THE
GADULIYA LOHARS OF RAJASTHAN
—A Study in the Sociology of Nomadism

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To Professor R.N. Saksena
who blazed the trail of sociological studies
in India and whose inspiring guidance
and affection made this study possible,
and
To the Gaduliya Lohars of Rajasthan
with love.
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PREFACE

Ever since the publication of Col. Tod’s famous *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, the colourful cultures of the so-called backward communities and tribes of the glorious and chivalrous land of Rajasthan have been a source of attraction to many Indian and foreign scholars. While a fairly impressive number of research studies has been carried out on many subjects, the cultures of several communities living in the State remain to be studied systematically. Apart from 30 scheduled tribes, 108 scheduled castes and a number of other backward communities, there are 14 nomadic communities in Rajasthan. Excepting the Bhils none of them have, however, been studied scientifically. The ethnographic map of Rajasthan remains almost blank till now. This is mainly due to the fact that teaching and research in sociology in Rajasthan have started only recently.

I was motivated to conduct research in the field of sociology of nomadism by reading Maha-Pandit Rahul Sankrityayan’s inspiring book *Ghumakkad Shashtra* (Science of Nomadism), and by my friend, Mr. Harish C. Mathur of the Rajasthan Judicial Service, who had a great fascination for the life of the nomads, especially that of the Gaduliya Lohars of Rajasthan. Since none of the fourteen nomadic communities of Rajasthan had been studied till then, there was a good deal of choice before me. The Gaduliya Lohars, a nomadic blacksmith community belonging to the backward castes, interested me most as they out-size all other nomadic communities of Rajasthan in their traditional fame, in their numerical strength, and in their being the first nomadic people whose rehabilitation has attracted the attention of the State.

Ethnographically as also analytically, the study covers nearly all aspects of their society and culture including the new horizons of social change in their life. It took me more than four years (from November 1959 to January 1964) to collect the data on which this study is based. I have tried to observe and record as carefully and faithfully as possible the regional varia-
tions in the culture of the Gaduliya Lohars wandering or living in the different regions of the State. My original doctoral thesis contains a good deal of data on their folklore also. This part of the thesis is being published separately as a booklet, *The Folklore of the Gaduliya Lohars of Rajasthan*.

I am deeply indebted to Professor R.N. Saksena, Director, Institute of Social Sciences, Agra, for his inspiring guidance, generously and fatherly affection towards me during the last nine years of our association. I am grateful to my external examiners, Professor Fredrik Barth, Head of the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen, Norway, and Professor P.C. Biswas, Head of the Department of Anthropology, Delhi University, for their encouragement and suggestions which have greatly helped me in revising my thesis for publication.

I am thankful for the encouragement and advice which I received from Professor M.N. Srinivas, Head of the Department of Sociology, Delhi School of Economics; Professor F.G. Bailey, University of Sussex; Professor Adrain C. Mayer, School of Oriental and African Studies, London; Professor M.J. Herskovits, North-Western University; Professor T.K.N. Unmihan, University of Rajasthan; Dr. Indra Dèva, University of Jodhpur; Professor Kenneth Little, University of Edinburgh; Dr. Ram Ahuja, Department of Sociology, Rajasthan University; and from my Gipsy friend, Dr. Jan Kochonowski.

I am deeply indebted to my former colleagues of the Raj Rishi College (Alwar)—Mrs. Chandra Kanta Kumbhat, Mr. Jaipal Singh and Mr. P. Sinha, Principal, Raj Rishi College; to my father, Mr. Jugal Kishore; and to my friend, Pandit Yogeswar Prashad Sharma, for their kind help and assistance.

I wish to express my obligation to all members of the Gaduliya Lohar community for their love and hospitality, for accepting me as a fellow-member and allowing me to join them in their joys and sufferings. My labour will be amply rewarded if this study helps promoting a sympathetic understanding of their culture, needs and problems.

*S. P. Ruhela*

*September 5, 1968*

*New Delhi.*
An old Gaduliya Lohar woman
Introduction

Nomadism is the practice, fact or state of living, a wandering life involving the habitual or traditional movement of people in response to their needs of subsistence. There is no unanimity of opinion about the classification of nomads. Baines has given eleven kinds of nomads, namely, carriers, shepherds and wood-workers, earth-workers and well-workers, knife-grinders, bamboo-workers, mat and basket-workers, mimes, drummers, jugglers and acrobats, thieves, and hunters and fowlers. Thurnwald puts them into three kinds i.e., hunting and collecting nomads, pastoral nomads and agricultural nomads. The All India Enquiry—Nomadic Tribes Report has classified all the Indian nomadic groups into three categories: pastoral nomads, khanabadoshes (wandering tribes) and semi-nomadic tribes.

The pastoral nomads are those whose nomadism is connected with the needs of their herds. The khanabadoshes are herdless and homeless people roaming on foot, pack-animals or in vehicles and working as food-gatherers, hunters, fishermen, ventriloquists, genealogists, oracles, fortune-tellers, palmists,


3. All India Enquiry—Nomadic Tribes Report, New Delhi, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs (Mimeographed).
THE GADULIYA LOHARS OF RAJASTHAN

carriers, musicians, quack-surgeons, traders, and artisans like blacksmiths, basket-makers, bamboo-workers, etc. The semi-nomadic tribes include those who own homes and also land but wander periodically or during certain seasons of the year following the vocations as those of the *khanabadoshes*. However, a very simple and convenient classification can be on the basis of their chief means of earning livelihood. Accordingly, there are eight kinds of nomads: hunting and fishing nomads, pastoral nomads, food-gathering nomads, collecting nomads, agricultural nomads, trading nomads, artisan nomads, nomadic professional amusers and nomadic criminals.

The Gaduliya Lohars, who are the subject of the present study, have been categorized as a *khanabadosh* people (wandering tribe) by the All India Enquiry—Nomadic Tribes Report. The Government of Rajasthan has included them in the list of ‘Backward Castes’ of the State. More specifically, they can be classified as artisan nomads since they are blacksmiths by profession. They carry all their material belongings and the members of their families in their typical bullock-carts. They move in small bands or sub-bands, usually along their traditionally established routes, doing blacksmithy as well as the subsidiary profession of bullock-trading in rural areas for most part of the year. They claim to be a historical group having a glorious past connected with the famous Chittorgarh Fort in Rajasthan.

They are seen moving in several states like the Punjab, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujrat, Maharashtra, etc., but they are concentrated mainly in Rajasthan. They are known by different names in the different states e.g., ‘Bhubalia’ or ‘Bhivalia’ in the Punjab; ‘Bhubalia’, ‘Lohpitta’ or ‘Gadi Lohar’ in Uttar Pradesh; ‘Panchal Lohar’, ‘Chittoriya Lohar’, ‘Chitodi Lohar’ or ‘Gadia Lohar’ in Madhya Pradesh; ‘Belani’. ‘Dhumkuria’, ‘Kunwar Khati’, ‘Chittoriya Lohar’ or ‘Rajput Lohar’ in Gujrat and Maharashtra. In Rajasthan also, different names are used for them, e.g., ‘Bhubalia’ or ‘Lohpitta’ in the north-eastern region, ‘Gadi Lohar’, ‘Gadia Lohar’ or ‘Gaduliya Lohar’ in the north-western and central regions, and ‘Gaduliya Lohar’ in the southern region. However,
their most popular name in the State of Rajasthan is ‘Gaduliya Lohar’. As such the present writer has used this very name in this study. The words ‘Gadi’, ‘Gadia’ and ‘Gaduliya’ are simply the synonyms of a cart driven by two-bullocks which is an essential possession of each householder in these ‘Lohars’ i.e., blacksmiths. In Rajasthani language, the word ‘Gaduliya’ is used particularly for the typical carts of the Gaduliya Lohars.

Population of Gaduliya Lohars in Rajasthan

The Gaduliya Lohars of Rajasthan were enumerated in the last census under the British rule. Accordingly, there were 6,970 Gaduliya Lohars on 1st March 1941. The validity of these figures is doubtful in view of the fact that the census was conducted in the month of February which is one of the busiest months for the Gaduliya Lohar nomads. They wonder in sparsely situated villages, and many of them move out to the neighbouring states also during this period.

After independence, the Gadulia Lohars were categorized neither as a scheduled caste nor as a scheduled tribe, but they were simply put in the list of the backward castes of Rajasthan. It is due to this fact that they were not enumerated in the censuses of 1951 and 1961. However, an enumeration conducted by a committee of the Rajasthan State Revenue Department held that there were 16,648 persons in 3,611 Gaduliya Lohar families in the State in 1955. Their numbers in the different administrative divisions of the State were reported as

4. See Appendix I.
7. Now these political divisions have been abolished; instead the State is at present divided into twenty-six districts. The districtwise number of Gaduliya Lohars according to the 1955 enumeration has not been available to writer.
THE GADULIYA LOHARS OF RAJASTHAN

follows.

Table 1
POPULATION OF GADULIYA LOHARS IN RAJASTHAN IN 1955

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>No. of persons</th>
<th>No. of families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jodhpur</td>
<td>6,697</td>
<td>1,363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bikaner</td>
<td>3,747</td>
<td>970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaipur</td>
<td>2,677</td>
<td>575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udaipur</td>
<td>2,041</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kota</td>
<td>1,486</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>16,648</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,611</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since this enumeration was completed in the months of extreme heat when the Gaduliya Lohar bands return to their yearly encampments, it may be considered as a fairly valid enumeration. On the basis of these figures, we may roughly estimate that the present figures may be about 20,000 persons in 4,000 Gaduliya Lohar families in Rajasthan.

Area of Study

The Gaduliya Lohars are seen wandering in almost all the regions of Rajasthan, but a great majority of them is generally found in the fertile areas i.e., the north-eastern region comprising the Alwar and Bharatpur districts, the central region comprising the Ajmer district, and the southern and south-eastern region comprising the Jodhpur and Pali districts. Hence the present study has been carried out among the Gaduliya Lohar bands moving mainly in the Bhilwara, Ajmer and Alwar districts although one or two bands operating in each of the other regions have also been contacted in order to observe regional variations in the culture of these people. The writer contacted sixteen bands and sub-bands in all, half of which belong to the Bhilwara, Ajmer and Alwar districts. Besides
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des, all the important government-sponsored Gaduliya Lohar colonies situated in the different districts of the State have also been studied. Thus the study has necessitated the writer to touch at least, if not to cover fully, almost all the regions of the State.

Method of Study

No information about the population, movement routes and encampments of the Gaduliya Lohars was available beforehand to the writer. He started his field work in a small band of the Gaduliya Lohars in the Bhilwara district in November 1959. Having worked there for ten days, he contacted a different band in the Udaipur district on the basis of the information about its whereabouts supplied by the people of the first band. Then one band moving in the Banswara district was contacted. Since all these bands were found to be culturally homogeneous in all respects, no further bands were studied in the south-eastern and southern regions, and the writer moved into the Ajmer district. The very first band studied there revealed some cultural variations with the bands studied earlier. This enhanced the writer's eagerness to study three more band-groups in the district. Then one sub-band of the Jaipur district was contacted. It was similar to the bands of the Ajmer district, hence no further band was studied in the district. Then one band in each of the Nagore, Jodhpur and Bikaner districts was studied. They all had cultural homogeneity. Hence instead of studying any other band in the south-western region, the writer moved towards the north-eastern region and contacted a small band in the Alwar district. It showed marked regional variations with all the bands studied earlier, hence one more major band in this district was contacted.

Thus the writer went on working in the bands of the different regions of the State one after the other, for a period ranging from five to ten days in each band till he was satisfied that he had seen the whole range of cultural variations in which the Gaduliya Lohars of Rajasthan fell. During the first two years, the writer had contacted small
bands or sub-bands. But since a small band or sub-band does not represent in totality the community life of the Gaduliya Lohars, the writer felt the need of studying a major and complete band for a longer period of time. The encampment of such a band was discovered by the writer just at a distance of about a mile from the Raj Rishi College in the Alwar town, soon after his posting as a lecturer there in August 1961. He established contacts with the chief leader and all the householders of the band by his daily visits to the camp during the band's stay there from May to September 1962. The same band, comprising three sub-bands, was again studied intensively when it returned to the same encampment during the next year and stayed there for more than four months. Some necessary enquiries were made in the band for a number of days during 1964 also.

The first two bands studied in the Bhilwara and Udaipur districts in the beginning provided sufficient experience to the writer as to where, when and how the nomadic Gaduliya Lohars should be contacted and studied. Accordingly, the moving bands or sub-bands were studied during the period between October and March and full bands were studied while they were camping at their thiyas or operational epicentres or traditional camping sites of the bands during the months of extreme heat and rains, i.e., between the period from May to September. Their bullock-trading activities were closely and patiently studied by the writer in village cattle fairs, generally held during the period from July to September.

The writer tried his level best to establish satisfactory contacts with the Gaduliya Lohars in several ways. In the first two bands he tried to adopt the role of a peripatetic teacher to teach their children. Although it was quite interesting, yet it had to be given up soon due to the indifference of the people and the wastage of much of the writer's time since only a little of data collection could be possible through this role. Moreover, it was found that the Gaduliya Lohars were quite responsive to the direct questions of the writer. Hence for the rest of the duration of the field work, the assumed role of the peripatetic teacher in the community
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had to be given up, and the writer disclosed his correct identity as a college teacher interested in learning about their way of living and their difficulties etc., in order to write a book on their community. This plain and simple approach worked well.

The writer started establishing contact in almost every band or colony by tackling its sarpanch (chief leader) and asking questions about his genealogy—a matter which greatly interested him and his relatives and friends in the group.

Children were attracted by distributing candies, ballons and small pictures and by giving small chits of paper on which he copied the designs of tattooing on their bodies. The author's questions about their ornaments, clothes, tattooing designs etc., made young women feel quite interested in his work. Old women were very responsive when they were asked about their happy days of childhood and youth, dreadful famines of the past, and new changes in the customs and morals of the people. On persistent demands of some mothers, small coins of 5 paisa or 10 paisa were given to their children for purchasing eatables. Many a time, young girls and women would tell the writer: 'photoo khichan ra peesa hamkoo dena chahiye baboo.' ("O gentleman, you should pay us money for taking our photo snaps"). Such a demand was always rejected by the writer in good humour. Tobacco had to be provided to men off and on. Whenever the writer failed to carry it with him, he did find some one begging a few coins for purchasing tobacco or biri (indigenous cigarettes). On the whole, money was given very sparingly and stringently and no data was purchased with money as such. On the other hand, the writer did not have to spend anything on his food while working in the different bands and colonies, as he freely accepted the offers of the usual food cooked by the Gaduliya Lohars. This facilitated his contact with the people wherever he went.

The writer would show the photographs, taken earlier in other bands and colonies, to the people of the group in which he happened to be present. At times, he would reproduce their songs and riddles which greatly interested the people of
the new group. The contact with the major band at Alwar was established almost overnight when the writer arranged with the District Public Relations Officer, Alwar, to organise a show of documentary films at the camping site of the band in July 1962. Besides these, some commonsense things done by the writer such as giving photograph copies to those who were photographed by him, placing a coconut on the corpse of a Gaduliya Lohar, presenting a two-rupee note in kanyadan (dowry) in a girl’s wedding, providing some simple medicines for sore-eyes, boils, burns etc., from his small first-aid box, greatly helped him in his field work.

Information was gathered by participant and non-participant observations as well as by interviews of different types. Each Gaduliya Lohar was used as a source of knowledge and no effort was made to obtain information in chunks from selected or patronized chief informants only. No information, other than that of solely personal or secret nature, was taken on its face value; rather it was got checked by others present in the field and cross-checked by experienced, better-informed or reliable informants later on. The case study and genealogical methods were freely used.

By documentation method, some information was gathered from the records of the Gaduliya Lohar Seva Sangh, Chittorgarh, and other government offices. The questionnaire method was also tried for eliciting information about the colonies from the officers and social workers connected with them, but it was of only a little benefit. The tools of the study included two interview schedules and one questionnaire. Most of the interview notes were taken in the field itself before the respondents. Generally, there was no resistance or objection from their side because the recording of data always preceded by the establishment of satisfactory group contact on which the writer laid much emphasis.

Besides doing observational work as much as was possible, the writer made it a point to interview at least one person from each of the families in every band or colony studied by him. In doing this, he contacted not only the male householders, but
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the women and children also. Efforts were made to contact informants of both sexes and of all age groups. Thus nearly five hundred persons belonging to 506 households were studied by the writer in course of his field work. He personally observed ceremonies in 11 marriages and 4 deaths, proceedings of 8 panchayat sessions, 7 dancing sessions, 5 riddle contests, 9 cattle fairs, 9 religious worships, 3 inter-group quarrels and 5 intra-family quarrels. He prepared 32 life histories and 24 genealogical tables in course of the field work. Day in and day out, the writer lived and moved with the wandering bands for 103 days and covered a total distance of 120 miles riding in their carts. Besides this, he spent about two months in visiting the colonies and about eleven months spread over three years from 1962 to 1964 in studying the major band during the periods of its encampment at Alwar.

Previous Studies

The Gaduliya Lohars have so far not received as much ethnographic attention as they deserve. In Appendix ‘B’ of his ‘These Ten Years—A Short Account of the 1941 Census Operations in Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara’, A.W.T. Webb, the superintendent of the 1941 census operations in the area, gave a small ethnographic account of the different aspects of the life of this community based on his own field enquiries. However, a perusal of it reveals that Webb neither devoted sufficient time nor made his study broad-based enough to cover a fair cross-section of the Gaduliya Lohars of all the regions of the State. It appears that due checking and cross-checking of data was also not done by him on several points.

After Webb, nobody showed any interest in the Gaduliya Lohars for about fourteen years. A number of articles and pamphlets were published by writers, social workers and the State government in the beginning of 1955 to serve as publicity

8. See Appendix II.

material for the All India Gadi Lohar Convention held at Chittorgarh on 6th April, 1955. Almost all these publications simply reproduced the fascinating historical myths and brief ethnographic descriptions recorded by Webb. As has been mentioned, the Revenue Department of the State appointed a committee in 1955 to enquire into the economic conditions of the Gaduliya Lohars. The report of the committee has not been made public and despite the best of his efforts the writer could not have access to it. Only the population figures given in it could be gathered from an article by Permanand Sharma.10 A small study of the Gaduliya Lohars of the Ajmer district was done by a post-graduate student in sociology, R.L. Raipuria, in 1958.11 Some interesting and original field data was brought out in this study which remains unpublished till to-date. On the whole, no significant research study on the Gaduliya Lohars was available to the writer when he started his own study in 1959.


THE Gaduliya Lohars have no written tradition. Their origin is lost in the mists enshrouding the unwritten past. However, they very strongly believe that they are not at par with the Malviya and Maru caste blacksmiths found in towns and cities whom they consider much inferior to them. This belief is based on their claim that their own ancestors belonged to the upper Rajput caste and they were assigned the job of preparing weapons in the army of some Rajput ruler of the Chittorgarh Fort. They further believe that their ancestors adopted the profession of a wandering blacksmith only after they had escaped from the Chittorgarh Fort during the attack of a Muslim emperor. Thus they claim to be a historical group having glorious past connected with the famous Chittorgarh Fort.

However, we do not come across any specific reference of this community in any reputed work on the history of Rajasthan. Even Tod's 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan'\(^1\), which is considered to be a mine of legends and tales of the history of Rajasthan, does not mention a word about them. The celebrated works of Ojha,\(^2\) Gehlot\(^3\) and Raghuvir Singh\(^4\)

also do not make any mention of the Gaduliya Lohars. However, a brief reference about their origin is available in *Veer Vinod* (1886) written by Kaviraj Shyamal Dass, the court-historian of the Mewar State:

They tell that in olden times they lived in Chittorgarh. When it had fallen to the Muslims, they fled away from there and pledged that they would again live in settled homes only when the rulers of Chittorgarh had regained their lost freedom.\(^5\)

There is nothing concrete in this reference. The same is the case with a brief description appearing in the Report of the 1891 Census of Marwar:

They describe themselves as Rajputs. When there was a massacre in Chittor, their ancestors were defeated in the battle. In order to save their lives, they became blacksmiths and took the oath that till they did not take revenge upon the Muslim emperor they would not live in settled homes and would wander with their carts.\(^6\)

The Chittorgarh Fort remained a spectacle of repeated attacks and massacres by the Muslims during the Muslim rule in India. In the absence of any mention of the specific name of the ruler who ruled there or the emperor who attacked it in a particular year, this description seems to be vague.

In 1941 when Webb was collecting material about the origin of the Gaduliya Lohars, some of his informants expressed before him the possibility of the association of the origin of their community with Rana Pratap.\(^7\) Webb personally did not believe in it, but he recorded this belief of some of the respondents in his study. It is to be noted that he abstained from mentioning Rana Pratap’s name anywhere in his conclusion. Without keeping this fact into consideration, a host of


writers like Ram Singh, G.K. Panwar, Mahendra Saksena, Aidan Singh, Rana Mehta, B.D. Sharma, etc., in their articles, and the State government, the All India Gadi Lohar Seva Singh and others in their pamphlets and publicity leaflets popularized the belief, recorded by Webb earlier, that the ancestors of the Gaduliya Lohars had been the close companions of Rana Pratap. Many of our Gaduliya Lohar informants like Ganeshji, Baluji, Pyareji etc., of Ajmer, Jeewanji and Kanhiyaji of Alwar, Mohan Lal of Nagore, Ramuji of Pali, Banshi of Manglias and others have admitted that this tale was told to them by the organizers of the All India Gadi Lohar Convention, Chittorgarh in 1955. Prior to it, they had never heard about Rana Pratap from their elders, although they knew this much that they had come from Chittorgarh a few centuries ago.

Some writers have not lent support to the above traditional belief about the association of the Gaduliya Lohars with Rana


Pratap. Chandra Gupta Varshneya\textsuperscript{17} suggests that this community might have been formed at either of the three occasions: firstly, in 1303 when Emperor Allauddin Khilji attacked Rana Ratan Singh; the second possibility was in 1567 during Udai Singh’s reign; and thirdly, when after his father’s death in 1572 Rana Pratap took his historically famous vow. Ramesh Gunarthi\textsuperscript{18} believes in the first possibility, while Vishwa Deo Sharma\textsuperscript{19} lays stress on the second one. Mohan Lal, the oldest guide of the Chittorgarh Fort, informed the writer about a different occasion, that is, when Rana Sanga was defeated by Babar at Khanwa in March 1527 he was brought by his supporters from the battle ground to the village Baswa. On regaining consciousness, he pledged not to return to Chittorgarh as a defeated person in his life.

Thus we see that there are some different views and it is rather difficult to have any authentic historical evidence regarding the origin of these people.

Traditional Accounts

Some traditional accounts are popular in the community. Webb has tried to collect almost all of them.\textsuperscript{20} They are of two kinds. The first kind of accounts describe their origin, i.e., the circumstances in which these people became blacksmiths. The second kind of accounts tell us about their escape from the Chittorgarh Fort and their life after it. Some of them are interesting myths ornamented with supernaturalism and suggesting the origin of the Gaduliya Lohar community due to Goddess Parvati’s blessings to Sujni, wife of a blacksmith named Tinkhi Maharaj, due to Lord Shiva’s generosity in providing tongs, anvil and hammer to the homeless and hungry

\textsuperscript{17} Chandra Gupta Varshneya, “Gadia Lohar”, Hindustan, New Delhi, 6th April, 1955.


\textsuperscript{19} Vishwa Deo Sharma, “Gadia Lohar”, Rajasthan Times, New Delhi, 6th April, 1955.

GADULIYA LOHARS THROUGH THE AGES

Gaduliya Lohar refugees from Chittorgarh Fort. One traditional account recorded by Webb suggests the origin of this community as a result of the curse of Aie Lacha, a folk-goddess of the Gaduliya Lohars.

When the researcher tried to gather the traditional accounts and stories from his informants in the field, most of them simply repeated one or the other account given by Webb. All believed that they had originated from the Chittorgarh Fort, but none could give any exact information. When the writer asked Harji Gaduliya Lohar of Manglias (Ajmer district) about the origin of his community, he gave the following account which had been only imperfectly recorded by Webb earlier.

“Hundreds of years back, Sambhar (a town situated near the Sambhar salt lake in Rajasthan) was the capital of the Chauhan Rajputs who worshipped the local goddess Shakambhari and the local place of pilgrimage Devyani. When their famous ruler Prithvi Raj Chauhan was defeated and taken away by Mohammad Gauri to his country, Sambhar faced worse days. The Chauhan families started deserting the town; some of them moved to Madhya Pradesh, some settled near Barmer town in Marwar, while others scattered all over the country.

“Among those settled in Marwar, there was a young Chauhan Rajput chieftain named Ugam Singh of village Soda near Umarket. He was passionately in love with Aie Lacha, the beautiful daughter of Rilmal Singh who was the ruler of Paranagar in Gujarat. He wanted to marry her, but Rilmal Singh was opposed to the match. Once when Ugam Singh had gone to Rilmal Singh with his final request to him to reconsider the marriage proposal, the latter threatened to kill the former and all his supporters. Frightened at this, Ugam Singh and his supporters ran away from there and reached Ajmer to seek the help of the Chauhan Rajput chief of that place. The latter expressed his inability to help them and suggested them to approach the ruler of Chittorgarh, who was then the most powerful ruler among the princely rulers of Rajasthan.
"Grief-stricken and disgraced at the cowardice of her lover, Aie Lacha, who was pregnant at that time, severely cursed him, his supporters and also her own father, the members of his family and his advisers for disappointing her in her love that they all would become homeless and wandering blacksmiths and earn their daily bread with a lot of difficulties. Her curse was as follows:

थें सूखा ही फरजो,  
घाप के खाजो मतिना, 
भाड़ के सूजो मतिना, 
जितरे म्हारो साप लगे थें सूखा ही मरजो।

"My you always wander in hunger,  
May you never eat up to your heart’s content,

May you never sleep on a comfortable bed,  
May you die of hunger till my curse is effective."

"After some time, she gave birth to an illegal child, Khetla, and soon thereafter she committed suicide by swallowing amal ra gola (a big ball of opium). 21 Since then the Gaduliya Lohars have been using a typical word golya which means ‘heinous murderer’ (like the poisonous opium ball which took Aie Lacha’s life) in their quarrels. Her curse proved effective. Her father soon fell in bad days. He and the members of his family and supporters were forced to leave Paranagar. In due course of time, they also reached Chittorgarh to seek some means of subsistence under the Rajput ruler of Mewar. There they also were employed as warriors and assigned the same job of preparing iron weapons for the army which Ugam Singh and his followers had been assigned earlier. They lived in

21. According to Webb’s information, she committed suicide by burning herself. Harji and most of the other informants rejected Webb’s information when it had been put to them by the present writer.
GADULIYA LOHARS THROUGH THE AGES

Lohargarh near the fort. They were the people who prepared the two famous cannons—Kankra Pani i.e., one capable of rendering hills into pebbles, and Dhur Dhani i.e., one capable of turning all glory of the area under its range to dust.

“When the news of the approaching armies of Akbar reached Chittorgarh, the ruler Udaí Singh along with all the members of his family shifted to his new capital after leaving the fort under the charge of Jaimal and Phatta. When after a ferocious fight the fort was about to fall to the emperor, the followers of Ugam Singh and Rilmal Singh made good their escape from the Fort through the ‘Lakhota Bari’, a small door of the Fort in the northern direction. They hid themselves in distant jungles. After staying there for a short time, Akbar returned with his armies. He tried to take away the above-mentioned cannons but they themselves got half-embedded in the earth due to their mystical power and could not be removed from there. However, he took away with him three important things of the Fort—Kankrot Kunwar (huge doors of the main gate of the Fort), Ranjit Nagada (the inspiring war-drum of the Rajputs) and Sam-Chirag (the mysterious candle which could keep on burning in water as well as in strong winds).

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22. According to one of our most informed and intelligent non-Gaduliya Lohar informants, Master Shankerlal, who was an old resident of Chittorgarh and was locally well-known for his knowledge of the detailed history of the Chittorgarh Fort, the ancestors of the Gaduliya Lohars had been working in Lohari Khata (Department of Blacksmithy) under the Rajput rulers of Chittorgarh since the reign of Rana Sanga (Pratap’s grandfather). They had lived in Lohargarh near the Fort for a few years, but later on they were posted to the following five weapon-producing establishments in the Mewar State: (1) In the Chittorgarh Fort—on the eastern side near Chitrang tank i.e., between Raj Teela and Dudh Talai, there was a locality of about a hundred Rajput blacksmith families, called Loharghati, the ruins of which still exist there, (2) Lohargarh village, (3) Ramgarh village, and (4) Erarl village—four miles away from Chittorgarh Fort.

23. According to Master Shankerlal, the Lohars escaped from the Fort through the ‘Lakhota-Bari’ probably in the night of 23rd or 24th February, 1568. The fort fell in Akbar’s hand on the 24th February 1568.
"After Akbar's departure, the Rajput Lohars who had escaped from the Fort returned to see what remained there. They found death and destruction all over, but what shocked them most was the destruction of the temples and the massacre of the Brahmin priests there. So great was the human slaughter that the weight of *janeoo* (the sacred thread worn by an upper caste Hindu) taken off the corpses was 74½ maunds.  

In great anger at this outrage and knowing that they had lost their livelihood there, they took a vow that all of them would observe the following five taboos till the freedom and glories of the Fort were restored:

1. not to return to the Chittorgarh Fort and not even to see it;
2. not to live in permanently settled homes;
3. not to light a lamp in night (since the light of their life i.e., the fair name of their fort had already been lost);
4. not to keep a rope for drawing water from a well;
5. not to keep the cot on the cart in the right manner.  

"Having taken this vow, they were thinking to adopt a suitable profession to make their both ends meet. God Shiva helped them at that time of their adversity. He got his chariot repaired by them by providing them three iron tools viz. *eran* (anvil), *sandasi* (tongs) and *ghan* (hammer) which were made by him just then and there. Thus they adopted the profession of a wandering blacksmith. Many other former warriors of Chittorgarh, belonging to the different clans of Rajputs, also joined them by and by. In this way, they all became the Gaduliya Lohars."

This long tale told by Harji Gaduliya lohar is very

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24. "This number (74½) has, in course of time, become invested in Mewar with a special sanctity. Used on the back of a letter, it replaces a seal and guarantees immunity from opening by any one except the addressee." Webb, *Op. Cit.*, p. 131.

32. This was expressed in the following words:

चे ऊंगा ही खाट चालो अर फिरता ही रजो।

(Turn your cot up side down and die as a wanderer.)
impressive because it is an interesting admixture of the popular mythological traditions and some historical facts. However, it does not directly associate the name of Rana Pratap with the origin of the Gaduliya Lohars.

Thus the task of tracing the correct origin of the Gaduliya Lohar community does not seem to be easy. The fire-sparks of historical imagination in the form of historical myths and traditional tales given above do not fully help us in arriving at a satisfactory conclusion.

An effort has, therefore, been made by the writer to study also the customs and dialect of the community to see if they can provide reliable clues to the solution of the problem. In this connection, the following significant points may be mentioned briefly:

1. All the Gaduliya Lohars observe ratjaga (night-awakening) in memory of Aie Lacha one day before and after the actual day of marriage at the bridegroom’s place, as well as at the bride’s place. They sing religious songs throughout the night so that the goddess Aie Lacha may lessen the dread of her curse and make the marriage a success.

2. On the second day of marriage, a ceremony of ‘Khetla worship’ is performed by the newly wed couple in the company of other married women. The ghughri (a preparation of wheat and molasses cooked together) is placed on the sacred fire in order to please the evil spirit of Khetla (who, it is believed, was the illegal son of Aie Lacha) lest he should bring ruin to the new couple.

3. All the Gaduliya Lohars of Rajasthan and also those moving in the other states use a common dialect in which there is a preponderance of the words of the Gujrati dialect.

4. Before lighting the funeral pyre, the Gaduliya Lohars address the soul of the deceased by his or her worldly name and say: ‘Now you go straight to Chittor and rest there; do not return in the form of any ghost to trouble us.’ It shows that Chittorgarh has gone down
very deep in the belief system of the Gaduliya Lohars.

5. Even today, most of the nomadic Gaduliya Lohars observe the five traditional taboos relating to their return to Chittorgarh, settled homes, rope, candle and comfortable bed. They have been using cots for several decades, but to retain the old vow they keep it in the reverse order i.e., with its legs upwards when it is placed on a cart while wandering.

The existence of places like Sambhar Lake, Devyani tank, Soda, Ajmer, Lohargarh village, Lohari Ghati in the Chittorgarh Fort etc., and the occurrence of historical events like the downfall of the rule of Prithivi Raj Chauhan at Sambhar, Akbar’s attack on the Chittorgarh Fort in 1567-68 are undisputed facts. Hence, we have every reason to accord full credence to the traditional account given by Harji Gaduliya Lohar.

There is, however, one genuine difficulty in accepting the direct association of this community with Rana Pratap as many people believe. Years before Akbar’s attack on the Chittorgarh Fort, the ruler Udaï Singh had established his new capital in Kumbhalmer. During the time of the attack on Chittorgarh, he along with all the members of his family had taken shelter in his new capital. In the vivid and glittering accounts of that historic attack available in some historical records, no where do we come across any reference which might show that Prince Pratap also fought in that battle. As a matter of fact, he did not enter active politics during his princehood. It was only after his father’s death on the 28th February 1572 that he openly expressed his resentment at his father’s acts of cowardice and chose to regain the lost honour of his clan. Then he took his famous vow to lead a life of sacrifice. Later on, he fought against Akbar’s army in the battle of Haldighati in June 1576. Although he was defeated in it, yet he rose in public esteem and soon became famous in the country due to

his courage and valour.

We have seen that all traditional accounts and cultural factors amply show that the ancestors of the Gaduliya Lohars had departed from the Chittorgarh Fort at the time of its attack during 1567-68. When this is so, Rana Pratap does not come in the picture at all. It seems likely that although the ancestors of the Gaduliya Lohars pledged a life of discomforts by taking oath to follow their five taboos at their own initiative, yet they did not like to associate the name of their community with the then coward ruler Rana Udai Singh. So they chose to be known simply as the 'Chitodi Rajput Lohar' i.e., Rajput blacksmiths of Chittorgarh.

Such names are still popular for these people in other states. Later on when Rana Pratap's fame rose in history, it was probably very tempting for them to link his renowned name with the origin of their community, for it is a simple psychological fact that every body wants to share in fame and nobody in blame.

*Social Degradation of the Gaduliya Lohars*

The task of reconstructing the development of the Gaduliya Lohars through the last four centuries is difficult due to the non-availability of relevant written records. On the basis of information gathered from several Gaduliya Lohars and close observation of their culture, an effort is being made here to present the historico-cultural retrospect of the community, which, although somewhat conjunctural, may be of some help in understanding the formation of their community.

There are sufficient reasons to believe that the ancestors of the Gaduliya Lohars belonged to the different sub-castes of the Rajput caste. We find the present society of the Gaduliya Lohars divided into many of the sub-divisions of the Rajput caste viz., Panwar, Bodana, Chauhan, Rathore, Dabi, Solanki, Sankhala, Parihar etc. Following the traditions of the upper caste Rajputs, the Gaduliya Lohars still do not practice cross-cousin or parallel-cousin marriages. The greatest proof of
their Rajput origin is provided by their actual social behaviour with other Hindu groups. They consider themselves superior to the Deshi Lohars of the Malviya and Maru castes who are settled mostly in towns and cities. Being proud of their Rajput origin, the Gaduliya Lohars do not have marriage and dining and other relations with them. While a Malviya or a Maru Lohar does not put up any claim of his Rajput origin and is, more or less, contented with his lower position in the hierarchy of castes in the Hindu society, a Gaduliya Lohar often asserts his Rajput origin in his conversation and in actual practice with others. In some of the states where a number of Gaduliya Lohar bands migrated in the past, these people have always been preferring to be addressed by others as ‘Rajput Lohar’, ‘Chitodi Lohar’ or ‘Chittoriya Rajput Lohar’. All these points impel us to believe in the prevailing belief of the Gaduliya Lohars that they originated from the Rajput caste.

But as soon as their ancestors escaped from the Chittorgarh Fort in 1568, they tied themselves with the vow to observe the five taboos mentioned above. “Now and then in the earlier days, a Rajput flying from Moghul oppressor, might seek sanctuary among them, and they, for the love and respect they bore for the Rajput princes of Chittorgarh, would take them in and make them full-fledged members of their tribe.”

Inspired by the unique we-feeling grown out of their common adversity, they adopted a socialistic pattern of society in which

26. When Sir Athelstone Baines wrote the following lines, he was, in all probability, referring to the Gaduliya Lohars: “There is also a body of Lohars in the South, along the Rajputana border, consisting of Rajputs who from stress of circumstances, probably famines, were driven to adopt this (blacksmith) means of getting their living and though called Lohar, are apart from and above the rest.” Athelstone Baines, Ethnography—Castes and tribes (Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research (Vol. II, Part 5), Strassburg, Karl J. Trubner, 1912, p.60.


the people of all sub-castes and linages in the community were placed on equal social footing. They abolished the hierarchy of the sub-divisions of the group. Marriages among all of them were allowed without any consideration of superiority or inferiority, or hypergamy or hypogamy. Thus a free and effective social unity in the newly formed Gaduliya Lohar caste separated from the Rajputs was ensured.

According to many of our informants, their ancestors could not bring all their women with them when they abandoned the Chittorgarh Fort, as the latter had already committed johar (suicide by burning in fire to save one's honour in accordance with the medieval Rajput traditions) along with other Rajput women of the Fort. So they were in need of taking women from outside. The Rajputs of the different parts of the country did not like to marry their daughters to these people, probably because they considered them cowards for escaping away from the Fort instead of becoming martyrs there. Besides this, they might have been shocked at the menial job of a wandering blacksmith that the latter (ancestors of the Gaduliya Lohars) had adopted. As such, the latter had no alternative other than that of taking women from other castes. But being conscious of their Rajput origin, they would not accept women from the lowest and untouchable castes and tribes. Hence, according to some old Gaduliya Lohar informants, their ancestors took women from lower castes like the Khati (carpenter), Telī (oilman) etc. There are no documentary proofs of it, so we have to rely solely on the informants.

It is quite understandable that the superior caste Rajputs might have begun to look down at the Gaduliya Lohars as a backward people for their marrying women from the lower groups and they closed all avenues of social relationship with them. Consequently, the Gaduliya Lohars were isolated from the Rajput caste once for all and they formed a separate caste or a sort of estranged community of their own. Although, they might have taken women from other castes in the beginning, yet it appears that afterwards when their need was almost over they insisted upon the principle of group-endogamy.
which is one of their very important characteristics today.

Their separate and rather low respected caste-community having thus come into existence, they developed some social mechanism to organize and maintain it effectively. They developed a caste panchayat of their own to decide all issues relating to their group. They developed a secret dialect of their own which they call their Farsi. Their Farsi has nothing to do with ‘Persian’ which is also called ‘Farasi’ in India. Actually it is an admixture of the words from the Gujrati, Malwi, Mewari and Marwari dialects, along with a liberal sprinkling of altogether new words coined by them. It is possible that they might have developed such a secret dialect in order to go undetected by the spies of the Muslim armies; some informants have held this belief. It is also possible that it might have been created to converse amongst themselves even before their customers without letting the latter follow it. The Nuts and Banjaras and some other nomadic and other ex-criminal tribes do traditionally have their own specific secret dialects for this very purpose even now. For conversing among themselves, this dialect is used by the Gaduliya Lohars of Rajasthan as well as by those moving in other states. The different band-people use the regional dialects of the respective areas wherein they move or live when they talk with their customers or other outsiders.

The system of observing strict parda (veil) by the women according to the Rajput custom might have been discarded by the Gaduliya Lohar women due to two reasons: firstly, it might not always be possible in the hard nomadic life, and secondly, it might put hinderances in carrying on the blacksmithy trade for which an active cooperation of husband and wife was needed.

29. Webb also says, “...no addition to their fold from other castes is tolerated at any rate now a days. This is strange since, generally speaking, nomadic peoples are usually quite ready to grant membership to those who wish to join them, especially to women who have been deserted. The Gadia Lohars resist even the latter temptation.” Webb, Op. Cit., p. 148.
GADULIYA LOHARS THROUGH THE AGES

It is generally believed by the Gaduliya Lohars and many non-Gaduliya Lohar villagers that the Gaduliya Lohars lowered their position in the Hindu society greatly when for the sake of supplementing their income they had started castrating the bullocks secretly in the night like the untouchable Santhiya and Khurpalta nomads of Rajasthan. This activity is considered to be very dirty and offending to the Hindus since they respect the bullocks as the off-springs of *gou-mata* (cow-mother). It is possible that due to this practice the upper caste Hindus might have completely stopped sharing their food, water and *hukka* with the Gaduliya Lohars. Even the Khatis, Kumbhars and other caste Lohars began to look down at them to some extent due to this very reason. Many Gaduliya Lohars have informed the writer that nowadays they do not carry on the castration work, but even then they are suspected of doing it by other Hindus.

Due to their poverty, low respected blacksmithy trade, practice of castrating the bullocks, dirty clothes, etc., several social disabilities have been imposed upon them by caste Hindus. Generally in villages even now, they are not allowed by villagers to draw water from public wells, enter public temples and participate in village feasts by sitting in the rows of the upper castes. For the first disability, their traditional vow, that of not keeping a rope, has greatly been responsible. It is a common sight that their women stand at the foot of a village well with their empty jars in their hands requesting women of the upper Hindu castes again and again to pour water into their jars. But in that they adopt a selective pattern of acceptance. They can accept water from a Brahmin, Rajput, Vaishya, Ahir, Jat, Khati, etc., but not from a person belonging to the Nai (Barber), Chamar (leather worker), Dhobi (washerman) or any other untouchable caste or tribe. This may incidentally constitute an argument in favour of their claim that they were originally Rajputs, for if they had been tribals they would not have observed these commensal restrictions.

Some informants have revealed that formerly their ancestors (Gaduliya Lohars) had not recognized the practice of *nata*
marriage (remarriage of a widow or of a divorced woman), but when its need was felt by the group off and on, such a system was adopted by them also at a congregation of their community at the Pushkar fair about two hundred years ago. Although very useful to them, yet this system must have still lowered their position in the eyes of the upper Hindu castes who have not been recognising it since the very beginning.

Thus we find that the Gaduliya Lohars, who had actually originated from the upper caste Rajputs, found themselves degraded into a low and backward caste estranged from others due to historical accident. Some features of their community like the homogeneous socio-cultural and economic traditions, endogamy, lack of social stratification within the community, a great degree of psychological fusion and a specific common dialect of their own, lend a sort of tribal complexion to the Gaduliya Lohars to an outsider. But when following the suggestion of F. G. Bailey and Adrian C. Mair we analyze their relationships with other groups or communities in matters of acceptance of food, drinking water, hukka and mediation of others in the quarrels of their community, money-lending, marriage and the social relations with others as portrayed in their folklore, we find that they take place in the model of a stratified society and not in a segmentary society. 30 The data on which this conclusion is based is given in the following chapters.

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30. Personal comments of Dr. F. G. Bailey and Dr. Adrian C. Mayer on an earlier draft of this chapter.
II

*Kinship Organisation*

The Gaduliya Lohar community is divided into many main divisions which are known as *koms* or *nakhs*. Some informants informed the writer that there were twelve *nakhs* in their caste but neither they, nor any body else could name more than nine *nakhs*. Excepting the two *nakhs*, Panwar and Dabi, each of the rest is divided into a number of sub-groups, called *got* (corrupt word of *gotra*) or *khanp*. Each *got* is further divided into innumerable sub-groups known as *tads*.

The *nakhs* and *gots* of the Gaduliya Lohars are as follows:

**Table 2**

**Main Divisions and Clans**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nakhs (Main Divisions)</th>
<th>Gots (Sub-group or clans)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bodana¹</td>
<td>1. Ajjani, 2. Dama, 3. Dudhani,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Ghosala, 5. Hareeka, 6. Harkani,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Id, 8. Jairam, 9. Khachrani,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Lakhani, 5. Peerawat, 6. Rabani,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Rakhtara.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹. The Marwar Census Report 1891 gives Bodana as a *got* of the Gaduliya Lohars, but the informants have revealed that it is a *nakh* and not a *got*. 
4. Dabi —
6. Panwar or Parmar —

According to the Marwar Census Report 1891, there is a 'Baghela' nakh also in the Gaduliya Lobar caste. The writer has, however, not come across any person of this nakh. According to the historian, G.S. Gehlot, 'Baghela' is a got in the Solanki nakh.² Therefore, it appears that there is perhaps no nakh as Baghela in the Gaduliya Lohars.

An informant mentioned to the writer that there are some more gots like Tankhla, Cankhla, Chankhla and Khetri. It is difficult to classify them into proper nakhs. The Tankhla, Cankhla and Chankhla gots are believed by him to belong to the Tank Rajput nakh. This lays down the possibility that there should be one more nakh, Tank or Tak in the Gaduliya Lohars as Ram Singh has also mentioned in his booklet.³ There are some people of the 'Sadhurana' got. It is difficult to classify them into proper nakhs.

The nakhs are endogamous as well as exogamous groups. The gots are also endogamous as well as exogamous groups

within a nakh, but one cannot marry within the particular got of his father. The tads are strictly exogamous. It has been asserted by the informants that the ideal pattern of establishing a matrimonial relationship is to avoid the father’s nakh, and the three gots, those of the mother, paternal grandmother and maternal grandmother. But in actual practice the ideal pattern is not followed since one has to face difficulties in establishing matrimonial contacts with distant bands. Instead, they avoid the father’s whole nakh (main division) and only the three tads (lineages), that of the mother, paternal grandmother, and maternal grandmother. That is why, Jawanaji Bodana of Ajmer did not find any difficulty in marrying his children in the naks and gots of his two wives.

Meera Chauhan ⊗ = ⊖ Jawana ji Bondana = ⊖ Gulli Solankhi
(II wife)

Baluji Bodana ⊖ = ⊗ Bhonli Chauhan

Chotti Bodana ⊖ = ⊖ Gopi Chauhan
(Informant)               Dhanna ⊖ = ⊖ Dhanni Solanki

Dhannaji ⊖ = ⊖ Bhuri Bodana Chauhan

None of the children of Jawana ji married in the father’s nakh. Similarly, the children of Nainaji Rathore of the Mandal encampment did not marry in their father’s nakh, although they married in their mother’s nakh.
The members of a nakh have usually amicable social relations among them. They are hospitable and affectionate towards one another. But the members of a got, and, more so, of a tad have a greater degree of social interaction and we-feeling than those found among the members of a nakh. This is because of the fact of their descendence from a common ancestor.

Although the Gaduliya Lohars do not recognize any social stratification within their caste, yet the Panwars and the Dabis are considered to be 'somewhat dirty and inferior' people. This is because they have no clan and they do not hesitate to marry within their father’s nakhs even, avoiding, of course, the four particular lineages, those of the father, mother, paternal grandmother and maternal grandmother. An extract of the genealogy of Manga Baba of Ajmer illustrates the point.
Kinship Structure: The Gaduliya Lohars trace their descent along patrilineal or agnicl kinship lines. They have much affection and regard for their matrikins also. Finally, through their affinal kins, their social relations are all the more strengthened and their group solidarity is ensured.

All the agnicl kins of a person have a great unity among themselves. They are very affectionate, considerate and helpful to one another. In order to uphold the honour of the family, they are expected to have true brotherly relations among themselves. Generally, they live together in the same band. Due to their common patrilineal descent and coreidence for a fairly long period, their ties of mutual goodwill and love are all the more strengthened. Hence, it is often observable that when a Gaduliya Lohar gets a lot of blacksmithy work to do from a customer he passes on a portion of it to his agnicl kins living in the same band, so that they may also benefit from it. In matters of marriage and quarrel with other people in their community, they are all one. It is almost obligatory on the part of a boy’s father to take his elder brother or father or any other elderly male agnate with him to the family with whose daughter he wants to establish his son’s matrimonial relationship.

A Gaduliya Lohar has very affectionate and dependable
relations with his matrikins also. They are very helpful to the members of his family. They are always ready to offer their due customary regard, marriage gifts and help to the family. The advice of a maternal uncle in deciding matrimonial relationship of a boy matters a lot, especially when the boy's mother is a widow and she lives with her brother.

One's relations with his affinals are also usually very close and amicable. A man could be quite frolic some with his wife's brother as well as with the latter's wife, but his relations with the father-in-law are often very sober.

*Kinship Terms.* The following kinship terms are prevalent in the Gadulia Lohar society:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Baaji, Bap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Ma, Bhoji, Bhabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother (M.S.)</td>
<td>Bhai or Bheeya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother (W.S.)</td>
<td>Bhai or Bheeya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother (Child of step mother)</td>
<td>Bhai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother (Child of own mother and another father)</td>
<td>Dudh Bhai (Milk-related brother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister (Child of own father and another mother)</td>
<td>Behan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister (Child of own mother and another father)</td>
<td>Behan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister (W.S.)</td>
<td>Behan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder brother (M.S.)</td>
<td>Bada Bhai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder brother (W.S)</td>
<td>Bada Bhai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder sister (M.S)</td>
<td>Badi Behan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder sister (W.S)</td>
<td>Badi Behan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's elder brother</td>
<td>Bada Bap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's younger brother</td>
<td>Kaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's elder brother's wife</td>
<td>Badi Ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's younger brother's wife</td>
<td>Kaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's brother's child</td>
<td>Kaka ka Beta Bhai, Bada Bap ka Beta Bhai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
KINSHIP ORGANISATION

Father’s sister
Father’s sister’s husband
Father’s sister’s child
Mother’s brother
Mother’s brother’s wife
Mother’s brother’s child

Mother’s sister
Mother’s sister’s husband
Mother’s sister’s child
Mother’s father
Mother’s mother
Father’s father
Father’s mother
Husband

Wife’s father
Wife’s mother
Husband’s father
Hasband’s mother
Wife’s brother
Wife’s sister
Son (M.S)
Daughter (M.S)
Son (W.S)
Daughter (M.S)
Brother (M.S)
Sister (M.S)
Brother (W.S)
Sister (W.S)
Younger brother (M.S)
Younger sister (M.S)
Younger brother (W.S)
Younger sister (W.S)

Bhau
Phupha
Bhanu Bhai, Bhani Bhai
Mama
Mami
Mama ka Beta Bhai
Mama ki Beti Behan
Mausi
Mausa
Mausi ka Beta Bhai
Nana
Nani
Dada, Baba
Dadi
Dhani, Beend, addressed as
Thun (you)
Susara
Sasu or Sas
Susara
Sasu
Sala
Sali
Beta
Beti
Beta
Beti
Bhai
Behan
Bhai
Behan
Chota Bhai
Behan
Chota Bhai
Behan
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Term</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brother's child (M.S)</td>
<td>Bhatija</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband's brother's child</td>
<td>Bhatija</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother's child (W.S)</td>
<td>Bhatija</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife's brother's child</td>
<td>No term—Name to be used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's brother's child</td>
<td>Mama ka Beta Bhai, Mama ki Beti Behan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister's child (M.S)</td>
<td>Bhanja, Bhanji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband's sister's child</td>
<td>Bhanja, Bhanji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's sister's child</td>
<td>Bhuwa ka Beta Bhai, Bhuwa ki Beti Behan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister's child (W.S)</td>
<td>No term—Name to be used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife's sister's child.</td>
<td>Or Behan ka Beta, Behan ki Beti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son's son (M.S)</td>
<td>No term—Name to be used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son's daughter (M.S)</td>
<td>Pota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son's son (W.S)</td>
<td>Poti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sons' daughter (W.S)</td>
<td>Poti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter's son (M.S)</td>
<td>Dohta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter's daughter (M.S)</td>
<td>Dohiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter's son (W.S)</td>
<td>Dohta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter's daughter (W.S)</td>
<td>Dohiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Bhu (Bahu) or Thun (You)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter's husband (M.S)</td>
<td>Jawai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter's husband (W.S)</td>
<td>Jawai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son's wife (W.S)</td>
<td>Bhu, Bahu or Bindni</td>
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<tr>
<td>Son's wife (M.S)</td>
<td>Bhu, Bahu or Bindni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister's husband (M.S)</td>
<td>Behnoi, jeeja</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sister's husband (W.S)</td>
<td>Behnoi, Jeeja</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wife's brother's wife</td>
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<td>Jeth</td>
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<td>Husband's younger brother</td>
<td>Dewar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Husband's sister</td>
<td>Nanad or Lali or Bai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband's sister's husband</td>
<td>Nandoi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
KINSHIP ORGANISATION

Husband’s elder brother’s wife
Husband’s younger brother’s wife
Son’s wife’s mother
Son’s wife’s father
Younger brother’s wife (M.S)
Elder brother’s wife (M.S)
Younger brother’s wife (W.S)
Elder brother’s wife (M.S)

Jaithani or Bhabhi
Bindni or Dorani
Byan
Byaee
Bindni
Bhabhi or Bhojai
Bhabi or Bindni
Bhabi or Bhojai

Distant Relations

Father’s grand father
Father’s father’s younger brother
Father’s father’s elder brother
Mother’s father’s elder brother
Mother’s father younger brother
Sister’s son’s wife (M.S)
Sister’s son’s daughter (M.S)
Sister’s son’s son (M.S)
Sister’s daughter’s husband (M.S.)
Sister’s daughter’s son
Sister’s daughter’s daughter
Sister’s son’s wife (W.S)
Sister’s son’s son (W.S)
Sister’s son’s daughter (W.S)
Sister’s daughter’s husband (W.S)

Pad-Dadaji
Dadaji
Bada Dadaji
Bada Nanaji
Chota Nanaji
Bhanji Bahu
Bhanji poti
Bhanja Pota
Bhanja Jawai
Bhanja
Banji
Bhanji Bahu
Dohta
Dohiti
Bhanja Jawai
THE GADULIYA LOHARS OF RAJASTHAN

It is clear from the Gaduliya Lohar kinship terminology that nearly all the terms are those prevalent among most other caste Hindus. There are definite terms for father, mother, father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother, sister, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, nephew, niece, son-in-law, mother's parents and her brothers. The descriptive terms are used for all parallel and cross cousins e.g., *kaka ka beta bhai* (paternal uncle's son=brother) *bhuya ka beta bhai* (father's sister's brother) etc. However, while speaking common classificatory terms *bhai* (brother) or *behan* (sister) are used by them. The term *bindni* (bride) is used by a man or a woman for the son's wife, younger brother's wife, nephew's wife and daughter's son's wife. The Gaduliya Lohars have fairly developed customary behaviour and practices for dealing with their kins. A Gaduliya Lohar does not call his father, mother, grand-father, uncle, aunt, father-in-law, mother-in-law, elder sister, elder brothers and their wives and his own wife by their names. In the same way, a woman does not address her parents, parents-in-law, husband's elder brothers and their wives and her husband by their proper names.

