2113

NATIONAL LIBRARY
PUBLIC ARCHIVES BUILDING
OTTAWA 2

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE
ÉDIFICE DES ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
OTTAWA 2

NAME OF AUTHOR...w.s.k. Phillips.....
TITLE OF THESIS...The Pulse of the Caste System in a
.....Village of Marwar
.....
UNIVERSITY.....Carleton University.....
DEGREE.....M.A. YEAR GRANTED 1968

Permission is hereby granted to THE NATIONAL
LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to
lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights,
and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from
it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without
the author's written permission.

(Signed)....*W.S.K. Phillips*.....

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

.....Dept. of Sociology
.....Indore Christian College,
.....INDORE, M.P..
.....INDIA

DATED...27th May... 1968

THE PULSE OF THE CASTE SYSTEM
IN A
VILLAGE OF MARWAR

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirement of the Degree of
Master of Arts
April, 1968

W. S. K. Phillips,
Department of Sociology,
Carleton University,
Ottawa.

The Pulse of the Caste System in a
Village of Marwar

ABSTRACT

Ritually, the Village is a distinct vertical unity of 24 castes. It is shown that the schematic and systematic hierarchical structure of caste is intact. The caste purity-pollution concept is observed at the intercaste commensal relations. In the economic dimension it is observed that there is a co-existence of the traditional caste occupations and non-traditional caste occupations and that the caste occupational groups are still rendering the services imposed on them by the Jajmani system. The authority structure in the Village is analyzed in terms of Weber's fruitful distinction between the traditional authority and rational-legal authority. In this connection it is shown that Nyats is at the root of the authority structure and group dynamics. The pattern of rational-legal authority is still determined by the caste Nyats the traditional authority. The source of rational-legal authority is traditional authority of Nyats and Thakur's own traditional status in the Village. Rational-legal authority is therefore nominal while the traditional authority is real.

TO THE PEOPLE OF FALNA VILLAGE

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
PREFACE	iii
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF SOCIOGRAMS	xiii
LIST OF CHARTS AND MAPS	xiv
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION	1
II THE VILLAGE AND ITS SETTING	17
III RITUAL STRUCTURE	42
IV ECONOMIC STRUCTURE	78
V CASTE AND AUTHORITY PATTERN	114
VI CONCLUSION: THE PULSE OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN A VILLAGE OF MARWAR	149
APPENDIX:	170
I A GLOSSARY OF NATIVE TERMS	171
II INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	176
BIBLIOGRAPHY	187

PREFACE

'The Pulse of the Caste System in a Village of Marwar', is a study based on an intensive field work conducted in Falna Village, a single culture area of Marwar, Rajasthan. In the present political set up the village is situated in Bali Block, Pali District, Rajasthan. Prior to Independence Falna was a Jagir in the Princely State of Marwar.

In an attempt to understand the rural social continuum of India, sociologists and anthropologists realized the immense value of village studies from the different cultural areas of the country. Recent books, which presented essays on an analysis of Indian rural life, contained village studies from different cultural areas. The State of Rajasthan in these books is represented through the material provided by Morris G. Carstairs, a Doctor and a Psychiatrist who has special interest in cultural anthropology. He studied the villages near Udaipur, Capital of the Princely State of Mewar.

Amongst others, the two Princely States of Mewar and Marwar are famous in the history of Rajasthan. Sir James Tod, in his work Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, has devoted a large section on these two States. The culture area of Marwar is now presented through a microcosmic study of a single village Falna.

In spite of the cultural diversities in the different regions of India, a common ideological basis unites all these different regions and creates a 'unity among diversity'. Every Indian, Western, Northern or Southern, considers himself to be a part of a larger cultural mosaic and shares with others the spirit of Indian culture.

The villager in Falna or elsewhere in India believes that the whole universe is created by Lord Brahma (the Creator), who takes the different forms of Mahadev and Vishnu. The Universe is controlled by Him and many other small gods and goddesses. Lord Brahma is identified with the cosmic unity of which an individual psychic unity is a part. The element which relates the psychic unity with the cosmic unity is the soul. For a Hindu, the soul is immortal, undestructible and sacred. The body in which the soul makes abode is mortal, subject to destruction and pollution. The maintenance of the purity of soul is greatly emphasized by the religious scriptures. When the soul is again merged in the cosmic unity, Lord Brahma, salvation is attained. For villagers, the important aim of life is the attainment of Moksha (salvation). The attainment of Moksha means getting rid of the cycle of death and rebirth.

The Hindu way of life is governed by the twin theories --the theory of rebirth and the theory of Karma (deed). According to the theory of rebirth, an individual who does not attain Moksha takes birth in this unreal world, which

is full of difficulties, temptations which makes the soul impure and takes an individual away from Brahma, the only reality which exists. To a Hindu this world is a delusion and a snare, which is expressed well in the concepts of Maya-Moha-Jal, Papi Samsara. All these are hinderances to the good life and the attainment of Moksha.

According to the theory of Karma (deed), a man by doing good deeds can attain Moksha. The good deeds are those that are laid down in the scriptures and explained by Brahmin Priests.

The religious scriptures mention some four aims for the individual in this life, namely Dharma, Kam, Artha and Moksha. Dharma (religion) is learning sacred scriptures; Kam (sex) is satisfaction of sexual appetite; Artha is fulfilment of the material needs and Moksha is salvation. The Vedantta provide a scheme of life for the attainment of these aims -- called Varna-Ashram Vyavastha. The Ashram Vyavastha assumes an hundred years of life of an individual and divides the whole span of life into four parts, namely, Brahmcharya Ashram, the first part of the life in which the individual learns scriptures (Dharma); Grihastha Ashram, the second part of life in which the individual marries and procreates. The aim of marriage is threefold, - the religious obligation - Dharma, satisfaction of sexual appetite - Kam, and procreation - Prajapatya. In this Ashram he attains the two aims, Kam and Artha. Van Prastha Ashram is the third section of life in which

an individual prepares himself to abandon this material world, severs his contacts with all kinds of 'Moha' worldly attractions and in the last part of his life, - Samyas Ashram the individual completely abandons the secular life and absorbs himself in scripture reading and meditation.

The Varna Vyavastha is a scheme of the division of labour in the Hindu society. The society is stratified into four Varna, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Shudra. This is referred to as the four fold division of Hindu society. Thus each child in the society is born as a Brahmin or Kshatriya, Vaisya or Shudra. The obedience of the Dharma of one's own Varna helps in the attainment of Moksha. The caste system is believed to be a development within the framework of the Varna.

In brief, the whole Hindu life is oriented towards the attainment of Moksha, or the return of Atma (soul) to the Brahma. Kapadia rightly quotes the scriptures, "The conviction that Brahman without and Atma within are one and the same was embodied in the famous aphorism 'Tat tvamasi' = 'thou art that' and 'aham brahmasmi' = 'I am Brahman' and was amplified by various similes. 'As from a lump of clay all that is made from clay is known, so when this Atman is known everything else is known. This Universe, the world of nature, Brahman has Himself projected out of Himself for sport and it will ultimately return to him. As a spider ejects the threads out of itself and spins it's web therewith

and again retracts them when it desires, so is the world spread out by Brahman from Himself and will be again merged into Him at His will.

"As the sparks from the well-kindled fire spring forth in thousands so from the imperishable living beings of all kinds go forth and again return to Him. As the rivers originating from the ocean return back to it and become the ocean themselves though they do not know that they are so, so do the souls. In other words, these are but names and forms and when Brahman is known everything else is known. Atman pervades things as the salt dissolved in water pervades the water."¹

It is within this ideological framework that cultural diversities have evolved, the diversities which are tied up by a strong ideological cord and which infused a fundamental unity in the diversities of the ways of life.

The present study aims to look at a microcosmic way the extent to which a part of the above ideology (Varna Vyavastha and caste system) is objectified to this day by the villagers in the culture area of Marwar.

It is fundamentally an attempt to show how caste structure, in spite of the present precipitative crisis created by the forces of modernization, survives. The notion that caste is dead is basically a wrong notion. So long as the pulse of the caste system - 'purity-pollution complex' keeps on beating, it provides sufficient evidence as a symptom of the survival of caste system in rural India.

¹K. M. Kapadia, Marriage and Family in India, Oxford University Press, (London, 1966), pp. 7-8.

The writer has attempted to read the pulse of the caste system in a village of Marwar and has analyzed the effects of its beatings on the rest of the organic whole or its various parts, such as ritual, economic and political structures. This however does not imply that caste is like a rigid iron framework, it is a mutable system. But the changes that have taken place in response to the forces of modernization are not crucial and hardly fatalistic. Therefore the chances of the total disintegration of the caste system in rural India are remote.

I had the privilege to serve for four years (1959-63) as a teacher in Sociology, S.P.U. College, Falna, Rajasthan, which is five miles away from the village. This has been useful to me to provide a good background. It is during this period that I learned to speak and understand its Godwari dialect. Most of my students coming from different villages have been helpful during the fieldwork. I never felt as a stranger in the region and had a large circle of acquaintances.

The data collection was done from September, 1965 to July, 1966 when the writer stayed in the village and shared life with the people.

A number of Sanskrit and Godwari terms are used in this thesis. Such terms are underlined and a glossary is given in the Appendix. The reader can refer to the glossary as and when needed.

Department of Sociology,
Carleton University,
Ottawa - 1.
April 22, 1968.

W.S.K. Phillips.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a distinct pleasure to express my gratitude and appreciation to those who have contributed to the development of this study. I express my profound gratitude toward Prof. John Porter and Prof. J. R. Hofley, Department of Sociology, Carleton University, Ottawa, for supervising the present work. Prof. Hofley made many valuable suggestions. He took pains to read the whole manuscript and combined warm encouragement with perceptive criticism in optimum proportions. Prof. Porter has been a source of many new ideas incorporated in this thesis. The tutorials given by him on social stratification from September, 1967 to March, 1968 have been immensely useful in structuring some of the concepts in this work. He spared time to read the manuscript and made useful suggestions.

I am immensely grateful to Dr. C. M. Abraham, Professor and Head of the Sociology Department, Indore Christian College, Indore, for his many valuable suggestions when the work was in progress in India. I had the rare privilege to have him as my teacher, friend and colleague.

I am greatly indebted to the villagers who accepted me as a member of their village and provided many facilities during my sojourn. I will never forget their hospitality and the affection which I shared for a year. Shri Jaswant

Singh Rao, Headmaster, Government Primary School, Falna, Shri Roop Singh Purohit, Shri Jai Singh and Shri Bhopal Singh have helped me in understanding many situations in the village. I am thankful to all of them.

I am also grateful to Falna Thakur Shri Sawai Singh who facilitated my work and allowed a dispassionate observation of the situations. I am immensely thankful to my former colleague and friend, Prof. N. S. Verma, Head of the English Department, S. P. U. College, Falna, who is now almost settled in the village. He belongs to this region and possesses a good grasp of the behaviour patterns of the villagers. The discussions with him during my stay in the village revealed many significant facts. Prof. A. V. K. Elias helped me in many ways during my stay in the village. I thank him.

Bali Panchayat Samiti and Bali Tehsil authorities allowed me to consult the various documents about the villages. I am thankful to them.

I express my gratitude towards the United Church of Canada, Board of World Mission, Toronto for granting me a Fellowship for studying at the Department of Sociology, Carleton University. It is but for this Fellowship that I could be able to submit this work in its present form.

I thank Dr. F. G. Vallee, Chairman, Department of Sociology, and Dr. D. R. Whyte, Graduate Student Advisor for providing many facilities for this work.

I thank Mrs. Don Hall who took genuine interest in

typing the thesis efficiently in a short time.

W. S. K. Phillips

Department of Sociology,
Carleton University,
Ottawa.
April 22, 1968.

LIST OF TABLES

<u>TABLE</u>		<u>Page</u>
I	Sample Design	9
II	The Population of Falna by Caste, Sex, Literacy and Family Structure	25
III	Classification of the Population According to Age, Group and Sex	26
IV	The Land Covered Under Falna Village	32
V	Animal Population of Falna	35
VI	Inter-caste Food Relations	61
VII	Division of Castes According to Smoking Relations	62
VIII	Deviation of the Male Adults from the Traditional Caste Occupation	86
IX	Inter-occupational Mobility -- Outflow from the 'Exit-type' to 'Entry-type' Occupations	90
X	The Fabric of Agricultural <u>Jajmani</u> System in Falna Village	107
XI	Caste <u>Panchayats</u> (Councils) or Nyats	120
XII	Disputes Referred to the Nyats	123
XIII	A,B,C, - Democratic Decentralization: Relationship Between Caste and Elections - 1959 - 1964.	134
XIV	Factions According to Caste, Families, Adult Members and Leaders	139
XV	Inter-faction Relations: Type of Preference Received by Each Faction	145

LIST OF SOCIOGRAMS

<u>No.</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	The Smoking Relations Amongst the Different Castes Classified into Four Groups.	60
2	The Pattern of Inter-Caste Relations at a Rajpoot's Marriage.	68
3	The Pattern of Inter-Caste Relations at the Birth of a Leather Worker's Child.	70
4	The Pattern of Inter-caste Relations at <u>Diwali</u> Festival.	72
5	The Pattern of the Agricultural <u>Jajmani</u> System.	104
6	The Pattern of Total <u>Jajmani</u> Obligations of a Peasant.	109
7	Inter-faction Relations Showing the Number and Type of Preference Received by Each Faction in the Village, 1966.	143

LIST OF CHARTS

<u>Chart</u>		<u>Page</u>
1.	A Schematic and Systematic Structure of the Castes in Falna Village.	43
2.	The Present Pattern of Outflow from the 'Exit-type' to 'Entry-type' Occupations in the Falna Village.	95

LIST OF MAPS

<u>No.</u>		<u>Page</u>
1.	Situation of Falna Village in the Map of India.	19
2.	Map of Marwar.	21

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The attainment of Independence on August 15, 1947, opened a new chapter not only in the political but in the social history of India as well. Since Independence innumerable factors have strongly affected village social structure. The implementation of principles of democracy has thrown a challenge to the century old traditions and institutions and caste is one of them. The community development projects, schemes of rural reconstruction, educational facilities and implementation of democratic decentralization have brought about changes of far reaching socio-economic significance in the rural life. These have been further accelerated by the forces of industrialization. Therefore in the present circumstances it is of great importance to inquire what is happening to the institution of caste, which has been an axis of the village social structure in the past.

Caste has been the centre of study of students of Sociology, Social Anthropology and Indian History and Civilization. But formerly the basic concern was to discover the origins of the caste system and to analyze the

institution of caste in a historical perspective. Prominent among such Sociologists and Anthropologists who undertook these studies are Ibbetson, Ghurye, Hutton and Risley.¹

The recent trend is to study the functional and dynamic aspects of caste. Special emphasis has been laid on the studies of the caste system of a single village to see how caste is functionally related to the total community life of the villagers. A number of Sociologists and Anthropologists are engaged in studying village life as lived in the different cultural regions of the country.

During the last two decades the need for intimate, intensive and competent studies of social structure in relation to the village has been realized. Illuminating village studies are published by Opler and Singh,² Srinivas,³ Miller,⁴ Steed,⁵ Dube,⁶ McKim Marriott,⁷

¹See Bhattacharya, (1896), Ketker, (1909), Risley, (Bengal, 1891), Crooke, (North Western Provinces and Oudh, 1896), L. K. A. Iyer, (Cochin, 1908-12, Mysore, 1924-35), Rose, (Punjab, 1911), Desai, (Baroda, 1912), Ibbetson, (Punjab, 1916), Russel and Hiralal, (Central Provinces, 1916), Ghurye, (1932), L. K. A. Iyer, (Travencore, 1937-42), Hutton, (1946).

²Morris Opler and Rudra Dutta Singh, 'The Division of Labour in an Indian Village,' in A Reader in General Anthropology, ed. C. S. Coon, (New York, 1948), and 'The Villages of Eastern Uttar Pradesh,' in American Anthropologist, 54, 2. (1952), pp. 179-90.

³M. N. Srinivas, Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India, (Oxford, 1952).

⁴E. J. Miller, 'The Village Structure in North Kerala,' Economic Weekly, Vol. IV, No. 6, (1952).

⁵G. Steed, Lecture Notes, (Hectographed, 1953).

Bailey,⁸ Kathlene Gough,⁹ Majumdar,¹⁰ Oscar Lewis,¹¹ Ansari,¹² Mathur,¹³ Chauhan,¹⁴ and Mayer.¹⁵ These studies cover various regions of the country such as, Uttar Pradesh, parts of Malabar, Mysore district, Tanjore, Hyderabad, Gujrat, Malwa, and Rajasthan. There is no doubt if continuous attempts are made in this direction in the course of time it will be possible to possess a clear and adequate picture of rural social structure on the basis of which certain generalizations could be made. Dube seems to have rightly maintained, " . . . what we need today is a series of studies of village communities from different parts of the country covering many divergent patterns of organization and ethos. Until this is done our picture of social systems in rural India will remain vague and inadequate."¹⁶

Continued -

⁶S. C. Dube, Indian Village, (London, 1955).

⁷McKim Marriott, ed. Village India, (American Anthropological Association, 1955).

⁸F. G. Bailey, Caste and Economic Frontier, (Oxford University Press, 1958).

⁹Kathlene E. Gough, 'Caste in a Tanjore Village' in Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon, Northwest Pakistan, A. R. Leach, ed. (Cambridge University Press, 1955).

¹⁰D. N. Majumdar, Caste and Communication in an Indian Village, (Bombay, 1959).

¹¹Oscar Lewis, Village Life in Northern India, (Illinois, 1958).

¹²G. Ansari, Muslim Caste in Uttar Pradesh, (Lucknow, 1960).

¹³K. S. Mathur, Caste and Ritual in a Malwa Village, (Asia Publishing House, New York, 1964).

- continued -

Srinivas has further substantiated this view by pointing out the significance of village studies. He observes, "The studies of village communities which are currently being carried out in different parts of the country provide the future historian with a vast body of facts about rural social life . . . These studies constitute therefore valuable contributions to the social, political, economic and religious history of our country."¹⁷

The present writer intends to subscribe to the views expressed by these eminent Anthropologists. So far we have had studies from Uttar Pradesh, Central India, Mysore, Punjab, Hyderabad, Gujrat, Malabar, Tanjore and Mewar. In order to make the literature more comprehensive, the present writer has selected Falna, a village located in Pali district, Marwar (Rajasthan), a culture area which has not yet been represented in the village studies of the country.

It has become a fashion among the Sociologists and Social Anthropologists engaged in village studies to write on the changes that are taking place in the caste structure in the villages of India. It is held by many Sociologists, reformers and Statesmen that caste is changing and a few of them believe that in the near future it will disintegrate.

¹⁴B. R. Chauhan, A Rajasthan Village, (Vir, New Delhi, 1967).

¹⁵A. C. Mayer, Caste and Kinship in Central India, (Oxford, 1960).

¹⁶S. C. Dube, Op. cit. pp. 6-7.

¹⁷M. N. Srinivas, Caste in Modern India and Other Essays, (New Delhi, 1962), pp. 120-35.

Srinivas claims to have discovered the two vital processes, - 'Sanskritization' and Westernization in the caste society, which are ushering fundamental changes in the caste system. He writes:

"The caste is far from a rigid system in which the position of each component caste is fixed for all time. Movement has always been possible and especially so in the middle regions of the hierarchy. A low caste was able, in a generation or two, to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism and by Sanskritizing its ritual and pantheon. In short it took over as far as possible, the customs, rites and beliefs of the Brahmins and the adoption of the Brahmanic way of life by a low caste seems to have been frequent enough though theoretically forbidden. . . . normally Sanskritization enables a caste to obtain a higher position in the hierarchy."¹⁸

He further writes,

"The emergence of the big and powerful castes, the great occupational heterogeneity within each of them, the keen competition between castes for political and economic power, the spread of equalitarian ideology and increasing political and social mobilization - all suggests that changes of fundamental kind are occurring. It cannot be described as a simple movement from a closed to an open system of social stratification."¹⁹

¹⁸M. N. Srinivas, 'A Note on Sanskritization and Westernization,' The Far Eastern Quarterly, V, 15, (1956), pp. 429-496. (The concept was developed in 1952 when he did a study of Coorgs of South India).

¹⁹M. N. Srinivas, Social Change in Modern India, University of California Press, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1967), p. 117.

Similarly Rosen states,

"Thus at both ends the caste hierarchy, the ideology and practice of caste were under question. Unclean castes were less willing to accept the sanctions of the system, since the systems support for them weakened and those at the top were less willing to provide or use these sanctions."²⁰

Kathlene Gough has noted the symptoms of 'caste disintegration' and Leach, of the 'defiance of caste principles'.²¹

These are the views on caste of some of the leading Sociologists in India. For their vision is congruent with that spirit of the constitution of India which promises to establish a casteless and classless society. And there is no doubt that the forces of democratization, industrialization, urbanization, etc., are a real threat to the institution of caste. But if we look back into the social history of India we find that caste survived many challenges of history like Mohammedan and British rule in India, which were diametrically opposed to the caste system. From the ancient to the modern period of Indian history, from Lord Buddha to Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru, the Hindu social and religious reformers at the top of their voices have vehemently opposed the institution of caste. But all in vain. Caste survived.

²⁰George Rosen, Democracy and Economic Change in India, University of California Press, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966), p. 26.

²¹E. R. Leach, 'Introduction: What should we mean by caste?' in Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-West Pakistan, (Cambridge, 1960), p. 7.

To me it appears that caste may also survive the present most crucial threat of the forces of modernization. Therefore the major hypothesis and the sub-hypotheses of the present study are as follows:-

Major Hypothesis:

Caste remains a pivotal institution in the villages of Marwar.

Connected with this major hypothesis are the other three sub-hypotheses.

Sub-hypotheses:

Sub-hypothesis 1. That the ritual structure of the village is determined by the principles of caste and that the purity-pollution concept is the most important factor which regulates the commensal and ritual relations among the villagers.

Sub-hypothesis 2. That while the forces of modernization (this is an umbrella term which embraces the forces of industrialization, democratization, urbanization, etc.) have created occupational mobility, the jajmani system which is an axis of the economic structure of the village is still intact. To further specify this point, although the villagers have taken up new occupations inside and outside the village, they still perform their caste occupation obligations imposed on them by the jajmani system. That is, the traditional caste occupations and the non-traditional occupations (new occupations) coexist.

Sub-hypothesis 3. That caste is the one crucial factor in determining the present rational-legal authority and the group dynamics in the village. To further elaborate this point, while in the Weberian sense, the traditional authority of the feudal lord and caste councils, is formally transformed into rational-legal authority through the democratic decentralization - Panchayat Raj - in effect it is the traditional

Sub-hypothesis 3, continued:

authority of the caste councils and the feudal lord which predominates the rational-legal authority. There is not only a coexistence of traditional and rational-legal authority, but the former is still effective to determine the structure of the latter.

The task to which I have set myself is to examine these hypotheses by collecting data from the village. This leads us to the area of methodology which will be the subject matter of the following pages.

The Sample Design

To study the patterns of the intercaste relations in ritualistic, economic and authority areas, Falna village, situated in Bali Block, Pali district, (Princely State of Marwar), West Rajasthan, is taken as the universe. Falna is a multi-caste village and there are some 24 castes living in the village. The number excludes the two other religious groups, the Jain and Muslim. The total adult population of the village according to a house to house census²² conducted by the writer, is 684²³ living in 286 single and joint families. The village census included the following items: name, sex, age, clan, caste, religion, source of income, primary and secondary occupations, education and landownership. According to the stratified sampling method approximately 50% units from each caste (by random (lottery method) method) were selected. The following table gives the details of the universe and the sample:-

²²The census was conducted in October, 1965.

²³This includes the Jain and Muslim population also.

TABLE NO. I
SAMPLE DESIGN

Castes*	Families Universe	Families Sample
Brahmin (Priest)	2	1
Purohit (Priest)	19	9
Rajpoot (Warrior)	10	5
Ravna Rajpoot (Warrior)	57	28
Mali (Gardener)	17	8
Seervi Choudhri (Farmer)	45	22
Sunar (Goldsmith)	1	1
Suthar (Carpenter)	6	3
Kumhar (Potter)	9	4
Ghanchi (Oil Pressor)	2	1
Luhar (Blacksmith)	8	3
Darzi (Tailor)	2	1
Rebbari (Pasturer)	25	12
Nai (Barber)	3	2
Goswami (Priest)	5	2
Sad (Priest)	2	1
Kalal (Liquor Seller)	1	1
Khateek (Butcher)	4	1
Meghwal (Leatherworker)	43	21
Lakhara (Banglemaker)	1	1
Sargara (Musician)	10	5
Bhat (Genealogist)	2	1
Meena (Village Watchman)	5	3
Dholi (Drummer)	2	1
TOTAL	281	137 (45.1%)

*For the order of the Castes refer to Chart No. 1 in Chapter 3.

In this way out of 251, 137 family heads were interviewed by the writer.

Research Methods:

The research methods used in this study were those of current Anthropological and Sociological repertory and included observation, interview schedules and use of the village records and census data. The interview schedule was first pre-tested and necessary modifications were made. I had acquired proficiency in Godwari dialect. This was really an asset to me. I could very easily understand and speak fluently in their dialect. This is one of the reasons, I could very quickly and easily establish rapport.

The Thakur (feudal lord) of the village who is known to me, offered some accommodation in his Rawla (residence). But I declined to have that privilege as I know that by doing so I may not be friendly with the general masses. They could maintain some social distance, taking me to be a guest of the Village Thakur. This would have also prejudiced the minds of the villagers and they could confide information valuable to me. So as to mix up freely, I stayed for some time in a government school building and then finally shifted to the Panchyat Ghar (Village council hall). It was found that in such a kind of study the teachers, gram-sewak (village level worker) and Panchs (village councillors) are very helpful in getting the confidence of the people.

Inspite of all these advantages, the task of the investigator was not easy. I had difficulties in explaining

my purpose of staying in the village. In the beginning some people took me to be a Government Official, while others to be a man connected with some political party and still those who were very poor, thought I had come to give relief to them. But as the time passed, the people learned about my interests in the village and in them and the atmosphere became sufficiently conducive to begin the work. Amongst many others, a major question the villagers had in mind about my interest was in what way this work would aid in the development of the village. To them it was a sheer waste of money, time and energy and I regret that some of them even went to the extent of saying that those who do not have any work gossip about the customs, traditions, and festivals of the village. To them it has no significance. A few of them challenged me to work in the fields with them. When I left the village, the people were under the impression that when the report is finally submitted, the villagers would get some aid from the Government. I could not find any other way to convince them about the true purpose. I do not know what are the thoughts in their minds today.

How I began the work and collected the data, is a question relevant to the readers. As stated earlier, an interview schedule was constructed to gather the information. In the beginning I attended the people without any schedule or notebook. I visited a majority of the families and became familiar with the members. These were social visits. We talked almost on all topics, - religion, occupation,

diseases, sons and daughters, marriage and this way covered a wide range. In the night some people assemble in small groups for gossiping. I sat with them and shared chilam (local pipe), bidi and hukka. After making sure that the people had become familiar with me and would not become conscious on recording the information, I started filling the interview schedule. It was discovered that an informal interview on a particular topic was more valuable as compared to the formal interview. But the formal interview was indispensable as some information had to be recorded. It seems that the best way is to classify the information and then select the most suitable way to acquire the information. For example, on matters of village factions, inter-caste disputes, and interpersonal disputes, an informal interview may be more suitable, while with regard to practice of untouchability, observation may be a tool par-excellence. According to my own observations, the people who posed to be progressive in the formal or informal interview, turned out to be conservative on observation on specific occasions.

