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A GADULIA LOHAR BELLE

# The Nomadic Gadulia Lohar of

## Eastern Rajasthan

(Memoirs of the Anthropological Survey of India No. 41)

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PROMODE KUMAR MISRA



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Anthropological Survey of India : Government of India : Calcutta

: MEMOIR No. 41

Published by  
The Director  
Anthropological Survey of India  
Government of India  
27 Jawaharlal Nehru Road  
Calcutta 700016, India

*Published in April, 1977*

Printed by  
The Reliance Printing Works  
219A Old China Bazar Street  
Calcutta 700001, India

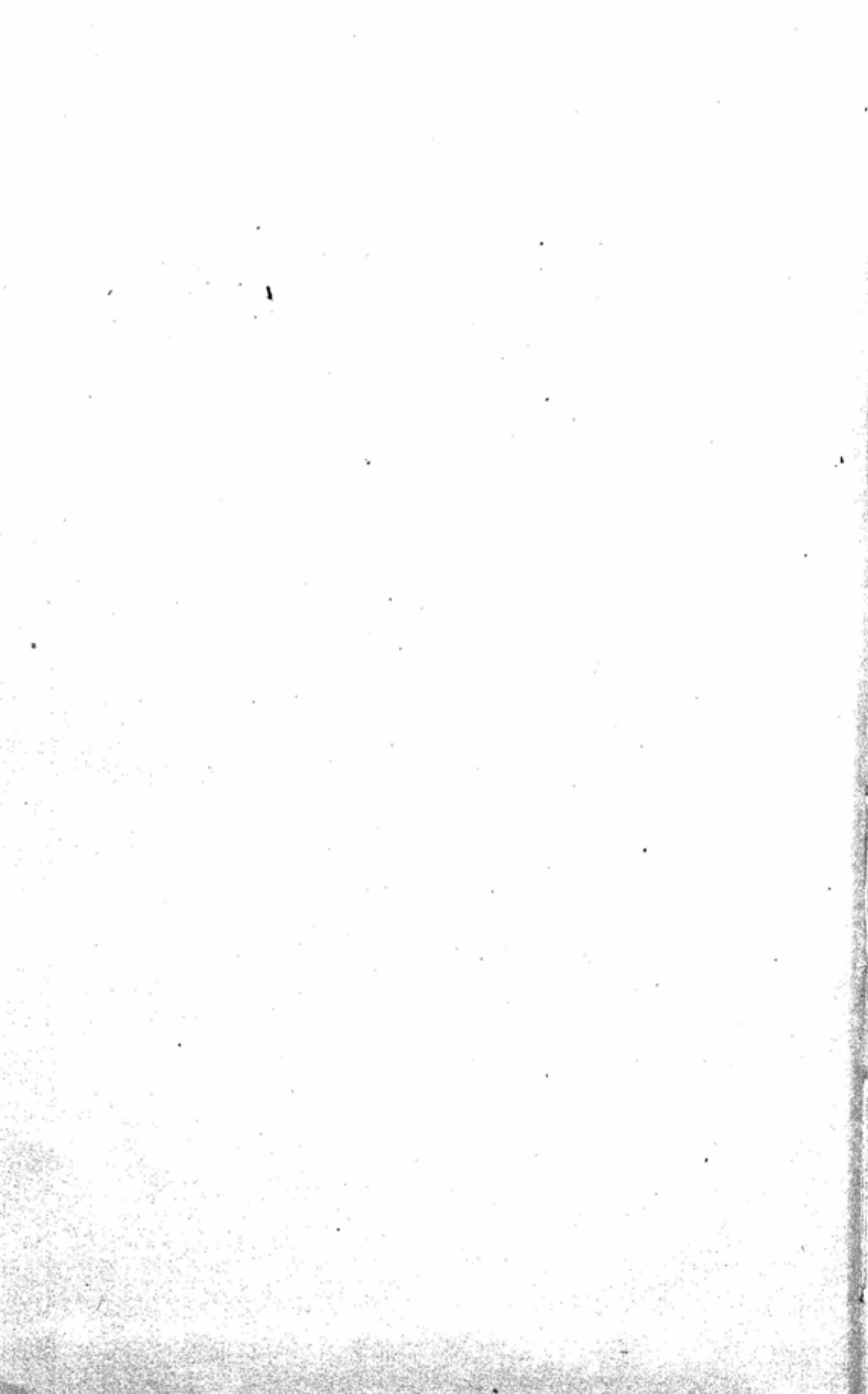
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*To my parents*



## PREFACE

In 1961, late Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose, the then Director of the Anthropological Survey of India, invited us, the young research workers, to discuss the future research programmes of the Survey. This team had already successfully completed a programme conceived and directed by Prof Bose. This was a study of the distribution of material traits, at all-India level. This work was outstanding in its own right, and, at the same time, it gave an intensive training and an inspiration to the young scientists to know their native soil and understand the facts of life in a broader perspective. Prof Bose then intended to carry forward the earlier enquiry at deeper, intensive and specialised levels. In this meeting, again he gave some brilliant and original ideas of research. Fruitful completion of some of these researches have proved in abundant measure the brilliance of Prof Bose's mind, his deep understanding of the Indian situation and his approach which was creative, endogenous, and not borrowed. In that meeting he inspired me to undertake research among the nomads. He said that there was a great variety of nomadic people all over the country. The nomadism of these people is a unique feature of the great Indian civilization but incidentally no anthropologist had paid much attention to them.

In the following year, I was on my way to Rajasthan to study the Gadulia Lohar on which is based the present work. Since then I have been involved in carrying out researches among the various nomadic groups in different parts of the country. My only and the greatest regret is that I could not present this work in printed form in the lifetime of Prof Bose.

I completed this work in 1966 and on this I was awarded a doctoral degree from the University of Lucknow in 1967. For various reasons, this could not be sent for publication. But now in 1974 when it is going to press, and when I leafed through it, I felt that, if I had to prepare a manuscript from my present level of understanding, the whole work would have to be rewritten. Rewriting would mean that it would be another work. In any case, the data have already become old; those of the Gadulia Lohar who were lads in 1962 must have grown full adults, adults must have become old and, I do not know, how many charming old men whom I knew then would be alive now. All-round rapid changes have been taking place, but I have no information how these changes have influenced the Gadulia Lohar. For any future research worker among the Gadulia Lohar at least my data of the period between 1962-64 would be useful in understanding the present reality among them. Considering all these factors, barring a few minor changes here and there, I have decided to let the entire material remain as it was written in 1966.

There are few studies on any of the nomadic groups frequenting the Indian villages and none of Rajasthan. Therefore, I thought it rather essential in the following study to put in as much material as possible of the economy and society of the Gadulia Lohar. However, my attempt has not been just to compile the ethnographic facts but to understand those facts through analysis and to show their interrelations. The Gadulia Lohar do have a monetised economy but, as an occupational caste, their economic roles are predetermined and they are as much a part of the regional economy as any other caste of the region. Internally, the economic life of the Gadulia Lohar is closely interwoven with their total way of life. The allocation of chief capital goods, capital investment, saving or credit do not always have clearly defined economic goals, and, in any case, they remain bound by their various social institutions. Thus, it becomes all the more necessary to present a fuller account of the life of the nomadic Gadulia Lohar. In this study, I have also given a short account of the Gadulia Lohar who have taken to settled life in order to bring forth those features which are closely related to the nomadic way of life.

I have used in this study the weights and measures which were locally in use, such as a maund, mile, and yard. One maund is equivalent to thirtyseven kilograms. One maund has forty seers and one seer has sixteen chataks.

Technically, this work was done under the auspices of the Anthropological Survey of India but most of its final writing was done at Lucknow under the guidance of my teacher and supervisor Dr K. S. Mathur, Head of the Department of Anthropology, University of Lucknow. I owe a special debt to him for his valuable suggestions at every stage of this work. I am thankful to the Survey for allowing me to undertake this work and also for giving me various facilities to complete this work. I owe a deep sense of gratitude to Dr S. C. Sinha, the Director of the Survey, for various reasons. He has been a constant source of inspiration to me in preparing this work.

I have highest regards for my Gadulia Lohar friends. They accepted the friendship of a stranger and helped him to know their culture. Without their co-operation this work would not have been possible. I am more than indebted to them.

In preparing this work I received help from my friends and colleagues. Dr R. D. Singh and Dr M. C. Pradhan, now Professors at the University of Windsor, Windsor, Canada, deserve special mention. They went through this work and gave me useful suggestions.

My elder brother, Shri J. P. Misra, apart from preparing maps, sketches, and charts for this work, along with my old friend Shri D. B. Mathur, shared with me the various stresses and strains which go along with the preparation of this kind of work. My gratitude to them is

beyond my expression. I am thankful to Shri S. C. Shankaran, Photographer, for the sincere and specialised help I got from him in preparing the photographic part of this work.

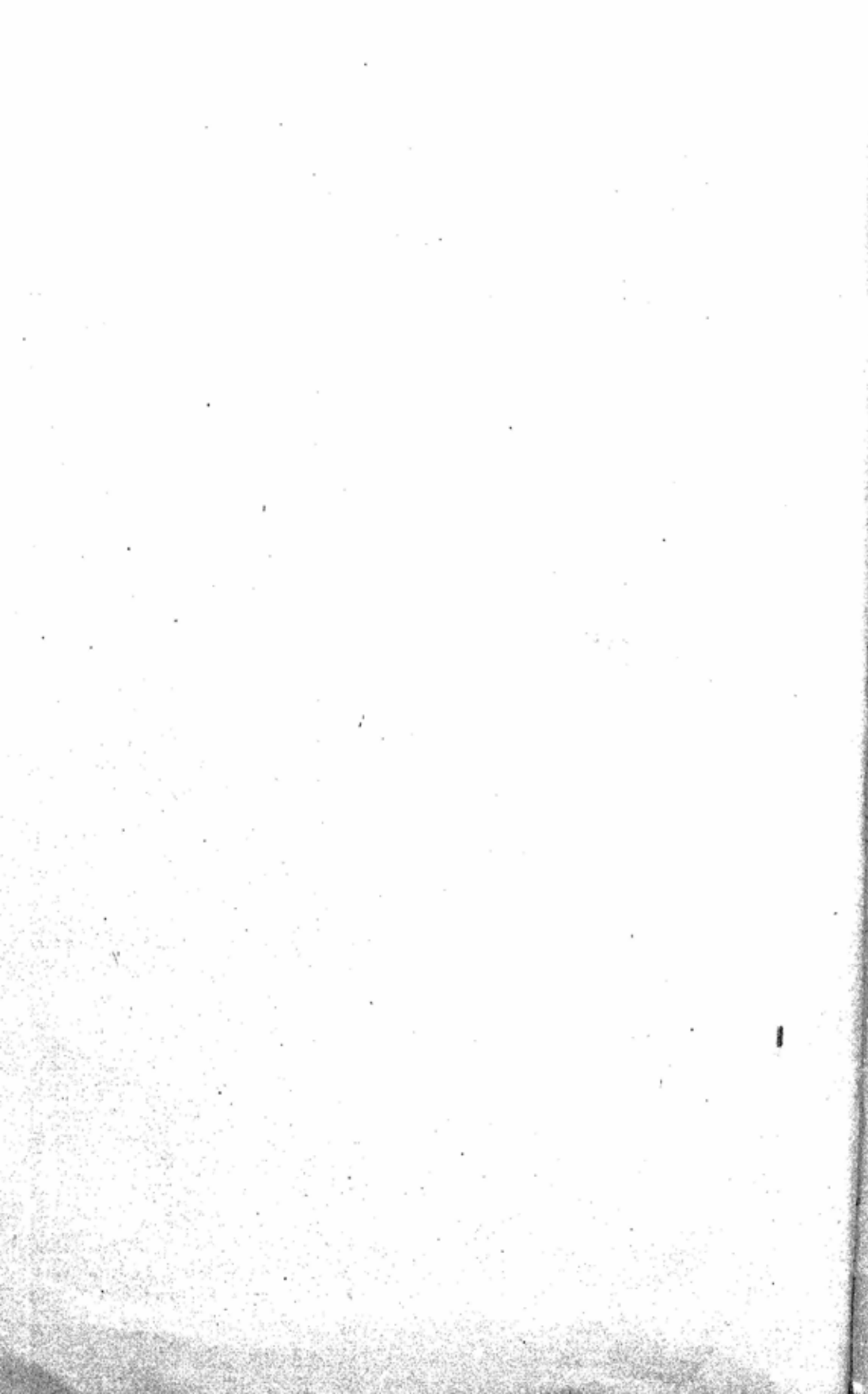
It is difficult to express the debt of gratitude I owe to my mother for her affection, understanding and the care of comforts. She generously provided me with funds when I needed them most to complete this work.

My wife, Rajalakshmi, has inspired and helped me to revise this work.

Mysore  
March, 1974

PROMODE KUMAR MISRA

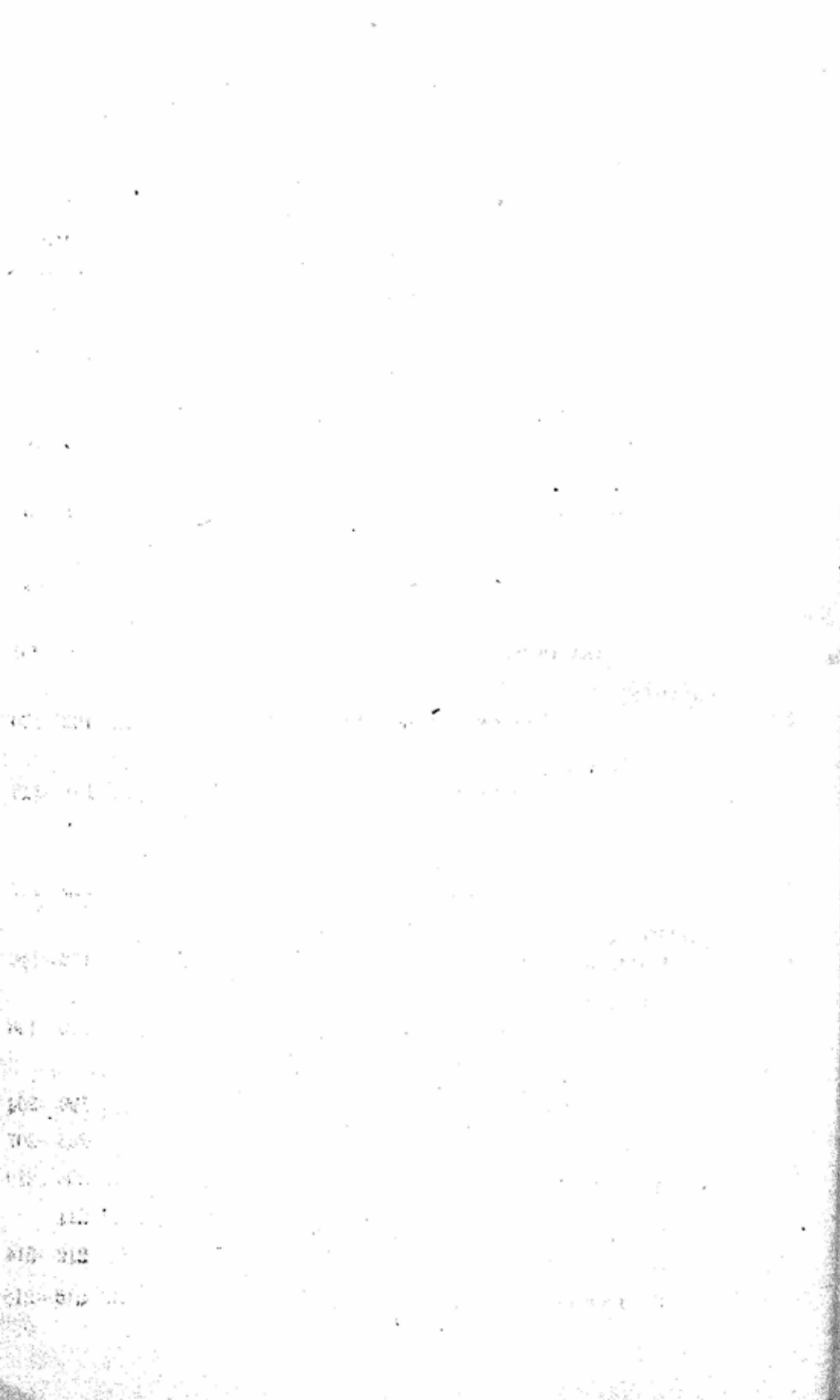




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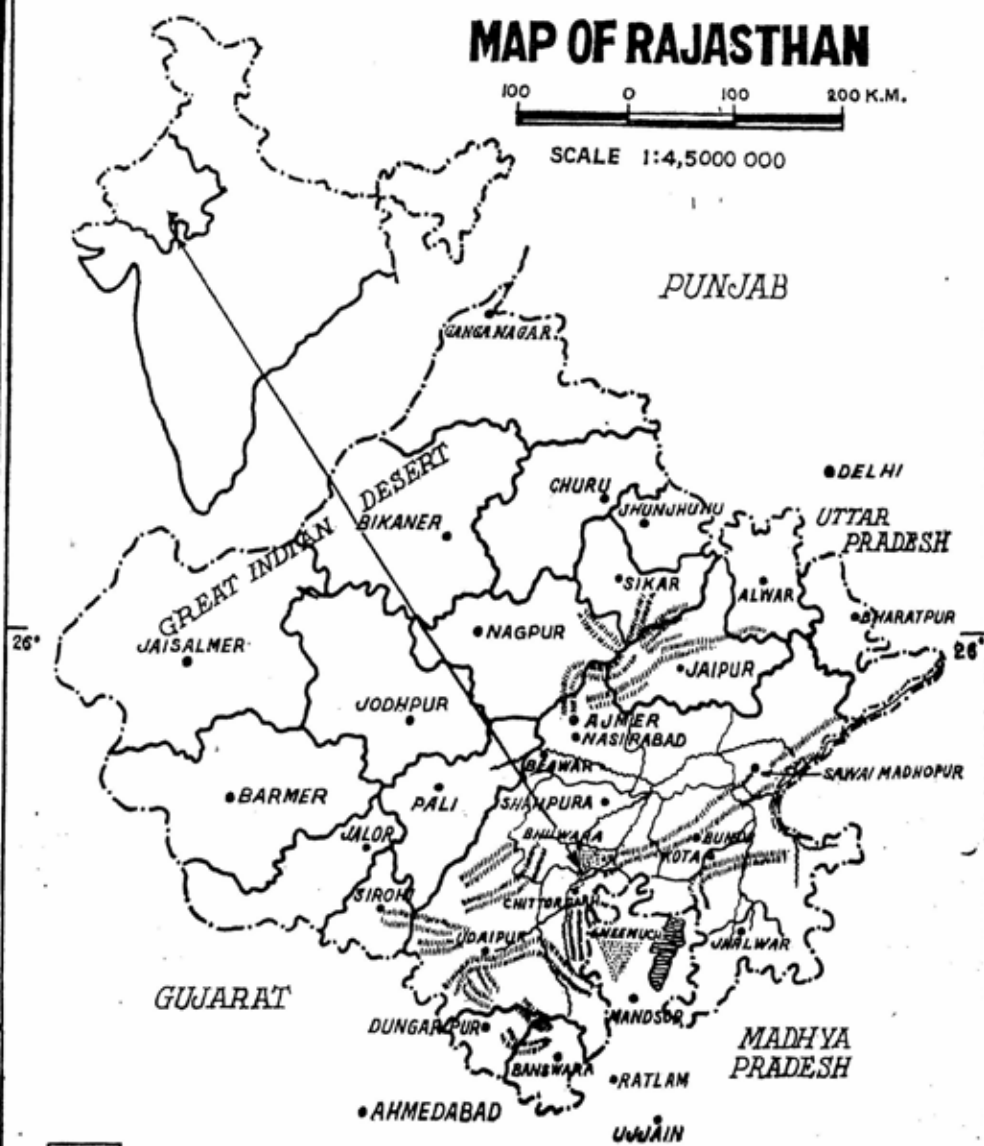


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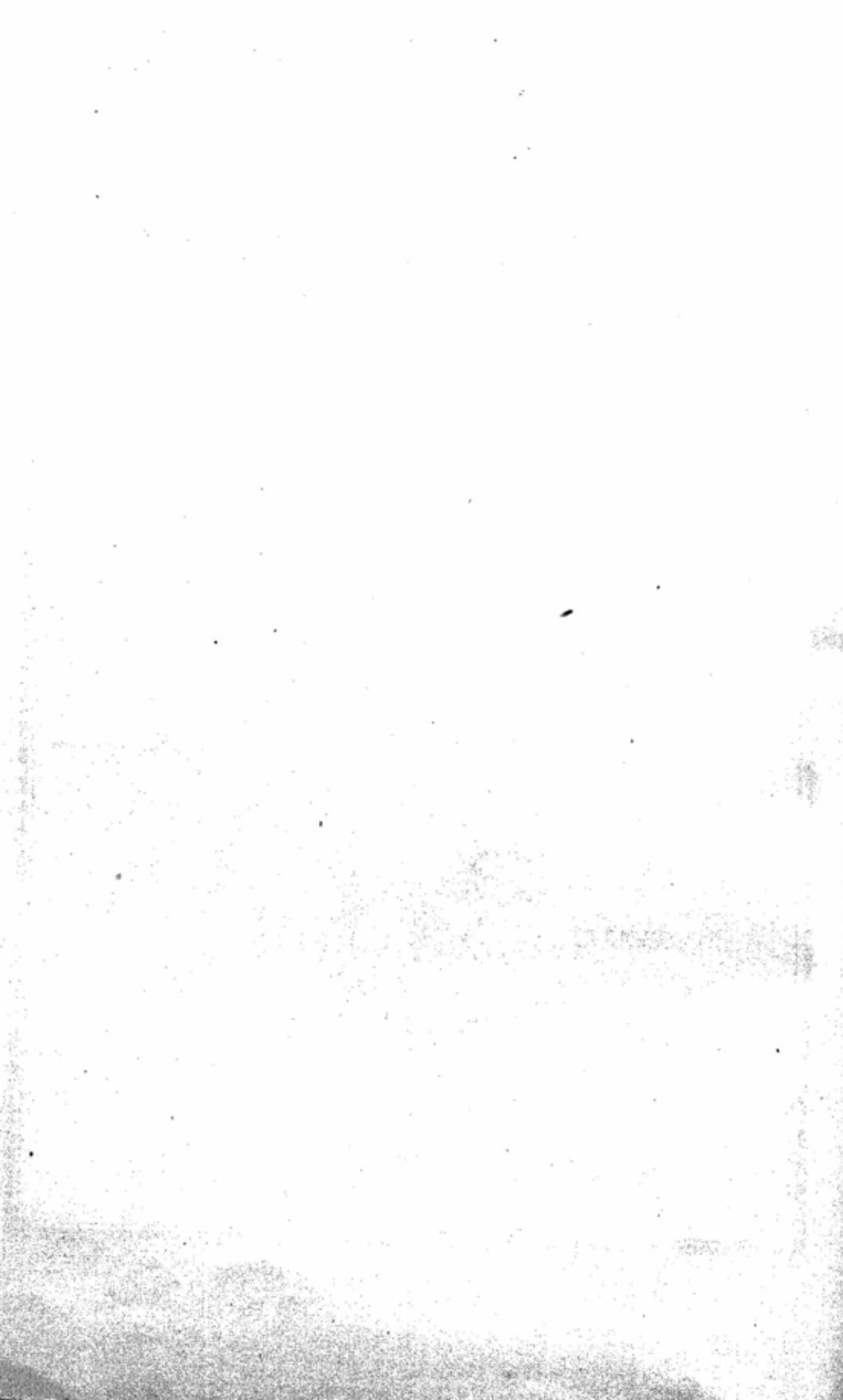
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MOUNTAIN  
RIVER  
LAKE

AREA OF MOVEMENT OF THE  
GADULIA LOHARS OF GANRAR BAND.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

*Nomadism* : A considerable number of nomads still exist in Western Asian countries (Awad 1932; 335) and elsewhere. India too has a large number of people who lead the wandering way of life. The nature of their wanderings differs, and so also their means of livelihood. There are bands of people who move throughout the year from place to place; whereas some others move out only in certain seasons of the year, either on account of the rigours of climate or for some other reasons, but have permanent dwelling places or holdings to which they periodically return after the wanderings (Misra 1970; 150-97). The repeated shifting of habitat in search of subsistence has been termed as nomadism. The repeated movement of one group of people from one place to another is based on realistic considerations having a stipulated direction and concentrating themselves around certain centres of operation for obtaining the livelihood (Thurnwald 1933; 390-92, Bacon 1954; 54, Krader 1959; 499). Nomadism assumes different forms, depending upon climate, topographic conditions, resources available, the means of livelihood chosen by the wandering group, and the preferences of the settled population. In India there are several types of nomadic groups engaged in a variety of professions, like snake charmers, monkey and bear displayers, acrobats, quack surgeons, hunters, food gatherers, artisans, pastoralists, and traders (Luiz 1961; 204-95). Some of them combine more than one occupation, they may be traders-artisans or trader-pastoralist, and so on. The different forms of nomadism have been classified as true nomads, semi-nomads and 'semi-sedentary', depending upon the nature of movement (Bacon 1954; 54). Bacon defines the true nomads as those people who dwell round the year in non-permanent dwellings and who practise no agriculture. Semi-nomads are those who plant a few crops at their base camps before moving out on seasonal migrations but they normally live in portable or temporary dwellings round the year. The 'semi-sedentary' live in permanent villages during a part of the year and wander for the rest of the period (*op. cit.*). There may be still more variant forms of movement. However, I have not attempted here to make a classification of the nomads in such fixed categories. The point which I want to stress upon is that all such forms of nomadism are related to a great extent to the external forces such as enumerated above. These forces condition the way of life of the nomads to a large extent.

In this respect, the settled people acquire a special significance. Whatever may be the occupation of the nomads, especially of the true nomads, they depend upon the settled people both for the acquisition of agricultural products and the disposal of finished goods. On the other hand, the settled people are dependent upon the nomads for certain goods and services offered by them (Bacon 1954; 44), though nomads seem to be more dependent upon the settled people than the other way round. The various wandering groups in India specialising in different trades are a case in point. They are welcome visitors to the villages (Somasundaram 1958; 42, Misra 1969b; 79-87). Their economy is tied with the general economy of the villages, and it would be an interesting field of enquiry to find out how the different wandering tribes and castes are 'federated' to the economic structure of the villages and affect one another in the field of culture (Bose 1956a, 1956b). This problem, of course, is of interest to the student of village studies, but Bose further maintains, "None of the above mentioned castes can find permanent patronage in one single village and they have, therefore, become converted into wandering groups, forming a complement to the settled residents who inhabit the villages of India" (1956b; 3). It is a debatable point as to how these people actually got converted into wandering groups. It is a particularistic historical question. It is true, however, that the extent of the utilisation of the goods and services as offered by the nomads, and for that matter any skilled trade, is limited. It is a problem of supply and demand. All the members who follow a particular trade cannot depend upon the small population of a village without making drastic changes in their economic activities, if they are interested in continuing in their traditional trade; either they have to get settled in smaller numbers in a number of villages or they have to turn nomads and visit the villages periodically. But there is something more to it (see Misra 1971; 319-33 and Misra *et al.* 1971).

However, the data which I have collected on the Gadulia Lohar, either settled or have made an attempt to settle down, support the earlier arguments to a great extent. In Chittorgarh, twentyeight households of the nomadic Gadulia Lohar from Maharashtra were settled but ultimately all of them, except one household, left that locality mainly on account of the want of the market for their finished goods. There were some other reasons, too, for the failure of the scheme of their settlement which was sponsored by the Government of Rajasthan. The Gadulia Lohar settled at Khanpura, Beawar and Pushkar colonies have the same problem. They have entered into a variety of adjustments to face the problem.

This shows clearly the close association between the nomads and the settled populations. This association is particularly important from the point of view of village economy and from the intended rehabilitation programme for the nomads by the government. However, I shall be

mainly concerned here with the wanderers.

*The Argument:* Very few anthropologists or sociologists have studied the wandering groups of India in detail. There are a few papers written on the wandering way of life but they are mostly by historians, travellers, and government officials. Thus, the available published material is too inadequate to give a full view of the wandering communities. The material published on the nomadic communities outside India is also scanty.

Today, with all the development plans in India, the village scene is changing fast compared with the changes during the British and pre-British periods. Improved means of communication, improved varieties of agricultural tools and implements, spread of education, and more frequent contacts between the different groups of people are affecting the way of life of the villagers and their world-view. Consequently, these material and non-material changes in the villages should have a bearing on the goods and services offered by the nomads to the settled population and also in their own way of life. In some cases, either their services are not required at all or their goods have become obsolete for the villagers, reducing their clientele to a very low level. This has left the various nomadic groups into a precarious economic condition. The benefits of various development schemes and other facilities offered by the government easily do not reach these people who are always on the move from one place to another. It is my observation that most of the nomadic groups would, under the circumstances, make substantial changes in their economic activities in the course of a few years. Already much time has lapsed in taking up the studies of the nomadic groups in India which could have given us the understanding as to how their various institutions are organised under the constant and regular wandering life. There are still some major groups of wandering people who are struggling to live the life of their ancestors. The Gadulia Lohar are one such major nomadic group. They are an artisan community mainly dependent upon the settled people of the region for their trade, the sale of their manufactured goods, and procurement of the items of their need.

This study is mainly concerned with the Gadulia Lohar who wander in the region of Chittorgarh in Rajasthan. It also refers to the Gadulia Lohar, who roam about in the contiguous region of Malwa and Ajmer, with whom the Gadulia Lohar of Chittorgarh are more in contact than with the Gadulia Lohar of other regions and the settled Gadulia Lohar of Beawar (District Ajmer).

This study seeks to present a descriptive analysis of the economic system of the nomadic Gadulia Lohar of Chittorgarh region. At some places the Gadulia Lohar have settled down. Settled life is in complete opposition to the nomadic life. Hypothetically, then this shift



from nomadism to 'sedentarization'<sup>1</sup> must have brought changes in the life of the Gadulia Lohar who settled down. What are these changes, more particularly in the economic field, will also be examined in this study.

Both the subjects, nomadism and economy, are interesting in their own right apart from their interrelation. But the study of the economy of a nomadic community raises special problems both in content and method than hitherto experienced in the study of settled populations. Their wants, the way they are determined, the resources available to them and the organisation by which the means are brought in relation with the ends desired are oriented under the stress of a life of regular movement. This will become apparent from the discussion in the text of the present study.

Economics has been given various meanings by the anthropologists and, as a result, there is much ambiguity in the literature (*see* Burling 1962). The ambiguities in the definitions do not always occur on account of the terms which have been loosely used but as Nash puts it ".....concepts and definitions necessarily have the tendency to become fuzzy at the edges when applied to the blooming, buzzing confusion that is the real world" (1966; 3). However, economics could be briefly defined as: "The study of that broad aspect of human activity which is concerned with resources, their limitations and uses, and the organisation whereby they are brought into relation with human wants" (Firth 1958; 63). Putting it simply, the main function of economy is to secure a living for the people, (Knight 1951; 17-25). Market for non-market economies have the same function to perform. While the economists concentrated on market economies, the non-market economies were left to be studied by the anthropologists. However, it is being increasingly realised that the anthropologists can make valuable contributions to the study of market economies too. Sol Tax's study of the Guatemalan economy (1953) is a concrete example. It is no longer believed even by the economists that the study of economic values are independent of social and cultural values. The economic values are closely interwoven with the whole texture of society (Firth 1939; 9). Herskovits (1952; 7) quotes Polanyi at length to emphasise the interrelation of social institutions of which economics is but a part.

There is much truth in the statement of Polanyi 'the outstanding discovery of recent historical and anthropological research is that man's economy as a rule is submerged in his social relationship'.

1. I have used 'sedentarization' and settlement as synonyms in this text, though the former term precisely means only an inactive life. The nomads who give up nomadic life do not really lead an inactive life and, therefore, the term is imprecise and does not convey the exact sense. Since the term 'sedentarization' has been used by scholars on the subject and in the Paris Symposium on the problems of Arid Zone, 1962, UNESCO, I have also used the term. I have kept it though in single inverted commas to indicate that either the term should be rigorously re-defined or given up in favour of a commonly used word settlement.

This point of view is largely realised and agreed upon by even the most orthodox and conservative economists; still the opinion on the scope of Economic Anthropology is divided. The argument which divides them is whether<sup>2</sup> formal economic theory developed for western market organisation and industrialism is capable of yielding analytical insights when applied to primitive structures (Dalton 1961; 1-25). The difference between the western and the primitive economies at best could be of degree rather than of kind (Le Clair 1962; 1179-1203). Non-monetary goals, such as prestige, power (*see* Leach 1954; 10), leisure, (*see* Zipf 1949) leading to economic decisions are present in all the societies, whether advanced or primitive. This problem, however, need not bother us here for the economic activities of the Gadulia Lohar are a part of the wider network of the economy of the village folks which is linked in a way with the market mechanism. Directly or indirectly any fluctuations in the market affect the economy of the Gadulia Lohar. A change in the wheat price 'feeds back' on their labour charges in the blacksmith work though the change may not be an immediate one. However, the purpose here is not to discuss about the market or price-forming mechanism but to present the economic organisation of the Gadulia Lohar as a part of the integrated whole of the general social framework. The economists in general have neglected this approach, and the gap left by them is now being filled in by social anthropologists. This, of course, is understandable as economics grew up in a different tradition than anthropology and the two disciplines differ in methods, scope and view-points. The useful leads given by Thurnwald (1933) and Herskovits (1952), and profitably used and developed by Firth (1939, 1946, 1951), Tax (1953), Epstein (1962) and a number of others have been further strengthened by the remarkable exposition of Nash. He optimistically writes, "The great achievement of economic anthropology would be the making of a significant contribution to the construction of a single explanatory framework for both economic and non-economic variables" (1966; 16).

*Field Research Method:* The fieldwork among the Gadulia Lohar was conducted mainly in the state of Rajasthan and partly in the adjoining district of Mandisor in the state of Madhya Pradesh. I had been assigned earlier some anthropological research work in the state of Rajasthan by the Anthropological Survey of India. During the course of my earlier assignment I came to know about the Gadulia Lohar and the historical background of their nomadism. By far the Gadulia Lohar are the most numerous nomadic group in Rajasthan. In recent years they have become quite well-known on account of the interest shown by

2. Weber (1924) placed the notion of rational behaviour in choice-making. He distinguished two major types—formal and substantive. Polanyi (1959; 162) uses this concept of Weber with some profit to explain the pre-industrial economies. The formal meaning of economic derives from the logical character of choice-making while the substantive meaning of economic refers to the choice-making in terms of the value system of a particular group.

the state and central governments and some voluntary social welfare agencies in their history, nomadism and welfare.

The Gadulia Lohar are found all over Rajasthan and also in other states adjoining Rajasthan. Chittorgarh is claimed to be their ancestral home, and, hence, I considered it better to start my work from Chittorgarh itself.

To a social anthropologist the people he studies are his laboratory and in this regard he is at a disadvantage as compared to a physical scientist. The former cannot control his laboratory. He deals with human beings and that is why there is no set formula in Social Anthropology to collect data. Plans made for a particular study are ultimately conditioned by the idiosyncracies of his subjects (Firth 1939; 14). That is, every fieldworker has to design his method of data collection, keeping in view the people studied and the field conditions with the ultimate objective to portray accurately and faithfully the characteristics of the people being studied. For the study of the nature of descriptive analysis, Jahoda *et al.* (1930) write, "Descriptive analysis may employ any method of data collection; interviews, questionnaires, systematic direct observation, analysis of community records, and participant observation". In the last fifty years social anthropologists have concentrated in developing techniques of fieldwork for securing as accurate information as possible. The greatest of these has been to emphasise maximum contacts with the people being studied, by actually living with them, cross checking, and supplementing verbal information at each step by actual observation. For this kind of intensive study it is necessary that the group taken for the study should be small. This approach helps to see how different aspects of social activities are inter-related. The intensive study of the microcosm helps to understand macrocosm—the particular to illustrate the general (Firth 1951; 18). In this study I selected a band of nomadic Gadulia Lohar of Chittorgarh region. I lived with them and directly observed them, supplementing verbal information. I took genealogies and detailed case studies.

Securing a regular arrangement of living with a nomadic population is no easy task. The Gadulia Lohar move in their small, overloaded bullock carts in which there is hardly any room for an outsider, still less for an ever bothersome anthropologist. The Gadulia Lohar camp near a settlement either in the open field or by the roadside. Whatever may be the weather they live in their carts. They cook their food by the side of their carts. These situations almost make it impossible for an outsider, habituated to live under a roof, to be with them. These difficulties are further accentuated firstly by uncertainty of their movement. It is not definite till the last moment when they would actually wind up a camp. Abrupt departures, sequel to a quarrel, and frequent postponement of the previously agreed date of departure

make it difficult for an outsider to make arrangements for his movement in advance. Secondly, their suspicious nature (because of which they do not believe in others easily—perhaps a characteristic feature of nomads) makes it difficult for an outsider to get their confidence. From 1955 onwards, many government officials and a number of voluntary associations have been making contacts with the Gadulia Lohar in connection with some scheme of their welfare or the other. These contacts are of short durations and made by men of authority. Thus, the people are responsive to them, at least, so far as conversation is concerned. In the initial stages of my contacts with them, they associated me with these government officials and they were fairly free with me and responsive. Later, when they discovered that I continued to be with them and followed them wherever they went even at the cost of my personal inconvenience and expenses, they became hesitant, shy and less responsive; and they started having doubts about my motives. There were a number of rumours about my stay with them. The most popular of them was that I would book all of them for military service. Incidentally, the Indo-Chinese war was in active phase at that time. Their argument was that after all there was no gain to me or to the government in taking so much trouble over them. No amount of explanations would have a lasting effect on them. For, in the next camp they would meet another set of people in the village and they would discuss about me. The cross-questioning and stray talks of the villagers would again kindle their suspicion about me. However, in course of time I succeeded in making many of them my good friends, specially some of the young men. I may report here that I did not face any opposition of this kind among the settled Gadulia Lohar. Thirdly, the disintegration of a 'band' into several smaller units in blacksmith work season was yet another problem to resolve, whom to follow and whom not to.

No permanent solution can be prescribed for these problems, nor could I arrive at any. They have to be solved on the spot with patience and perseverance, other necessary qualifications for an anthropologist.

Altogether, I actually lived with the 'bands' of the Gadulia Lohar of Chittorgarh region for about 8 months distributed over three field trips. It will be a long story to state as to how the problems at each step were faced. Generally, I moved with them in their carts and managed to send my luggage through other means of transport to their destinations. Except at a few places, I got accommodation to live next to their camps. Wherever I could not, I lived with them.

The first trip was more of an exploratory nature, lasting from July 1962 to November 1962. Much time of this trip was spent in selecting and locating a group of the Gadulia Lohar for study. From this trip I gained familiarity with the ways of the Gadulia Lohar and a good idea as to what was a 'band', a 'camp' and a 'region' to the Gadulia

Lohar. In my later trips, I concentrated more on understanding their various units and I associated myself with a 'band'. The second trip was more rewarding in the sense that the particular 'band' of the Gadulia Lohar, on which I was working stayed all along at one place, and I was with them for one and a half months during April-June 1963. This, incidentally, is the hottest period of the year in Rajasthan and off-season for the Gadulia Lohar. I visited these people again in the month of September 1963, and I continued to follow the same 'band' till the first week of December 1963. Their working season begins with the month of September. Thereafter, I stayed for two months at Beawar (District Ajmer) where a section of the Gadulia Lohar has settled down. I also visited the other colonies of the Gadulia Lohar at Pushkar (District Ajmer) and Ajmer town. The total period of my field-work among the Gadulia Lohar was for a little more than a year.

Fieldwork among the settled Gadulia Lohar was undertaken in order to compare them with the nomadic Gadulia Lohar and to find out the changes that had occurred in their life. The Gadulia Lohar of Beawar started a 'semi-sedentary' life some 50 years ago.

After the experience of the first field trip, the research design made in advance was accordingly modified. For example, I realised that a 'band' was not a rigid unit. The Gadulia Lohar recognise regions and their movement is confined to those regions. The camps in off-season acquire special significance as these are the occasions when they can live together relatively for a longer time, can renew their relationships, negotiate and discuss the family affairs as well as other matters of common interest and social importance. The membership of a 'band' never remains stationary but the term 'band' could be profitably used in their case. This I shall discuss in detail.

I have made serious attempts to quantify the data on economics but on account of inherent difficulties in this method, particularly when conducted in a nomadic community constantly on move from one place to another, I do not feel sure to what extent I have succeeded in this task. The Gadulia Lohar do not keep accounts nor do they budget in a formal manner. To overstate the figures is almost their habit. Perhaps, this is on account of their occupation of blacksmith and bullock-trading in both of which a great amount of bargaining goes before a deal is fixed. The figures, as given in the text, were always cross checked but their reliability is approximate. In spite of these various odds, I have tried to present a pattern of the economy of the nomadic Gadulia Lohar of Rajasthan in relation to their social structure and traditions.

## CHAPTER II

### THE PEOPLE, THEIR COUNTRY AND THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Gadulia Lohar are mainly found in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Western Maharashtra, and Western Uttar Pradesh. In some of these places they are known by other names also. In Western Rajasthan, most of them have settled down, and I believe that in Gujarat also they have started living a 'sedentary' life. In Rajasthan, according to the 1941 census, their population was 6,970. The Rajasthan Year Book and Who's Who 1961 states their population as 16,648. The Year Book does not give the source for these figures. According to the report<sup>1</sup> of the Gadulia Lohar rehabilitation subcommittee, the population of the Gadulia Lohar in Rajasthan was 16,672 in the year 1955. There is not much difference between the figures given by the Rajasthan Year Book and those of the Gadulia Lohars rehabilitating subcommittee, but the difference between the figures given by these sources and those of 1941 census is significant. This difference can be explained by considering the fact that more areas were included in the State of Rajasthan after the integration of the Indian States in 1948 and again after the states reorganisation in 1956.

The main traditional occupation of the Gadulia Lohar is blacksmith work. The abode of a Gadulia Lohar is his tiny bullock cart which contains all the possessions and necessities which he may require for his living. The name 'Gadulia Lohar' is derived from their occupation of blacksmith work and their abode in carts. In Hindi, Gadulia or Gadoli means a cart, but it may also mean a bullock cart, and Lohar means a blacksmith. Thus the name Gadulia Lohar means 'bullock cart blacksmith'. These people are on the move round the year on their carts from one place to another. In the working season, they camp at a certain place for a short time during which they make and mend iron implements of the villagers. In the off-season, they camp at one place for a longer time. Recently, they have also taken up trade in bullocks which they do simultaneously along with blacksmith work. Their area of movement, however, is not unlimited. Each group moves in a particular region and it is so recognised among themselves. They acquire the name of the region in which they mostly move, such as Chittori Gadulia Lohar (from Chittorgarh region), Malwi Gadulia Lohar (from Malwa region), and so on. The Gadulia Lohar of contiguous regions keep good information about each other

1. Unpublished report of the committee appointed by the State Government of Rajasthan in 1955 to study the question of the rehabilitation of the Gadulia Lohar.



and they may be related with each other by affinal and kin ties. However, those who roam in the areas farther away are less known to each other and may not contain relatives. The Gadulia Lohar of different regions adopt the cultural traits of the regions which are their operation centres. This is reflected in their food, dress, language, and social customs.

As said earlier, I shall be mainly concerned with those who call themselves Chittori Gadulia Lohar. They are also known as Mewari Gadulia Lohar (from Mewar, another name for Chittorgarh region). Among themselves, the Gadulia Lohar mainly refer to each other as Lohar.

*Physical Environment of the Region :* The word "Chittor" stands for Chittorgarh, presently the district headquarters of the district of the same name in the Indian State of Rajasthan. It was formerly the seat of the kingdom of Mewar of the Sisodia Rajputs. Chittorgarh lies to the east of the Aravalli mountain ranges. Rajasthan is divided by the Aravalli ranges into two unequal and widely differing parts : the north-western and the south-eastern. The north-eastern part is almost wholly a vast expanse of desert, comprising of desolate plateau, shifting sand-dunes, arid plains and bare cliffs. The south-eastern part, in which Chittorgarh is situated, is protected by the Aravallis from the ever drifting sand. It has a varied terrain of extensive hill ranges, fertile table lands and dense forests, intersected by the two largest rivers of Rajasthan, such as Chambal and Banas. In the heart of this region lies the former princely state of Mewar. Mewar itself is divided into two fairly distinct natural tracts—the south-west portion embraces the wildest spurts of the Aravallis and is known as the hilly tract of Mewar; and the north-eastern tract, starting from Chittorgarh, consists of an elevated plateau sloping gradually down to the plains of Malwa. This north-eastern tract is the area with which I shall be mainly concerned in the present study.

Chittorgarh is an ancient town. Only eleven miles from Chittorgarh is Nagri, the history of which goes back to the 2nd century B.C. Chittorgarh town is situated on the bank of the river Gambhiri, a tributary of the river Banas. The town is overlooked by a gigantic fort situated on a lofty hill. Chittorgarh has been a scene of several fiercely fought battles which are famous in the annals of Rajasthan. It was first stormed by Muslim invaders in the year 1303 A.D. by Ala-ud-din Khilzi. Babar and Akbar also besieged it. The Sisodia Rajputs of Mewar, however, always gallantly resisted the Muslim invasions. Hunter (1887; 402) pays high tributes for the gallantry and prolonged resistance of the rulers of Mewar State.

The north-eastern plateau area has an extreme climate. In summers, there are hot south-westerly winds and the mean temperature in the month of April is 30°C to 32.5°C. The mean temperature in

the month of January ranges between 15°C and 20°C. Most of the rain in this region falls from June to September. The Aravallis obstruct the flow of the south-westerly monsoons arising in the Arabian Sea, with the result that rainfall in the table land of Chittorgarh is between 25.0cm. and 50.0cm.

The important rivers of the plateau division are Berach, Gambhiri, Banas and Jakan. The area contains isolated blocks of high hills with an elevation of 300 feet to 500 feet above the surrounding plains.

The major soils of this area are red, regur and alluvial. The principal crops grown are wheat, barley, maize, *jauar* (millet), *bajra* (millet), sesamum and ground-nut.

**Historical Background:** The Gadulia Lohar claim Chittorgarh as their ancestral home which they had to leave in the past as it fell into the hands of the Mogul army in 1568 (Majumdar *et al.* 1950; 450). Uday Singh, the then ruler of Mewar, fled into the hills; still Mewar refused to acknowledge the authority of the Muslim rulers of Delhi. After the death of Uday Singh in the year 1572, his son Maharana Pratap Singh, offered uncompromising resistance to the Moguls and did recover many of his strongholds towards the end of his life. Before his death, he exacted a pledge from his chiefs that the country shall not be abandoned to the enemy (Majumdar *et al.* 1950; 450). Tradition has it that the group now known as the Gadulia Lohar also left Chittor when it fell to the enemy. Along with other warriors, they fought the war to the best of their means. Just at the entrance gate of the fortress of Chittor, a tablet is fixed bearing an inscription in Hindi which



### गाड़ीलौहरो काचित्रकूट में प्रवेश



चार सौ वर्ष पूर्व जब चित्रकूट (चित्तौड़गढ़) पराधीन हो गया तब यहां के वीर योद्धाओं (गाड़ीलौहरो) ने दुर्ग छोड़ते समय ये प्रतिज्ञा पंथी दी कि जब तक चित्रकूट स्वतंत्र न हो जाय तब तक वे:-

१. इस दुर्ग पर नहीं चढ़ेंगे
२. घर बना कर नहीं रहेंगे
३. खाद पर नहीं सोयेंगे
४. दीपक नहीं जलायेंगे
५. पीने के लिये पानी खींचने का रस्सा नहीं रखेंगे

तब से अब तक ये स्वतंत्रता प्रेमी बेल गाड़ियों में ही घर बना कर देश के कोने कोने में भटक रहे हैं। देश की स्वतंत्रता के सात वर्ष बाद राष्ट्र के नेता और भारत के प्रधान मंत्री श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने चैत्र शुक्ला चतुर्दशी विक्रम संवत् २०१२ बुधवार तदनुसार तारीख ६ अप्रैल १९५५ में चित्रकूट में इनकी प्रवेश करा कर इस जाति की प्रतिज्ञा पूरी कराई। और बम्बई, मध्य प्रदेश, मध्य भारत, पंजाब, हिमाचल, अजमेर, सोपाल, तथा राजस्थान के मुख्य मंत्रियों तथा अन्य मंत्रियों ने दुर्ग के प्रवेश द्वार पर इनका अभिवादन किया। और भारत सरकार के रक्षा मंत्री डा० कैलाश नाथ काटजू ने भी इनका सम्मान किया।



proclaims that when Chittor fell, the great warriors and the 'Gadi Lohars' vowed before leaving the fortress that till Chittor was liberated, they would not (1) go up to the fort of Chittor, (2) live in houses, (3) sleep on cots, (4) light lamps, and (5) keep ropes for drawing water from well. The inscription further reads that since then these lovers of freedom have been living in their bullock carts and moving from place to place. On 6th April, 1955, Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, led them in a procession into this fort and thus fulfilled their age old vows.

But the Gadulia Lohars even after being absolved of their vows, continue to move in their bullock carts from place to place, making and repairing iron implements, leading a life which their fathers and theirs before them had led for centuries.

The authentic history books written on the area do not mention the Gadulia Lohar and the circumstances under which they supposed to have left Chittorgarh. A common Gadulia Lohar is not quite conversant with the history of his community and is not aware of what actually happened in those momentous days, some 400 years ago. He does not know the circumstances in which his ancestors were compelled to take those vows, or the reasons because of which they stick to them now. With the passage of time and the changes in the social, political and historical circumstances, the vows have lost their significance, if they ever had any. It may also be mentioned here that even the direct and recognised descendants of Rana Pratap did not feel bound by the oaths which Rana Pratap himself exacted from his chiefs and supporters, specially after the rule of the house was re-established in Mewar.

As regards their vows, none are observed except the one of not living in the houses. Even before 1955, they used to go up to the fortress of Chittor, whenever there was an opportunity. They sleep on cots and they have been doing so for a long time. At least, no living Gadulia Lohar remembers to have heard that his ancestors did not use a cot for sleeping. Their women, though, generally do not sleep on cots and that is for some very different reasons which will be discussed later.

As for lighting the lamps, the Gadulia Lohar, generally speaking, still do not keep lamps. Their camps remain dark in the night except for the glow from their hearths. As a matter of fact, their requirement of light is little after the dusk and whatever light they need is provided by the glow of hearth fire. But, on certain occasions, such as childbirth, or when a person is possessed by spirits, they do use earthen oil lamps. A few of them also possess hurricane or modern petromax lanterns which are used on ceremonial occasions, such as marriage, recitation of devotional songs, etc. As it is, the Gadulia Lohar do not have much use for artificial light, and hence they do not keep lamps and lanterns. Besides, hurricane and petromax lanterns are not easy to carry in their jerking bullock carts. The hurricane and petromax lanterns possessed

by a few of them had broken chimneys. In other words, when they need artificial light on certain occasions they do not hesitate to break their ancestral vow of not lighting lamps.

The last oath is regarding ropes. They still do not generally keep ropes for drawing water from wells. In absence of their own ropes, they have to depend upon the help of some other persons, either to draw water for them or to lend them ropes. This inconvenience is causing more and more Gadulia Lohar to acquire ropes and buckets.

Thus, we see that these people do not observe their traditional vows, except that of not living in houses. Of course, there is no need for them to observe these vows now; perhaps, they were never observed; but the story regarding these vows persists. The story gained official recognition and an all-India popularity at the time of the Gadulia Lohar convention in 1955. Taking the above story, irrespective of its correctness or otherwise, as a mode of expression of a set of ideas instead of a set of rules (Leach 1954; 268), it becomes easier to understand its purpose and the various inconsistencies in it. The story immediately connects the Gadulia Lohar with the most popular and revered of the Rajput rulers of Medieval India. While validating their nomadism it also enhances their social prestige as patriots capable of undergoing severe deprivation for the sake of an ideal. If the Gadulia Lohar are not the descendants of Mewari Rajputs and constitute a different community, then socially the story is all the more important as it seeks to raise their caste status.

Besides this, there is yet another myth validating their nomadism. This time the sanction is from a very powerful female deity capable of doing irreparable destruction. It is said that once Kalka Mata (a powerful female deity of Shakti cult) cursed them on some occasion that they could not lead a settled life. In Chittorgarh, just after the convention of 1955 mentioned above, some Gadulia Lohar of Chittorgarh region (besides the Gadulia Lohar of other places also) were given land to construct their houses by the State Government of Rajasthan. Four families did construct their houses with subsidy from the state government. Jay Ram, one of the enlightened leaders of this community, was among them. They started living in their houses. After some time, the daughter of Jay Ram died in giving birth to a child. The child also did not survive. This was immediately ascribed by them as the curse of Kalka Mata. They said that since Jay Ram had tried to break the curse of the deity, he lost his daughter and granddaughter. The result of this incident was that Jay Ram was forced by his people to abandon the idea of living in a house, and ultimately he, along with others, left those houses and took to the cart.

Both these stories regarding their nomadism exist side by side; though if one is upheld, the other has to be given up. But inconsistencies and contradictions are fundamental and present in all the soc-

eties, and one version cannot be considered as more correct than any other or others. This inconsistency is not there only in the realm of ideas but also in practice. At Chittorgarh, the Gadulia Lohar left their houses on account of the myth given earlier, but only 116 miles north of Chittorgarh, in the district of Ajmer, many Gadulia Lohar were successfully living in houses. This fact was very well-known to the Chittori Gadulia Lohar who left their houses.

These types of inconsistencies in a social system become understandable in the light of the arguments of Leach : "Since Malinowski's day it has been a common place that myth served to sanction social behaviour and to validate the rights of particular individuals and groups within a particular social system. Since any social system, however stable and balanced it may be, contains opposing factions, there are bound to be different myths to validate the particular rights of different groups of people" (1954 ; 271).

As regards their profession of blacksmithy, there are again several versions. One version is that these people used to make weapons for the Mewar army which was continuously at war with the Moguls. Later, when the war was over, they continued the profession of blacksmithy with the difference that instead of making and repairing weapons they started making and mending agricultural and household implements and tools, a profession which they continue to do till this day (Sharma 1958 ; 29).

The other myth about their profession in their own words is : "Maharana Pratap was a very brave man. Our ancestors were also with him. He had won many battles. He had the blessings of Kalka Mata. She had told him that she would always be at his back in war but that he should never look back. When Rana Pratap saw a very large army of the enemy he got frightened and he looked back to make sure whether his chiefs were with him or not. On his back was Kalka Mata and he saw her. Such a disregard of her instructions infuriated her and so she cursed him that he should be defeated in the war. Rana was defeated in the war and was forced to live in jungles. He had to eat bread made out of grass and had to wear clothes made of wild grass and leaves". The story goes on : "One of the brothers of Rana had built a house in Udaipur and was living comfortably, whereas Rana was suffering in jungles.....After Rana was defeated, our ancestors also came out in jungles along with him. There was a sister of Rana, called Padma. Rana told her that his people were disintegrating, and so she should go and see if anything could be done for them. She was coming in her chariot towards our people and on the way in the jungle, the axle of her chariot broke down. Our caste people saw this and told her that as they did not know the art of blacksmithy, and as they did not have any tool they were helpless to repair her chariot. She asked

them not to worry and assured them of her help. At that time bellows were patterned after the nose, the forge was made after the mouth, the anvil after the knee of the left leg, the tongs after the left hand, and the right hand provided the example of hammer. With these equipments they repaired the axle of her chariot. She was very much satisfied and said that from then on that would form the kit of their tools and blacksmithy would be their professions".

This particular story was related to me by both the Gadulia Lohar who roam about in the region of Chittorgarh and those in Malwa indicating its wide circulation.

The suggestion in the story is that formerly the Gadulia Lohar were not blacksmiths and that they always gave support to the Mewar kings. They were unlike those people who were living comfortably while their Rana was suffering. The profession of blacksmithy was given to them through some supernatural means gifted to Rana and his family.

There are several other stories popular among them relating to their origin, nomadism and how they became roving blacksmiths. These stories are often repeated, a common feature of oral literature. The purpose of its repetition is to bring the structure of the myth to the surface (Levi-Strauss 1963; 229). Webb (1941; 129-41) gives a number of stories as he learnt from the Gadulia Lohar about origin. These stories often run parallel to each other. Unfortunately, Webb commits the mistake of finding the 'correct' version of these myths. He proceeds further to 'sieve' out the residual facts and constructs a story of their origin out of it. Leaving his conjectural history about the origin of the Gadulia Lohar, it is found that some of the stories about their origin are much similar to the stories collected by me with some differences in the names of the characters of the stories. The main themes of the stories remain more or less the same. The differences are understandable as oral literature is apt to be modified from generation to generation. Levi-Strauss, writing on the subject, opines: "Thus myth grows spiral-wise until the intellectual impulse which has produced it is exhausted. Its growth is a continuous process, whereas its structure remains discontinuous" (1963; 229).

*Caste Status* : If the Gadulia Lohar are not Rajput though they claim to be, then these stories go to show that they have been designed to raise the people's caste status. Certain clan names and the branches among the Gadulia Lohar are also found among the Rajputs but some of their customs and practices are opposed to the accepted customs and practices of the Rajputs of Rajasthan, e.g., widow marriage, absence of sacred thread, custom of bride price, etc. The Gadulia Lohar attribute the deviations from the Rajput norms to their nomadic way of life.

In the villages they are accepted as blacksmiths and are considered to be the highest among all other nomadic groups in the region.

They are known for their honesty and good workmanship. It may also be mentioned that a Brahmin priest officiates at their marriages. The various other functionary castes, such as Kumhar (potter), Nai (barber), Doli (drummer) and Mali (gardener), offer their services to the Gadulia Lohar on customary payment as they do for the 'clean' castes of the villages. Thus, we may conclude that their caste status belongs to the middle range of the Hindu caste hierarchy.

## CHAPTER III

### THE REGION AND THE MOVEMENT

The Gadulia Lohar live by blacksmithy (their traditional occupation) and trade in bullocks. In order to find blacksmith work and opportunities to sell and purchase bullocks they move from place to place. It has been said earlier that the movement of the nomads is neither undirected nor unlimited; instead, it remains confined to a distinct area within which it is repeated year after year. The nomads generally travel in small groups also (Awad 1962; 333). All these are true of the Gadulia Lohar too. They travel in small groups and the movements of these groups is on a fixed schedule, repetitive, and remains confined to a distinct area. For understanding the social organisation of the Gadulia Lohar, it is necessary to know the details regarding these groups and their movement. In this chapter I shall show the area to which the different groups of the Gadulia Lohar remain confined, the way they organise and regulate their movements, their halts and their annual cycle of movement. The composition of these groups will be discussed in the next chapter.

*Chittorgarh Region* : The district of Chittorgarh in the state of Rajasthan is bound by the district of Bhilwara in the north, the hill districts of Dungarpur, Banswara and Udaipur in the south and west, and the present state of Madhya Pradesh in the east. Chittorgarh was the seat of the kingdom of Mewar till 1568 A.D. (Majumdar *et al.* 1950; 449). After the sack of Chittor at the hands of Akbar, the capital of Mewar was shifted to Udaipur; and though it remained under Muslim domination, Chittorgarh was considered as a part of kingdom of Mewar. The people of the former state of Mewar, even after the merger of the state in the Indian Union, are popularly known as Mewaris. The dialect spoken in this area is also called as Mewari. The people living in Chittorgarh and in its neighbourhood are known as Chittoris besides being called as Mewaris. Thus, in a wider sense, the Chittoris may also mean the Mewaris. Leaving the hill areas, there are many other cultural similarities in respect of material traits (Bose 1961) and non-material traits within the former state of Mewar. The similarities tend to be closer within the geographical region of Chittorgarh. These various cultural traits as found in Mewar can easily be distinguished from those found in the neighbouring former states of Marwar and Malwa. Thus, a cultural region of Mewar (and within that a subregion of Chittorgarh) could be roughly demarcated on the

basis of various cultural similarities within the former state of Mewar and negatively on the basis of the cultural differences from the neighbouring areas. However, now with the improved means of communications and other socio-political and economic changes, the distinctions between the regions of Mewar and other neighbouring areas is progressively diminishing. For a Gadulia Lohar, however, the region of Chittorgarh or Mewar is not the administrative district of Chittorgarh, nor the entire former state of Mewar, nor even the area covered by the Mewari dialect or the cultural region of Mewar; it is something different from all this; but each of the factors mentioned above, though not in entirety, influences him and contributes to his idea of Mewar or Chittorgarh region. His idea of the region may not have a clearly defined geographical limits but he has a sense of belonging to it. For example, the Chittori Gadulia Lohar go as far as Mandisor (formerly a part of Malwa) in Madhya Pradesh but still claim themselves as Chittori Gadulia Lohar. Nomads are usually known to belong to the place from where they start (Awad 1962; 333). This is also true in respect of the Gadulia Lohar. They take the name of the region in which is situated the place from where they start and to which they habitually return in the summer season. Along with the place name they also share the linguistic and cultural traits of the region, the boundaries of which in past were determined by the former political boundaries. Thus, all those Gadulia Lohar who start from the neighbourhood of Chittorgarh and return to the same place or near about are known to belong to the region of Chittorgarh. The Gadulia Lohar who live and roam near about Udaipur, once an integral part of the Mewar State, are not considered to belong to Chittor or even Mewar regions by those who move in the neighbourhood of Chittorgarh. The main reason is that those who move in the neighbourhood of Chittorgarh do not have any time of contact with those who roam near about Udaipur hence, the latter are known as Udaipuri Gadulia Lohar. So far as the Chittori Gadulia Lohar are concerned, the Udaipuri Gadulia Lohar may as well not exist. There are no social relations of any kind between these two groups which one would have ordinarily thought to be cognates. On the other hand, the Gadulia Lohar coming from Ratangarh side<sup>1</sup> and going upto Mandisor in Madhya Pradesh are known to belong to the region of Malwa, though not only a part of the route of the Chittori, and the Malwi Gadulia Lohar is common, but they have social, economic and political ties also. They are called the Malwi Gadulia Lohar because they habitually start from and return to a place which is in the former state of Malwa and because they share in a large measure the cultural and linguistic traits of that region in respect of food, dress, speech, etc.