A Gaduliya Lohar husband never addresses his wife by her name as it is believed that “...*nam leba sun umar kamti hove*” (“...her age is lessened by calling her by name”). He hesitates in addressing her by any kinship terminology also. However, out of affection for her or for the sake of convenience, he generally calls her by the pronoun *thun* (you). In the same manner, the wife also does not address her husband by his name or colloquial terminology; she also uses pronoun *thun* for him. This is what goes on between them but generally before others they address one another by teknonymy, e.g., “*Ramuda ra bap*” (O, you father of Ramu), ‘*O choti bai ra bhaisa*’ (O, you brother of my sister-in-law, chotibai), etc. The use of teknonymy is fairly prevalent among the other kins as well. A woman addresses her mother-in-law, or her classificatory mothers-in-law, and father and mother of her husband by teknonymy. A middle aged husband also uses it while addressing his wife. Thus one pays respect to his or her kins by the use of teknonymy.
A married Gadulya Lohar woman of Central Rajasthan.
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However, superior kinship position dominates all considerations of age. A paternal uncle, howsoever younger in age than his nephew he may be, is not addressed by his name by the nephew. Instead, the term *Kaka* (uncle) is used for him and due respect is paid to him by the nephew and his wife and children.

A man can eat the *aenthi* (leavings in the plate) of his parents and agnates, but not of his parents-in-law and wife. A wife does not eat the *aenthi* of her father-in-law, husband’s elder brothers and their wives.

The Gaduliya Lohars have definite modes of salutation and reception which are regulated by kinship usages to a great extent. When a son or nephew comes after a long time, he greets the man (father or uncle) by touching his feet and saying “*Ram Ram*”. The man responds, “*Jivta Raho*” (may you live long). A man follows the same etiquette when he meets his mother, uncles, elder brothers, elder sister, father-in-law, mother-in-law, elder sister-in-law and elder brother of his wife. A woman bows and salutes with folded hands at the feet of her real as well as classificatory parents, wife of her husband’s elder brother and husband’s elder sister. In her husband’s home, she meets her female affinals of equal age by embracing them lightly. She does not touch the feet of her own father, mother, sister, elder brother or the elder brother’s wife. She greets them by saying merely, “*Ram Ram*”, and in return she is greeted similarly.

Without any considerations of age, a *bindni* (son’s wife) must bow down and press the spindles of the legs of her mother-in-law, all classificatory mothers-in-law, wife of husband’s elder brother, wives of husband’s elder cousins, husband’s elder sister and of any other woman who is considered to be superior to her husband in kinship. Any violation of this custom is viewed as *be-adabgi* (disrespect) by the woman towards these kins, and this may evoke *kaha-suni* (reproachment) from the other members of her family.

On the occasion of his visit to his married sister’s family, it is customarily obligatory for a man to present the gift of a few *kanchalis* (brassiers) and an *odhani* (upper garment) to his
sister, and at least one kanchali to each of his classificatory sisters also in the band. i.e., to the wives of the brothers and cousin-brothers of his sister’s husband. He is expected to bring bhat or mayra (marriage gifts) not only at the occasion of the marriage of his real sister’s child, but also at the marriage of the children of these classificatory sisters. In actual practice, however, only a few Gaduliya Lohars are able to do so; the rest are hindered by their poverty.

When a woman dies young leaving behind an infant, the husband is faced with the problem as to who should suckle the child. All classificatory mothers and sisters of the infant’s father and those of the late mother are considered eligible to give their breasts to the infant. In their absence, even the infant’s real brother’s wife or cousin-brother’s wife, or maternal aunt may also feed it. Generally, the dadi (paternal grand-mother) or the nani (maternal grand-mother) takes over the charge of such a child, since these female kins are socially and psychologically bound to have the greatest degree of affection and sympathy for the child. By their rich experience in handling children, they are able to provide a tender and congenial environment for the growth of the child. And, that is why, the old widow Dhanni of Khanpura was rearing her two small natis (children of her deceased daughter) out of her pharaz (duty), although she herself was extremely poor.

In the absence of a dadi or nani, the choice falls upon the infant’s mother’s sister i.e., mausi or the infants bhuwa (father’s sister) who out of her sympathy and regard for the child and its father may volunteer to rear it. The step-mother is generally envious, as such the infant’s father and his other relatives try to send the child to some close and affectionate kin in some other band where it is kept for many years. In the meanwhile, the father visits him from time to time. He offers brassiers and sweets to the woman who rears the child. But such gifts need not be given to the dadi or nani as they do not accept them saying that they are simply fulfilling their pharaz (duty).

Relations with Customers: Being artisans, the Gaduliya
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Lohars have to depend upon the customers outside their community for their livelihood. As such, they realise the psychological importance of using proper terms of address for them. All elderly customers are addressed by such terms as “Ba Sa” (respected father), “Dokari Ma” (old mother), Bai (sister) etc. A male urbanite, looking somewhat well dressed and educated is addressed by the term “Babu ji” (Sir) or “Bhaji” (brother), while a female urbanite is addressed by the term “Bai ji.” Besides these general terms, the Gadulinya Lohars use respectable and flattering terms of address for their customers in keeping with the traditional repute of their respective castes in the village society. They use the word “Pandit ji” for the Brahmin, “Thakaran” for the Rajputs, “Seth ji” “Sethan” or “Lala ji” for the Baniyas (Vaishyas), “Patelan” for the Jats, etc. Even a poor and landless farmer is addressed by the flattering term “Jamindar” (land owner). Due to their constant association with the people of different castes and tribes of their region, even their children acquire so much experience as to recognize the castes or groups of their customers merely from their dresses, moustaches, and speech. Like their elders, they also use the appropriate terms for them. Although the Gadulinya Lohars use a lot of filthy or obscene speech while talking amongst themselves, yet they are very polite, respectful and sober while dealing with their customers. “Wo mharga mai bap che; wano bhunda kwano bolan?” (They are our mothers and fathers; how can we speak in an obscene language to them?”), explained an old Gadulinya Lohar woman.

Friendship: A friend enjoys a high position and great esteem in the Gadulinya Lohar society. Though intimate friendship is rarely made, yet once made it is considered to be sacred and permanent. A Gadulinya Lohar does not establish intimate friendship with a person of a community lower than his own, as it affects his caste prestige and self-respect. “What will my brethren in the band say if I make friendship with a Khurpalta or a Bhangi?” said Hemaji.

The two friends call each other by name, but if one happens to be somewhat older than the other, the younger one addresses him as “Bhai.” A woman also can establish friendship
with another woman. Each friend calls the other by name if both are of the same age. When two friends establish friendship, the elder one invites the younger one to his house and presents a pair of clothes to him. He presents an odhni or lugadi (upper garment) for his mother, and a safa (turban) for his father also. He invites his relatives and gives a feast according to his position. The younger friend is not allowed to present anything to his elder friend or his parents. He can only present some clothes to his friend’s sister. The women also celebrate their ritual friendship in the same manner. It is obligatory for the friends to be present on the important occasions like marriage, death etc., in each other’s family. They help each other under all circumstances. Whenever one visits the other’s place, he helps him in his blacksmithy work for a few hours like any other member of the latter’s family. If this friendship breaks down due to some reason, the panchas of both sides try their level best to make them agree to re-establish their friendship. But if they do not agree, they lose their respect in their own community. They are not trusted by their kins and others in the society as the Gaduliya Lohars believe that ‘one who deceives his friend cannot be true and faithful to anyone else’. But if the panchas and other elderly people of the community find that one of the friends is a man of immoral character, they see that their friendship breaks down.

The ritual friendship among the Gaduliya Lohars is of a serious type, as it entails life-long obligations. Cross-sex friendship exclusively is not to be found. In the interpersonal relations of the Gaduliya Lohar society, a friend is equal to the brother relationship, as is the case with the Santhals. Thus we find that the basic characteristics of all friendship relations, suggested by S.K. Srivastava apply in case of the Gaduliya Lohar friendship also.

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kin, highly valued in society, and is given symbolic formulation in terminology. There are reciprocal obligations and there is mutual effect, phrased variously as confidence, reciprocity and the like.
III

Domestic Units

The gaduliya (cart) is the home of a family group of the Gaduliya Lohars. The household is built around one elementary family of a man, his wife and their children with the occasional addition of unmarried or widowed relatives who would otherwise be lonely in the family, or the wife and children of a married son who is the only son or the youngest son of the parents.

The different types of households in three different Gaduliya Lohar bands out of the several contacted by the writer were distributed as shown in Table 3.

The average number of persons in each of the households in these three bands was 4.9 and the average number of children was 3.3. The overall average number of persons in all the 506 households belonging to the sixteen bands and sub-bands studied by the writer was 5.03.

The household occupying a gaduliya is a property-owning group. The right to dispose of the property is controlled by the head of the household. The earnings of the smithy work done by the members of the household are not differentiated but used in the joint economy of the household. For the sake of its existence, the household holds its authority over all the equipment necessary to follow its traditional nomadic mode of life—cart, bullocks, blacksmithy tools, utensils, clothes, beddings, cot, etc., and generally there is very little of their lending to and borrowing from other households.
### Table 3
#### Composition of Households*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinds of families</th>
<th>I Band</th>
<th>II Band</th>
<th>III Band</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow (er) alone</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow (er) and Chi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single man and Mo.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow, Chi. and Hu. Mo.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu. and Wi.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu., Wi. and Chi.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary families with additions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu., Wi. and Chi. Hu. Mo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu., Wi. and Chi. Hu. Br.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polygenous families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu., 2Wi. and Chi.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended patrilineal families</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu., Wi, Chi, SoWi., SoChi.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 17 13 19 49

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* Abbreviations used: (Hu.: Husband; Wi.: Wife; Chi.: Children Mo.: Mother Br.: Brother.1

### Intra-family Relations

As the above table shows, a majority of the Gaduliya Lohars have elementary or nuclear families, each of which is reckoned by a gaduliya of its own. Within each family, there is a distribution of authority. Each family has a recognized head who represents the household in all dealings with the panchas of the band and the bigger band and outsiders. Where there is an elementary family, an adult man is invariably the

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1. This typology of the households has been taken from Professor Barth's study, *Nomads of South Persia*, 1961, p. 12.
head of the family even though his old father who is a widower may also be living with him. But if the family has only the widow and her unmarried children, she is the head of the household for all the practical purposes of earning, spending and representing her family in other caste affairs. In deciding matrimonial relations of her children, she mostly depends upon her husband's brothers and in their absence, upon her own brothers or other close relatives. In a household containing an elementary family with additions of the householder's old parents, the authority of purchasing new bullocks for the gaduliya or selling them to others is exercised by the man (head of the household) since he holds the highest status in the family, being its chief earner. However, he often takes the advice of his old parents and relatives in the band. When the family has to purchase clothes, ornaments etc., from the market, both the man and his wife go there. The man as well as his wife can exercise his or her individual discretion in purchasing coal, old tins, iron scrap, new maal (iron) etc., in the streets or market. He is obeyed by his wife, children, younger brothers and sisters and also by his widowed mother. The regular menu generally remains unchanged, but if on any day the loharan or karigarni (housewife of the head of the blacksmith household) wishes to cook some special preparation, she generally seeks her husband's approval. If the husband desires to get a particular food prepared, the loharan has to do it ungrudgingly, for, after all, he is the dhani (master) of the household. On the whole, with respect to decisions in domestic and familiar domain both are at par. The oldest male kin of the husband living in the household is feared most by all the members. He may not beat the younger ones, but he does give olba (reproachment) to them for their undesirable behaviour. He may even scold his son although he may be the chief earner or the head of the household, whenever he finds that the latter is doing some foolish or undesirable thing.

If the householder's old father is also living with him, the latter pays great respect to him and looks after him with esteem. He sees that the food is served to the oldman first and that his wishes are fulfilled as far as possible. If he
sees that his wife or any of his children shows any kind of disrespectful or uncooperative behaviour with the old man, he is at once agitated and he corrects them by his scoldings or even by punishment. He himself is somewhat shy and afraid of his old father. He does not try to do anything which may hurt the latter's feelings. The same sort of respectful behaviour is accorded to an uncle or any other elderly agnate living in the family.

It has been noticed in a few cases that while a householder does not dare to speak harshly with his old father, he is so often very impolite with his old mother, especially when she is a widow. This he usually does at the instigation of his wife who resents her mother-in-law's strict control over her. Before his own parents, a householder usually does not beat his erring, lazy or impolite younger brothers or sisters lest the parents should feel offended. He may, however, scold them very harshly.

If it is an extended or joint family, several kins live in it. The social status of different persons in the family is regulated by the following general principles:

(i) Men occupy higher status than women.

(ii) In the two generations, persons of older generation occupy a higher status than persons of younger generation.

(iii) In the same generation, older persons occupy higher status than younger persons.

(iv) The status of women is determined by the status of their husbands.

(v) The social status of husband's agnate is superior to the wife's agnate if both are living in the same family.
But the economic status of each member is not usually the same as his or her social status in the family. The diagram which follows illustrates the point.

![Diagram showing family relationships with status indicated]

The diagram shows that there are very significant differences in social and economic status of a person. The status of a son-in-law living with his in-laws' family has also been mentioned in the diagram, although there are only a few such cases. In spite of the prevalence of the system of ultimogeniture in the Gaduliya Lohar society, the youngest son does not have any social or economic status superior to his elder brothers till they are living in the parental family.

Status of Woman

The status of woman in the Gaduliya Lohar social structure may be examined in the economic field as a daughter, wife, mother, mother-in-law and widow, and in the social field in the light of her freedom in mate-selection, divorce, dealing with strangers and participating in the caste panchayat. However, it is rather difficult to isolate the two fields completely.
<table>
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<th>Social status</th>
<th>Members of family</th>
<th>Economic status</th>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Householder’s wife</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>H.H.’s (widowed) old father</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>H.H.’s mother (widow)</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>H.H.’s (widowed) old uncle</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>H.H.’s (widowed) aunt</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>H.H.’s (widowed) elder brother</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>H.H.’s (widowed) elder brother’s wife</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>H.H.’s elder brother’s son</td>
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<td>H.H.’s first younger brother</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>H.H.’s first younger brother’s son</td>
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</tr>
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<td>H.H.’s first younger brother’s daughter</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>H.H.’s second younger brother</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>H.H.’s second younger cousin’s wife</td>
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</tr>
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<td>16</td>
<td>H.H.’s second younger brother’s son</td>
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<td>H.H.’s second younger brother’s daughter</td>
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<td>H.H.’s eldest son</td>
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<td>H.H.’s eldest son’s wife</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>H.H.’s eldest son’s son</td>
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<td>H.H.’s eldest son’s daughter</td>
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<td>H.H.’s second and third son</td>
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<td>H.H.’s second son’s wife</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>H.H.’s widowed daughter’s sons</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>H.H.’s widowed daughter’s daughter</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>H.H.’s son-in-law (ghar-jawai) or husband of the second deceased daughter</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Ghar-jawai’s children</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>H.H.’s wife’s younger brother</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>H.H.’s wife’s brother’s son</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Woman as a Daughter

The economic status of an unmarried daughter is very low in her parental family. She has to assist her parents in all the blacksmithy and household activities. Till the age of eleven or twelve, she is engaged in the light sort of blacksmithy activities like handling the bellows, preparing small iron articles etc. But when she grows into an adolescent, she is imparted training by her parents and other members of the household to strike the red hot iron with a ghani (heavy hammer). By the time she is sixteen, she acquires a fair degree of mastery over all sorts of blacksmithy activities. Her parents see that along with the blacksmithy work she learns cooking, sewing, milking animals and doing all other household activities. They carefully guard her moral character by not allowing her to go alone to isolated places or market; somebody must accompany her wherever she goes.

As an adolescent girl, she is as economically productive as any of her adolescent brothers, but usually she has no right to spend anything of her own accord. She cannot purchase anything or give any money or gifts to any person without the permission of her parents or brother. Any sort of indolence, extravagance, loitering, loose-talking, retorting, grumbling or gift-receiving from other males is not tolerated by her parents who are always conscious of their duty to make her a good house-wife for her husband. They often scold her in these words: “What will your dhani (husband) do with you if you do not know the kam (blacksmithy work)?” “O raand (widow, an abuse), you will bring a bad name to my family by your haram-khori (laziness or desire to shirk from work). You must work swiftly.” “What will your sasu (mother-in-law) say if you work in this irresponsible manner?” If she doesn’t improve by such scoldings, the parent may even give her a blow while constantly reminding her what she has to do in her actual married life ahead. Many girls are married in their childhood, but they have to live with their parents till they become fully mature and their muklawa (post-marriage ceremony) is performed. In their father’s household, such girls do not have their position superior to that of any of their
unmarried sisters.

As a matter of fact, a girl is an asset to her parental family as her parents do not have to spend on her dowry in her marriage; instead they receive bride-price for her.

The Woman as a Wife

The actual married life of a girl begins when she goes to live with her husband after her *muklawa* in her sixteenth or seventeenth year. In one band of Ajmer, the ages of twenty-six girls at their marriages and *muklawas* performed between the period from 1959 to 1963 were found to be as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in years</th>
<th>No. of girls married</th>
<th>No. of <em>muklawas</em> performed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>up to 2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 — 4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 — 6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 — 8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 — 10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 — 12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 — 14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 — 16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 — 18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 — 20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 — 22</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 22</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table also shows that although 24 out of 26 girls belonging to this band, were married before attaining the age of sixteen, only four of them had their *muklawas* performed by that age. The *muklawa* of five girls had not taken place till the time the writer made enquiries.

Child-marriages are less popular among the Gaduliya.

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Lohars of the north-eastern region of the state. This is probably due to the impact of the Punjabi culture on them. Even then the girl’s age at the muklawa is more or less the same as her counterpart in the central region. This is clear from the following table showing similar data relating to a band of Alwar district.

Table 5
AGE AT MARRIAGE AND MUKLAWA IN A BAND IN THE ALWAR DISTRICT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in years</th>
<th>No. of girls married</th>
<th>No. of muklawas performed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>up to 2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 — 4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 — 6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 — 8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 — 10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 — 12</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 — 14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 — 16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 — 18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 — 20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 — 22</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 22</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The muklawa of four girls had not taken place till the time of the investigator’s enquiries in the band.

In the initial period (usually of less than two years) of her married life, she lives as a bindni (bride). She has a trying existence during this period. She has to perform all the household activities as also some of the blacksmithy work swiftly and meticulously, lest her parents-in-law and husband should be angry with her and call bad names to her and her parents. She has to look after all the brothers and sisters of her husband, as also the children of her husband’s elder brother if
they are living in the same family. Besides these, she must bear the crude jokes of her dewars (husband's younger brothers), and nanads (husband's sisters) who usually join their mother (bride's mother-in-law) in pricking the bride with sarcastic remarks. The bride has to bear all this quite mutely. She finds very little solace from her husband's side also since he is himself economically dependent upon his parents. The persons who are ideally expected to be kind to her are her parents-in-law, husband's elder brother, husband's elder brother's wife, husband's younger brothers and sisters, husband's maternal uncle and aunt. But in actual practice, most of them are either very strict or rather unfriendly with her. In the beginning, she has to observe some sort of parda (veil) before all the males elder than her husband. She has to observe an avoidance taboo in dealing with her father-in-law.

It has been gathered that when a man wants to tease, irritate, abuse or cut a joke with another elderly man, he makes a suggestion that the latter cohabits with his son's wife. In actual practice, however, such cases are very rare.

The same sort of avoidance taboo is applicable to the relationship between a woman and all the classificatory fathers and elder brother or the classificatory elder brothers (parallel cousins) of her husband. A part of this taboo exists between a woman and her mother-in-law. She has to avoid sitting or eating with her mother-in-law. Probably, this is due to the feeling of regard for her rather than due to any other implication.

She is forbidden by the customary taboo to talk to him directly or to sit near him either on a cot or on a cart, or even on ground except for blowing the bellows. She is not allowed to lift the heavy ghan (hammer) and strike red hot iron with it when her father-in-law is holding the iron, lest the lively parts of her body should be exposed before him in this activity and he should be sexually attracted towards her. She is prohibited by the social mores to handover to him his bottle of wine, to wash his dhoti (lower garment) or to laugh at or to cut jokes with him. The father-in-law also has to be cautious
and sober in dealing with his daughter-in-law.

Most of the people observe the avoidance taboo with their daughters-in-law very rigidly. But a few cases came to the writer's knowledge in which friendly relations between these two kins exceeded the customary limits, so they were ridiculed in the group.

The inter-personal relations of the bindni and the other members of the household are very well observable in their usual seating pattern on the gaduliya (cart) while it is moving. The head of the household sits on the thalia (front portion of the cart) and holds the reins of the bullocks in his hands. The loharan, i.e. his wife, sits just near him, and her adult son and other young children sit near her. Although the daughter-in-law is not required to observe purda, yet she cannot sit near her father-in-law or any male member superior to her husband in age or kinship due to her observance of the avoidance taboo as such, nor can she sit near her husband as it means a sort of be-adabgi ( discourtesy) to her elders in the family. So she sits in a corner of the back portion of the gaduliya, and her sisters-in-law sit near her. Many a time, the writer observed that while a daughter-in-law was sitting on the gaduliya her mother-in-law was following the cart on foot, and vice versa. Some Gaduliya Lohars explained this by saying that according to their cultural tradition, only one loharan (a blacksmith's wife) should occupy a gaduliya at one time; so whenever there are two in a household, one of them must get down, and after some time, she should be replaced by the other one. The cart is usually driven by the male householder or any other male. It is not a taboo for a woman either, but a menstruating female is forbidden to do so as it is believed that she might pollute the articles placed in the thalia (front portion of the cart).

The bindni (bride) has to pay due courtesy to all her real and classificatory mothers-in-law, sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law living in the same family or in the same band or elsewhere.

Many of these inter-personal relations are exquisitively portrayed in the folk songs of the Gaduliya Lohars given
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below. A young Gaduliya Lohar poet, Dhonkal of Khanpura, very aptly portrayed a bindni's relations with her husband's kins in a song. A scorpion has stung her thigh near the village well. Crying and weeping, she comes to her father-in-law's cart. Only her husband is there and her parents-in-law and other kins have gone to market. The husband makes her lie on a cot. He erects a sirki reed curtain round her. She asks him to allow only the most intimate and sympathetic kins like the mother-in-law, husband's elder brother's wife, husband's elder sister and husband's maternal aunt. But she asks him to tighten the sirki when those kins come with whom she observes avoidance taboo. She does not like her dorani (wife of the husband's younger brother) to come near her, for the latter is usually jealous of her, being suspicious of the intimacy between her husband and the jethani (bindni). The song runs as follows:

गांवों की कूड़े ये बीछू खागयो, के गोरी ना बचे रे बालमा,
के गोरी ना बचे।

सुसंसूजी आबे तो सिरकी तान दो रे बालमा, के गोरी ना बचे रे बालमा,
के गोरी ना बचे।

सारू जी आबे तो सिरकी खोल दो रे बालमा, के गोरी ना बचे रे बालमा,
के गोरी ना बचे।

जेठ जी आबे तो सिरकी तान दो रे बालमा, के गोरी ना बचे रे बालमा,
के गोरी ना बचे।

जेठानी जी आबे तो सिरकी खोल दो रे बालमा, के गोरी ना बचे रे बालमा,
के गोरी ना बचे।

देवर जी आबे तो सिरकी खोल दो रे बालमा, के गोरी ना बचे रे बालमा,
के गोरी ना बचे।

दौरानी आबे तो सिरकी तान दो रे बालमा, के गोरी ना बचे रे बालमा,
के गोरी ना बचे।

नन्दोई जी आबे तो सिरकी तान दो रे बालमा, के गोरी ना बचे रे बालमा,
के गोरी ना बचे।

नन्द जी आबे तो सिरकी खोल दो रे बालमा, के गोरी ना बचे रे बालमा,
के गोरी ना बचे।

मामा जी आबे तो सिरकी तान दो रे बालमा, के गोरी
ना बचे रे बालमा,
के गोरी ना बचे।
A scorpion stung me at the village well, I won't survive,
O balma, I won't survive;
If susraji comes, stretch the sirki, I won't survive,
O balma, I won't survive;
If sasuji comes, open the sirki, I won't survive,
O balma, I won't survive;
If jethji comes, stretch the sirki, I won't survive,
O balma, I won't survive;
If jethaniji comes, open the sirki, I won't survive,
O balma, I won't survive;
If dewarji comes, open the sirki, I won't survive,
O balma, I won't survive;
If doraniji comes, stretch the sirki, I won't survive,
O balma, I won't survive;
If nanadjii comes, open the sirki, I won't survive,
O balma, I won't survive;
If nandoiiji comes, stretch the sirki, I won't survive,
O balma, I won't survive;
If mamaji comes, stretch the sirki, I won't survive,
O balma, I won't survive;
If mamiji comes, open the sirki, I won't survive,
O balma, I won’t survive;
A scorpion stung me at the village well, I won't survive,
O balma, I won't survive.

In the following song composed by a girl of Beawar, ideal type of a parent-in-law has been emphasized. Who will shower affection on the bride if the father-in-law and mother-in-law are not in the sasra (husband's parental family)? Without these persons, the sasra is in vain, just as a nose, tooth, arm, bow and arrow are of no avail without the ring, gold nail, ivory bangles and the baby-brother respectively.

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नाक है सूनो, ऐ बाई, नलडी बिना;
धनप, कमान, भाया बिन सूनो।
दांत सूनो, ऐ बाई, चूंपा बिना,
धनप, कमान, भाया बिन सूनो॥
हाथ है सूनो ऐ बाई चूडा बिना,
धनप कमान भाया बिन सूनो।
लाड है सूनो ऐ बाई, सासु बिना,
धनप, कमान, भाया बिन सूनो॥
सासरो सूनो, ऐ बाई, सुसरा बिना,
धनप, कमान, भाया बिन सूनो॥

For want of the nose-ring, the nose is in vain, O bai (sister),
For want of the brother, the arrow and bow are in vain, O bai;
For want of the gold nail, the tooth is in vain, O bai,
For want of the brother, the arrow and bow are in vain, O bai;
For want of the bangles, the hands are in vain, O bai,
For want of the brother, the arrow and bow are in vain, O bai;
For want of the mother-in-law, the love is in vain, O bai,
For want of the brother, the arrow and bow are in vain, O bai;
For want of the father-in-law, the inlaw’s place is in vain, O bai,
For want of the brother, the arrow and bow are in vain, O bai.

In the following song popular among the Gaduliya Lohars of the south-eastern region, a bride gives very apt adjectives to her kins in the husband’s family, and, thereby, she emphasizes their ideal images. The father-in-law must be a large-hearted, just and influential householder; he has been compared to the ruler of a fort. The mother-in-law is to be respected for producing gems like the bride’s husband and her affectuate dewars and nanads. The last two kins have been compared to the bride’s choicest things—the ivory bangles and red brassier. The husband has been compared to the ornament of the head, i.e., the borla, which is the most important and invariable decoration of a Rajasthani married woman:
**My susroji** is the ruler of the fort,
**My sasuji** is the storehouse of gems,
**My jethji** is the cord of the armlet,
**My dewar** is the ivory bangle,
**My kanwar** is the light of my family,
**My dheeyaj** is the finger-ring,
**My janwai** is the jasmine flower,
**My nandal** is the necklace of pearls,
**My nandoi** is the red brassier,
**My sayab** is the decoration of my head,
And I am the decoration of my husband’s bed.

(* sister-in-law; ** husband)

We have seen that the bride has a very low status till she lives in the joint family of her father-in-law. But this phase is of a short duration. There is a custom among the Gaduliya Lohars that a man should give the gift of a cart and all the necessary equipment to his son as early as possible after the latter’s muklawa, thereby enabling the son to form his own independent household. The writer’s information in this connection in three bands for the period from 1960 to 1964 is as follows:
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Table 7
TIME OF SEPARATION AFTER MUKLAWA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Months after muklawa</th>
<th>No. of sons separated from their parental families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I Band</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 — 3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 — 6</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 — 9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 — 12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 — 15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 — 18</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 — 21</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 — 24</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 — 36</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After 36</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It shows that out of a total of 29 cases 13 sons separated from their parental families within one year, while 14 sons separated within the second year and only two after the second year.

As soon as her husband forms his independent household, the woman assumes its full charge. The training received by her in her father's family and later on in the father-in-law's family enables her to bear effectively the new burden of her economic, social and moral responsibilities as the wife of the householder. As the sole organizer of the household activities, active co-worker in the blacksmithy work and pleasurable companion of her husband in the enjoyment of love and sex, she holds a very important status in her new household. Her husband is ready to fulfil her desires of food,
clothing etc., but he cannot become a slave to her, for, after all, both he and she very well know that he is the *dhani* (master) of the household and she has to obey him. Her present status is certainly superior to her earlier statuses as a daughter or as a *bindni*. However, there is one great threat to her status. She must prove her fertility to her husband and the members of his parental family lest she should be divorced or deserted by her husband, or lest her husband should bring a *saut* (co-wife). Shayari, a girl of twenty-four voiced this apprehension while narrating her life history to the writer:

‘My husband and I have waited for five years, but I have not conceived so far. I love my husband very much; he also loved me very much during the first three years of our married life. But now he is so dissatisfied with me that he is almost ready to divorce me. He beats me on one pretext or the other. What should I do? I don’t know.’

To meet this sort of threat to her status, a woman has no alternative other than remembering and worshipping the gods and goddesses.

The status of the wife moves on upwards leap and reaches its optimum limit after the birth of a child, especially a son. After becoming a mother, she is freed from the tyranny of the sarcastic remarks of her husband and the members of his parental family. Her place in her husband’s household is fully strengthened now. Her responsibilities grow all the more heavy; she has to look after her child or children besides doing the usual household and blacksmithy work. She has no rest, and hard work keeps her tired. But all this is greatly compensated by the emotional satisfaction or the mental poise which she comes to acquire after all. She is accepted as an effective member not only in her husband’s family but in the larger family or lineage of her husband as well as in the band. She is taken to be an experienced woman within a few years; other women, especially her juniors in the band, come to seek experienced guidance and material help from her in matters connected with illness, birth, child-rearing, cooking, etc.
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The Woman as a Mother-in-law

When her son is married and his bindi comes to live in her family, her status is at its climax. She holds much command on her son, bindi and children at this time. She exploits her position as the superior-most woman in the family by acting as a hard task master and a nagging and authoritarian mother-in-law for her daughter-in-law. In many cases, the mothers-in-law are certainly very kind and affectionate to their daughters-in-law. It has been observed that most of the women do not ill-treat their daughters-in-law either due to the fear of their own husbands or due to their realization of the fact that sooner or later her son and the bindi would separate from the family and hence they should not be troubled.

The Woman as a Widow

When unfortunately a woman becomes widow in her youth or post-youth period of life, her status receives a severe blow; it goes down instantly. If she has many children, her chances of remarriage are remote and she must suffer starvation, disease, mental worries etc., as the agonies of her widowhood. But in case she has no child or only one small child and she still retains some of her bodily charm or youth, she prefers to return to her parents who may marry her to some other person.

On the whole, a Gaduliya Lohar widow like her counterpart in the upper Hindu caste society has a very low status. She has to abandon all enjoyments of dress, decoration, sex, music or dance. Not only this much, the very sight of her is considered to be a bad omen by most people. The members of her husband’s family attribute the death to her ‘devilish nature.” “You have eaten him up” they may blatantly charge her. If she has some children and she chooses to live within the band of her husband’s agnatic kins, she exercises full control on all the belongings of her late husband. She represents her household in all matters connected with the band and the panchayat. However, the lot of the widows like the Anchi, Rukma, Gulli etc., of the Ajmer district was found to be very miserable. Many of them could eat only once a day; they had
no material possessions excepting the tattered clothes and broken carts. They were suffering "like animals" and looked for the day when their children would become grown-ups and would relieve them of their miseries. How carking is the lot of a widow who after years of her crushing widowhood is, ultimately, deserted by her grown-up sons under the influence of the tutoring of their young wives? This irony of fate has occurred in many cases during the recent years. But for the continuing meagre help of their other kins and friends in the band group, such women would not have survived to narrate their tales of woe to the writer.

Status of Women in Social Field

We have so far not examined the social position of a Gaduliya Lohar woman in respect to her freedom in making selection and in dealing with the strangers. It may suffice to mention here that she has little freedom in the selection of her mate. This is due to three reasons: firstly, the effective patriarchal control over the younger ones; secondly, prevalence of child marriages, and thirdly, the feeling of apathy or hatred with which the community looks down at love marriages. When the writer asked a girl standing in the company of her girl-friends as to whom she would be married, one of her friends instantly replied. "It is not the business of the girls to choose their husbands. It is the sole responsibility of the parents. Better go and ask her father." A few cases of elopement and love-marriages do take place even then. Although in the beginning they excite a lot of resentment in the group, yet ultimately they win and the love endures. The writer came across only five cases of love-marriages during the period from 1959 to 1964 in the sixteen band groups studied by him.

Since her childhood, a Gaduliya Lohar woman is instructed again and again to keep away from undesirable persons. She should talk business only with the customers and must not accept any eatable, easy money or any other gifts etc., from the strangers. It is enjoined upon her to shun the company of wine-sellers and not to enter the shops and houses of their
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customers. All this is to prevent the chances of sexual corruption.

The analysis so far presented shows that the status of the Gaduliya Lohar woman is no better than that of an upper caste woman. But she enjoys the right to desert or divorce her husband if he illtreats her. She can return to her parents' household where she may be remarried by her parents to some other person, but that person must be approved by her also. More about divorce will be said in the chapter on marriage.

Division of Labour

Labour is divided among the members of the household by sex and age, but there are only a few tasks which are specifically allotted to only one sex or one age-group. The various labour tasks may be grouped in three categories: domestic tasks, blacksmithy work, and the daily cycle of movement.

Domestic Tasks

It is necessary for the daughter-in-law to bring water from the village well, cook food and clean the utensils. She may be assisted by her unmarried sisters-in-law. When many guests come and more water is required, her mother-in-law may also go with her to the well. She may help her in cooking also on such an occasion. If it is an elementary family, the loharan (housewife) has to do all these tasks herself. The loharan and her daughter-in-law or her daughter join their hands at the grinding wheel for grinding grain. The householder can also assist his wife in this task if there is no woman or girl in the household to help her. This, of course, presents a funny scene to the non-Gaduliya Lohars among whom a man never cooperates with a woman in grinding grain. A wife washes the clothes of her husband and children. She may wash the clothes of her husband's younger brothers also, but not the clothes of her husband's elder brother or father as it is considered improper. Activities like sewing, mending of old clothes, and washing and nursing the children are always done by the loharan, her daughters and her daughter-in-law. No spinning and weaving activities are done by the
Gaduliya Lohars. When it is an extended patrilineal family, the chief loharan goes to do market jobs. Her husband and adult married son remain at their camp doing blacksmithy work. Her daughter-in-law also stays there to cook food and to look after the children, while nearly all the young girls and boys with others in the band go out for collecting fuel, old tins, iron scraps lying on fields, roadsides, streets and dumping sites. Although both men and women can go to market to sell their products and purchase fuel and other articles, yet usually the latter are seen doing these tasks as the former remain working at the camps. The young, adolescent or adult male of the household takes the bullocks to a water place. Milking of cow or goat, if any, may be done by a man or a woman (generally by the latter). The worship of gods and goddesses may be done by either sex, but usually the old persons, being more religious, are more inclined towards it than the younger ones.

Blacksmithy Work

The head of the household or his mother makes fire for the blacksmithy work. The loharan or her daughter-in-law or any of the daughters does not make fire when the male head of the household is present there, as it is considered proper that the head of the household himself should start the daily trade upon which the whole subsistence and the prosperity of the household depends. The bellows are, generally, handled by a woman who may be the wife, mother, daughter or daughter-in-law. The head of the household sits near the fire and holds the red hot iron on the anvil, while his wife (loharan or karigarni) or some other woman or man of the family strikes the red hot iron with a heavy ghan (heavy hammer) again and again. When the father-in-law or husband’s elder brother works at the anvil, the daughter-in-law is not allowed to do the hammering task for him. This is to prevent the exposure of the breasts and other attractive parts of her body before a superior male relative of the husband which constitutes be-adabgi (discourtesy) for her.

Daily Cycle Movement

A domestic unit keeps on moving along its traditionally
DOMESTIC UNITS

established route for most part of the year. During this time it covers village after village, usually camping for two to four days or so at one place. These frequent migrations consume much time and affect the organization of the daily round of activities. The activities start just before dawn on the day a household has to leave for the next village on its route. All the members of the family get up earlier than on the other days. The boys take the cattle to the drinking place, and put fodder before them on their return. The housewife starts cooking food while the daughter or the daughter-in-law brings water. The lohar (head of the household) assisted by others in the family puts the tools, fuel, iron scrap, clothings, beddings etc., in the cart. When the food is ready the householder and other males and little children eat it together. The women and girls usually take their food after the men have finished their meals. The members of the family carefully search the ground area covered by their cart lest any tool, useful piece of iron or coal should be left behind. When all have taken food and all the household effects have been put in the gaduliya, the head of the household engages the bullocks to it. The cots are placed on the gaduliya, and then all the members of the household sit on it. If there is a goat, cow or dog owned by the household, it is tied with a rope to the back portion of the cart and its kid or calf is taken by some member of the family in his lap. Then the gaduliya starts its journey to the next village. It usually takes one and a half to three hours in breaking up their camp at a place.

Activities on Reaching the Destination

The gaduliya moves at a brisk pace for two to four hours to reach its destination. As soon as they reach the place, the family, along with the other accompanying families in their band, camps at the traditionally established site. A series of activities begins just thereafter. The head of the household puts fodder before the bullocks and puts down the cots, furniture and the blacksmithy tools. He fixes up his place for doing the blacksmithy work. The housewife and the girls take out the cooked food from the gaduliya and distribute it to all the members. Then they all take some rest. After some
time, the householder starts doing the blacksmithy work. His wife and children go to market or to the streets of the locality to collect articles for repairs, and she returns within an hour or two. When the villagers see them, they take out their broken iron articles for getting them repaired or prepared anew by the Gaduliya Lohars. As soon as the loharan reaches the camp, she lifts up the heavy ghan (hammer) and begins striking the red hot iron handled by her husband; the person operating the bellows also accelerates his speed and within a few minutes the open-air blacksmithy workshop works at the pitch of its activity. The grown up children hold charge of the younger ones.

The workshop continues its work for three hours or so till it is evening. The daughter-in-law or the daughter, or in their absence the housewife herself, goes to fetch water from the village well. Then she cooks food. After taking the food, the Lohar goes to the nearing fields or market to purchase grass or hay for the bullocks and to sell his products, while the housewife and the girls take their food, clean the utensils, and do other domestic works. All the members of the household go to sleep at 8.30 p.m. or so. Since approximately the half of such a day is spent in breaking camp from one village and journeying to another place and camping there, the Gaduliya Lohar household spends only 3-4 hours in doing blacksmithy work, and it cannot carry out so many other activities. However, the activities of the next day are so varied, busy and well regulated that they constitute what may truly be called the ‘Gaduliya Lohar Day’.

Routine of the Gaduliya Lohar Day

The Gaduliya Lohar day starts with the dawn at approximately 5.00 a.m. in the summer and at 6.30 a.m. in winter. Just after getting up, the women go to the nearing fields for paying the call of nature. As soon as the householder gets up, he burns some charcoal to place it in his hooka and enjoys it. Then he and the other males go out for paying the call of nature. When the housewife and other females return, they start doing domestic work like bringing water, putting the
folded beddings on the cart etc. After the return of the householder, she serves kalewa (breakfast) to all the members of the family. It consists of the cakes and vegetable cooked in the previous evening. After the breakfast, the loharan goes to the market or streets for selling the blacksmithy articles. Some of her daughters and sons go to the nearby fields and dumping ground etc., to collect fuel and old tins etc. The head of the household and some other members of the household do blacksmithy work near the cart. The loharan and all other members return at noon, and then the food is cooked. After taking food, all take a brief rest, and then the lohar and the loharan actively do the blacksmithy work till evening. The food may be cooked again in the evening. The cow or goat is milked, bullocks are taken to the drinking place, and the tattered clothes are sewn by the women. The householder goes to market to sell his articles and to drink. After his return, he gossips with the members of the other households in the band, and by 8.30 p.m. all go to sleep.

_Maintenance and Replacement of the Domestic Units_

While describing the structure of the family and the interpersonal relations prevailing therein, we have inadvertently touched at some places the crucial problem of the continuance and replacement of the household units. However, the problem remains unexamined in all its aspects. It may be discussed as a process ‘spanning the generations.’ In doing this, we follow Professor Meyer Forte’s paradigm of the “Developmental Cycle of the Domestic Groups”², which has been used also by

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Smith, Tait, Freeman, Goody, Stenning, Barth, and Rehfsich, etc.

"In all societies," says Professor Fortes, "the workshop, so to speak, of social reproduction, is the domestic group," which "goes through a cycle of development analogous to the growth cycle of a living organism. The group as a unit retains the same form, but its members and the activities which unite them go through a regular sequence of change during the cycle which culminates in the dissolution of the original unit and its replacement by one or more units of the same kind." He mentions these three phases in the developmental cycle of a domestic group: the phase of expansion, the phase of dissolution or fission, and the phase of replacement. Let us apply them to the Gaduliya Lohar family.

The Phase of Expansion

We have seen that the Gaduliya Lohars have patriarchal, patrilocal and patrilineal families. Their children may be betrothed or married at any age. Most of them are married in their childhood. After the marriage ceremony, a bride goes to her husband's parental family for the first time. She stays there for a period of three to seven days only, during

7. Derrick J. Stenning, "Household Viability among the Pastoral Fulani" Ibid.
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which, generally, there is no sexual intercourse as both the partners are children. The girl returns to her parents after this brief period and lives there for several years till muklawa (gauna or post-marriage ceremony) is performed. The husband, along with some of his brothers and father, goes to the place where the family of his in-laws' is camping. He brings her back a day or two after the muklawa ceremony. The actual married life of the couple begins now. The wife lives with the household of her husband's parents for some time after which the couple establishes their separate domestic group.

This is possible due to the universal practice in the Gaduliya Lohars that the boy's father should provide almost all the appurtenances of the new household to him soon after the latter's muklawa or after his marriage if he is a grown up man then. They provide a separate new or old (generally new) gaduliya, a pair of bullocks, most of the blacksmithy tools, a few metal utensils, a pair of beddings, a cot for the new couple and some cash and ornaments as anticipatory inheritance to the son. Transactions at the time of marriage or muklawa contribute little to the establishment of the new household because the dowry given by the bride's household is very meagre. It consists of a khaluchi (small cloth bag) in which are placed a few kanchalias (brassiers for the female relatives of the bridegroom), one or two new ghagras, two or three odnis, one pair of shoes and some silver ornaments (usually weighing less than a kilogram) for the bride only. Out of the customary bride price of Rs. 80/- to be paid by the

11. This is determined by making equal divisions of the father's cash wealth (if it is sufficiently large) among all the sons, which they would receive as heirs if their father were to die at that moment. In such decisions, the right of the widow to the husband's gaduliya and ornaments is generally recognized and a portion of wealth is retained by the husband for him also. As the sons depart from the parental household, one after the other, each of them gets these benefits. They establish their independent households with this working capital. The same system is prevalent among the Basseri pastorals of South Persia. See Fredrik Barth, Op. Cit. p. 19.
bridegroom's parents to the bride's parents, the half is payable at the time of the betrothal and the other half is payable at the time of marriage. Practically nothing is returned to them. Thus the parental household of the young man has to provide all the basic equipment for the establishment of his independent household. It is neither possible nor considered desirable for a son to accumulate cash savings of his own before his marriage, because the code of conduct for the members of a Gaduliya Lohar household enjoins upon each of them that they must pass over their daily earnings to the head of the household.

On breaking off from the parental household, generally the new domestic group does not face any major difficulty in forming its independent household, as the material culture of the Gaduliya Lohars is quite simple and it does not consist of a huge paraphernalia. The gaduliya is the most important and the costliest item in their material culture. When this is made available to the young man, he has little trouble in forming his independent household. If his parents are not able to provide a pair of bullocks with the gaduliya, the same pair of bullocks which is owned by the former drives the latter's cart also. Firstly, it carries the father's gaduliya from one village to the next, and then it returns to the first village to carry the son's gaduliya. The son may use his father's tools and articles off and on, but all this is possible only when the new household also remains in the band group to which the parental household belongs. In case the new household chooses to join some other band of its known kins or friends, it has to meet shortage of equipment by borrowing the articles, tools etc., from some relative or friend in that band. This sort of borrowing does not continue for long and the needed articles are purchased by the householder either from the anticipatory inheritance received in cash by the householder from his parents or from his own earnings.

The new domestic group consisting of the husband and wife only finds some inconveniences in carrying on the whole set of daily activities. So often it keeps a relative with it for help. Generally, the husband's grandmother, elder brother's
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widow, a widowed sister, a younger brother or a nephew is preferred. This sort of assistance is usually sought for a few months in the beginning and also during the period of childbirth. The engagement of servants for doing the household or blacksmithy work is altogether out of question since the Gaduliya Lohars have neither any such tradition nor can they afford it.

Within a few years, some children are born to the couple and the task of rearing them comes up before the couple. They devote some attention to the care, material support, socialization and the professional education of their children till the latter become adolescents.

As the children develop and begin to assist their parents in different domestic and professional activities, the household goes on achieving more and more viability. The household viability reaches its pitch or climax when all or most of the children become adolescents and begin to add to the family income by doing a lot of blacksmithy work with their parents. The household greatly improves its financial condition and achieves remarkable economic prosperity during these four or five years till the eldest son is ready to establish his separate household after his muklawa.

The phase of fission

The phase of fission, dispersion or dissolution sets in as soon as the muklawa of the eldest son is performed. It precipitates the eventual dissolution. The household viability suffers two losses at one and the same time: firstly, it has to undergo considerable financial liability in providing all the appurtenances of the new house for the son, and secondly, it loses one of its most helpful and economically productive members—the eldest son who may or may not render financial help to his old parents at their hour of need. Other sons also separate from their parents in the same manner. Now-a-days the behaviour of elder sons, separated from their parental house-holds, is generally not good. Ganesbji of the Ajmer district complained thus:

"My eldest son Deva and the second son do not help me financially. They did not give me anything at the occasion of marriages and deaths in the family. They do not give
me even small amount to smoke bidiyan (indigenous cigarettes). I tell them that the times are hard, and so they must save something, but their saying is “Earn, eat it all and enjoy”. If I advise them anything, they are ready to call me bad names and to come forward to beat me with their shoes. In our good old days, the sons used to help their parents whole-heartedly, but now the sons say, “Mein kyanoo devan?” (Why should we give?) They do not know to uphold the prestige of the family.”

Similarly, widow Anchi expressed her grief saying, “Mhara chora mhara koni riya, aapni lugayan ra chora ho giya.” (“My sons are no more my sons; they have become the sons of their wives.”)

After their muklawa, the adolescent daughters leave for their husband’s households, and, as such, the original parental household also suffers a considerable loss of viability.

Some other critical events in the form of divorce or deaths in the household also cause or aggravate the loss of the household viability. A wife may be divorced if the mutual expectations remain unfulfilled. A husband expects his wife to render active help in the blacksmithy work, besides doing all the household work, bearing children and rearing them, and remaining sexually loyal to him only. The expectation of the wife from her dhani (husband) are that he would provide her good behaviour, care, food and other needs of life. When these expectations are not fulfilled, fission of the domestic group is bound to set in. A very lazy, quarrelsome and sexually corrupt wife has to be divorced, but a barren woman, if she otherwise lives up to her husband’s expectations, is not divorced. Similarly, a wife who tires of her husband and wishes for another, can, if her husband agrees, leave him and return to her parents. The divorce deprives the household of the assistance of one of its helpful persons, and so there is loss of household viability till the husband’s remarriage. If there is the premature death of the housewife, it causes a great economic loss to the family. The household viability receives a great setback since one of its productive, sincere and influential members is gone. The household suffers a very great
A gaduliya (cart) and its material belongings

The Gaduliya Lohar children of the north-eastern region at play
(Mark the impact of the Hariya culture on their dresses)
loss of viability when the head of the household meets a premature death and the burden of maintaining the family of young children falls upon the widow only. The magnitude of the loss becomes still greater when the adolescent sons (or any of them) want to get the share of inheritance of the father’s property and to establish separate households just after the death of their father. In that case, the widow is left with the young children only and her loss and grief are incalculable.

If she finds a sympathetic behaviour from the side of her father-in-law or the brothers of her late husband, she stays within their band, otherwise she goes with her gaduliya and children to live in the company of her own father and brothers. If she is young, she may be remarried to some widower by her parents, but her gaduliya and other household effects must be returned to her late husband’s father or brother. He is obliged to return them to her son when the latter becomes adult. If she has one or more daughters only and no son and she wants to return to her parents, she is deprived of her husband’s gaduliya because the gaduliya can be inherited only in the male line. This has been in the case of the widowed daughter of Ganeshji Dabi of Ajmer. Her husband died when she was only twenty two. She had a daughter of two years of age at that time. She was deprived of her gaduliya by her father-in-law as she did not like to live within the band of her late husband’s agnates. She returned to her father’s household along with her daughter. At the time of the writer’s contact with the household in May 1962, her father was in a great anxiety to remarry her as early as possible.

When the married daughter dies a premature death and the son-in-law marries another woman, the daughter’s children are usually sent to the parents of the deceased in order to prevent them from the maltreatment of the step-mother. This puts additional burden on the household.

The Gaduliya Lohars do not practice polygamy; monogamy is their accepted practice. As such, there are no sexual jealousies and internal frictions on that score. But when the wife or the adolescent son is indolent or sexually corrupt, a lot of internal friction is caused which adversely affects the house-
hold viability. Apart from all these factors causing the fission of the household viability, if there is the barrenness of the housewife, it also greatly disorganizes the household. The position does not improve even if one or more daughters are born to the couple, because they would not be able to help their parents throughout the latter's life. A son is needed to help the pair in achieving that degree of viability which other households having sons achieve, and also to help them in their old age, and to inherit their property after their death. Thus we have seen that the loss or lack of viability in the household in engendered by its own properties only and not by seasonal variations or irregular natural hazards.

