers occupied Amber. Some Meenas who were then faithful to the Kachwahas were given Jagirs in 1039 A.D. (St. 1096). These were Soosawat Minas and they established in separate villages within a radius of 5 km from Amber. Their descendants still hold them and are the trustworthy custodians of the keys of the forts and the State treasuries."

32. One of the Jagas (chroniclers who maintain the genealogical tables) who resides in Nangal Soosawatan stated that the village was founded several hundred years ago by one Sura grandson of Dharm Singh and son of Soosa. To commemorate the memory of his father Soosa, he named the village, 'Nangal Soosawatan'.

33. There is also a view that the term Soosawat is derived from the Sanskrit 'Sushashwat' meaning loyal or faithful and as the village was conferred in *jagir* on the Minas who remained faithful to the Kachwaha Ruler of Amber the village was named Nangal Soosawatan.

34. So we see that the village is in continuous occupation of the Soosawat Minas for the last ten centuries. A *patta* is in existence which was granted to Soosawat Minas in regard to Nangal Soosawatan in Samvat 1096 (1039 A.D.). It was renewed in their favour by Maharaja Dhiraj Bishansinghji in the Samvat 1101 (1044 A.D.) which was to remain valid upto Samvat 1745 (1688 A.D.). In this *patta* it had been specifically mentioned that 2600 bighas(1625 acres) of land was granted to the Minas of Nangal Soosawatan in lieu of their loyal services. In the records of *Diwani Hazuri* there are entries according to which the aforesaid land remained in possession of the Soosawat Minas, as a *jagir* from Samvat 1765 (1708 A.D.) to Samvat 1780 (1723 A.D.). In Samvat 1783(1726 A.D.) there is an entry according to which the said *jagir* was confirmed in favour of 35 Soosawat Minas upto Samvat 1789 (1729 A.D.). Subsequently, the descendants of these Minas remained in continued possession of the *jagir* land by way of lease which was renewed from time to time until the *jagirs* were abolished in 1954 after paying Rs. 13, 815 as compensation according to the Rajasthan Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagirs Act, 1952.

35. As for the settlement of the other communities in the village, the Brahm Bhats, also known as Jagas, appear to have been living with the Minas in the village down all these centuries as their chroniclers. The Balai households have been residing in the village for more than 20 generations. The households of Brahmins and the Khatis are reported to have been there for the last 15 generations. The Malis came later and they are there for the last 10 generations. The Mahajan has been in the village for 6 generations. The Dholis and the Jogis are recent arrivals having come to the village 15 and 7 years ago respectively.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

Ethnic composition

36. The Minas are found throughout Rajasthan but their concentration is mainly in Jaipur, Alwar, Bharatpur, Sawai Madhopur, Tonk and Bundi districts. The total number of Minas in Rajasthan as returned in the Census of 1891 was 5,36,917 which have increased to 11,55,620 in 1961. This shows that during the last 70 years this community has more than doubled itself recording an increase of 115%.

37. The Minas are divided into 12 *pals* or sects, 32 *tadas* or clans, and as many as 5,200 gotras.

38. In view of their occupation the Minas are divided into two classes viz, (i) the Zamindar or Baragoan Minas and (ii) the Chowkidar Minas. The former were employed as guards of the former rulers and their main occupation was agriculture. The latter, on the other hand, were considered criminals till 1947 and had to present themselves for daily attendance at the nearest Police Station under the Criminal Tribes Act. The two classes of the Minas are also called Puranabasi and Nayabasi respectively. After the abolition of the Criminal Tribes Act in August 1952 the stigma of criminality attached to the entire class of the Chowkidar or Nayabasi Minas in the eyes of the law disappeared. These people are now taking to the peaceful methods of livelihood, mostly agriculture and farm labour.

39. The Minas of Nangal Soosawatan are Soosawat Minas, which is an exogamous clan of Zamindar Minas. They are tall sturdy people with robust physique. They are fair complexioned and their women exemplify the saying 'health is beauty'. Courage, stamina, and endurance are the main characteristics of the Mina community.

40. The Brahmins of this village belong to Gautam and Joshi gotras, both of which are exogamous sub-castes. They are illiterate and carry on occupation of agriculture.

41. The Mahajan or the Bania of the village belongs to the Khandelwal caste and the Badjatya gotra, and carries on the traditional occupation of money lending and shop-keeping.

42. Malis were once divided into two classes, the Ban-Malis and the Phool-Malis. Ban-Malis were those who carried on occupation of agriculture and the Phool-Malis occupied themselves in gardening and sale of vegetables, fruits and flowers. The distinction, however, does not hold good now a days. The two classes are for all intents and purposes intermingled. They intermarry amongst themselves and do not differ in any respect from each other. The Malis of Nangal Soosawatan trace their origin to the Phool-Malis and belong to Chohan gotra.

43. Khatis whose traditional occupation is carpentry, trace their origin from Viswakarma and consider themselves as Brahmins. They are divided into 37 gotras. Khatis of this village belong to the Jangra gotra.

44. The term Jogi is derived from the Sanskrit *Yoga* or union and means the follower of *Yoga* or Patanjali school of philosophy. It is applied to all those who lead a life of asceticism. The modern Jogis form a religious fraternity founded by Saint Gorakhnath. They are also known as kan-phadas because they get their ears pierced and in the holes so formed they put thick ivory, clay, or bone earrings. They are also called Naths. In days gone by the Jogis led a celibate life, but now they do not appear to observe any restriction in regard to marriage. Marriage is, however, prohibited between members of the same clan or order. The Jogi of the village is the priest of the Shiva temples.

45. The Brahm Bhats, according to Rev. Sherring "are said to have sprung from the union

of a kshatriya father with a Vaishya woman, but another account is that their common ancestors were a Kshatriya father and a Brahmin widow, while by a third tradition the Brahm Bhats are said to be the progeny of a Brahmin father and a Sudra mother." § According to Sir Henry Elliot they were produced, to amuse Parwati, from the drops of sweat of Shiva's brow, but as they chose to sing his praises rather than hers, they were expelled from heaven and condemned to live a wandering life as forestrial bards. The Brahm Bhats are divided into a number of gotras. Out of the 7 households of Brahm Bhats of the village 4 belong to the Chordia gotra and the rest to the Dhhoroniya gotra.

46. Dholis claim descent from *Gandharvas* or demi-gods. They are variously called as Nakarchi, Damami, Bana, Jachak etc. The word Dholi is, however, derived from *dhol* or drum. Originally there were three sub-divisions of Dholis (1) Bhet, (2) Katu, and (3) Kalar. Subsequently other gotras were also formed viz, Joria who were originally Chohan Rajputs, Jibs who were Paliwal Brahmins, Ahedras who were Parihar Rajputs, Disars Devra Rajputs, Magar who were Sindal Rathods and Dangi also from Rathors. The Dholis of Nangal Soosawatan are called Ranas. They belong to Kalar gotra.

47. Balais are an untouchable caste, a little higher in status than the Chamar and the Bhambi. They generally follow the profession of weavers. Before 1947 the *Gaon Balai* commanded a certain amount of respectability, the person so designated being responsible for proclamation of important State orders concerning the village which he announced by a beat of drum or in a loud voice. The post of *Gaon Balai* no longer exists. In Nangal Soosawatan, however, the Balais do not work as weavers. They are occupied in agriculture and also earn their livelihood by agricultural labour. Out of 13 households in the village, 7 belong to Chopra gotra and the rest to Mordia gotra.

48. The hierarchy of status of various castes in horizontal segments stands as follows :

1. Brahmin
2. Mahajan
3. Mina
4. Khati and Mali
5. Brahm Bhat
6. Jogi
7. Dholi
8. Balai

House Type

49. Out of the total number of 192 houses in the village, 23 are pucka and 169 kutcha. Of the 23 pucka houses, 4 are double storeyed and 19 single-storeyed.

50. The double storeyed houses are big and spacious. Each one of them occupies an area more than 25 meters in length and 11 meters in breadth, and they are about 5 meters high. The walls of all these houses are made of rubble stone and mortar. In some of these baked bricks are also used. Roofs are made of stone slabs which are plastered with lime, or cement and concrete. The floor of one of these is cemented while those of the rest are kutcha, coated with mud and cowdung. The houses have no compound walls around them. At the main entrance on each side there is a pair of raised structure, known as *gokhras* about a meter high from the ground level and about one meter square. A circular arch is constructed over the *gokhras*. The main gate opens into a room about 4 meters by 2 meters and is known as *pol*. Adjoining the *pol* is either a courtyard or a verandah a part of which serves as a kitchen. Adjacent to the verandah are one or two rooms which are put to diverse uses. On the first floor of these houses there are two to four rooms, each approximately of the size 2 meters by 3 meters. The total height of the houses varies between 5 and 6 meters.

51. The single storeyed houses are smaller in size and less commodious. The general plan is, however, the same as that of the double storeyed ones. The main difference lies in the roof which, in the case of the single storeyed ones is made of a bamboo net work and covered with baked mud tiles known as *kelu*. The floors of all these houses

§ Census of Marwar 1891 Part III

are kutcha. On an average a single storey masonry house is 18 meter long, 6 meter broad and 4 meter high. The two houses of Khatis are provided with small sheds or workshops outside the main building, the dimensions of which are (3 by 3 meters). A single storeyed house costs about 5 to 7 thousand rupees while a double storeyed house 10 to 12 thousand rupees. All houses are usually repaired every second or third year.

52. The kutcha houses are made of mud walls and thatched roofs. The roofs of a few of these are covered with bamboo net work and burnt mud tiles. The dimensions of these cottages vary according to the economic condition of the owners. On an average a cottage occupies an area 12 meters by 6 meters. The floors are all kutcha and are coated with mud, cow dung and cow urine.

53. A *kutcha* house is often constructed on a raised earthen platform about half a meter in height above the ground. Some of the kutcha houses have a prominent porch covered with a thatched roof. A small room attached to the house on its right for storing fodder is constructed. On its left is a small thatched verandah in which a big charpoy known as *dolah* is placed. This serves for sitting and sleeping in summer. The main cottage is a one-room tenement in which on the left side of the entrance, is the hearth. The rest of the space serves as kitchen. The right side of the hut is crowded with sundry household goods like grain bins made of mud known as *kothi* and utensils and other equipment. At the back side of the hut, the projected roof is supported by three vertical wooden rods and one or two horizontal ones. The shade thus formed is used as a cattle pen.

54. The hamlets in the fields are protected by enclosures of dry thorny hedges. In some cases there are compounds of mud walls which are about one meter in height. In the kutcha houses there is no special arrangement for ventilation as is provided in the masonry buildings, for they do not need them. The tiled or thatched roofs permit necessary light and air. A kutcha house, on an average, costs approximately Rs. 2000/-

55. The position in regard to the availability of accommodation in the village is shown in the following table :

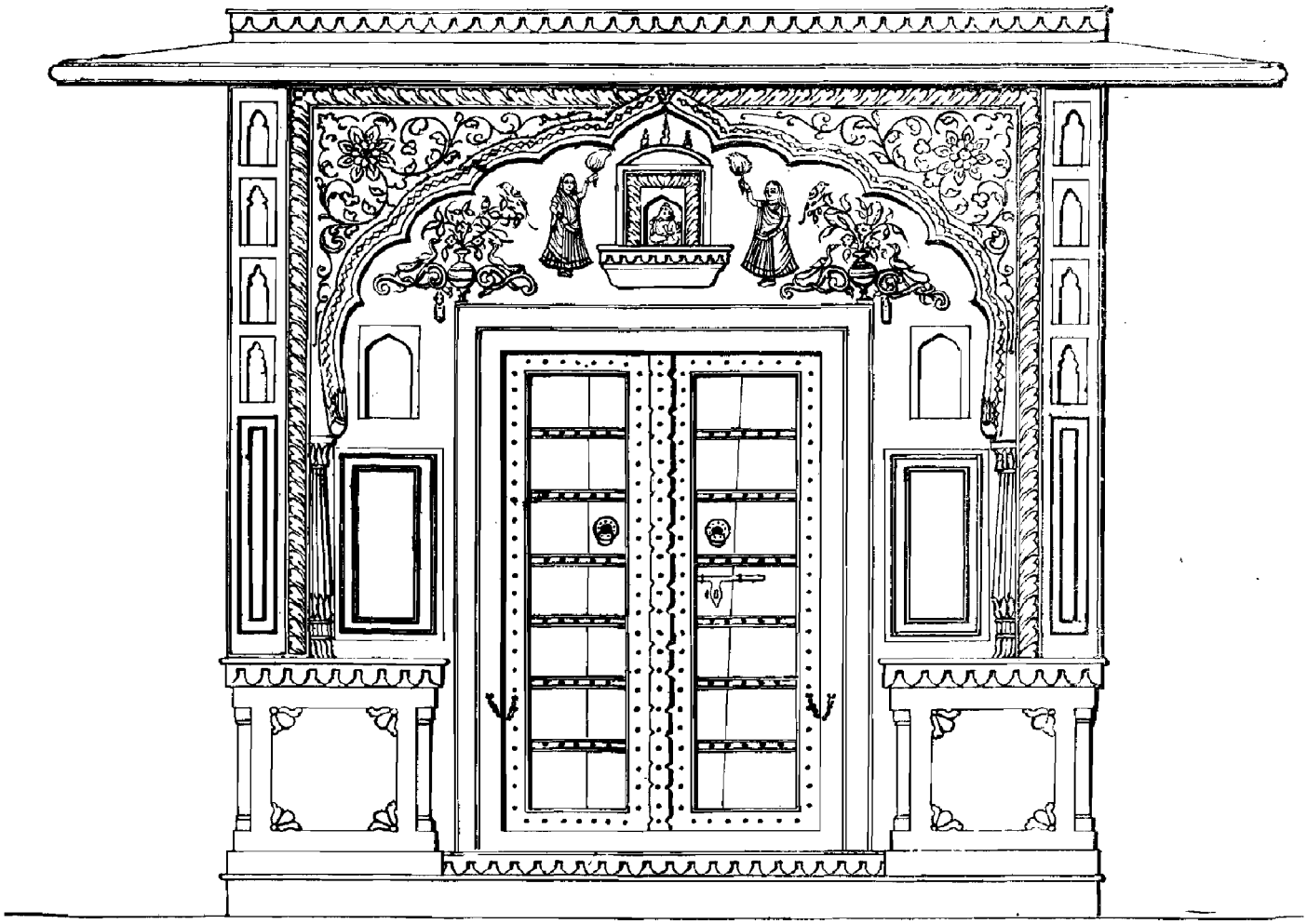
No. of Rooms	Total No. of Households	No. of households according to number of persons				
		1 person	2–3 persons	4–6 persons	7–9 persons	10 and over
Total	126	8	24	57	28	9
1 Room	54	7	13	21	12	1
2 Rooms	49	–	9	26	12	2
3 Rooms	15	1	1	8	3	2
4 Rooms	4	–	–	1	1	2
5 Rooms & over	4	–	1	1	–	2

There are only four households in the village having 5 or more rooms. 4 households have four rooms each, 15 three rooms each, 49 two rooms each and 54 one room each. The majority of households having 4 to 9 inmates live in houses consisting of two rooms each. From this it may be concluded that there is a lot of congestion and lack of privacy in the households.

56. There is no difference in the pattern of the houses of various communities. All the houses in the village have got the requisite number of charpoys locally called as *macha*. The well-to-do families possess big *dolahs*. Some Minas, the Mahajan and the Brahmins use bedsteads as those found in towns. A few Mina families and the Mahajan own even chairs and tables. There is hardly any family without a mirror. The position of households with regard to furniture and other ancillary articles is shown in the following table .



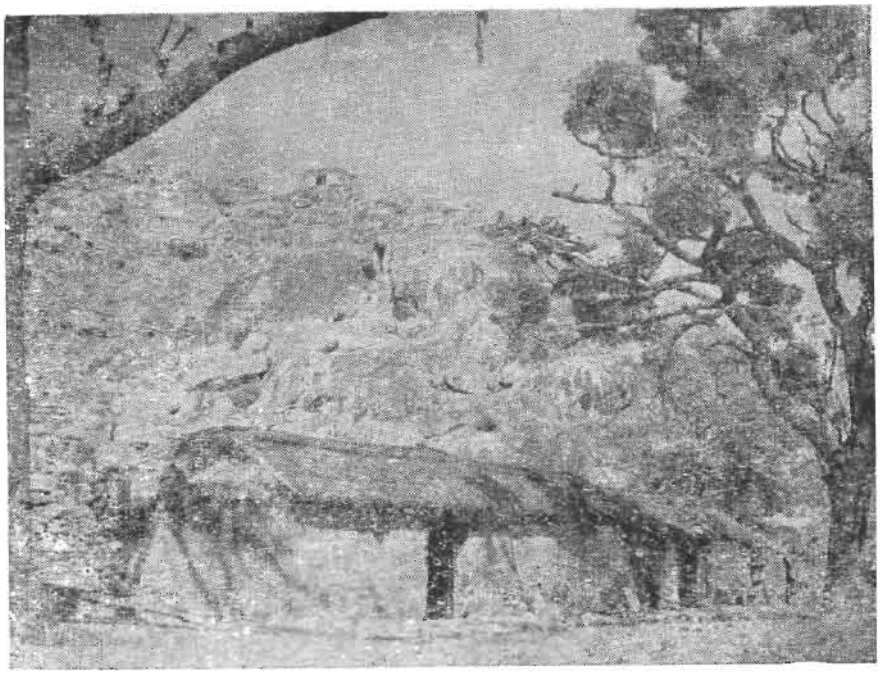
A double storeyed pucka house of Narayan Patel



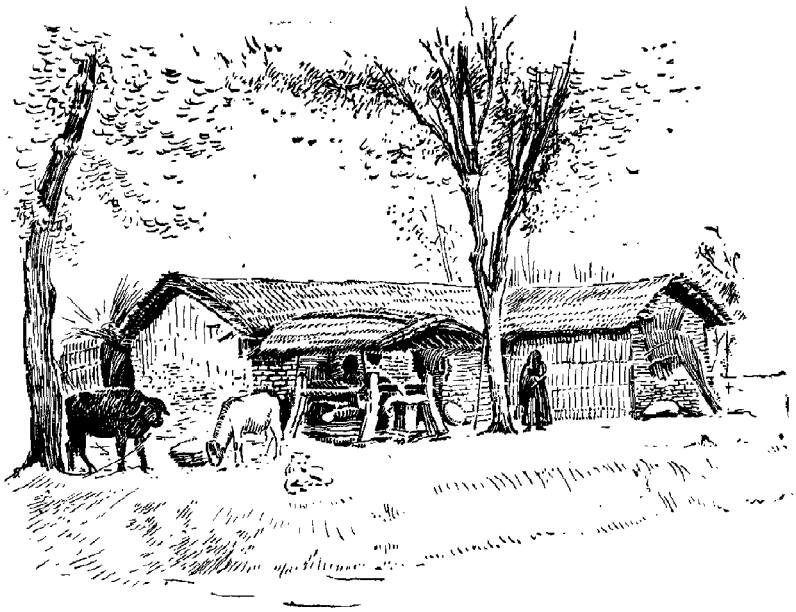
Decorated entrance of a pucka house

The *tibari* or porch-like structure adjacent to dwellings is used for diverse purposes.

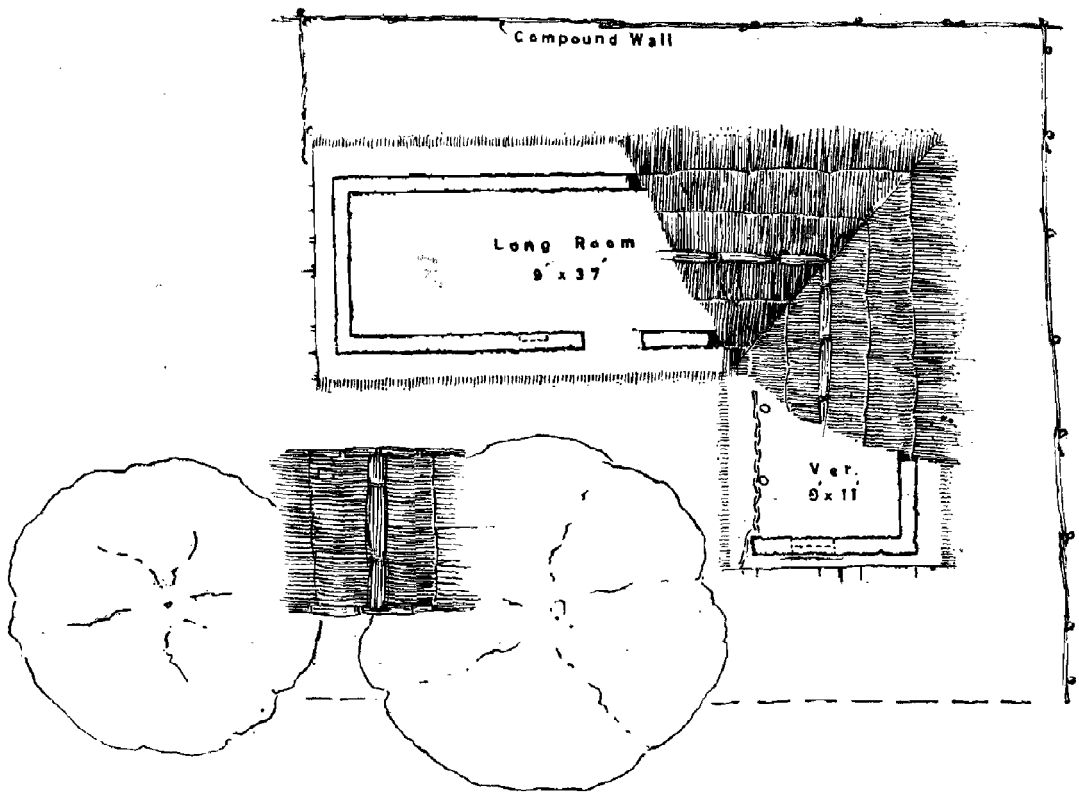




A kutcha house of a Mina



A typical house, the huge cot-like covered seat in the yard is used to receive guests.



The ground plan

Community	Number of households possessing							
	Bed stead	Charpoy	Chair	Table	Mirror	Bench	Stool	Chowki
1. Mina	10	87	5	5	87	3	1	6
2. Balai	–	13	–	–	8	–	–	–
3. Mali	–	6	–	–	6	–	–	–
4. Khati	–	5	–	–	5	–	–	–
5. Brahm Bhat	–	7	–	–	7	–	–	–
6. Brahmin	2	4	–	–	4	–	–	–
7. Mahajan	1	1	1	1	1	–	–	–
8. Dholi	–	2	–	–	2	–	–	–
9. Jogi	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	–

57. Apart from the grain bins every household is in possession of the following.

(a) Grinding stones.
(b) Mortar and Pestle.
(c) Winnowing Scoop.
(d) Baskets.
(e) Pots and Pans of various shapes and sizes.

Grinding stones : The *ghatti* as the grinding stones are locally called. consists of two circular disks each cut out of a single piece of stone about half a meter in diameter. The nether disk called *thadi* is crisscrossed with grooves which are cut into the stone with a chisel. The bottom of the upper disk called *pat* which is thicker and heavier is made rough by pock-marking it with pointed chisel. The nether disc is fixed in a circular frame made of clay. In the centre of the nether disc is fixed a string iron rod about 1 cm thick, called *kila*, round which the upper disc revolves. To allow the upper stone to rotate and also to feed the mill with grains, a hole a few cm wide is cut through the centre of the upper disc and a wooden piece known as *chakhli* is fitted in it. In the centre of the *chakhli* a small hole little bigger than the size of the rod is cut. About 3 cm away from the outer circumference of the *pat*, is firmly fixed a circular wooden handle about 3 cm in length and 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ cm in diameter. It is by the help of this handle that the mill is worked, the upper disc rotating round the rod fixed in the nether disc.

58. The woman doing the grinding sits on the floor one leg stretched out, the other drawn in the shin resting against the mill. The stone mill is turned with one hand while with other the woman pours grain in fistfuls in the hole in the centre of the upper stone. If the quantity to be ground is large, the mill is worked by two women who sit facing each other both gripping the handle with one hand and pouring grain into the mill with the other. The low ring of clay, which is built up around the mill, prevents flour pouring from the mill from spilling all over the floor.

59. For the grinding of spices, the woman use a stone slab called *silla* and a stone roller called *lodha*. The stone roller is worked with both hands.

Grain pestle : In a corner of the cottage a heavy stone mortar is permanently fixed. A heavy round piece of wood, about 7 cm thick, slightly thinner at the top with a notch around, a little below the middle to allow a firm grip; is used for pounding the grain in the mortar. The pestle is called *moosal*. The pounder sits before this hole filled with grain, one leg stretched out and supporting with its thigh the foot of the other bent leg. *Bajra* and *jowar* are the chief corn which are pounded with pestle this way to remove the husk for preparation of porridge known as *khichara*.

Winnowing scoop : The winnowing scoop is used for removing the bran. The scoop, or *chhajla* as it is called, is a rectangular piece with raised walls at three small sides like a shovel and made of tightly plaited reeds of a special kind of grass. The scoop is held in both hands and it is manipulated in such a way that the husk gathers at one side of the scoop, small grain or sand

collects at another corner, thus shifting grain from the chaff. Each morning,grain required for the meal of the family is either ground or pounded as it is not customary to keep flour longer than a day for it gets stale.

Baskets : Baskets of various sizes made of bamboo strips are used as containers for grain and other material. They are brought from Jamwa Ramgarh. These are circular and open and are tightly knit.

Pots and pans : The food is cooked in brass and earthen pots. The brass pots are known as *Degchi* or *patili* while the earthen ones *handis*. The vessels in which water is fetched from the well are of burnt clay and are called *ghara* or *matka*. The earthen-wares are brought in the village by a potter from Kunda, a nearby village. He is paid in cash by the villagers. The metal utensils are purchased either at Amber or Jaipur.

60. The well-to-do persons have also got brass pitchers called *charis* and brass pots called *lotas*. Mostly small *charis* are used for milking cows and buffaloe and the big ones for fetching water. The villagers also have brass or bronze plates, known as *thali*, in which meals are served. There are, however, some households in the village who cannot afford to purchase metal pots and plates and content themselves with earthen wares. The pans for kneading flour and baking loaves are made of clay. The laddle is of wood instead of brass or iron.

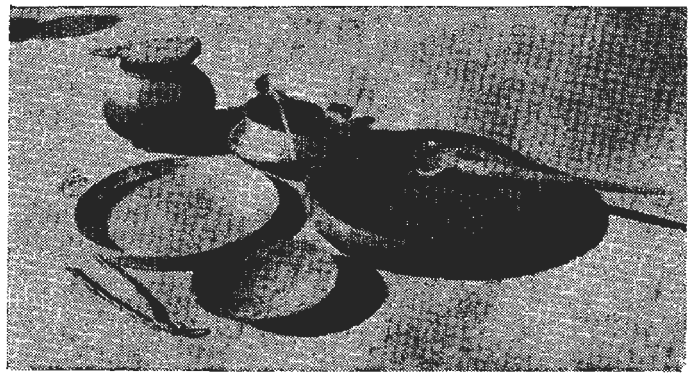
61. When women fetch water from the well they carry the heavy pot on their heads. As a head protection they use a ring made of neatly knotted cotton strings called *indhoni*.

Dress and Ornaments

62. The dress of men in the village consists of a *dhoti* or loin cloth, a *kurta* or a shirt, or a *bandi* (sleeved jacket) and a *safa* or a *pugree* (truban). The *dhoti* is 5 meters long and about 2 meters wide. It is tucked in front and at the back, both the legs being covered upto the shins. When the villagers go out in the fields the lower ends of the *dhoti* touching the shins are also tucked in at the waist in front to allow for free movement of legs. The *safa* consists of a long cloth 2 meters to 3 meters long and about a meter wide. It is wrapped round the head. Most of the Minas put on a white *safa* but the young get them dyed in rose, red, saffron or in some other colour. There is a convention that so long as a father is living, his sons will not put on white turbans. The *kurtas* and *bandis* are usually made of hand-spun and handwoven cloth or of coarse mill cloth. Most of the villagers use locally made shoes. The proximity of the village to the urban centres of Jaipur and Amber has brought into fashion shoes of modern type. Some of the elder villagers carry over their shoulder a sheet of cloth known as *pachheora* about 1 meter long and half a meter wide. This they use for covering chest in the winter and also for tying articles purchased from the market. The well-to-do put on thick, cotton or coarse woolen coats in winter. Boys below five are clad in *kurtas* and go naked below the waist and those above five wear *dhotis* or trouser. On ceremonial occasions and festivals people wear new and clean clothes. A bridegroom's dress consists of a red or saffron coloured *jama* or *angarkha* and a turban of similar colour. There is no particular dress prescribed for a headman. During mourning it is customary to put on white or black turbans.

63. During the monsoon the villagers equip themselves with woolen rain hoods locally called *choogis*. Umbrellas have also come into vogue.

64. Women dress themselves with *odhni*, *ghagra* (skirt) *kanchili* (corset) and *kurti*. *Odhnis* are of red or yellow colour, a meter long and half a meter wide. They are made of ordinary mill cloth. *Ghagras* are made of chintz. Mina women can be easily distinguished by their skirt which is usually made of deep red cloth with blue designs. The *kanchilis* and *kurtis* are of red or yellow colour. All these garments are home stitched or bought ready made at Amber or Jaipur. On festive occasions married women put on bright coloured attires stitched with imitation silver or golden laces. A bride's *odhni* and skirt are of bright crimson colour profusedly stitched with laces. Unmarried girls do not wear *kanchilis*. They put



Some household utensils



Hair style of
a Mina girl



Hair style of
a Mina woman

on *kurtis* only. Widows wear *loogras* of fast colour without laces. The women of the Mahajan and the Brahmin households put on saris and petticoats instead of the usual *ghagras* and *odhnis.*

65. There are shops in Jaipur which supply ready-made dresses but people prefer to get them tailored there. The usual stitching charges are as under :

Kurta; shirt	50 to 75 Paisa
Bandi	Re. 1/-
Pachheora	50 Paisa
Trousers	50 Paisa
Ghagra	1.50 Paisa
Kanchili	25 Paisa
Kurti	25 Paisa

The charges for ceremonial dresses vary according to the quality of the cloth and the work to be done thereon.

Hair Dressing

66. Till a few decades ago men of most of the communities, specially the Minas in the village used to grow beards and had moustaches and long hair. The beards are seldom to be seen now a days. Many persons, however, wear long hair on the scalp and at the back of the head which they allow to grow down to the neck. At the neck, hair is cut short with scissors. Some elderly people get their hair closely cropped at the scalp with razor leaving the usual tuft at the crown called *choti.*

67. Women, married as well as unmarried, do not wear their hair loose. Usually the hair is parted in the middle of the forehead, which is bedecked with *borla,* which is very small in case of the unmarried girls. It is studded with false or imitation stones in the case of married women. The hair plaits form a tuft at the back of the head which is joined by the string attached to the *borla.* These are knit together with the help of another string, usually black in colour which hangs down right upto the edge of *ghagra* near the ankles. This is called *ati.* The *ati* is worn only by married women. Unmarried girls twist their hair into a single band which ends in a knot. Women comb their hair once a week after washing them thoroughly either with Multani clay (fuller's earth) or hot butter milk or toilet soap. They fix their hair with ghee or sweet oil.

68. In matters of cleanliness, the Brahmins are easily at the top. They bathe regularly, wash their clothes daily in summer, and twice or thrice a week in winter. The standard of cleanliness of the Minas, the Malis, and the Mahajan is also fairly good. The Minas take their bath at the well and the women at home. Washing is done with cold water. Toilet soap of costlier variety is used for bathing. The rest of the village people such as the Jogis, the Balais, the Brahm Bhats and the Dholis are not very particular about hygiene. They are rather careless in matters of cleanliness and dress. In almost all their households, women wear tattered clothes which reflects on their economic condition.

Ornaments

69. No male villager save those of the Mina and the Mali communities puts on ornaments. The Minas are rather fond of them. The Malis like the Minas, wear gold or gold plated rings in the lobes of their ears. These are locally called *murkis.* They put on gold necklaces known as *balevada* and *phool patti,* a silver chain called *kanakti* round the waist, and silver anklets, called *kada* on right foot, as a mark of social distinction.

70. Women of all communities are fond of ornaments provided their parents and husbands can provide for them. The most important ornament in general use among all the communities is the silver *borla* which is a symbol of wed-lock (*sohag*). Unmarried girls may also wear it but no married woman goes without it. Round the neck they wear *hansli* or *khungali* a large silver ring, gold *pachmania* or *timania.* Round the forearms they wear a number of silver ornaments such as *nogri, poohchi, bangadi, gajra.* On the upper arm they put on an ornament known as *bajuband.* On the waist women wear silver *tagri or kanakti* weighing from 20 to 50 tolas. Down the legs they wear a number of anklets known as *kadlas,*

tankas, *nevris*, *anolas* etc. The ornaments are purchased from certain shops of gold and silver smiths at Jaipur who specially cater to the need of these villagers. The prices of each item vary according to quantity and quality of gold or silver.

Tattooing

71. Tattooing is very common among the villagers of Nangal Soosawatan. Men and women of all communities get themselves tattooed to some extent. The Minas are especially fond of it. Men have their names, figures of some deity such as Hanuman, or a flower pot tattooed on their fore-arms. Women get themselves tattooed on their hands, feet, cheeks and some even on their chests. The most common designs are those of dots, squares, flowers, scorpion, or a damsel carrying a water pot on her head.

72. Tattooing is done by professional tattooers who visit the village periodically. A pigment is prepared by mixing juice of the Bhilawa plant (*Semexarpus anacardium*) with soot. The skin is pricked with a needle and the juice rubbed into the wounds. It causes swelling for some days. It is, therefore, avoided during the monsoon to prevent infection.

Food and Drink

73. The villagers generally take their meals three times a day. In the morning before they set out for the day's work they take a bread of barley or maize with *matha* (butter milk) or *rabdi* prepared during the previous evening by boiling barley, jowar or maize flour in *matha*, as breakfast. The people are gradually getting addicted to tea and it has now become a habit of many villagers to take a cup or two of strong tea with breakfast. At noon they eat a loaf of barley, maize or bajra according to the season with *chatni* which is a preparation of red chillis, onion and salt or a simple green chilli. In the evening they take *roti* with some cooked vegetable such as *methi* (fenugreek) *palak* (spinach) *mooli* (radish) *gajar* (carrot), or potatoe. Some of these vegetables are grown in the village farms while others are brought form Amber. Children are breast fed till they are about an year old. Therefore goat's or cow's milk is given to them till they get strong enough to take solid food.

74. The Mahajan, the Brahmin and the Mali families are strict vegetarians. Members of other communities, namely, the Minas, the Jogi, the Brahm Bhats and the Dholis often take non-vegetarian food. They relish the meat of goat, sheep, wild boar and partridge. The Minas of Nangal Soosawatan abstain from the flesh of hare which is a taboo for them. The Balais are non-vegetarians though they can seldom afford to take a non-vegetarian diet.

75. Tobacco and *bidis* are used by persons of all the communities in plenty. They smoke tobacco in earthen pipes. Some members of the Mina community use *hukkas* but it is the *bidis* that are most common in the village. Some old woman too are seen enjoying *bidis*. Young women, however, eschew smoking.

76. The Brahmin and the Mahajan abstain from drink. Rest of the communities specially the Minas are greatly addicted to alchoholic beverages. It is not only considered a welcome stimulent but also an important ingredient in their religious and social rituals. It is an essential offering and is consumed in large quantities at weddings and post funeral feasts. It is indispensible at caste dinners. There can not be a real feast day to them without a drink.

77. Opium is seldom taken except by some old and aged persons. It is given in very small quantities by mothers to their infant children to keep them asleep while they are at work.

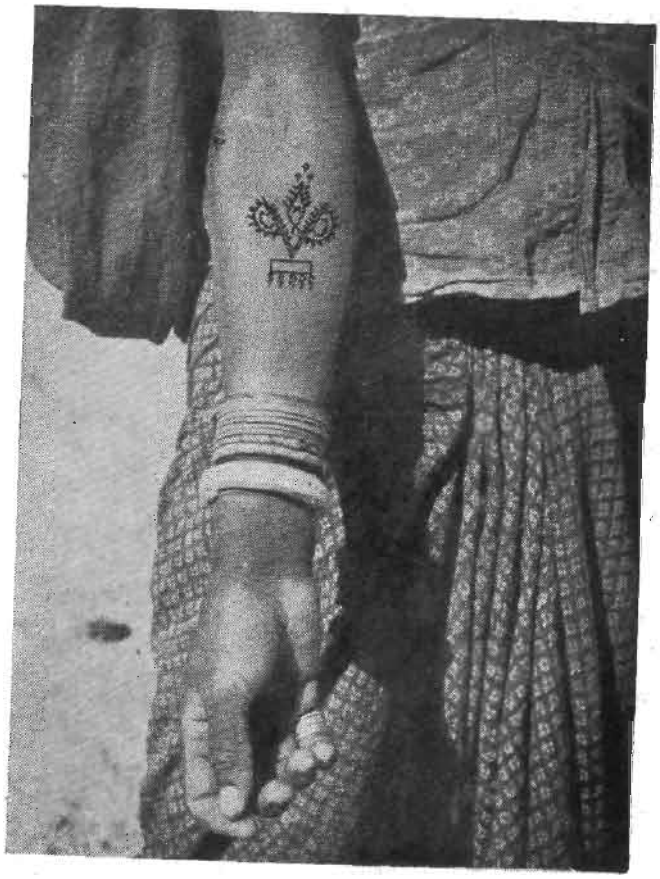
Life cycle

78. Birth and Childhood : A girl picks up knowledge of menstruation and sex life from older girls and women or from observing the menstruation of her mother. Menstruation does not usually begin before a girl is fourteen.

79. No special rites are performed on the occasion of the first menstruation nor is the girl kept in seclusion. She may go out and work in



A Mina woman wearing ornaments





Tattoo marks on arms

the field and speak to her relatives. She is considered unclean during these days and may not touch food and water pots in the house.

80. The same rules are observed at every subsequent menstruation. The girl sleeps apart during this period. After menstruation she takes bath before she is permitted to take up her household duties. During his wife's menstruation the husband abstains from sexual intercourse with her. He does not even touch her as she is considered unclean. These rules are observed by the members of all the communities in the village.

81. Pregnancy : No special rites are observed in any of the communities during the pregnancy. Pregnancy is detected by the ceasing of menses, morning sickness, aversion for food, a tendency to spite every now and then and a gradual change of pigment in the aerola and the thickening of the nipples. A pregnant woman carries on her ordinary household work and there are no special rules to be observed by a pregnant woman. Sexual intercourse is not practised in the advanced stages of pregnancy and during the three or four months after child birth.

82. Birth : There is no trained midwife in the village. Her functions are performed by the elderly women in each community. In cases of complication or a protracted delivery, however, a nurse is called from Amber.

83. A birth generally takes place at the husband's house. The woman in labour is made as comfortable as possible. The women attendants assist her by massaging her limbs, waist and back.

84. The news of the new arrival is announced by the beating of a *thali*-a brass plate, if it is a boy and the winnowing fan if it is a girl.

85. The umbilical cord is not cut until the *phul* or *anwal* (placenta) has come out. If there is some delay in its coming out, the woman is given a copper coin, which she holds fast between her teeth. It is believed that this helps in after birth. When the placenta has at last come out the woman attendant ties the umbilical cord of the baby with a string some 15 cm from its origin and cuts it with a knife or some other sharp piece of iron. Some times even a sickle is used. The piece of cord left on the baby is allowed to dry which falls of after a week or so and is preserved. It is believed that a little of the dried cord rubbed in the mother's milk or water is a sure cure of sore eyes of the child. The *anwal* is buried deep near the house or in the cattle shed.