1. Ratangarh is on the west of Chittorgarh in the state of Madhya Pradesh. The two places are separated by hills.



Thus, it is seen that the different groups of the nomadic Gadulia Lohar, though living in the same cultural and linguistic region and a former political boundary, are not included as belonging to the same region on account of the lack of awareness of each other. On the other hand, these Lohar people are aware of another group and have 'effective relations' with the members of the group; but as these members start from and habitually return to a place situated in another linguistic and cultural region having a different former political boundary, they are considered to be belonged to a different group. In other words, they recognise the cultural and linguistic differences between them and the members of other group. Thus, while discussing region in respect of the Gadulia Lohar, we have to take into account the location of the place the members of the group start from and return to and the cultural and linguistic similarities and differences. I shall further elucidate it later.

In order to show the movement of a group of people in the region of Chittorgarh, a group of the Gadulia Lohar who call themselves as Chittori Gadulia Lohar is chosen and their movement is described. I shall also discuss in brief the other groups with which the group chosen for study came in contact.

I have used the term 'band' for those small groups of the Gadulia Lohar who camp and move together for a part of the year. For the rest of the year the members of these bands remain separated into smaller units of one, two or more families and remain engaged in their blacksmith work and trade. They again join and live together when the work-season is over.

*Movement*: For this study, I chose a band of the Gadulia Lohar from the Chittorgarh region. This band consisted of fiftyone carts and 160 persons. The number varied during the course of movement of the band. A detailed account of the movement of this band during the period of investigations (1962-63) is given below. This band was based upon a place called Gangrar. Gangrar is a village 14 miles north of Chittorgarh and is well connected with rail and road communications. This band returns to Gangrar every year for its annual summer camp. Hereafter, I shall call this as Gangrar band.

In and around the first week of April (1963), the members of the Gangrar band returned to Gangrar village in small units of two, three or more households from Neemuch side. They camped in an open space near the railway station of Gangrar on either side of the Chittorgarh-Bhilwara Road. The number of carts<sup>2</sup> in this camp gradually increased to fiftyone in the first week of May. The Gadulia Lohar themselves refer to the strength of their bands in terms of carts (*cf.* Awad

2. Here and in the following account, the strength of the band would be referred in terms of the number of carts, as it is easier to assess their strength this way.



1962; 332). It is not always that a household possesses only one cart. A household may have a set of one, two or three carts; the maximum number of carts possessed by any single household in the band studied was three. The usual number of carts belonging to a household is two, one is their traditional typical Gadulia Lohar cart, the other is lighter and known as *chakra*.

In the first week of May (1963), five carts left Gangrar for Hamirgarh. Beside Gangrar, there were two other major camps nearby; one was at Hamirgarh and the other was at Lalans. Hamirgarh is about eight miles north of Gangrar and Lalans is three miles to the east of Gangrar. There was yet another camp at Barsi which is about twelve miles east of Gangrar. In the middle of the next week, two more households (three carts) left Gangrar to join the camp at Barsi. The head of the household of one of them usually does not come to this side. He calls himself a Malwi Gadulia Lohar and his area of movement extends from Ratangarh in the north up to Mandisor and further south. This time he came to Chittorgarh on account of an old friend of him who had insisted that he should be with him for a part of the summer. Now he was going back to join the members of his own band.

In the third week of May, another six carts left Gangrar. Major movements commenced towards the last week of May. The camp of Gangrar broke up into smaller units of 4, 3, 3, 10, 13 and 4, and each of the unit took a different direction all around Gangrar, spreading up to Bhilwara and further north. It was observed that at the time of dispersal, last minute confirmations of time and place were being made among themselves for their next assembly which was to take place after the summer and before the onset of the rainy season. These people had decided to meet at Chittorgarh at the time of Rakhi<sup>3</sup> in the month of Sawan (July-August).

Each of these smaller units visited a number of villages around Gangrar till the month of June and carried on their work of blacksmith and trade of bullocks. In the early part of July, they again assembled in small units at Gangrar. They stayed there for about fifteen days and from there they proceeded to Chittorgarh halting at Putholi and Chanderi on their way. Some of the households joined the band at Chittorgarh. They halted at Chittorgarh for another fifteen days, meanwhile some other bands operating on Kapasan, Chittorgarh, Neemuch

3. Rakhi is a Hindu festival observed by women for the welfare of their brothers. They tie ceremonial thread (rakhi) round the wrist of their brothers. The men in turn give presentations to their sisters. There are local variations in the mode of its celebration. The Gadulia Lohar, however, do not observe the ceremony of tying the sacred thread but offer sweets and some cash to their sisters on the occasion. The festivals such as these are important to them in another sense; they regulate their movement with these festivals as they coincide with the change of seasons.

area came and halted at Chittorgarh. This gave them the opportunity to meet their close kin and close friends present in those bands. They invited their relatives and friends in other bands and their own for meals; *panchayat* meetings took place, marriages were negotiated and domestic matters of mutual importance were discussed.

The day of the departure was heavily felt as the members of the different bands were to take different routes and once departed they would not be able to meet each other for the next seven to eight months. Close relatives embraced each other and cried. Women cried aloud, and while crying, recited some parting songs. The separation scene is a pathetic one.

From Chittorgarh they proceeded towards Neemuch. For the entire month of August they were on the road between Chittorgarh and Neemuch, halting at Zalampura, Nimbhera and Kesarpura. Neemuch is thirtyfive miles from Chittorgarh and is on the southern border of Rajasthan. It is a tehsil headquarters in the district of Mandisor, in the state of Madhya Pradesh. Neemuch is another important meeting point. It is also an important business centre. Here, on every Sunday, a weekly cattle market is held. The Gadulia Lohar operating on different routes of the same region, and in other regions also, arrive at Neemuch in the latter part of September or early October. But in the year 1963, the Gadulia Lohar operating between Choti Sadri—Neemuch—Chittorgarh, Ratangarh—Neemuch—Mandisor—Sitamau—Suwasra—Ujjain (many of this band stop at Sitamau, and others proceed up to Ujjain) and Ratlam—Neemuch as well as the Gangrar band reached Neemuch about the middle of September. That year, rains were late and hence these people reached Neemuch earlier than they generally did in the past. The reason was that they left the interior villages at their usual time and came to the roadside. In the rainy season they come out on the roadside because they cannot ply their bullock carts in the thick mud of the village pathways. Once they were on the road, they could not stay there for long in the absence of rains and the consequent scarcity of fodder for their cattle; and so they kept on moving towards Neemuch.

After staying for about fifteen days at Neemuch, they proceeded towards Manasa. They attended all the Sunday cattle markets while they were staying at Neemuch. During those fifteen days, the Gadulia Lohars from other regions and of other bands of Chittorgarh region kept on coming and leaving Neemuch, some staying for a day and some others a little longer. At one time the maximum number of carts of all the Gadulia Lohar present at Neemuch coming from different directions reached 150. It must be emphasised that the strength of the Gadulia Lohar in a camp is highly fluctuating and this is more so in a camp like Neemuch where Gadulia Lohar come from different regions.

One of the main reasons for the early shifting of the camp at Nee-

much was the difficulty of acquiring fodder there for their cattle. It is a town area and when so many Gadulia Lohar with their cattle get together at one place, fodder becomes still more scarce and, consequently, expensive. Hence, after staying for a few days at Neemuch market-place they generally shift their camps some distance away from Neemuch from where they can easily attend the weekly cattle markets and at the same time can send their cattle for grazing to nearby jungles.

The Gangrar band stayed at Neemuch market-place for three days and after that they shifted their camp about a mile away from Neemuch, on the outskirts of the town, on Neemuch-Manasa Road. While they were camping at the market site, there were twentyeight households and fortyfive carts. But when they reached the other camp on the outskirts of the town, there were eighteen households and twenty-nine carts. The other ten households of the band chose to take the Mandisor route from Neemuch for their winter season errands.

The duration of the halt on the outskirts of the Neemuch was extended as the Gadulia Lohar from Ratangarh area were awaited by some of the members of the Gangrar band in connection with some marriage negotiations and for meeting close friends and relatives in that band. On the second day of the arrival of the Ratangarh band the Gangrar band left the Neemuch camp along with a few carts from the Ratangarh band.

There were one hundred and eight carts in the Ratangarh band. They call themselves Malwi Gadulia Lohar. For a part of the summer and for the entire rainy season they live in and around Ratangarh. By the middle of September they come down to Neemuch and proceed towards Mandisor and further south. For the entire winter season they remain in the Mandisor area. Towards the close of the winters and the beginning of the summers they start coming back to Ratangarh. This, in short, is the annual cycle of movement of the Gadulia Lohar of the Ratangarh band.

Out of the eighteen households of the Gangrar band at the Neemuch outskirt camp, sixteen households took the Manasa route for their onward journey. The remaining two took the Mandisor route from Neemuch along with the Ratangarh band. The head of one of the two households actually belonged to the Ratangarh band but stayed with the Gangrar band for so long as he was negotiating the marriage of his son; while the other, though claimed to be a Chittori Gadulia Lohar, had gone with the Malwi Gadulia Lohars for a similar purpose.

Fifteen households of the Ratangarh band joined the sixteen households of the Gangrar band for their journey towards Manasa. As this contingent proceeded towards Manasa, it started breaking up into smaller units; nine households out of the Chittori band and thirteen of the Malwi band went ahead and camped at Jawasa, about eight miles

from Neemuch, on the Manasa-Neemuch Road. Others also started on the same day but preferred to camp at Revli-Devli, five miles from Neemuch, on the Manasa-Neemuch Road. From Jawasa, all of the Gangrar band, except five households, left the main road and took the village pathways, whereas others continued to proceed on the main road towards Manasa halting on way at Sawan. Manasa is about sixteen miles from Neemuch and is the headquarters of another tehsil in the district of Mandsor. The Gadulia Lohar reached Manasa on different dates and their strength reached to twenty households out of which fifteen belonged to the Malwi band and five to the Gangrar band. They stayed there for about fifteen days. Meanwhile, others who had taken the village routes kept shifting their camp from one village to another, remaining split up into small units and attending to their work and trade.

Most of those camping at Manasa and the other Gadulia Lohar in the neighbourhood of Neemuch continued to visit the Sunday cattle market at Neemuch and Monday cattle market at Jharla. The distance between Jharla and Neemuch is thirtyfive miles *via* Manasa. They make a short-cut which is about eighteen miles. On market days they left the other members of the household at the camping sites, took the lighter bullock carts and the cattle to be traded to these markets. For the rest of the days they came back to their respective camps and attended to their blacksmith work.

The stay of the Malwi and the Chittori Gadulia Lohar together for fifteen days was mainly on account of a marriage negotiation between a Chittori boy and a Malwi girl. There was some delay in the finalisation of the negotiation on account of certain problems and so all of them who were interested in that marriage had to stay at Manasa. Meanwhile, some more *panches*<sup>4</sup> from adjoining areas were approached and finally the marriage was settled. While this particular marriage was being settled, another Chittori Gadulia Lohar who had taken the route towards Mandsor from Neemuch came along with some other *panches* and settled the marriage of his brother with the daughter of another Malwi Gadulia Lohar.

The camp at Manasa was wound up after fifteen days. This time, out of fifteen households of the Malwi Gadulia Lohars twelve took the route towards Suwasra in order to be in their own area of movement. The remaining three joined the small unit, of two households of Gangrar band and went to a village called Bhatkheri, four miles north of Manasa. Out of these two Gangrar households, one belonged to an important Gadulia Lohar panch, called Jay Ram.

4. The Gadulia Lohar caste council is known as *panchayat* and those who take active part in its deliberations are known as *panches*. One becomes a *panch* neither, through election nor through inheritance, but by one's own merit and through a process of grooming up by the senior interested *panches*.

There are two routes for going to Mandisor from Neemuch. One goes directly to Mandisor and further south towards Ratlam; and the other route leads to Manasa. From Manasa there are roads for Rampura, Suwasra and Mandisor. When the Malwi Gadulia Lohar come to Neemuch from Ratangarh area, they take either of these two routes. Selection of any of the routes depends upon several factors, such as economic, kin ties, marriage negotiation, domestic problem, and so on. However, the Gadulia Lohar who took the Manasa road and made a halt there, were now proceeding to their own area with the exception of the three households who stayed back with the Gangrar band with the specific motive of finalising the marriage of the daughters of one of them.

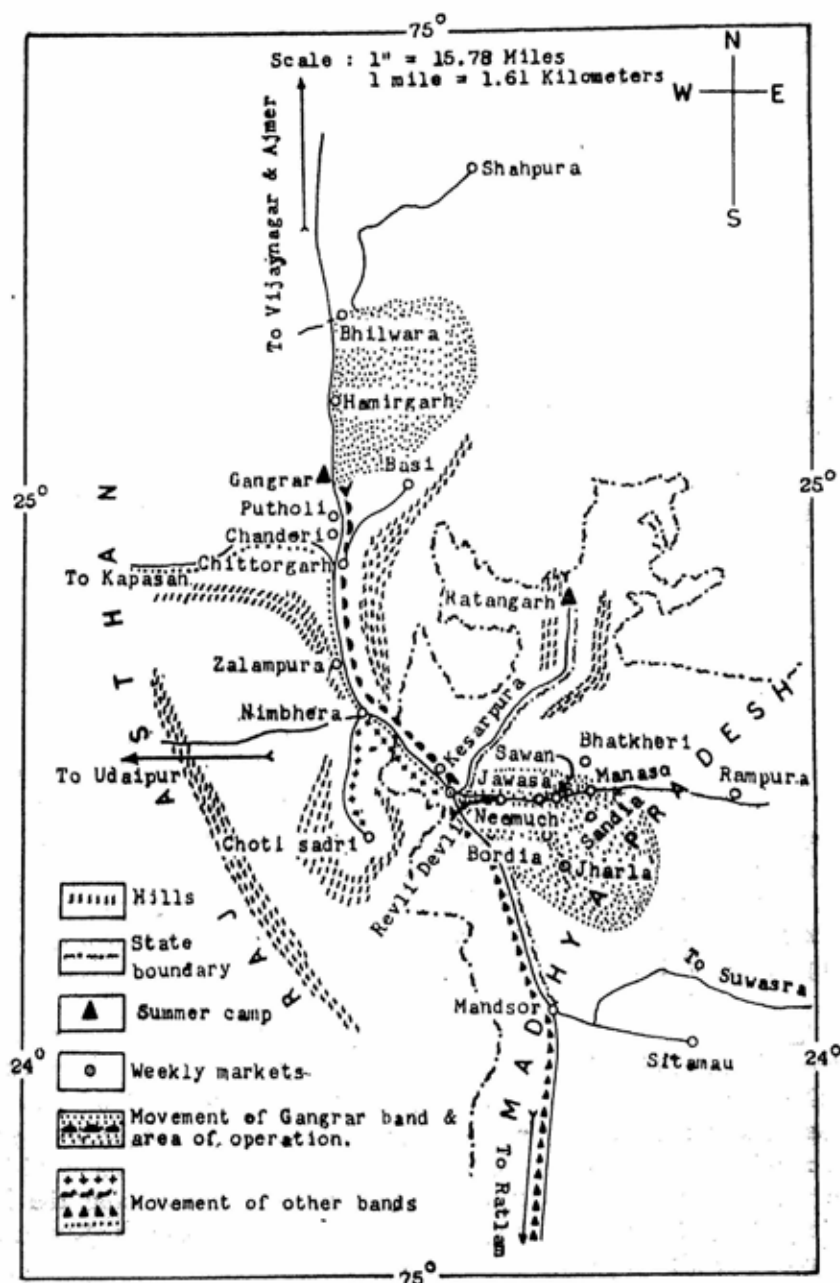
The other three of the Gangrar band camping at Manasa proceeded towards Narayangarh for their work and trade. From Bhatkheri, Jay Ram and the other Gadulia Lohar along with him visited a number of villages and they reached a village called Bordia, about eight miles south of Manasa. There they were met by seven other households of the Gangrar band who had deflected from Jawasa and Sawan earlier. All these people together now proceeded from Bordia to Amlikhera. After halting at Amlikhera for a day, this group of eleven households, one of them dropping again, came back to Sawan and there they made a halt for eight days.

The halt at Sawan was not merely on account of economic reasons but a marriage was being negotiated for which the panches from Vijaynagar area had come. The Gadulia Lohar of Vijaynagar area also call themselves as Mewari Gadulia Lohars and their area of movement in the south is up to Neemuch, and in the north, they go up to Vijaynagar and as far as Ajmer. The Gadulia Lohar operating on Choti Sadri—Neemuch—Chittorgarh route also claim themselves as Chittori or Mewari Gadulia Lohar.

The marriage being negotiated was between a daughter of one of the Malwi Gadulia Lohar who had stayed with the Gangrar band and the son of a Gadulia Lohar from the Vijaynagar band. While this marriage was being negotiated, a batch of panches came from Ratlam area to negotiate another marriage of the second daughter of the same man. This marriage was also settled.

After the terms of the marriages were settled and formal ceremonies were over<sup>5</sup>, those who came to negotiate the marriage went back to their respective camps. Those who were camping at Sawan moved to village Sandya; from Sandya they proceeded to Bhandya and then they came back to Manasa. Sandya and Bhandya villages are within four miles of both Sawan and Manasa. These people came back to Manasa

5. The Gadulia Lohar marriage is marked by a series of ceremonies. The first formal ceremony is called *satpan* which means fruitful completion of the negotiations for a marriage.



The area of movement of a band of the Nomadic Gadulia Lohars of Chittorgarh Region



in order to leave their bigger carts in the care of their womenfolk and old members of the households, and they themselves proceeded in their lighter bullock carts to Rampura which is twenty miles from Manasa.

Every year, towards the end of the month of November, a fair is held at Rampura. This fair is famous for cattle trade. At Rampura, heads of nine households and some of their relatives from the Gangrar band and heads of twelve households from the Malwi band were present, besides some other from the neighbouring regions. They stayed there for five days and from there they came back to their respective camps.

After coming back to Manasa, they halted there for three days and then proceeded to another village called Athen, about one and a half miles east of Manasa. The Chittori Gadulia Lohar along with Jay Ram again got spread over in the villages around Manasa.

In this manner these smaller units continued to visit the interior villages between Mandsor and Rampura. Their operations in winter season are concentrated on the villages falling between these two places.

By the middle of February they start their return journey and again moved towards Neemuch. The process of getting together begins from Neemuch and continues till they reach Gangrar towards the end of March. The route of the inward journey is the same as they take for their outward journey.

To round off this description it may be recounted that earlier they had stayed at Gangrar for nearly fiftyfive days. The strength of the camp was always changing during the period of their halt there; there were always some groups or individual households joining or leaving the camp. It must be borne in mind that period from the middle of March till the end of May is considered to be off-period from the point of view of work and trade of these people. Hence, there is more stability in the composition of the camp than seen otherwise at other periods of the year.

The above description thus gives a complete cycle of movement of a band of the Chittori Gadulia Lohar (*see* map of the area of movement of Gangrar band and other bands). The movement of the band described above is repeated year after year with minor changes as regards the number of villages visited, duration of halts and the order of visiting the villages. But the routes essentially remain the same and the halts at important places, such as Gangrar, Chittorgarh, Neemuch, Sawan and Manasa, are also regular.

From the foregoing account it would be clear that a band of the Chittori Gadulia Lohar reaches Gangrar for their summer camp towards the end of March. There they stay for about two months. This period is considered to be the off-period from the point of view of work and trade and they remain engaged in activities other than specifically economic. Towards the last week of May, the summer camp starts break-

ing up into smaller units. These units get spread in the villages around Gangrar and for the whole month of June they are busy in their trade and work. June is considered to be one of the ideal months for blacksmith work and trade in bullocks. This is so for several reasons. Firstly, in the month of June, farmers have to keep themselves in readiness for the agricultural operations for the rainy season crop; hence, there is demand for repairs as well as for new agricultural tools and implements. Secondly, many of the farmers require bullocks for their agricultural operations at this time. With many of the farmers in Rajasthan the practice is that they do not retain the bullocks for the entire year, but they sell the bullocks when their work is over and purchase the animals again when the time for agricultural operations approaches. Thus, the presence of the Gadulia Lohar is welcome, as it becomes convenient for the farmers to get the dealers in bullocks at their door step and have the convenience of seeing and examining the animals before purchasing them. Thirdly, the winter crop is already harvested by this time and so the grains and fodder are easily available in the villages. The Gadulia Lohars, during this period of the year, generally do the blacksmith work in exchange for grains and fodder. This is particularly important for the Gadulia Lohar because the rainy season which follows soon is a lean period for them and they must store enough grain to keep them going during the rainy season or till they can again visit the villages to find work. During the rainy season, the Gadulia Lohar either stay at one convenient place or camp on roadside. They cannot enter the villages on account of the muddy and water-logged tracks on which it is difficult to ply the bullock carts. Thus, the visit of the Gadulia Lohar to the villages during late May and June is helpful to both—the nomads who are economically dependent upon the settled villagers and the latter who derive the services and the goods from the nomads. In this process both are mutually benefited.

The rainy season in this part of the country sets in the month of July. Before this, the Gangrar band gets assembled at Gangrar or at Chittorgarh. July and August, again, are off-periods for them and they mostly remain together. Their halt at Chittorgarh is socially important as members of other bands of Mewari Gadulia Lohar also reach Chittorgarh around that time. Meeting members of other bands at these time is important in the sense that they would not be able to see close friends and relatives present in other bands for the next seven to eight months when they would proceed further south in search of work. In fact, they arrange their cycle of movement in such a way that they can meet the Gadulia Lohar of other bands during the course of their movement. A similar situation exists when they reach Neemuch around the latter part of September. There the assembly of the Gadulia Lohar is larger as the Gadulia Lohar from different regions assemble. At such times life in different camps remains quite busy. Marriages are arranged,



mutual family matters are discussed, and settled. Close friends and relatives are invited by each other for *roti-pani* (meals). These meals are a simple affairs, neither anything special is cooked nor all the people are invited on one single day or at one time. They are spread over a number of days before they again part company. Since almost all persons are invited at each other's place, the invitees just sit together with other members of the household and partake a few morsels of the food served in a common plate. After having meals at one place one may have to go to other households to have meals. Sometimes, just to keep social relations one may have to visit several households for meals on the same day. This sharing of meals is a device for the reaffirmation of their social solidarity. Before they part for the work season, it is considered desirable for them to share each others' meals and only strained relations between friends and kin stand in the way of invitations to meals, or rejections of the invitations.

For several reasons, the weekly market at Neemuch has a great attraction for the members of different bands and regions. The reasons are, first, going there gives them an opportunity to meet people of other bands. Second, the period around September till November is good for trading in bullocks, as this is the time for preparing fields and sowing for winter season crops and, the farmers are in urgent need of bullocks for the agricultural operations. The winter season, towards the end of November to the beginning of February, is not considered so good for bullock trading and this period, therefore, is mainly devoted to blacksmith work. Otherwise, the winter season, too, is more suited to blacksmith work than the summer. In summers, it becomes difficult to bear the heat of the sun and that of the forge at the same time.

From late September onwards upto late February they remain distributed in small units in the area falling between Mandisor and Ram-pura. In this area they roam about for nearly five months from September to February in search of work and trade. As soon as the possibilities of work and trade are exhausted in one village they move on to another village. In this process they meet many a time members of their own band and Gadulia Lohar from other bands and regions.

The movement and the duration of a halt of the members of a unit or of a band are sometimes affected on account of reasons other than economic, such as negotiation of a marriage, meeting a relative or a friend belonging to another band or region. One may also join a band from another region temporarily for similar purposes and as soon as the purpose is fulfilled he may go back to his own region and band. Apart from these considerations, the duration of halt in a camp is dependent upon the availability of work, facility to camp, and availability of fodder for their cattle.

The area of movement is known as *pharnet* (Hindi, from *phirna*

meaning to roam about). In respect of the Gangrar band this area extends from Gangrar in the North though occasionally they move up to Bhilwara or even Vijaynagar to Rampura and Mandsor in the South. Moving southwards, they pass through the narrow streak of plain land, along the rail and road route up to Neemuch and then spread into the plains of Malwa. At this end, the farthest limits are Mandsor on one side and Rampura on the other. The eastern side all along the route between Gangrar and Neemuch is blocked by the thick ranges of the Aravalli mountains. There is no movement on the western side also but they include Kapasan within their pharnet.

As the Gadulia Lohar move in their tiny bullock carts, it is not easy for them to negotiate hilly tracks and, therefore, perhaps their movements have been limited both on the eastern and the western sides of this area. In the north beyond Chittorgarh and in the south below Neemuch the land is relatively plain and open, and these are the two areas where they spread into the interior villages.

It has been seen that within this area of movement there are certain other bands which also are known as Mewari Gadulia Lohar and they are recognised as such by the other Gadulia Lohar. Their routes are different, more particularly as far as the farthest limits are concerned. They, however, often keep on meeting each other at places like Gangrar, Chittorgarh and Neemuch. The area of movement of different bands of a region is not the same but it spreads into the other neighbouring cultural and geographical regions, such as Malwa and Marwar. Since they associate themselves with the common name of Chittor and Mewar, have linguistic and cultural similarities, and a recognition that their language and culture is different from the Gadulia Lohar of other regions, a sense of belonging to a common area as they habitually start and return to the same and have 'effective relations', with the Gadulia Lohar moving in that area, it could be said that they belong to the region of Chittorgarh or Mewar. This is the sense in which Mewar or Chittorgarh region is understood by the Gadulia Lohar. Further, it is only in this sense it could be said that there are a number of Gadulia Lohar bands within a region.

The Gadulia Lohar of one region distinguish themselves from the Gadulia Lohar of other regions, specially with those who call themselves as Malwi Gadulia Lohar, as they come more in contact with them than with the Gadulia Lohar of other regions. This is particularly true of the band under study. For example, the Gadulia Lohar who frequent more on the northern side similarly distinguish themselves with Ajmeri and Marwari Gadulia Lohar than with the Malwi Gadulia Lohar. The latter are far removed from the Marwari Gadulia Lohar and hardly come in contact with them. The distinctions, however, are understood in respect of dress, dialect, standard of living, tools and implements, and the professed custom of bride-price.

The Gadulia Lohar speak a dialect of their own and also the dialect spoken by the people of the region where they move. This to some extent affects their own speech by way of taking in some words from the dialect spoken in that area. In this way the Gadulia Lohar of Mewar speak Mewari besides their own dialect. The distinctions of dress, food, tools and implements depend on what is generally prevalent among the settled population of that area. For example, the Gadulia Lohar in Mewar would generally wear a deep red printed turban and are not as nicely dressed as Malwi Gadulia Lohar, though the items of dress remain the same. The Malwi Gadulia Lohar males have more varied colour preferences for their turbans than mere red. Similar distinctions are there in respect of food.

Our purpose here is to show that the Gadulia Lohar who call themselves as Mewari or Chittori Gadulia Lohar observe many of the cultural practices of the settled population of that region to which they claim to belong. In this respect they recognise similar cultural differences with the Gadulia Lohar of neighbouring areas though none of the differences restrict them from moving in each others' regions, nor does it stop them from having spouses from other regions. The panchayat members from different regions sit together to decide on the issues which commonly affect each other. Many a time, a panch from one region is taken to another, but this type of situation depends more upon the popularity of the panch himself.

It may be argued that the regional and cultural distinctions as cited earlier do not create a rigid boundary for social relations; they cut across these distinctions.

It may also be pointed out that after the rains and during the entire winter season, the Gadulia Lohar coming down towards Neemuch and further south are more in contact with the Malwi Gadulia Lohar than the other Mewari Gadulia Lohar who only come up to Neemuch. This situation, however, does not remain the same when they return to their summer camps at Gangrar or some place nearby Gangrar. Then, they are more in contact with the other bands of the Mewari Gadulia Lohar.

## CHAPTER IV

### COMPOSITION OF THE BANDS

In the earlier chapter, I have shown the size and the locale of the bands of Gadulia Lohar of the Chittorgarh region. It has been seen that the size of the bands keep on fluctuating; the membership of a band is maximum in the off-season (for a period of two to three months in summer and rainy season) while in the work-season (a month in summer and the whole of winter), the Gadulia Lohar remain dispersed into small work-units of two or three or more households. There is no central authority to control or regulate the movements of the individual households. The Gadulia Lohar society gives full freedom to the individual households to exercise their choices as regards movement, and for joining and leaving a band or camp. The question arises as to what is the basis on which they exercise their choices and whether it has any pattern. In the present chapter, I shall try to answer these questions. That is, in other words I shall discuss the composition pattern of the bands, the requisite qualifications for its membership, the ties which hold the members of the band together and the circumstances under which one leaves it.

In order to understand the characteristics of the Gadulia Lohar bands, it is essential to know the structure of the community of the Gadulia Lohar of which the band is a part. After discussing the social structure of the Gadulia Lohar Community, I shall illustrate the features of the composition of the bands by taking concrete cases of the Gadulia Lohar camps in different seasons of the year. The camps chosen for this purpose are of Chittorgarh (after rainy season, from 1st September to 12th September, 1962), Gangrar (during summer season from 5th April to 30th May, 1963), Neemuch (after rainy season 7th September to 24th September, 1963), and Manasa (winter season from 1st October to 12th October, 1963).

The camps are of great significance in the life of the nomads. The relative stability of the Gadulia Lohar as a group can only be perceived through their camps. It is very much of a local community, though it is continually forming and breaking up. The relations of the members of a camp may not be as permanent and continuous as that of a village community, yet there is a kind of stability which gives it the character of a social group (see Barth 1961; 25 and Gulliver 1955; 37).

*Internal Structure :* The Gadulia Lohar claim themselves to be Rajputs. Of course, this claim of theirs is not taken very seriously by

the Rajputs of Rajasthan. The Rajputs do not intermarry with the Gadulia Lohar, nor are there any commensal relations between the two. In fact, when this question was raised by me with the Rajputs, they said that there was no occasion for them to have commensal relations with the Gadulia Lohar. At the same time they did not specifically say that cooked food touched by the Gadulia Lohar would be considered as polluted to them. This only shows that the Gadulia Lohar are not considered as belonging to the group of 'unclean' castes but at the same time they are not given an equal or near equal status by the Rajputs. The Gadulia Lohars themselves are an endogamous group.

The Rajputs are divided into a number of 'lines' (vansh), (Tod 1898; 87, Karve 1953; 141). There is no consensus as to the exact number of these 'lines'. Karve has named four major 'lines'—Solar, Lunar, Fire and Serpent (Surya, Chandra, Agni and Nag respectively). Tod has named three major 'lines', viz. Solar, Lunar and Fire, but goes on to say that there are several 'lines' among the Rajputs. The knowledge of the Gadulia Lohar about these 'lines' is very meagre. They are aware that some 'lines' exist, and also that the 'lines' are subdivided, but the details and ramifications of these are usually unknown to them. They have left the details of this knowledge to be understood and perpetuated by their *bhats*<sup>1</sup>—the professional genealogists who maintain their genealogies.

The Gadulia Lohar of Rajasthan are organised into three 'lines' named after the Rajput 'lines', viz. Surya, Chandra and Agni. These 'lines' are further segmented into a number of exogamous sections. The Gadulia Lohar recognise nine such sections belonging to each of the 'lines'. They call these sections as *jati* or *gaur*. These sections have been called 'race' and 'clan' by others but I shall adopt the term 'branch' here after Mayer (see Mayer 1960; 164) to avoid any terminological confusion.

Each of the nine branches is further subdivided into a number of subsections which are known as *tars* or *pharchas*. The words *tar* and *parcha* belong to Rajasthani Hindi and mean 'branch'. The members of a *tar* consider themselves to be kinsfolk and trace their descent unilineally in the agnatic line. A man or woman is born into the *tar* of the

1. Genealogists are generally known as *bhats* and amongst themselves they are part of a wider society. To a considerable extent they are divided commensally and endogamously by the status of the castes they serve. The main part of genealogist's work is the entering of new names in the register. The importance of entering one's name in their register of genealogist is that for an average man it is the only way in which he can exist for descendants. The genealogist's serving the Gadulia Lohar come from Marwar side, once in two or three years. They contact the Gadulia Lohar generally at the off-season camps. The visits of the genealogists is never smooth, sometimes they demand too much to record the names. A *bhat* visiting Chittorgarh camp asked Jay Ram, a prominent Gadulia Lohar, to pay Rs 25 and a gold ear-ring to record the name of his son. Jay Ram, however, paid only Rs 25 after much arguments.

father in the same way as into his branch and caste. Ordinarily, nothing alters this allegiance for men. In cases of adoption, the adopted person's descent is traced through the adopter's tar. All economic and ritual ties are supposed to have been severed on adoption between a person and his natal parents. For marital purposes, however, both the adopter's tar and the natal tar are avoided. The immutability of blood ties are thus emphasised. In case of women, till their marriages, they remain members of the tar of their fathers; on their marriages, they acquire a partial membership in the tar of their husbands but their ties with their natal tar are always maintained. On various ceremonial and festive occasions married women are invited by their parents and brothers to take part in the ceremonies and are given presentations. In widowhood a woman may return to live with her parents or brothers. When the members of one tar are not able to trace direct relationship among them, they frequently express the relationship as '*kake—baba ka bhai hai*' meaning that they are 'brothers related through their father's brother'. By the extensive use of the classificatory terminology such as *kaka* (father's younger brother), *baba* (father's elder brother), *bhai* (brother), *beto* (son), they reaffirm the kin ties within tar. Tars are patrilineal and exogamous and thus with these characteristics tars could be called clans. But these clans do not have any residential unity, nor the attributes of a corporate group (*cf.* Nadel 1951; 150). Divisions of the Gadulia Lohar branches into clans are given in Table 1.

The Gadulia Lohar are definite that no marriage can take place in the same tar nor between parties belonging to the same branch which is in accordance with the bulk of writings on Rajputs. Cole, for instance, writes that the branches are exogamous (1932; 134). Mayer's findings about the Rajputs of Ramkheri, however, are, "Marriages can take place between people of the same branch if their clans differ" (1960; 165). However, the Gadulia Lohar not only avoid marriage between the people of the same branch but also avoid marriage into the natal branch of one's mother. This rule is generally followed; some exceptions of the rule from other bands were reported but could not be investigated in detail.

TABLE 1

## THE NINE BRANCHES OF THE GADULIA LOHAR AND THEIR DIVISIONS

Branch (jat)	Clan (tar)	Branch (jat)	Clan (tar)	Branch (jat)	Clan (tar)
Sisodia	14	Pawar	1	Dabi	3
Chauhan	24	Parihar	1	Sankla	5
Solanki	16	Rathor	3	Balbunk	1

In their day to day life, the people are often referred to by their



respective clan names. This form of reference is more frequent during the gatherings of the Gadulia Lohar, particularly at the time of marriage negotiations. This reference by clan names helps them to continuously remind themselves of each other's identity and their relationships. It is not always easy to find out from everyone as to which clan belongs to which branch. It is left to be deciphered by the more knowledgeable persons of the clan. There is much substance in the observations of Cole (1932; 134) about the Rajputs that the clan may become so well-known that it is regarded as important as the branch to which it belongs and finally becomes, for all practical purposes, a separate branch. This is also true for the Gadulia Lohar. Thus, clans under certain circumstances may acquire the status of a branch. The Sisodia which seems to have been a clan of Gahlot branch is now regarded as a branch among the Rajputs (Mayer 1960; 165). The Gadulia Lohar, too, regard the Sisodia as a branch which, according to them, has fourteen clans.

Kalawat, the most popular and numerous clan of the Sisodia branch in the Gangrar band of the Gadulia Lohar, was the only one clan well-known to the Sisodia and other Gadulia Lohar present in the Gangrar band. The members of these clans were popularly called Kalawat. An attempt was made by me to collect all the clan names of the Sisodia branch, but it was noticed that all the names were not properly known by them. There were disagreements on the inclusion of a few clan names in the Sisodia branch<sup>2</sup>.

In the Gangrar band all the members of the Sisodia branch belonged to the Kalawat clan and claimed that they were all patrilineally related. They said, 'We are the *potas* (grand-sons) of the twentyfour grandfathers'. When genealogies were taken, it was found that all the Kalawat present in the band were patrilineally related. Not all the Kalawat, however, were present in the same band. They were distributed over many bands and in a very wide area. Thus the members of one clan are not only distributed in other bands but also in other regions.

It seems the Gadulia Lohar have some notion that the branches are hierarchically graded but no specific order of gradation could be ascertained. The one thing most of the people agreed upon was that the Pawar are at the top. They also agreed that they respect the opinion of the Pawar in matters of disputes and in the panchayat meetings. There are a few proverbs oft quoted to support the superiority of the Pawar. The Chauhan claim second position for themselves, but this is not agreed

2. The list of the clan names of the Sisodia branch as provided here was agreed upon by the majority of the people.

- |              |             |                |             |
|--------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|
| 1. Kalawat   | 2. Baurana  | 3. Khemani     | 4. Mahajani |
| 5. Hajani    | 6. Twar     | 7. Satrawat    | 8. Sujani   |
| 9. Nadrani   | 10. Malani  | 11. Bid Birani | 12. Gopalra |
| 13. Harihara | 14. Hakrani |                |             |

upon by the members of other eight branches. This contention of superiority, however, does not find any support either in terms of hypergamy or in any other form of social behaviour; but for the fact that in matters of disputes, the opinion of the Pawar was heard with respect. Their opinions certainly do not have much influence on the judgements that are given in the council meetings as the decisions there are based on various factors. It is also not true that the Pawar are the most sought after people for matrimony. For example, Jay Ram's first wife is from the Pawar branch and he himself is a Rathor. His wife is the only Pawar present in the Gangrar band.

*The Household:* Division of the Gadulia Lohar community into branches and clans are its structural features; the most important unit of the society, however, is the household. It is the smallest unit of the society of the Gadulia Lohar. Its small compact size, consisting generally of two generations of primary and secondary kin and their spouses has great functional importance. The household is the primary unit of the band and the camp; it is economically independent, and is the basic unit for production and consumption, responsible for the socialisation of children and for their performance of the rituals of kinship. For a Gadulia Lohar his bullock cart is his house. It is called by the term *gari* or *ghar*. *Gari* means bullock cart, but they also use it in the sense of dwelling place; whereas *ghar* stands both for dwelling place, and the household. Here a household would be understood to refer to those kin who share a common hearth, pool their incomes and have their living expenses in common.

A bullock cart among the Gadulia Lohar is never used by more than one household, but a household may have more than one cart. Generally, a household possesses two bullock carts. There are two kinds of bullock carts—a heavier bullock cart known as *gari* is possessed by all the Gadulia Lohar; the other cart is lighter and is known as *chakra*. The *gari* is made of a heavy quality wood and is designed so as to accommodate the entire household goods of the Gadulia Lohar. It lasts long, often more than fifty years or so. There are only a few carpenters who specialise in making *gari*, meeting the requirements of the Gadulia Lohar. For this reason, the carpenters take a long time and make a heavy charge for building a *gari*.

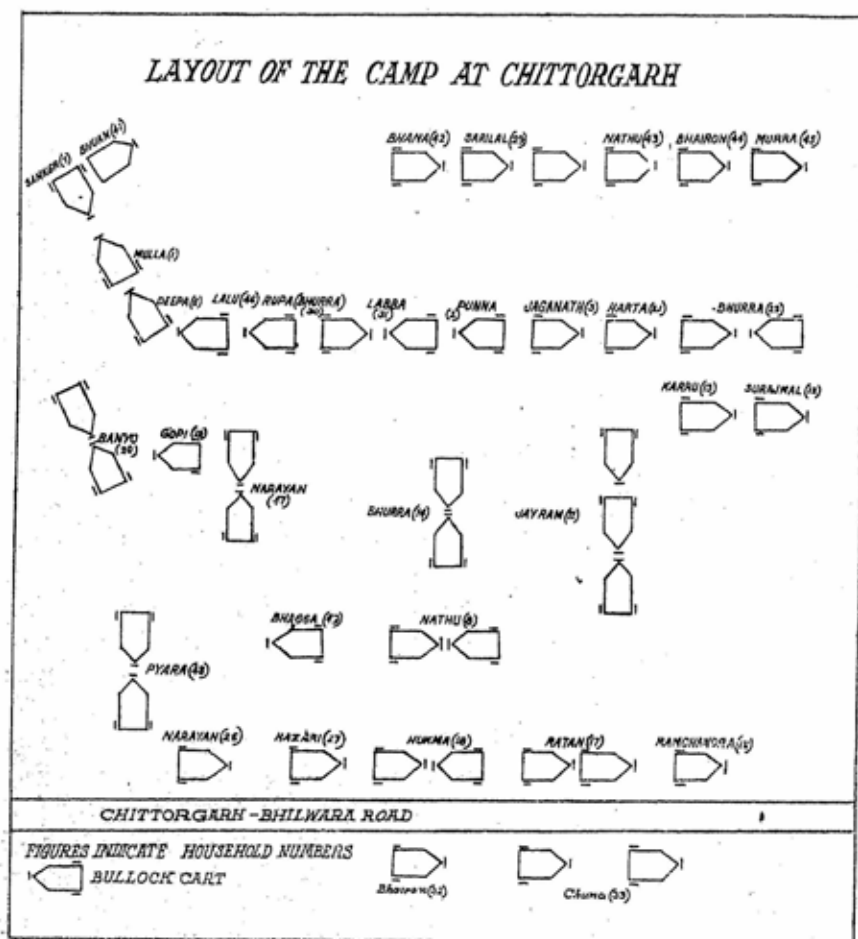
The Gadulia Lohar household is a small, patronymic kin group. The male members of the household, constituting its core, are closely related agnatic kinsmen and may consist of grandfathers and grandchildren, fathers and sons, and siblings. The married female members of the households are usually spouses of the male members, and unmarried women are agnates of the male members.

The numerical strength of the household varies in the range of two and nine members. The average size of the household is 4.39. The



numerical strength and the composition of the households vary in different phases of its developmental cycle. The membership to a household is subject to continuous process of augmentation and depletion by natural events, such as birth and death, and social events like adoption, marriage, and partition. I shall illustrate the composition of the households and their interrelations with the wider kin group while discussing the camps.

*Chittorgarh Camp of the Gangrar Band (1st September to 12th September, 1962)*: In the last week of August (1962), a group of Gadulia Lohar left the camp of Gangrar for Chittorgarh. They reached Chittorgarh in small batches by first September. They were on their way to the southern plains for the winter season errands. They camped on the outskirts of Chittorgarh town, in the open space adjacent to the office of the Panchayat Samiti. The number of carts in



this camp were at first thirtyone but later more fifteen carts joined and the number rose to fortysix carts (*see* the sketch of the Chittorgarh camp). While this band was camping at Chittorgarh, two other groups also reached there. In brief, during those days at Chittorgarh there were in all three different camps of three bands of the Gadulia Lohar, one as mentioned above, another was by the side of the Chittorgarh-Bhilwara Road, near the camp of Panchayat Samiti, and the third was also on the roadside, in front of the General Hospital at Chittorgarh. The second group also had come from Gangrar but ordinarily it restricts its movement up to Neemuch only and then goes back to Bhilwara and Vijaynagar side. The third group had come from Kapasan side. Kapasan, Chittorgarh and Neemuch are in the area of its movement. From Neemuch they again go back towards Kapasan.

All these three different camps, belonging to three different bands of the Gadulia Lohar of the same region, were situated within a distance of a mile from each other. In each of these camps there were close relatives of other camps. It can be said that different bands from the same region have close relatives in other bands. However, here I shall mainly be concerned with the Gangrar band that was camping, as said above, adjacent to the office of the Panchayat Samiti.

*Composition of the Households* : There were fortysix carts in this camp belonging to thirtythree households<sup>3</sup>. In Table 2 given the composition of the thirtythree households at Chittorgarh camp at the time of enquiry.

TABLE 2

## THE COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS AT CHITTORGARH CAMP

Types of composition	Number of households	Population
1. Husband, wife and their children*	26	114
2. Husband, wife, their children* and widowed mother of the husband	3	14
3. Husband, two wives and their children*	1	8
4. Husband, two wives and their children*	1	8
5. Husband, two wives and their children*, married daughter, daughter's husband and daughter's husband's father	1	7
6. Widow and her children*	1	4
TOTAL	33	155

Table 2 reflects the differences in the composition of the households

3. Each of the households has been given a number (refer to sketch of Chittorgarh camp and genealogies) and these numbers have been maintained as such for all the camps and throughout this text.

\*This includes children who have been betrothed or married but have not joined their partners.

and the various phases of their formation and depletion. It also shows that nuclear families comprising of husband, wife and children form the largest single category of households (*cf.* Beteille 1964; 237). The high percentage of nuclear families is as a result of the early partition of the household. The elder sons are separated from their parental family soon after their wives join them. For this reason, no fraternal-extended families are formed. Youngest sons are supposed to live with their parents and as a result of this norm paternal-extended families are formed with the parents or parent sharing the household with their youngest son. Extended families with other kin are rare. The Gadulia Lohar consider that the nuclear families form the ideal households.

In one case, a household in Chittorgarh camp comprised of a husband, his two wives, his only son from his second wife, his adopted daughter, the adopted daughter's husband and the adopted daughter's husband's old father. The reason for this rather unusual composition of the household was this. Jay Ram, the head of the household, had only one daughter from his first wife. He married his daughter to a young man and kept both of them with him as she was his only issue. The daughter's husband was the youngest son of his parents and so they also came along with their son. Later, the old woman (Jay Ram's daughter's husband's mother) died, and the senile old man continued to live with Jay Ram. After sometime the daughter of Jay Ram died giving birth to a child but his son-in-law and his old father continued to stay with Jay Ram. Later on, Jay Ram adopted a young girl of one of his relatives and married her to his widower son-in-law. In the meanwhile, Jay Ram married for the second time and from his second wife, he had a son.

This particular case shows how Jay Ram's household passed through various stages of formation and depletion on account of birth, death, adoption and marriage.

**Kin Ties :** After leaving his parents' household, a son generally remains in the same band in which his parents live, at least for a few years after the partition. Thus, the immediate neighbourhood of the households comprises of a wider kin group. In a wider context, all the agnatically related households taken together constitute a *parivar* (extended family). It may have a depth of three to four generations or even more. In a narrower sense, the Gadulia Lohar use the term to describe the patrilineal descent group (minimal lineage) living in a band. For a few years, after the partition, the resulting unit remains in the parental band and their living together in the same band is marked by close co-operation. In the earlier stages after the partition, this close co-operation is essential both for the natal and the separating

group. The latter group is in a developing stage and is yet not fully equipped with all the necessary household articles, or economically established while the former has to adjust and find a replacement of the working hands lost by the partition. After a few years of the partition, when the separating unit has learnt to carry on their economic activities independently, this co-operation between the natal and the separating group slackens. The reasons for this slackening of co-operation are : (1) the natal group adjusts itself to the loss of members and working hands through partition; (2) the separating group gets children, its numbers swell and it has to devote more time and energy to itself rather than share them with the natal group; and (3) the separating group over the years learns to work and earn independently. That is the time when a unit of the parivar group may also decide to leave the band of that parivar group on account of a variety of reasons, such as a quarrel with the parents or any member of the parivar group or the idea of higher economic prospects elsewhere or to see some near relatives who belong to other bands. Thus, the local patrilineal descent group is in a regular state of reorganisation; a new household is added to it whenever a constituent household is partitioned into two, and again when a partitioned household leaves the local group. This state of flexibility consequently affects the membership of the band.

I shall now examine the interrelations of the households in a camp. The households of Chittorgarh camp belonged to four branches. The distribution of the households in these four branches was as shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

THE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN BRANCHES AND  
CLANS AT CHITTORGARH CAMP

Branch	Clan	Household
Solanki	Bhakrani	4
Chauhan	Rawatra	6
Rathor	Nadi	18
Sisodia	Kalawat	5
	TOTAL	33

Table 3 shows that each of the branches had members from a single clan. In other words the members in each of the branches were kinfolks.

Now, I shall show how they were related. Of the four heads of the households among the Solanki, two were related as brothers and

CHART 1 : RATHORS AT CHITTORGARH CAMP

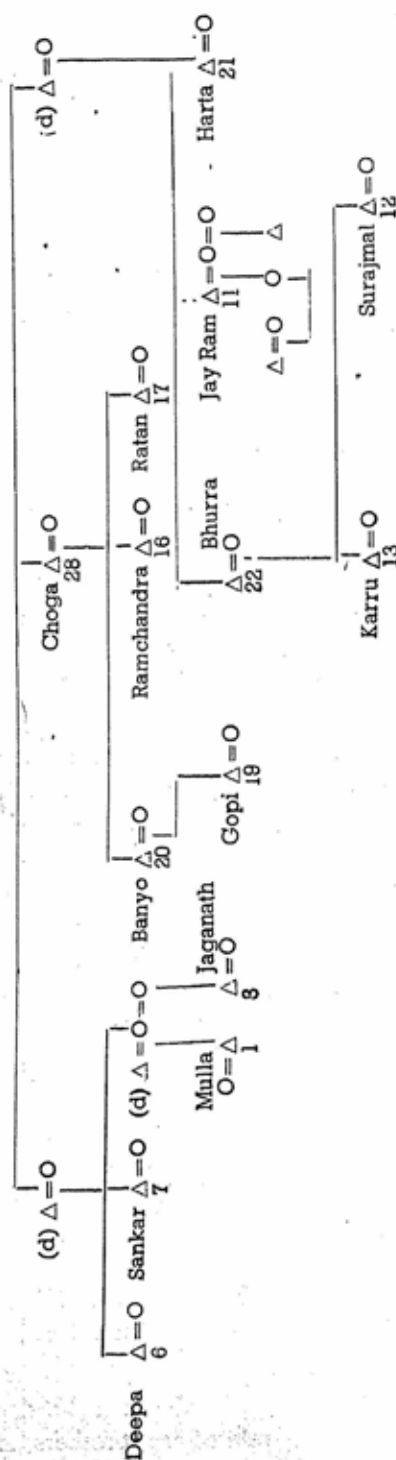
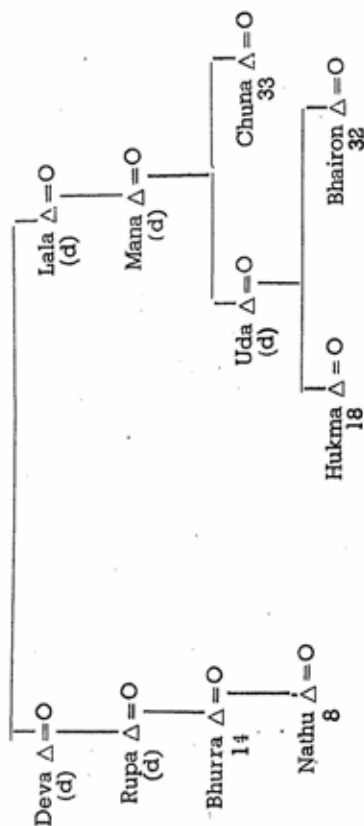
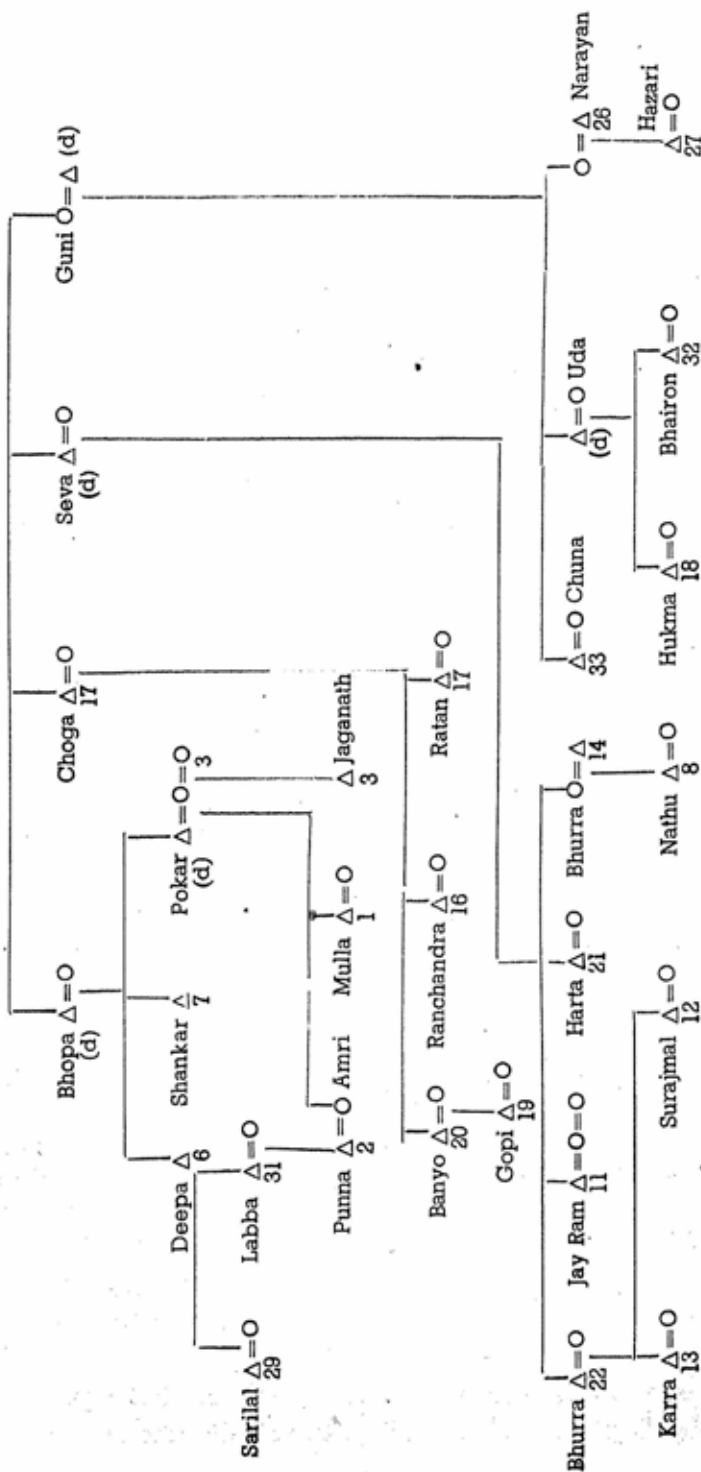


CHART 2 : SISODIAS AT CHITTORGARH CAMP



Figures indicate household numbers. Names are the heads of the households.

CHART 3 : EXTENDED KIN TIES OF THE MEMBERS PRESENT AT CHITTORGARH CAMP



Figures indicate household numbers. Names are the heads of the households.

the third was father (household no. 31). The head of the fourth household was a distant cousin in the agnatic line of the head of household no. 31.

Among the Chauhans there was more disparity. Though, all of them belonged to Rawatra clan, direct relationship could not be traced among all the heads of the six households. Heads of two households were father and son, two were related as brothers, the other two had no direct relationship with any of the four households, mentioned above, nor were they related among themselves.

The Rathor were in majority at Chittorgarh camp. All the eighteen households belonged to Nadi clan of Rathor branch. Of the eighteen households, thirteen were agnatically related as shown in Chart 1. The heads of two of the thirteen households were panches. Of the remaining five households, two heads were related as father and son, but no direct relationship could be traced with others. It may be mentioned here that none of these five households was present in the succeeding camps. It only shows that the other five households did not belong to the parivar group of the thirteen households. They belonged to some other parivar group of another band.

The five heads of the households of the Sisodia branch belonged to Kalawat clan and all of them were agnatically related to each other as shown in Chart 2.

In racing the agnatic, maternal and affinal kinship ties, it is noted that through one household of a Rathor branch twentyone other households of different branches were found to be closely related as shown in Chart 3.

Thus, a household in a band is bound to a wider kinship structure based on agnatic, maternal and affinal ties. A woman after her marriage comes to live in the household of her husband's natal household. After some time, (if the husband is not the youngest son of his parents) the newly married couple sets up its own household. Only in exceptional cases the husbands join the natal households of their wives. At Chittorgarh camp, excepting for one case, the women on marriage joined the households of their husband. The social consequence of the marriage is thus that one household is augmented, whereas the other is depleted. Marriages are generally contacted outside the band, though there is no prohibition of intra-band marriages. In case of the marriage outside the band, its membership was either augmented or depleted.

The wives of the heads of the households at Chittorgarh camp were taken from the Rathor, the Chauhan, the Sisodia, the Solanki, the Sankla

and the Pawar branches. Their frequency in each of the branches is given in Table 4.

TABLE 4

THE BRANCHES OF THE WIVES OF THE HEADS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS  
AT CHITTORGARH CAMP

The branch of the head of the household	No. of households	The branches from which wives were taken						Total
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
1. Solanki	4	3	—	1	—	—	—	4
2. Chauhan	6	2	—	—	3	1	—	6
3. Rathor (one had two wives)	18	—	1	5	9	3	1	19
4. Sisodia (one had two wives)	5	2	—	3	—	1	—	6
TOTAL	33	7	1	9	12	5	1	35

I Rathor, II Pawar, III Chauhan, IV Sisodia, V Solanki, VI Sankla

Table 4 shows that for acquiring a wife there is no particular preference for a branch. If the wider ramifications of the relationships from the wives' side could be graphically shown, it would be noticed that most of the households present at Chittorgarh camp were related.

Though distance between carts in a camp is largely symbolic of their social distance between the households, the relative location of the carts in a camp does not always clearly express the inter-relations of the households but roughly it does indicate a pattern. For example, in the Chittorgarh camp (see the sketch of the Chittorgarh camp) members of a parivar group generally camped their carts adjacent to one another. The carts of father and son were almost always parked closely. The cart of a married son, however, is always placed in such a way that the back of his cart faces the back of his father's cart, or they were parked in the opposite direction, though still close to each other. This is done in order to keep the carts of the married son away from the sight of the father's cart on account of the relationship of avoidance between father-in-law and daughter-in-law.

*Dispersal of the Camp* : As has already been said, the Gadulia Lohar camping at Chittorgarh were on their way towards the plains of Malwa. Initially they wanted to stay at Chittorgarh only for three or four days but they kept on postponing their departure from Chittorgarh for more than twelve days. The dates for departure were deferred because some people were interested in staying at Chittorgarh for their own works. For example, Jay Ram<sup>4</sup> had some work at the District

4. Jay Ram was one of the first Chittori Gadulia Lohar to settle down in 1955, but soon he had to leave his house (see Chapter II) constructed out of the subsidy grant provided by the Government of Rajasthan. In 1962 he was contemplating to sell that house and for that he needed the State Government's permission.



Office of Chittorgarh. Certain official formalities were to be completed in connection with his work and that required some time. Jay Ram is an important man of the Gadulia Lohar caste council, and he wanted that other members of his camp should stay till his work was completed. The festival of Gyaras (11th day of bright half of the moon), of Bhado (August/September) was approaching and many of the Gadulia Lohar wanted to celebrate it with their relatives present in other bands at Chittorgarh camp. There was yet another reason that on account of heavy rains, the culvert bridge near Nimbhera on Chittorgarh-Neemuch Road was blocked. The repeated postponement of their departure on account of individual interests caused resentment among some people and a sort of uneasiness prevailed in the camp, even though such postponements are quite common among them (*cf.* Barth 1961; 25-47). However, the camp was finally wound up, but neither all of them left the Chittorgarh camp at the same time nor did they remained in the same band afterwards.

*Dispersal of the Band* : As the work-season was approaching, the dispersal of the band into smaller units had gradually started. Neemuch is the place from where they eventually get separated into smaller units. However, Jay Ram stayed behind at Chittorgarh as his work was still not finished. His elder brother and the other two households of his sons also stayed on at Chittorgarh as they planned to go towards Kapsan along with another band camping at Chittorgarh instead of going to Neemuch along with the Gangrar band they belonged to. The reason for this shift was that Jay Ram and his elder brother had quarreled, and the latter had decided that he would leave the band in which Jay Ram was present. Later on, one of the sons of Jay Ram's elder brother, Surajmal, left his father's company and joined Jay Ram's. He complained against the nature of his step-mother and said that he was not able to adjust with her. In the succeeding year, it was noticed that the elder brother of Jay Ram and his sons returned to their old band and were present at the camp of Gangrar along with Jay Ram. This incident has been particularly related here to show that factions and strained relations among members of a band are sometimes responsible for driving people to join other bands, at least temporarily.

After finishing his work at Chittorgarh, which took another five days, Jay Ram left Chittorgarh and joined the Gangrar band that was camping at Nimbhera. Some of the members of the band had gone on to Neemuch. Thus, to leave a band for some reason and then rejoin it later is common for the members of a band. The camp at Nimbhera was broken up in small batches. From Nimbhera they proceeded towards Neemuch. They reached Neemuch around Dussera festival in early October as was previously agreed upon among the members of the band. From Neemuch onwards, the members of the band

branched off into smaller units. The different units of this band continued in their errands in that area throughout the winter season. Towards the end of February the different units started on their back journey. These units reached Gangrar at the time of the festival of Akha Teej (5th April, 1963). It took them about seven months to return to Gangrar.