The phase of replacement

The loss of household viability is corrected by some arrangements. The most important among them is the institution of ultimogeniture. After their muklawas, the elder sons hive off, one after the other, from the parental household, but it is customary for the youngest son to remain within the same household to look after the old parents till they are alive, and ultimately to inherit their gaduliya and the rest of their property. Of late, a few cases have come to light in which the youngest sons have also abandoned their old parents due to the curtain lectures of their young wives. Thus they have belied the hopes of their old parents. They have earned bad name in the society.

The loss of viability due to the death of the house-wife is met by the remarriage of the householder. In the same way, the burden of maintaining a widowed daughter is soon eliminated by arranging her nata (remarriage) to some one else. A young widowed housewife having a few young children can also get herself remarried to some other person having a few young children; she can take her own children with her. Thus, she can compensate for the loss of the viability of her household to a considerable degree. When her young baby son from the late husband becomes an adult, he is sent back to his real father's agnates and he demands the return of his late father's gaduliya from them. As he occupies his real father's
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gaduliya, the missing link is re-established.

In case of the barrenness of the wife or the lack of a son, the family adopts some close agnate of the husband, usually his nephew as their son. It is enjoined upon the adopted son to live with his new social parents in all conditions and to help them till they are alive. He inherits their gaduliya and all their property after their death.

The temporary loss of viability in the household during the wife’s delivery or the long illness of her husband or her own self is met by seeking the assistance of some close relative. The Gaduliya Lohars are quite kind and considerate towards other members of the band. When they find a family in distress due to the death of its householder, they ask their children to help the widow in her work off and on. They may take her articles to the market for their sale, or purchase fuel and iron for her from there. They may lend her money and even give her food when she is without it. If a housewife dies and the householder and the children find difficulties in cooking food, other women in the band volunteer to cook the food for some time till the householder remarries. Such a cooperation is readily accepted by the householder. Old and infirm persons who are deserted by their sons or who fall into bad days are looked after and fed by other kins or friends in the band. All these forms of cooperation prove very beneficial to the household affected by the loss of viability. Thus, the sufferings of a household are reduced considerably by the distribution of friendship and mutual trust in the people of the band group.
IV

Bands

Several Gaduliya Lohar households unite together to form a significantly bounded social group or band known as aali. The bands are the primary communities of the nomadic Gaduliya Lohar society, just as the hamlets or small compact villages are the primary communities among sedentary peoples. The members of an aali continue to remain, more or less, constant companions throughout the whole or a major part of their lives. In this chapter, an effort is being made to evolve the principles underlying the formation of such band and the process by which their internal structure is organised and continued.

We shall try to deduce the general principles involved in their formation on the basis of the following three different bands which are marked off from one another by their size and the areas of their operation.

Band I: A small band of the Gaduliya Lohars of the central region of the State was camping near the T.B. Hospital in Ajmer city during May and June 1962. It consisted of nine households whose heads are listed in Table 8.

They were found to be closely related to one another by strong kinship ties, as is evident from the following genealo-
### Table 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household No.</th>
<th>Head of the household</th>
<th>Nakh (Main division of the caste)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Krishna s/o Ganesh</td>
<td>Dabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Gulli w/o Jawana</td>
<td>Bodana (Malani got)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Narain s/o Jawana</td>
<td>Bodana (Malani got)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Jassu s/o Jawana</td>
<td>Bodana (Malani got)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Dhanna s/o Jawana</td>
<td>Bodana (Malani got)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Balu s/o Jawana</td>
<td>Bodana (Malani got)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Ganesh s/o Bhura</td>
<td>Dabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Chela s/o Govinda</td>
<td>Dabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Harjee s/o Chanda</td>
<td>Dabi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Diagram of family relationships]

The kins numbered 3, 4, 5 and 6 are agnates—all real brothers, while the kins numbered 1, 7, 8 and 9 are close matri-
lateral kins of the former ones. Bhura and Chanda, the brothers of Balu's real mother Meera, came to live in her husband's *aali* after their father had died. Since then, their children have been living in the same band. Thus it is clear that close agnatic and matrilateral kinship bonds have composed this small band.

*Band II.* Another band, having twenty-one households in it, was contacted while it was moving in the Bhilwara district during January 1961. The following were the householders in this band:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household No.</th>
<th>Head of the household</th>
<th>Nakh (Main division of the caste)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Baldeo s/o Teja</td>
<td>Rathore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bhagirath s/o Jodha</td>
<td>Rathore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Palu s/o Bhagirath</td>
<td>Rathore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Bhairun s/o Jodha</td>
<td>Rathore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Sonath s/o Bherun</td>
<td>Rathore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Rama s/o Bherun</td>
<td>Rathore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Gordhan s/o Bherun</td>
<td>Rathore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Gopi s/o Bherun</td>
<td>Rathore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Dhanna s/o Dharma</td>
<td>Rathore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Bodia s/o Jawan</td>
<td>Rathore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Natha s/o Dhanna</td>
<td>Rathore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Geega s/o Lichman</td>
<td>Sankhla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Natha s/o Geega</td>
<td>Sankhla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Balu s/o Geega</td>
<td>Sankhla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Gopi s/o Geega</td>
<td>Sankhla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Kanha s/o Lachman</td>
<td>Sankhla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Krishna s/o Lachman</td>
<td>Sankhla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Baldeo s/o Ganesh</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Panna s/o Baldeo</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Ganga Ram s/o Baldeo</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Salu s/o Baldeo</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On careful enquiry, it was revealed that all these householders were intimately related to one another by strong kinship bonds shown in the genealogical chart given below.
It is evident that it is an admixture of three genealogies. The householders numbered from 1 to 11 are close agnates. After the death of his father, the householder no. 12 along with his three sons numbered from 13 to 15, and two brothers numbered 16 and 17 came to live within their elder married sister’s band. The householder no. 18, who is the daughter’s son of the householder no. 4, came along with his young sons to live in the band of his maternal grandfather after the untimely death of his parents in plague. Thus the composition of this band also is solely based upon close agnatic and affinal kinship bonds whose members are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Householders in the agnatic kinship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Householders in the affinal (married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister’s side) kinship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Householders in the affinal (married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter’s side) kinship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Band III. One big band consisting of fifty-four households was contacted at its traditional place of encampment in Alwar city during the rainy season of 1963. Its sarpanch was Kaniya Solanki. The other householders in the band were related to him by diverse kinship ties which are given in the table under Appendix III.

The table shows that a majority of the householders are related to one another by the bonds of direct kinship, while thirteen householders are not related to the ego in any way. Being widows or old destitutes, they have sought shelter under their friends and distant kins who have been the original members of the band.
BANDS

On further investigation, it has been found that this main band is clearly divided into two sub-bands. The first sub-band consists of all the 7 agnates of the ego, 4 affinals from his father-in-law's side, 10 kins of his maternal uncle's family, 3 kins of his mother's sister's side and the first nine unrelated kins. The second band consists of all the affinals of the ego's agnates, the affinals of his maternal uncle, mother's sister, and three unrelated persons. These sub-bands move on their different routes and throughout the period of their yearly movement they remain separated from one another, but all of them return to their common traditional place of encampment in Alwar city to stay there from May to September. During this time of rest and leisure, they have their reunion which gives excellent opportunities for diversified communal activities—engagements, marriages, feasts, religious prayers, musical competitions, informal riddle contests, games, panchayat session, etc.

Principles of the Gaduliya Lohar Band Formation

On the basis of the above study of the structure of the above-mentioned three bands and the author's observation and discussion in several other bands, the following principles of the formation of the Gaduliya Lohar bands may be evolved:

(i) Generally, the agnates tend to live together in the same band group in view of their strong lineal identification.

(ii) After a man's premature death, the young widow, along with her small children and with or without her husband's gaduliya (cart), returns to live within her parent's or brothers' band with the consideration of personal security and sense of belongingness.

(iii) A man can join the band of his mother's sister because the members of her family are usually very intimate and sympathetic with him, and both the sides enjoy equal kinship status.

(iv) Usually a man does not join the band of his wife's parents, especially during the period his father-in-law is alive. But if after his wife dies a premature death, leaving behind young children he does not intend to-
remarry, then he joins the band of his father-in-law or brother-in-law. This he does with the consideration of bringing up his children in a congenial environment, since these kins naturally have much affection and regard for such children.

(v) After the death of his father or after a quarrel with him and other agnates in the band, a young man usually wants to abandon his parental band. He may join any band of his liking, but generally his first choice is for the band of his elder sister’s husband with whom he has very intimate and even joking relations and who is supposed to be very kind and sympathetic towards him. A man will not go to live within the band of his younger sister’s husband as it is considered going against the social norm of the Gaduliya Lohar society.

(vi) Traditionally, the old parents live with the youngest son in the same band in which some other kins also live. But if they do not have a son or any other agnate to support them, or if they do not have friendly relations with them, they either go to live with a friendly nephew in his band or with the brothers of the wife. They do not join the band of their married daughter as that is considered to be the violation of the social norm of the community. Among all the bands studied, the writer found only one case of a very old and infirm man, Jeewan, living within the band of his married daughter because all his sons and other agnates had deserted him in his old age and his daughter and her husband were very kind to him.

(vii) Considerations, exclusively, of ritual friendship also sometimes motivate a man to live within the band of his intimate friend. But such cases are only a few in number.

(viii) No person likes to join the band of the Gaduliya Lohars quite unknown to him. At least one or two persons in the band must be related to him by close or distant kinship ties.
BANDS

Thus for a band to persist as a social group, its component households should be knit together by the bonds of agnatic, matrilateral and affinal kinship. In other words, it can be stated that a combination of the two principles of lineage and bilateral kinship works in the social organization of the Gaduliya Lohar bands in the same way as it is operative in the corporate groups of Tatars, a community of Tinkers and Tin-smiths in Eastern Norway.¹ This combination can be illustrated as under:

(ix) The principle of band exogamy is supreme. Cross-cousin or the father's sister's daughter or the mother's brother's daughter would normally be in another band.

¹ “Patrilineal descent, as expressed in lineages, defines an invariant system of groups and segments, independent of the genealogical position of an ‘ego’ as Evans Prichard has so lucidly shown. Bilateral kinship relations as a whole, on the other hand, constitute a net of dyadic relations, different from each sibling groups. Though these two principles are derived from the single body of kinship relations, they give two different types of frame-work, which, as features of organization may be conceptually separate, and may also be combined to produce a more complex social organization. When Tatars identify groups made up of the patrilineal descendants of an ancestor as ‘tribes’, they utilize the lineage principle to define social units with absolute limits and a pattern of internal segmentation... When Tatars simultaneously feel ‘warmth’ and obligations towards all relatives, they utilize also the bilateral principle.” Fredrik Barth, ‘The Social Organization of a Pariah Group in Norway’ NORVEG, Folke-livsgransking 5, Oslo, H. Aschehoug & Co, 1955. p. 150.
THE GADULIYA LOHARS OF RAJASTHAN

Steward considers it an important characteristic of patrilineal band in general.2

In this way, we find that the bases of structuring of the Gaduliya Lohar bands are kinship motivation, personal security, sense of belongingness, mutual sympathy, some feeling of moral responsibility for their success and conformity to the social norms.

Intra band and Inter band Relations

A Community Within Communities

A Gaduliya Lohar band may be properly understood when its existence within a scheme of a number of communities is recognized. This can be described with the help of a system of concentric circles—a form of thought employed by Evans Pritchard in describing the concept of “structural distance” in his study of the Nuer pastorals of Sudan.2 He did this by giving thirteen circles to denote the different communities: nuclear family, homestead, group of related families, village, district, section, tribe, Nuer people, Dinka and white man’s government.

In the same way, for the purpose of analysis the Gaduliya Lohar society can be seen in the form of seven concentric circles, namely, individual households, ring of related households, sub-band or small band, main or major band, Gaduliya Lohars in the same region, non-kin Gaduliya Lohars in other regions, and village and town folk or customers.

(i) Individual household: The first or the innermost circle is of the individual household or the family represented by the cart of its own.

(ii) Ring of closely related families: Some households, usually numbering between two to five and related to one another by close agnatic kinship ties, form a small core group


represented by the second circle. They often move together throughout the year to exploit the maximum possible work opportunities in the maximum number of villages along its route. These smaller groups remain scattered in sparsely situated small villages for a fortnight or so, and then they meet together and merge into the original sub-band at one big or central village or town on a day decided by all of them in advance. Having stayed there for a week or so, they again split themselves into the smaller groups as before, and the same process goes on till all of them return to their common encampment in the beginning of the summer season.

(iii) Sub-band: To the above core group are added some other households related to it along the lines of matrilateral and/or affinal kinship and by the different principles of the structuring of bands discussed above. All these form a small band, having a number of households usually ranging between eight to twenty. It is called aali. It is just like the ‘tanda’ which is the administrative unit in social, economic and political matters of the Banjara nomads of the western Rajasthan.4 Such a small, compact, fairly self-sufficient and seemingly independent group moves along its traditionally established movement route.

A small Gaduliya Lohar band or sub-band is a primary group which is characterized by its smallness, proximity, face to face relations among its members, spontaneity, mutual identification, a great deal of psychological fusion and a fair amount of cooperation. It is the unit-cell of the social structure of the Gaduliya Lohar community which survives in the congeniality of the members and intensity of their shared interests. Davis rightly remarks “Since the individual seldom leaves the band, his absorption of culture is derived mainly from intimate and constant contact with its members. His loyalty and interest are bound up with the

local group where most of his close ties, including those of kinship, are usually to be found."

The operation of social control in the band is largely unconscious and involuntary and rests on long established mores. "Neighbourhood controls," as Kimball Young observes, "traditionally take the form of the mores, kept alive and enforced by the old members of the locality." The members of the band are guided by a number of fairly established norms. The band sentiment identifies mores and morals, conformity and solidarity. It is the breeding ground of the mores and the nurse of the loyalties of the bands people. The individual acquires basic attitudes towards the world around him from the band group. To him, the band community is "a round of life, small cosmos; the activities and the institutions lead from one into all the others so that to the native himself the community is not a list of tools and customs; it is an integrated whole."

Decision-making in the sub-band: Each sub-band moves as a distinct social group for the most part of the year. Each sub-band has a panch as its leader. His advice plays an effective part in enabling the group to arrive at some unanimous decisions in the different matters. He is just like a democratic leader who gives full consideration to the view of all the members of the group. The process of decision-making about the band's halt and movement from one place to another usually goes on in a fairly simple manner. Having worked in a central village for a week or so when the Gaduliya Lohars find no repair work forthcoming from, the village clients, they express their desire to move further. Usually, it is done in evening time when all the householders and the panch are at the place of encampment. The panch in consultation with


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them in their informal meeting decides as to when the band should leave the present village and at which central village it should camp next and when. However, each household exercises a great deal of individual freedom of wandering in search of earning livelihood in the villages lying along the traditional movement route.

Thus it is clear that the decision-making regarding the movement of the Gaduliya Lohar band or sub-band is fairly simple. It is unlike the highly complex, uncertain, ambiguous and delicate process going on in the Basseri Nomads of South Persia. The difference is understandable. The Basseri nomads are pastoral people and the very existence of their herds and members of the families depends on the scarce and sparsely situated pasture lands in their habitat. They are very jealous and hideous of one another so that they may take the exclusive advantage of the grass-laden pastures. But there are a lot of income opportunities available to the Gaduliya Lohars in every agricultural village. Hence they need not be jealous of one another. The group decision in their little community is not reached at the initiative and command of the autocratic leader; rather it is based on ‘integration’, defined so aptly by MacIver and Page as the process “in which the differences of the members are neither suppressed nor compromised but instead harmonized or synthesized, transmuted without loss but rather with gain, into a group idea or group policy.”

*Mode of Encampment at a Place:* It is usually in the morning time that the band starts off from a place in the form of a caravan of the gaduliyas (carts). On reaching its destination, it camps at the place where they have been camping for several years in the past. If there is no such traditionally established camping-site at a new place, they fix one such place there. Three considerations usually guide them in choosing such a place. Firstly, it should be on the main roadside or at least somewhat near the particular village or the city; secondly, it should

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not be surrounded by thatched huts and grain or fodder storages of the villagers lest the sparks of their open air blacksmithy workshop fire should reach them and burn them at any time; and, thirdly, the place should not be near grave-yards or the trees which, as they believe, are supposed to be haunted by the evil spirits.

All the households of the aali (band) or those of its constituent smaller groups camp at one place. All the gaduliyas are made to halt in a circle, the thaliya of each of them being towards the centre, and its rear portion towards the outer side. Their bullocks are tied in the central space of the aali. Thus it prevents the theft of their valuable articles placed in the thaliyas, and their bullocks. The cart of a widow is halted within the enclosure of other carts so that she might not feel insecure in any way.

When the Aeneze nomads of Arabia make their encampment known as ‘dowar’ or ‘nezel’ at a place, “the sheikh’s or chief’s tent is always on the western sides, for it is from the west that the Syrian Arabs expect their enemies as well as their guests. To oppose the former and to honour the latter is the Sheik’s principal business, and as it is usual for a guest to alight at the first tent that presents itself in the camp, the Sheikh’s ought to be on the side from which most strangers arrive; it is even disgraceful that a wealthy man should pitch his tent on the eastern side.” ¹⁰ There is no such rigid pattern followed by the Gaduliya Lohars. In cities and towns, they usually do not find sufficient space for their encampment in circular pattern described above. So they halt their carts in a line along the road side.

(iv) Major band: Two or three small bands or sub-bands unite to form a big or major band. The identity of such a major band is felt and its full membership certained only when all its constituent sub-bands return to the same thiya (the traditional camping site) to rest there and to celebrate the social and cultural activities in common during the months of

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extreme heat and rains. A major band usually consists of twenty to sixty households. Several major bands are found moving in each of the regions of the State. These regions are not exactly the administrative regions of the State. They coincide, more or less, with the geographical regions—not necessarily of Rajasthan, since they enter the boundaries of the neighbouring states also.

(v) & (vi) **Gaduliya Lohars in the same region and in other regions:** Most of the Gaduliya Lohar bands moving in a region have acquaintances with one another. Since each small band or sub-band is an exogamous community, its members have to depend upon the other bands in the region for seeking their marriage partners. There is a lot of social visiting among the people of the inter-band groups. No body likes to marry with a Gaduliya Lohar belonging to a different region due to two reasons. Firstly, his own region usually is sufficiently so large that there is no dearth of marriage partners in the bands operating in it. Secondly, the bands of one region very often meet and its members have a great deal of familiarity with one another. This explains why the Gaduliya Lohars of the north-eastern Rajasthan region (comprising of Alwar and Bharatpur districts of Rajasthan, Gurgaon district of the Punjab, and the Agra and Mathura districts of Uttar Pradesh) marry and have much social interaction amongst themselves only and not with the people of the bands moving in the central or the southern region of Rajasthan.

(vii) **Village and Town Folk:** The Gaduliya Lohars have friendly relations with most of the rural peasant folk living in that specified region. This relationship is, at the economic and social level. At the economic level, the Gaduliya Lohars are ready to accept the blacksmithy work from the clients belonging to all the castes, tribes or communities excepting the Muslims for whom they have been retaining their traditional hatred for the last four centuries. They do not hesitate to do the iron work even for the untouchables or for the castes considered by them as their inferiors. But at the social level, the considerations of untouchability, superiority and inferiority matter much. Accordingly, a Gaduliya Lohar will
not have relations of smoking, drinking water and eating the *kachha* food given by a person belonging to a community which he considers lower than his own.

The social position of the Gaduliya Lohars in the rural society of Rajasthan and their social relations with the different castes and tribes are shown in the following table which has been prepared after contacting numerous Gaduliya Lohars and members of each of the groups:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Some Important Communities in Rajasthan</th>
<th>Nomadic Tribe (N.T.)</th>
<th>Whether their food is accepted by the Gaduliya Lohars?</th>
<th>Whether the G.L.'s cooked <em>kachha</em> food is accepted by them?</th>
<th>Whether the G.L.'s cooked <em>pakka</em> food is accepted by them?</th>
<th>In the eyes of G. L.'s: E.Equal status U-Upper community L-Lower community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmins</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>U</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaur &amp; Paliwal Brahmin</td>
<td>No¹¹</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>U</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajput</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>U</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baniya</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>U</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jat</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes¹²</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunar</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>U</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darjee</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>U</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahir</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes¹³</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹¹. "The Gaduliya Lohar's hatred towards them is said to be traditional. But none of the informants has been able to give any satisfactory explanation for it.

¹². Only uncooked meat given by a Banjara can be accepted.

¹³. The Jats of the Narnaul area (Punjab) eat their *kachha* food. The Jats of Rajasthan do not eat their *kachha* food; they consider the Gaduliya Lohars inferior to them.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BANDS</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>All equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaduliya Lohar</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deshi Lohar</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Maru &amp; Malviya Lohars)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhat</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mogya</td>
<td>N.T.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banjara</td>
<td>N.T.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multani</td>
<td>N.T.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baori</td>
<td>N.T.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mina</td>
<td>N.T.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagri</td>
<td>N.T.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. The Ahirs of only the Narnaul area (Punjab) eat their kachha food. The Ahirs of Rajasthan do not do so; they consider the Gaduliya Lohars inferior to them.

15. The Deshi Lohars (Malviyas and Maru) on their part, consider themselves superior to the Gaduliya Lohars, whereas the latter consider the former inferior to them. It is difficult to give a final verdict in the matter. The author, however, has found that the society in the general considers Gaduliya Lohars lower than the Deshi Lohars.

The report of the Marwar Census of 1891, however, states:

"Both of them (i.e., the Maru and Malviya Lohars) consider the Gaduliya Lohars and Janghads (a blacksmithy caste) as neech (inferior), and they do not drink water from their hands, because the Gaduliya Lohars castrate the bollocks like the Santhiyas, and the Janghads tie the leather casing like the Mochies (Leather-workers)" Report of the Marwar census 1891 (vol. iii), 1891, p. 462.

When the present writer made enquiries from a few persons belonging to the Malviya and Maru Lohar castes, they also gave the same reason for looking down at the Gaduliya Lohars and for not establishing any relations with them. Ram Singh, a Malviya Lohar of Alwar, said "We have no jealousy or enmity with the Bhubalias (Gaduliya Lohars). Many of them now a days come to my shop and talk to me. But they are undoubtedly inferior to us. Many of their women are corrupt, but nobody can say such a thing for our women. They are dirty Khana-badosh admi (nomadic people). Although the Brahmns go to perform marriage ceremony in their group also and they accept their pukka food, yet no Deshi Lohar (the Maru or Malviya Lohar) would like to eat their food; yes, not even their pukka food. Their hookka is lower than our hookka. So the question of our establishing matrimonial relations with them does not arise."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thori or Nayak</th>
<th>N.T.</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sikligar (Sikh)</td>
<td>N.T.¹⁶</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumbhar</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jogi</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meo</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mode Sadhu</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nai</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhobi</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Teli</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanpera or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalbelia</td>
<td>N.T.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati Nat</td>
<td>N.T.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>L¹⁷</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. The Gaduliya Lohars do not keep any social relationship with the Punjabi Sikh Sikligars who are a semi-nomadic community of the blacksmiths in the State. Several families of the Sikligars have migrated to Rajasthan during the last two or three decades. They are skilled iron workers. The Gaduliya Lohars and the Sikligars maintain not even talking relations with each other, although there is no hostility or jealousy between them. At Alwar, a group of the Sikligars and a band of the Gaduliya Lohars camped at a distance of only two hundred yards for more than three months during each of the years between 1961 to 1964. The members of both the groups remained more or less the same. Even then, they did not have any social contact with each other. When the writer made enquiries with the Gaduliya Lohars in this connection, they said, “We are the descendants of Rajputs. How can we have relationship with these dirty people who eat frogs, mice, eggs etc?” When the Sikligars were questioned, they stated, “They (the Gaduliya Lohars) are different from us. We are Sikhs but they are Hindus. We know nothing for certain about their background. They are inexpert people. They beg also and so they are lower than our group.” Enquiries made by the writer at some other places like Khairthal (Alwar District), Jaipur, Ajmer and Alwar, also yielded almost the same sort of response, based on profound ignorance and misunderstanding about each other. The local Sikligars, who also are Hindus, do not have any relations with the Gaduliya Lohars; each of them considers his own group superior to the other one.

17. The Gaduliya Lohar informants themselves have revealed that the Nats of the Gujarati origin consider themselves superior to the former. But the Deshi Nats are considered inferior or much lower to them by the Gaduliya Lohars.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>N.T.</th>
<th>Smoke</th>
<th>Drink</th>
<th>Eat</th>
<th>Race</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>N.T.</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamar</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khateek</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
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<tr>
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<td>No</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>L</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
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<td>Sansi</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuda</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faquir</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khurpalta/ (Muslims)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santhiya</td>
<td>N.T.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikhs</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>U</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dholi</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Drummer)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>No 18</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In spite of these sort of differential social relations relating to smoking, drinking and dining, it must be mentioned that the Gaduliya Lohars certainly have quite satisfactory relations with the different communities living in the State. On all the crucial events of their rites de passage like birth, marriage and death, the Gaduliya Lohars came in close contact with the different castes and tribes and there is a fair amount of customary give and take between them. This is clear from the socio-grams given in the chapter on the life-cycle of the Gaduliya Lohars. The relations of the Gaduliya Lohars with their daily clients are quite formal yet courteous as we have mentioned elsewhere in this study.

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18. Only meat may be purchased from him.


V

Panchayat Organization

The Gaduliya Lohars have the established system of panchayat which is an ancient institution in village India. There is no general panchayat for the whole Gadulia Lohar caste in the State, but each group of about one hundred carts or a big band comprising of two or three sub-bands has its own caste panchayat.

Qualifications for the Panchas

The panchas, elders or the judges of the Gaduliya Lohar panchayat are elected by the common consent of the members of the major band. The qualifications required for becoming a panch are that he should be an intelligent and well informed person. His experienced judgments and suggestions should be valued by others in the band. His behaviour should command respect and loyalty among the people. He should himself be an earner from the traditional blacksmithy trade. He should be a peace-loving and characterful person. His superiority in the band should not be based on threats, violence or rad-danga (quarrels), but it should based on his ability to re-establish goodwill among the people in the community. He should be an integrative force in the band. Baluji, an informant, once told the writer that even a boy or a woman could become a panch if he or she possessed these virtues. In actual practice, however, no boy or woman was found to be a panch. The post of panch is generally not acquired by any-one by heredity.

Although theoretically it is not necessary for a panch to be a
rich man, yet it is seen that very poor persons are generally not elected *panchas*; even if they are elected, they have a lesser say than the others in the *panchayat*.

There are generally five to ten *panchas* in a major band *panchayat*. Since all the sub-divisions of the Gaduliya Lohar caste are now socially at par with one another, the *panchas* are not elected on the basis of their sub-caste affiliations. The ideal practice is to elect worthy persons and not to represent each sub-division. This is evident from the *panchayat* organization of the major band of the Bhilwara encampment which had the following numbers of households and *panchas*:

Table 12

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS AND PANCHAS OF DIFFERENT SUB CASTES IN A BAND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Nakh' (sub-caste)</th>
<th>No. of households in the major band</th>
<th>No. of panchas in the band panchayat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bodana</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauhan</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panwar</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rathore</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solanki</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisodiya got of Gahilot nakh</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>70</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not necessary that each major band should have its own full *panchayat*. The small bands whose *thiyas* are at a distance of just a few miles from the *thiya* of a major band, also seek the services of the *panchayat* of any major band camping in the area. There are one or more *panchas* in each of the sub-band or small bands constituting the major band. When all the sub-bands return to their common camping site or sites, all such *panchas* unite together and they hold its sessions at the central *thiya* during the rainy season.
Powers of a Panch

A panch has a very important position. He holds much power. But usually he can exercise his power in collaboration with other panchas of the band panchayat when crucial matters come up before it. There is no well-defined political administration by him and the respect he commands is only conventional.

His economic control over the group is minimum. He cannot impose any restrictions on the band-people in the matters of earning livelihood. Heera said, "khane kamane main panch kaaien koni kar sakae" ("The panch cannot do any interference in our earning our livelihood"). His job is only to advise them. He does not get any cash gift as remuneration or customary honour in the form of economic goods from the band people for his working as a panch. The panch does not enjoy any military or police powers, but with the help of other friendly panchas he can get cash fines imposed upon the defaulters or the criminals in the band. Thus he and the other panchas maintain social control in the band society.

The Highest Panch of the Community in the Region

For settling very serious matters in which the band panchayat fails to give its decision, the highest panch of the community in region, who is known as jat ro sabsoon bado panch, is sent for. He acts as the one-member of supreme court to decide the issue. It has been gathered that there is one such panch for every geographical region of the State. At the time of the writer's field work, Dallaji was such a panch in the Udaipur region. Similarly, Motiji was the highest panch of the Gaduliya Lohars of the north-eastern region, comprising the Alwar and Bharatpur districts of Rajasthan, Gurgaon district of Hariyana, Agra and Mathura districts of Uttar Pradesh and the Delhi state.

Gopal, a panch of the Alwar band, gave the following description about Motiji to the writer:

There are about five hundred gaduliyas under the command of Motiji. The members of these households respect and obey him like anything. His function is to
settle disputes within the caste and those between our caste and others, if any.

When there is a serious quarrel at any thiya and the central panchayat fails to decide the issue, some one is sent to call Motiji. When he comes, all men, women and children assemble at the thiya; they stand in one row to greet him by bowing their heads, raising their open palms over their heads and uttering the words, "Jai Ram ji ki" or "Jai Mata ji ki." Whatever judgment he gives is accepted by all. Nobody dares to challenge him. One who does not act according to his decisions is expelled from the caste. He can seek re-entry in the caste only after spending Rs. 500/- or so in giving a feast to all the members of the households wandering in the region. This punishment is given by Motiji. He wields a very strong hold over all the households. He has all the worldly possessions one can aspire for.

He has gained this position by heredity. His father was the supreme panch of the caste in this area before him. So great was his influence that even the government courts and police had to respect his opinions. His conduct and activities were exemplary, so he commanded such a great reputation. Motiji also is in no way lesser than him.

Effectiveness of the panchas

Honest, true and impartial panchas are bound to prove effective in the community, but now-a-days many of the panchas are immoral. They are won over by bribe and wine.

An old man Jiska of the Alwar district commented thus:

“Our community was a bold and renowned community earlier but now we are just like animals. It is all due to our panchas. They are ghoonskhor (corrupt). They can do whatever they like; injustice can be turned into justice and there is no appeal effective against them.”

Of course, this is true, but it must be said that the panchas do have a stronghold on the people even today. There has been a prevailing convention among the Gaduliya Lohars since long.
that none of their cases should be taken by them to the police or the law courts of the State. It must be decided by their own panchayat. The decision of the panchayat must be accepted otherwise the defaulters are subjected to ridicule, open contempt and abusive speech. When these methods of social control seem to fail, a treatment harsher than these is accorded. They may be formally expelled out of the community, the caste hooka may be denied to them, and the persons with whom they have established betrothal alliances of their sons and daughters may be forced by the panchas to break down these ties. A word goes round that nobody should accept his children as partners in marriage, and, thus several economic and social restrictions are put in his way, as has been the case with Ganeshji Dabi of Ajmer:

"Twenty years back I had a quarrel with the panchas of our panchayat over a marriage engagement, so they tried their level best to make me look down. Wherever I tried to establish the matrimonial relations of my children, they (panchas) would go there and dissuade the other party. In this way, I was put to much harassment and had to suffer a loss of nearly two thousand rupees in establishing, then breaking and then re-establishing the matrimonial relations of my children. The quarrel lasted for six or seven years, after which due to the interference of some elderly persons the matter was ended. They said, "Honi thi so ho gai ab jane do" ("Whatever was destined to happen has already happened, now let it go.")"

The pancha's job is honorary but he has the emotional satisfaction that he is consulted by the people in his band and those even in other bands. He is offered hooka first of all, wherever he goes.

Interference by the State Police

During recent years, some cases of elopement and physical violence in the Gaduliya Lohar Community have been taken up by the State police and State courts. The Gaduliya Lohars resent the interference of the police very much. It is considered very shameful for the parties concerned. The news of
the interference of police in any Gaduliya Lohar affair soon gets a lot of publicity in the community; stories and songs are composed round its theme and they are repeated all over the area with the intention to ridicule the parties concerned and to exercise social control over others as well. The case of the elopement of Shyama with her lover Shankaria Gaduliya Lohar during 1962 was taken up by the police and taken to a law court. The high-handedness of the police, the frank statements of Shyama confessing her unbounded love for Shankaria in the law court and the lack of control over her by her relatives were taken up by a young Gaduliya Lohar Jagedar as apt themes for composing five interesting songs which are now greatly popular among the Gaduliya Lohars of the northeastern region. Since the composer of the songs was a young man, he appreciated the true love of the lovers concerned but he graphically presented the resentment of the community on the police interference in the case.

Working of the Panchayat

When the sub-bands or small bands return to their common thiya or their different thiyas situated in the neighbouring villages, their panchas reach the central thiya of the major band and hold the sessions of the central panchayat. The complainant and the defendant along with their supporters come there. The panchayat session generally starts in the afternoon and continues till late at night and it resumes its work in the next morning. It goes on working for two or three days till the final decision is given. There are no secret sessions, no special pulpit, seat, furniture or matting for the panchas to sit on and no special costume or emblem to be worn by them. There are no written law books. The complainant and the defendants are free to present their cases themselves or with the help of their supporters. While they do so, the panchas make consultations among themselves in low murmuring voice. They try to bring about compromise between the parties concerned in accordance with their caste traditions. Their decision must be accepted by the parties.

It is customary to hold a panchayat session at the bride's
place just after her marriage on the day of the departure of the marriage party. Out of the several such marriage panchayats observed by the writer, the description of one observed at Beawar is given below:

The panchayat session started at about 7 a.m. and it continued for four hours and a half. The panchas and band’s people of both the sides assembled there in a circle. In the centre was placed a cot on which the articles of dowry were displayed. The panchas and the father of the bride and the bride-groom intimately kept on talking in low voice for long. The writer was sitting just near them. The sum and substance of their long talks was that the bride’s father and the panchas of his band wanted to get a solemn assurance from the father of the bridegroom and the panchas of his band. They were saying, “You must give us a guarantee that a good treatment will be accorded to our daughter. If you maintain good relations with us, you are most welcome in our band at any time. But if there is any maltreatment or dukhda (trouble) to our daughter we shall blame all of you. Give us your words to this effect. Not only this, pledge or mortgage all the carts of the members of the bridegroom’s party (“Heng baratiyan re gaduliya ne girivi rakhi ne javo”). If any injustice is done to our daughter, we shall approach them and ask them to get our daughter’s trouble removed. They are witnesses today, they will have to be our supporters tomorrow.” When such a verbal promise was given by the bridegroom’s party, the panchayat session ended and the dowry was handed over, and after that the barat was given farewell. The session lasted for full four hours, and it was very boring indeed to the all Gaduliya Lohars as also to the writer.

Some times in such marriage panchayat sessions, some quarrels over trifling matters like the poor hospitality of the baratis, or the less number of kanchalis (brassiers) given by the bride’s father for the female relatives of the bridegroom spring up. These quarrels may take the form of a ferocious verbal warfare and even physical assault by one another. News
of such incidents immediately break out in the region. Several couplets, songs and stories are composed on their themes and they are remembered by the people for many years to come. One of our informants, Gopi of Manglias, recalled one such incident. About ten years back in the marriage of the daughter of Kanaji Bodana of Ajmer, the panchas of both the sides fell out with one another when the panchas of the bridegroom's side criticized the bride's party for providing very dilute dal (pulse) and poor quality of other food preparations. A big quarrel arose over it and even physical violence was resorted to by both the sides. Ultimately, the baratis had to run away hungry. The informant, who was also a barati there, composed the following couplet then and there:

"The cauldron makes khad khad noise,
   But the spoon comes out empty.
When the marriage party from Beawar came,
   What happened with you, O Ajmerians?"

This couplet is reported to have added fuel to fire then. It is still remembered by many people of the region. It has served well to exercise effective social control by underlying the miserliness of Kana Bodana of Ajmer.

Matters dealt with by the Gaduliya Lohar panchayat

According to Webb, the Gaduliya Lohar panchayat deals with the following kinds of matters:

(i) Disputes about social ceremonies such as feast in honour of the dead, betrothal and marriage. Examples of these are the refusal to send a girl to her father-in-law although half the bride-price has been paid; or an attempt to break off a betrothal if another man is ready to offer a higher bride-price. Cases of abduction are also dealt with.

(ii) Breaches of the caste etiquette: Any tendency to wear clothes other than those sanctioned by immemorial

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2. "कटाव करे खड़खड़, पण कृष्णची आवे रीती,
   व्यावर बालों री जान आई, जद अजमेर बालो थाके मायें कोई बीती?"

custom by members of the caste is considered as an offence. No Gaduliya Lohar is supposed to wear a turban unless it be of red and white muslin but this rule, now-a-days, seems to be honoured more by its breach than its observance.

(iii) Cases of moral lapses: Under this head is included the offence: “Koi ait sata karle to.” Any lapse from adherence to the rule that forbids this is punished by ex-communication from the group.

(iv) Non-payment of inter-caste debts or the dues of the panchayat.

(v) Contempt of the panchayat.

(vi) Any other matter in which the panchayat’s influence can be exercised.

The usual punishments which can be awarded by the panchayat are the following:

(i) Making forced contributions to charity. This is called ‘Kabutaro ko suwa rupia ki makki nakna’ (To throw down Rs. 1/4/-’s of Indian maize for the wild pigeons.)

(ii) Feeding a number of Brahmins.

(iii) Providing free opium, betel-nut and tabacco to members of the panchayat.

(iv) Giving a feast to the members of the group.

(v) Ex-communication: This is called hukka pani bund. The term means literally that smoking or drinking with other members of the group is prohibited, but it also infers the breaking of all social relations, such as dining together, inter-marrying etc.

(vi) Pilgrimage for purification to such holy places as Pushkar or Banaras.

When case of immorality occur, they are treated with leniency for the first offence, but repeated lapses are dealt with

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4. This is not considered as an offence now-a-days. It is prevalent in poor Gaduliya Lohars.

5. Most of the informants have stated that they go to Hardwar now-a-days. There they give the fines collected by the panchayat to the pandas (religious priests) in charity.

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seriously, e.g., a girl who despite warning continues in her evil ways, may be excommunicated for a period of twelve years. At the end of that period, she may be re-instated in the caste; but the panchayat usually arranges to marry her off to some male member who has been equally morally lax.

Webb writes of the trial by fire and the ordeal by water practised by the Gaduliya Lohars:

"Trial by fire takes the form of having to carry a red hot ball of iron over a fixed distance. The ball is carried on the palm of the hand, which may be covered by 5 or 7 layers of leaves of the 'pipal' tree. If the ball is carried the whole distance without being dropped, the carrier is declared innocent.

In case of ordeal by water, the suspect is required to sit completely covered by water for a definite but limited time. If he lasts out the prescribed time calmly and without coming up for breadth, he is proclaimed to be innocent." 6

These two ordeals are not popular now-a-days. Instead, a vow is taken by touching or taking Ganga-jali (water of the holy river Ganga). The informants have revealed that according to the conventions of their community, a murderer is excommunicated for twelve years, after which he has to pay a fine of Rs. 151/- to the panchayat. The whole amount is sent for distribution as charity to the pandas of Haridwar. But now-a-days, such cases are very rare, as they are dealt with by the State police. We do not hear of any case of murder committed by a Gaduliya Lohar during the last twenty years. In the memory of the elderly people of the community, the last of them occurred in the Jodhpur district some twenty years back; the murderers were reported to be hanged by the State. Their children had to suffer a lot on account of their parental crime, as nobody was prepared to establish matrimonial relations with them.

The Gaduliya Lohars do not steal anything from one another's cart due to the fear of the curse of their goddess Aie Lacha. They believe that the thief will be blinded by the god-

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No case of major theft or burglary in villages committed by a Gaduliya Lohar has been reported by the villagers or administrative officials anywhere in Rajasthan. This is in sharp contrast to the Gipsies nomads of Europe and many other nomadic communities of our country who do not hesitate to steal or rob in many cases.

We find that Professor Roberts' concept of 'the self-management of cultures' is applicable to the Gaduliya Lohar culture also. The three major processes—those of informational storage, informational retrieval and decision-making, which he mentions as the very bases of 'the informational economy' that he says every culture is, are fairly operative in the Gaduliya Lohars. Information is stored in the minds and folk-ways of the Gaduliya Lohars and to a lesser extent in the tools and technology of their blacksmithy trade. "The description of the storage pattern of a society is essentially a description of the formal, informal, explicit, implicit, individual and group roles." 7

Social visiting, gossiping and ridicule constitute fairly important methods of informational storage and retrieval. The Gaduliya Lohar panchayat organization is very important for it acts "as a scanning device, for when the members of the council confer, each council member draws on the informational resources of his own kin and other groups, and if he is not already acquainted by them, he can easily scan them through the ordinary interactional processes of small groups. Thus he can mobilize these sources, either immediately or within a short time, in order to meet the larger needs of the council." 8

The decision-making process among the Gaduliya Lohars also is "a part of the complex feed-back mechanism in that all decisions are consciously or unconsciously based on the informational resources and goals of the individuals and groups.

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concerned, and yet the decisions themselves often change the informational resources and modify the goals."^{10}

In some cases, a new decision establishes a precedent for further decisions in the social matters of the community.

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10. Ibid, p. 442.
VI

Religion

Religion has since long been a matter of great interest to the layman and the social scientist. It has been defined in several ways. But Thomas Hancock Grafton's definition of religion seems to be widely acceptable from sociological point of view. According to him, it is "the interaction of living personalities with symbols of assumed supernatural social objects." The focal points in this definition are 'interaction', 'supernatural' and 'social.' The definition, thus, shows that religion not only deals with the worship of supernatural but comprises in some measure beliefs, rituals, taboos, myths or theological organization and codes.

This leads us to an important question as to what functions does religion perform in a society. In this connection, Professor Raymond Firth has very clearly suggested that "it (religion) provides a frame for dealing with the fundamental problems of social organization: rendering relations coherent, reducing uncertainty and anxiety, justifying moral obligations." He concludes that without symbolic solutions beyond those provided by empirical knowledge, it would be impossible for human society to exist. In the light of these views, an effort is being made to describe the religion of the Gaduliya Lohars.


RELIGION

As a wandering people, the Gaduliya Lohars lead a life full of several difficulties and worries. The first and the foremost worry to them is that of their livelihood. There is a lot of uncertainty of income from their blacksmithy and bullock-trading activities. In face of the factory-made iron articles their crude iron products fetch very small profit to them. Even if they get blacksmithy work throughout the year and have regular gains in their bullock-trading activities, they can make their both ends meet with much difficulty. Nomadic movements in the usually unsafe and dirty country-side continuously exposes their lives to so many dangers of accidents like snake-bite, attack by wild animals, theft, disease, death, draught, loss of animals etc. Ferocious river-floods on their way, their lonely routes through jungles and sparsely populated areas, and their encampments outside the villages, present constant threats to their safety and well-being. These are their common worries. To them may be added their specific individual worries like the lack of any male issue, one’s quarrel with some one in the community etc. All these are serious challenge far beyond the comprehension of the poor helpless Gaduliya Lohars. In order to prevent and face these sorts of grave challenges to the existence of their communal life, they believe in the invisible and mysterious powers and seek their help through some ritualistic behaviour patterns. Such of their beliefs, rituals and practices constitute their religion.

Gods and Goddesses: The Gaduliya Lohars believe in several gods and goddesses who may be classified as under:

1. Those worshipped by the whole community:

   (i) (a) Gods and goddesses specifically their own—Aie Lacha, popularly known as ‘Sati Mata’ or ‘Bai Asas’ and Khetla or Khet Pal.

   (b) Folk-deities who are worshipped by the lower and backward Hindu castes and tribes—Ram Deoji, Guga ji, Teja ji and Bairon ji.

   (ii) Those from the Hindu pantheon—Shivji, Kali, Seetla Mata, Ganeshji, Hanuman ji, Agni, Sharda, Suraj ji (Sun) etc.
THE GADULIYA LOHARS OF RAJASTHAN

2. Regional and local gods and goddesses worshipped by the Gaduliya Lohars of the respective regions in the State:

(i) Those worshipped by the lower and backward rural Hindu castes and tribes in the different regions e.g.,

(a) In the north-western Rajasthan— (1) Cheenk Mata
    (2) Chuhar Siddh
    (3) Pithi goddess

(b) In rest of the regions—
    (1) Atlo ji
    (2) Bala ji of Mehandipur (Jaipur District)
    (3) Shakambari Mata of Sambhar

(ii) Those from the Hindu pantheon which are generally venerated by the Gaduliya Lohars in their respective regions e.g.,

(a) In the central Rajasthan: Idol of Brahma ji placed in the temple of Brahma ji at Pushkar.

(b) In the south-eastern Rajasthan: Idol of Srinathji placed in the Srinathji temple of Nathdwara.

3. Gods and goddesses from the Hindu pantheon who are rather infrequently remembered by the Gaduliya Lohars in their songs, proverbs and talks.

Ram Chandra ji, Sita ji, Shri Krishna ji or Kanha and Inder ji.

The beliefs and rituals associated with the important gods and goddesses may be now be described.

Aie Lacha, Sati Bai or Bai Asas: She is the most venerated deity. It is firmly believed by the Gaduliya Lohars that their community originated due to her fierce curse. When a marriage is going to take place, a ratjaga or mayarat (night-awakening) is observed in her memory. Religious songs are sung in praise of her and other gods and goddesses. This is done in order to seek her blessing for the safe journey of the marriage party and the successful marriage ceremony. The same sort of night-awakening is performed on the first night after the wedding. This is done to please her so
that she may lessen the sting of her original curse and bestow her blessings upon the newly wed persons who would soon be forming an independent household. Besides this, whenever a man finds himself in great economic distress he remembers her. Strangely enough the Gaduliya Lohars do not have any specific idol, figure, symbol or prayer for her. Webb correctly informs us that in the marriage ceremony, the memory of the Sati is recalled by chalking seven lines on a wall. They are known as the Maya of Aie Lacha. Cowrie shells are dedicated to her and carried on the person to ward off evil. In addition to these things, this goddess is considered to be the censor of female morals. Incontinence on the part of any wife may bring down the Bai Asas' displeasure in the form of disease or calamity upon the whole family.³

Khettla: It is believed that he was the illegal or adopted son of Aie Lacha. Webb presumes him to be her adopted son.⁴ But he gives no basis of his presumption. There seems to have existed no need due to which Aie Lacha should have adopted as a son because she remained unmarried till she committed suicide. Young unmarried persons usually do not adopt children. Information from several informants and simple logic make us believe that most probably he was her illegal child. An illegal son is assigned a very degraded and contemptuous place in the Hindu society. He is usually full of the feelings of anger and revenge, and is considered to be a dangerous person. This might explain as to why Khettla is considered to be an evil sort of god. One's failure to worship him, it is believed, brings ruin to his family.

It is customary to worship Khettla at the bride's place on the second day after the marriage by placing ghughri (boiled wheat grain) on the sacred fire. This is done to propitiate his spirit so that it might not cause any loss to the newly wed pair in their life ahead. Some informants have revealed that formerly all the Gaduliya Lohars used to sacrifice he-goats while performing the Khettla worship, but now that practice has considerably lessened due to their poverty.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 133.
THE GADULIYA LOHARS OF RAJASTHAN

Writing a brief note about the Gaduliya Lohars on the basis of his own observations in his well-known Urdu book of travel tales and descriptions, 'Fasana-e-Azad' 5 Ratan Nath Sarshar 'Lucknawi' gave the following description of the rituals connected with the Khetla worship which had been very popular in this community before 1860:

"A few years back, that is about one hundred years back, the Gadia Lohars used to offer human sacrifice before their gods 'Bhosya' 6 and 'Khet Pal' 7 once a year. They used to purchase such a man from the Banjaras whose profession was to purchase and sell children and men. This custom was prevalent among them till some time before the 'gadar' (the battle of Indian Independence in 1857). Once the writer himself saw a human sacrifice in the Bikaner State. The description is like this:

About two years before the gadar, approximately two hundred Gaduliya-Lohar households assembled in Sherpur Mauja village and they decided to worship their God 'Khetla' there. I remember that the month was that of Katik. It was the first day of that month when the Gaduliya Lohars collected subscription amongst themselves, prepared lapsi, offered it to the medi (place or altar) of their devta (god Khet Pal) which was fixed below a cart, and then all of them consumed it.

On the second day, three he-goats were brought just before

6. The present writer tried to verify about the god 'Bhosya' from his informants, but they could not tell anything about him. None of them worship him now-a-days. Possibly, it might be a name for Bhaironji god who is propitiated with animal sacrifice, wine and food offering even today by the Gaduliya Lohars as well as by many other lower and backward communities of Rajasthan.
7. Some Gaduliya Lohar informants have held that the original name of their god 'Khetla' is 'Khet Pal.' This 'Khet Pal' is certainly different from the 'Khet Pal' or 'Khestra Pal', the name for any one local god or deity worshiped by the villagers in every village of Rajasthan. Interestingly enough, all the Gaduliya Lohars worship their own Khet Pal or Khetla god also and pay respect to the local Khet Pals of the villages visited by them every year.
Amulets put on by the Gaduliya Lohars
AMULET OF RAMDEOJI

AMULET OF NINE GODDESSES

AMULET OF KARNIMATA

Amulets put on by the Gaduliya Lohars
the above-mentioned god and their heads were chopped off with a sword, and then the men started cooking their flesh. They brought a very weak and thin man, who was heavily drunk at that time, near the altar of the god. That man was not from this community, but he was having clean and white skin colour and his age was of about thirty years. Either due to some intoxicant or due to some other reason, he was behaving like a mad man. The Lohars had applied teeka or tilak (mark) on his forehead with vermillion, rice and oil. All these things were placed in a plate. Whosoever had come there, applied the teeka on his forehead. They had made security arrangement so that no outsider might come there. After two hours a drum was beaten and a couch-shell was blown and a Gadia Lohar youth hit the head of the man with his sword with such a great force that the latter fell dead and the corpse began to quiver. All the Lohars became very happy at this; they poured water on the corpse, took some of its blood and sprinkled a few drops of it on the gods Khetpal and Bhosya, and then many of them made the taska (tilak mark) on the foreheads of their children. Soon after that, they wrapped the corpse in the white gaji (cloth) and took it to jungle. I do not remember whether they buried or cremated it. In the evening all took wine and pulao and did a lot of merry-making. Three or four marriages were performed on the other day. 8

Nowhere is this custom of human-sacrifice prevalent in the Gaduliya Lohars now-a-days. But it does show the great awe with which the Gaduliya Lohars have been holding the god Khetla.

Ram Deoji: Ram Deoji, a deified hero of Marwar, was born at Runecha village in the fourteenth century. He belonged to the Tanwar clan of the Rajputs. The scene of his heroic deeds and parchas (wonderful feats) was Runecha where even now an annual fair is held to commemorate his great name. Many lower caste people like the Dedh, Chamar, Koli etc., venerate him very much. Thousands of Gaduliya Lohars also assemble to make their offerings at the chabutara

(platform or shrine) of the ‘Pir’ (Ram Deo). He is considered to be a very benevolent deity who bestows health, wealth, children and happiness. The Gaduliya Lohars believe that recovery from sickness is assured by tying a thread on the wrist of the patient in the name of Ram Deoji and by promising some gift or sacrifice when the patient has been fully recovered. Silver plates and even golden plates on which are embossed the image of Ram Deoji seated on his horse are worn as lockets by the Gaduliya Lohars. They are called Ram Deoji ra phool. In Ajmer District, the writer observed the printed and framed photos of Ram Deoji hung on the front side of some Gaduliya Lohar carts. Many Gaduliya Lohars carry ‘Ram Deoji ra pagtiyan,’ i.e., the foot prints of Ram Deoji carved on a stone. They are fond of getting their figure also tattooed on their arms.