The event centred technique was found to be a very useful tool to obtain information about patterns of inter-caste relations at the various Samskars (rituals) and festivals. I had made this a point not to miss any Samskars whether it was a marriage, birth or death. Many caste Panchayat (caste council) meetings and gram panchayat (village council) meetings were personally attended by me. This helped me a great deal in learning the extent to which

the traditions of the village or caste were actually followed.

It was very difficult for me to take an interview in isolation. A few people used to assemble at the place of interviews and most of them would start interfering with the interview. But on some important issues I managed to take the interview in isolation. This was done in the night. I used to get offers to stay at homes overnight. At this time all village people retire to bed and thus I could have some confidential talks with the informants. Many a time I invited the people to stay overnight at my lodging place. In this way we used to keep on talking late in the night, sometimes one or two o'clock. This was the time when the interviewee could concentrate and at times I could get very useful information.

Being a non-Hindu, I had the advantage of remaining an objective observer, an attitude which one may find difficult to adhere in one's own society. Though a non-Hindu, yet an Indian, the customs and traditions did not appear to be very quaint to me. Despite certain religious differences my own community shares many things in common. Therefore to a great extent, I could understand the various samskars and festivals and the role of caste in observance of these ceremonies.

But then, at the same time, a field worker of my social background has some handicaps too. In spite of the fact that many times I explained to them that in the Christian community there are no castes, the people did not believe it and always remained in the dark about my caste. This handi-

cap became quite serious when the question of food participation, sharing the bidi, tobacco and chilam cropped up. I could well observe an ambivalence amongst the high caste people, and in the beginning they always avoided such occasions. It was my close contact with Falna Thakur that rescued me. The people in the course of time learned that I dined many times with the Thakur. My maid servant, who was a Ravna Rajpoot always warned me in approaching the untouchable castes and sitting and smoking with them. I do not know how, but the people eventually assigned me the status of a high caste Hindu. And there was always a tension in my mind about it. However, this did not stop me from visiting the untouchable castes and developing with them intimate relations in order to acquire information. The Nay Yuvak Mandal (Youth Association) which held progressive views appreciated my contacts with the lower castes whereas the conservatives condemned it. But I never allowed this controversy to develop to an extent which may deprive me from getting the relevant information.

Thus in situations as such, I classified my information and sought for the best way to acquire the accurate information. A fieldworker, in the field is his own master, armed with the knowledge about tools and techniques, he has to see what method to apply and how to apply it, in a given situation.

Scheme of the Thesis

It must be clear by now, that the thesis has two major aims. First, to introduce the caste structure of a village in the cultural area of Marwar, to our literature on village studies. It is presumed that this study would help not only in making the picture of rural social structure more adequate, but at the same time will also facilitate comparison and thereby allow making generalizations on a more sophisticated level. Second, to know the extent to which caste is still a pivotal social institution in a village of Marwar. We have formulated a few hypotheses, discussed above, which will be the concern of this thesis to examine these hypotheses in the light of the empirical data collected from the field.

In the second chapter, an attempt has been made to introduce to the readers the village and its setting. The chapter discusses the geographical and historical background and the social contours of the village.

The aim of the third chapter is to examine the first sub-hypothesis at three levels, (a) cast hierarchy, (b) commensal relations, (c) rituals and festivals.

The fourth chapter deals with the second sub-hypothesis. It examines the relationship between caste and economic structure. The fifth chapter aims at an analysis of the caste vis-a-vis rational-legal authority and group dynamics. This will be the test of the third sub-hypothesis.

The last chapter deals with the changes and the forces

of modernization. It also summarizes the results of the study in relation to our major and sub-hypotheses stated above.

CHAPTER II

THE VILLAGE AND ITS SETTING

The village that I have selected for the study of caste structure is situated in that part of India which is called 'Marwar.' Marwar is a corruption of 'Maroowar' which was also called 'Marosthan' (etymologically Maroo = death; Sthan = region: the region of death). It is also called 'Maroodesa' or 'Maroomandal.' The bards frequently style it as 'Maroodhar' or simply 'Maroo' to suit their rhyme.

In an attempt to demarcate the area of Marwar, Sir James Tod writes, " . . . though now restricted to the country subject to the Rathore Race, its ancient and appropriate application comprehended the entire desert from Sutlej to the ocean."¹ But the contemporary geographers and historians² mean by Marwar, the area which is surrounded by Sindh, Gujrat, Mewar and Ajmer-Merwara. While pin pointing the area, Tod³ further elaborates that the extreme breadth of Marwar lies between two points in

¹James Tod: Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, (London, 1960), Vol. II. P. 1.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

the parallel of the capital, namely Girap West and Shyam Garh on the Aravulli range east. The line measures two hundred and seventy British miles. The greatest length from Sirohi frontier to the Northern boundary is about two hundred and twenty miles. From the remote angle north, north-east in the Deedwanah district to extremity of San-chore, south-west the diagonal measurement is three hundred and fifty miles. According to Gahlot, "Marwar is situated in the western part of Rajpootana. It is bounded on the north by Bikaner, on the north-east by Shekhawati Pargana of Jaipur State, on the south-east by Mewar and on the east by Ajmer-Merwara, the British Pocket in Rajpootana. On the south are the Sirohi and Palanpur provinces, in the west are the Rann of Kuchh and Thaparkaer district of Sindh. On the north-east is Jaisalmer. It is 24.37° to 27.42° latitude and 71.5° to 75.22° longitude. Its length from north-east to south-west is 320 miles and breadth 170 miles."⁴

Akbar's Minister Sheikh Abhl Fazal in Samvat 1638 wrote, "Marwar State is 200 miles long and 120 miles broad which includes Ajmer, Jodhpur, Sirohi, Nagore and Bikaner."⁵ The total area of the State was 35,016 sq. miles. It is situated in the western part of the province of Rajasthan

⁴Gahlot: Marwar Rajya Ka Itihas, (History of Marwar State); Hindi Sahitya Mandir, (Jodhpur, 1925), p. 1.

⁵Ibid. p. 1.

SITUATION OF PALNA
VILLAGE IN THE MAP
OF INDIA

which embraces Pali, Jodhpur, Badmer, Nagore and Jalore districts. Jodhpur was the capital of Marwar so as to give a full view of the physical features of Marwar, I should like to take my reader on the highest peak of the insulated Mt. Aboo, the St. Pinnacle, as it is termed, standing almost 3,600 feet above the sea level and allow him a bird's eye view of the whole of Marwar. This peak is the highest point between the Nilgiries in the south and the Himalayas in the north. From the top of the Mt. Aboo, the viewer can clearly see Aravulli ranges. The term 'Arayulli' is the corruption of the original term Adabala (etymologically: Ada - barrier; Bala - mountain; the mountain which is a barrier). This range which starts from the Sambhar Lake in the north-east, passes through Ajmer, Parbatsagar, Medta, Sojat, Desuri, Bali and Falna to the south-east. Guiding the eye along the chain one may observe the river Loonie. It is the most marked feature that diversifies the face of Marroo. Rising from her eastern frontier at Pushkar, it runs west by south-west for about 200 miles to the Rann of Kutch. The salt river Loonie nearly bisects the country and forms the boundary line between the fertile and the sterile lands of Maroo. The track south of this stream that is, between it and the Aravulli is by far the richest part of Marwar, called Godwar. This is the main region with which we are primarily concerned. The region varies in height from 600 feet to 1000 feet above the sea level.

MARWAR

1"=22 MILES

Historical Background

Falna is situated in Godwar, which as stated above, is the most fertile area of Marwar. It is a region where the Princes of Marwar as well as of Mewar were most welcomed. Nadole was the capital of Godwar when it was under Parihars. No separate history of Godwar is available. What is available, is related to Jodhpur, the capital of Marwar. According to the historical records the state was founded by the Rathores belonging to Rajpoot caste. Until the political integration of Indian States in 1947-48, this state was ruled by Rathores. Two important points should be mentioned in connection with the historical background. First, the political and social history of Marwar is quite different from any other region of the country and the great gallantry of the Kings of Rathore race is still on the lips of the villagers of Marwar in the form of songs and folklore. Second, while in whole of the region the Rajpoot caste predominated over the other castes, there has been a general similarity with regard to customs, religion and other social institutions.

Godwar: A Sub-Culture Area of Marwar

As stated above, the tract south of the river Loonie is called Godwar. It is the region between this stream and the Aravulli which is the richest part of Marwar. The villagers of this region are ignorant and uneducated. It is primarily an agricultural region. Sixty miles away from Falna, the village selected for study, is an industrial town

called Pali. There are other business centres in the region such as Rani, Sumerpur, Seoganj and Sojat Road at an average distance of twenty miles from the village Falna. A few industrial estates have been established in the region at Falna, Sumerpur and Rani with an idea of promoting the small scale industries and thus giving an opportunity to small businessmen in the region. They have ties with Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Bangalore, Ahemdabad, etc., and thus there is an interaction between the city dwellers and the villagers.

This area has much historical and religious value too. The famous battle of Haldi Ghati between Rana Pratap and King Akbar was fought on the boundary of Godwar. The famous temple of Ranakpur where the Jain devotees come from far and near to worship the Parashrvanath idol is situated some 21 miles from Falna. The temple is surrounded by hills and is famous for its architecture which can be compared with the Dilwara Temple on Mt. Abu.

Before the abolition of Zamindari system, the villages were under the Thakurs and Raos. Chanod.Thakur, Falna Thakur, Ghanerao Thakur, etc., are famous in the region for the education, liberal attitude, richness and extravagancy. The population of this area is orthodox. It does not quickly respond to the urban forces.

Falna

The village selected for an intensive study is Falna which is three miles from Falna Station on Delhi-Ahemdabad mainline meter gauge western railway. The village is situated one and a half miles from the metal road, which

connects Falna to Pali and other big cities. Falna's situation provides a means of communication between the rural and the urban people.

The history of the establishment of this village is still obscure. It is only since the time of Mughals the bards began their geneologies. It was then ruled by the peasant Naths, who were pushed out by the Sindals. The last king of Sindals Ral Singh was subjugated by the forefathers of Rao Jodha Singh who in his turn gave away this village to Thakur of Narlai. Narlai Thakur had two Ranis (queens) who, owing to acute family tensions were separated and thus this village went into the hands of Kunwar Bhakhtawar Singh the son of one of the two Ranis. After his death, his descendents ruled over the village. Before independence and abolition of Zamindari the Thakur of this village was Pratap Singh of Medtiya Dynasty.

Falna is not a very big village. It is no exaggeration to say that it is a village with an optimum population (281 families), a village small enough to be microcosmically observed by an investigator and at the same time big enough to embrace all the aspects of a societal community, particularly those with which we are concerned here. It is however, not claimed and cannot be claimed that it is a perfect representative village of this region. Yet it is sure that it incorporates many qualities of villages in the area and therefore it is not very far from being a representative village. Ravna Rajpoots, Choudhris, Rebbari and Leatherworkers are

TABLE II
THE POPULATION OF FALNA BY CASTE,
SEX, LITERACY AND FAMILY STRUCTURE

Caste	Number in Population		Adult Total Literacy		Family Primary-Joint		Total No. of Families
	M.	Fe.					
Brahmin	2	2	4	2	2	-	2
Purohit	21	21	42	8	16	3	19
Rajpoot	12	10	22	3	9	1	10
Ravna Raj- poot	62	79	141	5	54	3	57
Gardener	21	19	40	3	15	2	17
Seervi Chou- dhri	55	56	111	1	41	4	45
Goldsmith	2	1	3	2	1	-	1
Carpenter	8	6	14	3	5	1	6
Potter	12	11	23	-	9	-	9
Oil Presser	3	3	6	1	1	1	2
Blacksmith	9	10	19	2	5	3	8
Tailor	3	2	5	2	1	1	2
Rebbari	33	29	62	-	22	3	25
Barber	2	1	3	-	3	-	3
Goswami	5	5	10	-	2	3	5
Sad	2	1	3	-	2	-	2
Liquor Seller	2	1	3	-	1	-	1
Butcher	8	7	15	2	3	1	4
Leather worker	35	49	104	2	37	6	43
Bangle maker	3	1	4	-	1	-	1
Sargara	10	10	20	-	9	1	10
Bhat	2	2	4	-	2	-	2
Meena	5	5	10	-	5	-	5
Drummer	2	2	4	-	2	-	2
TOTAL	<u>339</u>	<u>333</u>	<u>672</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>248</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>281</u>
Other Religions:							
Jain	6	4	10	1	4	-	4
Muslim	1	1	2	1	1	-	1
TOTAL	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>5</u>
GRAND TOTAL:	<u>346</u>	<u>338</u>	<u>684</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>253</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>286</u>

TABLE III
CLASSIFICATION OF THE POPULATION
ACCORDING TO THE AGE GROUP AND SEX

	Age Group (Years)	Sex		Total
		Males	Females	
	1- 5	128	124	252
	6-10	107	78	185
	11-15	76	68	144
	16-20	47	35	82
Sub-total	0-20 (years)	358	305	663
	21-25	69	70	139
	26-30	51	57	108
	31-35	55	54	109
	36-40	52	47	99
	41-45	27	25	52
	46-60	73	68	141
	61-65	9	7	16
	66-70	5	4	9
	71-75	4	2	6
	76-80	1	3	4
	81-85	-	1	1
Sub-total	21-85 (years)	346	338	684
TOTAL	1-85 (years)	<u>704</u>	<u>643</u>	<u>1347</u>

the main castes in the village. In spite of being in minority the Rajpoots dominate obviously owing to the fact that they had owned the village.

The distributions of the village population according to castes, sex, literacy rate and family structure is shown in the Table II. Table III classifies the population according to the age group and sex.

Description of the Falna Village

The village Falna is eight miles from Bali town and forty-one miles from the Pali City, - a commercial and administrative centre in this region. When a rapid survey of the surrounding villages was made, it was observed, that fields everywhere are enclosed with the thick hedges of thorny branches cut from the bushes in the jungle and the surrounding area. These are renewed every year.

A traveller while going to the village from Falna station, leaves the metalled road half a mile and continues along with a track which takes him after crossing a Nullah (canal), through the fields. This is the most popular and the shortest route. Mostly school boys and labourers going to their work take up this route. The metalled road is a longer route, some three miles long. Usually cycles, cars and bullock carts follow this route. In either of the routes one has to cross a non-perennial river which is difficult to cross in case of heavy rainfall. In the rainy season, the swollen waters of this river wash the fringe of the village. The village is surrounded by clusters of babool

and neem (trees). At its entrance it presents a very poor sight, for all the filth, refuse, etc., is thrown in the Nullah which flows out of this village and joins the river. There is next a row of kaccha houses (mud houses) occupied by the Sargara caste. One entering in morning and evening (Go Dhuli) has to protect oneself from buffaloes and cows which usually move out and enter by this route only. The open ground in front of the village is used for manure pits. The road then opens out into an irregular square in the centre of which appears a recently white washed tower of a temple attached with which is a pigeon Chabutra. This temple serves the purpose of a village chaupal, where usually people come and sit in leisure time for gossip. Just in front of this chaupal is the panchayat ghar occupied by a village level worker; on the wall and door a few notices in Hindi, which are concerned with the village activities, can be observed. At the extreme left of the chaupal is the village well 'pejka' used for drawing water for drinking purposes. Until 1955, the lower caste people were not allowed to approach the well and draw water. But now it is open for all. It is a well with a Persian wheel, worked by a pair of bullocks, which fills water in a cement tank with a number of taps for different castes. The cattle drink water from a hauz attached to the well, locally called 'ulala.'

There is one main street which presents a better sight of the village. On either side of the street are kaccha (mud) and pakka (brick or stone) houses single or

double storeyed. Many other lanes shoot out of this main street connecting the interior mohallahs (wards). After walking a furlong on the main street one comes across a huge double storeyed old style building which is Falna Thakur's 'Rawla' (residence). Women who pass by here always take off their sandals or shoes and hold them in their hands until they cross the main gate. Even today, certain old women who pass through do so, whether belonging to middle caste or lower caste. At the end of the street the Thakur has his own field. On the extreme opposite end to this is a Government primary school and the newly constructed houses for leatherworkers who have declined to shift to these houses and still occupy the old mud houses which are situated in the centre of the village. Generally, the houses in the village are made of mud, that is, earth bound and reinforced by straw and cow dung. Many dwellings are constructed of country bricks, backed by local potters, walls are then plastered with mortar. The roof is usually made of Kaveloo (earthen tiles), locally made, supported on a wooden frame. The windows are small in size, have no glass panes but simply a frame with a wooden shutter. Houses have no chimneys, the smoke oozes through the tiles on the roof.

The village presents three types of houses. First, the pakka houses with the stone slab ceiling and mortar plaster. These are occupied by wealthy landowners and businessmen. Such houses are quite spacious, have a big

entrance called 'pol' in the local dialect, which is used as a sitting room. Attached to this are separate kitchen, cattle-shed, sleeping and store rooms. Such houses are very few. Secondly, houses made of the baked bricks and ceiling of kaveloo. These are occupied by middle class people, such as cultivators. They have two to three rooms used for sleeping and storing grain, with an attached verandah where food is cooked in a closed corner and a court-yard used as the cattle shed. The walls are plastered with mud or mortar. Thirdly, are the houses made of unbaked bricks with ceiling of kaveloo (tiles), usually mud plaster mixed with cow dung is used for the walls. These are called 'kaccha' houses inhabited mostly by leather workers, sargara, meena and other lower castes. Rebbaries who are settled half a mile away from the main village have two or three roomed houses and a spacious court-yard called 'bara' hedged by thorn branches of bushes and babool trees. This is just a glimpse of the general pattern of the houses which vary greatly according to the caste, class and occupation.

The construction work of the house is not started in a casual manner. It must commence on some auspicious predetermined time, usually declared by a local priest or astrologer after consulting the Hindu almanac. The inaugural rites take place in the presence of the priest. This is usually the laying down of the foundation stone. Finally, the shifting to the new house must take place at some

auspicious time, the day and date of which are again decided by the priest after consulting an almanac. This is a formal house-warming ceremony, when all relatives or kinsmen, castemen, friends come to participate. The procedure is quite short usually a coconut piece and gur are given to the invitees and the 'Tajara' (a country liquor made out of opium flowers) is served to the people.

Economic Condition

It is not a very prosperous or a wealthy village. The major population is living just at the subsistence level. People may be classified from this point of view into three groups. Firstly, the wealthy families which hold property; on the top of this class is the village Thakur, next to him is a gardener whose main occupation is cultivation. Then there are some cultivators who belong to the middle class, these are mostly Choudhries, Rebbaries, Rajpoots, Oil presser, etc. In the lowest class come the Leatherworker, Sargara, Drummer and other castes who work as landless labourers, some of them go to the small industries and construction works near the Falna Station. The Rebbaries are herdsmen and rear such animals as goat, sheep, camel, etc. Some have cows and buffaloes and sell milk at Falna Bazar. Besides agriculture, the other occupations are pottery, carpentry, smithing, cattle breeding and pasturing, oil pressing, leather work, shoe making and service. These occupations are quite often combined with agriculture as the artisan castes do possess land to cultivate. A good number of men, women

and children go to Falna station to work in metal and other small industries opened in the industrial estate. The Rajpoots, Gardener, Ravna-Rajpoots, Potter, Seervi, Choudhries, Purohits, are the main land holding castes while the other castes serve as landless labourers.

Agriculture

The land covered by Falna village is 7668 acres.⁷ The village boundary is very clearly marked on the map in possession of the village Patwari, who is also responsible for valuation of crops and keeping a complete register of landowners, mapping the boundaries of the fields. The following analysis can be given of total land of the village:⁸

TABLE IV

THE LAND COVERED UNDER FALNA VILLAGE		
Type	Bighas	Biswas
Habitation area	65½	4
Drystream beds	312	4
Tanks	24	-
Pond	½	2
Pathways	139½	4
Drinking water	-	4
Huts		
Temple	2	4
Waste land	1200½	-
Cultivated land	5900¼	2

⁷As per records of the village Patwari (May, 1966).

⁸Ibid.

Agriculture is the prominent occupation of the villagers. A few families are engaged in crafts also. Land is not very fertile, it is yellow soil which produces only one crop of un-irrigated Kharif. For Rabbi and the second Kharif irrigation is essential. Hence from June 15th or so, to October, there is only one crop over the Khet (the un-irrigated fields). It is called 'monsoon crop.' The agricultural calendar of the village is as follows: -

1. Mid June to July - Kharif - sowing
2. September to October - Kharif - harvest and tillage for Rabbi
3. November - Rabbi sowing
4. December to mid February - Weeding and irrigation of Rabbi
5. March to mid April - Rabbi harvest.
6. Mid April to mid May - Threshing and sale of Rabbi

The major crops grown in the village are wheat, barley, maize, juwar, kulath and til. A handful of cultivators grow vegetables also.

Agriculture Tools and Equipment

For cultivation, few farmers have good tools and scientific equipment. They use traditional tools and equipment such as a spade, a lash made of narrow strips of leather tied to a two foot long bamboe, the bullocks for drawing the plough, a Khurpa (an iron blade for cutting grass), a wooden log for levelling the ground. Wooden

ploughs are commonly used, only two or three farmers have iron ploughs. The iron ploughs and many other implements are supplied on hire by the Panchayat Samiti Bali. These are some of the indispensable tools and equipment possessed by common peasant. Many own two or three pairs of bullocks out of which one pair is always used for drawing water from well and the rest of them work in the fields. Sometimes bullocks are also hired from other villages. This happens especially at the time of ploughing the land when there is usually a death of bullocks.

Irrigation

Wells are the main source of irrigation. These may be Pakka or Kaccha. A Pakka well costs anywhere about Rs. 3,000/(\$430.00) while a Kaccha well may cost a few hundred rupees only. There is no canal passing through the village but for a non-perennial river which is dry for whole of the year except for some days in rainy season. The depth of wells which are near the river is comparatively higher. Much of the land remains uncultivated due only to death of irrigation facilities. In some cases, there is no Rabbi crop. Through out the whole year, the people depend on Kharif crops. Those who have wells do not have plenty of water in it to irrigate the whole agricultural plot. Thus a good part remains uncultivated. There is not a single tube well in the village. The fields where there is a well to irrigate the Rabbi, are called 'Arhat' in the local dialect, whereas the fields without wells as 'Khet.' Two methods are employed to

draw water from the wells; the persian wheel system and the charas system. For the latter, thick cotton or coconut fibre ropes are attached to a leather bag which draws up water from the well. This method has now been replaced by the former as explained above. A local potter supplies the earthen bowls to the peasant regularly and gets his return at the harvest time. Only four or five land holders have electric water pumps. One power-house with diesel operated generator was established at Falna Station in 1961 and the connections in Falna village were given in 1963. Since then, those who could afford it have taken power connections for water pumps. December, January and February are the months when day and night, the peasants work on the wells to irrigate their crops. Two or three pairs of bullocks are kept at the well and changed alternately. A blacksmith and a carpenter do the repairing work of this well-gear. Persian wheel system has its own advantage, - can be easily operated and even children can run it. For them it is fun or sport.

Live Stock

The animal population of Falna village is as shown in the following table:-

TABLE V	
ANIMAL POPULATION OF FALNA	
Animal	Number
Calf	354
Bull	339
Cow	300
She-buffalo	141
Goat	561
Sheep	488
Horses	17

Cattle are indispensable for peasants. A peasant develops great affection for his cattle and considers them as members of his family. He weeps bitterly whenever they die or part from him. He considers them as precious property. A man's economic status in the village to a great extent is determined by the cattle and land he possesses. Cattle can be divided into two parts, - the draft animals and the milk animals. In the former can be included Bullocks, horses, donkeys, mule, etc.; in the latter, cows, buffaloes, goats, lamb, etc. An ox begins to work at the age of four or five years and works for ten years if maintained and fed properly. Bullocks are used for pulling water from the well, for ploughing the field, drawing a cart with luggage. Camels (hired) are used for an inter-village journey, though very few use them. Donkeys are normally possessed by potters who engage them for carrying black soil or sand and stones or any other type of luggage. The cow is a sacred animal. Each family aspires to have at least one 'gaumata' (mother cow), an animal widely worshipped by the Hindus. A cow gives generally one calf a year and yields two to three kilos of milk daily for six or seven months in a year. The death of a cow is mourned greatly, the owner has to perform some rituals over it and if it is accidentally killed, the person responsible for it is strictly punished. A buffalo is valued since it yields up to six kilos of milk daily and one calf in two years. Moreover, the buffaloes' milk produces more ghee and butter. On the death of the buffalo, the owner

cries bitterly. Cattle are of immense significance to the villagers, not only due to their value as draft animals and producers of milk but also because of the dung they yield. This has a two-fold purpose. It is used as manure and also as fuel. The dearth of wooden fuel has enhanced the value of dung. Besides domestic and manure purposes, dung-cakes are used by the potter for baking the earthen pots. Such baking is called 'Neira' in the local dialect.

Diet

Some villagers are non-vegetarians, others are purely vegetarian; a few are teetotallers. Rajpoots are famous meat-eaters and drunkards in the region; it is something accepted in their culture. They eat goat, lamb, wild boar, fish, chicken and eggs but never beef. Meena (village watchmen), Meervi Chaudhri (leatherworker), Rebbari (pasturer), Ravna Rajpoots (domestic servants & warriors), and Potters are all meat-eaters. Wheat, barley, green vegetables, pulses are the staple food. Upper class families use milk and milk products.

Barley, grain, maize are eaten daily with either vegetable curry or dal curd, ghee, cchach chatney, chillies, etc. I have seen labourers and farmers eating barley or 'Bejhar' (mixed grain) bread with red chillies or with one bulb of onion for the poorer people cannot afford to have pulse or any vegetable. Dal-bati-churma is a favourable preparation on the occasions of an outing or picnic, whereas 'Seera' or lapsi is prepared at the time of feasts. The villagers have hardly any variety throughout the whole year

except at certain festivals when a rich variety of dishes is prepared. Guests are honoured and served special food. It is generally wheat roti (bread), vegetable curry or dal, sugar and ghee. Barley and grain are considered as coarse grain and therefore are not served to the guests.

The food is divided into three kinds, viz., kaccha, pakka, and seedha food. Kaccha food which means literally baked, is cooked in water. It includes staple food of cakes or unleavened sorghum, rice and the daily run of vegetables and chutney, rayta, etc. The food taken daily is generally kaccha and is considered as purer and better. Pakka food literally means fried and is prepared in butter, oil, etc. For example, puri and sweetmeats which are generally eaten at the time of feasts. The kaccha food is accepted by a very restricted number of castes whereas generally in big feasts the pakka food is served by the inferior caste to the superior castes. The third and the last type of food includes all the items in the uncooked form, such as flour, ghee, chillies, dal, vegetables, etc., and the food is cooked by the caste members only.