86. In the meantime warm water is prepared for giving a bath to the infant. The woman attendant bathes the child and administers to it a concoction known as *janam ghutti*. This purges the system of the infant within a very short time. Then the woman attendant lays the child by the side of mother who feeds it with breast milk. If the mother's breasts are dry which is seldom the case, the child is fed on a cow or goat's milk. The mother remains confined to bed for a week or so. Thereafter on an auspicious day she is given a bath. Three or four weeks later another auspicious day is fixed in consultation with the Pandit (astrologer) at Amber for the mother to perform the *Surya pooja* and the *Jal Pooja*. On this day the mother is given a bath and is bedecked with ornaments. *Menhdi* is applied to her hands and feet. She offers worship to the Sun and is taken to the well by the women of the relatives and neighbours to the accompaniment of songs and the beating of a drum. The well is worshipped by offering *kunkum* (red vermilion), rice, *moong*, *gur*, flowers etc. to it. The mother is made to take round of the well seven times. The child is not carried to the well but left behind in charge of some elderly relative. It is given a name on this day.

87. During the period of convalescence, the mother is fed on some nourishing diet such as *dalia*, *khichri* and *roti* with copious amount of fresh ghee. Before this, that is a day or two after the birth has taken place, she is fed on *sonth* (dried ginger) and *ajwayan* (seeds of the dill plant). These articles are crushed into fine powder and separately mixed with baked flour, sugar and ghee and are given to the mother for eating. Sometimes the preparation is given in the form of sweetballs *ladoo* and given for many days. The special diet

tones up the system of the mother and makes her fit to resume her household duties in a very short time. Until the Sun is worshipped, the mother is deemed unclean and is not permitted to touch the kitchen utensils and water pots.

88. In case of a birth of male child jaggery or sweets are distributed among the caste people. The Minas celebrate the event by holding a drinking bout.

89. When the male child becomes three years old he is taken for his first ceremonial hair cut to the temple of the Sitla Mata in the village or to the temple of the deity at Chaksu, which is at a distance of 29 km from Jaipur. The ceremonial cutting of the hair for the first time is called *jadula* and is performed to the accompaniment of folk songs and the beating of drums.

90. When a Brahmin boy attains the age of seven, he is given the *janeo* or *yagyopavit*. On this occasion *havan* is performed and the sacred thread is put round the neck of the boy with some ritual. The child then goes to the households in the village for a symbolic begging singnifying the boys entry into the *Brahmacharya Ashram*.

91 The *janeo* ceremony among the Mahajan and the Khatis is generally performed at the time of marriage.

92. Marriage : In all the communities of the village marriages of boys and girls are arranged by their parents. No bride price is taken or given except among the Minas, the Balais and the Malis. The Mahajan and the Brahmins consider a sin to accept any thing from the bridegroom's party. In other castes the amount of bride price is not fixed. It is given and accepted according to the financial position of the parties and is usually spent on the celebration of the marriage.

93. Betrothal : When a boy has attained the age of about 14 years and a girl the age of 12 years, the parents think of getting them married and start negotiations.

94. All the Minas of Nangal Soosawatan belong to the Soosawat gotra. No marriage can, therefore, take place locally and they have to contract marital relations outside the village.

95. Among the Mahajans, Khatis, Brahm Bhats, and Balais the gotras of the father and mother are exogamous. No marriage can thus take place in the members of the same gotra. In the Mahajan community the gotras of the father's mother and mother's mother are also excluded.

96. When both parties agree to the engagement called *sagai*, *tika* is sent from the girl's side to the boy through the village barber. This consists of a rupee, a *bheli* of *gur*, a coconut and a full dress for the boy. These articles are presented at an auspicious hour, generally in the afternoon, in the presence of near relatives and friends. This ceremony confirms the betrothal. In return, the boy's father sends some copras, *batasas* (drops of sugar), and some jaggery for the girl.

97. Sometime after the engagement, a date for the marriage is fixed in consultation with a Pandit. If, however, the boy and the girl have not attained maturity, the wedding is postponed for a year or two, otherwise it follows soon after the betrothal. Most of the marriages are celebrated on Akshaya Tritiya, the third day of Baisakh, or Bhadlia Navmi, the ninth day in bright half of the month of Asadh, in summer and on Basant Panchmi in Magh in the winter season. Sometimes marriages are performed amongst some communities on Janmasthami also in the month of Bhadon (August). No marriage can, however, take place amongst the higher castes, namely, of the Brahmin and the Mahajan from Asadh Sudi 11 to Kartik Sudi 11 as during this period gods are believed to be asleep and taking rest.

98. Lagan : The date of marriage having been decided upon, the family barber takes the formal letter of invitation called *lagan* from the bride's father to the bridegroom's father. The *lagan* is received at a function when the near relations and friends assemble. From that day

the bridegroom and the bride are anointed with turmeric paste *(pithi)* at their respective places. This goes on until the day of marriage.

99. The wedding procession or *barat* leaves the groom's village so as to reach the bride's place early in the morning of the day fixed for the marriage. The wedding party is accompanied by a drummer or a piper or both. If the bride groom's father is wealthy he hires a brass band which is called *angrezi baja*. In the afternoon the party proceeds from its place of stay to the bride's house. The bridegroom puts on special garments the *Jama* and the headgear and also some ornaments. At the auspicious time the marriage ceremony is performed. Prior to this, however, the brideprice (*reet*) is paid by the bridegroom's father to the bride's father. The religious rites are performed by a Brahmin according to the common Hindu custom. Among the Brahmins and the Mahajan seven *pheras* are gone through, while other communities content themselves with four only. No marriage can take place among the same gotras or among the different castes. The gotra of father and mother is avoided. After the *phera* ceremony, the bridegroom and his party return to *janiwasa*, the place of their stay, with the bride who is soon sent back to her mother's place with a present of some dates, *batashas* etc. This is called *god bharna*. The next day a marriage feast is held and on the third day the *barat* returns with the bride.

100. On the next day, threads which were previously tied to the arms of the bride and the bridegroom on the day of *Ganesh pooja* immediately after the *lagan* ceremony, are untied. The bride and the bridegroom are made to play what is known as *Jua Jui* (gamble) in which they search for the ring or the coins thrown inside a shallow pen filled with milk and water. This provides fun to the women, specially when the bridegroom and the bride are of tender age. They are then taken to the temple of Burmani Devi, Sitla Mata and Bhairunji. After a couple of days the bride is sent back to her father's place. If she is immature the *gauna* ceremony is performed after an year or two, otherwise the bride is called by her husband a month or two after the marriage.

101. Married life : The married life is deeply influenced by the joint family system whose hold is still strong in the village. A youth is socially and economically dependent on his father or elder brother long after his marriage and his wife is subject to the discipline of the elderly women of the house. She has perforce to get on meekly with them. Their relations are, however, not always very happy and cordial. Frequently rivalries and jealousies are aroused which lead not only to petty quarrels among the females but create heart burning and dissentions among the male members also. A married couple is, however, allowed privacy at night even where a cottage consists of one apartment. Arrangements are made by erecting a partition by means of big grain containers, charpoys etc., the inmates sleeping on the floor. This holds good for winter. In summer, however, there is not much difficulty. One couple may sleep in the *chowk* or courtyard, another on the *dagla* and a third in the *bara* or the cattle-shed.

102. Divorce : Divorce is not prevalent amongst the Mahajan and the Brahmins. It is in vogue in the other communities of the village, namely, the Mina, the Mali, the Khati, the Balai, the Brahm Bhat, the Jogi, and the Dholi. The reason for divorce is invariably the bad character of the woman. If the husband finds that his wife has sexual relations with any other person or has committed adultery or his suspicion in regard to her fidelity was otherwise aroused he is said to have enongh reason for divorce. When a case of adultery is detected the husband of the woman in some cases chops off the nose of the adulterer, his wife or both. Sometimes even a murder is committed. The husband has, however, got the privilege of bringing the matter before the Caste Panchayat, which after hearing the case, may give the woman concerned an opportunity to rectify her behaviour. If she fails to reform herself, the Caste Panchayat may accord permission for the divorce of the woman. The husband cuts of her hair and puts a

little oil on her head and turns her out of the house. She is then free to go to her parents or elsewhere and take another man as her husband. A woman is, however, not considered entitled to seek a divorce against her husband. She is, of course, free to foresake him and run away with a paramour, in which case the matter may be brought before the Caste Panchayat, which may adjudge the amount of compensation, technically known as *jhagda* to be paid by the offending party to the husband of the woman.

103. Marriage by Capture : Marriage by capture was in vogue among the Minas some generations ago. Now a days such marriages seldom take place. When, however, a case occurs where a girl is carried off by a person, the parents of the girl, when they become aware of the kidnapping, immediately pursue the capturer and demand the return of their daughter, and if the girl is not returned a quarrel ensues. A handsome amount of compensation or the bride price usually satisfies the parents of the girl and they permit the wedding of the couple. If on the other hand the father of the girl did not agree to give away his daughter in marriage to the abductor he takes her back to his house and puts the matter before the Caste Panchayat which might give its decision whereby a suitable fine is imposed on the accused and a part of the sum so realised is paid to the father of the girl by way of compensation.

104. Widow remarriage : A widow is permitted to remarry if she so desires. She may marry the younger brother of her late husband provided she is willing to do so even if he had a married wife and one or more issues. The idea is that by this arrangement the widowed woman would be enabled to stick to the family of her husband, and her parents and well-wishers will have no incentive left to induce her to remarry outside the family. No such case has come up these days in the village. If the younger brother of the deceased husband surrendered his right over the widow she may marry outside the family. A widow might have a number of children whom she would be disinclined to leave behind. In that case she usually prefers to stay single so that she may look after her children or only a widow with one or two who would remarry.

Disease and Death

105. When old people get sick, it is the daughters-in-law who have to nurse them.

106. Old people have naturally an aversion to sickness and disease but when they realise that their end is near, they resign themselves to their fate and die peacefully.

107. Funeral : On the approach of the last hour of a person, a woman of the family cleans a corner of the house and gives it a coating of fresh cowdung and cow urine. The dying person is placed there on a coarse sheet. He is then given a little *gangajal*, *tulsi* and a little piece of gold or silver in the mouth. The relatives realise the loss they are going to suffer. They grieve over it. The women begin to wail and cry. Even men shed tears and cry loudly.

108. When the patient has breathed his last his mouth and eyes are closed by near relatives. The body is undressed and given a bath with warm water. All valuable ornaments are removed. A man's body is bathed by men and woman's by women. The body is covered with a sheet so that the persons making arrangement may not have to look at it. Meanwhile a bier is prepared by tying two long bamboos to five or seven small piece of equal length with *moonj* strings and some grass is spread over it. A sheet is then spread over the grass and the corpse laid on it. If the deceased person is a male the body is covered with a white shroud. If, however, it is a married woman the dead body is bedecked with ornaments specially with the *borla* which is an emblem of her *sohag*. New garments are put on her body. All the ornaments and the clothes except the ones which cover the private parts, are removed before the cremation. No ornaments are put on the dead body of a widow. The upper cloth in the case of married woman is usually a *pila*, a yellow coloured *odhni*. In case of a widow a red sheet is used to cover the body. The body is fastened to the bier with strings tied crosswise over the body

to prevent it from falling off. *Kunkum* and *haldi* (turmeric) are sprinkled over the bier.

109. When everything is ready, the corpse is carried head forward to the cremation ground. The relatives carry the bier. Only males go to the cremation ground.

110. When a baby dies it is carried in arms covered with a piece of cloth. Only a small number of near relatives accompany the dead for the funeral. Children below five are buried.

111. When the procession reaches half-way the corpse is laid on the ground and the direction of the head is reversed; the feet henceforward facing the crematorium. All the while the aggrieved sons and the near relatives of the deceased make loud lamentations.

112. At the cremation ground the shroud is removed and given away to the sweeper. The sons of the deceased and in the case of a male person, his younger brothers also get their hair, moustaches and beards (if any) shaved as a mark of mourning.

113. One of the relatives or the barber accompanying the dead carries in his hand a pot containing fire to the cremation ground. It is used for lighting the funeral pyre. When the corpse is about half burnt the skull is hit open by the help of a bamboo by the nearest male relative of the deceased, some ghee is poured over it and sandal and coconut offered to the pyre. When the corpse is almost burnt up, the procession returns to the house of the deceased.

114. On the third day the ashes, which are known as *phool* i,e, flowers, are collected by the nearest relatives of the deceased and sent to Haridwar or to some other holy place to be consigned to the Ganges. On the twelfth day, a feast is given when Brahmins and member of the community are fed, and in case the deceased was a male person, a turban is tied to the head of the eldest son to mark the transfer of the headship of the family to the son. Six months after another feast called *chhamahi* is held and yet another after a year which is called *barsi*. To all these feasts all the members of the community are invited.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

115. Nangal Soosawatan is an agricultural village. The main communities residing therein, namely, the Minas, the Malis and the Brahmins follow agriculture as their main occupation. The Mahajan household comprised of 14 members carries on the primary occupation of money lending and shopkeeping and also practises agriculture as a subsidiary occupation. The rest of the communities also depend directly or indirectly on agriculture for their livelihood. The Balais and the Brahm Bhats are engaged in agricultural labour. The Khatis do carpentry work which also is subservient to agriculture. The Dholis are members of the serving class. The Jogi performs worship in the temple of Shiva, and goes round the village collecting alms.

116. A comparative study of the statistics of the population of the workers in the village for the years 1951 and 1961 indicates that there has been no significant change in the number of workers as a whole. The total number of workers in 1951 was 441 whereas in 1961 it was 438. It has also been revealed that the number of persons engaged in cultivation has increased from 227 to 380 while the number of workers engaged in other services has considerably decreased. More people appear to have left other vocations and taken to agriculture during 1951-1961 because of the increasing and more lucrative prices fetched by the agricultural products. The pressure of population on the land has thus increased resulting in further subdivision of holdings. It has also come to light that in productive and commercial activities the women have left working along with their husbands. The entire position may be seen in the following table :

Livelihood Classes	1951 Census			1961 Census		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Cultivation	227	135	92	380	193	187
Production other than cultivation	29	18	11	26	26	–
Commerce	6	3	3	2	2	–
Other services	179	103	76	30	26	4
Total	441	259	182	438	247	191

117. The following table will show the primary and subsidiary occupations in which the different communities of the village including non-workers are engaged :

Community	No. of households in Primary Occupations			Miscellaneous Services & Professions	No. of households in Subsidiary Occupations			Miscellaneous Services & Professions
	Cultivation	Labour	Commerce and Industry		Cultivation	Labour	Commerce and Industry	
1. Mina	72	15	–	–	–	15	–	–
2. Balai	–	13	–	–	3	–	1	–
3. Mali	6	–	–	–	–	6	–	–
4. Khati	2	–	3	–	–	2	–	–
5. Brahm Bhat	–	7	–	–	–	–	–	7
6. Brahmin	4	–	–	–	–	–	4	–
7. Mahajan	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–
8. Dholi	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	2
9. Jogi	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–

118. Although the primary occupation of 72 households of Minas is agriculture, due to paucity of land, 15 of them are engaged in agricultural labour by way of subsidiary occupation. Fifteen households of Minas who have been compensated for their *jagir* holdings in cash by the Rajasthan Government occupy themselves in agricultural labour as their primary occupation. The one household of Mahajan which has commerce as his primary occupation practises agriculture as a subsidiary occupation. The four households of Brahmin carry on business as their subsidiary occupation along with the primary occupation of agriculture. Out of the 5 households of Khatis, two have agriculture as their primary occupation and agricultural labour as secondary occupation while three of them are engaged in their traditional vocation of carpentry. The six households of Malis practise agricultural labour as their subsidiary occupation along with the primary occupation of agriculture and growing vegetables. The Jogi household has income from the land attached to the two temples of Shiva along with the remuneration which he receives for his services as a priest of the temples. The Brahm Bhats have agricultural labour as their primary occupation and they also maintain genealogical tables of Minas as a secondary occupation. The two Dholi households are engaged primarily in agricultural labour and perform the *jajmani* work i.e. beating the drum as a subsidiary occupation. All the 13 households of Balai perform agricultural labour as their primary occupation, three of them do agriculture also and one is engaged in industry by way of a subsidiary occupation.

Agriculture

119. The methods of agriculture that are practised by the villagers are traditional which have not undergone any change during the last so many decades. Apart from the use of some improved types of seeds the villagers have not made any progress towards the utilisation of improved methods of agriculture.

Agricultural Tools

120. The agricultural tools used by the farmers in the village are of the age old pattern and crude in appearance. They are, however, indispensable to the farmer. They are manufactured by the village carpenter who also effects repairs to them. The iron tools are generally obtained from Amber or Jaipur where ready made articles are available in abundance and without any difficulty. The more important tools that are commonly used by the villagers are the plough *hal*, the spade *phawra*, the pick-axe *kudali* the sickle *dantli*, the shovel *khurpa*. and the chopper *gandasa*.

121. Plough : The plough which is in use in the village is of the common type used by all the agricultural classes in this area. A big log of wood generally of green *babool* (Acacia arabica) is selected for the plough. It is sufficiently thick and slightly curved. The body of the plough is about one and a quarter to one and a half meter high. Through a band in the middle it is divided into two equal parts; the lower part is fitted with an iron blade *halbani*. The plough-share is an iron bar pointed at one end and resembles a spear head. It is affixed to the inner side of the lower part of the plough so that it overlaps the tapering end of the body of the plough. When a plough is moved forward, its share is tightly pressed against the wooden body.The plough isworked by a yoke of bullock.

122. For the sowing of the crop *beejani* a bamboo tube with a funnel at the upper end is attached to the plough in such a manner that the lower end of the tube is just a few cm behind the plough share. The seeds pass through the tube into the furrow and are covered with soil when the next furrow is drawn. The plough cuts some 15cm into the ground.

123. The fields are ploughed before and at the beginning of the monsoon. Fields lying fallow for the sowing of the winter crop are also ploughed during the monsoon when there is a break during the rains.

124. After a field has been ploughed it is harrowed with an instrument like a spiked frame for pulverising the soil, breaking the clods dug up by the plough and for rooting out the stubble of the previous year's crop or the weeds. At the

bottom of the paring-harrow are fitted two prongs which hold an iron blade. The harrow is dragged over the field by a pair of bullocks. While driving the bullocks the ploughman sits on the harrow at its centre holding a handle stuck in the centre.

125. After the field has been ploughed it is harrowed twice. When the rains come it is harrowed once again when it is ready for sowing.

126. The *kharif* crop is watered by the monsoon, no special irrigational efforts are necessary. The *rabi* crop is, however, required to be irrigated and this is done from the wells with the aid of a *charas*, a circular large leather bucket with a diameter of about 60 cm. At one end of this bucket is attached a duct about one and a quarter to one and a half meter in length and 23 cm in width. There is a circular iron frame provided with a strong hook fastened with leather string at the rim of the bucket. A strong rope of leather of 5 cm thickness is tied to the hook. At the end of the duct are fastened two ropes of leather or cotton yarn which are about 2 cm thick. The thick rope is called *lao* and it passes over a big wooden pully at the top of the well, known as *bhoon*. The thinner ropes *sindorias* are carried over two spindles fixed near the mouth of the well which are known as *taklias*. The other ends of the *lao* and the *sindorias* are attached to the yoke to which the bullocks are driven over the sloping ground. When they arrive at the end of the slope the leather bucket is received at the mouth of the well and is emptied in a tank from which water is carried into the fields through channels made of mud.

Spade : The spade is an oblong piece of flat iron provided with a wooden handle. It is used for digging earth and for making earthen embankments known as *dolas* around the fields.

Pick-axe : The pick-axe or *kudali* is used for cutting the harvest.

Chopper : It is used for cutting stalks of jowar, bajra and maize *(kadbi)* for the cattle.

127. Weeding : Weeding starts soon after sowing. It is done by hand in the months of Shravan and Bhadon. Weeding begins when shoots are about 15 cm high. If begun earlier the tender seedlings suffer by being trampled by feet and damaged.

128 Harvest : When the crops are ripe they are cut with the sickle. The sickle is made of flat iron, semi-circular in form and with a sharp edge and it is fitted with a wooden handle.

129. When the crops are cut they are at once tied in sheaves (*poola*) and stacked at intervals. Such a stack is called *dhoongri*. The stacks are left to dry in the field for a week or so .

130. At a convenient place, a plot is then cleared and levelled and coated with a layer of cattle dung. This place is called *khala*. When the dung coating has dried the sheaves are untied and spread over the *khala* in regular piles to form a circular stack. Then the bullocks are tethered with a long rope *ras* and driven round and round a wooden peg fixed in the centre of the *khala*. The grain is thus trodden under feet of the bullocks. After thrashing, the straw is removed and heaped in one corner. The grain is collected in another corner.

131. After the entire grain has been thrashed out, it is piled in a heap and winnowed. Winnowing is done by getting the wind play on the grain, when the chaff drops from the basket held above.

132. When the grain has been cleared, it is carried home in carts. It is stored in *kothis* made of mud,and sold to the dealers at Amber or Jaipur if there is any left over and above the quantity which the family requires for the year. At harvest time, the money-lenders and debtors come and demand the payment of their loans. The serving class such as the Dholis are paid in kind at the harvest generally at about 4 to 5 kilos per plough.

133. The total area of the village is 1511 *bighas* & 3 biswas (944.40 acres), one acre being equivalent to 1-3/5 *bighas*. The break-up of land utilisation is as follows :

	In acres
1. *Chahi* land (cultivable and irrigated)	274.38
2. *Barani* (cultivated and unirrigated)	453.13
3. Garden land	0.03
4. Pasture land	110.62
5. *Banjar* land	41.87
6. Non cultivable land (including the land for the lay out of *abadi*, hill etc)	64.37
	944.40

134. It could be seen that the proportion of the *chahi* land to *barani* land is approximately 1:2. The break-up of the land as owned by different communities is shown in the following table.

Community	Land owned (in acres)	No. of house-holds	Average holding (in acres)	Total Population	Per capita land holding (in acres)
1. Mina	736.25	87	8.46	478	1.54
2. Balai	11.87	13	0.91	72	0.16
3. Mali	53.75	6	8.96	40	1.34
4. Khati	23.75	5	4.75	36	0.66
5. Brahma Bhat	–	7	–	36	–
6. Brahmin	45 63	4	11.41	25	1.83
7. Mahajan	33.75	1	33.75	14	2.14
8. Dholi (Rana)	–	2	–	6	–
9. Jogi	–	1	–	3	–

135. It will be seen from the above table that the larger land-holdings are owned by the Mahajan and the Brahmins and smaller ones by the Khatis and the Balais. The maximum size of the land holding is 33.75 acres which belongs to the Mahajan and the minimum 0.91 acres which is owned by three Balai households. The maximum per capita holding of 2.41 acres goes to Mahajan while the minimum per capita holding of 0.16 acres is owned by the Balais. There is a very small piece of land 0.03 acres owned by the Malis who grow vegetables in it. The ownership of the *banjar* land and the pasture land vests in the State. No grazing fees are, however, charged by the Government in the village. This appears to be a remnant of the old practice which was in vogue when it used to be a *jagir* village. The following table shows the size of the land-holdings possessed by the various households.

Size of holdings (in acres)	No. of households	Percentage to total households	Total holdings (in acres)	Percentage to total holdings
0–12.5	99	80	335	37
12.5–25.0	18	13	280	31
25.0 50.0	9	7	290	32
50.0 and above	–	–	–	–
Total	126	100	905	100

136. It is obvious from the above table that there has been a great fragmentation of land holdings in the village. 99 families own land, the size of which is less than 12.5 acres, 18 have land less than 25 acres and only 9 families own more than 25 acres. No one owns more than 50 acres of land.

Crop Pattern

137. Out of 1164 bighas (728 acres) of cultivable land only 792 bighas (495 acres) was cultivated during 1960-61, out of which 365 bighas (228 acres) was irrigated and 427 bighas (267 acres) was non-irrigated. Two crops are grown in the

village, namely, the *kharif* which is sown in June-July at the start of the rainy season and harvested in October, and the *rabi* which is sown in November and harvested in March. The following table shows the grains sown and the yield per acre in the *kharif* and the *rabi* crops in the village.

Kharif			*Rabi*		
Name of crop	Area in acres	Yield per acre	Name of crop	Area in acres	Yield per acre
Maize	3	4 mds.	Wheat	33	10 mds.
Moth (a kind of pulse)	15	2 mds.	Barley	53	11 mds.
Chonla (-do-)	5	3 mds.	*Gojera* (mixture of wheat & barley)	1	12 mds.
Vegetables	14	18 mds.	Gram	197	9 mds.
Bajra (millet)	150	2½ mds.	*Bejhar* (mixture of barley and gram)	3	13 mds.
			Chari (a kind of fodder)	3	8 mds.
			Jowar (millet)	2	6 mds.
			Gowar (a kind of grain used as fodder)	1	7 mds.
			Others	15	—

Land Revenue System

138. It has already been reported that 35 households of Soosawat Minas were granted 1625 acres of land by way of *jagir* in this village for loyal service to the Kachwaha rulers of Amber. The Minas were exempted from the payment of land revenue. They were required to render service to the ruling chief by guarding the forts and palaces of the ruler at Amber and Jaipur. They were exempted from the payment of *dasotra* i.e. one tenth of the income from the land, which was ordinarily payable by the other *jagirdars*. The first settlement of the village was done in the Samvat year 2015 (1958 AD) according to the Rajasthan Land Revenue Act of 1957. Ten households who held land of *jagir* and were not actual tillers of the soil were given cash compensation and the lands were resumed by the State. Ninety three households in the village acquired *khatedari* i.e. occupancy rights. The *khatedars* pay a total sum of Rs. 3623.96 by way of land revenue to the Government.

Agricultural Labour

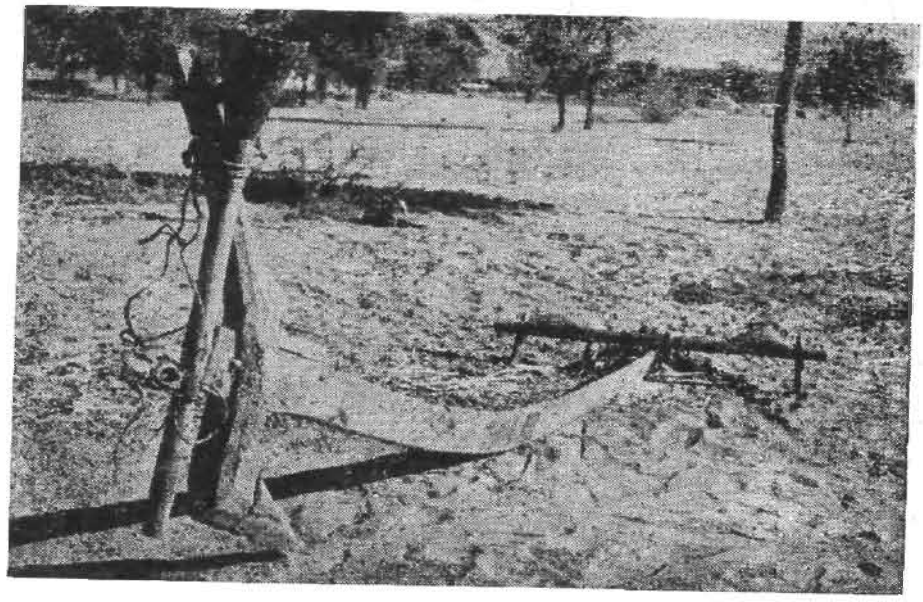
139. The next mode of livelihood open to the villagers is agricultural labour. As many as 38 families consisting of 90 males and 85 females are landless labourers. These are employed mostly during the sowing and the weeding seasons and at the time of harvest if it is not possible for the members of the household to cope with the operations. The daily wage of a male labourer is Rs. 2/-, of a female Re. 1/- to Rs. 1.50 and of a boy or a girl 0.75 Paisa.

Animal Husbandry

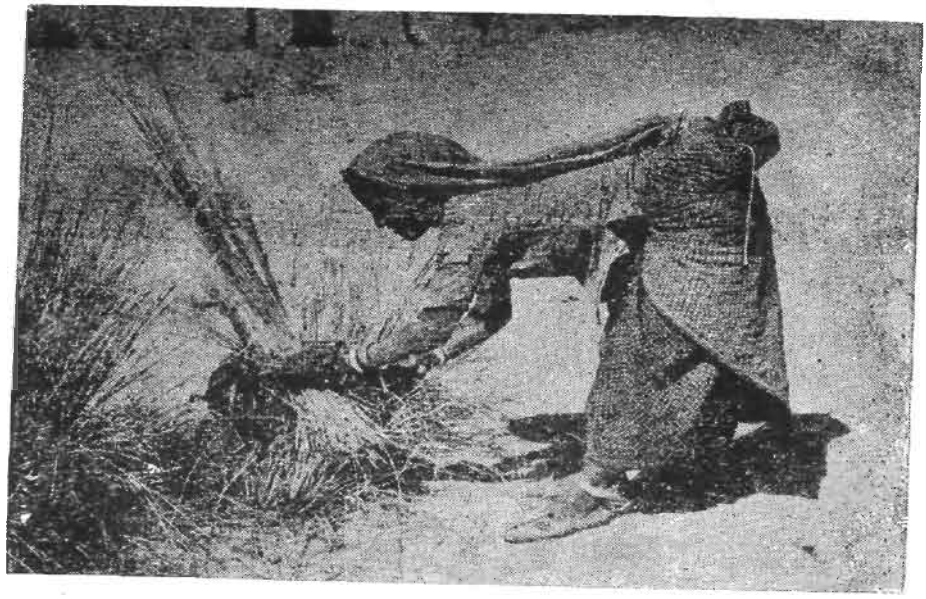
140. Animal Husbandry is an important source of subsistence for the members of the Mina community. They cannot do without their domestic animals. The cattle wealth of the village is as follows :—

Cows	150
Bullocks	142
Buffaloes	26
Sheep	150
Goats	37
Camels	8

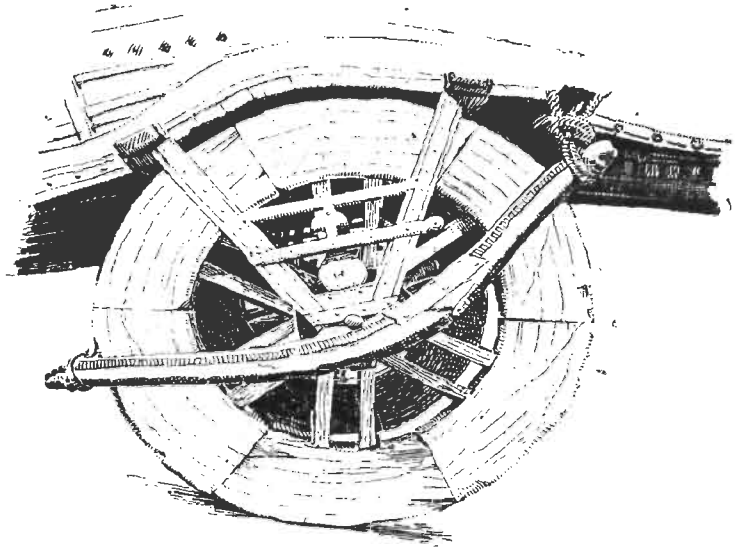
The communitywise ownership of the above livestock is given in the following table :—



The plough and the *beejani*



Cutting of grass



A locally made bullock-cart wheel



The only shopkeeper of the village

Community	Cow	Buffalo	Sheep	Bullock	Camel	Goat
1. Mina	100	12	98	92	3	18
2. Balai	12	–	12	12	–	5
3. Mali	13	2	15	13	1	–
4. Khati	6	2	7	6	–	4
5. Brahm Bhat	2	1	2	2	–	6
6. Brahmin	5	3	4	5	3	–
7. Mahajan	3	4	3	3	1	–
8. Dholi	8	1	8	8	–	2
9. Jogi	1	1	1	1	–	2
Total	150	26	150	142	8	37

141. From the above table it would be seen that the largest number of animals are owned by the Minas. Then come in the descending order the Malis, the Balais, the Dholis, the Khatis, the Brahmins, the Mahajan, the Brahm Bhats and the Jogi. The animals are of mediocre breed and have none of the features of the quality breeds. The average prices of each item of the livestock are given below.

Cow	Rs. 100 to 200
Bullock	Rs. 500 to 1000 per pair.
She-buffalo	Rs. 400
He-buffalo	Rs. 200
Sheep	Rs. 25
Goat	Rs. 25
Camel	Rs. 400 to 500

142. There is enough land for pasture in the village which is comprised of 111 acres. The area which comes at the share of each of the 371 animals is 0.29 acre. No fee is levied for grazing the animals on the pasture land. When no grass is available in the pastures the animals are fed on fodder which consists of stalks of maize, jowar and bajra, and chaff and hay. The bullocks are always fed at home. The milching animals are fed at home, whenever there is a scarcity of grass in the pasture land. Dry animals are seldom given anything to eat at home. Camels are fed in the jungle and are given very little fodder at home.

143. The milk yield of a cow varies from 4 to 6 kilograms per day while that of a buffalo from 6 to 7 kilograms per day. Most of the milk and milk products are consumed by the villagers themselves. It is seldom that any surplus produce is available but if there be any left, it is sold to other needy households in the village.

Village Industry

144. The only village industry practised is carpentry. The three household of Khatis manufacture agricultural implements and the bed-posts required for the charpoys, the *takhts* (small wooden platform) which are used by the well-to-do Mina families for squathing in their houses, the doors and the windows of the houses and the bullock carts. Wood for the work is available locally. Other materials are brought from Amber or Jaipur. The carpenter's equipment which consists mainly of *karoti* (hand saw), *basoola* (adze), *hathoda* (hammer), *randa* (plane), *ari* (drill), and *bijani* (chisel) cost in all Rs. 25/- The cost price of the finished products is approximately as follows.

Bullock cart	Rs. 300
Tonga driven by bullocks	Rs. 200
Bahli & Rath	Rs. 800 to 1000
Plough	Rs. 50

Commerce

145. The only household engaged in trade is that of the Mahajan or village money-lender and shopkeeper. He carries on money-lending and also maintains a shop in which he keeps provisions of daily use such as flour, pulses, salt, chillis, tea, sugar, oil, ghee, soap,match-box, cigarettes and *bidis* and other things of common

use. He replenishes his stock weekly from Jaipur. Eight households of Minas and two of Brahmin also do money-lending business in the village. The rate of interest varies from 1 to 2½ percent per month.

146. 5 households of Minas are engaged in masonry work. They undertake construction work when available in the village; otherwise they go to Jaipur where there is plenty of work to employ them. They earn from Rs. 3 to 5 daily.

Other Occupations

147. One Mina household depends for its livelihood on service at Amber tehsil where he is employed as a camel sowar. He maintains his own camel and is paid Rs 60/- inclusive of the camel allowance. One Mina household is in the service of H. H the Maharaja of Jaipur. The four households of Brahmin work as priests in addition to farming which is their main occupation. The average income of each of these families from priest-craft is Rs. 175/- per annum. The Jogi household performs worship at the Shiva temple for which he is paid Rs. 30/- per month by the Village Panchayat. He engages himself in casual labour also. The two households of Dholi also occupy themselves with casual labour with their traditional vocation of playing the drum on festivals and ceremonial occasions in the village. They are paid a small quantity of grain on festivals and are fed on the occasions of marriage and given Rs. 1.25 in cash. They are also fed when death feasts are held in the village.

Income

148. The total income of the village has been ascertained to be Rs. 1,15,425. 68 percent of it (Rs. 78,900) is derived from Cultivation, 22 percent (Rs.24,965) from Salary and Wages, 7 per cent (Rs. 8,060) from Commerce and 4 percent (Rs. 3,500) from Other Sources. The income from various sources of the communities residing in the village is given in the following table.

Sl. No.	Community	Total Income	Annual Income from			
			Cultivation	Salary & Wages	Commerce	Other Sources
1.	Mina	77,485	61,800	12,725	1,460	1,500
2.	Mahajan	2,000	500	–	500	1,000
3.	Jogi	360	–	360	–	–
4.	Brahm Bhat	4,680	–	2,880	1,700	100
5.	Balai	11,500	3,700	6,800	1,000	–
6.	Dholi	900	–	700	–	200
7.	Brahmin	4,000	3,100	–	200	700
8.	Khati	5,000	1,800	–	3,200	–
9.	Mali	9,500	8,000	1,500	–	–
	Total	1,15,425	78,900	24,965	8,060	3,500

149. The following table shows the percentage of income derived by the various communities from different sources.

Sl. No.	Community	Total Income	Income from			
			Cultivation	Salary & Wages	Commerce	Other Sources
1.	Mina	100	80	16	2	2
2.	Mahajan	100	33	–	67	–
3.	Jogi	100	–	100	–	–
4.	Brahm Bhat	100	–	62	36	2
5.	Balai	100	32	59	9	–
6.	Dholi	100	–	100	–	–
7.	Brahmin	100	78	–	5	17
8.	Khati	100	36	–	64	–
9.	Mali	100	80	20	–	

150. The average income per family of the various communities from different sources may be seen in the following table.

Sl. No.	Community	Total Average Income	Average Income from			
			Cultivation	Salary and Wages	Commerce	Other Sources
1.	Mina	890	710	146	17	17
2.	Balai	885	285	523	77	–
3.	Mali	1,583	1,583	–	–	–
4.	Khati	1,000	360	640	–	–
5.	Brahm Bhat	669	–	412	243	14
6.	Brahmin	1,000	775	–	50	175
7.	Mahajan	2,000	500	–	500	1,000
8.	Dholi	450	–	350	–	100
9.	Jogi	360	–	360	–	–

151. It is seen from the above table that the highest average income is that of the Mahajan household. Then come in the descending order the Malis, the Brahmins, the Khatis, the Minas, the Brahm Bhats, the Dholis and the Jogis.

152. The per capita income is highest of the Malis and lowest in case of the Jogi. The Minas, the Brahmins, the Balais, the Khatis and the Brahm Bhats follow the Malis in descending order as would be seen from the table given below.

Sl. No.	Community	Total per capita Income	Per capita Income from			
			Cultivation	Salary and Wages	Commerce	Other Sources
1.	Mina	162	129	27	3	3
2.	Mahajan	143	36	–	36	71
3.	Jogi	120	–	120	–	–
4.	Brahm Bhat	130	–	80	47	3
5.	Balai	160	52	94	14	–
6.	Dholi	150	–	116	–	34
7.	Brahmin	160	124	–	8	28
8.	Khati	139	50	–	89	–
9.	Mali	238	238	–	–	–

Expenditure

153. The percentage of expenditure calculated on the basis of a sample survey of some families in the village is as follows.

Items	*Percent expenditure*
Food	40
Clothing & footwear	10
Housing	3
Health & Education	2
Light & fuel	3
Ceremonial expenses	10
Tobacco & liquor	12
Others (including payment of land revenue, expenditure on agriculture & other contingent expenses)	20

Indebtedness

154. Out of the total number of 126 households, 92 are under debt. The maximum number of households under debt fall in the income group Rs. 30-80 per month as will be seen from the following table.

Income group (in Rs.)	Total No. of households	No. of households in debt	Percentage of Col. 3 to 2	Average indebtedness (in Rs.)
20 & below	15	3	20	833.35
20-30	6	4	67	616.67
30-40	3	3	100	566.66
40-60	22	20	91	1027.27
60-80	28	26	93	1014.29
80-100	34	23	68	847.06
100 & above	18	13	72	772.22
Total	126	92		

It will be observed from the table that the incidence of debt rises with the rise in income. It is worth mentioning that households in higher income groups borrow money for lending it to others at a higher rate of interest. The total amount of debt owed by the village people is Rs. 1, 02, 200/-. The per capita debt thus comes to Rs. 144/-. The average debt per household comes to Rs. 811/-. The entire position showing the purposes for which debts are incurred is given below :

Causes	Amount of debt (in Rs.)	Average debt (in Rs.)	Percentage of debt
(a) Purchase of land	–	–	–
(b) House construction and repairs	9500	528.00	9
(c) Social ceremonies	72200	902.50	71
(d) Sickness	1200	600.00	2
(e) Ordinary wants	1800	450.00	3
(f) Household cultivation	17500	518.20	15

155. The following table gives the number of families in various groups of indebtedness :

Size of debt (in Rs.)	No. of families
200-300	4
300-800	19
800-1000	11
1000-1500	34
1500-2000	9
2000 & above	15
	92

A Cooperative society was formed in the village on 10th November, 1961 with an authorised capital of Rs. 19,800/-. It has as its members 15 households of the Minas, 1 of the Mali, 2 of the Brahmins, 1 of the Mahajan and 1 of the Khati. Loans to the tune of Rs. 11,300/- have been sanctioned but actually Rs. 8,250/- have been disbursed so far (March 1962). We see that the Cooperative movement and other development activities sponsored by the State Government are not making much headway in the village.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

156. The communities residing in Nangal Soosawatan do not much vary from each other in their customs,habits and outlook of life.The Minas, although included amongst the Scheduled Tribe of Rajasthan, do not appear to have any special traits attributed to the aboriginals and have become more or less homogeneous with other Hindu classes specially the agricultural ones.