On one occasion, the writer showed a printed photo of Ram Deoji to a band of the Gaduliya Lohars camping at Alwar. On seeing the photo, Daluji, the leader of the sub-band at once prostrated before it, and others also followed him with folded bands. The women began to make their prayers to the God, “O Rama Pir, save us from starvation and give us fayado (profit) in our blacksmithy and bullock-trading activities.” Daluji took out his dholak (drum) and chimta (tongs) from his cart, and the children started striking their thalis (plates) with the wooden handles of their hammers. Several songs were sung in which the events and feats of Ram Deoji’s life were described. Daluji narrated a few tales about the wonderful deeds of mercy done by Ram Deoji.

Gugaji or Gogaji: Gugaji Chauhan was a deified hero of Rajasthan who was born probably in the eleventh century. Although no historical evidence is available, a Rajasthani historian Pandit Jhabar Mal Sharma, in his article “Guga Chauhan par ek drasti,” has held that he was the ruler of Dadera and he fought with Abubark, the chieftain of the emperor Firoz Tuglak’s forces.10 He married Kelanji Rathore. It is believed

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that he had full command over snakes, so his name is associated with the snake-worship in Rajasthan. As a cure of snake-bite, his name is often remembered by most of the villagers as well as by the Gaduliya Lohars. The shrine of Gugaji is at the village Maidee in the Nohar tehsil where a very huge cattle fair is celebrated on the Krishna Navami of the month of Bhadon (August). Several Gaduliya Lohars of the central and southern regions of the State also attend it. All the Gaduliya Lohars, nomadic as well as sedentized ones, worship Gugaji on this day. They cook gulgulas, poori, matdi, shakkar para etc. It is called Guga ri kadahi. They worship Gugaji by offering a morsel of this delicious food on some burning coal or on the fire burning in their chulha (kitchen stove). It is firmly believed by the Gaduliya Lohars that by observing ‘Guga Navmi’ in this manner they are prevented from snake-bite and the births of many children in the family are ensured. Like many other Rajasthani backward communities, the Gaduliya Lohars also often sing prayers and songs on several themes related to the events of Gugaji’s life.

There is no specific idol or figure of Gugaji popular among the Gaduliya Lohars. Some of them simply put on a locket bearing the embossed image of one or more snakes and call it sarpa ro phool or Gugaji ro phool. Such lockets are purchased from town markets.

Pabuji Rathore: He was also a defied hero of Marwar. He was resident of village Kalu. He fought with his sister’s husband Jin Raj Kichi to save the cows of a Charan woman, Deval, from being snatched away by him. From her he got her wonderful mare, known as Kashar Kalmi, on a promise to help her whenever Jin Raj Khichi again came to snatch her cows. Once Pabuji went to Umarkot to marry Sodi, the daughter of Suraj Mal. He had taken only three pheras (nuptial rounds) when his mare showed restless behaviour which was a symbol that Jin Raj Kichi had gone to harass Devla. So having left the nuptial rounds just then and there and having given his Katar (daggar) to his wife to complete her pheras with it in his place, he reached his village and bravely fought with Jin Raj Kichi and rescued the cows. Even then
a calf was taken away by Kichi. Pabuji again went to fight for it and in that battle he lost his life as a myrryr. His wife committed sati after him. Since then, many songs are sung about his heroic deeds of saving the honour of women-folk, cows and religion and keeping one’s promise. The Gaduliya Lohars believe that by remembering his name, they will have economic prosperity and children. Some of them, especially those wandering in the central and southern Rajasthan, put on ‘Pabuji ri palî’ or ‘Pabuji ra phool.’ i.e., embossed locket of his figure.

There is no fixed day for the worship of Pabuji. His name may be remembered at any time when a person is in distress.

*Tejaji:* Tejaji was born in the family of Toharji Jat of village Mauja Khidna in the Nagore district about nine hundred years back. He was married in childhood. His wife, Bodal, lived with her parents at Mauja Paner in Roop Nagar. A popular story about him says that once he gathered the whereabouts of his wife from his elder brother’s wife and determined to go to his father-in-law’s place alone. His elder brother’s wife asked him not to do so. But he would not do so. So she cursed him. While on his way, he saw fire in the jungle. He saved a snake from it, but the snake said, “Since my partner has been burnt in the fire and by saving my life you have increased my misery, I curse you that you will not have any pleasure from your wife’s side. I will bite you.” Tejaji requested the snake to spare his life for some time and promised to return for its bite later on. Having met his wife there and having defeated some Mina thieves and rebels who had entered there, Teja came to the jungle to keep his promise. The snake was pleased with his truthfulness and it blessed him that his name would be associated with the cure of snake-bite. After sometime while he was returning with his wife, Balji snake challenged him; he fought with it bravely but ultimately


died there with his wife on the tenth day of Bhadon. Since then, the villagers have been worshipping Tejaji till now. The Gaduliya Lohars also believe in him. They invoke his spirit by simply remembering his name whenever there is any case of snake-bite in their band. Some Gaduliya Lohars also put on the lockets of the embossed figure of Tejaji in order to prevent snake-bite.

Bhaironji: Bhaironji is a very popular god in Rajasthan. A tale regarding his origin is given in Shiv Purana. There are two popular names of Bhaironji—Batuk-Bhaironji and Kal-Bhaironji. The former is said to be his name in childhood. Batuk-Bhaironji is worshipped in night till 11 P.M., and Kal-Bhaironji is worshipped between 11 P.M. and 2 A.M. Usually, he is worshipped at the village crematorium or outside the village. Any big stone is painted with vermilion and oil and decorated with coloured, preferably red-coloured panni (paper). As in other Hindu communities, it is customary among the Gaduliya Lohars also to worship Bhaironji by sacrificing a he-goat and offering its meat along with wine, urd (pulse), coconut, oil, churma (baked flour mixed with sugar), gulgule, collyrium, myrtle etc. The worship is led by a professional Bhopa from the Gujar caste. He chants some jhadas (magical verses) to cure the patient.

There are several important temples of Bhaironji in Rajasthan. Most important of them are situated at Mandela village near Fatehpur in the Jaipur district, Kodamdesar village near Bikaner city, Malasi village near Ratangarh in the Churu district, Nausarla village in the Churu district, near Birampuri in Jaipur city, Kodana village, Ajitsar village, Toliasar near Shri Dungargarh in Bikaner division and in Kathkhada village etc. The Gaduliya Lohars, like many other communities, worship the Bhaironji of their respective regions. It is believed that the cases of illness, barrenness and effects of the evil spirits are cured by Bhaironji.

Shivji: Among the Hindu pantheon of gods and goddesses,

God Shivji is venerated most, by all the Gaduliya Lohars. They believe that Shivji gave them their important tools for blacksmithy i.e., tongs, anvil and hammer, and protected them from the atrocities of the Muslims. Hence, they worship Him as their ‘Guru’ (Preceptor) and his consort Parvati as their Yoga Maya (Heavenly Mother). His sacred bull Nandi is also worshipped by them. As the upper castes usually do not allow the Gaduliya Lohars to enter their temples, the latter worship the god Shivji under their own carts. They fold their hands before it and pray to Him so that He might protect them from starvation due to poverty. Some Gaduliya Lohars keep with them the trishul (¥) of Shivji. Whenever they wish to worship Shivji, they erect the trishul on the ground, apply vermilion marks on it and pour water on it, or place a stone as an idol of the god. A few prayers relating to the theme of the marriage of Shivji with Parvati ji are popular among the Gaduliya Lohars.

Sheetla Mata: Like all other castes of the Hindus, the Gaduliya Lohars also worship Sheetla Mata, the goddess of small-pox, in whose honour the festival of ‘Sheel Santon’ is observed in March. She is known by the name of Sedh or Sedal Mata also. Many Gaduliya Lohar carts carry the small idol of the goddess. It has the shape of a rough stone. Harji Gaduliya Lohar of Mangalias (Ajmer) also had such an idol. It was a small stone, 3.2 inches long, 2.3 inches wide and 0.8 inches thick. This is not the standard size for all such idols, but usually they are made of stone. One finds such an idol in the cart of the eldest son, of a family. Interestingly enough, the same idol may be worshipped as Sheetla, Durga, Kali and Chamunda goddesses by the Gaduliya Lohars.

The Gaduliya Lohars share all the beliefs and observances of the Rajasthanian population for the goddess Sheetla. Seven days after Holi, like other Hindu castes they also observe ‘basyoda’ i.e., a day devoted to the worship of Sheetla Mata. No food is cooked on this day; the goddess is worshipped with the stale food and curd. The women put on new clothes and worship the Goddess with several prayers. The aim is to please the goddess so that she should save the lives of the
devotee's children from small-pox. The goddess is worshipped also when one is laid down with small-pox. No treatment is done lest the goddess should be displeased and she should cause permanent harm or death to the patient. Several practices are observed in order to please the goddess. They are: not to grind grain with one's grinding wheel, not to wash one's hair, not to shave one's beard, not to fry vegetable or pulse in ghee or oil, not to put on new clothes, not to speak loudly, not to cook meat till the patient recovers and to give the milk of she-ass to the patient. The Gaduliya Lohars clad their children in very tattered and dirty clothes especially during the period from February to July which is the season of small-pox, so that Sheetla might not be attracted towards them and might not make them the patients of small-pox. Children are given obscene or dirty names also due to the same belief.

**Ganeshji or Ganpatiji:** Like all the Hindus, the Gaduliya Lohars venerate Ganeshji as the God of all auspicious occasions. Whenever there is any auspicious ceremony as marriage, religious session etc., they remember the name of Ganeshji first of all lest the ceremony should be unsuccessful. Sweets are offered as parshad before the God. A crude figure of Ganeshji is either drawn by red ochre or made of clay by a woman and worshipped by all.

**Hanumanji or Balaji:** The Gaduliya Lohars have a great faith in Hanumanji whom they address as 'Hanuman Baba' or 'Balaji.' Like other Hindu caste people, they also worship him usually on Tuesday. They (Gaduliya Lohars) make food or sweets offerings to the god in the temples. But most of them worship him at their encampments. It is firmly believed that Hanumanji protects his devotees from all the evil spirits like bhut, chudel, kacha kalua etc. Whenever a person is ill or is worried, he either rushes to the temple of Hanumanji with his offerings or he merely remembers his name. Usually no songs or rhythmic prayers addressed to Hanumanji are popular; they only raise the slogan "Hanuman Baba ri jai."

When a Gaduliya Lohar purchases a new gaduliya (cart), his family observes the ceremony of worshipping Hanumanji,
known as Hanumanji ra basa. A small monkey-shaped sketch of the God Hanumanji is drawn with geru (red ochre) or vermillion mixed in oil or ghee on the cart. A thick bread, rotla or rot, is prepared and gur (molasses) is placed on it. A ceremonial fire is made near one of the wheels of the new cart and a small morsel of the cake and molasses are offered to it. The incense is burnt. All the members of the household worship the God Hanumanji with their folded hands. They seek his blessing for the safety and prosperity of the new cart. After the worship, small bits of the parshad (food offering) are distributed to the members of the household and other people in the band. The goddess Kali Mata of Chittorgarh is also remembered at this occasion. As soon as this ceremony is over, the members of the newly established family place their domestic articles and tools etc., in the new cart amidst rejoicings and the blessings of their relatives and friends.

Kali Mata of Chittorgarh: The Gaduliya Lohars have a very great belief in the goddess Kali Mata whose statue has been lying in a temple at Chittorgarh for the last several centuries. The Gaduliya Lohars do not visit Chittorgarh to worship the goddess at any time since one of their vows, taken earlier by their ancestors, forbids them to go to Chittorgarh. But they remember her name. On the Badi gyaras (eleventh day) of the Bhadon month, they observe a complete vacation from work and remember the goddess. They cook delicious food on this day and offer a part of it to the ceremonial fire in the name of the goddess.

It is believed that she protects them from all sorts of evil spirits, undesirable people, and economic losses. She is remembered by barren women who are desirous of having children. It is generally believed that if a Gaduliya Lohar tries to steal anything from the cart of another person in the same band, or in the other band, the Goddess Kali Mata of Chittorgarh will make him blind. So no person dares to commit any theft. Even children are thus checked from stealing. The fear of Kali Mata’s wrath ensures maintenance of a desirable standard of morality in the Gaduliya Lohar society. When their panchayat has a serious issue before it, the parties
concerned are often made to take oaths in the name of Kali Mata as all firmly believe that the goddess will never spare a liar. When a person wishes to curse another person in a quarrel, he curses him like this: “May Goddess Kali Mata destroy you,” “May she wipe away your lineage,” etc. There is no specific idol, figure or prayer for the goddess. The only symbol is to apply a teeka of soot on the forehead of the person concerned. This is done more in case of children to protect them from the dangers of evil eye.

River god: The Gaduliya Lohars are very afraid of crossing any flooded river. When a band finds its route blocked by a flooded river, it waits for a few hours till the level might go down itself. But if there seems to be no hope as such, a brief ceremony of the worship of the river god is held. The band leader, or on his advise any other old man, collects small subscription from each household in the band. He purchases some sweets as parshad (food offering) from a shop if any market is nearby. If there is no such shop, he simply collects one cake from each household, crushes them into small pieces, mixes sugar to them, and thus prepares their churma. A small part of the sweets purchased or the churma thus prepared is dropped in the river as offering to the river God. The rest of the parshad is distributed among all the members of the band. It is believed that by doing so, the river god is pleased, and he lowers the water level so that the Gaduliya Lohar carts might cross them without any further delay or difficulty.

Jal Jognies: The list of the Gaduliya Lohar gods and goddesses remains incomplete without the mention of Jal Jognies. To these are made the offerings of goats and sweets.

No deviyan: The Gaduliya Lohars of the central and southern Rajasthan venerate the nine goddesses ‘No deviyan,’ which are worshipped by the Rajputs and some others also. Some Gaduliya Lohars put on their patli i.e., amulet on which are embossed their images in the manner of nine vertical lines parallel to one another. Our Gaduliya Lohar informants were unable to give details of these nine goddesses. All they could say was that these goddesses could give all sorts of worldly pleasures and satisfactions to their devotees. There is no
specific prayer or song sung in their praise.

Krishna ji: The Gaduliya Lohars hold Lord Krishna in high esteem as all Hindus do. Many of them observe the Lord’s birth day, ‘Janmasthami’ by cooking delicacies, observing fast for the day and singing songs about the life activities of Krishnaji. It is believed that by doing this the well-being and the prosperity of the band is ensured.

Other gods and goddesses: In addition to the gods and goddesses described above, the Gaduliya Lohars pay respects to Ram Chandraji, Sitaji, Brahmani and the different local gods and goddesses like the local Khet Pals etc., venerated by other Hindu castes and tribes in the State. They also follow many of the beliefs and rituals which they see their host population observing. Although the Gaduliya Lohars have the traditional dislike for the Muslims, yet they have a high regard for their pirs and saiyyads. They are afraid of them.

Festivals: Although the Gaduliya Lohars respect almost all the festivals celebrated by the Hindus in general as well as in the particular localities, yet they celebrate only a few of them. Their cycle of important festivals is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Festival</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chet (March-April)</td>
<td>Basora or Sheel Saton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vaisakh (April-May)</td>
<td>Akha Teej</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sawan (July-August)</td>
<td>Teej</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhandon (August-September)</td>
<td>Krishna Janmasthami</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Guga Navmi, Kali pooja</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asoj (September-October)</td>
<td>Kanagat</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Dashera</td>
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<td>Karawa Choth</td>
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<td>Diwali</td>
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<td>Makar Sankranti</td>
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<td>Basant Panchami</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kartik (October-November)</td>
<td>Shivratri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Posh (December-January)</td>
<td>Holi</td>
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</table>

The Besora is celebrated to worship Sheetla Mata. The Akha Teej is an important festival related to marriage. Teej
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is a very important festival celebrated by the Hindu women in Rajasthan. Unmarried girls keep fast and pray to god Shiv and his consort Parvati to bless them with suitable husbands. The three festivals in Bhadon are meant for worshipping Krishna ji, Guga ji and Kali Mata of Chittorgath respectively. The Kanagat is meant for the ancestor-worship. The Dashera denotes the conquest of Ram over Ravana. On the day of Karwa choth, the married women keep fast in order to please the gods and beseech the granting of longevity to their husband. Diwali is the gay festival of lights. The Gaduliya Lohars do not light candles on that night. They however cook delicious foods, worship ‘Lakshmi ji’—the goddess of wealth, gamble, drink and have all other sorts of merry-making. For them, the Makar Sankranti is the festival of eating til ke laddu and gulgulas, and, beyond this, it has no importance. The Basant Panchami is the festival of great happiness. God Shiv is worshipped on Shiv Ratri. On the festival of Holi, sprinkling of coloured water, gambling, singing dancing, and obscenity of all sorts are done.

Most of the Gaduliya Lohar engagements are fixed up on the Basant Panchami and Akha Teej. Hundreds of Gaduliya Lohar marriages are performed on the day of Akha Teej.

The Gaduliya Lohars do not celebrate the festival of Rakhi or Raksha bandhan which is a very important festival of Hindus. The informants have not been able to put forth any reason for it. “Our ancestors did not celebrate it, we do not know why; we simply follow their line,” they said.

Oaths: The most popular and binding oath that a Gaduliya Lohar can swear is “by the name of the sack of Chittor.” It means that if the statement proves incorrect the oath-taker should be held responsible to God for the sacrilegious murder of the Brahmins at the Chittorgarh Fort whose number may be estimated by the fact that no less than 74½ maunds weight of janeoos (sacred threads) were taken off their corpses. Other forms of taking oaths are by placing a hand on the head of a son, or by taking the oath in the name of a cow, father, river Ganga or goddess Kali or god Hanumanji.

Superstitions: The Gaduliya Lohars believe in many good
and bad omens. They have a very popular couplet in this connection:

बुरा बाबा तीतर जीवणा, सांभी हंगारेल,
इता मुगण मनावले, फेर चाढ़े बेरिया वू स्वेल।

*Donkey coming from the left, partridge from the right and snake from the front side,*

*If you’ve these good omens, then you may play with your foes even.*

Besides these omen, a crow flying from the left hand side to the right hand side is also a good omen. The bad omens are the braying of a donkey, mewing of a cat, cries of a jackal, and the sight of an oilmen, barber, washermen, widow, son-in-law (in the morning), a person with a squaint or a cat. The Gaduliya Lohars stop doing a new or important work when the bad omens are visible to them. They pray to their gods and goddesses, especially Shivji, Kali Mata, and Bhaironji and Hanumanji so that the evil influence of the bad omens should be prevented. Often they try to create a good omen by asking some married women to place a pot of water on her head and to come from the front side, or by driving a cow to come to the place from the front side.

Some superstitions and magical beliefs of the Gaduliya Lohars are worth mentioning. Most of the nomadic ones still believe that if they dared to return to the Chittorgarh Fort, they would be destroyed by the goddess Kali. Several concrete cases have been noticed in this connection. When the Gaduliya Lohars were motivated and pressed by many social workers of the different places of Rajasthan to go to Chittorgarh to attend the ‘All India Gadi Lohar Convention’ there in April, 1955, only a few of them finally decided to go there. At several places, their children, women and relatives saw them off with a lot of wailing and weeping, for their minds had been obsessed with the superstitious fear that they would be killed by the goddess Kali there.\(^{15}\)

\(^{15}\) One such case from Bhilwara was reported in the *Nav Bharat Times* (Daily) dated April 7, 1955.
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Most of them still believe that till they remain a nomadic people their lot is good, but sedentarisation will liquidate them once for all. So they have generally abhorred the idea of settling down in permanent homes. They believe that their goddesses, especially Aie Lacha, Kali, and God Shivji would be angry with them if they chose to make a change from their traditional nomadic mode of life.

Dreams: The Gaduliya Lohars are afraid of bad dreams and happy over good dreams. They believe that dreams are excellent indicators of one's future. Following are some of their dream objects or scenes and their interpretations:

Dream | Interpretation by the Gaduliya Lohars
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1. A man abusing the dreamer. | Possibility of dispute with some one.
3. Bathing in a dirty river or pond. | Disappointment in life.
6. A man seeing a beggar. | Possibility of theft or economic loss.
7. The dreamer seeing his clothes burnt in fire. | Revival of some old quarrel.
12. Birth of a child to one's wife. | Prosperity and happiness of the family.
13. Seeing children with moustaches and beards. | Loss or some body's death in the family.
16. Death of a young    Some accident or death ahead.
    child or young man.
17. A dog pursuing the   Possibility of harm from some
    dreamer.                enemy.
18. Drowning of one's    Economic loss ahead.
    cart in a river.
19. The dreamer seeing    Death of some close relative.
    himself blind.
22. Hermit preaching the  Gain in the bullock trade.
    dreamer.
23. God Shiva blessing   Gain in the bullock trade.
    the dreamer.
24. Lion.                Fear of an opponent *panch*.
    milk.
27. Hanumanji.           Possibility of some disease.
30. Pigeons flying in the  Good omen.
    sky.
31. Pigeon lying dead or  Death of some one in the
    killed by a cat.        family.
33. God Ram Deoji.       Economic gain or child-birth.
34. Sexual congress.     Possibility of extra-marital
                        affair.
35. The dreamer unable to  Possibility of some loss or
    bend a piece of steel.  trouble ahead.
37. Dry vegetation.      Disease or loss of the bullocks.
38. Lord Krishna with his  Gain in the bullock trade.
    beloved Radha.
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39. A saint blessing the Gain in the bullock trade, dreamer.

We have only thirty-nine cases of dreams before us, and so it is difficult to present a full analysis of the dreams of the Gaduliya Lohars. However, from whatever data we have, it can be said that their dreams do not show any evidence of far fetched associations and highly complex working of their minds. Most of them reveal very simple and direct cause and effect relationship. The articles, activities and scenes of their conscious and real day to day life appear on the mental screen in their dreams. There are some strange things also in the dreams.

The simplicity of the Gaduliya Lohar mind is reflected in their dreams. The things or scenes which the Gaduliya Lohars consider very dirty, harmful, ferocious, detesting or undesirable in their daily life, when seen in the dreams are treated as the indicators or signals of the approaching physical, economic or social danger or loss. Dirty water, fire, death, blindness, disease, lion, beggar, dry vegetation etc., are such examples. On the other hand, the "good things", believed to be the indicators of prosperity and happiness, are not other than the things which the Gaduliya Lohars hold in high esteem and veneration. Generally they are cow, Brahmin, saint, milk, son, gods and green vegetation etc.

They do not seek the assistance of any shaman or religious person for interpreting their dreams. All one does in case of a very ugly or fearful dream is to talk about it with the members of his family as well as with some other people in the band. If all or most of them consider that the dream is really very bad and it indicates some approaching calamity, they may suggest the person and his family to do some thing to please the gods and goddesses at once so that the calamity may be prevented. In case of some other bad dream, some sort of charity may be given. It may be in the form of throwing some makki (maize or grain) to pigeons or feeding a cow or a beggar. But on the whole, the Gaduliya Lohars do not appear to be very sensitive about their dreams all the time and they do
not carry them in their minds for long. The dreams of the children and adolescents are generally blown away in humour or left unheeded. Ordinary dreams are either not remembered at all, or left uncared for. Personal safety and economic security are the two most important themes on which most of their good or bad dreams depend. There appears to be a little room for the interpretation of their dreams along Freudian lines.

World View:

“A world view”, says Honnigman, “proclaims how man and nature are organised and also registers decisions about the value of such knowledge. World views consist of perceptions formed by values.” 16 Let us find out the world view of the Gaduliya Lohars. Among self, god and group, the self comes first of all according to their point of view. The individual family demands the greatest loyalty, but due loyalty must also be paid to the caste group also. Due priority must go the panchas and religious saints of their community. The most significant time dimension is believed to be the past whence have come their nomadic mode of life, trade, myths, traditions and values. The present must be utilized to act according to the high ideals and actions of the ancestors. They believe that they cannot dominate nature effectively, but they are not prepared to surrender to it also. So they try to live with it harmoniously. Originality and variety are of little importance in their society for they lay the greatest stress on tradition and conformity.

It is believed that those who do not conform to the traditions of the community are bound to displease the gods and goddess who inflict illness, barrenness, accidents or death to them in this world and inflict more punishments in the next world. Hence they must be pleased by traditional ritualistic observances in the form of worships, sacrifices, offerings or charity etc. Fatalism is their dogma of personal adjustment. The losses and gains are attributed largely to one’s fate, but at

the same time they are aware of the importance of making efforts. One often hears them saying, "No body will put bread in your mouth if you do not work. Work you must. If you have good fate, you will gain a lot out of it, if you have a bad fate, you will have rather an unsatisfactory gain, but even then you will not starve."

"An understanding of the ideology of a society," says Professor Furer-Haimendorf, "is one of the most important keys to the interpretation of social conduct, and a description of a social system remains incomplete unless it accounts for the motives which determine the actions and moral choices of individual's." The Gaduliya Lohars hold that it is moral to lead an austere, honest and traditional life. The following activities are considered to be immoral and sinful:

1. Stealing.
2. Not looking after one's family, i.e., not earning to meet its needs.
3. Killing a cow or a snake.
4. To have dining, smoking or sex relations with the castes and tribes inferior to their community.
5. Not to help a member of the band in distress.
6. Not to look after one's parents in their old age (for the youngest son of the family.)
7. To be sexually unloyal to one's marriage partner.
8. To have sex connections with any girl in the band.
9. Not to give alms to a hermit.
10. To break the rule of caste endogamy.
11. To laugh at their gods and goddesses or the religious practices associated with them.
12. To be cruel to children.
13. To disobey the decisions or the orders of the caste panchayat.
14. Not to worship their ancestors, gods and goddesses.
15. To change the traditional life of the community i.e.,

to adopt a trade or profession lower than the blacksmithy trade or the bullock trade.

Whether these sins are committed knowingly or by ignorance, the person committing them must suffer misfortune and disappointments in this world as well as in the next world. It is believed that after his death, the soul of such a man wanders restlessly for some time and then it goes to hell where it is subjected to several tortures. In order to bear the fruit of its bad actions in the previous life, it has to take rebirth in the form of some dirty creature or pack animal like a worm, dog, pig, donkey, oilman’s bullock etc. On the other hand, the soul of a good person is strong and sublime. It goes straight to the heaven and achieves salvation. One should have aima-gyan or khud ne pichan no chahiye (self-realization). That alone is the key to salvation. As soon as samajh ro parakh (touch stone of understanding) is applied to an ignorant or corrupt mind, all baser emotions are vanished.

Having found the teachings of Kabir Dass ji, the famous religious reformer of the mediaeval age, quite palatable to them, the Gaduliya Lohars have adopted some of them. Many couplets and songs composed by Kabir and his disciples are popular among the Gaduliya Lohars. There have been several religious saints in the community like Champa Ram ji, Seva Ramji, Budh Ramji. Kalyan ji Maharaj etc. They have also propagated the teachings of Kabir. Some of them are giving their own teachings also which seek to reform the people. Almost all of them believe that the soul never dies; only the physical body is subjected to death. The real mukti (salvation) is possible only with the help of a sat-guru (good teacher). Their religious songs eloquently depicts their religious and philosophical beliefs. Their religious folk tales also reveal their religious beliefs. Some of them emphasize the parchas (wonderful deeds) of their god Ram Deo ji and other Gaduliya Lohar saints. In some of them, emphasis has been laid on the need to worship god with a true heart. Some of them give the lessons that one’s greed, ignorance, deceit etc., are really bad things. A number of them are about the life of Kabir ji.
RELIGION

Thus we have seen that their religious beliefs, practices and symbols are effectively instrumental to maintaining their social cohesion and in providing personal adjustment of the individuals in the community.

The greatest characteristic of their religion is that it is very tolerant and liberal. It allows them to worship all sorts of gods and goddesses of the Hindu people without any fanaticism or bias. It further shows that in spite of their being a backward nomadic people, the Gaduliya Lohars have not cut themselves off from the religious beliefs and practices of their neighbouring and host population.
VII

Material Culture

The Gaduliya Lohars count their numbers and describe their bands in terms of their bullock-carts, known as gaduliyas. Every independent Gaduliya Lohar family, invariably, possesses one such cart. It is well-structured so as to meet all the requirements of their nomadic mode of life. It is their home, store, bank, maternity ward, workshop, vehicle etc.,—all in one.

The gaduliya is a two wheeled bullock-cart, made of kikar (Acacia arabica) wood. It differs from the usual village bullock-cart in construction as well as in weight. Its typicality of construction lies in its thalia and the pheechla. The thalia is a sufficiently large, triangular-shaped cup-board, covered on all sides with wooden planks and having a small door at the back side. It forms the front portion of the cart. The peechla i.e., the middle and rear portion of the cart, is a large cubical structure, about 64 inches in length, 46 inches in width and 18 inches or so in height. It is open from above and is surrounded by pankhalas (wooden protection boards) on three sides.

The Gaduliya Lohar cart is heavier and sturdier than the usual village bullock-cart. It is prepared by a few specialized carpenters residing in some particular villages. The Gaduliya Lohars of the north-eastern region of Rajasthan get their gaduliyas constructed by the carpenters of Gangwa village, while those of the south-western region get them constructed by the carpenters of Barmer. Only the iron rims of the wheels
of the gaduliyas are fixed by the Gaduliya Lohars themselves. The cost of a decorated gaduliya is near about Rs. 1,000/- while that of an undecorated one is about Rs. 750/-. A decorated gaduliya has a covering of woven buffalo-leather laces around its crank-shaft. Some decorative articles like brass sheets, thick morena keel or peetal ri choonp (thick brass nails), mirror and coloured glass lattus (the glass-balls like the old fashioned glass door-handles) are fixed on the outer side of the pankhlas. The auspicious swastika mark is made on the cart with vermillion mixed in some edible oil or clarified butter. A few Gaduliya Lohars, moving in the cities of Ajmer, Beawar and Krishangarh (Ajmer), have decorated their carts with brass tinkling bells and framed photos of God Ram Deo ji and God Hanuman ji purchased from the market. Before using a newly purchased gaduliya, a ceremony known as Hanuman-ji-ka-basa is performed on a Tuesday.

Sirki, the closest companion of the gaduliya: The Gaduliya Lohars use sirki covering for protecting their gaduliya from sun and rain. It is made of thin pith reed. It is prepared by the professional sirki-workers who sell a pair of it for Rs. 5/- or Rs. 6/-. It is very light, easily foldable, quite cheap, durable for three or four years and bad conductor of heat. It is particularly useful in rains. In damp season, its pith-reeds swell and tighten up so closely with one another that they effectively prevent rain drops from passing through them. It is put to several other uses also. In extreme heat, a sirki is pulled over two bamboos supported by two standing cots. Then the Gaduliya Lohars or their animals rest under it. When a young woman wishes to take her bath in complete privacy, she spreads her sirki on the ground in a hut like manner and places a cot at its entrance to prevent anybody coming in it. While sleeping on a gaduliya, two sirkis are erected around it. A friendly youth confided with the researcher that even romantic affairs sometimes bloom between lovers under the sirkis.

Arrangement of placing household articles in the cart: A gaduliya is a perfect home for a Gaduliya Lohar family. It accommodates all the household belongings in a traditionally systematic arrangement. In the thalia, the door of which can
be locked, they place their cash, ornaments, gold, spices, cakes, frozen ghee, needles, thread, mirror and cosmetics etc. It serves as a safe. The rest of the household effects are placed on the main superstructure of the cart. Food grain sacks are placed at the bottom in the centre of the cart. The utensils are placed on one side of the sacks, while on the other side other household articles and blacksmithy tools are placed. The dresses are placed between the thalia and the foodgrain sacks. A small rectangular peedha (a cot like stool knit with moonj) is placed over the left and right pankhalas. On it are placed some handis (earthern pots used for cooking) and a matki (earthern water jar). In the open space below the peedha are placed some handis containing oil, pickles, cooked vegetable etc. A big basket hangs below the rear portion of the gaduliya. In it are kept charcoal, scrap iron, old tin canisters and fodder. While camping at a place, a cloth sling for the baby is tied to the crank-shaft below the thalia. A small cot is placed below the gaduliya on which one may take rest. While, moving the cot is placed in the reverse direction on the gaduliya. Although these arrangements are fairly stereo-typed, they are dictated by purely practical considerations and without any ritualistic implications howsoever.

Every household possesses one or two cots of so low a height that they can be easily placed under a gadulia. Their legs are decorated with brass nails. Generally, a small wooden peedha (stool) and a chair are also kept. When a customer or an outsider comes to a Gaduliya Lohar, the latter offers him his cot, chair or peedha to sit on. None of these items is prepared by the Gaduliya Lohars. They purchase them from village carpenters.

Cart area covered by a household

When a Gaduliya Lohar household returns to its place of encampment during April-May to camp there till the end of rainy season, it cleans the small piece of land, usually 15 feet by 8 feet, on which the cart is halted. The householder’s wife and his children make a boundary wall, usually 6-7 inches in height, around the ground area with mud. It is about one
Dimensions of a Gaduliya

- Audha
- 34") THALIA
- 12"
- 64"
- Parkha
- 26"
- 12 1/2"
- Parkha
- 8"
- Total length of the cart 159"
- Bagji
- Talawa
- Outer circumference 23"
- Inner circumference 19 1/2"
- Pinjani 48"
- Naay (5" radius)
- Poombi
Arrangement of placing household articles in a cart

- Cash, ornaments, idol of Sita, snacks, oil, ghee, spices, cosmetics etc.
- Dresser/chest, utensils, boxes, etc.
- Winter clothing, small bag of flour, winter bedding, flags of grains, utensils.
- Earthen pots containing food articles.
- Earthen pots for keeping water and cooking.
- Baskets full of curd, form, fodder, etc.
- Other household effects.
foot high towards the back side of the gaduliya. The ground and the mud boundary wall are plastered with cow dung and simple designs are drawn on them with red ochre and wheat flour paste. The mud boundary wall gives a somewhat decorative look to the ground area occupied by the household. It is very helpful in preventing rain water coming into it from outside.

Living accommodation and workshop

The cart, sirki, cots and bamboos provide sufficient accommodation to a household for living in and carrying on the blacksmithy work. The householder fixes his fireplace or blacksmithy workshop on one side in the south-east direction, generally between the cart and the road side. Due care is taken to fix the workshop in such a way that the wind, which usually comes from the western direction in the State, may not carry fire sparks to the household effects in the gaduliya. The women bathe under the sirki hut erected on the ground on the other side. The kitchen is also fixed up on that side. Fuel and iron scraps are heaped up just below the rear portion of the gaduliya.

Sleeping pattern

In the night, the sirkis are erected on one side of the gaduliya on which the young son and his wife sleep. The old parents and their young children sleep on their cots placed on the ground at some distance from the gaduliya. If the householder is a young man having small nuclear family, he sleeps on his cot placed on the ground just near the gaduliya, while his wife and young children sleep on the gaduliya. He goes up the gaduliya or the wife comes down to his cot for the sexual intercourse. Nobody keeps his head in the south direction and feet towards the rising Sooraj devta (Sun God).

Animals

Every Gaduliya Lohar household invariably keeps a pair of bullocks. One or both of them may be sold away at any time when a suitable customer is available. New bullocks are
purchased in their place. It has been observed that even newly purchased robust bullocks run down in health within a few days as they have to carry heavy gaduliyas and they are not given sufficient food and nourishment by the Gaduliya Lohars. Some people keep goats also. Some one may keep a cow also. No nomadic Gaduliya Lohar was seen having a she-buffalo because it costs much in purchase as well as in maintenance. Few people keep poultry, as generally the Gaduliya Lohars do not include it in their food. Those sedentized in the government colonies at Beawar, Merta and Nagore had a few cows and buffalos. A few people are fond of keeping dogs.

Personal Cleanliness and Decoration

The Gaduliya Lohars generally remain dirty. The daily bath is not taken. Some do not bathe even for two or three weeks. This is generally due to lack of water since even for getting drinking water they have to wait at the foot of village wells begging village women to pour water into their pots. It is also due to lack of time and their dirty habits. If there is a river or tank near their camping site at a village, they do bathe there. A man’s bath is generally very hurried. Occasionally, they use multani mitti or met (fuller’s earth) for washing their heads. Women sometimes apply peethi (mixture of mustard oil and gram flour) on their skin while taking bath.

The women wash their hair with fuller’s earth as it is very cheap. Wherever whey is available, they use it in place of met. The women like to grow long hair as they are considered to be a sign of beauty. For this, they apply sesame or mustard oil after the hair wash. They mix goond ra pani (gum water) to their hair after washing and oiling them. By this, the hair remain licked together for a fortnight or so. Besides this, they some times mix nimboli ra pani (seeds of neem crushed in water) to prevent the growth of lice in hair. A kangasia (wooden comb) is used for combing one’s hair. A woman can comb her hair herself, but she likes to take the help of some other woman or girl for a better combing.

The hair are then tied together in the form of a typical braid. Several thin plaits of hair are formed. They are tied
together by means of a thick thread coiled over them densely. On suspicious occasions like marriage, chati worship after child birth etc., a woman ties her braid with the sacred kalewa (red and yellow coloured kachha threads twisted together). But generally, a thick black or red thread is used. No coloured ribbon or strip of cloth is tied to the braid.

The men get their hair cut by village barbers. They are, generally, fond of their typical and traditional style of hair cut, known as patta. Accordingly, a three or four inches wide tract of hair is cut across the length of the head in the centre, while long thick locks of hair hang down both the cheeks and behind the head. Now-a-days this traditional hair cut is becoming less popular in the Gaduliya Lohars moving in towns. They are adopting other styles of hair-cut popular in villages and towns. Many old men grow beards like the old Rajput warriors. Young men get their beards shaved once a week or so, but they keep thin and long moustaches. The moustaches give a man self-confidence and during a quarrel he twists it at his enemy.

Only a few Gaduliya Lohars clean their teeth with the help of neem twigs. Most of them merely clean them by rubbing with fingers. Their teeth are generally very dirty. One invariably finds one or two persons complaining of toothache or pyorrhoea in almost every band.

The Gaduliya Lohar women as well as some men apply kajal (soot) to their eyes. It is prepared by them by putting an empty earthen-ware deevla over the wick burning in the mustard oil. Some women apply surma (powdered soot) purchased from town market. This is used mainly for beautifying the eyes. A surma-dani (small container of the powdered soot) is a very dear thing to many a young woman.

Generally young women and girls are very fond of decorating their palms, finger tips and feet with mehandi (myrtle). Powdered mehandi is purchased from the markets. It is mixed in kerosene or mustard oil instead of water. Some simple designs in lines, circular discs and dots are drawn with it. Some young women occasionally use red nail polish purchased from town markets.
THE GADULIYA LOHARS OF RAJASTHAN

The Gaduliya Lohar adolescents are fond of decorating their teeth by getting *choonp* (gold nails) fixed in the front one or two teeth of the upper jaw. Some get a tooth or two covered with gold plate. Such teeth decorations are quite popular in the rural areas of Rajasthan.

Tattooing

The Gaduliya Lohars are very fond of getting interesting designs tattooed on their body by the professional tattoo designers who use a battery-charged pen emitting indelible black ink. The process is not very painful but it is very ticklish and a bit itching. Adolescents get their faces, hands, legs, chest, back and shoulders tattooed. Scores of tattooing marks and designs seen by the writer on the bodies of men, women and children can be classified as under:

(i) *Religious tattooing designs:* They include figures of God Ram Deo, *Ram Deo ji ra pagtiyan* (footprints of Ram Deo ji), God Shiva, God Hanuman, temple, sun, goddesses, auspicious *swastika* mark and the auspicious letter प्र (Om)

(ii) *Tattooing designs of animal objects:* Some tattooing designs depict animals and birds. The most popular ones are the figures of cow, monkey, camel, horse, peacock, bird and scorpion.

(iii) *Tattooing designs of natural objects:* Some beautiful things of nature attract the Gaduliya Lohar heart, and, hence they get them tattooed on their bodies. They include different kinds of flowers and trees.

(iv) *Tattooing of names:* The Gaduliya Lohars take delight in getting the names of sex organs, lovers, life-partners, friends, joking relations and abuses directed towards the father-in-law etc., tattooed on their own bodies.

(v) *Miscellaneous tattooing designs:* In this category may be included figure designs of fan, gun, hut, water-woman etc. A very common design is that of a dotted line running over both the eye-brows and bulging a bit downwards to the upper end of the nose.
MATERIAL CULTURE

The Gaduliya Lohars get the tattooing done on their bodies for appearing beautiful and also for exhibiting their love for their lovers, relatives and friends. No tattooing is done on purely religious or magical grounds.

The Gaduliya Lohar Dress

A Gaduliya Lohar usually puts on *safa* (turban), *bakhtari* (jacket) and a *dhoti* (loin cloth). Red coloured turbans are generally preferred by young men, but a white coloured turban is worn after the death of one’s father. The turban is about ten yards in length and one yard in width. The *bakhtari* or *angarkha* is a sort of full-sleeved jacket, buttoned on the front side and touching the waist line. The loincloth is usually less than five yards in length. The boys also put on these garments. This traditional male attire is still prevalent among the Gaduliya Lohars of north-western, central and southern regions of Rajasthan, but a markad variation is observed in the dress of the Gaduliya Lohars moving in the Alwar and Bharatpur districts. They put on very long shirts. They are made of cotton or imitation silk, usually black, gaudily coloured or printed with designs. Their *dhoti* is worn up to a bit lower than the ankles. They have imitated the dress of the Ahirs who are densely populated in Haryana region in which the Gaduliya Lohars also wander. While doing blacksmithy work in summer, all the Gaduliya Lohars put on upper under-wear.

The dress of the Gaduliya Lohar women of the north-western, central and southern Rajasthan is like the dress of other Hindu village women. They put on *chunadi* or *odhni* as upper garment. It should be of red, pink, yellow or green colour if it is to be worn by a married woman, but for a widow it must be of dark black colour. The women prefer floral designed cloth for this purpose. In order to enhance the beauty of the *odhni*, they stitch numerous small *ghughras* (silver bells) on its border. One half portion of the *odhni* is put on the head and around breast, while the rest of it hangs below the waist line. They wear *angarkhi* to cover their breast and a part of their belly. It consists of two sleeves attached to an attractive bodice and a parallelogram shaped piece of cloth.
hanging up to the naval-hole. The angarkhi is tied to the body by means of two laces which are knotted at the back. It is a very convenient dress as it allows free movement of arms and free contact of air with body while a woman is doing the blacksmithy work. But as this dress allows the exposure of the lower part of their breasts while doing blacksmithy work, young women generally do not wear it. Instead of it, they use a different kind of angarkhi which is shaped like the bakhtari of their men-folk. They put on brassiers below the bhakhtaris.

Like the Ahir and Jat women of the Haryana region, the young Gaduliya Lohar women of the north-eastern region put black coloured or floral designed long kurti (shirts) of cotton or imitation silk. They decorate their shirts by stitching small mirrors and coloured glass beads on them and small silver balls or bells at the lower border. The elderly women do not put on shirts. They put on long angarkhi which hangs down up to ankles and remains half open at the back. All the Gaduliya Lohar women put on very loose but somewhat short ghagras. A ghaghra is stitched of ten to fourteen yards of cloth. It has innumerable plaits, and so, it allows free movement of the woman’s hips and legs. Generally on festive occasions, new clothes are worn.

Many Gaduliya Lohars do not put on shoes, partly due to their poverty and partly due to their habit. However, those who wear them prefer the indigenous shoes called pagarkhi. There is no difference between the shoes worn by men and those worn by women. Some edible oil is applied to the new pagarkhi to make it more flexible and durable. A few Gaduliya Lohar young men and women have started wearing rainy season rubber shoes manufactured by Bata Company and sold in town markets.

Ornaments

The Gaduliya Lohars, especially their women, are very fond of ornaments. Most of the ornaments are made of silver. Usually, poor women put on cheap ornaments made of brass and zinc. A complete list of the ornaments put on by the Gaduliya Lohars has been given in the appendix.

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<th>CHAJVJA</th>
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<th>CHANDRAPIN</th>
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<td>BEENTHYA</td>
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Ornaments of the Gaduliya Lohars
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Ornaments of the Gaduliya Lohars
MATERIAL CULTURE

Most of the ornaments are worn out of the desire to appear beautiful. A man’s love for putting on kade (silver rings) on his wrists, silver buttons in his shirt and kadula (silver rings) on the lower portion of the feet is due to his desire of self-beautification. In the same way, the different types of ornaments of ears, neck, wrist, arm and feet are worn by women for self-decoration.

The borla (head ornament), chudla (ivory rings), bhanwariya (gold nose ring), bichudi (foot finger rings), and kadula (silver feet rings) are the ornaments for the exclusive use of suhagans (married women). The first four of them may be changed or put off at will at any time, but the kadulas must not be removed even for a minute during the life time of her husband. They are given to her by the husband’s father at the time of her marriage. They signify the married state of a woman. Their removal is considered as an extremely inauspicious thing. They can be put off only in case of the divorce or death of the husband.

In the same way, the chudla (ivory rings) must never be removed during the lifetime of her husband. It is broken by a stone at the time of her husband’s death. If a woman remarries, her new husband or her parents have to provide her new chudla (ivory bangles). Ideally, the chudla should be presented to the bride by the bridegroom’s family at the time of her marriage, as is the custom among the Rajputs and some other castes in Rajasthan. But among the Gaduliya Lohars, it is given by the bride’s parents themselves at the time of her muklawa in order to lessen the financial burden of the bridegroom’s parents who have already paid bride price, silver kadula and many other gifts to the bride. Unmarried women and widows are not allowed to put on these ornaments. The widows are forbidden to use other ornaments also, excepting one or two necklaces or finger rings etc.

Many of their ornaments are made of solid silver. They may be mortgaged with a local money-lender when a Gaduliya Lohar takes a loan from him. Generally, a woman does not put on any gold ornament excepting the small nose-ring, but that must also not be worn by an unmarried girl or a widow.
The Gaduliya Lohars put on many types of amulets known as *phool* and *tabeej*. It is believed that they ward off disease and evil spirits.

Some ornaments have great importance in the matters of love between two lovers or the married partners. Whenever a lover wishes to give any gift to his beloved one, he or she gives any one of the ornaments like *tungla* (ear ring), *champakali* (necklace), *patri* or *patli* (silver necklace), *kanthi* (necklace), *chelkada* (armlet) or silver buttons. In the following love song which is extremely popular among the Gaduliya Lohars of the north-eastern Rajasthan, the boy Pahadia, nicknamed as Rameshar in the song, assures to give new *tungla* (ear rings) to his beloved Chand Bai, nick-named as Kalodi, and the latter also assures her lover to give him a new *patri* (silver necklace):

"रमेशार रोवे मतीनी रे, रमेशार थारी जूती मंगवा दीई ऐ।"
"कालोड़ी का सेंडल फाट गिया, कालोड़ी तने सनपतरा मंगाव दीऊँऐ, कालोड़ी रा तुंगला ग्वां गिया, कालोड़ी रोवे मतीनी ऐ, कालोड़ी ने बीजा बरीदयूं, कालोड़ी रोवे मतीनी ऐ।"
"रमेशार री पहेड़ी फाटगी, रमेशार रोवे मतीनी ऐ, रमेशार ने फेन बरीदयूं, रमेशार रोवे मतीनी ऐ, रमेशार री पतरी गंवागी, रमेशार रोवे मतीनी ऐ, रमेशार ने बीजी बरीदयूं, रमेशार रोवे मतीनी ऐ, रमेशार रो कलीज फाट गियो, रमेशार रोवे मतीनी ऐ, रमेशार रो लीनन रो सिवड़ा दयूं, रमेशार रोवे मतीनी ऐ।"

"Don’t weep Rameshar, I’ll get you new shoes."
"Your sandals ’ve worn out, I’ll get you new ones from Sonipat;
Your ear-rings ’ve been lost, don’t weep, Kalodi;
I ’ll get you new ones, Kalodi, don’t weep.”
"Rameshar ’s loin-cloth has worn out, don’t weep,
Rameshar, ’ll purchase a fine loin-cloth for you, don’t weep
Rameshar,
Rameshar’s silver garland has been lost, don’t weep
Rameshar,

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MATERIAL CULTURE

I'll purchase a new one for you, don't weep Rameshar, Rameshar's shirt has torn away, don't weep Rameshar, I'll get a linen shirt stitched for you, don't weep Rameshar."

It is clear from the list of the ornaments given in the appendix of this study that 24 ornaments are worn by the Gaduliya Lohars all over the State, 14 are specifically worn by those of the north-eastern region, while 6 are specifically worn by those of north-western, central and southern regions. Besides these, most of the women put on necklaces of silver rupee coins hearing the facsimile of Queen Victoria or King Edward. Many girls like the facsimile of 'Three lions' engraved on two paisa coin, and so they have started putting on finger rings to which 2 paisa coins are fixed.

Thus we have seen that in addition to numerous traits relating to their nomadism, the Gaduliy Lohars possess a stratum of the material culture prevalent in rural Rajasthan.
The life activities of a people are influenced by the specific physical environment in which they are placed. "The inter-relationships of man and nature, the concurrent regularities, natural and artificial constitute the ecological system." 1 The factors of natural environment have their impact not only on the statically conceived parts like the mode of life and type of living structure etc., but on the shaping of social grouping, values, norms, aspirations and the unique character of a people. However, we cannot ignore the fact that "Human mental life has a structure of its own. It is difficult to describe it in terms of its connections with the land and the rain and the trees." 2

The ecological factors have a great deal of influence on the life of the Gaduliya Lohars of Rajasthan. In their movement routes, major encampments and periodicity of stay at different places, they follow the dictates of the natural features of the different areas of the State.

Physical features of Rajasthan: The Aravali hills intersect the State by a line running from the south-west to the north-east. The western region is more or less sandy, ill-watered and unproductive. The yearly rainfall is below 10 inches. Generally, the climate is very hot and dry in summer and very cold in winter. The region has very poor vegetation.

The eastern region has a diversified character. It has extensive hill ranges, long stretches of jungles, wild vales, fertile tableland and long ravines. The yearly rainfall is about 40 inches. The climate is less extreme than that of the western region. The flora of the region is more varied and richer than that of the western region.

The distribution and movement of the Gaduliya Lohars: The desert areas of the Jaisalmer and Barmer districts have few Gaduliya Lohars. The semi-desert areas like the Bikaner and Nagore districts have small numbers of these people. The plateau and semi-desert areas have several Gaduliya Lohars, while their heaviest concentration is in the fertile areas of the Bhilwara, Ajmer, Alwar, Bharatpur, Kota, Bundi, Pali and Jodhpur districts. The movement routes of the Gaduliya Lohars are affected by the physical barriers posed by the Aravali hills, desert areas and rivers, and the condition of the availability of the black-smithy work from the agricultural village folk. If the region is very fertile and thickly populated and the villages are situated in proximity to one another, the Gaduliya Lohars do not have to travel long distances. In that case, their routes usually range between 50 and 80 miles each. But if the region is hilly, plateau, desert or semi-desert, less agricultural and sparsely populated, they do not find satisfactory black-smithy work in the villages. Hence their movement routes are bound to be very long. They may fluctuate between 120 to 250 miles or so in each case.

The Gaduliya Lohars of the western Rajasthan remain out of contact with their counterpart in the south-eastern region due to the Aravali hills. The Aravali chain is broken near Ajmer, and so, the Gaduliya Lohars of both the regions meet there off and on. Accordingly, the Gaduliya Lohars of Ajmer and Jaipur districts have often contacts with those of the Nagore and Jodhpur districts. The movements of the Gaduliya Lohars of the Kota district are limited due to 200 miles long and 30 miles wide ravines along the Chambal river. The Gaduliya Lohars, generally, do not recognise the district boundaries. They make entry in the other districts of the State and those of the neighbouring states quite freely.
Unlike the Basseri nomads of south Persia who have a particular name ‘Il-rah’ for their movement route the Gaduliya Lohars do not have any particular name for their route. The popular Rajasthan words *gel* or *gela* may be used by them. The route of each sub-band or bands is generally well defined and traditionally recognised. Generally others do not move on this route, except where there is mutual understanding among them. The Gaduliya Lohars are quite tolerant if any other band or sub-band violates the former’s right of moving on its traditional route. Morality is, invariably, associated with the route-taking of the band. It is moral to go on one’s own route, while it is immoral to transgress other’s route.

