



CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

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ETHNOGRAPHIC SERIES

GUJARAT

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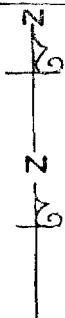
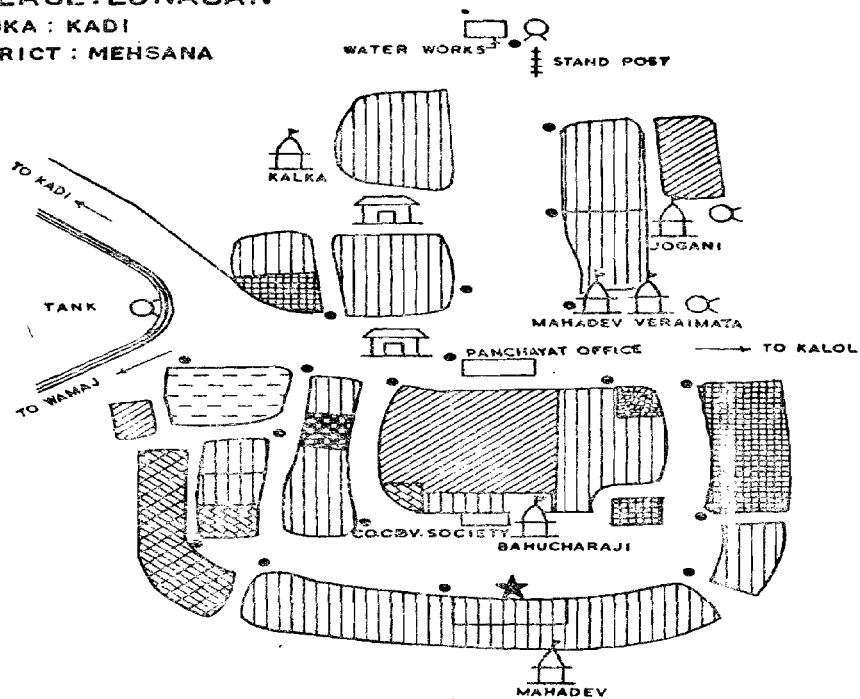
THE SHENVAS A SCHEDULED CASTE OF GUJARAT

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











VILLAGE : LUNASAN

TALUKA : KADI

DISTRICT : MEHSANA



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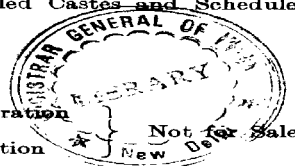
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|-----------|---|
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| *I-A(ii)b | ” |
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| *II-B(1) | General Economic Tables (Tables B-I to B-IV-C) |
| *II-B(2) | General Economic Tables (Tables B-V to B-IX) |
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*17 District Census Handbooks in Gujarati



***Published**

†Siddi—A Negroid Tribe of Gujarat is published.

*Village Survey Monographs for thirteen villages, Pachhatardi, Magdalla, Bhirandiar, Bamanbore, Tavadia, Ieanpur, Ghadvi, Sutrapada, Jambur, Ambav, Nana Sanja, Velavadar and Abhapur are published.

‡Monographs on Agate Industry of Cambay, Wood Carving of Gujarat, Patara Making at Bhavnagar, Ivory Work of Mahuva, Padlock Making at Sarva, Scale Making of Savarkundla, Perfumery at Palanpur, Crochet Work of Jamnagar, Sujani Weaving of Broach, Soap Making at Kapadvanj, Mashru Weaving of Patan, Glass Work at Kapadvanj, Jari Industry of Surat, Transparent Lacquer Work of Sankheda, Traditional Silver Ornaments, Brass and Copperwares at Sihor, Snuff Making at Sihor, Penknives, Nutsackers and Scissors of Kutch and Jamnagar, Block Engraving at Pethapur, Block and Screen Printing at Jetpur and Bandhani or Tie and Dye Sari of Jamnagar are published.

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FOREWORD

The Constitution lays down that "the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation".

To assist States in fulfilling their responsibility in this regard, the 1961 Census provided a series of special tabulations of the social and economic data on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are notified by the President under the Constitution and Parliament is empowered to include in or exclude from the lists, any caste or tribe. During the Census Operations, the enumerators frequently face the problem of identifying the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In the President's notification, though in some cases, the names of the sub-castes and sub-tribes and synonyms are given, there are many cases where such names have not been provided in the list. The Census enumerators, therefore, require guidance about the acceptance or rejection of claims that they come across during the operations of some communities to be treated as sub-castes or sub-tribes of the notified Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. For this purpose, the Census Organisation has thought it wise to undertake detailed ethnographic studies in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of India. This is also in conformity with the past Census tradition of presenting authentic ethnographic accounts of Indian communities.

For conducting the ethnographic studies, a number of ancillary operations are undertaken by the Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General, India, as well as the staff of the Directors of Census Operations in the various States. These ancillary operations include : (i) compilation of available information on each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe and preparation of bibliography in respect of them; (ii) preparation and interpretation of maps showing distribution of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes over time and space; and (iii) special studies on cultural, technological and economic changes taking place among the various tribal communities.

Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Deputy Registrar General, Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit, assisted by N. G. Nag, Officer on Special Duty is co-ordinating all these studies at the Central level. At the State level, the Director of Census Operations and his staff are collaborating in conducting the field investigations and preparing the report. Shri R. K. Trivedi, Superintendent of Census Operations in Gujarat in 1961 supervised the study at the State level until he was succeeded by Shri C. C. Doctor, who then took over the work. Sarvashri Kr. Fateh Singh Jasol, V. A. Dhagia, B. M. Patel and B. I. Patel of the Office of the Director of Census Operations, Gujarat, and Shri M. L. Sah of the Office of the Registrar General, India carried out the field investigations. Shri Dhagia prepared the first draft which was then finalized by Shri Jasol after further field investigation. I avail of this opportunity to extend my warm thanks to all my colleagues who have undertaken various studies on different aspects of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of India.

A. CHANDRA SEKHAR,
Registrar General, India.

PREFACE

As an adjunct of 1961 Census, preparation of ethnographic monographs on a number of selected Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and ethnic groups with special status and ethnographic glossaries on all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been taken up by the Census Organisation.

In India the Census organisation has a long tradition of undertaking ethnographic studies. Besides, there are certain reasons why, for its own operational purposes, it is necessary for the Census organisation to take up such studies. During Census operation, the Census organisation is required to make a complete enumeration of all the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the country. The ethnographic studies are required to establish the identity of the various communities including their segments. The social boundaries of various communities are not always rigid; they are in a state of flux. Ethnographic studies are required to keep track of these changes as well; otherwise comparison of consecutive census figures would give an altogether wrong picture in respect of them. There is another aspect of study in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in which the Census organisation, as well as the welfare and planning agencies are interested — it is ethno-demography. In 1961 Census, separate tables were prepared in respect of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the following items :—

- (i) Industrial classification of persons at work and non-workers by sex,
- (ii) age and marital status,
- (iii) education,
- (iv) religion,
- (v) persons not at work classified by sex and type of activity for Scheduled Castes,
- (vi) persons not at work classified by sex and type of activity for Scheduled Tribes,
- (vii) mother tongue and bilingualism for Scheduled Tribes.

The data available in these tables are to be analysed in respect of each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe, so that the historical and cultural factors responsible for the demographic pattern can be identified and the impact of the emergent demographic pattern on the social structure can be determined.

The insight gained by the Census organisation, through ethnographic studies of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will be useful for interpretation of the demographic pattern for the country as a whole. Recent studies show that in India, even now, it is difficult to correctly appreciate the various social and economic processes without reference to caste. On the other hand, in the interest of ultimate national goals, caste is not being recorded in census, except in case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The insight gained through ethno-demographic studies of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, is, therefore, of invaluable help for census.

At the same time, such study is very much useful for planning of development activities among the castes or tribes concerned. For instance, if the census shows that

great deal of diversification of occupation has taken place among the Parayans of Kerala, it is important for the planners to know whether the community consists of a number of disconnected segments or whether it means that a great deal of individual mobility is taking place where the main focus of community is other than traditional occupation.

Again, when among the Bauris of Orissa, it is found that a very high proportion of the population is engaged in agricultural labour and next to them a high proportion is found in cultivation and also that there is considerable diversification of occupation, the following questions of sociological and practical importance arise :—

- (a) What is the historical relation between the agricultural labourers and the cultivators among the Bauris of Orissa? The census data suggests one of the two possible developments, namely, (1) bulk of the Bauris were cultivators and by a process of degeneration of their economy have become agricultural labourers; (2) on the other hand, it is also possible that the bulk of them were agricultural labourers and through a process of improvement of their economic condition, many of them have become cultivators.
- (b) The fact that a considerable diversification of occupation has taken place, suggests that the economy has not remained in a stagnant condition. Here, it is to be examined whether the diversification is the result of upward mobility, or downward mobility, or even horizontal mobility, and what is the actual process by which the diversification has taken place.
- (c) The social dimensions corresponding to the diversification in economic life have to be examined. It is also to be examined whether in spite of diversification of occupation, the ethos of a particular occupation, for instance agriculture, continues to be dominant. In that case, diversification might have created problems of adjustment in values and attitudes.

Instances can be multiplied, but it is not necessary. What has been stated above is enough to bring out the significance of ethno-demographic studies for planners.

The above dimensions of ethno-demographic studies have evolved through stages. In 1960, at the instance of Shri Mitra, Registrar General of India, a questionnaire for collection of ethnographic data was circulated among the Census Superintendents. In October, 1961, the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit was set up in the Office of the Registrar General of India, to co-ordinate the ethnographic studies and a few other ancillary studies, like village surveys, handicraft surveys, etc. In December, 1961, a Study Camp was organised in Delhi, where the personnel engaged in ethnographic studies, handicrafts studies and other social investigations in the office of the Census Superintendents, participated. In the Study Camp, it was considered that the ethnographic notes would mainly aim at making an objective assessment of the state of development of the different Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the context of the changes taking place in technology, economic organisation and total culture pattern of the country. It was further suggested that the *primary focus of the study should not be on the exotic elements of the cultures of the different castes and tribes*. It should be on the efforts of the communities concerned, to adjust to the modern conditions of life. In the light of the above decisions of the Study

Camp, rapid ethnographic studies have been carried on by the staff of the Superintendents of Census Operations as well as by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General of India, in different parts of the country. These rapid surveys have brought out a number of methodological and operational problems. In May and June, 1966, two Ethnographic Study Camps were held at Kurseong and Hyderabad, where personnel from the Office of the Registrar General of India as well as from the offices of the Census Superintendents participated. In the Study Camp held at Kurseong, the Secretary, Tribal Welfare, West Bengal, and Director, Tribal Welfare, West Bengal, also participated. In these Study Camps, an integrated frame for preparation of ethnographic notes was discussed and adopted. A copy of the same may be seen at Annexure I. In addition to the studies in respect of each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe separately a number of subsidiary studies were undertaken by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General of India, for gaining insight into a number of problems of general nature which have bearing on the different aspects of the lives of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of the country. These subsidiary studies are as follows :—

1. Shifting cultivation in Santal Parganas of Bihar and Garo Hills of Assam.
2. Pattern of Rehabilitation of displaced tribals of Rourkela.
3. Socio-economic survey of the Scheduled areas of Rajasthan.
4. Socio-economic developments among the hillmen of North-East India.
5. Social structure and culture orientation of Christians converted from Scheduled Castes.
6. Traditional rights of scavenging as claimed by scavengers in urban areas.
7. Grouping of castes and tribes with reference to occupation and inter-group and intra-group comparative study on the basis of the data available in earlier censuses.
8. Social mobility movements among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

On the basis of each of the subsidiary studies indicated above, a separate monograph is under preparation. It is also proposed to prepare separate monographs on a few Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and ethnic groups with special status in each State. Besides, ethnographic glossaries are proposed to be prepared in respect of all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. For this purpose about one lakh references have been indexed.

The present Report on the Shenvas of Gujarat is one of the monographs proposed to be brought out by the Census Organisation. A preliminary investigation on the community was undertaken by Shri V. A. Dhagia and Shri B. M. Patel of the Office of the Superintendent of Census Operations, Gujarat. Supplementary investigation on the community was undertaken by Shri M. L. Sah of the Office of the Registrar General, India, under the guidance of Shri N. G. Nag, Officer on Special Duty, Office of the Registrar General, India. Shri Fateh Singh Jasol of the Office of the Director of Census Operations, Gujarat, assisted by

Shri B. I. Patel of the same office carried out further supplementary investigations and reinvestigated some of the earlier material and prepared the final draft and layout. The final draft report prepared by Shri Jasol was revised by Shri Nag. It was finally edited by the editorial board consisting of Shri C. C. Doctor, Director of Census Operations, Gujarat and Shri N. G. Nag, under technical consultation and guidance from myself.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to all the colleagues who collaborated in this project.

Shri H. L. Harit, Investigator, who is looking after the compilation of information from published sources in respect of all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other special ethnic groups of India deserves mention.

Shri A. Mitra, Registrar General of India for 1961 Census, whose farsighted initiative is responsible for social investigations in a large number of fields including ethnography, deserves thanks of all students of Indology. I have been benefited not only by his inspiration, but also by his valuable suggestions in connection with the ethnographic studies as well as the other studies, conducted by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit.

The tradition built up by Shri Mitra, has been continued by Shri Chandra Sekhar, the present Registrar General of India. Under his guidance, the scope of the Social Studies by the Census Organisation has been further expanded. In spite of his other preoccupations, he has gone through the final drafts of the ethnographic notes and given a number of valuable suggestions. I avail of this opportunity to express my gratefulness to him.

B. K. ROY BURMAN

THE SHENVAS

INTRODUCTION

THE SHENVAS of Gujarat are one of the larger Scheduled Castes of the State. Among the 37 castes notified by the President's Order as Scheduled Castes for Gujarat, the Shenvas rank eighth in numerical strength with a total population of 36,526 persons according to the 1961 Census. They constitute 2.67 per cent of the total Scheduled Castes population in the State which numbers 1,367,255 persons, and only 0.18 per cent of the total population of the State which numbers 20,633,350 persons (Trivedi, Census of India, Gujarat V-A, 1964).

The present monograph was undertaken to study the identity of this ethnic group and to gain insight into its socio-economic life and its culture and customs. Investigations were carried out at Lunasan village of Kadi Taluka in Mehsana District and at Vithalgadh village of Lakhtar Taluka in Surendranagar District. Limited field enquiry was also made at Sidhpur and Shenva colonies in Ahmedabad for information on matters relating to religion.

NAME AND IDENTITY

The Constitution Scheduled Castes Order, 1956, recognises the Shenva, Chenva, Sedma or Rawat community as a Scheduled Caste in the Banaskantha, Sabarkantha, Mehsana, Ahmedabad, Kaira, Panchmahals, Baroda, Broach, Surat and Dangs Districts of Gujarat. In the Districts of Jammagar, Rajkot, Surendranagar, Amreli, Junagadh and Bhavnagar, however, the community is notified only as Shenva, without any synonyms.

It is interesting to note that the earlier Census records had described the Shenva community by various names including Shindhva and Targar. In the President's Order for Gujarat, however, only the Shenva, Chenva, Sedma or Rawat are recognised as synonymous groups, and Targars or Tirbandas are separately notified. The 1931 Census reports of Baroda City, however, listed Targars as synonymous with the Shenvas. No ethnographic data is known to

exist on Chenvas and Sedmas as distinct from the Shenvas. The term Rawat is applied to a distinct ethnic group and was also found to be used by the Shenvas as a title of honour. Some other communities, specially the Rajputs, are known to use it as an honorific name. Capt. H. Wilberforce Bell at page 234 of his "History of Kathiawad" (William Heinemann, London, 1916) discusses some Indian titles and records that "Rawat was a title of honour signifying 'valiant'. It was hereditary and was generally bestowed by a Raja for some services rendered. All these titles were used by the Rajput chiefs only.....". The 1901 Census reports of Baroda mention it as a synonym of Mang. Enthoven and the 1931 Census reports of Bombay mentioned Rawats as horse-breeders and classified them as 'Hindu Intermediaries'. The name Sindhava considered by Campbell and Enthoven as identical to Shenva is not mentioned in the President's Order as a synonym for Shenva. Others still regard Chinma and Sedma as variations for Shindhva and Shenva respectively. Field enquiry conducted in connection with the present study has shown that the terms Chenva, Sedma, Chenma, Shindava, Sindhava and Sindhva, are all synonymous and merely show phonetic variations applied to the same group, *i.e.*, Shenvas, while the name Rawat is used as an honorific or title as a substitute for the caste name Shenva, the latter tendency being indicative of a low social status. Targars, on the other hand, have no connection with the Shenvas and are a distinctly different ethnic group. The community is generally known as Shenva in Mehsana District, Sindhma or Sedma in Banaskantha District, Sindhwa in Kaira District and Chenva in Sabarkantha District. The differences are purely phonetic and the various names refer to the same ethnic group, *i.e.*, Shenvas.

It would seem that the honorific term applied by this community as a whole in respect of itself is Rawat while the generic term is Shenma. This is suggested by the obtained specimen of a printed 'Constitution' governing the social conduct and customs of this community in the areas surveyed. Published in 1969, the document declares itself to be the Constitution of the Shenma community of Khakhariya

Pargana (85 villages of Mensana District), and is published by the "Shenma Nyat Panch" and is headed by a foreword by members of the "Khakhariya Pargana Rawat Samaj". During the present survey, the Shenvas generally also displayed a distinct preference to being called Rawat rather than Shenva.

The etymological significance of the names Shenma, Shenva, Chedma or Sedma or Rawat now seem to be lost to antiquity. However, the origin of the name as cited in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency (Campbell, IX, I, 1901, 346), viz., "Sindhavas, from plaiting the leaves of the wild date or Shendi", found no corroboration in the course of the field surveys. On the contrary, members of this community were emphatic in their denial of any connection with the occupation of plaiting of leaves or weaving of mats imputed to them by Campbell and later also by Enthoven (III, 1922, 336). They were equally emphatic in their denial of any connection with the occupation of making arrows which led Campbell (*Ibid*) to lump this community with the Tirgars. The present day Shenva recognizes the Tirgars to be of Naika origin and, therefore, according to him, of the higher class. At any rate he is quite categorical in his declaration that neither he nor his forefathers have been occupied in the fashioning of arrows from which the name of Tirgar or Tirbanda could be applied to them.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

Local legend as found sporadically current in Mehsana District has another explanation relevant to the etymology of the name. According to this, Parshuram, the sixth incarnation of Lord Vishnu, set out to destroy the Kshatriya community from the face of the Earth and many Kshatriya families fled to the distant borders and forests to escape his wrath. There they settled and, under force of need and circumstances, mixed with the local aboriginal and backward classes. It is said that such families which thus took shelter away from the areas of normal habitation and resided in inaccessible border areas and their progeny out of local aboriginal women came to be known as 'Simna' or 'of the border'. Later, the word came to be pronounced as Shenva by customary usage. A not dissimilar theory of more recent time is that during the Muslim invasions many Rajput families fled to the forests and mixed with the aboriginals and tribals of these areas. Their residence in bordering forest areas away from the vil-

lages led to the conferring of the name "Simna" upon them and their progeny, which later came to be pronounced as Shenva by custom and usage.

Shenva opinion is not, however, unanimous and none of these theories found complete corroboration among present day Shenvas and credence could not be extended to them without availability of facts which would stand objective scrutiny. The earlier imputed connection with the Tirgars is denied while the Simna theory would seem to be equally unreliable on the one hand for its being based on a distant uncorroborated legend and on the other for there being no cited historical period, much less a cause, against which the theory of Rajput migration and admixture could be tested. The etymology of the name is not thus of any assistance in determining the origin of the community which must, therefore, remain wanting in complete and satisfactory explanation.

The origin of the Caste is equally illusive for similar reasons. The most common theory is based on legend as explained above. There is no explanation as to the original backward classes with whom the fleeing Rajputs are supposed to have intermingled and cohabited to give rise to the progeny which came to be known as Shenva. Nor is the point of history and the exact historical context which witnessed the supposed migration of the Rajputs and their subsequent merger into the backward classes of the land of their adoption clear. No significant importance would, therefore, attach to the fact of the incidence of such Rajput surnames as Makwana, Rathod, Solanki and Vaghela among the Shenvas to explain the theory of Rajput ancestry. It is not uncommon among numerous backward communities to take on Rajput surnames as a mark of respectability, and also perhaps as the embodiment of their ideals in respect of courage, valour, honourableness, and strength which Rajputs are traditionally said to have been distinguished by.

According to the Shenvas contacted in the course of the field study the origin of the community cannot now be ascertained. They believe themselves to have always been the residents of North Gujarat from where some of their numbers have migrated to the Saurashtra region.

It is conceivable to admit of this general position that while the areas of original first settlement of the

Shenvas may not be now ascertainable, they could be taken to have historically and traditionally been the residents of North Gujarat. For purely economic reasons, small groups of them would have migrated westward into Saurashtra initially and, later, in still smaller groups, into Central and South Gujarat as suggested by local informants. This would seem inevitable in view of the fact that the reportedly traditional occupations of the community were such as to make it entirely dependent on the major groups to which it has invariably tended to attach itself. The size of the Shenva population which could be supported by the supporting majority communities would naturally, therefore, depend on the economic viability of the supporting community itself. Once it was found that the Shenva community was too large for the majority community to support in as much as the latter did not have the capacity to fully absorb the limited traditional services rendered by the former thereby leading to unemployment among them, it would become inevitable for the necessary numbers of the dependant community to migrate elsewhere in search of employment and labour.