Normally two meals are taken in a day. The morning meal before 12 a.m. and the evening meal before 7 p.m. The family members eat sitting near the hearth, on the floor. Generally, at no meal time do all the members of the family sit together and eat. Children are generally served first, then others come, one by one, as convenient and eat and go. The woman of the house eat last, but never with them. The

women of the cultivator class usually prepare their food in the morning and shift to the fields along with all the children and food.

Dress

The villagers put on a dress that is common in northern India. Men wear dhoti, angerkhi and safa (turban), the cloth is usually thick and rough. They put on simple locally made leather shoes. Due to the urban contact, some of the sophisticated put on trousers, shirts and western style shoes. The school boys can be seen in shirts, some with chapples, other with shoes, still a few others bare-footed. Men, while working in the field, take off anger khi and are half naked. Ghaghra, choli, duppatta are women's wear. Ghaghra is usually of thick cotton hand woven or textile mill made and usually of red colour. The old and elderly men shave their heads or keep brush hair which has now become a fashion amongst the college boys. A barber visits the peasants regularly or according to arrangement. Ornaments are not only for women but for men too. Falna village men put on certain 'manly' ornaments, - big thick bangles on hands and feet, hasli (necklace), etc.

Communications

There is one main metal road which connects this village to Jodhpur - Ajmer State Highway. It is well kept and bridged wherever needed so it can be traversed at any time of the year. The road is about a half mile to the northern side of Falna village. This distance is connected by an

unmetalled patch of one and half miles. This route can be traversed through the whole year except in the case of heavy rains. Many service busses run daily on the metal road. This patch is maintained by the Bali Panchayat Samiti. The normal track of the daily pedestrian passes through the fields as it is the shortest way to reach the station. This track meanders along the edges of the fields and sometimes through them. The track is passable only by pedestrian in a single file. No one except the Thakur, own an automobile. But there are twenty to twenty-five bicycles in the village which are used by those who have jobs outside the village. Much of the movement and transport is at best by bullock-carts, tongas and normally on foot. The majority of the villagers who go to Falna Station either for attending school, manual labour or to factories or for some purchases walk on foot.

The one main road connects Falna village with other towns such as Sumerpur, Sheoganj, Bali, Rani, Desuri, Pali, Jodhpur and the rest of the country. People travel by bus to the above towns since there are no direct rail connections. A few taxis at Falna Station serve in emergency when no service bus is available.

Panchayat Organization (Village Council)

Panchayat Organization is one of the factors which ties a village with other villages. A village is never an isolated community. Its ties run on the four sides of the village. The recent introduction of democratic decentral-

ization has brought about tremendous changes in the village's political and social activities. It is a prominent feature of every village and is getting more and more popular with the masses. Obviously the villagers have become politically conscious, so as to realize the true value of their vote. Election is the common topic of conversation between a visitor and a villager. The village is divided into six wards and from each ward there is a Punch who is generally unanimously elected. For the last three elections the Sur-punch (council chief) has been the Thakur of the village who is much respected. He is elected unanimously. There are, however, some factions in the village which will be the subject matter of the following chapters.

It is assumed that this background of the village and its setting will help us in understanding the caste structure of the village. The purpose of this background is to point out the conditions to which the village is exposed. Therefore, whatever follows is subject to these conditions.

CHAPTER III

RITUAL STRUCTURE

The aim of this chapter is to examine the sub-hypothesis 1: Ritual structure of the village is still determined by the principles of caste and that the purity-pollution concept is the most important factor which regulates the commensal and ritual relations among the villagers.

Certain questions crop up as we analyse this hypothesis. The first question is: If there is a hierarchical caste structure of Falna village, how can it be fitted into the traditional Varna scheme? In order to know ritual structure of the village and to see the extent to which the purity-pollution concept operates, we must have knowledge of the schematic and systematic hierarchical structure of the village. Related to the first question is the second question: Is the ritual status of caste observed in the commensal relations? The third question is: Do castes observe their traditional functions at the time of the performance of various rituals and festivals in the village? Let us examine these questions as stated in the above order.

The Schematic and Systematic Hierarchical Caste Structure of Falna

Chart Number 1 is an indication of this schematic

	Non-Artisan Vegetarian	Non-Artisan Non-Vegetarian	Artisan Vegetarian	Artisan Non-Vegetarian	Sectarian Non-Artisan Vegetarian
Brahmin A ₁	Brahmin Purohit A ₁				
Pure Kshatriya A _{2a}		Seervi Choudhri Rajpoot Ravna Rajpoot Rebbari A _{2b1}			
Dvija A Kshatriya A ₂			Carpenter A _{2b2} Gardner Goldsmith Tailor	Barber Oil Presser A _{2b3} Potter Blacksmith	Goswami Sad A _{2b4}
Pseudo-Kshatriya A _{2b}					
Vaisya A ₃					
Shudra B ₁		Liquor Seller Butcher B _{1a}		Bangle maker B _{1b}	
Avarna B		Meena Sargara Bard Drummer B _{2a}		Leather worker B _{2b}	
Acchuta or Harijan B ₂ (untouchable)					

No mobility possible ———

Mobility possible - - - - -

A Schematic and Systematic Hierarchical Structureof the Castes in Falna Village

and systematic hierarchical caste structure of the village. The 24 castes are approximately fitted into the Varna framework, though the Varna scheme is inadequate to adjust the castes of the village. It is known to the sociologists and historians that the Varna scheme, though prescribed by the Hindu Law givers and sacred books, remained more an ideology than a reality. In any period of the history of India castes were never clearly fitted into the Varna scheme.¹ However, an effort has been made to sort out different castes of the village into pigeonholes of the Varna scheme, the four-fold division of Hindu society. Although it is not claimed that the stratification of the castes is precise yet it is assumed that it is approximately correct, according to the traditional criteria of caste hierarchy.²

The castes in Falna village can be classified into two broad sections Dvijā 'A' (twice born) and Avarna 'B' (Shudra or once born). This is a systematic and schematic traditional division of the caste and no difficulty is faced in the classification. The section Dvijā 'A' is classified according to Varna, that is Brahmin Varna - A_1 , Kshatriya Varna A_2 , and Vaisya Varna A_3 . As regards the A_1 sub-section, the undisputed highest rank is occupied by the Brahmin, strengthened by religious and social sanctions. Brahmin caste is higher than Purohit owing to purity in their every day life,

¹See Talcott Parsons: Societies, Evolutionary and Comparative Perspective, Prentice-Hall, Inc., (New Jersey, 1966), p. 78.

²See K. S. Mathur, op. cit.

commensal rules, deistic occupations and is certainly more ritualized than any other caste in the village. The Brahmin caste is indispensable so far as the performance of rituals is concerned in 'A' section of the given chart number one. Their main obligations in the village are to conduct all Samskars (rituals). Since they have the knowledge of astrology, they decide 'Mahurt' (auspicious time) for the performance of rituals and also prepare horoscope after birth of child.

Next to Brahmin is the Purohit caste. In the pre-independence era, Purohit rarely called any Brahmin to conduct the Samskar (ritual), rather they themselves did the 'Purohitya' (preside over the ceremony). But this was confined only to the Purohit family, they never served any other caste. The Purohitis in the village claim to be the descendents of Raj-purohit, who used to perform the 'Raj Tilak' ceremony of the Kings. At present their main occupation is cultivation, a couple of families run hotels at the Falna station. Like the Brahmin, their commensal relations with the rest of the castes are restricted. Both Brahmin and Purohit castes are non artisan, vegetarian and teetotaler.

The Kshattriya Varna A_2 is the most complicated section in the village. As regards the rank of Rajpoots, classified as A_{2a} , there can be no objection. But the problem crops up when a number of other castes equate themselves with the Rajpoots in order to be enlisted into the Kshattriya Varna, a claim which is highly resisted and repudiated by Rajpoots. Being a Jagirdari village no other

caste has outrightly claimed a status equal to Rajpoots. Their supremacy to other castes, but Brahmin and Purohit, is undisputedly recognized.

The other castes who claim to be Kshattriya but are actually doubtful, have been grouped as Pseudo-Kshattriya A_{2b}, which in its turn is sub-classified on the basis of food and skill, into non-artisan and non-vegetarian A_{2b1}, artisan vegetarian A_{2b2}, artisan non-vegetarian A_{2b3}, and sectarian castes (non-artisan and non-vegetarian) A_{2b4}. In spite of being meagre in number, the Rajpoots in pre-independence era dominated in the village. They possessed huge cultivable land and employed landless labour. Their land was cultivated by the Seervi Choudhries and Ravna Rajpoots. The Thakur (feudal lord) of the village, is a Medtia Rathore who had 8½ villages under his control prior to the implementation of the Zamindari Abolition Act. The main clan of Rajpoots in the village is Adiya Rajpoots. They include in their commensal rank the doubtful Pseudo-Kshattriya A_{2b} sub-section. There is a 'Tajara' group ('Tajara' is a country liquor, extracted from the opium flowers) which is led by Rajpoots and includes persons from A_{2b1} and A_{2b3} groups.

A_{2b} sub-section, mentioned above as doubtful, is therefore classed here as Pseudo-Kshattriya, sub-divided into A_{2b1}, A_{2b2}, A_{2b3} and A_{2b4} groups. A_{2b1} is a group of non-artisan non-vegetarian castes which includes the Seervi Choudhri, Ravna Rajpoots and Rebbari. Here we will briefly discuss them one by one.

Seervi Choudhri composes a major population of 45 families, which is next to Ravna Rajpoots in the numerical strength. Seervis claim to be the oboriginal population of the village who lived along with the Rebbaries and leather worker, the other aboriginals in the village. The other castes are said to be brought by the Falna Thakur, when he selected this village as the seat of his administration. Seervis are efficient peasants and therefore, they were employed by the Thakur to cultivate land of his village. They have a typical style of tying the turban and a look at their dress is sufficient to clench their caste. They have commensal relations with all the castes of A₂b sub-section. It is a caste which is benefitted the most by the Zamindari Abolition, as they could secure all land under their cultivation.

They are included in the clean castes, as they have dietary relations with not only A₂a but also with Purohits in A₁ section. The rest is Ravna Rajpoots, who were formerly called Daroga³. According to the allegations of the villagers they are the descendents of the concubines of Rajpoots. These concubines were usually from the lower castes. Gradually an increase in the progeny resulted in the emergence of a new endogamous group called Ravna Rajpoots, which has its spread in almost all the Jagirdari villages of Marwar. At present they are working as domestic servants or landless labourers or tenant cultivators. Their numerical strength is

³Since I have promised to them not to use this term 'Daroga' they are referred here as Ravna Rajpoots. Daroga is a derogatory term.

57 families, the highest number in the village.

The Rebbari caste is living half a mile away from the village. Their locality is called "Rebbariyon-ka-Jhounpa." Their main occupation is domestication of animals - sheep, goat, buffalo and camel. A couple of families are cultivators. The next group in the chart is A_2b_2 . All the three castes of this group have commensal relations with one another. The castes grouped in A_2b_2 are Carpenter, Gardener, Goldsmith and Tailor. Carpenters have six families, whose main occupation is carpentry. A couple of them are cultivators too. This is a caste having many restrictions regarding food acceptance. In the Kshattriya Varna recently, the Carpenters have stopped accepting food from A_2b_1 and A_2b_3 groups. It is a vegetarian and teetotaler artisan caste. The Gardener have seventeen families, one of them is next to the Falna Thakur in the class status in Weber's sense. Their main occupation is cultivation; one of the shops in the village is owned by a Gardener. They have commensal relations with A_2b_1 , A_2b_3 and A_2b_4 groups. There is only one family of Goldsmiths. The Goldsmith rarely sits with the other castes of the village. The two families of the Tailor caste have divided the village into two parts, each has clients from the part which falls under his area. All the castes in A_2b_2 are artisan, vegetarian and teetotaler.

Amongst A_2b_3 , the artisan non-vegetarian castes, the Potter claims a higher rank to other castes, because his occupation is concerned with clay or 'Dhartimata' (the

57 families, the highest number in the village.

The Rebbari caste is living half a mile away from the village. Their locality is called "Rebbariyon-ka-Jhounpa." Their main occupation is domestication of animals - sheep, goat, buffalo and camel. A couple of families are cultivators. The next group in the chart is A_2b_2 . All the three castes of this group have commensal relations with one another. The castes grouped in A_2b_2 are Carpenter, Gardener, Goldsmith and Tailor. Carpenters have six families, whose main occupation is carpentry. A couple of them are cultivators too. This is a caste having many restrictions regarding food acceptance. In the Kshattriya Varna recently, the Carpenters have stopped accepting food from A_2b_1 and A_2b_3 groups. It is a vegetarian and teetotaler artisan caste. The Gardener have seventeen families, one of them is next to the Palna Thakur in the class status in Weber's sense. Their main occupation is cultivation; one of the shops in the village is owned by a Gardener. They have commensal relations with A_2b_1 , A_2b_3 and A_2b_4 groups. There is only one family of Goldsmiths. The Goldsmith rarely sits with the other castes of the village. The two families of the Tailor caste have divided the village into two parts, each has clients from the part which falls under his area. All the castes in A_2b_2 are artisan, vegetarian and teetotaler.

Amongst A_2b_3 , the artisan non-vegetarian castes, the Potter claims a higher rank to other castes, because his occupation is concerned with clay or 'Dhartimata' (the

Mother Land). He has drinking water relations with A₁ and A_{2a} sections. The Potter, besides cultivation and making earthen pots, also prepares bricks for house construction purposes. The next is the Barber, who plays a significant role at the time of the performance of Samskars. But he renders no services to the untouchables. He has dietary relations with A_{2a}, A_{2b1}, and also with the Gardener from A_{2b2} group. The two families of Oil Presser, besides supplying oil to the villagers, also cultivate land. The seven families of Blacksmith do not only smithy but the carpentry and building construction work too. They have equally distributed their clients in the village. In A_{2b4} group, Goswami and Sad (temple priests) are sectarian castes. They are vegetarian and non-artisan. A Goswami approaches each family of section 'A' to collect flour. From five families, three men go out daily to work in the industry. The Goswami is usually present at the time of rituals and offers Gur and Bidi (local cigar), tobacco and opium on behalf of the host family. The two families of Sad by turn worship Thakurji (Temple Gods) and maintain the temple for the villagers. They collect flour every day from the castes of section 'A' as a reward. It is said that there may be a Sad for lower castes, but the Sad mentioned above are for 'Dviya' caste only.

Among all the castes of A_{2b} section the Carpenters show now a tendency of disaffiliation with the castes of the whole section. They keep themselves ritually more clean by

following vegetarianism and teetotalism. In the section A_{2b} it is worth reporting that the Carpenter and Tailor are the only castes who put on Janau (the sacred thread). The Carpenters have broken relations with rest of the castes in A_{2b} sections.

The other major sections of castes in the village is classed as Avarna (once born) - 'B', further sub-divided into B₁ and B₂, namely the Shudra and Acchuta (untouchable) or Harijan (people of God) respectively. Castes of B₁ sub-section have no commensal relations with B₂.

The castes grouped under Avarna (unclean or once born) are Liquor seller, Butcher and the Bangle maker. This sub-section B₁ can be called as unclean, as they have no commensal relations with A₁, A₂ and A₃ sections. Nevertheless, they are higher to the sub-section B₂ of untouchables, because A_{2b} sub-section accepts water from their hands. These Shudra maintain a social distance from the untouchables and are now seeking affiliation to A_{2b} sub-section, specially with the non-vegetarian castes. But the castes of A_{2b} sub-section have constantly retaliated their effort.

The sub-section B₂ consists of the untouchable castes split into B_{2a} and B_{2b}, the artisan non-vegetarian and the artisan vegetarian group respectively. The castes included in B_{2a} group are Meena, Sargara, Bhat (bard), and the Drummer. Meenas consider themselves to be higher than all castes in B_{2a} and B_{2b} sections. Their occupation is Chaukidari and cultivation. Sargara and Bhat castes are lower than Meena,

the former play on Thali (metal disc) and drum at the time of Samskars and festivals, while the latter caste is the geneologists of the former. The Drummer is perhaps treated as the lowest caste in the village. They join Sargara to provide musical performance at the Samskars and festivals. It is said that even the sweeper does not accept food from the Drummer.

The second and the last group is B2b of artisan non-vegetarian caste, the Leather workers. They constitute the third major population in the village. Their traditional occupation is skinning the dead cattle and making shoes for the Jajmans (clients). Leather workers claim a status equal to Meena in B2a group. In the pre-independence period they had commensal relations with Sargara, which have been broken now owing to some dispute between the two castes. A good number of Leather workers go to work in the small industries. A new colony for them has been constructed outside the village by the Government. But they take this as a segregation from the village, and thus declined to shift, with the result that the houses are lying uninhabited.

My attempts in the above pages have been not only to explain the schematic and systematic structure of caste hierarchy that exists today in the village but also to introduce to the reader, the twenty-four castes of the village. The hierarchical order in which the castes are listed in the tables in this thesis is adapted to Chart Number 1. The order is mainly according to Varna hierarchy. With this back-

ground in mind let us now switch over to the discussion on commensal relations among these castes.

Commensal Relations

The concept of pollution, which forms the very basis of ritual status is strictly adhered to, even now, among the different castes of the village. It is from this angle, we find, that the schematic and systematic hierarchical structure of caste is objectified by the villagers. The higher castes due to their birth in a traditionally considered superior caste, clean living and pursuing pure occupations, maintain social distance from the lower castes. One of the important ways to know the extent to which purity-pollution concept operates, is to observe the commensal relations of a caste with the other castes.

The commensal relations are concerned with the cooking of food, acceptance of water, sharing Bidi, a Chilam or a Hukka (local pipe), and the seating order at a feast. A ritually superior caste will never accept food in cooked form, in certain cases not even in the raw form, from the other castes which it considers to be inferior. In the local dialect - Godwari - these relations are called Bhane Vivhar (food relations). The ritual status of a caste in a village is to be determined in terms of the Bhane-Vivhar and Beti-Vivhar (marriage relations). These two inter-twined relations form the very axis around which all other inter caste relations revolve like the spokes of a wheel. It may be

called the 'pulse' of a caste system in a village of Godwar.

The first kind of relations, i.e. the Bhane Vivhar or the commensal structure needs some detailed analysis and discussion, so as to note how the relations actually operate in a village. Each of the general distinctions of the commensal structure, food, drink, smoking has further categories, for example, the type of food served, the vessel in which served, the kind of drink given, etc.

In Marwar villages, usually the food is classified as Kaccha (literally unripe), Pakka (literally ripe) and Seedha (raw form). The chapaties, pulses, vegetable, chutney or dalbati or bafla (the unleavened balls of wheat flour baked in ashes or boiled in water and put into a bowl full of pure ghee). This kind of food is very popular in picnics and is also often a feature at feasts. The food eaten daily is generally Kaccha and is considered as more pure and better than the other kinds of food. The next kind of food is Pakka. It is prepared in ghee (vegetable or pure) or oil, from the flour and sugar gur. Such foods are usually sweetmeats, as Puri-Halva or Seera, and are eaten at the feast given at the time of marriage, and after death funeral - Moser. The third and the last type of food is Seedha, which includes raw food - stuffs such as flour, oil or ghee, gur or sugar, pulses, etc. These are cooked by the recipients themselves. The Kaccha food is accepted by a restricted number of castes, as compared to the Pakka food. It is regarded as very pure and highly pollutable, whereas the Pakka food is lesser pollutable.

The Seedha which includes raw food-stuff, green fruits and vegetables with peelable skins is least pollutable.

Whenever anyone visits Falna, the villagers first ask about his caste, which determines the pattern of behaviour with that stranger, or to put in other words, it is only after knowing whether the person belongs to a higher caste or a lower caste, the Bhane Vivhar is determined. When a villager states that one caste is higher or lower than another, he refers to the ritual status, irrespective of the fact whether this coincides with the wealth or political power. Traditionally, it is said by the villagers, that the ritual rank was also supported by wealth and authority. The lower caste man had poorer means of livelihood, therefore, failed to compete with the higher caste man who had richer means. This can be supported by an example from the village. The main occupation of leather worker is to provide shoes and other leather articles for the cultivators. This is an occupation by which he cannot earn a lot and acquire a high status in the dimensions of wealth and authority. But ever since the introduction of caste free occupations, some of the leather workers have become cultivators. Thus such discrepancies of wealth and ritual status are now common.

The difference in the attitudes towards ritual rank on the one hand and wealth and authority on the other, thus, becomes striking in the modern times. The fact noted in this connection is that the wealth and authority, education, elector-

al post and ritual rank are all principles of social stratification in the Hindu society, but nevertheless, except for the ritual rank no other principle grades a caste higher or lower in the village.

The commensal relations, as defined and analysed in the above pages, may here be discussed with reference to Falna village. Table VI explains the food relations amongst all the castes of Falna village. The Brahmins who are superior to other castes, do not eat Kaccha food with any other caste, and despite the fact that Rajpoots are a superior caste, the Brahmins avoid accepting the Kaccha food from them. But the Brahmins do take the sweetmeats made out of milk and curds at the houses of A₂b₂ castes. Such kinds of food relations take place only at the time of ceremonies as Namkaran, Barsi, Shradh, etc. The usual practice prevalent is to receive Seedha (raw food) and either prepare meals with their own hands at the house where they are invited or to take the raw food to their own houses. Brahmin's food participation with other castes in pre-independence period was stricter than it is at present. The Purohit who is next to Brahmin in the village refrains from accepting food, Kaccha or Pakka, from the hands of A₂a, A₂b, B₁ and B₂ sub-sections. Like Brahmins, however, they do accept Seedha from A₂a and A₂b sections. The other castes who do not share the Pakka food together, are those belonging to A₂a and A₂b sub-sections, to mention specifically, Rajpoot, Gardener, Potter, Blacksmith, Ravna Rajpoot, Seervi Choudhri, Rebbari, Carpenter, etc. Rajpoots

have mutual commensal relations with all the castes belonging to the sub-section A₂b (viz. A₂b₁, A₂b₃ and A₂b₄) except A₂b₂. The group A₂b₂ does not accept Kaccha food from Rajpoots and other non-vegetarian castes. One important point may be mentioned here that despite the equal status or the lower status, the vegetarianism counts a lot in case of the food participation. For example, the Carpenter and Gardener are castes not higher than Rajpoots in the ritual rank (even other wise, the Rajpoots are Jajman (client) where as the Gardener and Carpenter are Kamin (patron) castes).⁴ Yet, the former castes will avoid accepting Kaccha food at the hands of the latter. The best policy in such cases has been to pay to avoid such a situation in a decent way.

The other level at which these food relations may be discussed is the inter caste feast. At the time of marriage intercaste feasts are arranged. These feasts as a custom, are Pakka feasts. The food is prepared by the caste concerned. But in case of the Rajpoot caste, a Barber looks after all the preparations. The duty of a Potter in such feasts is to supply water and earthen bowls or pots to serve water. The water filled by a Potter is considered as clean and pure. A Potter fills water at all the Savaran castes houses including Brahmin and Purohit. They, however, render no such services to the castes in Section 'B'. The castes at such times sit according to their ritual status. Since Brahmins are un-

⁴The Jajmans are considered as superior to the Kamins in the village.

disputedly superior to any other caste, they conduct the ceremony, but never take the Kaccha food. For Pakka food, usually his seat is arranged at a separate clean and prominent position in the tent. In case of the rest of the castes the division into rows is determined by vegetarianism. The vegetarian castes sit together in one row, which may be a few feet or a yard away from non-vegetarian castes. However, there is no question of any inferior or superior position at these rows. Among the vegetarian castes are Carpenter, Goldsmith, Gardener, Tailor and Purchit. The non-vegetarian castes of A₂ section can all sit together. But the Rajpoot caste being dominant in the pre-independence era always enjoyed a superior position to the rest of the castes of A₂ section.

The vegetarian castes, as stated earlier, will try to avoid a situation which brings them physically close to Rajpoots although Rajpoots have no objection to such a physical closeness. The Butcher and Bangle maker sit in one row. It was told that these castes in the pre-independence period used to occupy a separate row. The lower castes, Butcher, Leather worker, Sargara, Drummer, and Bard sit outside the tent. They could sit into small groups. Some of them instead of eating there, would take their share and depart. The food is usually served by the host caste. It has been already pointed out that the sections 'A₁' and 'A₂' never dine with the castes of section 'B'.

Smoking Relations

There is no taboo on smoking among the various castes in the village and it is never considered as derogatory. All the castes except Brahmin are smokers of bidi, chilam, and hukka. Cigarettes are rarely used as the villagers cannot afford them.

Prior to a discussion on the smoking relations at the intercaste level, it may be said that except Purohit, all the other higher castes accept a fresh bidi from the lower castes. There are certain castes who can share even one lighted bidi. The style of smoking bidi differs according to situations. If each individual in a group has a fresh bidi to smoke, he puts the bidi end between the lips, but in case one bidi is to be shared by more than two persons the bidi end is never put between the lips, but rather the smoke is drawn through the cupped hands. This is a practice prevalent even when the members of the same caste do not share one lighted bidi by this style so no question of discussing the former style at the intercaste level arises. It is with reference to the latter style that we will here discuss the intercaste smoking relations.

The pattern of bidi smoking relations among the different castes is illustrated through the sociogram number one. In the given sociogram, group one consists of the vegetarian castes and therefore these castes do not share the same lighted bidi with groups two and three.

However, group one would accept bidi from groups two and three but never from the fourth group. Group two is of non-vegetarian castes, who share kaccha and pakka food also. They can all share together a lighted bidi through the cupped hands. This group can accept a fresh bidi from groups three and four. The position of Bangle maker and Liquor seller is a bit awkward. On the one hand these castes are not entertained by group two and yet on the other hand they did not want to affiliate themselves with the lower group of untouchables. Therefore, they formed a separate group. However, they accept a fresh bidi from all the castes. The group five consists of the untouchable castes. They share one lighted bidi among themselves, but cannot share it with other groups. The lowest position is given to a drummer, who is not allowed to share a bidi with group five or other groups, but can offer a fresh bidi to the group five.

The other two popular objects of smoking are chilam (clay pipe) and hukka. In the case of the former, it was a privilege of only higher castes to smoke chilam. It is said that in Samindari days, the lower castes would never use hukka or chilam. The usual style of smoking the clay pipe is to wrap the pipe end with a piece of cloth and then smoke through the cupped hands, so as not to bring the mouth into contact with the pipe or piece of cloth. Certain castes do not share one chilam, but they use their own chilam and piece of cloth. The fresh tobacco can be accepted from the

THE SMOKING RELATIONS AMONGST
THE DIFFERENT CASTES CLASSIFIED
INTO 5 GROUPS.

SOCIOGRAM NO. 1.