If a band is staying in a village and another band comes there by chance, the first one does not usually mind it in case there are close relatives in it or if it is a sub-band of the one and the same major band. But the second band, generally in realisation of the social norm, moves ahead or takes a side diversion. Moreover, if in a particular area there is sufficient smithy work available, the sub-bands of a major band may by mutual consent take the same route at different times during the year. While serious quarrels on several other matters have been noticed, no serious quarrel on the matter of transgressing another band’s route has been noted. This is due to the mutual understanding of the members of the different bands.

*Rainy season encampment:* Each band has its fixed place of encampment called *thiya* where it stays during the rainy

3. Barth, “The Land Use Pattern of Migratory Tribes of South Persia,” *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift* (Bind. XVIII, 1959-60, Hefte 1-4.)

4. Professor Barth’s following description of the *Il-rah* very well applies in case of the Gaduliya Lohars also: “The *Il-rah* may perhaps best be likened to the schedules of a railroad: each train has a ‘right’ to follow a certain route and to be at certain stations at specified times and for specified durations. Some routes cross, and some schedules permit different trains to use the same tracks. In any one locality of the Basseri *Il-rah* there is thus a succession of occupants through the *seasons,* and very few areas of their route are ever unoccupied by anyone.” *Ibid.* p. 5.
season. Such a place is chosen in view of the availability of drinking water, food and security in general. It is based on their experience of several generations. The Gaduliya Lohars develop a sort of psychological attachment with their thiyas, and so it is difficult for them to change them. They develop relations with the money-lenders of these places. All the bands and sub-bands of the Gaduliya Lohars of Rajasthan have their places of encampment situated within the boundary of Rajasthan, although some of them may be moving in other states also for some months every year. Usually a big village, a central village, a town or a city is selected as a thiya. The proper site should be situated near some water place but outside the habitation of the place.

The Gaduliya Lohars use the names of their thiyas to describe their whereabouts. As such, those making their rainy season encampment in Alwar city are called Alwaria, those staying in Kishangarh are called Kishangarhiya, and those staying in Beawar are called Beawarwala, and so on. Not only this, a child born at such a place may be given its name after the name of the place. Thus in one band, having its thiya in Alwar city, there is a boy named Alwaria. Similarly, a boy belonging to the band of the Mandal (Bhilwara) encampment is named as Mandalia. But this is not a universal practice in the Gaduliya Lohar community.

When a wedding is performed, the thiya of the bride's parents is known as her mayra, peewariya or peehar (her parents home-place), whereas her sasra or sasural is the thiya of the band of her husband's parents. Even though the bride's husband might have joined some other band having a different thiya or her parents-in-law might have expired, the original thiya, continues to be referred to as her sasra, or the peehar, her parents-in-law.

_Yearly cycle of the Gaduliya Lohar nomads:_ Although the Gaduliya Lohars are not mainly pastoral people, yet their yearly cycle of movement and encampment is remarkably propelled by the ecological factors, as is the case with the Nuers.\(^5\) It is due to two reasons. Firstly, the Gaduliya.

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Lohar’s blacksmithy trade is very well integrated with their needs of iron articles of the agriculturists in the different seasons of the year. Secondly, although their main trade is that of blacksmithy, yet they carry on the bullock trade also as their subsidiary profession.

Just after the celebration of the Holi festival in the last week of February or in the first week of March, villagers in Rajasthan are busy in preparing for their harvesting activities. At that time they are in need of the repairs of their sickles, spades, cart-rims etc. The Gaduliya Lohars cater to their needs of such articles. In order to help the maximum number of their customers and to derive maximum income, they are very busy throughout March. This is the busiest time of the year and they work from dawn till late in the night. After reaping the harvest, the villagers fall in need of bullocks for threshing out corn and for carrying the crop to the market. The Gaduliya Lohars seize this opportunity. This is very advantageous to them in three respects. Firstly, since the farmers are in great need of bullocks at this time when the harvesting is at its pitch, they cannot afford to spend any time in going to the cattle fairs held in other villages. So they feel inclined to purchase the bullocks from the Gaduliya Lohars. Secondly, due to the great demand of the villagers for the bullocks and their limited supply to them, the nomadic Gaduliya Lohar sellers are able to fetch much profit in these transactions. Thirdly, the Gaduliya Lohars are worried about the approaching months of excessive heat when fodder is not easily available and they have to feed the bullocks without taking any work from them at their thiyas. Hence by selling them, they save themselves from the expenditure on the maintenance of bullocks from May to August or so.

By the end of May or latest by the middle of June, the Gaduliya Lohars return to their thiyas. Even if they have sold their bullocks to villagers, they feel no difficulty in returning to their thiyas because they can hire the bullocks of any villager or the bullocks of some one in their own band.

Having reached their thiyas, they have a period of leisure and social activities. May and June are the months for fixing
INDEX

○ Major band
○ Sub-band
□ Smaller group of the Subband
→ Direction of the route
▲ Central place for the meeting
  of the full Sub-band.

Usual mode of the yearly movements of the Gaduliya Lohar bands
Yearly cycle of the Gaduliya Lohars

- **February** - Nomadic Movement
  - Blacksmith, tilling of land, from farming
- **March** - Nomadic Movement
  - Blacksmith, bullkhec, killing of bulls
- **April** - Nomadic Movement
  - Hard work, smithy
- **May** - Nomadic Movement
  - Hard work, smithy
- **June** - Camping at the village
  - Leisure time activities: marriage, panjayaal sessions, etc.
- **July** - Nomadic Movement
  - Bullcreek trade in village fairs
- **August** - Nomadic Movement
  - Smithy and bullock trade
- **September** - Nomadic Movement
  - Smithy and bullock trade
- **October** - Nomadic Movement
  - Smithy and bullock trade
- **November** - Nomadic Movement
  - Smithy and bullock trade
- **December** - Nomadic Movement
  - Smithy and bullock trade
- **January** - Nomadic Movement
  - Smithy and bullock trade

**Terminus of the Route**

**Backsmith**
up marriage engagements, performing marriages, holding panchayat sessions, social visiting, dancing, playing, singing and enjoying life. All this is possible as they have sufficient money earned during the eight months of movement and their carts have sufficient foodgrain collected from their customers. With the sale of their bullocks they are freed from their economic liability to maintain them for some months. They carry on some blacksmithy work during this period also which continues to add to their income.

Their yearly cycle starts again as soon as it begins raining in July and August and the farmers begin to till their lands. The latter need bullocks at this time. In order to fulfill their need, cattle fairs are organized in different villages throughout the State. The Gaduliya Lohars, who are resting during this time with their carts without bullocks at their thiyas, start the cycle of their yearly activities.

The adult male heads of the households or even the widows who are the heads of their households leave behind their carts and other members of their families and go to participate in the nearby cattle fairs. They carry small amounts of cash, usually below Rs. 200/- each from their own hoarding or by taking loans from the moneylenders of their thiyas. They purchase bullocks, not for their own use but for reselling them at some profit in some other cattle fairs within the next few days. This sort of purchase and sale of the bullocks continues till the end of the rainy season i.e., till the mid-September. During this time, every Gaduliya Lohar household attends at least three or four cattle fairs and earns some money. He finally purchases a pair of bullocks for pulling his own cart.

Having done this, the Gaduliya Lohars move out on their routes. The major bands are split up into smaller sub-bands. Each sub-band follows its own traditional route. Such cattle fairs are held till the end of October in many villages. The Gaduliya Lohars make it a point to attend as many fairs as possible. During winter season, that is from November to February, they keep moving on their routes, doing only the blacksmithy work. By the end of December, they reach the
THE GADULIYA LOHARS OF RAJASTHAN

farthest point of their route and thence they begin to retreat. The same yearly cycle is repeated every year.

Blacksmithy Trade

The Gaduliya Lohars are iron workers but they are not like the Akikuyus of East Africa “who collect and smelt iron-ore and prepare iron-ingots or blooms which are then taken to smiths for forging in to a variety of tools,”⁶ or like the iron-workers among the Baganda who also “spend all their time in mining, smelting and forging iron,”⁷ or like the Asur primitive iron-smelters of Netarhat area of Chotta Nagpur.⁸ Iron is not found in Rajasthan. The Gaduliya Lohars have nothing to do with the mining, collecting or smelting of iron. They can do iron-forging or ‘hot work’, called garam kam, and repairs involving no forging activity i.e., cold work, called thanda kam. For repair work, old pieces of iron are generally provided by their customers. But for preparing new tools and articles, they gather iron from three sources: firstly, their women and children are constantly visiting streets and heaps of rubbish lying outside towns and villages, from where they collect waste iron-scrap, waste tin canisters etc.; secondly, they purchase old vegetable-oil containers made of tin, or old tin canisters from houses and shopkeepers; and thirdly, they purchase new lohda or loh (iron pieces), sariya (iron bars) etc., from iron dealers in towns. New iron is known as maal (raw material). Generally, old tins are purchased at the rate of 12 to 25 paisa each. The cost of new iron depends upon its quality. Their saying is, “mal ro mol” (“As the iron so the price”). Its rate is usually between Re. 1/- and Rs. 2/- per kilogram. Old iron is also purchased from a Lohiya, Kabadi or Vyopari (iron dealer) at the rate of Rs. 20/- to Rs. 25/- per maund.

Old rusted iron scraps and tins are heated in fire for some time and then scratched with the help of a piece of iron or some iron tool and a piece of gunny cloth. For forging pur-

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⁷. Ibid. p. 420.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tool</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cuchanvil</td>
<td>Hatoda</td>
<td>Chini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behna</td>
<td>Chapan</td>
<td>Reti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandasi</td>
<td>Kali Sandasi</td>
<td>Kutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laharia</td>
<td>Ikla</td>
<td>Parkar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahna</td>
<td>Mondli Bina</td>
<td>Chakri</td>
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</table>

Tools of the Gaduliya Lohars
Articles prepared by the Gaduliya Lohars
oses, iron pieces are heated in fire. Generally, wood charcoal is easily available in villages, hence it is widely used. In cities and towns, soft or hard coke is also available at cheap rate. The Gaduliya Lohars ask their customers in villages to bring some coal or dry wood as fuel from their homes for the former’s fire places. Thus they save themselves from the trouble and expense of procuring fuel. In some towns like Nagore, Jaipur, Beawar and Ajmer etc., the Harijan women sell coal, picked up by them from streets, at the rate of Re. 1 per canister.

As the Gaduliya Lohars do not smelt iron-ore, they do not have to purify the smelted metal. They do not use any acid or alkali in their work. The art of casting is not practised. In forging, the process of welding is also practised by heating the parts concerned. The process of soldering is practised with the help of iron and lead. For joining two broken parts of an iron article, they nail them. The Gaduliya Lohar technique of iron working is almost standardised and the same technique is used by all. No variations or changes in the technology are discernible anywhere in Rajasthan. There is very little of specialisation. All of them are versatile in preparing ordinary iron articles and in repairing them.

In order to prepare pakka loha (steel), the Gaduliya Lohar purchases some pieces of steel from a kabadi’s shop in a town and then heats it along with the pieces of Kachha loha (wrought iron) in his fireplace. When both of them become red hot, they are beaten together with a heavy hammer for a long time till they are mixed up and the final product is steel. It is used for making strong and permanent tools and articles.

Blacksmithy tools: Several blacksmithy implements and tools are used by a Gaduliya Lohar. The most important of them are the following:

Bellows: Like the Shilluck blacksmiths belonging to the Nilotic branch of the eastern sub-family of Sudanic linguistic stock, a Gaduliya Lohar also uses a bellows of two goat-skins tied with wooden handles at the top and known as dhonkani or

dhun. The lower end of each skin merges into an iron tube called naay. Both the naays are tied together by means of a wire or a piece of iron. Their ends merge into a bigger tube called nali whose lower end is smaller in circumference than the upper end. The lower end of the nali is put in a small hole in the ground where coal is placed for making fire. A person holds a bellows-skin in each of his hands and raises it to admit air into it and alternately presses down the two skins, driving air into the tubes. The goat-skins are purchased from the leather workers in villages, while the iron tubes are purchased from the iron shops in towns. The cost of such a pair of bellows is between Rs. 10/- and Rs. 15/- depending upon the size of the goat-skins used.

Some Gaduliya Lohars of Ajmer and Beawar have started using rotary blowers purchased from market. They are known as vilayati pankha (English blowers). "These are costly," said Pyara Gaduliya Lohar of Ajmer, "but they provide a regular supply of air to the fire place and produce excessive heat in no time. They are very advantageous." Indigenous rotary blower called deshi pankha is also used by some Gaduliya Lohars. It consists of a wheel over which a cord attached to a rotary blower is fixed. The wheel is moved by means of a handle.

Anvil: The steel anvils used by the Gaduliya Lohars are known as eran. They are solid cubical blocks of steel. The average size of an anvil is 5" long, 5" wide and 6" to 9" high. It is prepared by the Gaduliya Lohars themselves. It is the most essential possession of each household. In every type of smithy work, its use is imperative. The hot iron is placed on it and beaten with the help of a heavy hammer. Being the chief tool, it is rightly believed to be the dwelling place of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth. Lending of one’s anvil to another person is rare, for "Aapani Lichmi kun deni chave?" ("Who wants to give his wealth to another"). Nobody is allowed to sit on it or touch it with his foot. Of all the different tools used by the Gaduliya Lohars, only the eran is ceremoniously worshipped at the time of Diwali festival.

The other tools used by them are as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Other details</th>
<th>Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Ghan</td>
<td>Cubical in shape; 5½′′ long, 1½′′ wide &amp; 2′′ thick with</td>
<td>Made of Steel; by themselves.</td>
<td>For striking with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Heavy hammer)</td>
<td>a 24′′ long wooden handle.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Hatoda</td>
<td>Cubical in shape; 3′′ long, 1½′′ wide, 1½′′ thick with</td>
<td>Made of steel by themselves.</td>
<td>For cutting iron with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Small hammer)</td>
<td>a 12′′ long wooden handle.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Chini</td>
<td>3′′ thick and 7′′ long with sharp edge below.</td>
<td>Made of steel; by themselves.</td>
<td>For cutting iron with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Chisel)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Behno</td>
<td>4 2″ long, 2.2″ thick at the upper end, and 0.4″ thick at the lower end.</td>
<td>Made of steel; by themselves.</td>
<td>For boring with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Chapan</td>
<td>Cubical in shape; 3.2″ long, 0.8″ wide and 0.6″ thick.</td>
<td>Made of steel; by themselves.</td>
<td>For surface working, to flatten iron with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Reti</td>
<td>18½″ long, 1.5″ wide, at the upper end, and 1″ wide at the lower end, and 0 25″ thick. Files of different sizes are also used.</td>
<td>Made of steel; purchased from the market.</td>
<td>For filing with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(File)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Sandasi</td>
<td>12″ long.</td>
<td>Made of iron; by themselves.</td>
<td>For holding things with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Pincers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Kagli Sandasi</td>
<td>14.2″ long.</td>
<td>Made of iron; by themselves.</td>
<td>For holding red hot bar and iron pieces with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Pincers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Kutta</td>
<td>28½″ long, 3.2″ in circumference.</td>
<td>Made of iron; by themselves. A small bent iron is linked with a hook fixed to a long steel rod.</td>
<td>For fixing up red hot iron rim on the wooden wheel of the cart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>Other details</td>
<td>Use</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td><em>Loharia</em> (Stirrer)</td>
<td>18&quot; long, 1&quot; thick at the upper end, and ½&quot; wide at the lower end.</td>
<td>Made of iron; by themselves.</td>
<td>For stirring burning coals in the furnace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td><em>Aklai</em></td>
<td>17¼&quot; high, 8½&quot; long at the upper end, 12½&quot; broad at the neck, 2½&quot; broad in the middle and ½&quot; broad in the end.</td>
<td>Made of steel; by themselves.</td>
<td>For preparing iron rings and for bending iron with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td><em>Parkar</em> (Divider)</td>
<td>6&quot; long.</td>
<td>Made of iron; by themselves.</td>
<td>For marking concentric circles on a tin sheet of which a seive is to be made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td><em>Behna or Subba</em> (Double hole-borer.)</td>
<td>5&quot; long.</td>
<td>Made of steel; by themselves.</td>
<td>For punching holes in an iron sheet in concentric circles in order to make a seive for the domestic use of the villagers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td><em>Kondlibina</em></td>
<td>Outer diameter 3&quot;, inner diameter ½&quot;</td>
<td>Made of steel; by themselves.</td>
<td>For putting a sheet of iron over it in which a hole is to be bored.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td><em>Chakri</em> (Measuring disc)</td>
<td>Radius 5&quot;</td>
<td>Made of iron; by themselves.</td>
<td>For measuring the circumference of the wheel and that of the iron rim. A mark is made on the wheel or rim by a coal or chalk and another mark is made on the disc. Both the marks are kept in one line and the disc is moved around the circumference.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Articles prepared by the Gaduliya Lohars
active. At the same time, the Gaduliya Lohar yells out in praise of the bullock "Dhaniyada balad che, dekh kesa dod-riyo che." (This is a well-fed bullock, see how it runs.) This impresses the customer. But he wants to make it sure that the bullock is suitable in all respects, and so he begins to examine his body. The owner being aware of all the defects of the bullock tries to evade the close examination by the customer by saying "Chun dekhe? Sono che, sono." ("What are you seeing? It is gold, yes gold.")

When the customer wants to know the selling price of the animal, the owner does not disclose it at first; he merely says, "Soro dido chun." ("I am giving it quite cheap"). When the customer again asks the selling price of the bullock, the owner tells a fantastic price which is usually a little more than double of the justified selling price. This is bound to dissuade the customer. As soon as he wishes to withdraw from the place, the Gaduliya Lohar immediately makes an entreating and congenial facial expression, raises his right hand and gently moves it on the customer's chin in an effort to win him by his informal and affectionate touch of behaviour, saying "Thari murji howe jitra ro lev le, pan thara gale ri sogan, mhone ghato che." ("You may take him for whatever price you like, but I swear by your neck that I am selling him at a loss.") He may add a lie even that he purchased the bullock only some time back at the same price. Finding the argument falling flat upon the customer, the seller applies his second tactics, that of haggling. He starts lessening the selling price of the bullock by some rupees in every verbal exchange with the customer. But he stops and becomes adamant when he sees that he has already descended to a price-level that is a little more than the justified market price. Finding the customer interested in the deal now, he swears again and again that he is going in loss. Thus ultimately, the deal is finalised at a price which is generally still advantageous to the seller. But even then, he goes on repeating the words "Enai soro dido chun" ("I have given him quite cheap").

When "melo mando howe" ("the cattle market is down"), the Gaduliya Lohar may be compelled to sell his bullock just
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at the cost price, or he may even have a loss in the deal. He says, "Nafu nuksan apani takdeeran ro howe." ("Profit and Loss depend upon one's fate.") One would hear the Gaduliya Lohars repeating this particular reference to fate so very often that he is bound to take them as a very fatalistic people.

Purchasing a bullock

A Gaduliya Lohar is very careful in purchasing a bullock. He examines the animal very minutely. First of all, his teeth are counted by him, and on that basis the age is ascertained. A bullock having two teeth is considered to be of four years of age, and the one having eight teeth is considered to be of eight years. A good bullock should have four or six well fixed up teeth, thin and smooth skin, thin tail, broad shoulders, vertically erected horns, white colour, fast speed, high stature and each of its feet should fall flat on the ground. A sapeeli balad whose one hind leg makes a circling motion while moving is considered to be defective, because it has a very slow pace and the cart may topple down at any time when such a bullock is pulling it. A Nandi balad is also not purchased. In its left or right eye, there is a "jeebh" (enlarged muscular tissue) which may be visible from outside. Such a bullock is considered to be the descendent of Nandi, the famous ride of God Shivji, and hence highly venerable. They say, "Nandi ne jotaba sun pap lage" ("It is a sin to engage a Nandi to pull cart").

The bullocks are exchanged by the Gaduliya Lohars frequently. They are very tactful in adla-badli (exchange) of the bullocks, and they make profit ranging from Rs. 5 to Rs. 25 or even more in each transaction. The purchase, sale and exchange of the bullocks are done mostly in the cattle fairs, but a Gaduliya Lohar is always haunting for such a deal while he is moving on his route. Two practical explanations have been advanced for this practice. Firstly, such a deal adds to the household income. Secondly, since the Gaduliya Lohar carts are very heavy, the bullocks have to carry heavy loads, while they do not get sufficient diet. So their health runs down miserably. In order to save their lives, frequent exchanges are
greatly to be desired.

The Gaduliya Lohars are always keen to settle such transactions in minimum possible time, for "bakhat lage sun gahak bidke." ("A customer begins to hesitate when much time is lost in the deal.") Such a deal is finalised within a few minutes. One such deal was finalised before the present writer. Hariji's father sold his excellent pair of bullocks to a Jat farmer for Rs. 270 plus the Jat's pair of weak and poor quality of bullocks. Talks about this deal started at about 7.00 p.m., and within forty minutes the transaction was finalised with a lot of haggling and repeatedly false swearing by Hariji's father. According to Hariji, his father earned a net profit of Rs. 45/- in that transaction.

Generally, no sugans (omens) are observed while selling or purchasing a bullock. Every person says, "O to takdeeran ro khel che." (This is the game of fate.) But when a big deal is to be finalised, an interesting fortune-telling numerological device, known as akha pooli, is used. A handful of grain are heaped on the ground. Out of them, some grain are picked up by the head of the household and they are counted. If they are in even number, the deal is considered inauspicious. But if they are in odd number, the owner proceeds on to settle the deal with zeal and hopefulness.

Economic Mechanism

The division of labour and the forms of monetary and non-monetary cooperation among the Gaduliya Lohars have already been discussed in the chapter on 'Domestic Units.' Some other economic mechanism of their life may be discussed here.

Throughout the year, the Gaduliya Lohars observe no vacation or holiday excepting one 'Bhadon ki gyaras' (the eleventh day of Bhadon i.e., September) when they worship their Goddess 'Kali Mai' of Chittorgarh. There is no competition among them in selling iron articles. This can be explained by the composition of their bands usually on close kinship basis. Nobody sells his articles at a very low price to the disadvantage of his brethren. Nobody feels resentful if another
person gets more earnings than he. He is satisfied with whatever he gets according to his own fate.

The nuclear family itself provides sufficient incentives to carry on the productive activities. If a husband or wife shirks doing them, the household is bound to suffer financial loss and that must naturally affect the nurture of children and the maintenance of the day-to-day expenditure. It must also lower the social position of the person concerned since no body likes to help such an indolent person. If his disrepute becomes known to other bands also, he may be subjected to a lot of sarcasm and ridicule. The people refrain from entering into matrimonial relations with his family. In order to prevent the loss of his position in this manner, every body works wholeheartedly and earns as much as possible. Besides this, he keeps in mind the future expenditure of marriages of his children, and so he saves the maximum possible money for them. Hoarding of wealth is always helpful, because a man having his own sufficient savings is able to carry on the bullock-trade himself and he has not to get himself exploited by the money-lenders.

**Income.** Some estimates of the average monthly expenditure of the Gaduliyia Lohar households are available. According to Parmanand Sharma, an ex-director of the State Social Welfare department, a Gaduliyia Lohar family earned Rs. 60 to Rs. 70 per month in 1957-58. According to Mehendra Saxena, an official in the same department, it earned approximately Rs. 50/- per month only in 1958-59. According to Manikyalal Varma, President, Adim Jati Sevak Sangh, Rajasthan, about 55% of the Gaduliyia Lohar families earned Rs. 15 p.m. on an average, while the rest of them fell below Rs. 37 per annum in 1962.12 These figures seem to be far from

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truth. On the basis of his own field enquiries during almost the same period i.e., between 1959-63, the present writer has found that the average monthly income of the Gaduliya Lohars of the State is Rs. 57.49, as becomes clear from the following table:

Table No. 14

AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOME OF THE GADULIYA LOHAR FAMILY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of study</th>
<th>Average monthly income per family</th>
<th>Monthly saving</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alwar and Bharatpur Districts</td>
<td>Rs. 96.37</td>
<td>Rs. 10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beawar city</td>
<td>Rs. 110.12</td>
<td>Rs. 8.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmer city</td>
<td>Rs. 75.35</td>
<td>Rs. 4.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nomadic households in Ajmer district other than those connected with Beawar &amp; Ajmer cities.</td>
<td>Rs. 61.43</td>
<td>Rs. 5.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhilwara, Chittorgarh and Udaipur Districts.</td>
<td>Rs. 53.43</td>
<td>Rs. 7.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagore District</td>
<td>Rs. 48.95</td>
<td>Rs. 1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jodhpur District</td>
<td>Rs. 62.06</td>
<td>Rs. 8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churu and Bikaner Districts.</td>
<td>Rs. 40.33</td>
<td>Rs. 2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kota and Sawai Madhopur Districts.</td>
<td>Rs. 63.87</td>
<td>Rs. 2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaipur District</td>
<td>Rs. 62.36</td>
<td>Rs. 5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalore and Pali Districts.</td>
<td>Rs. 58.17</td>
<td>Rs. 10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rs. 632.44</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rs. 60.34</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Over-all Monthly Average</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rs. 57.49</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rs. 5.48</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Expenditure.* Whatever earnings a Gaduliya Lohar household makes, they are spent by it on its own needs. The follow-
ing table showing the average monthly expenditure of two families, family ‘A’ representing the nomads dependent upon the blacksmithy trade only, and the family ‘B’ representing those dependent upon the blacksmithy and bullock trade, gives us a fairly correct estimation in this respect. The two families chosen by us here have five members—two adults and three children, each.

Table 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item of expenditure</th>
<th>Family ‘A’</th>
<th>Family ‘B’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Food</td>
<td>Rs. 15</td>
<td>Rs. 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Clothing</td>
<td>Rs. 5</td>
<td>Rs. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Repayment of loan</td>
<td>Rs. 2</td>
<td>Rs. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Drinking</td>
<td>Rs. 6</td>
<td>Rs. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Smoking</td>
<td>Rs. 5</td>
<td>Rs. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Fuel</td>
<td>Rs. 3</td>
<td>Rs. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Iron</td>
<td>Rs. 5</td>
<td>Rs. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Fodder and grass</td>
<td>Rs. 5</td>
<td>Rs. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ornaments</td>
<td>Rs. 4</td>
<td>Rs. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Miscellaneous expenditure</td>
<td>Rs. 7</td>
<td>Rs. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Cash saving</td>
<td>Rs. 5</td>
<td>Rs. 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: Rs. 62               Rs. 87

The expenditure on food appears to be less, but the fact that they gather foodgrain also in lieu of their blacksmithy work in villages should be not lost sight of. A little less than 10% is spent on drinking, and this is quite a heavy expenditure for them. The expenditure on the purchase of raw materials i.e., coal and iron, is a little more than 8% in case of the family ‘A’, and a little less than 7% in case of the family ‘B’. The families dependent upon the blacksmithy and bullock trade, which are represented by the family B in the above table, spend about 17% of their income on the payment of a loan which they usually take from the village moneylenders for carrying on their bullock-trading activities.
When the writer asked about the extent of the loans taken by the interviewees, most of them did not disclose it, and those who disclosed it after much persuasion gave very vague replies. But on the basis of information provided by a few reliable informants from the different regions of the State, it may be estimated that a family carrying on the blacksmithy trade only usually takes a loan of Rs. 150/- or so every year, while a family carrying on the blacksmithy as well as the bullock-trading activities usually takes a loan ranging from Rs. 200/- to Rs. 500/- approximately every year. The rate of interest on the loans charged by the moneylenders varies from 12% to 25% in the different parts of the State. In the Alwar district, it is generally 25% at present, as the Sarpanch Kanhiya and many others have revealed to the writer.

Generally, they are seen living from hand to mouth. Their earnings are very small due to the limited number of articles prepared by them and also because of the cheaper machine-made iron articles available to the public nowadays. However in villages even today, the Gaduliya Lohar products find satisfactory market. The general economic condition of the bands operating in the agricultural areas of the Alwar, Bharatpur, Jaipur, Ajmer and Pali districts is better than that of the bands moving in semi-desert or plateau areas. They have not much faith in hoarding paper currency, so they purchase silver ornaments for their women and gold guineas for the purpose of hoarding. It was gathered from some moneylenders of Beawar, Vijainagar and Kishangarh that the Gaduliya Lohars often mortgage their silver ornaments or sell their gold guineas to the moneylenders when they are in need of money.

*Exchange:* Besides their exchanges of bullocks with the villagers, the Gaduliya Lohars do some barter activities. They give a few iron spoons, tongs or the like in exchange to chacha (whey), some eatable, old cloth etc. In villages, they are always keen to receive their remuneration for the blacksmithy work in the form of fodder for their bullocks. A few examples of the barter system as practised by the Gaduliya Lohars are given in the table on the next page.
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Table 16

BARTER SYSTEM OF THE GADULIYA LOHARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One quarter kilogram of wheat</td>
<td>— An iron article weighing 1 chattank (1/16 of a seer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two quarter kilogram of barley or gram</td>
<td>— An iron article weighing One chattank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kilogram grain</td>
<td>— 1 khurpi (a weeding tool)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kilogram grain</td>
<td>— 1 danranti (sickle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2½ kilograms of grain</td>
<td>— 1 phawada (spade)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 quarter kilogram of vegetable</td>
<td>— 1 iron spoon weighing about 6 grams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 load of one maund of green grass</td>
<td>One day labour charges for fixing iron rims on the wooden wheels of a villager’s cart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 load of approximately twenty seers of dry fodder</td>
<td>A Gaduliya Lohar’s charges for fixing iron rims on the wooden wheels of a villager’s cart.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By such estimates, it is easy for them to decide the cost price and selling price of different articles in villages. However, they have to use money also in the urban areas.

Economic conditions in general: The economic condition of Gaduliya Lohars is generally poor. In the Ajmer, Churu, Jalore and Bikaner districts, the writer found many extremely poor and semi-starving Gaduliya Lohars, clad in very tattered clothes and forced to camp in very dirty localities. They present the scene of a very miserable and neglected section of humanity. This is due to the fact that being primitive blacksmiths their products are crude and they cannot withstand the competition put up by the machine-made, cheap and better-finished tools. Moreover, the wide-spread social evil of drinking, payment of high rate of interest on the loans taken by them, huge expenditure in marriages, their adherence to their age-old nomadic blacksmith’s profession and apathy for other professions are the important factors for the deterioration of their economic condition in general.

In spite of their being nomads shy of mixing freely with the
host popular, some social changes have started influencing their life. Some new things are being adopted by them. The writer observed many Gaduliya Lohar women and girls of the Alwar and Bharatpur districts wearing rainy season rubber shoes manufactured by Bata Shoe Company and costing from Rs. 4 to Rs. 7. Some men have started putting on fashionable leather boots costing from Rs. 14 to Rs. 20. Some school-going Gaduliya Lohar children of Ajmer were observed purchasing coloured cold drinks, ice-cream and sweets in towns markets. Those living in the Ajmer and Alwar districts have seen one or two cinema films also. During the last five years, two Gaduliya Lohars of Ajmer hired gramophones and loudspeaker in marriages.

Some people are gradually coming in contact with physicians in towns and cities. They are getting acquainted with injections, tablets, mixtures and ointments etc. The children are now attracted towards toys sold in the markets. The boys are often seen enjoying rides on hired bicycles in Ajmer and Beawar cities. Some women have begun to use nail polish, life-buoy soap and even scents. Some of them have got themselves photographed. Red coloured printed handkerchiefs and embroidered baniyans (upper under-garment) are becoming popular among the men, while the garlands of coloured glass beads are the favourite purchases of the girls and women. However, it is too early to expect any major disorganising effect of this sort of emerging social change in the traditional life of the Gaduliya Lohars.
IX

Birth, Childhood and Adolescence

A Gaduliyah Lohar marries to get children. Sons are considered to be a sign of the prosperity of the household. Childlessness is attributed to one's bad luck. A man without children is pitied and a woman, howsoever good, is despised if she fails to bear children within four or five years after her muklawa (post-marriage ceremony). The Gaduliyah Lohars know about the physiological origin of paternity. A young wife beginning pregnancy is expected to notice indisposition accompanied by the non-appearance of the menses. She shyly breaks the happy news to her mother-in-law or other women in the band. Next come the food whims and the nausea, and this is the time to follow some obstetrical advice given by elderly women. She is not allowed to strike iron with heavy ghan (hammer) in her sixth month of pregnancy and onwards lest she may have abortion. Very few abortions have been reported in their community. An old woman said, "Tabar-girno (abortion) takes place in case of urban women who lead a comfortable and idle life. But our women work hard day in and day out. So they are strong, and with them chances of abortion are rare."

A pregnant woman carries on all the household and blacksmithy activities as usual. But she is not allowed to go to a well, distant field, graveyard or a crematorium as such places are considered to be the haunts of bhoots (male evil spirits) and dakans (female evil spirits) which may cause harm to her. Dhuli, the sixty year old woman, sorrowfully recalled.
how her pregnant daughter-in-law Shayari had lost her life a few years back due to her mistake of paying the call of nature near a grave which infuriated the Sayyad (Muslim ghost) of the place. The Sayyad (Muslim ghost) caused illness to her immediately and took her life within two days. The jhada (witchcraft) and pooja (worship) etc., were of no avail. A pregnant woman does not move about or work in open during vedh, i.e. first nine hours of an eclipse, lest it should deform the embryo.

A pregnant woman has a voracious appetite. She eats met (fuller's earth), imli (tamarind) and so many other sour eatables like curd, lunji (pickles) etc., and sweets like laddu, jalebi etc. Sexual intercourse continues till the middle of the eighth month in general, although it is considered to be somewhat improper after the sixth month. “Ye to murjee ra sauda che” (“This is matter of one's liking”), said Baluji, but it is invariably stopped by the middle of the eighth month of pregnancy when a ritual ‘Athwan purva’ is performed to keep her safe from the evil spirits. In case of the first pregnancy, custom requires that the woman should return to her parent's place about a month before the expected date of delivery. The explanation given for this custom is that at her first delivery, a young woman feels shame in the presence of her father-in-law. This is in sharp contrast to the general custom in most of the other Hindu castes that the first delivery must take place in her husband's house, as they consider it to be an indecent or shameful thing for a woman to give birth to her first child before her own parents, although later births may take place there.

During the ninth month of her pregnancy, she is given good ra seera (porridge of oil and molasses) to eat, and powdered methi (fenugreek seeds) mixed in water to drink off and on so that the child may be born easily. Food-offerings are made in the names of Bhaironji, Ramdeoji Baba and Kali Mata for the safe delivery.

Birth

When birth-pangs set in, the woman groans continually.
BIRTH, CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

She is made to lie on a cot placed at some distance from the gaduliya for the sake of privacy. A gudari (soft mattress) made of torn pieces of clothes is placed under her. A sirki curtain is erected round her. Some women gather around her, but unmarried women and children are not allowed to come in this improvised maternity booth.

One of their elderly women, generally, serves as a dai (midwife). She is not a professional midwife but having given birth to several children herself and assisted in several births she is considered to be quite experienced in the job. If there is no such woman ready to help her, the village cobbler’s or barber’s wife is engaged for the purpose. She knows where to rub the body of the pregnant woman and how to set her body in position. Other women are asked to hold her stomach. The midwife massages the abdomen and sees that the head of the forthcoming child is in the proper position. She receives the baby as soon it is expelled and cuts the umbilical cord with iron knife which is cleaned with a piece of cloth and washed with water before use. The umbilical cord is immediately tied with a thread and smeared with turmeric paste to prevent infection. The child’s body is then washed in lukewarm water, wrapped in a piece of cloth and placed on the cot near the mother.

The child must cry after birth, but if it does not do so, it may be gently massaged to provoke crying. A woman smears gud (molasses) on one of her fingers and inserts it in the child’s mouth. If it is day time and the market is near, janma ghutti (a medicinal preparation for children) may be purchased and two or three drops of it may be put in the child’s mouth. After that the mother gives her breasts to the child. A knife or some piece of iron is placed under the woman’s pillow to keep the evil spirits away.

A broad piece of cloth is tied round her waist. “The disposal of the lochial blood, of the placenta and navel cord” rightly observes Margaret Mead, “all depend on the society’s conception of the body and of the continuity within the unit.”

Among the Gaduliya Lohars, the umbilical cord and some grains of wheat and a piece of gud are placed in a pit dug near the encampment of the band. A stone is placed over it, lest it should be dug out and eaten by dogs or jackals and the health of the child and its mother should be adversely affected due to it. This corroborates Professor Ghurye’s statement, “The people, who bury the placenta, believe that if it is eaten away by an animal, something terrible will happen to the child’s mother.”

The method of the disposal is based on the notion that “the placenta or the after-birth is the repository of the spiritual essence or external end of child, whose welfare is quite essential for the good of the child. This view of the placenta comes out in some of the beliefs and sayings which clearly postulate a telepathic connection between it and the child”. There is no distinction in the place and manner of the burial of the after-birth according to the sex of the child. When the remaining part of the umbilical at the child’s naval dries and falls down, it is carefully preserved. Usually, it is thrown in running water next year.

To facilitate the discharge of blood from the womb, the abdomen is rubbed daily during the period of the convalescence. Heat is very important during the child-birth and the lochial period. When the woman is in labour, a fire is made beside her. After delivery, she has to stay in bed covered with a thick bedsheet for a lochial period of five days. She is given heat and energy producing food such as seera (porridge) made of gud and oil or ghee (clarified butter) or laddus (balls) of flour roasted in oil or ghee with khopra (coconut kernel), goond (gum), ajwan (a kind of aromatic seed) and soonth (dried ginger). Some women eat roasted flour and bura (indigenous sugar), or dhaniya (powdered coriander seeds) roasted in ghee. Due to poverty, most of the Gaduliya Lohar women do not get nourishing food at this time. She hardly gets one to three quarter kilograms of ghee or oil. If one is


3. Ibid., p. 155.
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rich she may get two or three kilograms of ghee, shakkar (sugar) and some dried fruits like singhara, khopra, dankkah (currant) and milk, otherwise all these things remain only a dream for most of the women.

The sowad (lochial period) lasts for five days during which the mother is considered impure and those attending her have to bathe and change their clothes before doing domestic work. There is no restriction on any relative or friend to see the baby or take it in his lap.

If the child is a boy, there is much rejoicing. The midwife gets five seers of grain and one or two rupees in cash. A rich man usually gives five rupees and a vesh (pair of new clothes to the midwife. Remuneration in case of the birth of a girl is meagre, for her birth is taken less enthusiastically than that of a boy’s birth.

‘Chatti poojan’

On the third or sixth day when it is a Monday or Friday, the jachcha (the woman who has given birth to the child) takes ceremonial bath to clean her from impurity. If a son has been born, about nine kilograms of a special kind of pudding is prepared. Along with wine and meat, it is distributed to the caste brethren in the name of god Bhaironji. Songs are sung and sacrifices for the safety of the mother and the child are also made to various deities. Generally, a Brahmin is invited on this day for a brief havan and he is offered pakka khana (food cooked in butter or oil) or petia, and a cash offering of Rs. 5 or so according to one’s phursat (capacity to pay). On the seventh day, the mother, alongwith her female relatives and friends, pays a visit to a well. She carries a jar full of water on her head and some ghughri (boiled wheat grain) in a pot. After throwing some ghughri in the well to propitiate the water-god, the rest of it is distributed among children. Then the sun worship is also performed on this day.

Hair cutting ceremony

On the eighth or ninth day after the birth, jadula ootarna

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4. One pao is equal to one fourth of a seer according to the old weight age system.

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or kesh katarna (hair cutting) ceremony takes place at some Bhagat ra dera (religious saint’s place). The ceremony can be performed at any other time also, time the child attains the age of four years. The Gaduliya Lohars of the south-western Rajasthan generally visit a religious place Atlaji which is situated near Ruphali village. Ghani ro tel (oil pressed out by an indigenous crusher) is poured over the statue of Atlaji. The Bhopa (religious man) cuts the first bunch of the baby's hair with scissors and takes it away with him. The rest of the hair is taken by the barber. A bakra (he-goat) is slain there, and its meat and a telra kulda (earthern pot full of oil) are offered to Atlaji. These offerings are taken by the Bhopa. A fee of sawa rupiya (Rs. 1.25) is paid to him for jot karna (burning the sacred flame). The Gaduliya Lohars visit Atlaji for this purpose in the months of Falgun and Chet but not in Vaisakh, because “Vaisakh dharm ro dhani hai” (Vaishak is the most religious month), and so there cannot be any offering of meat. Similarly, the Gaduliya Lohars of the north-western, south-eastern and central regions usually visit Runeecha, the place of their deity Ramdeoji Baba. The Gaduliya Lohars of the Alwar and Bharatpur districts do not have any such fixed places, so they can perform this ceremony anywhere.

On the ninth day, the mother washes her hair but she does not comb them in the manner it is done in her community. The head is fashioned after a month. Till that time she does not use the borla (head plum ornament); instead she combs her hair in a simple manner. On the morning of the eleventh day, a peepal tree is worshipped. A thread is tied around the tree. Some wheat, vermillion, curd and water are used in the worship. The peepal tree is believed to the abode of gods and goddesses and so by worshipping it the Gaduliya Lohars believe that the child will have a long life.

Charms

On the second day after his birth, one kala dora (black thread) is tied round his waist and another round his neck to ward off evil spirits. On the thread hangs an embossed brass
or silver amulet having the figure of God Ramdeo ji or Kali Mata or Nav deviyan (nine Goddesses). If it is possible to procure a nail or tooth of a bear or a lion, it is also tied in the thread, as it is considered to possess supernatural powers to keep all evil spirits away from the baby.

Naming ceremony

On the thirteenth day, the nam rakhwani or deshotan (naming ceremony) is performed. The child and the mother are clad in new clothes after their bath. A Brahmin Pandit is invited for performing the ceremony for which he usually charges a fee of Rs. 1.25. He takes into account the position of the stars at the moment of the child's birth and prepares a janma-patri (horoscope). On its basis, he suggests janam ro nam (birth name) of the baby. After this, he is offered pakka khana like poori, kheer or sheera etc. He may eat it there or carry it to his house. At the time of his departure, the Pandit is given some dakshina (cash presents), usually of Rs. 0.50 or so besides his usual fee. After the ceremony, cooked food is served to panchas, guests and others assembled there. This ceremony is performed with much pomp and show in case a son has been born and the economic condition of the household is good. The Gaduliya Lohars usually do not address a child by his birth-name; instead, they give him a name from their own side. Generally, the grand-father or any elderly relative of the child gives a name and it is accepted by the parents of the child without any hitch.

Some patterns in naming children are clearly discernible. Some children are given names after the names of the places where they were born, e.g. ‘Alwaria’ to a son born at Alwar city, ‘Sohana’ to a son born at Sohna town, ‘Tapukadia’ to a son born at Tapukada village etc. Like the Bhils\(^5\), the Gaduliya Lohars also follow the practice of giving a bad name to the child if the parents’ previous children have died one and all. Most of the children are named after the names of gods and goddesses, but no body is given the very name of one’s

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parents, grand-parents or uncles.

The sisters and daughters of the child’s father also assemble at this happy occasion. They bring new clothes for the child. While departing from the place after the ceremony they are offered new clothes and sweets by the child’s father or grandfather.

Ideally, the mother should take complete rest for forty days after giving birth to a baby, but in actual practice she cannot afford to do so for such a long period. “Bees din pache hi ghan bave, ni bave to kathe jave?” (“She has to work with hammer just after twenty days, or else where can she go?”) However, she is prohibited to cook food till the end of one month. The husband himself or some other female relative cooks food for the members of the household.

Birth of twin children

Birth of twins is considered to be a very bad event. The old widow Bhuri (105 years) reacted thus to the writer’s query in this connection. “Judwan ne kathe tiya phiran? Ek hi royata phire; kosan bechwa jawan to bine hi sham ka boba miley. Do ho jay to kiyanoo jeevey?” (“How can we move about with the twins? Even one child remains weeping; we have to walk for miles selling our iron products, and then in the evening, the child is given the breast. If two children are born, how can they survive?”) Although there is a great difficulty for the mother in rearing the twins, yet she does not send any of them to any other woman.

Gifts from the matrikins of the child:

The parents of the mother give or send some gift consisting of topa (head, dress) and some silver ornaments for the baby, pair of new clothes, ghee and some silver ornament for the woman and some money for her husband or her father-in-law. In case they are poor, they give nothing except some clothes for the baby.

During the first month after delivery, when the mother is convalescing, her mind is constantly filled with emotional ideas for the well-being and happiness of the baby. She sits beside
SOCIOMAP 1
Pattern of inter-community relations at the birth of a Gaduliya Lohar
the baby stitching small clothes for it, singing and crooning lullabies, which mix 'dreams of glory and humble fears, in the same teasing-cherishing pattern, affectionate and rejecting them by turn.'

Childhood

Breast-feeding continues for an indefinite period, generally up to three years of age. Rice and loaves of bread are also given to the child when it is of one year or more of age. The solid diet is increased so much so that at the time of weaning the child has the same diet as that of an adult. Traditionally, the child joins the family at meal time, as soon as it is able to sit. Early weaning is attempted by smearing the bitter paste of the neem leaves on the nipples of the mother's breasts. The mother takes her child to market where she goes for selling her articles or purchasing iron, coal etc. But when she is working near her cart, she finds it convenient to lay the infant in a cloth cradle or sling, called palna. She rocks the palna herself or she may ask some one else to do so when she is doing the blacksmithy work with her husband. She does not offer her breasts to the baby off and on; instead, she does so only after due intervals. The grown up children are asked to play with the baby. She tolerates her child crying for a long time. She feeds it only when she finds leisure to do so.

In order to silence the child, the mother gives her breasts. When she is away, the carrier, who is generally some elder brother or sister or some other member of the family, tries some kinds of entreats and threats to silence the baby, e.g., "O, there comes a habu (ghost)." "Don't cry, O bhaya (brother), a cat is coming to eat you." "The mother will come soon, she will give you her boba (breast), don't cry." If these things fail, the carrier swings it in his or her arms and sings some small song to divert its attention from crying. When the child is of about two years and a half, it plays with other children.

Tooth ceremony: When the child's first tooth drops out, the tooth is put in a little cow-dung and thrown towards the

sun, saying, "O sun God, please take the old teeth and give the child new ones."

_Ear and nose piercing:_ Generally in the month of _Chaitra_ and _Vaisakh_ i.e., March and April, the children of both the sexes get their ear-lobes pierced with holes for wearing earrings. The left side of the nose of the girls is also pierced through for a nose ring. There is no restriction of age of piercing the ears of a child, but generally this is done by the time the child is one year of age. A goldsmith pierces the ears and the nose with a silver wire. At first, a piece of black thread is put as an ear-ring in the child’s ear, and after-wards when the wound heals up, a small wire with three _ghunghras_ is put in the earlobes. To heal up the wound, turmeric and _ghee_ are applied for seven days.

_Activities of the growing child:_ The Gaduliya Lohar parents do not pay much attention to the activities or movements of the growing child. The child moves on all four, then it begins to take short steps. By the time it is of two years and a half, it is able to walk and talk. The parents do not seem to be thrilled by these developments, as they are usually very busy in their blacksmithy work. The child sleeps with its mother in the cart and troubles her by wetting and soiling the beddings. So she tries to awaken the child two or three times in the night to make him urinate outside the beddings. The defaulter may be given a little thrashing. He is usually threatened by the name of _habu_ (ghost) or _dakin_ (female evil spirit). Generally, obedience is enforced on the child by threats of such evil spirits and by barking orders and admonitions at it.

The young child soon joins the children of the band irrespective of the age group considerations. They play several small games, sing riddles and songs, try to handle the smithy tools and the bellows, collect pieces of iron scrap, coal and pebbles, and some time run to a nearby shop for purchasing tobacco or _birt_ (indigenous cigarettes) etc. The child learns so many things by imitating others. Thus it is a common sight to find a young child holding a hammer in his hand and beating a piece of iron with it on the anvil, or beating a piece of wire with a hammer to give it the shape of a nail. "What are
you preparing?" If some one puts this question to him, he shyly gives out the name of any of the iron-articles which his parents generally prepare. The little girls see their mothers and other women in the band cooking food, preparing iron articles and selling them in the market and they also begin to imitate them out of fun. Thus the children are informally educated in the life-situation.

Games played by children: The Gaduliya Lohar children play several simple games, some of which are as follows:

(i) A broken blade of shovel is tied to a rope. One child sits on it while two children hold the rope and pull it as the bullocks pull a gaduliya.

(ii) Two children put a long cord across their shoulders and stand in a line, while the third one holds the cord and drives them from the rear like a cartman driving his bullocks. The third child imitates the peculiar sound made by a cartman ‘Kri, Kri, Kri.’ He may even hurl abuses at the bullocks.

(iii) In towns, grown up children generally roam about the shops of cold drinks with the intention of collecting the thrown-away bottle-lids. They play the game of chit pat with them. Some children assemble together. Each gives one bottle-lid from his side. The lids so collected are put by a boy in his fist; then they are thrown on the ground. The lids falling on their heads are lost, whereas those falling in the reverse order are won. Each child repeats this sort of gambling activity in turn. The winners become owners of the lids entered in the game. Some time elderly boys play with the coins in the same manner.