The community is not reported or known to have witnessed any major migrations. It was learnt from local informants that the community is stable and not given to nomadic habits. Small peripheral migrations have, however, occurred for economic reasons which have caused families or small groups of families to move from one village to another in search of labour.

They have no recorded history of their own nor has an outsider turned his attention to the recording of their history. Nor again, as among some other communities which had their singers and bards who carried on the legend and history of the community and its clans in song and poem from generation to generation, do the Shenvas have any known oral history or historians. Were such written or oral literature available many questions about the community might have had more certain explanation than is actually the case.

DISTRIBUTION AND AREAS OF CONCENTRATION

The Shenvas are notified as a Scheduled Caste throughout the State except in the Kutch District. During the 1961 Census the community was returned throughout the State except in the Districts of Juna-

gad, Amreli, Broach and Dangs. Mehsana District accounts for the largest number (14,662), followed by Ahmedabad (8,719), Sabarkantha (5,494), Banaskantha (2,750), Kaira (2,527), Surendranagar (1,657), Panchmahals (292), Rajkot (231), Jamnagar (103), Baroda (28), Surat (12) and Bhavnagar (1).

The arcawise distribution of the community is tabulated below:—

Population of Shenvas in the Districts of Gujarat

| Total State Population | 36,526 |
|---------------------------|--------|
| 1. Mehsana District | 14,662 |
| 2. Ahmedabad District | 8,719 |
| 3. Sabarkantha District | 5,494 |
| 4. Banaskantha District | 2,750 |
| 5. Kaira District | 2,527 |
| 6. Surendranagar District | 1,657 |
| 7. Panchmahals District | 292 |
| 8. Rajkot District | 231 |
| 9. Jamnagar District | 103 |
| 10. Baroda District | 78 |
| 11. Surat District .. | 12 |
| 12. Bhavnagar District | 1 |

It may thus be concluded that the bulk of the Shenva population is concentrated in North Gujarat, followed closely by tracts of Western and Central Gujarat. Banaskantha, Sabarkantha, Mehsana, Ahmedabad, Kaira and Surendranagar Districts account for 98.05 per cent of the population in the State, while the Shenva population in Jamnagar, Baroda, Surat and Bhavnagar Districts is negligible.

DISTRIBUTION IN OTHER STATES

According to the President's Order the Shenva community is also notified as a Scheduled Caste in Maharashtra, Mysore and Rajasthan States. However, during the 1961 Census, the Shenva population in Mysore and Rajasthan was returned as nil while Maharashtra reported 32 persons of this community.

PHYSICAL ASPECTS OF AREAS OF CONCENTRATION

The main areas of concentration of Shenvas are, as already noticed, the Districts of Mehsana, Banaskantha, Sabarkantha, Ahmedabad, Kaira and Sure-

dranagar. The physical features of these areas are of no significance in so far as they effect the life of the Shenvas. The natural products of these areas or the physical aspects of the land of their habitation do not effect the life and culture of these people in the same way that, say, living in the forest effects the life and culture of tribal communities such as the Bhils or the Dhodias. The Shenvas are by their own admission a people of the plains and shun residence in hilly tracts or high altitudes. Nowhere do they live at altitudes higher than 115 metres above sea level and are generally found to be residing in altitudes averaging from 25 to 75 metres above sea level.

POPULATION BY AGE-GROUPS AND SEX

The population of the Shenvas according to the 1961 Census is tabulated below by broad age-groups and sex.

| Age-group | Persons | | Males | | Females | |
|-------------|---------|-------------|--------|-------------|---------|-------------|
| | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage | Number | Per-centage |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Total | 30,526 | 100.00 | 18,495 | 100.00 | 18,031 | 100.00 |
| 0-14 | 16,452 | 45.04 | 8,599 | 46.49 | 7,853 | 43.55 |
| 15-44 | 15,413 | 42.20 | 7,594 | 41.06 | 7,819 | 43.36 |
| 45+ | 5,053 | 12.74 | 2,295 | 12.41 | 2,358 | 13.08 |
| Unspecified | 8 | 0.02 | 7 | 0.04 | 1 | 0.01 |

It will be seen that 12.74 per cent of the total population is in the 45+ age-group whereas the youth-to-middle-age age-group constitutes 42.20 per cent of the total. The largest group however, is that of 0-14 years. The percentage of child population (i.e., 0 to 14 age-group) is higher than that found in the total Scheduled Caste population in the State, the former being 45.04 per cent as against 43.69 per cent in the case of the Scheduled Castes as a whole.

It will also be seen that the ratio of female population *vis-a-vis* the male population is more or less equal. Of the total population 18,494 persons are males and 18,031 females. The sex ratio works out at 975. The overall parity of male-female ratio is also reflected *inter se* between the various age

groups, the difference being only nominal and nowhere exceeding 4 per cent.

RURAL/URBAN DISTRIBUTION

According to 1961 Census data 32,178 or 88.09 per cent of the total Shenva population lives in villages while an insignificant 11.91 per cent or 4,348 persons live in urban areas. Of the rural population 16,172 are males and 16,006 are females, while of the urban population 2,323 are males and 2,025 persons are females (Trivedi, Census of India, Gujarat, 5-A, 1964).

The male/female ratio in rural and urban areas does not show any major disparity and is in conformity with the overall pattern. The overall ratio is 975 females per 1,000 males. The sex ratio in rural areas comes to 990 while in urban areas 872 to 1,000.

POPULATION VARIATION IN 1901-61

The population of the community in 1961 was 36,526. The population data with respect to the years 1901 to 1951 for Gujarat State as constituted in 1960 is not separately available. Enthoven (III, 1922, 336) however, noted in respect of the British Agency areas that the population of Shenvas was 2,170 in 1901. He was of the view that the population of this community had decreased rapidly since 1881 when the number was returned at 5,956, and 1891, when it was returned as 4,628. The progressive decline would seem to justify Enthoven's fear of the reduction in numbers but this finding would not seem to be generally applicable to the total population of the Shenvas at large. For in the adjoining Baroda State territory the 1881 population of the Shenvas was 6,718 and this increased to 7,587 in 1911 and 9,643 in 1931. Campbell (1901) recorded the population of the Shenvas as 13,244 in 1901. The 1961 population, *viz.* 36,256, certainly marks an increase over previously recorded figures and trends.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

In order to relate the physical characteristics of the Shenvas to known standards height vertex and somatoscopic observations in respect of twenty unrelated adult males were recorded during the survey.



Young Shenva Male, front and profile.



Middle aged Shenva Male, front and profile.



Young Shenva females. profile and front.



Elderly Shenva females. profile and front.



Head of young Shenya female, side view.



Shenya youth, front.



Head of young Shenya female, rear view.

The observations revealed the following salient features.

The maximum of the height vertex was registered at 171.3 cms. while the minimum of the series registered a height of 151.6 cms. The mean of the height series was 162.8 cms. The colour of the skin was observed to be dark brown in one case, brown in 13 cases and medium brown in 6 cases. The hair form was observed to be of the low wave type in 19 cases and of the medium wave type in one case. No case of deep depression at the root of the nose was noted. In 13 cases it was found to be shallow while in 7 cases it was medium. Likewise, there was no observed case of flared nose wings, all 20 cases studied having registered normal nose wings. The eye-slit in all cases was straight, and the epicanthic fold was absent in all cases. In facial construction, 14 of the cases studied showed oval faces while 6 persons showed round faces. There was no case of a broad face in the persons observed. Only one person had a somewhat weak chin while 16 persons had a medium chin and 3 persons had a prominent chin. The lips showed a tendency to be preponderantly of the medium type. Of the 20 cases studied 14 had medium lips while 4 had thin lips and only 2 had thick lips. No case of marked prognathism was observed and only one person showed slight prognathism. The cheek showed a tendency towards the medium type, 18 of the cases studied having medium cheeks and only one having a prominent cheek and one showing a tendency towards the weak cheek. Hair growth was observed to be copious in both males and females but was found to be generally ill-tended. From this data it may be generally observed that the Shenvas are a brown skinned people having generally oval faces and medium developed chins and medium lips. Their average height is 162.8 cms. which falls in the category of below medium stature. Their hair was observed to be mainly of the low wave type.

FAMILY, CLAN, KINSHIP AND OTHER ANALOGOUS DIVISIONS

The Shenvas are a patrilineal and patrilocal people. The average Shenva family is a large one having an average membership of five to eight persons, depending on as to whether it is a nuclear family or an extended one. The extended family pattern is still preferred and practised except in rare cases where

separate residence is preferred owing to temperamental or other incompatibilities, and is regarded as an economically and socially stronger and more viable unit. Separate residence after marriage is said to be an exception rather than the rule.

A survey of 39 Shenva households showed the following composition:—

| Composition of families | No. of Households |
|--|-------------------|
| (1) Nuclear | 16 |
| (a) Complete nuclear | 13 |
| (b) Incomplete or broken | 3 |
| (2) Extended | 23 |
| (a) Husband and wife or one of them living with one married son and daughter-in-law and other unmarried children | 21 |
| (b) Husband and wife living with their two married sons and daughter-in-law and other unmarried children | 2 |

There were thus 13 nuclear families, *i.e.*, the husband and wife and their unmarried children living together in one household. The 3 incomplete or broken households represent a slightly different composition. In one of them a widow was found to be living with her widowed son whose wife had died without having had any children. In another, an old widow lived alone and in the third a widow was living with her son who was also widowed, and another unmarried son and daughter.

23 households were of the extended orientation. Six of them consisted of the parents living with one married son and his wife, the unmarried children of the latter pair, and other unmarried children of their own. Six other households were composed of parents living with a married son and his wife who had no children. In eight households a widowed mother lived with one married son and his wife (with or without children) and other unmarried sons and daughters of her own. In one household a similar position obtained in reverse form, where the father who had lost his wife lived with his married son and his wife and other unmarried children. Strictly speaking, the above ten households would be treated as nuclear with adhesion. There were thus 21 such households where the extension may be described as being vertical or lineal. Two households, however, can be

said to have had both lineal as well as horizontal extension, *i.e.*, lineal-cum-collateral type, in as much as the parents were found to be living with two married sons who were themselves the parents of other unmarried children.

Another survey carried out two years after the first in Lunasan village covered 20 households. It showed 13 nuclear families and 7 extended families. Most of the cases of nuclear families or households were circumstantial. Out of the seven extended families, in two cases 3 married couples were found in the same household and in three cases 2 married couples were found in the same household. On an average the nuclear family consisted of 5 members while the average extended family consisted of 8.85 members.

CLAN AND KINSHIP

The community comprises of a number of exogamous clans. These include Solanki, Vaghela, Parmar, Makwana, Rathod, Chauhan, etc., styled on the Rajput pattern. These clans were cited as obtaining in the progressive Lunasan village while the Shenvas of the comparatively poorer and backward Vithalgadh village cited the names of the Vtukia, Bavalia, Gandia, Morakia and Zalia clans, which are obviously derived from the names of villages or places from where the ancestors of the groups concerned would have hailed. All the clans are exogamous and are considered equal in status. Marriage has to be within the community but not in the same clan; that is to say, a Rathod may marry in any clan other than the Rathod but within the Shenva community only. Great sanctity attaches to membership within the same clan and various taboos may still be found in the clan structure. No member of any clan will accept anything from any unmarried girl of the same clan who has reached puberty when she is alone and otherwise unaccompanied or unattended if she is not of his family. Thus, a Solanki or a Makwana adult male will not accept even water from an unmarried girl of his clan, no matter how dire his need, if the girl is not of his family and if she is alone and unattended. Nor will he accept shelter or food under such circumstances. If, by ill fortune, this taboo is violated under dire exigency the offending man must perform an act

of *punya* (charity) to wash away the sin he has invited upon himself by violating the taboo.

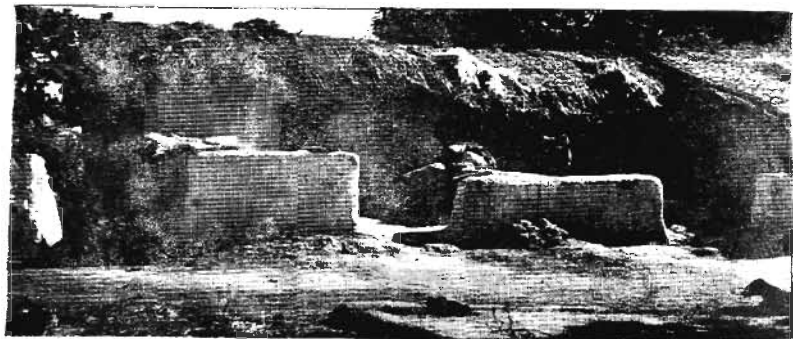
No information was available as to the full number and names of the clans in the Shenva caste.

SETTLEMENT

The settlement pattern of the Shenvas is most frequently determined by their social status in the villages of their residence. The community has traditionally occupied a subservient or low position in the Hindu caste hierarchy. Almost invariably and everywhere the Shenvas are considered untouchable even among certain constituent community groups of the generic Harijan class. This attitude is reflected in the location of their dwelling houses. The Shenvas generally settle in an isolated corner of the village separate from the settlement areas of Caste Hindus or other communities regarded as socially superior. The settlement pattern noticed both at Lunasan and Vithalgadh was of the linear type. While at Vithalgadh the neighbourhood consisted almost entirely of households of members of the Shenva community, at Lunasan one cluster of Shenva households was found in the close proximity of other caste groups like Thakardas and Banias. Segregation of habitation on the basis of caste was noticed at Vithalgadh but not at Lunasan. According to informants the average Shenva prefers to live in a neighbourhood consisting of his caste to avoid insult or discomfort arising out of a feeling of social isolation. It was observed at both villages that the Shenvas live in clusters of lineally laid out houses of their own caste. There was only one cluster at Vithalgadh while at Lunasan there were two. The first of the latter was surrounded by households of Banias and Thakardas while the second was a fairly large cluster standing by itself near a group of Thakarda households from which it was separated by an open space.

The map of the settlement pattern at Lunasan village in this volume depicts the habitation pattern as found in the village.

At both villages water is fetched from sources reserved for the community, although at Lunasan the Shenvas were said to have freedom to use the common community well.

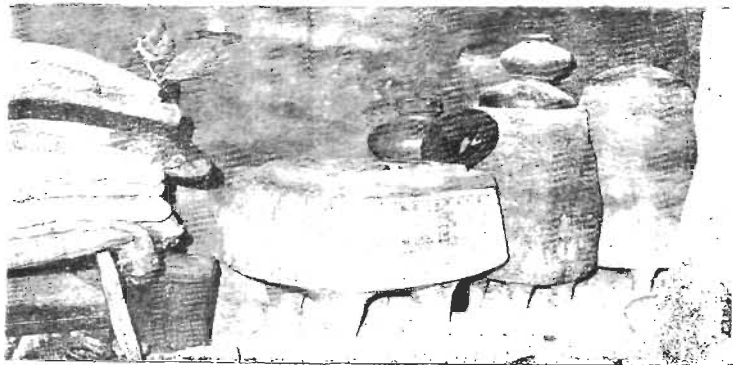
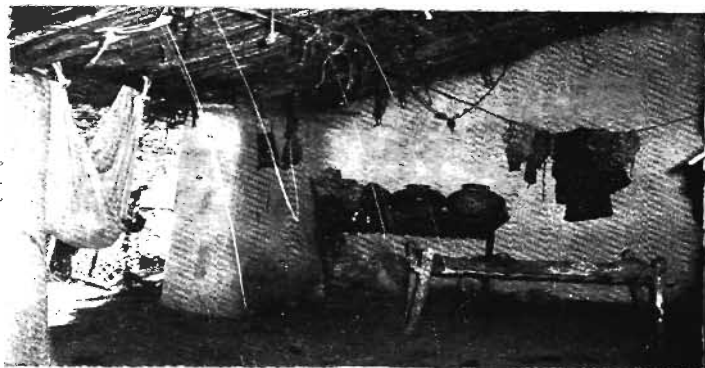


*Exterior views of Shenva houses
The hammock hanging from the
roof in the last photograph is a
child's cradle.*



Interior of a comparatively well-to-do Shenya house. Religious pictures are a commonly used item of wall hangings in the well-to-do houses.

Interior of lower income group Shenya house. The lack of internal decoration or beautification is in contrast to the interiors of the well-to-do houses. The hammock near the doorway is used as a cradle.



Quilts and storage vessels in a corner of the hut, used for storage.

DWELLING

It is in the location, size, and materials of the Shenva home and in its human and material content that the condition of the Shenva people may best be realised. The average Shenva home is a low-roofed single-storeyed construction made out of mud and cow-dung, the mud walls of which are plastered over by cow-dung moulded into a viscous paste. Equally frequent are huts that have walls made out of the stalks of the cotton plant bunched together to offer as much shelter against wind, rain and heat as possible with no pretensions made at even rudimentary plastering or strengthening. The roofs are sometimes of thatch or, in the case of those who can afford it, country tiles. The interiors are dark, smoky and unhygienic. There is a complete absence of ventilation or of outside light through windows or ventilators, both of which are totally absent. Walls and roofs are invariably coated with soot from the hearth fire, the smoke from which has no outlet other than the distant door. In winter months when the whole family of anything from 5 to 15 persons or more is supposed to sleep inside one closed room or sometimes two, the interiors of the houses are close and foul-smelling and take long airing in the spring before the air is again reasonably clean. The Shenva child grows up in rather unhygienic conditions and his first experience of the world is one of smoke, darkness and impure air. Among the poorer Shenvas, the roofs not infrequently leak in the rains and let in the cold winter air, or drafts which cause frequent colds, coughs and allied lung conditions among the children. It may be years before sufficient financial resources or material may be found to repair such walls or roofs. Even among the better-off Shenvas owning lands and cattle the home seldom consists of more than one or two rooms of unequal size and a crudely sheltered outer portion where the cattle may tether during the night or the hot summer day. Here, male and female live in proximity too close for normal hygienic living. Households having more than one married couples living within the same four walls often try to achieve a modicum of privacy so essential to cohabitation between man and wife by erecting low mud partitions or a cloth hanging to separate one portion of the house from another. This can hardly achieve the effect and result sought and the strain

on married life as well the ill effects of lack of privacy on the children must indeed be considerable.

The houses are generally rectangular in shape with one room and sometimes two. Houses having more than three rooms are exceptional. The structure is constructed on the plain surface of the earth, without a plinth. Compounds are seldom found and the average Shenva steps from the public road into his house. Entrance into the home is provided for by a portion of the wall being left unbuilt for this purpose. More often than not, even a door cannot be found to cover the entrance. The Shenva does not seem to worry about security for he seldom seems to have anything of value which anyone else may want.

The houses are invariably low and small for economic reasons. There is a complete absence of internal and external decoration. There is no drainage to speak of; neither is it necessary. Bathing is done just outside the house where the earth will absorb the water, or at the well or tank or river-side. To relieve nature, he uses the countryside where social hygiene is of little import.

When questioned on the type of housing the Shenva's response in his own words is, "We have to live anyhow and if we have a roof to protect us from the rain and cold we are happy".

The household and personal goods of the average Shenva are as few as they are functional. The houses are unfurnished except for the barest minimum of necessities consisting of a few water pots, one or two crude beds, some earthen, and occasionally brass, utensils and receptacles for storing grain, a grinding stone, a wooden or tin box to contain the few goods that may require protection and careful storage and some torn and tattered dirty mattresses and quilts hardly enough to suffice for the whole family. In the winter months a family combats the cold by two or three or more persons frequently sharing the same bedding spread upon the floor. To light his night a Shenva still cannot afford a hurricane-lantern and, instead, uses a small tin lamp fed with kerosene and hung upon the wall by a nail. Almost all of them use the same crude wick lamp which can be obtained from the market for 25 ps. The light which it gives

is hardly enough to light up one corner of the home. Kerosene is still a luxury and is not used for any purpose other than lighting. Cooking is done on a fire fed with wood gathered from nearby Government or private waste-lands. A dead and dry tree which can be felled and chopped for firewood is naturally considered a blessing. Articles of common everyday use like umbrellas, rubber shoes, cups and saucers and tea-kettles are still considered a luxury well beyond their means. Their cooking and eating utensils are either of baked clay or aluminium and sometime of brass.

A survey of 20 houses and households to study the composition of families, their living conditions and household goods showed that of the 20 households surveyed 13 were nuclear family units and 7 were extended family units. The nuclear family unit consisted on an average of 5 members while the extended family unit of 8.85 members. The average membership per household was 6.40 persons. Seven nuclear family units consisting of 4.7 persons on an average lived only in one room. These units had a total floor space area of 848 sq. ft. at their disposal, allowing for 121.1 sq. ft. of living space per family and 25.6 sq. ft. per person.

Six nuclear family units each of 5.5 persons on an average had two rooms. All these units had a total floor space area of 132 sq. ft. at their disposal, allowing for 222 sq. ft. per family and 40.4 sq. ft. per person.