Changes in Population

157. The village has experienced changes in its population during the last four decades as under :

1931	499
1941	476
1951	738
1961	708

As compared to 1931 the population in 1941 showed a slight decrease. There was, however, a phenomenal increase during the decade 1941 to 1951 indicating an excess of 262 persons, which appears to be due largely to the immigration of some households from outside. The decrease in population during 1951-61 is due to some people of the village having migrated to Amber and Jaipur.

Age & Sex

158. The distribution of the population according to sex in various age groups is given in the following table :—

Age groups	Males	Females	Persons
Total	369	339	708
0 - 4	50	43	93
5 - 9	50	46	96
10 - 14	52	43	95
15 - 19	36	34	70
20 - 24	26	37	63
25 - 29	30	32	62
30 - 34	36	17	53
35 - 44	41	42	83
45 - 59	28	19	47
60 & over	20	26	46

From the above table it would be seen that 52% of the total population consists of males, and 48% of females. There is no great disparity of sex in the village considered as a whole. 40% of the population is comprised of persons below the age of 14, 46% of age group between 15 to 44 and the remaining 14% of age group 45-59 and over.

159. It is remarkable that in the age group 60 & above the number of females exceeds the number of males by 6 showing that longevity of life among females is greater than in males. This may be due to the fact that women having crossed the age of child bearing have lesser chance of death possibly due to the healthy open air life, simple habits and regular work. It is in age group 30-34 that great disparity is seen in the number of males and females, the females being even less than half of males.

Age & Marital Status

160. An analysis of the statistics relating to age and marital status of the population of the village reveals that there are 180 married males and 186 married females. The excess of 6 in the number of married women may perhaps be due to the fact that some married daughters of the village were there at the time of enumeration. They might have come, however, from houses of their husbands, from other village. This conclusion is all the more probable because there is no case of polygamy in the village. Another thing worthy of note is that there are three married females in the age group 0-9 and 16 married females and one male in the age group 10-14 clearly indicating that child marriage is in vogue here and that girls are married long before they attain the age of puberty. The large excess of widowed females over the males is also remarkable. There are no divorced or separated person in this village. The entire position is given in the following table.

Age Group	Total Population			Never Married		Married		Widowed	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All ages	708	369	339	180	117	180	186	9	36
0 - 9	189	100	89	100	86	-	3	-	-
10 - 14	95	52	43	51	27	1	16	-	-
15 - 19	70	36	34	20	4	16	30	-	-
20 - 24	63	26	37	6	-	20	37	-	-
25 - 29	62	30	32	3	-	27	32	-	-
30 - 34	53	36	17	-	-	35	16	1	1
35 - 39	47	23	24	-	-	21	21	2	3
40 - 44	36	18	18	-	-	18	12	-	6
45 - 49	15	10	5	-	-	9	5	1	-
50 - 54	26	14	12	-	-	13	8	1	4
55 - 59	6	4	2	-	-	3	1	1	1
60 - 64	30	13	17	-	-	10	3	3	14
65 - 69	3	1	2	-	-	1	1	-	1
70 and over	13	6	7	-	-	6	1	-	6

Literacy

161. The standard of education in the village is very poor. There is a single teacher Primary School which imparts education upto the IVth standard. It has 35 students on its roll of whom 30 are males and 5 females. 18 boys of the village go to a nearby village Kundal (3 km) and are reading there in the Vth and VIth classes. Three boys are reading in the VIth at Amber in an Upper Primary School which goes upto the 8th standard. 2 boys go to Jaipur from the village every day to attend the High School classes.

162. The figures relating to education according to age and sex are given in the following table :

Age Group	Total			Illiterate		Literate without Educational standard		Primary or Junior basic		Matriculation and Upper Primary	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All ages	708	369	339	285	333	31	1	30	5	23	-
0 - 4	93	50	43	50	43	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 - 9	96	50	46	37	42	-	-	8	4	5	-
10 - 14	95	52	43	17	42	2	-	15	1	18	-
15 - 19	70	36	34	30	34	1	-	5	-	-	-
20 - 24	63	26	37	25	37	-	-	1	-	-	-
25 - 29	62	30	32	27	32	2	-	1	-	-	-
30 - 34	53	36	17	30	16	6	1	-	-	-	-
35 - 44	83	41	42	32	42	9	-	-	-	-	-
45 - 59	47	28	19	20	19	8	-	-	-	-	-
60 and over	46	20	26	17	26	3	-	-		-	-

Vital Statistics

163. The statistics relating to births and deaths used to be maintained formerly by the tehsil authorities. According to the Rajasthan Panchayat Act the responsibility for maintenance of these statistics and those relating to epidemics etc. falls on the Village Panchayat. No statistics are, however, available either in the records of the tehsil or the Village Panchayat. The Panchayat Samiti of Amber has, however, recorded 28 births during the year 1960 in respect of the village. But no systematic record is available.

Diseases

164. The villagers suffer from the seasonal diseases like malaria, diarrhoea, dysentery, cough, sore eyes, headache, ulcers etc. Small pox, chicken pox & measles are the common diseases amongst the children. They have recourse to indigenous medicines in the ordinary course but in complicated cases they approach the dispensary at Amber for treatment. Venereal diseases are not common. There is no case of leprosy or guineaworm at present in the village, and D.D.T. spraying is carried out periodically. There is no case of T.B.

Family Structure

165. Out of 126 households in the village, 41 are joint families, 31 intermediate, 52 simple ones and 2 are unspecified. Out of the 41 joint families, 29 are of the Minas and the remaining 12 of other communities. There are 24 intermediate and 32 simple families of the Minas. Among other communities there are 7 families of intermediate and 20 families of simple type. The Balais account for 12 simple families and one joint family. The statistics in regard to family type of the previous censuses not being available it is not possible to comment on the tendencies which mark the constitution of the households in the village. It, however, appears that there is a clear tendency towards disintegration of the joint family into simple ones. The position may be seen in the following table:—

Sl. No.	Community	Total No. of Households.	No. of Households living In families			
			Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
1.	Mina	87	32	24	29	2
2.	Brahmin	4	–	1	3	–
3.	Khati	5	3	1	1	–
4.	Mahajan	1	–	–	1	–
5.	Mali	6	2	2	2	–
6.	Jogi	1	–	–	1	–
7.	Brahm Bhat	7	2	3	2	–
8.	Dholi	2	1	–	1	–
9.	Balai	13	12	–	1	–
	Total	126	52	31	41	2

166. As to the size and composition of the households it may be noted that there are 8 households having only one member each, 24 households each having 2 to 3 members, 57 having 4 to 6 members each, 28 having 7-9 members each and 9 having 10 or more members. The largest number of familes (57) falls in the group having 4 to 6 members.

Intra family relationship

167. The normal feature of the village is the joint family constituting the father, the mother the sons, their wives and children. The oldest member of the family has the powers akin that of a benevolent dictator. He is responsible for the welfare of the family and everyone respects him and looks to him for guidance. He is freely accessible to the younger members of the household. He seldom takes his food before all the younger members have been fed. As he grows older, however, he develops a feeling of detachment from the family and the responsibilities are then shouldered by the next man in age. When a boy gets married his wife comes to the joint family where his elder brothers, uncles and father lives with their wives and children. The bride lives under the watchful eye of her mother-in-law. For a year or two after the marriage the husband and the wife can meet only at night. Conversation between a young man and his wife during the day in the presence of other members of the family is considered uncivil.

168. Every member of the household hands over his income to the head of the family and it

goes into the common pool. Each member is entitled to receive food and clothing which are arranged without discrimination by the head of the house. Expenditure connected with the bringing up of the children, marriages etc. are met from the common pool. It is the economic structure of the family which gives incentive to early marriage of the young regardless of the question whether or not they are able to support wives and children.

169. In a village community where every household is engaged in agricultural or a traditional occupation joint family system has its advantage. All the male members of the joint family engage themselves in family occupation and contribute their quota to its upkeep. Women in the family also cooperate in the household work and render assistance in agriculture or other family vocations to the best of their ability.

170. The peaceful conditions of the joint family system are, however, disturbed by the stress of changing economic pattern through which the village life is passing. The agricultural holdings are becoming smaller due to fragmentation of land and they are no longer capable of bearing the burden of big households. Consequently some members of the household have to look for profession other than the ancestral one and the consequent disparity in income of the various members introduced by this factor has its own repercussions. To this may be added the extraneous influences which are noticeable as a result of contact with the outside world. Such influences have begun to raise their heads in joint families leading to disintegration. The process is accelerated where a member of the household receives some education.

Inheritance of property

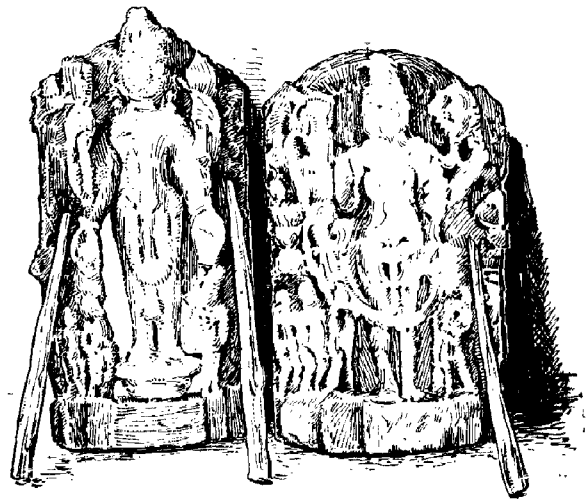
171. When a father dies the eldest son puts on the turban of the deceased but his property is divided equally amongst the sons. The village people are aware that the law has been enacted giving right of inheritance to the daughters. But this law has not been given any recognition in the village nor do the village people favour daughters getting a share in the property of their father. According to them a daughter after marriage is no longer a liability of her father's family. She has her place in the family of her husband. If a person does not have any male issue, he is entitled to adopt a son from among the nearest relatives in the male line. If no adoption is done the property goes to the nearest male relatives in the male line.

Leisure and Recreation

172. *The villagers have very little leisure* and means of recreation. The monotony of village life is, however, broken by the diversion and amusement in which the village people, specially those of the Mina community, occupy themselves during their leisure hours. Gossiping at the *hathai* (meeting place) or cracking jokes with one another is the most common recreation. At times they hold *Ramdhun* or recital of some religious book such as the Ramayan, the Mahabharat or more often Shrimad Bhagwat. The younger people, however, recreate themselves by playing *kabbadi*, *gilli-danda*, and rounder. The Village Panchayat has provided a radio set and most of the village people assemble in the evening to hear the news and songs broadcast on radio. The Minas are fond of social gatherings and meet and indulge in songs and dances on these occasions. The fairs held at the famous shrines of Mahabirji (203 km) Keladevi (213 km), Shitla Mata at Chaksu (56 km), Choth-ka-barwada (80 km) are visited by the Minas. The recreation of this type is, however, enjoyed in the company of the members of their own sex. The fairs of Teej and Gangore held at Jaipur attract the people of Nangal Soosawatan as of other surrounding villages. The Minas attend these fairs in very large numbers and recreate themselves by singing songs and playing on *duff* and wooden pipes known as *algocha*. *Duff* also known as *chang* is a circular wooden frame with a diameter of about 61 cm and width of 30 to 38 cm and is covered on one side with parchment. During the night previous to the main day people assemble in groups, get drunk and then begin to sing. The leading part is taken by two persons, one noted for his good



Temple of Barmani
Devi on the hill top



Idols in the temple

male voice and the other for his female voice. The songs then go on for hours on some trifling object such as a small box *dabi* or an *indoni* in which questions are put and answered by the two singers. *Indoni* is a circular coil made of cloth or knitted with jute, cotton or silken strings placed on the head by women to facilitate carrying of pitchers. The subject of these songs consists more often of obscene matters. Dances performed under the influence of liquor to the accompaniment of such songs also assume indecent movement. The fair of Jiwan Mata near Rewasa in District Sikar during Navratra is visited by the Minas who make offerings of liquor, buffaloes and goats to the deity. On the 8th day of the dark half of Chaitra (April), a fair of Shitla Mata is held at village Naila about 3 km away from Nangal Soosawatan. Prayers are offered on this day to the deity to save them from the evil effects of small-pox. Offerings of *puris* and *puas* are made to the goddess and *ratijora* (night vigil) is kept when songs are sung in her praise and honour. On the Poornima day of the month of Chaitra a fair is held in the village to commemorate the memory of a Bhati Rajput who took part in a battle and fought even after his head was chopped off. He is venerated as Bhomiaji and the Minas of all the nearby 12 villages, numbering about 15,000 assemble at the place on this occasion. Men and women attired in their colourful dresses come from all the sides and enjoy the fair for two or three days.

173. During the month of Bhadon (August), a fair is held in honour of the village god Bhairon. The date of this fair is not fixed. In the month of Bhadon all the village people assemble at the place dedicated to the village deity, and make the offering of coconut, oil and *sindoor* etc. At times, wine is also offered to the idol.

174. All the communities residing in the village profess the Hindu religion. The Minas form the predominant part of the village population and have acquired, by long usage, all the characteristics peculiar to the followers of Hindu religion. They have none of those peculiar features that are associated with the religion of of the tribals. The main village gods are: Shri Krishna, Hanuman, Bhairon and the Devis. The Minas have no specific totem of their clan. Their taboo is the flash of hare *Soossa* which they do not eat.

175. There are 6 temples in the village

(a) Two temples of Shiva
(b) A temple of Gopal ji
(c) A platform of Bhairon
(d) A temple of Burmani Devi
(e) A platform of Shitla Mata.

All these deities are held sacred by all the villagers and are worshipped by them and special rites performed on the days particularly dedicated to each. Shitla Mata is the patron-goddess *Kuldevi* of the Minas. They hold her in great esteem and are her ardent devotee. There is a renowned temple of Shilla Devi at Amber. The idol of the goddess is reputed to have been brought from Bengal by Maharaja Man Singh of Jaipur. She is considered sacred by the ruling family and all Hindu citizens of Jaipur and the Minas as a community specially adore her. A fair is held in her honour during the month of Aswin (September) on the occasion of Dashera. On the ninth and tenth day of the bright half of Aswin, wine is offered to the idol in huge quantity and sacrifice of buffaloes and goats is offered to her by Rajputs and Minas of Nangal Soosawatan on Deshera day. The animals sacrificed on this occasion are killed at one stroke of a sword and their meat distributed to those whom it is acceptable by way of *prasad*.

176. The temple and platforms attached to the deities of the village appear to be very old. No precise information is available as to when each of them was actually built. According to the people of the village they are there for more than two centuries. There is nothing remarkable about the architecture of the small temples of Shiva, Gopal ji and Burmani Devi.

177. 25 acres of land by *kutcha* measurement equivalent to about 12.50 acres by *pucka zarib* are attached to the two temples of *Shiva*. Out of this land 3.12 acres are of *banjar* and 3.13 acres of unirrigated land which is very

unproductive. There are only 6.25 acres of irrigated land which is put under cultivation by the Jogi priest of the temples and income of about Rs. 550/- per annum is derived from it which the Jogi spends on rituals in the temple at the time of festivals and on the maintenance of his own family. Mention has already been made of payment of Rs. 30/- per month to him by the Village Panchayat for performance of worship in the temples of Shiva. The income derived from *chadhawa*, the cash presents offered by the village people goes to him. No land is dedicated to other deities of the village. Worship is offered to Gopalji by a Brahmin of the village. The presents made by the worshippers in cash as well as in kind to the idols are taken by the village Brahmins who appropriate them to their own use.

178. All the deities of the village, being of local importance are visited by the villagers, daily or occasionally. Prayers are offered to them. Pots full of water are poured over the idols of Shiva by the devotees. In the month of Baisakh a pitcher full of water with a very small hole underneath is placed over a small wooden tripod so that the water from the pitcher may trickle down on the idol of Shiva. The two temples of Shiva appear to have been constructed merely for the sake of convenience of the village people. No special significance, conflict, or rivalries based on caste, family or some other factor, appears to have been involved. This is apparent from the fact that in both temples daily worship is offered by the same Jogi priest and the land attached to both of them is common.

Festivals

179. The most important festivals that are celebrated are:—

1. Holi
2. Raksha Bandhan
3. Janamasthmi
4. Dashra
5. Diwali

Holi, celebrated with great eclat by the village falls in the bright half of the month of Phalgun. Mina men and women drink hard on the occasion and sing song and dance. Other villagers also become hilarious on this occasion. They throw coloured powder and water on each other. The Holi festival terminates with the worship offered to Shitla Mata on the 7th day of the dark half of Chaitra.

180. Celebration of Raksha Bandhan on the Poornima day of Shravan is a sobar affair. People dress themselves in clean and new attires and the sisters pay visit to their brothers to tie *rakhis* to their wrists. They wish them good luck and happiness.

181. On the Janamasthmi which falls on the 8th day of the bright half of Bhadon the celebrations are held in the temple of Gopalji, where the villagers assemble and sing songs in praise of Lord Krishna. The festival continues till the dead of night, the hour at which Shri Krishna was born. Those who keep fast during the day take meals after mid-night when the birth of Shri Krishna is supposed to have taken place. Persons of all communities including the Brahm Bhats, the Dholis and the Balais, participate in the celebration.

182. Dashera is observed with great enthusiasm by the Minas. They worship their ploughs, and bullocks are given a bath. Their bodies are decorated with application of *mehandi* and their horns are coloured green with tips red, and pellet-bells are tied round their neck. The horn of cows are also coloured with a mixture of oil and *hartal* (powder of dark red colour). Worship is offered to the bullocks on this day. As usual the Minas clad themselves in their best clothes and go out drunk singing songs and playing on the *algochas*.

183. On Diwali the villagers clean their houses and decorate the floors and the walls with *madnas*. The *madnas* are a common feature of village life in Rajasthan. The houses are decorated with these on all important festivals and also on the occasion of the birth of a male child and marriage. A house without the *madnas* is considered inauspicious. Before the *madnas* are worked on the floor and the walls they are coated

with cattle dung. Then with the help of chalk called *geru* women make out delicate figures of various objects, the more important of which are the figures of cart, bullocks, wheels of cart, birds such as the peacock, the parrot, the pigeon etc, animals like the tortoise, household articles such as *pankha* (fan), *deepak* (earthen lamp). Special importance is given to the designs known as *paglias* which are symbolic of the feet of goddess Laxmi. These are always marked with toes pointing inwards representing her auspicious entering in the house. The Balais consider these *paglias* as symbols of the feet of Ramdeoji whom they worship as their family deity. The houses are lighted in the evening with earthen lamps. The village people are in a holiday mood and feed themselves with special dishes which consist mainy of *lapsi* and rice etc. On the day following Diwali, the Minas perform *shradh* of their ancestors. Brahmins are fed on this occasion with *kheer, poori* and sweets etc.

Village Organisation

184. The caste system rules the village Nangal Soosawatan as it does in other villages. For social purposes each caste forms a separate entity. In the hierarchy of caste, Brahmins occupy the first position, then come the Mahajan followed by the Minas, the Malis, the Khatis, the Brahm Bhats, the Jogi, the Dholis and the Balais in a descending order.

185. Notwithstanding the fact that a major part of the population of the village is residing in *dhanis*, i.e. hamlets each of which is not less than a km away from the main cluster, there is a sense of solidarity and social kinship amongst the different castes. The *dhanis* grew up not because of any special geographical feature of the village or of ethnic characteristics or cleavages in the village communities. They have been set up avowedly to facilitate the watch and ward work of crops in the fields. The existence of these hamlets, however, does not interfere with the corporate social and economic life of the village. The occupants of the hamlets participate freely in all village functions.

Inter-hamlet and Inter-caste relationship

186. The relations between the members of each of the communities *inter-se* and between different castes are on the whole very cordial. No tensions are in evidence. Each one of the communities follows its occupation peacefully, and the village people take part freely in the social affairs of one another. The Minas due to their numerical dominance and fairly sound economic position, are held in high regard by the Mahajan, the Brahmins, the Khatis and the Malis. The Mahajan owes his prosperity to the dealings which he has with the members of the various communities. The Brahmins though they follow the vocation of agriculture depend to an appreciable extent on the Mahajan and the Minas for the income which they derive from *jagmani*, the priesthood. The Khatis contribute an important part to the village economy and although they belong to the serving class they have a respectable place in the village. The Brahm Bhats are closer to the Minas than to other groups as they maintain their genealogical tables. They look to the Minas as their masters. The Minas on the other hand do not look down upon them. They consider them as a necessary section of the society and remunerate them for the services rendered by payment of 56 kilograms of grain per two ploughs. The Dholis and the Balais consider other communities as their patrons and render service to them willingly. On ceremonial occasions they are invited as inferiors and are fed as if out of charity. The Jogi enjoys a status higher than that of the Dholi and the Balai. He holds the hereditary occupation of performing worship in the temple of Shiva and the sources of income attached to the temple gives him a certain amount of economic independence and respectability.

187. The Brahmins take food usually cooked by themselves. Food called *Pucka khana* i.e. fried *pooris* and sweetmeats such as pudding (*halwa*), *ladoos, jalebis* and *namkins*, is taken from the hands of the Mahajan, the Minas, the Khatis and the Malis. The Mahajan can take what is called *kutcha khana* (unfried articles of food such as loaves of bread and rice) from the hands

of the Brahmins and from those persons of his own community and *pucka khana* from the hands of those acceptable to the Brahmins. The Minas take food from the hands of all the communities except the Balais and the Dholis. The Khatis and Malis can take *kutcha* and *pucka khana* from the hands of the Brahmins, the Mahajan and their own caste fellows. They have no objection to taking *pucka khana* from the Minas. The Jogis, the Dholis and the Balais accept food from the hands of all other communities residing in the village, but none of them would agree to take food from the hands of each other.

Democratic Decentralisation

188. The Village Panchayat which is the basic unit in the scheme of democratic decentralisation, was established on 28th Jan, 1961 according to the provisions of the Panchayat Samiti Act, 1959. The following villages are represented in this Village Panchayat:—

Name of the village	No. of Panchas	Community to which they belong
1. Nangal Soosawatan	4	3 Minas & 1 Balai
2. Badagaon	Nil	—
3. Sisawas	1	Mina
4. Bhadya	1	Mina
5. Amber Chak No.1	1	Mina
6. Amber Chak No.2	1	Mina
7. Chimanpura	1	Mina
8. Dhap-ka-wala	1	Mina
9. Khurad	1	Mina

189. The Sarpanch of the Village Panchayat is not included in the above list. He is the Mahajan from Nangal Soosawatan and holds the position due to his economic importance in the village. The two co-opted ladies are also included among the members of the Village Panchayat. Both of them belong to the Mina community, one from Nangal Soosawatan and the other from village Khurad. The Panchayat Samiti Act provides for election of the Sarpanch and the Panchas but elections are seldom held by secret ballot. The Sarpanch and the Panchas are elected by the concensus of opinion, canvassing is done behind the scene and ultimately the elections are unanimous. The Panchayat meets on alternate Sundays. Thus there are two to three meetings of the Panchayat in a month.

190. The Panchayat is responsible for making recommendations for the welfare and development of the village and for execution of the development schemes sanctioned by the Government. Improved seeds and artificial manure are distributed to the villagers through the agency of the Village Panchayat. A Cooperative Society has also been organised by the Panchayat with an authorised capital of Rs. 19,800. It has sanctioned advances to the extent of Rs. 7,870, but the disbursements had not taken place when this survey was held. The Panchayat has planned the construction of a Panchayatghar, for which a sum of Rs. 2000/- has been sanctioned by the Panchayat Samiti but the work has not yet commenced as the promised *Shramdan* (voluntary labour) was not forthcoming. Similar is the case with the proposal for extension of the school building. The Panchayat Samiti had agreed to make a cash grant provided an equal amount was forthcoming from the village in the form of contribution of labour or cash. No progress has, however, been made. Except the Sarpanch all the Panchas are illiterate. The primary occupation of all the Panchas excepting the Sarpanch is agriculture.

Community Panchayat

191. The Caste Panchayat of Minas is comprised of 20 representatives, known as *patels*. They represent 12 villages, namely, (1) Nangal Soosawatan (2) Natata (3) Dhand (4) Khera (5) Kham (6) Sangore (7) Chhapri (8) Toda (9) Bilod (10) Dalore (11) Gatore and (12) Ghatti, all of which have Minas as their principal inhabitants. Nangal Soosawatan has got four *patels* on the Panchayat. The rest of the villages are represented by one Patel each except Badagaon which according to the mutual understanding is represented by the *patels* of Sisawas, a nearby village. The cases which fall within the purview of the Caste Panchayat are those of land, family, irregular sexual relations, breach of caste etiquette and

matters of allied nature which may involve the reputation of the community as a whole. The Community Panchayat of all the villages seldom meets. It has not met for the last many years as no serious matter deserving its consideration was reported to have cropped up. Minor cases are dealt with by the elders of the community locally. The delinquents are punished with imposition of fines, a directive to hold a caste dinner, or feeding Brahmins, cows or pigeons. If the offence committed is grave, the offender may even be ex-communicated. He may, however, be retaken in the fold on his undergoing the penance prescribed by the Caste Panchayat.

192. The jurisdictions of the Village Panchayat and the Community Panchayat are different and distinct, and so far no clash between them has been reported.

Voluntary Organisation

193. There is no club or library or any other voluntary organisation in the village.

Reform Measures

194. The Block Development authorities are making efforts to bring within bounds the evil of drink among the Minas, the Jogi and the Dholis but no tangible success appears to have been achieved so far. The village people are totally averse to the programme of Family Planning. They are very conservative in this respect and are of the view that there is no need for stopping future births. The Panchayat Samiti had organised a meeting for propagating idea of Family planning in October 1960 but the meeting proved a dismal failure. Only the Mahajan and his wife went to attend the meeting and even they were not convinced of the utility of the scheme. The demand for payment of dowry does not present any problem in the village. People give and accept dowry according to their economic status. The Balais are considered untouchables. A separate well was allotted to them in the village from which they used to draw water. Recently, however, there has been some relaxation in this regard and they are now allowed to draw water with a leather or canvas bucket but not by means of earthen pots from the main wells.

Other Aspects of Social Life

195. The villagers are superstitious by nature. They do not undertake journey on an eclipse day, Wednesday, Saturday or Sunday, towards Jaipur, because they think that it may bring them some mishap. If due to force of circumstance, they are required to proceed on one of the above days a *prasthana* is performed by tieing a little *moong* and rice to a corner of a scarf which is placed in some house on the way the previous evening. The article is picked up when the person proceeds on journey at the appointed time. If a man sets out on a journey and meets a woman with an empty pitcher, he abandons his journey, and does not undertake it till the next day. If one meets on his way a woman bringing a pitcher full of water the event is considered highly auspicious. An encounter with a Teli at the start of a journey is considered especially bad.

तीन कोस में मिलिया तेली
रुपया मिले न अधेली ।

If one meets a Teli within a radius of 3 *kos* (10 km) one is likely to earn neither a rupee nor a half-rupee.

196. Some persons believe that things seen in dreams after 4 A.M. are true. If a washerman or a buffalo appears in a dream, ill-luck is foreboded. Rain in dream is believed to result in fire. Appearance of a cow is, however, considered auspicious. If one sees a treasure in dream, a theft is apprehended. The braying of an ass and the hooting of an owl on the left and the cry of a jackal on the right are considered ominous. The cry of a Saras (crane), the crossing of the path by a cat and chance meeting of a sheep and hyaena are also deemed unlucky.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

197. Nangal Soosawatan, as we have noted already, is a village wherein the Soosawat Minas, one of the oldest if not the original inhabitants of the region, are even today in dominant majority. The course of history down the past so many centuries has fashioned their life to an unusual extent. Proud warriors who once faught for the hegemony of the region against the Rajputs, they have now become as good tillers of the soil as the well-known Jats, the Gujars and the Rajputs. The long contacts with the advanced Hindu castes left an effect on their way of life. The old aboriginal costums and rituals, etc. have given way to Hindu gods and goddesses, ideals and behaviour patterns. In short they have now been completely integrated into the surrounding Hindu socio-polity.

198. The Minas came to be included in the list of Scheduled Tribes along with the Girasias, the Bhils and the Saharias. But if we examine the position and study the condition under which the three latter tribes live as also those of other sections of our rural population, we perforce come to the conclusion that the Minas were treated with less than justice when they were chosen to be given the materially beneficial treatment of a Scheduled Tribe.

199. The amounts sanctioned for the uplift of the backward communities under different schemes and plans of the Union and State Government are no doubt spent on the village, Nangal Soosawatan. But either due to the short time since the plans have been put into operation or due to lack of enthusiasm or to some other factors no appreciable progress is seen in the present life of the people. The number of children in the school does not make much headway; the superstitions continue to dominate the lives of the residents as before; the dowry, the indebtedness continue as of old; and child marriages are probably as common and numerous as in the past.

200. The basic cause of backwardness in terms of which all the ills the village suffers from can be explained, is ignorance. Illiteracy, social taboos, caste restrictions, love of the traditional, dirt, disease and indebtedness, all these ensuing from ignorance, imprison the village mind to such an appalling extent that one cannot judiciously expect the victims to come of the vicious circle on their own and attempt or achieve progress. The work of Block Development schemes is blocked for lack of genuine cooperation from the villagers. The literacy drives, if they ever take place in rural areas, prove ineffective; for the intended beneficiaries do not see any good in them. The Acts passed by the legislatures and the orders promulgated by governments, central as well as provincial, remain dead letters because the well intentioned planners' schemes presuppose that the people do see and seek their self interest. But what one meets with in village like Nangal Soosawatan generally is a sort of unhealthy contentment, a type of resignation, a frame of mind which refuses to exert for any personal, material social or communal betterment.

201. Take a case from our village, Nangal Soosawatan. The villagers or their elders have not yet seen the wisdom or value or usefulness of making pucka the kilometer long track-it is absurd to call it a kutcha road-connecting the village to the tehsil headquarters 3 km off. There is no likelihood of a villager turning a social worker during the next 15 years, bringing the people together, forming a cooperative society and setting up institution satisfying departmental requirements and exerting for the advancement of the community and the village. The officials of the administration are not expected, moreover, to win

the type of confidence that is required for inspiring the village folks; and without the local people coming forth, be it noted, no real progress is possible or imaginable in a democratic way of life. The establishment of a casteless secular society based on equality of status and respecting individual's rights is so new and foreign to the inherited social organisation obtaining in the villages that they do seriously doubt the wisdom of giving up their well-established community and caste based system for something which cannot be said to have given complete satisfaction to the people in countries in which it is said to have been tried for decades or centuries.

202. To suggest, therefore, the forming or founding of institutions like cooperative societies when the local people are ignorant and non-cooperative, to propose the establishment of small or cottage industries where the necessary raw materials are not available, to plan the opening of school while the people most concerned are unwilling or opposed to spare their wards, is, to say the least, highly improper for it is wasteful. Education of the village-elders -not in the formal way but in the sense in which it means inspiring or enthusing them- is the first task for any outside agency claiming to work for their uplift.

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सत्यमेव जयते

BHANGARH

A VILLAGE SURVEY



CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

RAJASTHAN

PRG. 171 A 6 (N)
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VOLUME XIV

RAJASTHAN

PART VI - A

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

6. BHANGARH

Field Investigation and First Draft by
B. R. GULATI

Supervision and Final Draft by
L. R. PENDHARKER

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C. S. GUPTA
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Superintendent of Census Operations, Rajasthan.

1965

PREFACE

Village Bhangarh is situated on a site believed to be a factory station of the early stone-age man from where pre-historic artefacts like hand axes, ovates, cleavers etc. had been discovered. By the side of the village lie the ruins of the mediaeval Rajput township of the same name that flourished a few centuries ago. The residents of the village live in four distinct hamlets lying round another village on which they are completely dependent. Kanphata Jogis, the community which was closely associated with the rise and fall of the ruined township, is even today playing an important role in the life of the village.

The investigation for the Socio Economic Survey of this village was made firstly by Sarvashri B. R. Gulati M. Sc. (Anth.) and G. D. Agarwal M. Com. during the first week of September 1961 but later the study was taken up by Shri B. R. Gulati alone, who visited the village in April 1962 and again in April 1964 alongwith Shri L. R. Pendharker who prepared the final draft. Miss Apeksha Rao has prepared the sketches for this report. Dr. U. B. Mathur, Deputy Superintendent, Census Operations, Rajasthan has assisted me in editing this report while Shri S. R. Luhadia, Tabulation Officer, has seen it through the press. I thank them all.

I extend my gratitude to Shri Asok Mitra, Registrar General India and Dr. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty for their guidance in this work.

Ram Bagh Palace Annexe,
Jaipur.
15th May, 1965.

C. S. GUPTA
Superintendent,
Census Operations, Rajasthan.

CENSUS PUBLICATIONS

for

Rajasthan State

The Rajasthan 1961 Census Publications, which will have volume No. XIV in All India Census series, will be published in the following parts :—

Part I-A	...	General Report.
Part I-B	...	Subsidiary Tables.
Part II-A	...	General Population Tables (A Series) and Primary Census Abstract.
Part II-B (i)	...	Economic Tables (B Series, Tables I-IV)
Part II-B (ii)	...	Economic Tables (B Series, Tables V-IX).
Part II-C (i)	...	Cultural Tables (C Series).
Part II-C (ii)	...	Migration Tables (D Series).
Part III	...	Household Economic Tables (B Series, Tables X-XVII).
Part IV-A	...	Report on Housing and Establishments.
Part IV-B	...	Housing & Establishment Tables (E Series).
Part V-A	...	Tables on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
Part V-B	...	Ethnographic notes on Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes.
Part VI-A to F	...	Survey of Selected Villages.
Part VII-A	...	Survey of Selected Crafts.
Part VII-B	...	Notes on Selected Fairs & Festivals.
Part VIII-A	...	*Census Administration Report (Enumeration).
Part VIII-B	...	*Census Administration Report (Tabulation).
Part IX-A & B	...	Census Atlas.

A separate District Census Handbook prepared by this office will be issued by the Government of Rajasthan for each of the 26 districts.

*Not for sale.

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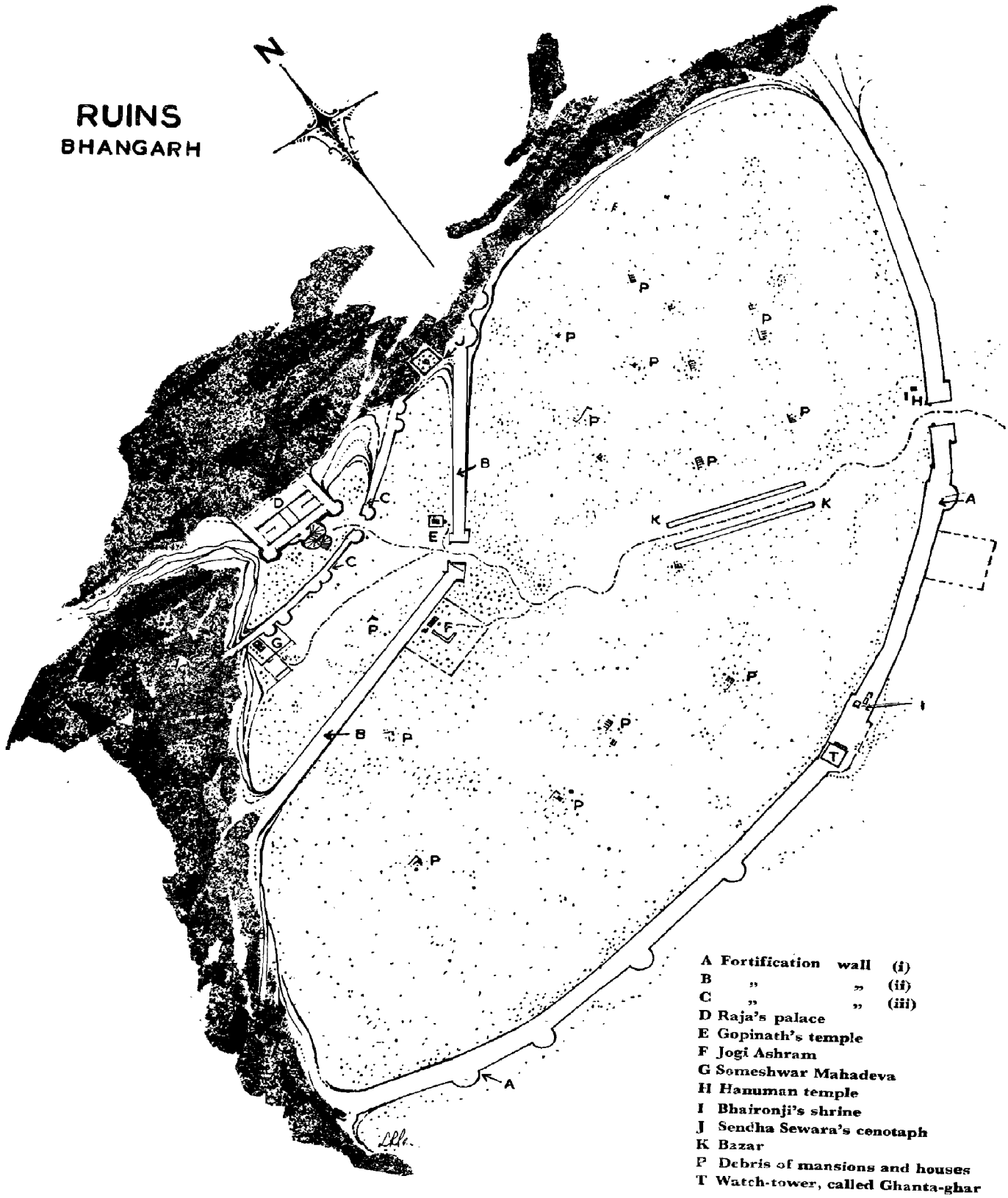
VILLAGE BHANGARH

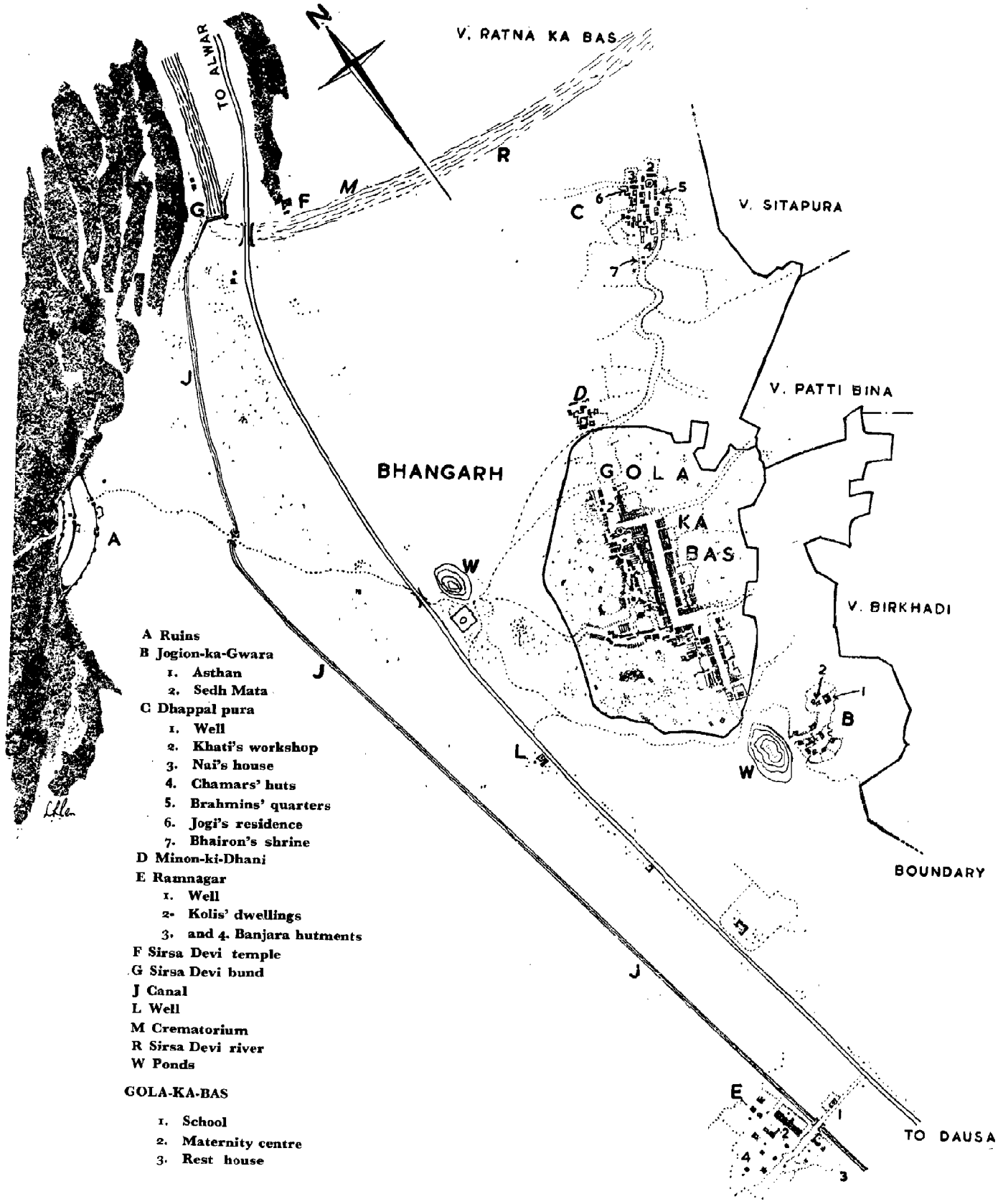
TEHSIL RAJGARH

DISTRICT ALWAR



The main gate to the palace area behind the third perkota or fortification wall.