(iv) An interesting chess-like game known as “nakhe chowk” is played by the Gaduliya Lohar children of the north-eastern region. They make the following rectangular design on ground by scratching it with a piece of wood or stone:

```
  I  II

 III  III
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Small pebbles like dice are thrown over this design and then they are counted in each square.

(v) A very interesting game known as char chunda is very popular in the Gaduliya Lohar children of the north-eastern region. A stout stick is fixed in ground; its upper end is made very pointed so that it may serve as a pivot. Another stout stick of equal length is taken and it is scratched in the middle, so as to create a sort of cavity in which the pointed edge of the first stick may get in. On each of the two corners of the second stick hangs a small wood tied below, on which a child sits. This makes an improvised merry-go-round. Other children give jhota (tilts) to it. This game gives a very great delight to children.

(vi) Several children play with ghota dadi (cloth ball).

(vii) Young children often indulge in kusti (wrestling) in an enthusiastic manner.

(viii) Young boys and girls play some imitation-plays like a Gaduliya Lohar pair grinding grain at their grinding wheels, a beendni (bride) and the beend (bridegroom) taking seven nuptial rounds, and a panch giving his orders in a panchayat while quaffing off the goblets of wine now and then, etc.

In this way, the Gaduliya Lohar infant grows up gradually. The whole traditional complex is instilled into the child, and, thus, the outer world becomes the inner world and these men remain mostly the constructs of their own culture.

Parental care of children: The parents do not mind children smoking, gambling, using abusive language and remaining naked even up to seven or eight. The children are not taught to wash their rectum with water after paying the call of nature. They merely rub it with a few pebbles or sand and this practice continues in many adults also. The Gaduliya Lohars of the Alwar and Bharatpur districts are responsible for developing begging mentality in their children. Howsoever financially well off they might be, they themselves induce their children to beg some money from the non-Gaduliya Lohars for purchasing some petty eatables and to beg food at the door of any house where a marriage feast is taking place. However, the Gaduliya Lohars in general lay much emphasis
BIRTH, CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

on honesty. The children are taught not to steal any thing belonging to any other person. By their own example as well as by precept, the Gaduliya Lohars try to inculcate the virtue of honesty among children. Generally, the children are obedient and afraid of the reproachment of their elders.

The children of both the sexes play together freely till the age of six or seven, after which the girls are asked to play among the company of the girls only. However, this sort of segregation is not effective up to the age of ten, but after this, the boys and girls move within their homogeneous groups only. Unmarried girl above the age of ten is forbidden to go out alone to the market or to the fields. She gets the informal training in cooking, smithy work and other household duties at this early age. Parents are very strict in dealing with their adolescent daughter. By admonitions, scolding, abuses etc., they check the habits of vagrancy and quarrelling. Submissiveness on the part of the girls is greatly desired.

Adolescence: The Gaduliya Lohars experience the usual stress and strain of adolescence which people in most societies throughout the world do. A number of them are married in childhood. As such, they become at least mentally conscious of the sexual matters. During the years between their marriage and muklawa (post-marriage ceremony) the husband and wife grow into adolescence in their respective bands. Most of them have no sexual intercourse at the time of marriage being children then, so they have no remembrance of each other’s activities as partners. Being illiterate, no love letters pass between them. They simply grow with the innocent belief of having been married to some one. The mental vision of some one waiting for him or her gradually magnifies. They pass most part of their adolescence in day-dreaming about their sexual congress.

Menstruation: The first menstruation is neither a shock nor a horror to most of the girls, for they have learnt something about it when their mothers and other females in band go menses. The women and girls go to defecate in small groups in open fields, and there the girls occasionally see the menstruating females taking out blood soaked pubic cloth

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from their genitals and inserting fresh pieces of cloth. Moreover, elderly girls in the band often talk about this matter and the younger girls gather a fair knowledge of it. So one day when the blood trickles down her own genital, she informs her mother or some girl friends in an unperturbed mood, saying 'O maay, mhare khoon avgivo che' ("O mother, blood has come out of me.") She takes care to keep this thing concealed from the boys and men as it is considered to be in bad taste to disclose it to them. The mother, brother’s wife or some of her girl friends advise her to use pubic cloth and not to take her bath or lie in the gaduliyaa, but to rest on an old and tattered gudadi (mattress) or a gunny bag. She is required to keep some iron knife or iron blade under her head while sleeping in order to escape from the evil effects of spirits. Apart from these things, there are no religious or magical observances associated with menstruation. This, however, is an important development in the life cycle of a Gaduliyaa Lohar woman. It marks the awakening of her sex-feelings and the beginning of the conscious and inward realization of the suffering of separation from her husband. After her muklawa, her actual sex life begins and the period of stress and strain passes away.

Adolescent girls are engaged in the blacksmithy and cooking activities of their households, while the adolescent boys spend most of their time in learning blacksmithy and bullock trade with their parents and other members of the household. They become conscious of their youth. They show their liking for gaudily coloured and embroidered shirts and red coloured handkerchiefs made of imitation silk. In order to enhance their bodily attraction, both the boy and girl adolescents make some personal decorations. There is a craze for tattooing among the adolescents. Besides multitudes of designs of articles, they get the names of themselves as well as those of their married wives, husbands or lovers also tattooed on their arms or fore heads. Many of them express their friendship with their friends by getting their names also imprinted on their body. This practice of getting obscene words and names of their lovers and life partners imprinted on their limbs is a sort of emotional safety-valve in the adolescents having the
mixed feelings of the repressed sex instinct and exhibitionism.

The adolescent boys and girls form their separate small and close homogenous friendly circles in which they are united by the bonds of love, trust and cooperation. Close friends, known as bhayla (male friends) or bhayli (female friends) gossip, play and confide secrets amongst themselves. Since generally the Gaduliya Lohar bands are formed along close agnatic and/or matrikin kinship lines, all the girls are real classificatory sisters or nieces of the boys in a band. Any sexual advance towards them is tabooed. Hence there is little room for the outlet of the hetero-sexual love energy of adolescents within the band society itself. This must naturally turn them into pitiable love-starved youths. They reveal their compensatory behaviour by singing highly obscene sithanas (bridle-songs), ragnis (songs) and by telling sexy tales and filthy jokes. They mention the names of each other’s sex organs and sex activities unabashedly so often. Some boys have love affairs with the girls of the other bands. Some such love affairs have resulted in elopements and marriages. The repressed sexual desires, coupled with their poverty, have led a few girls to go astray from their path of sexual morality. Generally, the parents keep a watchful eye over them. They make constant efforts to sublimate their sex instinct and emotions by keeping them busy in a lot of manual activities.

The adolescent boys are usually fond of some games like ghota dadi (ball), gulli danda and kabaddi. Some of them are fond of composing and singing ragnis (songs), telling baataan (stories) and asking aadis (puzzles) and singing romantic saakis (couplets). Some Gaduliya Lohars moving in towns have started seeing films also. The girls are fond of stitching coloured brassiers and making garlands of glass beads for them. They often play with pebbles. On the whole, the phase of adolescence passes with sufficient tranquillity in the Gaduliya Lohar society. By this process of enculturation, the cultural norms of their society are internalized by the youngsters.
Marriage

The Gaduliya Lohar children may be betrothed or married at any age. Some betrothals take place even when the pair is not yet born. It is called kotha tharpana. On the other hand, there are a few cases in which the people are not married even up to the age of twenty-five. The Gaduliya Lohars of the central, western and the southern Rajasthan betroth and marry more than half of their children in their childhood, in accordance with the custom in the rural population of these regions. But the Gaduliya Lohars of the north-eastern region betroth and marry less than one third of their children in their childhood. This is due to the impact of the Punjabi culture in which late marriages are preferred. The bands of these regions come in frequent contact with the Punjabis in course of their movements.

The following table shows the marital status of children below the age of fifteen belonging to the two bands, one from the central region and the other from the northwestern region:

Table 17
Marital status of children below the age of fifteen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>I Band (Ajmer District)</th>
<th>II Band (Alwar District)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Central region</td>
<td>North-eastern region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of cases</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betrothed</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MARRIAGE

The betrothal or marriage in childhood is not considered to be a social evil in the Gaduliya Lohar society. Three explanations for it have been advanced by the informants. Firstly, there is a general belief in the community that a betrothed child does not die in his childhood, especially from the smallpox. Secondly, by betrothing their wards in their childhood, they spread a network of social relationships. Thus they are assured of a hospitable treatment from other bands of their close kins. Thirdly, at whatsoever age a marriage may be performed but the wife does not go to live with her husband till she is physically mature by the age of sixteen or seventeen. This healthy practice is universal among the Gaduliya Lohars of Rajasthan and no violation of it has been noticed anywhere.

The partners, betrothed or married in childhood, are prevented from meeting each other, not to say of having any sexual experimentation between them. While the parents of both the sides may meet off and on, such children are not allowed to accompany them. "Kun darkhat ne huwa koni lage"? ("Which tree does not feel the touch of wind?") was the response of Harji to the writer's query in this connection.

Atta-Satta System

In a few cases, the Gaduliya Lohars follow the atta-satta system. According to it, they seek the real sister of their son-in-law as wife for their own son. Such a case was noted also in the family of Jawanaji Bodana of Ajmer.

Meera Chauhan O=△ Jawanaji Bodana = O Gulli Solanki.
Baluji Bodana △=O Bhonli Chauhan

Chothi Bodana =△ Gopiji Chauhan
Real brother and sisters

Narain △=O Bhurl Bodana. Chauhan.
Many people like this system as it places both the parties on equal social footing and assures a good treatment of each other’s daughter, exchanged between their families. It was asserted by several informants that this system was disliked by all the people till the last century and many people consider it improper even today. However, this is the last resort of poor persons who cannot afford to pay the bride-price for the marriages of their sons. When an atta-satta is to be practised, no bride-price is required to be paid by either party. But “for seeking a mature daughter for an adult son,” informed Jiska of Alwar “one has to give a mature daughter to the prospective adult son-in-law.” His twenty-five years old son Jagedar has so far remained unmarried due to the latter’s defective right hand and poor condition of his family. Jiska cannot arrange even atta-satta because his daughter Lachmi is only a child.

**Difference in the ages of the partners**

Usually, there is very small difference between the ages of the husband and wife among the Gaduliya Lohars. Enquiries made in three bands in this connection have yielded the following information:

**Table 18**

**Difference between the ages of husband and their wives in three bands**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difference between the ages of the husband and wife</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I Band (Ajmer District)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 10 years</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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## Marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Equal age</th>
<th></th>
<th>5</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-4</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-10</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than -10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that out of the total number of 41 cases, 19 husbands were older than their wives by five years or more, while 16 husbands were either equal to or older than their wives by four years, and in only six cases the wives were senior to their husbands. This shows that the accepted pattern of the Gaduliya Lohar society also is that the husbands should be senior to their wives in age.

### Betrothal and Marriage Rituals

The rituals of the betrothal and marriage among the Gaduliya Lohars are essentially like those of other caste Hindus.

A betrothal is usually decided by the father or grand-father of the boy. Generally no attention is paid to the merits and demerits of the partners. Fair reputation of the family and good relations between the two families in the past are considered to be sufficient bases for establishing the matrimonial relation.

The initiative in fixing the betrothal is taken by the father of the son. When he goes to other bands in order to participate in any social function or with any other purpose, he is constantly in search of a suitable family whose daughter he may demand in marriage with his son. An offer is made to the parents of the girl by the parents or guardians of the boy and a date is fixed for the betrothal. The betrothal ceremony is performed on any festival like Basant Panchami, Akha Teej,
Dashera, Diwali or Holi. Most of the betrothals take place during the period when the nomadic bands camp at their thiyas. On the appointed day, the parents of the boy and their friends go to the girl’s parents’ band. They take with them a sum of Rs. 21/ and also half of the settled bride price. In olden days, the maximum bride price was fixed at Rs. 84/; less might be agreed upon but never more. Now-a-days, it is left entirely with the parents of the boy and the girl to decide the amount that shall be paid. Harji’s father said to the writer;

“Thirty two years back, I went to Pushkar for the engagement of my son Harji with Pooni. I gave Rs. 40 to Pooni’s father, out of which Rs. 10 were paid to the caste panchayat for the wine and Rs. 10 were returned to me and the rest of the amount was kept by Pooni’s father.”

Talking about the betrothal of his daughter, another informant Khema said;

“In the betrothal of my daughter two years back, I accepted Rs. 40 in accordance with the custom of our community. Out of this amount, I purchased wine worth Rs. 5 and meat worth Rs. 3 for the guests. Rs. 5 were returned to the boy’s father, Rs. 5 were paid to the panchayat and the balance of Rs. 22 was kept by me.”

On the occasion of the betrothal, the boy is usually taken to the bride’s household, but this is not essential since the betrothal can take place even without the boy’s presence there. If the boy is present, the girl’s father or grand-father applies teeka (a sign made by the thumb with turmeric paste) on the boy’s forehead, and gives Re. 1/ as gift, one coconut and some batashas (small sugar bubbles) or some mithai (sweets). Wine is purchased from market. Meat and lapsi are cooked, or some sweets, usually jalebi, laddu etc., are brought from the market. All this makes a sumptuous feast in which the guests and the girl’s relatives participate. It is an occasion of great rejoicing. In the evening, the women of the band sing auspicious songs. Most of the songs are sitthnas (marriage songs) which are full of a lot of sexual ideas. In some such songs, there are very spicy descriptions of the sex organs and sexual
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intercourse, and false and humourous references to homosexuality and illegal hetro-sexuality on the part of the bridegroom's father, mother, sisters, father's brothers and other relatives. The women dance and sing some sakis (couplets) and religious songs also on this occasion.

When the parents of the boy think that his marriage should be performed in the current year, they send a word to the girl's parents. Both the parties consult the panchas of their respective bands and inform an auspicious date to each other. Finally, an auspicious tithi (date) is fixed up. A Brahmin Pandit may also be consulted in this matter. Some Gaduliya Lohars are sent to convey such a message. The marriages are performed during April and May, i.e., before the eleventh day of Vaisakh in accordance with the Hindu traditions. Hundreds of Gaduliya Lohars are married on Akha Teej in May every year. When the day of marriage is finally decided by both the parties, the boy's father takes a piece of string and ties a knot in it for each day till the day of marriage. Thus if the wedding is to take place seven days ahead, he ties seven knots in the string. From the next day, one knot is untied daily and the last knot is opened on the day of wedding.

The marriage ceremony commences from the day the first knot is untied. On this day, which is generally seven days ahead of the marriage day, a ceremony known as Vinag pooja or Vinayak bithana (worship of God Vinayak or Ganeshjji) is performed in the boy's family as well as in the girl's family. A Brahmin Pandit is sent for. He performs the worship, and then he himself or one of his assistants cooks food there. Generally, lapsi and dal are cooked on this occasion. The Brahmin and his assistant are fed first of all, and then they are paid their customary dakshina (fees). After this, the cooked food is served to the caste people. This custom is called Baman bindora also.

From this day to the day before the actual marriage day, the girl is given a daily bath. The pithi (mixture of turmeric, gram flour, mustard oil and water) is massaged on her body, especially on the face, hands, feet and breast by some closely related married women and girls. The widows are not allow-
ed to do it as they are considered to be inauspicious. This Hindu custom is called pithi chadhana (applying pithi) or tel chadhana (applying oil). After the pithi massage, the bridegroom or the bride takes a bath.

On the first day after pithi massage, kankan dorna or kangans are tied to the right hand and the right leg of the bride and the bridegroom at their respective places. It consists of kalawa (yellow and red thread) to which is tied a small piece of red cloth containing supari (betel nut), lohe ka challa (iron ring), lakh ka challa (lac ring), turmeric, rai (seeds of a plant) and loon (salt). The kalawa thread is considered to be auspicious and all these things are believed to possess the power of keeping the evil spirits away from the person on whose body the kankan doranas are tied. Such a person is required to keep loh ri katar (iron dagger), chakudi (knife) or loh ri bent (an iron bar turned into a sort of walking stick) with him or her all the time, as iron also is believed to possess the power to ward off evil spirits.

A daily programme of music and dance is held every night from this day. After taking evening meals at their own households, the women and children of the band gather round the cart of the person to be married and sit on the ground. In the central and southern regions, the professional drummer known as Dholi comes with his dhol (drum). He beats his drum from fifteen to twenty minutes constantly in a rhythmic manner, in consonance of which the men and women dance. The drum beating and the dance are stopped for a minute, some one sings an interesting saki (couplet) or ragani (song) and again the drummer beats his drum enthusiastically and a new dancer or a pair or group of dancers begin their rhythmic dances.

Right from the day of Vinayak pooja to the day prior to marriage, the person to be wed is invited by his or her relatives and friends to their places for bindora i.e., daily feast. Some special dish, bread, vegetable and meat are cooked. Wine is not served in such a feast. The parents or other members of the family of the bride or the bridegroom may also be invited to come to attend this small feast. But conventionally, they do not come and merely send a young child on their
behalf. The host gives a gift of Re. 1/- and a coconut as the customary present to the person to be wed. This custom is to uphold the prestige of the bride or the bridegroom and to express the mutual affection, regard and social unity of the people of the band group.

Two or three days before the marriage, the palms and feet of the bride and bridegroom are smeared with the mehandi (myrtle) paste.

The bridegroom’s father goes to a nearby market to purchase padhla i.e., customary gifts for the bride of his son. Although he alone can go and make these purchases, yet this is not taken in good taste. The convention is that he should request some elderly agnate, intimate friends and pancha of the band to accompany him. This request is accepted by some of them immediately. They purchase the choicest and reasonably-priced articles by their mutual consultations in the market. Having purchased the necessary clothes, cosmetics and silver ornaments, the bridegroom’s father purchases some sweets and distributes them among the persons accompanying him. These sweets are a token of the happiness of the bridegroom’s father.

One day before the marriage, a thamb is ceremoniously fixed to a wheel of the bride’s parental gaduliya. It consists of a bamboo, on the top of which a small handi (earthen pot) is tied with the help of a wooden stand and a piece of cord. Some barley seeds are sown by putting clay in an earthen pot. Around it is tied the auspicious kalawa thread. The auspicious swastika symbol and dotted or lined designs are made with red ochre. It is customary to put sawa rupiya (Rs. 1.25) in this pot. On the upper end of the mandha (pole), four chidakalis (wooden birds) facing the four directions are fixed. They denote the happiness and prosperity of the family.

At the bridegroom’s place one night before the actual day of the departure of party and at the bride’s place one night before the arrival of barat, a ratijaga or mayarat (the whole night awakening) is observed. All the relatives and people of the band keep awakened for the whole night and sing religious songs in praise of gods and goddess. A palm print on mehandi
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is affixed on the pankla (wooden side) of the gaduliya of the bridegroom’s father and all the persons sit on ground just near it. Most of the religious songs and couplets composed by the famous sixteenth century Muslim saint and social reformer, Kabir Dassji, are popular among the Gaduliya Lohars. The idea behind this night-awakening is to seek the blessings of all their gods and goddess and especially the mercy of Aie Lacha for the welfare, happiness and prosperity of the new couple.

Before the barat actually starts off, some customs are observed. The bridegroom’s parents give a jonar (feast) of meat and rice to their caste-brethren and all those going in the barat. In the north eastern Rajasthan, it is customary to provide bread, clarified butter and coarse sugar, or fried leavened cakes and tel ke laddu and jalebi (sweets prepared in oil) purchased from market. Sometimes jalebis (sweets) purchased from the market are pounded in a wooden mortar and ghee and sugar are mixed in them to make them more delicious. To an outsider, it may appear rather funny. But by doing this, the bridegroom’s father earns glory in the community.

The Gaduliya Lohars do not keep big utensils in which food for a large number of people may be cooked. It is due to the practical difficulties involved in their ownership, safety and transport from place to place. So they engage some local halwai (confectioner) to prepare food and sweets for them in his own utensils on such an occasion. In a town, they inform some halwai about their food requirements before hand and purchase it on cash payment from his shop. Although this is a somewhat costly arrangement, yet it is convenient to them in their nomadic mode of life.

After jonar, the bridegroom is led to a nearby temple of Bhaironji god or of Hanumanji god for dhok-dena (paying respects by prostrating) and for offering some parshad (food offerings) to the god. This is done to please the god so that the marriage may be performed peacefully.

Just before leaving, an interesting custom is followed. The bridegroom’s mother suckles him in public. The significance of the action is that as the boy is now going to acquire the
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status of manhood and to assume worldly responsibilities, the mother for the last time asserts her rights and satisfies her maternal instincts. Besides this, it is to remind the son that he should not forget the debt of his mother. The custom is known as *boba dena*. In the absence of real mother, the stepmother, elder sister or any other classificatory mother enjoys this privilege.

Before the actual starting of the *barat*, the close female relatives of the bridegroom assemble and worship him. Each of them applies *tilak* (turmeric mark) on his forehead and gives some cash gifts to him. The bridegroom's father carefully notes the amount each woman gives to the bridegroom. After some time, he returns the cash gifts with some additions from his side to all the classificatory daughters and sisters. This is called "*neg chukana*" (to repay the customary dues). If there is a son-in-law, he is also given his customary dues which are usually between Rs. 2 and Rs. 5.

On the very day when the marriage is to take place, the *barat* (the bridegroom's party) starts for the bride's place in a number of carts. If the bride's camping place is at a very long distance, the *barat* travels by motor bus or train now a days. Most of the *baratis* (members of the bridegroom's party) leave behind the *gaduliyas*, females and old persons of their families at their *thiya*.

By the time the different customs are observed, five or six *gaduliyas* are emptied for the conveyance of the *baratis*. One of them must be the bridegroom's parental cart. Oil or grease is smeared on the wheel axles of all the carts. The bridegroom's parental cart is specially decorated by making palm imprints and *swastik* designs with the mixture of oil and vermilion. All the bullocks to be used in driving the carts of the *barat* are also decorated by making circles, spots or palm imprints of pink-coloured water on their bodies; their horns are painted in attractive colours, and, if possible, new belts having tinkling bells are tied to their necks. The *baratis* put some of their clothes and utensiles in their carts, while in the bridegroom's cart are placed many things like a gunny bag full of grain, beddings, clothes and ornaments, gifts for the bride,
a cloth bag full of cash, some utensils for drinking water, food for the baratis and a bichayat (carpet) to sit on.

After these preparations, all the baratis assemble and they sprinkle pink-coloured water and rub red coloured gulal (powder) on one another's body to express their happiness. The bridegroom salutes all the elders in the family and the band and seeks their blessing. He takes two rounds of his conveyance and then placing his right foot on a coconut placed on the cart wheel, he ascends the cart. After this, the baratis sit in their carts; the drummer beats his drum, and, all the women of the band gather round the bridegroom's cart to bless him by putting their hands over his head one after another. They exhibit their affection by moving a few feet behind his cart, singing very melodious songs in praise of the bridegroom. The Gaduliya Lohars look for some good omens while leaving the place. As soon as the barat moves out of the village boundary, a coconut is offered in the jungle to please the jungle gods and goddess. This is called kankad ro nariyal chadhano.

Throughout the journey, the baratis gossip, cut jokes and sing songs. The present writer also had an opportunity of moving along with one such barat. He still recalls with pleasure the jolts of the gaduliya, rhythmic sound of the tinkling bells, heart-captivating tunes of their folk songs, the smell of their drinks, the infectious peals of laughter, the pretty sight of colour-sprinkled clothes and gulal smeared faces of the baratis and the baratis' entreats and jokes with the bridegroom. All these things had turned the journey of several hours into a most enjoyable trip.

Ceremonies after the arrival of the marriage party

Some relatives of the bride, specially her elder brothers, younger brother, uncle, maternal uncle etc., stand outside the village awaiting the arrival of the barat. As soon as the barat arrives, these people in waiting salute them by saying, "Jai Ram ji ki," "Ram Ram sa" and "Jai Mata ji ki." They lead their carts to the encampment of the bride's band. The carts of the baratis stay at a distance of a few yards from the
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encampment of the bride's band.

Usually, the barat reaches the bride's place in the evening. The relatives and guests of the bride's side are served food first of all and this sort of feasting continues even after the marriage party has arrived. Usually, the baratis are not offered any breakfast, cold drinks or tea etc.; only the biris (indigenous cigarettes) and hooka (hubble bubble) are offered to them. The bridegroom and the people in the marriage procession are not given any food till the toran marana ceremony takes place in night.

The relatives of the bride start the activity of fixing the toran (marriage booth) after the marriage party has arrived. Two pits are dug in ground near the bride’s parental cart. Two bamboos are fixed up in them. Among all sendentary Hindu people, the toran is fixed on the entrance of the houses. But being nomadic people, most of the Gaduliya Lohars fix the toran on a bamboo tied horizontally to the two erected bamboos, on the central upper end of which a big wooden chida (he-bird) and on either side of it two small wooden chidklis (she-birds) are fixed. They are painted in red or pink colour. The torans popular in all the upper caste Hindus are used by the Gaduliya Lohars also. The toran is purchase d from some village carpenter or town market. If more than one girls are to be wed at the same time and at the same place, separate torans are fixed adjacent to one another.

While some of the bride's relatives are busy in fixing toran, the gifts for the bride are sent to the other side by the bridegroom’s father. They are called barri and padhla. The barri articles include one skirt, one brassiere (if the bride is grown up), two odhanis or lughadi, a pair of shoes, a silver hansali and a pair of kadula (heavy silver rings). The padhla articles include char pude or chad chabeela i.e., four small paper bags full of auspicious articles like vermilion, kalawa thread, betel nut, havan samagri (perfumed powder for the ceremonial fire), mewa (dried fruit) batashas (small sugar bubbles) mishri (sugar blocks) etc. Ths bridegroom's father calls for some thalis (metal plates) from the bride's side. The barri and padhla article are put on them in a decorative manner. Each of the
close relatives of the bridegroom, usually his father, uncles maternal uncles, elder brothers and close friends etc., lifts a thali and moves to deliver it to the bride’s party. The drummer beats his drum. These people stop near the toran and await the arrival of a small procession of the women from the bride’s side. They include the bride’s mother, maternal or paternal aunts, and brother’s sisters and other married woman. One of them (usually the bride’s mother) holds in her hand a plate in which are placed a small burning candle, some powdered turmeric, some rice and one or two pieces of gud etc. The women come singing. They stop on the other side of the toran. Some person of the bridegroom’s party, usually his brother or uncle, hand over each thali, announcing loudly the names of the articles placed on it. After receiving all these articles, the bride’s mother applies tilak (turmeric mark) on the forehead of the person who has handed over these articles to her. She puts a piece of jaggary in his mouth.

In the meanwhile, the other women sing padhla songs loudly. This customary acceptance of the bridal gifts by the female relatives of the bride is known as badhana or badhai deni (to congratulate). For the trouble taken by them in receiving the articles, they get a neg or customary cash gift of Re. 1 or Rs. 1.25. Until they get it, they keep standing there repeating their padhla song. Then they return to their band and exhibit the gifts to all the persons there. Lest the women should waste much time in seeing these things, some elderly relative of the bride asks them, “Chhokari ne barri pinao” (“Put the clothes and ornaments received in barri on the girl’s body”). Accordingly, the silver rings are put around her feet first of all.

The custom of putting heavy silver rings (kadula brought by the bridegroom) on bride’s feet is very popular in most of the lower Hindu castes and tribes of Rajasthan. After putting on the kadula, the bride puts on clothes and ornaments received from the bridegroom’s side. She is assisted in doing so by some married women. After putting on the upper cloth called odni, a mor or mod sent from the bridegroom’s side
is tied to the right side of her veiled face. It is made of a card board, 5" x 9" in size and tied with silver wires, coloured glazed paper and kalawa thread. The purpose of putting on this sort of head dress is to enhance the beauty of the bride as well as to keep her safe from the evil spirits. This custom is popular among all Hindus.

The bridegroom puts on a white dhoti (loincloth) and a long pink coloured or floral designed and silver-thread stitched coat called bana which is a special dress for this occasion. Such a coat is purchased or hired from the town market. He ties a white cloth called chehda on his waist. He puts on a saf a (turban) which must be of pink colour. On the left side of the turban is tied a mor or mod (a decorated feather plume) made of gota (strips of silver wire and thread), coloured glazed paper, motiyan ri ladi, (garlands of imitation pearls) and turra (feather). The mor of the bride and the bridegroom are purchased by the bridegroom's father from the town market for Rs. 2 or Rs. 3 or hired for Rs. 0.75 or so. The decoration of the bridegroom is incomplete until he puts on a pink or yellow coloured dupatta (upper cloth) over his shoulders, new jutiyan (shoes), kade (silver rings) on his wrists, murkiyan (earings) in ears, hasli (heavy silver ornament) round his neck, a katar (dagger) or talwar (sword) hanging from his shoulder, or a bent (walking stick) made of thin iron bar. His relatives also put on good clothes, and then they all move with the bridegroom towards the toran.

When the bridegroom's party reaches the toran, the drummer beats the drum and the women of the bride's side stand on the opposite side of the toran. Following is the description of a toran ceremony observed by the writer at a Gaduliya Lohar marriage in a village in central Rajasthan:

The bride's mother had a metal plate in which were placed four burning candles made of flour, some pieces of molasses and bread, vermillion and a small pot full of water. She lifted this plate five times round the bridegroom's face in his worship, which was called jhalmali ri arti. The bridegroom put Re. 1 in it, which was known as the neg (customary dues) of the mother-in-law. After
this, she passed on this plate to some other woman, and she received in its place another plate known as bhuwali thali. In it were placed a small garland of wet barley seeds, some pieces of coconut kernel, hansali (silver ornament), a small ball of red thread and a pot full of water. The bridegroom placed Re 1 in it also. The mother-in-law worshipped the bridegroom with this plate, while other women sang some auspicious songs. The men accompanying the bridegroom sang the following line of song which they repeated several times:

सादू निरक जवाइरो रूप, पढी देली झीलबो।

"O mother-in-law, behold your son-in-law's appearance, lest you should complain afterwards."

Having repeated this line about ten times, they melodiously sang another song describing the glory of the bridegroom.

At the close of this song, the bridegroom was made to strike the toran with a sword and a green branch of a tree, called boradi ki tadi or haribhari ki jhadi, six times lightly and at the seventh time with the sword forcefully so that the upper-most bird of the toran fell down. The toran ceremony was thus over. The bridegroom walked three or four steps under the toran towards the bride's side. Just at this time, both the parties equally cleared off the dues to be paid to the menials like the potter, drummer etc.

Since most bridegrooms are generally children at their marriages, they are lifted up by their relatives to be able to strike torans fixed at a height of eight to ten feet.

Just after the toran ceremony, the phera ceremony (ceremony of seven nuptial rounds), which is popular in all the caste Hindus, is performed. A Brahmin Pandit prepares a chanwari (place for making the ceremonial fire) by fixing four small wooden pegs at the corners of a square on ground. Around them are wound eight or nine rounds of white handspun yarn. Near each end of the chanwari are placed two new earthen pots one above the other on which are made designs with the fuller's earth, yellow colour, lime and turmeric. The bride is
brought near the *chanwari* and she is made to sit on the left-hand side of the bridegroom. She weeps and sobs with the idea of her separation from parents. The Brahmin Pandit sends for some myrtle mixed in water. He puts a little of it on the right palms of the bride and bridegroom and then he joins both these palms, asking the bridegroom to grasp the bride’s palm from above. This is called *hath-lewa* (hand-grasping) ceremony. While the palm of both the parents remain united for a few minutes, they are covered with a cloth by a woman to prevent the effect of any evil eye on their union. A plate full of *havan samagri* (scented condiments and barley etc., for feeding the ceremonial fire) is brought. The Pandit reads some Sanskrit *mantras* pertaining to the marriage rituals for some time. A *parbat phal* (stone) is brought and some ceremonial water is sprinkled on it. Then one end of the bride’s *odani* (upper garment) is tied to the end of the groom’s upper garment with some coin in the knot.

Both of them are made to walk seven times round the sacred fire, according to the Vedic marriage rituals. In most of the Hindus, the bride walks behind the bridegroom in all the seven nuptial rounds, but some difference is observable in the Gaduliya Lohars. During the first three rounds, the bride leads the bridegroom, whereas in the last four rounds the bridegroom leads the bride. No explanation for it could be given by the informants. Perhaps, it is to emphasize that the bride ought to have equal authority in the household. After these nuptial rounds the bride is made to sit on the right hand side of the bridegroom, since according to the Hindu tradition only a legally married wife is entitled to sit on the right hand side of a man.

After this, the *kanyadan Ceremony* (giving the gifts to the bride) is performed. Each householder in the band and each relative of the bride gives some silver ornaments or cash gift ranging from Rs. 0.50 to Rs. 2. These gifts are considered to be the exclusive property of the bride. It is customarily desirable for the bride’s brother to announce before all that he would give a *kewdi* (she-calf or cow) the next day or in near future. If her brother does not do so, her maternal uncle usually
makes such an announcement from his side. This custom is known as sewra-karana. Then the Pandit asks the pair to look towards the Dhruwa-tara (polar star). It signifies that their marital relationship should be as static or permanent as is the position of polar star in the sky.

After the nuptial rounds, the pair is made to bow before the bride’s parents. The bride’s mother puts a piece of molasses in the bridegroom’s mouth, as it is a symbol of sweet relations. Then the bride is led by the bridegroom to his father’s cart. On reaching the cart, the bridegroom’s elderly agnates adopt the bride. “This curious custom owes its origin to the Hindu idea that once a daughter is given in marriage, she ceases to be a member of her father’s family. She thus finds herself without any person, alive or dead, whom she can claim as responsible for her birth. To obviate the breach of nature’s rule, a new parent is acquired by adoption.” The bride is given welcome in her new family. Money, dates and coconut are given to her.

She is asked by other women and the bridegroom’s father to put her right foot on the bridegroom’s cart. A gunny bag full of grain placed in the cart is thrown open before her. She is asked to throw handfuls of grain in all the four directions. The people of both the sides encourage her in doing so by saying “Ghano uchaliyo” (Throw away more and more of grain). The underlying idea of this custom is to wish that the bride should bring prosperity to her husband’s family, which may be exemplified by her distributing handfuls of grain to others. After this custom, the bridegroom’s father lays both his hands on the heads of the bridegroom and the bride and blesses them in these words, “Hun mharo karaj pooro kar leedo jug jug jeevo, chokha reejo, chokha khajo” (I have completed my task you remain alive for ages, live well and eat well). Then he takes out kharka or chuhara (palm fruit) and khopra (pieces of coconut kernel) and distributes them among the women and children who have come with the pair. This is just to express his happiness at his son’s marriage. After this,

the pair is led back to the bride's parental cart. There a woman brings bread and lapsi in a plate for the bridegroom. The mother-in-law cuts a morsel of bread and takes it near his mouth, but it is customary for him to decline it by putting his finger on his mouth. The plate is returned and another plate having bread and lapsi on it is brought. The first morsel of it is put in the bridegroom's mouth by the bride's mother, and then he eats with his own finger.

After the toran ceremony, the members of the bridegroom's party are offered food, and then they sleep on their cots or on the cots provided by the bride's side. On the next morning, the breakfast or siravani is not cooked at the bride's father's hearth; instead each of the households in her band cooks the food at its own kitchen and feeds four or five baratis. The food of the last night remaining with the bride's family is also distributed to all the baratis at this time. This interesting custom has economic as well as social implications. On the one hand, it relieves the bride's father of the expenditure of giving one meal to the baratis, and on the other hand it shows the cooperative spirit of the members of the bride's band group. After the siravani, the pair is taken out to a temple for worshipping the gods and goddesses there.

Having returned from the temple, the worship of Khetla, the supposedly illegal son of Aie Lacha, is performed. In order to please his spirit, this worship is performed by putting some burning charcoal on a piece of cow-dung and by placing seven white pebbles, dhoop (incense) and ghugri (wheat grain boiled with molasses). The pair is made to bow before the sacred fire.

After the worship of khetla, an interesting game is played by the bridegroom and the bride. It is known as joowa khelna, or kangan khelna (gambling or playing with kanganas). A deep parat (metal tub) full of water is brought there. Some flour is mixed in it to make the water non-transparent so that the things dropped into it may not be visible. Some singhadas (dried water-nuts), kharkas and some silver rupee coins and the four kangadoranas or kanganas of the bridal pair are dropped into the water by the wife of the bride's brother or by her
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married elder sister who acts as an umpire in the game. Both
the bridegroom and the bride pounce their hands in the water
in order to snatch the kangan dornas. Whosoever of them is
successful in the seventh or in the last attempt is considered
to be victorious and influential over the other one. The impor-
tance of this game seems to be to initiate friendship between
the bridegroom and the bride.

In the central and southern areas, one interesting custom
is practised by the Gaduliya Lohars. A woman of the bride’s
side puts a flake of cotton on the thigh of the bridegroom.
The bride is asked to lift it up and touch her eyes with it. It
is repeated seven times. Then all the four kangan dornas are
given to the bride who puts them on the bridegroom’s thigh.
Then she raises them to her eyes in a saluting manner. She
repeats this activity seven times. Then the bride’s kankan
dornas are tied to the bridegroom’s right hand and left feet
and vice versa. This symbolises their unity for ever. No
unmarried woman or widow is allowed to sit near the pair in
this ceremony.

In the evening, the bride’s father gives a feast to all the
assembled people. Fried leavened cakes, vegetable, sweets or
sooji ka halwa and wine are served in it. At one place, the
women of the bride’s side poured ghee (clarified butter) mixed
with bura (sugar) in the mouths of the baratis in order to
show the enthusiasm and love with which they wished to feed
them. Several jokes are cut by the women of the bride’s side
with the bride’s father-in-law. A woman comes with a wooden
pestle to strike his head in joke; she does not actually do so
but simply runs after him causing peals of laughter. She
receives Rs. 1.25 for this neg. It is known as sir-kutai (remune-
ration for striking his head). The women sing very obscene
and happy songs at this time. Wine is offered to the baratis.
In the day time the baratis gossip or sing songs or hold riddle
contests.

A very interesting custom prevalent among the Gaduliya
Lohars of the north-eastern Rajasthan is worship of goddess
Ladi Devi. Ladi Devi is a goddess venerated by these people.
In the evening of the second day, the bride is led to the bride-
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Pattern of inter-community relations at the marriage of a Gaduliya Lohar
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groom's cart, near which fire is made by burning a piece of cow-dung. The bride is asked to put a piece of coconut kernel on the thigh of her husband and break it there. The bridegroom then breaks the piece of coconut kernel tied in a garland worn by the bride. He puts it on the fire. Then he sprinkles some water over his head. It is believed that by doing so the wish of the couple to give birth to several children will be fulfilled. A woman informed the writer that by performing this sort of worship, children are born easily. After this worship, the women and girls sing very obscene songs and cut jokes with the pair. Elderly persons also join them in it. The pieces of coconut kernel are distributed among children there.

The third day is the day of actual parting. A session of the caste panchayat is held. The balance amount of the bridegroom's price is paid to the girl's father. Four or five responsible people of the community actually make the payment so that they may remain as witnesses to prove that the transaction has been completed. They receive five rupees for their services as such.

Dowry: The dayja or dahej (dowry) is given after the panchayat is about to end. It is called reet chukana. It is generally very meagre. It consists of some brassiers for the bridegroom's mother, aunts and married sisters, and some silver ornaments, one ghaghra and some odnies, ivory bangles, one comb, one hand fan and some indoonis (circular pads for putting a pitcher of water on head). The rich parents give one gold nath (nose ornament), one thali (plate) and one gadua (pot) etc. All the articles given in dowry are put in a small cloth bag called khaluchi. They are exhibited by putting them on a cot. Some barley seeds are also put there. They are a sign of prosperity.

It is obligatory for the bride's maternal uncle to hand over mayra i.e., the gifts brought by him to her parents. They may be worth anything usually between Rs. 5 to Rs. 20, depending upon one's financial condition. They consist of a pair of clothes and some silver ornaments for the bride, a pair of garments for his sister and a new shirt and a loin cloth for his sister's husband. He clads his sister and her husband in
the clothes brought by him before all the people. Thus he testifies his great regard, affection and duty consciousness towards them. This is a moment of a very great happiness for the bride's mother.

Having handed over the dowry to the bridegroom's father, the bride's people feed the baratis. They serve them opium also. Then the departure ceremony is held. All the people of both the sides gather in a circle. The women of the bride's band, with their faces covered with veils, dance very enthusiastically in the centre of the circle. The bride also is required to dance with them. The bridegroom's father and the baratis joyfully witness this dance. They take out some coins, encircle them over the bride's head and offer them in nyocha-war (charity in her name) to the drummer. Some baratis throw one rupee currency notes and coins over the bride. All this money is considered to be the property of the bride. After half an hour or so, pink coloured water is sprinkled on the baratis, and then they prepare their gaduliyas for their departure.

When all these ceremonies have been completed, the bride's father gives a jar, the mouth of which is covered by a red cloth, to the bridegroom's father. It contains flour baked in ghee and a few poories. This gift signifies the seekh (permission to leave). The moment of departure having arrived after all, the bride and the members of her family and the band weep loudly for several minutes. The bride weeps by putting her face close to the chest of her father, mother and all the relatives and the elderly males of her band. In this pathetic environment, they bring the bride near the bridegroom's cart, and make her sit to the right hand side of her husband on it. After that, the elders of both the sides salute each other, saying, "Jai Ramji ki" and "Jai Mataji ki." The bride's relatives beg the bridegroom's father and his party to excuse them for the imperfections or mistakes that might have crept in their hospitality. While the drummer beats the drum and a man blows bankiya (a musical instrument), the marriage party departs. The members of the bride's parental band see her off by singing very pathetic songs and shedding
inceasant tears.

**Rituals at the bridegroom's place:** On reaching the bridegroom's encampment, the bride is happily received by all the women of the band. She bows down before them to offer her respectful salute. Arrival at the destination is timed to coincide with sunset. Alms are distributed to beggars and other poor people. The final ceremony is to seat the bride and the bridegroom on each side of the shaft of the cart in the name of Khetla. The memory of the Sati Aielacha herself is recalled by drawing seven lines on a wall or the wooden board of the cart. The lapisi is cooked and eaten by the pair and others after arrival. The peculiarity about this dish at this occasion is that it must be cooked of the flour supplied by both the bride's and bridegroom's families.

On the first night, there is again rat-jaga (night awakening) in which religious songs are sung in praise of the gods and goddesses. Next morning, the same Kangan dorna game is played, in which the bridegroom's jiia (brother-in-law) or his sadu (husband of the bride's sister) acts as umpire. The kangan dornas are finally untied. After this, the pair is taken out to the village temple to salute the local gods and goddesses there. Then mata (roasted flour mixed with sugar) is distributed among the agnatic kins only. This is expressive of the happiness of the bridegroom's family. The bride is asked to tie the kangan dornas to the legs of the bridal cot.

Annaji Gaduliya Lohar, a matriculate married Gaduliya Lohar of the Jodhpur district, gave the following description of the usual first wedding night:

In our community, the bridegroom and the bride are not allowed to meet and sleep together on the first night, as on that night all sing religious songs to please the gods and goddesses. The next night is the real suhag rat (the first wedding night), provided both of them are grown up persons capable of performing the sexual intercourse. The bridal cot is put near the bridegroom's gaduliya or a bed may be prepared on the gaduliya itself. The sirkis are erected round it for the sake of privacy. Late in the night, the bridegroom's bhabi (elder brother's wife) or his elder...
sister persuasively leads the bride to go to the bed of bridegroom. The bridegroom presents some small silver ornaments or some rupees, fruit, some sweets and betel etc. to the bride to capture her heart. He starts joking with her and then they have the sexual union.

Cost of marriage: Although it is customary to pay Rs. 80 as bride-price yet there are many a case wherein the girl's parents accepted only Rs. 5 or even Re. 1 as a token bride-price, while they may spend hundreds of rupees in entertaining the guests and in giving the dowry. When the barat comes by a motor bus or train, the conveyance charges are borne by the bridegroom's father. Economy in marriage expenditure is vanishing now. Some parents are demanding very big amount as the bride-price. They may demand anything between Rs. 100 and 1000.

*Muklawa* Ceremony

When the bride and the bridegroom become mature, their muklawa or post marriage ceremony is performed. The bridegroom, along with his younger brothers, parents or some elderly relative goes to the bride's place, stays there for one or two days and returns with the bride. The bride's parents give some brassieres as gifts for the close female kins of the bridegroom and some ornaments and clothes for their daughter. No worship or ritual is performed at the time of muklawa. Generally, the day of Akhateej, Turra pancham or Jopancham is preferred for the muklawa ceremony. A small feast is given in honour of the bridegroom's party. In case of an adult pair, this ceremony is performed along with the marriage.

Divorce and Remarriage

Divorce among the Gaduliya Lohars is easy. A wife who wants to leave her husband and wishes for another can, if her husband consents to it, leave him and marry some one else. In that case, her price has to be paid to the former husband. A young wife, dejected by her husband's poverty, cruel behaviour or lack of sexual potency or due to her secret love for some one else, either runs away to her
father's house, or whenever she goes there she tells her parents of her wish of not returning to her husband. In the latter case, the parents usually advise her not to do so. If she does not agree, they have to yield before her. They may try to seek another husband for her or some one may of his own accord propose to marry her. In either case, he must pay heavy bride-price to her father. Then her father calls her former husband to his band. The caste panchayat holds its session in which the woman's father pays him a major portion of the bride-price received by him from the proposer. Having received a fairly high price for his wife, the husband agrees to free the woman from the bands of his wifehood. Till he does not agree, the woman cannot marry another man.

If a husband finds his wife immoral, lazy or barren, he can divorce her. In these cases, he invites the panchayat. He tears a piece of his turban and gives it, along with Rs. 5/- or so, to his wife before all the panchas. It means that he has, herewith, made her his sister instead of his wife. A woman divorced in this manner cannot be sexually contacted by him anymore, nor can he demand any compensation from anybody if she marries another person. The husband has to offer wine and some opium to the panchas at this time, and thus the divorce expenditure comes to about Rs. 10/- or Rs. 15/-. After the divorce, the woman is free to go wherever she likes. But conventionally she returns to her parents. If she has young children, she takes them with her; but if they are grown up children, they are retained by the husband. The husband does not pay for any expenditure on the children taken away by the divorced woman. Since divorce disrupts the household viability and peace and it lowers the prestige of the partners in the community, it is resorted to very sparingly and only in very extreme cases.

*Levirate and sororate:* Theoretically, levirate and sororate are recognised by the Gaduliyaha Lohars, but in actual practice these do not work satisfactorily due to two factors; firstly, the widespread practice of betrothal and marriage in childhood, and secondly, the universal pattern of monogamous family in the group. A man cannot take his elder brother's
widow as his wife, as either he has already a living wife, or he has at least been betrothed to some girl since his childhood and now it is difficult to break the betrothal after so many years. If he is neither betrothed nor married hitherto and he can be a suitable match to the widow in age (a few years in plus or minus do not matter at all) and the parents of the widow are also agreed to it, then, of course, the levirate can take place. The same thing is true for the sororate. The Gaduliya Lohars do not have the system of giving another daughter as wife to their son-in-law as compensation for his late wife who was their elder daughter. The widowed son-in-law has to do nata (remarriage) with some other woman. But if there is a widowed or an unbetrothed and grown up sister-in-law, then she may be married to the widower. If there is no such sister-in-law but there is a young widow of the late wife’s brother, then the latter may be married to the widower. In either case, the son-in-law has to pay the bride-price afresh. Such cases are usually rare, but they do account for the prevalence of the joking relations between a man and elder brother’s wife, wife’s younger sister and wife’s brother’s wife.

No ritual or ceremony is performed in the remarriage of a woman which is called nata. The man desirous of marrying her comes with the pre-settled amount of bride-price and a new pair of clothes for her on some Saturday. Her parents give a small feast of choorma (baked flour, sugar and ghee) to him and some friends and the panch in the band. The couple departs in the evening. At some distance from the band, a widow ties their knots and from that moment they become husband and wife. Then, they go to a lonely place and enjoy their marriage in the night time there. Next day on approaching her husband’s gaduliya, she has to arrive from the rear. In case of the sedentarized ones, a woman brought after nata has to enter the house for the first time from the back door or by scaling the backwall by a ladder. Her first act after arrival is to turn the flour grinding stone in a reverse direction. Probably, it is done with the belief that the nata is, after-all, inferior, lower, or reverse to the first marriage.

The Gaduliya Lohars are not very particular about the
suitability of the man with whom they wish to remarry their daughter. They are often led away by the lure of a handsome bride-price to be received from a widower. The writer knows about a case in which an old man of sixty married a young widow of eighteen to satisfy his lust, although he had three sons and two daughters—all above the age of thirty years. No doubt, this was an exceptional case, but one usually finds a difference of many years in the ages of many couples who have been united according to the *nata* type of marriage.
Old Age and Death

The Gaduliya Lohars pass their old age doing their professional activities up to their last. Since elder sons and daughters depart from their parental household after their marriage, the old parents usually depend upon their youngest son. The lot of an old parent having no son or no helpful son is generally miserable. The old persons also have to work hard like young persons. It has been observed that they do more of bullock-trading activities than the blacksmithy work. Young people often seek their advice in the bullock-trading activities. Old persons are treated by the youngers with a fair degree of respect and affection.

Several old persons have allowed the writer to peep into their hearts. Most of them are keeping poor health. Some have still unmarried or widowed children. Some receive no help from their sons, and most of them find it difficult to meet their both ends. A few of them are worried about the selfish ways of their caste people now-a-days, as Ganeshji of Ajmer has put in these words:

Even our own people do not help one another. Formerly, it was very easy to get a loan of Rs. 100 or Rs. 200 as people were satwadi (truth-loving). But now even if a person is dying of hunger or he is not in a position to marry his child due to shortage of money, no body will extend a helping hand.

As the old age advances, many Gaduliya Lohars become religious-minded persons. There are some exceptional cases
also in which old men left their blacksmithy trade and became hermits. The old men act as transmitters of the cultural heritage of the group to the younger ones. They are the storehouses of experience and wisdom. Often they preach morality and etiquette. Several useful proverbs are often repeated by them. In them are crystallized their experience of life.

Every old Gaduliya Lohar householder repeatedly tells the young members of the family to go on the right path of life, not to pick up any quarrel with anyone unnecessary, and not to be untrue to their customers and relatives. “If you do these foolish and undesirable acts, people will spit on you, and thus you shall spoil the fair name of our lineage and clan.”

Death

The Gaduliya Lohars have almost the same sort of death rites as are practised by the upper castes. They believe that ‘Yama’, the God of Death, comes to take away the life of a person. Although no human being can see Him, yet the bullocks notice Him. They become restless. The dying person takes long breaths. The pulse gets faster and faster till at last it fails and the person’s face turns on one side like ‘a fruit plucked off a tree.’ All the members of the household and the close relatives and other women of the band begin to weep. If a man has died, his widow beats her breast with her fists and cries very loudly. She may even strike her head against a wall or ground. She and her sons bow down at the feet of the corpse with their folded hands in order to salute it.

The dead body is placed on the ground just near the cart. It is washed with warm water and a yard long new white cloth is wrapped round its waist and head. If the dead body is of a woman, a new female dress is put on it. Some men prepare arthi (bier) by tying some bamboo chips with moonj (cord) across two bamboos placed parallel to each other. Many men and children are sent to the nearby market to purchase coconuts, curd, betel leaves, garland of flowers, incense etc., for offering them in the death rites. When the bier is ready, some broom straws are put on the bier and on them the body is laid. It is believed that the broom straws possess the
power to ward off evil spirits from the body placed on them. On the corpse are placed coconuts, kaleza thread, four betel leaves and samagri (scented condiments).

Four balls of barley or wheat flour called pind, each containing a small coin of 5 paise or of 2 paisa, are placed on the four ends of the bier and one on the chest of the corpse. The belief underlying this custom is that the soul requires food during its journey to the next world. Garlands of flowers are also put on the corpse. Red gulaal powder is sprinkled over the corpse. Then a very pathetic ceremony takes place. It is called phera utarana. The widow is asked to move seven times round the dead body of her husband in the reverse direction, that is, from the left to the right. When she was married to him, she had taken seven nuptial circumambulations with him round the sacred fire from the right to the left. They were symbolic of their mutual promise to remain united for ever. But now when the husband is departing for the next world after breaking his relations with this mortal world, it is customarily obligatory for the widow to free his soul from her attachment by nullifying the seven rounds. This is a very tense moment in her emotional life, as the whole reel of the memories of her married life with the departed one runs in her mind in a moment. Her feet falter to take these rounds, so she is forcibly dragged or lifted up and taken round the corpse seven times by the younger brothers or other relatives of her husband. She is then asked to break her arm’s chuda (tusk bangles) which are the chief symbol of her married life. Thus she enters the stage of her widowhood. Although the custom of breaking the glass or ivory bangles is popular among all the Hindus, the custom of ‘returning the seven rounds’ is not practised in most of the Hindus and is perhaps something unique in the Gaduliya Lohars. It may be explained in terms of the popular practice of remarrying the widow in their society. A husband does not do so when his wife dies.

Four men lift up the bier and the funeral procession starts. The widow tries to run after the bier to the cremation ground, but her relatives check her from doing this as the women are not allowed to join the funeral procession. The people carry
Sociogram 3
Pattern of inter-community relations at the death of a Gaduliya Lohar
OLD AGE AND DEATH

the bier with the legs of the corpse towards the front side and the head in the rear. The Telis (oilmen), Malis (gardners), Khatis (carpenters) etc., of the village may also join the funeral procession as the Gaduliya Lohars consider them their equal. A person, usually the brother or the son of the departed one, carries an earthen pot having a burning cowdung in it. Another person carries a gunny-bag containing the coconuts brought by persons for offering at the funeral pyre. A close agnate of the deceased throws some handfuls of coins over the bier. The coins are picked up by sweepers and village children. This is done to express joy over the death of an old person. But in case of the death of a young child or young person, this is not done.

In the middle of the journey to the cremation ground, the bier is put down for some minutes on the ground near the route. This is in accordance with the traditional Hindu belief that the soul must feel the need of halting for a brief rest during its journey to the other world. The flour balls are taken out from the bier with the belief that they have already been eaten up in essence by the soul. The coins, placed in them earlier, are taken out. The pind and the coins are left on the ground and the procession starts again. The people raise the slogan "Ram nam sat hai, sat bolya gat hai" ("The name of the God Ram is true; whosoever utters it attains salvation") continuously throughout the journey. The sons and other close relatives of the deceased go sobbing, but many others simply smoke or talk with one another and their conversation usually centres around the virtues and deeds of the deceased.

The Gaduliya Lohars cremate their dead bodies at the village crematory. On reaching there, the bier is placed on the ground. All pay respect to it with folded hands, and some relatives even prostrate before it. Seven or eight maunds of wood fuel are purchased by the son or the members of the family of the deceased. A funeral pyre is prepared by placing the logs of wood one over the other. Some people uncover the corpse and remove the ornaments, garlands and coconuts. Then they all take a round of the funeral pyre. The corpse is placed on the pyre with its head in the northern and feet in
the southern direction. All stand seriously around it for a moment. One of the elderly relatives of the dead person addresses the latter by its worldly name, saying in this manner, "O Jeewana, you go straight to Chittorgarh and rest there; do not return in the form of any ghost to trouble us." The coconuts and logs of wood are placed over the corpse. The youngest son of the deceased lights the pyre by putting burning grass on all its sides. Then he prostrates before the pyre and begins to weep loudly. Other people soothe him by saying "Duniya ani jani che, himmat rakh." ("The world is nothing but coming and going, keep heart.")

After this, the traditional Hindu ceremony of kapal kriya is performed by the son or in his absence by the nephew, the nati (daughter's son) or the pota (grand son) of the deceased. It is observed that the nati or pota is preferred to a son for performing this ceremony, since it signifies that the deceased has been a very fortunate person having a very well flourished family. It is done by striking the head of the corpse with a bamboo and by pouring some fat on it. When the dead body of Ganeshji's mother was being cremated near the Dayanand Ashram at Ajmer, although Ganeshji and his brother were present there, yet her nati (daughter's son) Choga tied a small tin full of 'Dalda' vegetable oil to one end of a bamboo. He thrust this bamboo end in the funeral pyre and upturned the tin over the head and then hit it with the bamboo in order to break the skull. Incidentally, the funeral pyre of an old Gaduliya Lohar man, Devaji was also burning nearby at that time. Devaji's son poured deshi ghee (pure clarified butter) over the skull of his father as he could afford it.