No extended family living in only one room was found. Five extended family units of 10.5 persons on an average in each were found to be having two rooms at their disposal. Together they had 1,138 sq. ft. at their disposal, allowing for an average distribution of 227.6 sq. ft. per family and 24.2 sq. ft. per person. One family of 4 persons consisting of 2 adult married males, (one of them widowed), living with one minor child was found to be having three rooms totalling 325 sq. ft. of floor space, thus allowing for 86.2 sq. ft. per person. One extended family of 11 members having four rooms had a total floor space area of 360 sq. ft. available to it allowing for 32.7 sq. ft. per person. In overall terms 201.2 sq. ft. of floor space was available per family and 31.4 sq. ft. per person.

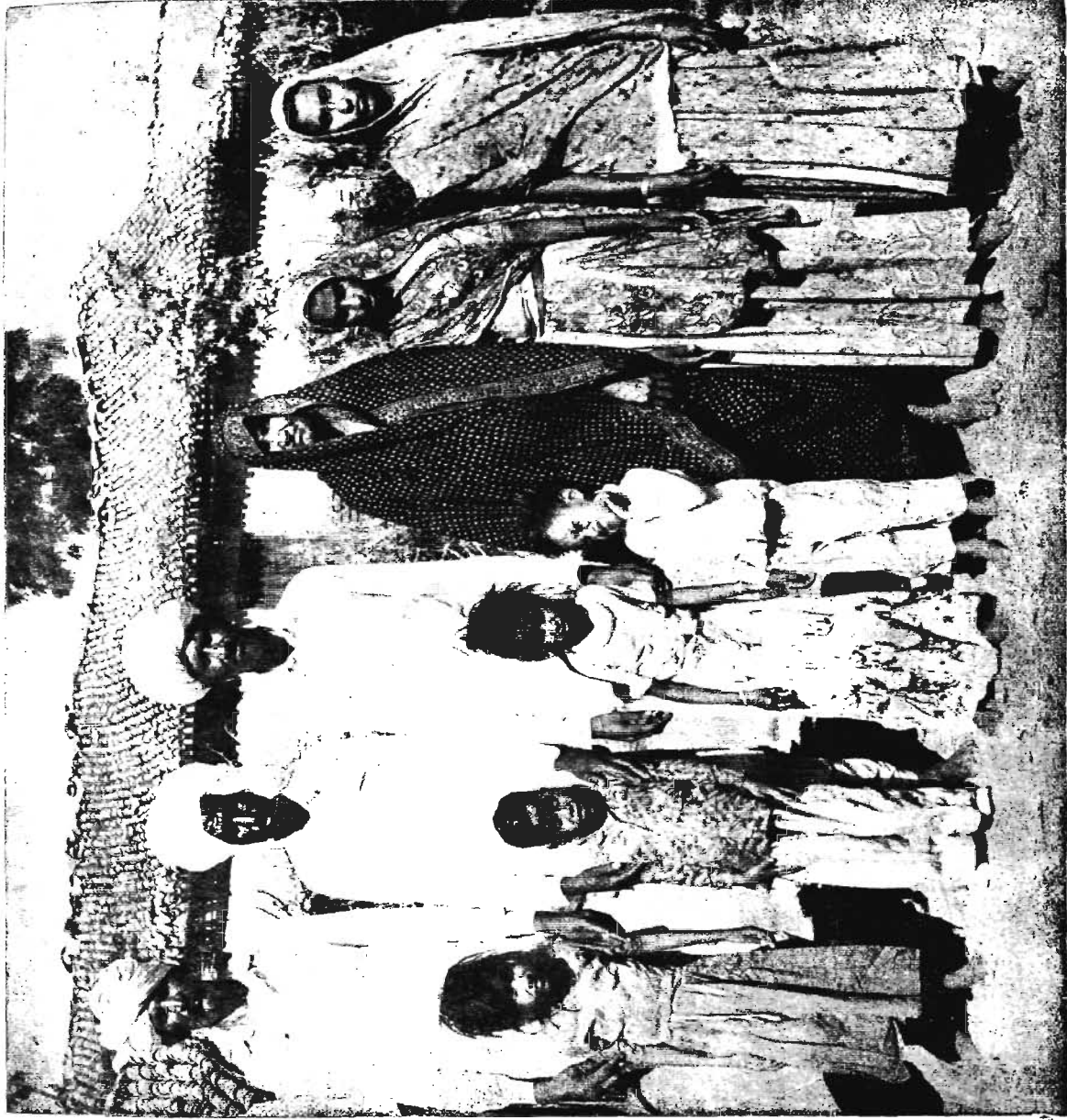
This survey showed that, taking in view the fact that a substantial amount of available floor space in every household being required for a kitchen and for storage space, the average Shenva lives in extremely cramped living units. In some cases, the average square foot area per individual is indeed greatly limited.

Of the same 20 houses, 13 houses were *kutchha* houses and 7 were *pucca* houses. The bulk of them, i. e., 13, had no door at all and entrance was provided for merely by a portion of the wall being left unbuilt for the purpose. Six houses had only one door, all of them being two room units. One house, also a two room unit, had two doors. There was a complete absence of windows and ventilators in all the houses.

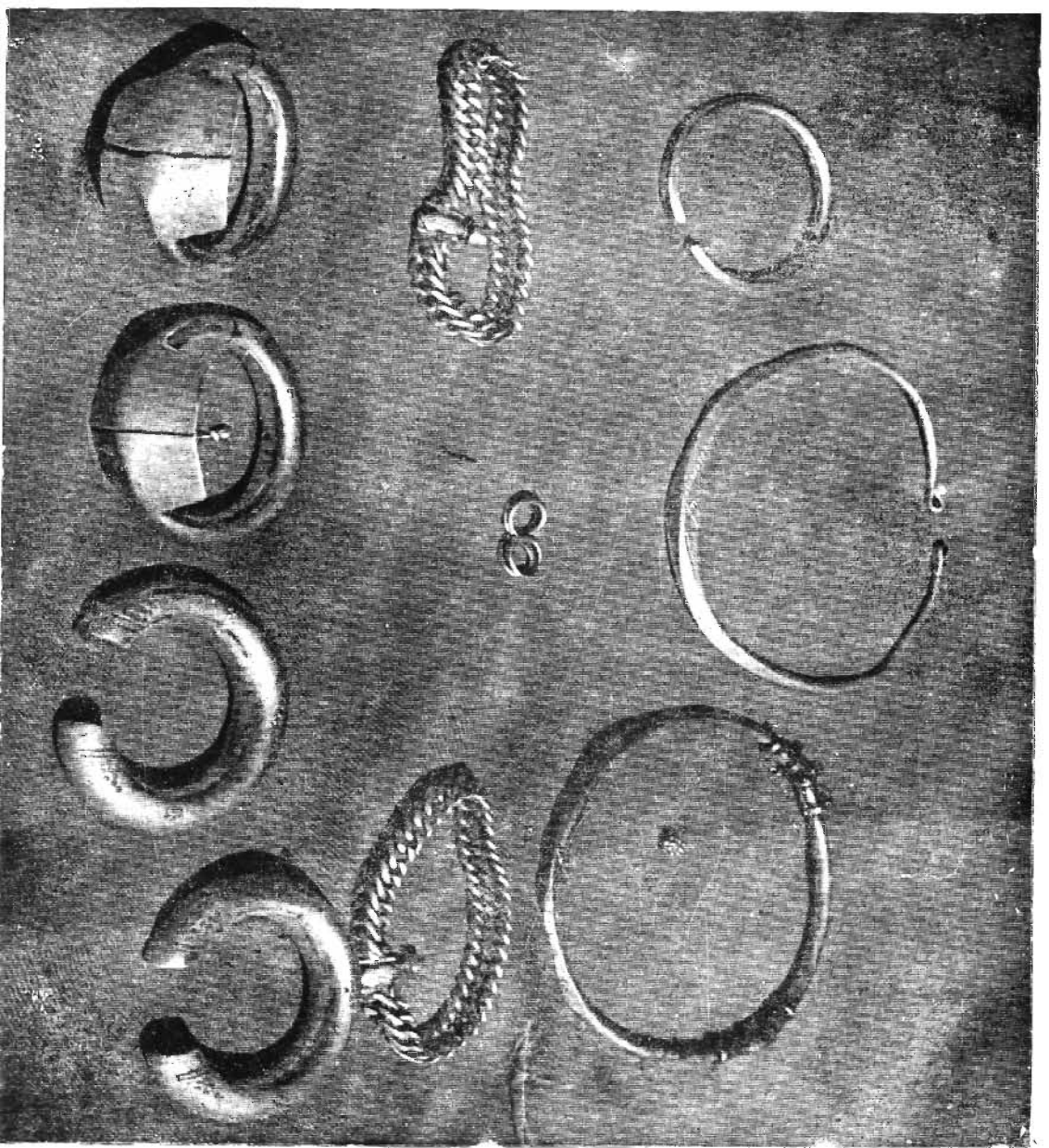
DRESS

The dress of the Shenvas is not distinctive of the community and is of the type commonly used in poorer communities of rural Gujarat. The men wear a shirt and *dhoti* with either a cap or turban to cover the head. Use of trousers in favour of the traditional *dhoti* was not noticed and in the matter of head-gear preference is accorded to turbans over caps. Young boys go bare-headed but were sometimes found to wear caps. On the body they wear shirts or bush-shirts and shorts. The use of trousers among the boys is still infrequent. No personal decoration centering around articles of dress was noticed beyond the use of a string of buttons attached to a chain made out of either silver or any other metal, with sometimes glass in various colours inlaid for attractiveness. Most frequently, however, only knitted cotton buttons are used. The use of shoes is now more frequent, though not universal. These consist of crude rubber sandals fashioned out of pieces cut from discarded tyres and locally available at a cost of about Re. 1 per pair.

Among women also there is no deviation from the common rural pattern in matters of dress, which consists of a blouse and petti-coat and a sari to go over both. Aged women use a variety of sari locally known as *madrasiyu* (so named perhaps from the place of its origin) which is generally of a dark base patterned by red design. Very young girls use a simple petti-coat and blouse without a sari while



Group of Shienna males, females and children. Physical features of the two sexes at various ages and types of dress commonly worn can be observed.



Articles of jewelry commonly used among Shemra females [Reading from left to right, top row down-wards: Kadhi (orn-band), Hansli (necklet), Kono (inside hansli); Chado (anklet), Anguthi (toe-ring), Chhado; pair of Kadlus (anklets), pair of Kadlus(anklets)].

those beyond the age of puberty prefer the same articles of a dress as their elders but having a greater variety of colour and design. The poverty among the Shenvas generally makes it necessary for them to buy clothes second-hand from the nearest town (which in the present case is Kadi or Kalol) and they cannot afford any special clothes even for special occasions like marriages, fairs and festivals. Infants generally go naked upto the age of about 5 to 6 years, after which offence would attend upon nudity.

ORNAMENTS

Field surveys conducted in connection with the present study show that the incidence of ornaments among the Shenvas at the present is comparatively nominal and the specimens that were with difficulty obtained for the purpose of photographing were by no means indicative of profuseness. Earlier observations on the subject are also not indicative of profuseness. Campbell (IX, I, 1901, 346) observed that except a few who had a silver necklace, women wore no ornaments but a pair of brass 'wristlets'. The specimens found at Siddhpur were few but fairly representative. At Lunasan, however, only two men were found still having small thin gold earrings and one a nickle *kada* the top half of which was of silver and the bottom half of gold-plated inferior metal. The few ornaments that were found among men consisted of simple earrings, most frequently of silver, while among the women earrings, occasionally anklets, bangles, of glass, and nose pins were to be found. A survey of 20 representative households yielded ornaments only in three of them, together worth Rs. 90 in value. For the greater part, personal adornment by ornaments seemed to be an avoidable form of expenditure among them. It was only with the greatest difficulty that a representative section of ornaments used by this community was found at Siddhpur. A photograph of these appears in the monograph.

TATTOOING

The formerly frequent practice of tattooing is now fast dying out. Examples of tattooing were to be found among grown-up men and women consisting mainly either of the names of gods and goddesses or

their personal names or traditional symbols such as a pair of scales tattooed generally on the inside of the forearm. Among the new generation tattooing was found to be almost entirely absent. The tattoo marks when minutely examined reveal three main colour preferences, green, black and red with the greenish pigment having preponderance over the other two. Tattooing is achieved by a simple manual operation consisting of dipping the sharp end of a needle or thorn in the chosen pigment and pricking the skin of the area chosen for tattooing with it. The materials used for preparing the dye are indigenous, consisting of lamp-soot, a decoction of bea-wood bark and the juice of green leaves of the *Val* creeper (*Dolichos lablals*). After the tattooing operation is over, turmeric powder is applied to the area tattooed for its antiseptic value. Sometimes the outer side of the palm is also selected for tattooing. Mutilation of the body as a means of decoration was not found in the accepted sense but the nose and the ears were generally found to be pierced to accommodate earrings and nose pins. Tonsorial operations were reported to be accomplished by mutual aid as also the shaving of beards. For this, market razors are utilised, which are of purely crude and functional design purchased from the nearest town at the cost of about a rupee.

FOOD AND DRINK

The food habits of the Shenvas seem to be guided rather by practicality and economic considerations than by choice. The articles of food used throughout the year are constantly the same and the Shenva tongue knows little change. The average Shenva did not seem to be able to afford the luxury of gluttonous dietary habits nor that of choice. His one major consideration governing his attitude to food is that it be filling and nourishing. In his own words, "We want food to lie like a stone in our stomach so that it will not be empty and to make us strong for work". With this aim in view the articles of his diet are heavy, nourishing and filling. In the morning he has a millet *rotla* (bread) and *chatani* (pickle) made out of chilly powder and onion or garlic. If he lives in a kind village he can often obtain butter-milk from the well-to-do households to wash down his morning meal. In the afternoon he

eats the same millet *rotla* accompanied by *kadhi* (a preparation made by boiling gram flour in whey) and *dal* (pulses) and sometimes an occasional vegetable. For dinner, he almost invariably prefers to have *khichadi* consisting of boiled millet and *mung dal*, but most often he has to content himself with crushed millet alone boiled into a soft voluminous mass. Rice is considered the food of the rich and the well-to-do and the Shenvas seemed to have little respect for it as an article of food, which fills the stomach only for a time and then leaves it hungry all too soon. It is not thought to sustain strength for any length of time. Wheat is the only other variation in the diet. This comes in the shape of part wages in kind during the winter season when the Shenvas go to assist in harvesting operations in the fields of wheat-growing farmers. They do have a preference for flesh but their economic condition has been historically so bad that they have not hesitated to resort to the eating of the flesh of carrion, which may well have contributed to their being regarded as un-touchable. All of them would still eat any meat when available, which is seldom, including mutton, pork, and beef. Under the increasing pressures of the society in which they live the habit of eating the flesh of carrion is not now as universal as before but, according to their own admission at Lunasan village, most of them still continue the practice. It seems to be the one luxury in their life which is frequently available at no cost and, therefore, brooks no denial. So much so that when the carrion of a large animal is discovered and there is a surplus left over after distribution in the village it is customary to send it to relatives and friends in nearby villages as a gift, reciprocity of which is a point of honour. Interestingly however, the Shenvas look upon the taking of life as a sin and will not therefore themselves kill any animal or bird for food. The practice of fishing or hunting is therefore absent among them. On festivals and marriages the special diet marking the occasion is simple and practically frugal consisting of *Churma* which is baked *rotla* (bread) crushed by the hand into a fine powder to which oil and sugar or *gur* (Jaggery) are added; *lapsi*, which is the crushed prain of wheat lightly fried and then boiled before adding a sweetening; and *halva*, which is a preparation of wheat flour treated in the same manner as wheat in making *lapsi*. The use of market sweets

was found to be absent according to reports in both villages, for economic reasons.

Food is served in separate vessels to individual members of the family. The average family, however, has only a few such utensils and the feeding of the whole family must apparently, therefore, take considerable time. Cooking is done on the hearth-fire fed with cow-dung cakes or firewood gathered from nearby Government or private waste-land. Food in the boiled or baked form is the most common as it is most inexpensive and saves frying costs. The preservation of food is uncommon for the Shenvas cook just enough for each day's needs.

Of drinks they take only tea. The question as to whether they also drink liquor brought forth un-animous denial. Earlier published sources have reported the use of opium and liquor among these people. While these reports may well have been true, the use of liquor does not seem to be permitted now even for medicinal purposes. It cannot, however, be definitely opined whether the use of liquor is completely absent now in this community.

EQUIPMENT FOR RECORDING TIME AND THE MEASUREMENT OF WEIGHT AND SPACE

Time among the Shenvas is recorded by the passing of days and nights while minutiae of time are measured by the sun and stars. Day time is measured from sunrise to sunset by the passage of the sun across the sky from which they know when it is morning or mid-morning or noon or afternoon or evening. Dusk, the intermediary period between the evening and the night presents no problems for the measuring of its length, and the night's sky brings out the stars by which they tell the times of night. The measurement of the night hours is assisted by the Great Bear and Orion which they were found to recognize, and the middle hours of the monsoon night are measured with the aid of Scorpius. Dawn is known by the rising of the sun, two hours before which the cocks would have crowed to mark early dawn.

For measurement of lengths, they depend upon their concept of the length of hands. For weights

and scales, local utensils of standard size were originally used but now borrowed weights and scales serve the purpose.

ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION

The environmental sanitation or the lack of it to which the average Shenva is exposed cannot escape the normal rural conditions. The immediate environment is that of his household which, as already described, is a small, dingy, smoky ill-lit and ill-ventilated world. The air he breathes in his house is seldom clean or free from dust and smoke. In summer months however, he is fortunate in having to live out of doors day and night. The vicinity of the household can be found completely dry only in the summer or sunny weather. At other times it is slushy and wet from the use of the land adjoining the house for bathing purposes and for that of washing clothes and utensils and from the urination of cattle and human beings anywhere at will. Monsoon condition are particularly bad and dampness permeates even the interior of the home and most things in it capable of absorbing moisture. Garbage in the shape of household sweepings and, most frequently cow-dung, may be found in the open plots dotting the village site. This is allowed to accumulate until each of the two sowing seasons when it is removed for dispersal in the fields as manure. Fortunately, the accumulation of night soil is an evil from which the community as well as the village as a whole is free. The rural adult male or female is habituated to using the countryside for relieving nature. The houses were reported to be swept frequently and household utensils to be cleaned with water or ash.

The level of personal hygiene is not high. Given the choice, the average Shenva would much rather work and earn a little money than waste precious time on personal washing and cleaning. And the Shenvas claim to be a people whose life offers few choices. Economic necessity and the duty to keep his family fed and clothed force him into long hours of work. The little free time he has, he spends in being social with his fellowmen. The practice of bathing or the washing of personal clothes is one that admittedly receives but scant attention. This was particularly evident in Vithalgadh village, while the position in Lunasan was somewhat better though short of normally accepted standards. As a result, the average

Shenva is seldom clean in his appearance. While those among them who have access to other better placed social groups as was the case in Lunasan village were found to be giving more attention to personal cleanliness and hygiene, the large majority of them would seem to be blind and indifferent to this aspect of daily living. The teeth are cleaned by the end of a tender shoot of neem crashed between the teeth to form a brush. This is then spliced into half and used for cleaning the tongue.

DISEASES AND TREATMENT

The attitude to disease and its treatment among the Shenvas was found to be a mixture of the old and the new but the all pervading factor in the treatment of disease still seemed to be the basic one of economic consideration. This is particularly so when a choice has to be made between the cheaper local remedies and the more expensive modern medicine which can be obtained only at the expense of the time and money needed in reaching it. According to informants, it is only in the case of major diseases that services of modern medicine are availed of, for the nearest hospitals are not easily within reach and transport costs more time and money than the average Shenva cares to spend on it. The hospital nearest to Vithalgadh was at Virangam, a good long journey from the village, and that in the case of Lunasan, at Kalol, also a longish way away. A case was cited at Lunasan where it required four men to carry a seriously ill person upon a litter to Kalol thirteen kilometres away and the question was put as to how, given his economic circumstances, any Shenva could afford to waste the time and wages of four working men in order to avail of medical facilities. It was reported that even the normal means of public transport are found too expensive to avail of in the event that a doctor or a hospital has to be reached in an emergency, and walking or being carried to a hospital or doctor is still the most that a Shenva will do when consenting to have himself treated. The Shenvas still, therefore, give the highest preference to the local and private treatment of all diseases. The commonly known diseases among them are diarrhoea, fever and headache. For diarrhoea, boiled lime and curd are the accepted cure, while the boiled leaves of certain trees, particularly neem, and the bark of

neem, serves as a cure for fever. A ginger rub suffices for headaches. It was gathered that these local remedies are most effective and it is seldom that a Shenva has to go to a doctor.