*Gangrar Camp (5th April to 30th April, 1963)*: In the summers, a part of which is an off-season, the Gangrar band camps at Gangrar village. This camp is more stable than others on account of their continuous halt, at a place for a considerably longer time. This halt of theirs at Gangrar is repeated year after year. This camp is also significant, because after completing their work of the winter season, their main objective of the return journey is to reach Gangrar. The getting together of the Gadulia Lohar at a fixed place at a fixed time, and when they are generally free from work, is socially very important. They can attend to their personal and family needs and those of the community as a whole (such as panchayat meetings).

However, the maximum number of carts ever present at Gangrar camp in the summers of 1963 was fiftyone. These carts belonged to thirtyfour households, out of which twentyfour households were the same which were present at the camp of Chittorgarh discussed above. The other nine households out of thirtythree of Chittorgarh camp also returned from their errands in Malwa but proceeded straight to Hamirgarh instead of joining the camp at Gangrar as they had some work there. Another band of the Chittori Gadulia Lohar was camping there. The three households, out of the ten which joined the Gangrar camp, usually do not come to this side. They claimed themselves to be the Malwi Gadulia Lohar. The other seven claimed to be the Chittori Gadulia Lohar and their area of movement is the same as has been discussed for the Gangrar band of the Chittori Gadulia Lohar. They were not present in the earlier camp of Chittorgarh as they left Gangrar earlier in different batches and did not stay at Chittorgarh but proceeded straight to Neemuch.

The composition of these seven households is shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5

## THE COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS AT GANGRAR CAMP

Types of composition	Number of households	Population
Husband, wife and children*	6	21
Widow and her children*	1	7

\*This includes children who have been either betrothed or married but have not joined their partners.

Again, the number of households with nuclear families was maximum. Of the seven households, three belonged to the Kalawat clan of the Sisodia branch, three were from the Nadi clan of the Rathor branch and one from the Rawatra clan of the Chauhan branch.

The households at the camp of Gangrar belonged to the branches and the clans as is shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS IN BRANCHES AND  
CLANS AT GANGRAR CAMP

Branch	Clan	Number of households
Solanki	Bhakrani	3
Chauhan	Rawatra	5
Rathor	Nadi	16
Sisodia	Kalawat	10
	TOTAL	34

The three households of the Nadi clan of the Rathor were agnatically related to other Rathors present in the camp. Same was the case with the three households of the Kalawat clan of the Sisodia.

All the three households of the Malwi Gadulia Lohar belonged to the Kalawat clan of the Sisodia branch, and they were agnatically related to the other Sisodia of the camp. Two of them were very close friends of Jay Ram and they called each other as 'brothers', as they were disciples of the same guru. They are also *bhagats*, that is, they have given up consuming meat and alcoholic drinks and pass their leisure hours in religious discourses and recitations of *bhajans* (devotional songs). The other households of the Malwi Gadulia Lohar came to this camp in order to participate in the marriage of one of their close kin who was intimately related to Jay Ram. The marriage was performed during their stay at Gangrar.

At the Gangrar camp, again, the households belonging to the Rathor and the Sisodia branches—each of these branches represented by single clans—were in majority. Those households which joined the band at Gangrar were agnatically related in their respective branches.

The composition of the camp at Gangrar which has been described here was never stationary. A few households were always coming to and going away from Gangrar. But as has already been stated, there were two other camps nearby, and there were regular shifts of some members of one camp to another for various reasons. This part of the year is considered to be an off-season, and, hence, it is not the work but other reasons, such as meeting relatives, settling long standing disputes, negotiating marriages, and so on, which makes them shift from one camp to another.

Besides the mobility of households from one camp to another, the individuals also move frequently from one place to another leaving their carts and other members of the households back at the camp. Similarly, the Gadulia Lohar from other camps also came to Gangrar. This aspect of their movement has significant bearing on their economy. The movement of individuals is a feature of the off-season camps. Towards the last week of May, the camp at Gangrar started breaking up into smaller units, and they dispersed all around Gangrar.

It is again worth mentioning here that while they were camping at Gangrar, they could never say definitely as to how long they would be camping there. Everyday they would inform me that they were likely to leave in a few days, and yet mostly they stayed on.

The indecision and disagreement on the question of movement seems to be a characteristic feature of nomads. Barth writing about the Basseri tribe observes, "The daily and unavoidable decisions on which the persistence of the group itself depends concern whether to break camp and to migrate, by which route to migrate, and where to pitch the new camp. Particularly, the first of these is a recurring decision that everyday re-tests the cohesion of the group. As I have shown above, the camp leader lacks means whereby he can dictate a decision to the group or to any of its constituent tents; he must therefore, everyday succeed in obtaining unanimity among its members. The process whereby this is achieved is one of the fundamental social processes in nomad society—" (1961; 43). It is true for the Gadulia Lohar, too, that they can remain together only by common agreement of all the members of a camp. The question to stay or not to stay is vital for all the members. Every household has an opinion, and the prosperity of each household is dependent on the wisdom of the decision taken on this matter. There are no formal bindings on any household regarding its movement, yet they generally stick to a band and region shown by persisting composition of the camps and conform to a pattern of movement halts, keeping the time factor in view. The basis for this persistence and conformity to a pattern are their affiliation to a region, agnatic kinship ties in a ramifying descent system, matrilineal and affinal relations and a kind of ritual friendship<sup>5</sup>. These factors give a unifying

5. Ritual friendship is based upon great friendly ties. The persons so related consider themselves as brothers and, hence, the members of their families do not enter in marital relations. The relationship is enduring and lifelong. It has all the kinship qualities. There are various ways through which they enter into this kind of bond. The members of Chauhan and Pawar branches consider themselves as 'dhoti band bhai' (brothers). It is said that Pawar and Chauhan were good friends. Once a Pawar and a Chauhan went to have bath in a river. There they exchanged their *dhoties* (lower garments) and since then they treat each other as brothers and, hence, no marriage is possible between the members of the two branches. Similarly, the disciples of a guru contract ritual relationship by exchanging *kanthi* (it is a necklace of beads called *rudraksha*).

character to a camp and consequently to a band. While the disagreements and indecisions on movement occur as each household has its own interest in moving or staying in a camp.

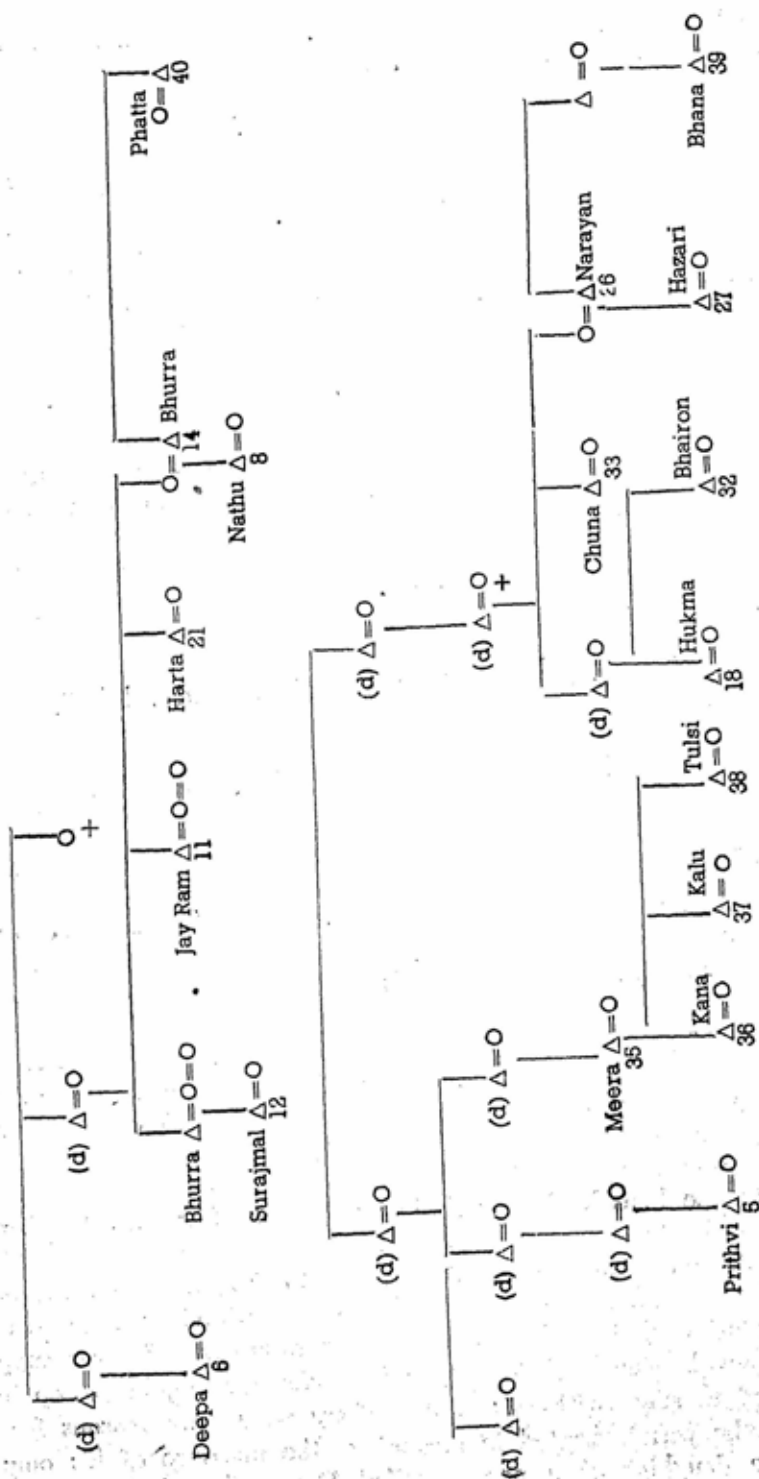
*Neemuch Camp (7th September to 24th September, 1963)*: During the months of June and July the Gangrar band remain dispersed into smaller units in and around Gangrar. By the first week of August they come back to Gangrar in batches and from there they proceed to Neemuch and further south in Malwa. The Gangrar band reached Neemuch in the first week of September. When this band reached there, 150 carts of the Gadulia Lohar from different regions were already present at Neemuch.

The importance of Neemuch to the Gadulia Lohar has already been discussed. The camp at Neemuch, during this part of the year is held just after the rainy season when most of the Gadulia Lohar operating in the neighbourhood assemble there before their departure to their respective areas of operation. They would then remain separated into smaller units for the entire winter season.

There were twenty-nine households in the Chittori Gadulia Lohar section at the Neemuch camp. Out of these, two households were of the Malwi Gadulia Lohar. One of them (household no. 5) was the same household which was present at Gangrar camp and the other household was of their daughter and her husband who had joined them at Neemuch. Out of twenty-seven households, twenty-three were the same which were present at the camp of Gangrar. The other four households belonging to Meera (household no. 35) and his three sons (households nos. 36, 37, 38) did not join the camp at Gangrar as they wanted to meet some of their kin at Chittorgarh; so they passed most of the summer at Chittorgarh, and now they had joined the main band. The other eleven households out of thirty-four of Gangrar camp had reached Neemuch earlier and after halting for a day they proceeded in the direction of Mandisor. An important panch with this section was Banyo (household no. 20). Thus, the band branched off into two main divisions.

After camping at Neemuch near the market site for four days, the Chittori Gadulia Lohar shifted their camp to an open place on the outskirts of Neemuch. In this shift, again, there was a division in the band; only eighteen households reached the outskirts camp at Neemuch, the remaining eleven households took the route towards Mandisor. Jay Ram (household no. 11), an important panch, was with the former section while Labba (household no. 31), a panch, was with the latter section.

CHART 4: COMPOSITION OF THE NEEMUCH OUTSKIRT CAMP



Figures indicate household numbers. Names are the heads of the households. + indicates the same person.

The Gadulia Lohar reaching Neemuch outskirt camp belonged to three branches as shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS IN BRANCHES AND  
CLANS AT NEEMUCH OUTSKIRT CAMP

Branch	Clan	No. of households
Sisodia	Kalawat	11
Rathor	Nadi	4
Chauhan	Rawatra	3

All the households of the Sisodia branch, four of the Rathor branch and three of the Chauhan branch were agnatically related in their own branches. Tracing the agnatic, maternal and affinal ties it is noticed that all the eighteen households were related to each other as shown in Chart 4.

Thus, it may be argued that a band contains several closely related subgroups which get separated from the band at the beginning of the work-season. Apparently, these subgroups acquire a significant position in the band on account of the ideology of difference to agnatic kin, such as father's father and father's brothers, and solidarity of male siblings which is extended laterally to all patrilineal cousins and, also, the bonds of solidarity, respect and familiarity with matrilin and affines. In addition to this relationship between the subgroups, it may be further strengthened by the bonds of personal friendships. So composed subgroups, particularly on account of the presence of the prominent men of the caste council should give rise to political activity within the band. In fact, the members of subgroups do give support to each other and collectively they do try, in a way, to influence the other groups. The best example of this kind of jostling is seen on the question of movement of the band. But the effectiveness of these subgroups is very much mitigated on account of their impermanence (*see further*) and the presence of other close kin in the band outside the subgroup resulting into a complex web of relations. However, the interrelations within the subgroups and outside are the source of strength to panchayat leaders.

Only one household (household no. 5) out of the eighteen present at Neemuch outskirt camp claimed to belong to the region of Malwa, though its head was agnatically related to the other Sisodias of the camp. The head of this household was one Prithvi, and he was with the Chittori Gadulia Lohar for the entire summers. He was supposed to go towards Mandor with others from Neemuch market camp but he continued to stay with this band. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, he was interested in arranging the marriage of his only son with the daughter of a person called Deepa (household no. 6) who



always remained with this band. Deepa was a Rathor and was Jay Ram's father's brother's son. Jay Ram, was a close friend of Prithvi.

The significant point with this proposed marriage was that Prithvi married his son only a year ago but neither he nor his wife was satisfied with the conduct of their daughter-in-law. Prithvi's son was about sixteen then. Prithvi was thinking of dissolving that marriage and re-marrying his son to Deepa's daughter for whom he had developed a special liking. Deepa was not fully prepared for this. In order to know Deepa's mind and influence him, Prithvi stayed on with this band. Secondly, the other members of Prithvi's band were expected to reach Neemuch around the third week of September from Ratanpur side on their way towards Mandor. The Gadulia Lohar from Ratanpur side came to Neemuch in the beginning of the third week of September. Prithvi's elder brothers were there in this band and he accompanied them when they departed from Neemuch. Thus, the membership of subgroups are impermanent and their solidarity is deceptive on account of interrelations beyond the limits of the subgroups.

Besides Prithvi, there were at least four other households who were eagerly awaiting the arrival of the band from Ratanpur side in connection with marriage proposals which they were negotiating with the members of that band. Others were also looking forward to meet their relatives and friends present in that band. They stayed together for three days after which the entire camp was wound up.

At this time these subgroups break up into still smaller units for their winter season work. So from now onwards the assembly of a larger group, if any, was on account of some particular reason; otherwise, they remained separated into smaller work-unit.

From the Neemuch outskirt camp all the eighteen households and some others who deflected from the Malwa band with the decision to take Neemuch—Manasa—Mandor route started hurriedly proceeding into the interior villages. Within the next three days, the different units were separated from each other by several miles. One of the sections kept on moving along the road and assembled at Manasa, about seventeen miles from Neemuch.

The description of the next camp at Manasa is specially given here as it was one of the camps which was constituted under special circumstances.

*Manasa Camp (1st October to 12th October, 1963)* : There were in all twenty households at the Manasa camp. Of these twenty households, only five belonged to the Chittori band of the Gadulia Lohar and the rest fifteen claimed themselves to be Malwi Gadulia Lohar. These fifteen households were from the band which reached Neemuch from Ratanpur side.

Three of the Gangrar band were of the Kalawat clan of the Sisodia branch and the remaining two belonged to the Nadi clan of the



Rathor branch. Two households of the Sisodia (households nos. 14 and 40) were related as brothers and the third was the son of one of them. One of the Rathor was Jay Ram and the other was his elder brother's son who generally stays and works with Jay Ram. Jay Ram was related to other Sisodia households as his sister was married to Phatta, head of the household no. 14. This was one subgroup at the Manasa camp while the other was of the Malwi Gadulia Lohar.

Among the Malwi Gadulia Lohar, ten were of the Lakhani clan of the Sisodia and two were of the Dabi branch. All the Lakhani were agnatically related to one another. These Lakhani were distant affinal kin of both Jay Ram and Phatta. The other Dabis and Sisodias were also related. In short, all the households at the Manasa camp were related to one another, some closely and some distantly. In spite of bonds of kinship, the Gadulia Lohar in this camp claimed to belong to two different regions and to two different subgroups. At least in this camp, spatial distribution of the carts reflected the cleavage. The Chittori were camping slightly away from the Malwi Gadulia Lohar.

The purpose for which these people assembled at Manasa was the finalisation of a marriage. Phatta of Chittori band of the Kalawat clan of the Sisodia branch was interested in the marriage of his son with the daughter of one Magnia of the Malwi band of the Lakhani clan of the Chauhan branch. The negotiations for this marriage were going on for some time and Phatta had already spent some money over the negotiations. He was eager, therefore, to settle this marriage and it was for this reason that he managed to keep them at Manasa and also asked those of his kin to stay on whom he thought to be helpful in the negotiation of the marriage. Jay Ram, the influential *panch* of the Chittori band and an affine of Phatta, was particularly requested by the latter to help him in negotiating this marriage. This negotiation had a long history behind it. However, the immediate cause for all these people to assemble at Manasa was to settle the marriage. They stayed at Manasa for twelve days, and it is a pertinent question to ask why these people had to stay for twelve days to negotiate a marriage.

Marriage negotiation among these people is an arduous and a long process as will be clear from the case which follows. While they were camping at Manasa, Phatta's son, Hema, went to a number of places to call other *panches* whom he thought would be helpful in the negotiations. It took considerable time in the process of getting *panches* from as far-off as Mandisor. Finally, the *panches* gathered and the marriage was finalised. While the negotiations were in progress, those who were camping at Manasa carried out their usual tasks of blacksmithy and attended the weekly cattle markets at Jharla and Neemuch. The very next day of the settlement of the marriage, the camp at Manasa was wound up. The Malwi Gadulia Lohar proceeded towards Suwasra, except for three households which stayed around Manasa along with

Jay Ram. The reason for their staying on was again to finalise some marriages for which negotiations were going on. The three households of Phatta, his brother and his brother's son went to another village near Manasa.

It should now be possible to draw the thread of this narrative together. It was seen in the preceding chapter that the Gadulia Lohar associate themselves with some particular region and claim themselves to belong to that region. The regional affiliations, however, does not restrict them from moving into each other's 'territory', meeting and having matrimonial ties. Within a region, the Gadulia Lohar are split up into a number of bands. The area of movement of each of the bands is well established, repetitive and oriented in such a way that the traditional aspects of their culture, economic and seasonal fluctuations are kept in view. The work-season and off-season are also similarly regular.

The membership of a band is closed only in the sense that the essential qualification required for the membership is that one must be a Gadulia Lohar by birth. Above this qualification the membership of the band for all practical purposes is open. For, there is no formal code which could debar any of the Gadulia Lohar from the membership of a particular band. But the discernible facts as observed are that the members of a band claim to belong to that region in which that band usually operates. Those who do not belong to that region and are present in any band of that region, consider themselves as outsiders and as soon as they finish the task at hand, which brings them to a band from another region, they go back to their own area of movement. Within a region, there is no restriction as such for a person to join one band or the other, but what is observed in this regard is that there are three kinds of bonds which tie the members of a band together. They are patrilineal, matrilineal and affinal kinship. To this may be added the somewhat unpredictable factor of friendship which at times may weigh more than any of the structural factors mentioned above.

A band breaks up into smaller units at the beginning of the work-season. It is formed again when the units join after the end of the work-season. The membership of a band, however, is not static. It is an ongoing concern. It is augmented or depleted by natural events such as birth and death, and social events such as marriage, adoption and partition, in the same way as the composition of the households. In addition to this, feuds between members of a band, important business elsewhere and visits to close kin in other bands may temporarily affect the membership of a band.

The members of a clan, their matrikin and affines are distributed over a large area, not necessarily in the same region; and it is quite common for members of a band to join their close kin in bands in other

regions. But this pull of kin affiliation remains temporary and after a while they return to their own areas of movement, which only shows that kin ties are, no doubt, vital but are not exclusive factors in determining the membership of a band; auxiliary support is provided by the factor of regional affiliation.

With a band there are several closely tied subgroups which become apparent when a band of the Gadulia Lohar is about to split up into smaller work-units. However, these subgroups lose much of their effectiveness on account of their impermanence and interrelations with the other members of the band. But the panches and the prominent men present in these subgroups draw their support mainly from their respective members. For example, Jay Ram (household no. 11), Banyo (household no. 20) and Labba (household no. 31) were important men of the Gangrar band. All these persons were present at Gangrar but from Neemuch, Banyo and Labba took the route towards Mandisor separately from the main body of the band and so, along with them, went all those households which were closely related to them. Jay Ram remained at Neemuch along with seventeen other households which were closely related (*see* Chart 4). These subgroups are impermanent in the sense that their exclusive existence is very much short-lived; and when they are present along with other subgroups, the interrelations come into play. For example, Banyo is the father's brother's son of Jay Ram and both of them are distant affines of Labba.

It is appropriate here to speak briefly of the term 'band', which was introduced in the beginning of the preceding chapter, to denote an aggregate of the Gadulia Lohar moving together for a part of the year. After having shown size, territory and the composition pattern of the band it would not be wrong to say that a band is not a mere aggregate of fleeting individual households. It is a very clearly bound social group. Their relations as recurring neighbours are relatively constant. The perspective of the nomadic way of life and typical circumstances arising on account of it have to be kept in view in understanding what a band means in the case of the Gadulia Lohar.

On the one hand, a band has a fluid character; it lacks apparent and professed aims as such and it hardly comes to act as a group except under certain situations of 'crisis'. On the other hand, the society of the Gadulia Lohar is visible only through these aggregates which have been called here as bands. A Gadulia Lohar is in contact with his caste members through these units, and the whole gamut of social control becomes effectively operative at the band level. The emotional aspect, however, cannot be underrated as the people live and camp together and share the stresses and strains of the nomadic way of life which certainly generates a sense of 'we'-feeling among them. From the operational point of view of the observer, the band concept is useful in the sense that it is the focal point for the study of these nomads.

## CHAPTER V

### CRAFT AND TRADE

In this chapter I shall discuss the craft and trade of the Gadulia Lohar, namely blacksmith work and trade in bullocks. I shall discuss what and how they produce. Ordinarily, the technological system, the material equipment for it and the technical knowledge are considered to be 'given factors' in an economic analysis and, hence, they are not described. This, however, is needed to be discussed in case of the Gadulia Lohar to make the economic analysis more intelligible. Sol Tax observes : "It seems clear enough that no matter how successful the individuals of a society may be in pursuing their own interest, they will not increase the wealth of that society unless they have something with which to increase it" (1953 ; 29). Technology is one of the important factors and its consideration in simple economies is all the more important. What a Gadulia Lohar produces is not only determined by the requirements of the consumers but to some extent also on account of the technology at his command which has been passed on to him hereditarily. Technology imposes certain limits on his work beyond which he cannot go. He organises his work, co-operates in other's work and organises his movement according to the traditional code of his society and the capability to prejudge the demand for his goods though the latter may not be so clearly professed.

#### BLACKSMITHY

*Seasons for Blacksmith Work* : The demand of the settled population for blacksmith work varies from one season to another and so does the movement of the Gadulia Lohar and their work. The period from the middle of March to the end of May, and then, again, the months of July and August are considered to be off-seasons for the blacksmith work. The former is a period of intense heat when blacksmith work is really difficult and also when not much of job is forthcoming. Besides, the Gadulia Lohar are then just back to their summer camps with the earnings from their six and a half months of working errands, and soon they get occupied with their numerous social engagements. Though there is not much of difference in temperature in the intervening period of June, it is still considered to be good both for blacksmithy and trade in bullocks for reasons which have already been explained. The following months of July and August are again lean months. There are fre-

quent rains on account of which the mobility is restricted. Blacksmith work is also not forthcoming in the rainy season. For these two months they have to depend mainly upon the stocks of grains and the earnings which they have made in the previous months. From this point of view, work in the intervening month of June is important for them. They resume their movement and work as soon as the rains are over, i.e. by the month of September. As the weather improves, they get more involved with blacksmithy and it continues till the month of March; that is, the demand for blacksmithy is at its peak from September to March and again in the month of June. This could be called the season of blacksmithy. Thus, in all, the work-season lasts for about seven and a half months including the month of June.

How much blacksmith work a Gadulia Lohar turns out in a season and how much he earns from it are difficult problems to determine accurately for several reasons. Blacksmith work is not evenly and regularly available to all. Then, all of them do not always camp together at one place. A few households, even when they are camping together, go away from the camp to the neighbouring areas to look for work and return to the camp after the completion of their jobs. The task of assessing their income becomes still more difficult in the working season when they disperse into smaller units in the interior rural areas to do their jobs. Whom to follow and how to follow are problems of the field investigator. The secretive nature of the Gadulia Lohar and the terrible bargaining which goes on before a price is struck further add to the difficulty of finding out the total turnover.

The data, as given in the following pages, are mostly of the period when they were camping together, supported by cases which were more consistently observed. The average annual income as calculated here is, therefore, approximate. The technique and the other details of blacksmithy are the same everywhere, in all the seasons, and so it would suffice to give a general description of them.

*Blacksmithy in an Off-season Camp:* The Gangrar camp in the months of April and May (1963) was one of the off-season camps. All the thirtyfour households in that camp did not stay there consistently, as has been discussed earlier. This camp was just after their winter season errands of over six months and, therefore, all were not interested in blacksmith work. However, some of them did some work, and record of whatever work they did for the twentyseven days of their halt there and their earnings on it was taken.

The temperature in the months of April and May easily reaches above 43.3°C. The blacksmith work during the time of such intense heat is naturally disliked by all the Gadulia Lohar. Some of them even despised blacksmith work during these months. Not to attend to blacksmith work during summers speaks of their good earning in the previous work-season, and is also a status symbol.

In summers, they light the forge by six in the morning and begin their work early. They suspend their work by midday, as it is too hot by then, and again they start their work in the afternoon by four and continue till light permits.

Those who work attend to orders given by the local people and make various tools and implements to be sold at a future date, may also go out of the camp for short durations to look for work, and may make and repair things of their own requirements.

Local people agree that the work done by the Gadulia Lohar is cheaper than that done by the settled Lohar (blacksmiths of the villages). The type of work which the Gadulia Lohar do is generally not done by the village Lohar as in these types of work more time and labour are required and the returns are low. It may be added that most of the village Lohar have settled clientele and fixed jobs to do under the village *jajmani* system (Wiser 1958). They are not obliged to take up any work falling outside the scope of the *jajmani* system. Besides, most of the village Lohar are involved in agricultural work; either they own land or they cultivate it on a share-cropping basis, and, therefore, their interest in blacksmithy is not always wholly undivided.

All kinds of odd and bits of scrap iron are accumulated by the villagers and when the Gadulia Lohar visit the villages, they are given these, and logs of wood to do the required work. The quality of the scrap iron has to be first improved by repeated heatings and hammerings and this is a time-consuming and laborious job. The Gadulia Lohar have a relatively greater supply of labour to undertake such jobs, as all of their wives, children and old men co-operate in their undertakings. On the contrary, the women and children of village blacksmiths generally do not participate in their blacksmith work. The labour at their disposal being limited and scarce, these village blacksmiths cannot afford to undertake time-taking jobs as the Gadulia Lohar do. The village blacksmiths also concede that the Gadulia Lohar have better knowledge of the techniques of blacksmithy. Thus, the villagers keep certain types of jobs reserved for the Gadulia Lohar and they eagerly await their arrival (cf. Wiser 1958; 19). In other words, the Gadulia Lohar have developed a speciality of their workmanship which maintains their demand in the villages.

However, in spite of the demand of their workmanship, the Gadulia Lohar do not get much work in the months of April and May from the local people at the place they camp. Those who go out of their off-season camps in these two months in order to look for blacksmith work also do not fair very well. In fact, in these two months only those people go out of their off-season camps who are economically hard-pressed and are in desperate need of immediate money. They go out of the camps when the prospects of getting work at the place of camping are almost exhausted. At the off-season camp of Gangrar, there



were only two occasions when people went out of the camp to look for the work. For example, Chuna was undergoing a difficult financial period. He was also facing difficulty in procuring fodder for his cattle at Gangrar. Therefore, he went out for seeking work to nearby villages. There he sold the objects which were in his stock and he procured some orders for making new things. He also brought some fodder for his cattle. He was accompanied by his two sons. They had taken a light bullock cart leaving other members of their household at Gangrar. Poker, the head of another household, also accompanied them. They worked jointly. It could not be known exactly what type and how much of work was procured by Chuna and his party; but on a subsequent occasion when Chuna, Karru and Bhairon had gone together to the village Jawasa, they procured a job of fixing an iron hoop on a bullock cart wheel for which they earned Rs 3, which was equally shared by the three households. This was the only job they got in two days.

It is a standing complaint of the Gadulia Lohar that not much of work is available in the months of April and May. This appears to be true, and the case given above supports their statements. Non-availability of work in the villages during the months of April and May cannot be easily explained without taking into account the marriage season of the region in which most of the people in the villages are busy including the Gadulia Lohar.

Those who need to do blacksmith work but cannot go out of their off-season camps on account of other social interests, make various marketable tools and implements to be sold at a future date. Most of the work done at the off-season camp of Gangrar, which lasted for twenty-seven days, was of this type.

To make articles and store them naturally involves the first consideration that the person must have the requisite amount of raw material, that is iron and fuel. The supply of iron is always restricted and irregular. I shall discuss this later with the problem of costs on the finished goods. However, it would suffice here to mention that only a few households possessed the stock of iron to work with during the off-season. This is yet another important reason why many of the Gadulia Lohar remain idle while camping at a place for a long time. As regards fuel, the nomadic Gadulia Lohar use fire-wood which they have to purchase at higher rates in towns than that in the villages.

The type of things the Gadulia Lohar make and store are *pharias* (plough blades), *kulharis* (axe blades of various sizes), *basulas* (adzes), *kussis* (blades for weeding implement), *kurchas* (cooking implement), *chinpiyas* (small pincers for extracting thorns) and *nahinis* (used for pairing nails).

Any major blacksmith work requires the services of at least four persons, though five are considered ideal. Those people who do not

have enough hands to tackle the job combine their labour resources with similar others and do the work jointly. Such combinations are more frequent in the winter season when they move from place to place. During the off-season, when they make things to be sold later, each worker generally depends upon the labour resources of his own household or of near kin who move together after the summer camps are dismantled. It seems to be only right because if they combine with others, it would be difficult to share the income from the finished products when the summer camp is wound up and they move apart.

All the blacksmithy tools, the iron parts of their bullock carts and the iron objects for their domestic use are made by the Gadulia Lohar themselves. Before they leave their off-season camps, they make and repair all the iron articles of their requirements in order to keep themselves ready for the ensuing work-season. It is convenient to accomplish the making of heavier articles in off-season camps as they can avail the services of many people camping there. For instance, making of an anvil is a heavy job. It requires the services of two persons to blow, two expert principal workers and at least half a dozen strikers. Similarly, fixing of an iron hoop around the wheel of a bullock cart requires the services of six to eight persons. A few cases are given here as illustrations of the different types of work they undertake at the off-season camps, in making articles of their own use, and the type of co-operation they get from members of the camp in making those articles.

*Fixing of Hoop on a Wheel* : At Gangrar it was observed that five people repaired the iron hoops of their bullock cart wheels just a few days before their departure from Gangrar. The iron hoop, at first, is repaired at the spot it has worn out by repeated heatings and hammerings. The hoop is kept slightly smaller than the wheel in its diameter. The diameter of the wheel of the chakra (the lighter bullock cart) is 39½ inches and that of the gari (the typical Gadulia Lohar cart) is 31 inches. The width of the iron hoop is about 3 inches. After the hoop has been prepared it is heated. This heating is specially done in dried cow-dung cake fire. Their explanation is that heat generated by cow-dung cake fire is regular and also cheaper. Cow-dung cakes are placed under, over and on all the sides of the hoops and then set to fire. This heating is done for about ten minutes or so. Then, with the help of two *kuttas* (an instrument with an iron hook, fitted on a 2½ feet long handle) and hammers they fix the hoop round the wheel. The hoop is red-hot when fixed on the wheel and, therefore, as soon as it is fitted, either water is quickly poured on it or the wheel is rotated in a 6 inches deep ditch filled with water. Thus the hoop becomes cool and hard affixed on the wooden wheel. The whole operation of heating the hoop, fitting it on the wooden wheel and cooling it, does not take more than thirtyfive minutes.



When Mulla was fitting iron hoops round the wheels of his cart, he was helped by a distant cousin, his sister's husband and sister's husband's father. When Banyo, a prominent panch of the Gadulia Lohar of the Chittorgarh region, was fitting the hoops round the wheels of his cart, more than half a dozen people helped him, including his close kin and other members of the band.

*Hammer Making* : Kukka, an experienced blacksmith, had come to Gangrar along with a marriage party. On the second day of his arrival, Labba requested Kukka to make hammers for him. Kukka immediately sat down for the job. He took one hour and fiftyseven minutes to make one hammer. He made two hammers for Labba. Kukka was helped by Labba, Ghisa, Dallu and a number of other boys of the camp. Labba got these hammers made as his son was soon to get married and he was to provide him with a set of blacksmithy tools. Kukka is known for his good workmanship in making hammers. The iron for these hammers was provided by Labba. Each hammer weighed about a seer and a half. Fire-wood was purchased from the market which cost him about Rs 1.50.

*Anvil Making* : Anvil making is a heavy job and requires help from several people. The anvil has to be very strong and, therefore, the quality of the iron has to be improved by repeated heating and hammering. Nathu's anvil was worn out and, therefore, he decided to make a bigger anvil for himself while they were camping at Chittorgarh during the month of August. The members of the camp were awaiting clear weather to start their southward journey. Had they started, it would have been difficult for Nathu to get the services of so many people at one place. Hence, he brought a piece of iron weighing about a maund and a half for Rs 20 and fire-wood for Rs 12 from the Chittorgarh market to have a heavy anvil made.

The work was completed in two days and it took in all about six hours and fortyfive minutes to complete it. More than a dozen people participated in this job. Those who participated were : his parents, his wife, his wife's brother, his father's brother's son, his mother's brothers, his brothers, his mother's brother's wife, and a few members of the camp who were not related. Two bellows were used for this job. Labba, Bhurra and Jay Ram took charge as the principal worker in turns. Each time it was taken out of the forge, hammering was done for two to five minutes by a team of three strikers. The intermediate heating of the piece of iron ranged for ten to twenty minutes. Nathu had to spend another amount of Rs 5 in providing the participants with tea and biris.

*Blacksmith Work done in an Off-season Camp* : Table 8 gives the details of work each household turned out during the

TABLE 8  
BLACKSMITH WORK AT AN OFF-SEASON CAMP

House- hold No.	Name of the head of the household	No. of days worked	The kind and amount of work done	Supported by	Total return (in Rs)	Cost (in Rs)	Income (in Rs)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Mulla	3	Fixing of iron tyre (for self) Kulharis (axe)—6 (@ Rs 2 each)	Deepa, Labba, wife and Puna	12	1	11
2.	Puna*	5	Kulharis—12 (@ Rs 2 each) Pastas (plough-blade)—10 (@ Re 1 each)	Wife, Mulla, Murra and Chuna	34	6.11	27.89
3.	Pokar**	—	—	—	—	—	—
4.	Khema*	—	—	—	—	—	—
5.	Prithvi	2	Pitcher stand—1 Pastas (repair work)—4 (@ 50 P each)	Wife and customer	2	—	2
6.	Deepa	2	Pharias (ploughshare)—8 (@ Re 1 each)	Wife and casual help from others	8	.25	6.75
7.	Shanker**	—	—	—	—	—	—
8.	Nathu	3	Kussis (weeding implement)—10 (@ Rs 1.25 each) Pharias—10 (@ Re 1 each) Kurchas (ladle)—2 (@ 25 P each)	Wife, customer and daughter and father	23	3.50	19.50
9.	Dallu*	—	—	—	—	—	—
10.	Karru**	—	—	—	—	—	—
11.	Jay Ram**	—	—	—	—	—	—
12.	Surajmal**	—	—	—	—	—	—
13.	Kushal	1	Kussis—8 (@ Rs 1.25 each)	Puna, Murra	10	1.25	8.75
14.	Bhuraji**	—	—	—	—	—	—
15.	Puna*	—	—	—	—	—	—
16.	Ramchand**	—	—	—	—	—	—
17.	Ratanlal**	—	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE 8—*concd.*

House- hold No.	Name of the head of the household	No. of days worked	The kind and amount of work done	Supported by	Total return (in Rs)	Cost (in Rs)	Income (in Rs)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
18.	Hukma**	—	—	—	—	—	—
19.	Gopi	1	Kulharis—4 (@ Rs 1.25 each)	Bhairon, wife	5	1.62	3.38
20.	Banyo**	1	Fixing of iron tyre (for self)	Mulla, Kushal, Ratan, Gopi, and others	—	—	—
21.	Harta**	—	—	—	—	—	—
22.	Bhurra	1	Kulharis—2 (@ Rs 2.50 each)	Wife and son	5	—	5
23.	Dhana	6	Kulharis—12 (@ Rs 4 each) Kussis—4 (@ Re 1 each)	Wife, brother's son	52	9.25	42.75
24.	Munra**	—	—	—	—	—	—
25.	Nukka**	—	—	—	—	—	—
26.	Narayan*	—	—	—	—	—	—
27.	Hazari*	—	—	—	—	—	—
28.	Bhuna*	—	—	—	—	—	—
29.	Raghunath**	—	—	—	—	—	—
30.	Bhurra**	—	—	—	—	—	—
31.	Labba*	1	Kulharis—4 (@ Rs 4 each)	Puna, Mulla	16	3.20	12.80
32.	Bhairon**	—	—	—	—	—	—
33.	Chuna	25	Pharias—20 (@ Re 1 each) Kussis—10 (@ Rs 1.25 each) Kolinda (self)—1 Sandasis (tongs)—10 (@ 37 P each)	Wife, sons and daughter	36.20	6.25	29.95
34.	Puna*	—	—	—	—	—	—
				TOTAL	203.20	33.43	169.77

\*Those households which did not stay for all the 27 days of their halt at Gangrar.

\*\*The households which did not do any blacksmith work during their halt at Gangrar.

period of twentyseven days at the Gangrar off-season camp. Their earnings for the number of days they worked ranged from Rs 2 to a maximum of Rs 52. Their earnings are probable, as all those things which they made were not sold out when the data were collected. The prices of the various items as given in Table 8 were arrived at by actual observation of the transactions, by cross-checking them with the buyers and also from the market-places, such as Chittorgarh and Neemuch.

Out of thirtyfour households, twentyone did not do any blacksmith work at any time of their stay at Gangrar. The data here do not include that work which the members of any household casually did to help others. No sharing of income is made for such casual help. The number of days of work put in by the thirteen households (38.2 per cent of the total number of households present at Gangrar) ranges from one to six days—each day about six to eight hours of work. The details of the amount of time spent in making each item is given later in this chapter. Household is being taken here as a working unit, for the blacksmith work for the Gadulia Lohar is a household activity in which all the members of the household actively participate unless some particular work is being done in co-operation with others. Even there the participation is counted not on an individual basis but on a household basis, and the income is thus shared accordingly. For example, if two members of a household work in a team with a member of another household, only two shares will be made of the income the unit makes. Generally, the belower does not have an independent share.

**Cost :** It is essential that the problem of the investment on blacksmithy may be cleared before calculating their income. The general rule is that the customer who gives the order, also provides the raw material and fuel. The customer is charged only for the skill and labour. Whatever they earn through these orders is their income in return for their labour. The Gadulia Lohar, of course, use their own tools and this may be taken as a kind of capital investment. But when they are at the summer camps and decide to make articles to be sold later, they have to acquire fuel and iron. At times they purchase scrap iron in small lots from the markets, such as Bhilwara, particularly when it is available at lower rates. But the gradual process of collection, specially of iron, continues during their movement; sometimes they pay for it, or exchange it with the finished goods they have, or they just manage to gather it without paying any price for it. In the absence of any fixed rates and their varied source of acquiring these materials, it is rather difficult to get actual costs of the items they make.

At Gangrar, when they made things to be sold at a later date, they used their own fuel and iron. Wherever they made a direct purchase of the iron from the market or any other source, there was no difficulty in finding out the investment they made on the total turnover. Wherever

the direct purchase was not there, the investment was assumed and the cost was calculated, keeping the current rates of scrap iron in view. Investments in fuel were not difficult to find out as it was generally purchased from the local market.

*Average Income in Off-season :* Table 9 shows the average income from blacksmithy of those households which continuously stayed at Gangrar and did some blacksmith work. There were thirtyfour households at the camp at Gangrar but only twentysix stayed there for all the twentyseven days of the camp. Of twentysix households, the members of seventeen households did not do any blacksmith work. The income of the remaining nine working households is given in Table 9.

TABLE 9

## AVERAGE INCOME FROM BLACKSMITHY IN AN OFF-SEASON CAMP

Number of working days	Number of households	Total return	Average income per households for 27 days
27	9	Rs 169.77	Rs 18.86

We see that the average income of a working household which worked in the off-season camp of twentyseven days at Gangrar was Rs 18.86. Majority of the people were not working during those twentyseven days and they also claimed that as a practice they did not work in the summers and in the rainy season. My own feeling in this matter is that they would like to take blacksmith jobs even during the off-season, but for reasons given above, they do not find it profitable. However, since leisure from blacksmith work is the convention for this period, the average income for the working households has to be put together with those households who were continuously present for all the twentyseven days at Gangrar but did not earn anything. That alone would give the proper idea of the average income of a Gadulia Lohar household during off-season, though this procedure naturally would bring down the figures for those people who really worked. The income of the households who worked has been separately given in Table 8, particularly to show how much they can earn when they are really working. In this connection it is interesting to note that whatever income they earned during that time, it was the result of work which they did in one to six days. During the rest of the days, they either did not go for work or did not have the raw material and necessary fuel.

There is a definite link between the number of adult working hands available in the household and its income. The larger the household the higher is the expectancy of income of that household. For example, Dhana, his wife and his two unmarried brothers form a good team of workers and so their turnover was also good. In six days of work they could earn Rs 52. The case of Chuna and Puna also demonstrates this point, they earned Rs 36 and Rs 34 respectively in five days of work.

Chuna, his three sons and his wife, combined together for work while Puna combined his resources with that of his wife's brother. But it was not always that they were together, and so his income and that of his wife's brother kept on fluctuating. On the other hand, there were cases of the households of Prithvi and Deepa. Prithvi had his wife and the only son aged sixteen in his household, and Deepa had only his wife and a young daughter. Such households fall short of the minimum adult working hands required for blacksmith work. That is why their earnings were as low as Rs 2 and Rs 8 respectively for two days of work put in by each. I shall return to this point later in this chapter.

The resulting average income per household (taking the non-working households that is, in all 26 households), too, for these twentyseven days of the camp comes to Rs 6.52. The off-season for blacksmithy is for about four and a half months in total, that is from the middle of March till the end of May and then again for the months of July and August. For these, 138 days in the year the average income on blacksmithy of a Gadulia Lohar household works out to be approximately Rs 33.38.

*Blacksmithy in Season* : It has been stated earlier how with the close of the monsoons the band of the Gadulia Lohar starts moving towards the plains of Malwa. As the band advances further south, it breaks itself slowly into smaller units and gets distributed into different villages in that area. The households which do not have enough working adult hands combine their resources with similar others. These units generally remain together for the entire working season, if no quarrels develop between them in the meantime. This kind of working combination is generally sought with close kin present in the band or with a friendly household. Such units are less frequently formed during summer and rainy seasons. These units in any case are not permanent and may be broken any time. The income is equally shared, not in terms of individual workers but, as explained earlier, in terms of the household they represent.

In the villages they camp at places which they know well by their previous experiences. These places are convenient from the point of view of supply of water, grazing ground for their cattle and procurement of their own work. After setting up a camp, either they go round the village asking for work or the villagers themselves come to their camp and give them work.

The winter season is more favourable for blacksmith work and it is their main earning season. The Gadulia Lohar do not sit idle in winters as they do in the summers. As soon as they realise that the possibilities of further work in a village have been exhausted, they move on to another village.

In the winters when they get work, they light their forges by eight in the morning and start their work by eight-thirty or nine. They con-

tinue it till about four or four-thirty in the evening with a break of one or two hours in the midday for meals.

*Blacksmithy in a Work-season Camp* : In order to show the kind of work, the amount of work and the income they make through blacksmithy during one of the work-season camps, Neemuch outskirt camp is chosen. The Gadulia Lohar were camping on the outskirts of Neemuch town at the beginning of the blacksmithy season and just before the breaking of the band into smaller units.

In the month of September (1963), eighteen households were camping on the outskirts of Neemuch town. They stayed there for seventeen days during which time (1) they made various things for sale, (2) they went out of the camp to look for work and (3) the local people came to give them work.

Table 10 lists the number of work days for each household, items they made, the income on those items and the help in the work they got from others. The income in the last column has been given after splitting the share of each of the participating households—if there was any combination of more than one households to that effect—and deducting the cost involved.

This table shows no income for three households. These are households no. 12, 14 and 35. Surajmal (head of household no. 12) was a sick man. His wife had died a few months ago and he had four young children to look after. Being the only working hand in his household, he could not do blacksmith work all by himself other than minor work which does not require the use of forge. Also, he could not stay with his father on account of the 'nagging' nature of his step-mother, and, therefore, he moved with Jay Ram, his father's brother. He helped Jay Ram in his blacksmith undertakings, who in turn provided him with food-stuffs. There was no arrangement between them for sharing the income which Jay Ram made on blacksmithy. Bhura (head of household no. 14) was an old man. There were four members including himself in his household—his wife, one daughter and a son aged 14 years. Bhura's elder son had separated from his father. His younger son had not yet established himself as an independent worker. Bhura mostly helped his elder son in the latter's undertakings who in turn supported him. Meera (head of household no. 35) again, was an old man; his three sons, namely Kana, Kalu and Tulsī, had established separate households. The subsistence of his household was dependent upon the earnings of his three sons, and he had no independent income of his own. For purpose of reckoning the incomes of these three households which were economically dependent upon others, they have been grouped with the respective households on which they were dependent.

The total income of the remaining fifteen households for seventeen days was Rs 281.55. The average income of each households for this period comes to Rs 18.77. This income, made in seventeen days, is

TABLE 10  
BLACKSMITH WORK AT A SEASON'S CAMP

House- hold No.	Name of the Head of the household	No. of days worked	The kind and the amount of work accomplished	Supported by	Income (in Rs)
1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	Prithvi	2	Ranpri (scraper)—1 (@ Re 1 each) Kurchas—4 (@ 25 P each)	Wife	6 (Income from partnership Rs 4)
6.	Deepa	6	Sandasis (tongs)—8 (@ 37 P each) Kurchas (ladles)—8 (@ 25 P each) Needles (big size leather stitching)—12 (@ 12 P each) Kannis (towels)—1 (@ Re 1.50 each)	Wife and daughter	16 (Income from partnership Rs 8)
7.	Nathu	5	Ranpris—14 (small @ Re 1 each; big @ Rs 1.25 each) Needles—4 (@ 12 P each) Kulharis (axe)—2 (@ Rs 2 each) Nukha (leather workers' hammer)—1 (@ Re 1 each) Repair work	Mother, father, wife and daughter	26 (Income from partnership Rs 4.50)
11.	Jay Ram	8	Kannis—4 (two big and two small; big @ Rs 1.50 each; small @ Re 1 each) Sandasis—8 (@ 37 P, 25 P and Re 1 each) Kulharis—4 (@ Rs 2 each) Kurchas—6 (@ 20 P each) Khurpa (ladle)—1 (@ 25 P each) Darantis (sickles)—7 (@ 75 P each) Repair work	Wives (two), daughter, daughter's husband, and brother's son	40.75 (Income from partnership Rs 11.50)
12.	Surajmal	—	Worked with household No. 11	—	—



TABLE 10—*contd.*

1	2	3	4	5	6
14.	Bhuraji	—	Worked with household Nos. 7 and 21	—	—
18.	Hukma	3	Worked in partnership with others	—	14
21.	Harta	5	Basulas (axes)—2 (@ Rs 2 each) Kulharis—2 (@ Rs 2 each) Darantis—4 (@ 75 P each) Repair work	Son, wife, sister's son	16 (Income from partnership Rs 4)
26.	Narayan	2	Kurchas—10 (@ 25 P each)	Wife, son	11.50 (Income from partnership Rs 9)
27.	Hazari	3	Kurchas—6 (@ 25 P each) Needles—4 (@ 12 P each) Rampris—4 (@ Re 1 each)	Wife	15 (Income from partnership Rs 9)
32.	Bhairon	2	Kannis—3 (@ Re 1 each) Darantis—4 (@ 75 P each) Kurchas—4 (@ 25 P each)	Wife	7
33.	Chuna	2	Fixed iron hoop—2 (@ Rs 3 each) Pasias—2 (@ Rs 2.50 each) Kulharis—3 (@ Rs 2.25 each) Kurchas—6 (@ 25 P each) Darantis—8 (@ 50 P each) Hammers—3 (@ Rs 2 each) Repair work	Wife, three sons, and daughter	42.25 (Income from partnership Rs 12)
35.	Meera	—	Works with his sons household Nos. 35, 36, 37	—	—
36.	Kana	2	Kurchas—4 (@ 25 P each) Sandasis—5 (@ 31 P each) Repair work	Wife	12.55 (Income from partnership Rs 10)
37	Kalu	3	Rampris—2 (@ Re 1 each) Sandasis—4 (@ 37 P each) Needles—4 (@ 12 P each) Repair work	Wife	15 (Income from partnership Rs 10)

TABLE 10—concl'd.

1	2	3	4	5	6
38.	Tulsi	2	Worked with household Nos. 34, 35, 36	Wife	10 (Income from partnership Rs 10)
39.	Bhana	2	Worked with several households	Wife	8.25 (Income from partnership Rs 8.25)
40.	Phatta	9	Pasias—2 (@ Rs 2.50 each) Kulharis—6 (@ Rs 2 each) Kurchas—4 (@ 25 P each) Darantis—2 (@ 75 P each) Basulas—4 (@ Rs 2 each) Needles—8 (@ 12 P each) Repair work	Wife, two sons and a daughter	41.25 (Income from partnership Rs 6.50)
TOTAL					Rs 281.55

Note : The last column shows the net income. Wherever they paid for fuel or iron which they generally do not purchase, has been subtracted from total returns.

taken as a representative sample to calculate their total income during the entire season of blacksmith work.

*Annual Income from Blacksmithy :* Calculating annual income from blacksmithy on the basis of twentyseven days of work in off-season and seventeen days of work in the season at best can give some approximate idea provided an assumption is made that the flow of work remained more or less the same as was observed for twentyseven days in off-season and seventeen days in season.

The season for blacksmith work lasts for about seven and a half months in the year, that is for about 226 days. The average income per household for these 226 days, then, would be Rs 249.53. The total annual income made by the Gadulia Lohar on blacksmithy would be the income earned in off-season and in season, that is in this case, Rs 33.38 plus Rs 249.53. Thus, the approximate income an average household makes in cash in a year from blacksmithy is Rs 282.91. To this must be added the value of the grain which they get during the month of June in return for their blacksmith work. It was observed that the carts of a household contained two and a half maunds of wheat, on an average, when they returned from their errands in the month of June. They also collected pulses and coarse grains, but their quantity was not much and could not be properly assessed. The price of wheat in the local markets at that time was Rs 15 to Rs 16 per maund. That is, another Rs 37.50 should be added to their average annual income on blacksmithy. This finally comes to Rs 320.41.

At the same time, I observed and checked the day-to-day income from blacksmithy of one household (Appendix 1). The data available in this case are for 72 days during which time the income the household made was Rs 114.78. His income for 226 days of the season on this basis works out to be Rs 360.28. This figure matches well with the figure given above on the average annual income through blacksmithy. It may be remarked here that utmost care was taken to collect as accurate data as possible on the income made by the Gadulia Lohar on blacksmithy but for certain obvious reasons there are constraints in collecting extensive and accurate data on income on an artisan nomadic group such as this. The method I have adopted here to arrive at the average annual income of the Gadulia Lohar from blacksmithy is, by no means, fool proof but there did not seem any way better than the one followed here.

*Numerical Size of the Household and Income :* In Table 10 it is again noticed that the households which had at least two adult strikers, other than the principal worker and bellower, earned more than those who were lacking in as many workers. Those who have more hands than required, lend the extra hands to work with others and, thus, they are a source of additional income to the household. Such households in our sample were of Jay Ram, Chuna and Phatta, each one of which earned over Rs 40 in seventeen days. It may be argued here that the Gadulia Lohar

should then prefer large households comprising of extended families. On the contrary, it is found, that a majority of households consist of nuclear families of husband, wife and unmarried children. The main reasons for this are : (1) the technology of the Gadulia Lohar being simple, it cannot accommodate more persons than required for the kind of blacksmith work they do, thus it limits the size of the work unit ; (2) the economy of the Gadulia Lohar is based upon household which is not solely an economic unit and that they stress upon early economic independence of households ; (3) the association of extra hands in a household with other household in economic activities is temporary and is broken at any time and thus, if broken, the members of the unit will again have to depend upon the household resources. Therefore, the social convention to separate a son soon after he is matured enough to lead an independent life is functionally correlated with their economic activities ; and (4) their nomadic way of life is another factor which places a limit on the enlargement of household units. A bullock cart can at best accommodate three adults and their equipment ; for more persons more carts are required. Joint cooking would require larger vessels and equipment which would be cumbersome to carry.

*Households and the Working Units :* In the Gadulia Lohar society, household is the basic unit of production and consumption. All the members of a household participate in the economic activity of blacksmithy. The head of the household usually is the principal worker ; his wife and children do the job of blowing and hammering. The households are built around one elementary family and on account of the partition soon after the marriage of a son, the emerging nucleus generally falls short of the minimum number of adult hands required for blacksmith operations, that is, four. In the early year, the emerging nucleus joins its labour resources with the natal household. They maintain though, separate hearths and the income is equally shared on the basis of the number of participant households. This is the period for the emerging nucleus to establish and gain economic independence. The future development of the household would decide whether it still runs short of the minimum working hands required to carry on blacksmith work independently or not. If it does, it may continue to work with its natal household or it may join any other unit which also does not have the required number of adult working hands, depending upon their mutual relations. In later years, the arrangement tends to become more formal, economic and short-lived. These units generally remain together at least for one working season provided no quarrels develop between them in the meantime. Such units are less frequently formed during off-season time. These units in any case are not permanent and may be broken at any time at the will of the participant units.

*Technique of Blacksmithy :* Details of the techniques employed in making various iron objects are different, but generally speaking, black-

smith operations of the Gadulia Lohar come in two stages. First is the task of refining and improving the quality of the iron, and second is moulding the metal to the desired shape. These two levels of operation are brought about by taking recourse to the method of repeated heating and hammering.

As said earlier, they use scrap and discarded pieces of iron for reshaping them into tools and implements. These pieces of iron with constant use and oxidation contain a lot of impurity and, therefore, to refine them is the blacksmith's first task. The procedure they adopt for refining it is to heat the object repeatedly in the forge and hammer it. With prolonged heating in charcoal fire and subsequent hammering the surface of the iron hardens and at least the surface is converted into steel with the diffusion of carbon. The kind of forge used by the Gadulia Lohar limits the extent to which they can improve the quality of the iron.

The second procedure of shaping the object to the desired shape is again the same—heating and hammering, with the difference that the subsequent heating and hammering are controlled and different tools are utilised to shape it. Some of the objects like *kurcha*, *chamcha*, *pari*, *chinpiya*, nails, do not require subsequent heating. They shape them by only hammering them with varying forces at different angles.

**Forge :** A T-shaped pit four to six inches deep is made in the ground, near their cart or at another place where they have chosen to work. The pit is relatively deep towards the bar end. It is about ten inches long and the horizontal side is six inches long. Fire-wood is piled over the horizontal side and it is lighted from below. It is allowed to burn till ample signs of charcoal embers are visible. The process is speeded up, if desired, by blowing air with the bellows. An earthen pipe is placed on the vertical side of the pit. One end of the pipe is just below the fire-wood and the other end which is slightly broader receives the two iron pipes of the bellow. These two pipes are connected with the two leather bellows. The bellow sits between the two bellows and operates them with the alternate movement of each hand.

**Working Team :** Any major job requires the services of at least four persons, though five is considered ideal. One is required to manipulate the bellows. This job is generally done by an old man, or an old woman, or a child. One man is required for *garahi* (Hindi word from *garhna*; meaning, to make). He is the principal worker in the job and directs the entire operation of hammering, bellowing, and, heating. He holds the object to be made by a pair of pincers and directs others to hammer strongly or lightly in quick or slow succession, raise the bellowing rate or lower it, and so on. This is the most specialised job, and only those who have learnt the technique can do it. No woman was ever found doing this job. Two, if not three, adults are required for hammering. The job of hammering is known to all the Gadulia Lohar. They learn it from the very childhood.

Making of minor things like *sandasi* (gripping tool), *chimata* (pair of tongs), *tawa* (frying pan), *chinpiyas* (small forceps used for taking out thorns), are known as *thanda kam*, literally meaning cold work, or work which does not require heating of the object, but could be done by hammering alone. The iron-sheets from such articles are thin, and, therefore, can easily be moulded into the desired shapes by hammering it on an anvil. Such type of work can be done independently by a single person without the help of others.

The processes involved in making different objects together with the time taken in making each, details regarding the participants, the cost involved in making each object and how the incomes were shared are explained here by examining a few cases studied in some detail.

*Making of a Ploughshare* : Ghisa bought a maund of scrap iron from Bhilwara at the rate of Rs 2.50 per maund. He made about twenty pharias (ploughshare), each weighing about a seer and a quarter out of it. On the first day he made ten pharias, and the next day again he and his family were able to make another ten. It being the month of April, they worked only in the mornings and evenings, putting in about six hours of work each day. A pharia is about one foot and six inches in length. Each pharia was expected to fetch around a rupee and twentyfive paise, while the heavier ones, i.e., those which weighed about two seers, were sold for about Rs 1.50 or Rs 2. The latter were made for being sold at a future date. Later on, when his father had gone to the neighbouring villages, he earned altogether about Rs 20 on the sale of these pharias. The people who worked in making these pharias were : Ghisa's father (who worked the bellows), Ghisa, his younger brother Mulla and his mother together did the job of hammering ; while Dallu, the younger brother, did the job of garahi. Dallu was only about seventeen years but had already earned the reputation of being good at garahi work.

The scrap iron was all rusted and was in thin sheets. The sheets of the required weight for each pharia were bundled together and put into the forge. When it became sufficiently red-hot, it was taken out and beaten for two to three minutes. This procedure was repeated thrice. This was done in order to remove the foreign elements and to improve the quality of the iron. Sometimes they have to prolong this process for as long as five minutes. While improving the quality of the iron, they also started moulding it into the desired shape of a pharia. A pharia is an elongated blade with tapering ends. It took them about thirty minutes to make one pharia, with four people working together. Once in a while, when Ghisa's mother was away looking after some household duties, Ghisa called others working nearby to help him. Such help was always forthcoming.

*Making of Weeding Implement* : Puna took the job of making kussi (blade of weeding implement). A kussi is about eight inches long and weighs about a seer and a quarter. It was sold for a price between

Rs 1.25 and Rs 1.50. The iron was of the same quality as bought and used earlier by Ghisa, i.e., in thin sheets.

The process of its refinement was the same but making of a kussi takes a longer time. The lump of iron was properly refined putting it into the forge and taking it out four or five times and then hammering. This process of heating and hammering was continued till an elongated shape of the metal was obtained. Afterwards, with the help of *bedan* (a borer) a hole was made in it at one end. This hole and the butt end of it were regularised by hammering on an anvil. In all, it was put into the forge eight to ten times, and each time when it was taken out, it was hammered for one to three minutes. It took them about fiftyfive minutes to make one kussi.

The number of persons involved in its making were four, viz. Puna, his wife and his two brothers. His two brothers live separately, but no sharing of income was done in this case; it was just a case of extending a helping hand to a brother. Puna's brothers generally work with their father, and Puna himself usually works in collaboration with his wife's brother.

The procedure of making kussis is slightly different with other types of iron, such as pieces from iron hoop of a bullock cart wheel. Such a piece of iron is heated and beaten to get an elongated shape. Then one of the end is narrowed down by beating it from two sides. A hole is made on the central line towards the narrower end. The back portion at this end is split in the middle and is spread with the help of a *cheni* (chisel). This end is then regularised on an anvil. This acts as a holder for the wooden handle. It takes about forty minutes to make one kussi in this way. The time saved in this process is due to the better quality of iron which obviates much of the refining process.

**Axe Making :** On another occasion, Puna made axes. His wife worked the bellows and his wife's brother, Murra, was the striker. Since one person was not sufficient for hammering, each time the object was taken out of the forge; others who were working on his forge were asked to help Murra in hammering, or Puna's wife used to leave the job of bellowing during that time and helped Murra. The help from others for hammering was obtained on a friendly basis in the same way as others were doing minor jobs on his forge.