TABLE VI
INTER-CASTE FOOD RELATIONS

S.No.	Castes	Food Accepted ⁵			
		1	2	3	4
		Kaccha food	Pakka food	Seedha	Nothing
1.	Brahmin	1,2	1-3	1-17	18-24
2.	Purohit	1,2	1-3	1-17	18-24
3.	Rajpoot	1-14	1-16	1-17	18-24
4.	Ravna Rajpoot	1-14	1-16	1-17	18-24
5.	Gardener	1,2,5,7, 8,12	1-16	1-17,18, 20	19,21-24
6.	Seervi Choudhri	1-15	1-16	1-18,20	19,21-24
7.	Goldsmith	1,2,5,8, 12	1-16	1-17,18, 20	19,21-24
8.	Carpenter	1,2,5,8, 12	1-16	1-17,18, 20	19,21-24
9.	Potter	1-15	1-16	1-20	21-24
10.	Oil Presser	1-15	1-16	1-24	-
11.	Blacksmith	1-15	1-16	1-24	-
12.	Tailor	1,2,5,8, 12	1-16	1-18,24	-
13.	Rebbari	1-15	1-16	1-18,24	-
14.	Barber	1-15	1-16	1-24	-
15.	Goswami	1-15	1-16	1-17,18, 20	19,21-24
16.	Sad	1-16	1-16,20	1,17,18, 20	19,21-24
17.	Kalal	1-18,20	1-18,20	1-24	-

Continued

TABLE VI (Continued)

S.No.	Castes	Food Accepted ⁵			
		1	2	3	4
		Kaccha food	Pakka food	Seedha	Nothing
18.	Butcher	1-18,20	1-18,20	1-24	-
19.	Leather worker	1-20	1-23	1-24	-
20.	Bangle maker	1-18,20	1-18,20	1-24	-
21.	Sargara	1-23	1-23	1-24	-
22.	Bard	1-23	1-23	1-24	-
23.	Meena	1-23	1-23	1-24	-
24.	Drummer	1-24	1-24	1-24	-

⁵The columns 1, 2, 3 and 4 indicate the serial number of the castes from whom the food is accepted.

castes who can offer a fresh bidi. So three minute things are to be noted; first, not to share the chilam at all; second, to share, but with different pieces of cloth; and third, to share without any change in the piece of cloth. The division of castes in Falna village on this basis can be made as follows: -

TABLE VII
DIVISION OF CASTES ACCORDING TO SMOKING RELATIONS

Varna	1 Do not share chilam with any other caste	2 Can share the same chilam but separate pieces of cloth	3 Same chilam and cloth
Savarna	Purohit Gr. 1	Carpenter, Goldsmith, Tailor, Gardener Gr. 2	Rajpoot, Ravna-Rajpoot, Rebbari, Seervi Choudhri, Potter, Goswami, Black- smith Gr. 3
Avarna	-	Bangle maker, Liquor seller, Butcher Gr. 4	Bard, Leatherworker, Sargara Gr. 5

Now, when castes in group two join with any of the castes of group three, they will use their own piece of cloth to wrap the chilam. This group has no chilam relations in any of the forms, with the groups four and five. Even tobacco for the chilam is not accepted. When the bangle maker and the liquor seller sit with group three, they bring their own piece of cloth, as the group three would not allow them to share the

chilam with the same piece of cloth. Similarly, when a Butcher sits with the leather-worker and Sargara, he will bring his own piece of cloth, as he thinks he is superior to the leather worker and the Sargara. Group three accepts tobacco from group four.

The hukka is usually smoked by old people of higher castes. It is a special privilege of Rajpoots and Purohits. With regard to hukka the grouping is roughly identical with that of chilam.

Drinking Water

Rules regarding the acceptance of drinking water almost operate in the same fashion as those of smoking and food participation. What matters in this case is the vessel which contains drinking water. Usually, the brass pot (lota) is the vessel in which water is served. The Brahmin and Purohits in the village will prefer to have their own brass pot or glass while drinking water. It is important to note, as I have said earlier, that the potter supplies drinking water in the home of all the upper castes and the water of the potter's home is accepted by all the castes including Brahmin and Purohit.

We have spent sufficient time on the discussion of commensal relations among the different castes. Now we can answer the second question we posed in the beginning of this chapter: Is the ritual status of caste observed in the commensal relations? The clear answer to this question is "Yes." It has been shown in the above pages how intensive

and deeprooted is the caste structure. We examined the commensal relations in three dimensions, food, smoking and drinking water. Empirical evidence from the village shows that in none of these dimensions the social distance among the hierarchically organized castes has attenuated. However, one change should be noted, that is, the amalgamation of the Kshattriya and the Pseudo-Kshattriya castes. Here we find that no clear cut distinctions exist, with regard to the observation of commensal relations. But then, this can hardly be called a significant change, or breakdown of the caste system. It has been already pointed out that the Hindu social continuum was clear only at the top and the bottom, the middle sub-structure of the social continuum has always remained vague or undefined, in the social history of Hindu society. This is true even today in the Falna village of Marwar. Thus, such an amalgamation is not a significant but a superficial change, which has not shattered the strong chains of castes system in Hindu society. All these results, therefore, subscribe to the views of Majumdar,⁶ Gough,⁷ Mathur,⁸ Mayer,⁹ and Lewis,¹⁰ who have studied the caste in different culture areas of India. It appears that such rigidity in the area of commensal relations is still quite pervasive in rural India.

⁶D. N. Majumdar, op. cit.

⁷Kathlene E. Gough, op. cit.

⁸K. S. Mathur, op. cit.

⁹A. C. Mayer, op. cit.

¹⁰Oscar Lewis, op. cit.

Having examined the first and the second questions, we now turn our attention to the third question: Do the castes observe their traditional functions at the time of the performance of various rituals and festivals in the village? The question must be answered with reference to two dimensions, viz., rituals and festivals, hence we will discuss them separately in the following pages.

Inter-caste Relations at the Time of Different Rituals:

By the term family ritual is meant here the rites which are performed in a family (rites de passage). The Hindi term for ritual is 'Samskar'. The terms Sanskriti (culture) and Sanskrit (the language), both are derived from Samskar. According to Hindu Dharma Sutra a Hindu has to pass through many Samskars, Sarira Samskars (rituals for the body) as Manu and others have called them, for these are intended to sanctify the body, beginning from the moment the foetus is laid (Garbhadhan) to the death (anthey-eshti) of a person.¹¹ They are supposed to purify the person in this life and for life after death.¹² Each of these samskar is preceded by a symbolic sacrifice (homa). The number of these Samskars differs according to the different authorities. The Griha Sutra enumerates about forty, while the Gautama Dharma Sutra names forty-eight. The important

¹¹Bri. XXV, 6, quoted by P. N. Prabhu, Hindu Social Organization, (Bombay, 1954), p. 218.

¹²Manu ii, 27; quoted by P. N. Prabhu, loc. cit.

samskars as summarized by Prabhu are as follows:¹³

1. Garbhadhan (foetus laying), 2. Purusavana (male making rite), 3. Jata Karma (birth of a child), 4. Nam-Dheya (name giving), 5. Nishi-Karma (presentation of child to the sun), 6. Anna-Prasanna (giving cooked food to the child), 7. Chuda Karma (first hair cut), 8. Upnayana (initiation rite), 9. Savitri (sending a child to school), 10. Sam-vartana (return of student after completion of studies), 11. Vivah (marriage), 12. Anteyashthi (cremation).

The time and space do not allow us to go into details of these samskars.¹⁴ Therefore we will confine our discussion to the pattern of inter-caste relations at the time of the performance of one or two samskars in the village.. Our basic concern here again remains to examine how different castes observe their traditional functions at the time of these samskars. Furthermore, it is not possible to take each caste of the village, as a centre and observe its ritual-functional relations with the rest of the castes. This itself is a separate subject for research as little exploration has been done in this area.¹⁵ For our purpose it would be sufficient to take a couple of castes at centre and observe their ritual-functional relations with the rest of the castes at the time of certain samskars.

¹³P. N. Prabhu, op. cit. p. 219.

¹⁴For further details refer to Prabhu, P. N. op. cit. These samskars are treated in minute and lengthy details in Griha Sutra, for these texts are written with the special purpose of describing all the domestic (griha) rites.

¹⁵See, for example, D. N. Majumdar, op. cit.

We here take two castes - Rajpoots (Savarna caste) and leather worker (Avarna - untouchable caste) as the centre and observe their ritual-functional relations with other castes at the time of the performance of marriage (Vivaha Samskar) and birth (Jata-karma Samskar) respectively.

The Pattern of the Inter-caste Ritual-functional Relations at the Time of the Marriage of a Rajpoot Boy:

The sociogram number two presents the pattern of intercaste ritual-functional relations at the time of the marriage of a Rajpoot boy. In the sociogram only such castes are included that have some ritual duty to perform and get return in cash or kind. The important feature of this system is that the return is usually given in kind except Phadiya (13 naya paisa in each phadiya), which is to be given as a convention at the different stages when the samskar is in progress. It must be clear from the given sociogram how the samskar of an individual belonging to the Rajpoot caste depends on the other castes and their ritualistic duties. The pattern of inter-caste ritual-functional relations in this case, reflects a mutual reciprocity and interrelatedness of each caste performing its role and getting the reward depending upon the nature of work performed by the caste concerned. All these castes are obliged to perform their ritualistic duties. The most attractive aspect of the pattern is that no one asks them what to do. The kamin caste (patron caste) member knows what function is

SOCIOGRAM NO. 2.
THE PATTERN OF
INTER-CASTE RELATIONS AT A RAJPOOT'S MARRIAGE.

being performed and he attends and supplies the necessary items. The relations amongst the castes are more of ritualistic-functional nature, the obligation is observed not because of some material benefit, but as caste obligation. Therefore, even in the case where the host caste family who performs the ritual is poor, and not in a position to pay a good reward, still all the other castes enthusiastically perform their ritualistic obligations, without any expectation of a rich return. Thus, even today, some thirteen castes help in the performance of the marriage ritual of a Rajpoot boy.

The Pattern of Inter-caste Ritual-functional Relations
at the Birth of a Leather Worker's Child:

The leather worker's group is an untouchable caste, whose traditional occupation is to skin the dead cattle. The raw leather is used to mend the shoes for the villagers. The savarna artisan castes would never attend the samakars of leather workers as it is an untouchable caste, nor do they deliver the items at the house of the leather worker. But unlike the savarna castes, the leather workers themselves approach the artisan castes to collect items and to give them the returns according to the custom of the village. The sociogram number three indicates the pattern of inter-caste relations at the time of the birth of a leather worker's child. There are some three castes who serve the Leather workers, namely, Drummer, Sargara (Sargari, Sargara), and guru. The Drummer gives a musical performance and gets one

SOCIOGRAM NO. 3

THE PATTERN OF INTERCASTE RELATIONS AT THE BIRTH OF A LEATHER WORKER'S CHILD.

kilo of barley. The guru acts as a Brahmin for the untouchable castes. He notes the time of the birth and prepares a horoscope, he gets a return of ten rupees (\$1.65 approx.) and two kilos barley, seedha food and gur.

The Sargara (man) carries the news to the other villages and the haircutting of the child, in return, he is given two kilos barley. The sargari (woman) of the sargara caste, helps in delivery, massages ubtan (a kind of paste) on the body of mother and child, washes the clothes and plasters the floor, for all this work she is given five kilos barley and clothes, as shown in the sociogram.

It must be clear from the above description that caste system is still effective with regard to the performance of rituals in the family. It exists at two levels, the savarna and the avarna caste hierarchy.

The Pattern of Inter-caste Relations at the Time of Festivals in the Village:

It will take another piece of research work to discuss in detail the festivals performed in the village among the different castes. Abundant literature is available on Hindu festivals and ceremonies. In these studies the authors have cast a wide net, listing and describing the festivals observed in different culture areas of India.¹⁶

¹⁶See A. C. Mukerji, : Hindu Fastes and Feasts, Allahabad Indian Press, (1918). Sinclair Stevenson, : Rites of the Twice Born, (London, 1920). Rai Bahadur Gupta, : Hindu Holidays and Ceremonies. (Calcutta, Thakar Spink, 1919).

SOCIOGRAM NO-4

THE PATTERN OF INTERCASTE RELATIONS
AT DIWALI FESTIVAL

Briggs¹⁷ and Fuchs¹⁸ have discussed the festivals observed by a particular caste. McKim Marriott¹⁹ dealt with the role of Hindu festivals in Indian rural life by focusing on a specific community in the village of Kishan Garhi in Aligarh district, Uttar Pradesh. He discovered a useful dialectical process of universalization and parochialization between the great traditions and little traditions. Dube,²⁰ Majumdar,²¹ Lewis,²² Mathur,²³ have discussed the festival cycle in their works.

However, the concern here is different from these works, in the sense, that it has its focus of attention on the organization of these festivals with the help of different castes. What is the pattern of inter-caste relations at the time of various festivals? Do the different castes still perform their traditional ritualistic obligations at the observance of these festivals? Thus, the concern is theoretical and not only descriptive as it was in the works cited above.

The festivals celebrated by all the castes in the village and popular throughout the length and breadth of

¹⁷George Briggs: The Chamars, Oxford University Press, (London, 1955).

¹⁸Stephen Fuchs: The Children of Hari, (New York, 1951).

¹⁹McKim Marriott: op. cit.

²⁰S. C. Dube: op. cit.

²¹D. N. Majumdar: op. cit.

²²Oscar Lewis: op. cit.

²³K. S. Mathur: op. cit.

the country among the Hindus are Diwali, Rakhi, Deshurrah and Holi. We will confine ourselves here to the discussion on the pattern of inter-caste relations at the time of Diwali festival, taking seervi choudhri caste as the centre of the pattern. Prior to the discussion of the inter-caste relations on the Diwali festival, an introduction to the Diwali festival and Seervi Choudhri caste is needed.

Diwali is a festival of lights. Like Desshurrah and Holi, it is made up partly of household rites and partly of a village celebration. The mutual inter-dependance at this festival is at the level of the family rites, as well as at the level of village celebrations. It falls on Amavas, the last day of the first half of Kartik month (October - November), which is said to have the darkest night of the year, a night which is greatly illuminated by the coyas (earthen lamps). The coyas are lined on the house tops, others are placed on carts, implements and others articles used for the household purposes. Diwali marks the New Year of Vikram Era for the villagers. The Village Mahajans (business men) complete their account books. The worship of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, constitutes a very important part of the festival. The head of the family collects silver ornaments and the silver coins (most of the families have preserved the silver coin of one rupee of British days for worship), and puts them together in a Thali (a big metal dish), before the Goddess Lakshmi,

praying "O' Lakshmi Devi, come to me once again during the coming year." The origin of the festival is traced back from the Epic Age of God Rama, when he returned to Ayodhya after killing the Ravan of Ceylon (the demon) who had kidnapped his wife Sita. He was given a warm welcome to the capital, the people felicitated his return. Since then in the memory of Rama every year the celebrations are made, which are symbolic representation of the victory of the good over evil.

Seervi Choudhris, the peasants, celebrate this festival with great joy. The caste claims itself to be Kshattriya, but Rajpoots do not admit any other caste to Kshattriya Varna. We have classified them as Pseudo-Kshattriya in chart number one. In the beginning the Choudries were just landless labourers. After independence, as a result of Zamindari Abolition Act, the land they were cultivating became their own. As shown in sociogram number four, the Seervi Choudhri needs the help of twelve castes to celebrate Diwali festival. The services rendered by the potter, carpenter and oil presser are significant. The potter supplies coyas to illuminate the house tops. In return he gets three kilos barley from each family. The carpenter is a multi-purpose artisan. Besides carpentry work, he constructs the new houses, repairs old houses and white-washes them before Diwali, as the belief is that Goddess Lakshmi will not enter any untidy and poorly lit home. The carpenter gets four to five

kilos of barley in return. The oil presser supplies oil for illuminating earthen lamps, and gets a return of two kilos barley. The rest of the castes serve Seervi Choudhri, as indicated in the sociogram number four. Though Sad and Goswami have no special services to render to the family, yet each one of them gets one kilo flour from a Ghoudhri family.

What has been shown about the ritualistic-functional relations of Seervi Choudhri with other castes can also be illustrated by taking any other caste as the centre and tracing out its relations with the rest of the castes of the village. For example, Rajpoot caste celebrates Deshurrah, a famous festival, with the help of Potter, Drummer, Rebbari, Brahmin, Tailor, Goswami, Gardener, Sargara, Barber, Butcher, Leather worker and Sad. Each caste contributes in some or other way to make the festival more lively.

Looking from the perspective discussed above, the village very clearly appears to be a distinct vertical unity of twenty-four castes. Such a vertical unity can be well discerned today at the occasions of rites de passage observed in the family from time to time, and also at the various festivals celebrated in the village. Hence caste society still remains an organic functional unity in Durkheim's sense and that the forces of modernization so far have not been of crucial but of tangential significance to the caste society. It has been shown above that the schematic and systematic hierarchical structure of caste is intact. Secondly, the

caste purity-pollution concept is observed in the inter-caste commensal relations. Thirdly, the village remains a vertical unity of different castes, clearly discernible at the rites de passage and festivals performed in the village.

Hence, our sub-hypothesis; the ritual structure of the village is still determined by the principles of caste and that the purity-pollution concept is the most important factor which regulates the commensal and ritual relations among the villagers; stands.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

This chapter intends to test the sub-hypothesis 2: While the forces of modernization have created occupational mobility, the Jajmani system which is an axis of the economic structure of the village is still intact. To further specify this point, although the villagers have taken up new occupations inside and outside the village, they pursue their traditional caste occupations obligations imposed on them by the Jajmani system. The traditional caste-occupations and the non-traditional (new) occupations coexist.

There are three questions concerned with this hypothesis. First, what is the relationship between caste and economic structure? Second, what are the traditional and non-traditional caste occupations? Third, are the different caste-occupational groups still rendering their services imposed on them by the Jajmani system? In the light of these questions we will attempt to ascertain the extent to which our hypothesis is supported by the empirical data.

The economic aspect of the caste system is such a potent force that it is hard to find a single book in

this field which has omitted a chapter on caste and economic structure. Bailey has devoted a whole book entitled, "The Caste and the Economic Frontier."¹ Obviously, the caste system has interwoven the different aspects of life, one of them is the economic, which has predominated to the extent that in many cases the caste name reveals the specific nature of occupation pursued by a person e.g., the potter, tailor, carpenter, oil presser, etc. This is, however, not true in the case of every caste. For example, the Brahmin, Leather worker, Rajpoot, Rebbari, etc., where the name does not suggest any particular occupation. But even here the castes have association with traditional occupations e.g., the Brahmin performs rituals in the families, Meghwals are leather workers, Bhangis are scavengers, Rebbaries are cattle breeders and so on. Many Social Anthropologists like Majumdar,² Srinivas,³ Dube,⁴ Mayer⁵ and Lewis⁶ are led to identify a close association between caste and occupation.

Even in the early period of the present century, when the studies in caste began, the relationship was recognized. Risley, Hutton and Blunt have tried to understand caste as an economic structure. Amongst the present

¹F. G. Bailey: op. cit.

²D. N. Majumdar: op. cit.

³M. N. Srinivas; op. cit.

⁴S. C. Dube: op. cit.

⁵A. C. Mayer; op. cit.

⁶Oscar Lewis: op. cit.

writers, Kumar Goshal has emphasized the economic basis for the caste system in the following words:

"Hindu reformers failed to make any headway against the caste system because it was rooted in the economy of India, and only a change in that economy could bring about a change in the societal structure. The economic system was stabilized at a low level, based upon more or less self-sufficient village communities which combined agriculture and hand crafts. Production was on a small scale and for consumption rather than exchange. Everything moved in narrow, well worn grooves fixed by custom. It was a pre-capitalist economic system whose static quality could have been altered only by an expanding dynamic market for exchange of commodities. As long as this was lacking the social relationships of the people could not possibly be altered."⁷

Likewise O. C. Cox was also aware of the economic basis of caste structure. While stating: "The caste structure is fundamentally a labour structure, a system of inter-related services originating in specialized groups and traditionalized in a religious matrix."⁸ But the present writer does not subscribe to such an over-emphasis on economic system, and it will be a gross over-simplification of the same economic functions of the caste if it is considered as only an economic system. Mathur⁹ in his book, Caste and Ritual in a Malwa Village has emphasized the ritual and social character of caste. Gough has given a more balanced statement, "Some occupations (the most polluting) appear to have been segregated from others directly as a result of the high cast philosophy, as a means of ensuring that the higher castes should be exempt

⁷Kumar Goshal: The People of India, (New York, Sharidan House, Inc., 1944), p. 59.

⁸O. C. Cox: Caste, Class and Race, (New York, 1948), p. 62.

⁹K. S. Mathur, op. cit.

from acts which would endanger their salvation. Segregation of the tasks of barbers, launderers of polluted clothing, guards of cremation grounds and removers of dead cattle, for example, scarcely have economic justification in a society with as simple a technology as that of traditional India."¹⁰ Dube is still more close to what we are trying to argue, " . . . consideration of purity and pollution, which are primarily of a ritual nature, govern both the divisive and the integrative tendencies operating in the system and are thus of critical importance for understanding the whole system."¹¹ There is still a more extreme group of social anthropologists who think that change in occupation results into change in ritual status. Blunt¹² and Hutton¹³ have tried to show that change of occupation by a section brings about a change in the social and ritual status of the seceding section. Mathur has aptly further clarified the situation by stating, "What is important however, is that the seceding group does not, and is not allowed to join the caste whose occupation it takes up but forms a new endogamous group, developing its own traditions and ways of social action In general fission and not fusion has been the

¹⁰K. Gough: Op. cit. p. 52.

¹¹S. C. Dube; in Foreword to "Caste and Ritual in a Malwa Village"; K. S. Mathur, (Delhi, 1964), p. vi.

¹²E. A. H. Blunt: The Caste System of Northern India, (1931) pp. 229-52.

¹³T. H. Hutton, Caste in India, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 51.

characteristic of the process of caste formation."¹⁴

On the basis of the data collected from a village in Marwar, we will try to show two important points in this connection, first, that caste is not merely an economic system as conceived by Goshal, Cox and others, for if it is so, why do the villagers, despite the change in their occupation, continue to follow the caste obligations imposed on them by the principles of caste and Jajmani system. Second, that the change in occupation has not resulted in any change in the ritual status of caste nor a new endogamous group has developed. To me it seems better to understand caste system through Weberian rather than Marxian theory. The orientation of this chapter in particular and of the thesis in general does not permit us to go into details in this matter. However, the brilliant works of Mathur¹⁵ and Dube¹⁶ are suggested for further references. In short, the present association of caste and economic structure is to be explained through the ritual-economic complex and not merely through the economic complex.

With the above perspective in mind, we open our discussion on the occupational structure and the occupational mobility in the village Falna. The major occupation followed by the village adults belonging to different castes, is agriculture. When asked about the major occupation, the village Thakur and others said, "there is hardly a family

¹⁴K.S. Mathur: op. cit., pp. 146-47.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶S.C. Dube: op. cit.

in the village without land", which means agriculture is followed as an exclusive or primary or subsidiary occupation by each villager. But it should be noted that all do not have Arhats (wells) or irrigated land. Those who possess the 'Arhats' or the irrigated land are hardly four dozen. The other land is classified in the village as Khet (unirrigated land), the majority owns this type of land. In the former case (irrigated land) cultivation is pursued as either a primary or secondary occupation. For example, a Potter owns an Arhat and follows the cultivation as a primary occupation, but he at the same time pursues traditional caste-occupation, that is, Pottery and supplies regularly the earthen pots to the villagers. The same can be said for the other artisan castes as oil presser, carpenter, blacksmith, etc. Furthermore, there are certain families of artisan or other castes who have totally abandoned the traditional caste-occupations. For example, a leather worker's family follows cultivation as the sole occupation. It does no leather work or the traditional caste-occupation. In this case there is a total shift from the traditional caste occupation. But this shift in no way has elevated the ritual status, nor is there any attempt to develop an endogamous group of 'leather worker-cultivators.' Thus today there exists in the village four categories of adults viz. first those exclusively following traditional caste-occupations, second, following traditional caste-occupations primarily, and thirdly,

following traditional caste-occupation subsidiarily and fourth, not following the traditional caste-occupation. Let us explain these categories in more detail:

1. Exclusively Following Traditional Caste-Occupation:

By the term 'exclusive' is meant that no other occupation is pursued as a subsidiary or to supplement the income. The traditional caste-occupation, remains the only source of livelihood of an adult, e.g., a Brahmin who is exclusively devoted to priest craft.

2. Primary Occupation:

As cited above, it is not unusual that an artisan supplements his income by doing other kinds of occupations. For example, in the village under study, a carpenter does not earn sufficient income from his traditional caste-occupation, so he resorts to cultivation as his supplementary occupation. Thus in such cases his traditional caste-occupation, carpentry, becomes a primary occupation from the 'exclusive.' It is implied that a major part of his income is earned from the traditional caste-occupation.

3. Subsidiary Occupation:

It may be that an adult's income is insufficient from the traditional caste-occupations whether it is followed as 'exclusive' or 'primary', therefore

he switches over to some other occupation, while continuing the traditional caste-occupation as a ritual obligation of the caste. For example, a Brahmin has taken up cultivation as his primary occupation, but at the same time he is not set free from the caste obligations, therefore he continues to attend the castes of section 'A' (Savarna) for the performance of rituals. It is clear that the adherence to traditional caste-occupation is more a matter of obligation than supplementing the income.

4. Not Following the Traditional Occupation:

This is the last category which implies the maximum possible deviation from the traditional caste-occupation. Here an adult completely abandons the traditional caste-occupation. It is plain that in this case, the traditional occupation is not followed even as a subsidiary occupation.

Table VIII shows the deviation of the adults from the traditional caste-occupations in the village.

TABLE VIII

DEVIATION OF THE MALE ADULTS FROM THE TRADITIONAL CASTE-OCCUPATION

Caste Name	Traditional Occupations	Total No. of Male Adults	Categories indicating the degree of deviation from the traditional caste-occupation	Primarily following	Subsidiarily following	Not following at all
Brahmin	Priestcraft, Astrology	2	-	1	1	-
Purohit	Religious rituals, Advisor to Administrators and cultivation	21	16	-	-	5
Rajpoot	Army service, cultivation	12	12	-	-	-
Goldsmith	Gold & Silver-work	2	2	-	-	-
Carpenter	Carpentry & Mason work	8	2	5	-	1
Gardener	Gardening & Cultivation	21	15	4	-	2
Potter	Pottery	12	-	10	-	2
Ravna	Domestic servants, cultivation	62	35	20	3	4
Rajpoot Oil Presser	Oil Pressing	3	-	3	-	-
Seervi	Cultivation	55	55	-	-	-
Choudhri	Tailoring	3	-	3	-	-
Blacksmith	Smithy	9	1	5	1	2
Rebbari	Cattle breeding	33	8	3	3	19
Barber	Hair cutting & shaving	2	2	-	-	-
Goswami	Temple Priest	5	1	-	-	4
Sad	Temple Priest	2	-	-	1	1
Liquor Seller	Liquor brewing & selling	2	2	-	-	-

Continued on following page

TABLE VIII - Continued

DEVIATION OF THE MALE ADULTS FROM THE TRADITIONAL CASTE-OCCUPATION

Caste Name	Traditional Occupations	Total No. of Male Adults	Categories indicating the degree of deviation from the traditional caste-occupation			
			Exclusively following	Primarily following	Subsidiarily following	Not following at all
Butcher	Supply Meat	8	2	-	-	6
Leather Worker	Leatherwork, skinning and tenancy	55	16	10	14	15
Bargara	Musician	10	-	-	2	8
Drummer	Drum beating	2	2	-	-	-
Bard	Genealogist	2	-	-	1	1
Meena	Village Chaukidar	5	-	-	2	3
Bangle Maker	Bangle Making	3	-	1	-	2
TOTAL		339	171	65	28	75

At the time of processing and analyzing the data on occupational mobility, an answer to one significant question was sought:

Does the ritualistic nature of traditional caste-occupation affect the degree of deviation from the traditional caste-occupation?