The Shenvas claim not to consider any disease as being caused by the gods or evil spirits and look only upon small-pox as a super-natural visitation which they prefer to allow to run its course out rather than to fight. This attitude may not however be a universal one in this community for small groups of Shenvas at Siddhpur were found to be laying offerings at small mud temples dedicated to *Meldi Mata* the diety to whom vows are offered in cases of serious illness. Questions on the superiority of modern medicine over local or domestic remedies revealed that no serious thought seems to have been given to the matter. It was, however, admitted that a town doctor is consulted whenever possible in the case of serious illness, but this happens only when all local remedies have failed and the nature of the illness is beyond the capacity of local knowledge and experience to diagnose.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

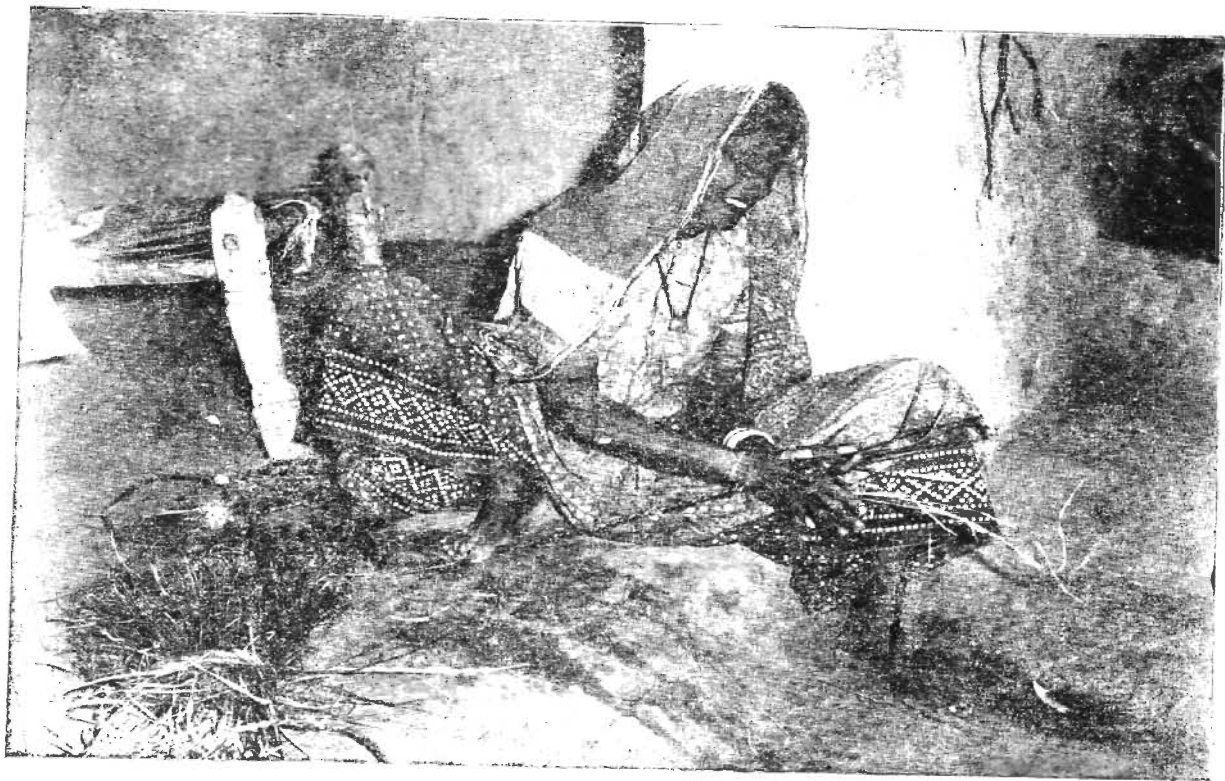
The language of the Shenvas is and has been Gujarati and differences in the manner of speech vary only minutely from area to area. The community is not known to have any written or oral literature of its own, having always been mostly illiterate.

The long period of illiteracy is, however, slowly beginning to come to an end and a literate Shenva may now be found more and more frequently. The Shenva children are increasingly beginning to attend schools though this practice is yet new and sporadic among them. According to the 1961 Census out of total population of 36,526 Shenvas in the State, 5,330 or 14.59 per cent are able to read and write. This is short of the general average of 22.46 per cent for the Scheduled Castes as a whole in the State. As could perhaps be expected, literacy among men is considerably higher than among women (22.33 per cent against 6.66 per cent), and in urban areas than in rural areas (26.10 per cent against 13.04 per cent). However, education among them is mostly confined to the primary level. Only 25 persons or 45% of the literate males have crossed the matriculation threshold but the community does not boast

of a single graduate. The general attitude towards education and literacy seemed to be that every able-bodied individual, be he adult or child is a valuable unit of the family and not only must he earn his keep but also do his share of the work to augment the family resources. As a result, while informants admitted the necessity of an education they did not admit that they could afford to send their children to school in view of the cost of education and the sacrifice of lost wages. According to them the fruits of education cannot be expected to be fully realized before at least 15 years. The waste of the working individual for this long period by his absence from economic pursuits is one that they preferred to avoid. Thus, while a comparatively large number of Shenva children are now beginning to go to school their number is yet indeed small and it may well be that the extent of illiteracy in this community may not decrease to any appreciable degree in the next two or three generations unless special efforts are made in this direction. This is a position which the Shenva parents recognized and willingly admitted at both villages surveyed.

ECONOMIC LIFE

The economic life of the Shenvas was at one time thought to centre around the plaiting of wild date leaves into matting or making brooms of *Bhindi* (*Hibiscus esculentus*) fibre, (Campbell, IX, I, 346, 1901). Both Campbell (*ibid.*) and Enthoven (III, 336, 1922) thought those occupations representative enough of the community to find a connection between occupation and the name of the caste, which he thought to derive from the word Shendi, meaning the wild date palm. Campbell (IX, I, 1901, 346) also thought them to be the makers of arrows from which the name Tirgar or Tirbanda as applied to the Shenvas was thought to have derived. According to the present Shenvas, however, neither they nor their ancestors have ever been the makers of arrows. Nor have they been professional barbers or the weavers of mats and ropes which are the other professions commonly associated with the community. It is their view that they have always been and are, agricultural labourers and will turn to other forms of casual or permanent labour only when they cannot find work in the fields. They also deny that they have ever been cleaners and curers of hides which also is sometimes said to



Making a rope.

be their traditional occupation. The Shenvas in both villages were quite emphatic about this.

Forced labour was reported to have been common in the days prior to Independence when the Shenvas were utilised as village servants and carriers of messages, but is now totally absent. The community prefers not to migrate too far afield in search of labour. The Shenva prefers to stay on where he is rather than face unknown and new conditions. Neither will an adult male leave his family and go outside in search of labour as he considers it his duty to remain with his family and look after it as best as he can. Seasonal migrations on any large scale are uncommon and no such examples were found. There is also no nomadic movement among them.

The few which possess land guard it jealously. They are careful in their husbandry of it and will eke out as much produce as they reasonably can from it. They generally also practice animal husbandry as a complementary occupation alongside of cultivation and keep buffaloes and bullocks. It was found in Lunasan village that there were in all 167 land-owning farmers there, of which 14 were Shenvas. These latter held a total of just a little over 51 acres of land while three others cultivated a little over 14 acres of land between them as tenants. All of this, except for two owners having $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres of irrigated land, was dry-crop land. For manure, cow-dung was generally used. Crop rotation is generally practiced as an elementary precept of good husbandry. Their tools and implements were generally of the required minimum and frequently crude and functional. Not infrequently, tools and implements and draught animals had to be borrowed at high rates of compensation.

According to the 1961 Census, of the total Shenva population of 36,526 persons 16,203 or 44.36 per cent are workers and 22,323 or 55.64 per cent are non-workers. Of the workers 14,824 persons are rural workers and an insignificant 1,379 are working in urban areas. Thus, 91.49 per cent of the working population of the Shenvas is still to be found in the rural sector and 8.51 per cent in the urban sector. That women contribute to the working force to a significant measure is evident from the fact that 6,272 persons out of a total working force of 16,203 workers are females. 4,755 workers are employed as cultivators

while 6,045 workers as agricultural labourers. This represents 29.35 per cent and 37.31 per cent of the Shenva working force in the two sectors respectively. An insignificant 0.71 per cent are engaged in mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantation, etc. 6.76 per cent of the working population or 1,096 workers are engaged in household industry, while 6.07 per cent or 982 workers in other manufacturing work. Only 0.53 per cent of the working force or 86 workers are in construction while a very small 0.27 per cent or 44 workers are in trade or commerce. A slightly larger number are engaged in the transport, storage and communications sector which absorbs 140 workers or 0.36 per cent of the working force. Lastly, 18.14 per cent of the workers are in other services. Thus, while the agricultural sector still absorbs a large proportion of workers among the Shenvas there is a shift from the traditional occupational pattern, even though a minor one. It would be instructive to compare the occupational pattern in this community with that obtaining in the Scheduled Castes as a whole. Among the latter, 25.99 per cent of the working force are cultivators as against 29.35 per cent among the Shenvas. Again, 28.90 per cent of the working force in the former group is engaged in agricultural labour while the figure for the Shenvas in the corresponding field is 37.31 per cent. In these two fields, therefore, the Shenvas still lead the Scheduled Castes as a whole. On the other hand, they fall behind the total Scheduled Castes group in the other diverse occupational fields. Whereas the Shenvas engaged in the mining, quarrying and livestock, etc., fields and at household industry are 0.71 per cent and 6.76 per cent of the total working force respectively, the corresponding figure for the Scheduled Castes as a whole is 1.09 per cent and 11.50 per cent respectively. Similarly, the Scheduled Castes group as a whole leads over the Shenvas in the other occupational categories as well. 8.85 per cent of the working force of the former group is in the manufacturing sector as against 6.07 per cent among the Shenvas, while 2.43 per cent of the former are in the construction field as against 0.53 per cent of the latter. The trade and commerce sector engages 0.58 per cent of the Scheduled Castes working groups as against only 0.27 per cent of the Shenva working group. Similarly transport, storage and communications absorb 1.47 per cent of the former as against 0.86 per cent of the latter group. There is, however, some parity in the field of other services which absorbs 19.19

per cent of the Scheduled Castes working group as against 18.14 per cent of the Shenva working group. The sectoral distribution of the two working groups is tabulated below:—

SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION OF PERCENTAGE OF WORKING POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SHENVAS

Total population (Scheduled Castes) : 1,367,255
 Total population (Shenvas) : 36,526
 Total working population : 582,058
 Total working population : 16,203

| Category | Scheduled Castes as a whole | Shenva | Explanation of Categories |
|----------|-----------------------------|--------|--|
| I | 25.99% | 29.35% | Cultivator |
| II | 28.90% | 37.35% | Agricultural labourer |
| III | 1.09% | 0.71% | Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, etc. |
| IV | 11.50% | 6.76% | Household Industry |
| V | 8.85% | 6.07% | Manufacture other than Household Industry |
| VI | 2.48% | 0.53% | Construction |
| VII | 0.58% | 0.27% | Trade and Commerce |
| VIII | 1.47% | 0.86% | Transport, Storage and Communications |
| IX | 19.19% | 18.14% | Other Services |

The comparative sectoral distribution of the two working forces would seem to indicate greater diversification of occupation in the former group than in the latter. However, considering the fact that the Shenvas have traditionally suffered from many disadvantages and also considering their admitted disinclination to go in for other forms of labour different from their traditional preferences, even the minor extent of occupational mobility among the Shenvas may be taken as encouraging. It might be instructive to note also that while 57.43 per cent of the total population of the Scheduled Castes as a whole are non-workers a comparatively lesser proportion of the Shenva population, i.e., 55.64 per cent are non-workers.

The present Shenva working population would thus seem to be predominantly agricultural labourers. A small percentage of them do possess land of their own particularly in the former jagir and estate areas and cases are not unknown where a Shenva agriculturist has a land-holding as large as any in his village. At Vithalgadh village cases of Shenva farmers in the adjoining villages having the largest land-holdings in the villages were reported but none were investigated. These, however, are acknowledged as an exception to the general condition and do not constitute representative examples of the Shenva's lot in respect of his economic activities. The bulk of them remain agricultural labourers. It was learnt that only when work in the fields is not available would they turn to other forms of labour, preference attaching to earth work or masonry or other forms of work not calling for skill. Eventually, avenues of unskilled labour appear to be limited and in any case the demand for unskilled labour in the rural areas was reported to be too small to accommodate the total unskilled labour force available. The Shenvas, therefore, complain of a lack of employment opportunities suited to their limited skills and capacities. On the other hand, there is the mitigating factor that whenever there is need for manual unskilled labour in the villages preference will always be given to the village force before any other. For the most part, work is readily available during the agricultural season when wages of Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-25 ps. daily can be earned. In the winter harvesting season five seers of grain are added to the cash wages. Here again there are differences in the wages earned and the working conditions and facilities offered. An employer will give *bidis*, tea and one meal a day to his labourers engaged in harvesting crops having harder and thicker stalks for these require greater labour and strength. This facility is not offered to those engaged in harvesting 'softer' crops. Thus, labourers engaged in harvesting crops such as *Bajra* and *Juwar* earn more and are better treated than those engaged in harvesting paddy and wheat.

When the local potential for labour is exhausted they have to travel as far as 8 to 10 kms. in search of work which may or may not be available. The formation of working groups is common and the youth force of a village or region form gangs of upto 40 to 50 labourers and enter into an annual contract with an interested employer to harvest his crops on fixed

terms. These groups consist of young men and women of one community only or of mixed groups, the latter being more frequent. This system is known as the *Hathi* system, the word *Hathi* being the local pronunciation of Sathi, meaning companion. This patron-client relationship is much valued and closely preserved for it rules out the waste of time involved in the search for labour and ensures some form of fixed labour. The form of contract is oral and relies on good faith between the contracting parties. Wages are in both cash and kind. The employer feeds the labourers once a day, extends facilities like tea and *bidis* during the working days, and the eventual cash remuneration is also accompanied by two pairs of clothes and a pair of shoes. The amount of cash remuneration depends on the kind of crops harvested as to whether they are 'soft' or 'hard' crops and on the labour rate prevalent in any given year. The contract is usually for one year but can be continued from year to year by mutual agreement. It is generally the youth of the village that constitute these working groups so that the older and, therefore, generally weaker members of the society can undertake labour in the village itself or nearer home, while the stronger youth could travel further afield. There is also this consideration that the arrivals and departures of the younger men are of less import to the family than those of the older men who are usually the heads of households and would, therefore, prefer to be nearer home in case of disputes or difficulties or emergencies of any kind involving their families.

It is difficult to ascertain the average income of a Shenva household. It was, however, found likely that in view of the large size of the average Shenva family and of the quantum of income required to meet with the expenses of the family and social obligations and in view of the fact that the average Shenva lives from day-to-day and from hand to mouth, his average annual income is far short of his minimum requirements. A survey of 20 households to cover aspects of housing and extent and variety of household possessions pointed to such a conclusion.

EQUIPMENT AND GOODS

A survey of 20 households showed that the equipment and goods possessed by the Shenvas for economic and religious pursuits are few and rudimentary. The

few agriculturists among them have the minimum of agricultural implements consisting of a plough and other related minor equipment. The majority engaged in agricultural and casual labour have to depend mostly on their employers to provide the tools and implements necessary to their occupation. Of equipment related to religious pursuits and ritual, the average Shenva household has none, for there are no household gods to worship. To the extent that the survey covered representative broad income groups of the entire community in the village, the results may also be said to be quite representative. In the field of personal apparel, it was found that for the 29 adult males in the 20 households only 10 households had 15 caps among them and 17 households had 20 turbans among them. There was a complete absence of towels in all the households. The number of shirts or bush-shirts found was 55, thus allowing for 1.89 of this article per person. 46 *dhotis* or trousers obtained for the total adult male population of the households surveyed, thus allowing for 1.59 of the article per person on an average. Only 23 pairs of shoes or chappals were found distributed in 15 households providing for 0.76 pairs per person of the total adult male population. The number of shaving kits available per person of the total adult male population was 0.49, only 14 sets being found in as many houses.

The population of these households consisted of 31 minor males. They shared between them 35 shirts found in 18 households allowing for 1.13 per person on an average. The position was identical in respect of shirts and trousers.

35 adult females obtained in the total population in these households. Between them they owned 57 saris and an equal number of blouses and petticoats allowing for 1.80 of the item per person on an average.

Only three of the households had any ornaments. Their total value was reported as Rs. 90, thus placing the average value of ornaments at Rs. 30 with each of the three households.

For the minor females, of whom there were 33 in the total population of 128 in these households, there were only 22 petticoats among them and an equal number of blouses. Only 14 frocks were found distributed

in five households. The petticoats and blouses were found distributed in nine households.

Of household goods, only 66 beds or cots obtained in all the households to serve the needs of 128 persons. Likewise, the availability of quilts or blankets and mattresses was found to be well below the required minimum, only 71 of each category being available in all the households. If these were to be divided to fulfil the basic requirements of each person, the division would come to 0.52 beds, 0.55 quilts or blankets and 0.55 mattresses per person. For a total minor population of 64 children only three cradles in as many households were found. Almost every household, however, had a bucket or basket. There were a total of 21 buckets available in 17 households and 14 baskets in 13 households. Only two households had any photographs or pictures while 10 households had calendars. Other decorative wall hangings obtained only in one household which also had a calendar and photographs. Ready cash was found only in 14 households together totalling Rs. 91.50 and averaging Rs. 6.5 per household of the 14 households in which cash was found. 19 households had stored agricultural produce the total value of which was Rs. 294.

Of household utensils of normal daily requirement, all the households yielded 69 cooking utensils, 93 catering and 68 drinking utensils allowing for 3.45, 4.65 and 3.40 respectively per household on an average. This availability could be further broken into 1.45 catering utensils per adult and 0.730 per person. Similarly the availability of drinking utensils would divide into 1.06 per adult and 0.53 per person.

Although there were four households dependent completely on agriculture, only two had agricultural implements. They together had 7 primary and 8 secondary agricultural implements between them. Other tools of basic daily requirement were found in 18 households, together numbering 41. Only one family owned one bullock while three families had four cows and six families had 11 buffaloes between them. Nine families had a total of 13 goats, while none owned any poultry.

The extent of indebtedness in this community is considerable. Fortunately, they are kindly treated and, because a Shenva always honours a debt and is basi-

cally honest and hard-working and not given to evil habits or a life of crime, private individuals willingly extend credit to him in cash and kind. It is the proud boast of the Shenvas that they always honour and repay a debt so incurred and the community's careful guardianship of its reputation in this regard discourages any default. It is thus that though his requirements are far in excess of his earnings a Shenva will somehow manage to make both ends meet by cash and goods borrowed from members of the affluent communities in his village. It was admitted both in Vithalgadh and Lunasan by the members of well-to-do communities that they would have no hesitation in extending help to a Shenva because he invariably repaid his debt.

On the question of expenditure 75 per cent of the Shenva's earning is spent on food-stuffs, 54.54 per cent on cereals and pulses alone. Spices, vegetables, sugar and gur (jaggery) absorb 18.18 per cent of the earnings. Another one-fifth or 18.18 per cent is accounted for by clothing. Tea, tobacco, medicine and occasional travelling expenses take up 6.14 per cent of the earnings. Enquiry revealed that almost every household is burdened by indebtedness ranging from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500. Co-operative and other forms of institutionalised credit facilities are seldom available because the average Shenva so seldom has any security to offer against loans and the extent of personal credit without security extends to only Rs. 100 and cannot be availed of to the extent required.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth

Conception and birth among the Shenvas is considered a blessing both for emotional and practical reasons. Every birth of a child is looked upon as the bringing into the world of one more member in the family to assist in its economic pursuits. No thought seems to be given to the fact that it also increases the liability of the family unit. Barrenness, still birth, miscarriage, and child-death are looked upon as a curse of *karma* and punishment for past mis-deeds. No other concept seems to attach to these various phenomena attending upon conception and birth.

It would seem that the Shenvas attach great importance to birth and the value of life. Their abhorrence of taking life in any form which accounts for their considering all killing as sin, extends also to unwanted children. They look upon abortion as both cruel and sinful and if any girl or woman is unfortunate enough to be carrying a child unwanted for any reason, custom decrees that she should at all costs have the child rather than resort to the expedience of abortion. The Shenvas would, in fact, go so far as to allow the women of their community to give birth to a child fathered by a man of a socially inferior caste and this is the one area where even strongly entrenched social taboos are laid aside in deference to common humanity. Otherwise their view of pre-marital sex and adultery and such sexual offences is claimed to be strict and autocratic.

It would also seem that the Shenvas seem to have confused ideas concerning the size of the family. The average family is a large one. While on the one hand the Shenva parent looks upon the birth of a child as a blessing and on a child as an added hand to assist in the economic pursuits of the family, he also reluctantly admits that it is also an added liability. And, while on the one hand he will also admit that a smaller family would perhaps be the more practical one, he will at the same time go out of his way to prove that a larger family is socially and economically more viable. He does not seem to have thought seriously about the dire economic need to limit his family and solves the question by declaring that a large family is a gift from god. His final answer, of course, is that a large family is inevitable in view of the fact that he has at times considerable time in which he has nothing to do and, so, he has children. Facetious as this may sound, the point is not without content. Sex seemed to be the one comfort and enjoyment which the average Shenva knows for which he is required to make no immediate payment in cash or kind.