After the kapal kriya ceremony each of the persons present there put one or more wooden sticks on the pyre. They begin to return to their places after the pyre is half-burnt. They leave the clothes and the bamboos of the bier there at the crematory. These things are taken away by the sweepers later on. These persons reach some tank or well nearby and take their bath before returning to their encampment. Some cow urine is sprinkled over them after bath. It is called suraj chanta. It is considered to be very sacred since the cow urine is an
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object of veneration among the Hindus.

On returning to the encampment of the band, the son of the deceased places a sum of Rs. 60 or so before the *panchas* of the band who decide as to how it should be spent on the death rites. The writer observed the son of Devaji of Ajmer placing Rs. 60 before the *panchas* and telling them "Panchen re jache jiyan kharcho" ("As you *panchas* like, spend this amount"). The four old *panchas* talked lowly amongst themselves. After some time, they came to a decision. They said to Deva's son, "Spend Rs. 12 at the sacred Pushkar lake where you will immerse the burnt bones and ashes of your father tomorrow. Spend Rs. 18 on feeding *laddu-jalebi* to the *behen-beti* (sisters and daughters) of your family and to the hermits. Spend Rs. 5 for providing wine to the *panchas* and the guests, and keep the remaining amount with you. We do not want to keep anything for the *panchayat* as you are very poor."

After this, some wine is brought and offered to the *panchas* and other elders. Others are provided with some tobacco and opium. One or two leaves of the *neem* tree are given to each of the persons, as they are believed to be a prophylactic against possible infection from disease and pollution. Then the son or some other male member of the family requests all the persons to stay on till the food is cooked for them at his place. But all refuse it out of etiquette. Since by custom no cooking can then be done in the household of the bereaved family, this offer of meal is merely an expression of formal hospitality which all people know. After this, one of the families in the band prepares food for the members of the bereaved family.

Some food is sent to the cremation ground and placed there for the use of the spirit of the departed. If a child has died, milk is sent there for seven days. The relatives of the deceased mourn for two days, and on the third day they collect the bones and ashes from the cremation ground. If there is a lake or holy river nearby, they immerse them there. Many of them take it to the river Ganga. There two or three Brahmmins are fed and given some *dakshina* (cash gifts). If a person is very poor, he simply buries the ashes and bones in a
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deep pit in the ground. On his return from the holy river or lake after the immersion of the last remains, the youngest son or some other close relative of the family has to give a feast to the sisters and daughters of the family. If he is rich and an old person has died, he is expected to give a rich feast to all the members of his band as well as to his friends and relatives of the other bands in the area.

On the third day also, a funeral feast called mausar is usually given in which lapsi is served to all. Anything left over from the feast is thrown to the dogs. Some old people give this feast before their death. The custom forbids persons who have done this from attending the funeral feast of others. However, they can accept a portion of the food and eat it in private. When a young man dies, rice and pulse are served to children only. If no funeral feast has been given earlier, the Shradh ceremony is observed on the fifteenth day of the dark half of the month. Brahmins and cows are fed on this occasion.

Mourning continues for twelve days. During this period, the bereaved persons do not dance or sing. They do not get themselves shaved also. The men put on white turban on their heads to express their grief. On the twelfth day, a barber is called to shave the heads and beards of all those who attended the cremation. A Brahmin is invited. The relatives of the deceased serve lapsi and wine to the caste brethren on the thirteenth day. All people drink from the same cup. The sisters and daughters of the family are fed and each of them is given a new pair of dress and a cash gift of Rs. 2 or Rs. 4 and then they depart on the same day. Corn worth Re. 1 or more is thrown to pigeons as it is considered to be punya (religious act). It is believed that this will give solace to the soul of the departed. After that, the ratjaga (night-awakening) is observed. Some jogi (saint) is sent for and religious songs are sung throughout the night. The rituals on the thirteenth day are collectively known as sog oothana (finishing up the mourning). Henceforth the household resumes its usual occupational activities.

The Gaduliya Lohar household has to seek the services of
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some non-Gadulia Lohar professionals at the event of a death in it. The Nai, Teli, Khati, Dhobi, Kumbhar and Baniya receive remuneration of their services or prices of the articles supplied by them in cash. The Brahmin gets a pair of new clothes, cooked food or, better still, petia (uncooked foodstuff) and some cash remuneration (usually Rs. 1.25) for assisting in the death rites.

The description of the death rituals of the Gaduliya Lohars remains incomplete without a reference to the custom of biman nikalana, as practised by the upper caste Hindus. When a very old and reputed person belonging to a rich family dies, his death is not mourned, rather it is an occasion of great happiness. A funeral procession is taken out with much pomp and show. His corpse is made to sit on a chair-like bier which is prepared with bamboo chips and cord. Jagedar of Alwar gave the following description of the funeral procession and the feast at the death of his maternal uncle Baldeoji who had died about eight years back:

My maternal uncle Baldeoji was sixty five years of age when he died at Hatia village. Since he belonged to a rich family, his son and other relatives immediately decided to take out his corpse in a biman. A biman was prepared. Three tolas of gold wire was wrapped round his body. Four silver tumblers and four silver cups were also put on the bier for the sake of its decoration. The biman was profusely decorated with flower garlands. When the biman was taken out in a procession with baja gaza (band-party), small coins worth Rs. 20 were thrown over the biman to express the happiness of the members of Baldeoji’s family. Three days after the cremation, a grand feast was given in which the members of about two hundred fifty gaduliyas (households) participated. Each family was given one seer of sweets, half seer of sugar and one pao (one fourth of a seer) uncooked rice at the time of its departure from the village. Thus approximately Rs. 2,500 were spent in his karaj (funeral rites).

A man on whose death a biman is taken out is remembered for long. But such cases are rare as most of the Gaduliya
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Lohars cannot afford to bear so much expenditure. The children and those who die of small-pox are not cremated; they are buried. Thus we find that the Gaduliya Lohars also follow almost all the death rituals practised by the upper caste Hindus.
Rehabilitation of the Gaduliya Lohars

The present study of the Gaduliya Lohars of Rajasthan remains incomplete unless we take into account the efforts made by the State to sedentarize them during the last ten years. These efforts have caused a ferment in their life—a review of which will be of much interest.

In order to bring home the logic that since the whole of the Indian nation had already achieved independence their esteemed Chittorgarh Fort also had been freed and as such there was no sense in their still leading the traditional nomadic life full of many discomforts, a colourful and expensive all India Gaduliya Lohar convention was organised on April 6, 1955 by the State. The most illuminating activity of the convention was the ceremony marking the home-coming of the Gaduliya Lohars. A grand procession of about four thousand Gaduliya Lohars and more than fifty thousand people drawn from different states of the country led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the late Prime Minister of the country, moved into the Chittorgarh Fort.¹ The national flag was hoisted by Pandit Nehru. Thus the Gaduliya Lohars redeemed the legendary pledge taken by their fore-fathers and saw the revival of the glory of the Chittorgarh Fort.² While congratulating the Gaduliya Lohars for their home-coming, Pandit Nehru emphasized the need of having one’s own settled home and of maintaining the

¹. The Home-coming of Gadiya Lohars (Pamphlet), Jaipur, Directorate of Public Relations, pp. 7-8.
². Ibid p. 8.
freedom of the motherland by working hard with self-confidence, zeal and enlightened outlook.

In his capacity as the chairman of the reception committee as well as the Founder-President of the newly established, 'All India Gadi Lohar Seva Sangh, Chittorgarh', Manikya Lal Varma, then M.P. from Rajasthan, put forth several suggestions before the late Prime Minister and the audience whereby the nomadic Gaduliya Lohars might be rehabilitated. They included sedentarization of the nomads in small groups by making provisions of free land and loans for housing and agriculture, supply of iron and coal at cheap rates, technical education and facilities for the improvement of their traditional blacksmithy trade etc. Reacting instantly in favour of these suggestions, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru announced that the Government of India would bear the entire expenditure of starting a blacksmithy workshop at Chittorgarh to train the Gaduliya Lohar youths. The Chief Minister of the State promised generous state help for their sedentarization in Rajasthan. Thus a new horizon, that of making entry into the sedentary mode of life, was presented before their eyes.

As soon as the historic convention was over, efforts to fulfil the assurances were enthusiastically made by the Government of Rajasthan, the Central Government and the All India Gadi Lohar Seva Sangh. Several colonies were started within the next two years to sedentarize the Gaduliya Lohars. It was thought that their rehabilitation would be possible only after their sedentarization in the State.

A survey of the Gaduliya Lohar colonies

The task of sedentarizing all the nomadic Gaduliya Lohars was difficult for want of precise information about their socio-economic conditions, cultural traditions and movement routes of different bands and sub-bands. Moreover, the pressure of the commitments made publicly by the Chief Minister in the convention was bearing so heavily that possibly little time was left with the State Government to prepare any well thoughtout.

3. Report of the All India Gadi Lohar Convention, Chittorgarh, All India Gadi Lohar Seva Sangh, pp. 34-38.
plan for their rehabilitation. As such, taking clues from the
general suggestions made by Manikya Lal Varma, the State
Government hurriedly decided to establish several colonies for
the people. The first colony was started at Chittorgarh in
January 1956. Next year their colonies were started at Khan-
pura, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Pali, Nagore, Merta, Pushkar, Kishan-
garh, Beawar and Sojat. Some minor efforts were made in
settling them in some other villages also. A brief description
of the important colonies may now be presented. The
positions described below were till the end of 1964 when
the researcher completed his field study of the colonies.

(I) The Gaduliya Lahar colony, Chittorgarh: This was the
first and the most important colony to be started with the
provisions of several facilities amidst much publicity. Just on
the second day after the convention, the late Prime Minister
sent a cheque for Rs. 50,000 to the Chief Minister of the State
for making provisions for imparting technical training to the
Gaduliya Lohars. The Central Ministry for Industries pre-
pared a comprehensive scheme for starting five blacksmithy
workshops for the Gaduliya Lohars in Rajasthan. It sanctioned
a loan of Rs. 1,38,380 to the State Government on November
4, 1955 for starting the first Gaduliya Lohar colony and black-
smithy-workshop soon. But the difficulty confronting the
State was to attract nomadic Gaduliya Lohars towards the
proposed colony. The task was entrusted to the All India
Gadi Lohar Seva Sangh which had been showing a great deal
of enthusiasm for the sedentarization of the Lohars at Chittor-
garh since the convention was organised there.

As a matter of fact, the Sangh had no trained or experi-
enced social workers. It was only a composition of a few
local Congress party workers headed by Manikya Lal Verma,
a Member of the Indian Parliament. They responded to the
call of the State Government and tried to contact some
Gaduliya Lohars moving in the different districts. It was
winter season and so the Lohars were moving in small sub-
bands on their widely scattered routes. Only a few of them
could be contacted, but they would not instantly agree to
leave their nomadic mode of life without consulting their leaders and brethren. They did not entertain the idea of permanently settling in a colony at Chittorgarh. Most of them simply took it as a good joke. The Sangh workers could succeed in attracting only one Gaduliya Lohar leader Jai Ram Bhagat to come forward with his family to live in the proposed colony.

He was provided with a rented house, agricultural land at a distance of some miles from his house and credit facilities for purchasing bullocks, seeds and agricultural implements. Within a month of his occupying the house, his only daughter and also her daughter died of some brief illness. This tragedy at once let loose a fright in the superstitious minds of the Gaduliya Lohar nomads that whosoever aspired to abandon nomadism and tried to settle down in the Chittorgarh colony would also be ruined like Jai Ram’s family due to the curse of Sati Aie Lacha. Thus the workers of the Sangh received a great setback in the very beginning. They lost hopes of attracting the Rajasthan Gaduliya Lohars towards the proposed colony at Chittorgarh.

Lest their failure should bring a bad name to the Sangh, its workers hurriedly diverted their attention to a few letters from Shankerlal Kanuji Pawar, leader of a small group of semi-nomadic Gaduliya Lohars of Amravati city in Maharashtra State. He was a literate, intelligent and influential man in his group. Along with a team of his friends and relatives, he had come to attend the convention at Chittorgarh. The assurances and generous offers made by the Prime Minister and the Chief Minister of Rajasthan had greatly tempted him. So he expressed a desire in his letters to the Gadi Lohar Seva Sangh to migrate to Chittorgarh with a number of families of his relatives and friends, if the Sangh were ready to sedentarize them. Originally, the State Government had the intention of sedentarizing only the Rajasthan Gaduliya Lohars. But when none of them appeared to be ready to come forward to live in the proposed colony at Chittorgarh, the Sangh invited Shanker Lal Kanuji Pawar for talks. Finding the prospects
Gathering at the Chittorgarh Fort on the occasion of 'All India Gadi Lohar Convention' on April 6, 1955.
A scene of the procession of the Gaduliya Lohars at the convention held at Chittorgarh on April 6, 1955.
of a very comfortable and enjoyable life at Chittorgarh and possibly motivated also by the requests of the members of the Sangh, he and his friends agreed to migrate there with their families. The Sangh, later on, assured them to provide also their railway fare and boarding expenses for the journey. On July 22, 1956, their thirty-one families reached Chittorgarh. They were housed in a rented building for some time.

**Cooperative Society**: First of all, a cooperative society of twenty-six householders was formed at the initiative of the Sangh. The State Government immediately sanctioned a loan of Rs. 10,000 to it for purchasing tools and machinery for the proposed blacksmithy workshop. An assurance of a further loan of Rs. 14,000 for purchasing raw materials for the workshop was also made at that time. Shanker Lal Kanuji Pawar, the President of the cooperative society, was sent to Bombay to purchase tools and machines. According to one informant, he purchased poor quality of tools and machines at high rates and made some illegal gains. It is said that the second loan, as promised earlier, could not be made available to the cooperative society from the government. The authorities of the Sangh also could not help in it. The machinery lay unused on a plot of land, rusting and spoiling in rain and sun, till at last on the advice of a senior officer of the Central Ministry of Industries the District Collector ordered for its transfer to the blacksmithy workshop. And with this, the cooperative society finally came under liquidation.

**Houses**: Each family was given a free plot of land measuring 40' x 40' in size for building a house in the site of the colony which was situated at a distance of three miles from the city. Out of a sum of Rs. 19,000 sanctioned by the State as housing subsidy, an amount of 15,350 was disbursed till 1960 as detailed below:
### Table 19

**HOUSING SUBSIDY GIVEN IN THE CHITTORGARH COLONY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount sanctioned.</th>
<th>No. of families.</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Total Amount.</th>
<th>Grand total of the amount disbursed.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956-57</td>
<td>Rs. 10,850</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Rs. 350 each.</td>
<td>Rs. 8,430</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rs. 250 each.</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rs. 100 each.</td>
<td>Rs. 400</td>
<td>Rs. 9,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-58</td>
<td>Rs. 3,150</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rs. 350 each.</td>
<td>Rs. 1,050</td>
<td>Rs. 1,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-59</td>
<td>Rs. 5,000</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Rs. 200 each.</td>
<td>Rs. 4,200</td>
<td>Rs. 4,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rs. 100 each.</td>
<td>Rs. 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Balance of 1958-59)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rs. 200 each.</td>
<td>Rs. 600</td>
<td>Rs. 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rs. 19,000</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Rs. 15,350</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The State Government allotted these funds to the Sangh for disbursement to the families concerned. According to some informants, the Sangh, going against its earlier assurance to those migrating there deducted Rs. 4,000 from this amount on account of the railway fare and boarding expenses paid by it to the families for their journey from Amravti to Chittorgarh. This marked the beginning of discontentment in the families. No provision for blacksmithy workshop could be made in the colony and the families remained idle for a long time. Whatsoever housing subsidy they received was spent by them in their domestic expenditure. After some time, a loan of Rs. 900 was granted to each of the families for constructing *pukka* houses. Only fifteen families could get their houses fully constructed by also spending whatever savings they had till then. Seventeen houses remained incomplete for want of sufficient funds.

*Agricultural facilities*: Waste agricultural land was allotted to twenty families in Gilund, Dagla-ka-Bas, Sainti and Eraal villages of the Chittorgarh District. Seven families were allot-
ted fifteen bighas of land each, while the rest of them got only five bighas each. Agricultural loans were provided to seven families as detailed below:

1956-57: A loan of Rs. 4,000 was sanctioned to four families. None of them utilised it for that very purpose and none repaid any of its instalments.

1957-58: A loan of Rs. 4,000 was sanctioned to two householders—Govind Singh and Raja Ram for constructing wells in their fields. The loan amount was spent for that very purpose and the due instalments of its repayment were also made by them.

1959-60: A loan of Rs. 6,000 was sanctioned to each of the two persons named above to purchase a pair of bullocks. None of them purchased the bullocks. The amount was spent by them in their domestic expenditure. Then they demanded a loan of Rs. 600 each for gardening. It was also sanctioned by the State, but no gardening was done and the amount was misused by them.

Only six families actually made some efforts to improve their land and do farming. Out of them, only two householders, Govind Singh and Raja Ram, are still carrying on agriculture there. The rest of them abandoned their fields after a short time due to the indifference and bellicose attitude of the surrounding villagers.

* Blacksmithy Workshop: In order to provide work to adults and training to young boys, a blacksmithy training-cum-production workshop was started there on August 6, 1956 in a rented building. On December 2, 1957, it was shifted to a new building constructed for it at a cost of Rs. 45,000. Twenty Gaduliya Lohars were employed as labourers. During 1957-58, thirty-one boys were admitted for receiving training on a stipend of Rs. 30 per month each. Only thirteen boys completed the training (nine on August 8, 1957 and four on November 22, 1957); the rest of them left it due to the scanty amount of the stipend and lack of proper training facilities.

* Till the end of 1964 when the researcher completed his field study.
Each of the nine successful trainees of the first batch were given an individual loan of Rs. 500 by the State for starting an independent blacksmithy workshop at Chittorgarh. The writer was informed by some informants that the President of the Cooperative Society used to deduct Rs. 75 from it as his commission for helping the recipient to get the loan from the government. None of them started any independent workshop and the amount was apparently misused.

The workshop was ill-staffed. Out of the four sanctioned posts of instructors, two were filled up by elderly Gaduliya Lohars and on one post a non-Gaduliya Lohar technician was appointed; the fourth post remained vacant for a long time. The workshop continued to work as a blacksmithy training-cum-production centre till November 1961 when it was reorganized and turned into a production centre to manufacture agricultural implements. The Gaduliya Lohars working as labourers were paid daily wages between Rs. 1.50 and 1.75 for working days only. They could not derive any advantage from the workshop due to the inadequate emoluments given to them and hackneyed blacksmithy training imparted there.

As a result of the growing discontentment, the Gaduliya Lohars began to leave the workshop and also the colony. In September 1960 when the writer visited the colony for the first time, only one Gaduliya Lohar Pandu Ram Tuka Ram was working there, but he too was thinking to return to Amravati within the next few days. Since his departure in November 1960, there has not been even a single Gaduliya Lohar trainee, labourer or instructor in the workshop, although it retained its old name 'Gaduliya Lohar Production Workshop' for long. According to the Workshop Manager, the former Gaduliya Lohar workers were "work-shirkers, drunkards and insincere people. They were always hankering after subsidies and loans. Since their departure, the workshop has been showing a lot of profit." The workshop could not make any profit due to a huge accumulation of finished goods worth Rs. 12,415 by the year 1962. The causes given by the authorities of the workshop for it were—lack of facilities for the sale of agricultural tools in Chittorgarh town, poor advertise-
REHABILITATION OF THE GADULIYA LOHARS

ment, inferior quality of articles prepared by the Gaduliya Lohar labourers, and a strong apathy of the purchasing government departments like P.W.D. and Agriculture department for purchasing the articles manufactured by the workshop.

Boys' hostel and school. The Sangh decided to establish a middle school and a boys' hostel for the Gaduliya Lohars. The Central Government sanctioned a grant of Rs. 1,50,000 and the State Government also gave a grant of Rs. 50,000 to the Sangh for the construction of a huge hostel building. The Sangh had already a balance of Rs. 33,000 from the accounts of the Convention. So a plan of Rs. 2.13 lakhs was prepared for constructing the hostel building. By 1957, twenty four rooms, one central hall, five kitchen-cum-store-rooms and one office room were built at an expenditure of Rs. 1.80 lakhs. The building is still incomplete, it is said.

A middle school recognised by the State Education Department was started under the control of the Sangh. It was primarily meant for the children of the Gaduliya Lohars. The State government has since the beginning been giving a scholarship of Rs. 30 per month for each student, besides a substantial grant, to the Sangh for running the school. Thus the Sangh receives Rs. 1.14 lakhs annually as grants, out of which food, beddings, school dress, articles of daily use, text books, stationery, school fees and travelling expenditure from and to their homes are provided. A report regarding the poor quality of food served to the hostellers has appeared in a local paper.6 Personal interviews with the Gaduliya Lohar hostellers taken by the researcher in September 1960 and again in April 1962 confirmed it to a great extent. In 1962, the staff of the middle school consisted of a non-graduate and untrained scheduled caste young man as Headmaster, four trained matriculates and one middle pass teacher. The staff seemed to be concerned more with the appeasement of the local members of the District Congress Committee who formed the Sangh, than with their work in the school. It was reported to the writer by some parents in Nagore, Merta and Jodhpur that


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they had withdrawn their children from the Gaduliya Lohar School, Chittorgarh because "...the teachers used to beat them very much." During 1960-61, there were only twenty-six students drawn from the different parts of the State.

*Other facilities.* The State Government sanctioned grants for building a panchayat office, well, children's park, boundary wall of the colony and a garden. The panchayat office was built; the well was left incomplete and the rest of the schemes have remained only on paper.

*Failure of the colony.* By 1960, this colony was deserted by nearly all the families except the two families of Raja Ram and Govind Singh which are still continuing there. In wild enthusiasm at the initial stage, the State Government had poured loans after loans to the settlers in the colony for whom no suitable means of earning livelihood could be provided. But when the settlers failed to deposit any instalment of the repayment of loans by the due dates, the State Government issued legal decrees against them. The houses of some families were attached to them in order to realise the State dues. Frightened by it, Shankar Lal Kunuji Pawar who had built the biggest house in the colony by taking all sorts of loans and subsidies and by amassing a lot of wealth by his reportedly corrupt practices first of all secretly sold his house to an official of the local Tehsil and ran away to the Amravati side. Following his example, other families also secretly sold away or mortgaged their houses one after the other to local people and escaped from the colony bag and baggage by midnight trains within a few weeks. When the researcher visited the colony in 1960, it presented a pathetic scene of deserted human inhabitation. Only three families were living them, but the family of Pandu Ram Tuka Ram also left the colony after some weeks.

The two families of Raja Ram and Govind Singh had not left the colony till June 1965 when the writer was in touch with them. They had chosen to continue living in the colony "...bearing all sorts of maltreatment by municipal workers, administrative officers and the neighbouring farmers." In April 1962, Govind Singh told the writer, "I may be harassed
REHABILITATION OF THE GADULIYA LOHARS

in any manner by these cruel people around me, but I will not leave the colony.” He further said:

The State Government have given me agricultural land and loans worth Rs. 15,000 or so. My children are studying in the Gaduliya Lohar school here. If I remain firmly attached to this colony till the last moment of my life, my children may become capable of earning their livelihood some day. And then you know, their maternal uncle Raja Ram is all alone. He lives with us. He has also received land and loans worth Rs. 15,000. After his death, my sons will inherit his property also. But what shall they get and do if I also abandon this colony like my other brethren from Amraoti?

The problem of the repayment of State loans is very difficult no doubt and I have been struggling hard for the last five or six years to persuade the government to waive them in view of my poverty. Nobody hears me now, and everywhere the leaders and officers detest me. But I do hope that some day some one may help me to tide over this difficulty. “Ek din to ghure ke bhi bhag badalate hain.” (Even the fate of a heap of rubbish undergoes a change one day.)

(2) The Gaduliya Lohar Colony, Khanpura (Ajmer)

This colony is situated at a distance of four miles from Ajmer on Beawar road. The State Government established this colony in 1956 by offering free housing plot and a housing loan of Rs. 750 to each of the thirty-eight Gaduliya Lohar families of the Ajmer district who could be persuaded to settle there.

Since it was not possible to build a pukka house with this small loan amount, each family spent all its savings and sold away or mortgaged its ornaments to collect money for the purpose. Thirty families got their houses constructed at an average expenditure of Rs. 4,000. The houses of eight families, who could not arrange to gather sufficient funds, remained incomplete for ever. Agricultural land has not been provided to any family. There is no sweet water well in the colony.
There is an electric light pole at a distance of about 200 yards from the colony but no electric power connection has been provided to the blacksmithy workshop and the houses. An approach road from the main road to the colony has so far not been built. It was brought to the notice of the researcher that the Block Development Office, Shrinagar (Ajmer), had agreed to pay Rs. 1,300/- as expenditure for the construction of a sweet water well in the colony but actually an amount of Rs. 900 only was sanctioned, and and hence the well has remained incomplete so far.

The main dumping ground of the Ajmer city situated just in front of the colony is a very great menace to it. It causes almost unbearable odour and continuous flow of mosquitoes, flies and germs. It was pathetically informed by the inhabitants of the colony that they had been repeatedly requesting the District Collector, Chairman of the Municipal Board, ministers, political leaders and even the late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to issue orders to the municipality to stop the harmful practice of throwing filth before their colony, but in vain.

Blacksmithy Workshop: In March 1959, the government started a Blacksmithy production-cum-training workshop in the colony by appointing one manager, three instructors, one foreman, three clerks and some peons. Fifty Gaduliya Lohars of the colony were employed as workers on the following rates of wages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Helper</td>
<td>Rs. 2.00 per day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammer-striker</td>
<td>Rs. 2.50 per day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mistry (Artisan)</td>
<td>Rs. 4.00 per day.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

None of them was paid for any holiday or rest day.

A sum of Rs. 30,000 was sanctioned by the State for purchasing iron and coal. The inhabitants informed the writer that the officers conspired together and secretly purchased maunds of waste and old iron from the shop of a junk dealer in Ajmer at high prices and thus they made illegal gains for themselves. In the same manner, a grant of Rs. 7,000 for purchasing machinery and tools for the workshop was reportedly
misused. A Gaduliya Lohar cooperative society was formed. It is said that its members also misused their powers and in collaboration with the manager of the workshop, they sold away in black market all the quotas of coal and iron made available to them by the State during the previous years.

The workshop continued to run for eighteen months and during this period small agricultural tools like shovel, pick-axe, adze, axe, sickle, scraper, plough shear etc., were got prepared by the workers. The author was given to understand by the inhabitants of the colony that they wanted to learn new techniques of the trade so that they might be efficient and the workshop might also run in profit, but the manager used to say, "This is a government workshop and I am its incharge. You have absolutely no business to advise or ask me about its loss or gain. You merely remain contented with your daily wages and work as I ask you to do." Within six months, heaps of iron articles accumulated in the store room of the workshop because they could not be sent to the market regularly. When at last they were sent to market for sale, the customers began to suspect that the root cause of these tools remaining unsold for several months might be their poor quality. They offered very low prices for them. Since the cost of production was much higher than these, there was a great financial loss to the workshop.

The workshop had constantly been going in loss due to the lack of sale of its products for a long time. It was, therefore, closed by the government on the last day of February 1962 and the same position continues even today. When the writer visited the colony in May 1962 and again in October 1964, pathetic unemployment prevailed there. The lot of five families, headed by old widows, was extremely miserable as they were actually living on the semi-starvation level. Being old and poor, they could not afford to go on foot to Ajmer city four miles away and return in the evening, nor could they afford to pay Rs. 1 horse-carriage charges for both ways. When the writer visited the colony for the second time in October 1964, only three families were living there simply to look after their own houses and some families were found to be
camping on roadside outside Ajmer city.

The closure of the workshop made them quite desolate and very unhappy. Everybody seemed to be fed up with the colony itself. Sixty years old widow Anchi complained to the writer thus:

Coal and iron permits have been made available to us only a few times during previous years and that too with many difficulties at Ajmer. We have no work here in the colony. The municipality levies octroi on our iron products which we carry to Ajmer city for sale. We are tied down with these houses—hungry and thirsty, tattered and torn. Should we eat stones of these houses to fill our bellies?

Aidan said:

Either the government should provide us rofkar (work) here or it should waive the repayment of the housing loans granted to us by it. These houses have become jails for us now. We can neither live in them nor can we leave them after wasting all our savings in cash and ornaments in building them. We don’t know what to do. We have lost our abru (prestige) now by becoming debtors to the government.

Rukma, a feeble old widow, requested the writer thus:

Please ask the government to purchase our houses and return the money invested by us so that we may get liberty from this slavery. If it doesn’t do so, we should be granted more loans. Why should it feel any hitch in giving us more loans when it pours loans after loans to businessmen? Are we dishonest people? We shall repay every anna of it when we are able to do so.

Dhanni, another widow, sobbingly said to the writer:

We do not get coal here. Without coal, we can do only cold blacksmithy work which brings poor returns to us. And then who comes to purchase our products or to get his articles repaired by us in this distant colony?

The officials of the Social Welfare Department and the social workers associated with the colony unanimously attributed the
failure of the workshop to the "lazy and mischievous" Gaduliya Lohar workers. One of the officers opined thus:

The Gaduliya Lohar workers of the workshop used to do their private blacksmithy work in their houses wholeheartedly from 4 a.m. to 8 a.m. and they would sell their products in Ajmer city in evening time at the rates cheaper than the prevailing market rates. But when they came to attend their duty in the workshop at 8 a.m., they used to be already quite tired. They would work slowly and with less zeal and labour, for they had nothing to lose. They were assured of their fixed daily wages whatsoever was their daily output. ... The government has crippled the former energies of these people by giving them subsidies and loans like dharmada (charity).

Thus it is clear that this colony has also completely failed to accomplish any satisfactory welfare of its inhabitants.

(3) The Gaduliya Lohar Colony, Jodhpur

A Gaduliya Lohar Colony was established just outside Jodhpur city with a target to sedentarize thirty-six families in March 1956. A small plot of land, a subsidy of Rs. 300 and a housing loan of Rs. 700 were sanctioned to each of the thirty-six families which could be persuaded by some local social workers to settle down in the colony.

Instead of providing these funds to the families directly, the State Social Welfare Department handed them over to the local unit of a voluntary organization, Bharat Sevak Samaj, for constructing houses for the Gaduliya Lohars, but the work was delayed. Some inhabitants said, "The organizers of the Bharat Sevak Samaj were making designs to devour a substantial portion of these funds themselves." No housing cooperative society could be formed due to "the lack of any good leadership among the Gaduliya Lohars, all of whom were given to excessive drinking, quarrelling, laziness and selfishness." 7

7. Personal interview with A.P. Sharma, Congress Member of the Legislative Assembly, Rajasthan.
The construction work of the colony was started with a great difficulty. Only seven two-room tenements were completed while twenty nine houses have remained incomplete. The Gaduliya Lohars moved into these houses. When the question of the repayment of housing loan came before them they found themselves in a fix, for they had nothing to give. They mortgaged (some even sold) their houses to non-Gaduliya Lohars, and thus this colony also met failure. Commenting on its failure, A.P. Sharma, who had taken much initiative in the establishment of the colony, informed the writer that "all this was the fruit of their own sins." However, the fact that besides the houses no provision of technical training, industrial help, education or health facilities etc., could be made in this colony, should not be lost sight of.

(4) The Gaduliya Lohar Colony, Bikaner

The Gaduliya Lohar colony at Bikaner is known as Pratap Basti. It was started in March 1956 with a target of settling 76 Gaduliya Lohar families by providing a free housing plot, subsidy of Rs. 300 and housing loan of Rs. 2,000 to each of them. According to an official publication, only 32 families out of those who had been moving in the area for several decades could be persuaded to settle there and all the promised facilities were provided. A plan of two-room houses was approved. Since it was an expensive plan, all the houses could not be completed. However, the houses which were completed are quite good. A water tap has been provided in the colony.

Those who had their own earlier cash savings spent them in completing the houses, but the rest could not do so. They went on clamouring for more loans and subsidies which were not forthcoming. No technical training, educational facilities etc., could be provided in the colony. The problem of repaying the loans was distressing these inhabitants also.

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REHABILITATION OF THE GADULIYA LOHARS

(5) The Gaduliya Lohar Colony, Pali

Twelve Gaduliya families which had been camping outside Surya Pole in Pali for many years were offered agricultural land and agricultural subsidy by the State in 1957-58. They could not derive any benefit from them as they had no agricultural traditions. The Municipal Board offered housing plots to them outside the town, but they insisted on procuring the same land on which they had been camping for several years. As a result of this strife, they could not be able to get facilities of housing, technical training, industrial loan, education etc.

(6) The Gaduliya Lohar Colony, Sojat

This colony was started with much enthusiasm in October 1956 with the target of settling 104 families. The Government granted a housing subsidy of Rs. 350 to each family. It is said that the then Sub-Divisional Officer decided to get their houses built by a corrupt contractor who quoted the lowest tender. Accordingly, the houses were built in such a bad manner and with such poor material that about two-thirds of them collapsed during the very first rainy season. It caused a great trauma to the poor and superstitious inhabitants. Most of Gaduliya Lohars left the colony for good. Additional grants have been made to repair the houses and now some families have come back.

The project of constructing and drinking water-well has remained incomplete for years, as only half the sanctioned grants were reportedly made available due to the official redtapism. A cooperative society was formed, but it too came under liquidation reportedly due to mutual discord of the members and unsympathetic attitude of the concerned officials. A blacksmithy training-cum-production workshop has been started but only a few people are deriving any benefit out of it. Now several families have already abandoned the colony, and the lot of the remaining one is also not satisfactory.

(7) The Gaduliya Lohar Colony, Nagore

This colony was started in March 1956 with the target of
settling 40 families by providing a free housing plot, subsidy of Rs. 300 and housing loan of Rs. 1,000 to each of them. Only 31 families were given the housing loan of Rs. 1,000 each, one family could get Rs. 500 only, eight families received Rs. 300 each, while three families could get nothing due to "babu logan ri badmasi" (mischief of the office clerks). While thirty one satisfactory houses have been built, the houses of those families which received less amount of loan have remained incomplete.

A cooperative society was formed by collecting Rs. 10 as share-money from each householder and Rs. 50 paid by the State as share capital for each of them. All this amount was spent in purchasing coal and iron by their leader, Arjun Lal Gaduliya Lohar. A lot of scandalous talk was heard about the transaction. No permits for cheap coal and iron could be made available to the inhabitants. The cooperative society came to an end after three years of ineffectiveness. When the writer visited the colony in June 1962, only fourteen families were residing there; the rest had already moved out for making their both ends meet.

The inhabitants said that they could not get land for agriculture despite their several representations to the government. An inhabitant of the colony said to the writer "The clerks, patwari and tehsildar allot land to other castes by taking bribes from them; who gives it to poor people like us?" There is no satisfactory market for the sale of their products in this small town which is situated in the north-western desert region of the State. Hence, the economic condition of all the families is very poor. By June 1962, only six out of 42 families could repay two instalments, eight families could repay one instalment while the rest paid none. The government has since then been taking legal recourse to realise its dues from the inhabitants. Hence a great frustration has prevailed in the colony. Apart from these difficulties, it is said that the upper castes like Puskarna Brahmins, Baniyas and Jats of the area do not allow the Gaduliya Lohars to draw water from public wells when the well in their colony dries up. All these difficulties have disappointed the Gaduliya Lohars considerably, an
REHABILITATION OF THE GADULIYA LOHARS

inkling of which was revealed in an interesting native proverb uttered by an old Gaduliya Lohar woman Rukma when the writer enquired about her difficulties:

आंद्री आंद्री थारे माई आयो
छालति लगेवा जद माई समसूंला,
बोलणो मोर को, बरसनों इन्द्र को।

"O Blind woman, O blind woman, your brother has come."
"When he embraces me only then I'll believe it,
"For a peacock may make a loud noise but it is up to Indra to send rain or not."

It meant that only by asking about difficulties the latter do not end; not words but deeds are needed to solve them.

(8) Gaduliya Lohar Colony, Merta City

This colony was founded on October 11, 1955 when forty families were given physical possession of 50'x50' housing land each, outside the town near Sojati gate. But in 1960, the authorities of the local municipal board sold away about one-sixth portion of the land of each plot to a few Mali caste families by accepting illegal gratification from the latter, the Gaduliya Lohar inhabitants alleged. Their enlightened, selfless and popular leader Puna Ram has been trying hard since 1960 to get that land back by legal methods but in vain. It was evident from the writer's perusal of his bag full of postal receipts and letters that he must have spent much amount in correspondence with the authorities during the last several years. In his last letter of September 20, 1964 to the writer, he wrote that the authorities had not paid any heed to him till then.

For want of housing subsidy and housing loan, only small huts have been built by the inhabitants. They have been allotted agricultural land in neighbouring villages like Sogas, Lie, Phalodi, Dabriyani, Jabli, Mohra, Naxwada, Devla, Neemdi, Dava, Kalra, Satlas, Lanpolai and Jesas etc., all of which are situated within a radius of ten miles from the colony. Besides land, which too is not fertile, no agricultural facilities have been provided to them. Other facilities like blacksmithy training-cum-production workshop, school,
panchayat building etc., have not been provided, although the inhabitants of the colony have been clamouring for them for years.

Due to the enthusiastic efforts of Puna Ram Gaduliya, Lohar leader of Merta, about 125 families were persuaded by the State to settle down in the villages of their choice (as far as it was possible) by providing land and subsidy for house building. The details of these allotments are given in the following table.\(^9\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>No. of families settled</th>
<th>Housing grant given</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kharnal</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaya</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhudal</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheel</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sendhani</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indokall</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Rs. 300 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawagaon</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(8) Rs. 100 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(4) Rs. 300 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tosar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rs. 100 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seksar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rs. 100 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gogulava</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rs. 100 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deediya</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Rs. 100 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basari</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Rs. 100 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinana</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rs. 100 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rs. 100 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaju</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rs. 100 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukhas</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rs. 300 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modi</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Rs. 100 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kantiya</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rs. 100 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pancholisinhani</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rs. 100 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barangaon</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rs. 100 each</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

REHABILITATION OF THE GADULIYA LOHARS

Since their sedentarization in these villages in 1957, the Gaduliya Lohars have been pressing the government for providing them agricultural land and facilities for their blacksmithy trade, but in vain. According to Puna Ram "Their financial condition has worsened after their sedentarization as may be evident from their tattered clothes, lack of sufficient beddings, moth-eaten and broken carts and very scanty household effects. All of them now run after me, but what can I do when officers and leaders do not pay heed to my applications? I will continue my struggle for my brethren till there is life in my body." This struggle continues as there are no hopeful signs from the official quarters so far.

(9) The Gaduliya Lohar Colony, Barmer

In the wake of the rehabilitation of the Gaduliya Lohars in different colonies in the State, efforts were made by some local social workers and district administrative officers to sedentarize a few of them in Barmer town also. A three-member committee was formed under the chairmanship of one Devidutt Tiwari who had been enjoying the confidence of these people for a long time. The committee did its task well and as such a number of families could be settled by providing them free housing plots and housing subsidy as detailed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of house constructed</th>
<th>Total amount of loans given</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1955-56</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Rs. 3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-57</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Rs. 8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-58</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Rs. 2,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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The inhabitants have built small huts by their own efforts. Few facilities of industrial training, provisions of agricultural land, education etc., have been provided to them.

(10) The Gaduliya Lohar Colony, Kishangarh (Ajmer)

During 1957-58, fifteen families were persuaded by some local social workers to settle in this colony. The Social Welfare Department sanctioned a housing loan of Rs. 750 and share-capital of cooperative society worth Rs. 50 to each of these families. Although the cooperative society was formed, yet the amount of the housing loan was not made available directly to the cooperative society or to the individual householders. It was informed by the Gaduliya Lohars of that area that the then Sub-divisional Officer and a social worker (who was actually employed as a part-time teacher in the Social Welfare Department) conspired together to keep the housing loan amount in their own hands. They got very small and kachha tenements prepared and they too remained incomplete. There was a lot of scandle in this affair. Hence the Gaduliya Lohars refused to occupy them. But later on the State built some houses again and some families have occupied them. They have the satisfaction of having their own houses after many years of disappointment, but the colony lacks other facilities.

(11) The Gaduliya Lohar Colony, Pushkar (Ajmer)

In 1957 a small colony was established in Pushkar which is at a distance of four miles from Ajmer city. Eleven houses were constructed by the State. The colony has a boundary wall, water and electricity facilities. But there is no market for the products of these artisans. They have to carry them to Ajmer for their sale. The local municipal board charges octroi duty on their products sold in Ajmer city as well as on the raw material purchased and brought by them from there. This leaves a little margin of profit for them. There are no facilities of industrial training, education, agriculture etc., but due to their satisfactory houses, the inhabitants appear to be contented. A few of them move out on their traditional movement routes during the harvest months.
REHABILITATION OF THE GADULIYA LOHARS

(12) The Gaduliya Lohar colonies in Beawar

Two separate colonies have been established in Beawar city—one near Chiang Gate and the other in Champa Nagar locality. During 1956-57, eighteen houses were built by the State in the first colony. Each of the first eight houses has one small room, one small varendah and one staircase to reach its roof, while the rest have only one room each. No other facilities have been provided. A cooperative society was formed there but it proved ineffective due to mutual quarrels of the inhabitants. There is a good market for their iron products in this city, hence they are financially well off. More and more Gaduliya Lohars are willing to have such housing facilities just on the roadside and near the main market, but the local administrative authorities have not been able to help all of them.

In 1960, the local Municipal Board intended to allot housing plots to twenty-seven families in Champa Nagar locality on roadside by charging Rs. 10 as one fourth of its price from each of them. But land was allotted to eight families only, and very small houses were built by the Municipal Board for them. Housing plots were not made available to the rest of them "due to corrupt officers of the municipal board", informed Girdhari Gaduliya Lohar and his friends. No facilities have been received by the people and the colony has not been of much advantage to them.

(13) The Gaduliya Lohar settlement in Hariyada village

Fifty Gaduliya Lohar families, who had been living in Hariyada village in Bilara Tehsil (Jodhpur division) for several decades in the past, were provided with pukka houses and agricultural land. In 1956-57, each of the first forty-two families received a housing subsidy of Rs. 380 and an agricultural subsidy of Rs. 200 for purchasing bullocks. But due to lack of irrigational facilities, jealousy of neighbouring farmers and their own inefficiency in agriculture, the inhabitants have not been able to derive the optimum benefit from sedentarization.

Besides the above mentioned colonies, some families have
been settled here and there in Ganganagar and Sikar districts but not in the form of colonies there. They too have the same tale of inadequate provisions, official red-tapism and frustration in general.

An Analysis of the efforts of sedentarization

The preceding account of the various Gaduliya Lohar colonies in Rajasthan shows that almost all of them have failed within a few years of their establishment. Their failure has caused wastage of a lot of public money and human energy and frustrated the people concerned. This has given a setback to the enthusiasm of the State to sedentarize other nomadic communities.

Taking a broader view, it may be argued that there is nothing unique in the failure of the Gaduliya Lohar sedentarization experiments. The same has been the fate of many such experiments to sedentarize nomadic communities in several countries during the last three centuries. To mention a few of the most relevant ones, the efforts of the Hungarian Queen Empress Maria Theresa to sedentarize the Gipsies in Banate between 1761 and 1867,11 of Prince Archduke Joseph to sedentarize the Gipsies,12 of the governments of Prussia, France, Argentine, Brazil, Chile, Guetewala, Mexico, Canada, Burma,13 U.S.A.14 and Pakistan15 etc., have almost been failures. In India also, the efforts of the Madras government to sedentarize Nari Kuravans,16 and of the Andhra Pradesh government to sedentarize Yanadies and Chenchus17 have met the same tragic fate.

These failures indicate that there must be some deeper and subtle sociological factors at the root of the problem of sedent-
arizing the nomad. An effort is being made here to understand them by analysing our data on the Gaduliya Lohar sedentari-
ization experiments carried out by the Rajasthan State.

The failure of the different Gaduliya Lohar colonies has been the result of a complex interaction of psychological, mythological, socio-cultural, economic and organisational factors.

*Psychological factors:* Being habitual nomads, the Gaduliya Lohars do not find their nomadic mode of life to be as hazardous as it appears to the outsiders. They have a well-developed and most cherished sense of unfettered freedom as enjoyed by "a wild parrot or a jungle animal." So they do not like any outsider to come and tell them to change their mode of life. They are suspicious and afraid of officers and social workers who approach them with sweet words of sympathy and rosy plans of sedentarization. Nomadism has influenced their mind so completely that most of them do not possess an adequate sense of proportion relating to the dimensions of a residential building. Many of them do not have any idea as to how safe and comfortable it can be. They usually have a fear lurking in their mind that its roof may collapse any time if they happen to live under it.

*Mythological Factors:* According to their folklore, the nomadism of the Gaduliya Lohars originated due to the curse of their ancestress Sati Aie Lacha. It gained further impetus when their forefathers took their vow not to live in settled homes while making their departure from the Chittorgarh Fort. As such, all of them have an almost inborn fear that living permanently in settled homes will challenge the Sati's curse which in turn must bring bad luck to them.\(^{18}\) That way, those

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\(^{18}\) Webb also testifies the point "They take a fanatical pride in blind adherence to 'the oath', and regard modernistic trends as evidence of degeneration—sad to see in other castes, but to be shunned as the devil in their own case. As an example of this, the case may be quoted of a few young Gaduliya Lohars who, tired of a fruitless struggle against impossible odds, decided to accept work in the Loco workshop at Ajmer. By ill chance one of them was caught up in revolving machinery and seriously injured. This was held to be a sign of the wrath of Aie Lacha, the Sati, and the rest of the young men were persuaded to resign at once." *Webb, Op. Cit.*, p. 147.

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who were attracted by the schemes of sedentarization were certainly taking an unusual step. When unfortunately there were accidents like the deaths in the family of the first settler in the Chittorgarh colony and the collapse of houses in the Sojat colony, their lurking fear was all the more confirmed and they experienced a trauma. This made many of the settlers relapse into their former nomadic mode of life, and it effectively distracted others.

*Socio-cultural factors:* The failure of the colonies was mainly due to the involvement of some very important socio-cultural factors like the shattering of the cohesion of the bands, weakening of the internal unity of families as well as the inter-family cohesion, hostility of the village farmers towards the Gaduliya Lohar settlers and their lack of agricultural traditions.

The organisers of the different colonies inadvertently disregarded the fact of the internal cohesion of the Gaduliya Lohar band. Nowhere were all the members of a band provided facilities to settle together in one colony; rather they were settled in different colonies due to shortage of housing and other provisions. Some of the families could not be accommodated in any of the colonies. Thus the social cohesion and harmony of the bands were shattered. It had serious and far-reaching repercussions on the social life of the inhabitants of the colonies. They were confronted with several difficulties in maintaining the desirable degree of moral tempo and social interaction in the colonies. Moreover, the families, which could not be rehabilitated in any of the colonies, were antagonistic to those who were settled in the colonies. So they tried to undermine the prestige of the former in the larger Gaduliya Lohar community.

The provision of agricultural land to the settlers of some colonies like Chittor, Nagore etc., also proved baneful to the internal unity of their respective families. Due to the scarcity of land and its improper distribution in different villages, it so happened in many cases that if a father was allotted land in one village, each of his sons was allotted land in a different village. Thus the unity of the family was threatened. A few
of the families, which were keen to preserve their internal unity intact, declined such an offer. But all others who in the heat of their enthusiasm had accepted the bounty were ultimately estranged from their parents and children. In some cases, the youngest son, expected to be bound by the cultural traditions of the community to look after his aged parents, abandoned them to their own fate. It is interesting to note that the failure of governmental efforts in U.S.A. to sedentarize the Plain Indians during 1887-1933 was also due to the disruption of family in the same way.  

Indiscriminate sedentarization of the Gaduliya Lohars along with their tabooed relations in the same colony (as was the case in the Khanpura and Chittorgarh colonies caused considerable inter-family disharmony, strife and misery to several inhabitants. Such a situation was certainly not conducive to the happy community life in the colony. It could be prevented if a thorough-going study of the culture of the Gaduliya Lohars had been done by the State before establishing their colonies.

By providing agricultural land to one or two Gaduliya Lohars amidst or near the fields of the inhabitants of a village a difficult situation of their non-adjustment with the latter sprang up. In Rajasthan, as in other parts of the country, all Hindu blacksmiths, whether settled ones or the nomadic Gaduliya Lohars, have a considerably lower position in the traditional hierarchy of castes and tribes. Hence the village farmers usually look down upon them. When the Gaduliya Lohars were allotted land in villages, the native farmers grew jealous of them owing to the alienation of land which resulted in the shrinkage of the village pasture. The farmers assumed a bellicose attitude towards them which was so often revealed in mischiefs, like allowing their children and cattle to damage their crops, quarrelling, threatening and even man-handling them. The chances of this sort of maltreatment of the settlers in the colonies at Chittorgarh and Nagore etc., could be considerably lessened if a greater number of Gaduliya Lohar

families had been provided land in the same village near each of their colonies.

None of the organisers of the colonies even thought as to how a Gaduliya Lohar householder could perform three divergent tasks — construction of a house in the colony, carrying on blacksmithy trade in the workshop and doing agriculture on the land allotted to him in a village situated a few miles away from the colony, at one and the same time. Failure, frustration and misery could well be expected as the natural outcome of such circumstances.

The propriety of inducing the Gaduliya Lohar settlers to take to agriculture within a short period may *prima facie* be questioned. Those responsible for it did not realise that the nomadic Gaduliya Lohars utterly lacked agricultural traditions, and they could not become acquainted with the knowledge of agricultural practices overnight. It is not usually recognised that the Indian peasant has a vast stock of experience related to agriculture handed over from one generation to another. How could the Gaduliya Lohars be expected to acquire this huge stock of experience the moment a District Collector put his signature on the office order of land allotment to them? No provision of agricultural training was made for them. Hence they could not derive any benefit from the land. It has rightly been observed by the All India Enquiry—Nomadic Tribes Committee that “Home and land cannot arrest hunger and provide all the happiness a wandering man is looking for. When subsistence becomes a problem, the beneficiary may be forced to abandon valuable gifts generously given. These happenings can not always he described as a return of the ‘roaming madness’ and a lack of love to settle, for in most cases, it is the uncontrolled hunger that forces him to resume a wandering life.”

**Economic Factors:** Not only the socio-cultural factors disrupted the colonies but also there were some economic factors which operated against the scheme of sedentarization.

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They were the disruption of their market along the traditional movement routes and their indebtedness due to the loans taken from the State.

There are few parallels in the world to the large scale, well-organised, regular and immensely useful mobile rural service agency as the Gaduliya Lohar band serving a chain of villages along its traditional movement route. The organizers of the colonies did not realise that by sedentarizing the nomads away from their traditional routes and by depriving them of their movement, the Gaduliya Lohars would lose the market for their blacksmithy products. Surely, no one likes to be caged in a house in a far off colony, earning hardly Rs. 1.50 or so after the full day's labour, because if he moves out in the rural areas during the period when winter and summer crops are sown and harvested he can easily earn Rs. 4.00 or so per day.

If the settlers had not been forbidden by the organizers of the colonies to harness also the advantages of their traditional market along their movement routes, the former would not have found themselves so much hard-pressed financially as to be compelled to abandon the colonies and rejoin the nomadic bands.

Most of the colonies were established away from the traditional movement routes and near small towns or villages where there were very poor markets for the sale of their products. The organizers of their colonies should have taken into consideration the traditional movement routes and the wishes of the would-be settlers so that they might not find unemployment and poverty all around them.

While giving various loans and subsidies to the settlers, it was never realised by the organisers that necessary assistance should also have been given for continuing their subsidiary means of income, i.e. bullock-trade in which they had a lot of experience and interest and which was of much financial gain to them.

The loans advanced to the Gaduliya Lohars for constructing pukka houses were quite insufficient. The Lohars had to
spend all their earlier savings and had to take even loans from private parties in their efforts to get their houses completed. But even then, most of the houses remained incomplete in the colonies. Due to the lack of marketing facilities for their iron-products, they were put heavily under debt. So they found themselves in a very difficult situation at the time of the repayment of the loans. They expressed their inability to repay the loans and requested the government authorities to waive them, but in vain. The government started legal action against the defaulters. This was bound to dishearten them greatly. Most of them made good their escape from the colonies as the last resort. Certainly, they alone cannot be blamed for this tragic end.

Organizational Factors: Several organizational and administrative omissions, errors and malpractices, right from the beginning to the end, undermined the effectiveness of the colonization schemes.

Before preparing the schemes for rehabilitating the Gaduliya Lohars, the organisers possibly did not gather experiences and lessons from the several earlier experiments carried out by the different countries to rehabilitate their nomadic communities. If this had been done, the blunders committed elsewhere would not have been repeated in Rajasthan also, and the incalculable misery, disappointment and pain which the Gaduliya Lohars suffered as the aftermath of their sedentarization might, in all probability, be avoided.

Generally, it is seen that most of the advocates and planners of rehabilitation schemes for tribes or backward communities in our country and elsewhere hold a very confused view about the concept of rehabilitation. Whenever the question of rehabilitating any tribe, nomad or backward community has come up before them, they have at once thought of prescribing a common plan consisting more or less of the provisions of free housing plots, subsidy and loans for house building and agriculture, cooperative credit society and production-cum-training workshop and the like. Whether the people concerned needed, liked or aspired for it or not—the planners have bothered little about that. And that is why, for the Gipsies

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of many European countries, the Plain Indians of the U.S.A., the Todas of the Nilgiris, the Nari Kuravans of Madras, the Yanadis and Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh, the Birhors of Bihar and the Gaduliyia Lohars of Rajasthan also, the same mould-like, fixed or static plan was prescribed by their benefactors. The latter have generally turned blind eyes to the fact that the characteristics, needs and problems of food-gatherers, hunters, nomadic artisans and ex-criminal tribes etc. differ markedly from one another. Hence a common plan for all of them testifies nothing but an erroneous policy. Tragic failure and human agony are bound to be the outcome of such a pre-conceived rehabilitative plan.