The axes were being made from worn out iron hoops of bullock cart wheels. First, pieces weighing about one seer to one seer and a quarter were cut from the iron hoops and put into the forge. They were then heated and hammered till they became a solid mass. Thereafter, with successive repetition of the same process and utilising the different types of tools the desired shape of an axe was obtained. The heft hole was made in the earlier stage of the work by introducing a barrel-shaped boring tool in the red-hot iron piece. They keep the borer in the same position till the object was near completion, as its removal would deshape

the hole. While introducing the borer in the hole, they insert a small piece of charcoal in it. Their explanation is that by putting a piece of charcoal in it the borer does not get stuck in the hole, and it is easier to take it out when necessary.

It took about one hour and twelve minutes for Puna to make two axes. For making one axe they had to put it twenty times in the forge for heating and had to take it out as many times for hammering. At no time it could be hammered for more than two minutes, because iron becomes cool within that time to the extent that further hammering would not bring the desired result unless heated afresh. An axe of that weight is sold for anything between Rs 2 and Rs 2.50. Puna made six axes that day. The income accruing from these items was to be shared between Puna and his wife's brother, Murra who helped him. Puna and Murra generally move and work together during the work-season.

Dhana on the same day made eight axes each weighing about one and a half seers. The technique adopted for its making was the same. He was helped by his two younger brothers and his wife. His son, aged about eight years, was also engaged in either working the bellows or helping them in bringing fire-wood, iron, etc.

*Work outside the Camp :* Ghisa, Narayan, Hazari and Kari left their camp on the outskirts of Neemuch in the morning and opened a workshop at Neemuch town. They obtained orders for making five axes and a *pasa* (blade for a weeding implement); they also made six kurchas on their own. They worked from morning till evening and earned Rs 16 for these objects. For objects they made on order, they were given iron and fuel by the customers. Ghisa and Hazari worked as hammerers, Narayan as *garahi*, and Kari, the younger sister of Ghisa, worked as bellower. Narayan, the father of Hazari, is Ghisa's father's sister's husband. Of the total amount earned, one rupee was spent on biris, tea and some snacks. The balance (Rs 15) was shared at Rs 5 per representing household as is customary among these people. Kari did not get any independent share.

*Repair Work :* The Gadulia Lohar are always in great demand by the local people for repair jobs. They have also developed some special techniques in this field. Undoubtedly, they are facing competition from the machine-made agricultural tools and implements now available in most of the towns. The competition is not being acutely felt as these machine-made tools and implements as yet are not freely available in the interior areas. Even if machine-made tools are available freely to the settled population in this area, the demand for repairs is expected to remain, and for future it holds promise to some extent for the Gadulia Lohar to continue as repairing blacksmiths at least.

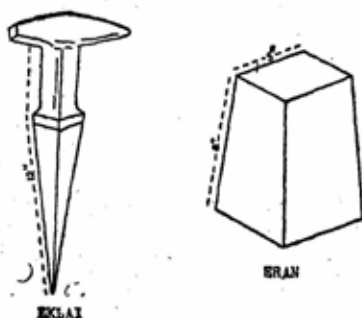
Mostly, the repair work they get is of mending and sharpening the edges of the blades of various tools and implements. For this, they raise the temperature of that particular end in the forge and then mend it by



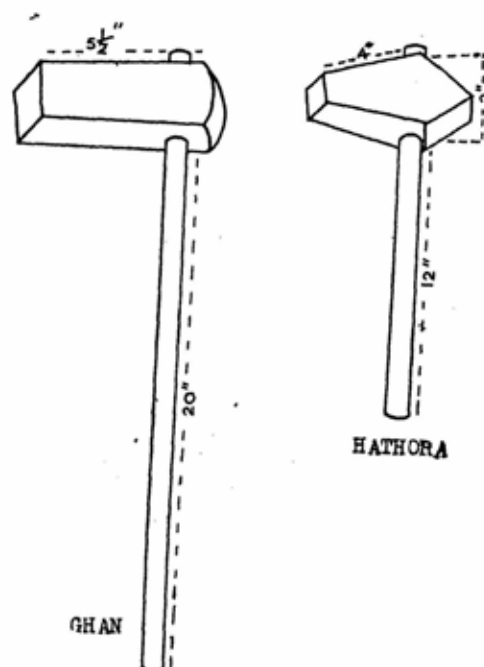
giving gentle blows of the hammer. After the edge has been regularised they again raise the temperature of that end to a suitably high degree, and then it is rapidly cooled by immersing only that portion in cold water. This hardens and toughens the edge. This job does not take more than ten to fifteen minutes, and their charge for it is twelve paise or a bundle of fodder.

Besides this, they have developed a special technique of repairing and resetting axe blades for which they charge between Rs 2 and Rs 3. The technique is as follows : they cut out the worn out edge of the axe, then heat that portion and split it longitudinally. In the split thus formed they put a piece of steel of the same length and of about half an inch breadth. The blade is then heated and hammered till it is firmly set and the joint smoothened. When the whole process is completed they either immerse that portion in water or keep it on wet mud. This technique is known as *Angrej Bandhana* (Hindi; *Angrej* means English, *Bandhana* means to fix; they consider steel as an English product and thus it means fixing of an English product). The steel they use is actually an axle or a spring plate of an automobile (cf. Mandelbaum 1941; 23). It is a laborious job as the steel requires heating for a longer time and heavy hammering. Once the steel-plate has been properly fitted, it is said that the axe works well and its edge does not get blunted for a long time even with rough and heavy use. There is a great demand for this kind of work as it saves the users from getting the axe repeatedly repaired and it works out to be comparatively cheap to them. The practice with the villagers these days is that they purchase a cheap type of axe from markets or village blacksmiths and get the steel edge fitted on it by the Gadulia Lohar. The settled blacksmiths of the villages do not take this kind of work because it takes longer time, requires at least two hammerers, and the remuneration is not sufficient. It may be mentioned here that the carpenters and the blacksmiths of the villages also get their axes repaired this way by the Gadulia Lohar.

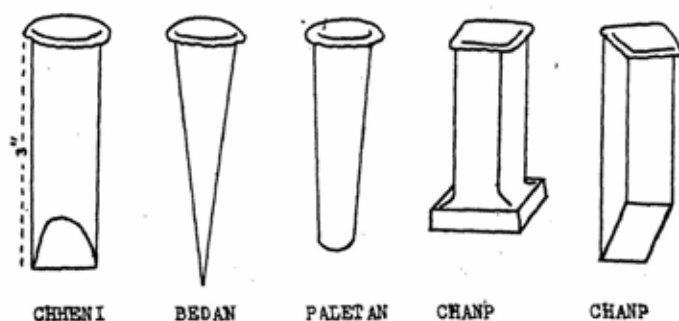
*Tools Used :* The Gadulia Lohar use conventional blacksmithy tools (see sketches nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7). They themselves make all the



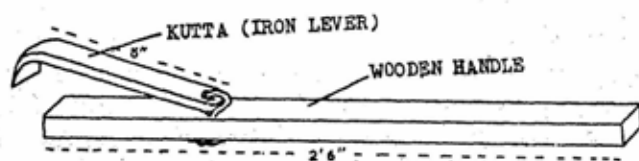
SKETCH 2: ANVILS



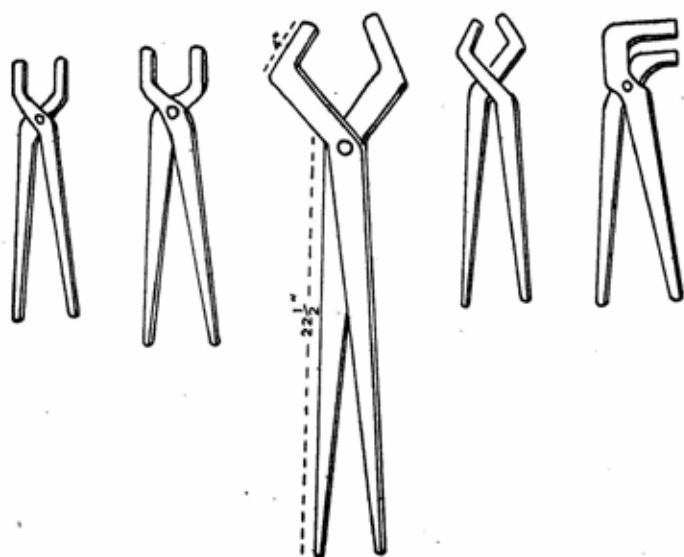
SKETCH 3: HAMMERS



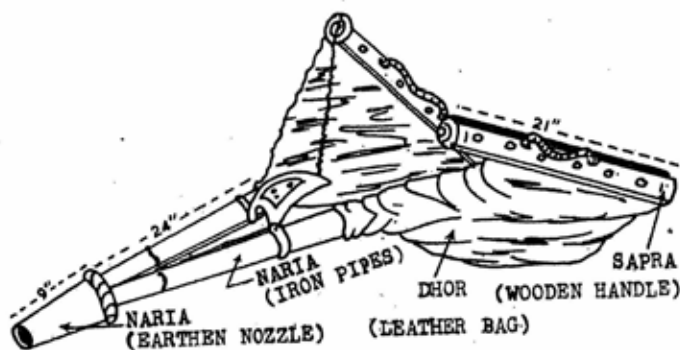
SKETCH 4: CUTTING, BORING AND LEVELLING



SKETCH 5: LEVER (Kutta)



SKETCH 6: GRIPPING (Sandasis)



SKETCH 7: BELLOWS (Dhamon)

iron tools they require for their blacksmith work. Most of the people themselves can make gripping, cutting and levelling tools of their own use, but for making anvils and hammers they seek the help of those people who have acquired special skill in making them. It has been shown earlier how they help each other in making such objects.

**Anvil :** The Gadulia Lohar have two types of anvils. One is known as *eklai* and the other as *eran*. *Eklai* is a solid piece of iron, weighing about twenty seers. A part of its upper surface is flat and square, and the other is projected and pointed. *Eklai* is used for special jobs such as rounding an object or regularising the inner and outer surfaces of the holes. *Eran* is a more essential tool for them and most of their blacksmith work is done on it. It is a solid piece of iron, with a flat square surface at the top on which they hold the object to be hammered. It is about eight inches longer and weighs about a maund.

**Hammer :** The Gadulia Lohar use two types of hammers. One is known as *hathora* and the other as *ghan*. *Hathora* is lighter, about three-fourth of a seer in weight, and is used by the principal worker in blacksmith operations. Generally, he holds it in his right hand and with the left hand he holds the object to be made with the help of a pair of pincers. The Gadulia Lohar *hathora* is typical in shape and design and the Gadulia Lohar claim that they can identify a Gadulia Lohar by the way he holds his *hathora*. The *hathora* is attached to a wooden handle about twelve inches long. One of the ends of the hammer head tapers into a small square while the opposite end which is more frequently used in hammering is rectangular in shape of about one and a half inches by three-fourth of an inch. The tapering end is utilised for finer hammerings. The top and bottom surfaces are flat and these two sides are also used in hammering, depending upon their requirements. The *ghan* is heavier, weighing about five seers. It has only one working surface which is square. It is attached to a wooden handle about two feet long. Being a heavy implement, it has to be gripped with both hands.

The Gadulia Lohar use various types of tools for cutting, boring holes, levelling and shaping the surfaces. The tool is named after its use; e.g., *cheni*, *bedan*, *paletan* and *chanp*. Each of these tools is small in size, about three inches long. *Cheni* (chisel) has a sharp cutting edge with a circular head of the striking end. *Bedan* is a circular tool with a sharp pointed working end. It is used for making bigger holes. There are two types of *chanp* used for levelling and shaping surfaces. The working end of one is rectangular and in a plane, while the working end of the other is also rectangular but is sloping on one side. The latter type of *chanp* is used for levelling the sloping surface.

The Gadulia Lohar use a kind of lever, known as *kutta* which is used for fixing the hoop round a bullock cart wheel. It has an iron hook about six inches long, attached to a wooden handle of two and a half feet with an iron ring.

**Gripping Tools :** These could be broadly classified in the category of pincers. There are various sizes and shapes of the gripping tools used by the Gadulia Lohar. All the pincers with varying jaws and limbs are known as *sandasis*. The biggest is about two feet long and weighs about two seers. Such *sandasis* are used in heavier jobs, like making an anvil.

**Char (poker) :** It is a three feet long iron rod bent at the working end and is used for poking the fire in the forge.

**Bellows :** The Gadulia Lohar bellows are of the split-bag type (cf. Nadel, 1942; 26) called *dhaman* by them. It has three main parts, such as a pair of leather bags known as *dhor*, a pair of iron tubes called *naria* and an earthen nozzle. The iron tubes and the earthen nozzles are made by the Gadulia Lohar; the earthen nozzle is made generally by their womenfolk. *Dhors* are supplied to them by *Khatiks* (a caste of butchers). A pair of *dhor* costs them Rs 30 to Rs 60 depending upon its size.

Dhor is a split-bag made of goat's hide. On the top side it has an end-to-end horizontal slit in the middle. This opening on either side is tied to a split-bamboo of the same length (generally two feet). These split-bamboos on each side have leather handles into which the operator inserts his hands at the time of operating the bellows. The dhor has an outlet for the blasted air. This outlet is tied to the iron pipes. Its operation is simple. The operator sits between the two dhors, and with each of his hand he clasps the handles of each of the dhors. He raises one of the dhors keeping the slit open, allowing the air to fill into it. When it has been raised to its maximum, the bag is full of air, and then the operator presses it downwards keeping the slit tightly closed with the movement of his thumbs and other fingers. In this process, the air from the bag is forced out into the forge. While one dhor is being pressed down, the other is in the process of being lifted up. This ensures a continuous supply of air to the forge. A pair of dhor, if properly used, may last for ten to twelve years.

Naria is a pair of iron pipes, each about twentyfour inches long. The diameter of the pipes at the dhor end is more than at the exit end. The two pipes are kept in a 'V' position with the help of a connecting iron piece known as *mokar*. The latter is also useful in tying the belt of the dhor round the pipes so that the leather outlet pipes do not slide back. The broader ends of the pipe receive the outlet of dhors while the narrower ends of the pipes are jointly connected to the earthen nozzle.

The earthen nozzle is also known as naria. It is about nine inches long. The end which receives the two iron pipes is slightly broader in its outer circumference while the other end which blows air into the forge is narrower. Just before their departure from the summer camps, the womenfolk start making narias and keep a ready stock of it, for in the rainy season these cannot be made. A woman can make as many as twenty to twentyfive narias in one day. A nozzle can be used only four to five times in a forge.

To sum up, in the off-season the Gadulia Lohar camp at a place and at that time they are not much interested in work. Only those who are in immediate need of money take up the work of blacksmithy. In the working season, on the other hand, nobody sits idle and they move from place to place in search of work. Blacksmithy is a household job; men, women and children all participate in the work. In the absence of enough hands in a household, they combine their labour resources with similar other households for a job and at times this collaboration may continue for an entire season. There is no permanency of these work units. Usually, these combinations are formed with close kin and friends. The income is equally shared on the basis of the number of households rather than the number of individual participants. Sometimes there are disputes on the sharing of income which may ultimately result in the breaking up of a unit. Such disputes are generally settled on the spot

with the intervention of the respected and responsible elders of the camp. There is no difference as regards the technique of their work in different seasons. The consumers' demands, however, differ from area to area and, therefore, they make things in accordance with local requirements. For example, different types of ploughshares are used in Chittorgarh and Neemuch areas and the Gadulia Lohar are equally adept in making both.

All the iron tools used in blacksmithy are made by the Gadulia Lohar themselves. Most of these are conventional tools of blacksmithy. They generally make these tools in the off-season camps when many of them are camping together. Help to fellow workers in making articles for the use of production and personal use is always readily given unless there has been some discord between those who ask for help and those who extend it.

The techniques employed by the Gadulia Lohar today are what they have learnt from their forefathers, with hardly any change. The same process of transmitting knowledge from father to son continues today. There has not been any need to bring about a change in their technology, as there has been hardly any change in the tools and implements used by the village folk whom they serve. It is expected that with the all round economic development in the rural areas, there will also be a change in the pattern of tools and implements required by the village people, and, consequently, there should be changes in the technology of the Gadulia Lohar.

It may be argued here that the kind of task the Gadulia Lohar take up nowadays saves them from open competition. The Gadulia Lohar specialise in recasting discarded and scrap pieces of iron. This work the other blacksmiths in the region are not prepared to accept, because more and heavy labour is required for such kind of work. The women and children of settled village blacksmiths generally do not participate in the blacksmith job, as they consider it below their dignity; also their womenfolk are often involved in other works elsewhere, such as, cultivation of land, looking after cattle and labour. For the Gadulia Lohar, blacksmith work is a household job. All the available hands in the household co-operate in the work. The labour thus provided by the members of a household is never included in assessing the costs and profits of the items they make. In so far as things stand today, the Gadulia Lohar have almost monopolised this kind of work, and they do not face any immediate danger of being thrown out of work with the economic and technological developments in the rural areas. Besides the advantage of the supply of labour without incurring any extra expenditure or loss, they have also developed a few techniques of repairs for which there is a good demand in the villages served by them.

#### TRADE IN BULLOCKS

Another principal occupation of the Gadulia Lohar is trade in

bullocks. They sell and purchase bullocks. We do not know exactly when and why they took up this trade. Webb writes in his book 'These Ten Years': "Their dealings in oxen are limited, they aver, to buying and selling cattle" (1942; 146). If that was so around 1941, it can be assumed that they have taken up this occupation in the not too distant past. The Gadulia Lohar claim that this trade has been with them since time immemorial but agree that it was not done to such an extent as they do it now. This, in a way, supports the observations of Webb that their interest in cattle was limited. However, Webb's other guess that the Gadulia Lohar also used to do the 'cruel' task of castration does not find any support from my observations. Bullock trading is mainly men's job. It is generally the head of the household who transacts all business concerning bullock trading. For a few years after the partition of the household, sons continue to do the trading with the help of their father and only gradually start trading independently.

*Trade Season*: The Gadulia Lohar carry on the bullock trade throughout the year. Their interest in this trade, however, fluctuates with the requirements of the bullocks by the farmers. The need of the bullocks to the farmers is associated with the agricultural operations. It is only twice in a year that the farmers require bullocks desperately for their agricultural operations—once at the time of preparation of the fields for the sowing of the winter season crops, that is around the month of September, and a second time in the month of March. In September, when they buy the bullocks, they retain them till the end of November, or till their entire agricultural operations are over. Many of the small farmers in this region sell their bullocks after this period. The main reason for selling off their bullocks is the scarcity of fodder. The market rates are usually low at such times. In March, the farmers are in need of bullocks for threshing of the winter season crops and other agricultural operations. The bullock markets again become alive and show an upward trend. After harvesting, threshing and storing tasks are over, they again require the bullocks for a short-time for ploughing and sowing the rainy season crops, that is in the latter part of June.

From September onwards, most of the Chittori Gadulia Lohar are distributed in the region of Malwa. In this region, the system of weekly markets is more firmly rooted than it is in the central and northern part of Rajasthan. There are two important weekly cattle markets within the area of movement of the Chittori Gadulia Lohar under study, viz., Neemuch and Jharla. The Neemuch market is held every Sunday and the Jharla market every Monday. The Gadulia Lohar attend these two markets from September to November and do their cattle trading there.

*Visit to Weekly Markets*: As the Gangrar band was camping at Neemuch market-place in the first half of the month of September, all the households of the band attended every market held there during

that period. Afterwards when they shifted their camp a little away from the market-place, all of them continued to attend the Sunday markets. By the end of September they were broken into smaller units and were getting away from Neemuch, but they still continued to attend the Sunday market at Neemuch. In the month of October they started attending Monday markets at Jharla too. They used to leave their camps on Saturday evenings on their chakra bullock carts for Neemuch, if they were camping far away from Neemuch, otherwise they left their camp early in the morning on Sundays. The whole day they would do their business at Neemuch and leave Neemuch the same evening to reach Jharla by night to attend the Monday market there. Some of them would send their cattle through their relatives to these markets and they themselves covered the distance by bus. Both the places are well connected with motorable roads. Table 11 shows the attendance of the Gadulia Lohar of the Gangrar band at the two markets. The strength of Gangrar band at Neemuch camp was twentyseven households. The percentage of their attendance at the two weekly markets have been calculated on the basis of the strength of the Neemuch camp. Table 11 shows that their attendance at these markets was maximum during the latter half of the month of October and that was the time when these two markets were at their peak. Towards the month of November their attendance at the markets started falling.

TABLE 11  
ATTENDANCE AT THE TWO WEEKLY MARKETS

Date	Number of heads attending the market at Neemuch (Sunday)	Number of heads attending the market at Jharla (Monday)	Percentage
6-10-1963	18	—	66.6
7-10-1963	—	20	74.0
13-10-1963	18	—	66.6
14-10-1963	—	20	74.0
27-10-1963	20	—	74.0
28-10-1963	—	18	66.6
3-11-1963	20	—	74.0
4-11-1963	—	14	51.8
10-11-1963	10	—	33.3
11-11-1963	—	6	22.2
17-11-1963	5	—	18.5
18-11-1963	—	6	22.2
24-11-1963	10	—	33.3

*Visit to Cattle Fair :* In the last week of November they attended the fair at Rampura. The interest of the Gadulia Lohar in this fair lies only in the trade of bullocks, and so, every year they attend the fair



held in the month of Kartik at Rampura<sup>1</sup>. They cannot participate in the other fair held there in Baisakh as by that time they are back in the Chittorgarh area.

In the year of the investigation (1963), 18 households attended this fair (which is about 84 per cent of the number of households present at Neemuch in the beginning of September). There were other Gadulia Lohar, too, who came from different places including those who were associated with the Gangrar band at one time or other.

After this fair, they generally stop attending the weekly markets. From this time onwards, till the month of March, whatever bullock business they do is generally through their personal contacts in the villages. They return to the weekly markets only in March, and that, too, to the Neemuch markets only.

*Visit to the Villages:* While in the villages, they contact the prospective buyers, show their bullocks and try to fix up the deal. The price they quote is generally much higher than what actually the cattle cost them. Nobody, of course, pays the amount they ask for. Much bargaining and examination of the bullock goes on before a deal is finally settled. Actually the Gadulia Lohar are more interested in the exchange of bullocks, known as *satta*. *Satta* is preferred by both parties because a farmer may be interested in disposing off his bullock as it might be too old, infirm or may not suit the other animal of the pair, and in its place he may want another bullock which will suit the purpose more. The Gadulia Lohar are only too willing for this kind of a deal. Both the parties examine the animals of each other and evaluate its price. Then they fix up the deal by compensating it with cash payments. Before the deal is fixed, both the parties thoroughly satisfy themselves, consult their friends and knowledgeable persons to ensure that the deal is profitable to them.

Examination of the bullocks is more thorough in villages than it can be at the market-place. Sometimes the buyer may take the bullock on

1. Rampura is a remote small town in the district of Mandsoor in Madhya Pradesh. It is situated on the banks of the river Chambal. Formerly, Chambal was about nine miles away from Rampura and the fairs were held at a place called Shankhodhar by the side of the river Chambal. The fairs were held twice a year, once on the full-moon day in the month of Kartik (October—November), and the second time on the full-moon day in the month of Baisakh (April—May). These two fairs were very popular and it is said that about a lakh of cattle used to be brought to these fairs for sale. Traders from far-off places attended these fairs. Shankhodhar also had its religious significance. People used to take a dip in the Chambal on full-moon day in Kartik and offered oblations to their ancestors and particularly to those who had died an accidental death. Now Shankhodhar has been submerged in the backwaters of the Chambal on account of the Chambal dam which has been built about twenty miles from Rampura.

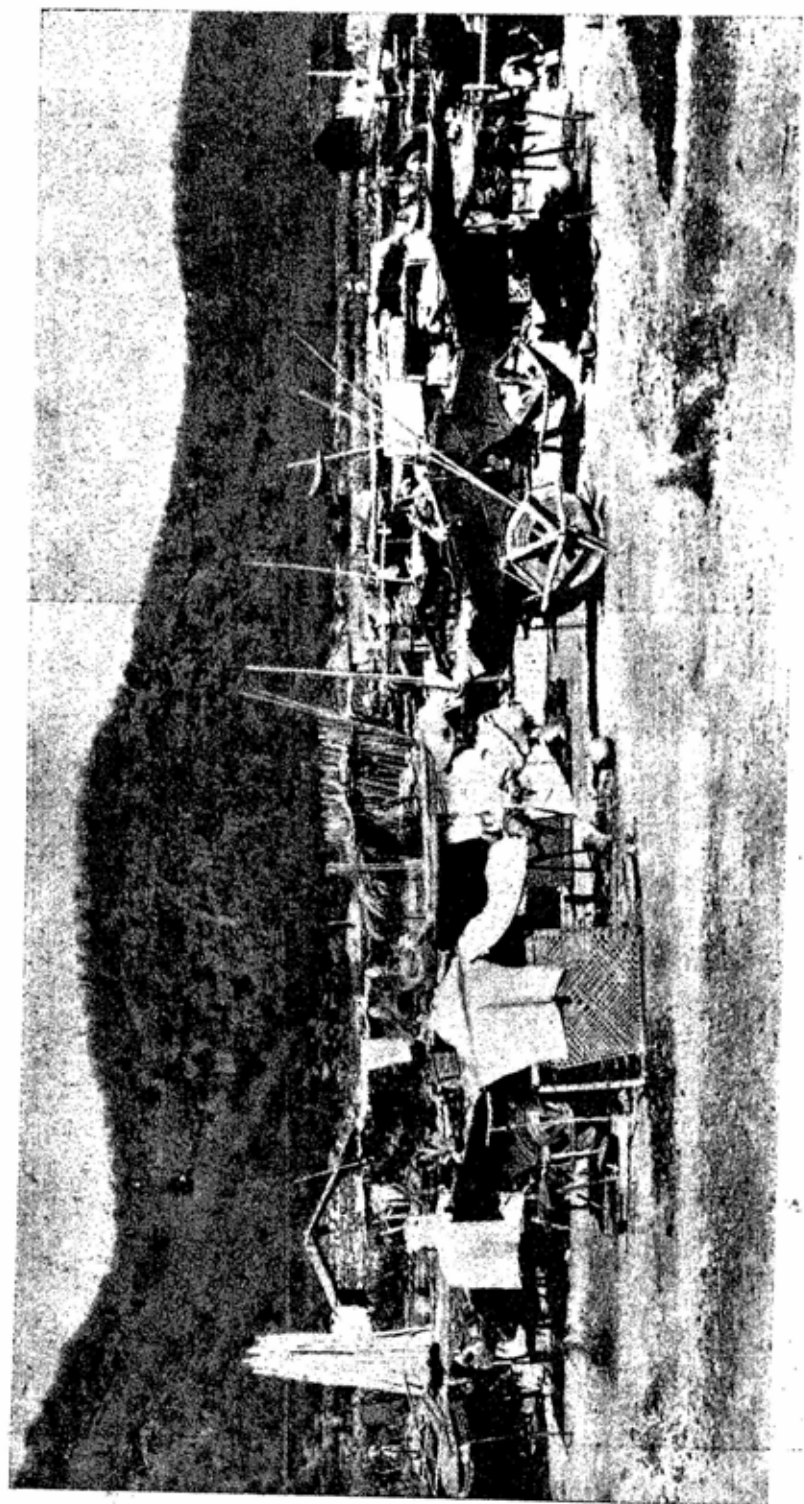
After the loss of Shankhodhar, the fair is held at two different places at Rampura and Garoth which are on different sides of the Chambal backwaters. Neither of the present fairs, however, is as popular as the one held at Shankhodhar.



A BAND ON MOVE



A BAND JUST ARRIVED



A SUMMER CAMP



A RAINY SEASON CAMP



THE BLACKSMITHS AT WORK



BLACKSMITHS FIXING IRON HOOP OF A BULLOCK CART WHEEL



BLACKSMITHS AT WORK

PLATE 6



A WOMEN BLACKSMITH IS MAKING NOZZLE



trial for agricultural operations to find out whether the bullock gives satisfactory service or not. In the market-place, whatever examination they have to do has got to be completed on the spot. The examination consists of finding out its breed, age, health, agility, height, and general appearance. The general observations on height, length, health and horns gives them some idea of its breed. The examination of its teeth gives them the idea of the age of the animal. They pull the tail or pinch certain parts of its body to find out its agility and usefulness as a draught animal. When the deal is settled, payments are made before a witness and a receipt giving the description of the bullock and the amount is obtained.

By April or May, the Gadulia Lohar reach their summer camps. Generally, they do not get any business during this period. In the Mewar region weekly markets are almost absent, and so, whatever business they do is through their personal contacts. In June, the Gadulia Lohar are spread over in villages around Chittorgarh and Gangrar, and they do some trading in this month. The demand for bullocks rises in this period as time approaches for the preparation of the fields for the rainy season crops. They do not get any business in the months of July and August. From September again their cycle of bullock trade and blacksmithy is repeated.

*Trade at Weekly Markets :* Buying and selling of cattle at weekly markets is a complicated business and generally requires considerable skill, patience and tact on the part of the parties concerned.

As has already been pointed out, the Neemuch market is held in a big open field, slightly away from the heart of the town. The market is said to be quite old and is very popular mainly for its cattle trade. All kinds of cattle are brought for sale to this market. Tradesmen dealing in hides, utensils, cloths, vegetables, grains and other articles also assemble here with their goods every Sunday. The main attraction of the market, however, is the cattle. Those who come from far-off places reach here on Saturday evening, while others from nearby places continue to arrive till the midday on Sunday. This is the time when the market reaches its peak. Most of the buying and selling is done during the afternoon. During the first half of the day, the dealers occupy convenient places in the market, tie their cattle to the pegs and go round the market-place to assess the trend of prices. The Gadulia Lohar come in batches to the market with their bullocks. After the first reconnaissance, they discuss among themselves the quality and number of bullocks in the market. The market rates of the bullocks rise and fall on account of a variety of internal and external reasons, such as, the number of traders and buyers on a particular market-day, price trends in neighbouring markets, and so on. It is said that whenever the Bhil come to Neemuch market, the prices fluctuate sharply. The reason is that the Bhil always come to the market in large groups with large herds,

If the buyers from neighbouring areas have also assembled in large numbers on such occasions, it is likely that the market may show an upward trend.

In the market, all kinds of people come. There are a number of brokers, too. One has to be very alert and calculative, both in selling and purchasing. Deals are decided on the spot and at times such hectic pitch of bargaining develops that one may be swept away in the confusion and may have to suffer losses. The development of such an excitement, more often than not, is cool and calculated. Those who regularly visit the market know these tricks well and they themselves participate in it.

Let us take a concrete case. Jay Ram had purchased a bullock for Rs 125 at an earlier market. A broker contacted him and offered a price of Rs 160 for that bullock on behalf of some buyer. Jay Ram had quoted a much higher price. That day, the market was also showing an upward trend. A very heated argument developed with the broker and in that frenzy Jay Ram agreed to accept Rs 160 from the broker. The bullock was sold at that price and Jay Ram gained Rs 35 in that deal; the broker charged actually Rs 195 for that bullock from its buyer. Thus the broker pocketed a neat Rs 35, besides the commission of Rs 2 from Jay Ram, and a similar commission from the buyer. Jay Ram could have got a further profit if he had not been suddenly taken in hectic bargaining. These kinds of things happen quite often.

The rates quoted in the beginning are usually fantastically high. If the prospective buyers are interested in a particular bullock, they start examining it. When they pat, pinch and pull its tail, the bullock should quiver and move immediately; if it does not, it is considered that the bullock is not good for use as a draught animal. If the purchasers are further interested, they see whether the bullock can move properly or not. While all these tests are going on, the owner in a high pitch keeps on repeating that the bullock is of a very pure breed and is very young. If it has actually six teeth, he says it has only four. Nobody really believes anyway what the other says. The buyer must satisfy himself first. Then starts the actual bargaining. The buyer raises his offer bit by bit, and the seller comes down reluctantly. From the trend of their talks, one can guess sometimes whether they would reach the point of settlement or not.

The Gadulia Lohar think that a profit of Rs 10 on a bullock is not bad. They know what profit a certain bullock would fetch, and, therefore, they try to dispose off a bullock within their estimated margin of profit. A profit between Rs 25 and Rs 35 per bullock is considered to be ideal. Whenever they find this margin of profit accruing from a deal, they generally close it.

Every Gadulia Lohar takes care of his interest in the trade. The advice of the fellow tradesmen and more experienced ones is always sought for before fixing a deal. Mutual help among themselves is always

forthcoming. Some of them come alone to the market, but some bring friends and adult members of the family to help them in the trade. Jay Ram always brought his daughter's husband with him. Ghisa came generally with his father or younger brother. Banyo used to come with his son Gopi. Both of them lived separately but they did the trade jointly. Kana, Kalu and Tulsi were three brothers, and they came together and helped each other but did the actual trading independently. Once Tulsi had purchased a bullock when his elder brother Kana was also present there. Tulsi could not fix up the deal with the customer and then Kana took over from him and got the deal settled on behalf of Tulsi for Rs 145. Kana impressed upon Tulsi to accept the deal as it was profitable. Tulsi was hesitant and reluctant to settle the deal at that price. Kana again explained to him the advantages and assured him that he was not taking any commission from the buyer for that deal. Finally, Tulsi agreed to the advice of his brother and made a profit of Rs 30. Kana did not get anything from his brother for fixing the deal. Whether he obtained anything from the buyer could not be ascertained. Help of the fellow Gadulia Lohar is sought and given, but it may be noted that the motives of fellow traders, and even of close kin, are not considered always above reproach in matters of trade.

The Jharla market (on Mondays) is a relatively recent one. It was started about eleven years ago. Jharla is a small village in the district of Mandisor (Madhya Pradesh). It is about thirtyone miles south-east of Neemuch *via* Manasa. The Gadulia Lohar and others who cover the distance either on foot or on bullock carts take a short-cut and the distance in that case is between sixteen and eighteen miles.

The composition of Jharla market and trading is almost on the same lines as that at Neemuch except that Neemuch itself is a big town, and, therefore, many of the traders there are local people. In Jharla, most of the tradesmen are from outside the village. Moreover, at Jharla, the interests of the people are also in other commodities, besides cattle, which they cannot obtain unless they visit the regular markets at Mandisor, Neemuch or Manasa. Most of the traders and customers being outsiders, and Jharla being a small village, the business there on every market-day is over by four in the afternoon.

For the Gadulia Lohar, the Jharla market is within easy reach as during the trading season they are all spread over on the tract falling between Neemuch and Jharla. Therefore, in the trading season, it was actually observed that most of them visited both the markets. Some households which were camping far away from Neemuch or Jharla could not visit both the markets, and some others did not attend the market as they did not have any bullocks to sell nor the means to buy.

The pattern of trading in cattle at Jharla is almost exactly the same as at Neemuch. Many of the professional traders and brokers who visit Neemuch market also visit Jharla. It was often commented that at the

Jharla market-prices were somewhat higher than at neighbouring markets, but no specific reasons were ascribed for this.

*Problems of Cost and Income :* Now we come to an important and rather difficult aspect of the trading in bullocks by the Gadulia Lohar, that is the income made by the Gadulia Lohar through the trade in bullocks. This is important as they make a substantial income through the trade in bullocks.

It has been shown earlier that the Gadulia Lohar of Gangrar band do this trade at the two weekly cattle markets of Neemuch and Jharla. They start attending the Neemuch market from September onwards and continue to do so till the end of November. In all, they may attend twelve Sunday markets at Neemuch during this period. From October onwards, they attend Jharla market also and continue to visit it till the end of November. This totals to about eight markets at Jharla. This means that approximately they attend twenty weekly markets during the winters. In the month of March, some of them attend the weekly markets at Neemuch. This means four more markets. In addition to these twentyfour occasions to visit the weekly markets and one visit to the Rampura fair, the Gadulia Lohar do the trading in bullocks round the year in the villages they visit, except in the months of April, May, July and August, when they are confined to certain camps only.

There are several difficulties in getting a clear perspective of the money the Gadulia Lohar earn through the trade in bullocks. The first and foremost is their nomadic life, on account of which it becomes difficult to trace the margin of profit accurately in each deal.

The Second, the whole trade in bullocks is full of uncertainties, be it at the weekly markets or at the villages. A bullock which would easily bring in a profit of twenty rupees at one market, may not be able to fetch even half of that profit at the other, or it may even go at a loss. The complexities of the trade, bargaining, the rise and fall of the market rates on account of external and internal forces, the skill and tact of the seller and buyer and, finally, unforeseen circumstances, such as injury or diseases to the animal, all may at one time or the other be responsible for more or less in the margin of profit or loss.

The third is the uncertainty of the capital required for continuation of the trade. The economy of a people is closely related to their social and cultural practices. For example, the practice of heavy bride-price among the Gadulia Lohar, augments the capability to trade of the receiver and weakens the capital position of the giver. It may weaken to such an extent that household may remain incapable to trade for several years. In other words, the economic abilities of a Gadulia Lohar household may fluctuate both on account of economic transactions and socio-cultural practices. It can be seen from Table 11 that not all the twentyseven households of the Gangrar band were attending the markets in the bullock trading season at Neemuch or Jharla. One of the important reasons for

not attending the markets was the lack of adequate liquid capital to purchase the bullocks and do the trading. Such households wait till they have earned money through blacksmithy or other sources, such as bride-price. There are some very interesting cases which show their patience, perseverance and skill in building up capital for bullock trading. Bhairon's economic condition at one time became very bad on account of expenses incurred on his marriage, his brother's marriage and the death of his wife. He could not do any trade in bullocks as he had neither any spare bullocks nor any capital to purchase one to do the trading. His income through blacksmithy had also fallen on account of the loss of an adult working hand, viz., his wife. At that time he got a young sheep in a village in exchange for an axe he had made. He fed that sheep well and kept it for a year. In another village he exchanged it for a young cow. After another year he exchanged the cow for a calf. Soon after, he exchanged this calf with a fully grown up bullock. At one of the Neemuch markets he exchanged that bullock for another plus a sum of Rs 140. He purchased another bullock for Rs 115 and sold it at a profit of Rs 100. Thus he built up a capacity to trade in bullocks in the course of three to four years with almost nothing to start with.

The whole business is thoroughly uncertain and the margin of profit acceptable to a dealer varies with his financial position. The predictable and unpredictable events, such as marriage, bride-price, partition, and death, also affect their decisions in matters of trade.

It may be noted here that when they are at their summer camps, some of them sell their cart bullocks, as they do not expect to move out for a month or so. This saves them from providing fodder to the cattle, and they are also able to get some cash in hand with which they may start trade in bullocks. This practice is not common among the Gadulia Lohar around Chittorgarh on account of the difficulty of acquiring bullocks again when they want to move out. I was told that in the Alwar area, the Gadulia Lohar dispose off their bullocks before the off-season camps begin and purchase fresh animals after the rainy season when they plan to move out. It may be on account of the fact that in those areas they camp at a single place for the entire summer and rainy seasons.

Then there is the system of exchange on account of which it becomes difficult to find out the cost and profit on the bullocks. In these transactions there are possibilities of a straight exchange of animals or exchange with a cash payment by either party. If there is a chain of such exchanges at any stage, it is difficult to see whether they have made net profit or loss on the total transaction. The complications of a straight calculations are further accentuated by the fact that they do not take into consideration the cost of feeding and maintaining the animals which they actually incur. I attended markets at Neemuch and Jharla and took down details of as many deals as possible and closely followed the bargains during the period of investigation.

In order to calculate their income through trade in bullocks, I give here the details of three market-days in the season of bullock trading in 1963. All the transactions the Gadulia Lohar made on these three market-days are given in Table 12. The transactions made by other Gadulia Lohar at those market-days who were associated with the Gangrar band at one time or the other have also been included here in the calculations. All the transactions made by the Gadulia Lohar at Rampura fair were noted and are given in full in Table 13. As regards the trade which they do occasionally in the villages through their own contacts for the eight months these have been generalised on the basis of ten cases which were collected. This has been followed up with the trade conducted by one household during the period from September to December, 1963. His diary of trade is given in Appendix 2.

As is seen in Table 12, on 27th October, 1963, at Neemuch market, six people did not do any trade. Four of these acted as partners in trade with their sons or fathers. Such entries are shown in the name of the principal partner. The other two were passing through a phase of severe financial hardship. Phatta had recently fixed the marriage of his son which had cost him Rs 1200 in cash plus other expenses which he had to incur at the time of negotiation. Murra was in a similar state. They came to the market with a mind to contract deals involving low sums which they could not do. At later markets, however, they were not seen. Out of the remaining fourteen, five purchased bullocks ranging in price from Rs 60 to Rs 150 each. The other seven exchanged bullocks. Three of them exchanged on the basis of an animal for an animal but two had to pay Rs 6 each to the brokers who helped them contract the deal. Both of them were profited by these deals at the next Jharla market by Rs 24 and Rs 20 respectively. The third one was unlucky as his exchanged bullock met with an accident while returning to the camp resulting in a leg injury. He was hopeful that it would be cured and would bring back at least his invested money. The other four got money in exchange ranging from Rs 10 to Rs 35 each. Three people sold bullocks and each was profited in each deal ranging from Rs 10 to Rs 50.

At Jarla market, fifteen households were represented. All these were also present at the previous market at Neemuch. Table 12 shows that only one of these did not do any trade. That was Gopi who traded in partnership with his father Banyo. Among the remaining fourteen people, six purchased bullocks ranging from Rs 50 to Rs 160 each animal. Towards the close of the market, Jay Ram sold the bullock he had purchased in the morning and gained a profit of Rs 35 on that very day. Three of them exchanged their bullocks, and each gained Rs 10 to Rs 25. Eight of them sold their bullocks and the profit in each case was from Rs 10 to Rs 35.

At the next Neemuch market on 10th November, 1963, only ten people attended the market. All these people were present at the earlier markets at Neemuch and Jharla mentioned above. There was

TABLE 12

## BULLOCK TRADING AT WEEKLY MARKETS

(Enumerated in terms of Rupees)

Name of the  
head of the  
household

NEEMUCH (27-10-63)

	Purchased	Exchange of bullocks				Sold	
		1	2	3	4	5	6
Chuna	—	—	—	—	—	140	20
Jay Ram	125 150	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bhurra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nathu	—	100	*10	100	10	—	—
Kana	—	100	*15	100	15	—	—
Karru	—	90	*15	150	35	—	—
Meera	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tulsi	115	—	—	—	—	—	—
Haria	—	—	—	—	—	125 180	30 50
Bhairon	—	100	equal	—	—	—	—
Harta	60	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ratan	100	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hukma	—	100	equal paid Rs 6 broker's fee	—	—	—	—
Phatta	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Shanker	80	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gopi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Banyo	—	150	*50	130	30	100 125	10 15
Ramchandra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Murra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hazari	—	80	equal paid Rs 6 broker's fee	—	—	—	—



TABLE 12—*contd.*

## BULLOCK TRADING AT WEEKLY MARKETS

(Enumerated in terms of Rupees)

Name of the head of the household	JHARLA (4-11-63)					
	Purchased	Exchange of bullocks				Sold
		1	2	3	4	5 6
Chuna	50	—	—	—	—	— —
Jay Ram	125	—	—	—	—	160 35
Bhurra	—	—	—	—	—	— —
Nathu	100 110	—	—	—	—	— —
Kana	—	—	—	—	—	80 20
Karru	—	—	—	—	—	50 10
Meera	—	—	—	—	—	— —
Tulsi	—	—	—	—	—	115 30
Haria	120 100 160	—	—	—	—	150 30
Bhairon	55 110	—	—	—	—	80 25
Harta	—	80	*10	100	30	— —
Ratan	—	120	*25	130	35	— —
Hukma	—	—	—	—	—	124 18
Phatta	—	—	—	—	—	— —
Shanker	—	80	*10	90	20	— —
Gopi	—	—	—	—	—	— —
Banyo	60 110 135	—	—	—	—	— —
Ramchandra	—	—	—	—	—	— —
Murra	—	—	—	—	—	— —
Hazari	—	—	—	—	—	100 14

TABLE 12—concl'd.

## BULLOCK TRADING AT WEEKLY MARKETS

(Enumerated in terms of Rupees)

Name of the head of the household	NEEMUCH (10-11-63)						Total profit	Avge. income per market	
	Purchased	Exchange of bullocks				Sold			
		1	2	3	4	5	6		
Chuna	—	—	—	—	—	50	—	20	6.66
Jay Ram	125	—	—	—	—	150	25	85	28.33
	105					125	25		
Bhurra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nathu	—	115	*25	115	25	120	10	45	15
Kana	155	—	—	—	—	—	—	35	11.66
Karru	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	45	15
Meera	75	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	65								
Tulsi	135	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	10
	100								
Haria	120	—	—	—	—	150	30	140	46.66
	180								
Bhairon	—	—	—	—	—	125	20	45	15
Harta	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	10
Ratan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	35	11.66
Hukma	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18	6
Phatta	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Shanker	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	6.66
Gopi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Banyo	—	60	*5	60	5	160	25	100	33.33
						130	15		
Ramchandra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Murra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hazari	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	4.66
TOTAL							652		

1. Purchase price of bullock given in exchange;
  2. Cash transaction besides bullock;
  3. Expected/actual selling of bullock taken in exchange;
  4. Total expected/actual profit;
  5. Actual selling price;
  6. Profit/loss;
- (\*) The amount received in addition to the bullock.

more buying on this day. Perhaps, they were preparing themselves for the ensuing fair at Rampura.

The prices of the bullocks purchased ranged from Rs 65 to Rs 180. Only two persons entered in exchange business. One got Rs 5, besides a bullock, and the other got Rs 25. Six persons sold their bullocks. Jay Ram sold two bullocks and gained a profit of Rs 50 in all.

Cash gains at the three markets ranged from Rs 10 to Rs 140. In Table 12, three persons show gain above Rs 85 for the three markets. They were the persons who made the maximum number of transactions and entered in deals which involved high sums. They were Jay Ram, Haria and Banyo. All the three were powerful panches. The point to be noted here is that the panchayat meetings are also a source of earning to these panches. With the additional earnings from the panchayat, these people are able to invest large sums of money in the bullock trade. The principle of the rich getting richer easily finds its application in their case. It may be further argued that with the increase in their economic status they become still more indispensable for the panchayat meetings.

The mean income per household per market calculated from Table 12 is Rs 14.48. As mentioned earlier, the Gadulia Lohar of the Gangrar band on an average attended twentyfour weekly markets in the whole year (1963) and thus the average annual income through the trade of bullocks at weekly markets works out at Rs 347.52 per household.

*Trade at Rampura Fair:* The Rampura fair is held on the Kartik Purnima<sup>2</sup>. It was observed that just two to three weeks before the fair, the Gadulia Lohar were more interested in purchasing bullocks at the weekly markets. It was clear that they were stocking bullocks to be sold later at the fair.

In 1963, the attendance at the fair actually started swelling only after 28th November and it was in its full swing only on 1st and 2nd December. There was a general feeling of dismay over the number and quality of bullocks which were brought there. They were found saying, "Good quality bullocks have not come" or "there are people to purchase bullocks but no good animals are there". Some of them even said that they could not do any good trading, and so they lost the trade as well as the income they would have earned through blacksmithy had they stayed in their camps.

As has been said earlier, the Gadulia Lohar came over to Rampura from various villages; some of them came alone leaving their wives and children at the camping places and some of them brought some members of the family to the fair. These people left Rampura for their respective camps on the morning of the 3rd December, 1963.

The data given in Table 13 on the transactions at Rampura fair include not only the members of the Gangrar band but also the Gadulia

2. In 1963 it was to commence on 27th November and continue till 3rd December, 1963.

TABLE 13  
BULLOCK TRADING AT RAMPURA FAIR

(Enumerated in terms of Rupees)

Name of the head of the household	No. of the bullocks brought to the fair by each household	EXCHANGE OF BULLOCKS					SOLD		Total income (in Col. 7** plus Col. 9)
		Purchased at the fair	Purchase price of bullock	Cash transactions besides bullock	Expected/ actual selling price of bullock received in exchange	Total actual/ expected profit	Actual selling price	Profit/ loss	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Chuna	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jay Ram	4	—	80	(*) 10	80	10**	—	—	—
			100	(—) 2	120	18	125	23	98
			100	(*) 105	20	25	20	25	—
			140	(*) 115	65	40	65	40	—
Nathu	2	—	130	(*) 40	115	25	100	10	35
			90				115	25	
Kana	2	—	100	(*) 10	100	10**	150	20	30
Kalu	1	—	—	—	—	—	120	15	15
Meera	2	—	80	(*) 70	25	15	25	15	35
							140	20	
Tulsi	2	—	—	—	—	—	80	10	28
							120	18	
Deepa	2	—	120	(*) 50	100	30	100	30	45
							90	15	
Bhairoa	1	—	70	(—) 27	130	33**	—	—	33

TABLE 13—*concd.*

## BULLOCK TRADING AT RAMPURA FAIR

(Enumerated in terms of Rupees)

Name of the head of the household	No. of the bullocks brought to the fair by each household	EXCHANGE OF BULLOCKS						SOLD		Total income (in Col. 7** plus Col. 9)
		Purchased at the fair	Purchase price of bullock	Cash transactions besides bullock	Expected actual selling price of bullock received in exchange	Total actual/expected profit	Actual selling price	Profit/loss		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Harta	3	—	150	(*) 100	80	30	80	30	65	
							100	20		
							70	15		
Tarachand	2	—	80	(—) 20	120	20	120	20	33	
							100	18		
Haria	6	—	130	(*) 105	65	40	150	15	95	
							160	20		
							70	10		
							65	40		
Bhairon	2	—	130	(—) 15	170	25**	100	20	45	
Lala	2	—	150	(*) 70	110	30**	—	—	30	
Kashiram	1	—	—	—	—	—	135	20	20	
Bhamar	2	—	—	—	—	—	100	15	15	
Madho	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Bhura	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
								TOTAL	627	

(\*) The amount received; (—) The amount given.

(\*\*) These bullocks were not involved in further deals at Rampura fair and thus the amount has been added to their total income.

Lohar who had been associated with the Gangrar band at one time or other.

The number of bullocks brought for the business by each household to Rampura ranged from one to six, the average being two bullocks per head. The largest number of bullocks were brought by Haria and Jay Ram, two powerful panches of the community. At Rampura, none of the Gadulia Lohar purchased any bullocks. They either exchanged their bullocks with others or sold out their animals. There were only three households which could not contract any deals at Rampura and they had to go back to their respective camps with the bullocks they had brought with them. It appears that the main reasons for the inability of these people to contract any business were that they had brought poor quality bullocks and their own economic condition was such that they were not prepared to take risks. The range of total income per household varied from Rs 15 to Rs 98. Thus, the average income of the Gadulia Lohar at Rampura fair works out to be Rs 34.83. At Rampura fair, the two panches again earned the most as was found in the weekly market transactions.

*Trade in the Villages :* Outside the weekly cattle markets and the fair at Rampura only ten cases of bullock trading were studied. These transactions took place in the different villages during their movement from place to place, over a period of four months from September to December. The average income accruing from these deals is about Rs 25 per household. They can do trade in the villages for about eight months in a year, and, therefore, the average income expected in a year through personal contacts in the villages is about Rs 50 per household.

Thus, the total average annual income of a Gadulia Lohar household from bullock trading (i.e. at the weekly markets of Neemuch and Jharla, at the fair of Rampura and at different villages during their movement from one place to another for a period of eight months) works out to approximately Rs 432.35 per household. To this may be added Rs 320.41 as their average annual income from blacksmithy. Thus, the average annual income of an average Gadulia Lohar household<sup>3</sup> comes to Rs 752.76 or Rs 753.

The Gadulia Lohar generally do not make any substantial investment in providing fodder for their bullocks. They graze them near villages and for this often they have altercations with the villagers. Only in times of fodder scarcity, they purchase fodder bundles or obtain them in exchange for their blacksmith work. Fodder is more scarce in Mewar than in Malwa, and this is one of the reasons that the Gadulia Lohar of Gangrar band prefer to remain for most of the time in Malwa. As the Gadulia Lohar do not normally purchase fodder, they never calculate the

3. According to the unpublished report of the Gadulia Lohar Rehabilitation Subcommittee, 1955, the average income per Gadulia Lohar household is Rs 58 per month, which works out to be Rs 696 per annum. The income of the nomads according to Luiz (1961 : 299) ranges from Rs 2 to Rs 5 a day.

maintenance cost on an animal while trading it. Another object which the Gadulia Lohar obtain free is fuel. They get fuel for blacksmith work from their customers under terms of the work.

*Division of Labour:* Members of a Gadulia Lohar household have clearly demarcated roles to perform. The allocation and division of these roles are based on age, sex and ability of the different members of the household.

The entire household is collectively responsible for its activities, but the head of the household is the central figure and ultimately the responsibilities rest on him. He has to judge and take decisions at different movements. He has to exercise his foresight in deciding what raw materials to purchase, what articles to produce, how much to produce and when to produce, what bullocks to be purchased and sold, when and where, and how many. He consults other members of the household in all these matters. He also has the responsibility of training children, particularly boys, in the techniques of blacksmithy and trade in bullocks. Usually, he is the most skilled trader and craftsman in the household. Generally, he works as a principal worker in the blacksmith operations.

Other adult men in the household help the head of the household in arriving at decisions and carrying them out. They generally work as hammerers and blowers. They help the head of the household in carrying on the trade in bullocks. Buying and selling of iron articles made by them is done by both men and women. Children also sell petty articles. Bullock trading, however, is done only by men. Loading and unloading of the household articles, while setting up or winding a camp, is jointly done by all the members of a household.

Women do the job of blowing or hammering in blacksmith operations in addition to this they cook, grind flour, clean utensils, fetch water and fuel, graze the cattle, and take care of the children.

Children above the age of five or six years participate in the blacksmith work. They look after cattle and do odd household jobs. In addition to this, girls help their mothers in more specialised household work, such as cooking, grinding flour and cleaning.

*Teaching the Skills:* There is no formal system to educate the children in the art of blacksmithy and trade in bullocks. They gradually learn through their association with the elders and through performing the various roles allocated to them. As they come up the age of five or six years, they are asked to do light work connected with blacksmithy. By the time they are nine or ten years of age, they have learnt how to work the bellows. At this age the attention of the girls is drawn more towards household works, such as cooking, grinding flour, cleaning utensils, fetching water and fuel, care of the children and looking after the cattle, while the boys get more and more involved in blacksmith work. At this age, their time is distributed in looking after cattle, blacksmithy, play, and selling of some small objects like chinpiyas on



roadsides and at market-places. As they grow, both boys and girls are given the task of hammering. By the time they are fourteen or so, both boys and girls have learnt the job of hammering and blowing very well. At the age of fifteen or so, boys who have the necessary aptitude, start learning the work of garahi (principal worker) from their elders in their household or from other close kin and friends who know the job. This learning might also be forced upon some boys due to the absence of elder brothers in the household. The work of the principal worker has to be learnt by all men at one stage or the other, as some day the entire responsibility of carrying on the blacksmith work independently falls on each one of them. Some boys learn it easily on account of their aptitude for the work or because it is forced upon them by circumstances; whereas some boys do not learn it till quite late generally due to the presence of other principal workers in the household. Boys who show interest and promise in blacksmith work during their learning process are praised by the elders and those who are idlers or show no aptitude for this are ridiculed and even openly thrashed.

There are some specialised and difficult kinds of jobs which some elder people know better; their help is sought in learning those techniques. Bullock trading requires relatively longer years of training. It requires cool patience, skill in conversation, quick foresight, ability to judge the breed, the age and the health of the bullock and courage to take calculated risks. These qualities they gradually acquire through their association with their father and other elders. Boys of the age of nine or ten accompany their fathers to the cattle market. There they observe buying and selling and take care of the cattle of their fathers. Even after marriage and the partition of the household, grown up sons continue to trade in partnership with their father. It is only when they have become fully matured that they do bullock trading independently.

*Co-operation and Competition:* The Gadulia Lohar provide a typical example of two diverse forces of co-operation and competition. The nomadic life is characterised by unity, mutual trust and co-operation. This is expressed daily in camping and travelling together, and, occasionally, when any conflict arises with the persons outside their community. On the other hand, as all of them are engaged in similar economic activities, guided by the principle of maximisation of their goals, competition is bound to arise between them.

A Gadulia Lohar's interests and prosperity are tied with the prosperity of the household of which he is a member. Blacksmithy is a household activity; barring the very young and very old, all members participate in the work. Therefore, it is but necessary that in order to maximise one's own interest, all the members in a household should co-operate and maximise the interests of the household. There is no scope for economic competition within the household. Co-operation is also marked among the different households of a working unit but with the difference that

the arrangement in a unit is temporary, contractual and each household is guided by its own self-interest.

In the economic field, the relations between households are characteristically of competition and co-operation. Competition is expressed in procuring blacksmith jobs or in buying and selling bullocks, specialising in making various articles and in raising the output.

It is interesting to watch how the Gadulia Lohar tackle a prospective customer. As soon as it is realised that a customer has some blacksmith work, a number of Gadulia Lohar call on him and try to attract his attention. As one of them picks up the conversation with the customer, the other Gadulia Lohar step aside and do not interfere. A good amount of bargaining is done before a price is settled. The charges for making new things or repairing or selling new iron tools are almost always quoted at least two times higher than the current price for it. It would very much depend upon the conversational ability of the person to keep the customer and make a favorable bargain with him. Even children of the age of seven or eight learn bargaining techniques. Some people are most adept in this art and they maintain a large clientele. However, the attempt to attract the attention of the customers by so many Gadulia Lohar at the same time is competition; whereas stepping aside and not interfering during bargaining shows co-operation. Again, if the deal has not been fixed with one, the other Gadulia Lohar standing nearby try to get the customer. They may even lower their charges. Once a deal has been fixed, the tendency of others is only to help that household in completing the work. If the job is such that one who has taken it is not adept in it, he is helped and guided by persons from other households who know the technique required. If the job is of a minor nature they would do it on some forge in the camp where the work is already going on, rather than light a new forge. A Gadulia Lohar is ordinarily not required to take permission to work on the forge of the fellow worker of the same band. Nobody minds it unless there is some rivalry between them. In the formal sense, the one who takes the help of others and works on other's forge, stands under no obligation. But it is expected that he would allow others to work on his forge if requested. The principle of reciprocity and mutual help prevails as in most simple and traditional societies.

It has been shown earlier that when they make tools and implements for their own use, help is readily available from the inmates of the camp. Technically, making of an anvil requires the co-operation of many people. Nathu chose to make the anvil for his use at the time when there were many people in the camp, and thereby he could get the help of the required number of persons. Both his close kin and others co-operated in the work. The more skilled craftsmen did the job of principal workers. The social conventions do not compel the seekers of such help to make any kind of reward to the individual workers as it is based on goodwill and mutual help. However, Nathu provided tea and biris to all

those who helped him in his task.

In case of work for customers from whom income is expected, free co-operation does not exceed than giving casual guidance and assistance. Any help exceeding casual assistance is based on the set rule of sharing the income equally per household.

In bullock trading, too, similar attitudes are noticed. When they go to the market, they clean and decorate their bullocks and try to present a better display in order to attract the customers. Many people at the same time try to catch the attention of a prospective customer. They loudly announce the good qualities of their cattle. Here again they maintain the spirit of co-operation. They do not try to distract the attention of a customer when he is bargaining with one of their fellow-men. At such times they only help to settle the bargain. Both for buying and selling they seek the advice of more experienced Gadulia Lohar; they expect a sincere advice and generally get it.

## CHAPTER VI

### LEVEL AND COST OF MATERIAL LIVING

In the previous chapter, I have discussed the productive aspect of the economy of the Gadulia Lohar. Here I shall discuss the level and cost of living of the Gadulia Lohar for the satisfaction of their material needs.

The physical environment effects the wants of a people, but it is the culture which develops them and gives them a shape. Nadel writes, "With Malinowski, we realize that these needs never exist as such in society, that is, in the form of undisguised elementary impulses, but already appear in a certain conventionalized form, shaped and elaborated by culture" (1942; 338). Social conventions, ritual beliefs, aesthetic conceptions, ethical prescriptions, time, place and circumstances, all play a vital role in shaping the wants of a people. However, from the point of view of economics, the wants, as such, are largely taken for granted as facts of time and space, and leave their origin and formation aspect to the other branches of study. The wants are unlimited and they are of different levels. There are wants which are basic and have to be satisfied first. These could be called 'primary needs' in Malinowski's terminology. Others are secondary, and there are still others which largely remain at the level of aspirations. The wants which are satisfied are depicted in the way a people live. The levels at which the wants are satisfied are evaluated high or low on the scale of cultural values which is generally termed as 'standard of living'. Here, then I shall be discussing that part of living of the Gadulia Lohar which is material and is concerned with food, shelter and household equipment, clothing, personal adornment and ornaments. Besides, the interrelation of material equipment and the economy of a group of people, they are important in their own right in understanding the way of life of a people. Piddington writes, "In the first place, a brief description of the material equipment of a people is often essential to a study of their social culture; without such descriptions certain institutions—particularly economic institutions—cannot be fully considered in all their significant aspects" (1957; Vol. 2, 483).

#### Food

*Cereals* : The principal object of food of the Gadulia Lohar is bread, called by them *sogra*. Loaves are made of flour of wheat or of wheat mixed with great millet (*jawar*; sorghum vulgare), or millet or of maize, gram, or bulrush millet (*bajra*; pennisetum typhoideum). Bajra is generally consumed in winters and that, too, not very often. Gram *sogras*

are also not taken too frequently. Wheat, maize and jawar are equally popular with them. Sogra prepared of wheat flour is considered to be a superior food item. On occasions of feasts and visit of household guests, generally wheat sogras are served. Rice is a luxury for them, and they take it only rarely; only on certain festive and household celebrations they prepare rice porridge with milk and sugar or *gur*; this they call *kheer*.