It is generally preferred, and, as far as possible practised, that the first delivery should be at the mother's home. It is felt that a woman's first experience of child-birth is accompanied by various fears and the social values of the community make it impossible for an expectant mother to move about freely in her condition or to discuss her problems and fears with

anyone. The home of her parents is therefore looked upon as the fit place where she may have her first child. There is also the practical consideration that she will be better looked after at the home of her parents and will receive the rest and care that she might rightly expect at such a time.

When the first delivery is due a ceremony is performed normally in the fifth or seventh month of pregnancy at the house of the woman's in-laws during which her parents send her gifts of clothing, and sweets, objects of sanctity or purity, all of which are placed in her lap during the ceremony. This is locally known as "*khol bharvi*" or, "filling the lap" and may symbolize abundance and amplitude. She is thereafter taken to her parental home, there to deliver her child. However, the *simant* ceremony, as the ritual of filling the lap at the first delivery is known, is performed among the Shenvas only by those who can afford it. Custom decrees that the expectant mother may go to her parental home for her first delivery only if the *simant* ceremony is performed. If it is not performed, then she is taken home only after she has been delivered of her child. In cases where the ceremony is performed the objects usually given are two pairs of clothes, a silver ring, and a silver bangle for the mother, and a turban for the expected child's father. Furthermore, the mother can go to her parental home for the delivery only if there is an auspicious day permitting the journey. If there is no such day on which the journey can be performed before the delivery, the delivery takes place at the home of the husband and the mother then goes to her parental home only later. This is the practice even in cases where the *simant* ceremony has been duly performed.

An expectant mother generally observes certain restrictions designed mainly to lessen the burden of work which is normally her lot. She may not carry any heavy articles and must avoid pungent and sour diet. As befits a new mother, she may not also be seen in her condition by her father-in-law or any adult male member of the family who is senior in age or status to her husband and towards whom respect from her is normally due by custom.

The delivery takes place in a corner of the house which is curtained off or in any other manner

concealed from the rest of the house to ensure privacy. The child is delivered while lying flat on the ground and the aid of an elderly woman is generally taken to assist in the delivery. She is generally known as the *dai* and is paid remuneration of Rs. 2 and some grain. In the case of delivery being difficult the abdomen of the woman is rubbed with oil and hot compresses are also applied to it. This is believed to reduce the pain of labour and to expedite and ease the delivery. When delivery has been effected, the umbilical cord is cut by any keen sharp instrument and the placenta is disposed off by burial, generally and preferably within the house or its vicinity itself. This is buried with a sprinkling of salt to expedite rapid decomposition. Apparently no special significance attaches to the placenta among the Shenvas. The new born child is immediately bathed with luke-warm water and the mother shortly thereafter. On the sixth day after birth, the *Chhatthi* ceremony is performed when the child is formally named. There is no elaborate formal naming ceremony but the *Garoda* priest normally decides on the name according to the *rashi* or constellation of stars under which the child is born. Generally, however, the parents and members of the community tend to call and recognise the child by a derivation of the name of the day on which he is born and he continues to bear the related name for the rest of his life. Thus, a child born on Saturday will generally be known as Shanio, irrespective of the name given to him by the priest and names such as Somo or Soni (born on Monday), or Mangalio (or Mangli (born on Tuesday) and Buddhio or Buddhi (born on Wednesday) are the most commonly preferred names for males and females respectively. However, for formal use such as government records or dealings with offices and courts, the Shenva uses his formally assigned name.

The period of confinement after delivery is variable and may be anything from five days to five weeks. The new mother who is a member of an economically comfortable house may observe restriction and rest for the prescribed full five weeks while, on the other hand, one belonging to a poor house may observe only five days of restriction and rest. This period is always accompanied by, and was originally dictated by, the concept of ceremonial pollution. After child-birth a new mother is always given some

special diet to ensure early restoration of strength and vigour. Owing to economic reasons this diet among the Shenvas cannot be anything more than *Halva* or *Lapsi* described earlier, and the gum of *babul* trees which is considered to be a source of strength. She gradually returns to normal diet and to her normal place as a member of a working family.

The new child is well looked after initially but as he grows older he has of necessity to be left to the care of his elder brothers and sisters if he has those, or to that of a non-working relative or friend. In the early days of his life he is well protected from extremes of cold and heat and from drafts. A black thread is normally tied around his neck or wrist to ward off the evil eye. He is breast-fed upto about 18 to 24 months of age whereafter breast-feeding is slowly discouraged. The usual way of weaning a child is to apply the juice of the neem tree to the nipples of the mother's breasts so that the bitterness will make the child reject the breast and willingly accept a substitute. Mastication is gradually taught after the age of about two when a beginning is made with soft foods. Sphinctre control is taught by taking the child out and inducing him, by whistling, to relieve nature. This is done as far as possible at fixed times, generally first thing in the morning and last thing at night and after meals when the child can normally be expected to feel the need of relieving nature. These visits are always accompanied by a low whistling sound so that the child learns to associate the sound as well as the outdoors with the act of relieving nature and will gradually learn to indicate either by crying or in some other manner that he wishes to be taken out. In course of time he is able to go out by himself and the early training as well as the imitative instinct of the child ensures that nature is eventually always relieved out of doors and away from the house. Training in micturition was reported to be a longer process and, while a child learns sphinctre control quite easily, he often continues to wet his bed for long after the age of 2 to 4 years.

The life of a Shenva child is as happy as can be expected within the framework of the economic conditions in which he is born, but the duties and responsibilities of a working life come earlier to him than

they do to children born in happier circumstances. Since he seldom goes to school, most of his childhood is spent at home and in its neighbourhood. From as early as five years of age he is expected to do small household chores like lifting things, performing small errands, assisting the parents in the house and, while the parents are out working, in looking after his younger brothers or sisters of which there are almost invariably one or two. So engaged, his leisure time is limited. What little there is of it, is spent in playing with marbles, and tops and joining neighbourhood groups for a game of *khokho* or *kabaddi*. The discrimination to which the larger numbers of this community are subject on the ground of caste does not seem to accost the child and the generally innocent and friendly world of children preserves him from the bitterness which discrimination or social ostracism on the basis of caste would undoubtedly create. Little girls while away the time similarly and in their spare time beguile themselves by making dolls, singing songs and arranging the betrothals and marriages of their dolls. They have their own separate games and play-groups and do not join the boys in their rougher games.

At about the age of ten both boys and girls are put to work and responsibilities devolve upon them at that age. They join the adult members of the family at work and remain so employed for the major part of their life until each in his turn has attained marital status and parenthood and a new phase of life and responsibility has begun for each.

A girl generally attains puberty at about the age of 13 to 15 years depending on the physical health of the child and she is considered to be of marriageable age between the age of 14 and 16 years. Boys are believed to attain puberty a little later between the years of 15 to 16 when they are considered marriageable.

Marriage

Generally both boys and girls are considered to attain marriageable age by the time they are 15 to 16 years of age. Marriage among the Shenvas has to be within the community but not within the same *gotra* or clan. Only the monogamous form of marriage is now generally practiced and polygyny is rare though its prevalence has been reported earlier

(Enthoven, III, 1922, 336). Sanctity attends upon the institution of marriage and complete faithfulness to one's chosen spouse is a fundamental article of faith. The married woman is an equal partner with her husband in all life's activities and the traditional view of woman being the inferior sex does not apparently obtain among the Shenvas. It could hardly do so, considering the extent to which the Shenva woman participates with her husband in all life's pursuits. Marriage with all paternal and maternal cousins is forbidden as also with a younger brother's widow and the wife's elder sister. No prohibition, however, attaches to marriage with a husband's younger brother or a wife's younger sister or an elder brother's widow. Second marriage is permitted only if the first wife is barren. However, discarding the first wife on account of her barrenness is thought cruel and honour attaches to the man who will house and 'sustain' (the Shenva's word, '*nibhavavun*') such a woman. In the case of male infertility, however, the wife may not take a second husband. Divorce is permitted in cases of temperamental or other forms of incompatibility. The one paramount consideration when parents search for a spouse for their son or daughter is good looks and complexion. No other consideration seems to hold importance not even that of economic independence or capacity to add to the family earnings, in the belief that any able-bodied man or woman can, in due course, be made to assist in all economic efforts by sheer necessity alone. According to informants at Lunasan, they are careful that a person with physical deformity is married only to another person with a similar deformity and a physically sound person will not be married to a physically unsound one. Formerly, child marriages were reported to be common (Enthoven, III, 1922, 336) but the practice has now been discarded. The 1961 Census data pertaining to the age-group break-ups of the marital status information belies the view held by Enthoven that child marriages are frequent among the Shenvas. Out of 16,452 persons falling within the 0-14 age-group, only 434 persons comprising of 102 males and 332 females were returned as married and 45 males and one female were returned as widowed. It is not, however, still uncommon to find the betrothals taking place during childhood and marriages following upon the attaining of marriageable age by the betrothed

parties. A betrothal is a serious commitment and may not be easily broken. It is only for good and sufficient reason that betrothal may be permitted to be broken after the Caste *Panch* has decided that sufficient reason exists to allow the break. The party found at fault has generally to pay a prescribed fine.

The actual marriage is preceded by betrothal or *sagai*. The *sagai* follows the choice of the bride or groom as the case may be, and the settlement of the terms between the parties. The negotiations are arranged through mutual friends. On both the parties agreeing to a match and as to the terms of the settlement, the ceremony of betrothal is arranged in consultation with the *Garoda* priest. The boy's father has to go to the girl's house and give to his counterpart a rupee in token of settlement of the agreement. On any auspicious day after the *sagai*, the actual marriage takes place. Marriage invitations are issued to not more than about 30 persons, about a week in advance of the date of marriage. This is done formally through personal contact through relatives and friends. Two days in advance of the marriage the respective houses of both the bride and groom are cleansed and white-washed or freshly plastered with cow-dung according to the economic capacity of the household. Rudimentary decorations are also put on consisting of dabs of white paint and festoons of leaves. The bridegroom at his house, and the bride at hers, are then made to go through a ceremony known as *pat besadvu* and the deity *Ganesh* is formally installed in either house when the *grih-shanti* ceremony is performed. The bride and groom may also go out in procession each in his or her respective village or neighbourhood. On the day of marriage the bridegroom with his party of friends and relatives goes to the bride's village or neighbourhood and is formally received and accommodated elsewhere in the village. When the hour for the marriage ceremony to start has arrived the bridegroom's party proceed to the marriage *mandap* constructed for the purpose, where the groom is received by his mother-in-law to be and is seated on a wooden stool in the *mandap*. The marriage ceremony is performed by the *Garoda* priest according to brief Brahmanical rites and the whole ceremony takes about an hour. The marriage ceremony is considered complete when the bride and bridegroom have taken four rounds of the sacrificial fire which is the binding portion of the ceremony.

After the ceremony is over the bride and groom go and pay their respects to the gods and deities of the village. The groom thereafter returns to his village taking the bride with him. The amount of *dahej* or bride price is fixed at Rs. 301 and this has to be given by the father of the bridegroom to his opposite number before the marriage. No other terms of settlement are prescribed. The bride, at the time of going to her new home, was reported to take nothing with her beyond the clothes on her body. All the expenses of the actual marriage ceremony are borne by the family of the bride. The entire marriage ceremony as well as the ceremonies commencing two days before the actual date of the marriage and continuing for another two days after the date of marriage are attended by the normal feature of singing, music and rejoicing. The use of music is, however, limited and only a drum accompanies the various functions in the entire festivities. The marriage expenses were reported to range from Rs. 400 to Rs. 700 depending on the status of the family, and the *Garoda* priest is paid Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 for his services.

Statistical data on the marital status among the Shenvas shows that of the total population of 36,526 persons, 18,495 persons constituting 50.63% of the total population were male. Of these 8,081 or 43.69% returned the married status and 9,936 or 53.72% returned the never married status. The female population numbered 18,031 persons constituting 49.37% of the total population, of which 8,374 females or 46.44% of the female population were married and 7,940 females or 44.04% of the female population were unmarried. A small 2.94% of the male population and 9.43% of the female population or 460 males and 1,700 females respectively returned the 'Widowed' status while only 0.10% of the total male population and 0.09% of the total female population or 18 and 17 males and females respectively returned the 'Divorced or Separated' status. In overall terms with respect to the total population, 48.94% comprised of 27.20% males and 21.74% females returned the 'Never Married' status. A smaller percentage of the total population, i.e. 45.05% returned the 'Married' status. This group was comprised of 22.12% males and 22.93% females. In the 'Widowed' category 5.91% of the population fell within that category comprising of 1.26% males and 4.65% females. 0.10% of the total population was returned as

'Divorced or Separated'. This percentage was equally divided between the male and female groups. The percentages of widowed persons in the 0-14 age group are 0.28% males and 0.27% females. Interestingly, one female in the 0-14 age-group was returned as divorced or separated.

One of the marriage customs prevalent among the Shenvas is that of *dervatu* or levirate, according to which a widow can marry the younger brother of her late husband if she so chooses. If she is so inclined, she may marry elsewhere also. Widow remarriage is generally celebrated on Sunday or Tuesday. No explanation was forthcoming as to the specific reasons for the choice of these two days particularly, beyond the fact that such is the general practice decreed by age-old custom and that the two days are thought to be holy. The person marrying a widow cannot enjoy all the perquisites and ceremonies of a regular formal marriage by reason of the belief and practice that a woman may go round the sacred marriage fire only once in her lifetime and never again. Because a man cohabiting with a woman without having gone round the sacred fire with her is not considered to be doing so in the married state, he is first married to a doll representing his widow-bride with all the forms of a regular marriage and he may then cohabit with the widow as if he were formally married to her. However, if the groom is a widower and the bride is previously unmarried a full marriage ceremony is gone through.

Divorce is permitted on grounds of any form of incompatibility and is always decided by the *Nyat* or Caste *Panch*. The *Panch* decides the amount of fine to be levied from the party at fault. This is now formally laid down in the "Constitution" governing the conduct of such matters in the community. The constitution obtained governs only the 85 villages of the Khakharia Paragna in Mehsana District. It was learnt, however, that the amount of fine in cases of divorce among the Shenvas everywhere is clearly laid down. In the Khakharia Paragna, and under the constitution, if the default is that of the woman her father has to pay Rs. 250 to the father of the groom and Rs. 51 to the *Panch*. If the fault lies with the husband he has to pay Rs. 12.50 as the price of divorce and to feed the members of his community

and to also pay Rs. 51 to the *Nyat Panch*. The difference in treatment is explained thus: that the wife pays the higher fine in case she seeks divorce in view of the large amount of bride price paid to her father when she was married. All disputes in social or matrimonial relationships and conduct effecting the community's life and customs have to be settled by the *Nyat Panch*. The instruments of divorce were said to be always reduced to writing and kept in the custody of a member of the *Nyat Panch* as chosen from the time to time.

Death

The Shenvas look upon death as a secession of breath and a passing away from the earth either from natural causes or unnatural causes. The only natural cause for death which they recognise is old age arrived at when a man has lived his normal span of years. If he dies as a consequence of any disease which quite reasonably could be expected to result in death this is not considered unnatural. Accidents, suicides and pre-mature deaths from unknown causes are considered to be unnatural, but are also thought to be the result of *karma*. They do not believe that the soul of man turns into a malevolent spirit after his death for any given reasons and, therefore, do not believe in any measures to avoid harm by the spirits. They do, however, believe that the future well-being of the soul can be assured by acts of *punya* or charity, such as feeding guests and children, or the poor, or birds, cows and ants.

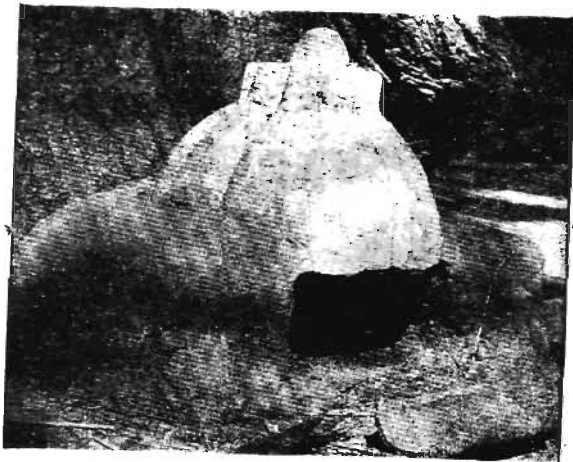
Death is usually recognised by them by the secession of breath and the onset of *rigor mortis* which they recognise as a condition following death. For more immediate confirmation, they judge death to have taken place by the body having achieved a certain degree of coldness. When death is inevitable and the last earthly moments of the person are believed to be at hand the names of the gods Ram and Krishna are spoken in his ears in the belief that his last memory may be of the divine. Vows are also taken to perform the necessary acts of *Punya* in order that the person nearing death may not be anxious on this account and that his soul may, therefore, the more readily find release from his body. When death has occurred, the body is placed on a mattress on the

ground and a lamp fed with clarified butter is lighted and placed nearby as a votive offering and some water and *Tulsi* leaves (leaves of *Ocimum sanctum*) are placed in the mouth of the deceased as objects of purity. The body is then bathed and covered with a shroud. The shroud is of red colour in case of women and the young of both sexes and white in the case of old people of either sex. Relatives and friends are informed of the death and it is expected that they will try to come in time for the burial ceremony. The body is disposed off as early as possible but if death has occurred in the night the last rites are postponed until the morning. The Shenvas bury their dead. The body is normally placed on a bier at the corners of which four coconuts are hung. It is then carried to the burial ground, everyone lending a shoulder by turns in carrying the body. Those accompanying the procession are known as *khandhiyas* (literally, those who lend a shoulder). At the burial ground the body is laid by until a pit is dug to serve as its grave. It is then consigned to the grave along with a sprinkling of salt to assist speedy decomposition. The grave is then filled up and a lamp and some form of fire is placed around it in order to discourage scavenging animals from disturbing the grave. This is kept up normally for about 7 to 9 days.

An exception to the normal practice was found in Lunasan village, where the body is cremated. Information was also gathered there that some clans of the Shenva community bury their dead while the others cremate them and no single standard practice obtains with the entire community. In the case of cremation, the last rites are just as simple as at burial. The body is cremated over a funeral pyre with a minimum of ceremony and ritual. The residue of bones and ashes is collected on the third day and is cooled by pouring water upon it. It is then gathered in a heap and left there with a pot full of water resting on top of the heap. Only in rare cases are remains of bones and ashes collected and taken for final disposal to any one of the sacred rivers. No tombs or megaliths are erected in memory of the dead or to mark the place of their final rest. Ceremonial pollution attends upon death and generally its observance for 13 days is enjoined but its duration fluctuates according to the economic condition of the family concerned. If a family in which death has occurred cannot afford to observe formal ceremonial mourning

for the prescribed 13 days and thereby lose the wages of these days from abstaining from work, it observes ceremonial pollution for a lesser period. On the third, fifth or seventh day of the death, the ceremony of *sawalu* is performed when the male members of the family and very close relatives and friends shave off their head and beards as a mark of respect to the departed soul. The *utarkriya* ceremony is performed by the eldest son or the senior surviving male member of the household on the 11th or 13th day. The bereaved are generally expected to avoid all forms of enjoyment for a month and a quarter after death. For a period, new clothes are not worn and sweets are not eaten as a mark of mourning. Women generally wear black or grey or blue-grey sarees and discard their ornaments for the period of mourning. On the 6th or 13th day after death a caste dinner is held when a number of people according to the capacity of the person giving the dinner are fed as an act of charity to ensure of future well-being of the departed soul. The normal fare at these dinners is generally *halva* or *sukhdi*, and *dal*, rice and vegetables.