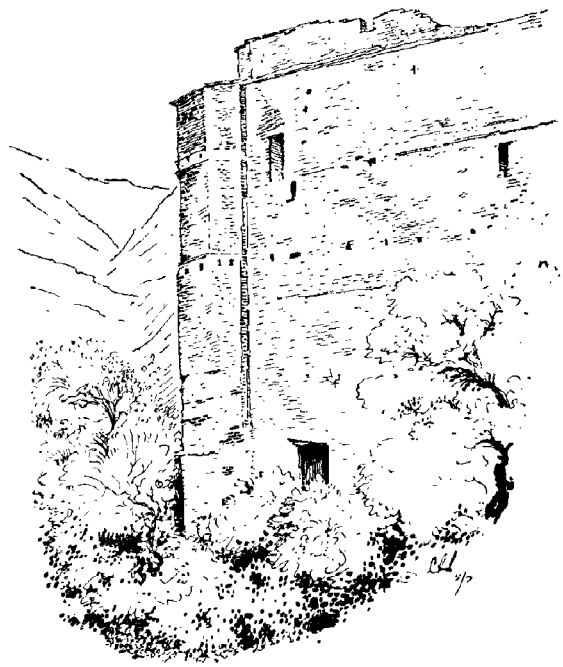

RUINS
BHANGARH
N
A Fortification wall (i)
B " " (ii)
C " " (iii)
D Raja's palace
E Gopinath's temple
F Jogi Ashram
G Someshwar Mahadeva
H Hanuman temple
I Bhaironji's shrine
J Sendha Sewara's cenotaph
K Bazar
P Debris of mansions and houses
T Watch-tower, called Ghanta-ghar


N
V. RATNA KA BAS
TO ALWAR
R
M
F
G
C
V. SITAPURA
V. PATTI BINA
D
BHANGARH
GOLA KA BAS
A
W
V. BIRKHADI
B
BOUNDARY
J
L
E
TO DAUSA
A Ruins
B Jogion-ka-Gwara
1. Asthan
2. Sedh Mata
C Dhappal pura
1. Well
2. Khati's workshop
3. Nai's house
4. Chamars' huts
5. Brahmins' quarters
6. Jogi's residence
7. Bhairon's shrine
D Minon-ki-Dhani
E Ramnagar
1. Well
2. Kolis' dwellings
3. and 4. Banjara hutments
F Sirsa Devi temple
G Sirsa Devi bund
J Canal
L Well
M Crematorium
R Sirsa Devi river
W Ponds
GOLA-KA-BAS
1. School
2. Maternity centre
3. Rest house

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

Not many villages in Rajasthan and only a few in India can claim to have such unique combination of features as BHANGARH of Rajgarh tehsil in Alwar district possesses. It claims ethnologists' attention for the site located in the dense jungle on the banks of the Sanwan (i. e. Sirsa Devi) river, flowing by the village, was a factory station of the early stone-age man, from which pre-historic artefacts like hand-axes, ovates, cleavers, etc. were discovered. The vast ruins of rest houses and palaces, of temples,



towers and turrets strewn over the sloping plains, looking impressive against the backdrop of a mountain range, conjure before a historian's eye a prosperous township. One of the village communities, the Kanphata Jogis, have their *asthan* or headquarters here and the hallowed burial ground of their *peers* or Nath *gurus*, a beautiful spot set in sylvan setting, is sure to interest religious researchers, social scientists and seekers of quiet life. Where else in India, moreover, is to be found a village within a village, Bhangarh putting its loving hands round Gola-ka-Bas?

2. The residents of Bhangarh live in four distinct *dhanis* or hamlets, a couple of miles from the ruins. These *dhanis* flank on either side of Gola-ka-Bas, which, priding over its Middle School, Panchayat Ghar, Post Office, a Co-operative Society, the *dharamshalas*, a flour mill and a dozen shops, governs the entire economy of the former. Gola-ka-Bas means the residence, *bas* of the *gola* or the hereditary slaves; and the beginning of its settlement can be traced back to the slave or servant quarters of the rulers of Bhangarh in the 17th century.

Location and approach

3. Bhangarh, the present village, is situated, as has been stated above, in Rajgarh tehsil of Alwar district between (27° 3′ and 27° 6′ N) and (76° 5′ and 76° 9′ E) about 27 km from Dausa, an important railway station between Jaipur-Bandikui section of the Delhi-Ahmedabad metre gauge route of the Western Railway. Its height above the mean sea level is 561.44 metres.

Welfare and administrative institutions

4. The nearest administrative center is the tehsil headquarters, Rajgarh, 53 km away where are located a High School, an S. T. C. Teachers' Training School, a Public Library, and Maternity and General Hospitals. A Police Station and a Dispensary are, however, available nearer at hand, at Tehla 27 km away. Regular bus transport is available at all times of the day.

Physical aspects

5. The old town of Bhangarh, as the ruins show, was surrounded on three sides by lofty hills where wild undergrowth is seen today. There were natural springs and cascades there; and one such is found near the temple of Lord Someshvar, by the side of which the water collects itself into what looks like a fathomless pond. It is later released into a channel which carries it away to be used for irrigational purposes.

6. At a distance of about 2 km to the north of the present village, Bhangarh, runs the dry bed of the Sirsa Devi river which flows during the rainy season (i. e. July to October) only. It meets two other streams viz. Ghati-wali nadi, and Sainthal-wali nadi at a place called Nangal Dasa, about 10 km away and forms a *triveni*, the holy confluence of three rivers.

7. Near the ramparts of old Bhangarh are found lumps and granules of burnt ores and metal. This indicates the presence of a mediaeval mint, foundry or arms-factory.

Rainfall and temperature

8. No record of rainfall for the village proper is available even though the canal authorities have recently installed a measuring gauge in their Rest House in Gola-ka-Bas. The record at the tehsil headquarters, Rajgarh, is as follows :

Year	*Rainfall in cm*
1956-57	71.32
1957-58	85.45
1958-59	100.48
1959-60	80.56
1960-61	78.88

The average annual rainfall thus comes to 83. 34 cm.

Flora and fauna

9. The following varieties of trees are found in abundance in the forest near and around Bhangarh: Dhok *(Anogeissus pendula)*, Salar *(Boswellia serrata)*, Semal (*Bombax malabaricum*), Amaltas *(Cassia fistula)*, Kadu *(Sterculia urens)*, Gurjan *(Lannea grandis)*, Tendu *(Diosphyros melanoxyion)*, Dudhi *(wrightia tinctoria)*, Palas *(Butea monosperma)*, Hingot *(Balanites roxburgii)*, Kher *(Acacia catechu)*, Gular *(Ficus glomerata)*, Jamun *(Eugenia jambolana)*, Ber *(Zizyphus jujuba)*, Khijur *(Phoenix sylvestris)*, Anwla *(Phyllanthus emblica)*, Neem *(Azadirachta indica)*, Pipal *(Ficus religiosa)*, and Bad *(Ficus bengalensis)*. The dense undergrowth in the surrounding region contains the following main shrubs and bushes: Chirmati *(Abrus precatorius)*, Adusa *(Adhatoda vasica)*, Chota Thor *(Euphorbia nivulia)*, Marrod Phali *(Helicteres isora)*, and Khejra *(Prosopis spicigera)*.

10. Alwar district has been very famous for its shikar facilities. The following game is available in the reserved forests of Bhangarh (forest area 2718 acres): Sher (Tiger), Baghera (Panther), Sambhar (Stag), Nilgai (Bluebull), Hiran (Black buck), Chousinglo (Four-horned antelope), Titar (Partridge), Bater (Quail), Bhat Titar (Sand grouse),Khargosh (Hare),Lomri (Fox), Gidar (Jackal), Jarokh (Hyena), Sarp (Snake), Suwar (Wild pig). and lizards of various types.

Residential pattern

11. As mentioned already this habitation of Bhangarh is not located at one place; but scattered in the following four *dhanis* or hamlets :

i. Dhappalpura ii. Minon ki Dhani
iii. Jogion-ka-Gwara iv. Ram Nagar.

12. In Dhappalpura are to be found all the Brahmins, one Jogi, the Nai i.e. the barber, and all the five Chamar households of the village. In the second and the third *dhanis* dwell the Minas and the Jogis respectively. Ram Nagar, the fourth *dhani*, is of comparatively recent origin; and it contains the huts of the Kolis, who came here from Ajabgarh a decade ago, and of the Banjaras some seven years later. As one approaches the village from Dausa, one catches glimpses of the Banjara huts first, then the Kolis, both on his left; then one comes to the cluster of

houses of the Jogis on the right. All these and the huts of the Minas are situated on the main road, the bus road, whereas Dhappalpura is about a kilometre off the road on the right. The kutcha road leading to it is required to be negotiated on foot.

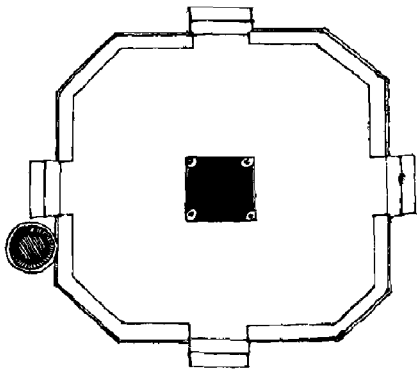
Households

13. The total number of households in the village is 61 comprising of 341 persons. Of these 185are males and 156 females. The following table gives their community-wise distribution :

Community	Number of households	Number of persons			Percentage to total population
		Total	Males	Females	
Koli	24	121	66	55	35.48
Jogi	10	48	29	19	14.08
Brahmin	10	61	27	34	17.89
Chamar	5	27	15	12	7.92
Mina	4	28	15	13	8.21
Khati	1	16	9	7	4.69
Nai	1	4	3	1	1.17
Banjara	6	36	21	15	10.56
Total	61	341	185	156	100.00

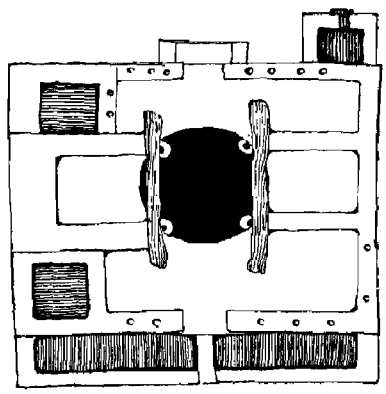
Sources of water

14. Wells are the chief source of water in village Bhangarh. There are as many as 50 wells, out of which 9 are filled up. Of the rest water from only one, the one in Dhappalpura, is used exclusively for drinking purposes.



15. The Dhappalpura well, surrounded by Brahmin quarters on one side, was an unbuilt kutcha one till a few years ago, when it was built in cement and concrete at a cost of Rs. 450. The village panchayat granted Rs. 300, the rest was contributed by the residents of Dhappalpura in the form of cash donations and voluntary labour. One remarkable thing about the well is that people of all communities, including the Chamars, draw water from it. It is another thing that they use different sides of the well while doing so.

16. Water of other wells is led by channels to the adjoining fields and farms. One of such important wells is in Ramnagar built by Kolis and



Banjaras at a cost of Rs. 1250. It has several small tanks attached around it used as cattle ponds.

Markets

17. A village within a village Gola-ka-Bas forming the heart of Bhangarh, it is not surprising that there is no market or even a shop in Bhangarh proper; and all the 13 shops of general provision, which cater to the daily needs, nay even to the luxuries of the simple village folks, are on the main road the only lane, in Gola-ka-Bas. There are also to be found 2 shops of Lakheras, the lac bangle-makers, 12 of Silavats, that is stone-carvers, and a couple of Halwais that is, confectioners. The shopkeepers draw their supplies either from Dausa (Population 15.000) or Alwar (Population 75,000).

Crematoria and burial grounds

18. The four *dhanis* have separate crematoria. The residents of Dhappalpura have their burning ghat along the bank of the Sirsa Devi river; and the Brahmins among them choose a spot slightly upstream. The solitary Jogi household living there has its burial ground a little away from the Sirsa Devi temple. The rest of the Jogis, that is those dwelling in Jogion-ka-Gwara, have theirs on the eastern side of their *dhani*. Their *peer* i.e. the Jogi in the direct line of succession to the headship, is buried in the *samadhiasthan* by the side of his illustrious predecessors among the ruins of old Bhangarh. The Kolis and the Banjaras burn their dead near their settlements.

Places of worship

19. The number of gods and goddesses in Bhangarh is large even by the general standard of Indian villages. This is probably as much due to the great number of communities in Bhangarh as to the scattered nature of its residential areas and its historical past. Each *dhani* has its own places of worship, where the inhabitants offer obeisance to their chosen deities besides those greater and vastly popular idols lodged in temples, demanding worship from all and sundry irrespective of their community affiliations.

20. There is a shrine of god Mahadeva near the well in Dhappalpura on a masonry platform 3 m × 3m × $1\frac{1}{4}$ m. A *lingam* represents the deity and, on its north and facing it, is Nandi, the divine bull. The idol of Parvati, the legendary consort of Lord Mahadeva is absent. A few pebbles of diverse sizes represent the deity if the local informants are to be believed.

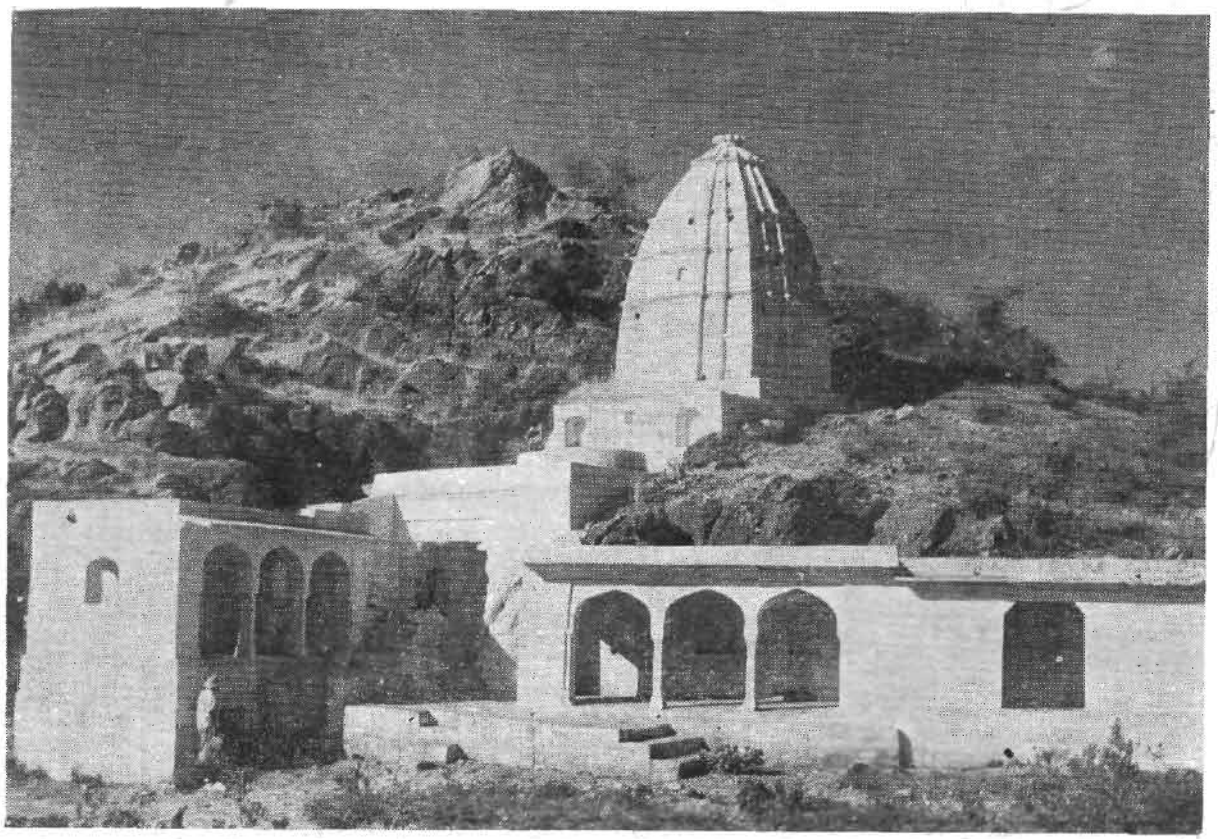
21. There is a niche in the eastern side of the platform in which is lodged Sedh Mata i. e. goddess mother of smallpox, represented by a number of whitened stone-pieces, dimly carved figures in relief, and some clay-plates.

22. A Bhairon image, stands guard on another platform 4m × 3m × $\frac{1}{2}$m where Dhappalpura touches Gola-ka-Bas. It rests under a *neem* tree. To the west of this Bhaironji, can be observed Langra, another god, represented by three stones. All these images are coated with red *ghee-sindhur* mixture. Goddess Chamunda Devi, dressed likewise in vermillion and indicated by five bigger stones, has been given a seat on the left of the platform. A few small sticks, called *ghota* lie before her.

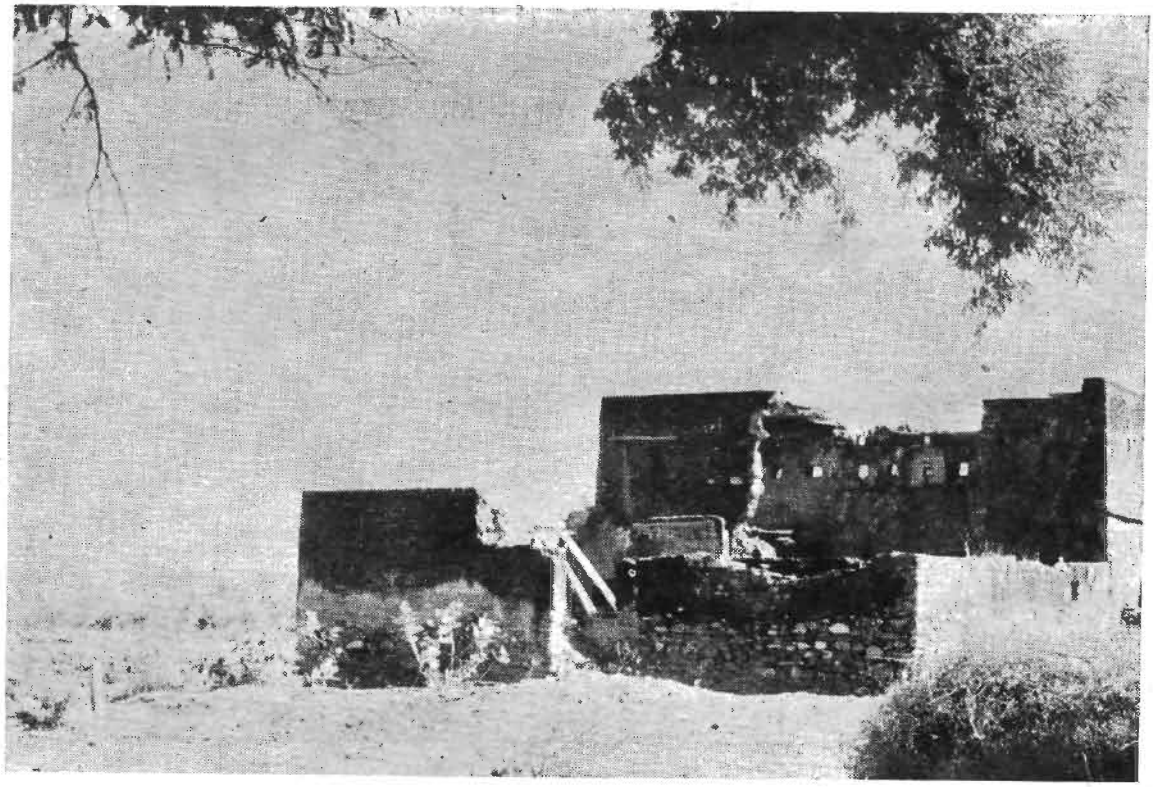
23. To the north-west of Dhappalpura, less than a km away from it, is a temple dedicated to Lord Shiva. The structure comprises of three small rooms in a row and a narrow verandah in front. The middle room has the *jalahari*, the altar, on which once rested the idol, which is presently missing.

24. Another pair of Bhaironji and Langra is installed on a small dilapidated platform nearby; and on its left is a one metre square pukka platform, surmounted by a small dome. This is the spot where, over 125 years ago, Jogi Gyan Nath got himself buried alive, it is reported.

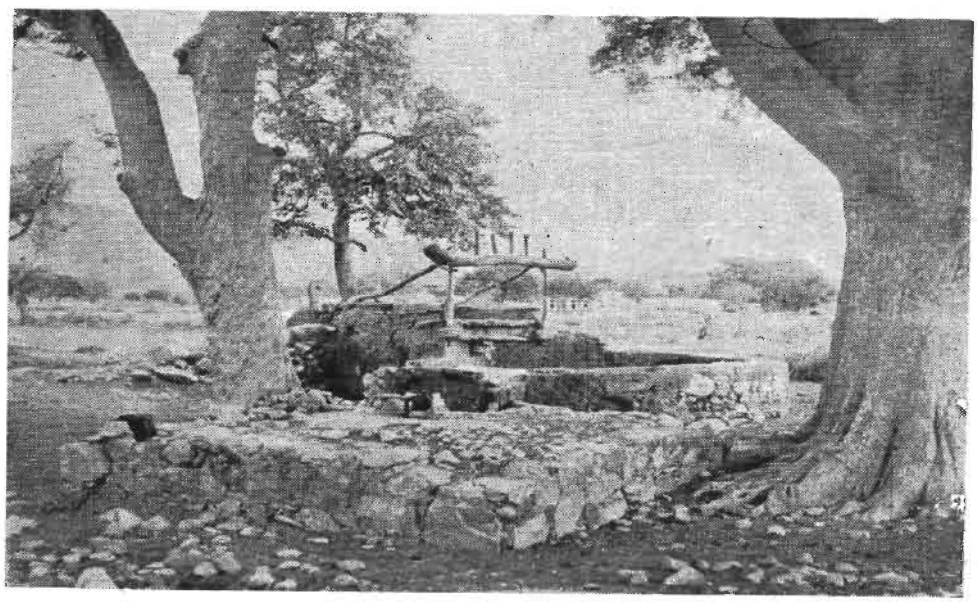
25. About 3 km away to the west of Dhappalpura, just on the right of the Dausa-Alwar roadway on the bank of the river, stands the temple of goddess, Sirsa Devi. It is said to have been in existence when Bhangarh was founded. The deity's head is missing. The villagers report that some thieves, believing that the goddess gave out their plans to the village folk, decapitated her. The broken image is placed



Sirsa Devi Temple



Ruins of the Asthan of the Jogis in Jogion-ka-Gwara. It used to be the residence of the Peers. The present Peer, Shri Lakshmi Nath ji, lives in a hut nearby.



Chabutra of Mahadev and Sedh Mata in Jogion-ka-Gwara

near the temple entrance; and the idol of the goddess, which is offered worship today, was ceremonially installed by one Laxmi Nath Jogi only 12 years ago; and it depicts in relief, the four-armed Devi astride a lion.

26. A recent inscription tells the traveller that the present structure was erected by a Khandelwal devotee of Nimar in Madhya Pradesh in Samvat 2020 (1963 A. D.) on the last day of the bright half of Baisakh at a cost of Rs. 5000. The two carved pillars near the entrace of the temple go ill with the rest of the masonry work. A couple of rooms and a verandah provide rest and shelter to the weary devotees, who mostly belong to Dhoosar and Badaya and Mali communities.

27. About half a kilometre away are situated the *chabutras* (i. e. raised level surfaces) of Bhomias Chhatar Singh and Sujan Singh, sons of the last ruler of Bhangarh, who expired there on their way back from Delhi.

28. In the second *dhani* of Bhangarh, that is Jogion-ka-Gwara, there are two gods, Lord Shiva and Sedh Mata, resting on a crumbling *chabutra* between a couple of tamarind trees. Shiva is represented by a *lingam* and Sedh Mata by a few whitened stones.

29. On the eastern boundary of the fourth *dhani*, Ramnagar, the hamlet of Kolis and Banjaras, we again come across Bhaironji and Sedh Mata taking their position on separate platforms. A big longish stone and a number of smaller ones, all besmeared with *sindhur* represent them. Barely 30 metres away from them is the spot from where Jomder, the patron goddess of the Kolis, benignly rules over her devotees.

30. A number of temples and shrines, both big and small, are to be met with among the ruins of old Bhangarh. The first that meets the eye of the curious visitor is that of Hanumanji, just inside the crumbling gate of the outer ramparts of the once fortified town. The idol, coated thickly with the *sindhur* paste, is lifesize in stature. A fair is held here annually on the 12th day of the bright half of the Hindu month of Baisakh.

History of settlement

31. All the communities of the village except two viz. the Kolis and the Banjaras, claim to have come to their present *dhanis* from the old town of Bhangarh, now in ruins. Of these the Brahmins claim Haryana Prant in the north east of the Punjab as their native place, from where, they say, they first migrated to Naila near Jaipur, then moved on to old Bhangarh and, finally settled on the present site.

32. The Jogis, the second important community of the village, are intimately connected with the legends of Bhangarh and Saint Balu Nath on whose curse the town was deserted. Some of the Jogis are recent arrivals. For instance, Shri Dhanyo of village Banvati, which is 16 km to the east, came to his maternal uncle, Shri Jhoontha Nath, a couple of years ago because of scarcity of water in his village; and Shri Bhura Nath of village Maijorh in tehsil Thana Gazi, some 64 km distant.

33. When the Jogis first came to this village after deserting old Bhangarh, marked by ruins now, they built their huts near the Sirsa Devi temple. After the visitation of bubonic plague in Samvat 1974 (i. e 1917 A. D.) which spread havoc in the country causing great loss of human and cattle life, they shifted to the other side of Gola-ka-Bas, not very far from their present habitation. The ruins of their previous settlements can be seen even now. Following a local fire in which they lost their all, the Jogis moved about 100 paces to the west to their present site.

History of the village

34. Bhangarh was founded about the year 1573 A. D. by a Suryavanshi Kachwaha prince, Bhagwantdas, elder son of Raja Bharmal (1548-74 A. D.) of Amber or Amer whose younger son, Bhagwandas, a great lover of nature and beauty,

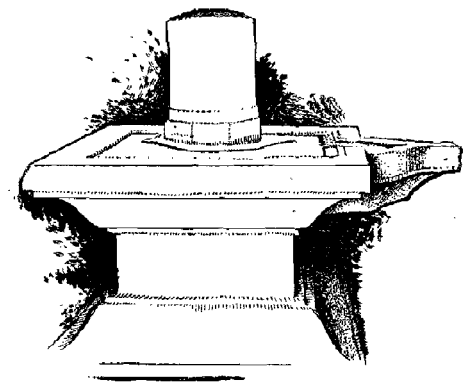
later made it his headquarters. As abundance of water flowing in brooks set in enchanting surroundings, availability of shikar in the dense forest, and the natural setting of hills which could be used to build up defences,—these struck him. He built a crenelled fortification wall, 3 km long and 2½ metres thick, with numerous embrasures, turrets and towers, across the widening valley; and designed and built, within this enclosed area, wells, tanks, temples, mansions for his sardars, quarters for his soldiers and followers and palaces for his queens and himself.

35. The town wall had four gates viz. Amberi darwaza, Delhi darwaza, Lahori darwaza and Hanuman darwaza, the last one is used now by the visitors all others having crumbled down and blocked. On entering it one comes first to the Hanuman temple, referred to above, and then, about 50 metres, to what looks like the main street of the bazar. The debris show that it was lined by row of two-storeyed houses the ground floors being used as shops. Proceeding further we pass through another gate in a second perkota or defence wall, and come to Gopinath temple. It is a beautifully carved structure of yellow stone, about 10 metres high, set in the centre of a massive platform 4 metres high. Though hardly any human or animal figure has escaped the attention of the iconoclast, and the idol itself is missing, there survives enough material to make it the most beautiful monument in the region.

36. The other temple among the ruins of Bhangarh is the Someshwar temple dedicated to Lord Mahadeva. It is about 150 metres from the Gopinath temple referred to above, and is flanked by huge boulders of the adjoining hill on the left and a beautiful reservoir on the right.

37. The *kund* or the sacred reservoir by the side of the temple is very deep. Water in it is dark green in colour and brackish in taste. Visitors use it as a swimming pool and dive into it from the top of the high rampart by its side.

38. The temple walls and pillars as well as the mossy *shikhar* or central spire, show that it was built before the Gopinath temple. Its sanctum houses very impressive marble *lingam* resting on a



finely carved pedestal of the same material. A devotee from one of the *dhanis* offers worship on alternate days.

39. Right at the back of the Mahadeva temple is a third wall of defence spanning the narrow valley and enclosing behind it the royal gardens, orchards, and palaces built on the slope. The air here is over filled with fragrance of kewara and chameli.

40. Behind the garden is a small *chabutra* of god Bhomia, the mythical protector of the earth; and, by its side, are the first steps of a curving path leading to the palaces above.

41. As is evident from the ruins, the Raja's palace had five storeys, and numerous underground apartments for storing ammunition and other provisions. It was well-guarded, and its front was further fortified by the fourth and the last wall about 100 metres long 8-9 metres high and 4 metres thick.

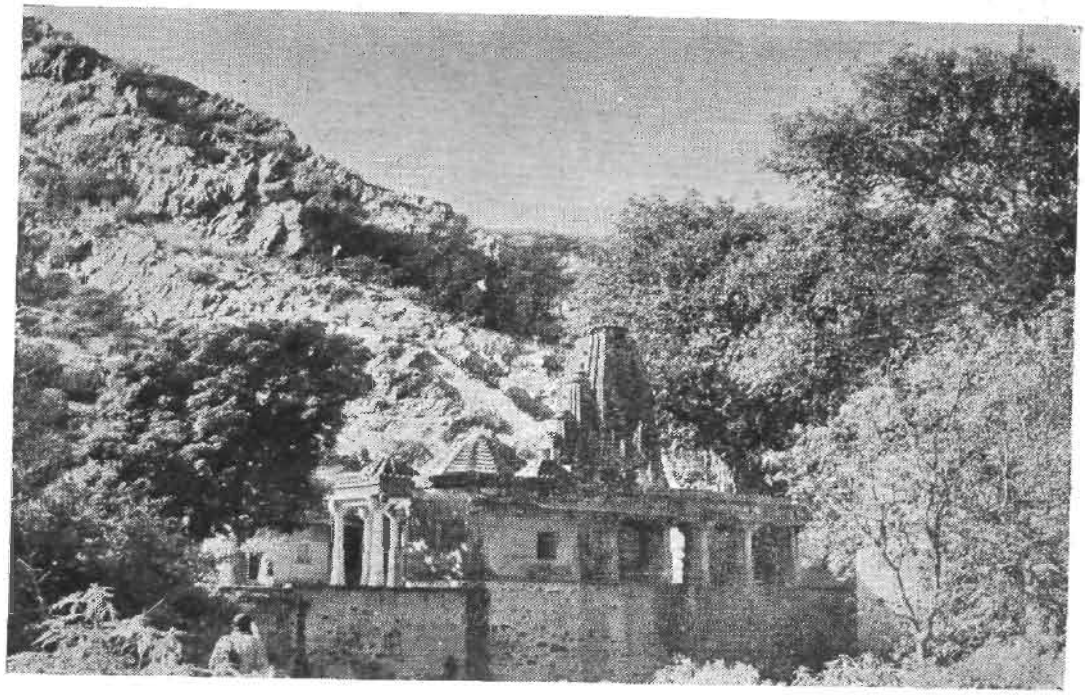
42. About a 100 metres from the Gopinath temple, on the other side of the road, is a *sadhu-ashram*. A patch of land about 80 metres square, is cleared of undergrowth. The whole area, which is studded with *samadhis* or low



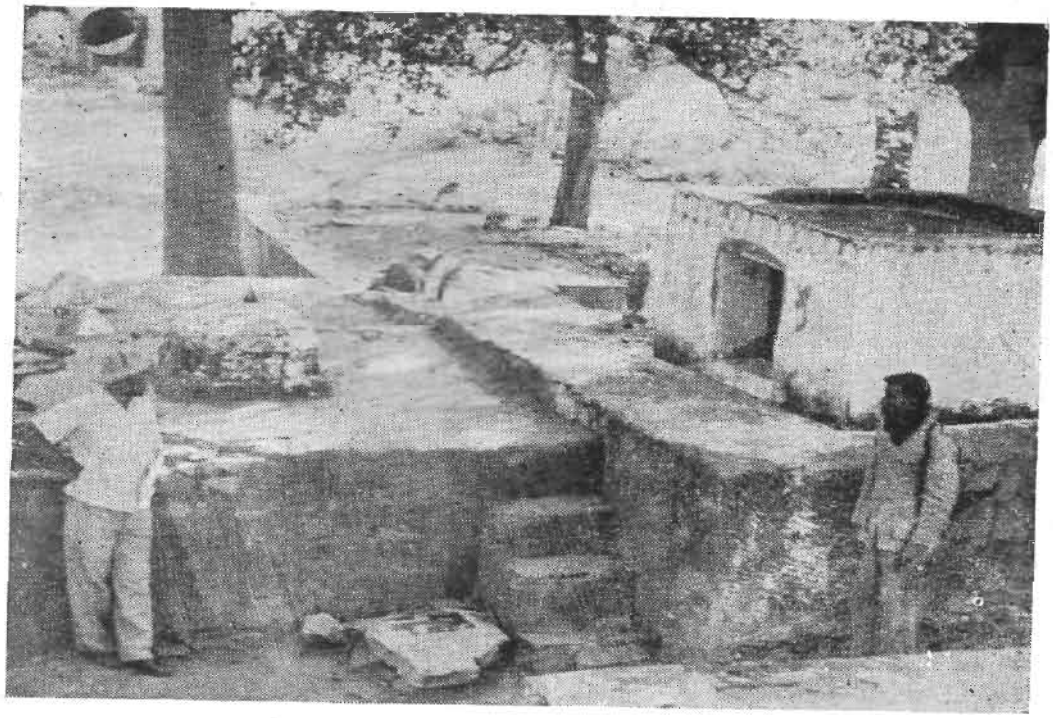
Gopinath's Temple-rear view



One of the figures from the Shikhar of the temple

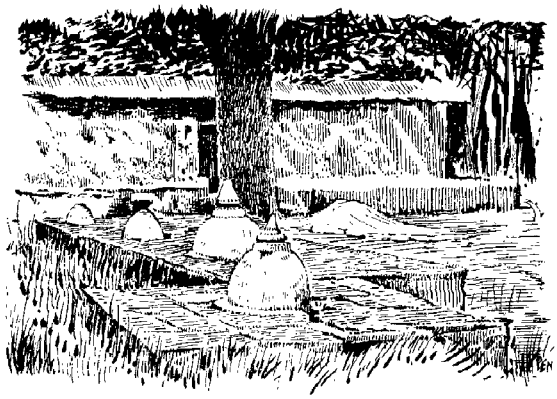


Temple of Someshwar Mahadev



Guru Balu Nath's Samadhi. The small room on the 'Chabutra' is where Balu Nath lies buried.

domed platforms marking graves of the deceased Jogi disciples of Balu Nathji a saintly, figure



revered by not only the Jogis but by other communities as well. He was credited with supernatural powers.

43. Once upon a time, so runs a popular story, Jogi Balu Nathji was practising penances in the dense forest. The ruler of the region happened to come to the spot while in pursuit of a shikar. As the prince developed a liking for the beautiful place, he decided to built palaces there for himself and make it his capital. He thought it proper to secure blessings of the holy man. When he approached Jogi Balu Nathji, and requested his blessings, the latter, observing some show of arrogance in the royal visitor, asked him to come again some time later. The second meeting providing no better proof of humility than the first, the Jogi, though he permitted the construction of the township, ordained that it would not flourish; and would meet an end after some time.

44. The prince, Raja Bhagwantdas of Amber, did not heed the Jogi's words. He belonged to the Kachwaha clan of Rajputs; and he was not to be dissuaded from his plans. He constructed markets and palaces and ordered the place to be inhabited. It became a very prosperous settlement but still the curse of Jogi Balu Nathji hang over it; and after some years the town was suddenly deserted.

45. A legend connected with the desertion of Bhangarh is as follows:

46. According to this legend Ratnawali, wife of the prince Bhagwandas of Amber, was great devotee of Jogi Balu Nathji, and discarding the usual *parda* or veil prescribed for her status used to pass good deal of her time in the company of sadhus and priests. Initially her husband raised no objection but later, on the insistant demand of his courtiers, restricted her movements. Balu Nathji used to spend days in meditation sitting in an underground cell. In one such period the courtiers spread a rumour that the penances practised by Balu Nathji were a hoax. They stealthily put a dead cat in the Jogi's cell and, when after some days, foul smell began coming from it, they i.e. the conspirators, announced the Jogi's death; and little knowing what misfortune awaited them, and taking no notice of the Queen's protests, piled some fuel on it and set fire to it.

47. When heat of the fire became intense, a loud sound of the word *Om* emanated from the *samadhi* and filled the valley. Recognising the cry as that of their *guru*, Jogi Balu Nathji, his disciples rushed to the spot only to find their *guru* dead. The next *peer* i.e. the *guru* ordained that the township would be destroyed that night and, addressing Queen Ratnawali as sister, advised her to leave the palace instantly.

48. A second legend relates that the Raja not liking the unveiling of his wife, Ratnawali, and incited by his courtiers, ordered a captured tiger to be kept unfed for three days. He then got the hungry beast released in the enclosed courtyard in the Queen's palace where she was absorbed in her prayers. Ratnawali on turning back was surprised to see the god of tiger in person before her, and bowing low began offering worship to him. The Raja realised his mistake.