Cooking among these people is almost exclusively a woman's job although there is no specific taboo on cooking by men. Only when the household women are away or are very sick, a man may be found cooking. It may be pointed out that among these people, there is no taboo on cooking by women during their periods. In this respect they differ from the higher caste rural people of Rajasthan who observe the menstrual pollution and taboos seriously.

As is characteristic of nomads and other primitive people organised into bands, the Gadulia Lohar do not carry more flour than is required for a few meals. Cereals, therefore, have to be grinded before daily cooking. This work is done by the women, usually early in the morning. Each household has its own grinding stones, called *ghatti*. If the weather is not very warm and there is enough room by the side of the cart, they may do the grinding there; otherwise, their usual place is under the cart. The job of grinding is easier and quicker if two persons do it. It is commonly seen that two women sit under a cart and grind grains on *ghattis*. They usually sing songs while they grind grains. Sometimes, in the absence of other female members in the household, men extend helping hands in the grinding; this is more common among the Gadulia Lohar of Alwar area. Girls get training in such domestic chores right from the age of six or seven.

The flour thus grinded is collected in a metal container from which the required quantity of flour is taken out at the time of cooking. Before preparing the dough, the flour is passed through an iron meshed sieve, and then water is added to it. It is then thoroughly kneaded into a fine dough in a brass plate called *parat*. Dough made out of millet or maize is kept relatively wet and loose. A lump is taken from the prepared dough and is worked into a flat cake by pressing it between the two plams. Bread so prepared is first backed on an earthen pan called *tawa*, and then it is put in an open hearth (*chulha*) for further baking. The sogra of the Gadulia Lohar is much undercooked by the standards of the other bread-eating people of the northern India. It is about a quarter of an inch thick and big as a soup plate. Each wheat sogra is made out of roughly two and a half chataks of wheat flour. Maize and millet sogras are thicker than wheat sogras and are easily above three chataks in weight. The mode of preparation of wheat, millet and maize sogras is the same. The only difference in preparing millet and maize sogras is that the dough requires more moisture and care in preparation. Cooked sogras are either served hot or are kept in earthen bowls for later consumption. On an

average, an adult Gadulia Lohar consumes about twelve chataks of cereals a day<sup>1</sup>. The daily intake of wheat sogras is about six to eight; and if exclusively maize or millet sogras are consumed, the consumption is around four to six a day.

Sogras smeared with ghee (clarified butter) are considered to be a delicacy, and it is considered desirable to serve ghee-smeared sogras to guests. Use of ghee in everyday meals, however, is not very common now among these people. Sogras are taken with curry made of *dal* (pulses), vegetables or mutton, or simply with salt and chillies. In their everyday meals, these people are able to afford at the most only one curry, and some have to be satisfied even without that. Cereals are used for other preparations, too, such as *bati*, *rabri* and *puri*. Bati may be made of flour of any cereal, but generally wheat flour is used. After preparing the dough as mentioned above, they make big round lumps out of it. Each lump weighs about a quarter of a seer. These lumps are cooked on an open cowdung fire. Bati cooking requires low heat, and it takes about one or two hours to be properly cooked. Its outer surface becomes hard and brown in colour, while it is generally soft inside. It is taken in the same way as sogras, with some vegetable curry or dal or with just salt and chillies. This is a popular preparation in Rajasthan and is considered to be the easiest food for travellers. The Gadulia Lohar take it only occasionally.

Ghat or Rabri is an important food item of the middle and lower class people all over Rajasthan. It is taken only occasionally by the Gadulia Lohar. It can be prepared of any cereals but the Gadulia Lohar like to prepare it of maize flour. Coarsely grinded maize flour is boiled in butter milk, and the ghat is ready. In many of the places in Rajasthan it is prepared at night and consumed in the morning, while the Gadulia Lohar like to consume it hot. Its consumption is less among the Gadulia Lohar possibly because butter milk is not easily available to them. On occasions of feasts and festivals they prepare *puris*<sup>2</sup> and some sweets made of wheat flour.

**Pulses :** The Gadulia Lohar generally take pulses of *mung* (*phaseolus mungs*), *urid* (*phaseolus mungo* var, *radiatus*) or *channa* (*cicer aritimum*). Pounded pulses are purchased from the market. Pulse curry is prepared in an earthen utensil called *tamri*. It is boiled well in plenty of water in which turmeric powder and a good quantity of salt and chillies are added. The pulse curry so prepared is called dal. They fry dal with ghee or oil and spices. Frying dal is known as *bhagharna*.

**Vegetables :** Dal is often replaced or supplemented by some pre-

1. Webb (1941; 47) gives the average annual cereal consumption of an adult male in the rural areas of Ajmer-Marwar as 9 maunds.

2. Puri is generally made of wheat flour, fried in oil or ghee. Its dough is prepared in the same way as for sogra, but puri is made with the help of a *belan* (roller).

paration of vegetables. The choice of the vegetables largely depends upon their availability. They use all the seasonal vegetables of which onions and green chillies are the most common. Vegetables are prepared in ground-nut or sesamum oil, with a lot of chillies, salt and some spices. It is prepared dry or with gravy. Loose gravy is prepared more as it goes well with *sogra*.

*Non-vegetarian Food*: The Gadulia Lohar are generally non-vegetarian and fond of alcoholic drinks. Some of them, however, have given up the consumption of non-vegetarian food and liquor under the influence of religious preachers and in an attempt to raise their status in the eyes of their own caste people as well as in the eyes of outsiders. Such people are known as Bhagats (devotees). Bhagats pass their leisure in religious discourses and in reciting devotional songs. However, the number of such people is not very large in the Gadulia Lohar community. Jay Ram was the only person in the entire Gangrar band who had given up the consumption of meat and liquor. His daughter's husband who lived with him took mutton although it could not be prepared at Jay Ram's hearth. The Gadulia Lohar in general like to consume mutton. Actually, it is cooked only occasionally. During my stay of about eight months with the Gangrar band mutton was cooked only on about a dozen occasions, of which five were occasions associated with ceremonial feasts and in one case a goat of one of the persons was dying, and so he killed it and its flesh was consumed. On another occasion, one of the Gadulia Lohar sacrificed a goat on the occasion of Nav Ratri (celebrated in the month of October/November) as he had promised it earlier to the goddess.

The Gadulia Lohar generally like to eat mutton, but they also take flesh of rabbits, fowls, *teetar*, etc. They do not eat the meat of she-goat, fish, chicken, eggs, pork and beef. The reason they give for not taking the meat of a she-goat is that Fateh Singh, one of the rulers of Mewar Kingdom, was brought up on she-goat milk during the Rajputs' fights with the Mogul rulers, and so they consider it to be sacred. They do not take the flesh of a dead animal.

They prepare meat in earthen vessels and the procedure is simple. It is first boiled, then grinded spices and ghee or oil are added to it. The curry is considered as cooked when the flesh becomes soft. The preparation tastes very hot and saltish. Since they do not possess big vessels, meat is prepared in a number of earthen vessels on occasions of ceremonial feasts. A long pit about six inches deep is dug, in which fire-wood is burnt. On this open hearth, earthen cooking vessels are placed in a row containing the material to be cooked.

*Milk and Milk Products*: The rural people of Rajasthan of the area in which the Gadulia Lohar move are very fond of milk and milk products. The Gadulia Lohar, too, like these, but their consumption of milk is restricted partly because of their migratory life. Only those



people who own milch cows consume milk. A survey of their cattle heads at Gangrar camp shows that of thirtyfour households only sixteen possessed milch cows; that is, about 47 per cent of the people could have milk.

Infants who cannot be fed on mother's milk for some reason or other are fed on cow's milk. Convalescing, weak and old persons are generally given milk to drink; otherwise, they prefer to make curd, *chach* (butter milk) and butter from it. They do not have any arrangements and equipment for churning milk and obtaining butter. They churn milk by putting their hands in the milk. Often milk is automatically churned on account of the movement of their carts. Ordinarily, they do not get enough ghee from their own cows, and, therefore, they purchase ghee in the market whenever required. No other milk products are made by the Gadulia Lohar.

**Oil :** In recent years, the price of ghee has gone up, and since they do not makē enough ghee to meet their demands, there is increasing use of oils in their cooking. The Gadulia Lohar use ground-nut and sesamum oils as cooking medium. They do not extract these oils but purchase them in the market.

**Spices :** The cooked food of the Gadulia Lohar is particularly very saltish and hot; therefore, their use of spices needs special mention. In Chittorgarh region and in the adjoining areas, spices are in use by the people in general, and the Gadulia Lohar are no exception. Their food, vegetarian and non-vegetarian, contains large quantities of red pepper, salt and other spices. Quite often they take *sogras* only with green or red pepper and salt. Red pepper makes their food spicy and tasty for them. The people think that pepper has some medicinal value, too. They believe that a few drops of red pepper juice diluted in water cures all kinds of eye troubles; a strong dose of powdered pepper and salt cures common cold. Other spices in everyday use are : *haldi* (turmeric), *jeera* (cumin), *lahsun* (garlic), *dhanya* (coriander seeds) and *heeng* (assa-foetida).

**Sweets :** Generally speaking, sweets do not constitute a regular item of the food of the Gadulia Lohar. The sweet they generally make in their homes is *churma*. Two or three wheat *sogras* are meshed, and a liberal quantity of ghee, sugar or gur is added to make *churma*. Sweets are considered a necessary part of food on ceremonial and festive occasions. On certain festivals, they distribute sweets to the households in their band. On the festival of *Gyaras* of Bhadra (August—September), they distribute pieces of coconut, *churma* and *jalebi*. Similarly, *jalebi* and some other sweets are distributed when a betrothal is announced. The day the bridegroom's party arrives at the camp of the bride, they are fed with *lapsi*. It is prepared by cooking coarsely grinded wheat in plenty of ghee, and water and sugar or gur are added to it. Each adult person easily consumes about half a seer of *lapsi* on such occasions.

**Stimulants and Narcotics.** It is often said that the Gadulia Lohar



are excessive drunkards. This remark, however, does not find support from my field observations. It must be mentioned here that at the initiative of social reformers, the Gadulia Lohar, at the time of their convention held on 5th April, 1955, took a vow *en masse* that they would not consume liquor henceforth. To what extent this has an impact on their drinking habits is difficult to say. During my stay with the Gadulia Lohar, I could come across only four persons who had completely given up drinking and meat eating. Of these four persons, one belonged to Chittorgarh area and the other three were the Malwi Gadulia Lohar.

Generally speaking, Gadulia Lohar women do not take liquor. Gadulia Lohar men like to consume liquor during marriage and festive occasions. Not a single person was found to be drinking everyday during my stay with them, nor were there any alcoholics in the Gangrar band. Liquor is consumed more on occasions of ceremonies, like marriage. Of the three marriages celebrated during my stay with them, liquor was served in one case. The other two marriages were in Bhagat households where liquor was tabooed.

Liquor is a social problem in another sense. A father seeking a girl for the marriage of his son is obliged to offer drinks to the panches who negotiate the marriage on his behalf. This is a big drain on the finances of the father seeking a match for his son. This practice has taken deep roots in their society, though almost everybody, even those who temporarily stand to be benefited by this, speak against this practice. No narcotics were found in use by the Gadulia Lohar, though it is said that in the past they shared with their Rajput neighbours the habit of opium drinking.

The Gadulia Lohar are fond of smoking, and almost all Gadulia Lohar men smoke either biri, *cheelam* or *hooka*. The latter two forms of smoking are less popular. Cheelam is an earthen bowl in which tobacco is kept and smoked through its hollow neck. Hooka is still less common among them. Smoking is communal in nature. A biri is seldom lighted by putting it between the lips lest it is defiled and cannot be used by others. It is lighted by holding it between the two fingers. While smoking, again, care is taken not to touch it with lips and, for this reason, the biri is held between the fore and middle fingers and then the smoke is inhaled. It is puffed once and then it is passed on to other persons sitting around. To puff a biri twice is considered to be bad manners when others are sitting nearby. A father does not mind passing the biri on to his son, and *vice versa*. A guest and a friend is always welcome with a biri first. Sharing of biri indicates friendly and good relations. A Gadulia Lohar, on an average, consumes about half a packet of biri in a day (a packet of biri containing 25 biris cost about 12 paise in 1963).

*Meals* : The Gadulia Lohar adults generally take meals twice a

day. The first meal of the day is taken in the morning at about ten or eleven and the other just about the time of sunset. Beside these two principal meals, a Gadulia Lohar adult may consume one or two sogras early in the morning.

The Gadulia Lohar women, soon after they wake up in the morning, get busy in grinding, cleaning the vessels and the place around their carts, whereas men either gossip or light their forges. Those Gadulia Lohar men who have picked up the habit of taking tea in the morning go to the nearby tea stalls. I did not find tea being prepared regularly in any Gadulia Lohar household in the Gangrar band. Children and women generally do not take tea; instead, in the morning they consume whatever food has been left over from the previous night's meal.

Men take their principal meals generally while meals are being prepared. They squat near the cooking place and eat. Women generally eat after the male members have had their meals.

Food is served in small metal plates which are either kept on a wooden plank or on the ground. Curry is served on top of the sogras. They eat from a common plate, with the exception of Bhagats. To them and to men of other castes, food is served in separate plates. During the feasts also, food is served in a number of common plates and each plate is shared by four or five persons.

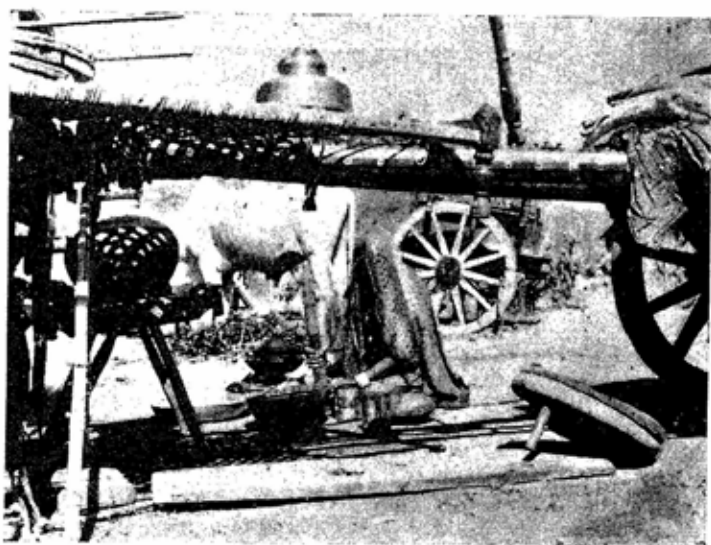
There is generally no difference in the morning and evening meals. The food left over from the morning meals is taken in the evening and the left over of the evening is eaten in the next morning.

No appreciable difference was noticed in the quality of food cooked in different households. The differences in economic status are not found expressed in the quality of the food, but the difference lies in the regular supply of it. A household is considered prosperous if two square meals are regularly available to all the members of the household. Out of thirtyfour households at Gangrar there were at least five households which were not able to afford two meals a day regularly to all the members of their households.

Though they claim to be Rajput the Gadulia Lohar do not observe the ritual cleanliness of the cooking place nor do they usually perform any rituals whatsoever before taking meals. Their nomadic life, because of which they have to cook their food at place where they camp, may have something to do with it.

*Social Context of Food:* The primary value of food, no doubt, is nutritional; but cultural values are attached to it by all human societies. It is universally recognised as a means of expressing and maintaining social relationships and meeting kinship responsibilities, the Gadulia Lohar are no exception to this rule.

It is the responsibility of the head of the household to provide food



GRINDING WHEAT FOR THE DAY



DAILY COOKING

PLATE 8



CEREMONIAL COOKING



MEALS

for all the members of his household. A household is composed on the principle of *chulah*, that is, the kin group which regularly takes food cooked from a common hearth. This responsibility of the head of the household, though emotional and voluntary at the surface, is actually obligatory and 'interested'. The roles and responsibilities of the other members of the household in return are clearly defined and bound by set rules of etiquette. There is a clearly defined division of labour within the household. Women cook food and they first serve food to all the members of the household before they eat. A guest in a Gadulia Lohar household must be offered food. There is spontaneity in the gesture but it has the usual expectation of a return (Mauss 1954; 63). The Gadulia Lohar invite relatives and friends on occasions of birth, marriage and death, and offer food to them. Even those who maintain the most frugal existence take loans for such occasions and try to be *grand seigneur*. No doubt, the emotional aspect of this cannot be neglected; but the principal idea is to reaffirm their social ties, raise their prestige, fulfil kinship responsibilities and return the obligations. On ceremonial and festive occasions, married daughters and sisters are particularly invited for food, specially in the early years of their marriage, and some presentations are also given to them. This way they fulfil their kinship obligations, as married Gadulia Lohar women do have some residual and contingent rights in their natal households. Before departing from a camp, members of one party invite those of the other<sup>3</sup> to have food with them and thus express their continuing happy relations. Panches are offered food and drinks lavishly, particularly at the time of negotiating marriage, to gain their favour and consequently to have some material benefit.

Refusal to accept food is considered to be bad and denotes strained relations among the persons concerned, which ultimately may lead to severance of ties. Any differences and feuds between persons are considered to be patched up only after they have taken food together.

Food is also a means through which the Gadulia Lohar exercise social control among themselves. Members ex-communicated<sup>3</sup> from the community are neither invited nor are their invitations to meals accepted by other members of the community, and if anybody accepts such an invitation, he himself stands ex-communicated.

Food can only be acquired by some economic activity, and, therefore, the economic imperatives are there whether offering of food is voluntary or 'interested' (Piddington 1950; 258). Though food is generally not valued in terms of money, yet it has a yardstick of measurement and has to be reciprocated. Thus, though it serves many functions of social

3. Ex-communication from the community is a powerful threat, but so far in the living memory of the Gadulia Lohar, nobody has been permanently expelled from the community. Actually, on account of their nomadic life, ex-communication cannot be rigidly and permanently affected.

## CHART 5: DAILY CONSUMPTION OF FOOD

## 1. Jay Ram (household no. 11).

(Adults—6, Child—1)

- 17-9-1963 M Maize *sogra*, smeared with ghee and pumpkin curry.  
E Wheat *sogra*, smeared with ghee, gram dal and milk.
- 18-9-1963 M Left over *sogra* of the previous night, gram *sogra* and leafy vegetable curry.  
E Wheat *sogra*, pounded green chillies, left over of the morning's vegetable curry and milk.
- 19-9-1963 M Wheat *sogra*, gram dal and some food left over from the previous night.  
E Wheat *sogra*, green chillies pounded with salt and milk.
- 20-9-1963 M Wheat *sogra*, ghee, a leafy vegetable curry, prepared with potatoes, *churma* and left over of the previous night. Three guests also took meals in the household.  
E Wheat *sogra*, onions, salt and green chillies and milk.
- 21-9-1963 M Maize *sogra*, brinjal curry, and wheat gruel and left over.  
E Wheat *sogra*, left over of the morning, salt and chillies and milk.
- 22-9-1963 M Maize *sogra*, brinjal curry and left over.  
E Maize *sogra*, green chillies pounded with salt and milk.
- 23-9-1963 M Wheat *sogra*, ghee and gur.  
E Maize *sogra*, leafy vegetable curry and milk.

## CHART 6: DAILY CONSUMPTION OF FOOD

## 2. Chuna (household no. 33)

(Adults—7, Children—2)

- 17-9-1963 M Wheat *sogra*, onion curry and salt. Children took the *sogra* with milk.  
E Wheat *sogra*, some leafy vegetable curry.
- 18-9-1963 M Wheat *sogra*, dried pumpkin curry, green chillies pounded with salt and milk.  
E Wheat *sogra*, green chillies pounded with salt.
- 19-9-1963 M Wheat *sogra*, and mutton curry\*.  
E Wheat *sogra* and mutton curry.
- 20-9-1963 M Wheat *sogra* and mutton curry.  
E Wheat *sogra* and mutton curry.
- 21-9-1963 M No food was cooked in the morning, children took some milk, gur and ground-nuts.  
E Maize *sogra* and pounded green chillies.
- 22-9-1963 M No food was cooked in the morning, children took some milk, gur and ground-nuts.  
E Maize *sogra*, some leafy vegetable curry and milk.
- 23-9-1963 M Maize *sogra*; each adult got less than one; children took some milk and ground-nuts.  
E Children were given bananas in the afternoon; Maize *sogra*, ray onion, green chillies pounded with salt.

M: Meal taken at about 11 o'clock in the morning.

E: Meal taken just about sunset time.

\*His goat was dying. He therefore killed it. Some meat he gave to his relatives and rest he consumed for three days.

importance, food is neither purely free, emotional and gratuitous, nor a purely interested utilitarian exchange.

*Food Consumption and Cost :* As mentioned above, no appreciable distinctions exist among the Gadulia Lohar as regards the quality of the food consumed by different households, but there is some variation in the regular supply of food. To illustrate the food economy of the Gadulia Lohar households, the daily consumption of food of two households is given in the charts 5 and 6. One belongs to Jay Ram (household no. 11), and the other is of Chuna (household no. 33), the most prosperous and an average household of the Gangrar band respectively. It would be clear from these two cases that the food items are much the same in households belonging to different income groups.

The pattern of food consumption as given in the two cases for a period of seven days is almost representative for the Gadulia Lohar throughout the year, irrespective of their economic position. Whatever variations occur in the food items are on account of the supply of seasonal food-stuff.

Among the Gadulia Lohar, as in any other community, the interest in food does not cease with the satisfaction of the their immediate hunger. They plan for the future. The Gadulia Lohar generally maintain a stock of their main food items, such as cereals, pulses and chillies. They obtain these food items generally in exchange for their blacksmith products. Their movement is related to the idea of maintaining a stock of main food-stuffs; and, therefore, it is organised keeping in view the harvesting time of the various crops. They work hard and visit as many villages as possible and store a sufficient amount of cereals before the rainy season sets in when they cannot work and trade. Similarly, they store food-stuffs before the summer season when work is limited or even not available and scope for bullock trading, too, is limited. A good stock of food items gives them a feeling of security and removes the immediate anxiety of getting food.

Other items, such as spices, salt, vegetables, sugar, gur, oils and mutton, are generally purchased from the markets. The people do not maintain a stock of these items. These are not considered as essential as their main food items and are easily available everywhere; hence, they purchase these items in small quantities from the markets, as and when required.

In order to calculate the expenditure on food consumption, I give here the market-prices of the various commodities as they prevailed in the last week of May, 1963, at Gangrar, (Table 14).

The consumption of food and probable expenditure on it for an average household consisting of three adults and two children are given in Table 15.



TABLE 14  
PRICES OF THE VARIOUS EATABLES

	Rs (Wholesale Rates)	Rs (Retail Rates)
1. Wheat	15 to 16 per maund	0.40 per seer
2. Millet	10 per maund	0.25 per seer
3. Maize	11 per maund	0.28 per seer
4. Mung (pulse)	35 per maund	0.87 per seer
5. Gram (pulse)	10 per maund	0.31 per seer
6. Tuar (pulse)	35 per maund	0.87 per seer
7. Red chillies	120 per maund	3.25 per seer
8. Turmeric	78 per maund	2.00 per seer
9. Black pepper		6.50 per seer
10. Salt		0.19 per seer
11. Onion		0.25 per seer
12. Garlic		1.00 per seer
13. Ground-nut oil		2.00 per seer
14. Ghee		5.75 to 6.00 per seer
15. Sugar		1.10 per seer
16. Mutton		2.00 per seer
17. Ordinary Mahua liquor		2.00 for one bottle
18. Biri (a bundle of 25)		0.12 per bundle

TABLE 15  
CONSUMPTION AND EXPENDITURE ON FOOD PER MONTH

Item	Quantity consumed	Expenditure (in Rs)
Cereals	2 maunds 10 seers	27.90 (Taking into account the average price of Re 0.31 per seer of the different cereals they use)
Pulses	10 seers	6.50 (Average price of Re 0.65 per seer)
Red chillies	3 seers	9.75
Salt	2 seers	0.38
Ground-nut oil	2 seers	4
Turmeric	$\frac{1}{2}$ seer	1
TOTAL		49.53

The estimated total annual expenditure on account of food comes to about Rs 594.36. To this Rs 21.90, their approximate annual expenditure on smoking should also be added. Thus the estimated total annual expenditure on food and smoking comes to Rs 616.26, that is about Rs 616.

Milk, ghee, sweets, liquor, non-vegetarian food and vegetables have been left out of this calculation. But for vegetable and liquor, they seldom buy these articles. As regards vegetables, there are no fixed rates, and they buy them at different places at different times and even acquire some in exchange for blacksmith products or work.

This calculation by its very nature has to be approximate as it does not take into account those days when no food was available, food was



taken at others' households or guests were entertained, or the occasions when they got some raw or dried vegetables from the villagers as gifts. These are the various limitations. However, the approximate amount given here will give a general idea of their annual expenditure on food which is more or less representative for the entire community; for the difference in the quality and quantity of food taken is not much.

#### SHELTER AND HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

*Bullock Cart:* A Gadulia Lohar's house is in his bullock cart. Every Gadulia Lohar household has one typical heavy bullock cart known as gari. In addition to it, they may have one or two smaller and lighter carts; no household in the Gangrar band possessed more than three carts in all. The smaller carts, (known as chakra, are of a different design. There were fortysix carts in all among thirtythree households at Chittorgarh camp and fiftyone carts among thirtyfour households at Gangrar camp; that is, on an average seven carts for every five households. A gari is given by a father to his son to establish an independent household. A son subsequently may add one or two chakra to his household.

The body of the gari is of a traditional design to suit particularly the requirements of the Gadulia Lohar. Its wheels, side attachments on the wheels, draught beams, yoke and axle are very much similar to those carts found in Chittorgarh and the western areas of Rajasthan (cf. Misra 1961; 53-6).

The gari has small wheels, with ten,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, radiating spokes, attached to broad felloes each of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The wooden body is like a section of a boat cut in the middle. At its back the body is 22 inches high from the platform and 45 inches wide. It is narrower in the front and where the two sides meet, its height from the draught beam is about 15 inches. Inside this structure, they keep all the things of their everyday requirements. The cereals they possess are kept in hand-made cloth bags. These bags are specially designed to carry the cereals in the bullock cart. These are kept flat in the cart so that the place of the top remains even. This place is utilised by them for lying down or resting.

On the central line of the wooden body, two raised pegs are fitted which support the ridge pole when the reed shade is erected; otherwise these pegs are used for hanging various household objects. A narrow string knitted cot is kept widthwise on the backside of the body of the cart and a similar one on the front side. These are utilised for keeping earthen vessels and bedding, etc., during transit, so that the articles kept on it do not easily bump out. There are several other pegs and nails on the body of the cart and the axle box for hanging the various items of the household equipment.

There are only a few Suthars (carpenters) in this area who can make

a gari for the Gadulia Lohar. One such carpenter lives in village Juthavad in the Mandisor District of Madhya Pradesh. A gari costs about Rs 900. The order to the carpenter for building a cart has to be placed well in advance as they take six months to a year in building one<sup>4</sup>.

The chakra is a smaller and lighter cart and can be made by most village carpenters. This cart mainly used for keeping fuel, blacksmith tools and for use as faster means of transport. It costs about Rs 400. The height of the wheels of the chakra is 39 inches with 12 pointed, 12 inches long radiating spokes, attached to 6 narrow fellys of 3 inches (of Misra 1961; 53-4). The body of this cart is smaller and has a balustrade instead of a regular wooden wall as in the gari.

When they move from one camp to another, these people keep all their household and blacksmith tools inside the carts. They consider a gari to be more secure and, therefore, keep all the 'valuable' articles in it and things of lesser value in the chakra. *Sirki* (reed shade) is rolled and hung on the back of the cart; bamboos on which reed shade is laid are tied and hung below the cart; and baskets, hearth and earthen vessels, and the cots are placed upside-down on top of the cart. During transit, the cots provide seats for the passengers.

Both these types of vehicles are so designed that they require a pair of bullocks to draw them. All the Gadulia Lohar of Gangrar band possessed the requisite number of bullocks.

I shall now describe the equipment which a Gadulia Lohar household maintains. The difference in the equipment possessed by different households is largely insignificant and, therefore, the description of any one would give an idea of the household equipments of these people. The blacksmith tools have been left out as these have already been discussed. The household equipment possessed by a sample household is given in Table 16. This list excludes two carts (one gari and one chakra), four bullocks, one cow and the usual blacksmith tools.

**Bedding:** As said earlier, a Gadulia Lohar's house is in his cart. Men sleep on cots under their bullock carts, women and children on top of it. Their bedding consists of *gudris*, which are used by them as mattresses as well as for covering themselves. *Gudris* are prepared by stuffing worn out rags in a cloth bag. It is made by women of the household. The material for making the cloth bag is either purchased from market or old dhotis and *lugaras* (personal garments) are used. Some of the Gadulia Lohar have also started using blankets. Chuna (whose material goods have been described in Table 16), however, had six *gudris* and one thick coarse bedspread. The material for a *gudri*, if

4. Chuna's elder son was of marriageable age and in order to give him a gari when he marries, he had ordered the carpenter at Juthavad to make a gari for him. It was to cost him Rs 850. He paid Rs 600 in advance and the rest of Rs 250 he was to pay when the cart was delivered to him.

purchased from the market, costs about Rs 10. Chuna did not purchase the material for all the gudris from the market. Old and worn out dhotis and lugras were used for making them. However, he said that six gudris cost him about Rs 40 and he had paid Rs 8 for the coarse bedspread.

TABLE 16

## COOKING UTENCILS AND OTHER SUNDRY ARTICLES

*Household No. 33*

Name and descriptions 1	Quantity 2	Material 3	Used for 4	Cost (in Rs) 5
1. <i>Chulha Hangri</i> (made by themselves)	1	Iron	A portable hearth	nil
2. <i>Parat</i> (a pan purchased from the market)	1	Brass	Kneading flour	6
3. <i>Tamris</i> (of different sizes; purchased from the market)	4	Earthen	Boiling, cooking and frying	1
4. <i>Chado</i> (a vessel purchased from the market)	1	Earthen	Making curd	0.12
5. <i>Lotni</i> (a flat vessel with a very narrow mouth; purchased from the market)	1	Earthen	Keeping oil	0.50
6. <i>Kurchi</i> (a ladle made by themselves)	1	Iron	Cooking	nil
7. <i>Chatu</i> (a ladle purchased from the market)	1	Wood	Cooking	0.12
8. <i>Tawa</i> (a pan made by themselves)	1	Iron	Making bread and frying	nil
9. <i>Tawa</i> (a pan made by Kumhars)	1	Earthen	-do-	0.12
10. <i>Simpia</i> (a pair of tongs made by themselves)	1	Iron	Holding	nil
11. <i>Sandasi</i> (a pair of tongs made by themselves)	1	Iron	Holding	nil
12. <i>Sieve</i> (purchased from the market)	1	Iron wiring	Sieving flour etc.	0.50
13. <i>Thali</i> (a small plate purchased from the market)	2	Bell-metal	Taking food	10

TABLE 16—*concl'd.*

Name and descriptions 1	Quantity 2	Material 3	Used for 4	Cost (in Rs) 5
14. <i>Katora</i> (a small bowl)	1	Bell metal	Taking food	3
15. <i>Lota</i> (a vessel purchased from the market)	1	Metal	Drinking water	2
16. <i>Ghara</i> (an earthen vessel; purchased from the market)	2	Earthen	Storing water	2
17. Pitcher stand (made by themselves)	1	Wood	Keeping pitchers	1.50
18. <i>Kalsa</i> (a vessel; purchased from the market)	1	Brass	Drawing and storing water	6
19. <i>Pata</i> (a sitting stool made by themselves)	2	Wooden	Sitting	nil
20. <i>Ukhri and Sambila</i> (mortar and pestle, purchased from the market)	1	Wood	Pounding spices, etc.	2.50
21. <i>Ghatti</i> (purchased from the market)	1	Stone	Grinding	6
TOTAL				41.36

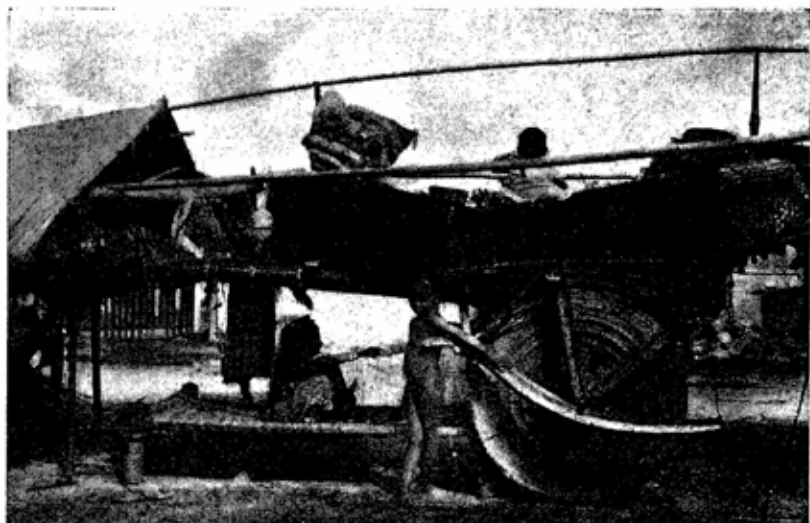
*Other Miscellaneous Articles :* The other household articles possessed by Chuna were : three cots (each costing about Rs 6), six bamboo poles for erecting reed shades (each costing Re 1), two reed shades (each costing Rs 8), one small folding wooden chair, and five baskets (each costing Re 0.50) used for storing and carrying.

The total cost of the household equipment described above comes to approximately Rs 134. To this may be added the cost of bullock carts and bullocks to pull them, and thus the average value of the entire household equipment for a household works out at Rs 1,400<sup>5</sup>.

#### CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

*Clothing :* The clothing of the Gadulia Lohar is simple and is, by and large, the same as that of the rural folks of Rajasthan. The Chittori Gadulia Lohar are somewhat shabbily dressed in comparison to the Malwi Gadulia Lohar. The latter are neat in their dress and are generally not seen in tattered garments, the items of the dress remaining the same. The Malwi Gadulia Lohar say, 'if you wear clean clothes, people of higher status allow you to sit by their side'. The Malwi Gadulia Lohar

5. The average number of carts being seven for five households. The cost of a gari is about Rs 900 which every household possesses, the cost of chakra is Rs 400 which on an average per household comes to Rs 160 and cost of the average number of bullocks to ply the carts Rs 210 (the average being fourteen for five households at the rate of Rs 75 per bullock).



GARI : THE TYPICAL GADULIA LOHAR BULLOCK CART



CHAKRA : THE LIGHTER BULLOCK CART



A TRADITIONAL ATTIRE



AN UNMARRIED GIRL

ridicule the Chittori Gadulia Lohar for remaining clad in dirty and tattered clothes. It is difficult to explain this marked difference but it certainly reflects the difference in the attitude of the Gadulia Lohar belonging to the two regions. The Chittori Gadulia Lohar are habituated to live like that and do not mind going about in torn and dirty clothes. Once I asked an old and prominent Gadulia Lohar why he was wearing a torn and dirty *angarkhi* when he could easily change to a new one which he had. It was slightly cold then. He remarked that in a new jacket he will feel cold; whereas the old used jacket, he thought, kept him warm and comfortable.

*Men's Apparel* : The Gadulia Lohar men's clothing consists of a lower garment (dhoti), an upper garment which is either a jacket (*jhavi* or *angarkhi*) or a collarless shirt (*cameez*), a head cover (*potia*) and a pair of shoes.

A dhoti is an oblong piece of white unstitched cloth, about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  yards long and 44 inches wide. It is worn tightly round the waist, both the free ends are passed through the loins and are tucked at the back in the waistband made by wrapping the dhoti round the waist in the first stage of wearing it. The dhoti thus worn, comes slightly below the knees. The tucking in of both the ends at the back makes, rather, an enormous collection of cloth there and thereby gives an impression of protruding buttocks. The way they wear it, gives their bodies a tight appearance if looked from the front. While working at their blacksmith jobs, they lift it up and tuck it in the front and back. Dhoti of almost the same size is worn by all men. The quality of the cloth also does not vary much. Young boys either wear nothing or a loin-cloth. As they grown up to seven or eight, they are given dhotis to wear.

*Jhavi* or *angarkhi* is the traditional upper garment of the rural people in Rajasthan. It varies in design and style from region to region and to some extent from caste to caste. It is first disappearing but continues to be used by the older menfolk. Among the Chittori Gadulia Lohar, it is still the most popular dress, though some young boys are found wearing collarless shirts. The shirt is more popular among the Malwi Gadulia Lohar. The use of silver buttons tied to silver chains for use in shirts is very much popular among these people.

*Angarkhi* is made of coarse white cloth. It is a full sleeved jacket with straps in the front to tie at the neck and near the chest. It comes down to the waist and is a tight fitting garment. No underclothing is worn underneath it. It is available ready-made in the markets. Some of the *angarkhis* have various kinds of designs on the neck, shoulders and on sleeves, embroidered in coloured threads. Such *angarkhis* are generally purchased for use on ceremonial occasions, and then the people continue using it for daily wear. *Angarkhis* with embroidery are specially available at Bhilware market. The quality of the cloth of an *angarkhi* as worn by different people does not vary much.

Throughout Rajasthan, turban is an essential item of men's dress. Its colour, length and the method of its tying differ from region to region, and to some extent from caste to caste. The Gadulia Lohar call it *potia*. Its length ranges from five to ten yards but the one which is largely worn is of five yards. Its width is about half a yard. The Gadulia Lohar like their turbans in deep red or yellow colours. No particular attention is paid to its tying and they just wind it round the head in a rather careless way.

Shoes worn by the Gadulia Lohar are made by the Chamars (leather workers) and are locally available. These are of the popular Nagra type worn by most of the rural population in Rajasthan (*see* Morab 1961; 51).

In all the thirtyfive households of the Gadulia Lohar at the Chittorgarh camp, Jay Ram was the only man who had more than one turbans, dhotis and jackets. The others had just one set of clothing which they wore. When a particular item of their dress wears out completely or some ceremonial occasion is ahead, they purchase a set of new clothes. Their dress remains the same in all the seasons of the year. In winters, and that, too, only at night, they use an additional coarse sheet of cloth to wrap themselves.

As is generally found in all human societies, the dress of the bridegroom is distinctive. A week prior to the departure of the marriage party, various marriage rituals start, and from that day a bridegroom dons an extra piece of unstitched garment of the size of a dhoti called *utarna* (from Sanskrit *uttariya*, meaning upper garment), round his body, besides the usual clothes. *Utarna* is dyed yellow either in full or only at one end. On the day of the departure of the marriage party, the bridegroom wears a new dhoti, a new embroidered angarkhi, a new yellow or deep red turban, and a new pair of shoes. On top of this dress, he wears a long loose cloak, called *anga* (Sanskrit, meaning body). It is full-sleeved and is ankle-long. It is generally red or yellow in colour, stripped with golden threads. The *anga* need not be purchased; it is available on hire. Over the *anga*, an *utarna* is worn crosswise on the body.

On his turban, the bridegroom wears a *mor*. *Mor* is a kind of bridal crown made of a rectangular piece of cardboard on which bright coloured papers are pasted. Several stings of coloured paper and trinkets are hung on it which cover almost half the face of the bridegroom.

**Women's Apparel :** The clothing of the Gadulia Lohar women is colourful. It consists of a skirt (*ghagra*), a bodice (*kanchili*), a mantle (*lugra*), and a pair of shoes. Broadly speaking, the *ghagra* worn by the Gadulia Lohar women is similar to that worn by rural women all over Rajasthan. However, the details of colour, print, texture of the cloth, size and its cut are distinctive. The Gadulia Lohar women tie the *ghagra* below the navel on the abdomen.

The *ghagra* is a stitched garment worn skirt-like. It covers the body from waist to just above the ankles. A Gadulia Lohar *ghagra* is made



of ten to twenty yards of material and has considerable gathering. The material of the ghagra is coarse, hand woven and has designs printed in dark colours. The base of the cloth is generally in red, and the prints are either in black or dark blue. There are two methods of stitching a ghagra : one is known as *pat* and the other *kali*. The former costs less to make and is more popular among the Gadulia Lohar. The *kali* type of ghagra is generally worn at the time of marriage.

The *pat* type of ghagra is made by stitching together the two free ends. At the tying end, it is gathered in a string which is used to tie the garment round the abdomen. At the other end, a narrow border in one or more colours is stitched. The border is not much conspicuous. The *kali* type of ghagra is made by stitching together triangular cut pieces of cloth. It is a laborious work and requires more cloth as well. The triangular pieces are called *kali*. Gatherings, string and border are the same in this as in the *pat* type ghagra.

The *kanchili* (from Sanskrit *kāñchulika*, meaning bodice) covers just the upper part of the breasts and leaves the lower bulges exposed. It is backless and short-sleeved. At the back are two pairs of strings which are lightly tied to keep it in position. A *kanchili* is made by stitching together different coloured pieces of cloth. This type of *kanchili* is common all over Rajasthan and Malwa but the Gadulia Lohar women make their *kanchili* different from others by stitching in a triangular flap at the lower margin of it. This flap covers the stomach region. This is typical of the Gadulia Lohar. Their explanation is that the ordinary *kanchili* does not cover their body properly at the time of hammering and attending to other jobs of blacksmithy and, hence, the introduction of the flap. At the lower end and on both the sides of the flap they fix small silver tinklets which jingle at the slightest movement of the body.

During the winters, Gadulia Lohar women in general wear a sleeveless jacket called *kurti* over the *kanchili*, which reaches down to the waist. Some old women regularly wear it. It has a deep cut neck and pockets in the front. Unmarried girls do not wear the *kanchili*, but they wear an *angarkhi*. Their *angarkhis* are like those worn by men but are full or three-quarter sleeved.

With skirt and bodice a Gadulia Lohar woman wears a mantle (*luga*). A *luga* is about three yards long and about one and a half yards wide. A *luga* of Gadulia Lohar is of coarse cloth, generally red with prominent floral designs. One end is tucked in the left side of the waistband of the ghagra, and the other end is brought forward covering the entire back and the head. The other loose end is either again tucked in ghagra or is allowed to dangle on, to be manipulated by the right hand. It may be noted here that particularly the married Gadulia Lohar women take care to cover their heads, specially when elders and strangers are around. Small silver tinklets are attached to the border of that portion of the mantle which comes over the head. Generally, the Gadulia Lohar

women stitch their own ghagra and kanchili. They also fix tinklets on them.

The shoes of the womenfolk are of the same type as that of their men. The only difference is that they are lighter.

The dress of a bride remains the same except that everything she dons is new, and she puts on an additional mantle which is of deep red colour and worked in silver threads. For the first time on the occasion of her marriage, she wears a kanchili brought for her by the groom's people along with other clothing.

*Cost of Clothing :* There is no definite period for which the Gadulia Lohar wear a set of clothing. Also they do not purchase all the dress items at one time. Clothes are purchased only when the old ones become completely unwearable. However, on the basis of what the Gadulia Lohar themselves say and what has been observed, it may be said that a turban lasts for two to three years, a shirt or angarkhi for about a year, a dhoti for about six months, and a pair of shoes for six to eight months. In case of women, a ghagra lasts two to three years, a kanchili for six months, and a lugra for two to three years. This statement regarding the life of the various items of clothing is only approximate. The dress of aged people who do not do any blacksmith work may last longer as compared to those of children and people who are very busy in their work. The clothing of the Gadulia Lohar, especially those of principal workers, wear out early as they get burnt here and there due to the burning splinters from the forge.

The cost of each of the items of clothing is given below :

#### *Men's Clothing :*

A potia costs from Rs 5 to Rs 30; for daily wear people purchase potias which costs Rs 5 to Rs 6. A particular variety which is known as *tul* costs Rs 12.50 for a 5 yards length.

An angarkhi costs Rs 5 to Rs 6.

A shirt costs Rs 4 to Rs 6.

A dhoti costs Rs 5 to Rs 8.

A pair of shoes costs Rs 5 to Rs 8.

#### *Women's Clothing :*

A lugra costs Rs 5 to Rs 10.

A kanchili costs Rs 1.50 to Rs 10. Kanchilis are generally made by the women themselves and the cost given here is of the cloth only.

A kurti costs Rs 4 to Rs 5; it is bought ready-made in the market.

An angarkhi for girls costs Rs 2 to Rs 5.

A ghagra Rs 20 to Rs 65.

A pair of shoes Rs 5 to Rs 8.

The costs given here, however, do not include the costs of the silver tinklets and buttons with chains used in their clothing, as these are taken out when a particular garment is torn, and are fixed in the new garment. These would be discussed under ornaments.

In order to give an idea of the clothing possessed by the Gadulia Lohar, and their costs, a sample household was taken and studied in detail. The sample household (no. 14) consisted of four members; Bhurra (aged 60 years), his wife Bharji (aged 50 years), his son Heera (aged 15 years) and his daughter Kesar (aged 12 years). Table 17 presents data on the sample household.

This household had spent an amount of Rs 109.50, on different dates, on different items of dress which lasted differently. The problem, however, is to find out the annual cost on clothing. There are two ways of getting the annual cost on clothing. One is to find out from a large number of people how much they spent on clothing in one year. The calculated averages would give an approximate idea of money spent on clothing in one year. This method, however, would assume that the expenditure not made by those who did not purchase any clothes that year would be neutralised by those who purchased more; the figure that would emerge would be an average figure. The other method is of multiplication and reduction. In this, the cost of clothing is calculated for one year. For example, a turban lasts for two and a half years, and a dhoti lasts for six months generally. For this calculation, the cost per year on a turban would be  $2/5$  of its price and on dhoti, twice its price. On this basis annual costs are worked out for all items of clothing for the sample household and are given in Table 18.

The latter method seems to be more suitable in case of the Gadulia Lohar. Firstly, significant variations in the cost of the clothes the Gadulia Lohar wear are not there and therefore, any average household can provide data which would be representative for the entire community. Secondly, it is not possible to acquire data from a large number of people at a time on account of their nomadic life. Thirdly, to fix a period for collection of data and to maintain it during the course of inquiry from a dispersed population like the Gadulia Lohar is difficult and involves many problems.

The clothing of all the persons, young and old, do not wear out in the same period of time, therefore, a middle range time is taken for the purpose of the calculation of the cost on annual clothing. That is, it is assumed that a turban would last for two and a half years, a shirt or angarkhi for one year, a dhoti for six months, a pair of shoes for one year, a ghagra for two and a half years, a kanchili and a kurti for six months, an angarkhi (girls wear) for a year and a lugra for two and a half years.

Thus, the costs of the clothing for one year for the same sample household would be as given in Table 18.

The amount of Rs 75.20 could be taken as the average annual expenditure of a Gadulia Lohar household on clothing. The quality of the clothes generally worn and their costs do not vary much. The cost of the various items of dress given earlier show significant differences only as regards potia in case of men and ghagra in case of women. These need some further explanation.

TABLE 17  
CLOTHING OF A HOUSEHOLD

Men's Clothing	Number using	Bhurra Cost (in rupees)	His son Heera Number using	Cost (in rupees)	Total cost (in rupees)
Potia	1	5	1	8	13
Angarkhi	1	5	—	—	5
Cameez	—	—	1	4	4
Dhoti	1	6	1	6	12
Pagarkhi	1	6	—	—	6
TOTAL	4	22	3	18	40

Women's Clothing	His wife	Bharji	His daughter	Kesar	
Ghagra	1	25	1	25	50
Kanchili	1	1.50	—	—	1.50
Kurti	—	—	—	—	—
Angarkhi	—	—	1	4	4
Lugra	1	5	1	5	10
Pagarkhi	—	—	1	4	4
TOTAL	3	31.50	4	38	69.50

TABLE 18  
ANNUAL COST ON CLOTHING

Men's Clothing	Price per item (in rupees)	Bhurra Cost (calculated) on each item per year (in rupees)	His son Heera Cost per item (in rupees)	Cost on each item per year (in rupees)	Total cost on clothing per year (in rupees)
Potia	5	2	8	3.20	5.20
Angarkhi	5	5	—	—	5
Shirt (Cameez)	—	—	4	4	4
Dhoti	6	12	6	12	24
Pagarkhi	6	6	—	—	6
TOTAL		25	—	19.20	44.20

Women's Clothing	His wife	Bharji	His daughter	Kesar	
Ghagra	20	8	20	8	16
Kanchili	1.50	3	—	—	3
Kurti	—	—	—	—	—
Angarkhi	—	—	4	4	4
Lugra	5	2	5	2	4
Pagarkhi	—	—	4	4	4
TOTAL		13	—	18	31

The total cost on clothing for all the members of this sample household works out at Rs 109.50.

At Chittorgarh camp, among thirtyfive heads of households, Jay Ram was the only person who wore a turban costing Rs 20; six wore turbans of *tul* cloth costing Rs 12.50; all other Gadulia Lohar men wore ordinary turbans of five yards made of coarse cloth, the cost of which ranged from Rs 5 to Rs 6. In respect of dhoti, angarkhi and shoes, there was a general conformity, and people spent least on these items. Decorative and slightly better items of clothing (including turbans) are purchased only at the time of marriage. No woman at the same camp was found wearing ghagra costing more than Rs 20. Ghagras of higher costs are generally given to brides.

The costs on dressing a bridegroom are illustrated here by citing two cases. Harlu (aged 16), son of Prithvi, got married in November, 1962; on the day of the departure of the bridegroom's party to the bride's place, Harlu took a bath and wore new clothes. Puna (24 years) got married in May 1963. He wore new clothes as usual after taking bath. The costs of their clothing are given in Table 19.

TABLE 19  
COST ON DRESSING A BRIDEGROOM

	HARLU Rs	PUNA Rs
Angarkhi	5	—
Cameez	—	6
Dhoti	7	7
Potia	15	15
Ufarna	3	3
Pagarkhi (shoes)	5	12
Mor and kalgi	5	5
Anga (hired charges)	5	5
Silk handkerchief	—	4.50
TOTAL	45	57.50

It may be noted here that Puna had established himself as an independent earner. His father had died a few years ago, and he was the head of the household. He worked as a blacksmith in association with his brothers or father's brother. Being an earning member himself, perhaps, he could spend more money on shoes on purchasing a costly silk handkerchief. Harlu was only sixteen years of age and he was completely dependent on his father.

*Personal Care* : In matters of personal hygiene and cleaning of the body, the Gadulia Lohar are extremely careless. Perhaps, their poverty and the nature of their work have to do something with it. They, at least most of them, possess only a single set of clothing which they keep on wearing all the time. While they work by the forge, perspiration soaks into the clothes and makes them dirty and odorous. A daily bath for

these people is a luxury, and most Gadulia Lohar men and women, on an average, take bath once a week. For the bath, men go to a river, pond or ditch (*nala*) where they take off their clothing and use their turban as a lower garment and bathe. The clothes are washed and dried, and donned when dry. For women, a bath is more difficult. Their ghagra is heavy and cannot be easily washed and dried. They generally take bath by the side of their carts where they obtain the required privacy by a judicious placing of cots. The use of toilet soaps among these people is rare, but washing soaps for cleaning their clothes are quite in use.

**Hair Styles :** A majority of men belonging to the Chittori Gadulia Lohar community still keep their head hair in the traditional style which is typical of these people. They shave most of the scalp, but tufts at three places are allowed to remain, two at each of the parietal eminences and one between these two at the point of lambda. The tufts are kept long coming down to the neck. They are visible under the turban. Some of the younger men have started keeping cropped hair, and they do not like the traditional hair style. Their traditional hair style has been given up by all the settled Gadulia Lohar at Beawar, Khanpura and Pushkar, and most of the Malwi Gadulia Lohar. They have their heads shaved about once in two months or on some ceremonial occasion. On the day a bridegroom's party leaves for the bride's village, a barber is called in by the father of the bridegroom and all those people who are expected to accompany the party, including the bridegroom, get their hair shaved. The father of the bridegroom meets the expenses.

Most of the men keep long flowing beards and moustaches. Many young and 'fashionable' men do not keep a beard, but have the fascination to keep long, unkempt moustaches, through incidence of short and trimmed moustaches among the younger people is no less marked in recent years. Moustaches are a matter of manly pride. No Gadulia Lohar was seen anywhere with shaved moustaches and even clean-shaved outsiders are looked down upon by them.

The Gadulia Lohar women keep long hair and tie them in their typical way. Washing of hair and arranging them is an elaborate process. White clay (*Multani mitti*) is used for cleaning the hair. Hair are soaked in water first, then some other woman is asked to rub the clay on the head; then the hair are rinsed in water. They are allowed to dry for the whole day after the wash and are arranged only the next day. Mustard or coconut oil is applied, and hair is then thoroughly combed with wooden combs. Two thin plaits of hair are made on each temporal side and a similar one in the centre. On the back, all the remaining hair are collected and made into a plait. To this, the other two plaits are intertwined and tied very tightly with a coloured cotton string. This is then wound up with a piece of cloth, and on the back it remains hanging something like a pony tail. The hair are so tightly wound that the hair



A NEWLY MARRIED COUPLE



PLATE 12



HAIR STYLE



A MARRIED WOMAN



ORNAMENTS OF FOOT



line on the forehead recedes back even at an early age. Girls, right from the age of four or five, are made to wear this kind of hair style.

*Tattooing* : The Gadulia Lohar, specially the womenfolk, are very fond of tattooing. In case of men, it is limited only to their names or the names and figures of some Hindu gods or some floral designs tattooed on their arms or on the back of their hands. In case of women, it is considered to be decorative and is elaborately done on arms, calves, round the ankle, on stomach and some spotting between the two eyebrows, at the corner of the eyes and on the chin.

Tattooing is done by professional tattooers with a tattooing machine. They charge six paise for tattooing small names in Hindi, twentyfive paise for making ordinary designs and figures on the arms, seventyfive paise for tattooing both the legs, seventyfive paise for working on abdomen, and one rupee and a half for tattooing all over the body.

#### ORNAMENTS

Like women everywhere, the Gadulia Lohar men and women are found of wearing ornaments on the various parts of the body. Ornaments are worn for several reasons. There are certain ornaments which must be worn on account of their ritual importance, such as a married woman must wear ornaments on her head, ear, nose, neck, upper arm, and foot. These ornaments signify the married status of a woman. Secondly, ornaments are worn to decorate the body and enhance its look. Thirdly, ornaments are worn to display one's wealth and, consequently, to raise the prestige. This aspect is particularly apparent on ceremonial and festive occasions when they gather in large numbers. The Gadulia Lohar consider ornaments to be more safe and secure than cash, and therefore, they buy ornaments from their savings. Most of the ornaments can be turned again into hard cash whenever there is any such need. However, it is difficult to separate one motive from the other.

*Acquiring of Ornaments* : Some ornaments are obtained in the childhood given generally by the parents or any other close kin. Ornaments worn by a girl given either by her parents or by other relatives remain the property of the parents till the marriage of the girl, or, more specifically, till she forms a separate household. Ornaments worn by children are mostly made of silver and are worn round the neck, wrist and ankles. As they grow, the difference in the ornaments worn by the boys and girls becomes marked. As she grows up, a girl acquires more ornaments than boys. Girls above the age of eight or ten generally wear ornaments on head, ears, neck, hands and legs. As they grow older, the number of ornaments, too, becomes larger.

At the time of her marriage, it is the duty of a father to give certain ornaments and clothes to his daughter. These ornaments are : nose ring made of gold ; bangles made of ivory bone, rubber or plastic,

worn in the upper and lower arms; silver toe rings, and a kanchili (bodice). At the time of his son's marriage, a father is supposed to give some ornaments to the bride besides a ghagra (skirt), and a lugra (mantle). If his economic position is good, some ornaments may also be given by a father to his son at the time of his marriage, though it is not considered obligatory.

A newly married couple start their life with the ornaments given to them by their families, particularly fathers. As the husband starts working independently, he is supposed to buy ornaments for his wife and children. An ideal husband is one who regularly gives gifts of ornaments to his wife. This way he not only reaffirms his happy relations with his wife, but he is considered a normal 'potent' man. By the display of the ornaments which his wife and other members of the household, including himself, wear, he increases the prestige of the household. A household is considered more secure when its members have ornaments. Their relative economic position is assessed by the amount of ornaments they possess. This matters much at the time of negotiating marriages. Thus, the process of buying ornaments goes on all the time in a household.

At the time of birth, marriage and other such domestic ceremonies, ornaments are presented to a child or a married woman by their close agnatic and affinal kin. The youngest son acquires all the ornaments along with other things of his parents on their death.

If we set aside the tradition for a while and look at the acquisition of ornaments from the economic point of view, it will be noticed that the proposition falls short of maximisation theory. The liquid cash which is turned into ornaments does not bring any interest. Moreover, the items are not just solid pieces of gold or silver, so they can bring at least the cost when sold again. These are ornaments which have been worked upon for wearing, display and decoration. The cost of making ornaments is always lost whenever they are again sold and only the amount for the material of the ornament at the current rate of the market will be obtained, minus, of course, an amount for the loss of weight on account of constant use. Whenever they are urgently in need of money the Gadulia Lohar sell their ornaments without keeping the market rates in view. Therefore, converting savings into ornaments cannot be called a really rational act. The Gadulia Lohar, however, believe that they can preserve their savings best by buying ornaments. Keeping their nomadic way of life and tradition in view, buying of ornaments seems to be the only way for them to preserve their savings. Thus, to the Gadulia Lohar, ornaments serve economic, decorative, display and ritual purposes.

In Chart 7 is given a schedule of ornaments generally worn by the Gadulia Lohar, their approximate cost, and the average amount of ornaments possessed by them. Generally, the ornaments worn by men are only a few as compared to those worn by women. The cost of the

various ornaments according to the quality and weight of the material. The approximate cost of the ornaments of average quality and weight as worn by the Gadulia Lohar are given here.

The ornaments given in Chart 7 are those which are generally used. All people may not possess all these ornaments but certain ornaments are found on almost all the womenfolk of the Gadulia Lohar. These are *bor* on the head, some ornament of the ear and nose, bone or coconut shell bangles on the arm, and toe rings.

For the Gadulia Lohar, the ornaments are one of the most valuable material possessions, and they reflect the wealth differences in the community. In order to calculate the cost on the ornaments possessed by the Gadulia Lohar, six sample households were taken two prosperous, two average and two poor. The average cost of the ornaments possessed

**CHART 7: A SCHEDULE OF ORNAMENTS AS WORN BY THE GADULIA LOHARS**

Ornaments worn by	Place where the ornament is worn	Local name of the ornament and its description	Cost (in rupees)
1	2	3	4
BOYS	neck	<i>Hansili</i> (a simple ornament made of silver)	12 to 25
	wrists	<i>Karulia</i> , (a simple silver ornament, worn round both wrists)	12 to 25 for each
	ankles	<i>Kara</i> (same in shape as <i>karulia</i> )	12 to 25 for each
MEN	ears	<i>Jhale murki</i> (a delicate ornament, made of gold and worn on each ear lobe. It has three round heads of gold fitted in a gold ring. It has an attached gold chain which is worn in the entire length of the ear. This ornament, without the chain, is known as <i>murki</i> )	200 to 250 for a pair
	neck	<i>Rewat nua</i> (a necklace, the pendent of which is generally hung by a black thread. The pendent is of silver or gold on which carvings of some deities are made. There are several other varieties of necklaces worn by the Gadulia Lohars)	50 to 200
	shirt buttons	<i>Hansili karulia</i> and <i>kara</i> same as for boys but heavier and their cost goes up to Rs 200	
	waist	<i>Batan</i> (silver buttons tied to the silver chains are worn on shirts)	8 to 12
		<i>Kandera</i> (a waistband made of silver)	40 to 60

CHART 7—contd.

Ornaments worn by	Place where the ornament is worn	Local name of the ornament and its description	Cost (in rupees)
1	2	3	4
WOMEN	head	<i>Bor</i> (a round boss, worn slightly backwards of the forehead tied with strings and hairs, made of silver)	2 to 2.50
	ears	<i>Tontiya</i> (a silver stud worn in the lobes of each ear. As it is heavy, it is held with a string tied to <i>bor</i> . It may also have a silver chain)	4 to 6
	"	<i>Oganiyas</i> (thin leaf-shaped ornaments, made of silver worn on cartilage of each ear)	6 to 10
	nose	<i>Nath</i> (a nose-ring, made of gold. In absence of <i>nath</i> , a nose stud made of either gold or silver is worn. No nose ornament is worn by unmarried girls)	150 to 200
	neck	<i>Hansili</i> (same as discussed for boys but it is heavier and more decorative)	25 to 100
		Necklaces (a variety of necklaces are worn by the Gadulia Lohar women. Some have a number of old rupee or quarter rupee coins tied to a black string; some have old rupee like structures tied to a black string; some have rectangular silver pendants on which the marks of deities are carved out. Silver chains and glass bead necklaces are also worn)	2 to 50
	upper arms	<i>Dala</i> or <i>Chura</i> (these are bangles made of ivory, bone, rubber or plastic. These are more popular among the Gadulia Lohar of Marwar and Ajmer. Chittori Gadulia Lohar are more fond of wearing bangles of coconut shell on which silver plaiting is done. Twelve bangles in each upper arm are generally worn. Unmarried girls do not wear ornaments on the upper arm)	Bone bangles Rs 2 each. Rubber bangles Re 1 for five. Coconut shell bangles Re 0.25 each*
	elbows	<i>Ba mandalia</i> (an ornament worn just above the elbow, and is made of silver)	20 to 40
	lower arms	<i>Dorliya</i> (similar bangles as of the upper arms are worn four in each lower arm)	Coconut shell bangles with silver plating four in each arm 5 to 10

CHART 7—*contd.*

Ornaments worn by	Place where the ornament is worn	Local name of the ornament and its description	Cost (in rupees)
1	2	3	4
		Karulia (silver wristlets of various designs and shapes)	50 to 200 for a pair
	fingers	Binthiya (a silver ring, Gadulia Lohar women wear rings on all fingers)	1.25
	jacket buttons	Batan (silver buttons tied to the silver chains are worn on jacket)	8 to 12
	waist	Kandera (a waistband made of silver)	40
	legs	Kara (silver anklets of simple designs but heavy; are the most popular ornament worn round the ankles. It is worn on both the ankles. There are other ornaments worn round the ankles of various shapes and designs)	50 to 200 for a pair
	toes	Binthiya (silver toe rings. The Gadulia Lohar women wear it on first and second toes)	1.25 for each
		Small silver tinklets are attached on the border of lugra and kanchili.	1 for seven

by a Gadulia Lohar, calculated from the sample of six households comes to Rs 763.41. The sample contained one household which had the maximum number of ornaments costing about Rs 1,000, and on the other extreme was the household which had the minimum, costing about Rs 200. The former had seven members in the household and in the latter there were nine members. The entire possession of the ornaments of one household as an illustration is given in Appendix 3.