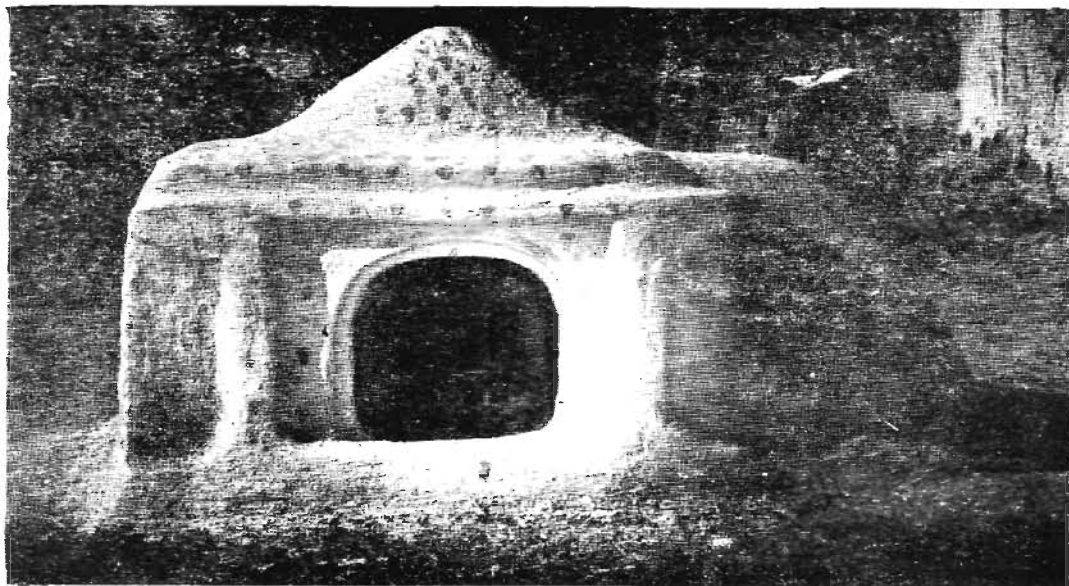
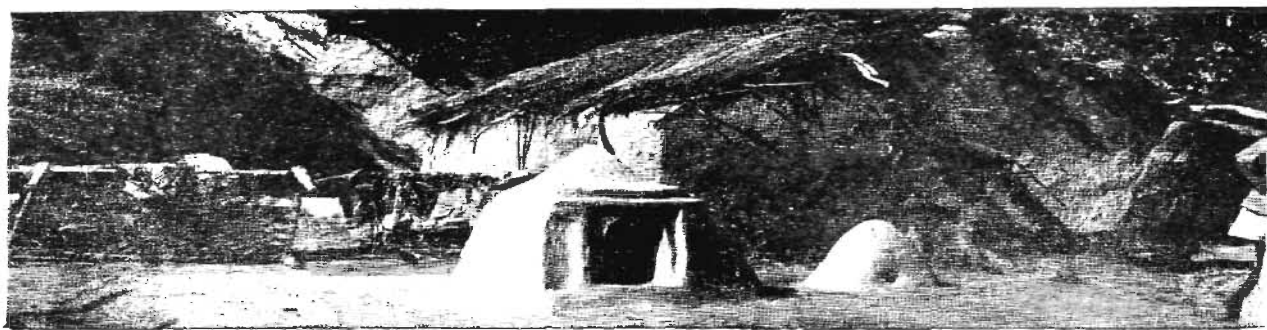
No hard and fast restrictions in matters of work, food, dress and sex life are prescribed in connection with death in the family, beyond the expectation that in the case of a married woman being widowed by the death, she will break all the bangles on her hands to symbolise her widowhood and the women in the family wear dark-coloured clothing, and that male relatives will shave off their head and beard. It is generally desired that as far as possible normal work be avoided for a considerable period as a mark of respect to the deceased but this period is seldom longer than the absolutely minimum required for the rites and ceremonies and the social obligations that attend upon a death in the family. It is also expected that no new clothes or those of gaudy or festive colours be worn but this seldom calls for any change in normal practice because the day-to-day dress of the Shenvas is in any case simple and frugal, mostly white cotton. It is considered desirable that sexual relations between man and wife be also avoided for sometime but, according to the admission of the Shenvas themselves, this is hardly practised. There is no formal ceremony marking the end of the period of ceremonial pollution. Each family marks the end of the period chosen by itself by resuming normal activities and social intercourse.



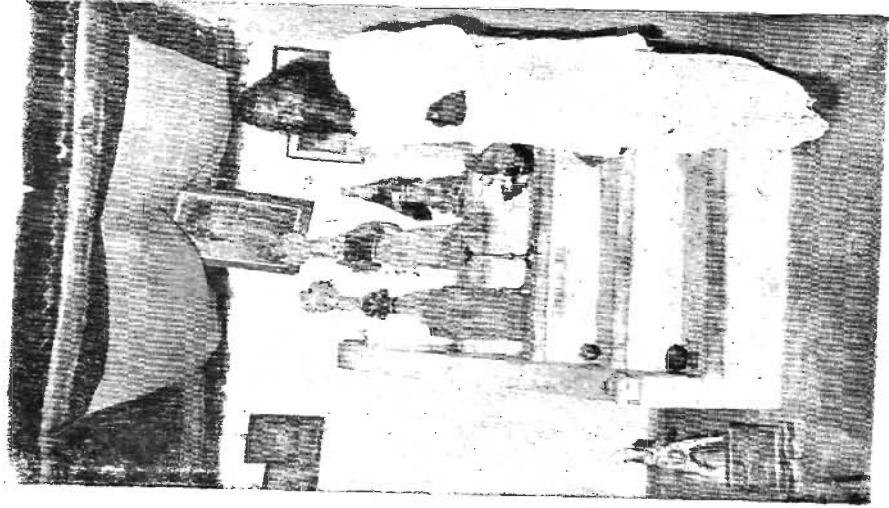
Clay temple consecrated to Meldi Mata, a deity worshipped in times of illness and to whom offerings are made in fulfilment of vows (Sidhpur).

A miniature temple in stone, representing an unusual departure from the normal practice of using clay for such small structures.

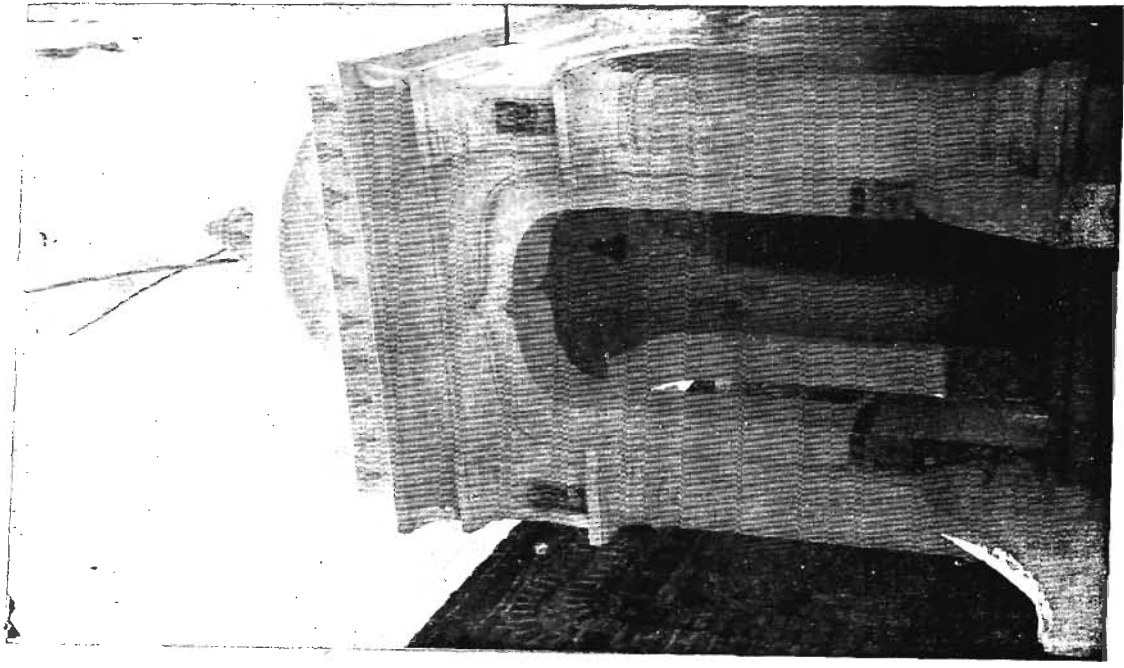




Clay temples of Bhat Mata, a family deity of the Shenvas (Vithalgadh Village, Surendranagar).



(a)



(b)

Ramji Mazdar, Sathpur, a temple of the Shenvas, interior, (a), and exterior, (b).

The Shenvas believe in life after death and in the transmigration of the soul to heaven or to hell before its eventual rebirth in one form or another. They do not, however, believe in the concept of eternal rest or of eternal reward or damnation, nor do they believe in spirits. Among them, it is thought that after death the soul journeys to "the land of God" where it experiences a period of reward or of punishment according to the deeds of the deceased upon earth during his lifetime. The length of this period is not definite but it is definitely believed that it is not eternal and also that after this period of reward or punishment is over the soul is reborn in one form or another and witnesses a new lease of life on earth.

They do not have the institution of Parjan or collective *shradha* as in some other communities nor any other such ceremonies in remembrance of the dead.

RELIGION

The Shenvas are Hindu by religion and they worship most of the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon including Ram, Sita, Laxman, Krishna and Shiva according to individual inclination. The 1961 Census returned no Shenva who belonged to any religion other than Hinduism. In addition they also follow and worship Ramdev Pir, the deified Rajput Prince from Marwad whose influence and following in Gujarat is considerable and now quite old. They also have their own local pantheon as distinct from the other caste Hindu pantheon and this comprises of various gods and goddesses who are the presiding deities of various occasions and of various aspects of life. These are mainly Khodiar Mata to whom apparently the greatest reverence is extended, Limbodri Mata, Nag Dev, Kheterpal or Vir Dev, and the various aspects of Jogani Mata. Jogani Mata is really the generic form taken by women saints to whom the power to perform miracles is imputed. At Siddhpur, small earthen temples dedicated to *Meldi Mata* were also found, showing evidence of offerings having been made to this deity by the Shenvas in the locality. Their old belief in sorcerors, witchcraft, omens and the evil eye seems now to be dying out but they still worship Shitla Mata in the event of a Small-pox epidemic and will consult a *Bhuva* or sorcerer when confronted by an illness or any form of harassment which they cannot comprehend. No *Bhuva* or sorcerer was, however, found at

either village. The Shenvas do not have a calendar of fairs and festivals distinct from the Hindu calendar of fairs and festivals. They observe all the important local Hindu festivals. They do, however, attach the greatest importance to the festival of *Navrat* when all the gods and goddesses of their own pantheon are also worshipped with fervour and devotion. The offerings that may be made to the gods and goddesses of their own pantheon are stipulated. Only *Lapsi* is offered to Khodiar Mata, rice to Limbodri Mata, coconut to Nag Dev, and *ghughari*, which is ordinary boiled wheat, to Kheterpal or Vir Dev. For Ramdev Pir the offering is *Churma*, which is baked *roti* crushed into powder and mixed with oil and sugar or gur.

They do not seem to quite comprehend all the rituals that attends upon the various aspects of the Hindu religion. Neither did the significance of the various rituals and ceremonies attending upon various festivals and fasts seem comprehensible to them. But they were found to display a blind and touching faith in religion and in the God's power to protect and shelter the good upon earth.

They have a religious head who was originally returned to be residing at Dakor but is now found to be residing at Siddhpur. Campbell referred to such a person as early as 1901 (IX, 1, 1901, 346) and Enthoven (III, 1922, 337), repeated the reference and located the person in Dakor. The position of the religious head, according to available information, is still a little ambiguous. The present religious head Prabhudas Nathuram Bhechar Swami, was contacted at Siddhpur and enquiries were made from him concerning his predecessor first reported to have been residing at Dakor. It was learnt from him that this reported predecessor was strictly not the religious head of the Shenvas. He was a devout and holy man called Dungardas who lived at village Vanoti near Dakor and who gained fame for his ability to movingly render devout songs and his power to transport his audiences by the quality of his singing. Over a period of time, he came to have a large following and was held in great esteem by the Shenvas of Kaira and neighbouring areas. He was not, however, the religious head of the whole community and his influence was only local or, at best, regional. He was himself, in fact, a follower of Bechar Swami, grandfather of the present religious head.

Bechar Swami was originally a resident of village Palagar in Chanasma Taluka of Mehsana District, and came from there to reside at Siddhpur about 60 or 70 years ago. He died about 35 years ago. After him, his son Nathuram Bechar Swami succeeded to the position till his demise in 1961. The present head enjoys his position by virtue of hereditary right. According to him, the religious leadership of the Shenva community has remained with his family since the very beginning. The Shenvas at Vithalgadh and Lunasan, however, were of the view that Prabhudas Nathuram Bechar Swami wields limited influence and there is no compulsion prescribing homage to him. It is by and large a matter of individual inclination. They did, however, admit that he had a considerable following in Mehsana, Surendranagar and some of the neighbouring districts, and they themselves held him in high esteem as a holy man.

It was gathered from Prabhudas that his grandfather Bechar Swami had come to Siddhpur nearly 70 years ago when the latter's *guru* Nijanand took *samadhi* at Siddhpur. Ever since then he and his descendants have been the informal religious head of the Shenva community. Bechar Swami was himself a very renowned exponent of devotional songs like his Dakor follower Dungardas and, also like his Dakor follower, came to have a considerable following over a period of time. The present religious head Prabhudas believes in and preaches the tenets of the Ramanuja Sect of the Hindu religion. The sect seems to have no formally laid down basic principles but generally aims at the removal of socially evil and harmful ways among its followers. Prabhudas believes that his leadership is effectively accepted by the Shenvas in the four Districts of Mehsana, Ahmedabad, Banaskantha and Sabarkantha where also his preachings are accepted and followed. He has no machinery either institutional or by way of preachers for the propagation of his teachings. However, on Maha Sud 8 of every year the Shenvas of neighbouring villages come to Siddhpur and wait upon Prabhudas who preaches to them on that day. These meetings are attended by nearly 200 to 300 people from the surrounding villages. Prabhudas does not consider himself the final authority in religious matters concerning the Shenvas and does not also seem to have any formal functions or duties towards the community dictated by custom or usage. He does not personally

undertake tours for the propagation of his faith. Prabhudas could not clarify his own feelings when questioned what he himself felt in respect of his role towards the community to which he belongs and which he has chosen to serve. He has no sources of income other than the gifts of cash or grain that his followers make to him from time to time.

Tarneter, Zanzarka, Ranuja, Bahucharaji, Ambaji and Dakor are their places of pilgrimage, but very few of them have performed any pilgrimages.

LEISURE, RECREATION AND CHILD PLAY

The Shenva's concept of as well as his availability and enjoyment of leisure was found to be limited. The overriding concern of his life seems to be find as much employment as possible to augment his earning with which to support his large family. Within the framework of poverty and indigence in which he is born and grows up and goes to his rest, the concept that life is something which offers enjoyment seems to be alien to his mind and experience. His limited idea of enjoyment consists of a gathering of friends who can sit together and share a smoke and the day's conversation. His enjoyment is seldom unadulterated by the hard facts of his life and the continual worry and anxiety that haunt all his days. Up to the age of ten, the Shenva boy or girl is still comparatively innocent and free before the responsibilities of life eventually devolve upon him. The childhood games of Shenva boys consist of play centering around marbles, spinning tops, and *khokho* and *kabaddi*, while that of girls around the making of dolls and arranging the betrothal and marriages of their dolls. The availability of time in which Shenva children can indulge in activities of leisure and recreation has been dealt with earlier. It was gathered that the lot of the Shenva women in respect of leisure and recreation is by far the worst. It is she who is the working partner of her mate in all life's activities but, whereas the former has some time when he is not working and is at leisure, the latter is deprived of this also. For, not only must she participate in all the economic pursuits of the family, she must also run the home and look after the domestic welfare and happiness of her family. Therefore, the time when she is free from field work is taken up by domestic duties such as cooking, washing, looking

after the children and retching water and cleaning utensils. She is thus continually confronted by work both in and outside the home and her experience seems to know little time for the enjoyment of leisure. It was gathered that it is only at occasional fairs or marriages or visits to relatives and friends in neighbouring villages that the Shenva woman comes closest to the enjoyment of leisure.

INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP

The Shenva informants were of the view that they have been historically considered untouchable from their tendency to eat the flesh of carrion. While they denied that they have ever been the cleaners and curers of hides and skins, they admit of the possibility that some sections of the community may have done this work thereby inviting untouchability upon the whole caste. It was evident, nonetheless, that the Shenvas are all too aware of their untouchable status even as it obtains today. They were anxious to pass themselves off as Rawats, an honorific name used as title among certain other classes. Only after persistent questioning did they admit that they were Shenvas. It was also learnt that they are still considered untouchable by a large group of castes even within the generic Harijan class. They are not served by Brahmin priests but have their own priests belonging to the Garoda caste. Neither are the services of barbers available to them except in towns where caste distinctions now seem less clearly defined. It was learnt at Lunasan that the Garoda priest serving the Shenvas at this village comes from Chhatral village situated 2 kms. away. The same priest was said to serve the Wankar, Nat, Turi, Dhed and Chamar castes but it was learnt from the Thakores of the village that the Nats are not served by the Garoda priest. The Shenvas consider the Garoda, Nat and Turi castes as *Mangan Jati* (beggar classes) and, therefore, inferior to themselves in social status. They will not, therefore, accept food from these groups unless they also pay for it. However, the Thakores of the village were of the opinion that the Garodas rank higher in social status than the Nadiya, Chamar, Dhed and Shenva, from all of whom they do not accept *kutchra* or *pucca* food. It was further learnt that the Shenvas are the lowest in the social hierarchy among these four classes and lower also than Turis and Nats who did not accept food from the Shenvas. On

the other hand, certain caste Hindus in Lunasan declared themselves to be now less averse to the touch of Shenvas than Harijan classes. They permitted free entry to Shenvas into their houses except into the kitchen. They also took no objection to the exchange of things hand to hand from the Shenvas. The Shenvas themselves were found to consider Bils and Nadiyas as untouchable and lower in status to themselves and do not accept water or *kutchra* or *pucca* food from them. In turn, the Shenvas are considered untouchable by other Scheduled Castes such as Wankar, Garoda, Chamar and Dhed. It was learnt that though there is now no bar on the Shenvas using public wells and temples and such other public places, the Shenvas themselves do not yet avail of the facility of equality extended to them. It was learnt at Lunasan that while the Shenvas were free to use the common public well they refrained from doing so. In the case of temples, again, it is claimed that they do have a certain amount of freedom of entry but it was learnt from Shenva informants that they do not avail of this freedom for fear of insult or injury. They cited the case of a Harijan in Siddhpur who was assaulted and injured for having entered a Hindu temple and use this example as illustrative of the reason behind their attitude towards free entry into temples. Even if they do enter temples, they apparently refrain from touching the idols or from entering the *sanctum sanctorum* and prefer most generally to worship standing outside the main door.

In the matter of settlement Shenva informants admitted that even though they were free to settle in mixed localities they prefer to settle in their own localities so as to cause the least annoyance to any other social group and also to ensure a free life for themselves without insult or interference in their own localities.

STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL CONTROL, PRESTIGE AND LEADERSHIP

In matters relating to caste customs and usages the Shenvas do not permit outside interference by any other caste and disputes on subjects of caste matters are settled internally. They thus exclude all outsiders from interfering in caste matters or from advising on matters of social and economic reforms where caste norms and mores are involved. The community is a thinly spread group obtaining over fairly large areas of

Northern and Central Gujarat and former Saurashtra. There is no known institution of social control the reach of which spreads to all the areas where the community is found. The oldest and best known institution of social control is still at the traditional village level. This is the *Nyat* or Caste *Panch* which may be found in all such communities to be existing in every village. This is constituted of a few people, generally caste elders selected by both parties to a dispute to sit in judgment upon the case and deliver its verdict in the light of the community's sense of right and wrong and its known customs and social mores. When there is a dispute between two or more parties and a settlement is desired each of the disputing parties select a few persons from the village from within the community to represent its case and constitute the *Panch*. The *Panchas* then get together before whom the disputing parties explain their points of view. The *Panchas* debate upon the matter and hand down a decision. Generally this decision will be accepted, failing which the parties again constitute a new *Panch* and continue to do so until a decision is reached. In the case of a dispute involving Shenvas in different villages a *Panch* is similarly constituted and generally sits in the village of the party calling for redress or at a place mutually agreed upon by both the parties. In cases of an observed violation of the community's rules of conduct and custom the elders of the community in the village generally get together and deliberate upon the nature of the violation and the punishment that should be prescribed. This generally takes the form of a fine and sometimes the feeding of members of the community in the village. In this manner the customs and social norms of the community are preserved from generation to generation and though the *Nyat Panch* has no formal sanction or weight for its action, it has come to enjoy considerable importance in the community and its decisions are ignored or disobeyed only on pain of ex-communication. No Shenva will be willing to risk this grave danger to the security of his family, for membership of the whole group confers the right to call for and receive assistance in all times of need and difficulty. An ex-communicated Shenva family would have no one to turn to and it is a rare Shenva, therefore, who will deliberately invite the penalty of ex-communication.

No attempt has been known to have been made until recently to shape and publish a written Consti-

tution to govern the social conduct of the Shenvas. In 1969, however, such a Constitution has been deliberated upon and published. The exact means by which this came about is not clear but it seems that certain leaders of the community themselves chose, and called to a conference, representatives from all the 85 villages of the tract known as *Khakhariya Paragna* in Mehsana District. These representatives met in conference and deliberated as to what should go into the formal Constitution governing the Shenva community in the area. Forty-nine such representatives were called and most of them attended either in person or by representation. Their decisions were formally recorded as resolutions of the conference and the resolutions and decisions of the conference were published as the Constitution of the Shenva community of the *Khakhariya Paragna*. In the course of the same conference all the villages of the *Paragna* were then placed under the jurisdiction of 28 community leaders in such a way that all the clans of the community found representation and that they had a community leader of their own clan to go to for adjudication. An approximate transliteration of such portions of this publication as deal with reform and group discipline is given as an annexure to this monograph. It reveals numerous interesting points concerning various aspects of Shenva life including betrothals, marriages, food to be served at marriages, the size and composition of the marriage party, divorce, the use of liquor, and the names of the *Panch* committee and those made responsible for the various villages, and of those who attended the conference. The Constitution is still rather vague and loosely constructed but may well represent a step forward. It is not fully clear from it what aspects of the community's original customs are discarded or modified and what new ones are prescribed. This question arises mainly because the Constitution does hint at some modification and innovation but the survey revealed that the general intentions of the Constitution are not yet fully accepted by all the people whose conduct it seeks to govern. Perhaps this may be only reasonable in view of the fact that the Constitution is yet new and untried.