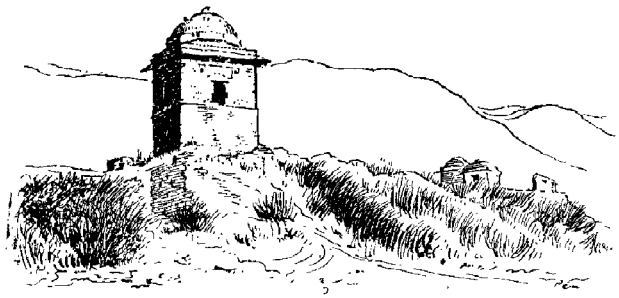
49. A legend connected with the *chhatri* of Sendha *sewara* the domed platform atop a hillock overlooking the palaces in old Bhangarh may also be noted here. The *sewara* (i.e. the magician) seemed to be a dervish endowed with

magical or supernatural powers. He was enamoured of the beauty of princess Ratnawali and became possessed by the evil desire to have her.

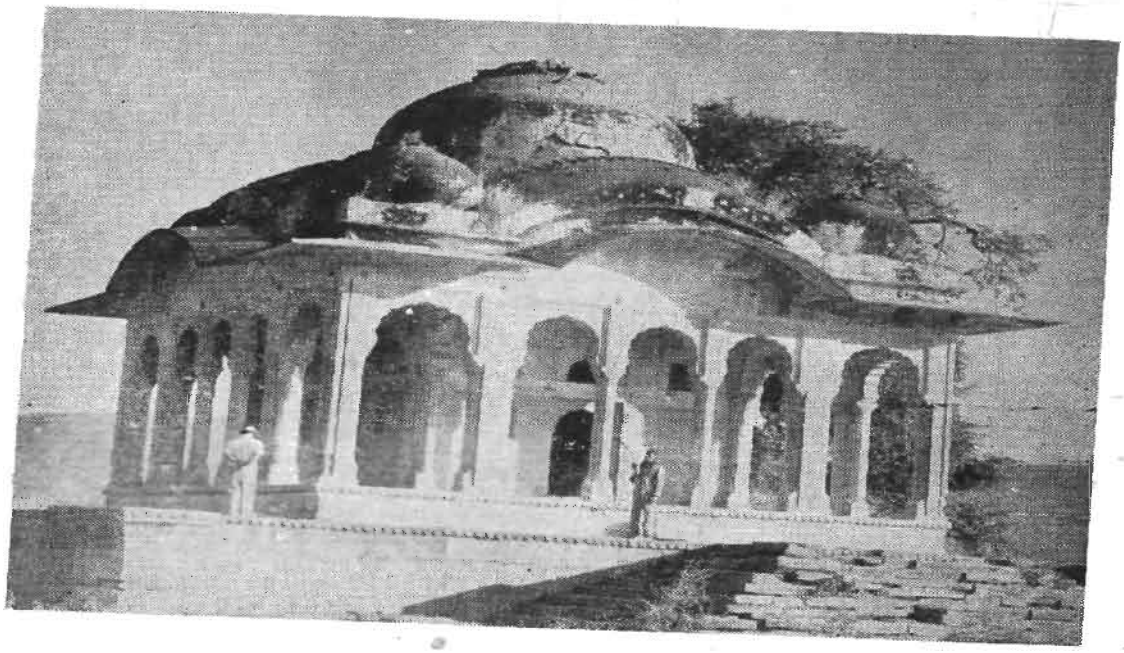
50. He happened to meet one day, in the local bazar, the princess's maid who had a small can full of oil in her hand meant for her royal mistress. The *sewara* looked into the fragrant liquid and uttered a spell, which meant that any material body or person contacting it would be physically carried over to the *sewara* at once.

51. By the time the maid reached the palace, the *sewara* had reached his abode. The princess, Ratnawali, looked at the decanter and, intuitively sensing some thing wrong, asked the maid to pour its contents over a huge stone slab nearby. No sooner was this done than the slab flew in the air and reached the target, hitting and killing Sendha *sewara* on the spot. Later it is said, the princess got the *chhatri* constructed in his memory. The stone slab is still to be seen there.

52. Legends apart, it is well-nigh impossible to account for the sudden abandonment of Bhangarh by its residents so shortly after its establishment. The solitary record found in the tehsil headquarters of Thana Gazi in the old Alwar State relates that the township was a prosperous place for nearly 90 years; but it too does not give any reason for its decline and desertion thereafter.



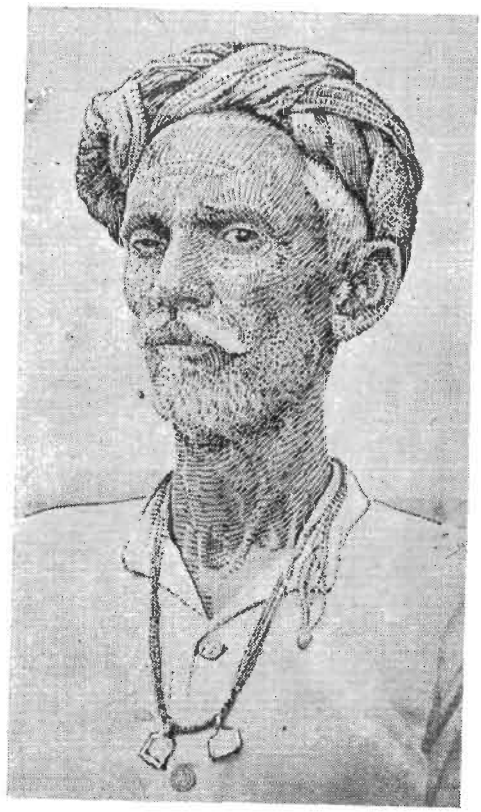
A watch tower near the ruins.



A garden rest house near the ruins, called Mukarba.



A corridor in the upper palace in old Bhangarh



Bhagwan Nath, the oldest member of the Jogi community.



Kalu Ram Patel (Brahmin)

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENT

As has been noted already there are people of eight communities inhabiting Bhangarh, and it is worthwhile to take note of each one of them at this stage.

Ethnic composition

54. JOGI : The word *jogi* is a phonetic corruption of the Sanskrit term *yogi*, meaning one who practises *yoga*. The Jogis of Bhangarh are known as Nath Jogis or Gorakh-panthi or Darsani. In popular parlance they are called Kanphata because of their conspicuously pierced ears. They are divided into the following twelve *panths* or sub sects :

1. Satnath
2. Dharamnath
3. Nateshwari
4. Kapilani
5. Ram Panth
6. Aai Panth
7. Pao Panth
8. Dhamj rawal
9. Bairag Panth
10. Gangnath Panth
11. Pagal Panth
12. Kanthan Panth

55. The Jogi households of this village belong to the Bairag Panth.

56. The earliest reference to the Jogis is in Rigveda (Rig. 10. 11. 136. 1-7). They are described there as persons with long hair, ash-besmeared bodies, ochre robes and possessed of power to soar high in the air. In the Upanishads they are spoken about in greater details. The practice of *yoga* was a common thing in the Mahabharata period as the references to it in Vanaparva and Udyogaparva are numerous. In the Ramayana too allusions to the *yogis*, their hermitages and *tapas* are rather frequent. Some authors describe them as 'the residue of the ancient Savite sects which began as philosophers and became an ascetic order'.§ The Gorakh-panthis or Kanphatas 'share many things with the earlier orders and do not differ so very much from them'.*

57. The practice of making a hole for the ivory ring in the ear cartilage was introduced by Guru Gorakh Nath. A legend says that it was Lord Shiva who asked his consort, Parvati, to pierce his ears so that he might wear the *kundals* i. e. the ear rings given to him by mother-goddess Shakti; another ascribes the practice to Guru Machhandar Nath who received his *kundals* from Lord Shiva as a special grant at his own request; a third relates that Guru Machhandar Nath was born with them; and still another, the fourth, informs us that it was Raja Bhartrihari, a great Jogi, who got his ears pierced for the first time by his Guru, Jullundur Pa, as a mark of distinction.

58. According to the Jogis there were nine Naths, masters of *yoga*, in the *panth*. They were Onkar Nath, Udaya Nath, Sat Nath, Santosh Nath, Achamba Nath, Ganesh Nath, Chorangi Nath, Machhandar Nath and Gorakh Nath.

59. The initiation rites of the Naths mark two successive stages viz. the preliminary or probationary discipleship or novitiate, during which the entrant is called *aughar*; and the final marked by piercing of the ears of the *aughar*, and thereby making him a full-fledged Jogi.

60. All the nine Jogi households living in Jogion-ka-Gwara belong to Vamania Pao *gotra* and the one living in Dhappalpura to Dhar *gotra*.

61. BRAHMIN : The word Brahmin has been derived from *Brahma*, the creator, and, according to the famous 'Purusha Sukta Hymn' of Rigveda, they were made out of His face. The Brahmins are divided into many sub-castes.

§ Religions of India by Hopkins as quoted by G. W. Briggs in "Gorakhnath & Kanphata Jogis' on page 218.
* Ibid, pp. 218-219.

These sub castes are further broken up into numerous *gotras*. The Brahmin families of Bhangarh are Haryana Brahmins except for two households which are of Gaur sub caste.

62. NAI : The word Nai, meaning a barber, comes from Sanskrit *napit*. His profession brought him in contact with all sorts of people, and he came to be credited with tact and cunning as is suggested in a popular Sanskrit adage meaning the barber is the cleverest of all human beings.

नराणाम् नापितो धुर्तः

Another folk couplet declares that a barber with a mirror in hand, if seen on the right, is a good omen. While men of the community also serve as negotiators and messengers, women serve as midwives. The four members of the lone Nai household in Bhangarh are no exception to the general observations made above.

63. About 8 km from village Bhangarh and 5 km off the Dausa-Alwar highway, is situated, in the heart of a particularly dense jungle, the temple dedicated to the sacred memory of Mahasati Narayani, the community goddess of the Nais spread over the whole country. She was born at Moran in Samvat 1006 (949 A. D.) as Karmeti. After her marriage at the age of 9 to a young man of Rajorgarh, she was accompanying her husband to her new home when her husband died of snake-bite. Her self-immolation on the pyre of her lord at the spot raised her, a girl of 10, to sati-hood. An annual fair is held here on the 9th day of the bright half of Baisakh.

64. The Nai family in Bhangarh belongs to Kalaya *gotra*.

65. KHATI : The local word Khati i. e. carpenter, comes from Sanskrit *kastha* which means wood. The Khatis are divided into many eponymous and territorial divisions like Mewara, Marwara and Jhangra. These endogamous groups are further split into exogamous *gotras*. The sole Khati household in village Bhangarh belongs to Jhangra sub division.

66. KOLI : According to some authorities the Kolis are the offsprings of the Kols. The Kolis themselves, however, relate a story to claim descent from the Kshatriyas. A certain king of Kashi, Rama by name, suffered from leprosy and, with a container of medicine prepared from the bark of a koli tree, went to live in a forest. The treatment proved efficacious and the prince came to be known as Koli Rishi. In a cave in the same forest the daughter of another king, Ikshavaku, who also suffered from leproy, was left by her five brothers. The Koli Rishi discovered, cured and married her, and five sons were born to the pair. These sons founded an independent kingdom with Ramagram as its capital.

67. According to the Dharma Sutra, the Kolis were an outcaste born of the union of a Shudra with either a Brahmin or Kshatriya woman; and the progeny in course of time formed a separate community looked down upon by the others viz. the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas. Colonel Tod considers the Kolis one of the three groups of original dwellers of Rajasthan. Their traditional occupation is weaving but now they follow agriculture.

68. Like other Hindu castes, the Kolis are divided into a number of *gotras*, some of which are the following :

Khenwal, Sanwalyo, Khandelwal, Kalot, Nakhliya, Chittoria, Tolaya, Rajoria, Phatoopuria, Kalaya, Tatooda, Duarya, Davatwal, Cheechara, Morwal, Satawaniya, Nepalduriya, Mandya, Chhandwal. Saparsya, Banpolyo, Moongamia and Mandiswal.

69. The *gotra*-wise distribution of the 24 Koli households in Bhangarh is as follows :

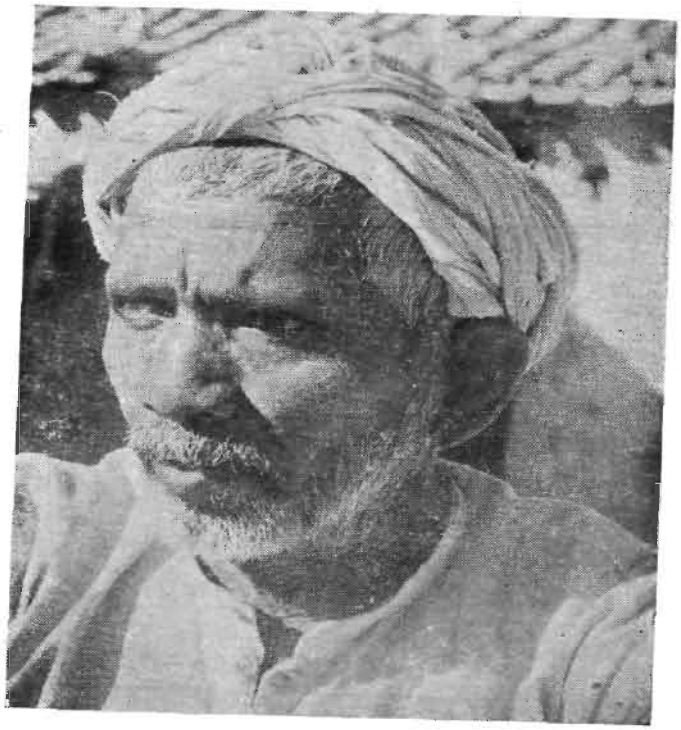
Tolaya	3	Saparsya	4	Banpolyo	3
Davatwal	1	Sanwalyo	3	Kalot	1
Kolaya	1	Mandya	3	Duarya	3
Phatoopuria	1	Moongamia	1		

70. BANJARA : The Banjaras or Vanjaras were "the great travelling traders and carriers" of Central India, the Deccan and Rajputana; and under the Afghan and Mughal empires were "the commissariat of imperial forces".★ They seem to be a very composite class, including sections of

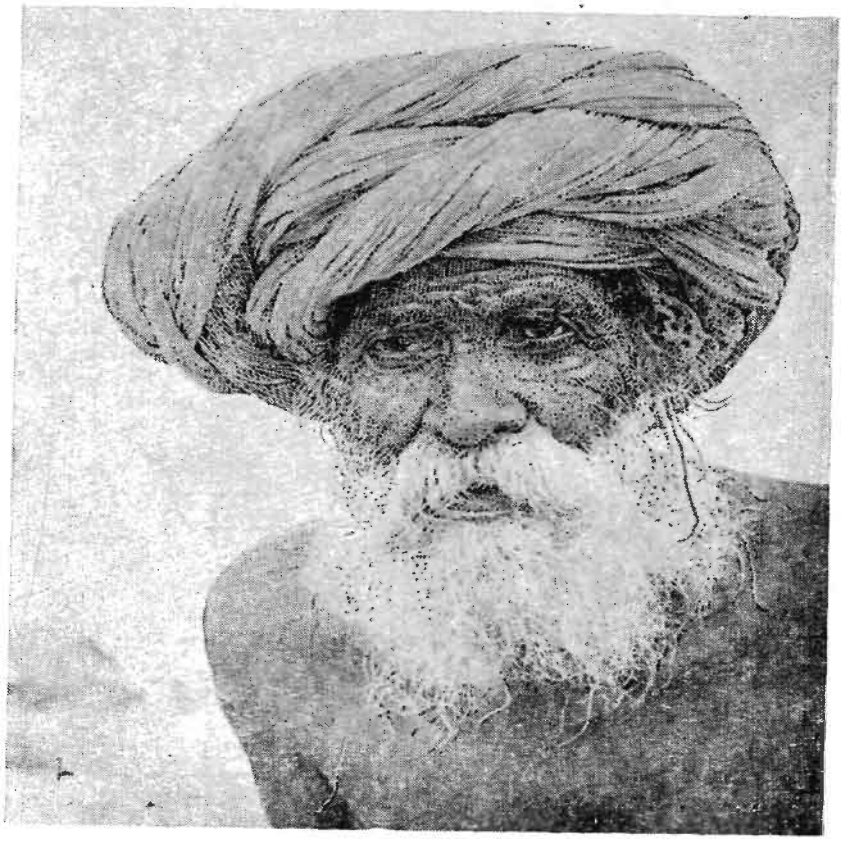
★ Ibbetson : 'Punjab Castes and Tribes', Vol. II, P. 62-63.



A Khati woman



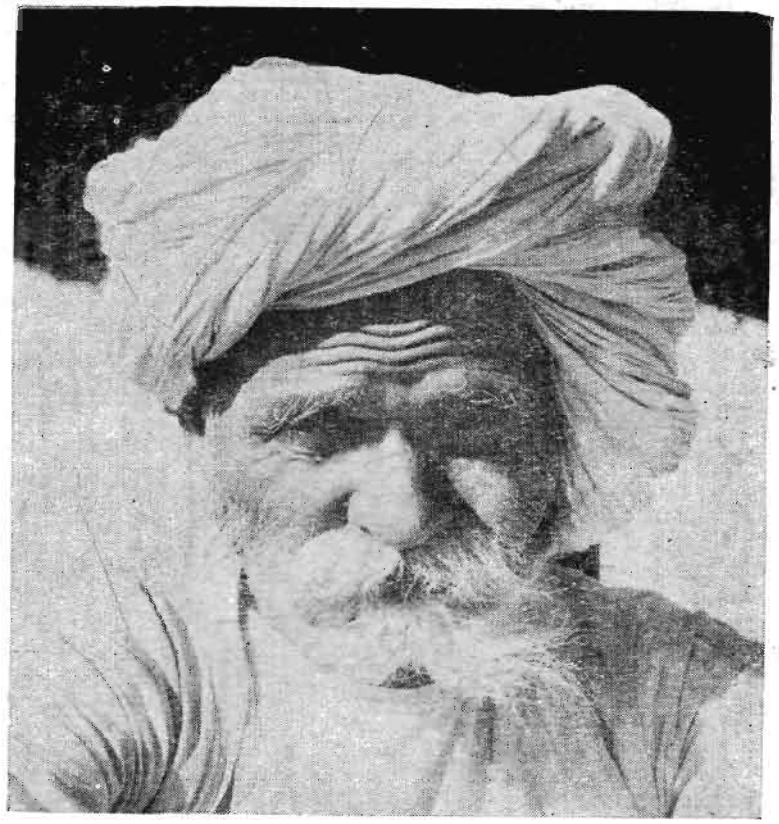
A Koli



The grand old Banjara of the village



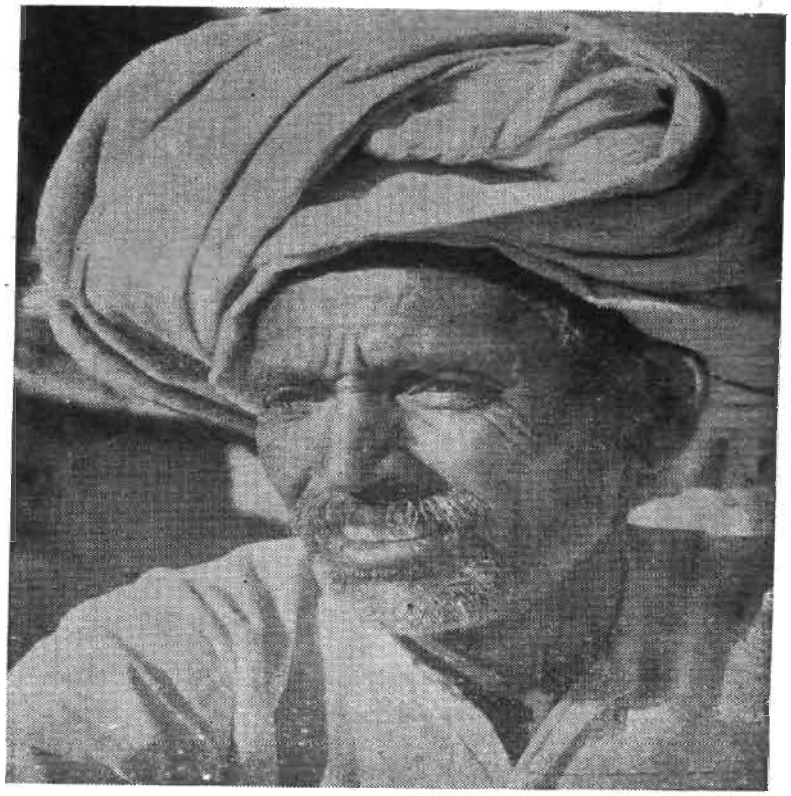
The grand old Banjara lady of the village



A Banjara



Fauji Banjara



Bhonriya, a Chamar, who has left his ancestral profession and taken to farming



Kanaji Mina

various origins. The original Banjara caste is said to have its habitat in the sub-mountain tract from Gorakhpur to Hardwar.

71. They were also called Lawanis and Lambhadis. The words seem to have been derived from Sanskrit *lavana*, meaning salt, which used to be transported by these people; and the word Vanjara is derived from the prakrit *vanijaara* meaning a trader.

72. As has been stated previously, all the six Banjara households of Bhangarh are the latest immigrants having come to it three years ago, and form by far the most colourful section of its population. They claim to be of Rajput origin; four households calling themselves Chauhans and one each Lakhi and Dapdal Rajputs.

73. CHAMAR : The word Chamar comes from the Sanskrit *charma-kar* i. e. one who works with leather, *charma*. Four of the five Chamar households in village Bhangarh belong to Mandawriya clan and only one to Bad clan. They, it seems, belong to this region as they are unable to claim immigration from outside; and may be assumed to have come from the deserted town of Bhangarh.

74. The village Chamars are presently split in two groups. More than half of them have given up their hereditary profession and have taken to agriculture.

75. MINA : Though the Minas are found throughout north-west India, they are concentrated in about half a dozen districts of Rajasthan. They are divided into two main classes viz., the Zamindar or Baragaon or Puranabasi Minas and the Chowkidar or Nayabasi Minas; and it is the latter who are poor and belong to the light-fingered fraternity, and were covered by the Criminal Tribes Act in Pre-Independence days. The Act has now been rescinded and the members have taken to agriculture or agricultural labour. The four Mina households of Bhangarh belong to the class of the Chowkidar Minas.

House types

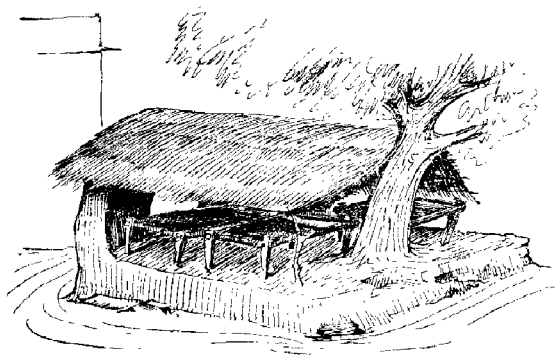
76. Of the 61 houses in village Bhangarh, only 18 are pukka structures with stone walls and stone roofs. These houses belong to the Brahmins, some Minas, the Khati, the Nai and two of the Koli families. All other houses are made of stone walls and roofs either thatched or covered with mud tiles. Most of the houses are just one room tenements. The following table will give a clear picture of accommodation in terms of number of rooms per household of different communities :

Number of rooms	Total number of households	Number of households in various communities							
		Koli	Jogi	Brahmin	Chamar	Mina	Khati	Nai	Banjara
Total	61	24	10	10	5	4	1	1	6
1 room	46	22	10	1	5	2	–	–	6
2 rooms	8	2	–	4	–	1	–	1	–
3 rooms	5	–	–	3	–	1	1	–	–
4 rooms and over	2	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–

77. In pukka house the general plan is square in shape with only one door in the centre of the front wall facing the street. It leads into a spacious courtyard. Around it and opening into it are a number of rooms, in some cases as many as ten. One of the Brahmin households prides over its well-furnished drawing room on its first floor. It has a well-marked kitchen, too, but no bathroom or latrine. Men, women and children old and young, all go to the nearby fields to excrete, a thing not unique in this village.

78. The building material is available locally. The village Khati is engaged to make windows and doors on daily wages, and the wood required is supplied by the employer. The average cost of construction of a pukka house is Rs. 15,000.

79. In the *tibari* or the porch-like structure by the side of the door, one meets with big, sturdy cots spread about, and a few persons



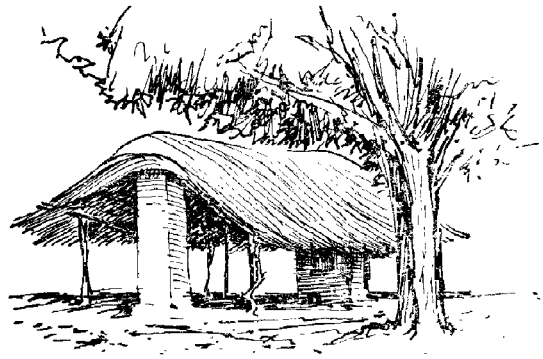
reclining on them and chatting. The rooms in the houses are generally spacious and well-ventilated.

80. The two Koli families, which own pukka houses, constructed them recently. These consist of two rooms each and cost Rs. 2000, besides the labour put in by the members of the owner's households.

81. The other category of houses is the kutcha ones. In these the general plan is rectangular in shape. The roof is made of wood or bamboo frame covered with mud-tiles. It slopes on either sides of a central beam resting on side walls, which are built of stone and mud. The houses of the Jogis are low-roofed and they have no verandahs.

82. There is a separate cattle-shed attached to every house or hut, and an annexe for the goats. The goats are not tethered but are pushed in through a small opening which is blocked by a sliding gate. The entire house is protected with a thorny hedge or a stockade.

83. The *tibari* attached to the kutcha houses is a roof supported by broad stone-mud pillars. It is popular with the Kolis, the Banjaras, the Minas, the Brahmins and the Jogis but not with other communities.



Dress and ornaments

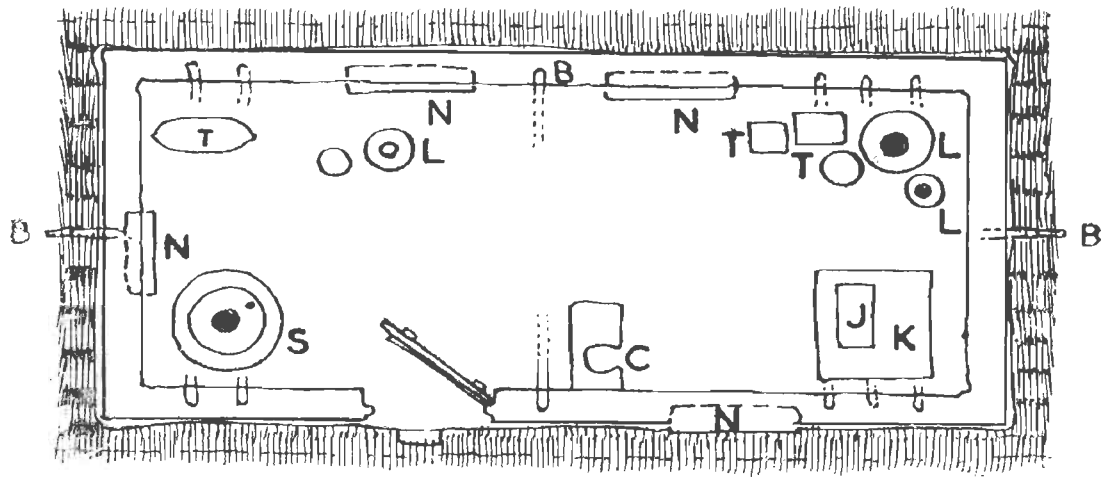
84. Due to the nearness–the distance is only 27 km–of village Bhangarh to Dausa, and due to the closest proximity imaginable to Gola-ka-Bas, the village with 1149 souls and many shops, the urban influence on the dress and ornaments of the village folk in Bhangarh is indeed great.

85. The male dress is very simple and consists of a ready-made shirt, with or without collar, available in the bazzar in Gola-ka-Bas, a mill-made *dhoti* and a turban, which consists of a long muslin piece 10 to 12 metres long and about 15 cm broad, wound round the head in a manner prescribed by custom for the community.

86. The most colourful and artistic dress is undoubtedly worn by the Banjaras. A sturdy female figure covered with multi-coloured, hand-stamped material, studded with tiny mirrors; fingers, palms, wrists and arms bedecked with rings, bangles and *kadas* of numerous designs and metals; tassels of different lengths, most artistically woven from threads of primary hues, hanging from arms and waist: the ears, the nose, the neck and the plaited hair, adorned with little items of beauty; and, balancing a pair of earthen pitchers, one above the other, standing near a well is a sight worth registering permanently. Similarly the



Mool Chand Koli's House in Ramnagar

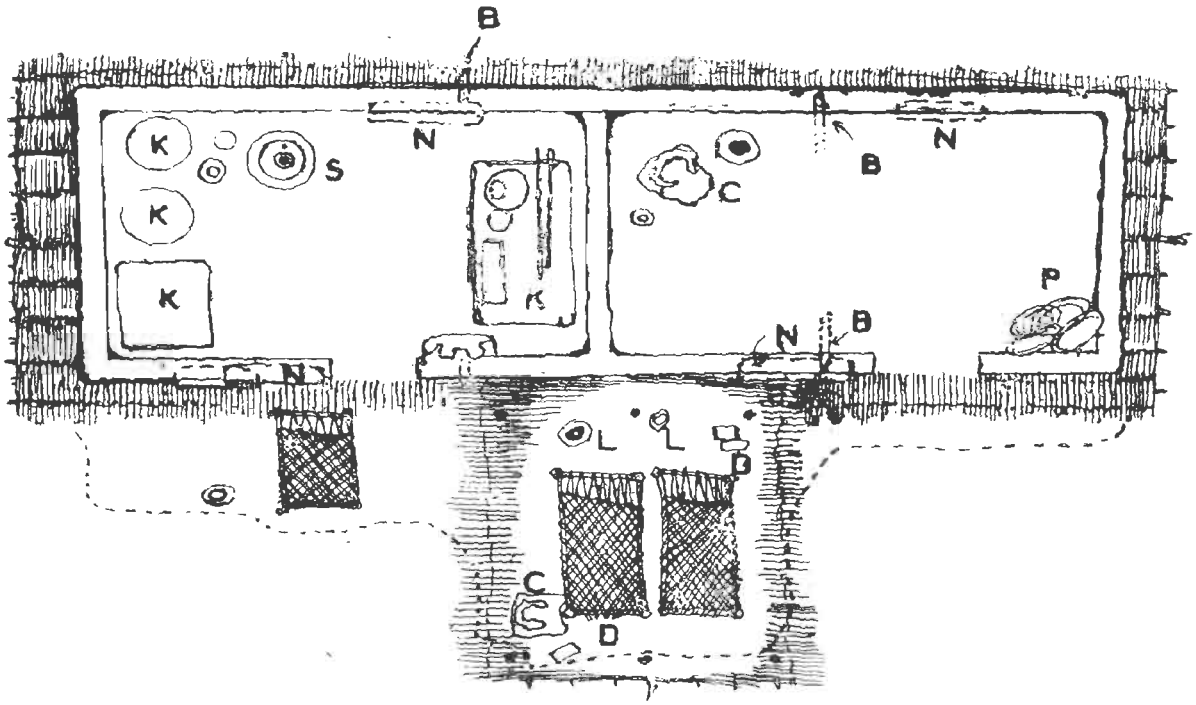


Ground Plan

B - Beam
C - Fireplace
J - A harmonium
K - Kothi, earthen grain container
L - Eearthen pots
N - Niches
S - Grinding stones
T - Gunnybag full of grain



Chaina Banjara's hut in Ramnagar



Ground plan

B - Beam
C - A hearth or fire place
D - Cots
K - Kothi or big wide-mouthed earthen grain containers
L - Round earthen pots
S - Round grinding stones
N - Niches
P - Baskets



A Koli girl wearing a knitted jersey



Two Brahmin girls - Chameli Bai and Shanti Bai



Baradi – a simply dressed jogi woman. Her lugra is ochre-coloured.

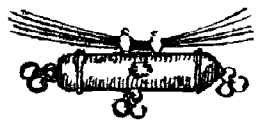


Fauji Banjara

male Banjara with his huge, red turban and a white band fastened about it; the old-fashioned, close-fitting, long-sleeved, red-bordered tunic; a blanket thrown on his shoulder; a *dhoti* coming down only up to the knees; and a long *lattha* or club held menacingly in his hand adding dignity to his moustached, bearded visage is no less awe-inspiring. Compared with these the Jogis, the Kolis, the Minas and the Brahmins, both male and female, pale into insignificance as far as their garments are concerned.

87. The one thing notable about the Jogis is that the turban of the male and the *lugra* of the female are ochre or saffron coloured. When they bow before Lord Mahadev, they remove their turban and replace it later,–exactly in the manner the westerner does with his hat.

88. Children of different communities loaf about their dwellings full or half naked. They have usually a *tabeez* or a charm round their

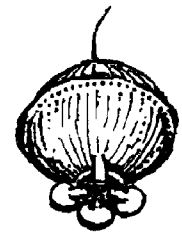


necks, an aluminium or silver *kada* about their wrists and a metal or cotton waist band. Some of them may even be seen with an unbuttoned shirt or coat partially covering their bareness. From the age of about 7 the girls begin to dress in *ghagra* and *kurti* i. e. a small shirt.

89. Amog boys and girls studying at the school in Gola-ka-Bas, shirts, caps and frocks are very conspicuous; and only a few pupils wear *kurta-dhoti* or *lugra-ghagra* combinations. A few bush-shirts are in evidence too.

90. The *ghagra* worn by the cultivator classes are made of bright red material, the border being of a different colour. It is tightened and tied round the waist with a string. It flows down like a round curtain to about 6 cm above the ankles. The *choli* or brassiere is of a contrasting colour. The *lugra* is the third item of dress. It is a big scarf one corner of which is tucked in front and the rest goes round the torso, over the head and the shoulders.

91. Males of all the communities except the Brahmin and the Jogi are generally found to wear some ornaments. The gold or brass *marki* is conspicuous in the ear lobe, and indicates the financial position of the wearer. Silver button-chains are paraded by dandies among the rustics; and a few of them do have also a *kada* a stout bangle of silver. Another such *kada* is sometimes seen above the left ankle, *boro* is the spherical pendant hanging above



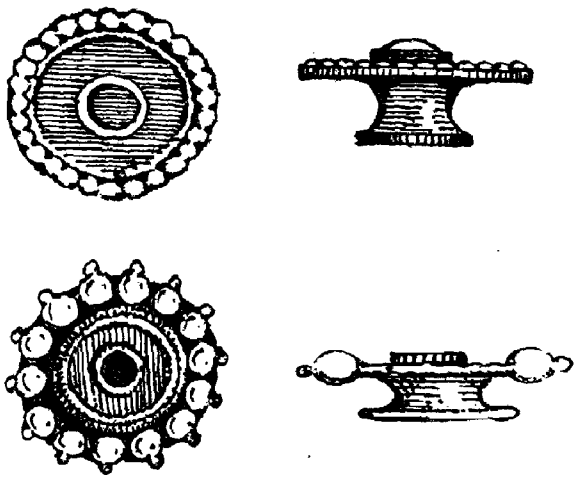
the forehead of all women in all eight communities. It is made of silver and the costlier varieties are beautifully designed. The *kadas* or heavy anklets, worn by women of all the classes are either solid or hollow and are made of silver. Those worn by the children are generally made of aluminium.

92. Banjara women are seen to be wearing a very conspicuous silver ornament called *muthia* on the forearm, It is cylindrical in shape, and slightly broader at one end. A necklace, studded with silver coins *jhalara* is the most prized ornament.

93. *Nevari* is a thick broad chain or number of chains of silver worn around the waist just over the *ghagra* by females. It is common among the Brahmins and the Khatis. The Banjara women have a double band of black rope tied in a loose knot and the loose ends, about half a metre long, flowing down like tassels.

94. *Nath* (pronounced like *nat*) is a gold nose-ring. It is invariably worn by all married women. *Khangali* is a stud ring worn around the neck by girls and women of all ages. It is made either of silver or of gold. It is to be specially mentioned here that the women of the Jogi community are very sparingly decorated. They have rarely any ornaments worth the name. Even the poorest of the other communities possess better pieces.

95. Women of all communities wear ear-stud called *danta* of various designs and metals.



It fits loosely in the hole of the earlobe and is held in position by a cord or a metal chain worn round the ear.

96. It is needless to refer to the innumerable varieties of rings and necklaces worn round different parts of the body for they cannot be said to belong to Bhangarh as such. Whatever is available at Gola-ka-Bas is purchased and worn.

Tattooing

97. Women of all communties, especially those of the Banjaras and the Kolis, are very fond of getting themselves tattooed. A profusely tattooed body is considered a sign of beauty. A few dots, circles and crescent shaped patterns are to be noticed on the face. Scorpions, floral designs, peacocks and various gods and goddesses can be seen on the arms, calves of the legs and even the breasts. A pair of peacocks is a favourite design to be seen on the breasts. Tattooing is got done from the professional tattooers who happen to visit the village. They are paid in kind.

Food and drink

98. The food habits of the villagers are simple. The Brahmins and the Khatis are vegetarians, and the rest non-vegetarians. Nearly all the communities own goats or cows and get some milk for their children. The non-vegetarians often get fowls and partridges which are found in abundance in the jungle nearby. The Banjaras and the Kolis have poultry. Though fishes abound in the bund near the Sirsa Devi temple, fishing is prohibitted; and so fish is eaten by the villagers only occassionally.

99. The staple food of the villagers is Jowar and Gojra, which is a mixture of wheat and barley. On ceremonial occasions or feasts they prepare *pooris*. The locally grown vegetables like *piaz* (onions), *baingan* (brinjals), *bhindi* (lady-finger), *kadu* (pumpkin), *kakri* (cucumber), *lal* or *hari mirach* (red or green chillies), are consumed in considerable quantities. Well-to-do families sometimes use *laung* (cloves), *lahsan* (garlic), and red chillies to lend point to their simple dishes.

Narcotics and stimulants

100. Almost all the communities except the Brahmins are addicted to drink. Though there is a wine shop at Gola-ka-Bas, but the people prefer to make country liquor themselves for the reason that it is cheaper and very strong. People are conscious of this illicit distillation and do it stealthily. Liquor is generally extracted from *gur* i. e. jaggery which is put together with the bark of babool tree in an earthen pot and half filled with water. The pot is sealed and buried in the ground. Fermentation takes place within a week. Liquor is then distilled over in an other pot. One kilogram of *gur* yields about a bottle of liquor. The ladies of all communities generaely refrain from drinking and smoking.



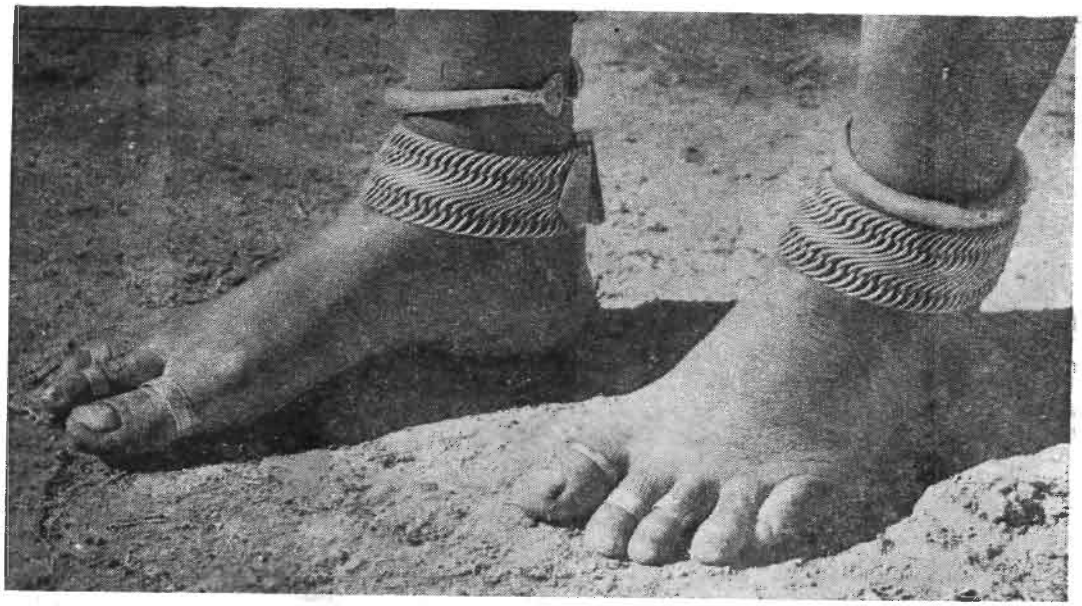
A Banjara belle



Another Banjara woman



Kela, the Banjara girl with her brother.
Note fondness for decorations.