From the above account it should now be clear that the Gadulia Lohar incur the maximum amount of expenditure on their household equipment. Of this, a bullock cart and a pair of bullocks to draw it are the major items. The next are ornaments which have a special significance in the life and economy of the Gadulia Lohar. Bullock carts and ornaments are obtained through the earning of several years and continue to remain with their owners for a long time. A bullock cart lasts for the entire life span of a Gadulia Lohar, more than fifty years. Similarly, ornaments are purchased with a long range planning and are retained for a long time. The expenditures on the other two heads, that is food and clothing, are recurring, of which clothing involves the least expenditure. These two items of expenditure put together involve an annual expenditure of approximately Rs 692. The total income through

\*Silver plaiting for each coconut shell bangle is from Re 1 to Rs 5.

blacksmithy and trade in bullocks is a little more than this amount. That is, after meeting the requirements of food and clothing, they are left with a meagre sum to meet all the other expenditure of household equipments, ornaments and on non-material obligations.

It is a big and continuous problem before the Gadulia Lohar to meet all the other demands which are socially as important as meeting the basic requirements of food, shelter and clothings. When the demands of marriage and other obligations are pressing, food and clothing are curtailed, loans are raised and they put in hard work for several months. On such occasions, expectations rise high for a windfall in the trade of bullocks which actually they do get sometimes.

## CHAPTER VII

### LEVEL AND COST OF LIVING

The life of man consists of a series of stages which is implicit in the very fact of his existence. The passage through each of the stages is marked by ceremonies. "For every one of these events there are ceremonies whose essential purpose is to enable the individual pass from one defined position to another which is equally well defined" (Gennep 1960; 3). The Gadulia Lohar are no exception to it; they observe various rites of passage. They are Hindus and claim a high caste status, and as such profess to celebrate all those rites observed by the higher castes of the region. However, it seems that on account of their nomadic life and hard economic conditions, they have curtailed many of the rites. For example, the Gadulia Lohar men do not wear a sacred thread though they claim to be Rajput. Their argument is that since they cannot observe the various rituals connected with the wearing of the sacred thread, they have given up wearing it. Again, the Gadulia Lohar do not observe ritual pollution in case of birth or death as practised by the higher caste Hindus all over India. Two or three days after her delivery, a Gadulia Lohar woman resumes her normal daily activities. In case of death, members of the household in which the death has occurred abstain from work and other household activities for two or three days, which, I feel, is more on account of grief than ritual pollution<sup>1</sup>. The rites of passage they observe entail expenditure both in terms of money and time; some require heavy expenditure. For such events they have to prepare themselves in advance, plan their production, exercise their foresight in moving, selecting the villages for work and trade, prolonging or curtailing, a halt, buying and storing raw material, buying and selling bullocks, and so on. Thus, the ritual beliefs, ceremonies and various rites of passage are very closely inter-related with the economy of the Gadulia Lohar. In this chapter, there-

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1. My conclusion is based upon the following factual findings :

- (a) men carrying a deadbody do not necessarily bathe as is required under the rules of pollution;
- (b) the principal mourner or any other member of the household or kin group does not consider it necessary to have their heads shaved;
- (c) there are no restrictions on cooking food, eating, drinking and smoking as are imposed under the rules of pollution; and
- (d) finally, there is no cleansing ceremony after a death, such as the tenth day ceremony among the Hindus: they observe only *mosar* which is a feast given to the community technically on the 13th day of the death, but it is allowed to be given within the year or even within twelve years,

fore, I shall discuss them with particular emphasis on their economic aspect.

*Birth:* The Gadulia Lohar consider it desirable to have many children, and a house full of children is considered to be good and auspicious. However, they take childbirth very casually. No special care or treatment is given to a woman during her pregnancy or after her confinement except that she is required to take precautions so as to avoid evil spirits and the evil eyes. The Gadulia Lohar believe that evil spirits and evil eyes may cause miscarriages, still-birth, death of the newborn infants or of the mothers. A pregnant woman continues to do her routine work, including that of blacksmithy, till almost the day of delivery. Normal domestic work is again resumed by her just two or three days after her delivery. The Gadulia Lohar men particularly say with pride that their women are hardy, and unlike the women of other castes, do not sit idle on account of pregnancy or childbirth.

As is common in the case of nomads, births take place in the camps and the Gadulia Lohar do not know the places where they were born. Knowledgeable old women of their own community and, in their absence, the village midwives are called in to assist in the delivery. Only in complicated cases before or after the delivery, they take the help of trained nurses or go to the hospitals if they are camping near a place where such facilities are available. During my stay with the Gangrar band, four births were recorded; two were attended by their own women at their camps, one by a trained nurse in their camp (in which case incidentally both mother and child died), and one delivery took place at the civil hospital in Neemuch.

The Gadulia Lohar do not observe any ceremonies after a childbirth, except a very brief name-giving ceremony on the sixth day of the birth. On that day they go to a Brahmin priest and offer him a coconut (costing about Re 0.37), and he suggests three or four names taking into consideration the day and time the child is born. They select one name out of these. For this service, the priest is paid, according to the status of the household, five annas (31 P), ten annas (62 P) or one Rupee and a quarter (Rs 1.25). The father of the child may invite his married sisters and daughters to celebrate the occasion. After fifteen days of the birth of the child, its head is shaved by the child's elder sister or child's father's sister, for which she is given some presentation in cash, clothes or ornaments by the father of the child depending upon their mutual relations and the economic position of the father of the child. No other ceremony of a person is observed till his or her betrothal.

*Marriage:* Marriage is the most important event in the life of the Gadulia Lohar. Socially, it inaugurates a new series of relations. It provides sexual gratification and begetting legitimate children besides



the joy and comfort of leading a domestic life. The community severely condemns all sorts of extra-marital and pre-marital sexual relations. Ritually, sons are desired in order to ensure the continuance of the line of descent. Apart from other reasons, the daughters are desired for economic reasons, too, the most important being that they bring money in their marriage to the parental family on account of the custom of bride-price prevalent among them. The bride-price among these people is generally high. It is difficult to explain how the custom of bride-price originated among the Gadulia Lohar, but loss of a girl in marriage, however, is directly related to the loss of a working hand of the household, and, hence, to compensate the loss, perhaps, there is the custom of bride-price among these people. In many of the patrilocal societies the loss of a girl in marriage is correlated to the bride-price (Murdock 1961; 19-22). Economically, thus a marriage means augmenting or depleting the wealth of a household for a considerable time. New households are formed by marriage and the head of the emerging household is immediately ensured of the regular supply of labour of his wife in his economic activities. All these factors make married life highly desired. Politically, the negotiation of a marriage activities their panchayat, since every betrothal and marriage is arranged through their panchayat which also decides the amount of bride-price. This economic sanction in the hands of the panchayat is an effective lever of social control. This aspect I shall discuss later in Chapter IX. Here I shall confine my discussion to betrothal and marriage ceremonies and their interrelations with the economy of the Gadulia Lohar.

*Betrothal* : As in all traditional societies, among the Gadulia Lohar, marriage is just not a single act, but it is marked by a series of events. The process begins with locating a suitable match and it is completed when the woman after her wedding, finally joins her husband's household. The first ceremony in this process is that of betrothal called by them *satpan*. *Satpan* marks the fruitful completion of the negotiation for marriage which means that the panchayat has formally approved the engagement, and the bride-price has been paid in the presence of the panchayat. The wedding may take place any time after *satpan* depending upon the age of the boy and the girl and the economic position of the boy's household. Often, it takes several years after a betrothal for the actual wedding to take place.

It is considered the responsibility and moral duty of the parents to arrange for the marriage of their children. Gadulia Lohar marriages are arranged through negotiations between members of both the parties; the boy or the girl does not have any opportunity of exercising their choice in the marriage. It is considered ideal to get the children married when they are in the age-group of twelve to eighteen years. This is one reason for which negotiations for betrothal start early. Children, even below

the age of one year, are betrothed, though there were a number of boys and girls of the age of twenty to twentyfive years in the Gangrar band who were not betrothed. The postponement of the betrothal of the boys for such a long time is initially on account of the demand for high bride-price which their parents were not able to pay; later, it became difficult to find a suitable match in the corresponding age-group. In case of girls, the postponement of marriage is on account of several reasons, such as tussle in panchayat over bride-price, unwillingness on the part of the father to marry his daughter, because he was getting less bride-price than he stipulated for, or shortage of adult working hands in the household and poor reputation of the girl. The anxiety of a Gadulia Lohar to betroth his son as early as possible is obviously on account of high bride-price and non-availability of a suitable match later. Thus, those who have the means to pay bride-price and the right kind of contacts in the panchayat have their sons betrothed early; in the case of those who lack these, betrothal of sons is later than usual.

*Criteria of Selection :* A Gadulia Lohar must marry a Gadulia Lohar; the identity of the parties, however, has to be well established through kinship channels. Also, the proposed marriage must not violate the rules of exogamy and prohibited relationships. The possibilities of establishing affinal ties with non-Gadulia Lohar are remote as the other castes in the region are also endogamous and have almost similar rules for marriage<sup>2</sup>.

Marriage within the branch of the father and all the patrilineal kin, including the immediate kin of father's sister's husband, is forbidden. Similarly, on the mother's side, her natal branch and the kindred of her brother and sister are avoided. The Gadulia Lohar are not clear as to how many generations are to be avoided on each side, but they say that a man does not marry a kinswoman. On account of their nomadic life it may seem to be a difficult job to find out the exact relationship between the two contacting parties, but this situation is avoided as negotiations for a marriage are always through common friends and relatives. Then, the proposed marriage is fully discussed at a panchayat meeting at which panches from both the sides are present. They see to it that the proposed marriage does not infringe the rules of exogamy and prohibited relationships as prescribed by their traditions.

Members of Pawar and Chauhan branches do not intermarry as they consider themselves 'dhoti band bhai'. Similarly, marriage is also avoided between the members of the households of ritual friends. There are other limits on the selection of the spouses. The Gadulia Lohar try to ensure that the household into which a daughter is to be married

2. There were a few cases of when Gadulia Lohar girls were enticed by non-Gadulia Lohar men and eventually they ran away and got married elsewhere. The Gadulia Lohar treat such cases in the same way as if the girls were kidnapped. Such girls are taken as lost to the community.

should not be very poor. Nobody likes to marry his daughter to a physically deformed or sick person. On the other side, the girl-giving household should not have the (undesirable) reputation of demanding too high a bride-price or of not controlling their womenfolk. The Gadulia Lohar regard sexual immorality of their women as a serious offence and such households are condemned. Since the betrothal is performed when the bride and groom are kids, the question of individual qualities of the boy and girl does not arise. It does, however, matter at the time of wedding when they are grown up, particularly for the girls. If it is heard by the girl-receiving people that the girl has loose morals, the issue becomes complicated specially on account of the payment of bride-price. They refuse to marry the boy and demand back the amount paid as bride-price, plus the compensation for not controlling the girl. Seldom is compensation paid by the girl's father, and the matter is referred to the panchayat. There it generally lingers on for years. In the meanwhile, the members of the boy's family may have their son married elsewhere, but they try to block the passage through panchayat of the marriage of the girl to another boy by reiterating their demand for compensation.

*Negotiations for Betrothal :* Soon after the birth of a son, the father starts thinking about a suitable match for his son. It is customary among these people that parents of the boy take initiative in the negotiation of the marriage. Friends and common relatives of the parents of the boy help in finding a suitable match. As soon as a suitable match is located and the father of the boy is prepared for the financial expenses, they approach the father of the girl or one of his close kin. If the father of the girl is favourably inclined, the father of the boy collects the prominent panches from different camps and his own agnatic kin who he thinks will be helpful in the negotiations, and they all go together to the camp of the girl's father on a previously appointed day. There they are joined by the panches and the elder members of the camp, and they discuss the proposed marriage. Such meetings are generally held in the off-season or just at the beginning of the work-season when many of the panches are available at one place. It costs the father of the boy less to have these meetings at such times as he has to bear the expenses of the entire journey of the panches and is responsible for providing food and drinks to all those who accompany him.

The talks usually continue for several days before satpan can be performed. First, they discuss the feasibility of the proposed marriage with particular reference to the rules of exogamy and prohibited relationships. If the relationship is found feasible, the talks come over to the amount of bride-price. The decision of the panchayat should be unanimous, and talks often continue for days till unanimity is reached, or else they break down. In the latter case, a fresh meeting is convened by the father of the boy at some other date. In the meantime, the

father of the boy, with the help of his agnatic kin, try to influence, persuade and entreat the panches to favour them. They may also have to make cash gifts to the panches to gain their favour in the negotiations. Many think that such gifts to panches are undesirable or even illegitimate, but are a common feature of the entire business. The unanimous decision of the panchayat is binding on both the parties.

*Bride-price* : The bride-price varies from marriage to marriage. All the past actions of the households and their patrilineal kin are kept in mind in deciding the amount of bride-price. The interest of the father of the boy and his agnatic kin present in the meeting is to keep the amount of bride-price as low as possible, and the interest of the other party is generally just the opposite, and, therefore, disagreements are bound to come up on the issue of bride-price. Many a time, the talks break down on this issue. The result is that the father of the boy stands to lose more as the process of collecting panches and turning them to his favour has to be repeated, which means more expenses and delay in obtaining relief from the anxiety of a son's marriage.

In this manner, the panches extract quite an amount of money from the father of the boy before the settlement is reached. The father of the boy and his supporters are much vociferous in expressing their strong opinion against the panches who are considered to be hurdles in reaching a favourable decision and make exaggerated statements of their expenditures, but once the negotiations are finalised they are quiet and do not easily reveal how much they have spent. The reasons are : first, that the decision is of the panchayat unanimously agreed upon ; second, by the decision taken in the panchayat the two parties become related and by refusing to complain against the other, they demonstrate their affinal solidarity ; third, they also have to think of the future when they are likely to need the support of each other on similar issues.

The Gadulia Lohar have an ambivalent attitude towards bride-price. Those who have daughters demand a high bride-price, and those who have to pay naturally resent it. The Gadulia Lohar of different regions ridicule each other for taking a high bride-price. The fact is that bride-price is equally high in all the regions considering their economic position, and it seems higher in Malwa than in Mewar. Various attempts have been made to restrict the indiscreet rise in the amount of the bride-price. Webb (1941 : 162), reports that Rs 21 were to be given to the father of the girl at the time of negotiations and Rs 84 as the bride-price. The entire amount was supposed to be spent on the marriage. This rule seems to have died long ago. In 1955, at the time of their Chittorgarh convention, the Gadulia Lohar had decided that the father of the boy should give only Rs 40 as the money for *riti* (customary bride-price) and Rs 100 for meeting ex-

penses of the feast to be given by the father of the girl. This, again, has fallen into disuse. Today, riti and money towards other expenses have all got mixed up and the total amount ranges from a few rupees to a couple of thousand rupees. Only a few people will have such large sums ready at hand, and, therefore, the father of the boy is obliged to approach his agnatic kin and the prominent men of his clan to raise some money for him. This money is generally obtained in the form of loans. The support and the role of agnatic kin during the negotiations, and finding out funds to be paid as bride-price reflect the solidarity of the agnatic kin.

To illustrate this, I give below a case. Chuna was a poor man with a large family. With great difficulty he managed to fix up the marriage of his youngest son aged about three years in which he had to spend Rs 800. This money he obtained as detailed below :

Loan from Hukma (Brother's son)	Rs 200
Loan from Bhairon (Brother's son)	Rs 200
Loan from Bhurra (Father's Father's Brother's son)	Rs 100
By selling silver ornaments of his wife	Rs 300

Six marriages were negotiated during my stay with the Gadulia Lohar during 1963. In two cases, Rs 500 each and in two others Rs 1,200 each were paid as bride-prices. In two other betrothals, the father of the girls claimed that they had not taken any money as bride-price and they had given their daughters in *dharam* (religious gift). In these two betrothals, Rs 40 were taken from the father of the boys as riti money. Of these Rs 40, Rs 20 were returned to the father of the boy to buy clothes and ornaments for the boy and the rest was distributed among the kin and the panches present at the time of the betrothals. This money has to be given by the father of the boy as 'nobody would like to have a girl in charity'. This was only a nominal customary amount, and, therefore, they claimed that no bride-price was charged or paid.

After agreement is reached on other points and on the bride-price, the money is paid before the entire gathering. One of the panches on behalf of the entire panch then declares that such and such boy has been given to such and such girl. Immediately after this a person among those present sprinkles red coloured water on all the people there. This marks the completion of the betrothal ceremony.

On this occasion, the father of the girl presents to the boy a turban, a new set of clothes, and some ornaments. In one of the betrothals observed by me, the father of the girl gave the following articles to the boy on completion of the betrothal.

Five dry coconuts	Rs 2
One silver necklace	Rs 22
One nylon turban material	Rs 30
One Rupee coin	Re 1
TOTAL	Rs 55

The major amount received as bride-price is kept by the father of the girl for meeting various expenses to be incurred on marriage; some of it is distributed among the agnatic and affinal kin present during the talks and to the panches, and the rest is allocated to a feast to all the people present. Here, I give a case in which Rs 1,200 were taken as bride-price from the father of the boy. The latter paid Rs 1,100 in cash and gave two silver wristlets costing Rs 100. The panchayat meeting for this negotiation continued for seven days.

The amount received was distributed in the following way.

To Magniya (Father of the girl)		Rs 500
To Tarachand	} Panches who also happened to be brothers and cousins of Magniya	Rs 100
To Haria		Rs 100
To Bhagirath		Rs 100
To other panches (prominent of them got Rs 10 each and others got Re 1 and Rs 5 each)		Rs 100
Amount spent on the entertainment of panches		Rs 200
Amount spent in giving a general feast to the members present at the camp of Manasa and in buying certain items of dress and ornaments for the bridegroom		Rs 100
TOTAL		Rs 1,200

*The Wedding Ritual* : If the boy and girl are physically mature at the time of their betrothal, a tentative time for wedding is also decided, but if they are still young, the date and time is decided when they come of age.

As the tentatively fixed period for the wedding approaches, an auspicious day for the marriage is decided in consultation with a Brahmin priest. This ceremony is known as *lagan*<sup>1</sup>. In case of the betrothal of very young boys and girls, much negotiation, and consequently much expenditure, is involved for the *lagan* ceremony. Nine knots are tied on a thread, nine days prior to the date of the marriage. These nine knots also signify the nine branches. From the next day onward, one knot is untied at the expiry of each day; the last knot is untied a day prior to the wedding day. The string is kept by the father of the boy. From the day the first knot is untied, a series of marriage ceremonies are performed in the respective places of the boy and the girl.

The bridegroom and the bride are known as *lada* and *ladi* respectively. On the day of the untying of the first knot, *dorla* (a string in which a cowrie and four small iron rings are attached) is tied round the left wrist and the left ankle of the *lada* and *ladi* by their respective attendants. This ceremony is known as *vadli*.

3. Among the Hindus, it is required that marriages shall be solemnised only during certain months, known as *lagan* months. During the rest of the year solemnisation of marriages is disallowed by custom and religious faith. The Gadulia Lohar follow the same practice in their marriages.



Five days after this, the ceremony of Banyatha is performed. On this day the elder brother and his wife of the lada and ladi, and in their absence, father's brother and his wife, wear the wedding dress of bride and bridgroom and go to a village Kumhar's (potter's) house. From there they bring a clay idol of Ganesh and an earthen vessel, known as *kalas*. The Kumhar is paid Re 1 for this. This idol and vessel is installed together with a pair of blacksmith's tongs on the ground near the carts of the lada and ladi. Neem (margosa) leaves are kept over the kalas and grounded turmeric is kept in an earthen bowl near it. A mixture of turmeric is applied to their bodies on this day. From that time onward till a day prior to the wedding both of them worship Banyatha in the morning and evening at their respective places. After this ceremony, the lada and ladi are invariably attended day and night by near kin and friends of each. At this period, they are believed to be in a delicate and vulnerable state, and, hence, for the sake of their security they are not left alone. They are constantly provided with the company of their age-mates.

A day prior to the marriage, *mehndi* (henna) is applied on the palms and soles of the boy and the girl by the womenfolk of the respective camps. The women who supply mehndi and flowers for *pūja* (worship) are of the *Mali* (gardener) caste and they take their customary charges for these supplies. On one of these days, the agnatic kin of lada and ladi invite the members of their respective camps for meals. This is known as *Banora*.

On the day of the departure of the marriage party, the boy is given a bath and new clothes to wear. A *Doli* (drummer) is called, and men and women dance to the tune of the drum. A feast is also given on the same day by the groom's father which usually consists of mutton curry, bread, and liquor.

Just prior to the departure of the party, a red cloth is stretched by two boys over the head of the bridegroom who stands under it, attired in his wedding garments. He holds a sword at the top of which a dry coconut is hooked; he is then taken round all the households of the camp. He stops before each household, where he is blessed by the head of the household and is also given the gift of a rupee.

If the bride's camp is not at a great distance from the bridegroom's camp, the marriage party goes in bullock carts, otherwise the journey is performed by rail or bus. The bridegroom rides in a bullock cart to the bus or railway station. before sitting in the cart he goes round the cart seven times.

The marriage parties of the Gadulia Lohar are not large. In the events of three marriages which I observed, eleven, twelve and fifteen persons respectively formed the marriage parties. In all the three cases, the camps of the bride were more than fifty miles away and the journeys were performed by rail or bus.

Both men and women join the marriage party. The members of the party are generally the bridegroom's close agnatic kin. However, if any of them is camping far away, he may not come. The composition of the party, therefore, depends much on the distances between the camps of the different kin.

On arrival there, the party halts near the bride's camp. In the evening, they are received by the father of the bride and other relatives, and they are led to the latter's camp site. The bridegroom sits on a cart. A rupee or two to the driver of the cart for his services are given by the bride's people. Soon after their arrival, the party is fed with lassi by the bride's people.

At the entrance to the place where the marriage is to be solemnised, a ceremonial arch is erected from which hangs a wooden 'shield' (Webb 1941 : 166), known as *toran*. The bridegroom strikes the toran six times with the sword he carries in his hand, and on the seventh stroke he pulls it down. This is a custom widely prevalent among the Rajput. Webb (*op. cit.*) mentions that the Gadulia Lohar strike the toran with a wooden stick. I found them doing it with a sword as the Rajput do.

The gifts brought for the bride by the father of the boy contain clothes and ornaments, and these are sent to the bride just after the arrival of the groom's party at the camp. The gifts usually consist of a set of garments and ornaments consisting of ghagra, lugra, *sadi* (red coloured mantle), ba mandalia (silver armlet), karulia (silver wristlet) and any other ornaments which the father of the boy may desire to give. Similarly, the father of the bride gives a kanchili, dorla (bangles of the upper arm), nath (gold nose-ring) and *bithinya* (silver rings) to his daughter at the time of her marriage.

The bride puts on the clothes and ornaments brought her by the groom's party, and in these she is led to the marriage booth. There the young couple are seated before the *chanvri* facing east. The girl sits to the right of the boy. Chanvri is a shallow pit railed with wooden sticks on all the four sides with a cotton thread tied to the railings. In the pit, fire is lighted, and the wedding ceremony is performed by a Brahmin priest.

The right hand of the boy and the left hand of the girl are tied together with their mantles, and in their hands a copper coin and a piece of turmeric are kept. The wedding is solemnised by the couple

4. In case of Puna's marriage, the following items were given to the bride :

Ghagra	Rs 60
Lugra	Rs 20
Sadi (red)	Rs 6.50
Silver wristlet	Rs 100
Shoes	10
Total	Rs 196.50





A MARRIAGE CEREMONY



THE GADULIA LOHAR DANCE

going round the sacred fire seven times in which the boy leads the girl for three and a half rounds, and for the rest the girl leads the boy. From now onwards they are called husband and wife.

All these ceremonies are performed at the auspicious time decided upon by the priest. Next day, various other ceremonies—some religious and some secular—are performed. These ceremonies are conducted by their own people, mostly women. The day after, on completion of the series of rituals, the bride's father gives the first full meal which usually consists of a mutton preparation and *sogra*. On the third day, the party departs at an auspicious hour with the young couple. Soon after their arrival at the camp of the bridegroom the couple is taken round in a procession to all the households there. A few minor ceremonies are held at the groom's camp signifying the successful and satisfactory conclusion of the marriage.

Ordinarily, the newly married husband and wife do not live together during the early years of their married life. The girl goes back to her parents three or four days after her first visit to her husband's household. After a few years (this period depends upon the age of the boy and the girl), the girl leaves her parental home and joins her husband's household. The separation of the boy from his parent's household is a gradual process and no definite time is fixed for it. The father has to make provision for a bullock cart, a pair of bullocks and a set of blacksmithy tools and implements for each of his sons. This has to be given as soon as the girl joins her husband, for the son's wife cannot occupy the same cart as is occupied by her parents-in-law. The rules of avoidance are strictly observed between a daughter-in-law and her father-in-law. The provision of the household equipment and blacksmithy tools to the son is another factor, on account of which the marriage is often postponed. These provisions are enough for the son to start his own independent household. The day a separate hearth is established, a new household is born. This may come off all of a sudden as a sequel to a quarrel, or it may be a peaceful affair mutually arranged by the parents and the son.

*Divorce and Secondary Marriages* : Monogamy is the most widely prevalent form of marriage among the Gadulia Lohar, and there are only a few cases of polygyny among them. A second wife is usually taken if the first wife dies or is divorced or is unable to bear any children. The practice of junior and senior levirate among the Gadulia Lohar also gives rise to polygyny. Widow marriage is recognised but no ritual ceremonies are performed on the occasion.

Among the thirtyfour households of the Gadulia Lohar at the Gangrar camp only two men were found to be bigamous. One had married for the second time as his former wife did not have any male issue. The woman he married for the second time was a widow having four children from her deceased husband. She had left all the four

children in the household of her deceased husband. The second person had married the widow of his elder brother. The woman he married had two sons through her former husband. The two wives and their children (two daughters of first wife and two sons of the second wife from her first husband) were all living together. Five people had married for the second time, on the death of their wives. Each one of them had taken a widow for his second wife. Only one case of divorce was observed. In this case, both husband and wife were young. The husband was the only son of his parents and was living with them. Parents of the son and the son himself did not like the behaviour and manners of the girl, and so she was sent back to her parents. The father of the boy was contemplating to marry his son elsewhere.

Divorce is allowed among the Gadulia Lohar but it is not a common practice. It is never a peaceful affair, mutually agreed upon by the husband and wife and their kin. On account of the heavy expenditure on marriage, any kind of separation between a husband and his wife involves economic complications, and if these complications are straightened out, the separation is accepted. If a married woman, on her own, deserts her husband and goes back to her natal household, efforts are made to bring her back, even physical force is often used. If all this fails, a demand is made for the return of the amount, of bride-price paid by the husband's side; some compensation is also demanded from the parents of the girl. A meeting of the panchayat is convened by the husband and his kin, and the matter is discussed there. The bride-price is hardly ever returned, but the usual decision of the panchayat in such cases, if everything else is favourable to the husband's party, is to ask the father of the girl to provide another girl either from his own household or from his parivar group to the person concerned. If a married woman goes away to any other person leaving her husband, it is dealt with more severely by the panchayat. The Gadulia Lohar say that it is customary among them to impose a fine of Rs 5,000 on such persons and demand another girl for the person whose woman has run away. Such cases do happen but their solution is not quite so easy, as is claimed and the cases linger on for several years. Mostly, indirect methods are used to bring pressure upon the person who has enticed the woman. The Gadulia Lohar generally blame the man (with whom she runs away) and not the woman in such cases. They say that without the active encouragement of the man a woman can never take such a step. The indirect methods are : putting obstacles in the betrothal of the boys of the household and parivar group of those men who have broken the caste norm, extract a very high bride-price from them, postpone the wedding of the boys of that parivar group indefinitely after their betrothal, and putting obstacles in their girls getting a high bride-price.

If a husband does not like his wife for any particular reason, he

may send her back to her parents. If she is not called back, it is understood that the husband does not care for her. He may continue to exercise his legal rights on the woman and may not allow her to be married anywhere else; if she is married again, he may demand a heavy compensation from the person who marries her. In such cases, usually a woman is married to another person with the approval of the panchayat, if she is not called back by her former husband, and, if at all, a nominal compensation is paid to the former husband. No public ceremony is observed in the second marriage of an already married woman, and no bride-price is charged; generally, such a woman is married to a widower or to a married man whose first wife is alive.

**Widow Remarriage:** Remarriage of a woman is known as *nata* among the Gadulia Lohar. Widow remarriage is practised in many castes of lower and middle range of Rajasthan and Malwa (Mathur 1959; 17). Ordinarily, the term *nata* means remarriage of a widow but remarriage of a divorcee is also included in the same term. By custom, *nata* does not involve any elaborate ritual, the ceremony is brief and private. This is so, perhaps, because, according to the religious faith, a woman can be given as a ritual gift only once in her life. Hence, a second marriage for a woman is considered only a working arrangement and not a religious sacrament. However, if a widower is to marry an unmarried girl, the marriage is properly solemnised. The colloquial term *baithna* for widow marriage truly represents the sense in which remarriage of a widow is understood by the Gadulia Lohar. *Baithna* in the literal sense means 'to sit', but it is understood to signify the fact that a woman has left her house and has gone to another man's house whom she accepts as her husband. This is what actually happens in *nata* in which all through the proceedings a discreet quietness is maintained. If everything else has been settled on a previously appointed day, the woman quietly leaves her natal or deceased husband's household and joins the household of her new husband. There, the first task which she does on her own initiative is to cook food which suggests that she has assumed the responsibilities of the household, and the acceptance of food cooked by her means that the members of the household which she has joined have given recognition and approval to the arrangement.

Acquiring a woman through marriage involves considerable expenditure among the Gadulia Lohar and the woman is treated as a household asset. Therefore, on her widowhood, the Gadulia Lohar try to keep her in the household and this, perhaps, has given rise to the approval of the custom of levirate, junior or senior; the former is more popular. If, for certain reasons the marriage of a widow is not found feasible with any of the brothers of the deceased man, attempt is made to keep her within the parivar group; a widow can be married to any of the agnatic cousins of the dead man. This is understandable because

a parivar group is closely associated with all the stages of marriage of the members of their group, particularly with the payment of bride-price.

There is, of course, a contradiction in what the Gadulia Lohar say and practise. They say that a *bhabhi* (elder brother's wife) is like one's own mother. This ideal they may have borrowed from Sanskritic Hinduism, though in many parts of India the relationship between a man and his elder brother's wife is one of joking and easy familiarities. The assertion that the elder brother's wife is like one's mother remains only an ideal. This is so, perhaps, for the reason explained earlier that acquiring a woman is difficult and involves considerable expenditure, and, therefore, they do not want her to leave the household even when she becomes a widow.

Generally, a widower or an issueless man marries a widow. No bachelor is allowed to marry a widow in the Gadulia Lohar society. The unmarried people do not have any say in the choice of their life partners but a widow's choice matters, particularly if she has children from her deceased husband. A widow with grown up children generally stays in the household of her deceased husband. If this is not found feasible and if she is young, she may return to her natal household leaving behind her children in the deceased husband's household. Widowers and issueless persons interested in marrying a widow approach her parents, and if the new relationship is found agreeable, the marriage is performed with the approval of the panchayat. This means that the parivar group of her dead husband also have given their consent to her new relationship. Ordinarily, no bride-price is taken in case of a nata. If any amount is taken, the panchayat decides what compensations may be given to the deceased husband's household.

From the foregoing description of marriage among the Gadulia Lohar it should now be possible for us to draw together some features affecting the economy of the Gadulia Lohar.

The Gadulia Lohar lack any centralised organisation which can exercise its authority, and, therefore, in spite of their several collective and individual attempts, they have not been able to check the rise in bride-price. On the contrary, it has steadily gone up. The girl-receiving people lose large sums of money while the girl-giving people gain. This makes marriage an issue which divides people, and different groups and individuals compete against each other. It is a real job for a father to find a suitable match for his son. In this process it is noted that the betrothal age of the son is inversely related to the economic condition of the parents; the higher the economic position of the parents, the lower is the age at which their sons are betrothed, and *vice versa*.

With the payment of a high bride-price, the economic condition of the parents of the boy is adversely affected for several years. They may become heavily indebted and incapable of continuing their trade

in bullocks. During the period of negotiations, the production of the household is also affected as the head of the household cannot attend to his work, and he loses many work-hours. At the same time, the marriage of a son acts as an incentive for them to work hard and produce more (*cf.* Nadel 1942; 352). As the marriage of a son and the associated expenditure on it are not unexpected, the members of a household work harder, trying to raise their income through blacksmithy and trade in bullocks.

The father of the boy loses large sums of money by way of payment of bride-price, but the father of the girl does not gain to the same extent as a huge chunk of the price money goes to the panches and other relations in providing clothes and ornaments to the daughter and in entertaining the marriage party. Therefore, the amount lost by the marriage of a son is only partly recouped by the marriage of a daughter, if there is one in the household. Those who stand to be regularly benefited are only the panches. Marriage negotiations are a steady source of income to the panches, and they grow richer and richer, a position which easily becomes institutionalised and self-perpetuating (Myrdal 1957; 11). It has been seen earlier (Chapter V) that the panches are the people who invest the maximum amount of money in the bullock trade. Their economic prosperity is an additional source of strength to their status. They also advance loans to men of their community. Among the Gadulia Lohar, it is the custom that no interest can be charged on loans advanced to their own people. Thus, the people feel all the more obliged to the person who advances the loan.

A parivar has interest in the marriage of the girls of their group as they have a share in the bride-price. The solidarity of this patrilineal kin group is further strengthened on account of their economic interests. The higher the amount of bride-price realised, the greater is their gain, and, therefore, they support the claim of the father of the girl to a heavy bride-price. On the other hand, the kinsmen of a father of the boy try to keep the amount of bride-price low as they would also need his support at the time of the marriage of their children.

*Death*: In respect of the disposal of their dead, the Gadulia Lohar follow the custom of the high caste Hindus of the region. They cremate the bodies of their dead. In case of a child's death, the corpse is buried. Though the cremation or burial is done according to the Hindu rites, the concept of pollution consequent to a death and the elaborate system of ritual purification afterwards does not prevail among the Gadulia Lohar. The chief mourner remains socially secluded for three days during which time relations and friends pay a visit and mourn the death.



Generally, a feast has to be given to the caste members on the twelfth day of the funeral or afterwards at any time within twelve years. This ceremony is known as *mosar*. Ideally, all the nine branches of the community should be called for the feast. In case of the death of an unmarried person, no *mosar* is performed; only unmarried girls and boys are invited for a small feast in such cases.

Among other castes *mosar* involves a heavy expenditure. The Gadulia Lohar, too, would like to give a large feast, but they generally keep it a simple affair on account of their economic condition and nomadic way of life. Only the members present in the camp, and a few relatives from the nearby camps are invited. However, the Gadulia Lohar believe that the ceremony cannot be ignored as the soul of the dead does not remain in peace till such a feast is given. If it is delayed inordinately, the soul starts showing itself in dreams. If, in spite of that, it is delayed further, they think that they (the survivors) would come to some harm. The *mosar* feast generally consists of *lapsi* or *sheera* (sweet wheat gruel), *puri* and *sev*.

*Ritual Beliefs and Festivals*: "These ideas are not the monopoly of the learned; they are shared in great measure by the man in the street. If you talk to a fairly intelligent Hindu peasant about the *paramatma*, *karma*, *maya*, *mukti*, and so forth, you will find, as soon as he has got over his surprise at your interest in such matters, that the terms are familiar to him and that he has formed a rough working theory of their bearing upon his own future" (Risley 1915; 244). This observation of Risley is equally true for the Gadulia Lohar. Some of the Gadulia Lohar take great interest in philosophical discussions relating to birth, life, death, and life after death. This knowledge is transmitted to them in the process of growing up and through the popular media of devotional songs, talks and lectures by seers and saints, and religious narratives (*cf.* Mathur 1964; 78). However, on account of their nomadic life and doubtful caste status, their belief in the gods and goddesses of the greater tradition of Hindu pantheon is not apparent.

They believe more in the deities of the little tradition, commonly worshipped and more particularly by the lower castes of the region. The various deities they worship are Kalka Mata, Sitla Mata, Bhairon, Goga, Teja, Ram Deo and Pabu. The shrines of these deities are situated at different places. A few of the more religious minded Gadulia Lohar maintain in their carts pictures of some of the popular deities and paraphernalia of *puja*. Their *gari* are said to be more important for this reason than ordinary carts.

Each of the deities mentioned above is associated with a particular kind of good it can bring about or calamity it can ward off. As such, these deities are generally worshipped only when such a contingency has arrived. For example, Sitla Mata is worshipped when some one is suff-

ering from smallpox. Offerings to Teja or Goga are made when someone is bitten by a snake. Bhairon is worshipped on important domestic occasions, such as, birth and marriage, and also for warding off personal evils. Their priests are known as Bhopa and one of the essential qualities of a Bhopa of these deities is that he gets possessed by the deity. I shall give here two cases to show their faith in the local deities.

(1) Tulsi was suffering from some chronic pain in chest. He approached Chuna's mother who maintained a shrine of Bhairon. Tulsi brought some five items required by Chuna's mother and five annas (31 P). On a Sunday night, she sat before a burning lamp and was soon possessed by the deity. In the state of trance, she indicated why Tulsi was suffering and what he had to do to ward off that evil. Tulsi followed the advice and was completely cured.

(2) Shankar suspected that he was bitten by a snake. He was taken to the shrine of Teja near Bhilwara. He was presumably cured of the bite and he promised that if nothing happened to him, he would come back again in the next year and make his offerings. When he came back to Gangrar next season, he paid a visit to that shrine and offered one *bhala* (spear), one *chimta* (a pair of iron tongs), one *dhupanna* (earthen incense bowl), and sweets worth rupees five. He also fed pigeons at the shrine with grains which is considered to be a pious and charitable act.

The Gadulia Lohar also take recourse to sorcery and witchcraft to cure diseases or to inflict injuries on others. In this context it may also be mentioned here that they have not remained aloof from the religious preachings of the various saints, such as Ram Deo, Kabir and Meera.

The Gadulia Lohar profess to observe all the important Hindu festivals, such as Dasha Mata (in March/April), Akha Teej (in April/May), Gyaras (in August/September), Nav Ratra (in September/October), Sankrant (in September), Deewali (in October/November) and Holi (in February/March). In reality, they know little about these festivals and do little to celebrate them in accordance with the procedure laid down in the great tradition of Hinduism. As most of these festivals coincide with the seasonal events, farming and the like (Mathur 1964; 169), and mark the change of the season both of which are important for the Gadulia Lohar in organising their movements and work, they remember to observe these festivals.

*Other Contingencies—Travel*: Quite often, the Gadulia Lohar have to go out of their camps leaving behind their carts and other members of the household for one reason or other. This individual movement is besides their collective movement which has been discussed earlier. These movements have a definite bearing on their economy which not only entails absence from their work for the number of days they are

out from the camp but also involves travel expenses. Most of such journeys are performed by rail or bus.

Of the thirtyfour households at Gangrar camp, people from thirty households went out for various reasons. The reasons for going out were varied, such as paying visits to close relatives whom it would be difficult to contact during the work-season, fetching one's wife from her parent's house, accompanying a newly married girl to her parents' place, and visiting the places of ritual importance to fulfil the promises which they had made earlier. There were other jobs, too, like fetching fodder for their cattle from nearby villages, purchasing scrap iron, reed shades, clothes and ornaments for boys and girls to be married from places like Bhilwara and Chittorgarh. Chuna went out to village Juthavad, about fiftyfive miles from Gangrar, to inquire about the cart which he had ordered a carpenter to make for him. Girdhari came all the way from Beawar to have religious discourses with Jay Ram, Khema, and others. These journeys are besides those which they had to make in connection with the negotiation of marriages. The expenses on these journeys vary in accordance with the distances they had to cover.

To sum up, there are various events from birth to death which a Gadulia lohar observes according to the ideas and norms of his community and thus maintains his relations. The scope for radical opposition to the norms of the society of the Gadulia Lohar is greatly reduced on account of the closely knit structure of their society. However, observing those norms is a cultural need, and in doing so they have to incur a substantial expenditure. These expenditures are not so regular as those on food, shelter and personal care but at the same time are not entirely unexpected. Of these, marriage and establishment of a separate household for a son are the most important events both from the point of view of social relationships and of economy which are vital in their own right but are also closely related. It is the constant worry of a father to find a mate for his son, and in doing so he foregoes his own leisure and makes careful planning of work and saving. In this respect, bride-price may be said to provide stimulus for more production. But the same system of bride-price strengthens the institution of panchayat and makes the panches powerful. While the panches maintain a balance of power among themselves, the stimulus for more production generated from bride-price fails to raise their wealth.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CAPITAL, OWNERSHIP, AND INHERITANCE PATTERN

In the previous chapters, I have discussed the economic goods needed by and produced by the Gadulia Lohar. In this chapter, I shall discuss the capital goods in the economy of the Gadulia Lohar, their value in terms of money, ownership of the producer goods and non-producer goods and the pattern of inheritance.

The productive activities of men are directed towards one of the two ends of the economic process; first is the production of goods which are directly used for the satisfaction of human wants, generally referred to as consumer goods; second is the production of goods which are not used directly for the satisfaction of human wants but are used as an adjunct to production activity, called capital or production goods. Whatever definitions may be given to the 'consumer' and 'production' goods, they cannot be put into fixed categories, specially in case of simpler societies. Often a particular good may serve both the ends; for example, the bullock cart of the Gadulia Lohar serves as a living place and also as a means of transport for their work and trade. Therefore, the function of a particular good at a point of time alone should decide whether it is a consumer or a production good.

In Chapter V, I have given an account of the blacksmithy tools as the equipment in the technological process of production of these people. These blacksmithy tools are fixed capital for the Gadulia Lohar. In addition to this, a bullock cart and a pair of bullocks may also be considered as fixed capital. Then, there is liquid capital in the form of money which flows through many types of transactions. At any one time, a Gadulia Lohar has a range of choices to dispose of the liquid capital which he possesses. He may also hoard the liquid capital in the form of money or ornaments. In fact, a Gadulia Lohar rarely keeps large sums of money in his possession. He generally converts it into ornaments. This he does because he thinks that his earnings are more secure in the form of ornaments. Moreover, ornaments have other attractions as well, such as adornment of the body and prestige for the owner. A Gadulia Lohar may spend his liquid capital for some specific consumption purpose, such as the betrothal of his son, setting up of the household of his son to be married or entertainments on the occasions of the marriage of his daughter. Alternatively, he may add a bullock cart for his growing household. Again, in order to increase his capital,

he may invest the amount in the trade of bullocks, of course with calculated risk.

Whatever a Gadulia Lohar may do with his capital, he exercises his judgement according to the values of the society in disposing it off. In bullock trading, the distinction of the return of the capital expenditure and the profit accruing from it are quite clear, but in case of blacksmithy, the return of the capital is merged with that of labour (*cf.* Firth 1946; 128). This particular point has been well elaborated by Herskovits and is of direct interest in the study of the Gadulia Lohar's economy. He writes, "When the iron worker uses bellows, hammer and anvil on which he has lavished hours of labour, is his gain from the goods he produces to be regarded as a return on capitalised investment, or a reward for labour" (1952; 304). The question raised by Herskovits is of theoretical interest and demonstrates that all the concepts and terms of 'formal' economics do not have the same meaning when applied to the simpler societies. However, in reference to the question raised by Herskovits, it could be said that among the Gadulia Lohar it is the labour in blacksmith work which is rewarded. In fact, a Gadulia Lohar himself does not make any capital investment on blacksmithy tools and bullock cart which he uses. Major blacksmithy tools and a bullock cart with a pair of bullocks to ply it are gifted to him by his father to establish his independent household. In his own life, he does not seek to multiply blacksmithy tools except by way of adding a few which he did not receive from his father or replacing those items which are worn out. However, he has to make provision of blacksmithy tools, a bullock cart and a pair of bullocks for each of his sons<sup>1</sup> in the same way as was made by his father for him. Thus, the capital investment by the Gadulia Lohar on producer goods, viz., blacksmithy tools, bullocks, carts and bullocks for the carts, has to be seen as a process in the life cycle of a household bound by traditions of the community and not by economic goals alone.

The procedure, according to which the Gadulia Lohars do their blacksmith work, also does not entail capital expenditure on raw material as they generally get iron and fuel from the customers. Since, in any case, the Gadulia Lohar make capital investment on the productive equipment of blacksmithy tools, bullock carts (for the use of their sons) and other items, some idea may be given of the volume of their investment on such goods.

*Volume of Investment:* The productive goods of the Gadulia Lohar consist of all blacksmithy tools, bullocks and bullock carts (considering bullock carts as productive goods). Besides these goods, the

1. The situation, as earlier explained, is that the youngest son in a Gadulia Lohar household stays with his father and eventually inherits his paternal property; elder brothers do not get any share in it. Thus, while a father makes provision of a cart and tools for each of his sons, the youngest son is excluded.

Gadulia Lohar possess another category of goods in the form of ornaments which are only indirectly involved in the economic processes. I have already explained their function, the values the Gadulia Lohar attach to them and the amount of ornaments possessed by each household, I shall briefly discuss them under ownership.

A Gadulia Lohar household possesses only one set of blacksmithy tools. The leather bags of the bellows, its iron tubes and bullock carts they buy from the market; the rest of the iron tools required by them for blacksmith operations are made by themselves. They incur cash investment in buying iron and fuel for making major blacksmithy tools, such as anvils and hammers. The iron for the rest of the tools they generally do not buy but use scrap iron which they collect during the course of their movement and work for their customers. I have already explained (*see* Chapter V) how readily these people co-operate with each other in making tools for their own use. Therefore, whatever extra hands or specialist services are required for a job of making blacksmith tools are obtained without incurring any capital investment on their part. Such co-operation is based on the principle of reciprocity and mutual help. Thus, whatever capital investment is made by the Gadulia Lohar on the equipment of blacksmithy tools is only in buying raw material and fuel from market for major tools. This investment on raw material and fuel is spread over a number of years as a Gadulia Lohar does not make all the tools at one time. He gets them made gradually and often fuel is also saved by carrying out the work either on somebody else's forge or when he is doing some work for his customers.

In Table 20 is given a schedule of the blacksmithy equipment which a Gadulia Lohar household possesses with an estimated amount of capital investment on those items for which they purchase raw material or purchase the item ready-made from the market. The calculations are based upon the current prices of the raw materials and fuel. It may be pointed out here that theoretically there may be a resale value of the various capital goods possessed by the Gadulia Lohar, but in practice they are never sold; they are either inherited or gifted.

Thus, a Gadulia Lohar household makes a capital investment of approximately Rs 110 towards the equipment of one set of blacksmithy tools. A bullock cart<sup>2</sup> and a pair of bullocks to ply it cost about Rs 1,050 (Rs 900 for a gari and Rs 150 for a pair of bullocks). Both the bullock carts and the major blacksmithy tools last for more than fifty years, and during his lifetime, generally a Gadulia Lohar does not have to replace them. To sum up, the total capital invested by a Gadulia Lohar household on bullock carts, a pair of bullocks to ply it, and blacksmithy tools is about Rs 1,160. These estimates are only ap-

2. The immediate purpose for further addition of bullock carts by the head of the household is to provide accommodation to the additional members on account of the enlargement of the household, later the same carts may be given to the sons. Thus, secondary carts may be treated as consumption goods.

proximate, and they constitute fixed capital investment by a Gadulia Lohar household.

TABLE 20

## BLACKSMITHY TOOLS OF AN AVERAGE GADULIA LOHAR HOUSEHOLD

Item	Number per household	Value (in Rs)
1. Anvil (two types, eklai and eran)	2	44
2. Hammer (ghan)	3	10
3. Hammer (hathora)	2	4
*4. Gripping tools (sandasi)	5	2
*5. Cutting tools (cheni)	2	1
*6. Borer (bedan & paletan)	2	1
*7. Levelling (two types; chanp)	2	1
*8. Poker (char)	1	0.50
*9. Lever (kutta)	2	2.50
10. Iron tubes (naria; purchased from market)	2	5
11. Nozzle (naria)	20	—
12. Leather bag (dhor; purchased from leather worker)	1	40
TOTAL		111

As regards investment on bullocks for trading, the capital investment is rolling<sup>3</sup>. The investment is not fixed, and it varies according to the economic position of the individual household. Effort is made to soon recover the amount invested in the purchase of bullocks by selling the animal in weekly cattle markets, in fairs and in villages. The amount recovered is reinvested on bullocks or on other social and economic matters as the case may be. A Gadulia Lohar is never interested in maintaining bullocks with him for too long because of the obvious difficulty of providing fodder to the animal. The Gadulia Lohar, for the same reason, dispose off all the bullocks meant for trading before they reach their summer camps. In Chapter V, I have described the pattern of bullock trading and the various difficulties in arriving at the actual capital investment on bullocks by the Gadulia Lohar. The various socio-cultural practices of the Gadulia Lohar affect or augment their capacity of investment. However, on the basis of the samples of bullock trading given in Chapter V, an approximate idea can be formed of their capital investment on bullocks.

It may be noted that maximum capital investment made by any Gadulia Lohar at one time in the weekly markets (*see* Table 12) was

\*Generally the Gadulia Lohar do not purchase iron and fuel for making these tools. Moreover, they make these things during their leisure on the forge in which some other major work is being carried out. However, an intrinsic value of these items is given here.

3. I have used the term 'rolling' in opposition to the term 'fixed' capital.



Rs 380 on three bullocks, the minimum being Rs 50 on one bullock. The average capital investment by a Gadulia Lohar household in bullock trading season per market comes to Rs 50. In case of Rampura fair, for which the Gadulia Lohar made preparations about three weeks in advance (in conserving their capital and making maximum investment on bullocks), the maximum capital investment by a Gadulia Lohar was Rs 645 (in purchasing six bullocks) the minimum being Rs 50 (see Table 13). The average capital investment on bullocks for the period of Rampura fair (1963) works out at Rs 215 per household.

*Ownership and Inheritance Pattern* : So far I have discussed the various processes of production and distribution among the Gadulia Lohar. Now I shall come to the problems of ownership and inheritance among the Gadulia Lohar. Property, from the point of view of formal economics, is too static a phenomenon and it is generally taken for granted. Economists are more concerned with the economic processes as they may reveal economic laws. However, the social anthropologist's interest in property is on account of its association with social structure under which it exists.\* In simpler societies, it is clearly indicated that the economic institutions are the end result of socio-economic processes. For example, a Gadulia Lohar buys ornaments for his wife to raise his prestige and the wealth of the household with his hard earned money through blacksmithy, instead of investing the amount on some productive enterprises. Knight lays stress on the point that while processes must be studied, their real importance lies in comprehending those institutions that develop out of their operations (1924; 258-60). Lowie writes : "Notions of property tinge every phase of social life" (1949; 195), Herskovits points out the reasons for the emphasis given by the anthropologists on the factors which least interest the majority of economists who have treated property. He writes : "The forms which social definitions of property may take are so manifold, the bases on which ownership of wealth may be sanctioned are so varied, and the modes of ordaining the use of property are so different that the description of the fact is essential if we are to be provided with a setting that will enable us to see the institution in its proper perspective" (1952; 315). Thus, the importance of property and ownership in the study of the economics of a group of people by social anthropologists is generally realised, particularly in case of simple societies.

Property has been variously defined. In the broadest sense, property is to be conceived in terms of control of man over things. Property is not wealth or possessions, but the right to control, to exploit, to use or enjoy the wealth or possessions (MacIver 1945; 18). This brings us to the problem of the socially recognised processes through which the rights on property are acquired, exercised and transmitted.

Now I shall examine this among the Gadulia Lohar. Earlier, I.

have given in detail the volume of producer and consumer goods possessed by the Gadulia Lohar household and their value in terms of money. Though the Gadulia Lohar household is the basic unit of production and consumption, ownership of the various articles of their equipment is rather individualistic. The head of the household has the over-all economic say and responsibility, but, in practice, all the members of the household share his responsibility. In collaboration with other members of the household he takes all the decisions in economic matters. The income accruing from the productive activities of all the members of the household goes to the head of the household. He exercises his right in spending the amount thus gained in meeting the various domestic, ceremonial and ritual needs of the household.

*Capital Goods* : The head of the household owns all the production goods of the household, most of which he has either received as gift from his father or inherited on his death<sup>4</sup>. The Gadulia Lohar practise ultimogeniture (cf. Piddington 1960; 118). As the sons grow up, they leave the parental household, and set up their own independent households. The father provides a set of blacksmithy tools, a bullock cart and a pair of bullocks to ply it for each of his sons separating from his household. The youngest son remains with the parents and looks after them. On the death of the father, the youngest son inherits all the producer and non-producer goods of his father. The explanation put forth by Frazer (1918, Vol. 1 quoted by Leach 1954; 260) of ultimogeniture and found to be useful among the Kachins of Burma by Leach (1954; 260) is also applicable in the case of the Gadulia Lohar. During the lifetime of a man, generally all his elder sons are married and are provided with household equipment. Only the youngest son remains to be provided with all the necessary equipment for running an independent household. This way, not only each of the sons gets an equitable share in the property of his father, but the parents are also ensured of care in their old age by their youngest son. In case the father dies before independent households of elder sons have been set up, the eldest son takes over the charge of the entire household and assumes all the economic responsibilities of his father. It then becomes his responsibility to make provision for his own independent household and that of his younger brothers leaving the entire possessions of his dead father for the youngest brother. Alternatively, he makes provision for an independent household for himself, leaving his father's possessions in the care of his widow mother. Under no circumstances is he allowed to appropriate for himself his father's property and push out his younger brothers. The households

4. As has been stated earlier, on the death of a man, his widow may decide not to remarry but stay on in his dead husband's household, particularly if her children are too young. In such a case, she becomes the *de facto* head of the household and its goods, and she actually acts as trustee for her sons.

separating from the natal household are morally bound to help their father in clearing off his debts, if any, on account of the marriage of the sons or in providing equipment for the sons' households. A father has the right to demand such help from his sons. At times there might be complications and feuds on such issues developing on account of social relationship among the various members of the household. To elucidate this point, I may cite here a case which was referred to the panchayat.

Pyara had spent about Rs 2,000 for the marriage of his son. They were living together in the same household after the marriage of the son, but the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law could not pull on well together. A year after the marriage, the daughter-in-law went to her father's place and then refused to come back till her husband started living separately. The boy's father, Pyara, took the stand that he had taken a loan for the marriage of his son and till it was cleared, he would not allow his son to get separated. His other sons were too young to give him support in his economic activities. The married son was also not mature enough to run his household independently. He also needed his father's support in his economic activities. The panchayat favoured the father's stand and they asked the father of the girl to send her to her affines, failing which, it decreed that the girls married in the household of the father of the girl and his parivar group would not be allowed to join their husbands.

It may be noted here that though the custom provides that sons should be given all the equipments required for establishing an independent household, they are morally bound to help their father clear off any debts which might have been taken towards their marriage and provision of equipment of their households. These issues often become complicated on account of personal relationships among different members of the household. Thus, the ownership of the various equipment acquired by gifts and inheritance is accompanied by reciprocal behaviour on the part of the recipients and this understanding is clearly recognised by the community.

*Consumer Goods* : In Chapter VI, I have given a detailed description and volume of the various consumer goods and ornaments possessed by a Gadulia Lohar household. Except ornaments, most of the consumer goods possessed by the Gadulia Lohar do not have a resale value. However, the head of the household owns and exercises his right on all those articles of the household which are commonly used by members of the household. These commonly used goods, such as cooking utensils, stone grinders, reed shades and poles, are bought out of the income from the various economic activities of the household, and it belongs to the head of the household. On the other hand, the Gadulia Lohar recognise the right of use on the articles which are individually used by the members of the household, though they may be

bought out of the income of the household. These articles, such as clothes and ornaments, however, cannot be parted or disposed off without the consent of the head of the household. The clothes and ornaments gifted to children remain the property of the father, till the marriage of the children; after that they have full rights if they continue to possess them. The clothes and ornaments given to a woman at the time of her marriage belong to her. Her husband does not have any rights on them. In times of economic stress, though, she may allow her husband to dispose them off to meet the contingency for the well-being of the household, thus stressing the solidarity and sharing-in of the economic responsibility of the household.

A woman has only the right of use on clothes and ornaments gifted to her by her husband. She is not authorised to gift or otherwise dispose off them. This situation often leads to disputes when a woman deserts her husband. The husband demands the return of all the clothes and ornaments (mainly ornaments) which he or his father had given her, while women are generally reluctant to part with the ornaments which had been gifted to them and which they have been using for sometime.

Ordinarily, a daughter has no share in the property of her natal household except what she receives as gifts from her parents. In the absence of any male issue, and if no male child is adopted, a daughter may inherit all the property of her parents. In widowhood, a woman has the choice of returning to her natal household. Generally, a young widow returns to her natal household, but she is remarried soon. A widow with grown up children may stay in the household of her deceased husband, and there she is looked after by her youngest son. In case a widow decides to remarry, she loses all her rights on the household property of her deceased husband. In the absence of any issues, the property of a man, on his death, is generally inherited by his eldest brother or by the eldest brother's son.

To sum up, the investment of the Gadulia Lohar on capital goods has to be seen as a process bound by tradition and social relationships, and not merely by economic motives. A father is obliged to provide major capital goods to his son, emphasising the kinship obligations in the economic activities. In a wider sense, this provision of capital goods to the son is made possible only with the co-operation of all the members of the household in the economic activities, thus enabling the head of the household to make the investment out of the income accruing from their joint efforts. The capital investment on productive equipment of blacksmithy is low on account of their knowledge of technology and supply of free labour of the fellowmen. Labour of the fellowmen in making tools of their own use is not valued in terms of money, but it has to be reciprocated in similar terms. A Gadulia Lohar has a range of choices to dispose of his liquid capital, but here

also various socio-cultural practices of betrothal, marriage, death, ceremonies and demands of ornaments he has to keep in view before making the investment on productive enterprises.

The eldest male member of the household, who is generally the head of the household, controls most of the producer and consumer goods. All the income accruing through the economic activities of the household goes to him. In his turn, it is his responsibility to provide for equipment for all his sons. The rule of ultimogeniture ensures an equitable share to all male siblings.

## CHAPTER IX

### POLITICAL ORGANISATION

We have seen in Chapter VII how closely the panchayat among the Gadulia Lohar is associated with their marriage and, consequently, with their economy. Marriage is one of the issues which activates people to compete against each other and to influence the decisions of their panchayat in accordance with their own interest. These decisions have economic bearings of vital importance. Thus, it is necessary to discuss in some detail the panchayat organisation and its effects on the economy of the Gadulia Lohar.

The nomadic Gadulia Lohar are politically an isolated population. They have remained outside the pale of the local and regional politics. Before the merger of the princely states in the Indian Union (1948), the area of movement of the nomadic Gadulia Lohar fell under the jurisdiction of several former princely states. Since they were a moving population, they were subjects of no state<sup>1</sup>.

Even today they are not very well aware of what political changes have taken place in the country. They are not aware of their rights as citizens of an independent and democratic state nor do they realise the importance of adult franchise. With great intent they hear from their customers about the present democratic government, its officials and the political leaders, but that has brought hardly any change in their traditional values about the ruler and the ruled. Their interest in the present democratic government was aroused in 1955 at the time of the Gadulia Lohar convention when some of the top political leaders of the country and various officials of the state government made contacts with them. These contacts, however, were not followed up and thus they could not bring about any lasting effect on them. Whatever they hear and learn about the present political set up of the country, they try to fit their traditional ideas of feudal system in to it. For instance, they always referred to the present democratic Government of India as 'Delli Raj' (Delhi Kingdom) and Nehru as a great Maharaja (Emperor). They were always curious to know who was the most powerful 'Raja' among Sukhadia (then Chief Minister of Rajasthan State), Nehru (Prime Minister of India) and Rajendra Prasad (President of India).

Their political isolation from the local and regional politics and unimpaired traditional values are the result of their nomadic life, lack

1. Even now, to a certain extent, the same situation prevails. For example, the area of movement of the Gangrar band spreads in the present states of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Both these states have different programmes for the welfare of the nomadic populations.

of modern education and the lack of interest of political leaders and government officials in them. They have been nobody's concern. The only contact they have been having with the men of authority from time to time is with the subordinate police officials. Whatever political activity they have is confined within their own community through the institution of panchayat.