It is not also clear whether identical or similar constitutions obtain to govern the social conduct of Shenvas elsewhere. Inquiry revealed that the entire geographical area where the Shenvas reside are divided

into convenient circles placed under the care and responsibility of selected persons from within these circles. These people are the custodians of all caste matters in the circle and represent their respective circles in inter-circle disputes concerning the caste. But whether each circle has a written constitution like that of the Khakhariya circle and if so whether it is similar or identical to the specimen obtained is not known. Perhaps, however, if the concept of the written Constitution for a circle is carried to its logical conclusion it may come about by a process of evolution that there will be single written Constitution governing the social conduct and customs of the entire community in the State.

Irrespective of the merits and eventual fate of this written Constitution, the fact remains that even independently of it and traditionally, and since long past, a *Panch* system does obtain in the Shenva community. It is an institution to which great deference is paid and which is held in high esteem for its generally fair and impartial conduct. The system still survives, and remains to this day the final court of appeal in all disputes concerning caste customs and mores among the members of the community. It is notable that the success of the institution is so great that no Shenva has had to take recourse to a court of law for the solution of disputes even though scope for such an action did exist in the two villages surveyed.

There are no formal offices or office holders of the *Panch* and no system by which leadership in the *Panch* formally exchanges hands from time to time, though this may now happen under the new Constitution. The traditional *Panch* was a fresh one selected each time by the disputing parties and would have been one the composition of which differed from time to time. The recorded decisions related mainly to documents of divorce which were generally kept with any senior member of the community and these were passed on after his demise to his successor selected by the common consent of the community in the village.

The community seems to have no known leaders of any standing, neither any individual powerful enough to wield influence over any large section of the community. Their religious head is, however, held in great esteem. The average Shenva's social and economic background would not seem to be

generally conducive to the growth or development of leadership. As a result, the community suffers from the want of able guidance and leadership in matters of sociological, technological and economic change and of political action. Consequently, it can seldom obtain relief available to other communities which are better represented and have a more articulate leadership. The community appears to be still ignorant of its rights in relation to public bodies such as the Panchayats and what it may rightly demand from them. Because it depends for its livelihood and employment upon the higher castes to which it attaches itself, it all too naturally seems to follow the dictates of such caste groups in almost all matters except those strictly relating to the community itself. Despite the great room for reform and social uplift which the Shenva community offers no social worker of any standing has chosen to work among them. The fact is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that the institution of the social worker is so strongly entrenched in rural Gujarat and there is hardly any backward community among whom a social worker of some standing from within itself or from outside may not be found.

SOCIAL REFORMS AND WELFARE

It was learnt that no social reform movement of any significance has taken place in this community at the State level in the recent past. Investigation conducted for the present study revealed that the community has no leaders of any eminence at the taluka or district levels. It was also learnt that except for the drafting of a constitution for the Shenva community of Khakhariya *Paragna* referred to earlier which aims at certain reforms, there is no other major consciously organised movement for the reformation of such customs and practices in the caste which might be considered as manifestly harmful to the community and require change. Neither does there seem to be any movement seeking to organise opinion or effort or finance and ways and means to improve the lot of the community. Informants were of the view that the lack of education as well as the social status of the Shenvas at large and their generally backward condition is not conducive to the fostering of social

or community leadership. It would seem that leadership in the community is restricted to the regulation and maintenance of caste norms alone and it has not thrown up any leaders of standing who could participate in and take a hand in the welfare of the community at large or effectively work for the amelioration of the condition of the community or the improvement of its social status. The Shenvas themselves admit that the community follows numerous customs and practices which require to be changed in view of changing times. It was also admitted that given proper leadership and guidance they are willing to accept change in various spheres of community life which they at the moment are hesitant to adopt because of lack of certainty as to the value of the various changes thought desirable.

It would appear that the community is caught on the horns of a dilemma in respect of social reform. It does admit of the necessity of change but is not sufficiently well-informed to judge for itself the nature and extent of change which it could accept as good for itself. The community sorely requires good leadership and guidance but none seems forthcoming both from within its own ranks as well as from the outside. In the absence of such guidance and leadership, therefore, the community seems to prefer to rely on its own ancient customs and ways of life which are at least known and have been tested by time and experience, rather than settle for the uncertainty that can attend upon changes based on insufficient guidance or understanding. The lot of the Shenvas in the matter of leadership would seem all the more difficult in view of the fact that social leadership at various levels is not an uncommon community feature in various backward communities of rural Gujarat but has evaded the Shenvas so far. One of the contributing factors could be that their numbers are so thinly divided over a large area that it is difficult to manage and lead the whole group.

That the community is aware of the need for change and reform as well as some organised effort aimed at its own welfare is evidenced by the recently

published Constitution of the *Khakhariya Paragna* referred to earlier. The Forward to this document specifically deals with the problem of social reform and the need to eschew infructuous expenditure from the life and customs of the community. The Constitution bears evidence that the community on its own is taking steps to promote its own welfare according to its best lights. There are provisions in the Constitution which strictly enjoin the limitation of expenditure of a social nature both in terms of cash and in terms of social entertainment, and prescribe heavy penalties for the violation of these provisions aimed at the abolition of unnecessary expenditure. A step has also been taken to bring about other social reforms. It has prohibited by-gamy and has made the act strictly punishable. It has also provided for healthy trends in respect of the proper and humane treatment of its women. The Constitution further sets up an education fund and provides for its proper management and accounting. It is a laudable feature of this Constitution that the funds so provided for are fed and augmented by fines and penalties realised from persons violating the various provisions of the Constitution. Provisions also exist in the Constitution whereby obedience of its mandate is assured by strict penal clauses. This Constitution may, however, be only the hesitant first step towards a movement for social reform and welfare. Whether it is workable, yet remains to be seen.

However, it would seem that the small effort that the community has by itself made in this direction may not be adequate. The ignorance and illiteracy which mark the community leave great scope for proper and sympathetic leadership from the outside. The community was found lacking in basic knowledge and information about its own rights and as to what it may rightly expect from the normal institutions of social welfare. There is reason, therefore, to believe that any individual or institution could fulfil a most meaningful roll in improving conditions in this community and is making it a better informed and socially more aware group.



શ્રી રામદેવજી માહારાજની સાક્ષીય પ્રતિજ્ઞા લઉ તું ક, હ

- (૧) હું દારૂ ગાળીયા નહિ તમજ પીયા નહિ.
- (૨) હું ચોરી કરીયા નહિ.
- (૩) હું જુટું બેાલીયા નહિ.
- (૪) હું જુગાર રમીયા નહિ.
- (૫) હું માંસાહાર કરીયા નહિ.

Photograph of a wall poster found in numerous Shenva houses in villages surveyed, demonstrating one aspect of socio-religious influences at work in the community. The poster incorporates five vows binding its signatory not to (1) distil or drink liquor, (2) steal, (3) lie, (4) gamble and (5) eat meat. The oath is made to Ramdeoji, a deified Rajput king of Marwar.

ANNEXURE I

Framework for Ethnographic Study

I NAME, IDENTITY, ORIGIN AND HISTORY

1. Name; synonym; sub-caste/sub-tribe as in President's Order and as in other published sources such as Census reports, monographs, etc., grouping with other castes and tribes during various censuses; affinity with other castes and tribes according to recognised authorities.
2. Etymological significance of the name; names by which the community is referred to by (a) others and (b) itself.
3. Identification of the community by occupation or any other way of life.
4. Myths and legends connected with the origin and history of the community and its segments; historical references and popular beliefs about history and migration of the community.

II DISTRIBUTION AND POPULATION TREND

1. Area where found; population and concentration in the State and outside; physical aspects of the areas of concentration.
2. Numerical strength in 1961 and population variation during 1901-1961; sex ratio; age groups and rural-urban distribution in 1961.

III PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. Racial stock; appearance and affinity with other known communities.

IV FAMILY, CLAN, KINSHIP AND OTHER ANALOGOUS DIVISIONS

1. Family; size (Observed and published); types; residence after marriage; descent; lineage and its economic and religious function and inheritance.

2. Clan/gotra and sub-clans; names; etymological meaning; clustering of clans; belief and mythology about origin; status among clans; clan and regulation of marriage (preference and prohibition); occupation and clan; clan and rituals; clan and food (restrictions, prescriptions, etc.)
3. Others; phratry; duel organisation, like moieties, etc., as in 2 above.

V. DWELLING, DRESS, FOOD, ORNAMENT AND OTHER MATERIAL OBJECTS DISTINCTIVE OF THE COMMUNITY

1. Settlement; village site; location; settlement pattern (agglomerated, nucleated, dispersed, sprinkled, isolated, amorphous, star-shaped, horse-shoe-shaped linear, rectangular, circular or ring-shaped, etc.) and variations; regional pattern vis-a-vis pattern of the community.
2. Neighbourhood pattern on the basis of religion; castes (Caste Hindus, untouchables) and tribes, etc., with segregations, if any, and the basis thereof.
3. Dwelling unit; compound; entrance; source of water; the use of different parts of the house (latrine, cattle-shed, isolation huts, etc.); shape (square, round, irregular, etc.); storeys; nature of floor, plinth; wall; roofing, thatching, ventilations and doors; materials used; decorations and embellishments; temporary structures.
4. Dress including headgear and footwear—used ordinarily; on ceremonial occasions and special occasions; sexwise and according to majority or minority; dress of priests and office bearers; variations.

5. Ornaments; use; material used; from where obtained; variations according to sex and age.
6. Personal decoration; tattooing; mutilation (chipping of teeth, etc.); hair-cutting; how done, purpose, attitude and variation according to sex and age.
7. Food and drink; materials (staple and other); prescriptions and prohibitions; fuel; utensils and mode of preparation; practices connected with serving and taking of food; preservation of food and rituals, if any.
8. Equipments connected with economic pursuits; religion and ritual; how procured, material used, construction, manipulation and purpose.
9. Other household equipments. As above.
10. Equipments connected with recording of time, space and weight and their methods of use. As above.

VI ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION, HYGIENIC HABITS, DISEASES AND TREATMENT

1. Environmental sanitation; settlement; disposal of night-soil, garbage, etc.
2. Hygienic habit; cleanliness of body, teeth, dress, houses, utensils, etc.
3. Diseases; incidence; local names; interpretation of the causes; symptoms; diagnosis and cure—persons and methods involved.
4. Modern systems of medicine and attitude of the community towards it.

VII LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

1. Ancestral language; classification according to Grierson; persistence of ancestral language and literature.

2. Mother tongue; classification according to Grierson; bilingualism and multi-lingualism; regional language.
3. Information collected during 1961 Census on language and literature.
4. Education and literacy; traditional and modern attitude; information collected during 1961 Census; literacy and levels of education.

VIII ECONOMIC LIFE

1. Economic resources; land; community land; individual ownership and types of land possessed and land utilization.
2. Forest wealth; flora and fauna; nature and extent of right in the forest; forest utilization.
3. Fishery; livestock and others.
4. Working force; sexwise; urban and rural variations and comparison of the same with the region.
5. Non-workers.
6. Industrial classification; details as collected in the field and comparison with that of the 1961 Census figures; traditional occupation and changes in the pattern; main and subsidiary occupations.
7. Forced labour; bonded labour; patron-client relationship (*jajmani*); mode of payment.
8. Seasonal migration connected with occupation; recruitment; formation of working groups.
9. Nomadic movement; cycle and occupational pattern.

10. Shifting cultivation; method, implements and equipments; produce; participation; cycle of rotation; measure to regulate shifting cultivation and its impact.
11. Terrace cultivation. As above.
12. Income and expenditure; sources of income; extent; expenditure on food; clothing; house; education; social functions and others.
13. Other aspects of economic life.

IX LIFE CYCLE

A—Birth

1. Beliefs and practices connected with conception, barrenness, still birth, miscarriage, abortion, child death, regulation of sex, etc.
2. Pre-natal and natal practices; residence, diet, work, taboos, etc.; delivery place, assistance, equipments used in delivery, position during delivery, severance of umbilical cord (who does and how done), disposal of placenta.
3. Post-natal practices; confinement and segregation; ceremonial pollution; diet for mother and child; rituals.
4. Protection and care of child and training.
5. Attitude towards birth of child; preference about sex; preference about number, segregation of sex, etc.

B—Initiation

1. Initiation ceremony; descriptions.
2. Pre-marital sex relations within the community; outside the community; sanctions and taboos.

C—Marriage

1. Age at marriage for both sex; prohibited degrees of relationship; preferences; widow remarriage (preferences and taboos).
2. Civil status and social status.
3. Type of marriage; monogamy, polygamy (Polyandry and polygyny).
4. Selection of spouse; qualities valued (for bride and groom); mode of selection; procedure.
5. Modes of acquiring a mate; by negotiation; force, intrusion, elopement, etc.
6. Terms of settlement; payment of bride price, dowry, service, exchange, adoption, etc.
7. Ceremonies connected with marriage; details including who presides over the marriage and services of functional castes.
8. Statistical data as per 1961 Census.
9. Divorce; reasons and procedure.

D—Death

1. Concept about death; measures to ensure future well-being of the soul; measures to avert harm by the spirits.
2. Methods of disposal; burial, cremation, exposure; floating on water, etc.,
3. Preparations for disposal of dead; informing friends and relatives, treatment of the dead body, digging of pit, etc., for disposal; how carried, who carry, who accompany; place of disposal, methods of disposal; norms and taboos.
4. Ceremonies connected with disposal.

5. Death rites; details.
6. Monuments; tombs, megaliths, etc.
7. Pollution; duration, restrictions in work, food, dress, shaving, hair cropping, sex life, etc., removal of pollution.
8. Mourning; mourners and duration.

X RELIGION

1. Deities; supreme deity, benevolent deities, malevolent spirits, presiding deities of village and other aspects of life including occupation, clans, gotras, etc.
2. Place of the deities in the regional pattern and Brahmanical and other traditions.
3. Rituals and concepts associated with the pantheon.
4. Spots associated with the deities, pilgrim centres and methods of worship.
5. Religious functionaries.
6. Calendar of festivals and their observance.
7. Concept of soul, hell, heaven, rebirth, transmigration of soul, etc.
8. Sects and denominations; name, distribution, beliefs and practices, etc.
9. Statistical information.

XI LEISURE, RECREATION AND CHILD PLAY

1. Use of leisure time; for male, female, children and adult; seasonal variation in leisure time.
2. Recreations; their mode and extent for males, females and children.

3. Leisure and recreation with reference to work.

XII RELATION AMONG DIFFERENT SEGMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY

1. Recognised segments; name, basis (territorial, ceremonial, social prestige, religion, sect, education, age, etc.); inter-relationship among various segments; status of the segment; status of women.

XIII INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP

1. Ceremonial relationship; service by Brahmins; traditional service by castes like barbers, washermen, etc.
2. Pollution by touch or proximity to high Caste Hindus; use of well; admission to temple.
3. Secular relationship; model for other communities; dominance due to economic resources, political status, social status, etc.
4. Bridge role, buffer role, alliance and antagonism of the community.

XIV STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL CONTROL, PRESTIGE AND LEADERSHIP

1. Social control; levels of social control, community level, regional level, hereditary, special functionaries, etc.; social control by other agencies.
2. Mode of acquiring offices.
3. Control exercised by traditionally recognised leaders; functionaries of statutory bodies of the region; powerful individuals belonging to the community, etc., at the regional level and local level.

4. Relationship between spheres of social control and agencies of social control.
5. Leadership; for social change; for technological change; for political action and for other organised activities at the community level, regional level and local level.
6. Social prestige; method of gaining social prestige (by performing ritual, merit of feast, associating with historical association, etc.); symbols of social prestige.

XV SOCIAL REFORM AND WELFARE

1. Social reform movements; intensity; reasons (for raising social status, establishing traditional norms, for westernisation, etc.); history and import of the movements.
2. Social welfare; agency, religious organisation, community as a whole, Govt. official and non-official; role of the social welfare measures and impact.

XVI REFERENCES CITED AND OTHER BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANNEXURE II

Glossary of Local Terms

| | | | |
|-----------------|--|----------------------|---|
| B | | | |
| <i>Babul</i> | The <i>Prosopis spicigera</i> tree. | <i>Kutchu (food)</i> | Uncooked food |
| <i>Bajra</i> | Millet | <i>Kutchu(house)</i> | Dwelling unit not made of brick/stone and cement/mortar |
| <i>Bhuvu</i> | Sorcerer | | M |
| <i>Bidi</i> | Common form of country cigarette made by rolling tobacco in Timru leaf | <i>Madrasiyu</i> | Variety of dark patterned sari, so named perhaps from the place of its origin |
| C | | <i>Mandap</i> | Canopy |
| <i>Chatni</i> | Pickle | <i>Mung dal</i> | A variety of pulse |
| <i>Chhathi</i> | Literally, the sixth day; ceremony performed on the sixth day of the birth of a child usually for the naming of the child | | N |
| <i>Churma</i> | Crushed bread mixed with oil and sugar or jaggery | <i>Nyat</i> | Caste |
| D | | <i>Nyat Panch</i> | Caste Council |
| <i>Dahej</i> | Bride price | | P |
| <i>Das</i> | Midwife | <i>Panch</i> | Council |
| <i>Dal</i> | Pulses | <i>Paragna</i> | Normally, territorial or administrative division |
| <i>Dervatu</i> | Levirate system of marriage by which a widow can marry the younger brother of her late husband. | <i>Pucca (food)</i> | Cooked food |
| <i>Dhoti</i> | Nether garment for males consisting of an ankle or knee-length cloth one side of which is tied at the waist and the lower corner of which is passed between the legs and tucked in again at the waist in front | <i>Pucca (house)</i> | House built of stone/brick and mortar/cement |
| G | | <i>Punya</i> | Charity |
| <i>Ghughari</i> | Boiled wheat, usually a form of <i>prasad</i> or offering to a deity | | R |
| <i>Gur</i> | Jaggery | <i>Rotlu, Roti</i> | Bread |
| <i>Guru</i> | Normally, a spiritual guide | | S |
| H | | <i>Sagai</i> | Betrothal or engagement |
| <i>Halva</i> | A sweet prepared by lightly frying wheat flour before adding water and sugar to it to turn it into a paste | <i>Samadhi</i> | Both the place where a religious or spiritual leader goes into long meditation and his last resting place |
| J | | <i>Sathi</i> | Companion |
| <i>Jowar</i> | <i>Sorghum vulgare</i> (a coarse millet) | <i>Sradha</i> | Ceremony for the appeasement of the dead |
| K | | <i>Simani</i> | Ceremony performed on the occasion of first child-birth, perhaps symbolizing abundance and amplitude |
| <i>Kabbaddi</i> | A field game played by the young with two sides of six players in each. | <i>Sukhadi</i> | Form of hardened <i>halva</i> ; a sweet preparation made by lightly frying wheat or millet flour as in <i>halva</i> and allowing it to harden |
| <i>Kada</i> | A circular ornament designed to be worn around the neck. | <i>Suwalu</i> | Ceremony of shaving of the head and shin as a mark of mourning or respect for the dead |
| <i>Kadi</i> | A liquid curry made by boiling gram flour in butter milk. | | T |
| <i>Karma</i> | The belief that life's pains and pleasures are the result of past deeds; also, destiny or fate | <i>Tulsi</i> | The <i>Ocimum sanctum</i> plant, considered holy |
| <i>Khokho</i> | A field game played by the young | | U |
| | | <i>Uterkritya</i> | A ceremony after death |

ANNEXURE III (a) (i)

Tabulated results of survey (of 20 households) concerning housing conditions, income, property and structure of family

| Sl. No. | House No. | Name of Head of Household | Occupation | Average annual income (in Rs.) | Whether simple unit or joint family | Members in the family | | | | No. of married couples | Type of house, i.e., Kutcha or Pucca |
|---------|-----------|---------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|---|
| | | | | | | Males | | Females | | | |
| | | | | | | Adult | Minor | Adult | Minor | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| 1 | 1/37 | Sankarbai Jesingbhai | Agri. Labourers | 300 | Simple family | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | Kutcha |
| 2 | 1/38 | Dhulabhai Jesingbhai | -do- | 350 | -do- | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | -do- |
| 3 | 1/38 | Laxmanbhai Jesingbhai | -do- | 700 | -do- | 2 | | 2 | 5 | 1 | -do- |
| 4 | 1/54 | Pochabhai Punjabhai | Agriculturists 12 bigas | 1,500 | Joint family | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | -do- |
| 5 | 1/20 | Atmaram Mohan | Agri. Labourers | 600 | Simple family | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | Pucca |
| 6 | 1/21 | Gulababhai Shankar | -do- | 500 | -do- | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | Kutcha |
| 7 | 1/22 | Kantibhai Motibhai | Agriculturists 5 bigas | 1,000 | -do- | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | Pucca |
| 8 | 1/23 | Savabhai Motibhai | -do- 5 bigas | 1,200 | Joint family | 3 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 | -do- |
| 9 | 1/24 | Shankarbai Motibhai | -do- | 1,000 | -do- | 2 | 5 | 2 | | 2 | -do- |
| 10 | 1/8 | Mangabhai Chaturbhai | Agri. Labourers | 850 | -do- | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 1 | -do- |
| 11 | 1/2 | Chalabhai Jethabhai | -do- | 700 | -do- | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | -do- |
| 12 | 1/3 | Kacharabhai Lakhabhai | -do- | 500 | -do- | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | Kutcha |
| 13 | 1/9 | Naranbhai Virabhai | -do- | 450 | Simple family | 1 | 2 | 2 | | 1 | Pucca |
| 14 | 1/10 | Somabhai Dajibhai | -do- | 500 | Joint family | 3 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 3 | Kutcha |
| 15 | 1/12 | Ranchoodhai Atmaram | -do- | 400 | Simple family | 1 | 1 | 2 | | 1 | -do- |
| 16 | 1/12 | Chhanabhai Atmaram | -do- | 300 | -do- | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | -do- |
| 17 | 1/11 | Jivatben Ugurbhai | -do- | 200 | -do- | | 2 | 1 | 2 | | -do- |
| 18 | 1/45 | Gobar Bijal | -do- | 800 | -do- | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | -do- |
| 19 | 1/49 | Nathabhai Ukabhai | -do- | 400 | -do- | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | -do- |
| 20 | | Dhana Hira | -do- | 600 | -do- | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | -do- |
| | | Total | | 12,850 | | 29 | 31 | 35 | 33 | 24 | 13 7 20 Kutcha Pucca |