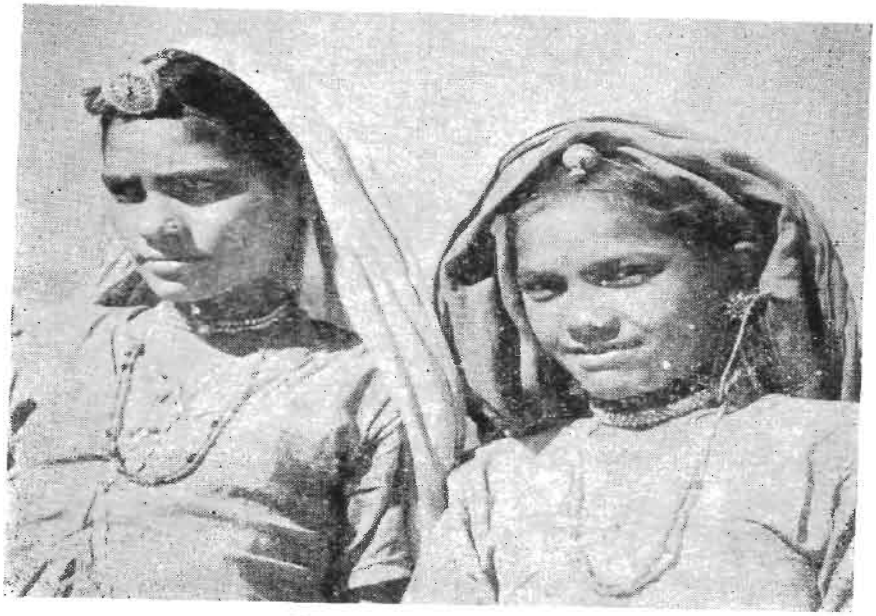
The stout aluminium anklets worn by a Banjara woman



Banjara ladies.
The one on the left has tucked her *ghagra* and is ready to do any work.



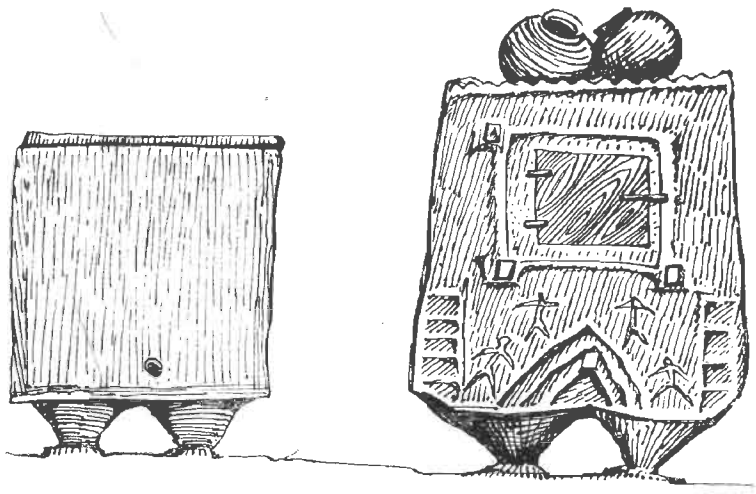
Gyarsi and her child from
Jogion-ka-Gwara



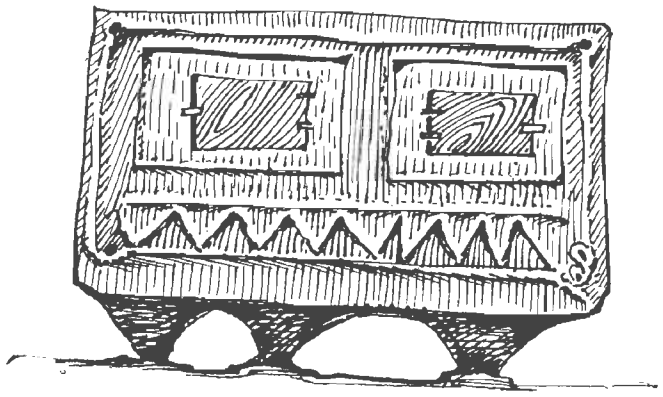
Hamari and Nathi-married Jogi girls



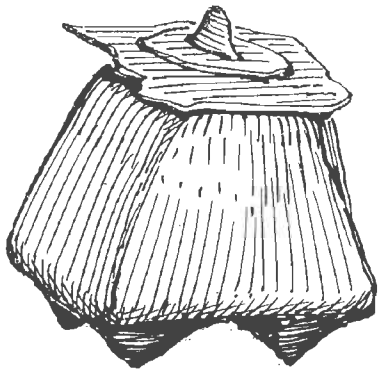
Geeta Banjara enjoying his *bidi*



a b



c

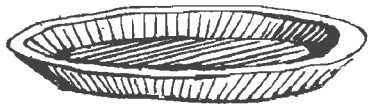


d

a. A simple earthen Kothi or grain container
b. An embellished one. There are three small rectangular mirrors fitted at the three corners of the door or shutter.
c. An improved model with two doors
d. A small Kothi-type pot, 20 cm high with the lid fashioned in the most modern way. It belongs to a Banjara family.



a

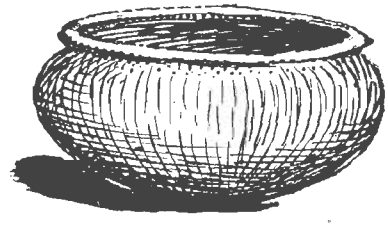


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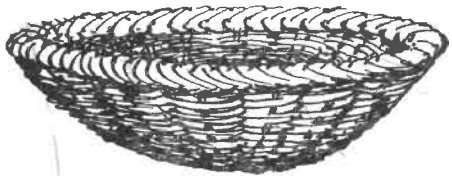
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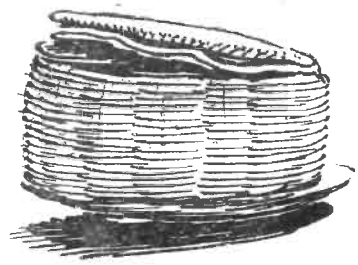


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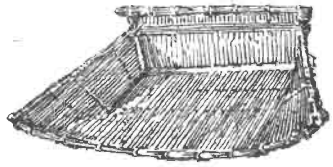
a. Earthen pots or ghadas used for storing water arranged one above the other, and a stone slab or a piece of a wood plank used as a lid or cover
b. A wooden plate
c. An aluminium dekchi
d. An earthen container with a lid of the same material



a



b

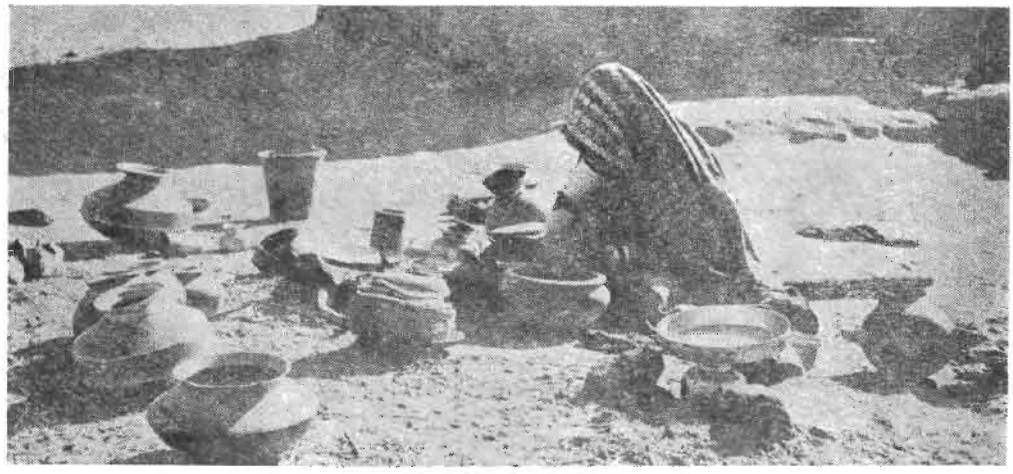


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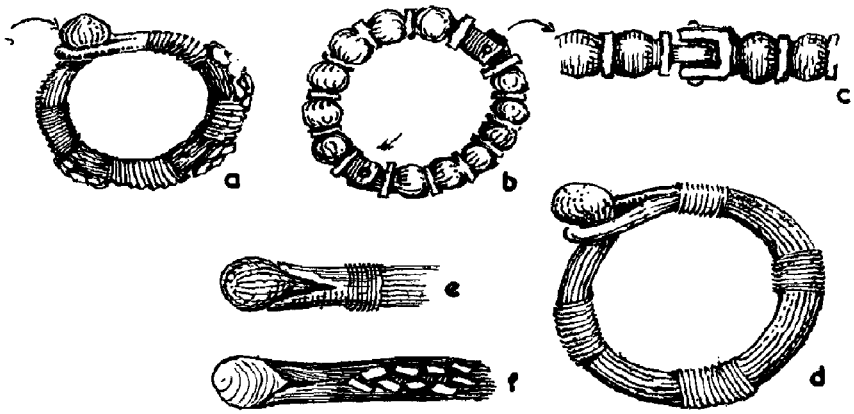


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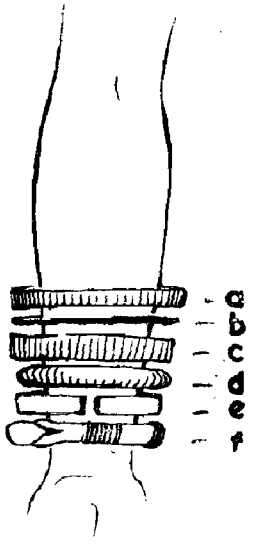
a. A common type of bamboo basket
b. An elaborate type of bamboo basket with a lid
c. A winnowing fan locally called chhajla
d. A water pot of brass from a Brahmin's house



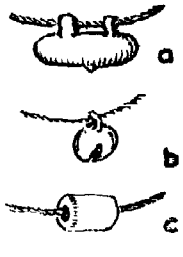
Some more household utensils



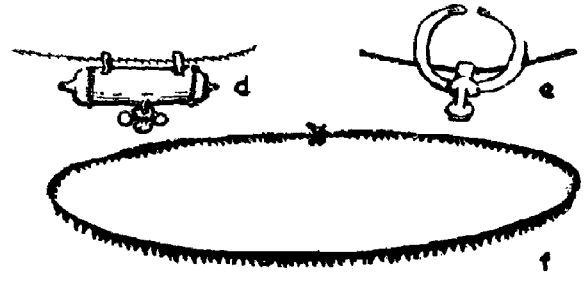
a, d, e and f are wristlets made of cotton bands. b shows the aluminium Kara, and c its two joints. a and d are called Pouncha. Part p is called Pounch



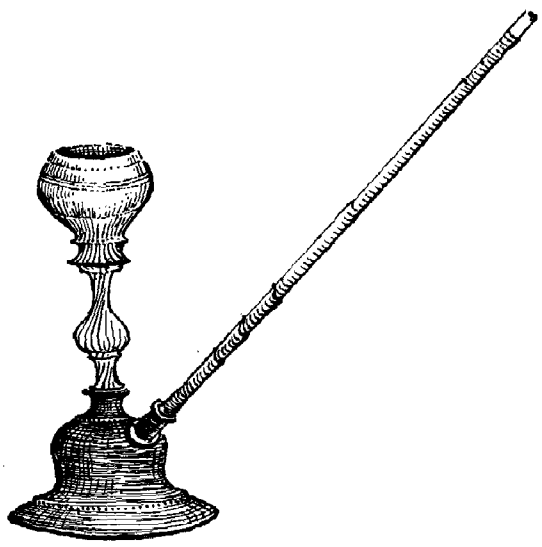
a, c and d, are Lac bangles 1 cm thick. They are usually red in colour.
b. Bangari, an iron bangle.
e. An aluminium Kara or a stouter bangle.
f. This is made of cotton bands. Some aluminium or silver pieces are fitted into it.



a. Tabeej or locket containing a charm.
b. Ghungaru
c. A cylindrical bead.
d. Kanthi or necklace
e. Chandarma or moon-shaped locket with black band
f. A thin leather band put round the neck of a child as a common belief to correct dislocation of collar-bone



101. Members of all the communities smoke *bidi*, or *sulphi* i. e. a country made clay-pipe or *hukka*. The pipe and the tobacco are



kept in a pouch. It is a common sight to see members of the community sitting together and enjoying the *hukka*. Members of one community do not share the *hukka* or the *bidi* with other communities. The Banjaras are especially fond of smoking so much so that small children of two or three smoking is not a rare sight.

Life cycle

102. No special ceremony is performed at the time of first menstruation nor is the girl told of its significance. But she is given to understand that she is not fit for doing household work for the period, and that the phenomenon is natural and should not perturb her. On the fifth day she takes bath, washes clothes and resumes her normal work. Amongst married women coitus is prohibited during this period. These people do not believe in contraception and consider the children as the gift from God. Barrenness in a women is considered as unnatural and unlucky. Various gods and goddesses are worshipped to remove this evil factor. Abortion by artificial means is considered a sin punishable at the hands of God.

Birth

103. No special ceremony is observed at the time of conception or during preganancy. There is a trained mid-wife appointed by the Medical & Health Department of the State Government with headquarters at Gola-ka-Bas, who attends to the maternity cases in the village. The villagers however, prefer the services of untrained old women from barber families. Women in advanced stages of pregnancy are given lighter tasks. But it is not an unusual sight to see them working in fields, and cases of deliveries taking place there are reported. Normally the delivery cases are attended to in the farthest or the innermost room of the house; and in one-room tenaments a dark corner is utilised for the purpose. The deliveries take place on the ground. The umblical cord of the child is cut with a sharp bamboo strip, and buried in some other corner of the house. News of the birth of a male child is conveyed to the relatives and others through the barber, whereas for that of a female reaches them in due course. Members of the community, generally womenfolk, assemble at the house immediately on hearing the birth of a boy and congratulate the mother-in-law and other elders of the family.

104. The first thing offered to the newly born child is jaggery dissolved in water. A plug of cotton is soaked in the mixture, and a bit of it squeezed in his mouth, generally by his grand-father. Special care of the diet of the mother is also taken. Among the Brahmins, milk sweetened with jaggery is offered to her for first three days, and, later, for the next three days *kasatap*, a mixture of an emulsion of ghee, jaggery and *ajwain* is given. This preparation, they say, helps in purifying the mother's milk. After some days she is served with pudding, and later sweet balls of wheat flour, jaggery and ghee. Three days after its birth the child receives the first bath while the mother on the thirteenth day.

Worship of the well

105. It is the village priest who prescribes the day for this ceremony. The women of the community sing songs and accompany the mother,

who carries a small pitcher full of water on her head, to the well. This water is offered to the well-god, and fresh water from the well is filled in. The child is not taken to the well, but is looked after in the meanwhile by his uncle. Males do not accompany the females to the well. If it is the first delivery of the woman, a yellow *lugari ghagra*, etc. are given to her by her parents to be worn on the *puja* day.

Initiation

106. Among Brahmins the sacred thread ceremony takes place when the boy is about 14. In case the parents cannot stand the expenses they perform it later, but in any case before his marriage.

107. Initiation ceremony among the jogis i.e. piercing of the ear-cartilage, is gone through only in the case of the successor to the *peer* and, before adopting a person as the successor, the rite of cutting of the *choti*, the distinguishing tuft of hair worn by a Hindu is performed. The latter is celebrated when the boy is 12 years. The whole village gathers to witness the event and the *guru* is invited from Tholai, a village 29 km away in tehsil Jamooa Ramgarh of Jaipur. The *guru* recites some sacred incantations, cuts off the lock, and puts a white cap on the head of the new disciple. A white sheet is put round his shoulders; and the village barber ties a *pugree* i. e. turban which is presented to him by the elders of the village including the *patels*.

108. When the successor-nominee attains the age of 16, the final ceremony takes place. It too is performed by the *guru* from Tholai. The Jogis of other villages and *asthans* are invited on the occasion. After taking bath, the young lad offers worship to *Hinglaj Devi* and Bhaironji, and sits cross-legged in the *padmasan* pose on a dias. The officiating yogi i. e. the *guru*, then pierces the ear cartilage with a pointed double-edged, *thetchry chhuri*, about 4 cm long and a cm wide. Small thin pieces of *neem* twigs are inserted in the holes, which are later replaced by earthen hooks or stone or ivory *kundals* or *darshans*. The new yogi is then taught the complexities of the yoga and given a thorough knowledge of the philosophy and theology of the panth.

Marriage

109. When a girl comes of age, her patents start searching for a suitable young man in the community. He is required to be outside the prohibited relationships and must differ in *gotra* from that of the girl's father, the mother, and of the father's sister's husband. Other factors like health and financial status, though enquired into, are not considered very important. The negotiations are instituted by the girl's side and the good offices of the elders of the community are utilised only when the reaction of the groom's parents is obtained through the barber and found to be favourable. When the proposal is accepted by the other side a date for the marriage is fixed in consultation with the village Brahmin.

110. The girl's parents then send a detailed written *lagan* i. e. a programme of marriage, a *lugra* a *ghagra*, a cocoanut and some cash with the barber. The presents are handed over to the young boy in the presence of respectable persons of the village. Some *gur* i. e. jaggery is distributed and the barber who brings the *lagan* is given a *dhoti* and Rs. 1.25 in cash.

111. About a fortnight prior to the *mahurat* i. e. the day and time fixed for the marriage ceremony, a thread is tied around the right wrist of the bride and the bridegroom by the Brahmin; and a week later the women of the commnnity start applying *batna* or *pithi*, which are fragrant powders and pastes, to the groom. The barber and his wife are in attendance and give bath to the groom and the bride respectively after the application of *pithi*.

112. A very important ceremony, called *chaak pujna*, is performed in the evening, a day before the departure of the groom's party to the bride's village or place. A group of sixteen women goes in procession to Kumhar's, potter's, house to fetch a pair of earthen pitchers each. A son-in-law of the groom's household assists the first and the eldest woman carrying the pitcher to

get it down her head. The other women do not need such ceremonial help and lower their pots themselves. The Kumhar i. e. the pitcher maker is awarded Re. 1 for himself and a *ghagra* and a *lugra* for his wife

113. Prior to setting out for the bride's place, the happy groom takes bath and puts on new clothes. A complete set of garments is brought by his mother's brother, and the son-in-law of the family helps him in putting it on. He is then mounted on a mare and taken round the village, the women following him singing songs, before he actually leaves his village.

114. The *barat* or the groom's party, usually consisting of about 70 men (women do not accompany the groom), arrives at the bride's place in the evening where arrangement for their lodging and boarding is already made. The bridegroom alone is taken to the bride's residence where, after being received by the women of the house, he touches the *toran*, which is a painted frame of wood about half a metre in lengh and breadth, fastened slightly above the main gate of the residence. The bridegroom returns to his party but later goes back again to the bride's place for the *pheras*.

115. At the time fixed by the Brahmin, the couple goes round the holy fire four times. In the first three rounds the groom leads his companion while in the last one it is the bride. They move clockwise so that the right hand is throughout towards the fire; and the groom holds the bride's left hand with his right.

116. The groom has a coin in the hand with which he holds the hand of his wife during the *pheras*. The clasped hands are covered with a small piece of cloth. This custom is called *gath-jorh* i e. complete union.

117. The whole party or *barat* returns home the next day where the newly-wed are formally received by the old married women of the house, presence of the widows being considered inauspicious. *Gath-jorh* is performed again, and the end of the man's scarf, which he carries on his shoulder, is tied in a knot to the *lugra* of the woman.

118. The next morning, the pair repairs to a temple where the threads, tied around their wrists a fortnight ago, are untied. The same afternoon a kind of lucky-dip is arranged by the wife of the groom's elder brother. She puts a ring and a rupee coin in a bucket-full of water, mixed with butter-milk and coloured yellow with *haldi* i. e. ground turmeric. She acts as a referee. The spouce who brings out of the bucket the two objects first is declared to be the one who will dominate over the other. It is the groom, it is needless to add, who nearly always wins the game for the wife throughout affects passivily.

119. The couple spend their first night in the room wherein is situated the niche for family gods and goddesses.

Death ceremonies

120. All the communities in Bhangarh village are Hindu and, except the Jogis, cremate the dead.

Among the jogis

121. The Jogis bury their dead. Soon after death the body is given a bath and immediately seated in the cross-legged yogic pose with the palms resting on knees. Unlike the Nath Jogis elsewhere, those in Bhangarh do not shave the head. An ochre coloured cloth, folded into a square piece, 1 sq. m in area is sperad over the ground and the dead body is seated on it. Four persons holding tightly corners of the square cloth carry the corpse, to the burial ground The dead *peer* is, however, accorded the singular honour of being carried on a bier to the cemetary among the ruins of old Bhangarh.

122. A round pit $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 metres in diameter and 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres deep, is then made ready for the corpse. It is seated facing the north with a hubble-bubble, a gourd container full of water, some sweets and a musical instrument arranged

around the corpse. The members of the community then fill in the pit, take bath at a nearby well, and return home.

123. On the third day *sankra dhal* rite is performed. A white piece of cloth, about a square metre in area, is spread over the floor of a room touching its eastern wall, which is washed with cowdung. A red cloth, of about the same size, is spread over the white one. On its four corners four small lamps made of kneaded flour are placed. In the centre of these a brass *lota* filled with *ghee*, in which a wooden stick wrapped in cotton and lighted, is arranged. The flame is called the *jot* of Mother Hinglaj Devi. On the west of this arrangment, at some distance, a second *lota* wrapped in red cloth and wound with multicoloured thread, is placed. This one is called *rudra kalasha*. The worshippers sit to the north and south of the main arrangement along with the *kotwal* i. e. the person officiating.

124. The ritual begins with a *puja* of Navgrass or Navagrahas and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. The *kotwal* offers some cloves, sugar-candy, copra, betelnuts, dried dates, etc., one by one, while reciting appropriate incantations. After offering each of the above items, he puts a bit in the mouth of each of those present and then some of it in his own.

125. An improvised tripod, made by tying three *kekra* sticks about 70 cm long at one end, is placed over the cloth. A tiny rope-ladder with 12 rungs, all made of cotton yarn, hangs down from a cradle, made of the same material, which is tied to the top of the tripod. The lower end of the ladder is placed in a *khapper* i e. a begging bowl, resting on the sheet below, in which is a human effigy made out of *daab* grass. After worshipping the goddess Hinglaj Devi, the effigy is taken up the ladder, step by step, till it reaches the cradle, in which it is then deposited. A thread tied to the cradle is moved to and fro for some time.

126. The symbolism, it seems, is clear. After crossing the various stages of *dharma*, represented by the ladder, the *jiva* i.e. the soul, reaches the *amrapuri* or *satlok*, indicated by the cradle, to live in eternal happiness-free from the cycle of births and deaths.

127. After some time the ladder is set on fire and the effigy of the dead one is caught while falling down and placed in the *khapper*. The *jot* is placed in some *kothi* i.e. a big grain container.

128. Lastly, Bhaironji is offered worship and the gathering takes meals.

129. A widow of the Jogi community breaks her bangles, a symbol of married life, after the *sankra dhal* ritual is over, and not immediately after the death of her husband, unlike the practice in other communities.

Among other communities

130. Among other communities residing in the village the person, when about to die, is taken down from the cot and placed on ground. After his death the head is shaved and the body is given a bath. Others go to fetch bamboo sticks and cloth. A *baikunthian*, literally meaning a vehicle for carrying one to *baikuntha*, the abode of God, is made ready by tying short pieces of bamboo to two longer poles. It resembles an ordinary ladder. Some dried grass is spread over it and the corpse with a *diya* i.e. lamp (made of wheat flour and containing *ghee*) on its chest, is placed over it. The body is then covered with a winding sheet, and tied firmly with strings to the bier. It is carried by four men, a fifth man holding an earthen pot, with some *ghee* in it, leading the procession to the burning ground.

131 At the first crossing, the bier is lowered to the earth and the flour-lamp placed on the ground. The bier-bearers exchange their places i.e. those who are in front take the rear positions and vice versa; and the procession proceeds to the *samsan* the crematorium. A pyre is quickly arranged, the cropse put over it and covered with more logs, and set on fire. When it is half-burned the *ghee*, is poured over the fire. On the third day

the ashes are gathered. The teeth and bone pieces are placed in a separate urn to be carried later to a holy river, like the Ganges, for final disposal; and the charred powder is spread somewhere else under bushes.

132. Women do not accompany the dead body to the burning ground. The death feast is held on the twelfth day.

133. Infants and persons dying of small pox are not cremated. They are buried. Dead infants are carried in both hands and no bier is used; and usually only a couple of persons form the party. Some milk is poured near the dead bodies and a few sweet balls are placed near them before the pits are covered up.

134. On the death of a pregnant woman her womb is slit open and the foetus removed. It is kept by her side, its mouth touching her breasts and the two are cremated toether.

135. Among the Brahmins, three balls of barley dough and each containing a coin are made. They are placed one on either side and the third on the chest of the dead body when it is carried to the crematorium. At about half the distance between the house and the *samsan*, the body is rested on the ground called *bichala basa*; the barley-ball on the right of the corpse is removed and placed on the road, some distance away. This is considered to be a payment by the soul of the dead for the rest his dead body took there. The other ball, i.e. the one on the left side, is removed when the procession reaches the crematorium and kept aside. The third ball is burnt along with the corpse.

136. Logs of pipal wood are utilised for making the pyre by the Brahmins, who also have the custom of offering milk at the graves of the infants. They dress the corpses fully; the male has a piece of white cloth wound round his head and the body well-covered; and the married female is decked with ornaments as at the time of her marriage. All these are, of course, removed before the body is mounted on the pyre. Widows and virgins naturally do not receive this treatment. They are covered with red cloth in contrast to other women who have it yellow. For males among the Jogis the colour is ochre, while for all others it is simple white.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

As might have already been gathered from the perusal of the previous chapters, this village is one of those whose entire economy revolves round agriculture. It is the largest single contributor of income to all the communities except the Banjaras. Though the turn-out from agriculture is the highest as compared to other economic resources, it is insufficient to meet the normal needs of certain communities because of their meagre land holdings or the machinations of the village money lender or other parasites.

Economic resources—Land

138. The total area of the village according to the revenue record is 3406 acres and its break-up is follows:

Pasture land		Nil
Uncultivated land		334
Mountains		456
Land utilised for purposes other than cultivation		1963
Cultivable land		
Irrigated	570	
Unirrigated	83	653
Total		3406

139. Transferring of direct occupancy rights to the tillers of land has been a very revolutionary reform though recently carried out in this State. It has not yet made any discernible change in the pattern of relationships existing before. In material sphere, too, broadly speaking no change is seen; no material improvement in methods of cultivation, no mechanisation of agricultural processes, no talk of industrialisation.

Livestock

140. Selling dairy products is an important means of supplementing family incomes in Bhangarh. Milk as such is neither sold in the bazar at Gola-ka-Bas nor exported elsewhere but *ghee* made out of it is very much in evidence as a marketable commodity. The shopkeepers of Gola-ka-Bas secure *ghee* grom the villagers in exchange for articles of daily needs; and later send it to their agents in Dausa and Alwar. The villagers are at the mercy of the shopkeepers, it is needless to add.

Livelihood classes

141. Out of the total population of 174 persons registered in 1951 Census, 107 were classified as cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned by them and their dependents. There were only 10 persons, 8 male and 2 female, engaged in production other than cultivation: and only 3 females engaged in other services. In the Census of 1961 the categories were slightly modified. The present headings include only the active workers and not their dependents. The number of cultivators has now considerably increased. Out of 155 cultivators registered 89 are male; and 5 male and 4 female are working as agricultural labourers. There is only one individual employed in household industry and one in other services.

Changes in population

142. As has been stated above the population of Bhangarh in 1951 was 174 (92 male and 82 female) constituting 35 households occupying 30 built in houses. It was almost doubled in 1961 which is adequately explained by the arrival of 157 persons of the Koli and Banjara communities after 1951. The figures in 1961 Census slightly vary from those of the present survey conducted some time in April, 1962. The whole position regarding fluctuations in the population of village Bhangarh during the last two decades is summed up in the table below :

Year	Number of houses	Number of households	Persons	Males	Females
1951	30	35	174	92	82
1961	55	58	326	172	154
Survey figures 1962	61	61	341	185	156

Ownership of land

143. Land is prized highly by the rural folks; and the more land one possesses, the higher he rises in status in the eyes of villagers. The following table shows that households in all income groups own land, however, meagre it may be. Average holdings vary between 2.66 acres and 31.28 acres, and the average for families owning land is 8.71 acres.

Income groups	Total number of households	Number of households owning land	Land in possession in acres	Percentage of the land possessed to the total land	Average holding
Rs. 20 and below	1	1	3.12	0.68	3.12
20 - 30	4	4	10.63	2.30	2.66
30 - 40	11	8	26.25	5.68	3.28
40 - 60	28	23	103.12	22.33	4.48
60 - 80	8	8	59.38	12.85	7.42
80 - 100	1	1	8.12	1.79	8.12
100 and over	8	8	251.25	54.40	31.41
Total	61	53	461.87	100.00	8.71

144. The Brahimins own the maximum acreage while the honour of possessing the minimum goes to the Nai family. The position regarding the ownership of land by the various communities residing in village Bhangarh is shown in the following table :

Community	Total number of households	Number of households owning land	Land in possession in acres	Percentage of the land possessed to the total land	Average holding
Kolis	24	24	119.06	25.71	4.96
Jogis	10	10	35.62	7.72	3.56
Brahmins	10	10	241.25	52.23	24.12
Chamar	5	3	13.75	2.98	4.58
Minas	4	4	44.69	9.74	11.17
Khatis	1	1	6.25	1.35	6.25
Nai	1	1	1.25	0.27	1.25
Banjara	6	-	-	-	-
Total	61	53	461.87	100.00	8.71

Primary and subsidiary occupations

145. 77% of the households in Bhangarh follow agriculture as a primary occupation; 14% earn major part of their income from salary and wages; 5% from other sources; 2% from industry and another 2% from dairy products. Households from all income groups viz. Rs. 20 and below to 100 and over, are to be seen among people claiming agriculture to be their primary occupation. The table which follows points vividly the position as regards primary and subsidiary occupations of the seven monthly income groups detailed below:

Income groups	Number of households	Primary occupation					Subsidiary occupation			
		Salary and wages	Cultiva-tion	Household industry	Dairy products	Other sources	Salary and wages	Cultiva-tion	Dairy products	Other sources
Rs. 20 and below	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
20- 30	4	-	4	-	-	-	2	-	4	2
30- 40	11	2	8	-	-	1	2	-	9	7
40- 60	28	6	19	-	1	2	15	4	25	9
60- 80	9	1	7	-	-	-	3	1	7	2
80-100	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
100 and over	8	-	7	1	-	-	1	1	8	1
Total	61	9	47	1	1	3	23	6	55	22

146. The community wise break up of the 61 households in Bhangarh according to their primary and subsidiary occupations is revealing. All the Brahmin households, undoubtedly a well-to-do class by village standards,have agriculture as primary occupation. The three communities of Khatis, Nais and Banjaras have not a single household reporting agriculture as primary occupation.

Community	Number of households	Primary occupation					Subsidiary occupation			
		Salary and wages	Cultiva-tion	Household industry	Dairy products	Other sources	Salary and wages	Cultiva-tion	Diary products	Other sources
Koli	24	2	22	-	-	-	15	2	20	3
Jogi	10	-	9	-	1	-	1	1	9	10
Brahmin	10	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	9	2
Chamar	5	3	2	-	-	-	2	1	5	3
Mina	4	-	4	-	-	-	3	-	4	-
Khati	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	1
Nai	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-
Banjara	6	4	-	-	-	2	2	-	6	3
Total	61	9	47	1	1	3	23	6	55	22

147. It will be observed from the above table that dairy-farming is an important subsidiary means for almost all the communities in the village.

Workers and non-workers

148. Life in an Indian village is generally hard and village Bhangarh is no exception to this. It is especially so for the Banjaras and the Kolis who came to the village recently. They had to adjust themselves to the new surroundings, the changed environs. As soon as a child becomes strong enough to bear rigours of nature, it begins contributing to the family income as an active member; and there is no rest for him or her throughout life-even if he or she desires or needs it most. As the majority of villagers live from hand to mouth, they have to work till they can work no longer. This is one of the reasons why there are as many as 16 workers out of a total of 20 persons in the age group 60 and over.

149. The greatest number of workers is, however, to be found in the group 15-34, which forms about 54% of the total number of workers in the village. The number of child-workers in the age group 0-14 is 10. They help their parents in performing various tasks.

150. The number of non-workers in the village is 147; and 126 of these are below 14 years of age-97 are below 10 years. Only 10 children are full time students and this group includes only one female. Of the remaining 19 non-worker children, 13 are females who help their mothers by doing odd domestic jobs, like looking after other children, and the remaining 6 males also perform some other chores.

Distribution of workers and non-workers by age groups

Age groups	Total			Total workers			Total non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	341	185	156	194	115	79	147	70	77
0-14	136	77	59	10	9	1	126	68	58
15-34	113	56	57	105	56	49	8	–	8
35-59	72	38	34	63	37	26	9	1	8
60 and over	20	14	6	16	13	3	4	1	3

151. The economic life of the people in this village can be adequately summarised under the following four convenient heads:

i. Agriculture
ii. Animal husbandry
iii. Household industry
iv. Other sources

Agriculture

152. It is mentioned in the preceeding pages that the land owned by the 53 Bhangarh households (out of the total number of 61) is 461.87 acres. The total cultivated area of the village is 653 acres. The remaining land, 191.13 acres is cultivated by people residing in the abjoining villages.

153. The villagers raise two crops viz. *rabi* and *kharif*. The former is the main crop and wheat, gram, barley and gojra, which is a mixture of wheat and barley, are grown. Vegetables like potatoes, carrots, chillis etc. which are required for local consumption, are also grown.

154. Sowing operation for the *rabi* crop starts in early November with the first winter showers. The preparations of the fields, which take about a month, are finished by that time. About five months after sowing i. e. by the end of April, the crop is ready for harvest.

155. The *kharif* crop consists of maize, chari, til and moong etc. In some fields which are irrigated, sugarcane is also grown.

156. Some of the seeds are sown by the simple method of broadcasting while others are sown in furrows made by simple ox-drawn ploughs. The table which follows attempts to give details about the yeild, for different crops.

Crops	Mode of sowing	Quantity of seed used per acre (in kilograms)	Yield per acre (in quintals)
Maize	Ploughing	12	3.5
Barley	,,	15	3.5
Wheat	,,	20	3.5
Gojra	,,	15	4.0
Arhar	,,	4	1.5
Mustard	,,	4	2.0
Jowar	Broad casting	16	Used as fodder
Bajra	,,	8	,,
Moong, urd	,,	4	3.0
Til	,,	2	2.5

157. We see that the average yield per acre of almost all varieties is satisfactory. This is in large measure due to the great quantity of water available from the canal and the wells.

158. The following tables give information regarding the area of the *rabi* and the *kharif* crops sown in village Bhangarh during the years 1958-59 to 1962-63 :

Area (in bighas\$) under rabi crop

Crops	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63
Wheat	125	117	133	159	213
Barley	116	125	130	143	160
Gram	682	691	750	719	679
Gojra	19	21	24	23	24
Gochani	1	–	–	6	13
Bejar	15	18	2	6	3
Arhar	20	18	14	12	–
Alsi	–	–	–	1	16
Coriander	–	–	1	3	
Jira	6	3	2	2	
Methi	3	1	1	4	
Tabacco	1	1	–	1	
Potatoes	2	–	–	2	
Onion	6	8	8	13	12
Carrots	–	2	–	1	–
Jawar	–	1	1	2	1
Total	996	1,006	1,066	1,097	1,142

Area (in bighas) under kharif crop

Crops	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63
Maize	166	190	220	246	283
Jawar	63	–	–	7	–
Bajra	53	16	4	9	3
Moth	7	19	26	11	–
Black cly	1	–	–	1	1
Moong	7	16	18	14	4
Chola	–	–	1	–	1
Arhar	–	–	–	2	–
Sisamum	62	142	57	118	81
Ground nut	–	–	1	1	–
Kalaji	4	9	11	1	–
Sugarcane	1	5	7	7	6
Mirch	2	1	1	2	1
San	8	1	2	6	1
Gwar	–	7	6	5	–
Chari gwar	26	103	103	99	125
Chari moong	–	–	–	43	40
Potato	1	–	–	–	–
Cotton	6	7	7	9	8
Total	407	516	464	581	554

159. From the above table regarding the area of *rabi* crop for the last five years it is clear that the area of land under plough is gradually increasing from year to year. This is mainly due to the fact that the Government had allotted some barren land to the Kolis who migrated to this village from Ajabgarh a few years back and also due to other development activities of the State.

\$ 1 bigha = ·625 acres.

Manure

160. Cowdung manure is the traditional organic manure and is used after mixing with dry leaves etc. It has been observed that the villagers do not have any manure pits which undoubtedly affects the quality. One notices heaps of the organic manure dumped before their houses. Due to the development activities of the State, the villagers are now changing over, though gradually, to the chemical fertilizers. Some of them have also dug manure pits.

Irrigation

161. Bhangarh is one of those fortunate villages which have very good facilities for irrigation. The major source of water for this purpose is the Sirsa Devi canal which flows nearby. About 85% of the cultivated land is irrigated and the people run into difficulty only when there is extreme drought in the region.

162. Besides the canal there are as many as 40 pukka wells whose water is utilised mainly for irrigation. Water in them is available 10 m below the ground-level. Out of 356 acres of irrigated land in the village, 123 are watered by wells. The rest are served by the canal.

163. The villagers use a kind of leather-bucket, called *mandal*, for drawing water from the well. It has a stout iron ring, half a metre in diametre, and a hook at the top. The mouth of the bag-like bucket is fastened with leather strands round the ring. One end of a strong rope, called *laab*, is tied to the hook, and the *laab* runs over a small grooved wheel, which serves as a pulley, and is fastened to the yoke. When the pair of bullocks runs down the sloping 12 metre track, adjacent to the well-wall, the *mandal*, full of water, is drawn up; and is emptied by an attendant posted near the well-mouth for the purpose. The yoked bullocks are untied and brought back by another person, the *mandal* is let down the well. This goes on for the whole day.

164. The iron parts of the *mandal* are purchased from the shopkeepers at Gola-ka-Bas. They cost about Rs. 10. The leather bucket costs Rs. 30, and is replaced in the month of Kartik every year. The rope lasts for a shorter period still, say about 4 to 6 months and costs about Rs. 15.

Animal husbandry

165. There are 507 heads of cattle in village Bhangarh of which 191 are calves. Of the rest 136 are bullocks used in various agricultural operations or for drawing water and pulling carts; and 122 are milch buffaloes. There is only one he baffalo for use as a stud animal; but no stud-bull at all.

166. The total number of domestic animals in 1958 was 458 which rose to 507 in 1962. There is not a single horse or camel in the village; and the small number of bullock carts (only 8 for 61 households) show how poor the agriculturists here are.

167. The number of sheep is 27 and of goats 441. Four years ago the figures were 0 and 214 respectively. Almost all of them belong to the Banjaras and the Kolis, and that accounts for sudden increase in their number. The number of poultry is only 73. Before 1961 there were none. The beginning was made in 1961 with 33 fowls. They belong mainly to the Banjara households.