Table VIII answers this question in the positive.

In the table we find that the castes whose traditional occupation was not commensurate with the needs of the villagers, resorted to other occupation to supplement their income. The castes, Brahmin, Goswami, Sad, Butcher, Leather worker, Meena, Sargara and Bangle maker present a major deviation from the traditional caste-occupation. For example, a Brahmin in this age cannot depend exclusively upon others to feed him or give him substantially for the performance of religious rites. He has therefore taken up cultivation as a primary occupation. Meena, Goswami and Sad provide other examples to such a kind of correlation. The traditional occupation of Meena is to be a Chaukidar of the village, but this is not needed. The Gram Panchayat has taken the responsibility of the village guarding which is a great blow to Meena's income. Thus he completely switches over to cultivation and shows the maximum deviation from the traditional caste-occupation. Goswami and Sad, the temple priests, do not get sufficient from the villagers, their general complaint is that the villagers are becoming more and more secularized and do not support them substantially, and therefore, naturally they have taken up other

occupations, with the result that temple care and worship remain merely a subsidiary occupation. So both are next to Meena. Likewise the deviation of Sargara and Butcher can also be explained on similar lines. In the order of deviation next comes the number of artisan castes, like Carpenter, Potter, Blacksmith, Tailor and Oil presser. These are the castes which have been pursuing cultivation as their subsidiary occupation. Ravna Rajpoot, Gardener, Purohit, Rebbari have shown lesser deviation as these castes follow cultivation as their traditional caste-occupation and still adhere to it. Seervi, Choudhri, Rajpoot, Goldsmith, Barber, Liquor seller and Drummer, present the least or no deviation from the traditional caste-occupation. Seervi, Choudhri and Rajpoots have plenty of land to cultivate. The Barber hardly gets time to pursue any other occupation even I had to take an appointment for an interview three times as he used to postpone owing to a busy day. Liquor seller finds his business running smoothly so no need to change the occupation. One may be surprised why the Drummer has remained an exception to our general scheme, and has shown no deviation. The simple reason is that the two Drummers get substantial aid from the Thakur, so they have become idle and do not pursue any other occupation. They also attend to the castes in the neighbouring villages.

While dealing with this deviation at the schematic systematic hierarchical caste structure level as presented

in chart number 1, in the second chapter, we ascertain that A₂b₄ subsection shows the greatest deviation in section A₂ and the Savarna. Next to it is section A₁ which is followed by sub-sections A₂b₃ and A₂b₂, the minimum degree of deviation is shown by A₂b₁. At the level of section B - Avarna the sub-section B₁b presents a deviation which is lesser than A₂b₄, nevertheless greatest in the section B. The B₂a sub-section falls next to B₁b. This is because of the presence of Meena caste which has shifted to other occupations but the Drummer caste has brought the deviation down which otherwise could be greatest in section B. While comparing Savarna A and Avarna B, we find that the Avarna manifests greater deviation than Savarna.

The above discussion on the deviation from the traditional caste-occupation suggests the following propositions:

1. The lower the ritual status of a caste, the greater the deviation from the traditional caste-occupation.
2. The lesser the economic justification of a caste's ritual-obligation, the more the deviation from the traditional caste-occupation.

TABLE IX

INTER-OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY - OUTFLOW FROM THE
'EXIT-TYPE' TO 'ENTRY-TYPE' OCCUPATIONS

<u>Sub-sections</u>		<u>Exit-type</u> <u>occupations</u>	<u>Entry-type</u> <u>Occupations</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>(100%)</u>
A ₁	Brahmin	1	22	23
	Purohit		(95.6%)	
A _{2a}	Rajpoot	-	12	12
			(100%)	
A _{2b1}	Seervi Choudhri			
	Ravna Rajpoot	29	121	150
	Rebbari		(80.6%)	
A _{2b2}	Carpenter			
	Gardener	12	22	34
	Goldsmith		(64.7%)	
	Tailor			
A _{2b3}	Barber			
	Oil Presser	21	5	26
	Potter		(19.2%)	
	Blacksmith			
A _{2b4}	Goswami			
	Sad	1	6	7
			(85.7%)	
B _{1a}	Liquor Seller			
	Butcher	4	6	10
			(60%)	
B _{1b}	Bangle Maker	1	2	3
			(66.6%)	
B _{2a}	Meena			
	Sargara	2	17	19
	Bard		(86.3%)	
	Drummer			
B _{2b}	Leather			
	Worker	26	29	55
			(52.7%)	
		97	242	339
		(28.6%)	(71.3%)	

Exit-type Occupations: Domestic priesthood and Astrology, Goldsmithy, Carpentry, Pottery, Oil Pressing, Blacksmithy, Tailoring, Cattlebreeding and Pasturing, Temple Priesthood, Butchering, Leatherwork, Bangle making, Drumming, Hair cutting, Liquor selling.

Continued

TABLE IX continued

Entry-type occupations: Cultivation, Service, Working in
Industry, Business, Farm Labouring,
General Labouring.

(For further reference see Chart No. 2, and for a complete
discussion of 'Exit-type' and 'Entry-type' occupations,
see pages 91 to 96.

So far we have discussed the deviations of villagers from traditional caste-occupations. Now we shift our attention on the present occupational structure of the village as to what new occupations have emerged and what traditional caste occupations are continuing. This will provide us with an insight into the occupational mobility in the village.

Occupational Structure of the Village:

In all, some twenty-one occupations are followed by three hundred and thirty-nine adult population of the village. These occupations are Domestic Priesthood and Astrology, Temple Priesthood, Service, Shopkeeping, Cattle-rearing and breeding, Tailoring, Goldsmithing, Blacksmithing, Carpentry, Pottery, Oil-pressing, Shaving, Bangle making, Butchering and dealing in mutton, Working in Industry, Farm Labouring, General Labouring, Liquor selling, Drumming and Music, Skinning and Leatherwork and lastly Agriculture.

Table IX presents inter-occupational mobility outflow from the 'Exit type' to 'Entry-type' occupations. Let us look at these occupations.

1. Domestic Priesthood and Astrology

Domestic Priesthood and Astrology are the traditional caste-occupations of Brahmins. There are two Brahmin adults in the village out of whom only one Brahmin follows this occupation primarily, his subsidiary occupation is shopkeeping. This Brahmin has opened a 'Pan-Bidi-Cigarette'

shop in the village. Whenever there is a call from any of the families of 'A' section (see chart number one), he closes the shop and attends to the ritual obligation. The other Brahmin adult who cultivates the land follows Astrology and Priesthood as subsidiary occupation. In the pre-Independence period there was only one Brahmin for the whole village and Domestic Priesthood and Astrology were his primary occupations. Now he and his son are sharing these occupations.

2. Temple Priesthood

Temple Priesthood is the traditional caste-occupation of Goswami and Sad, the sectarian castes who look after the temples in the village. Goswami and Sad primarily and subsidiarily follow the occupation respectively. Their ritual obligation is to worship "Thakurji" daily in the morning and evening and to collect flour from the families of 'A' section.

3. Service

Service¹⁷ is not a traditional caste-occupation. Still ten adults of the village belonging to Purohit, Ravna Rajpoot, Gardener, Blacksmith and Butcher castes are in service. Three Purohits, two Ravna Rajpoots and one Butcher are teachers while others are in other types of service. According to numerical strength, the service is sixth in rank. This however is considered as ritually

¹⁷By service, here, is meant the occupations based on monthly salary, and where the occupation is accepted by an appointment, e.g., a teacher, a clerk, a peon, etc.

pure occupations, but it has not changed the ritual status of any adult or family in the village.

4. Shopkeeping

Shopkeeping is a traditional occupation of castes in Vaisya Varna, but since these castes are not in the village, it is followed by other castes such as Purohits and Gardener. The two Purohit adults run a restaurant while the the Gardener sells grain, spices, salt, jaggery, oil, etc. This occupation is considered as pure and only high caste people should follow such a kind of business.

5. Cattle rearing and Breeding:

Many families in the village, whether of low or high caste, domesticate cattle, but no other caste except Rebbari follows cattle rearing and breeding as exclusive or primary occupation. Chiefly they domesticate goat and sheep and deal in wool. Special mention may be made of Rajpoot, Ravna Rajpoot and Seervi Choudhri who possess a major portion of the village's animal population, but their primary occupation is agriculture.

6. Artisan Occupation:

Smithy, Carpentry, Pottery, Oil Pressing and Leather work, Tanning, Bangle making, Butchering and the skilled occupations are followed by the Artisan castes in the village. Other skilled services are provided by Barber, Drummer and Sargara castes and thus the villagers do not depend much on city or other villages for these services, skills and goods. All these artisan occupations are strictly traditional caste

occupations and are still adhered to.

7. Working in Industry:

A good number of men, women and children go to metal and other small industries which have been recently established. As shown in the table IX, thirty-four male adults go to work in the industries. As regards women, some twenty Leather worker women go to work in the factory. Seervi Choudhri and Ravna Rajpoot caste Panchayats have resolved not to send their women to work in industries perhaps owing to the prevailing corruption. Nevertheless, Ravna Rajpoot women go to the station for general labour for which there is no caste ban. The other castes who send their women for general labour are Blacksmith, Sargara, Meena. Some twenty-eight boys and girls (below 21 years), mostly of lower caste also go out for industrial and non-industrial work.

8. Farm Labour:

A Farm Labourer is one who owns no land but works as a labourer on others' farms. Farm Labourers are of two kinds, - the 'Pavanti' and the Sagri. There is a difference in the mode of employment of the two. The 'Pavanti' is employed in Siyala (winter) to help in irrigation of the land whereas a Sagri is employed for the whole year and not only for winter, as is the case with 'Pavanti'. In the village there are twenty-one Pavanti and twenty-nine Sagri. All kinds of facilities including free house and food, are given to Sagri. However, this much depends on the contract between the land-

NO MOBILITY ————
 ONE WAY MOBILITY ————
 BOTH WAYS MOBILITY - - - -
 DIRECTION OF MOBILITY ————→

CHART NO. 2

THE PRESENT PATTERN OF OUTFLOW FROM THE
 'EXIT-TYPE' TO 'ENTRY-TYPE' OCCUPATIONS.

owner and the Sagri. According to the custom of the village, a Pavanti is given two Kali grain (1 Kali = $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds), whereas Sagri gets five Kali grain. The payment to Sagri in pre-Independence period used to be made in kind, but in a few cases it is made in cash. For example, Chimna Mali (Gardener) pays Rs. 500/- per year to each Sagri working on his land.

It is mostly the Leatherworker's caste adults who are engaged as farm labourers. The boys below twenty-one years of age generally go for this kind of occupation. Out of a total number of fifty Sagri and Pavanti, twenty-one are adults, while twenty-nine are boys below twenty-one years of age.

9. General labour:

Generally the castes in section B (see chart no. 1) go for General Labour. The General Labour includes working as labourer in house and road construction work, driving bullock carts, working as coolie at the station, etc.

Inter-Occupational Mobility: 'Entry-type' and 'Exit-type' occupations.

Chart number 2 presents the pattern of inter-occupational mobility in Falna Village. The chart indicates four features. First the category of occupations which cannot be undertaken by certain castes, for example, as shown in the given chart, Leather workers, Drummers and Scavengers cannot adopt the occupations like Barbering, Liquor selling,

Carpentry, Pottery, Tailoring, etc., the Artisan caste occupation. Similarly the upper caste engaged in the occupations like Carpentry, Pottery, Barbering Priesthood, etc., cannot take up the occupations of lower castes such as Leather working, Drumming, scavenging, etc. In this way, neither the upward nor the downward mobility is possible. Second, the lines '====' indicate one way mobility in the chart, that is, the Leather worker, Drummer and Scavenger or the Barber, Potter, Blacksmith, etc., can take up the occupations like Agriculture, Service, Industrial or farm or general labouring but the former occupational groups do not allow the adults of other castes to take up their occupation. In case of the occupations, Leather working, Drumming and Scavenging, the adults of castes other than these occupational groups do not strive for such occupations, as they are polluting. Third, the line '-----' in chart no. 2 indicates the two way mobility. For example, there is no restriction on an agriculturist or on a labourer to follow service as his primary or subsidiary occupation. The arrows in the chart present the direction of occupational mobility.

One very significant point to which the chart leads us, is that the caste traditional occupations are such niches in the village community where the 'Exit' is possible but the 'Entry' is not. This is something inherent in the nature of caste society. The members of caste in general can move out or make an 'Exit' from the caste but no new member who is not

born in the caste can be admitted. Thus 'Entry' is restricted but 'Exit' is permitted. Therefore on the basis of this chart two types of occupations can be suggested, the 'Entry-type occupations' and the 'Exit-type occupations.' The present village society is marked by the 'Entry-type occupations' and the 'Exit-type occupations'. These two types of occupations correspond to the two systems - the class system and the caste system which crosscut the Indian society. The 'Entry-type occupations' are part of class system whereas the 'Exit-type occupations' are part of caste system.

A Note on the 'Entry-type' and 'Exit-type' Typology

It is necessary here to show in what way the two types of occupations can be useful in the analysis of the rural social structure in India. The term 'Entry' and 'Exit' are preferred to 'caste' and 'caste free occupations' as the latter terms do not indicate the direction of mobility and secondly they do not indicate at the future shape of the social stratification in terms of occupations. The terms 'Entry' and 'Exit' not only indicate the direction of occupational mobility but at the same time they also suggest about the future shape of the social stratification in rural India in terms of occupations. The 'Exit-type occupation' structure is an inner cell of the village society which is hard to penetrate, therefore no expansion of this inner cell is possible for the simple reason that the mobility is only one way -- 'Exit' and no 'Entry'. Under these circumstances the

'Exit-type' inner cell of the village society can only squeeze and in times to come it is bound to decline, after waging a lost battle. The 'Entry-type' cell which is an outer cell of the village society is fairly flexible. It is flexible not only in the sense that it allows 'Entry' but also in the sense that it allows 'Exit', people can 'move in' and 'move out' without any restriction. This flexible nature of the outer cell of the 'Entry-type' occupation of the village society allows the cell to further expand. A question may be aptly asked here, why should this cell expand and not squeeze? This is to be determined in terms of the functional significance of the 'Entry-type occupation' and 'Exit-type occupation' in the present day Village society. The functional significance can be empirically investigated. For example, agriculture, industrial and other 'Entry-type occupations' have attracted a good part of the 'Exit-type occupation' population. They are performing significant functions as both are fundamental for the maintenance of the economy not only of the village society but of the Indian society as a whole.

Jajmani System

William H. Wiser, in a book entitled, The Hindu Jajmani System, was the first to describe in detail how such goods and services are exchanged in an Indian village. It is greatly to Wiser's credit that he was able to characterize Jajmani relations as a system. Some knowledge of this

system is crucial for an understanding of the economic aspects of caste in rural India.

The term derives from the Sanskrit Yajmana, the present participle of Yaj - to sacrifice. The term ultimately came to be used for any one standing in the relationship of employers. Webster's Dictionary defines 'Jajman' as, "a person by whom a Brahmin is hired to perform religious services, hence a patron, client."¹⁸

Oscar Lewis maintains, "Under this system each caste group within a village is expected to give certain standardized services to the families of other castes. A Khati (carpenter) repairs tools, for example, a Nai (barber) cuts hair; but they do not necessarily perform these services for everyone. Each man works for a particular family or group of families with which he has hereditary ties. His father worked for the same families before him and his son will continue to work for them, the occupation or service being determined by caste. The family or family-head served by an individual is known as the 'Jajman's Kamin' or 'Kam Karnewala' (literally, worker)."¹⁹

¹⁸Webster's Dictionary, 1950.

¹⁹Oscar Lewis, op. cit. p. 56.

When Wiser wrote his book he did not know how general or widespread this system might be, although he referred to some passages in the works of other writers which suggested that it had a wide range of diffusion. This kind of system is prevalent in many regions such as the Uttar Pradesh,²⁰ parts of Malabar and Cochin,²¹ Mysore District,²² Tanjore,²³ Hyderabad,²⁴ Gujrat,²⁵ Punjab²⁶ and Central India,²⁷ and the present writer has found the system quite pervasive in the districts of Rajastham. With regard to the internal arrangement of the system, regional variations do exist.²⁸

The Jajmani system may be classified as the agricultural Jajmani system and the ritual Jajmani system. The nature of the two systems differs greatly. In the former system, the payments in kind are made on an annual basis. Even the services are rendered to the people belonging to a lower caste family, for example, carpenter to Meena, potter to leatherworker by virtue of the fact that a lower caste family happened to be a farmer and

²⁰Opler and Singh: op. cit.

²¹E. J. Miller: op. cit.

²²M. N. Srinivas, et. al. : India's Villages, (Calcutta, 1955).

²³K. Gough, op. cit.

²⁴S. C. Dube: op. cit.

²⁵G. Steed: 1 op. cit.

²⁶Darling: op. cit.

²⁷A. C. Mayer: op. cit.

²⁸It is called by the different names; Jajmani in Barabalute in Maharashtra, Mirasi in Madras and Adade in Mysore.

therefore is a Jajman. But in a case of a ritual Jajmani system, certain castes refuse to render services to the lower castes, for example, Brahmin, Barber, Potter who cater to the needs of everyone except Harijans.²⁹

In a ritual Jajmani system, the services are usually rendered at the time of certain Samskars or festivals in the family for which they are promptly paid a customary sum of money and some gifts in kind.³⁰ Such a distinction is not yet made by the Sociologists and Social Anthropologists. So far the term Jajmani system has only been used with reference to agricultural or economic system i.e., a peasant's relationships with the other artisan and non-artisan castes. Originally, the term implies ritualistic relations, especially of a Brahmin with the Savarna castes where he performs Samskars.³¹ Therefore the term is important to agricultural system which is actually a distortion from its original context. There is no reason why it should not be brought back to imply also the pattern of intercaste relations at the time of different Samskars (rituals) and festivals, as we have discussed in chapter number three. We have called this a ritual Jajmani system as it can generally be observed as the time of rituals and

²⁹M. N. Srinivas: 'Social Structure' in The Gazetteer of India, (Delhi, 1965), Vol. I; pp. 510-11.

³⁰Refer to Chapter 3 for ritual Jajmani system.

³¹See for example Webster's definition of Jajman, quoted above.

festivals.

According to Srinivas, "the relationship between a Jajman and his Kamin is unequal, since the latter is regarded as inferior."³² But inferior in what sense? How can a Carpenter who supplies Toran (festoon) in a Leather worker's marriage be called inferior to a Leather worker? Or how can a Brahmin be called inferior when he attends to the rituals of the family of a Carpenter? Or how can a Potter be called inferior to a Carpenter when he supplies earthen pots at the latter's house? Mayer writes, "Carpenters serve all farmers, including Harijans,"³³ so a Harijan (untouchable) becomes superior to a Carpenter (Savarna - twice born) according to Srinivas, which is neither theoretically nor empirically a tenable statement. Superiority or inferiority of a caste is to be conceived in terms of the ritual status of a caste and not in terms of Jajman-Kamin relationship. Thus a Brahmin may serve a carpenter and yet remain ritually superior to him. It is meaningless to try to think in terms of economic inferiority or superiority for it would be a distortion of the very concept of caste. Therefore, the Jajmani system is merely a mutual patron-client relationship. The Kamin's right to serve is hereditary, transferable, saleable and partible.

³²M. N. Srinivas, "Social Structure", in The Gazetteer of India, (1965), Vol. I, p. 511.

³³A. C. Mayer, op. cit., p. 64.

SOCIOGRAM NO. 5
THE PATTERN OF THE AGRICULTURAL
TAJMANI SYSTEM

'Arhat' as the Basis of the Agricultural Jajmani System:

The Agricultural Jajmani System is much related to the Arhat. It is difficult to understand the agricultural Jajmani system unless the meaning of Arhat is clear. The Arhat is a wooden gear attached to a well in order to draw water. This is popularly known as the Persian wheel in which a pair of bullocks moves a wheel to which is attached a string of earthen or tin bowls. When the Persian wheel operates, the string of bowls moves in a circular way. The well and Arhat are two different things for it is the well to which the Arhat is attached. It is a well which is meant for irrigation. A well without Arhat is called Kua which may be used for drinking water purposes. In the village in common parlance, the term Arhat implies a well as well as a wooden gear. The proper maintenance of the Arhat needs the services of a Carpenter, who looks after the woodwork in the Persian wheel or provides a new one; the services of a Blacksmith to supply an iron axle and other tools meant to deepen the well or used to dig the earth, such as a spade or Kudali; the services of a Potter to replace the broken Ghareliyas (earthen bowls).

The sociogram number five shows the pattern of the agricultural Jajmani system. The four castes, - Carpenter, Potter, Blacksmith and Leather worker are closely associated with the peasant. Owing to the nature of their occupation, these four castes have made themselves indispensable in the agricultural economy of the village. A Carpenter repairs

the Arhat if needed, supplies or repairs agricultural tools. Through this service he earns one maund of grain per year per Bhawli,³⁴ from the Arhat land. Blacksmith also repairs or provides the agricultural tools and gets the same return. Potter supplies earthen vessels known as Ghareliya (small earthen bowls fixed in Arhat to draw water from well). His return is also fixed as one maund per year per Bhawli. A Leather worker for the whole year renders ordinary services besides supplying leather strings, Gofan shoes, removing dead cattle, etc. He collects the highest amount of grain amongst all the Kamins, - four mounds per year per Bhawli. It should be mentioned here that the grain given as return is always half wheat and half barley.

The Table X presents an analysis of the fabric of the Agricultural Jajmani System in the village. The general characteristic of the table is that units have been taken as the basis as they actually exist and each unit consists of some families, ranging in number from a minimum of one family to a maximum of seven families. The return is equally divided amongst the families of a unit. The pattern of distribution of work among the Kamin units is of two kinds. First, the total number of Bhawlies may be divided among the units as is done by the Leather workers or second, the total number of Arhats is almost equally showed by the units. The latter method is followed by Blacksmith, Potter and Carpenter. In each Arhat there may be four to five Bhawlies.

³⁴The land irrigated by an Arhat is divided into a number of Bhawlies. Bhawli is a piece of Arhat land.

TABLE X

THE FABRIC OF AGRICULTURAL JAJMANI SYSTEM IN THE PAINA VILLAGE

(Distribution of the Jajman (Client) Caste Bhawlies/Arhats Among the Kamin (Client) Jajman Castes)												Total Number of Bhawlies/Arhats		
Kamin (Patron) Castes	Serial No. of Units	No. of Families in Each Unit	Ravna Rajpoot	Purohit	Choudhri	Rajpoot	Gardener	Goldsmith	Meena	Potter	Carpenter	Rebbari	Leather Worker	
Leather Worker	1	4		1	1	-	5			-	1	-		8
	2	3		3	4	-	3			-		1		8
	3	3		2	4	-	1			-				9
	4	4			1	-	-			-				4
	5	3			6	-	2			-				8
	6	2			8	-	-			-	4			9
	7	7	4		-	-				-		1		8
	8	1	4		-	2				-		1		7
	9	2	1		3	-				-				7
	10	1	1		4				1	-				3
	11	1	1		2					-				6
	12	4			-	2				-		4		2
	13	3		2	4					-				8
	14	3			3					1	-			1
	15	2				3				1	-			15
	16	1				-	8			1	-			1
Total No. of Bhawlies	49	10	8	42	16	9	-	3	7	5	7	-	107	

Continued

TABLE X Continued

THE FABRIC OF AGRICULTURAL JAJMANI SYSTEM IN THE PALNA VILLAGE

Kamin (Patron) Castes	Serial No. of Units	No. of Families in Each Unit	(Distribution of the Jajman (Client) Caste Bhawlies/Arhats Among the Kamin (Client) Castes)										Jajman Castes	Total Number of Bhawlies/Arhats	
Black- smith	1	3	Ravna	6	4	3	10	2	-	-	-	1	-	2	28
	2	4	Rajpoot	4	2	7	3	2	-	1	2	-	1	2	24
	3	1	Purohit	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Total No. of Arhats	8	Choudhri	10	6	10	13	4	1	1	2	1	1	4	53
Potter	1	3	Rajpoot	-	4	1	4	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	13
	2	2	Gardener	6	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	12
	3	2	Goldsmith	2	1	2	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	11
	4	2	Meena	1	1	4	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	14
Total No. of Arhats	9	Potter	10	6	10	12	4	1	1	-	1	1	4	50	
Carpenter	1	3	Carpenter	3	5	5	8	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	25
	2	3	Rebbari	7	1	5	5	2	1	1	1	-	-	3	27
Total No. of Arhats	6	10	Leather- Worker	6	10	13	4	1	1	2	-	-	4	52	

Sociogram number six presents the obligations of a peasant in the village. A peasant's obligations are twofold as a peasant and as a member of the village. He had to give grain to many others besides those who directly help him in cultivation. For example, Sad, village Chaukidar, Meena, Sargara, Drummer and Sweeper, who are though not directly related to him as a peasant, but certainly as a member of the village. Besides this, he has a number of religious obligations too. He regularly offers money or grain to certain temples, viz., Nimboranathji, Mataji, Ka Than, Mamaji Ka Than, etc. He has to offer grain to Pigion-Chabutra. This offer is fixed for every peasant per Arhat, though no one questions if the offering is not made, yet without any exception this religious obligation is fulfilled. This is a glaring example of a high degree of institutionalization and also shows how deeprooted the customs are in the social soil of the village.

Relations Between Jajman and Kamin:

In the pre-Independence era as it is reported by the villagers, the Jajman-Kamin relations were excellent, especially in the agricultural Jajmani system since the Jajman used to yield plenty from the land, he regularly made sufficient return to the Kamin. One of the Kamins told me, "Sir, we used to take as much as we could carry and store for the whole year", The number of families of Jajmans as well as Kamins was much limited and the economic resources of the village were sufficient to maintain that population.

SOCIOGRAM NO. 6

THE PATTERN OF TOTAL JAJMANI OBLIGATIONS
OF A PEASANT

Each family had plenty of land to cultivate. But today due to an increase in the populations of the village there is a great pressure on land. There are more cultivators on the same land which is therefore partitioned into some holdings; moreover the nature has also been cruel for the last two years. Therefore, the scarcity of grain has strained the relation between Jajman and Kamin. In pre-Independence era, the peasant never measured grain, but today he strictly measures and gives the return. As a result, the Jajman's complain that the Kamins have gone greedy, but the latter blame the former for becoming miserly. In some cases at present, the Jajmans do not regularly pay the return. I know of a Leather worker Kamin who was not paid anything by the Jajman for the last four years. During my stay in the village it so happened that one of the bullocks of this Jajman died in the courtyard. In the normal course, the Leather worker Kamin should have removed the carcass from the courtyard. But the Kamin refused to remove the dead cattle for the simple reason that his due return had not been paid. For two days the dead body rotted in the courtyard and was removed only when the Jajman paid out some portion of the due grain and promised to give the rest at the time of harvest. But such incidents are not very common in the present Jajmani system. Each Kamin family is a member of its caste Panchayat, and at the time of such deviation from the normative system, caste Panchayat acts as the regulator of the Jajmani system, which would other-

wise be uncontrolled.