ANNEXURE III (a) (ii)

Tabulated results of survey (of 20 households) concerning housing conditions

| Sl. No. | House No. | Name of Head of Household | Direction of entrance | No. of Doors | No. of Windows | No. of Ventilators | Number of rooms with sizes | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | | | | | | | Room No. 1 | Room No. 2 | Room No. 3 | Room No. 4 | Room No. 5 |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 |
| 1 | 1/37 | Shankarbhai Jesingbhai | Facing East | No door | | | 16' x 8' | 13' x 10' | | | |
| 2 | 1/38 | Dhulabhai Jesingbhai | -do- | -do- | | | 10' x 8' | | | | |
| 3 | 1/38 | Laxmanbhai Jesingbhai | -do- | -do- | | | 13' x 10' | | | | |
| 4 | 1/54 | Poohabhai Punjabhai | Facing West | -do- | | | 15' x 8' | 15' x 8' | 15' x 7' | | |
| 5 | 1/20 | Atmaram Mohan | -do- | 1 | | | 10' x 8' | 12' x 10' | | | |
| 6 | 1/21 | Gulabhai Shankar | -do- | No door | | | 10' x 10' | | | | |
| 7 | 1/22 | Kantibhai Motibhai | -do- | 1 | | | 10' x 8' | 15' x 10' | | | |
| 8 | 1/23 | Savabhai Motibhai | -do- | 1 | | | 10' x 8' | 15' x 10' | | | |
| 9 | 1/24 | Shankarbhai Motibhai | -do- | 1 | | | 10' x 8' | 15' x 10' | | | |
| 10 | 1/8 | Mangabhai Chaturbhai | Facing East | 1 | | | 10' x 8' | 20' x 10' | | | |
| 11 | 1/2 | Chalabhai Jethabhai | -do- | 2 | | | 10' x 8' | 15' x 10' | | | |
| 12 | 1/3 | Kacherabhai Lakhabhai | -do- | No door | | | 12' x 6' | 12' x 8' | | | |
| 13 | 1/9 | Naranbhai Virabhai | -do- | 1 | | | 10' x 8' | 20' x 10' | | | |
| 14 | 1/10 | Somabhai Dajibhai | -do- | No door | | | 10' x 6' | 12' x 10' | 10' x 6' | 12' x 10' | |
| 15 | 1/12 | Ranchhodabhai Atmaram | Facing West | -do- | | | 12' x 8' | | | | |
| 16 | 1/12 | Chhanabhai Atmaram | Facing East | -do- | | | 12' x 8' | | | | |
| 17 | 1/11 | Jivatben Ugarbhai | Facing West | -do- | | | 12' x 8' | | | | |
| 18 | 1/45 | Gobar Bijal | Facing North | -do- | | | 15' x 8' | 15' x 8' | | | |
| 19 | 1/49 | Nathabhai Ukabhai | Facing West | -do- | | | 8' x 8' | 15' x 8' | | | |
| 20 | | Dhana Hira | -do- | -do- | | | 12' x 10' | | | | |
| Total | | | | No door | 12 | | 1,842 | 1,826 | 165 | 120 | |
| | | | | 1 door | 6 | | Sq.ft. | Sq.ft. | Sq.ft. | Sq.ft. | |
| | | | | 2 doors | 1 | | | | | | |
| | | | | | 20 | | | | | | |

ANNEXURE III (b)-(i)

Tabulated results of survey (of 20 households) concerning personal possessions of male members of households

| Sl. No. | House No. | Name of Head of Household | Males | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|
| | | | Adult | Caps | Turban | Towel | Shirts or bush shirts | Dhotis or Pants | Shoes or Chappals | Shaving kit | Minor | Shirts | Pants or half pants |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| 1 | 1/37 | Shankarbhai Jesingbhai | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 1/38 | Dhulabhai Jesingbhai | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 3 | 1/38 | Laxmanbhai Jesingbhai | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 4 | 4 | 2 | 1 | | | |
| 4 | 1/54 | Poohsbhai Punjabhai | 2 | 2 | 1 | | 4 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | |
| 5 | 1/20 | Atmaram Mohanlal | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 6 | 1/21 | Gulabbhai Shankar | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 7 | 1/22 | Kantibhai Motibhai | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 8 | 1/23 | Savabhai Motibhai | 3 | | 3 | | 6 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 4 |
| 9 | 1/24 | Shankarbhai Motibhai | 2 | 2 | 1 | | 4 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| 10 | 1/8 | Mangabhai Chaturbhai | 2 | 2 | 1 | | 4 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 11 | 1/2 | Chalabhai Jethabhai | 2 | 2 | 1 | | 4 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 12 | 1/3 | Kacharebhai Lakhbhai | 2 | 2 | 1 | | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 13 | 1/9 | Naranbhai Virabhai | 1 | | 1 | | 2 | 2 | 1 | | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 14 | 1/10 | Somabhai D. jibhai | 3 | 1 | 2 | | 6 | 4 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 15 | 1/12 | Ranchhodbhai Atmaram | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 16 | 1/12 | Chhanabhai Atmaram | 1 | | 1 | | 2 | 1 | 1 | Common with above | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 17 | 1/11 | Jivatben Ugarbhai | | | | | | | | | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| 18 | 1/45 | Gobar Bijal | 1 | | 1 | | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 19 | 1/49 | Nathabhai Uxabhai | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 20 | .. | Dhana Hira | 1 | | 1 | | 2 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | |
| Total .. | | | 29 | 15 | 25 | | 55 | 46 | 23 | 14 | 31 | 35 | 35 |

ANNEXURE III (b)(ii)

Tabulated results of survey (of 20 households) concerning family possessions and personal possessions among female members of households

| Sl. No. | House No. | Females | | | | | | | | | | List of common possessions with the family | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--|------------------------|--------------|----------------|-------------------------|-----------|----------|---|
| | | Adult Saris | Blouse | Petticoat | Ornament | Minor | Petticoat | Blouse | Frock | Bed | God-di | Mattress | Agriculture implements | | Other tools | Chairs | Tables | | |
| | | 16 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | Pri- mary | Seco- ndary | 29 | 30 | 31 | |
| 1 | 1/37 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 3 | | | | | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | 3 | |
| 2 | 1/38 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | | | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | 3 | |
| 3 | 1/38 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | | 5 | 5 | 5 | | | | 4 | 4 | 5 | | | 3 | |
| 4 | 1/54 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | | | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | |
| 5 | 1/20 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 (Rs. 10) | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | 3 | 3 | 4 | | | 2 | |
| 6 | 1/21 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | | 1 | 2 | 2 | | | | 2 | 3 | 3 | | | 2 | |
| 7 | 1/22 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | 3 | 3 | 3 | | | | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 2 | |
| 8 | 1/23 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 8 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | 5 | 7 | 5 | Common with above | | 2 | |
| 9 | 1/24 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | | | | | | | | 3 | 4 | 4 | | | 2 | |
| 10 | 1/5 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 (Rs. 60) | 4 | 1 | 1 | 3 | | | 5 | 6 | 6 | | | 2 | |
| 11 | 1/2 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 5 | | 3 | 3 | 3 | | | | 7 | 7 | 7 | | | | 1 |
| 12 | 1/3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | | 3 | | | 4 | | | 4 | 4 | 4 | | | 2 | |
| 13 | 1/9 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | | | 5 | 6 | 6 | | | 2 | |
| 14 | 1/10 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | | 3 | 3 | 3 | | | | 5 | 4 | 4 | | | 2 | |
| 15 | 1/12 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | | | 2 | 2 | 3 | | | 2 | |
| 16 | 1/12 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | |
| 17 | 1/11 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | 2 | | | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | |
| 18 | 1/45 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | | | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | 5 | |
| 19 | 1/49 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 1 (Rs. 20) | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 3 | 2 | 2 | | | 2 | |
| 20 | | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | 1 | | | 2 | | | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | 2 | |
| Total | | 25 | 57 | 57 | 57 | Rs. 90 | 33 | 22 | 22 | 14 | 66 | 71 | 71 | 71 | 7 | 8 | 41 | 1 | |

ANNEXURE III (b) (iii)

Tabulated results of survey (of 20 households) concerning family possessions

| Sl. No. | House No. | List of common possessions with the family | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|--|-----------|----------|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|---------------|---------------|------------|---------------|--------------|---------------------|
| | | Par-nas | Bul-locks | Cows | Buf-falows | Cots | Poul-try | Buck-ets | Bas-kets | Utensils | | | Hun-ting tools | Fish-ing gear | Pho-to-graphs | Cal-endars | Wall han-ging | Cash | Stored Agri-produce |
| | | | | | | | | | | Coo-king | Cate-ting | Drin-king | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 | 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 | 41 | 42 | 43 | 44 | 45 | 46 | 47 | 48 | 49 |
| 1 | 1/37 | | | | | | | 1 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | | 0-75 |
| 2 | 1/38 | | | | | | | 1 | | 2 | 2 | 1 | | | | | | 2-00 | 4-00 |
| 3 | 1/38 | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | | | | | | 5-00 | 16-00 |
| 4 | 1/54 | | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | 8 | 5 | 3 | | | | 2 | | 10-00 | 80-00 |
| 5 | 1/20 | 1 | | | | 2 | | 2 | | 15 | 12 | 10 | | | | 7 | | 6-00 | 12-00 |
| 6 | 1/21 | | | | | | | 1 | | 4 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | 4-00 | 2-00 |
| 7 | 1/22 | | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 3 | | | | 2 | | 15-00 | 28-00 |
| 8 | 1/23 | | | 2 | 4 | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 4 | | | | 2 | | 15-00 | 100-00 |
| 9 | 1/24 | | | | 2 | | | 1 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 8 | | | | 1 | | 15-00 | 14-00 |
| 10 | 1/8 | | | | | 1 | | 2 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 4 | | | | 1 | | 10-00 | 7-00 |
| 11 | 1/2 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 1 | 3 | 11 | 6 | | | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1-00 | 7-00 |
| 12 | 1/3 | | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 4 | | | | | | 2-50 | 4-00 |
| 13 | 1/9 | | | | 2 | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | | | | 1 | | | 1-00 |
| 14 | 1/10 | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 6 | | | 2 | 2 | | | |
| 15 | 1/12 | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | | | | | | 2-00 | 2-00 |
| 16 | 1/12 | | | | | | | | | 2 | 2 | 3 | | | | | | 2-00 | 1-00 |
| 17 | 1/11 | | | | | | | | | 3 | 1 | 2 | | | | | | 2-00 | 2-00 |
| 18 | 1/45 | | | 1 | | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | | | | | | | 2-00 |
| 19 | 1/49 | | | | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | 1 | | | 10-00 |
| 20 | .. | | | | | | | | | 3 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | | 1-00 |
| Total | | 3 | 1 | 4 | 11 | 13 | | 21 | 14 | 69 | 93 | 86 | | | 4 | 20 | 1 | 91-50 | 293-75 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | <i>i.e.</i> |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 294-00 |

ANNEXURE IV

Extracts from the Printed Constitution of the Shenvas of Mehsana District

“WHERE THERE IS A PANCH THERE IS GOD”

**CONSTITUTION
OF
THE SHENMA CASTE OF KHAKHARIA PARAGNA**

**Published and Promulgated by the Shenma Caste Panch on Saturday
Chaitra Sud 3 of Samvat 2025**

AT JESINGPURA VILLAGE

TALUKA : KADI

DISTRICT : MEHSANA

(Effective from 21-3-1969)~

FOREWARD

By the Khakharia Paragna Rawat Samaj Education Society.

Dt. 23-3-1969,
Ahmedabad.

Since about ten years the Ahmedabad members of the Khakharia Paragna Shenma Caste have been trying to bring about changes and enlightenment in their society concerning marriages. Our caste brothers and leaders of the Khakharia Paragna have considered our efforts and have co-operated in constituting the Constitution of our Caste and have furthered our efforts. This society thanks the Caste brothers for the efforts have made to remove evil habits and unnecessary expenditure from the society. In addition we are happy to note that the Caste Panch leaders have made a provision in the Constitution for the creation of an education fund to bring about enlightenment and education in the society.

Signed :—Office bearers of the society.

President :—Dhanjibhai Varubhai Vaghela.

Vice-President :—Magandas Chhaganbhai, etc.

The following Constitution has been made by the Panchas of the Khakharia Paragna Shenma Caste who gathered together at Jesingpura village on Saturday Chaitra Sud 3 of Samvat 2025.

CONCERNING BETHROTHAL

Resolution I

Any betrothal should be done after considering the suitability of each party to the other and two men should go to arrange the betrothal.

1. If after the betrothal any dispute causes the break-up of the betrothal and if the father of the girl breaks the betrothal he will give Rs. 7 to the father of the boy and if the father of the boy breaks the betrothal he will give Rs. 14 to the father of the girl.

2. If the dispute is resolved, the cost of the Panch shall be on the party creating the dispute.

A penalty of Rs. 51 will be charged to any one disobeying this resolution.

CONCERNING FINALISATION OF MARRIAGE

3. Two persons shall go to finalise the marriage.

Persons going to finalise the marriage shall give one cocoanut for the Mata and Re. 1 for the Brahmin to the bridegroom's party.

Food

In the evening rice and oil, in the morning *lapsi*, *khichadi* and *ghee*.

Penalty

The party breaking the marriage agreement will pay a penalty of Rs. 51.

CONCERNING MARRIAGE

Resolution III

Rs. 300 shall be paid by the father of the bridegroom to the father of the bride for the expenses of the marriage.

1. About gifts: Rs. 5 to be placed at the temple, Rs. 4 to be given to the officiating priest by the father of the groom. At the time of departure the father of the bride shall give Rs. 2 to the priest for performing the ceremony and Rs. 2 for oil.

Re. 1 to be given to the Brahmin as a gift, and Annas 2 to the Sweeper and Annas 2 to the Water bearer, Re. 11 as the rent of housing facility for the marriage party and Re. 1 to the Panch. Annas 4 for the reception of the marriage party. The drinking of opium or *sharbat* may continue. The father of the bride and groom shall pay Annas 4 and 8 respectively towards the cost of drinks.

The levy of Rs. 250 as the cost of the *chori* (Mandap) is stopped. The bride's party will give utensils with sweets to the bridegroom.

The bridegroom shall give Annas 4 for the *toran*, *Nazarana* are to be stopped. In place of *nazarana* the father of the bridegroom will pay Rs. 1.25 to the Brahmin.

CONCERNING THE SIZE OF MARRIAGE PARTY

Only 25 men and 5 women should go as the marriage party.

Food

In the evening *halva* and *dal* and rice and in the morning *khichadi* and oil. In the morning for breakfast *lapsi* and *ghee*. Only five persons should sit at breakfast with the bridegroom. The groom's father and no other persons should bring garlands for the groom.

Penalty

Any person not observing the above resolution concerning marriage will be made to pay Rs. 102 as the fee of the Panch and Rs. 51 for the welfare of the community.

CONCERNING THE BRINGING OF THE BRIDE

(A custom by which, after the marriage, the bride is brought to her parental home for some time).

Resolution IV

If the woman is issueless, the father of the husband will pay Rs. 251 to the father of the wife and Rs. 10 for charity and ten person should go to fetch the wife. If the woman is with child the father of the husband should pay Rs. 201 to the father of the wife and Rs. 10 for charity and ten persons should go to fetch the wife. In lieu of gifts Rs. 250 should be placed at the temple and Re. 1 should be given to the *Bava*.

Food

In the evening rice and oil and in the morning *lapsi* and *khichadi* with *ghee*.

Penalty

Rs. 51 will be charged to anyone violating the above resolution.

CONCERNING DIVORCE

Resolution V

If any woman is not looking after the home of her husband and behaves badly her father will pay to her husband Rs. 250 as a fine for her conduct and Rs. 51 as fee for the Panch. If any man mistreats his wife and unnecessarily harasses her and in that way tries to obtain divorce he shall pay Rs. 250 to the wife and grant her divorce and feed the caste and pay Rs. 51 as a cost of the Panch. No quarrel or settlement of divorce shall be settled except by the Panch.

Resolution VI

If any woman is widowed she should be freely allowed to go to her home after 12 days or one and a quarter months of her husband's death. If there is a younger brother of her husband and if he is marriageable and if he and the widow consent, then she may remarry to the younger brother of her husband. But this may not be done in any case where either of the parties does not consent. Anyone forcing remarriage against the consent of either party will be fined Rs. 255.

CONCERNING BYGAMY

Resolution VII

Any person may marry a second time during the lifetime of his first wife if his first wife is barren and if she consents to let him marry again. But consent of the first wife's parents and of the Panch will have to be obtained. Any man marrying a second time owing to reasons of quarrel with his first wife or for any other unreasonable cause will have to divorce the second wife and pay a penalty of Rs. 153 and keep and maintain his first wife. In such circumstances the person giving a second wife in marriage to an already married man will have to pay Rs. 153 as fine.

Resolution VIII

Any man desiring a settlement with any other can do so after informing the Panch. But any one falsely threatening another and if he is caught doing so he will have to pay a penalty of Rs. 255.

Resolution XI

The Panch resolves that no one shall incur any expenditure on *kandhiyas* at the time of the demise of his mother or father. Anyone violating this resolution will pay a fine of Rs. 102 to the Panch and Rs. 51 for the welfare of the community. Nobody shall go for a condolence visit after a period of 12 days after death of any one. No expenditure is to be incurred over distribution of *khichadi* in the case of the death of a minor child.

Resolution XIII

If any person feels the need to call a Panch then the Assembly of the Panch will be announced and all leaders shall gather on the announced date. Rs. 5 will be levied as fine from late comers.

Resolution XIV

The Panch resolves that the father of the bride shall pay Rs. 5 towards the caste education fund.

The amount of the education fund will be administered by The Khakharia Paragna Rawat Samaj Education Society towards the improvement of the society. The education society shall give accounts of these funds every year to the Caste Panch.

Resolution XVI

When the Caste Panch gathers to give justice in the case of any quarrel then any member of the Panch who acts in a prejudicial manner shall have to pay a fine of Rs. 101.

Resolution XVII

Anyone falsely accusing or mistreating any member of the Panch in respect of his duties as the Panch shall have to pay a fine of Rs. 101.

CONCERNING LIQUOR

Resolution XIX

If any person drinks liquor in the course of any meeting or if any member of the Panch drinks liquor when the Panch is in assembly he shall have to pay a fine of Rs. 51.

Resolution XX

In the event of any quarrel, if the Panch is assembled at the request of a complainant and if the Panch decides to meet and if the offending party does not present himself, then the Panch will thenceforth ignore such a party. Such a party will be recognised as a brother in society only if he agrees to call the Panch at his house and pays up the fine as well as the cost of the Panch.

Resolution XXI

Any person breaking any of the resolutions of this Constitution will have to pay a fine laid down under the resolution concerned and also in addition will have to pay Rs. 600 towards the cost of the Panch which met at Jesingpura Village to make out this Constitution.

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ERRATA
THE SHENVAS

| Page No. | Particulars of Entry | Col. No. | For | Read |
|----------|-----------------------------------|----------|------------|----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| V | Foreword, para 5, line 2 | .. | N. G. Nag | Shri N. G. Nag |
| 8 | Second half, para 4, last line | .. | peti-coat | petti-coat |
| 17 | First half, 9th line | .. | expediance | expedience |
| 22 | Second half, para 2, 20th line | .. | sometime | some time |
| 25 | First half, 1st line | .. | retching | fetching |
| 28 | Second half, para 2, 8th line | .. | except | expect |
| 28 | Second half, para 2, 12th line | .. | is | in |
| 38 | Annexure III(b) (i) Total | 6 | 25 | 20 |
| 59 | Annexure III(b) (ii) Sl. No. 17 | 20 | Not clear | 2 |
| 43 | Resolution III 3rd para, 3rd line | .. | Re. 11 | Re. 1 |