Household industry

168. There is only one family of the Khati i. e. a carpenter which is engaged in the household industry. He caters to the needs of the farmers in repairing their agricultural implements and making bullock carts for them. He also does all the wood work for their houses. He gets his remunerations in cash at the rate of Rs. 5, per day. In the past he used to be paid in kind. Even now some of the well-to-do families give him a fixed quantity of grain biannually for minor repairs of agricultural implements and bullock carts. His average annual income from

household industry comes to Rs. 600. In addition to this occupation, his members of the family also resort to agriculture and dairy farming as a means of subsidiary occupations.

Other sources

169. Under this category are included the occupations which could not be classified such as earnings by casual labour, transportation of goods from one place to the other, selling of fire wood etc. There are as many as 25 households getting their subsistence from such sources and the total annual income from these sources comes to Rs. 3180.

Income

170. The total annual income of village Bhangarh from all available sources comes to Rs. 50005.00. Of this 67.59% is derived from agriculture; 12.71% from dairy farming; 12.14% from salary and wages; and only 6.36% from miscellaneous sources. Household industry contributes only 1.20%. The table given below gives further datails of income from various sources in different communities.

Community	Number of households	Persons	Annual income	Income derived from				
				Salary and wages	Cultivation	Household industry	Dairy products	Other sources
Koli	24	121	14005	2520	9700	-	1535	250
Jogi	10	48	5475	-	3400	-	1355	720
Brahmin	10	61	18670	100	16200	-	1920	450
Chamar	5	27	2705	1450	850	-	245	160
Minas	4	28	4200	350	3150	-	700	-
Khati	1	16	1400	-	450	600	150	200
Nai	1	4	540	-	50	-	40	450
Banjara	6	36	3010	1650	-	-	410	950
Total	61	341	50005	6070	33800	600	6355	3180

171. The Brahmins have the maximum annual income, and the largest single contributor to the total income is the cultivation. There is only one household of Khati that derives its income from household industry.

172. From the income group wise distribution of households deriving their income from various sources we find that the maximum income from dairy products is made by the families in the income group 40-60, and the minimum by the households in the lowest income group. The position is made clear in the following table :

Income groups	Number of households	Persons	Annual income	Income derived from				
				Salary and wages	Cultivation	Houshold industry	Dairy products	Other sources
Rs. 20 and below	1	1	240	-	200	-	40	-
20-30	4	19	1250	130	820	-	140	160
30-40	11	45	4680	850	2400	-	770	660
40-60	28	136	16475	4040	8130	-	2305	2000
60-80	8	54	6710	850	4800	-	950	110
80-100	1	6	1000	-	800	-	150	50
100 and over	8	80	19650	200	16650	600	2000	200
Total	61	341	50005	6070	33800	600	6355	3180

173. As many as 56 households out of the total number of 61, prepare milk products and thus supplement their incomes. It forms a major source of earnings in case of one household only. The number of households deriving their income from cultivation is 53 as shown in the table below:

Community	Total number of households	Number of households deriving their income from				
		Salary and wages	Cultivation	Household industry	Dairy products	Other sources
Koli	24	17	24	–	20	3
Jogi	10	–	10	–	10	10
Brahmin	10	1	10	–	9	2
Chamar	5	5	3	–	5	3
Mina	4	3	4		4	–
Khati	1	–	1	1	1	1
Nai	1	–	1	–	1	1
Banjara	6	6	–	–	6	5
Total	61	32	53	1	56	25

174. From the income group wise distribution of households we find that the maximum number of families getting their income from cultivation fall under the income group 40-60. The lone family deriving its income from the household industry belongs to the income group 100 and over. The position is made clear in the following table :

Income groups	Total number of households	Number of households deriving their income from				
		Salary and wages	Cultivation	Household industry	Dairy products	Other sources
Rs. 20 and below	1	–	1	–	1	–
20- 30	4	2	4	–	4	2
30- 40	11	4	8	–	9	8
40- 60	28	21	23	–	26	11
60- 80	8	4	8	–	7	2
80-100	1	–	1	–	1	1
100 and over	8	1	8	1	8	1
Total	61	32	53	1	56	25

175. Tha average annual income for a family in Bhangrah comes to Rs. 819.72. The average income from cultivation for households engaged in cultivation is Rs. 637.74; and that from industry is Rs. 600.00. The highest average family income is claimed by the Brahmins while the lowest belongs to the Banjaras. The table given below just sums up the situation :

Community	Total number of households	Average annual income	Average income of households deriving their income from				
			Salary and wages	Cultivation	Household industry	Dairy products	Other sources
Koli	24	583.54	148.24	404.17	–	76.75	83.33
Jogi	10	547.50	–	340.00	–	135.50	72.00
Brahmin	10	1867.00	100.00	1620.00	–	213.33	225.00
Chamar	5	541.00	290.00	283.33	–	49.00	53.33
Mina	4	1050.00	116.66	787.50	–	175.00	–
Khati	1	1400.00	–	450.00	600.00	150.00	200.00
Nai	1	540.00	–	50.00	–	40.00	450.00
Banjara	6	501.67	275.00	–	–	68.33	190.00
Total	61	819.72	189.69	637.74	600.00	113.48	127.20

176. The following income group wise table showing average annual income for the households engaged in different occupations reveals that persons falling in the income group 100 and over derive maximum income from cultivation and those in the basic income group 0-20, have minimum from this source. This is due to the fact that persons in higher and lower income groups have maximum and minimum land holdings respectively.

Income groups	Total number of households	Average annual income	Average income of households deriving their income from				
			Salary and wages	Cultivation	Household industry	Dairy products	Other sources
Rs. 20 and below	1	240.00	-	200.00	-	40.00	-
20 - 30	4	312.50	65.00	205.00	-	35.00	80.00
30 - 40	11	425.45	212.50	300.00	-	85.56	82.50
40 - 60	28	588.39	192.38	353.48	-	88.65	181.82
60 - 80	8	838.75	212.50	600.00	-	135.71	55.00
80 - 100	1	1000.00	-	800.00	-	150.00	50.00
100 and over	8	2456.25	200.00	2081.25	600.00	250.00	200.00
Total	61	819.72	189.69	637.74	600.00	113.48	127.00

177. Out of the total number of 341 persons living in the village, 316 derive their subsistence, at least a part of it, from dairy farming, 297 from cultivation, and only 173 from salary and wages. It will be seen that all the Jogi households follow cultivation. Following table shows from which diverse sources persons in different communities earn their living :

Community	Total number of persons	Number of persons and their dependents deriving their income from				
		Salary and wages	Cultivation	Household industry	Dairy products	Other sources
Koli	121	86	121	-	100	14
Jogi	48	-	48	-	48	49
Brahmin	61	1	61	-	57	4
Chamar	27	27	19	-	27	15
Mina	28	23	28	-	28	-
Khati	16	-	16	16	16	16
Nai	4	-	4	-	4	5
Banjara	35	36	-	-	36	31
Total	341	137	297	16	316	131

178. It will be seen from the above that the Banjaras are the only community which has not taken to farming: and the Khatis the only community engaged in an industry.

179. In the table given below is contained the data regarding the number of persons and their dependents deriving their income from different sources in various income groups. It is to be noticed from the table that the maximum number of persons getting their income from salary and wages, cultivation and dairy products belong to the income group 40-60. The minimum number of persons are engaged in household industry and they fall under the income group 100 and over.

Income groups	Total number of persons	Number of persons and their dependents deriving their income from				
		Salary and wages	Cultivation	Household industry	Dairy products	Other sources
Rs. 20 and below	1	-	1	-	1	-
20 - 30	19	11	19	-	19	8
30 - 50	45	19	31	-	37	32
40 - 60	136	101	106	-	126	57
60 - 80	54	29	54	-	47	13
80 - 100	6	-	6	-	6	6
100 and over	80	13	80	16	80	16
Total	341	173	297	16	316	132

180. The annual per capita income of a villager comes to Rs. 146. 64 and the maximum of it is contributed by cultivation. The per capita income as also the average income is highest amongst the Brahmins and minimum, amongst the Banjaras. This meagre per capita income of Rs. 83.61 only amongst the latter is due to the fact that cultivation - a major source of income for other cummunities, is not practiced by them since they do not possess any land. The per capita income derived from various sources by members of different communities is explained in the following table:

Community	Total number of persons	Per capita income	Annual per capita income derived from				
			Salary and wages	Cultivation	Household industry	Dairy products	Other sources
Koli	121	116.74	28.30	80.17	-	15.35	17.86
Jogi	48	114.06	-	70.83	-	28.23	15.00
Brahmin	61	306.06	100.00	265.57	-	34.29	112.50
Chamar	27	100.19	53.70	44.74	-	9.07	10.67
Mina	28	150.00	15.22	122.50	-	25.00	-
Khati	16	87.50	-	28.13	37.50	9.38	12.50
Nai	4	135.00	-	12.80	-	10.00	10.67
Banjara	36	83.61	45.83	-	-	11.39	30.65
Total	341	146.64	35.09	113.80	37.50	20.11	24.09

181. The position regarding the annual per capita income derived from various sources by persons in different income groups is made clear in the following table:

Income groups	Total number of persons	Per capita income	Annual per capita income derived from				
			Salary and wages	Cultivation	Household industry	Dairy products	Other sources
Rs. 20 and below	1	240.00	-	200.00	-	40.00	-
20 - 30	19	65.79	11.82	43.16	-	7.37	20.00
30 - 40	45	104.00	44.74	77.42	-	20.81	20.63
40 - 60	136	121.14	40.00	76.70	-	18.29	35.09
60 - 80	54	124.26	29.31	88.89	-	20.21	8.46
80 - 100	6	166.67	-	133.33	-	25.00	8.33
100 and over	80	245.62	15.38	208.13	37.50	25.00	12.50
Total	341	146.64	35.09	113.80	37.50	20.11	24.09

Indebtedness

182. The total amount of debt to be cleared, by as many as 38 households out of the total number of 61 households is Rs. 12040. The Nai community is absolutely free from debt and it is amongst the Kolis that the amount is the highest. The following table explains the amount of average debt for the various communities residing in the village :

Community	Total number of households	Number of households under debt	Percentage of col. 3 to col. 2	Average debt
Koli	24	14	58.33	264.29
Jogi	10	9	90.00	182.22
Brahmin	10	2	20.00	300.00
Chamar	5	4	80.00	412.50
Mina	4	4	100.00	487.50
Khati	1	1	100.00	500.00
Nai	1	–	–	–
Banjara	6	4	66.66	500.00
Total	61	38	62.30	316.84

183. The minimum debt yet uncleared is Rs. 100, and it is for two Koli households one in the income group 20–30 and the other in 30–40; and the maximum is Rs. 650 incurred by a Mina household in 100 and over income group. The average indebtedness is the highest among the so called well-to-do families belonging to the last income group i. e. 100 and over. Such families are, however, few in number. The table below makes the overall position clear:

Income groups	Total number of households	Number of households under debt	Percentage of col.3 to col. 2	Average debt
Rs. 20 and below	8	–	–	–
20 - 30	4	4	100.00	212.50
30 - 40	11	10	90.09	275.00
40 - 60	28	18	60.43	333.33
60 - 80	8	4	50.00	322.50
80 - 100	1	–	–	–
100 and over	8	2	25.00	575.00
Total	61	38	62.30	316.84

Causes

184. The different purposes for which loans are secured, are divided under four heads viz. (i) Agriculture (ii) Housing (iii) Social needs and (iv) Other purposes. The highest average loan for families under debt is for social needs; while the highest percentage of debt due to causes to the total debt is for other purposes i.e. for purchasing things of daily needs.

Causes of indebtedness	Amount of debt	Average for families under debt	Percentage of debts due to causes to total debt
Agriculture	1530	117.69	12.71
Housing	250	125.00	2.08
Social needs	5015	143.29	41.65
Other purposes	5245	138.03	43.56
Total	12040	316 84	100.00

185. In the following table is contained the data regarding the amount of indebtedness for different causes among the various communities residing in the village :

Community	Total debt	Indebtedness caused by			
		Agriculture	Housing	Social needs	Other purposes
Koli	3700	600	–	1775	1325
Jogi	1640	230	–	790	620
Brahmi	600	–	–	200	400
Chamar	1650	–	250	450	950
Mina	1950	700	–	500	750
Khati	500	–	–	300	200
Nai	–	–	–	–	–
Vanjara	2000	–	–	1000	1000
Total	12040	1530	250	5015	5245

186. It will be seen from the following table that the highest amount of loans secured is by households falling under the monthly income-group 40-60.

Income groups	Total debt	Indebtedness caused by			
		Agriculture	Housing	Social needs	Other purposes
Rs. 20 and below	–	–	–	–	–
20- 30	850	50	–	490	310
30- 40	2750	310	–	1115	1325
40- 60	6000	430	250	2650	2670
60- 80	1290	390	–	360	540
80-100	–	–	–	–	–
100 and over	1150	350	–	400	400
Total	12040	1530	250	5015	5245

187. The reason for the maximum amount shown in the last two categories of causes for debts is that they cover two of the basic needs of the simple unlettered village folk of Bhangarh. They have to spend money on social functions however unimportant a sophisticated visitor might think them to be. They are the only joyful events in their otherwise monotonous penurious circumstances. The social pressures and compulsions exercised through caste panchayat (which carry sanctions with them) are indeed very great.

188. The other possible reason for the high amount is the full control exercised on their lives by the village money lender who, being also a shopkeeper, lends them not cash but in kind. The simple villagers are nearly always cornered by their exploiters and find no way out of their predicament.

189. The people on the whole being poor, the majority of them spend almost the whole of their earning on the first necessity of life viz. food. Shelter and clothes come next. Visiting fairs, attending marriages, etc. come thereafter. Nearly nothing is spent on education. The adults being illiterate have not yet come to realise its importance. It is, however, difficult to get even comparatively reliable figures of distribution of incomes on different items of expenditure of the family budgets.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

As has been stated in the preceding pages, village Bhangarh is inhabited by people belonging to eight communities, some of which have been living together for so many generations that intimate understanding and affection have grown between them; and they help each other through thick and thin. Though the four Bhangarh *dhanis* do not form a compact settlement and parts of Gola-ka-Bas are nearer to some of these *dhanis*, yet a strong territorial bond exists among the four *dhanis* which makes them behave and act like one man when occasions demand it. Geographical separateness has not, it seems, come in the way of village integration.

Age and sex ratio

191. The ratio of males to females in the village as a whole is about 25 to 21. From the community wise table given below, it will be evident that the Jogis, the Nais and the Banjaras are mainly responsible for the disparity:

Community	Number of females per 100 males
Koli	83.33
Jogi	65.52
Brahmin	126.00
Chamar	80.00
Mina	86.66
Khati	77.77
Nai	33.33
Banjara	71.43
Total	84.32

192. An analysis of the male and female populations in the various age groups in Bhangarh reveals that there are only 50 females per 100 males in the age group 10-14; and that in the age group 30-34 the condition is not dissimilar. The number is still less in the last group i.e. 60 and over.

Age groups	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	341	185	156
0 - 4	52	27	25
5 - 9	45	24	21
10 - 14	39	26	13
15 - 19	33	12	21
20 - 24	17	10	7
25 - 29	34	15	19
30 - 34	29	19	10
35 - 44	38	21	17
45 - 59	34	17	17
60 and over	20	14	6

193. In two age groups, 15-19 and 25-29 the females out number the males. The ratio is balanced only in one group i. e. 45-59. About 40% of the population is constituted by boys and girls below 15 years; 44% between 15 and 44 years; and only 16% are older than 44 years.

Births and deaths

194. No record of births in the village by Government or other local agencies or bodies exists. A midwife stays in Gola-ka-Bas who maintains a register of a sort no doubt, but it gives the number of cases treated by her; and how many of them are from Bhangarh cannot be known. Other figures are just not available.

Age and marital status

195. A study of the statistical information pertaining to marriages reveals that child marriages are almost absent in Bhangarh. There is no person below 10 who is married; and only 3, 1 male and 2 females in the age group 10-14 are married. The percentages of the never married, the married, and the widowed to the total population are 45.45, 47.21 and 7.34 respectively. There is, moreover, not a single case ef divorced or separated person in the whole village. Of the never married, 85.8%

are minors below 15, the rest being above that age. This latter group comprises of 15 persons (10 males and 5 females) in the 15-19 age group. Three abnormal cases in the never-married category come in the 25-29 age group.

196. The group of married persons includes 80 males and 81 females. This disparity is made good by the fact that one of the Jogis has two wives. All other married persons are monogamous as detailed in the following table:

Age groups	Never Married		Married		Widowed	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All ages	92	63	80	81	13	12
0 - 4	27	25	-	-	-	-
5 - 9	24	21	-	-	-	-
10 - 14	25	11	1	2	-	-
15 - 19	10	5	2	16	-	-
20 - 24	3	1	7	6	-	-
25 - 29	3	-	12	19	-	-
30 - 34	-		16	9	3	1
35 - 39	-	-	8	9	-	-
40 - 44	-	-	11	6	2	2
45 - 49	-	-	7	7	2	1
50 - 54	-	-	5	5	2	2
55 - 59	-	-	1	1	-	1
60 - 64	-	-	8	1	2	2
65 - 69	-	-	-	-	-	2
70 and over	-	-	2	-	2	1

197. The above table indicates that there are only 17 never-married females above 9 years of age. The corresponding number for males is 41. This disparity is made good later, before the age of 30. The females marry young and their husbands are senior to them in age by 3-5 years.

Education

198. There is no school in Bhangarh proper. But there has been a Primary School running for the last 50 years in Gola-ka-Bas i. e. in its closest proximity. This school was raised to the Middle School stature three years ago. It can, therefore, be stated that means of education are not lacking in the village as such. Though as many as 175 pupils are on the rolls of the school, only 15 (13 males and 2 females) of them belong to Bhangarh. One of the two females comes from a Brahmin family. All other pupils are Minas.

Age groups	Total			Illiterate		Literates without educational standard		Primary or Junior basic	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All ages	341	185	156	159	154	13	-	13	2
0 - 4	52	27	25	27	25	-	-	-	-
5 - 9	45	25	21	20	20	-	-	4	1
10 - 14	36	26	13	16	12	-	-	9	1
15 - 19	33	12	21	8	21	1	-	-	-
20 - 24	17	10	7	9	7	1	-	-	-
25 - 29	34	15	19	12	19	3	-	-	-
30 - 34	29	19	10	15	10	4	-	-	-
35 - 44	38	21	17	19	17	2	-	-	-
45 - 59	34	17	17	15	17	2	-	-	-
60 and over	20	14	6	14	6	-	-	-	-

199. Excluding the students who attend the school in Gola-ka-Bas, there are 13 literate persons in village Bhangarh. The community wise credit list is as follow: Jogis 3, Minas 2, Khatis 2, and Brahmins 5. The standard of literacy, however, is low for none of these had gone above -IV class in his school days.

Family structure

200. A study of the family structure of the households in Bhangarh shows that 33 families are of simple type consisting of the male head, his wife and unmarried children. The maximum number of joint families is 16, of intermediate type 10, and only 2 families are such as have been classified as other categories. In one of these the head of the family is looking after his old mother-in-law.

201. The general practice observed in the village now is to split the family and ask the newly married couple to set up a separare establishment as soon as the person begins earning his livelihood. In course of time, it can well be assumed, the intermediate type families, which consist of a married couple and unmarried brother, sister or one of the parents, will yield place to the simple type family. The table which follows gives community wise information about the types of families in Bhangarh.

Community	Total number of households	Types of families			
		Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
Koli	24	17	5	2	-
Jogi	10	6	1	3	-
Brahmin	10	4	1	3	2
Chamar	5	1	-	4	-
Mina	4	-	1	3	-
Khati	1	-	-	1	-
Nai	1	1	-	-	-
Banjara	6	4	2	-	-
Total	61	33	10	16	2

202. The average size of a family in the village comes to about 6 persons (5.59 members to be exact). The maximum number viz.33 of families have 4-6 members, 12 have 7-9 members and 10 have 2-3 members. Only 4 households have more than 9 persons in them. There are only 2 single-member households in Bhangarh.

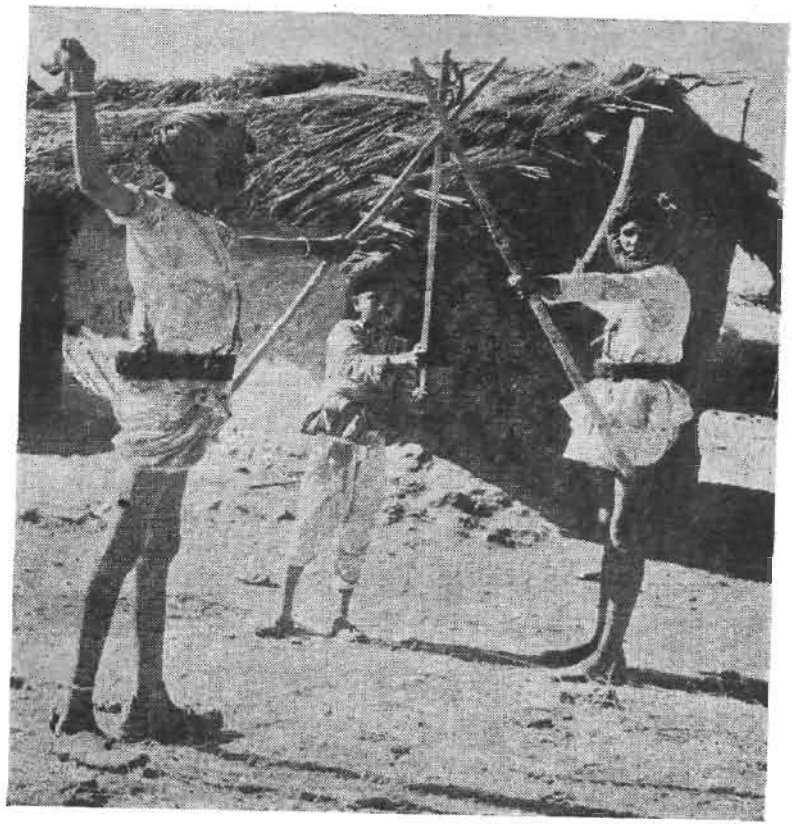
Inter-community relationships

203. The influence and pressure exerted by the elders of the communities act as an effective cheque on wayward individuals. The inter-community relations are maintained on traditional lines through well established conventions. The superstitious nature of the illiterate villagers makes this task easier. It must, however, be observed that petty thefts by Minas and Banjaras are often reported, and feuds due to alleged unequal distribution or release of canal water over ownership or partition of land-holdings, etc. are not very uncommon.

Inheritance and succession

204. The property of the deceased i. e. the male head of family, is shared equally by his male descendants. The widow has no right to any share of it and, in consequence, stays with her sons if they do not separate. But if they do separate, she goes to dwell with any one of them. Daughters in the family have also no right or claim on their father's property. Inspite of the fact that the villagers are made aware of the Hindu Property Act passed by the Government of India, they continue to follow their old traditions and customs.

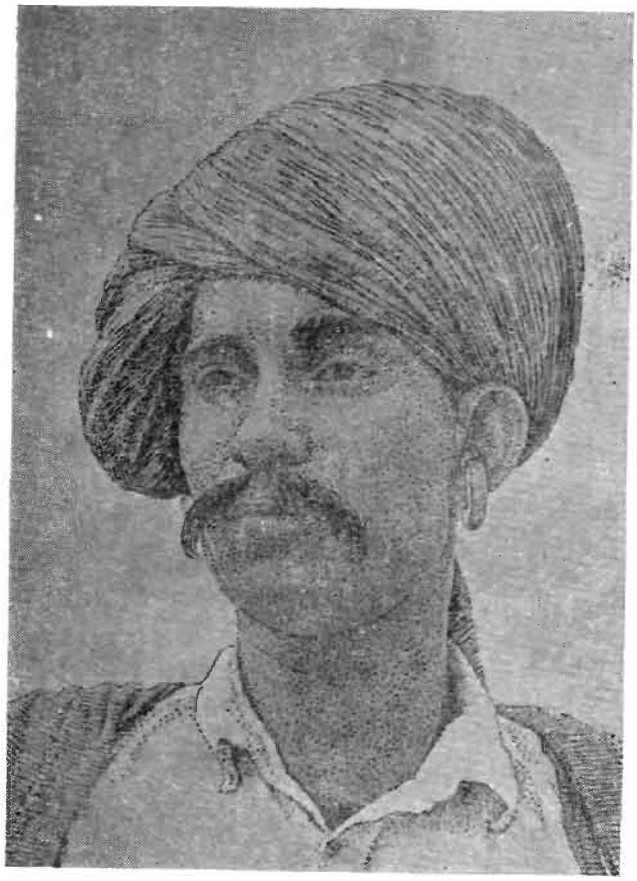
205. The office of the *peer* (pronounced per as in me) of the *asthan* i. e. seat of the Jogis, is filled in by a previously chosen *chela* or



One of the sources of recreation. Note the martial dress and the boomerangs held in the right hands of Sarupa and Magyo.



Another picture of Banjara children basking in the sun near their cottages, gossiping and smoking.



Lakshmi Nathji, the present Peer of the Jogis



Mool Chandji Patel of the Brahmins

disciple, who must be from the Jogi community of village Bhangarh. The boy, so chosen at the age of 10, supercedes all other previous disciples if there be any. If the *peer* died before a *chela* was adopted, the Jogi community of Bhangarh selects one from among suitable boys in the community to succeed the deceased leader.

206.. The present *peer* of the Jogi *asthan* Lakshmi Nathji (32), has discontinued living like an ascetic as his illustrious predecessors did. He is a married man. The State Government, too, declared the *maufi* (tax free) land attached to the *asthan* as *khalsa* (State owned). It is very difficult to foretell what will happen after Lakshmi Nathji's demise as there are no material gains accrueing to the successor.

Religion

207. Religion, as it is understood by the villagers, is an all-important factor in the daily life of the villagers. If rains fail, the failure is ascribed to some god, if an epidemic breaks out it too is accounted for in the same way; for in the village nothing happens without the active help of gods. The village folk, under the circumstances perform many propitiatory rites during the year.

208. The chief among the village deities is undoubtedly Mahadeva or Shiva. All the inhabitants of Bhangarh being Hindu, it can be said with complete justification that the whole village makes obesisance to Mahadeva, the supreme god. Besides him each household has a *Kul Devi* or family patron-gooddess. The Brahmin households worship Brahmani Devi of Jobner, a small town about 35 km from the State Capital, while the Kolis offer prayers to Jomdev and the Nais to Naraini Mata.

209. Besides the supreme god and the family goddesses, there are Bhaironjis and Sedh Matas in all the four *dhanis* of Bhangarh.

210. As the life of the villagers is governed by their faith in the gods or goddesses of Bhangarh, it is likewise governed by local superstitions. The residents consider Wednesday the luckiest day of the week, and begin all agricultural operations on that day. Monday is not auspicious for these purposes at all as the tasks commenced on that day are believed to remain unfinished or incomplete. A married woman with a pitcher full of water seen on his left by a person setting out on a journey is held to be a good omen. The same indications are ascribed to chirping sparrows and braying donkeys.

211. In matters of belief in gods and goddesses, ghosts and witches, good and bad omens, Bhangarh is not at all different from other villages in the region or for that matter, in the State. The variations are too insignificant to be noted.

Fairs and festivals

212. The monotony of rural life is broken by fairs and festivals. As agricultural operations follow the cycle of seasons, it is during breaks that the joyful celebrations usually come. Though almost all of them have religious origins they are none-the-less of social and material value. Some communities have a few festivals which they claim to be specially their own, but all the villagers, irrespective of community or class affiliations, join in them. This is especially so in Bhangarh as it does not have any member belonging to non-Hindu communities. A few of the village observes are detailed below.

213. Sitla Ashtami : It comes on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra. Mother goddess Sedh or Sitla is offered worship on the day. *Rabdi, pooris* and sweet dishes of *gulgula* are prepared the day before so as to be offered to the goddess the first thing the next morning after worship.

214. The day is called *Basora*. The goddess is believed to be a protector of people, especially children, suffering from small-pox.

215. Gangore : Gangore, one of the most colourful festivals in Rajasthan, is celebrated on the third day of the bright half of Chaitra.

Women of all communities observe fast on the day, offer worship to Gauri, the consort of Lord Shiva, and pray for long lives for their husbands.

216. Teej : This is celebrated on the third day of *shukla* (bright) Shravan. Women of the house prepare sweet dishes and, along with their companions, repair to the gardens, where they sing songs describing the beauty of Shravan and pass time swinging on *jhoolas*.

217. Janam-Ashtmi : This marks the birthday of Lord Krishana and comes on the eighth day of the dark half of Bhadon or Bhadrapada. Men and women observe fast and take food after mid-night, that is, after the hour of the Lord's birth.

218. Navaratra : Literally meaning nine-nights the celebrations commence on the *pratipada* i.e. the first day of the bright half of Ashwin and continue for nine days. The village folk offer worship and prayers to various goddesses like Sirsa Devi, Kalka Devi and Chandi. Sedh Mata, the small-pox goddess, too, is included along with Bhaironji, in them. Old religious minded people abstain from taking food during the period.

219. The Jogis of Bhangarh observe the day by offering a goat to the Mata i.e. Mother-goddess, Sirsa Devi. The head of the sacrificial animal is severed from the body with a single stroke, and handed over to the Bhopa for offering to the Mata. The officiating priest i.e. Bhopa, however, prefers to return it to the worshipper for an anna. The goat-skin is later sold to the Khatik i.e. a butcher, and the amount so obtained is spent in purchasing spices, salt etc.

220. Dashera : The end of Navaratra mentioned above, is followed by Dashera i.e. the 10th day of the bright half of Ashwin. God Ramachandra is adorned and worshipped on the day. The public burning of the effigies of Ravan and his mates, so popular in Uttar Pradesh and also in capitals of some princely states in pre-Independence Rajasthan, is not performed in Bhangarh.

221. It is on this day that the villagers try to find out what is in store for them during the next year. A few grains of commodities like wheat rice and pulses, and a little quantity of ghee, curds, milk, etc. are put in dried cowdung- pots separately and covered. They are offered flowers and worshipped along with god Ramachandra. The head of the family, who is not in the know of the contents of different containers, then proceeds to open them one by one. The commodity which is disclosed first, the village folk believe, will be readily available during the next twelve months. The order of appearances indicates the degree of availability of the articles.

222. Diwali : This is celebrated on the *Amavasya* or the darkest day of Kartik. The Mahajans or Hindu shopkeepers offer puja to Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth and plenty, and Ganesh, the popular elephant-headed son of god Shiva and Parvati.

223. Clay lamps with wicks in edible oils are lighted and arranged or deposited near cottage doors or on terraces, in the centre of courtyards, and in front of cattle sheds. The numberless flickering flames, glowing chrome-orange specks against the pitch-dark background, lend a peculiar air to the village scene.

224. The village folk believe that goddess Lakshmi visits every house that night, and is pleased to see the lights burning and the people awake. As the goddess of wealth is ever welcome to the houses of the indigent, the residents of Bhangarh make it a point to keep vigil the whole night.

225. Gordhan : The word comes from *Goverdhan*, the mountain Lord Krishna held above his head, supporting it with his tiny finger to supporting his beloved cowherds from torrential rains. It is celebrated on the first day of *shukla* (bright) Katik. An image of Lord Goverdhan is made of cowdung and worship offered to it in the evening just after twilight. The economy of rural India, in a great measure, is based on the cattle wealth of the villages, and it is but natural that bullocks and cows are worshipped on this day.

226. Holi : The *poonam* or the brightest night of Phalgun is observed with the greatest merriment imaginable by the village folks. Days before the actual day of celebration villagers form themselves into small groups and sing songs. This is done after dusk. On the day, however, *holi*, which is logs and wood arranged in a pile and a few cowdung balls, is offered worship and set on fire. The next morning people go to their friends when they are offered sweets. For a day the customary restrictions on mixing of men and women are forgotten and they throw red powder on or drench their companions with coloured water. The boisterous behaviour of the rustics and others lasts for a few hours only.

Village organisation

227. 21st of January 1955 saw the begining of the era of democratic decentralisation and soon Gram Panchayats were found in the State. Bhangarh village comes under the Gram panchayat of Gola-ka-Bas of Rajgarh Panchayat Samiti.

228. The Gola-ka-Bas Gram Panchayat is composed of representatives of the following ten villages, and two female nominated members :

1. Gola-ka-Bas
2. Bhangarh
3. Birkhadi
4. Kanywas
5. Pemawala
6. Patti Bina
7. Kheerat-ka-Bas
8. Ratna-ka-Bas (Unpopulated)
9. Todi-ka-Bas, and
10. Sitapura.

229. The area under the jurisdiction of the Panchayat has been divided in 9 wards, each of which sends one of their representatives, called panch and all the 9 wards then elect the 10th member who is called sarpanch The table given below gives further details regarding community, age, sex, education, etc. of the different members of Gola-ka-Bas Gram Panchayat.

	Name of the Panchas	Sex	Community	Age	Literate/ illiterate	Contested or uncontested
1.	Chhotu Ram Up Sarpanch	Male	Mina	55	Literate	Uncontested
2.	Ganga Sahai	,,	Silawat	45	Literate	Contested
3.	Ram Sahai	,,	Chamar	40	Illiterate	Contested
4.	Panchu Ram	,,	Koli	50	Illiterate	Uncontested
5.	Mool Chand	,,	Gujar	35	Literate	Contested
6.	Bhanwar Lal	,,	Gujar	35	Illiterate	Contested
7.	Bhairu Bux	,,	Brahmin	30	Literate	Uncontested
8.	Durga Sahai Sarpanch	,,	Mahajan	55	Literate	Contested
9.	Ram Nath	,,	Gujar	45	Illiterate	Uncontested
10.	Bhonri Lal	,,	Mali	45	Can sign only	Contested
11.	Mangi Devi	Female	Brahmin	50	Illiterate	Co-opted
12.	Soni Devi	,,	Koli	35	,,	,,

The meetings of the Gram Panchayat are held on alternate Sundays. An employee of the Gram Panchayat, who is designated as Secretary, writes minutes of the meetings, maintains jobs. He is paid Rs. 40 p. m.

230. This Gram Panchayat at Gola-ka-Bas comes under the jurisdiction of the Nayaya Panchayat at Syaluta, another village 4 km away, the latter Nayaya Panchayat controls two more Gram Panchayats of Syaluta and Baldevgarh.

231. The three members of the Nayaya Panchayat at Syaluta are elected by the Panchas of the three Gram Panchayats from among themselves. The gentleman who represents Gola—ka-Bas Gram Panchayat on the Nayaya Panchayat presently is Shri Ramji Das Mahajan, a 55 years old resident of Birkhadi whose election was uncontested. The persons who represent Syaluta and Baldevgarh are shri Lakshmi Narain and Jagdish Prasad Mishra respectively. The former belongs to the Khati community.

Caste panchayats

232. The panchayat of the Jogis is a body representative of the whole community, and includes members in many other villages besides Bhangarh. The present panchayat is formed of one or more patels, that is hereditary heads of the community, of 7 villages.

233. The panchayat meetings or sessions are held anytime if an aggrieved party demands it. Minor affairs are disposed of quickly, but if some important cases are required to be discussed then the matters are taken up by the session held at the time of Narayani Mata's festival i. e. on the 9th day of the bright half of Vaishakh. Panchayat of the Jogis has the right to levy fines from Rs. 5 to Rs. 151, and power to realise it. The amount so collected is usually spent on feeding the panchas or patels and in making offerings to gods and goddesses advised by them. The names of the patels and the areas they represent are as follows :

Village	Distance in km from Bhangarh	Name of Representatives
1. Bhangarh	-	Ram Niwas Joontha Nath
2. Dhiroda	3	Athu Nath
3. Pavta	6	Bhoure Nath Nangi Nath
4. Baldevgarh	8	Sukh Nath
5. Kutuki	6	Bhairu Nath
6. Birkhari	½	Bhoure Nath
7. Teetarwara	10	Mahadev Nath

234. All other communities residing in village Bhangarh have got their respective caste panchayats and approach the patels or the headmen as and when a dispute arises. The workings of these panchayats are the same as detailed for the Jogis.

235. It is worthy of note that none of these patels is an elected member of the Gram Panchayat set up under the Scheme of democratic decentralisation of the State Government.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

So this is how BHANGARH, an object of interest to anthropologists, historians, students of social-sciences and intelligent laymen, lives and works. The 341 souls who inhabit it have no shop, no hospital or medicine man, no school or teacher to look after them.

237. It should not surprise the reader, who has plodded through the previous pages, if he were told that the Bhangarhians are not in need of them either.

238. The reason for this apparent self-abnegation is not far to seek. The inhabitants the 1194 residents who include among them kumhars (potters), dhobis (washermen), pansaris (grocers), halawais (confectioners), sonars (gold-smiths), lakheras (bangle-makers), darjis (tailors), khatiks (butchers), silawats (stone carvers), etc., of the adjacent village Gola-ka-Bas are ever ready to minister to their wants. The close association in day-to-day life of the people of the two villages has integrated them so well that the separateness established and perpetuated by the revenue records and functionaries is of little consequence even administratively.

239. The settlement, which four centuries ago was looked down upon by the proud rajas of Bhangarh as fit for residential purposes of the *golas* and *golees* (hereditary slaves), has not only given shelter to the refugees from that same Bhangarh but is also looking after all their material needs as well.

240. The 595 males and 554 females of Gola-ka-Bas are grouped in 221 households, and belong to 23 different communities. They live in 232 pukka and kutcha houses. The area of the village is just 575 acres less then one-thirteenth of Bhangarh. In everything except fields and farmlands, it is bigger, richer, better informed and more advanced than the latter. It can be said that the four Bhangarh *dhanis* are just like four appendages or addicaments on the periphery of Gola-ka-Bas.

241. The problem of the 8 communities living in the four *dhanis* of Bhangarh are diverse. The land-owning, well settled families of Jogis, Brahmins, Minas and Chamars-people with established links and some what stable incomes are contented and happy in a way. This can not be said of the Banjaras and the Kolis, who sought shelter in the village 3 and 10 years ago respectively. The Kolis perform numerous odd jobs to supplement their incomes. Some of them work as bandmen of a sort and others as assistants in floor-mills and as general stand-bys in various establishments. The Banjaras, however, have not yet found satisfactory roots in the soil to lead tolerably comfortable lives. Their nomadic bearing and forth-right manners probably create difficulties for them.

242. The country has been passing through a period of transition. The last 17 years have been an age of construction, of Five Year Plans, of gigantic schemes and momentous changes. This is common knowledge in cities and towns where the people have begun enjoying first fruits of these vast national efforts. In the villages, however, not much has happened to change the even tenor of life so characteristic of the last mediaeval ages or, say, even of the last century.

243. But there are things which do not need any elaborate plans to be drawn up, which the villagers can do for improving their condition. Can not a village like Bhangarh, for instance, have better approcch roads to different *dhanis* from the main Dausa-Alwar asphalted highway made

by the *dhani*-dwellers themselves ? Can not a village like Gola-ka-Bas arrange to keep its main lanes clean instead of allowing a wide drain to pass through the middle of it as at present ? Why should the householders throw dirt and filth, swept off in the morning, before the doors of their neighbours ? Why should everyone spit and urinate in front of his or his neighbour's shop or house ? Can not the residents of Gola-ka-Bas have water supplied to them from the Dhappalpura well through pipes ? Can not some of the 222 literates in this village teach their brothers to read their beloved Ramayan ? There are a hundred and one things which the villagers can do for themselves but for lack of realization of civil responsibiliiies.

244. It is not the purpose of this monograph to spell out suggestions for improvement in details. To advise founding of co-operative societies when almost all the members will necessarily be illiterates, and mere pawns in the powers of the petty local bosses, or to recommend expansion of marketing facilities when few things worth marketing are produced, or to advocate establishment of factories when raw materials not being locally available the plans are financialy unsound, or to counsel mechanisation of agriculture when not one of the 65 ploughs in the village is even a bullock-drawn iron one, is not worthwhile.