Factors which Regulate the Jajman -Kamin Relations:

The following factors are effective even today in regulating the Jajman-Kamin relations:

1. The caste Panchayats of the Jajman and Kamin.
2. The prestige of Jajman in the village.
3. Some services of Kamins are indispensable, therefore the Jajmans have to depend on Kamins.
4. The religious sanction that a Jajman is obliged to pay regularly to a Kamin for the services he has rendered. The internalizations of the concepts of heaven and hell, and of the theory of rebirth and Karma (deeds), and of salvation as the ultimate end of life, the very thought that this world is a Maya (a delusion and a snare), are quite effective forces even today. In short, the Jajmani system in spite of a phenomenon, concerned with the material needs of the villagers, is much deeply rooted in the ritualistic and religious matrix.

The above discussion on Jajman system leads us to the conclusion that the Jajmani system is still functioning in Falna village of Marwar. It does not, however, mean that the forces of modernization are completely impotent and have not been at all effective. They are certainly working. For example, the introduction of electricity in the village and the very fact that a couple of peasants have taken power connections in the well to draw water for irrigation has relieved the Carpenter and Potter completely

while the Blacksmith and the Leather worker partly. It is a hard blow on the Jajmani system as purely an economic organization. But it will take at least another fifty years for other peasants to get power connections for the well water pump, for their financial conditions do not permit to get it at present. Still the electrification of the village is not going to replace the ritual Jajmani system and even the agricultural Jajmani system would be only partly affected by the electric power. Therefore, there is possibility of the persistence of the Jajmani system in the near future.

To Sum Up:

We have seen above that there is a coexistence of the traditional caste-occupations and non-traditional occupations, and that the caste occupational groups are still rendering services imposed on them by the Jajmani system. The nature of occupational mobility suggests two propositions: First, the lower the ritual status of a caste the greater the deviation from traditional caste occupations; Second, the lesser the economic justification of a caste's ritual obligation the greater the deviation from the traditional caste occupations. A typology for the occupations in the rural society is suggested in terms of occupational mobility and the occupational pattern of a rural society viz., the 'entry-type occupations' and 'exit-type occupations'. It is further suggested that such a typology will be useful for a systematic and analytical study of a rural society.

As regards the Jajmani system it is shown that the system is an economic organization rooted firmly into the ritualistic matrix of caste. Lastly, though the forces of modernization have deteriorated the quality of relations between Jajman and Kamin but they have not yet been fatal to the system as a whole.

Thus our sub-hypothesis 2: While the forces of modernization have created occupational mobility, the Jajmani system which is an axis of the economic structure of the village is still intact, is verified by the empirical data. The traditional caste-occupations and the non-traditional (new) occupations coexist.

CHAPTER V

CASTE AND THE AUTHORITY STRUCTURE

In the foregoing chapters we have spent sufficient time discussing the relationship of caste with the ritual and economic structures. We have also seen how effective caste is in these two areas of the village community.

Our task in this chapter is to examine the sub-hypothesis 3: Caste is the one crucial factor in determining the present rational-legal authority and the group dynamics in the village. To further elaborate this point, while in the Weberian sense the traditional authority (that is, the authority of the feudal lord and caste councils), is formally transformed into rational-legal authority through the democratic decentralization - Panchayat Raj, in effect it is the traditional authority of the caste councils and the feudal lord which predominates the rational-legal authority. There is not only a co-existence of traditional and rational-legal authority structure, but the former is still effective in determining the structure of the latter.

For a moment let us discuss how democratic decentralization or the principles of democracy are diametrically opposed to the caste structure or the principles of caste. It has been pointed out theoretically by many Sociologists

that caste and democracy are inconsistent with each other. To Prasad¹ and Pannikar² it is a question of either the survival of caste or of democracy. To them a democratic set up of authority presupposes a democratic society. Hindu society or caste society is not a democratic society. Democracy is based on the principles of liberty, caste is not; democracy propogates equality, caste, inequality; democracy gives equal rights to all members of the society, irrespective of caste, creed, race, sex and birth. Castes believe in giving privileges to certain sections of the society and deprives other sections of these privileges. Caste is based on birth and gives rise to an ascriptive system. Democracy strikes at the very root of the ascriptive system, it promotes the achieved status system. In the Parsonian terminology³ caste promotes particularism, democracy, universalism. In Weber's terminology⁴ caste is a traditional authority, democracy a rational-legal authority. Furthermore, caste believes in injustice, democracy in justice. Democracy works for fraternalism or brotherhood; castes promotes hatred and repugnance towards a certain section of the society viz., untouchable. Look at caste and democracy from any angle, they represent

¹N. Prasad: Myth of the Caste System, (Patna, 1957).

²K. M. Pannikar: Hindu Society on Cross Roads, (Asia Publishing House, Delhi).

³Talcott Parsons: The Social System, (Glencoe Free Press, 1951).

⁴Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. Trans. Parsons & Henderson. (The Free Press, 1966).

nothing but opposed principles. Much can be said about this conflict but the space does not allow us to further stretch the discussion. Still from what has been said above it can be derived that theoretically caste and democracy are opposed and thus cannot function together in a society.

However, in practice caste and democracy are functioning together. The two institutions have made themselves consistent. This is the thesis of this chapter. Caste not only survives but determines the character of the authority structure of the village. Secondly, it is a basis on which the faction formation and group dynamics operate.

It will be better for us to establish some objective criteria to examine our hypothesis. The first question which is relevant to our hypothesis is: Are there caste Panchayats (councils) in the village? If yes, how effective are they? Do they play a significant role in the settlement of disputes in the village? Second, Does the election to the 'Village Panchayat' (a symbol of democratic decentralization - Panchayat Raj) take place on the lines of caste? Third, Are there factions in the village? If yes, what is their basis? Now we will examine these questions in the light of the empirical data collected from Falna village, Marwar.

Caste Panchayats (Councils) or Nyat:

The castes of Falna village are dispersed over several villages in the Marwar region. Each village is made up of several castes organized hierarchically.

Srinivas⁵ has characterized the tie which binds a caste across the villages as 'horizontal unity', while the tie among the various castes in a village is an example of 'vertical unity'. Thus a multi-caste village is a 'vertical' unity of caste and each caste is a 'horizontal unity'. Our first problem is concerned with the latter -- the horizontal unity of the caste.

The caste Panchayats (councils), which still exist in the villages of Marwar, play a very important role in the regulation of the conduct of caste members. They make the caste rules more effective. These caste Panchayats are called Nyat in the local dialect. To avoid the confusion between the caste Panchayat and Village Panchayat, we will use here the term Nyat for the former Panchayat. The Nyat is a vital and quite a pervasive organization in the villages of Marwar in particular and the rural India in general. How are these Nyats organized on a provincial level or a country wide level? To what degree is each caste integrated and what relations do the castes have among themselves at the Nyat levels are complex problems in themselves and deserve a separate study. Here we will not discuss them in detail except where they impinge on the affairs of the Falna village.

A discussion on Nyat is relevant from two points of view. First it will enable us to see with greater precision the degree of effectiveness of Nyat and secondly, it will help us in understanding the ways in which a caste manages

⁵M. N. Srinivas: Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India, (Oxford, 1952), p. 31-32.

its affairs as an isolated social entity. In pre-Independence era, the effectiveness of Nyats and their decisions was indubitable. Rarely a member could think of questioning or denying its authority. But today the chains of caste rules and regulations are loosened and therefore the violations of rules are not dealt as severely as they were in the pre-Independence era. Still the Nyats do perform their functions and pass strictures against the misdeeds of its members. This will be demonstrated in the following pages.

Out of twenty-four castes in the village Falna, fourteen castes even today have Nyats still active, meeting regularly. The other castes except Rajpoot, did have Nyats in the pre-Independence period but today either they are inactive or have vanished. The Nyats generally have a three tier organization. The first is at the level of the village, which included all the families of a caste living in the village. This village Nyat can be easily and inexpensively called to meet and all that is needed is some bidi, tobacco, and tajara (brewed from the opium flowers in the home) for those who come. Any issue to be settled is usually given a hearing at once, though a decision may not be reached immediately. At the second level, the Nyat is composed of members from a group of neighbouring villages. Generally, this Nyat includes seven to twelve neighbouring villages the size of the Nyat varies from caste to caste. A list of the villages included by the castes of Falna village is

given in the Table Number XI. The third level of Nyat consists of forty-five to eighty villages. This Nyat is rarely called. It decides very serious type of cases referred to by the Nyats at the second level. To these Nyats, each village sends some delegates who represent that village caste. The number of delegates depends on the size of the population of that caste in the village. If there are factions in a caste in a village, delegates from each faction are invited to attend the Nyat meeting. The delegates sent are not hereditary, but usually permanent for the whole life, elected or nominated by the village caste men.

The deliberations of the Nyats cover a wide range of subjects. They deal with infringements of the rules of intercaste relations, such as eating, drinking or smoking with forbidden castes or allowing them to enter one's house, infringement of caste's dietary rules, for example eating meat or drinking liquor, etc., contracting marriage or sex relations within forbidden degrees of kin or with forbidden castes and the killing of certain animals and birds, e.g., cow, bullocks, peacocks, pigeons, etc. All these offences are ritual since they require a purification which may be penitential pilgrimage, or hearing of holy scriptures, taking a bath in a sacred river, etc., as well as a punishment such as a fine to the tune of four or five thousand rupees or feeding of fellow caste members - Nukta.

A list of the cases referred to the Nyats according

TABLE XI

CASTE PANCHAYATS (COUNCILS) OR NYATS

Castes	Names of the Village Constitute Nyat at the Second Level-Smaller Nyat	Total Number of Village
Gardener	<u>Falna</u> , Venpura, Khudala, Dhani, Choberi, <u>Khimala</u> , Rani, Ranigaon, Bijawa, Daulata, Laskaguda, Venpura.	12
Blacksmith	Devta, Sanerao, Jadri, Dhani, Khemale, Venpura, <u>Falna</u> .	7
Potter	Devtra, <u>Falna</u> , Bedal, Jadri, Sewari, Khindara, Sela, Bali, Khudala, Shivganj, Modna.	11
Barber	Devtra, <u>Falna</u> , Khudala, Venpura, Sanderao, Khimala, Sela.	7
Rebbari	Khudala, Devtra, Khemale, Venpura, Dhani, <u>Falna</u> , Jadri, Sanerao.	8
Carpenter	<u>Falna</u> , Khemale, Dhani, Devtra, Sanderao, Sinderli, Bedal, Khudala, Dantivara.	12
Drummer	<u>Falna</u> , Bali, Khudala, Khemale, Devtra, Sanderao, Jadri.	7
Leather Worker	<u>Falna</u> , Bali, Jadri, Khatara, Parakiya, Choliya, Bedal, Sela, Khudala, Chabeni, Kadani, Khemale, Dodwal, Venpura, Devtra, Sinderloo, Dhali.	17
Sargara	<u>Falna</u> , Deotra, Sanderao, Begu, Diyam, Rajpura, Sinderloo, Khindara, Jadri.	9

Continued

TABLE XI (Continued)

CASTE PANCHAYATS (COUNCILS) OR NYATS

Castes	Names of the Village Constitute Nyat at the Second Level-Smaller Nyat	Total Number of Villages.
Choudhri	<u>Falna</u> , Deotra, Khudala, Khimale, Sanderao, <u>Bali</u> , Sela, Venpura, Bedal, Jadri, Sindroo, Khimdera.	12
Ravna Rajpoot	<u>Falna</u> , Devtra, Khudala, Khimala, Sanderao, Sindroo, Ernpura.	7
Tailor	<u>Falna</u> , Kaswal, Rani, Daultarai, Kharami, Bijapur, Las Ka Gura, Kot, Bhitwara.	10
Butcher	<u>Falna</u> , Khudala, Khemale, Sanderao, Rani, Venpura, Sinderloo.	7
Purohit	<u>Falna</u> , Khudala, Khemale, Venpura, Bali, Sela, Devtra.	7

to the caste is given in Table XII. A few cases I would like to discuss here in order to show how effective the Nyat is and how the social control is exercised by the Nyat.

1. The Case of Romance After Marriage,
Caste - Seervi Choudhri, Year, 1963:

Seervi Choudhri 'A' engaged his daughter 'X' with 'Y', the son of Seervi Choudhri 'B' of some other village. This was a marriage performed at an early age, the boy 'Y' was only 12 years old, while the girl was 6 years old. But as the girl attained puberty, she fell in love with some other Seervi Choudhri boy 'Z' of the Falna village. This romance continued until the parents of the girl discovered the affair. They immediately called the boy 'Y' with whom the girl was married, to take her to his home. The girl was reluctant to go with the boy 'Y' but the father forced her to quit the village. Consequently the girl went with the boy 'Y', but after a few days, as soon as she could get an opportunity, fled away with the 'Z' boy, according to a scheduled programme. After four or five days both were brought back to the village. The father of the boy 'Y' called the Nyat to pass stricture on the culprit 'Z'. Delegates from twenty-five villages set together to treat the case where they decided to impose a find of 9000/- Rupees on the boy 'Z', the culprit and it was further resolved that the boy will be treated as an outcaste until he makes the payment. The marriage

between 'X' and 'Y' was dissolved. The girl did not stay with the boy 'Z' with whom she had fled away.

2. The Case of Infringement of the Ata-Sata Caste Leather worker, Year 1963

Before dealing with this case, I would like to explain Ata-Sata. When 'A's' son marries 'B's' daughter and 'B's' son marries 'A's' daughter, the marriage contract between the parents of the boy and girl is called Ata-Sata. This can be well presented through the figure given below:

Figure 1.

Ata-Sata

Such kinds of marriage contracts are quite common in the villages of Marwar. Mr. Vania of the Leatherworker caste of Falna village contracted an Ata-Sata with Mr. Navia Leatherworker of Khudala village. The engagement of the boys and girls was performed in 1961. After two years of the engagement the son of Mr. Navia Leatherworker of Khudala village declined to marry with the daughter of Mr.

TABLE XII

DISPUTES REFERRED TO THE NYATS

Caste	Infringement	Year	Punishment	Purification	Size of Nyat
Tailor	The bride sold to other man in <u>Natra</u> .	1959	Case still continuing	-	Smaller Nyat
Tailor	The bride sold to other man in <u>Natra</u> .	1962	Excommunication or fine of Rupees 100/-	Punitive feast	" "
Tailor	The parents did not send their daughter after marriage and did <u>Natra</u> of the girl elsewhere.	1963	Fine imposed on parents Rupees 150/-		" "
Choudhri	Romance after marriage with other girl.	1963	Fine imposed on boy Rupees 9000/- or ex-communication	Punitive feast to 45 villages.	Larger <u>Nyat</u>
Choudhri	The parents contracted <u>Natra</u> of the daughter after marriage.	1965	Fine imposed on parents Rupees 5000/- or ex-communication	Punitive feast to 45 villages.	Larger <u>Nyat</u>
Ravna Rajpoot	A Ravna Rajpoot girl ran away with a boy of Sar-gara caste.	1964	The boy was thoroughly beaten and handed over to the Police	-	Village <u>Nyat</u>
Ravna Rajpoot	Infringement of the marriage relations	1965	No punishment. The marriage was dissolved	-	Smaller <u>Nyat</u>
Purohit	Called Drummer to play on music in the marriage against the decision of <u>Nyat</u> .	1965	Fine imposed on the person Rupees 25/-	-	Village <u>Nyat</u>
Purohit	A Purohit was beaten by the Purohit of the other village.	1965	Fine imposed on the accused Rupees 25/-	-	Village <u>Nyat</u>

Continued

TABLE XII - Continued

DISPUTES REFERRED TO THE NYATS

Caste	Infringement	Year	Punishment	Purification	Size of Nyat
Purohit	Widow-remarriage against caste rules	1960	Fine imposed on the parents. Rupees 150/-	Punitive feast	Smaller <u>Nyat</u>
Rebbari	Food prepared in vegetable oil for the members of <u>Nyat</u> , against the caste rules.	1959	Fine imposed on the family. Rupees 200/-	-	Smaller <u>Nyat</u>
Rebbari	Infringement of the marriage relations by the husband	1963	Fine imposed on the boy (husband) Rupees 3000/-	Punitive feast	Smaller <u>Nyat</u>
Leather Worker	Infringement of the marriage relations by the husband	1963	Excommunicated	-	Larger <u>Nyat</u>
Leather Worker	Married with the wife of younger brother	1964	Social boycott	-	Smaller <u>Nyat</u>
Leather Worker	Infringement of the <u>Sata</u> contract.	1961	Contract restored by the <u>Nyat</u>	-	Smaller <u>Nyat</u>
Sad	The girl refused to come to the husband's house after marriage	1959	Fine imposed on the parents. Rupees 51/-	-	Smaller <u>Nyat</u>

Vania Leather worker of Falna village. Therefore Mr. Navia wanted to give his daughter in marriage with the son of Mr. Vania but refused to accept the daughter of Mr. Vania in the marriage with his son, as his son did not want to marry the girl. Consequently, Mr. Vania also refused to accept the daughter of Mr. Navia Leather worker of Khudala village. For two years the situation remained tense, mediation between the two proved to be fruitless. Finally, the smaller Nyat was called and the Ata-Sata between the two families of Mr. Navia and Mr. Vania was restored.

3. The Case of Infringement of Marriage Relations
and Romance After Marriage
Caste: Rebbari Year: 1963

Hakiya Rebbari, age 18 of Falna village was married to Nanki Rebbari, girl of Khudala village in 1961. During a period of two years, Hakiya Rebbari fell in love with a married woman Dhanian, age 17 who lived just in front of the house of Hakiya Rebbari. Moved with passion one day, Hakiya Rebbari fled away with Dhanian. But they were caught at the village Sanderao, 10 miles away from the village Falna and were brought back to the village. Ajja, the husband of Dhanian called the small Nyat of eight villages who stayed for one day in the village Falna, its expenses of boarding and lodging were born by Hakiya. The Nyat resolved that a fine of 3000/- Rupees be imposed on Hakiya and he should also give a punitive feast to the villagers of the circle of small Nyat. It was further resolved that Hakiya be

treated as an outcaste until he pays the penalty and gives the punitive feast. On the other side, Nanki Rebbari girl of Khudala village with whom Hakiya was married in 1961, dissolved the marriage, an appeal against which was registered by Hakiya in the Nyat. At present the situation is that Hakiya states he is ready to pay rupees 3000/- and give the punitive feast, provided the Nyat guarantees status quo with Nanki, Rebbari girl. The Nyat decided that it should be treated as a separate issue and can be entertained only when Hakiya has paid the penalties imposed on him. Hakiya has not agreed to the decision and is treated as an outcaste by the caste fellows.

Out of the many cases referred to the Nyats, three cases of different castes are outlined above. This is ample proof to state that the Nyat is still effective and caste is a significant unit of social control at the village level. The families belonging to one or other castes, in order to be the member of a caste have to conform to the rules and regulations of Nyats. The prestige and reputation of the family not only in the caste but in the village as such is involved. Over and above all, excommunication is a potential force behind the power of Nyat, it indeed makes people to obey the decisions of Nyat. The Nyat organization is not only an instrument of settling disputes among the members of a caste, but it gives a direction to the caste activities, establishes its goal,

or even establishes the goals of the individuals in a society. Its functions are pervasive in the sense that it not only exercises control but at the same time protects and fights for the interests of caste and its members in the village and outside the village. The whole Jajmani system is regulated by the Nyats of the different castes. The intercaste tensions are also settled by the Nyats. In short, caste survives through Nyats, it gives the caste an organization which is a necessary condition of an institution to survive.

Hence we can conclude that not only do the Nyats survive but they are quite effective in the village even today.

We have seen above that caste through the institution of Nyat exercises its social authority. In the recent years caste has projected itself on a new dimension, that is, political. The opening of this new dimension for caste was made by the implementation of democratic decentralization - Panchayat Raj - in India. Prior to that and the Zamindar Abolition, the village was under the control of Feudal Lord Thakur, a symbol of traditional authority in the village. This traditional authority, the Thakur shared with the Nyats in the village. Democratic decentralization is an attempt at the transformation of traditional authority to the rational legal authority. It is an attempt which is successful only theoretically. Practically, it is still the Thakur and

the caste Nyats which exercise power and control. They determine the pattern of rational legal authority i.e., of village Panchayats, in that village.

In order to discuss the above theoretical formulations, let us first understand what the democratic decentralization is, or what is the present rational-legal structure of the village. Then it will be possible for us to ascertain how the relationship between caste and political structure exists.

The Village Panchayat - a Rational Legal-Authority:
A Major Change in the Authority Pattern:

Andhra and Rajasthan (village Falna is in Rajasthan) were the only States which first started experimenting with the Panchayat Raj, (democratic decentralization). Andhra State started in a piecemeal fashion with only 20 blocks, in July, 1958. The Government of Rajasthan, under the leadership of Sukhadia, the then Chief Minister, on the other hand, went ahead in a concerted manner. The Panchayat Raj was introduced throughout the State of Rajasthan on October 2, 1959, the opening ceremony of which was performed at Nagore, by the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India, some 100 miles north-east of the Falna village. The State is divided into 232 blocks and shadow blocks, (a shadow block is one which is not covered by the community development programme). In every block or shadow block, a Panchayat Samiti has been constituted. A Panchayat Samiti authority

extends over roughly 15 to 25 village Panchayat circles. These Panchayat circles have been reorganized into smaller units, so that now each Panchayat Samiti covers about 30 to 45 of these smaller circles.

The Panchayat Raj is a three tier scheme. The village Panchayats form the basis of the three tier system of democratic decentralization with Panchayat Samitis in the middle and Zila Parishads at the top. The scheme of decentralization has in actual operation resulted in transfer of power to the village Panchayats other than what they already had before the decentralization. The belief that decentralization has vested the village Panchayats with more powers appears to be unfounded. Nevertheless, the status of the Panchayats has gone up in the sense that all development work in the Panchayat area has now to be executed through its agency. Prior to decentralization, development works were executed through Block Development official and non-official agencies like Vikas Mandals. Statutory provision has now been made to ensure that the Panchayat Samiti will get development works executed through village Panchayats. At the beginning, the Government Officials were invested with powers and Panchayat with the implimentation of the schemes framed by them. The tables have now turned. It is the Officers of Government who have to implement the decisions of the Panchayat organization. This is really a bold and momentus step and no half measure or tentative exploration, as late Prime Minister Nehru has once said,

"You should give the people in the village authority, initiative and technical help. But essentially authority and power should be given to them. Let them function and let them make a million mistakes. Do not be afraid of it. Let us give powers to Panchayats."⁶ These words make it amply clear that the Panchayat Raj is a venture of faith justified, almost demanded in his opinion by the insights of democracy and the nature of the social and rural life of the people of India.

The functions of village Panchayats may be distinguished broadly between two groups, administrative and judicial. The administrative functions may be divided conventionally as civic, development, land management and land reforms.

The civic functions of Panchayats as embodied in legislation include such tasks as village sanitation, registration of births, deaths, etc., organization of village watch and ward, construction, maintenance and lighting of village streets, etc.

The functions of village Panchayats in relation to development may be set out as follows:⁷

1. Framing programme of production in the village.
2. In association with cooperatives framing budgets of requirements for supplies and finances for carrying out programmes.

⁶P.M. P. J. Nehru, in his speech at Nagore, on Oct. 2, 1959.

⁷Data collected from the Bali Panchayat Samiti, Bali Head Quarter, District Pali, Rajasthan; in the month of May, 1966.

3. Acting as a channel through which an increasing proportion of Government assistance reaches the village.
4. Developing common lands such as waste lands, forests, Abadi sites, tanks, etc., including measures for soil conservation.
5. Construction, repair and maintenance of common village building public wells, tanks, roads, etc.
6. Organization of mutual aid and joint front in all the activities.
7. Promotion of cooperative societies.
8. Organizing voluntary labour for community work.
9. Promoting small savings.
10. Improvement of livestock.

The functions of Panchayats in respect of management of village lands and the implementation of land reforms are related to the lines along which it is proposed that the agrarian structure should be recognized. The main land management function can be summarized as follows:

1. Regulation of the use of common lands such as waste lands, forests, inhabited sites, tanks, etc.
2. Cultivation of lands set apart for the benefit of the village community as in consolidation of holdings.
3. Adaptation of standards of good management and cultivation to local conditions and their enforcement.
4. Association with the work of maintenance of land records.

Lastly, the functions of Panchayats in relation to land reforms, arise from legislation enacted by State, in main entail the association of the village Panchayats with

such activities as: -

1. Determination of land to be allotted to owners and tenants on the exercise of rights or resumption for personal cultivation.
2. Determination of surplus land on the application of ceilings on agricultural holdings.
3. Redistribution of surplus lands imposition of ceilings.

The judicial functions of Panchayats are concerned with the administration of civil and criminal justice, enforcement of minimum wages for agricultural workers and simple disputes pertaining to land. In order to facilitate the exercise of these functions a separate Nyay (judicial) Panchayat has been established whose territorial jurisdiction extends as a rule to a number of villages.

Firstly, to illustrate an upheaval in traditional authority pattern, we discussed above the new set-up of the rational-legal authority pattern in the village, which has become a nucleus of democratic decentralization; Secondly, to show how powerful the village Panchayat is and also the areas in which the influence of caste through Village Panchayat can be infiltrated, and thus may result in promotion of caste prejudices, a characteristic of traditional authority in pre-Independence period.

The data collected from the Falna village reveals that there is a conflict in the basic principles of traditional authority-caste and Thakur and the Panchayat Raj, at the ideological level. Such a conflict is quite conspicuous and one need not be a Sociologist to grasp it. As

discussed above, the traditional authority maintains inequality at the individual and group level, inequality of opportunity, suppression of lower castes and non-Rajpoot castes; stressed individual conformity to the caste principles and recognition of the authority of caste. This all still continues in the village, though in a different way which will be discussed in a moment. The Panchayat Raj stipulates equality at the individual and group level, equality of opportunity, the uplift of lower castes, equal rights, equitable distribution of wealth, development of a socialistic pattern of society, in short, an entirely new fabric of relationships between person and person, and between group and group, and between person and group.

We have indicated above that despite the establishment of legal-rational authority the traditional authority persists. The important questions are, who ruled at the time of the traditional authority, and who rules in the legal-rational authority today? Ipso facto, it is the Thakur and caste organization which rule over the village. The Thakur is the Surpunch (head) of the village Panchayat at present. He through all means has managed to keep his position in the village intact. Furthermore, the Rajpoot caste pre-dominated in the pre-Independence era, and it continues to dominate even today. This would be shown while dealing with the factions in the village. The elections of the village Panchayats are almost on the lines of caste. The caste stronger in numerical strength, successfully sends

its candidates to the village Panchayat.