Panchayat among the Gadulia Lohar is the council<sup>2</sup> of elders. The Gadulia Lohar refer to their panchayat meetings by the term *hatai*. The members who take active part in its deliberations are known as panch. The people being non-literate it does not have any written constitution, but it operates on the basis of traditions and accepted social conventions. It does not have any rigid composition. It does not meet regularly but only when it is specifically convened to try some case or to resolve some dispute. The panchayat often meets to resolve disputes on the spot which is different in composition and sanctions from the specially convened panchayat<sup>3</sup>. For instance, if a quarrel develops in connection with a marriage feast or the distribution of income among the participating individuals on a blacksmith job, the elders present on the spot meet immediately and resolve the issue by persuasion, mobilising public opinion and threats. These methods are efficient and yield quick results for the problems arising suddenly.

Once, on the occasion of the marriage of Champa, Nathu was asked by the brother of Champa to receive the bridegroom party and bring the bridegroom on his cart from the place they were camping. One who does this service gets some money from the bridegroom's people. Before Nathu could go, Lalu a cousin of Champa, yoked his cart and brought the party to the marriage booth. Nathu became angry, and a quarrel between them broke out. The elders separated and pacified them and immediately sat down to discuss the issue. They heard both the sides. They discussed the matter for about an hour and finally decided that Lalu should not have gone when Nathu was already asked by the brother of the girl. However, since Lalu also had a right to receive the party and had already accepted the amount, it was to be shared equally by the two. Lalu accepted the decision and paid half the amount of Nathu, and the dispute was resolved.

There is no fixed quorum for panchayat neither for on-the-spot nor for the convened meetings. At an on-the-spot meeting, all the elderly men present in a camp sit down and try to resolve the case. The more prominent of them do most of the talking; the decisions even for these on-the-spot meetings are generally unanimous.

2. Mayer (1960: 122) distinguishes between committee and council. He has termed the new type of assembly as committee. The traditional assembly with fluid membership and the lack of compulsion to decide issues, he has termed as council. I have adopted the term council for the Gadulia Lohar panchayat.

3. Epstein (1962: 120-25) calls on-the-spot meetings of a few members to settle some dispute as *ad hoc* panchayat.



Convened panchayats are held with a prior notice, and it is attended by all those who are invited along with the elders and all the kin of the host present in a particular camp where the meeting is convened. The responsibility of informing the concerned panches is of the person who has called the meeting. He also meets the expenses of their travel and stay during the time the panchayat is in session.

The office of the panch is neither hereditary nor elective, instead, one is groomed to that position. The process is gradual. A person desirous of becoming a panch associates himself with one of the recognised panches and remains in his *seva* (service) till he has carved out an independent position for himself. He accompanies the panch to the panchayats.

There he learns how to argue, what to argue and how to manipulate and influence the decisions behind the scenes. With the support of the panch he accompanies, and the impressions created by him by his oratory, arguments and the way he conducts himself he gradually elevates himself to the position of a panch. A panch always tries to groom his son or one of his near agnatic male<sup>4</sup> kin to the position of the panch and, therefore, often the office of a panch remains in a family or parivar group.

Important qualifications for a successful panch, besides the support of another, is that he should be a good orator and conversationist. He should be able to talk fluently on philosophical aspects of life. He should be able to cite quickly and appropriately the sayings and couplets of the popular saints in support of his arguments. For these people, there is nothing more convincing than an argument to be supported by sayings of Meera, Kabir, Ramdeo and such other popular saints and devotees. These things not only make others readily agree with him but create impressions on them of his higher knowledge.

The panches vie with each other to acquire more knowledge from different sources. For this reason, they organise bhajan (devotional songs) parties and hear the discourses of devotees and saints and try to get their favours. Among themselves, and with outsiders, they indulge in animated discussions on such philosophical topics as life, birth, death, life after death, soul, and god. These discussions are generally competitive, and they try to show off on others their superior knowledge about these things. Once a panch brought a book on jokes of Birbal and Akbar<sup>5</sup> and asked me to read it to him. He said that these stories are very helpful in giving support to one's arguments during the discussions in panchayat.

Every branch<sup>6</sup> has several panches. Though every clan does not have a panch of its own, it has its prominent elderly men who are always

4. According to their traditions, a woman cannot be a member of the on-the-spot or specially convened Gadulia Lohar panchayat.
5. Birbal was an important minister in the court of Emperor Akbar. Popularly it is believed that Birbal was a very intelligent and shrewd man. He used to solve quickly and humourously the difficult problems put to him by Akbar. There are many popular books on the jokes between Birbal and Akbar.
6. The Gadulia Lohar are divided into nine exogamous branches (see Chapter IV).

consulted by the members of their clan in case of disputes. In case they are present at the place where a panchayat is being held, they participate in its deliberations. There are no restrictions on anyone present to speak in a meeting; everyone present has the right to debate on the issue. The members of the parivar group, the prominent men of the clan, and, to an extent, the panch belonging to the same branch are helpful in and outside the meeting in influencing, persuading and entreating the panches to favour the point-of-view of the members of their branch, clan and parivar group.

Every region has some prominent panches. They are generally not omitted in any of the panchayat meetings within their region or held outside their region but involving people of their region. They constitute, so to say, pivot of all discussions and decisions at the meetings. The final decision of the panchayat must be agreeable to them. Less known panches seek their company to get their favours, and this is of mutual advantage to both. For, howsoever, good conversationist, quick, witty and intelligent a panch may be, he cannot be successful till he has formed a group of his own supporters. This support is primarily based upon the close agnatic kin ties. In Chapter IV, it was shown that within a band there are several closely knitted subgroups which are headed by important panches. These important panches draw their strength from the members of their subgroups and support from the other panches of the band. This gives rise to group activities and factions in the meetings. In the absence of any centralised authority and a number of leading men of roughly equal social status, factions are bound to occur (*cf.* Epstein 1962; 132). However, the Gadulia Lohar do not have any permanent cleavages mainly on account of the kinship ties which cut across the faction groups.

The Gadulia Lohar say they have nine branches in their community. Ideally, all these nine branches should be represented by their panches at any convened panchayat meeting. In practice, however, this generally does not happen. A panchayat is generally composed of the members of the parivar group of the two parties, the prominent panches of the branch and of the region, and almost all the elderly men present at the place where the meeting is being held. So composed panchayat may have panches only from two or three branches only, but the decisions taken by them are considered as sacred as if taken by all the panches of the nine branches. The prominent panches take the responsibility of the decisions on behalf of all the panches of nine branches. Since, there is no standard and rigid rule for the composition of a panchayat, some adjustment is always made in it by the person and group convening the meeting, keeping the general framework as stated above.

Ideally, under the jurisdiction of the panchayat fall all the cases of deviation from the caste norms, breach of promise, disputes of all kinds, settlement of marriages, marital disputes and conflicts, grants of divorce, and, in general, the exercise of social control in the community. A

panchayat meeting generally is not held on its own. The last time it met on its own was in Chittorgarh in 1955 at the time of the Gadulia Lohar convention when many of the Gadulia Lohar from different regions had collected there. They discussed the practice of charging exorbitant amount as bride-price. It was unanimously decided that only Rs 40 should be charged as bride-price. This decision remained in practice as a dead letter and has not been followed in general. No action could be taken against those who flouted the decision of the panchayat as the panches themselves were responsible for encouraging people demand high bride-price. This bears out Nadel's statement that "the regulative effects must vary inversely with the separation of social roles, with the specialization of offices and tasks, and, implicitly, with the size of groups....." (1953; 266). On account of the nomadic life of the Gadulia Lohar, the panches are spread over a large area and, therefore, in general the panchayat does not 'sit' until someone has a cause and has taken the initiative to convene a meeting.

The one who convenes the meeting is responsible for informing the panches in advance of the venue and time of the meeting and of bringing them on the scheduled date to the meeting place; he has to bear their travelling expenses and provide food and drinks to them till they stay in connection with the meeting. This responsibility he bears since it is in his interest to convene a meeting, and not a single case is known where he backed out of discharging his conventional obligations in this respect. The fear of the panches in particular and of the community in general, should a person fail to discharge his obligations to the panches, is an important factor in preventing deviation from the convention. This in all proves to be a heavy expenditure in terms of money and time. For this reason, the role of panchayat as a watchdog of the caste norms does not become operative. This role is achieved indirectly about which I shall discuss later.

Expenditure being a deterrent in calling a meeting of panchayat, issues of deviations from caste norms have become the concern of the individual households. For example, there were two Gadulia Lohar girls who had gone astray and indulged in immoral sexual relations. Many of the Gadulia Lohar knew about this, but no hatai (panchayat meeting) was called for this breach of caste norm. The prescribed punishment for such persons and families is their excommunication from the caste. On the contrary, when I asked the Gadulia Lohar why a meeting of the panchayat was not being convened to take action against them, they said, "If the members of that household cannot correct their, daughters and sisters, who else can do nt? One of these days, they themselves would suffer for it." In this sense, the Gadulia Lohar

7. Cf. Mayer (1960; 256) for a similar case in which almost a same kind of reply was given when it was pointed out how a breach of the caste norm was being tolerated.

panchayat as an institution of social control appears to be somewhat weak. However, their statement that a person will suffer for his 'misdeeds' one day, is just not evasion of a social responsibility as it has its own realism. The first is the fear of divine retribution, and for this reason people self-regulate their activities according to the accepted norms of the society. The Gadulia Lohar believe that God punishes people for all the *pap* (sin) which they do in the present like as well as what they have done in past lives. Unnatural deaths, calamities, miseries and even economic hardships are generally associated with their past sins. Such actions as telling lies, deceiving others, indulging in immoral sexual practices, not paying one's debts and committing homicide, are all considered to be *pap*. The second is more practical and it means justice through panchayat. Though a panchayat does not meet on its own on the issues of the deviations from castes norms, but when it sits directly or indirectly, it takes up for consideration all the past actions of the concerned parties. This fear makes people conform to the norms of the society. For example, the authority vested in the panchayat to sanction marriages and to decide the amount to be paid as bride-price is a powerful one. No Gadulia Lohar marriage can be negotiated and finalised without the approval of the panchayat. This sanction in the hands of the panchayat has both social and economic implications. Though a marriage proposal is generally not rejected by the panchayat (if all the rules of exogamy are observed), a final decision may be withheld and postponed for several years causing much social and economic hardship to the concerned parties. Besides, the amount of bride-price may go up depending upon the past activities of the negotiating party and their relation with the panches. These are effective measures of social control in the hands of the panchayat. I may refer here to this aspect of a case I cited in Chapter IV to show how past actions are kept in mind in deciding the cases at hand.

Phatta was a quarrelsome man, and, as many said, he had a vile tongue. He demanded high bride-price for the betrothal of his daughter with the support of some of the members of his parivar group, though much against the wishes of the panches. He behaved stubbornly and rudely during the course of the meeting in connection with the betrothal of his daughter. The panches were annoyed with him. The negotiation for this betrothal continued for eight days, and finally Phatta was persuaded to agree to the bride-price fixed by the panchayat which was a compromise between what Phatta wanted and what the panches desired. A year later when Phatta wanted to finalise the marriage of his son Heera, the panches got the opportunity to 'set him right'. In the first two meetings no decision could be taken, and the panches went back to their respective camps. Phatta again convened a meeting after a lapse of about three months. He had to call the panches from different

camp. The meeting continued for twelve days and finally the marriage was settled at a bride-price of Rs 12. Besides the bride-price, Phatta had to incur a lot of expenditure on the travel and entertainment of the panches.

Thus, it may be noted that it is not merely the merit of the case before the panches which influences the decision of the panchayat but also the past activities of the person or group concerned. It has been said earlier that ideally the jurisdiction of the panchayat is over a wide field, but, in practice, generally the cases concerning betrothal, marriage, divorce, widow remarriage are brought before the panchayat. This is so for the following reasons :

(1) the cases relating to a woman have economic imperatives on account of the system of bride-price ;

(2) the concerned parties themselves bring the cases before the panchayat and bear the entire expenses ; and

(3) the panches themselves are interested in these cases as they also have a share in the amount of the bride-price and the money they get from the party which invites them. Even those cases which, in the beginning, do not have any connection with the issue of marriage, eventually are connected with it. It is difficult to talk to a Gadulia Lohar about his panchayat without getting involved in the various issues connected with marriage. The case of Sitaram and Ratan (the entire case is given in Appendix 4) concerning the death of Sitaram's brother by *muth* (black magic), was converted into a marriage issue ; it became a live issue of the marriage of Sitaram with Ratan's sister.

The aim of the panchayat is to reach a general consensus over the verdict and, if not, the meeting continues or breaks. It is difficult to arrive at a consensus on an issue on account of vested interests of the panches. Outwardly, the panches may give an appearance of impartiality, but their attitude is definitely partisan. Their interests are divided on account of kin ties and the money they have quietly taken from one or the other party. The Gadulia Lohar themselves say that their panches are like 'vakils' of the Indian courts. During the period of meeting, the convening party is supposed to take good care of the panches they have invited, and that is the time when panches try to extract as much money from them as possible. It is said that when the amount is not easily forthcoming from the concerned party, they enter in league with the Kalar (liquor trader) who charges for more liquor than that actually supplied to the guests. Later on, excess money realised by the Kalar is shared among the panches involved in the league, of course, after paying due commission to the Kalar for his co-operation. Certainly, these aspects are exaggerated by the aggrieved parties.

8. The Gadulia Lohar think that the motive of the vakils is to extract as much money from their clients as possible. A client has no option but to pay a vakil whatever he can.

A panchayat meeting starts only when the people who have called the meeting have made several requests to the panchaes to assemble and discuss the matter. At that time, panches give an impression as if they are not at all interested in the meeting though they talk in general about the matter for which they have assembled and acquaint themselves with its various aspects. All those who participate in the meeting squat on the ground in a ring. There is no order of sitting, and everybody is free to express his opinion at any time. In the beginning, the conversation is never direct, and it seems that the talks have no relevance to the main topic. The arguments and suggestions remain concealed in popular stories, saying of great people, riddles and couplets. The important panches reserve their opinions and talk without committing themselves to any side. It is only when the deliberations in a meeting have warmed up a little that the issues become clear. Often, a meeting peters out in the middle, but it is understood that they will meet again. There is never any formal adjournment or postponement. A meeting may continue for days together, meeting several times a day, and, in spite of that, it is quite likely that they may not be able to find a unanimity of opinion. The interludes between meetings are utilised by the panches to know the trend of each other's mind and in manipulating the decisions. The talks outside the meetings are more important. In the meetings, particularly important panches do not talk clearly till a decision has already been reached outside. To find out a solution agreeable to all is, though, a slow process and requires considerable capacity for manipulation and persuasion behind the scene. When a verdict—of course, agreeable to all concerned—is reached, one of the panches announces it and they immediately get up. If the case was regarding the payment of bride-price, the amount is paid in the presence of the panches who act as witnesses. The panches get their share, and those who had come from other places arrange to leave for their respective camps. The effective manipulation and argumentation by a panch not only raises his prestige but also his wealth.

The more a panch becomes popular, the more people seek his help in resolving their cases. Thus, with each case he adds more to his wealth which in turn adds to his social status. In other words, the power of effective manipulation, social status and the economic position of a panch are interdependent factors, one influencing the other. It has been shown earlier that the panches are the people who made maximum investment in bullock trading and on the purchase of ornaments. Thus, in order to raise their prestige and wealth the panches compete with each other and try to get the support of as many people as possible.

The decision of the panchayat is binding on all concern and ordinarily it is not flouted. The panchayat has been sanctioned to excommunicate a person or group who dares to flout its decision. This sanction of excommunication proves to be more effective as a threat rather than in its application which is difficult to achieve on account of kin ties, vested



interests of the panches within the panchayat, and, in general, their nomadic life. So far whosoever had been actually excommunicated (there were only a very few cases) was taken back in the community. The person concerned either abided by the decision of the panchayat or paid some penalty. However, there are a few instances where the decision of the panchayat was deliberately flouted (see Ratan and Sitaram's case in Appendix 4). The panchayat does not have any means to make such people conform to the decision of the panchayat immediately. They know that in the long run such people will have to come down to their knees but immediately they cannot do much. For, one day he or his close agnatic kin will have to seek the help of the panchayat regarding the marriage of their children. This means waiting for such a situation to come. Or at times, the Gadulia Lohar think of setting the person right by seeking the help of police—an external authority. They think that if they collectively give evidence against the person or group flouting the panchayat decision before the police authorities, it will yield the results they want.

The Gadulia Lohar, in general, are afraid of police and do not want to get involved with the force. It is considered to be a matter of shame even to be interrogated by the police. Therefore, this threat that the panches would collectively go to the police authorities and file complaint against the person or the group who flouts the decision of the panchayats, sometime works. The truth is that even the panches dare not go to the police authorities.

Epstein in her study of two villages of Mysore State observes that in the village where economic diversification had not taken place, the indigenous political system was largely unaffected. Further, she points out that in the village where traditional economy continued, the access to external political authority reaffirmed, rather than weakened, the indigenous political system and induced panchayat to solve disputes quickly to prevent their being taken to police or courts of law (1961: 122). Applying her these to the nomadic Gadulia Lohars we find that the political system of these people has largely remained unaffected not only because of the lack of diversification of their economy but for other reasons, too. The economic position of the panches is strengthened by their position in the panchayat, and thus they continue to be the most prosperous persons of the community. The panchayat being a source of income to the panches, they are interested in its persistence. Socially, panchayat is an important institution which no Gadulia Lohar can by-pass, as it has the authority to sanction their marriages. This sanction, again, has economic implications on account of the custom of bride-price which ultimately makes the panchayat still more powerful and gives it strength to exercise social control in general. In addition to this, their nomadic way of life entails unity and co-operation among them which is a necessity. An important corollary of this is that each nomadic Gadulia Lohar band is a closely knit kin group. Any deviation from the caste



norms would mean breaking social relations. For these reasons, the political system of the nomadic Gadulia Lohar remains unaffected. In contrast to this, it will be seen later that the panchayat of the settled Gadulia Lohar has become considerably weak. Among these (settled Gadulia Lohar), the position of the traditional panches is becoming incompatible *vis-a-vis* the emerging new leadership of young men who have taken a radical step of deviating from the traditional economy as a result of which there has been redistribution of the wealth in the community. As they have given up their nomadic life, that sense of unity and co-operation which is marked among the nomads is also not seen. To an extent the degree of dependence upon neighbours and contemporaries has also diminished among them as a result of the increased range of relations (Wilson and Wilson 1954; 26).

However, coming to the second part of Epstein's observation, my feeling is that she has gone only half way to explain the situation. It is not merely the existence of and access to the outside political authority that reaffirms the indigenous political system and induces the panchayat to solve the disputes and prevent them from being referred to the outside political authority. The more vital question which has perhaps been missed by Epstein is why people do not go to the court or police to get justice? Epstein says only about what the panchayat consciously (or unconsciously) does to prevent people from going to an outside political authority, but there is more to it. The nomadic Gadulia Lohar do not approach outside political authority to get their issues solved, because, firstly, they are afraid of it, and they are uncertain of the outcome. They know very well that if a matter is reported to the police or a court of law, they would lose all control over the case, and it will be decided strictly according to rules of the external political authority. In their own system, a decision is generally in the nature of a compromise between the parties concerned, unanimously agreed upon by all. Close kin of the parties play a vital role in the deliberations of the panchayat and in reaching the final decision. In the Gadulia Lohar panchayat, the decisions are based upon the merit of the case as well as the past actions of the parties concerned. An external political authority naturally is not bound by any such traditions, and the Gadulia Lohar are aware of it. In addition to this, the Gadulia Lohar consider it a matter of shame to get involved with the police in particular.

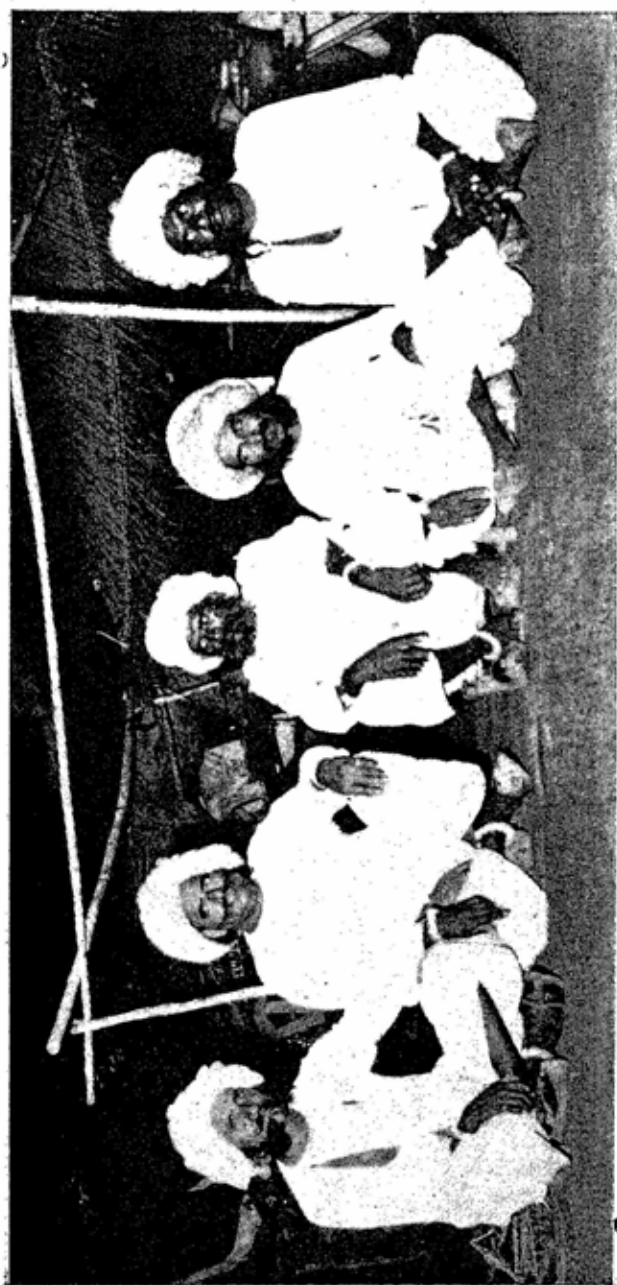
Secondly, as has been said earlier, nomadic life is based upon unity and co-operation among the members of the group. A Gadulia Lohar has to maintain his social relations and kinship ties, for he needs their co-operation in day to day life, as well as, on the occasion of marriage which is one of the most important events in the life of the Gadulia Lohar. So a Gadulia Lohar cannot get away by referring a particular case to the court of law or police against the wishes of the panches and people, in general, as he has to live in his community.

A general problem before deviants is getting of spouses, and this is exceptionally important among the Gadulia Lohar as marriage among them is settled not by themselves but by their panchayat. Thus, the fear of the repercussions refrains a Gadulia Lohar from getting redress from an external political authority in particular, and he takes care not to get involved in any situation which might deviate his behaviour from the normal.

Thirdly, going to police or a court of law would mean that a Gadulia Lohar has to stay at a place till the case is decided which a nomad would not like to do for economic and social reasons.

To sum up, the Gadulia Lohar play no role in local or regional politics, and their own traditional political system continues unimpaired. Their traditional panchayat is the institution through which the competing persons and groups try to influence the decisions. The persons competing are the panches and their groups. The issues before the panchayat are to resolve the disputes and to maintain the norms of society. In particular, the panchayat finalises betrothals and issues concerning the marriage, divorce and widow remarriage. All these issues have economic bearings on account of the system of bride-price.

This economic bearing is a source of strength to the panchayat and makes people abide by the norms of the society. In the absence of any permanent holdings and immovable property, other kinds of disputes brought to the panchayat are rare. Disputes do arise on questions of property and ownership, but they are settled through the intervention of the elders of the camp. The all powerful panchayat has many sanctions, the extreme being excommunication from the caste; but the most important sanction is concerning marriage. For this reason, even other kinds of disputes are looked from the marriage perspective.



PROMINENT PANCHES



A PANCHAYAT IN SESSION



SETTLED GADULIA LOHAR

## CHAPTER X

### THE SETTLED GADULIA LOHAR

Nomadism is a harsh and extreme form of adaptation to natural environment and historical, political and economic circumstances. The natural environment changes very slowly while the other factors are liable to frequent and quick changes, particularly in the modern world. Today, on account of 'planned development and industrialisation, the changes are more rapid than they have ever been in the history of mankind. Thus, how far a particular nomadic group is capable of surviving the rapid changes or total disappearance of one or more of the basic elements responsible for the nomadism of that group will naturally depend upon its social system. One of the effects of the various political, economic and other changes which has been marked among the various nomadic populations all the world over is 'a spontaneous tendency to settle down. Berque, writing about the transformation of the nomads in general, observes, "Before there was any question of a deliberate policy of settlement, certainly before any attempt was made to study and analyse the problem, the march of modern history had begun to press upon the nomads, and the pressure is still far greater than that exercised by any deliberate State action" (1959, Vol. XI; 490). Various factors are known to have influenced the nomads to settle down in the different parts of the world. The extension of central power or military security curbed the free movement of the nomads. The development of quick means of transport relieved them of their main economic functions. Employment opportunities offered by various engineering concerns, oil fields and urban development in general, have attracted nomads for a settled life. Besides these factors which have either restricted the free movement of nomads or attracted them for a 'sedentary' life, there has been considerable pressure by the governments of the various states to persuade the nomads to settle down. Such government actions are promoted by humanitarian, political, economic, strategic and administrative motives. Krader remarks, "We may not anticipate the disappearance of the nomads. However, the process of change in the world will have its impact on the nomads, their number and their culture" (1959, Vol. XI; 509).

In India, more particularly after Independence in 1947, all-round changes are being felt which are bound to affect the nomadic population of the country. The nomadic Gadulia Lohar are a case in point. The process of 'sedentarization' has been marked among them which is

both borne out of their own desire and initiative to settle down and deliberately initiated by the state and central governments'. This process of 'sedentarization' of the Gadulia Lohar has not progressed evenly in all the areas. Nevertheless, the 'sedentarization' of the Gadulia Lohar bears out the process which has been marked among many of the nomadic populations of the world (*see* Berque Vol. XI; 1959, Musham Vol. XI, 1959, AbouZeid Vol. XI, 1959). However, nomadism of the Gadulia Lohar of Rajasthan and Malwa is considerably different from that of the pastoralists, food gatherers and hunters. The nomadism of the Gadulia Lohar is more related to their history and larger economic system than with their natural environment. The nomadic Gadulia Lohar are a part of a much wider economy and they fulfil a complimentary economic role in the larger economy of the village. In other words, the nomadism of the Gadulia Lohar is based in such factors as are prone to rapid changes. Whether the nomadic Gadulia Lohar would accept such changes or not and, if they do, how would they incorporate it in their cultural life, are problems of considerable significance. 'Sedentarization', a process which has been noted elsewhere, is one way. Thus, the study of these Gadulia human adaptation and to find out the interrelation of the various aspects of nomadic life which change when they come to lead a 'sedentary' life. Those of the Gadulia Lohar who have settled down provide a rare opportunity to observe the same community in the other extreme form of human adaptation and to find out the inter relation of the various aspects of social life. Settled life is in complete opposition to nomadic life and is bound to bring a chain of changes. Nash writes, "The empirical way of finding casual relationship between economy and society is to study peasant and primitive societies undergoing change" (1966; 92). In this chapter, therefore, I shall discuss in brief the Gadulia Lohar who have settled in one of the areas and show what changes have come in their economy and way of life.

Beawar<sup>2</sup> (district Ajmer, Rajasthan) is one of the places where the

1. The Government of India constituted a committee headed by Sri A. A. D. Luiz to enquire about the problems of the various nomadic groups of India and to suggest the schemes for their rehabilitation and welfare. The report, however, is unpublished.

The rehabilitation and welfare of the nomads are a part of the programmes of the Social Welfare Departments of the various state governments.

There is an All-India Nomadic Association, financed by the Government of India, for rehabilitating the nomads and their welfare. There are other voluntary associations at the state government level organised for the welfare of the nomads, such as Gadi Lohar Seva Sangh, Rajasthan.

2. Beawar is the subdivisional headquarters of the district of Ajmer. It is about 52 km south of Ajmer and about 238 km north of Chittorgarh. It is a developing town and a business centre with a population of 53,931 according to the Census 1961.

The population of Beawar, according to the Census of 1872, was 9,544. It was formerly known as Naryangarh and before 1835 it was only a small village of some 30 to 40 houses close to the cantonment of Beawar on the

Gadulia Lohar were settling down on their own. This process of 'sedentarization' was accentuated by the initiative of the government in providing them the facilities to construct houses and such other help so that their settled life was stabilised. Here, then, I shall discuss the Gadulia Lohar settled at Beawar.

*Background of Settlement* : There are no records to show when the Gadulia Lohar started settling down at Beawar. The first report of their settlement is obtained from the Census 1941 (Webb 1941) according to which the settled Gadulia Lohar were found only in two states, namely, Bikaner and Marwar, which together formed 19 per cent of the total population of the Gadulia Lohar in the then Rajputana and Ajmer-Marwara. Similar figures are not available from the subsequent census reports. However, it is known that the Gadulia Lohar in Western Rajasthan started settling down more than fifty years ago, and in the recent years this tendency has been more pronounced in those areas". Webb wrote, "In Marwar and Bikaner are to be found a considerable number of Gadiya Lohars, who forsaking the road, have settled down, during the last half-century or so, and become house dwellers. Those of them who still continue the profession of blacksmiths are said to be good workmen and to be able to find ready employment in railway shops or industrial plants. Others have become farmers, watchmen and even domestic servants" (1941; 146). Besides the settled Gadulia Lohar in the region of Marwar, Bikaner and Jodhpur, there are colonies of the Gadulia Lohar at Beawar, Pushkar (Ajmer District) and Ajmer, who lead either a semi-nomadic life or have completely settled down. In these places, the Gadulia Lohar either live in bullock carts which generally are not mobile any more or in houses which have been built with the assistance of the State Government of Rajasthan. However, the same tendency of the Gadulia Lohar to lead a 'sedentary' life has not been noticed anywhere in Eastern Rajasthan or in Western Madhya Pradesh where the nomadic bands of the Gadulia Lohar are most numerous. In these areas, even the attempts made by the respective state

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site of the present town. Its position lying between Mewar and Marwar gave it a commercial advantage. Col. Dixon, the then Administrator of the administrative unit of Ajmer-Marwara, the only British pocket in Rajputana, was responsible for its development into a thriving town of commercial interest (Latouche 1875; 55).

The Gadulia Lohar, at Beawar at the time of study were distributed in six different localities. Their distribution in the town was as follows.

1. Mewari Gate	23	households
2. Sendra Road	7	"
3. Champa Nagar	20	"
4. Chand Gate	23	"
5. Suraj Pol	6	"
6. Khidki	11	"
Total	90	households

3. Unpublished report of the committee appointed by the State Government of Rajasthan in 1955 to study the question of the rehabilitation of the Gadulia Lohars.



governments to settle them have failed.

The question why the process of 'sedentarization' started among the Gadulia Lohar of Western Rajasthan cannot be answered without going into the details of the history and ecology of the area and the demand for their products. However, our interest here is not so much to discuss why the Gadulia Lohar settled down as to see what changes have occurred among those who have settled down.

The Gadulia Lohar at Beawar claim that they were there at the time when the walled town of Beawar was being built. That was sometime between the year 1835 and 1848. The population of Beawar in 1848 was estimated to be around 9,000. It seems rather improbable that the Gadulia Lohar had taken to settled life by 1848, firstly because a population of 9,000 peoples cannot sustain a large number of settled blacksmiths. Secondly, Webb writes that no settled Gadulia Lohar were reported from any state other than Bikaner (314 people) and Marwar (799) (1941; 179). Thirdly, there were still many Gadulia Lohar at Beawar who were in the various stages of settling down. At best, it could be said that a process of 'sedentarization' had started (meaning thereby that the movements of the Gadulia Lohar in the region of Beawar had become restricted) some fifty years ago (based on the information collected from the Gadulia Lohar), a process which still continues today.

Only in two of the six localities in Beawar, the Gadulia Lohar live in owned *pukka* houses, namely at Champa Nagar and Chand Gate. The number of houses constructed at each of these two places were twenty and twentythree respectively. The number of households living in these two colonies were twenty and twentythree respectively. At other places in Beawar the Gadulia Lohar live in their carts (most of them immobilised) and the small mud cottages which they have erected at those places.

The present enquiry was mainly conducted among the Gadulia Lohar living at Chand Gate and Champa Nagar colony, and the discussion which follows is of these Gadulia Lohar unless otherwise stated.

It would be useful to give a short background of how these colonies came up: The Gadulia Lohar were formerly camping outside the walled town at a place which at present is the bus stand of Beawar. The town has grown much since, and the areas outside the boundary walls of the town are now well inhabited. The Municipality of Beawar reclaimed the place where the Gadulia Lohar were camping and constructed the present bus stand. The ejected Gadulia Lohar got dispersed in small groups in the four corners of the town outside its boundary wall. In 1955, just after the Chittorgarh convention the voluntary agencies and the Social Welfare Departments of the State Government offered them the sites and facilities for constructing houses.

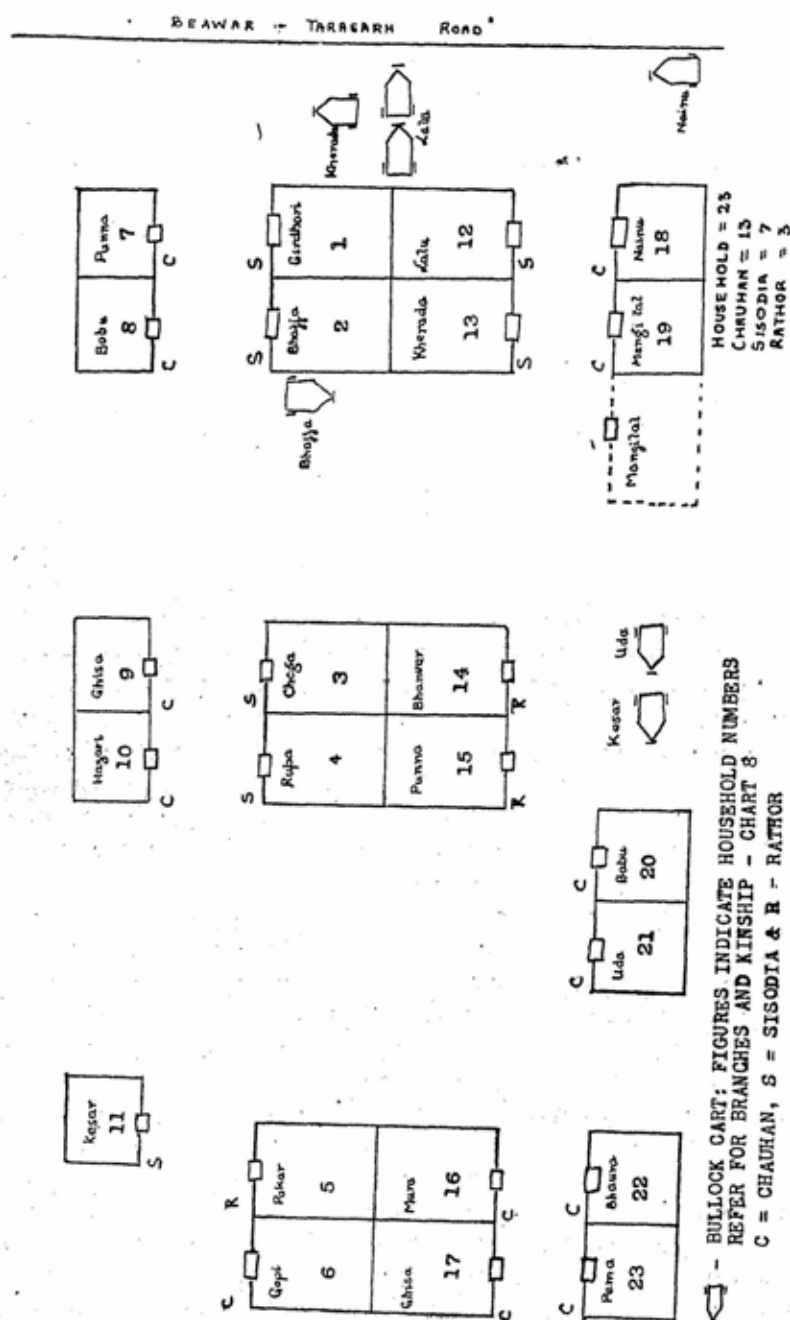
In those days the Gadulia Lohar were much suspicious about the

government schemes and did not know exactly what was the motive of the government in offering them those facilities. However, one of the enlightened leaders, Girdhari, was the first to come forward and to accept the facilities provided by the government to construct the houses. He came forward with seven other applications for grant of subsidy and award of land for constructing houses near Chand Gate, the place they were camping at after ejection. The eight applications were of Girdhari, his father, one each for his father's three brothers, his father's brother's son, his mother's brother and his mother's brother's son. On the basis of these applications state government granted the applicants, the sites and other facilities to construct houses, and the first eight houses were made near Chand Gate. Following Girdhari and his kinsmen, the Gadulia Lohar at Champa Nagar got encouraged and they also applied for the same. Eight more houses were than constructed at Champa Nagar and were occupied by the eight households.

The Social Welfare Department of the Rajasthan Government had planned to make a big colony of the Gadulia Lohar. The plan envisaged that all the Gadulia Lohar would stay at one place, and for that reason the government were offering them plots outside the town besides a subsidy of Rs 750 per house. The Gadulia Lohar were not interested in vacating the places they had occupied since their ejection from Beawar town. They rejected the plan of the government of settling them at one place on the plea that their social convention was against living with those Gadulia Lohar who could be their potential mates. They asserted that they observed camp exogamy and would not sacrifice it for the sake of settling down. They insisted that their houses should be constructed at the present places of their halt. This created problems as the Municipality of Beawar was not prepared to give those plots of land for constructing houses.

Among the nomadic Gadulia Lohar, it has been seen that there is no particular rule which debar any Gadulia Lohar of a region in becoming member of one band or the other. It was seen that the bands are generally composed of patrilineal, matrilineal and affinal kin and friends among whom further marital ties are generally not possible. Thus, the potential mates from a band are avoided not on principle but as a result of the kin-bound nature of the bands. The bigger camps, of course of shorter duration, do include such persons who could be potential mates. However, the Gadulia Lohar at Beawar stressed this point, firstly to maintain the kin-bound structure of their settlement as found among the nomads; secondly, they did not want to leave those places where they were living as each had established his own clientele there. By shifting from their present place of settlement they thought that they would lose their clients. Precisely for this reason, the members of four households living in their dilapidated bullock carts and mud cottages at Sendra Road, did not occupy their pukka houses built at

SKETCH 8: CHAND GATE COLONY-BEAWAR



Chand Gate for several months. Later, when the Social Welfare Department forced them to occupy those houses, they did it but continued their blacksmith work at Sendra Road. The third reason was that leaders of each group were trying to obtain housing facilities for their own kinsmen at the place of their settlement. Thus, by advancing the argument that they were required by their social conventions not to live in close proximity with their potential mates, they were able to obtain housing facilities for their own kinsmen and could constitute a neighbourhood of close kin.

The jostling for obtaining housing facilities for their own kinsmen created rivalries among different groups camping at different places and also among the members of the same camp. These factions created much difficulty in carrying out the systematic planning of their settlement. The plan of Champa Nagar colony, for the same reason, was changed several times before it could take its present shape.

After the construction of eight houses each at Champa Nagar and Chand Gate colonies, two houses were constructed at Mewari Gate. These two houses were never occupied as they were constructed by the side of a Muslim burial-ground. The people were afraid of the ghosts and evil spirits which might be haunting the burial-ground.

After two and a half years of the first constructions, ten more houses were constructed at Chand Gate and four at Champa Nagar. Again, in 1963, five houses were built at Chand Gate and eight houses at Champa Nagar. All the eight houses constructed at Champa Nagar were occupied by one Puna and members of his parivar group. This set of eight houses forms a separate enclosure at Champa Nagar colony with an open courtyard independent of the other twelve houses already constructed there.

The project for giving housing facilities to the Gadulia Lohar camping at other localities could not progress. The Gadulia Lohar of other places, too, wanted their houses at the places where they were camping; whereas the Municipality of Beawar was not prepared to give these areas for housing. Their occupation of these areas, according to the municipal authorities, was thus illegal and unauthorised.

*Chand Gate Colony* : The colony at Chand Gate is about a furlong from the gate from which it derives its name. This gate on the eastern end of the old habitation is one of the four gates of Beawar town. The Gadulia Lohar colony is situated by the side of the Tara-garh-Beawar metalled road. The colony is within easy reach of any of the main markets of the town.

The twentythree houses at this colony are distributed in three rows. Each row has three blocks of houses with some open space between each two block. The blocks of the middle row have four houses each, two on either side. The blocks in the other two rows, excepting one, have two houses each facing the middle row.

The first two blocks in the middle row were the first to be constructed. The third block of the middle row and all the blocks of the first row (*see sketch of the Chand Gate Colony*) were constructed in the second instalment. The five houses in the third row were the last to be constructed. The houses constructed in each instalment differ in their structure, but all are single room apartments with a close or open veranda in front of the room. In this colony, only six people had a bullock cart each which were kept near their houses. These carts were used for keeping household equipments and for sleeping purposes by old persons. These carts used to be taken out for errands to nearby villages for trade and blacksmith work. Only one person in the colony had constructed a thatched cottage adjacent to his house which he was using as his kitchen.

*Composition of the Chand Gate Colony.* The Chand Gate colony was inhabited by members of three branches, namely Chauhan, Sisodia, and Rathor. The distribution of households in each of these branches was as mentioned below:

Chauhan	13 households
Sisodia	7     "
Rathor	3     "
Total	23 households

The twentythree households at the colony were at various stages of augmentation and depletion to natural processes like birth and death, and social events of marriage and partition. The composition of these twentythree households was as mentioned in Table 21.

We see that here, too, nuclear families were in majority as was noticed among the nomads. This suggests that so far there has not been any change in the composition of the households on account of 'sedentarization'. Whatever incidence of paternal-extended families occur are on account of the rule of ultimogeniture, and, therefore, the parents live

TABLE 21

## COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS AT CHAND GATE COLONY

Type of household	Number of households	Population
1	2	3
Husband, wife	5	10
Husband, wife and unmarried children	15	71
Husband, wife, married son, married son's wife and children	1	5
Husband, wife, children and husband's widow mother	1	10
Widow and her unmarried children	1	3
TOTAL	23	99



with their youngest sons. The daughters and sisters, after their marriage, join the households of their husbands as has been seen in the case of the nomads.

All the heads of seven households of Sisodias were agnatically related to one other. All of them belonged to Borana clan. The two heads of household of the Rathor branch were brothers; their sister was married to one of the Sisodia men present in the colony. The third head of the household belonging to the Rathor branch was the son of a deceased brother of the other two Rathors.

Excepting three heads of households, all the other heads belonging to Chauhan branch were agnatically related to each other. This group included male siblings their children and cousins. These Chauhans were related to Sisodias as they had given their daughters and sisters in marriage to them. Their relationships have been shown in Chart 8. It would be seen through this chart that the members of Chand Gate colony formed a close-knit group of patrilineals, matrilineals and affines.

This brings us back to the settlement and planning of the colony. It seems that the plan for housing Chand Gate colony was smoothly executed, and the three phases of the construction of houses could be taken one after the other without any objections from the members of the colony which was, perhaps, on account of close kinship ties among them. In their day to day life the inmates of this colony show more co-operation among themselves than among the inmates of the Champa Nagar colony. They do have differences among themselves, but they are soon resolved.

*Champa Nagar Colony*: On the western side of the Beawar town, a new residential locality by the name of Champa Nagar has been developed. The colony of the Gaddlia Lohar is a part of this locality. This colony is about a furlong and a half from the town's main marketing centre. It is about two miles away from Chand Gate colony which is at the opposite end of the town. The colony is situated by the side of a link road joining Champa Nagar and the main market of Beawar town.

The twenty houses of this colony are distributed in four sections. The eight houses of Puna and his kinsmen form a separate enclosure. The other eight houses are distributed into two rows of four houses each, the rows facing each other. At the back of one of the rows are the remaining four houses facing the market (see sketch of the Champa Nagar colony). Only four people had bullock carts in the entire colony; all these belonged to the same parivar group (referred to above). The houses in this colony are of the same type, one room apartments with a small veranda as in Chand Gate colony. This colony looks cleaner, perhaps, because it is very near to the Subdivisional Office.





*Composition of Champa Nagar Colony* : This colony was inhabited by members of three branches, namely Chauhan, Sisodia and Rathor. There were twelve households of Chauhans, four of Sisodias and four of Rathors. Here, again, the households were at various stages of formation and depletion as has been shown for Chand Gate people. A majority of the households were composed of nuclear families, and it looks the attempt has been to get the housing facilities for all the married male offsprings and married male siblings of a family.

Of the twelve households of Chauhans at Champa Nagar, eight belonged to one parivar group (Puna and his kinsmen) and four to another. These two groups were having strained relations among them, and, for this reason, the last set of houses belonging to Puna and his group have a separate enclosure and do not face the row of houses of Chauhans of other parivar group. This was insisted upon by Puna and his kinsmen at the time of the construction of the last set of houses, though the modified plan was different. The members of four households of Sisodias and four of Rathors were agnatically related in their own respective branches. Thus, unlike Chand Gate settlement the Champa Nagar colony consisted of four unrelated groups. These groupings showed little co-operation and had strained relations among them. The roots of their differences could be traced from the time when each group tried to acquire housing facilities for their kinsmen, and thus their interest clashed.

The Gadulia Lohar at Beawar have come to realise the importance of houses, and now more of them are interested in having houses of their own. On account of their blacksmith work, the Gadulia Lohar at Beawar did not want to go far away from the main marketing centres of Beawar nor did they want to leave the places they were occupying as they thought they would lose their customers. These were some of the problems in planning their settlement. Their settlement, however, also involved some basic problems of social organisation. The persistence of nomadic bands is based upon the decision (which has to be reaffirmed almost daily) to stay together and co-operate. Unity and co-operation among the constituent members of a band is a necessity. It has been seen that the nomadic Gadulia Lohar are able to bring about unity and co-operation among them as the constituent members of a band are bound by close kin ties and the role played by the panchayat in resolving the disputes on-the-spot, which may threaten to disrupt the unity of the group.

The settled Gadulia Lohar at Beawar, too, tried to retain the composition of their colonies in the same pattern as that of the bands among the nomadic Gadulia Lohar. The authority to sanction the housing facilities was in the hands of an outside bureaucratic agency which is bound by its own impersonal administrative rules and regulations and not by the conventions of the Gadulia Lohar. However, the Chand Gate colony

retained the traditional pattern of composition of the bands. Consequently, if there was any rift, it was resolved; and it was noticed that there was unity and co-operation among the members of Chand Gate colony. The housing programme of Chand Gate colony could proceed smoothly. On the other hand, Champa Nagar colony contained four unrelated groups. Each of these groups was composed of agnatic kin, and for this reason there was co-operation on the intra-group level. The interest of these groups to house their own kinsmen suffered when the sanction for housing was also given to members of other groups. This created inter-group discord which continued, as the idea of unrelated people living together is against their convention. There was general lack of co-operation among the members of different groups at Champa Nagar. The presence of unrelated groups in close proximity is an organisational opposition in comparison to the traditional pattern of composition of bands among the Gadulia Lohar, and this was bound to lead to some disturbance in the system. One of the results of this disturbance could be seen in the inability of the on-the-spot panchayat to find a compromise solution of the disputes arising in their day to day life. No such panchayat met at Champa Nagar to resolve the disputes on-the-spot; instead, in cases of quarrels and feuds, the people ran to the police station to seek its help. As has been seen in case of the nomadic Gadulia Lohar the ability of the on-the-spot panchayats in finding a compromise of the petty disputes is based on the close kin ties between the elders of a band who constitute the on-the-spot panchayat. There was lack of close kin ties among the members of Champa Nagar colony, and, hence, the chances of reconciliation of petty disputes among the members of Champa Nagar colony became remote. There was a general decline of the powers of panchayat to exercise social control in general among the settled Gadulia Lohar at Beawar for reasons which I shall discuss later in this chapter.

#### ECONOMIC ORGANISATION

The town of Beawar provides opportunity to the Gadulia Lohar settled there to seek employment in various local establishments, such as mills, offices, business concerns, cinema houses, and, in general, to diversify their economic interests. In fact, a few of the Gadulia Lohar have deviated from their traditional occupations and have started participating in local and regional economy. Beawar is a developing town, and its potentialities are based to increase, and, therefore, it is expected that in future more and more Gadulia Lohar would be participating in the local and regional economy, and their economic interests would increasingly vary. However, the main economic activities of the Gadulia Lohar settled there have remained focussed around their traditional occupations of blacksmithy and trade in bullocks, but both the organisations of their blacksmith work and

trade in bullocks have considerably changed. The Gadulia Lohar at Beawar have started selling their goods in wholesale to a class of traders who supply the goods to the consumers as well as to the retail dealers. More specialisation has taken place both in their craft and trade in bullocks.

*Blacksmithy* : A majority of the Gadulia Lohar at Beawar were engaged in the occupation of blacksmithy. At Chand Gate colony twentyone households out of twentythree were engaged in blacksmith work in one form or the other. Of these twentyone households, the member of three were actually actively engaged in bullock trading round the year, and their interest in blacksmithy was marginal, that is, they did blacksmith work only when they did not have any cattle to trade in.

The Gadulia Lohar at Champa Nagar colony were even more interested in bullock trading. However, the twenty households at this colony were either fully or partially dependent upon blacksmithy. Same was the case with the Mewari Gate Gadulia Lohar, but the Gadulia Lohar at Sendra Road, Surajpol and Khidki were mainly dependent upon blacksmithy.

*Organisation of Blacksmith Work* : At Beawar, some people do blacksmith work regularly throughout the year by working in their blacksmith shops and do not consider it necessary to go out of the colony in search of work. The second category of blacksmiths at Beawar is of those who do blacksmith work in their shops, but when the demand for blacksmith work is heavy in agricultural seasons, they visit the village around Beawar. Many of them have fixed clientele in the villages whose work they attend to twice a year under the jajmani system they are required to do a fixed quantity of work for which they have such clientele are known as *aiyat ke gaon* (the villages through which they have regular income). The third category is of such blacksmiths who do not maintain any shops. They go to the villages around Beawar in search of work and trade for a few weeks in their bullock carts but return to Beawar where they maintain a fixed establishment. In this respect, they differ from their nomad counterparts. To this may be added another category of the Gadulia Lohar, viz., those who do not maintain any regular blacksmith shops but do blacksmith work only when they are free from other enterprises or are in need of money. Such blacksmiths were most common at Champa Nagar colony.

At Chand Gate colony, members of fourteen households regularly attended to blacksmith work. Each of these had a blacksmith shop either in a regular shed or just in an open space near their house where the forge was dug out. Of the five blacksmith sheds, three were on the roadside. Their location as such was of some advantage to their owners, and they were found to get the maxi-

num of blacksmith work from sundry customers. These three alone did blacksmith work both for the traders and for sundry customers, the rest did work only for the traders. When they went out of Beawar to attend to the work of their fixed customers in the villages, these people also did work for others at a piece-work rate. As has been said earlier, the members of three households had only a marginal interest in blacksmithy, and they did not maintain any blacksmith shops, in their colony. At Champa Nagar, members of only two households attended to blacksmith work regularly and four had aiyat ke gaon. The rest of the people there did blacksmith work only when they were free from bullock trading.

Generally, the regular blacksmith workers made things to be sold to the traders at wholesale rates. These people made only those things which were purchased by the traders. Each of the working units had its known traders to whom they sold their goods. These traders in turn sold these goods in retail to consumers both local and outside Beawar keeping their own margin of profit. As there were not many such traders at Beawar who dealt in the goods made by the Gadulia Lohar, and the demand of their goods also being limited, the Gadulia Lohar could not risk changing their special class of entrepreneurs who did not have any organisational or management responsibility of this trade. For similar reasons, the rates at which these Gadulia Lohar sold their goods to them also remained almost stationary. Under this system, the Gadulia Lohar themselves had to manage raw material and fuel for work. Both iron and coal are scarce goods. It may be mentioned here that one Mangilal, a Gadulia Lohar of Chand Gate colony, was doing business in scrap iron. Like other traders, he had also started buying finished goods from his fellowmen. To work for him was a bit different as he also provided scrap iron and took back finished goods at fixed rates. Mangilal himself did not sell the finished goods in retail instead; he sold it to some wholesale merchants of Beawar or outside. Mangilal was not much successful in this respect as an entrepreneur in his community in spite of the fact that he made immediate payment for the finished goods he received, his rates were the same as those of others in the market, the producers got scrap iron from him and also that he belonged to their own community. Many opposed him. About ten maunds of finished goods were daily turned out by the Gadulia Lohar at Beawar of which Mangilal used to get an average of only two maunds a day. Why he could not be successful as an entrepreneur, as could be reasonably expected, is an important question; and it is related to certain non-economic factors.

The work which a Gadulia Lohar gets on piece-rate directly from the customers is known as *phutkar kam*. This kind of work was mostly done by those Gadulia Lohar whose shops were situated at roadside at Chand Gate colony. At Champa Nagar, members of only two

households did phutkar kam.

The type of goods purchased by the traders from the Gadulia Lohar is fixed. The variety of the goods, however, is not large. The number of traders purchasing the goods of the Gadulia Lohar being limited, there is a competition among the Gadulia Lohar to offer their goods to the traders. The result is that each working unit has specialised in making two or three types of goods purchased by the traders. This specialisation improves their workmanship on those items, which stabilises their economic relations with the traders. Thus a steady income is ensured. Since the different working units turn out the same goods of their specialisation day after day, they know their capacity of daily output. This has resulted in fixed hours of work and income, which in turn has regularised their expenditure and social activities. This is significantly different in comparison to nomads who have neither any fixed quantum of work nor income. Their day to day income shows sharp variations. The result is that their expenditure pattern also shows similar variations.

*Working Unit:* The composition pattern of the households among the settled Gadulia Lohar has not shown any change as compared to the nomads. In their case, too, household was found to be the basic unit of production and consumption. The settled Gadulia Lohar generally did not combine their labour resources with other households either for a job or on regular basis. They were more individualistic in this respect.

As stated earlier, most blacksmith work requires a team of four persons, two for hammering, one for working bellows and one for garahi (principal worker). The type of work the settled Gadulia Lohar regularly do at Beawar, however, can be managed with three workers. For, the work which the Gadulia Lohar at Beawar regularly do is fixed and lighter as compared to the various kinds of work the nomadic Gadulia Lohar are called upon to attend. The work the settled Gadulia Lohar undertake being lighter and more familiar to them could be managed with only one hammerer, instead of two required by the nomads.

At Beawar, those households which even lacked in providing three workers continued to work with two workers, instead of forming a unit with similar other households. With two workers only, the one who works the bellows also hammers. In this arrangement, of course, the production is low<sup>4</sup>. In spite of this, two relations living close to each

4. In this connection, I may cite the case of Girdhari who was considered to be an expert worker but was much handicapped by the absence of a third worker in his household. Formerly, his younger brother and his parents were working with him. After the younger brother was married, he established his own household. As his younger brother was the youngest son, the parents joined the household of the younger brother. Girdhari's children were very young, and his wife, though young and robust, could not do both bellowing and hammering well as she also had an infant to take care of. His parents living next door helped him occasionally. Girdhari said that if he got a robust hammerer, he could turn out a maund of finished goods everyday; and he added, "You cannot get the work done with women". His output was more when his younger brother was working with him.



other were found maintaining two households and working independently. It is generally argued by them that if a younger brother, for example, is not separated, he would remain only as a hammerer and would never be able to learn the job of garahi, without which one is not a full blacksmith and cannot earn independently. Since the emphasis is on forming an independent household for every adult man, it becomes essential that he learns the job of principal worker. The size of the working unit, apart from being related to the size of the household is also related to the nature of work and, consequently, to the income. The size of the household remains the same among the settled Gadulia Lohar, but the nature of work being lighter, a working unit larger than three does not seem to bring good returns to the settled Gadulia Lohar<sup>5</sup>.

Therefore, the goods which the Gadulia Lohar sell to the traders they make them with the help of three workers. Of these, one who works the bellows could be a child or an old person. The nomadic Gadulia Lohar work directly to the needs of consumers, and, therefore, they got all kinds of light and heavy work. Much of their work, however, cannot be easily done if there is only one hammerer.

Among the nomadic Gadulia Lohar, whenever a person runs short of the required number of workers, he combines his labour resources with similar other households or obtains the services of another on the established principle of sharing the income equally. Casual help is also extended on the basis of co-operation and reciprocity. However, the settled Gadulia Lohar do not combine their labour resources with other households as a working team of more than three persons is not economic. Casual help is not extended as each household has its own quantum of work to complete daily, and therefore, it was not possible for them to spare a person from a working team to help others.

*Technology* : The 'sedentary' life of the Gadulia Lohar in a town like Beawar has not yet brought any substantial changes in their technology. Their process of making iron goods is the same, that is refining the quality of the iron by repeated heatings and hammerings and then shaping the object by controlled repeated heatings and hammerings. Their blacksmithy tools are also the same except that the settled Gadulia Lohar use an iron nozzle to connect the pipes of the bellows and the forge, whereas the nomads use an earthen nozzle. The iron nozzle lasts longer. Also soil of this area is sandy, and a locally made earthen nozzle does not last long. Iron being a good conductor of heat, the iron nozzle is not really

5. Babu and Uda, two brothers, and their wives were working jointly though they maintained two independent households. Jointly they were able to earn Rs 7 to Rs 8 a day which they used to share equally. After sometime, they started working separately. They explained that working jointly was not economic. Separately, the elder was able to earn Rs 4 to Rs 5 a day, and the younger, who was not very efficient, could earn Rs 3 to Rs 4 a day.



an improvement, as there is more diffusion of heat and the connecting pipes of the bellows also get heated.

The settled Gadulia Lohar use coal instead of fire-wood. It costs less and takes less time for a coal-burning forge to heat up. Coal is comparatively easy to get in a town like Beawar than fire-wood. Coal is not available in the villages, and, therefore, when these people visit villages they use fire-wood as fuel.

The settled Gadulia Lohar are just a part of the wider regional economy as the nomadic Gadulia Lohar are of the village economy, though in a somewhat different way. There have not been made improvements in the wider economic system; the consumer demands have not changed to such an extent that major technological improvements are required. The type of goods made by the Gadulia Lohar are still in demand, howsoever limited it might be. From this point of view, the virtual lack of any improvement in the technological process or equipment of the settled Gadulia Lohar is understandable.

*Cost and Income* : The division of labour and technology of the settled Gadulia Lohar of Beawar have remained as simple as among the nomadic Gadulia Lohar, and, consequently, the capital cost of production is also low. However, as is to be expected, the iron goods made by the settled Gadulia Lohar of Beawar are different from those made by the nomadic Gadulia Lohar. The nomads make largely agricultural implements, since their work is in the villages; the settled Gadulia Lohars working in a town make fewer agricultural implements and more household articles, such as door chains, angles, door rings, and so on. But in the agricultural season, when there is a greater demand for agricultural implements and their prices also go up, they try to maximise their profit by making agricultural implements.

The nomads are generally given scrap iron and fuel by their clients for a piece-work. The settled Gadulia Lohar buy both scrap iron and coal for cash in the local market. In Beawar town, there have come up wholesale and retail dealers who specialise in supplying scrap iron and coal to these blacksmiths<sup>6</sup>.

A study of the cost and income structure of the settled Gadulia Lohar show that (1) scrap iron in retail costs them 28 paise per seer and in wholesale 19 paise per seer, (2) coal was available on permit at the rate of Rs 2.85 per maund and without permit the rate was Rs 4.50 per maund, (3) an average team consisting of a young principal worker,

6. Coal at controlled rates was available only on permits given by the State Government. As the Gadulia Lohar did not have any permits, they had to purchase coal in the black market. Of late, the Government made some efforts to supply them scrap iron and coal at controlled rates through the co-operative society of the settled Gadulia Lohar of Beawar. This was necessary to stabilise their settled life as many of the Gadulia Lohar could not procure these items, particularly coal, at reasonable rates, and they were forced to revert to their nomadic way of life.

a young striker and a bellower could turn out about 22 seers of goods out of 24 seers of scrap iron, two seers of scrap iron being lost as waste in the process of manufacture; about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  seers of coal was required to work upon 24 seers of metal which costs about 75 paise and (4) finished goods were purchased by the traders at prices ranging from 60 to 62 paise per seer. These rates show an upward trend during the agricultural seasons. Thus, a team of young workers, assuming that they were buying scrap iron in retail and coal without permit, was able to earn approximately Rs 6 per day. The production rate is hampered if any of the team members falls sick, goes out to attend some ceremonies or on some other work, or if iron or fuel is not available. A detailed survey of the work of eleven households at Beawar revealed that a household worked for about twenty days in a month on an average. That is, on an average, the income of a regular working household or a team was Rs 120 per month. Such regular working households were only twenty at Beawar and they produced about ten maunds of finished goods everyday. The three households at Chand Gate were able to earn Rs 4 per day each through phutkar kam in addition to what they earned by doing a fixed quantity of work for the middle man. Their monthly income was about Rs 200. The households which did phutkar kam were only ten at Beawar. When the income of the settled blacksmiths is compared with that of the nomads, it is found that the annual income of the former is almost double that of the latter (including the income from the trade in bullocks), suggesting a higher income under settled conditions. The regular working households formed only 33 per cent of the total number of households living at Beawar. Only this section of the Gadulia Lohar may be described as 'fully settled' as they did not have to go out in search of blacksmith work. The working conditions of other Gadulia Lohar who were engaged in blacksmithy and bullocks trade remained periodically absent from Beawar for varying periods of time. These Gadulia Lohar could not take up the regular blacksmith work for there was no further demand for the goods made by the Gadulia Lohar. These people also could not regularly depend upon phutkar kam for the same reason and also on account of the fact that their blacksmith shops were not located at a position which could attract the prospective customers. At Chand Gate only three households could run their shops for phutkar kam; the others did not get sufficient work.