The organisers of the colonies did not verify the antecedents of the settlers of the Chittorgarh and Khanpura colonies. Some undesirable and corrupt persons made their way in them. They dominated the scene in the Chittorgarh and Khanpura colonies due to their extrovert personalities. These corrupt leaders blew the death-knell of their colonies by their selfish and dishonest practices. Due to the non-verification of the settlers’ antecedents, no action could be taken by the State against the families which fled away from the Chittorgarh colony without either repaying the governmental loans or entrusting the charge of their houses to the local administrative authorities.

The tendency of the State to provide loan after loan in some colonies (especially in the Chittorgarh colony) instead of doing any good to their inhabitants, only atrophied their initiative, industry, creativity, sense of freedom and self-respect and turned them into dull people hankering after government bounties.

The causes of the ineffectiveness of all the black-smithy workshops were almost similar. There was scarcity of trained technicians, proper machines, tools, electricity and raw materials. Moreover, the workers were careless and there was corruption in administration. The workers were employed on daily wages and they were not paid any wages for holidays. Their income was hardly sufficient to make their both ends meet.
There were huge losses in most of the colonies due to redtapsim. Loans for housing, purchase of raw materials and machinery were not sanctioned at the proper time in all colonies with the result that the settlers could not find them as useful as they should have been. Corruption in administration, observance of official distance by several administrators and their unsympathetic attitude towards the settlers made the matters worse than what they had been in the beginning. As informed by several Gaduliyah Lohar inhabitants, some of the organisers of the colonies also resorted to corrupt practices like the deduction of commissions from the subsidies and loans granted to the settlers, purchase of poor quality of machines, tools and raw materials at high prices by the officers concerned, sale of coal and iron stocks in black-market, misuse of the equipment of workshops by the officers etc. In two colonies such unsatisfactory houses were built that most of them collapsed within a year.

The All India Gadi Lohar Seva Sangh, as informed by the settlers of the Chittorgarh colony and different officials and newspaper reports, also did not remain steadfast and fair to the cause of the rehabilitation of the Gaduliyah Lohars. It misused some of the grants allotted to it for the rehabilitation of the Gaduliyah Lohars. There has been a lot of mis-management in the Gaduliyah Lohar school and the hostel attached to it. In this connection, it has been observed in the All India Enquiry—Nomadic Tribes Report that “The financial targets proposed for their betterment in Rajasthan during the second Five Year Plan was indicated to be Rs. 8 lakhs....A grant-in-aid of Rs. 10,2254 was given to the Gadi Lohar Seva Sangh. No detailed information was available as to how it was disbursed. Rs. 1,38,700 were also sanctioned by the State and Rs. 50,000 by the Union Government for the construction of a new hostel at Chittorgarh. This building still remains incomplete. It appears that a part of the funds was used for the purpose of vehicles and their maintenance. A part has been wasted....Waste at all stages in very manifest.”

23. All India Enquiry—Nomadic Tribes Report, pp. 125-126.
REHABILITATION OF THE GADULIYA LOHARS

The State Audit Report presented to the State Legislature Assembly on September 28, 1963 also revealed a wastage of Rs. 4.09 lakhs on this account.24

The above analysis reveals that the State efforts to sedentarize the Gaduliya Lohars failed mainly due to the fact that they disregarded the characteristics of their traditional socio-cultural life and they were unsuccessful in ensuring a satisfactory economic life to the settlers.

In the final summing up of this study, several things emerge as the salient features of the Gaduliya Lohar society and culture. It has been seen that they present a case of fall from an upper Hindu caste to a backward nomadic community. Its members have inherited the virtues of patriotism, simplicity, honesty and hardwork from their ancestors. They have continued to remain a tradition-bound, conservative, non-criminal and industrious artisan people till now.

In order to form and maintain their nomadic community, they developed several essential social mechanisms in the initial stage. Their material culture is fairly developed. It carries the basic stratum of the material culture of the rural people in Rajasthan. Their social structure is also very well developed. They are an endogamous people. They are divided into several main divisions, clans and lineages. Their social structure is characterised with clan-exogamy and several practices associated with their kinship organization. The usual pattern of their family is that of a patriarchal and monogamous one. It constantly undergoes a developmental cycle: it comes into being, grows and expands, dissolves and replaces itself again. The institution of ultimogeniture plays an important role in their social organization.

The Gaduliya Lohars move and camp in bands. Several households unite to form a sub-band or a small band. Two or three such bands form a major band. It has its traditionally fixed place of encampment where it rests during the hot
and rainy months of the year. The bands are structured, primarily, on the considerations of kinship proximity, tabooed relations, social etiquette, mutual sympathy, trust and love. They are controlled by the democratic leadership of their panchas who are elected on the basis of their wide experience, upright conduct, conciliatory capabilities and virtuous living. The panchas exercise a great deal of social and political control over the behaviour and activities of the group and maintain the communal solidarity by their experience and wise advice. Their system of caste panchayat remains intact even today. Their religion is an effective instrument in the maintenance of their social solidarity.

The major occupation of the Gaduliya Lohars is blacksmithy. They constitute an effective mobile rural serving agency. Their whole economic organization is regulated by their yearly movement along their traditionally established routes. These routes have been developed by them in view of the ecological factors prevailing in the State. Their blacksmithy process and tools are very simple. They prepare and repair small iron articles needed by the farmers and other village and town people. The blacksmithy trade provides them barely satisfactory economic gains now-a-days. In order to supplement their income, they carry on the bullock-trade. Other characteristics of their economic organization are the lack of monopoly, lack of vacation, prevalence of some forms of non-monetary cooperation etc.

Their children learn the hereditary occupations quite informally. Their rituals associated with birth, childhood, marriage and death are almost the same which are observed by the caste Hindus. Old people are respected for their age, wisdom and experience.

This basic structure of the Gaduliya Lohar culture continues to exist even today. New development in the form of State efforts to sedentarize them have come up during the last two decades. Hasty and faulty planning and ill-executed schemes have defeated their enthusiasm and hopes for the new horizon which the State had very enthusiastically tried to present before them.
THE GADULIYA LOHARS OF RAJASTHAN

It would be pertinent here to point out the present day stir
-or heart-beats of the community. Its traditional life has been
confronted by two factors at present. They are economic crisis
and the governmental efforts to sedentarize them. So far as
the first factor is concerned, it may be noted that it is not a
new one. The community has been facing many economic
difficulties since long. Their economic crisis continues even
today. To a considerable extent, this has been aggravated by
the stiff competition of cheaper, better finished and more
durable factory made iron articles with the Gaduliya Lohars
products, having poor finish and less durability. The competi-
tive forces are pushing them in an unfavourable economic
situation. Their conservatism has vigorously prohibited them
from adopting other economically fruitful vocations. All this
has resulted in the deterioration of their economic condition.

However, the economic forces have varying import on the
economy of the Gaduliya Lohars in the different regions of
the State. Those serving in the agriculturally poor regions
have been crushed by poverty. The old carts of many such
unfortunate families have broken, but their occupants 'neither
have means to get them repaired, nor do they have
sufficient savings for carrying on the bullock-trading activities.
Thus they have been incapacitated to continue their traditional
nomadism. As the last resort, they also have been forced to
settle. The breakdown of their movement has lost to them
their traditional market and ruined their lot. On the other
hand, the Gaduliya Lohars serving in the relatively fertile areas
of Rajasthan have not faced such severe crisis as yet. But the
economic forces of the competitive market are working against
them. If they continue to exert their influence on their
economy at the same rate, these Gaduliya Lohars also will
face severer economic crisis in the future.

Now the question arises as to where this growing economic
-crisis will lead the community. Since their socio-cultural
organization has an effective binding force, there is little
possibility of its disintegration in the near future. It seems
likely that for a very long time, they would not shed down
their traditional virtues. They might prefer to die of starvation
silently rather than to adopt the ways of thieves and robbers. Under these circumstances, either they will have to improve their blacksmithy skills, or they will have to abandon this trade in favour of the bullock-trading activities in all seriousness.

The possibilities of improvement in their blacksmithy skill at their own initiative seem to be negligible. The second alternative also seems to be of little avail to them, as it requires a lot of money which the Gaduliya Lohars utterly lack. Therefore in all probability, they would be forced to work either as hired workers in the shops of settled blacksmiths or in small factories in towns and cities, or to be employed as unskilled, ill-paid and miserable labourers in villages and towns. Here also, there seems to exist less chances of the first probability, since the Gaduliya Lohars cannot compete with the skilled Punjabi Sikligars. Thus the second alternative alone seems to lie in store for them. Already, several Gaduliya Lohars of Ajmer, Nagore, Merta, Bikaner etc. have been forced to work as manual labourers. This change adumbrates the ultimate future of the whole community.

Now the second factor confronting the community may be examined. The traditional nomadic mode of life of the people has undergone a shock treatment by the State efforts to sedentarize them. Most of the settlers have already abandoned their colonies and become nomads again. The remaining ones who are only a few in number have continued to stick to the colonies not for the sake of any love for them but solely as a result of their helplessness. They are fully buried under the Government loans. Moreover, they have already spent all their previous savings in cash or kind in the construction of their pukka houses there.

The failure of these sedentarization experiments have largely been due to the lack of understanding on the part of the planners about the psychological and socio-cultural characteristics and the traditional economic organization of the Gaduliya Lohars. No proper provisions could be made in the colonies for them to earn their livelihood in a satisfactory manner. It was forgotten by their colonizers that funda-
mentally theirs also was the question of economic subsistence.

Although these experiments have failed yet they have set the Gaduliya Lohars seriously to think about their sedentarization. Their growing economic crisis is also compelling them to do so. Several ex-settlers and other needy Gaduliya Lohars have expressed their earnest desire to the researcher that they are ready to settle down provided they have economic security and their socio-cultural cohesion is allowed to be maintained. Their love for their nomadism is definitely secondary to their economic needs. It is very likely that they will be ready to abandon it, of course with considerable hitch in the beginning, provided suitable economic provisions are made for them.

It would, therefore, be in the fitness of things that again the efforts should be made by the State to rehabilitate the Gaduliya Lohars, keeping in full consideration the characteristics of their social, economic and cultural organization and the lessons learnt from the previous sedentarization experiments. The earlier failures should not cool down the enthusiasm of the State. The path leading to the proper rehabilitation of the down-trodden people like the Gaduliya Lohars is long and tortuous, but it can certainly be covered if efforts in the right direction are continued unflinchingly.

Suggestions for rehabilitation

This study reveals that the nomadism of the Gaduliya Lohars is a very deep-rooted phenomenon in their culture due to several mythological, psychological, cultural and economic factors. Hence no effort should be made to check their nomadism abruptly. All possible provisions should be made to strengthen it by trying to remove its economic difficulties. In doing so, the seed of sedentarization should be laid in their hearts. After a period of transition when in view of the advantages of settled life they themselves begin to aspire for adopting it, then and only then should all possible assistance for their sedentarization be provided by the government. A very seasoned social worker, V. Raghvaiah has rightly stated that the nomad has “first to be acclimatised to some form of settled life before he could irrevocably abjure nomadism and
take to settled life."¹

First of all, complete information about their traditional yearly camping sites and the movement routes should be collected. It is not very difficult as according to the writer's estimate, there are only about a hundred major bands moving in Rajasthan. All or most of them can be contacted at their yearly encampments during the months of extreme heat and rainy season. Initial information in this connection can be collected with the assistance of the tehsildars, sarpanchs of the panchayats or the pradhans of the panchayat samities in the State.

As the Gaduliya Lohars have established their yearly encampments on the basis of their experience of several generations, it would be proper to develop them. The State should reserve a sufficiently large piece of land for their stay at each of the villages of their traditional encampments. It should be away from dirty surroundings but near the local settlement. A credit bank-cum-store should be started there. The Gaduliya Lohars should be able to get iron at a cheap rate of interest for their bullock trade and raw material for their blacksmithy trade at control price before setting out on their yearly movement routes after rains. The State should build one big resting shed or community-hall under which they may seek protection from the scorching sun and rain and may have their ritualistic observances. Proper arrangements should be made to provide health facilities, amusement, education to the children, social education and technical training to the grown-up people during the period of their stay there. When they intend to set out on their traditional routes after the rains, they should be allowed to do so. By this arrangement, the liking for sedentarization is bound to germinate in their hearts and at the same time their economic organization will not shatter.

A peripatetic teacher should be employed by the State for each of the sub-bands wherein the number of children is at least twenty. It should be the duty of such a teacher to wander

¹ V. Raghvaiah, "Correct Approach to Nomad" In All India Enquiry—Nomadic Tribes Report, p. 176.
and camp all along with the band-group, teaching the children and enlightening the adults with a lot of useful information about the different aspects of life in the country. If carefully selected, handsomely paid, eloquently inspired and properly guided to carry out their assignment, each of these teachers can be an effective spearhead of guided social revolution in the life of these hitherto neglected, backward and conservative people. All these efforts should be continued for two decades or so during which the nomads might feel more and more inclined to adopt the settled mode of life. When such a fairly long felt need is echoed from their side, only then should the State come out to provide them housing facilities.

In the beginning, they should be provided with small housing-cum-shop plots just on the main road sides and near the markets of the localities where they might prefer to settle down. Naturally such localities would be preferred by them where they have been having brisk blacksmithy trade for several years in the past and where they have sufficient contacts with the local population. This will neither threaten their economy nor uproot them socially and culturally from their traditional environment.

A few families should be settled in each of the existing agricultural villages in such a manner that they may be able to serve the rural agriculturists. They should not be settled in a concentrated form which would ultimately involve unemployment, abandoning of houses and waste of agricultural provisions.

Only cheap houses or simple huts be built for them by the State itself, but they should not be like the quarters built in the Gaduliya Lohar Colony at Sojat which fell down during the very first rainy season. Being nomads for long, they have never had any experience in building pukka houses for them. So they should be spared from the puzzle of constructing such houses out of the meagre State loans. The cost of these houses can very well be realised by the State by introducing 'Pay as you live' scheme. This would save the settlers from the agony and frustration caused by their incapability to repay
the heavy State loans, as was the case with the previous experiments.

Above all, since neither the Gaduliya Lohars have any tradition, aptitude and capability for agriculture nor the State has in spare sufficient fertile agricultural land for distribution to them, it would be proper that the Gaduliya Lohars be completely kept away from agriculture. There is no reason why the Gaduliya Lohars should be motivated towards agriculture at all. Already, there is a very huge and almost-unending scope for the development of the blacksmithy trade in the country which is making tremendous strides of technological progress.

They should be properly guided, duly motivated and sufficiently helped to concentrate on their traditional blacksmithy trade and to make gradual improvement in their skills. In this way, the lot of the Gaduliya Lohars can be improved and they can contribute effectively to the national progress. The desired integration of the Gaduliya Lohar nomads in the national democratic structure should be brought about gradually and with due regard to their cultural mooring.
APPENDICES
Appendix I

Population and Distribution of the Gaduliya Lohars of Rajputana According to the Census of 1941*

The total number of Gaduliya Lohars found in Ajmer-Merwara and Rajputana on the 1st March 1941, the central date for the census, was 6,970. Their distribution was as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ajmer-Merwara</td>
<td>1,129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alwar State</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banswara State</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bikaner State</td>
<td>1,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bundi State</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danta State</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dungarpur State</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaipur State</td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhalawar State</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwar State</td>
<td>2,002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karauli State</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kishangarh State</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotah State</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partapgarh State</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahpura State</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirohi State</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewar State</td>
<td>1,091</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 6,970

The only states in which no member of the fraternity was found are the desert State of Jaisalmer, the two Jat States of Bharatpur and Dholpur and the two Muslim States of Tonk and Palanpur.

## Number of the Households and Persons Studied

### (A) Nomadic people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band No.</th>
<th>Total no. of the households</th>
<th>No. of households contacted</th>
<th>No. of persons interviewed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V(a)(b)(c)</td>
<td>9+15+17 =41</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV(a)(b)</td>
<td>23+15=38</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 408  350  318
## APPENDICES

### (B) Sedentarized people of the colonies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Place of the colony.</th>
<th>Total no. of the households settled.</th>
<th>No. of families present at the time of the writer's visit.</th>
<th>No. of households contacted</th>
<th>No. of persons interviewed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chittorgarh</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Khanpura.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jodhpur</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bikaner</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pali</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Did not visit.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (contacted at Jodhpur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sojat</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>Did not visit.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5 (contacted at Merta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nagore</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Merta</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Villages in Nagore district (approx.)</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Barmer district</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Did not visit.</td>
<td>(Information sought through post)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Kishangarh (Ajmer)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Pushkar</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 (a)</td>
<td>Beawar (Near Chiang Gate)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 (b)</td>
<td>Beawar (Near Champa Nagar)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Hariyada.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Did not visit.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9 (persons contacted at Beawar.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 579 163 156 177

Grand total: Total No. of households contacted—506
Total No. of persons interviewed—495
### Appendix III

List of Householders in the Gaduliya Lohar Band of Alwar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Head of the Household</th>
<th>‘Nakh’</th>
<th>Relation with the Ego</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kanhiya s/o Hira</td>
<td>Solanki</td>
<td>Ego</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jhanda s/o Hira</td>
<td>Solanki</td>
<td>Real brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Chanda s/o Dalla</td>
<td>Solanki</td>
<td>Son of the father’s younger brother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Issar s/o Dalla</td>
<td>Solanki</td>
<td>Son of the father’s younger brother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Palu s/o Harjee</td>
<td>Solanki</td>
<td>Son of the father’s younger brother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lalji s/o Palu</td>
<td>Solanki</td>
<td>Nephew (distant kin).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kala s/o Hardeo</td>
<td>Solanki</td>
<td>Son of the father’s younger brother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jeeya s/o Hardeo</td>
<td>Parihar</td>
<td>Son of the brother-in-law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Prem Raj s/o Sukka</td>
<td>Parihar</td>
<td>Distant agnate of the brother-in-law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mohri s/o Sukka</td>
<td>Parihar</td>
<td>Distant agnate of the brother-in-law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>MIndka s/o Sukka</td>
<td>Parihar</td>
<td>Distant agnate of the brother-in-law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nanda s/o Hira</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
<td>Real maternal uncle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tota s/o Hira</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
<td>Real Maternal uncle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Phool Chand s/o Bhinwa</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
<td>Maternal uncle’s son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Arjun (Bind man) s/o Bhinwa</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
<td>Real maternal uncle’s son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Gutari s/o Bhinwa</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
<td>Real maternal uncle’s son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Gopal s/o Dulha</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
<td>Son of the youngest maternal uncle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Hari Ram s/o Tota</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
<td>Son of the maternal uncle.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDICES

19. Toda s/o Gujar Chauhan Son of a distant maternal uncle.
20. Uma s/o Ram Chauhan Distant maternal uncle.
21. Polia s/o Uma Chauhan Son of a distant maternal uncle.
     (Makhani) Sadhurana
25. Sadhu s/o Amra Sankhla Son-in-law of maternal uncle.
     (Bhagani) Sankhla
26. Jhagdu s/o Bewal Sankhla Husband of maternal uncle's grand daughter.
27. Bakhtawari w/o (Late) Chauhan Widowed daughter of mother’s sister.
    Bhura
29. Gindodi s/o (Late) Sankhla Widowed daughter-in-law of mother’s sister.
    Bhura
30. Chandaria s/o Sikhdaya Chauhan Son-in-law of mother’s sister’s daughter.
31. Deo Karan s/o Sikhdaya Chauhan Son-in-law of mother’s sister’s daughter.
32. Sheolal s/o Kashi Sankhla Son-in-law of mother’s sister’s daughter.
     (Makhani)
33. Gheesa s/o Chet Ram Sankhla Son-in-law of mother’s sister’s daughter.
     (Pemani)
34. Norung s/o Gujjar Parmar Son-in-law of mother’s sister.

261
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father's Name</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Jiska s/o Jiwan.</td>
<td>Sankhla</td>
<td>Elder sister’s husband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Palu s/o Jiska</td>
<td>Sankhla</td>
<td>Elder sister’s son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Deokaran s/o Kanhiya</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
<td>Younger sister’s son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Sadhu s/o Kalu</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
<td>Son-in-law of the son of father’s elder brother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Chandra s/o Jeewan</td>
<td>Parmar</td>
<td>Distant agnate of the son of the son-in-law of father’s elder brother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Ganpat s/o Kalu</td>
<td>Parmar</td>
<td>Son-in-law of the son of father’s elder brother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Gopi s/o Parmar</td>
<td>Parmar</td>
<td>Distant agnate of the son of the son-in-law of father’s elder brother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Badami w/o (Late)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sukka</td>
<td>Sankhla</td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Gulji s/o Sukka</td>
<td>Sankhla</td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Ganpat s/o Matamu</td>
<td>Sankhla</td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Pemani)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Chet Ram s/o Matamu</td>
<td>Sankhla</td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Pemani)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Jaga s/o Khubi</td>
<td>Sankhla</td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Vijjani)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Tolu s/o Sosu</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Kanhiya s/o Birbal</td>
<td>Parihhar</td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Balbhuk)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Ratna w/o (Late)</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gujjar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Larghu s/o Oma</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Mamlia s/o Salga</td>
<td>Sankhla</td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Phuli w/o (Late)</td>
<td>Sankhla</td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Krishna</td>
<td>(Mathani)</td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Risala s/o Nathu</td>
<td>Sadhurana</td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Deo Karan s/o Kana</td>
<td>Chauhan</td>
<td>Unrelated.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix IV

### List of Ornaments put on by the Gaduliya Lohars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Ornament</th>
<th>Part of the body where put on.</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Put on by whom.</th>
<th>Where popular:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Murkhi (Ear-rings)</td>
<td>In ears</td>
<td>$\frac{1}{2}$ tola or less (Silver)</td>
<td>One in each ear</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Batan (Buttons with chain)</td>
<td>In shirt and bukhtari (Silver)</td>
<td>1-2 tolas</td>
<td>Four</td>
<td>Males and Females</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tabeej (Amulet)</td>
<td>Around neck (Silver)</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{4}$ tola</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Males and Females</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Phool (Amulet flower)</td>
<td>Around neck (Silver)</td>
<td>1-4 tolas</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Males and Females</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hansali (Solid neck ornament)</td>
<td>Around neck (Silver)</td>
<td>10-30 tolas</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Males and Females</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kade (Silver rings)</td>
<td>Around wrists (Silver)</td>
<td>5-6 tolas</td>
<td>One on each fist</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>Weight</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>'Bor' or 'Borla'</td>
<td>On forehead</td>
<td>1-2½ tolas</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Small silver ball</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.3 tolas</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stuffed with</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Silver)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>coloured jewels)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kadula</td>
<td>Around feet</td>
<td>5-10 tolas</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Silver rings)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.0 tolas</td>
<td>(Silver)</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Jhumri</td>
<td>On head</td>
<td>1-2½ tolas</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Silver chain-like</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.3 tolas</td>
<td>(Silver)</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ornament)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Silver)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>'Pot'</td>
<td>On head</td>
<td>1 2½ tolas</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Garland of</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.3 tolas</td>
<td>(Silver)</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imitation pearls</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Silver)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tied to a silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>piece)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Bhavriya</td>
<td>On nose</td>
<td>½-½ tola</td>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Married Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Nose ring)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.5 tolas</td>
<td>(Gold)</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Married Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Murki</td>
<td>On nose</td>
<td>½-½ tola</td>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Married Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Nose ring)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.5 tolas</td>
<td>(Gold)</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Married Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Nath</td>
<td>On nose</td>
<td>½-½ tola</td>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Married Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Nose ring)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.5 tolas</td>
<td>(Gold)</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Married Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Bunde</td>
<td>One in each</td>
<td>½-1 tola</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ear-rings</td>
<td>ear lobe</td>
<td>0.5 tolas</td>
<td>(Silver)</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Ogania</td>
<td>In upper part</td>
<td>½-½ tola</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of ear</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.5 tolas</td>
<td>(Silver)</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Oti</td>
<td>In ear lobes</td>
<td>½-1 tola</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Silver ear tops)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.5 tolas</td>
<td>(Silver)</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Jhumar</td>
<td>In ear lobes</td>
<td>½-1 tola</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Ear-rings)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.5 tolas</td>
<td>(Silver)</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| No. | Item (Description) | Location | Weight/Quantity | Quantity | Gender/Mark *
|-----|-------------------|----------|-----------------|----------|----------------
| 18. | *Kanthi* (Necklace) | Around neck | 1-2½ tolas (Silver) | One | Females *
| 19. | *Bharla* (Necklace) | Around neck | 1-2½ tolas (Silver) | One | Females 0
| 20. | *Tamaria* (Necklace) | Around neck | 1-2½ tolas (Silver or Gold) | One | Females £
| 21. | *Taire* (Necklace) | Around neck | 1-2½ tolas (Silver) | One | Females £
| 22. | *Champakali* (Necklace) | Around neck | 2-10 tolas (Silver) | One | Females £
| 23. | *Guluband* (Throat ornament) | Around neck | 5-10 tolas (Silver) | One | Females £
| 24. | *Tabeej* (Amulets of Gods and Goddesses) | Around neck | ½-1 tola (Silver) | 1-3 | Females *
| 25. | *Chajja* (Silver triangular piece with small ghunghrus) | On breasts | ½-1 tola each (Silver) | Three | Females *
| 26. | *Chandirapin* (Silver pins) | Below breasts | ½ tola each (Silver) | Two | Females *
| 27. | *Tadiyan* (Broad bracelets) | On wrists | 5-10 tolas (Silver) | One in each hand | Females *
| 28. | *Chelkada* (Silver rings) | On hands | 5-10 tolas each (Silver) | One in each hand | Females *
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Weight/Description</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Kangani (Armlets)</td>
<td>On arms</td>
<td>1-2½ tolas (Silver)</td>
<td>One on each arm</td>
<td>Females *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Bangadi (Silver armlet rings)</td>
<td>On arms</td>
<td>1-2½ tolas each (Silver)</td>
<td>One on each arm</td>
<td>Females *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Mandalia (Silver armlet rings)</td>
<td>On arms</td>
<td>1-2½ tolas each (Silver)</td>
<td>One below each arm</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Hathphool (palm cover)</td>
<td>On the backside of palm</td>
<td>1-2½ tolas each (Silver)</td>
<td>On the backside of the palm.</td>
<td>Females *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Angoothi (Finger-ring)</td>
<td>On fingers</td>
<td>½ tola (Silver)</td>
<td>One or two.</td>
<td>Females *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Beentee (Finger-ring)</td>
<td>On fingers</td>
<td>½ tola or less (Silver with 2 np coin fixed on it)</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females and children *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Chudla or Chuda (Ivory bangles)</td>
<td>Around arms &amp; wrists</td>
<td>30-75 tolas (Silver)</td>
<td>One set on each hand.</td>
<td>Married females *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Madreya (Silver rings)</td>
<td>Around wrists</td>
<td>1-5 tolas (Silver)</td>
<td>One on each wrist.</td>
<td>Females *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Motra (Ivory rings)</td>
<td>Around fists</td>
<td>1-2½ tolas (Ivory)</td>
<td>One on each fist.</td>
<td>Females *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Kangoti (wrist ring)</td>
<td>Around wrist</td>
<td>10-50 tolas (Silver)</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Kandora</td>
<td>Around wrist</td>
<td>1-5 tolas (Silver)</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Females £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Weight Description</td>
<td>Price Description</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td><strong>Kade</strong> (Silver rings)</td>
<td>Above feet</td>
<td>30-75 tolas each</td>
<td>One on each foot.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Silver)</td>
<td>Essentially</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>by married females</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td><strong>Pajeb</strong> (Silver belt or chain)</td>
<td>Legs</td>
<td>1-5 tolas each</td>
<td>One on each leg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Silver)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td><strong>Bichudi or Bichuaa</strong> (Toes ornament)</td>
<td>Around each toe</td>
<td>1/8-1/4 tolas each</td>
<td>One on each toe.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Silver)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Married Females</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td><strong>Newri</strong> (Silver rings)</td>
<td>On legs</td>
<td>5-10 tolas each</td>
<td>One</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Silver)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td><strong>Anwale</strong> (Silver rings)</td>
<td>On the legs below 'Kade'</td>
<td>12/3 tolas each</td>
<td>Two on each leg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Silver)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td><strong>Tankhe ghughre</strong> (Silver rings)</td>
<td>On legs</td>
<td>50 tolas each</td>
<td>One on each leg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Silver rings with tinkling bells)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Silver Females</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td><strong>Santha</strong> (Silver rings)</td>
<td>Around legs</td>
<td>25 tolas each</td>
<td>One on each leg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Silver Females</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£</td>
<td></td>
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### Appendix V

List of Iron Articles prepared by the Gaduliya Lohars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Articles</th>
<th>Use</th>
<th>Area of Production</th>
<th>Usual market Price</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ayan (Small iron rim)</td>
<td>Put around the cart wheel axle.</td>
<td>Throughout the State.</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kunda (Roof hook)</td>
<td>Put in house roof for hanging anything.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kassi (Hoe)</td>
<td>For digging earth.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chimta (Tongs)</td>
<td>For holding fire-coal.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Keel (Nali)</td>
<td>For fixing in doors.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chula (Tripod shaped oven)</td>
<td>For placing a pot.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Moosli (Pastle)</td>
<td>For crushing condiments.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Khodani (Flat hoe)</td>
<td>For digging earth.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Gadi (Toy cart)</td>
<td>For children’s play.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Tanchia (Axe)</td>
<td>For cutting wood.</td>
<td>Throughout the State.</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Angithi (Portable oven)</td>
<td>For cooking food.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Behni (Hole-borer)</td>
<td>For making hole in.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kunda Sankal (Door handles)</td>
<td>For closing doors.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
### APPENDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Nakchooti</td>
<td>For taking out thorn stung in any part of the body.</td>
<td>Throughout the State.</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Beencha</td>
<td>For fixing in the plough wood.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Chaooh</td>
<td>For digging land.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>0.62</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Chanp</td>
<td>For fixing to a cradle rod.</td>
<td>In Ajmer &amp; Bhilwara districts.</td>
<td>0.25</td>
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<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Nar</td>
<td>For fixing to doors.</td>
<td>In southern Rajasthan.</td>
<td>0.35</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Ring hook)</td>
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<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Madin</td>
<td>For fixing to doors.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
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<td>(Fixing hook)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Kade</td>
<td>For fixing to roof.</td>
<td>Throughout the State.</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Roof rings)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Seenkla</td>
<td>For fixing to the milk churning road.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Hal ri phal</td>
<td>For digging land.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Plough blade)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Daranti</td>
<td>For harvesting.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sickle)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Sipi</td>
<td>For scratching earthen cooking pots.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Scratcher)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Chakudi</td>
<td>For cutting vegetable.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Knife)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Palta</td>
<td>For cooking food.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Kudchi</td>
<td>For cooking food.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Spoon)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Nal ki ankadi</td>
<td>For fixing water pipe line.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Paoo</td>
<td>For fixing in wooden plough.</td>
<td>In Ajmer district.</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(plough iron tong)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Sarota</td>
<td>For cutting unripe mangoes for pickles.</td>
<td>In Ajmer city.</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Jooti ri naal</td>
<td>For fixing as shoe heels.</td>
<td>Throughout Rajasthan.</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Shoe heels)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Use</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Price</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
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<td>32.</td>
<td>Aagali</td>
<td>For turning red hot coals in oven.</td>
<td>In Ajmer district.</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Takuva</td>
<td>Used in spinning wheel.</td>
<td>All over the State.</td>
<td>0.25</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Spindles)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Chamcha</td>
<td>For cooking food</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Spoon)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Fawda</td>
<td>For agricultural work.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.50</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Spade)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Khurpi</td>
<td>For agricultural work.</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Chalna</td>
<td>For seiving grains</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Seive)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Gandasa</td>
<td>For cutting fodder.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Katar</td>
<td>For cutting meat.</td>
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<td>0.25</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(big knife)</td>
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<td>40.</td>
<td>Sandasi</td>
<td>For holding burning coals etc.</td>
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<td>0.75</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Pincers)</td>
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<td>41.</td>
<td>Hathodi</td>
<td>For use by artisans.</td>
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<td>1.50</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(small hammer)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Chheni</td>
<td>For use by masons.</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Chisel)</td>
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<td>43.</td>
<td>Sua</td>
<td>For book binding.</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.25</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Poker)</td>
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<td>44.</td>
<td>Kadahi</td>
<td>For cooking purposes.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Frying pan)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Tava</td>
<td>For cooking purposes.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Frying plate)</td>
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<td>46.</td>
<td>Gharwanji</td>
<td>For keeping water pots.</td>
<td>All over the State;</td>
<td>0.75</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Tepoys)</td>
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<td>47.</td>
<td>Karchi</td>
<td>For cooking purposes.</td>
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<td>0.75</td>
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<td>(Ladles)</td>
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<td>48.</td>
<td>Tala</td>
<td>For safety purposes.</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.75</td>
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<td>(Lock)</td>
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<td>49.</td>
<td>Ghode-ke-naal</td>
<td>For fixing to the horse-hoof.</td>
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<td>50.</td>
<td>Gheeyakas</td>
<td>For chopping vegetable.</td>
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<td>0.37</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Kitchen seive)</td>
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</table>
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Glossary

Aali
Ab
Adlabadli
Agyani
Ajwan
Akhapooli
Akhar
Algoja
Amba
Amli
Angaliyan
Angara
Angarakha
Angarakhi
Angeethi
Anwala
Araniyo
Arthi
Ashnai
Atma
Atheena
Aujar
Aveejho
Baaji
Baba
Babu
Bada, bado

Band.
Now.
Exchange, Barter.
Ignorant.
Aromatic seeds.
A numerological device.
Written letter.
Harp.
Mango.
Tamarind.
Fingers.
Charcoal.
Upper garment of male dress.
Upper garment of female dress.
Tripod like stove.
An ornament.
Anvll.
Bier.
Love.
Soul.
Here.
Tool.
Come.
Father.
Grandfather,
Old man.
Gentleman.
Elder, greater, an eatable.
Badi
Badai
Badhai
Bagan, bag
Bahu
Bai
Bajwanti
Bakhtari
Bamani
Baniya
Banyo
Banyani
Banna
Bap
Barat
Barati
Barri
Basyoda
Batan
Batoao
Batasha
Batavida
Batheene
Bave
Bawadi
Beadgi
Elder, greater, an eatable.
Carpenter.
Congratulation.
Garden.
Daughter-in-law wife.
Sister.
A kind of flower.
Upper garment of male dress.
Brahmin's wife.
A businessman, a Vaishya.
A vaishya's wife.
Bridegroom.
Father.
Marriage party.
Members of the marriage party.
Gift from bridegroom.
Stale.
Button.
Messenger.
Sugar bubble.
Told.
There.
Blow, strike.
Tank.
Discourtesy.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>Beencha</td>
<td>Iron nail in a plough.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beend</td>
<td>Bridegroom.</td>
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<td>Beendid</td>
<td>Bride.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behan</td>
<td>Sister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behna</td>
<td>hole-borer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Behnoi</td>
<td>Sister's husband.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Bekhiya</td>
<td>Cloth.</td>
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<td>Bent</td>
<td>Walking stick.</td>
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<td>Beta</td>
<td>Son.</td>
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<td>Betti</td>
<td>Daughter.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Betna</td>
<td>To take.</td>
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<td>Bhai, bhad</td>
<td>Brother.</td>
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<td>Bhangi</td>
<td>Sweeper.</td>
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<td>Bhat</td>
<td>Genealogist.</td>
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<td>Niece.</td>
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<td>Bhayala</td>
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<td>Bhayali</td>
<td>Female friend, sister.</td>
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<td>Bheeyan</td>
<td>Brother.</td>
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<td>Bhoop</td>
<td>Ghost.</td>
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<td>Bhopa</td>
<td>Priest.</td>
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<td>Bhu, bahoo</td>
<td>Daughter-in-law wife.</td>
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<td>Bhubalia</td>
<td>Gaduliyah Lohar.</td>
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<td>Bhuvalia</td>
<td>Carpet.</td>
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<td>Bichayat</td>
<td>An ornament.</td>
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<td>Bichudi</td>
<td>Cat.</td>
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<td>Bilai</td>
<td>Bier in a chair-like manner.</td>
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<td>Biman</td>
<td>Daughter-in-law, bride.</td>
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<td>Bindni</td>
<td>A feast (given by some relative or friend) to the person to be wed.</td>
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<td>Bindora or Dhama</td>
<td>Indigenous cigarette.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biri</td>
<td>Female breast.</td>
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<td>Boba</td>
<td>Sugar.</td>
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<td>Boora</td>
<td>An ornament to be worn on head.</td>
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<td>Bor, borla or borda</td>
<td>Gunny bag.</td>
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<td>Bori</td>
<td>Bottle.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Botal</td>
<td>Father of the son's wife or daughter's husband.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Byae</td>
<td>Mother of the son's wife or daughter's husband.</td>
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<td>byashi</td>
<td>Platform of a shrine.</td>
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<td>Byan</td>
<td>Whey.</td>
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<td>Chabutara</td>
<td>Measuring disc.</td>
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<td>Chach</td>
<td>Knife.</td>
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<td>Chakri</td>
<td>Hubble-bubble.</td>
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<td>Chakudi</td>
<td>Cobbler.</td>
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<td>Chalum</td>
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<td>Chilam</td>
<td>is, are.</td>
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<td>Chamar</td>
<td>Bangles, rings.</td>
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<td>Champakali</td>
<td>To run away.</td>
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<td>Chanwari</td>
<td>Chisel.</td>
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<td>che</td>
<td>Tongs.</td>
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<td>Chiguna</td>
<td>Girls.</td>
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<td>Chiniyo</td>
<td>Son.</td>
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<td>Chokariyan</td>
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<td>Chota</td>
<td>Am.</td>
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<td>Upper garment of the female dress.</td>
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<td>Grandfather.</td>
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<td>Chundadi</td>
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<td>Dai</td>
<td>Sight, meeting.</td>
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<td>Cobbler, lower people.</td>
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| Damokha | }
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<td>Devta</td>
<td>Deity, god.</td>
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<td>Dewar, devar, dewaria</td>
<td>Husband's younger, brother.</td>
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<td>Dora</td>
<td>Thread.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dorani</td>
<td>Husband's younger brother's wife.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dudh</td>
<td>Milk.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dudh-bhai</td>
<td>Child of the same mother and the same father or different father.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eatee</td>
<td>This.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ekar</td>
<td>Here.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eran</td>
<td>Anvil.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fadinakho</td>
<td>Tear.</td>
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<td>Fayado</td>
<td>Profit.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gadi</td>
<td>Bullock Cart.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gadua</td>
<td>Pot.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gaduliya</td>
<td>Bullock Cart.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gandak</td>
<td>Dog, low person.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ganga-jal</td>
<td>Water of the Ganga.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Garam</td>
<td>Hot.</td>
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<td>Gauna</td>
<td>Post marriage ceremony.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gel</td>
<td>Route.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gela</td>
<td>Route.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geli</td>
<td>Girl.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gem</td>
<td>Thief.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geru</td>
<td>Red ochre.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghadna</td>
<td>To prepare.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghaghra</td>
<td>Lower garment of the female dress.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghan</td>
<td>Hammer.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghani</td>
<td>Oil crusher.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghano</td>
<td>Much.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghar jamai</td>
<td>A son-in-law residing in the father-in-law's household.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gharwanjee</td>
<td>Tepoy.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ghatti</td>
<td>Grinding wheel.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ghee</td>
<td>Clarified butter.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ghooskhor</td>
<td>Corrupt.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ghugri, ghughri</td>
<td>Boiled wheat grain mixed with molasses.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golya</td>
<td>Murderer.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Goond</td>
<td>Gum.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Got, Gotra</td>
<td>Lineage.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gota</td>
<td>Strip of silver thread.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gud, Gur</td>
<td>Molasses.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guru, Garu</td>
<td>Teacher.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gutka</td>
<td>Seeds of neem tree.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gyabhan</td>
<td>Pregnant.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hai</td>
<td>Is.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habu</td>
<td>Evil spirit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haldi</td>
<td>Turmeric.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halwai</td>
<td>Confectioner.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamkoo</td>
<td>To us, to me.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handi</td>
<td>Earthen cooking pot.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hansali</td>
<td>An ornament for wearing on neck.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haoo</td>
<td>Well.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haro</td>
<td>Green.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatoda</td>
<td>Hammer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Havan</td>
<td>Ceremonial fire in marriage.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heli</td>
<td>Soul.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiran, hira</td>
<td>Diamond.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The Gaduliya Lohars of Rajasthan

Hirki, sirki  Sirki, pith-reed covering.
Hooja  To sleep.
Hooakra, hukka  Hubble bubble.
Hooti  Sleep.
Hove, hovo  To sleep.
Huja  To sleep.
Hun.  Am.
Imli  Tamarind.
Indooni  A ring like pad for putting water-pot on head.
Jachcha  A woman who has given birth to a child recently.
Jadna  To prepare.
Jalebi  A kind of sweets.
Jamidar, jamindar  Landlord, farmer.
Jan  Marriage party.
Janeoo  A sacred thread worn by a Hindu.
Jangad, janghad  A blacksmith-cum-carpenter caste.
Jawai  Son-in-law.
Jawan  Young, youth.
Jog  Yoga.
Jogi, jogida  Ascetic.
Jovaniya  Youth.
Jutiyan, jutian  Shoes.
Kaain  What.
Kabadi  Iron seller, seller of broken and second hand things.
Kachcha, kacha  Unripe.
Kade  Rings.
Kagli-sandasi  Pincers.
Kaha-suni  Verbal quarrel.
Kalewa  Sacred thread, morning breakfast.
Kaljo  Heart.
Kamana  To earn.
Kamin  Mean, low servant.
Kanchali  Brassier.
Kangati  An ornament.
Kangan  A sacred thread tied to the person to be wed.
Kankad  Woods.
Kankan-dora  Kangan, a sacred thread tied to the person to be wed.
Kanyadan  Gifts to a girl given by her parents, relatives and friends in her marriage.
Kapal-kriya  Ritual of breaking the head of the deceased person at the funeral pyre.
Karigar  Artisan, blacksmith.
Karigarni  Artisan’s wife, a Gaduliya Lobar housewife.
Karilevi  Do, prepare.
Kassi  Hoe.
Katar  Knife.
Keel  Nail.
Kesh  Hair.
Kewe  To tell.
Khanwa  To eat.
Khaloochi, khuluchi  Cloth bag.
Khanabadosh  Wanderer.
Kharcho  Expenditure.
Khati  Carpenter.
Khatan  Wife of a carpenter.
Kheer  A food prepared of milk and rice.
Khindi  Woman.
Khodani  Flat hoe.
Khopra  Coconut kernel.
Kikar  A tree.
Kilo, Keelo  Kilogram.
Kim  What.
Kinra  Whose.
Glossary

Kothatharpana  To betroth a baby while it is in the mother’s womb.
Koy  Why.
Koyal  Cuckoo, used for daughter in song.
Kudachi, kurchi  Spoon.
Kulda, kulhad  An earthen pot.
Kurti  An upper garment of female dress.
Kutta  Holding level, a tool used in blacksmithy work.
Kwanoo  Why.
Kunda  Roof hook.
Laddu  Ball of sweets.
Ladela, ladla  Dear one.
Lagun  Pre-marriage ceremony.
Lakhire  To see.
Lalaji  A businessman, valshya.
Lapsi  A food prepared of grain boiled with molasses.
Lattu  Ball.
Lavar  Blacksmith.
Lavaran  Blacksmith’s wife.
Lav, lawa  Bring.
Lawi  Bring.
Leba, lena  To take, to remember.
Leeda, leedi  Has, have.
Loh, loha, lohda, load  Iron.
Lohariya  A blacksmithy tool.
Lohpitta  Gaduliya Lohar.
Lok, lokan loka  Men.
Lon  Loan.
Loon  Salt.
Lugai  Woman.
Lugadi,  Upper garment of Nana

the female dress.
Pickle.
To hide.
Meat.
Fixing hook.
Mother, old woman.
Gardener.
Maternal uncle.
Maternal aunt.
Route, path.
Do not.
Mother’s sister’s husband.
Death feast.
Mother’s sister.

Inner.
Gifts from the brother or father of a woman in her child’s marriage.
Meat.
Myrtle.
To place.
Fuller’s earth.
Mine (Male gender).
Mine (Female gender).
Clay, sand.
Cobbler.

Fuller’s earth.
On the pretext of, for the sake of.
Heel.
Tube.
Profit.
Drum.

Barber.
Grain.
Sub-division of the caste.
Mother’s father.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Nanad</td>
<td>Husband's sister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandolji</td>
<td>Husband's sister's husband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nani</td>
<td>Mother's mother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nata</td>
<td>Remarriage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nati</td>
<td>Daughter's son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natin</td>
<td>Daughter's daughter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neem,</td>
<td>Neem tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neembadi</td>
<td>Seeds of a neem tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neemboli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nirakh</td>
<td>See.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nobat</td>
<td>A musical instrument.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuksan</td>
<td>Harm, loss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odhani</td>
<td>Upper garment of the bridegroom's side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odhavi</td>
<td>To put on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olba</td>
<td>Complaint, reproachment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olkhe</td>
<td>Wait.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oobo</td>
<td>Standing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oonwar</td>
<td>Delay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oothen</td>
<td>Food leavings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padla</td>
<td>Gifts from the bridegroom's side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pagtiyan</td>
<td>Foot prints.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pajeo</td>
<td>An ornament for feet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palna</td>
<td>Cradle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palya</td>
<td>Sex desire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan</td>
<td>Betal leaf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panch</td>
<td>Member of a panchyat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandit</td>
<td>A Brahmin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pankha</td>
<td>Fan, rotary blower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pao</td>
<td>One fourth of a seer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parnyoda</td>
<td>Married man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parnyodi</td>
<td>Married woman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patta</td>
<td>A hair cut style.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pet</td>
<td>Stomach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peesan</td>
<td>To grind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peelo</td>
<td>Yellow cloth, Chundari.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Peepal** - A tree.
- **Peesa** - Paisa, one hundredth of a rupee.
- **Peetal** - Brass.
- **Phali** - Riddle.
- **Phal** - Blade, fruit.
- **Pharaz** - Duty.
- **Pharnet** - Movement route Again.
- **Pher** - Nuptial rounds.
- **Phera** - Flower.
- **Phool** - Photo.
- **Photoo** - Convenience.
- **Phursat** - Handsome.
- **Phutra** - Ball of flour.
- **Pir, Pirji, Piron** - Ramdeoji diety.
- **Poori** - Leavened cake.
- **Pot** - Garland,
- **Pukka** - Necklace.
- **Ragni** - Quarrel.
- **Rajput** - Song.
- **Ramriyo** - A Rajput.
- **Raand, Rand** - Dwells.
- **Randyo** - Widow.
- **Randhiya** - Widower.
- **Ratjaga** - Cooked.
- **Rehna, rehno** - Night awakening.
- **Reti** - To live.
- **Rewadi** - File.
- **Rot** - Quarrel.
- **Rot, rotla** - Commotion.
- **Royata, rowata** - Bread.
- **Rupia** - Weeping.
- **Sabsoon** - Ruppee.
- **Safa** - To all.
- **Sag** - Turban.
- **Saki** - Meat, vegetable.
- **Samgri** - Couplet.
- **Sandasi** - Material.
- **Pincers.**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glossary</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sanima</td>
<td>Cinema.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saut</td>
<td>Co-wife.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sarpanch</td>
<td>Head of the panchayat.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sarayo</td>
<td>Praised.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sarota</td>
<td>Mango cutter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satwadi</td>
<td>True.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sauda</td>
<td>Transaction.</td>
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<td>Sayab</td>
<td>Husband, God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ser</td>
<td>Seer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sethji</td>
<td>A businessman,</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Vaishya.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shakkar</td>
<td>Sugar.</td>
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<td>Shradh</td>
<td>Ancestor worship.</td>
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<td>Sipi</td>
<td>Scratcher.</td>
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<td>Stirawani</td>
<td>Breakfast.</td>
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<td>Sooraj</td>
<td>Sun.</td>
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<td>Sithna</td>
<td>Obscene marriage and sex songs.</td>
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<td>Suhagan</td>
<td>Married woman.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Surma</td>
<td>Collyrium.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surma-dani</td>
<td>Collyrilm container.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Susra</td>
<td>Father-in-law.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tabar</td>
<td>Children.</td>
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<td>Tabej</td>
<td>Amulet.</td>
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<td>Tad</td>
<td>Sub-lineage group.</td>
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<td>Tadiyan</td>
<td>An ornament.</td>
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<td>Takeejan</td>
<td>Fate.</td>
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<td>Takuean</td>
<td>Spindle.</td>
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<td>Takuwa</td>
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<td>Sun.</td>
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<td>Sun.</td>
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<td>Tawda</td>
<td>Sun.</td>
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<td>Mark.</td>
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<td>Tel</td>
<td>Oil.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teli</td>
<td>Oil-man.</td>
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<td>Telan</td>
<td>Oil-woman.</td>
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<td>Tem</td>
<td>Time.</td>
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<td>Tempoo</td>
<td>Three wheeled.</td>
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<td>Tena</td>
<td>motor vehicle.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thamb</td>
<td>You.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thanda</td>
<td>Marriage pole.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thara</td>
<td>Cold.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thari</td>
<td>Your (Male gender).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Your (Female gender).</td>
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<td>Encampment.</td>
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<td>Mark on forehead.</td>
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<td>Earings.</td>
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<td>Tisaro,</td>
<td>Crown feathers.</td>
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<td>tisayo</td>
<td>Age.</td>
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<td>Thithi</td>
<td>Story, talks.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tungla</td>
<td>Storm.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turva</td>
<td>Further.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Umar</td>
<td>Early.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vaat</td>
<td>Another.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Vairot</td>
<td>Another.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vale</td>
<td>Brother.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vegi, begi</td>
<td>Marriage.</td>
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<td>Veeji, bejni</td>
<td>Marriage.</td>
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<td>Veejodi,</td>
<td>A dealer, trader.</td>
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<td>vijodi</td>
<td>They, what.</td>
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<td>Veera</td>
<td>This.</td>
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<td>Veewa, Viva</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vivah, beyaha</td>
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<td>Vyopari</td>
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<tr>
<td>Who</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Yeh</td>
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