Before presenting some evidences from the field on the above subject, I would like to draw first from Srinivas' article on, "Changing Institutions and Values in Modern India." He writes:

"The constitutional decision to give franchise to all adults has had far reaching effects on our social and political life. For the first time in their history the traditionally underprivileged sections of one society have a say in the choice of their rulers. People who used to get orders from the upper castes, have now to be approached for their votes . . . Adult franchise has also meant that a new field has been provided for caste activity given widespread illiteracy and ignorance, it is to be expected that voting will be to some extent along caste lines. The communication of ideas is strong within a caste and even the most backward members are included in this communication network. This also means generally the members of a caste share the same views as regards political party's policies and individuals Voting, therefore, has strengthened caste consciousness. The successful candidate is expected to champion the interests of his caste."⁸

It seems caste has projected itself into this new field of activity in Falna Village. The village, since the implementation of Panchayat Raj has had three elections viz., 1959, 1961 and 1964. In all these elections caste continues to play a significant role in the village. To note this the adult voters of each ward were analyzed according to the castes. The results as stated in Tables XIII - A, XIII - B, and XIII - C, turned out to be very significant from this point of view. A general survey of the Table reveals that the caste which is in majority in a ward has sent its leader to the Village Panchayat. Out of a total number of 24 castes,

⁸M. N. Srinivas: in his article, "Changing Institutions and Values in Modern India", published in "The Economic Weekly", XIII Annual Number, February, 1962, p. 133.

TABLE XII-A

DEMOCRATIC DECENTRALIZATION: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CASTE AND ELECTIONS
 WARDS I & II - 1959 - 1964

S. No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Castes	Purohit	Rajpoot	Ravna Rajpoot	Seervi Choudhri	Potter	Goldsmith	Blacksmith	Sargara	Bard	TOTAL	Purohit	Ravna Rajpoot	Carpenter	Tailor	Rajpoot	Seervi Choudhri	Jain	Brahmin	TOTAL
No. of Adults	12	6	36	2	3	3	10	8	2	82	30	25	8	5	5	10	5	4	92
Wards	I										II								
Elections (Winners)	I 1959 RAJPOOT										PUROHIT								
II 1961 RAJPOOT											PUROHIT								
III 1964 RAJPOOT											CARPENTER								

TABLE XIII-B

DEMOCRATIC DECENTRALIZATION: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CASTS AND ELECTIONS
 WARDS III & IV - 1959 - 1964

S. No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		1	2	3	4	5		
Castes	Seervi Choudhri	Ravna Rajpoot	Potter	Carpenter	Jain	Goswami	Barber	Gardener	TOTAL	Oil Presser	Butcher	Meena	Leather Worker	Liquor Seller	TOTAL	
No. of Adults	47	20	8	4	5	10	3	24	121	6	15	10	78	3	112	
Wards	III									IV						
Elections (Winners)	I 1959	SEERVI CHOUDHRI									LEATHER WORKER					
	II 1961	SEERVI CHOUDHRI									LEATHER WORKER					
	III 1964	GARDENER									LEATHER WORKER					

TABLE XIII-C

DEMOCRATIC DECENTRALIZATION: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CASTE AND ELECTIONS
 WARDS V, VI, VII, VIII - 1959 - 1964

S. No.	1	2	3	4	5	6		1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	6		1	2			
Castes	Seervi Choudhri	Rayna Rajpoot	Potter	Gardener	Carpenter	Leather Worker	TOTAL	Rebbari	Seervi Choudhri	Blacksmith	Leather Worker	Sargara	Drummer	Bangle Maker	TOTAL	Rajpoot	Rayna Rajpoot	Potter	Leather worker	Sad	Muslim	TOTAL	Rebbari	Bhat			
No. of Adults	11	35	2	16	2	8	74	22	41	9	2	12	4	4	94	11	25	10	16	3	2	67	40	2			
Wards	V							VI							VII							VIII					
Elections (Winners)			I 1959							CHOUDHRI							RAJPOOT							REBBARI			
II 1961			RAYNA RAJPOOT							REBBARI							RAJPOOT							REBBARI			
III 1964			RAYNA RAJPOOT							CHOUDHRI							RAJPOOT							REBBARI			

6 castes always procure power in elections, these castes are Rajpoots, Ravna Rajpoots, Choudhri, Rebbari, Purohit and Leather worker. Although Rajpoots are not strong numerically, they have captured two seats in each election. As mentioned elsewhere, Ravna Rajpoots now claim a similar status to Rajpoots. One of the reasons why Rajpoots did not outrightly refute the claim is that such an alignment is beneficial to them in present political set up as they could get support from the Ravna Rajpoots. Hence the reason why Rajpoots get seats in Panchayat and still remain to be a dominant caste with the Thakur as Surpanch of the village.

In particular, it is observed that most of the caste leaders are by turn elected to the village Panchayat. They naturally protect the interests of their castes and strengthen their caste's position in the village. This greatly subscribes to the view that the forces of modernization have fortified the castes and promoted casteism. The village Thakur has changed the techniques of control, unlike pre-Independence era, he earns the support of the lower caste by obliging and appeasing them. An example of such a policy is the construction of new houses for Leather workers in the new colony. Leather worker is one of the thickly populated castes in the village and the Thakur expects to be fully supported by the Leather workers in the elections. However, the village Thakur could not find smooth sailing in the post-Independence era in order to remain in power. In the beginning he had to face some resistance from the

teetotaler groups which promoted factionalism in the village. Robert Redfield and Milton Singer have referred to factionalism and social disorganization as one of the chief ingredients of current situation in villages. They maintain, "wide-spread also are general process of change: the disintegrations of social system based on group or corporate relations of status; . . . growth of factionalism; changes in the interdependence of castes and a tendency for the depressed to find common cause in economic or political interest."⁹ Data collected from the village supports to this situation. Falna village in the pre-Independence era, never had such strong factions as the Thakur and the Rajpoot caste suppressed all such situations and the lower castes were never allowed to raise their heads. The basis for such factions in the village is either blood relations or caste. Let us now switch over to the third problem set in the beginning of this Chapter, that is, how are factions based on the caste and what are the socio-economic characteristics of factions? How are they related to one another? I do not intend to go here in the details of group dynamics, our purpose remains to demonstrate the way by which caste has projected itself in the new dimensions which are the product of the present political circumstances. It is an example of the adjustment of an old institution to the new emerging institutions in the village viz., democratic decentralization.

⁹Robert Redfield and Milton Singer, in the Forward Village India, (McKim Marriott, op. cit. 1955a). p.VIII.

While dealing with the factions we are concerned here with all the factions whether inside a single caste or composed of the members of different castes. In all there are five factions in the village. It is very difficult to unearth these factions and a casual observer may transcend them and take an idealistic impression of the village unity. It is only when certain important issues crop up, where these leaders are consulted or some disputes between individuals or castes develop, that such factionalism becomes apparent in the village. The village leaders never give a negative impression to the casual visitors. They always talk highly of the village unity and development work. The factions in the village are referred to either by a special kind of activity which characterizes the faction or by the name of the caste, or by the name of its leader. The names of the five factions in the village are as follows: -

1. Tajara Gut ----- multi-caste faction
2. Purohit Gut ----- multi-caste faction
3. Chimna Gut ----- multi-caste faction
4. Rebbari Gut ----- single caste faction
5. Leather worker
Gut ----- single caste faction

Analysis of the factions according to caste families, adult and leaders is given in Table XIV.

Socio-economic Characteristics of the Factions:

To get a background of these factions, it is better for us to study the socio-economic characteristics of these factions. The five factions in the village are analysed according to numerical strength, caste, education, age, land and income. It is significant to note that the village Thakur has not associated himself explicitly with any of the factions. His position is over and above all these factions. Nevertheless, implicitly he does promote some groups and is indifferent towards others. The former are subsequent to his assertions and leadership in the village.

The first and the most dominant faction in the village is Tajara Gut. Tajara is a home brewed beverage prepared out of opium flowers. This beverage is quite popular in the village and is offered at the time of any formal or informal meeting, or any ceremony conducted in the family. This is served along with Gur in ceremonies. The members of Tajara Gut are very fond of Tajara which is frequently brewed at one or other home of the members of Tajara Gut where the members sit and chit chat or discuss village politics. Often Tajara is replaced by a bottle of Kesar-Kasturi or Gulab (country liquors) and followed by a light non-vegetarian feast. Although such dinner parties are village wide, it is a special feature of this faction, as economically it is not very strenuous for them to afford, as compared to Leather workers or the Rebbari Gut. The

TABLE XIV

FACCTIONS ACCORDING TO CASTE, FAMILIES, ADULT MEMBERS AND LEADERS

Names of the Facctions	Castes	Number of Families	Number of Adults	Number of Leaders
Tajara Gut	Rajpoot Ravna Rajpoot Choudhri Jain	4 8 8 1 21	9 29 32 2 72	4 5 6 1 16
Sub-total		<u>21</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>16</u>
Purohit Gut	Purohit Carpenter Tailor	9 3 1	31 6 2	4 1 1
Sub-total		<u>13</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>6</u>
Chimna Gut	Gardener Ravna Rajpoot	5 6 11	13 15 28	2 1 3
Sub-total		<u>22</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>6</u>
Rebbari Gut	Rebbari	8	19	3
Leather worker's Gut	Leather Worker	10	25	3
TOTAL		<u>63</u>	<u>183</u>	<u>31</u>

Tajara Gut is numerically the biggest. It has a total strength of 21 families or 72 adults and some 16 leaders to guide them. Its members belong to 4 castes viz., Rajpoots, Choudhri, Favna, Rajpoots, and Jain. Out of 16 Leaders, only one is literate and a majority of 10 leaders belong to the forty-one to fifty age group. The land possessions of the faction are fairly large, ten have above sixty acres of land and eight have an annual income of more than 2500/- Rupees. Therefore, members of the average socio-economic status of the Tajara Gut is highest amongst all factions. This is one of the reasons why the faction has emerged as the most dominant in the village.

The second faction is Purohit Gut. The faction is constituted by Purohit, Carpenter, and Tailor, - the teetotaler castes. This is next to Tajara Gut in numerical strength and dominance. The Gut is composed of 39 adults living in thirteen families and led by six leaders out of which three are literate. The average age of the group is lower to Tajara Gut that is, between thirty-six to fifty. The land owned is 20-80 acres in three cases and between 101 to 120 acres in two cases. The income of six leaders is between 2,501/- to 6000/- Rupees per year.

The third Gut is called by the name of its leader, Chimna who happens to be one of the wealthiest persons in the village. The five families of Gardener belong to his lineage and six Ravna Rajpoot families are just instrumental to Chimna's position. Chimna is literate, but the rest of

the two leaders are illiterate. The age of the three leaders ranges from forty-one to fifty. The two Gardener leaders own irrigated land. One of the leaders has the largest piece of land among all the faction leaders of the village. The income of the main leader of the faction is above 6,001/- Rupees per year.

The fourth and fifth factions are constituted by single castes, therefore, the leaders of these factions are also the caste Panchayat or Nyat leaders in the village. Their decisions are final for the members of the caste. The Rebbari Gut and Leather Worker's Gut are not only smallest in the numerical strength, but at the same time recessive too. They are just subservient to the Tajara Gut.

The Interfaction Relations:

Oscar Lewis provides a guide line to begin a discussion on the interfaction relations. He states:

"A study of the present day behaviour and the history of relationships between members of the various factions in the village enables us to distinguish three broad types of relationships. Positive or friendly, negative or hostile and neutral. The strength and quality of these relations differ considerably. Moreover, the positive relations can further be classified into four orders of preference which reflect differences in the quality of the relationship. Preference can be defined in terms of the intensity of the relationship and the number of people who interact in any two groups. For example, when two groups have primary reciprocal preferences it signifies that more members from each group have active friendly relations with one another than with members of any other

group. As the order of preference between any two groups decreases the intensity of the relationship decreases and fewer people interact."¹⁰

Along with the above guiding lines here the preference is taken as an indicator of the closeness or distance maintained between the factions. To ascertain the preferences of the above factions, the attitudes of the leaders of each faction towards the rest of the factions were taken. For example, to what factions the leaders of Tajara Gut would give first preference, second preference and third preference. The factions, according to the preference expressed by them may be plotted on the social mosaic of the village in the order of their association and repulsion from one another. Sociogram No. 7 presents the fabric of inter-faction relations according to the preferences. The inter-faction relations as indicated above are classified in three orders,- the first, second and third preferences.

In the Sociogram referred to, the factions have given preference to one another and also become the object of preference of one another. Table XV shows the number and type of preference received by each faction in Falna Village.

¹⁰Oscar Lewis, op. cit. P. 130.

INTER-FACTION RELATIONS SHOWING THE
NUMBER AND TYPE OF PREFERENCES RECEIVED
BY EACH FACTION IN THE VILLAGE, 1966.

We open our discussion with the Tajara Gut, the most dominant faction in the village. As stated above, the Tajara Gut receives support from Rebbari and Leather worker's Guts or to say that these factions are subservient to Tajara Gut. Therefore the Tajara Gut has given first preference to Rebbari, second to Leather worker and third to Purohit Gut. No line in the Sociogram No. 7 connects Tajara Gut and Chimna Gut. These are the two rival factions, poles apart from each other. Tajara Gut has the highest number of first preference (2) and there is one third preference which make a total of 3 preferences to Tajara Gut expressed by the rest of four Guts.

Purohit Gut is not very hostile to any of the Guts in the village, although it has not expressed any preference to the Leatherworker Gut, it never means that Purohit Gut is hostile to it. According to field observations, the Purohit Gut has an attitude of indifference towards the Leather worker's Gut, as it is of an untouchable caste. This faction has full sympathy with Chimna Gut, as it has given first preference, but is not completely cut off from Chimna's rival Tajara Gut. Incidentally Purohit and Chimna Guts are both teetotalers and share the same food and arrange parties. Therefore the Purohit and Chimna Guts have as much stronger reciprocal relations as expressed by Leather worker and Rebbari towards Tajara Gut. The Purohit Gut received three preferences. First by Chimna, second by Rebbari and the third by Tajara Gut. It is clear from the

TABLE XV

INTERFACTION RELATIONS: TYPE OF PREFERENCE RECEIVED BY EACH FACTION

Names of Factions	FACCTIONS				Type and Number of Preferences			Total Number of Preferences	
	Tajara	Purohit	Chinna	Rebbart	Leather Workers	I	II	III	
Tajara Gut	-	III	-	I	II	2	-	1	3
Purohit Gut	III	-	I	II	-	1	1	1	3
Chinna Gut	-	I	-	II	III	1	-	2	3
Rebbart Gut	I	II	III	-	-	1	3	-	4
Leather Workers Gut	I	-	III	II	-	-	1	1	2
TOTAL									15

Table XV that the Chimna Gut has no stronghold in the village and is a weak rival group to Tajara Gut. It has received one first preference and two third preferences.

Generally the activities of Rebbari Gut are confined to its caste circle and the Gut has been indifferent towards the village politics. But still it presents an inclination towards the Tajara Gut. Both the factions are non-vegetarian which facilitates frequent meetings. At the same time they share common interests. The faction has not completely detached itself from any of the factions. They do not associate with the Leather workers simply because it is a faction of untouchables. But the Leatherworkers fully support Rebbari Gut as they are aligned with the Tajara Gut.

The last and the most recessive faction is Leather worker's Gut. Since they are untouchables, despite their closeness with the other groups, they do not enjoy commensal relations. The faction commands control over one of the numerically strong castes in the village. Their decisions are final and acceptable to the members of the caste. The leaders of the faction are also leaders of caste Nyats, which makes it obligatory for the members of castes to abide by the decisions of faction leaders. The Leatherworkers Gut has received only two preferences, one second preference by the Tajara Gut and the other third by the Chimna Gut. Being a Kamin and an untouchable caste the relations of Leatherworkers Gut with other factions are not hostile, they

are either neutral or positive.

It is possible to further elaborate the role of these factions in intercaste tensions and intracaste tensions; in producing village leaders according to their vested interests; their bearing on the decisions taken at the village Panchayat and the Panchayat Samiti and district Parishad (council) level. Their relations with still higher levels of political organization can be traced out to show how this peasant society in Robert Redfield's sense is a part of the larger political system and group dynamics of the country. However, this study is not oriented to discuss all these problems.

In this context, it should be mentioned that many Sociologists have overlooked the role of Nyats, which is a horizontal organization cutting across the social, political, economic and geographical boundaries of the village. Nyat is a vital force behind a great many activities inside the village and it is very difficult to understand village as a societal community without tracing out the Nyat ties. It is here we find that the village ceases to be a little community as was interpreted or rather misinterpreted by Redfield and many of his followers. Again it is not that after the introduction of the forces of modernization the village ceases to be a little community, but because of the presence of Nyat since the ancient period of Indian history, it is doubtful whether the village was ever a little community at any period of Indian history, in the sense that its

social ties were confined to the geographic boundaries. Therefore the village was never socially an isolated little community. Perhaps a long discussion would be a digression from the basic concern of this chapter, nevertheless I do intend to draw the attention of Sociologists and Social Anthropologists in India to analyze Nyat as a potential force behind the ritual, economic and political systems in villages of different culture areas. Unfortunately sufficient attention has not been paid to it.

To Sum Up:

Nyat is at the root of the authority structure and group dynamics. The pattern of rational-legal authority is still determined by the caste Nyats, the traditional authority, and the Thakur enjoys both the traditional and the rational-legal authority. The source of his rational-legal authority is traditional authority of caste and his own traditional status in the village. Rational-legal authority is therefore nominal while the traditional authority is real. Thus the democracy in the village remains to be a casteocracy.

Our sub-hypothesis 3: Caste is the one crucial factor in determining the present rational-legal authority and the group dynamics in the village, stands.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

THE PULSE OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN A VILLAGE OF MARWAR

At the end of this thesis the writer intends to discuss among others, a major question: What does the caste system in a village mean? The other problems posed in the beginning of this work will be discussed in the succeeding pages.

Anthropologists and Sociologists have used the term "caste" in two different senses. To some, it is only an ethnographic category, referring exclusively to a system of social organization peculiar to Hindu India, while others, on the contrary consider it as a sociological category which denotes significant structural phenomenon with a restricted or a universal spread. In the case of the former, the scholars have regarded some cultural syndromes as essential attributes, whereas the latter have focussed their attention on its social context. The position taken here with regard to the caste system is fundamentally that of E. R. Leach.¹ He has emphatically observed that the caste system should best be considered as a cultural phenomenon. It has got to be defined accord-

¹E. R. Leach, op. cit. P. 2-7. (emphasis mine)

ing to a list of ethnographic traits characteristic of Hindu India. The cultural traits have usually been referred to while explaining the concept of caste.

Hutton² has established the following criteria of caste:-

1. A caste is endogamous.
2. There are restrictions on commensality between members of different castes.
3. There is a hierarchical grading of caste, the best recognized position being that of the Brahmin at the top.
4. In various kinds of context especially those concerned with food, sex and ritual, a member of a 'high' caste is liable to be 'polluted' by either direct or indirect contact with a member of a 'low' caste.
5. Castes are very commonly associated with traditional occupations.
6. A man's caste status is finally determined by the circumstances of his birth, unless he comes to be expelled from his caste for some ritual offence.
7. The system as a whole is always around the prestige accorded to the Brahmins.

The data collected from the village under study substantiates the above generalizations made by Hutton. Furthermore, the study suggests that these cultural syndromes still continue to be effective in Marwar. In the course of this thesis, the ritual relations, which are concerned with concepts of Purity and Pollution, hierarchy and commensality are discussed. The adherence of caste groups to the traditional occupations and the Jajmani system is also

²J. H. Hutton, Caste in India, (Cambridge, 1946), p. 49.

analyzed.

In these areas we find that Brahmins occupy a significant position, fundamentally in the sense that they still perform all the Samskars of the upper castes and command respect from them. Hutton³ has however, missed a very important aspect of caste, the Jajmani system, the relationship between caste and economy. The phenomenon of Jajmani further makes the caste system a typical pattern, inherent in the Hindu culture. In the third Chapter, the Jajmani system is analyzed in agricultural Jajmani system and ritualistic Jajmani system. It is discussed at length. From this angle it seems that the whole system of caste has so strongly welded the different castes of the village that the usefulness of caste, as separate from the caste system as a whole, seems to be in doubt. Leach has rightly refuted such relevance of caste as separate from caste system. He maintains:

"Most conventional India ethnographics are written in a way which suggests that individual castes can usefully be considered in isolation. This is deceptive. In fact, a caste does not exist by itself. A caste can only be recognized in contrast to other castes with which its members are closely involved in a network of economic, political and ritual relationships. Furthermore, it is precisely with these intercaste relationships that we are concerned when we discuss caste as a social phenomenon. The caste society as a whole is, in Durkheim's sense, an organic system with each particular caste and sub-caste filling a distinctive role.. It is a system of labour division from which the element of competition among the workers has been largely excluded. The more conventional sociological analysis which finds an analogy between castes,

³An awareness of the relationship between caste and economy, is missing, even in the revised edition (1951) of such a standard book as Caste in India. There is no reference to the Jajmani system or to Wiser's work.

status groups, and economic classes puts all the stress upon hierarchy and upon the exclusiveness of caste separation. Far more fundamental is the economic interdependence which stems from the patterning of the division of labour which is of a quite special type."⁴

If the caste society is an organic whole, it must have a structure and an organization which can be compared with the anatomy and physiology of an individual organism. What then is the structure and the organization of a caste society? As was indicated in the second Chapter, the Varna scheme and the different caste groups fit into a hierarchical framework which constitutes the very anatomical structure of a multi-caste village. The pattern of intercaste relations displayed at the time of various Samskars and festivals in the ritualistic area, the commensal relationships among the castes of different rank, the Jajmani system or occupational relations, the pattern of political relations among the various castes and the general principles by which the behaviour of an individual is determined, constitute what Radcliffe Brown calls the physiological organization of a multi-caste society.

A more important question then, that of structure and organization, is "What is the pulse of such an organism?" It may appear here that I am becoming very literal in the application of the organismic model. One may be charged here for some kind of over-simplification of the model. But there seems no danger to do so if such a pulse exists in a society and can be analyzed in terms of organic

⁴E. R. Leach, op. cit. P. 5 (emphasis mine).

analogy.

A very distinct thread which is maintained throughout this thesis is the ritual basis of caste. In the ritual structure, it is the purity-pollution complex which is emphasized. The stigma of this purity-pollution complex is recognized by Dube as an axle of caste system. He states:

"Based on an ascriptive system of status evaluation, caste results in a very distinctive type of segmentary division of society; each individual and identifiable segment of the system is kept apart by a series of observances emanating from, what may be called, the purity-pollution complex and at the same time the different segments are brought together into one organic whole by interactional norms defining and determining their interdependence. Consideration of purity and pollution, which are primarily of a ritual nature, govern both the divisive and the integrative tendencies operating within the system and are thus of critical importance for understanding the whole system."⁵

Perhaps Leach and Dube are the Social Anthropologists who could get a real grasp of the phenomenon. They reported it with great accuracy. Therefore the conceptualization in this thesis, at a higher level of generality, is based upon the works of these eminent Social Anthropologists.

The more important expressions and manifestations of this purity-pollution complex have been identified. Endogamy, rules governing commensality, prohibitions and preferences in the choice of occupations and certain structured patterns of intra and inter-caste behaviour flow from this complex.

⁵S. C. Dube, in Forword to "Caste and Ritual in a Malwa Village"; K. S. Mathur, (1964) op. cit., P. VI. (emphasis mine).

The purity-pollution complex therefore constitutes the pulse of organic unity of a multi-caste village society. The people of Falna village recognize this purity-pollution, as 'Bhane-Beti Vivhar' and 'Jajman-Kamin Vivhar'. The twin institutions of 'Bhane-Beti Vivhar' and 'Jajman-Kamin Vivhar' form the most sensitive indicators of the perpetuation of caste-organic-society. Any deviation from this complex, would then be marked by a vital change in the caste-organic-society. The attributes of this complex of 'Bhane-Beti Vivhar' and 'Jajman-Kamin Vivhar' have been pointed out above. Let us elaborate on this complex.

The 'Bhane' (food) 'Vivhar' (behaviour), means the relations among the different castes of the village regarding food, water and smoking -- commensality, which includes the rules governing the restrictions and the acceptance of food, water and smoking. The 'Beti-Vivhar' (marriage of daughter), implies endogamy, which is the very essence of the caste system. This literally means, the groups to whom the daughter should be given and the groups to whom the daughter should not be given. It restricts the field of mate selection for a girl. The Kanya-Dan, (giving of daughter in marriage) should strictly be according to the rules of 'Beti-Vivhar'. The 'Jajman-Kamin Vivhar' implies the exchange of goods and services among the members of different castes in a village. This is possible only so long as the castes adhere to their traditional occupations and supply the services and get some return in exchange.

The 'Bhane-Beti Vivhar' and the 'Jajman-Kamin Vivhar' form the bearing of the system which has integrated the different castes in the village. The purity-pollution concept is expressed in the behaviour referred to. In the pre-Independence era the villagers identified and valued the 'Bhane-Beti-Vivhar' and 'Jajman-Kamin-Vivhar'. The caste system in those days functioned at a high degree of perfection.

The deviation of the behaviour of the village population from this line of the functioning of the caste system may be considered as a change in the patterns of intercaste relations. The caste system has never been static in the history of India. It is not like a rigid iron framework. It is a mutable scheme. But the mutability does not necessarily imply the cessation or disintegration of the system as a whole. The system has not lost its internal ingredient elements in the village. Majumdar seems to be right when he states,

"A village is a way of life, because the people still live more or less as they did before -- inspite of contact and communication. . . . An Indian village is not merely a way of life, it is also a concept -- it is a constellation of values and so long as our value system does not change, or changes slowly and not abruptly, the village will retain its identity and so it has done till today."⁶

It appears that Falna village is no exception to the above general feature of North Indian villages. It is exposed to certain forces of modernization. It has responded to these forces to some extent. Let us summarize here the extent to which changes have occurred in Falna

⁶D. N. Majumdar, op. cit. P. 328-329.

village, with reference to caste system and in which specific areas changes occurred.

With regard to the ritual structure, we have discussed in the third Chapter, the caste hierarchy, the commensal relations -- pattern of food participation, of water and smoking relations, and intercaste relations at the time of different Samskars and festivals. With reference to the village undertaken for study, it is observed that the intensity of change, varies according to the field of interaction. For example it has been shown that no profound changes have taken place with regard to the 'Bhane-Beti-Vivhar'. The upper castes still maintain a distance from the lower castes. The rules regarding acceptance of Kaccha, Pakka and Seedha food still hold strong in the village. Similarly the water and smoking relations are unchanged.

Mention may be made here of a couple of castes who have shown mutability. These are Carpenter and Ravna Rajpoots. The former are, perhaps, trying to get a Brahminical status whereas the latter have gained the status of an allied caste in the village. Prior to Independence the Ravna Rajpoot caste was considered as inferior to the allied castes.