*Blacksmith Work Outside the Colony* : Members of four households of Chand Gate colony and four of Champa Nagar used to visit villages in search of work. Their movement, however, was much restricted and was confined to villages around Beawar and that, too, only in agricultural seasons.

The movement of these Gadulia Lohar is different from the continuous movements of the nomadic Gadulia Lohar. The former have fixed customers in the villages under the traditional jajmani system in which

they have to do a fixed amount of work twice a year, once prior to the sowing of the rainy season crop and a second time prior to the sowing of the winter season crop at a fixed rate of payment. In Malwa and Mewar, only the settled village blacksmiths work under this system. The nomadic Gadulia Lohar in these areas work only on a piece-work rate.

The work to be attended to under the jajmani arrangement consists of repairing the iron parts of agricultural tools and bullock carts. In return for their services the Lohar are given about twenty seers of grain by each jajman (patron) per season. The procedure for the payment is that one of the members of the working team is permitted to collect as much of grains as he can in one lift from the threshing floor. The usual amount which one can collect is about twenty seers. The grains which they are usually given are wheat, wheat and barley mixed together, and millets. While these blacksmiths are in the villages, they also do work falling outside the jajmani arrangement.

*Trade in Cattle :* The nomadic Gadulia Lohar are satisfied with trade in bullocks only; but the settled Gadulia Lohar have expanded the trade, and they deal not only in bullocks but in cows and buffaloes as well. Most of them who dealt in cattle trade at Beawar had taken it as a whole time job though the number of cattle traders at Beawar was rather small.

At Chand Gate colony, there were two households who dealt in cattle trade throughout the year. There were three other households who did cattle trading for most of the year but supplemented their income from blacksmithy. The rest of the people had only a marginal interest in cattle trading. They indulged in it occasionally and that, too, in those seasons when the demand for bullocks was greater. The bullock trading season corresponds with the preparation of fields for winter and rainy season crops.

The pattern of trade is the same as among the nomads. They sell and exchange cattle in the same way as was observed among the nomads. There is, of course, one major regional difference, and that is there is no system of weekly cattle markets in this area. Either the Gadulia Lohar traders have to go to the nearby villages to look for prospective customers or the persons in need of cattle come to their colonies. They have another avenue for cattle trading and that is at the local fairs. Four such fairs are held in and around Beawar at which cattle are bought and sold.

The absence of weekly cattle markets requires that cattle traders have to develop and maintain contacts with the villagers for which they have to remain away from their houses and always be on the look out for prospective customers. This and the care of the cattle were the main reasons why many of them could not do both trading and blacksmithy. Those who were full time regular blacksmiths could at best do cattle trading in a limited way and that, too, during the trade seasons or at

cattle fairs.

Fodder was an acute problem at Beawar. The Gadulia Lohar in the various colonies were keen on keeping a ready stock of the cattle with them, but on account of the fodder problem very few people could really afford it.

A cattle survey taken at Chand Gate colony during the off-season (for bullock trade) shows that seven households possessed cattle at the time of enquiry. At that time, there were six cows in all, three calves, two bullocks and eight buffaloes in the entire colony. The largest number of cattle possessed by one household was six.

The market rate at Beawar for fodder was Rs 5 to Rs 6 a maund. Besides buying fodder from market, the Gadulia Lohar also bring it from the villages whenever they go there either for blacksmith work or for cattle trading. They also send their cattle for grazing with professional graziers who take the cattle in the morning and bring them back to the owner in the evening. Such graziers charge Re 1 for a bullock or buffalo and 75 paise for a cow each month.

It is well-known that the Hindus everywhere hold the cow in the highest esteem. The high caste Hindus, and specially the Rajput, are required not to sell cows; they can give cows in charity only. This point is interesting because the Gadulia Lohar claim to be Rajput. There are many stories popular among the Gadulia Lohar in which the Rajput have been glorified as the saviours and protectors of cows. The nomadic Gadulia Lohar do not at all deal in cows. One wonders how the settled Gadulia Lohar started dealing in cows and how they avoid the stigma of trading the sacred animal. In Beawar, there is hardly any local demand for bullocks, but milch cows and buffaloes are in demand, and, hence, perhaps they expanded their trade to include these animals. By expanding this trade to other cattle, they could depend upon it throughout the year. In doing so they, no doubt, broke an age-old tradition, but they try to rationalise it by advancing the explanation that there was really no harm in selling those cows which they had brought specifically for this purpose. Some of the Beawar Gadulia Lohar have also started selling milk and ghee. There is a ready market for these things in Beawar, but so far this trade has not become popular in the community as a whole.

*Adoption of Other Occupations:* At Beawar two Gadulia Lohar entered the trade of scrap iron in a big way. One of them was Mangilal. He developed his business slowly in partnership with other traders in this line. He bought scrap iron in bulk from mills and factories in Beawar and outside. This bulk scrap was sorted out into different varieties and sold at different rates in retail and wholesale. Another Gadulia Lohar, by name Hazari, also did this business in the same way. The only difference was that his capital investments were smaller, and he was a relatively new-comer to this line. There were a few others who

did this trade on a limited scale, but they had not been so successful. Their capital investments were very small compared to those of these two.

In 1963, four Gadulia Lohar boys were working as labourers in the local mill on daily wages. Each of the three of them was earning Rs 143 a month, and the remaining one was getting Rs 80 a month. Many of the young boys wanted to seek employment in the local mill, and whenever any leave vacancy occurred, they tried to get those jobs.

There are probably many among the settled Gadulia Lohar at Beawar who have initiative and who wish to modernise and develop their trade. The closed character of their community, however, works as a strong barrier to the entrepreneurship, initiative and drive of such men. I shall cite here a case to demonstrate this point.

In 1962, Mangilal wanted to enlarge his trade. He had been to Delhi and other places as a member of a conducted tour party organised by the state government. During his tour, he saw somewhere a hammer machine. He wanted to install a similar one for producing iron goods of various kinds. He got one hammer machine at Beawar on hire. He kept it for two months for which he was paying a rent of Rs 150 a month. The party was not interested to give it any more on hire. They were prepared to sell it instead. Mangilal could not afford the amount asked for it. He approached the state government and was assured that he would be given a loan of Rs 5,000 for this purpose. His people, however, advised him not to take the loan. They argued that the government must have some ulterior motive in giving him the loan. Pressure was brought upon him by influential members of his community and his near kin, discouraging him from taking the proposed loan. Ultimately he had to give in "After all I have to live among these people", he said, but he felt sorry to have lost a good opportunity. He called his people 'backward' and said that they needed to be 'reformed'. For the two months he had kept that machine his turnover was good, and he found its performance fully satisfactory.

A shift from the nomadic to the settled way of life implies some adjustment in the economic activities of a people. The nature and process of 'sedentarization' depends a great deal on these economic adjustments. The economic activities of a traditional community, much less of a nomadic community, cannot be changed overnight unless drastic political and, perhaps, physical pressure is brought upon them. However, 'sedentarization', as understood by many scholars on the subject, is a slow and gradual process and is largely connected with concurrent economic changes (Tannous 1947, Vol. 1, no. 1; Musham 1959, Vol. XI, 539).

In the case of the Gadulia Lohar at Beawar it is seen that though a majority of them continue to depend upon their traditional economic activities of blacksmithy and trade in bullocks, some changes in the organisation of these two traditional occupations have occurred. More-

over, a few of them have deviated from their traditional occupations and have taken up the opportunities of trade and employment offered by the town of Beawar. Thirtythree per cent of those who have continued in their traditional occupations are able to market their goods at Beawar itself. The result is that not only their income has increased as compared to that of nomads in these traditional economic activities, but they do not have to leave their permanent abodes in search of work and trade also. Their economic relations with local traders and consumers have grown. Their labour input has been regularised, and uncertainty about income which prevails in the nomadic condition has been greatly removed. They compete against each other to market their goods as a result of which the various working units have specialised in producing different articles. In contrast to the nomads, they have come to realise the value of labour in terms of money, and the result is that they do not extend their helping hands free, casually or otherwise, in the economic activities of others—a feature commonly met among the nomadic Gadulia Lohar. In addition to this, it is noted that none of the regular blacksmith workers among the settled Gadulia Lohar worked at the forge of another worker. The reason is quite obvious : they pay in cash for the fuel, while the nomadic Gadulia Lohar get it from their customers.

No change has taken place in the division of labour within the household among those Gadulia Lohar who have not changed their occupation. The authority of the head of the household has remained unimpaired. The traditional concept of property and ownership still holds good. A father has to provide all the capital goods, viz., blacksmithy tools to each of his sons except to the youngest who inherits them from his father.

The other Gadulia Lohar who continue in their traditional economic activities but are not able to market their goods at Beawar have to visit villages around Beawar in search of work and trade. Their organisation of blacksmith work and trade is not much different from that of the nomadic Gadulia Lohar. However, since they have permanent abodes at Beawar to which they always return, their movement is confined to the villages around and near Beawar.

The Gadulia Lohar who have completely given up their traditional occupations have diverse and wide economic relations. Two of them have entered in wholesale business of scrap iron. Their capacity of capital investment on their trade has greatly increased and this has created a wide gulf between them and other members of the community. Their wide economic relations and greatly increased wealth as compared to other Gadulia Lohar are incompatible with the traditional economic structure. This has led to certain changes. Females and children of these people and of mill employees do not participate in the earning activity of the household, and thus the traditional pattern of division of labour within these households has changed. Their women now have the responsibility only of cooking and taking care of the children. Their



children have also been relieved of their economic roles. Their boys generally play and gossip away their time while girls tend to remain in their houses and share the domestic work of their mothers. Some of these deviants from the traditional economic activities were thinking of sending their children to schools. The facts that their fathers are not being trained in their traditional occupations and that they are thinking of sending them to schools for modern education suggest that in future they will further become alienated from their society and will have closer integration with the settled life of a town.

However, there are many factors in their social structure which inhibit any drastic changes. We shall see later how far their settled life and changed economic circumstances have changed their levels of material and non-material living.

*Home and Housing Equipment :* Owning a pukka house within the framework of a settled society is of definite social and economic advantage. It provides status in the eyes of the settled people, a sense of security to them of having a permanent abode or their own and opportunity to stabilise their economic relations. There were only fortythree pukka houses at Beawar occupied by fortythree households. The rest of the dwelling places of the Gadulia Lohar at Beawar comprised of poorly built mud cottages and bullock carts. The inhabitants of these places were aware that their abodes were temporary and they would have to vacate them soon. In 1961, they were served with notices by the local authorities to vacate these places. Thus, at least emotionally, those who have pukka houses of their own were at an advanced level of integration with the settled society of the town than those who did not have permanent dwelling places of their own. This is reflected in their economic activities. Most of the regular blacksmith workers and deviants from traditional occupations were those who owned pukka houses.

The plots of land for the construction of these houses were given free to the Gadulia Lohar by the Municipality of Beawar. The Gadulia Lohar had to spend only a registration fee of Rs 10 for each plot of land. The construction of these houses was subsidised by the State Government of Rajasthan at the rate of Rs 750 for a house. Each of the house owner had to make a contribution of Rs 200 to Rs 250 towards the construction of his house. For the construction of these houses, the Gadulia Lohar had to seek the services of masons, brick suppliers and others engaged in house building trades for the first time in the history of these people. This was a completely new set of relationships for them.

The Gadulia Lohar have the tradition of providing a bullock cart, a pair of bullock and other blacksmith tools to each of their sons separating from his paternal household, with the exception of the youngest who inherits these from his father. Now, after the change over from bullock carts to houses, the question arises whether they would still provide their sons with dwelling places. A bullock cart costs Rs 900 ; whereas the bare



minimum required for a house would be about Rs 2,000 besides obtaining a plot of land, which is very difficult, indeed.

To some extent, the settlers have solved the immediate problem of providing dwelling places for their sons, as at both the colonies the Gadulia Lohar managed to obtain houses for their sons and brothers. The problem is only of the future. In the absence of any alternative, it is quite likely that some of them may have to go back to nomadic life; of course, that would depend upon the extent of the integration of their economy with that of the settled society. In two cases, the old parents vacated the houses for their sons when the latter got married, and they themselves stayed in the veranda of the houses or in their old bullock carts which they parked by the side of their houses.

The household equipment of the settled Gadulia Lohar did not show any marked difference. Of course, portable iron hearths have been replaced by fixed clay hearths. Receptacles were of Marwar type in shape and design, but they were used in the same way as among the nomads; also, their average number of members per household has remained largely the same. The Gadulia Lohar generally sleep on string cots and, therefore, a cot is seen in all the houses though the size of cots in their case has increased as they need not be of the size and weight which could be easily transported in a cart. Their bedding was also the same as that of the nomads. Reed shades, poles and other equipments used in carts were naturally absent from the household equipments of those household who did not move out of Beawar.

In respect of clothing, it was observed that women's apparel did not show any change. In case of men, but for the angarkhi which was only worn by old men, the other dress items remained the same. In place of angarkhi, the Gadulia Lohar at Beawar wore long shirts. Preferences regarding colour and style of wearing the garments were the same as among the local population of Beawar which is culturally influenced by Marwar. In this respect, the Gadulia Lohar of this region, whether settled or nomadic, have similar preferences. For instance, white turban was more popular among the people in this area, and it was the same with the Gadulia Lohar. However, the Gadulia Lohar who have deviated from their traditional economic activities appear to be cleaner, and they had more than one set of clothing; others still did not possess more than one set of clothing.

In respect of ornaments, too, the situation was largely the same. Women in this area prefer to wear on their lower and upper arms at least sixteen bangles of ivory, rubber or plastic. This style was also popular among the Gadulia Lohar of this side irrespective of their mode of life. In both these instances it was noted that the Gadulia Lohar roaming in the region of Chittorgarh have different tastes in these things. In these matters, the Gadulia Lohar of different regions behave like the local populations of the respective regions.

The signs of change in the dress items were more striking in case of children. Many of the young boys wore shorts and shirts and did not wear any headwear. Girls of less than six or seven years wore frocks and panties. Some young men had given up wearing turbans. None of the Gadulia Lohar at Beawar kept their hair in the typical Gadulia Lohar style as the nomadic Gadulia Lohar of Mewar and Malwa regions do. Long unkempt moustaches have given way to short and well-trimmed ones. Flowing beards were only seen on old men. The Gadulia Lohar at Beawar pay regular visits to barbers for shave and hair cut. A few of them had started shaving themselves using safety razors.

*Food* : There was hardly any difference in food items, mode of its preparation, number of meals and the consumption of food between the nomadic and the settled Gadulia Lohar of Beawar, except that the latter had become more addicted to tea which was easily available in the town. There was a general conformity to the standard of food over a large area among the settled population and in this respect the Gadulia Lohar were no exception. Only the consumption of cereal varies from one area to another in Rajasthan. Maize and wheat constitute the staple diet of the people at Beawar and so also of the Gadulia Lohar living there. In the area to the West of Beawar, bajra (bulrush millet) is the only cereal available and is consumed round the year. Bajra is considered to be a poor diet by the wheat-consuming people. For this reason, the Beawar Gadulia Lohar did not like to marry their daughters in Marwar region.

*Ceremonies and Rituals* : The settled Gadulia Lohar at Beawar observed the same rites of passage as observed among the nomads. Their expenditure pattern on the various ceremonies was also much the same. Marriage continued to be the most important event in the life of the settled Gadulia Lohar, too. It had a bearing on their social, political and economic life. As was the case with the nomadic Gadulia Lohar it was impossible to discuss their caste council, economy, family and kinship with the settled Gadulia Lohar without getting involved in the matters relating to marriage. Marriages were arranged through their panchayat. The age of betrothal was as low as among the nomadic Gadulia Lohar and was related with the economic position of the parents of the boy. In this respect, however, it was noted that the higher economic position of the two most wealthy Gadulia Lohar men at Beawar was a hurdle in finding suitable mates for their children.

It has been seen among the nomads that a father has to abide by the decision of his close kin and panchayat for the marriage of his daughters, but these two wealthy men were not prepared to submit to the decision of their close kin and the panchayat in connection with the marriage of their daughters. They wanted to marry their daughters in a households which could be matching with their own financial status. These people were conscious of their wealth and status which it conferred

on them. The fact that their range of economic relations had grown and they had successfully deviated from the traditional economy, they felt little depended upon their kin and immediate neighbourhood. On the other hand, marriage was the only issue in the hands of the close kin and the members of the panchayat with which they could exercise some restraint on these people. Their close kin and the members of panchayat did not want to give them any special privileges. This tussle had caused some friction among them. This was one of the reasons that Mangilal was not successful as entrepreneur within the community.

One of the effects of 'sedentary' life on the issue of marriage was that the amount for bride-price was standardised. They charged only Rs 40 as riti (customary) payment and Rs 100 for feasting and celebrating on the successful completion of the negotiations. No amount was to be paid to the panches other than expenses for their travel.

So far it had not been marked that the Gadulia Lohar who were settled at Beawar and owned houses liked to marry their children only among the settled Gadulia Lohar. The result was that there was hardly any household at Beawar whose close kin were not leading a nomadic life. This is an important point in understanding the process of 'sedentarization' among them. A girl of the settled Gadulia Lohar community marrying among nomads naturally had to take to nomadic life, and *vice versa*.

#### POLITICAL ORGANISATION

The cultural and economic interaction of the settled Gadulia Lohar with the local population of Beawar and their continuous living together had brought the settled Gadulia Lohar considerably closer to the local and regional political issues. The settled Gadulia Lohar had seen two general elections, and some of them even participated in the various activities during the last General Election (1962). They frequently heard and saw the local and regional political leaders and came in contact with the officials of the State Government of Rajasthan. They were a part of Beawar Municipality as any other citizen of Beawar was, and they had to abide by its rules and regulations. They came in close contact with the authorities of wider external political system at the time of getting housing and other facilities from the government. It has been shown earlier how at that time they jostled with each other to maximise their interests and the interests of their kin relations. These issues for which they competed were completely new to them. The traditional panches remained out of it, and a totally new young energetic leadership emerged. This new leadership, the new issues and the awareness about the wider external political system, however, had not made their traditional panchayat totally defunct. It continued to exist, though it had become weak in matters of social control in the community. However, the new leadership

had not been able to penetrate into the traditional issues, such as arranging marriages. They played their roles only indirectly.

The structure and composition of the traditional panchayat had remained the same as among the nomads. It was seen that among the nomads those who were the most prosperous persons of the community were also the panches. At Beawar, too, the prominent panches were economically the most well-off persons of the community. Since they continued in their traditional economic activities, their wealth could not multiply at the same rate as that of a few of those Gadulia Lohar who deviated from the traditional economic activities and took to new enterprises; the case of Mangilal has already been mentioned. At least two of them were keen entrepreneurs and innovators and had considerably increased their wealth. A distinct gap existed in the economic positions of these two on the one hand and the traditional panches on the other. The superior economic position of these two Gadulia Lohar had elevated their status, and this was one of the reasons that over-all importance of traditional panches had been somewhat affected. These two 'magnates', along with other young enterprising people, had assumed the self-imposed task of 'improving the lot of the Gadulia Lohar'. They openly criticised some of the customs and practices of their community which they called 'backward'. These people were the first to come forward to take the housing facilities offered by the government. Their frequent contracts with the state officials in connection with construction of their houses and getting housing facilities for some other Gadulia Lohar further raised their status in the community. The fact that they could deal with the agents of the 'Raj' (administration) elevated their position in their community and left the panches to deal only with traditional issues.

In 1955, a Gadulia Lohar Co-operative Society was formed at Beawar with the financial and administrative help of the State Government of Rajasthan. In 1963, the Society had seventy-eight members. It had an eleven-member executive committee to run its affairs. Two elections had taken place for the various offices of the executive committee. In the first elections, there was no contest. The people were not aware of the significance of its various offices, such as Pradhan (President), Secretary, Treasurer, etc. In the second elections, the various posts were openly contested. The third elections were due in 1963, and already they were manoeuvring to get into the executive committee and hold the key posts. The leadership in the executive committee remained in the hands of enterprising young men, and they competed with one another to gain maximum favours for their own kinsmen. Locality affiliations and kin ties divided the members of the executive committee into blocks.

The society remained active till the issue of housing was before it. After that, the co-operative society became inactive as there was no issue before it, but in 1963 it was revived on account of two cases which came before it. The first case was concerning the Secretary of the Co-operative

Society. He was involved in a criminal suit filed by the contractor who constructed their houses. The second was in connection with the distribution of coal received through a permit given by the government to the co-operative society.

In both these issues, inter-colony factions came to the forefront. The members of Champa Nagar colony, more particularly the members of one parivar group, wanted to oust the members of Chand Gate colony from the executive committee of the co-operative society. It is interesting to note that when the police took the Secretary in their custody, all the Gadulia Lohar forgot their internal rivalries and rose as one man to save him from the hands of the external authority (i.e. the police). They were prepared to incur any expenses to obtain his release, but when it was brought before a general body meeting of the co-operative society that the Secretary should be defended by the society, the internal factions came to the surface again, and the move was opposed. Thus, when the immediate danger from an external authority was removed, they reacted differently.

At none of these meetings, the traditional panches participated; instead, they approached the leading men of the co-operative society to obtain their favours in order to get some share in the supply of coal. However, their traditional panchayat cannot be overlooked, as the most important issue of marriage still lies under its jurisdiction. The aspect of exercising social control through marriage became very much restricted because of the reasons stated above and also because of the amount of bride-price; the amount to be charged from the father of the girl for breaking the arrangement after the betrothal and the amount to be taken from a person who entices a married woman were fixed by a common agreement in the Beawar community leaving little to decide for the panchayat. These had taken away much of the authority of the panches.

The panches were still required to finalise the marriage proposals. They were all the more required when marriages were arranged between the settled Gadulia Lohar and the nomadic Gadulia Lohar, or the Gadulia Lohar belonging to different regions, as the non-Beawar Gadulia Lohar recognised only the known traditional panches. The Gadulia Lohar at Beawar were still in the process of 'sedentarization', and the close kin of almost all the settled Gadulia Lohar lead a nomadic life. These were yet other reasons for which the traditional panches continued to be important. The office of the panch was still paying, though the community had imposed restrictions on making any payments to the panches other than the customary payments and their travel expenses to attend panchayat meetings.

As the Gadulia Lohar lived in proximity to the external political authority and they were as much a part of it as any other persons of Beawar, their cases of disputes and quarrels were taken to the police for a quick decision, or the police intervened on its own if their was any violation of law and order. For the reasons explained earlier, on-the-spot

panchayat hardly ever met to resolve the petty disputes. Sometimes, even before on-the-spot panchayat could meet, the case was taken to the police.

Thus, it is seen that the various factors have hit at the traditional panchayat of the settled Gadulia Lohar as a result of which it has lost much of its authority and sanctions to exercise social control in general. The various factors can be stated thus :

- (1) the lack of unity and co-operation as marked among the nomads ;
- (2) as a result of the increased range of relations, economic diversification, wealth, and modern ideas of a few settled Gadulia Lohar a new leadership has emerged ;
- (3) their constant living in close proximity to the external political authority ;
- (4) emergence of new institutions, such as co-operative society ; and
- (5) the restriction in the economic sanctions of the panchayat by fixing the amount of birde-price and other monetary sanctions sanctions connected with the marriage issue.

## CHAPTER XI

### CONCLUSIONS

I have presented the pattern of the economy of the nomadic Gadulia Lohar of Rajasthan and its interrelations with other aspects of their social system. For comparison, the case of the settled Gadulia Lohar at Beawar has also been given. It has been seen in the case of the settled Gadulia Lohar that change in one aspect of their social system brought some changes both in their economy and other aspects of the social system indicating the functional interdependence of economy and society (Parsons and Smelser 1956). A shift from nomadic life to settled life brought the Gadulia Lohar of Beawar closer to the market-oriented economy of the town. Consequently, wealth differences began to appear, which, in turn, have been affecting their traditional political organisation and division of labour.

The Gadulia Lohar are an occupational caste, and their economy is based upon blacksmithy and trade of bullocks. Their economy is a part of the wider network of the economy of the villages of the region. Their relations with the settled population of the region are characterised by mutual interdependence. So far, the nomadic Gadulia Lohar have not shown any deviation from their traditional economic activities, firstly, because there has not been any radical change in the traditional economic structure of the region in which they move. Secondly, they do not have any exclusive social units based on productive activities. The Gadulia Lohar household is the producing unit but productive activities of the household are only a part of its total activities. This is a characteristic feature of the simpler economies. Thirdly, the Gadulia Lohar have a compact and closely knit character of the society. In a region, the Gadulia Lohar are distributed into small bands, and these bands are based on close kinship ties. Thus any kind of deviation from tradition becomes very much restricted. Fourthly, the Gadulia Lohar have tried to incorporate the effects of whatever little economic development and changes have taken place in the regional economy within the framework of their economic structure. The villages are being opened up to the modern means of communication and machine made tools are available at many places. As a result, the nomadic Gadulia Lohar now lean more heavily on repair work of iron tools and implements than on producing them. They have even developed some special techniques in this respect. The demand for the repair of iron tools and implements is expected to continue even when more and more machine made tools



become available to the common villagers.

The settled Gadulia Lohar, however, live under a completely different set up of settled life. Their role as a functionary caste in a market-oriented economy is no more required. Still, a majority of the settled Gadulia Lohar at Beawar continue in their traditional economic activities, and the economic interests of only a few of them have diversified. Those who have continued in their traditional economic activities, however, have made some organisational changes to suit the market-oriented economy. They market their goods. The absence of drastic and rapid economic changes among them may be on account of the force of tradition which is strengthened due to the continuance of the closely-knit nature of their society, absence of any social units primarily based upon productive activities, and lack of control over resources.

Though the nomadic Gadulia Lohar have a monetised economy, they do not have any exclusive economic units, and their economic activities are closely related with other aspects of the social system. They move from one place to another in search of opportunities for trade in bullocks and blacksmith work. The trade in bullocks which they do at market-places is directly involved with the market mechanism, but they also do cattle trading in the villages along with their blacksmith work. While the trade in bullocks in the market-places is free, open and competitive, (as other Gadulia Lohar and other traders dealing in cattle are present) and there is no restriction on the prices or on the entry of any traders in the market, this is not so in the villages. In the villages, the Gadulia Lohar have to contact personally the prospective parties, and the deals are fixed through individual efforts. The process of transaction in the villages is more or less the same as in the market-places: they haggle, match the prices, and buyers and sellers try to make the maximum possible profit. In villages, the very absence of other traders dealing in bullocks at the time of transactions makes the competition imperfect. Moreover, on account of their frequent and regular visits, the Gadulia Lohar have a relationship of familiarity with the villagers, and a sort of informality prevails in fixing the deals, though it cannot be said that the prices which are fixed in such a deal are totally independent of the prices prevalent at the weekly markets. For their blacksmith work, the Gadulia Lohar get cash as well as food grains; in harvest seasons, they particularly prefer the latter on account of the lean months ahead when their movements are restricted and work is not available in such plenty. The system of exchange, again, is not the same as prevalent in the markets. In work-season, the Gadulia Lohar of a region are distributed in a number of villages in small groups of two or more households in each village. They know the local customers and they have a relationship of familiarity with them. The Gadulia Lohar refer their higher caste customers as *jajman* (patron). This reference, however, has nothing to do with the traditional *jajmani*

system as there is no contract between the smiths and their customers, their economic relations are not passed on from generation to generation to generation, and they receive their payment for each piece of blacksmith work done for the jajman. The process of fixing the deal is much the same as prevalent in markets, but whatever element of competition is there it is only imperfectly developed<sup>1</sup>. Thus, it could be said that the economy of the nomadic Gadulia Lohar operates partly through the market system and partly through the role assigned to them in the caste structure of the region. On the other hand, the Gadulia Lohar who have settled at Beawar and do blacksmith work regularly no more play the role of a functionary caste as the nomadic Gadulia Lohar do. Their involvement with the market is direct in this respect.

The technology of the Gadulia Lohar is simple. Nash observes, "The simple technology has some obvious social and cultural correlates" (1966; 20). The number of tasks involved in the blacksmith activity of the Gadulia Lohar and in their trade of bullocks are only a few and these tasks are not much differentiated. The specialised skill of the principal worker in blacksmithy and of a single person in the enterprise of bullock trading carries their economic activities from beginning to end. The division of labour runs on natural lines of sex and age. There is no formal system of imparting technical knowledge; it is simply passed on from generation to generation in the natural process of the growth of children. The effect of the skill of a person on the output is not kept in view for allocating the various economic roles. The head of a Gadulia Lohar household is generally the principal blacksmith worker and trader, irrespective of his capabilities.

Rudimentary division of labour and simple technology limit the size of the working parties in the economies of primitives and peasants (Nash 1966; 21). This is true for the nomads, too. In the blacksmith operations of the nomadic Gadulia Lohar, four or five working hands are sufficient. As the Gadulia Lohar households are the basic units of production and consumption, the members of the working teams are

1. The Gadulia Lohar are an occupational caste. The castes in the rural areas though organised differently, are interwoven into a complex network of mutual dependence—ritual and economic—therefore, the Hindu jajmani system is of interest to us, moreover, since some of the settled Gadulia Lohar are involved in it. On account of their nomadic life, the economic and ritual interactions of the nomadic Gadulia Lohar with the other castes in the villages is a bit different than compared to other functionary castes, settled in the villages, nonetheless, the role allocated to them, is a part of the total system. Though not bound by any contract, the nomadic Gadulia Lohar visit the same villages year after year, and they have familiar relationships with their customers in the villages; and, thus, the competition, if any, is imperfectly developed. The operation of jajmani system touches various aspect of the social system. Hence, it is an ideal example of the interaction of economy and society. For detail discussion on the subject see Wiser (1958), Beidelmen (1959), Kolenda (1963), Bailey (1957) and Nash (1966).

drawn from the households. Thus, it may be said, the economy of the Gadulia Lohar demands that their households be small in size, which, in fact, they are. Nuclear families form the majority of the Gadulia Lohar households, and they insist on early partition of the household. The settled Gadulia Lohar at Beawar require still fewer persons in a working team.

The traditional economic activities of the nomadic Gadulia Lohar are closely tied with the agricultural seasons, and, therefore, they do not make continuous efforts at production round the year in contrast to the people, among the highly organised societies. The settled Gadulia Lohar who sell their products to the traders make efforts to work round the year, because their economy is more market-oriented, and they cannot subsist without the continuous effort which ultimately increases their capital investment. The result is that they earn more than their nomadic counterparts. Moreover, the Gadulia Lohar, in general, do not have any control over raw material and fuel on account of which the nomadic Gadulia Lohar sometimes remain idle, and the Gadulia Lohar of Beawar are not able to stabilise their settled life. In addition to this, there are some non-economic factors on account of which the wealth of the community has not risen, and the Gadulia Lohar remain awkwardly poor.

The most important of such non-economic factors is their nomadic life which takes away many work-hours on account of almost continuous movement and setting of camp. Secondly, there are heavy institutionalised demands, such as betrothal, marriage, and provision of capital goods and household articles to each of the sons going out of the natal household. These demands entail heavy expenditure and are met with great difficulty at the cost of the curtailment of expenses on the daily requirements of food and clothing which already stand at a low level. Thus, their economic balance is put in jeopardy. The Gadulia Lohar do borrow money, generally not for reinvesting it on their trade but for expenditure on some such ceremonies as betrothal and marriage. These loans they are able to repay by drastically curtailing their daily expenditure and working hard. The various institutionalised demands are, no doubt, stimuli for working hard and producing more. A paradox, however, is that hard labour and the money accruing from it do not bring prosperity to them as it is used for non-productive purposes.

Against this, the settled Gadulia Lohar are comparatively well placed. They have standardised the expenditure on institutionalised demands. The settled Gadulia Lohar could enforce the collective decisions taken to reduce the expenditure on institutionalised demands. They could check any indiscreet rise in the amount. The nomads could not enforce such a decision on account of their nomadic life.

The allocation of chief capital goods among the nomadic Gadulia Lohar is bound by social institutions, such as kinship, inheritance pat-

tern and marriage, and not through strictly economic modes of transfer. Investment on the productive goods is considerably reduced on account of the co-operation of the members of a household and the fellowmen. The Gadulia Lohar cannot seek to multiply their productive goods, as their economy is based upon the supply of labour available within the household. The result is that the economic relations of the nomadic Gadulia Lohar do not expand; they run on traditional lines, and thus their wealth has also not increased. The Gadulia Lohar do seek to multiply their liquid capital and ornaments, but these accumulated resources are invested for some social ends rather than economic or productive enterprises. The household wealth, along with other productive goods, is redistributed equally to all the male members of the household during the process of its development, and a part of it also goes to the female members, both those coming in and going out of the household. Besides a low level of technology, which is not 'highly' productive, and lack of investment on any kind of permanent holdings, there are some other levelling mechanism which restrict the concentration of wealth in only a few hands. Of these, first is their tradition according to which no interest can be charged on loans given to a fellow Gadulia Lohar. The people who can provide such loans are the panches who have a regular inflow of money. Then, there is the custom of bride-price which keeps on shifting the wealth from one hand to another. Thirdly, there is the custom of giving feasts on various ceremonial and festive occasions. The people who have a status and prestige on account of their wealth position are supposed to live up to their status and spend lavishly on all such occasions.

The levelling mechanism of wealth operates subtly at various levels of social relations, and the stimuli which encourage such expenditures are social status and prestige. By giving a lavish feast to a large number of persons a Gadulia Lohar certainly adds to his prestige, and he is long remembered by his community and even others as a generous person. Similarly, the powerful wealthy panch who takes only a nominal amount of bride-price in the marriage of his daughters or sisters, loses some money, no doubt, but earns the reputation of a charitable and pious person. This adds to his status, and, in the long run, his higher status helps him to relatively increase his wealth. A panch of good reputation is more in demand by his fellowmen.

The nomadic character of the Gadulia Lohar is closely tied with their economic, social and political life, particularly economic as a single factor. They are part of the economy of the villages they visit within their region and often in the neighbouring regions. Their household equipment, composition of the households, and economy are all geared to suit the nomadic life. Settling them in houses does not mean that their nomadic life has been changed altogether. Nomadism is a way of life. Concurrent changes are required in other aspects of their

social life to settle them effectively and integrate them with the other settled populations. A shift of residence from a moving bullock cart to built houses is only a change in a part of the total context, and, consequently, they have changed only partly—as has been seen in the case of the settled Gadulia Lohar at Beawar. As a result of new opportunities of the market-oriented economy of a town, the financial status of a few of the Gadulia Lohar rapidly improved. This created only a disturbance in the traditional economic system and also in the political system and not a total change, as a majority of the settled Gadulia Lohar still continued in their traditional economic activities; and those who could not market their goods, had to lead a kind of semi-nomadic life. Economically, the problem of acquiring raw material also remained almost the same, or even more acute, as among the nomadic Gadulia Lohar. This meant that the Gadulia Lohar at Beawar have to explore new avenues to get absorbed in the settled life of a town, as a few of them have done successfully. Exploring new channels of productive activities, however, require capital to be invested in the new trade, initiative and drive, and courage to take risks individually. These are in complete opposition to the system in which the various economic activities are predetermined for all the members of the community; society is kin-bound, and life is of mutual dependence and co-operation inasmuch as personal initiatives and drives are limited to the extent of the traditional economic activities and not beyond them. However, these radical changes have not taken place at Beawar. A large number of the Gadulia Lohar living and moving around Beawar lead a nomadic life with whom the Gadulia Lohar at Beawar have close kin ties. The net result is that the pull for nomadic life still exists and the process of 'sedentarization' in respect of the Gadulia Lohar at Beawar has gone only half-way.

## APPENDIX 1

### BLACKSMITH WORK OF A GADULIA LOHAR HOUSEHOLD

Adult working hands Jay Ram, his two wives, his daughter, daughter's in the household : husband Ratan, and daughter's husband's father

Period : September 10, 1963 to December 8, 1963 (data for 72 days)

Sl. No.	Date	Details of work
1.	10-9-63	Neemuch: Jay Ram helped Dallu in making kannis (trowels) and explained him how to do it.
2.	11-9-63	Nil
3.	12-9-63	Neemuch: Made 4 trowels expected income Rs 5. Two sandasis—income 75 P. Made 3 axes—income Rs 6 @ Rs 2 each. A maund of fuel was provided by the customer together with iron.
4.	13-9-63	Neemuch: Made 7 darantis (sickles)—expected income Rs 5.25 @ 75 P each. Made 4 sandasis—expected income Re 1 @ 25 P each. Made 1 kotra (leather workers hammer)—expected income Rs 1.25.
5.	14-9-63	Nil
6.	15-9-63	Neemuch: Income Rs 6 in partnership with others.
7.	16-9-63	Nil
8.	17-9-63	Neemuch: Made 2 adzes—income Rs 2. Made 2 adzes in partnership with others @ Rs 2 each. The income of Rs 4 was equally shared.
9.	18-9-63	Nil
10.	19-9-63	Neemuch: Made 1 adze and 8 hammers—income Rs 3.50. This work was done by Ratan in partnership with other household, and they earned Rs 10 for the work; out of this Rs 3 were spent in fuel. The remaining Rs 7 were divided equally between Ratan and the other household.
11.	20-9-63	Neemuch: Made 6 kurchas—expected income Rs 1.20 @ 20 P each. Made 1 big sandasi—expected income Re 1. Made 1 iron ladle—expected income 25 P.
12.	21-9-63	Neemuch: Did some work in partnership with others—expected income Rs 2.
13.	22-9-63	Nil
14.	23-9-63	Nil
15.	24-9-63	Departure from Neemuch, camped at Revli Devli.
16.	25-9-63	Revli Devli: Made 5 plough-blades—income Rs 1.85 @ 37 P each. Repaired 1 axe—income Rs 2. Sharpened 1 axe—income 12 P.
17.	26-9-63	No data
18.	27-9-63	No data
19.	28-9-63	No data
20.	29-9-63	Sunday, market-day
21.	30-9-63	Departure from Revli Devli, camped at Sawan.
22.	1-10-63	Sawan: Repaired 4 adzes, 1 pasia, 2 phavras (spade)—fuel was supplied by the customer—income Re 1.
23.	2-10-63	Departure from Sawan, camped at Manasa. Repaired 4 chenils (chisels)—expected income 50 P, and repaired 1 sickle for 12 P.
24.	3-10-63	Nil
25.	4-10-63	Nil

Sl. No.	Date	Details of work
26.	5-10-63	Manasa : Made 8 pharias—income Rs 6 @ 75 P each. Repaired 1 axe—income Rs 2.
27.	6-10-63	Nil
28.	7-10-63	Nil
29.	8-10-63	Nil
30.	9-10-63	Nil
31.	10-10-63	Nil
32.	11-10-63	Nil
33.	12-10-63	Nil
34.	13-10-63	No data
	to 26-10-63	
35.	27-10-63	Nil
36.	28-10-63	Nil
27.	29-10-63	Nil
38.	30-10-63	No data
39.	31-10-63	Nil
40.	1-11-63	Nil
41.	2-11-63	Nil
42.	3-11-63	Sunday, market-day
43.	4-11-63	Monday, market-day
44.	5-11-63	Nil
45.	6-11-63	Nil
46.	7-11-63	Nil
47.	8-11-63	Sawan : Fixed an iron hoop round a bullock cart wheel— income Rs 3.
48.	9-11-63	Sawan : Repaired an axe—income Rs 2 and sharpened an axe @ 12 P.
49.	10-11-63	Nil. Sunday, market-day
50.	11-11-63	Sawan : Made 4 sickles—expected income Rs 2 @ 50 P each. Made 3 spikes—expected income 75 P @ 25 P each. Repaired 2 axes—income Rs 2 (charged Re 1 for each). Made 2 adzes— income Rs 2 (charged Re 1 for each). Sharpened the blades of 4 axes—income 50 P (charged 12 P for each).
51.	12-11-63	Sawan : Made 1 axe heavy type (weight 2 seers)—income Rs 5, got fuel from the customer of worth Re 1 and iron. Made an axe—income Rs 3, fuel and iron from the customer. Repaired an axe—income Rs 2.
52.	13-11-63	Sawan : Continued unfinished work on an axe; it took another one and a half hours. Made a heavy type axe—income Rs 5 (unfinished). Sold an axe heavy type—income Rs 6. Re- paired an axe—income Re 1.
53.	14-11-63	Sawan : He continued the work on the unfinished axe. Made a ring for pasture—income 25 P. Regularised the blades of 3 axes 37 P. Repaired 1 axe and 1 adze—income Rs 2. Made 2 sickles —income Re 1 @ 50 P each. Made an axe—income Rs 5 (work unfinished).
54.	15-11-63	Sawan : Completed the unfinished work on the axe. Repaired three axes, regularised the blades of two axes, repaired two adzes, for all this together he was paid Rs 7.50. Repaired an axe of a bullock cart—income Rs 2. After doing all this work, he shifted his camp from Sawan to Sandya.
55.	16-11-63	Nil
56.	17-11-63	Nil
57.	18-11-63	Nil



Sl. No.	Date	Details of work
58.	19-11-63	Nil. Shifted camp from Sandya to Bhandya.
59.	20-11-63	Nil
60.	21-11-63	Nil
61.	22-11-63	Nil
62.	23-11-63	Nil
63.	24-11-63	Bhandya : Jay Ram, when saw Haria has lighted a forge for his work, Jay Ram also started making iron ladles on Haria's forge. He could not procure any order, and hence he took up the minor work of making ladle. He made 6 ladles—expected income Re 1 for all the ladles.
64.	25-11-63	Nil
65.	26-11-63	Nil
66.	27-11-63	Shifted camp from Bhandya to Manasa.
67.	28-11-63	Nil
68.	29-11-63	Nil. Jay Ram went to Rampura to attend the cattle fair there.
69.	30-11-63	Rampura
70.	1-12-63	Rampura
71.	2-12-63	Rampura
72.	3-12-63	Rampura
73.	4-12-63	Shifted camp from Rampura to Manasa.
74.	5-12-63	Manasa : Made 8 dantes—income Rs 7. Repaired 4 axes—income Rs 4. Made 10 spikes—income Rs 1.50.
75.	6-12-63	Shifted camp from Manasa to Aler.
76.	7-12-63	Nil
77.	8-12-63	Nil
		TOTAL INCOME Rs 114.78

## APPENDIX 2

### RECORD OF BULLOCK TRADING OF A GADULIA LOHAR HOUSEHOLD

Head of the household : Jay Ram

Period : September 10, 1963 to December 8, 1963 (data for 72 days)

Sl. No.	Date	Details of trade
1.	10-9-63	Nil
2.	11-9-63	Nil
3.	12-9-63	Nil
4.	13-9-63	Nil
5.	14-9-63	Nil
6.	15-9-63	Sunday, Neemuch Market : purchased bullocks, Rs 110, Rs 100.
7.	16-9-63	Nil
8.	17-9-63	Nil
9.	18-9-63	Nil
10.	19-9-63	Neemuch : He exchanged his bullock with another and in exchange took Rs 75. The bullock he gave in exchange was for Rs 110, and he expected to sell the bullock he received in exchange for Rs 70.
11.	20-9-63	Nil
12.	21-9-63	Nil
13.	22-9-63	Sunday, Neemuch Market, Nil
14.	23-9-63	Nil
15.	24-9-63	Departure from Neemuch, camped at Revli Devil
16.	25-9-63	Nil
17.	26-9-63	No data
18.	27-9-63	No data
19.	28-9-63	No data
20.	29-9-63	Sunday, Neemuch Market, Nil
21.	30-9-63	Departure from Revli Deli, camped at Sawan
22.	1-10-63	Nil
23.	2-10-63	Departure from Sawan, camped at Manasa
24.	3-10-63	Nil
25.	4-10-63	Nil
26.	5-10-63	Nil
27.	6-10-63	Sunday, Neemuch Market, Nil
28.	7-10-63	Monday, Jharla Market, Nil
29.	8-10-63	Nil
30.	9-10-63	Nil
31.	10-10-63	Nil
32.	11-10-63	Nil
33.	12-10-63	Nil
34.	13-10-63	No data
	to 26-10-63	
35.	27-10-63	Sunday, Neemuch Market, purchased a bullock for Rs 150 and another for Rs 125. In the last Jharla Market he disposed of a pair of bullocks in which he made income of Rs 115.
36.	28-10-63	Monday, Jharla Market, purchased one bullock for Rs 135. Sold the bullock he purchased for Rs 150, at last Neemuch Market for Rs 200 and made an income of Rs 50 in it.

Sl. No.	Date	Details of trade
37.	29-10-63	Nil
38.	30-10-63	No data
39.	31-10-63	Nil
40.	1-11-63	Nil
41.	2-11-63	Nil
42.	3-11-63	Sunday, Neemuch Market, sold a bullock for Rs 145 and made a gain of Rs 35.
43.	4-11-63	Monday, Jharla Market. The bullock he purchased for Rs 125 sold it for Rs 160 through a broker who got a profit of Rs 35; the bullock was actually sold to the customer for Rs 195.
44.	5-11-63	Nil
45.	6-11-63	Jay Ram in partnership with Haria sold bullocks to a villager at Bhandya in which Jay Ram was to get Rs 200 and Haria was to get Rs 200. That amount the villager could not pay and, instead, gave them 3 bullocks—2 went to Haria and 1 to Jay Ram. Jay Ram sold it for Rs 125 in which he gained actually only Rs 20, and Haria sold both and gained Rs 30. These bullocks they sold at Rampura fair.
46.	7-11-63	He exchanged a bullock at Sawan and took Rs 150 in addition to the bullock. He purchased this bullock at Jharla for Rs 100.
47.	8-11-63	Nil
48.	9-11-63	Nil
49.	10-11-63	Sunday, Neemuch Market, Jay Ram purchased 2 bullocks for Rs 125 and Rs 105. Sold the 2 bullocks for Rs 150 and Rs 125 and gained Rs 50 in the two deals.
50.	11-11-63	Nil
51.	12-11-63	Nil
52.	13-11-63	Nil
53.	14-11-63	Sawan : Sold the bullock he purchased for Rs 125 at the last Neemuch market for Rs 150 and gained Rs 25. The bullock was taken by a farmer. Farmer paid him Rs 20 in cash and promised to pay the rest of Rs 130 after 10 days.
54.	15-11-63	Shifted camp from Sawan to Sandya.
55.	16-11-63	Nil
56.	17-11-63	Sunday, Nil
57.	18-11-63	Monday, Nil
58.	19-11-63	Shifted their camp from Sandya to Bhandya.
59.	20-11-63	Nil
60.	21-11-63	Nil
61.	22-11-63	Nil
62.	23-11-63	Nil
63.	24-11-63	Sunday, Nil
64.	25-11-63	Monday, Jharla Market, purchased 2 bullocks for Rs 100 and Rs 140.
65.	26-11-63	Nil
66.	27-11-63	Shifted the camp from Bhandya to Manasa.
67.	28-11-63	Proceeded to Rampura to attend the cattle fair there.
68.	29-11-63	He bought 4 bullocks for trade. He exchanged a bullock and in addition he took Rs 10. He expected to sell it for Rs 80. Thus he was to gain Rs 10.
69.	30-11-63	Rampura : He exchanged his black bullock with a white and paid Rs 2 to the person with whom he exchanged the bullock. Later he sold this bullock and gained Rs 23.

Sl. No.	Date	Details of trade
70.	1-12-63	Nil
71.	2-12-63	Rampura : He exchanged his bullock with another, and in exchange he got Rs 115. The bullock he exchanged had been purchased for Rs 140. He made another exchange in which he got Rs 105 and the bullock he got in exchange he gave away for Rs 20. In the latter transaction he gained Rs 25.
72.	3-12-63	Rampura : The bullock he exchanged yesterday, he sold it to Kashi Ram, his fellowman, for Rs 65. His gain in this bullock was of Rs 40.
73.	4-12-63	Left Rampura, on early morning, reached Manasa.
74.	5-12-63	Nil
75.	6-12-63	Nil
76.	7-12-63	Nil
77.	8-12-63	Sunday, Neemuch Market, exchanged a bullock and took Rs 9 in addition.
THE TOTAL INCOME OF JAY RAM THROUGH THE TRADE IN BULLOCKS IN 72 DAYS WAS Rs 532.		

### APPENDIX 3

#### THE ORNAMENTS OF A GADULIA LOHAR HOUSEHOLD

Head of the Household : Banyo

Name	Where worn	Local name	No.	Cost (in Rs)
Banyo	Wrist	kara	2	120
	Leg	kara	1	120
Banyo's	Head	bor	1	2
wife	Ear	tontiya	2	4
	Nose	noth (gold)	1	150
	Neck	hansili	1	50
	Hands	dala	24	58
	(upper arm)	(ivory bangle) 12 in each hand		
	Elbow (right)	ba mandalia	1	40
	Elbow (left)	chura	1	20
	Lower arm	dorlya	8	5
		(silver plaited bangle)		
	Wrist	kara	2	50
	Silver buttons worn in jacket	batan	1	12
	Fingers	binthiya	4	5
	Legs	kara	2	200
	Toe	binthiya	4	5
Banyo's son Jagannath (aged 12)	Neck	hansili	1	25
Banyo's son Babu (aged 8)	Wrist	kara	2	20
Banyo's daughter Panni (aged 5)	Neck	hansili	1	10
	Wrist	kara	2	20
TOTAL			Rs	916

## APPENDIX 4

### THE CASE OF RATAN AND SITARAM

Heera's father's brother's daughter was married to Ratan. Ratan had agreed to marry his sister to Sitaram, the younger brother of Heera. Sitaram was of about thirtyfive years in age. He was a widower. He had married thrice before, and all of his wives had died. About an year after the death of his wife, Ratan was approached to give his sister to Sitaram. During the course of negotiations Sitaram used to give presents of clothes and ornaments to Ratan and Ratan's sister. Heera and Ratan were good friends, but one day they picked up some quarrel on some minor issue, and their relation became strained. One day, just a few days before Nav Ratri (the festival of nine nights celebrated in September/October and lasts for 10 days), both of them were intoxicated and they quarreled. In the scuffle that followed Ratan got some minor injuries. Ratan was infuriated, and it is alleged that he threatened to kill Heera. It was believed that Ratan had some knowledge of black magic, and it is said that he threw muth on Heera, as the, result of which Heera died after nine days of acute pain all over his body.

Not only the Gadulia Lohar but the local people in general believe in the power of muth. It is a material thing which is infused with some power which can harm men and material. It can go any distance and it can be directed against anybody. The man on whom it is directed succumbs instantly or after a lapse of sometime as envisaged by its sender. Muth is most effective during the time of Nav Ratri. It is believed that some people develop some magical powers by performing certain rites in strict secrecy, which they transfer to some material objects, such as *Urad* (*Phaseolus mungo* var. *radiatus*) grown in a human skull. The power infused object is known as muth. Those who acquire this power invoke Kal Bhairav and Kali Mata. A muth can be made ineffective by the persons who know about it and they can redirect it to the person who has sent it.

Both Ratan and Heera were camping at the village Rupawas when this incident is said to have taken place. Only a day before the death of Heera it could be established by his relatives and friends that his sickness was on account of muth. Sitaram at that time was camping in another village. He was informed a few days earlier that his brother was sick with some stomach trouble. He never thought his brother's sickness would be fatal. Heera was well built and said to be a healthy man and his sudden death following a minor sickness confirmed that Heera died on account of muth. This news that Heera had died on account of muth thrown by Ratan was quickly spread among the Gadulia Lohar. Three days after his death, at Sunday Cattle market in Neemuch, all the Gadulia Lohar coming from different villages were talking about it. It was decided on that day to have a meeting next day at Jharla (next day was the market-day at Jharla). Jharla is two miles from Rupawas, the place where this incident took place. It seems that Ratan came to know about these developments, and he also called a meeting of his supporters.

At Jharla, the young relatives and friends of Sitaram were thinking to take revenge from Ratan by killing him then and there. It was then being said that Ratan was boasting and was saying that he had killed Heera and he would see what anybody could do to him.

However, the elders pacified the angry supporters of Sitaram, and in the evening they had a meeting. There were heated arguments. They could not decide anything. They met again next day at the same place. In the beginning, Ratan tried to prove that he was innocent and did not throw any muth on Heera. When several people got up to give evidence against him, he accepted the allegations and pleaded for mercy. Outwardly, a few panches showed doubts whether a person could be killed by muth, but they rationalised their belief in muth by saying that since so many people said that Ratan invoked the power of muth against Heera and Ratan had also accepted it, then it must be true.

However, panches took pity on him. Ratan promised never to practise black magic in future. All the material possessed by him for invoking the power of muth was destroyed. It was announced that if he did anything of this sort again, that would mean seven shoe beatings on the head of all his ancestors—a matter of greatest shame for the Gadulia Lohar which lowers the prestige of the entire family. All these promises were made by dropping stones in a circle made on the ground which is supposed to bind people to their words. In addition to all this, it was decided that he should give his sister in marriage to Sitaram without

charging any money from him and the marriage should take place early. It was decided to solemnise the marriage on Diwali (festival of lights, celebrated in October/November) day. It was assumed that the marriage would have cost about Rs 4,000 to Sitaram and its denial to Ratan was the fine imposed on him.

Everybody seemed to be satisfied with this decision. After about ten days of this decision it was reported that Ratan had refused to give his daughter to Sitaram and he had denied to have thrown muth and that he was not guilty of anything. This created a flutter among the panches. They were in a fix. The matter was further complicated as it was reported that Ratan had sought the protection of police as he thought his life was not safe. Meanwhile, Ratan had gone further south-east and he was about fifty miles away from Neemuch (the place where the implications of Ratan's latest move were being discussed).

A few days before Diwali, Tarachand (a panch of Manasa area), Haria (a prominent panch of very wide reputation), Jay Ram, Onkar and Puna (the prominent panches of Chittor region), Pyara and Ratan (the panches from Ratlam area) had assembled at Sawan in connection with a betrothal. Sitaram came there to consult these panches and decide the future course of action. All the panches in this assembly were in this favour and he was advised to go once again to Ratan and find out whether he was prepared to give his sister to him or not. If he was still not prepared to give his sister to him, Sitaram should call another bigger panchayat. In that meeting they would again try to impress upon Ratan to abide by the decision of the panchayat. Even then, if he did not agree the panches said that Ratan was bound to suffer one day. They said that they would go to police and five panches would give evidence against him. They argued, "a statement of one against many will not be accepted by the police. A panch can speak lies but not all the five panches and if Ratan does not behave he will have to suffer". The assembled panches believed that the present behaviour of Ratan was on account of the fact that he was being supported by some panches who might have taken money from him.

After about a month, Sitaram again collected about twelve panches from different camps and they all went together to the place where Ratan was camping.

In this meeting Ratan said that since he was threatened at Jharla, he accepted the allegation that he threw muth, but actually he never threw any muth. He was prepared to say these things before any god or goddess. However, the panches prevailed on him to give his sister to Sitaram. He agreed. Hundred rupees were given to him to buy bangles for the girl to mark the preliminary ceremony before betrothal. After receiving this amount Ratan wanted a pair of silver anklets for his sister and lagana for his son. Ratan knew that if he did not finalise the marriage date of his son (his son was already betrothed), there would be troubles. However, the panches refused to talk about the issue of lagana for his son, and ultimately the meeting broke in pandemonium without achieving anything for Sitaram.

Later, the panches claimed that it had been made known to all the Gadulia Lohar that Ratan had flouted the decision of the panchayat and he had deceived them. Therefore, people should boycott him and should not have any relationship with him. They said that in the ensuing summer they would have another bigger panchayat to discuss the issue and excommunicate Ratan.

Thus, it may be noted that in the beginning the supporters of Sitaram were only interested in avenging the death of Heera. They said that either the accused should be killed or he should provide a man made of gold to the aggrieved party. However, after Ratan confessed his guilty and promised never to practise black magic again, the main issue was the marriage of Ratan's sister with Sitaram in which Ratan was not to get any bride-price. This was considered to be a punishment to Ratan for practising black magic and thereby killing Heera. The verdict given by the panchayat was agreeable to the aggrieved party. This suggests that either the Gadulia Lohar did not really believe that Heera died on account of muth thrown by Ratan or, if they did, then acquiring a woman without paying any bride-price was considered to be a sufficient punishment for killing a person. Not only the Gadulia Lohar but the people in general in the region believe in the efficacy of muth. Among the Gadulia Lohar acquiring a woman through marriage is really a problem and specially for widowers. Fixing the amount of bride-price for a marriage is the only effective and strong measure in the hands of panchayat. Therefore, in the case referred here, muth was not the main issue later. Sitaram's main interest was to get Ratan's sister, and Ratan's problem was that if he gave his sister to Sitaram and did not fix the date of marriage of his son, the already annoyed panches would harass him badly, and so he made the marriage of his sister conditional. The members of the panchayat knew this, and they did not want Ratan to get away by agreeing to his condition. However, the



decisions of the panchayat were not implemented and the courses open for panchayat were to excommunicate him, to organise another meeting to influence Ratan to abide by the decision of the panchayat or to threaten him that the matter will be reported to the police.

Sitaram had to incur heavy expenditure for organising two panchayat meetings, and he would have to meet expenses again if another meeting took place as was being proposed by the panches. Panchayat does not meet on its own even though the decisions of the panchayat are flouted.

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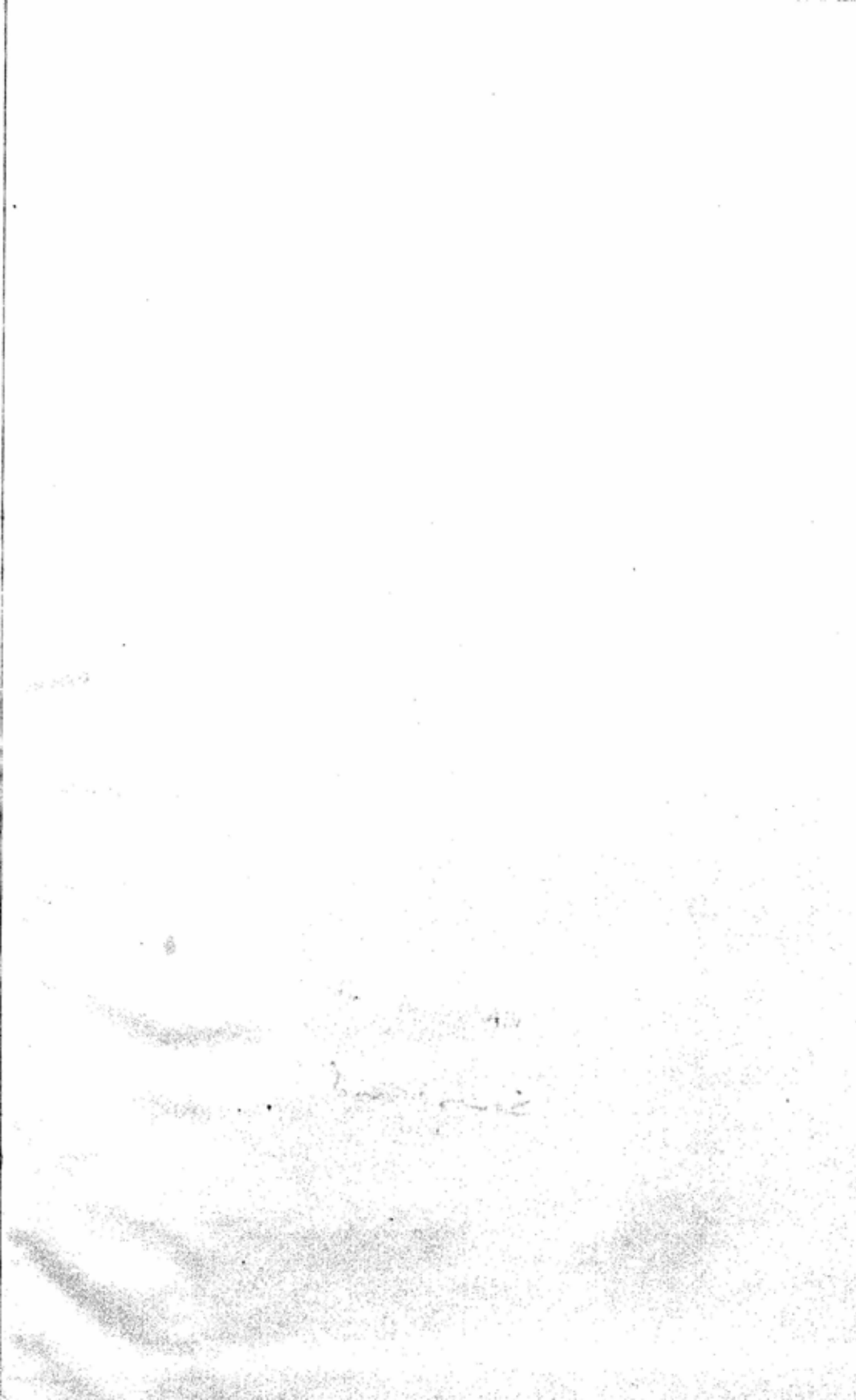
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