245. Let us aim at giving food to the hungry before we plan to give more to the half-fed; let us aim at covering the nakedness of the luckless before we think of manufacturing finer varieties for people; let us arrange to supply them germ-free water before we furnish the rural hospital with standard steel furniture and costly medicines; and let us, above all, educate the simple village-folk by dissemination of correct information and practical ideas.

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APPENDIX I

Garabha gayatri – Incantations used by the Naths on *Sankra dhal* (vide para 123) ceremony and various other rituals.

ॐ गुरूजी आद अलील पुरूष गुरू दोनों भाई। नहीं ची बहन नहीं चा भाई, नहीं चा गऊ कसाई। मर गई गौरां रह गया रूंड। हाथ पांव पिंजर की कला, श्योदर्शन की मेली कला। ले गौरां जल ऊतरी हुया मीन का ठाट बाट। पांच संख पानतंत ले उपनी माता पारबतीजी अपने हात।

ॐ गुरूजी कौन सा संख देवगुल साजे। कौन सा संख सुकल पसारा। कौन सा संख ले उतरे पारा। पढ़ो गुण गायत्री सारा। पहिला संख देवगुल साजे। दूजा संख सुकल पसारा। तीजा संख ले उतरे पारा। पढ़ो गुण गायत्री सारा। छः मास जोगी अठनगरी करीं, कौतर से दुरगा ले उतरी सोना सींगी रूपा खुरी। मंढ पहुंची जमघटी नंदी बैतरणी, थेई पौंड गौड़ पंतारां की। ब्रह्मा महसर महसर सार, संखढलां से पूजिये जीव को दीजिये श्योपुरी का बास। ढलकन्त संख पावन्तमो, ॐ गुरूजी क्रिया करतां नहीं छै दोष।

ॐ गुरूजी पहिला संख कौन को दीजे। पहिला संख चंद्रमा को दीजे। ऊठो चंद्रमा सूतक पातक झेलो बारा, पढ़ो गुण गायत्री सारा। छः मास जोगी अठनगरी करीं, कौतर से दुरगा ले उतरी सोना सींगी रूपा खुरी। मंढ पहुंची जमघटी नंदी बैतरणी, थेई पौंड गौड़ पंतारां की। ब्रह्मा महसर महसर सार, संखढलां से पूजिये जीव को दीजिये श्योपुरी का बास। ढलकन्त संख पावन्तमो, ॐ गुरूजी क्रिया करतां नहीं छै दोष।

ॐ गुरूजी दूजा संख कौन को दीजे। दूजा संख सूरज को दीजे। ऊठो सूरज करो सुकल पसारा, सूतक पातक झेलो बारा, पढ़ो गुण गायत्री सारा। छः मास जोगी अठनगरी करीं, कौतर से दुरगा ले उतरे सोना सींगी रूपा खुरी। मंढ पहुंची जमघटी नंदी बैतरनी, थेई पौंड गौड़ पंतारां की। ब्रह्मा महसर महसर सार, संखढलां से पूजिये जीव को दीजिये श्योपुरी का बास। ढलकन्त संख पावन्तमो, ॐ गुरूजी क्रिया करतां नहीं छै दोष।

ॐ गुरूजी तीजा सख कौन को दीजे। तीजा संख माता पारवती को दीजे। उठो माता पारवतीजी संख का करो बिचारा, सूतक पातक झेलो बारा, पढ़ो गुण गायत्री सारा। छः मास जोगी अठनगरी करीं, कौतर से दुरगा ले उतरी सोना सींगी रूपा खुरी। मंढ पहुंची जमघटी नंदी बैतरनी, थेई पौंड गौड़ पंतारां की। ब्रह्मा महसर महसर सार, संखढलां से पूजिये जीव को दीजिये श्योपुरी का बास। ढलकन्त संख पावन्तमो, ॐ गुरूजी क्रिया करतां नहीं छै दोष।

ॐ गुरूजी चौथा संख कौन को दीजे। चौथा संख संतन को दीजे। संत गया कौलासां लेय, वहां बैठा गोरख मछंदरनाथ। ऊठो गोरख मछंदरनाथ संख का करो विचारा, सूतक पातक झेलो बारा, पढ़ो गुण गायत्री सारा। छः मास जोगी अठनगरी करीं, कौतर से दुरगा ले उतरी सोनां सींगी रूपा खुरी। मंढ पहुंची जमघटी नंदी बैतरनी, थेई पौंड गौड़ पंतारां की। ब्रह्मा महसर महसर सार, संखढलां से पूजिये जीव को दीजिये श्योपुरी का बास। ढलकन्त संख पावन्तमो, ॐ गुरूजी क्रिया करतां नहीं छै दोष।

APPENDIX

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1961

Socio-Economic Survey of selected villages in Rajasthan

[A] HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

Name of District | Name and Code No. of village

Name of Tehsil | Code No. of Household

I. General Description

	Total	Male	Female
1. Total No. of Members			
2. Religion of Household			
3. Language of Household			
4. Tribe/Caste and Sub-tribe/Sub-caste of Household			
5. Household vegetarian or non-vegetarian			

II. Composition of Household

S. No.	Name	Sex	Relationship to Head	Age	Marital Satus	Age at marri-age	Occupation	Illiterate or literate with edu-cational standard	Any Dis-ability
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
8									
9									
10									

III. Duration of Residence

1. *Does the Household originally belong to the village ?*
2. If so, immigrated from where, when and why ?

IV. Settlement pattern

1. How this house has been laid out in the scheme of the settlement ?

V. House Type and Household Effects

1. What is the general ground plan of house ?

2. Is the house *(a)* owned or *(b)* rented or *(c)* owned but partly rented out ?

3. What is the condition of the house *(a)* properly maintained or *(b)* dilapidated ?

4. What materials have been used in the construction of—

   (a) Outer walls
   (b) Roof
   (c) Floors

5. No. of room in the house used for—

   (a) Living
   (b) Other purposes

6. Has the house a separate—

   (a) Kitchen
   (b) Bath-room
   (c) Latrine
   (d) Cattle-shed

7. Has the house been decorated with—

   (a) Folk art drawing on walls, floors etc.
   (b) Pictures
   (c) Other items

8. Does the house contain—

   (a) Furniture
   (b) Lighting arrangement
   (c) Utensils
   (d) Other items
   (e) Conveyance

(Give full Particulars)

VI. Dietary Habits

1. How many times a day the members of Household take meals ?

Contents of each meal

1	2	3	4

2. What is the ordinary medium of cooking ?

3. How many members of the Household usually take daily—

(a) Tea

(b) Tobacco for

(i) eating

(ii) smoking

(c) Liquor

(d) Opium

VII. Dress and other Body Adornments

A. Dress

1. Common dress worn by:—

Male	*Female*

2. Whether dress is made locally or obtained from outside the village ?

B. Ornaments

3. Ornaments usually worn and description of material

Male		*Female*	
Name and description of ornaments	Material	Name and description of ornaments	Material
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			
9.			
10.			

C. Hair style

4. General Hair style of the head amongst—

(a) Male *(b) Female*

5. Do male members generally keep beards and moustaches ?

D. Tattooing

6. Is body tattooed ? Describe parts of body tattooed and peculiarities thereof.

E. Toilet

7. What toilets and cosmetics are generally used ?

F. Footwear

8. Is footwear used by all members ?

VIII. Health and Sanitary Habits

1. At what intervals of time members usually take bath ?

2. At what intervals of time do they wash their clothes ?

3. What material is used to wash:—

(a) Body

(b) Clothes

4. Do they clean the house daily ?

5. Do they keep the utensils clean ?

6. Is their bedding clean ?

7. What measures are adopted at the time of:—

A. Illness—

(a) No action taken

(b) Aid sought from village witch or other local quacks

(c) Ayurvedic or Unani treatment

(d) Allopathic treatment

B. Maternity—

(a) Case done at home through—
(i) Untrained dai *(ii)* Trained midwife

(b) Case done outside home through—
Maternity centre or Hospital

IX. Recreation

1. What type of games are undertaken ?

2. Folk songs and Dances with peculiar local musical instruments, if any

3. Fairs and other festivities

X. Social Customs

1. Any peculiar social rites of the Household

A. Marriage—

2. Any peculiarities in rites of marriage

3. At what age marriage is usually performed of:–

(a) Male

(b) Female

4. Is Divorce and re-marriage permissible ?

5. Is marriage allowed within the Tribe or Caste only or it can take place beyond the Tribe or Caste ?

6. Is dowry usually taken or given ? If so, in what form and of what estimated value ?

7. Is system of dowry on the increase or decrease ?

8. Usual total expenditure incurred on:—

(a) Boy's marriage

(b) Girl's marriage

B. Funerals—

9. Any peculiar rites observed on the occasion of death

10. Is feast held on death ? If so, estimated expenditure thereon and No. of persons participating in such feast

C. Inheritance—

11. Any peculiar customs followed at the time of inheritance
How inheritance devolves on surviving members ?

XI. Beliefs and Superstitions

1. Belief in Particular god or goddess
2. Belief in Particular spirits etc.
3. Location of object of worship in the house and mode of worship
4. Does the household believe in particular customs associated with change of seasons, cultivation etc. ?
5. Whether certain days, plants, persons, animals, other objects or happenings are considered lucky or unlucky ?

XII. Social Organisation

1. How the household is governed in social matters:—
   (a) By Head of Household only
   (b) By Caste or Tribe Panchayat
   or
   (c) By village Panchayat
2. How these Panchayats are formed ?
3. Composition of these Panchayats ?
4. How these Panchayats act ?

XIII. Occupation

A. Traditional—

1. Whether the Household continues the traditional occupation ?
2. If not, why discontinued ?
3. If continued, is it principal or secondary ?
4. Has any effort been made to improve the traditional occupation ?

B. Household Industry—

1. Nature of Household industry undertaken and its products
2. No. of members of Household engaged—
   (a) Whole-time
   (b) Part-time

C. *Household cultivation*—

1. Area of land under cultivation, irrigated and unirrigated separately
2. No. of members engaged —

   (a) Whole-time
   (b) Part-time

3. Principal crops etc. raised

D. *Other occupations*—

Nature of work with full particulars

XIV. Property

1. How many houses or other immovable property other than agricultural land possessed by the Household ? Give details

2. No. and type of livestock and poultry etc. possessed by the Household

XV. Income

Estimated income of the Household from following sources in a year

(a) Salary and Wages (including pension)
(b) Cultivation
(c) Household industry
(d) Business
(e) Dairy products
(f) Rent of land and other property
(g) Interest or dividends
(h) Other sources

TOTAL

XVI. Expenditure

1. Is the income of the household sufficient to cover all expenditure ?

2. How expenditure not covered by income is met ?

XVII. Indebtedness

1. Extent of debts, if any

2. Extent and purpose of debt incurred on—

   (a) Purchase of land, cattle, agricultural implements and other agricultural purposes
   (b) Housing
   (c) Social ceremonies e.g. marriage, funeral rites etc.
   (d) Sickness
   (e) Business
   (f) Other purposes

3. Rate of interest payable on debts

4. Whether debt has increased or decreased during the past 10 years

XVIII. Social and Economic Reforms

1. Is the village covered by N. E. S. Block ? Has the household participated in any of its activities to its advantage ?

2. What works of community benefit have been taken up by the household in the village ?

3. Have land reforms by the abolition of intermediary rights benefitted the household ?

4. Has the Household adopted any improvements in cultivation and started use of improved seeds, fertilisers etc. ?

5. Has the Household's cultivated area and yield of crops increased in recent years ?

6. Has there been any improvement in irrigational facilities ?

7. Has Households become member of some Co-operative society ? What advantage has occurred ?

8. Has it benefitted by loan schemes of the Government granted for agricultural or industrial purposes ?

9. Has village Panchayat proved advantageous to the community ?

10. Has the Household any idea of adopting consolidation of holdings and Co-operative farming in the near future ?

11. Has the Household understood advice of Gram Sewak and followed it ?

12. Has Household got itself vaccinated against smallpox & tuberculosis ?

13. Has Household got its house sprayed with D. D. T. as an anti-malaria measure ?

14. Has Household helped in the construction of a village school, road, drinking water well, Panchayatghar etc. for the benefit of village community ?

15. Has household donated ever for any humanitarian cause e.g. relief of sufferes (flood, fire, famine, epidemics etc.)

Dated.....

Signature of Investigator

[B] VILLAGE SCHEDULE

I. Approach

How village can be reached. Particularly in rainy season ?

II. Location

Exact location of village-Distances from nearest rail-head, road point, bus stand, and Tehsil headquarters and Police Station-height above sea level-longitude and latitude.

III. Topography-Map

Lay-out of the village - physical features - hills - plateau - plains - rivers - ponds-dams-canals-grouping of houses in abadi land-internal lanes & bye-lanes-shopping centre-village forest-pasture-lands-shade bearing trees and their arrangement-village water supply system for drinking and irrigation.

IV. Climate

Climate-Temperature-Rainfall-Storms-Floods-Famine etc.

V. Origin and History of village

Origin of village-Local legend about name of village-past history-archaeological excavations.

VI. Communities

Names of all communities living in the village-distinctive features of each community-their households & number of persons for each separately-do they live in one settlement or scattered and parcelled out in separate groups based on caste considerations etc. i.e., housing arrangement.

VII. Village Administration

How village problems are tackled and solved-Control of Households-Community Panchayats-village Panchayats-village Headmen-Patwari etc.

VIII. Social Life

Division of society into castes and sub-castes-Importance of family-Health and sanitary practices-Food-Dress and ornaments-Hair arrangement-Face decoration-Marriage and position of women-Funeral and other peculiar ceremonies, social evils-Pastime and recreations-Minor items of social interest about etiquette and social behaviour.

IX. Religious beliefs and superstitions

Worship of gods and goddesses, spirits etc.-Places of common religious worship-Community festivals and fairs connected with religious practices-Popular religious beliefs-Ascertic orders-Sacrifices.

X. Educational life

Objects of study-Subjects studied-Facilities for study-General trend of education-Female education-Reaction of elders towards modern methods of education-Libraries-Adult education-Vocational education etc.

XI. Economic life

Professions-Agriculture and Animal Husbandry-Agricultural practices-Merchandise-Trade and commerce-Exchange and barter-Weights and measures- Labour- Communications- Banking system- Main markets-Storage.

XII. Art and Architecture

Architectural details-Things of art produced in the village.

XIII. Recent Socio-Economic Reforms

Land Reforms-Improvement of land-Modern agricultural practices-Modern methods of industrial production-Improvement of Cottage Industries-Cooperative Societies and Cooperative Banking system-Development of education-Improvement of social customs- Removal of untouchability-Cooperative farming-Establishment of village Panchayats to improve village administration-Effect of modern health and sanitary practices-B. C. G. and Anti-malaria campaigns etc.

In addition to the instructions already given, information on the following questions should also be collected from prominent village leaders and other intelligent persons.

I. **Displaced persons in the village—**

(a) No. of displaced households rehabilitated in this village after partition.
(b) Whether they consider themselves to be adequately rehabilitated.

II. **Awareness of various legislative or executive measures—**

(a) Abolition of Zamindari & intermediary rights.
(b) Ceiling in ownership of land.
(c) Transfering ownership rights to the fillers of the soil.
(d) Changes in Hindu laws of succession and adoption.
(e) Untouchability.
(f) Land reclamation & land development.
(g) Family planning.
(h) (i) Extension or restriction of the rights of utilisation of forest produce.
(ii) How and to what extent the villagers have been effected by above.
(i) Extension or restriction of grazing rights over any area and how it has affected the villagers.
(j) Measures abolishing forced and bounded labour.

III. **Labour and employment—**

1. Are there educated people in this village searching for jobs ?
How many and since when unemployed ?
2. What are the average rates for—
Agriculture labour-Skilled worker in industry-Unskilled worker in industry-
Unskilled general worker

IV. Markets and fairs most commonly visited—

Location-Day on which held-Name of the market-Distance from the village-How reached-Its importance in the region-Commodities exported and imported through it-Any special feature

Fairs most commonly visited—

Name-Date-Location-Its importance in the region (any legend)-How old-Size of gathering-Communities participating - Distance from the village - How reached - Commodities sold or purchased-Other activities.

Shops—

What variety of shops-Main commodities sold-When established. (In case shopkeeper belongs to other place-what place) ? Nature of transactions-cash/advance/barter etc.-Side business, if any, such as money lending etc.

V. Educational Institutions—

Where do the children read. If they have to go out of the village where and how far.
How many children involved in such cases.

VI. Maps—

Give a sketch map of the village-north line, main roads & sub-lanes.
Railway line & Station, river-Lay out of village-one symbol for one household-School-Dispensary-Shops-wells (Irrigating & Drinking), ponds, streams etc.
Agricultural fields- pasture- jungles- burning ghat or grave- yards.
Main communities-Settlement pattern.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE INVESTIGATOR FOR FILLING UP THE HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

Census in itself is a socio-economic study of the people. Apart from Census no detailed socio-economic survey has been undertaken in Rajasthan State so far. It has been decided to undertake intensive survey of the social and economic life of the people living in selected areas of this State as a separate project but simultaneously with the Census Operations. You have been fully associated in selecting 36 villages in different districts of Rajasthan where socio-economic survey will be undertaken. You have full knowledge about the criteria and the background which have been observed in selecting these villages. Keeping this background in view, you have to make an effort now to undertake the survey but success will mainly depend on your initiative, capacity to investigate various aspects of life in the selected villages and your inclination to undertake deep research. In nut-shell, you should treat the socio-economic survey now being entrusted to you as a research project from all points of view.

In respect of each selected village, you have to make laborious research to find out if any published literature is available about the people. You will be interested to know about the history of the village, racial characteristics of the communities living in the village, customs and rites prevalent in different communities and their religious beliefs. You should know about structures of archaeological or architectural importance. You should keenly observe how people actually live and keep themselves occupied. Their main source of sustenance should be a matter of special study by you and if they are turning out things of art you should not fail to describe such beautiful things.

I have finalised a Household Schedule to serve as a guide while you make survey of the social and economic aspects of each household but it is only in a skeleton form. You have to provide real body containing flesh and blood thereon by your keen observation and unstinted labour.

The territorial unit of survey is a village. A list of villages where you are required to undertake survey is enclosed. You have to collect information in respect of each household living in a selected village except in cases of large villages where you have been specifically told to confine your survey to a limited number of households.

You should obtain a map of the village from the Patwari. This will provide to you clear information about the lay-out of the land comprised within the boundary of a village. You shall have to prepare separately a sketch map of Abadi land for, this information will not be available in the Patwari's map. In this map you should indicate the boundaries of habitations, main physical features, arrangement of houses, roads, lanes and bye-lanes, village shopping centre, school, dispensary, Panchayat Ghar, places of community worship, drinking water wells and any other places of interest. The village map provided by the Patwari may provide to you the information about the main topographical features, for example, hills, rivers, roads, eanals, village ponds, dams, agricultural fields, pasture-lands, village jungles, funeral or burial grounds etc. These should be checked up by you and if some of the items are missing in the Patwari's map, you should not fail to indicate them. In the portions of Patwari's map shown as reserved for habitation, you should fill up the necessary particulars as mentioned above from your own observation.

You should keep in view the following instructions while filling the Household Schedule for each household:—

(i) *General Description:—*

After filling up the location of the household by mentioning the name of the district, name of tehsil, name and code number of village and the code number of household assigned at the time of Census House numbering, you shall fill up this part by ascertaining from the Head of the household or some other male or female member who can give satisfactory reply to your questions, information about the total number of members in the household classified by sex. The religion of the household, language spoken in the household commonly and the composition of the household on the basis of tribe or caste, classified by sub-tribes or sub-castes, should be mentioned. Also indicate whether the household takes meat, eggs, etc. or is strictly vegetarian.

(ii) *Composition of Household:—*

You have to fully ascertain information about each member of the household. No member should be left out, particularly infants and children. If you find that any member is literate and has passed some examination, then the educational standard attained by that member should be clearly mentioned. If any member suffers from any physical disability, for example, blindness, deafness, dumbness, insanity, less of any limb or any serious contagious disease like leprosy, etc., the same should also be clearly mentioned after proper enquiry and observation.

(iii) *Duration of Residence :—*

If the household has been living in the village since its establishment, there is no difficulty; but if it has come from some other place, you have to make searching enquiry from where the household immigrated to the village and what were the reasons which impelled it to leave its original home and to move to another village.

(iv) *Settlement Pattern:—*

It would be interesting to study how houses have been grouped within the Abadi land that is to say whether houses have been laid out community-wise or all communities live together. You should also study the settlement pattern of houses and their construction as to whether they are in a row, leaving lanes and bye-lanes in between such rows or in mixed but undefined pattern.

(v) *Types of Houses and Household Effects:—*

You should observe the different shapes and outer pattern of every house to determine different types of houses available. Whether they are rectangular, circular or oval in shape and whether their roofs are flat or sloping making out different patterns and styles and what is the reason for giving the particular shapes to houses and roofs may be fully observed ? For example, you will find in desert areas, where wind blows strongly and sand-storms are frequent, people prefer to build houses which are circular with tapering circular roofs. They also keep the height of their houses quite low. Such pattern enables the people to keep their houses safe in such areas and they are not easily blown away even in storms. You should further observe the general condition of houses from outside. It would be possible to judge the economic condition of the household by condition of the house in which it lives. Does the household invest yearly to maintain the house in proper order by effecting repairs and undertaking plastering or white-washing etc, or it allows the house to remain in dilapidated condition always crying for necessary repairs ? It will be interesting to know what meterial is usually used for the construction of outer parts of the house for this will depend not only on the availability of the materials used in the proximity of the village but will throw a flood of light on the arrangements done by the people to face inclemencies of weather. Rest of the questions under this sub-head have been designed to find out the status of the household both from

social and economic point of view. A household with substantial means will think of providing several rooms, some reserved for sitting and sleeping and the others for different purposes, for example, a kitchen, bathroom or latrine or cattle-shed. We also want to know how the house has been furnished. Whether it has been decorated, whether it contains necessary amount of furniture, e.g., cots to sleep on, chairs, tables, stools, benches to sit on and take meals, different types of utensils for cooking and eating, and, whether the household possesses its own conveyance, e.g., a bullock-cart, a cycle, a horse, a camel, or any other customary mode of conveyance. You will find that large number of houses in the villages are not lighted during the night daily. It will be interesting to find out what lighting arrangement exists in particular houses.

(vi) *Dietary Habits* :—

You should ascertain how many times each member of the household takes his meals usually and you should describe in detail each item of food that he takes at the time of each meal. It would be interesting if you describe each item of food by local name but to make it intelligible please do not forget to mention the ingredients out ot which it is made. The ordinary medium of cooking, e.g., sarson-oil, til-oil,groundnut oil, vanaspati, real ghee or animal fat etc. should be clearly mentioned. If any member of the household generally takes tea or is addicted to take or smoke opium, tobacco or drink liquor, you should not forget to mention this fact. Indicate total number of members who partake these things.

(vii) *Dress and other Body Adornments:*—

It would be of particular interest if you can mention the local name and describe in detail the typical type of dress that is worn by male and female members of each community living in the village to which a particular household belongs. In respect of a household if you find any peculiarities in the dress of a male and a female member, you should bring out such peculiarities while filling up the Household Schedule. It would not be necessary to repeat the description of dress in all the household schedules if you find similar type of dress being worn generally in the village or in a particular community. Do not forget to mention whether that dress is prepared within the village itself or is got tailored from some outside place. If tailoring arrangement is available in the village it should be specified.

You will find people belonging to the different communities and even within communities different households putting on peculiar type of ornaments. The ornaments worn by adult male and female persons will be found quite different from those worn by boys and girls. You should clearly observe such ornaments, find out their local names and of what metal or alloys they have been made of and then catalogue the entire list. If you observe anything of special beauty and art, please do not forget to describe it as best as you can. If you consider it necessary you can get it photographed later on.

You will also notice that different communities have different hair style. This will be particular noticeable in the case of women. Hair style serve distinguishing mark between various communities. You should not fail to observe such important physical characteristic. Similarly, you will notice people having beards and moustaches of different shapes and styles.

Another important body adornment which is usually practised in villages by different communities is to subject different parts of their bodies to tattooing. If you find tattooing of the body which is really peculiar, you should describe this fact in detail. The different patterns of gods and goddesses or natural things tattood on the body should be described. If you find peculiar designs or patterns on the body, do not forget to mention them.

It will be interesting to find out what type of local cosmetics and articles of toilets are used by

males and females. You will find people using 'mehandi', 'kumkum' and other types of colours etc. to beautify their body. People put 'kajjal' in their eyes and use some articles to colour their lips and gums.

You will find limited number of people using foot-wear. If the foot-wear used by male and female of different communities have any peculiarities in the forms and designs or in respect of the material of which they are made, please bring out all such peculiarities in detail.

(viii) *Health and Sanitary Habits :—*

You should make thorough study about the daily life of the members of the household. Whether they take measures to keep their body clean and the clothes which they put on or sleep upon. You should observe whether the utensils which they use for cooking and eating purposes are properly cleaned or not. It will be interesting to study how the household reacts when a case of illness or maternity occurs.

(ix) *Recreation :—*

You will find villagers do find time for some sort of recreation although their life is extremely busy. If you find indoor or outdoor games being played by particular households do not fail to describe. You will find people playing Indian type of Chess and participating in different types of local outdoor games. You will also find people merry-making and indulging in singing of different types of folk songs and participating in different types of dancing. You should ascertain the local names of dances and then describe peculiar features thereof. As regards folk songs, try to record them in the language they are sung and then try to ascertain their meaning from the people and attempt translation in Hindi or English of the subject matter. If you find peculiar type of local musical instruments being used as an accompaniment to singing and dancing, you should describe the name and peculiar pattern of such instruments. Of course you will describe the main festivities and fairs in which households participate, if they are peculiar to the household itself or to the communities to which it belongs.

(x) *Social Customs :—*

Your Survey would not be complete without making careful but thorough study of social customs and rites peculiar to a household. You will find certain customs and rites are common to all the communities in the village which you may not answer under this head but if you find there are certain customs or rites which are observed in a particular household or in a particular community to which a particular household belongs, then mention its name under different heads, e.g., marriage, funeral, inheritance etc. You will have to interrogate households and if an opportunity occurs, you will not fail to attend performance of such customs and rites so as to observe the ritual yourself.

(xi) *Beliefs and Superstitions:—*

The village folk entertain various types of beliefs and superstitions based on ignorance. They have natural dread of certain objects and happenings which are not easily intelligible to them. They propitiate certain gods and goddesses and evil spirits to keep them content and to refrain from injuring the members of the household. You have to bring out all such odd beliefs and superstitions by closely questioning the household.

(xii) *Social Organisation:—*

You will find the village consists of a closely knit community or communities. The behaviour of each member of a community is strictly controlled by their cummunity Panchayats and at the level of the household by elders of the household. You have to study the pattern of village administration at the household and community level in detail.

(xiii) *Occupation:—*

You must find out the occupation in which a particular household is engaged and describe it in detail. Without this study, you will not be able to find out the source of sustenance of the household.

(xiv) *Property:—*

If the household is prosperous you will find it possessing different types of properties which you have to mention including livestock and poultry etc.

(xv) *Income and Expenditure:—*

We do not propose to undertake any extensive study of income and expenditure of household as it is not possible at the present stage of social organisation in the village. A broad attempt to find out the total income of a household in a year under certain well known heads is to be made and then the income is to be correlated with the total expenditure incurred by the household just to ascertain whether the household's income is sufficient or less than the basic requirement. If the expenditure exceeds the income, you will ascertain how the loss is made good. Invariably the household must be incurring debt or selling out its properties to meet the extra expenditure.

(xvi) *Indebtedness:—*

Most of the households will be found suffering from acute indebtedness. A broad attempt is being made to study this evil from which no household can easily escape in rural areas.

(xvii) *Social and Economic Reforms:—*

Several social and economic reforms have been introduced since the introduction of the First Five Year Plan to improve the living conditions in the villages and to provide better facilities for improved occupations. An attempt is being made to study the impact of such reforms on each household and to judge the extent it has benefitted by them.

In this manner by keeping your eyes open and making constant endeavour as a research assistant you can hope to succeed in bringing out sufficient material in respect of each household of a selected village where you will make the socio-economic survey and then build up a connected picture on which a beautiful monograph can be based. It will certainly enrich the monograph if you also bring along with you even rough sketches of whatever interesting things you come across in the village.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE INVESTIGATOR FOR FILLING UP THE VILLAGE SCHEDULE

I have separately sent to you instructions for filling the Household Schedule and the printed forms of Household Schedule which you shall use while making Socio-Economic Survey in selected villages. I am now enclosing a form of Village Schedule which has been designed after close discussions with you. The Registrar General of India desires that a separate volume of demy-quarto size containing 500 to 600 pages should be published along with the State Census Report in which detailed account about every selected village in which Socio-Economic Survey has been conducted should be described. In order that the monograph on each village may be both interesting and instructive, you will have to prepare the Village Schedule very carefully.

2. The quality of work will be mainly judged by the wealth of information which you will be able to collect by keen observation in each village. The whole information is to be compiled under different heads given in the Village Schedule. I describe their salient features below to high-light their importance.

(i) *Approach to Village:—*

After describing the location of village, the first head under which you should record your observations is regarding the approach to village. You should clearly describe how one can reach the selected village and whether the route remains open during the rainy season or some alternative routes are to be adopted to reach the village. You should mention the condition of route or routes leading to the village and the customary mode of conveyance available by which a traveller can reach the village.

(ii) *Location of Village:—*

Under this head indicate exact location of the village within the Tehsil and the District. Its approximate distance from the nearest rail-head, road point, bus stand and the Police Station. From the Survey sheets you should determine the exact latitude and longitude of the village and mention the same as well as the height of the village above the sea level.

(iii) *Topography:—*

You should obtain a map of the village from the Patwari. From this map you shall be able to find several topographical details about the village. You must further make a round of the village to observe chief physical features of the village and correctly determine their position in the village map. Thereafter you should prepare a sketch map of the village showing all the main physical features, e.g. hills, plateau, plains, rivers, canals, dams, pasture-land, village forest, drinking water system for the village, shade bearing trees and the situation and lay-out of the village abadi. You should note whether the village is situated at the foot of hill or on its slopes or nestles at the foot of the hill. You should mention why the village has been located at a particular place. You should further indicate the housing arrangement and whether houses face particular directions and, if so, why. Houses are grouped in abadi land and there is a particular system of grouping which is followed in making settlements. You should not forget to notice this important fact. If there are internal roads, lanes and bye-lanes within the abadi or a separate shop centre, you should indicate them. Thus, all salient features which form the landscape of the village should be keenly observed by you and fully described.

(iv) *Climate:—*

What is the general climate of the village ? Describe the various seasons and the periodicity thereof. Average rainfall and temperature in different seasons may be indicated. If the village is visited by wind storms or floods or famine or by all of them at regular intervals, investigate the reasons and indicate when such natural havocs occur. Is something being done to improve the climate by limited human efforts ?

(v) *Origin and History of village:—*

It will be interesting to find who established the village and when. Describe the original settlers and what is the significance of the name given to the village. After this try to trace out the past history of the village from its origin upto-date. If the original settlers of the village have left and some other communities have settled in place of them, describe them. If there are any notable conditions in the history of the village they should be high-lighted. It does not matter whether such events were merely political or had also social and economic background. If there are ancient remains of certain buildings and places of worship which throw a lurid light on the history of the village, do not forget to describe them. If there had been archaelogical excavations in the village which have helped in building up the history of the past, mention full details. You will have to make special efforts to discover any old literature that may be available relating to the history of the various communities which reside in the village in order to build up some sort of the history of the village. If there are any bards of the communities available, you should not forget to contact them and hear their point of view about the origin and subsequent history of the various communities. Quite painstaking effort will have to be made by you before it would be possible to elicit some reasonable information about the origin and history of the village.

(vi) *Communities:—*

You should ascertain the names of all types of communities that occupy the village at the time of your visit. Thereafter determine the number of Households and the total number of persons in each community separately. Do these communities live together or have they established their separate settlements within the village ? Is the abadi of the entire village concentrated at one place or is dispersed ? You will find distinctive housing arrangement in various villages despending on caste groups or some other local custom. In certain communities, e.g. Bhils, you will find households living separately at their fields. Under this head, you should also record by keen observation about distinctive features of each cnmmunity from which it is possible to distinguish them by outside observation. You can describe the outward aspects of their appearance, statude, colour of skin and eyes, shape and size of the nose, particular hair styles and the outward garb that they put on the head and the body. The size of the forehead, prominence of the cheek bones, shape and size of ear lobes and the various types of distinctive ornaments worn by people will lend you great assistance in determining distinctive features of each community.

(vii) *Village administration:—*

You have to find out how different communities living in the village are ruled within the village. First find out the conditions within the household. Whether there is respect for the elders and the Head of the household is supreme in controlling the affairs of all members within the household. Do the women have some voice or not in the management of the household ? Then there may be Panchayats of different communities which determine and control relationship between different households belonging to a particular caste or tribe and decide their internal quarrels. How such community panchayats are formed and how they actually administer should be fully described. If there have been any interesting incidents which have come up before such Panchayat for adjudication, how they have dealt with them and what had been their

decision in the past should be described. Then there have been formed village Panchayats by the Government and there is the institution of Headman and Patwari. What parts these administrative institutions play in the village administration ? Has the Headman and Patwari lost their position of importance in the village after the formation of Village Panchayat ? Do these institutions continue to be of some benefit to the village community after the formation of Village Panchayat ? How the Village Panchayat has been constituted ? What is the representation of the different communities in the Village Panchayat ? The political leanings of each member of the Village Panchayat may be indicated. Thus you have to broadly describe how village is being actually administered by the Community and by the Governmental agencies existing therein.

(viii) *Social life:—*

It is a very important head of inquiry. You will have to go deep into the division of the village society, castes and sub-castes, tribes and sub-tribes. What is the importance of the family in the social life ? You will find different types of pattern of society in respect of different castes and tribes. Somewhere you will find the family rule and somewhere the community rule. Then you will have to describe general conditions of health and sanitary practices relating to different communities as a whole. In some communities you will find people keep their body and clothes neat and clean and avoid all sorts of insanitary habits while in other communities you will find utter carelessness in this matter. Peculiarities of dress and ornaments, hair arrangement, body decorations and food habits should be indicated for communities as a whole. The position of women in different communities and the ceremonies performed at the time of marriages will be interesting to know. There may be other peculiar ceremonies connected with the life of the communities relating to several festivities and funeral. If you find any social evils prevalent in any community which cross the normal moral, religious and health standards, you should surely point them out. You will find villagers in certain communities like to marry their boys and girls at an early age. You may find laxity in sex morals in certain communities and so on. If there are any pastimes and recreations in which certain community takes part and which are peculiar to one or more communities, you should pin point them. It will be of great interest to know how people behave within the household and outside in the social life. What is their standard of etiquette and social behaviour ? Do they respect elders of their own community or members of their households or of all communities in general. In this manner you have to keenly observe how different communities living in the village lead their life within the village society and whatever thing of interest is noticable should be surely recorded.

(ix) *Religious beliefs and superstitions:—*

Religion plays a very important part in the life of village communities. Different communities may be worshiping different types of gods and goddesses and evil spirits. Their mode of worship and place of worship may be quite different. You will find certain communities not worshiping at all while others having one or more places of worship. Does the entire community congregate to worship once in a while ? You have to describe different gods or goddesses or spirits in which different communities have faith and how they have built some sort of temples or altars to worship them. You will find certain festivals and fairs which have great importance from the religious point of view for certain communities. What are popular religious places of each community ? If there are certain ascetic orders or sects to which certain communities belong which are off-shoots of certain big religions etc. you should not fail to describe them. You will find followers of Ramdeoji, Gogaji and Jambaji etc. You should describe the origin of such ascetic orders or sects and what are their distinguishing features. You will find several such sects or orders among the Muslims as well as the Hindus. If you find communities indulging in certain special practices in connection with the performance of certain ceremonies and beliefs, you should mention them. In certain communities animals are sacrificed even now-a-days on certain occasions. Apart from the main religious beliefs you will find village communities steeped in large number of superstitions on account of their

ignorance. If there are interesting superstitions for village as a whole or for one or more communities, you should mention them.

(x) *Educational life:—*

You should keenly observe the standard of literacy in the village. Do the people like to send their children to village school if it exists within the village or at some distance from it ? What is their feeling about the modern type of education ? Do they entertain any doubts about its efficacy ? What is the general trend of education in the village and what facilities for imparting education exist in the village ? Do the people like to send their girls to schools ? Do elders want to educate themselves ? Is there a desire for adult education ? You should also assess whether they want the usual type of education or vocational education which may train their children and make them more efficient in traditional vocations that are carried on in the village. A farmer will like to train his son in efficient methods of agriculture and cattle keeping rather than impart education of general nature. You should also observe and record whether there are any people in the village who have developed reading habit. Does any body receive a daily or weekly Newspaper ? Is there a library in the village from where books are borrowed for study ?

(xi) *Economic life:—*

Under this head you have to describe different types of professions in which people are engaged in general, belonging to different communities. Agriculture and Husbandry, Household industry and other types of trade and commerce should be fully described. Agriculture and Diry products and other merchandise which are produced within the village or which the people handle should be indicated. The local weights and measures in use and the system of exchange and barter in vogue be clearly described. What are the usual rates of daily wages for labour ? Does labour become easily available for different agricultural operations and for assisting in other types of trade and commerce or it is to be obtained from places outside the village. What is the arrangement for storage within the village for keeping local products until they are marketted ? Is the produce of the village marketted within the village or usually transported to other main markets ? Mention location of such main markets and the means of communication adopted to reach there. How do the people finance the agricultural operations and other types of trade and commerce ? Do they merely depend on village money lenders or credit facilities are available through any Co-operative Societies or the Co-operative or other types of banks.

(xii) *Art and Architecture:—*

You will find certain people in the village engaged in turning out things of art and beauty. You will find houses being built with pleasing architectural designs. You should not fail to mention such things of art or architectural significance. If none are produced in the village you may come across old specimens which were once produced in the village. Please mention such things if they exist in the village.

(xiii) *Recent Socio-economic Reforms:—*

The life in the village runs on a model which the village communities have been accustomed to follow for a number of generations. Recently an attempt is being made both by the Government and other social organisations to improve the lot of the people living in the rural areas. The agricultural operations which form the main stay of the village life are sought to be improved by introducing Land Reforms and effecting improvement of agricultural land. The rights of intermediaries on the land which existed between the Government and the actual tillers of the soil have been abolished. Measures for reclamation of land and improvement of land by bunding and use of chemical fertilizers are being introduced. Modern agricultural practices regarding sowing and harvesting are being introduced and at various places improved agricultural machinery e.g. tractors, improved type of agricultural implements etc. have entered the village.

People have installed pumping sets on their wells, run by power generated by electricity or diesel oil. The Government has been providing facilities to grant loan for improving agriculture and cottage industries. It would be interesting to find out what has been the effect of all such reforms introduced to improve agriculture and other types of trade carried on in the village.

Further attempt is being made to improve the social customs and life of the people in the villages. Untouchability is being removed, modern Health and Sanitary practices are being introduced and by the establishment of village panchayats, an attempt is being made to improve the village administration. People are being advised not to marry their sons and daughters at an early age and not to give feasts on the occasion of death of any person in the household. Anti-malaria campaign and B.C.G. campaign are the order of the day. It would be interesting for you to examine every type of Socio-economic reform that has been introduced in the village and to make inquiry to determine what has been its impact on the the village life and its actual effect.

It is not possible to catalogue each and every item which you should observe and make inquiry about in connection with the study of village life from social and economic points of view. These instructions have merely attempted to single out important points on which you should direct your inquiry. You have to keep up a pioneer's attitude of mind who goes to an unknown place and tries to discover all that is beautiful and worth noticing there. You will surely succeed in your endeavour if you wi l exert yourself to the utmost and try to observe every thing and then make a detailed inquiry to reach at the truth. We attach much more importance to the Village Schedule than to the Household Schedule because the monograph for each village will be mainly based on your observations for the village as a whole.