In the economic area, however, we find changes of far reaching significance. The different castes of the village have shown tremendous deviation from the traditional

occupations. These castes are the Meena, Sargara, Bhat, Bangle-maker, Butcher, Sad and Goswami. Their income from the traditional occupations was barely sufficient. The above castes belong to A_{2b4}, B₁ and B₂ sections of our hierarchical division of castes in the village, (see chart one in Chapter Three). The alternative occupations which are being adopted by the villagers are cultivation, farm labouring, memial labouring, industrial labouring and service. Such a deviation from the traditional occupations of some castes should, however, not be mistaken as the disintegration of the whole 'Jajman-Kamin Vivhan'. We observed that the castes still consider it an obligation to perform their respective roles in the village. But it may be admitted that the attitudes of Jajmans and Kamins towards each other have significantly changed. The irregular payment of the return has strained the relations between Jajman and Kamin. The Kamins, now have become conscious about their self-respect. Furthermore, the alternative occupations adopted by Kamin castes freed them from the clutches of Jajman as they no more depend on the return given by the Jajmans.

The fixation of electric pumps in the wells, has proved fatal to the agricultural jajmani system. It has relieved artisan castes, such as Carpenter, Potter, Blacksmith, etc., from their services for Arhat work. Hence, at present the agricultural and ritual Jajmani systems are being maintained by the villagers, it appears that the possibilities of their continuation are rare.

The most conspicuous and vital changes have occurred in the area of authority pattern. The abolition of Zamindari and the inception of Panchayat Raj have made the caste members politically conscious, thus piercing the solidarity of the village under hereditary leadership of the Thakur. This has affected the attitude of upper castes towards the lower castes and vice versa. The so-called lower castes, for example, Meena, Leather workers, Sargara, etc., refused to work 'begar' for higher castes. On the contrary, these castes are now active participants in the day to day administration of the village.

The implementation of Panchayat Raj has worked like a two edged weapon. On the one side it has uprooted the traditional caste inequalities and the leadership pattern; on the other side, it has infused factionalism into village. It does not imply that prior to the implementation of Panchayat Raj and the abolition of Zamindari, the village was free from factions. This did exist in a latent form. But the gulf between the factions was never allowed to widen to the extent that it may endanger the solidarity of the village. The faction formation in the village is along the lines of caste. The caste groups have played an imaginative role in the elections of Panch and Sur Panch. The leadership pattern in the village is determined by caste, as discussed in the Chapter on Caste and Authority. Strong evidences of the indulgence of caste in the political activities have been reported by many Sociologists. ⁷

⁷See M. N. Srinivas, op. cit.; A. C. Mayer, op. cit.

If we look at the whole situation of the village in a concerted manner, we ascertain that while the caste system has weakened on certain frontiers, it has not only maintained the internal elements, but has also acquired added strength in other areas. Castes are emerging as pressure groups in the various areas of village life. It has been said elsewhere that Leatherworkers in the Godwar region are emerging as a stronger political force and in the general elections in 1961, they could successfully send their candidate to the Assembly who was then appointed as a Deputy Minister for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Rajasthan. Dube has correctly observed:

"In contemporary India, there is a peculiar ambivalence to caste. According to the elite formation of the social aims of the country and its State policy, caste has to be abolished and abolished soon; but its emergence as a powerful political factor (and in this field its hold on the intelligencia) is one of the major paradoxes of India which is today on the road to modernization. Prophecies regarding the impending decline and collapse of the caste system are more wishful thinking, if they are not a dubious lip service to a remote social ideal, while it is true that caste is weakening on some of its frontiers, the fact of its having acquired added strength along certain new frontiers that have opened up in the last few decades also should be recognized."⁸

Srinivas also holds the identical view when he says,

" . . . voting, therefore, has strengthened caste consciousness. The successful candidate is expected to champion the interests of his caste."⁹

In the foregoing pages, the extent of change and the areas of change of caste system have been discussed. In spite of these changes, the fact that flows throughout the course

⁸S. C. Dube, in Forward to K. S. Mathur, op. cit. P. vii.

⁹M. N. Srinivas: in his article, "Changing Institutions and Values in Modern India", published in Economic Weekly XIII. Annual Number, Feb., 1962, P. 133.

of this thesis is that caste still holds sway in the village social setting.

After discussing the changes taking place in caste system in the above pages, it will not be out of place to diagnose the forces of change operating in the village. We have referred to this as the forces of modernization. They have threatened and shakened the century old traditional ideological and social structure of rural India.

Most of the forces responsible for change in the rural social setting have been effective throughout the length and breadth of the country. These forces are social and religious reform movements, Political independence, democratization, modernization, education, community development projects, social legislation, especially the Untouchability Abolition Act, Industrialization, schemes of rural upliftment, Panchayat Raj, individualism, occupational mobility, development of means of transportation and means of communication, - radio and newspapers, materialistic attitudes towards life, secularization, Samskritization, Gandhian ideology and Harijan reform movement, urbanization, abolition of Zamindari (Feudalism), consciousness about fundamental human rights and liberties, commercialized means of entertainment e.g., cinema, etc. This does not, however, complete the list of forces of modernization. These are no doubt the forces working on a macro level, the country as a whole is exposed to them. But then there may be many regional or local forces which also affect a village society. It is not possible to

discuss all these forces to ascertain how these forces are working, and the extent to which each force is effective, for these are the questions more complex and therefore need a separate treatment. The present study does not intend to discuss them in detail. However, it is obligatory here to mention a few forces which are crucial and to which the village under study is highly exposed.

The village Falna registers an impact of the general forces mentioned above and shares the changes with the rest of the rural social setting. But not all the forces are equally effective in the villages of different regions. Therefore, while treating these forces a distinction should always be made between general forces and the particular forces within the orbit in which the village lies. For example, the present village Falna is situated at a place where the forces of industrialization and urbanization are less effective as compared to the other forces, for the simple reason that there is neither a big industrial city nor any urban centre in the surrounding area. An Industrial Estate is under development at a distance of three miles from the village, and it is expected that within another decade this factor may become quite forceful to accelerate the speed of change. At present, it has attracted a small population of the village to work as labourers. It may be pointed out that in the entire sub-cultural region of Godwar there is not a single industrial or urban centre. Hence the Falna village is identical to many other villages of Godwar in

this respect and makes our task of generalization easier.

The basic effective forces at present in operation in Falna village are education; democratic decentralization; abolition of Zamindari, community development projects, development in means of communication, mobility of the villagers. Let us discuss them in brief.

Education

Only 5.5% population of the village is literate. There are one graduate, three intermediate pass, four higher secondary pass members. The rest either have primary education or are only literate. Education is not a necessary pre-condition of the breakdown of the chains of caste rules and regulation as the cases are quite common where we find that highly educated people also adhere to traditions of caste. Nevertheless, education does orient the attitudes and personality of the individual. It broadens his mental horizons. The educational facilities in the village and the surrounding region have been conducive to the emergence of a youth organization called 'Nav Yuvak Mandal' which mostly consists of educated young men. One of the aims of this group is to implement social equality among the different castes in the village. The 'Mandal' sympathizes with the sub-human conditions of the untouchable castes. I was told that the response of the villagers towards their activities is not encouraging. Yet the 'Mandal' proposes to make continuous efforts in this direction. In the field of rituals, the 'Mandal'

has insisted on the simplification of the Samskars and on spending lesser amount on marriages, Barsi, etc. Interestingly, the villagers accept more quickly these palatable reforms, as they can save money by following these reforms, and yet at the same time can maintain their prestige in the village by declaring themselves as progressives. But the moment they are asked to treat untouchables on equal level, to dine with them, to share bidi, or chilam, they show repulsion! Hence the pulse of caste system, the purity-pollution concept is deeply rooted into the minds of the villagers.

Panchayat Raj

The implementation of Panchayat Raj or democratic decentralization has ushered vital change in the intercaste relations. The Panchayat Raj gave freedom to Kamins from their Jajmans and made them conscious about rights, which resulted in some tensions between Jajman and Kamins.

Panchayat Raj significantly influenced the power and authority structure of the village. The caste groups are now transformed in the 'voting banks' which provide a 'social base' to the candidates contesting elections. In the Chapter on caste and authority pattern, it is shown how caste influences the faction formation, village leadership and elections in the village. Ultimately, the upper castes have realized the political significance of the lower castes. In short the democratic decentralization has weakened the rigidity of the caste system, but strengthened the caste

unity. It has weakened the vertical unity of the village but strengthened the horizontal unity of caste. The casteism is strongly growing among the villagers, it is further being channelized through the political parties and the other vested interests. Castes are the pressure groups in political area.

Community Development Projects

The village was included under Bali Community Development Block in the Year 1952. To be realistic, few people know about the established aims of the community development projects. The lower castes are provided with agricultural land, irrigation facilities, plough, oxen, improved seeds, etc. The Block is giving substantial aid for the purchase of electric water pumps. This has introduced a vital change in the mode of irrigation and has serious bearings on the Jajman system as discussed in the Chapter on Economic Structure.

Abolition of Zamindari

The Abolition of Zamindari has emancipated the lower castes from the clutches of upper castes and particularly the village Thakur. The castes that have benefited most by the Abolition of Zamindar and land legislation, are Chaudhries and Ravna Rajpoots. These castes were tenants of the land owned by the Thakur. But after this legislation they have become the real owners of the land and hence a large part of the village agricultural land is owned by these

two castes.

Mobility of the Villagers

A few families of the castes Butcher, Ravna Rajpoot, Gardener, and Purohit working in big cities like Ahmedabad, Bombay and Jodhpur, are not permanent emigrants; they have their kinship and social relations in the village, and therefore continue to visit the village for a couple of months. In the cities no one asks their castes. They lead a respectable life. They have commensal relations with the people of the different castes. When these families visit the village they either behave in the traditional village way or alienate themselves from the villagers.

Development in Means of Transport

The development of modern means of transportation, - railways, busses, etc., has made contact with outside people easier. The rate of interaction of the villagers with the people in other villages and towns is enhanced. As a consequence an incident occurring in one village spreads at a quicker speed and the reaction at the places is also very prompt. For example, the fact that the Barber caste has abandoned washing unclean dishes, is reported by many village studies.¹⁰ It seems to be a movement in the whole of North India. Similarly the Carpenters effort to acquire a Brahminical status is a widespread movement in North India.¹¹

¹⁰See for example D. N. Majumdar, op. cit.

¹¹B. R. Chauham, op. cit.

The same could be said about the Ravna Rajpoot caste. Thus the castes at a horizontal level always try to maintain uniformity. The development in means of communication has facilitated such a diffusion of the changing processes in the castes.

To Sum Up:

The following major and sub-hypotheses were formulated in the beginning of the thesis. The aim was to know the extent to which they are verified by the data collected from a village of Marwar, a culture area in the Province of Rajasthan, North India.

Major Hypothesis:

Caste remains a pivotal institution in the Villages of Marwar.

Sub-hypothesis:

- Sub-hypothesis 1. That the ritual structure of the village is determined by the principles of caste and that the purity-pollution concept is the most important factor which regulates the commensal relations among the villagers.
- Sub-hypothesis 2. That while the forces of modernization (this is an umbrella term which embraces the forces of industrialization, democratization, urbanization, etc.) have created occupational mobility, the Jajmani system which is an axis of the economic structure of the village is still intact. To further specify this point although the villagers have taken up new occupations inside and outside the village, they still perform their caste occupation obligations imposed on them by the Jajmani system. That is the traditional caste occupations and the non-traditional occupations (new occupations) coexist.

Sub-hypothesis 3. That caste is the one crucial factor in determining the present rational-legal authority and the group dynamics in the village. To further elaborate this point, while in the Weberian sense the traditional authority (that is, the authority of the feudal lord and caste councils) is formally transformed into rational-legal authority through the democratic decentralization - Panchayat Raj - in effect it is the traditional authority of the caste councils and the feudal lord which predominates the rational-legal authority. There is not only a coexistence of traditional and rational-legal authority, but the former is still effective to determine the structure of the latter.

In general, our major hypothesis and three sub-hypotheses are supported by the data collected. The sub-hypotheses were concerned with the ritual structure, economic structure and caste and the authority pattern in the village.

With regard to the ritual structure it has been shown that the village very clearly appears to be a distinct vertical unity of twenty-four castes. Such a vertical unity can be well discerned today at the occasions of rites de passage observed in a family from time to time and also at the various festivals celebrated in the village. The schematic and systematic hierarchical structure of caste is intact. Secondly, the caste purity-pollution concept is observed at the intercaste commensal relations. Thirdly, the village remains a 'Vertical Unity' of different castes while caste a 'Horizontal Unity' whose ties run across the village.

In the economic dimension we have seen that there is a coexistence of the traditional caste occupations and non-traditional caste occupations and that the caste occu-

pational groups are still rendering the services imposed on them by the Jajmani system. The nature of occupational mobility suggests two propositions: first, the lower the ritual status of a caste, the greater the deviation from traditional-caste occupations; second, the lesser the economic justification of a caste's ritual obligation, the greater the deviation from the traditional caste occupations. A typology for the occupations in the rural society is suggested in terms of occupational mobility and the occupation pattern of a rural society, viz., the 'entry-type occupation' and 'exit-type occupation'. It is further suggested that such a typology will be useful for a systematic and analytical study of a rural society.

As regards the Jajmani system it is shown that the system is an economic organization rooted firmly into the ritualistic matrix of caste. Lastly, though the forces of modernization have deteriorated the quality of relations between a Jajman and a Kamin, they have not yet been fatal to the system as a whole.

The authority structure in the village is analyzed in terms of Weber's fruitful distinction between the traditional authority and rational-legal authority. In the village, the caste councils - Nyats and Thakur, are the symbols of traditional authority, whereas the Panchayat Raj democratic decentralization, represents rational-legal authority. After the attainment of Swaraj (Independence), and Abolition of Zamindari, the traditional authority is

formally and ideally transformed into the rational-legal authority. In this connection it is shown that Nyat is at the root of the authority structure and group dynamics.

The pattern of rational-legal authority is still determined by the caste Nyats, the traditional authority and the Thakur enjoys both the traditional and the rational-legal authority. The source of his rational-legal authority is traditional authority of Nyats and his own traditional status in the village. Rational-legal authority is therefore, nominal while the traditional authority is real. Thus democracy in the village remains to be a casteocracy.

A P P E N D I X

APPENDIX I

A Glossary of the Native Terms

Abadi	- Village population
Adbak Panch	- Professional councillors
Arhat	- A well with a Persian wheel
Arhat Zamin	- The land irrigated by well
Bhaker	- Hills devoid of vegetation
Bara	- Courtyard
Bhane	- Food
Beti	- Daughter
Bhane Beti Vivhar	- The relations of food and marriage
Bhojan	- Food
Bidi	- A small local cigar
Chabutra	- Verendah
Chaupal	- The place where people sit to chit-chat.
Chaumasa	- Rainy season
Dal Bati Churma	- A type of food, - pulses, unleavened balls or crush of such balls
Dungar	- Hills with trees, plants and grass
Gaon Bhambi	- Village Council Peon
Gur	- A crude brown sugar which includes molasses
Gut	- Faction
Jajman	- Client
Jajmani	- Patronage, adjective describing the system of economic exchanges.
Jajman Kamin	- Patron client
Jajman Kamin Vivhar	- Relations between Patron and Client
Jagir	- Estate

Kaccha Food	- Food cooked in water, - chapaties, pulses, vegetable curry, etc.
Kaccha Houses	- Houses constructed with unbaked bricks
Kamin	-- Memial servant, worker
Kevloo	- Locally made tiles for roof.
Kaljug	- The modern period where people do not follow the religious traditions
Krishak	- Peasant
Moorakh	- A part of the plough
Mohallas	- Colonies
Nalah	- A small river
Pargana	- District
Pavanti	- A farm labourer employed for winter season
Panchayat Ghar	- Panchayat office
Pejka	- Well from which the water to the villagers is supplied
Sawe	- Auspicious days for marriage predicted by the Astrologer after consulting the almanac
Samskar	- Ritual
Sagri	- Farm Labourer employed for the whole year
Siyala	- Winter season
Thar	- Desert
Tajara	- Home brewed liquor, extracted from the opium flowers.
Ulala	- Hauz
Unnala	- Summer season
Vivhar	- Behaviour

Yuvak Mandal

- Youth Organization

SANSKRIT

Artha

- Material needs

Ashram

- A stage or period of life

Atma

- Soul

Avarna

- Lower castes

Brahma

- Lord Brahma (God)

Bramand

- Cosmos - cosmic unity

Dharma

- Religion

Dwija

- Twice born

Kam

- Sex

Karma

- Deed, action

Naya

- Delusion, snare

Moksha

- Salvation

Moha

- Passion, emotional attachment

Papi

- Sinful

Prajapatya

- Procreation, progeny

Samskar

- Ritual

Samsara

- World

Varna

- Colour, attribute, high caste

Vedantta

- Religious Scriptures, Arthaved,
Samved, Yejurved, Rigved.

APPENDIX II

INTERVIEW - SCHEDULE

The Pulse of the Caste System

in a

Village of Marwar

The Pulse of the Caste System in a
Village of Marwar

Case No.

Date of Interview

Identification:

1. Name of the Head of Family -
2. Household No.
3. Occupation
4. Name of Respondent
5. Religion
6. Caste
7. Sub-Caste
8. Education
9. Marital Status

-
1. Give the following details about the member of your Family (Table No. 1).
 2. What are the important Samskars which are performed in your family?
 3. Who is called by your family head to conduct the above Samskars?
 4. What is the system of celebrating the above Samskars? Give details.

TABLE NO. 1

S.No.	Name of the Member of Family	Relation to the Head	Age	Sex M. F.	Marital Status Single/Married/Widow/Widower/Divorced	Age at the time of Marriage	Education Illiterate/Primary/Secondary/High School/Above	Income from the Occupations (yearly) Main Subsidiary

Commensal Relations

5. Do you obey the rules of your caste regarding food and drink? Yes/No.
6. In what circumstances the caste eating rules are attenuated?
7. What are the factors responsible for such an attenuation of the rules?
8. What factors determine the invitation to other castes at Weddings or any other ceremony?
9. What seating arrangements are made at the time of feasts? Castewise/ classwise/ occupationwise.
10. What is the physical distance maintained between the upper and lower castes at the time of feasts?
11. Was there ever a conflict regarding seating arrangement at the time of an intercaste feast? Narrate the incident.
12. What castes are asked to serve at the time of an intercaste feast?
13. What services are rendered by the other castes at the time of the following Samskars? Birth, Marriage, Death.

S. No.	Name of Castes	Services Rendered	Return

14. What castes do you consider higher/ equal/ lower/ than Potter?

Higher	Equal	Lower

15. What are the rules of upper castes while treating with the lower castes with reference to the following:

Food

Smoking

Drinking

Rituals

Religious activities

16. What are the forces behind these rules?
17. What punishment is prescribed if the rules are violated? Can you cite some cases?

Caste Panchayats

18. Is there any Panchayat organization of your caste to operate the caste rules? Yes/No.
19. What type of rules are framed by the caste Panchayats?
20. What are the disputes settled by caste Panchayats? Can you cite some cases?
21. Did your caste Panchayat ever prescribe some punishment over the infringement of caste rules? Give details.

Year	Rule	Status of the Person Involved	Punishment	Purification

22. Is there any discrimination in your village regarding the use of the following?

A. 1. Wells.

2. Bathing Ghats.

B. Services of

1. Barber

A. 3. Temples.

4. Hotels.

5. Horse riding.

6. Ornaments.

B. Services of:

2. Washerman.

3. Tailor.

4. Brahmin.

23. Are the untouchables illtreated in your village?
If yes, what are those instances?

24. What causes pollution in your village?
Give details:-

Items	Name of the Castes which Pollute	Name of the Caste Polluted
Touching		
Smoking		
Drinking		
Food		
Talking		
Temple Entry		

25. How would you classify the various castes in your village in the following divisions:

In the order of hierarchy

Division I

Division II

Division III

Division IV

26. What castes would you not admit to the following:

(continued on next page)

26.

Items	Name of Castes
<p>1. Food/drink in your own:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Dining roomb. Feast in Pandalc. Well <p>2. To enter:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Bathing <u>Ghats</u>b. Burning <u>Ghats</u>c. Templesd. Hotels <p>3. To kinship by Marriage:</p> <p>4. As an intimate friend:</p> <p>5. As an acquaintance:</p>	

27. Give details of the Jajmani relations with reference to the following castes:-

Name of Castes	Services	Return
1. Goldsmith		
2. Gardener		
3. Blacksmith		
4. Carpenter		
5. Barber		
6. Potter		
7. Sargara		
8. Bhat		
9. Drummer		
10. Leatherworker		
11. Sweeper		

28. Give details of the occupations followed by the members of your caste:

Traditional Occupation
(No. of Families)

Changed Occupation
(No. of Families)

29. Has the change in occupation affected the ritual status?
Yes/No. If yes, how?

Jajmani System

30. What are the relations between Jajman and Kamin? Very good/ good/ bad.
31. How do the people become client of the Kamins?
32. What kind of relationship is there between the Jajman and Kamin? Economic/ Social/ Ritual/ Political.
33. In what way the Kamins serve the village people at the time of festivals?

Festivals	Castes serve	Nature of work	Return

34. In what way are the annual payments made by the Jajmans to the Kamins?

Names of Kamin Castes	Type of Service	Payment	
		In Kind	In Cash
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			

35. How many adults have left the traditional occupation from your caste?
Give the following details.

"Adults exclusively" following the T. O.	"Following as subsidiarily"	"Mainly"	"Not following at all"

36. In what way has the Abolition of Zamindari affected your caste?
37. What castes are benefitted most by the Abolition of Zamindari?

Village Politics

38. Are there factions in the village? Yes/No.
39. If yes, what are the names of the factions? Give details.

Factions	Leaders	Caste

40. Are you a member of any of these factions? Yes/No.
41. Are you a leader of any of these factions? Yes/No.
42. If yes, what faction?

43. How would you give your three preferences (I, II & III) to other factions with whom you closely associate?

Names of Factions	Preference

44. What is the basis of faction? Caste/Kinship/Class/
Occupation.
45. When was the Panchayat Raj introduced in your village?
46. How many elections have taken place of the Village
Panchayat?
47. Who were the contestants for Sur Panch in these elections?

Election Year	Names	Political Party	Caste	Age	Religion	Whether Elected

48. Who were the contestants for Panchs in the Elections?
Give details.

Elections	Names	Caste	Age	Religion	Political Party	Ward	Whether Elected

49. What do you think are the reasons for the success of the candidates?

1. Personal abilities	4. Religion
2. Caste	5. Political Party
3. Wealth or Property	6. Any other -

50. Was there any Village Panchayat before Independence?
Yes/No.
If yes, who controlled it?

51. What are the areas in which Village Panchayat is active?

52. Who do you think are the real leaders of the village?
Give details.

Names	Caste	Age	Education	Religion	Occupation

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ansari, G. Muslim Caste in Uttar Pradesh. Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, 1960.
2. Bailey, F. G. Caste and the Economic Frontier. Oxford University Press, 1958.
3. Bhattacharya, J. N. Hindu Castes and Sects. Calcutta: 1896.
4. Briggs, George. The Chamars. London: Oxford University Press, 1955.
5. Chauhan, B. R. A Rajasthan Village. New Delhi: Vir Publication, 1967.
6. Cox, Oliver Cromwell. Caste, Class and Race. New York: 1948.
7. Crook, William. The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India. London: Constable, 1896.
8. Carstairs, G. Morris. "A Village in Rajasthan," Economic Weekly, Vol. IV, Nos. 3 & 4. (January, 1952).
9. Darling, Malcolm Lyall. Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab Village. London: 1934.
10. Dollard, John. Caste and Class in Southern Town. New Haven: 1937.
11. Dube, S. C. Indian Village. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1955.
12. Fuchs, Stephen. The Children of Hari. New York: Verlag Herold, 1951.
13. Gahlot, Jagdish Singh. Marwar Rajya Ka Itihas. Jodhpur: Hindi Sahitya Mandir, 1925.
14. Ghurye, G. S. Caste and Class In India. Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1951.

15. Gough, E. Kathlene. "Caste in a Tanjore Village," in Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-West Pakistan. Edited by E. R. Leach. Cambridge University Press, 1955.
16. Goshal, Kumar. The People of India. New York: Sheridan House, Inc., 1944.
17. Hutton, J. H. Caste in India. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951.
18. Leach, E. R. "Introduction: What Should We Mean by Caste?", in Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-West Pakistan. Edited by E. R. Leach. Cambridge University Press, 1955.
19. Lewis, Oscar. Village Life in Northern India. Urbana, Illinois, 1958.
20. Marriott, McKim, ed. Village India. American Anthropological Association, Memoir No. 83. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.
21. Mayer, A. C. "Change in a Malwa Village," Economic Weekly. Vol VII, No. 39, (1955).
 ----- "Some Aspects of Caste Hierarchy," South Western Journal of Anthropology, Vol. No. 2, 1956.
 ----- "The Dominant Caste in a Region of Central India," South Western Journal of Anthropology, Vol. XIV, No. 4, (1958).
 ----- Caste and Kinship in Central India. Oxford, 1960.
22. Mathur, K. S. Caste and Ritual in a Malwa Village. New York: Asia Publishing House, 1964.
23. Majumdar, D. N. Caste and Communication in an Indian Village. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1958.
 -----, ed. Rural Profiles, I. Lucknow, 1955.
 -----, ed. Rural Profiles, II. Lucknow, 1955.
24. Miller, E. J. "Village Structure in North Kerala," Economic Weekly, Vol. IV, No. 6, (1952).
25. Mukerji, A. C. Hindu Fasts and Feasts. Allahabad: Indian Press, 1918.

26. Opler, Morris E. & Rudra Datt Singh. "The Division of Labour in an Indian Village," A Reader in General Anthropology. Edited by C. S. Coon. New York: Henry Hall, 1948.

----- . "Two Villages of Eastern Uttar Pradesh," American Anthropologist, 54, 2, pt.I (April, 1952).
27. Prabhu, P. N. Hindu Social Organization. Bombay, 1954.
28. Parsons, Talcott. Societies, Comparative and Evolutionary Perspective. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1966.
29. Prasad, N. Myth of the Caste System. Patna, 1957.
30. Risley, H. H. The People of India. London, 1915.
31. Stevenson, H. N. C. "Status Evaluation in Hindu Caste System," Journal of (Royal) Anthropology, I Vol.84, Pt. 132. London, (1952).
32. Srinivas, M. N. Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India. Oxford, 1952.

-----, ed. India's Villages. Calcutta: Asia Publishing House, 1955.

----- . Caste in Modern India and Other Essays. Calcutta: Asia Publishing House, 1962.

----- . "Changing Institutions and The Values in The Modern India," The Economic Weekly, XIII No. 62. (1962).

----- . "Social Structure," Gazetteer of India. New Delhi: Government of India Publication, 1965.
33. Weber, Max. The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. Translated by Talcott Parsons. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947.
34. Wiser, W. H. The Hindu Jajmani System. Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, 1958.
35. Wiser, Charlotte & William H. Behind Mud Walls in India. New York: R. R. Smith, 1930.