CHAPTER IX

KARI: MARITAL RELATIONSHIP WITHOUT RITUALS
Kari is a term used in the Bundelkhand region for referring to the arrangement by which a man and a woman, not formally married in the recognized manner, live together as husband and wife. Naturally, this is not acceptable to society. But such things do happen now and then, and such situations do manage to get recognition from the community on the fulfilment of certain conditions by the offending party. The caste Kudariya, which has the power to penalise the erring couple, itself prescribes the conditions on which they can be accepted by the caste and the local community. There is, for example, the custom of Kari ki roti, a feast given by the man concerned to his kinsmen, which is a way of securing re-entry into and respectable status in the caste which has kept such a couple out of the community for violation of marriage norms. (It may be noted here that among those castes which have a Kudariya organization, Kari is not considered basically objectionable.)

Since Kari gets recognised on some conditions, it is also governed by the restrictions relating to marriage. For example, Kari too is prohibited between consanguinous relations, such as cross cousins and parallel cousin. Likewise, Kari relationship outside the endogamous unit is strictly prohibited. If these restrictions are violated, the Kari
relationship is not socially recognized by the caste, and the case is left to the judgment of the Kudariya. Hypergamous and hypogamous conjugal relationships are also not recognized by the caste or by the larger society.

Nature of Kari:

We can divide such secondary marital relationships into three main categories:

(a) with a widow;
(b) with a divorced or separated woman;
(c) with a married woman, who has simply left her husband to live with another man.

Widow marriage:

When a person keeps a widow as his wife, it is known as Kari, and the system is prevalent in those castes which have the Kudariya organization. But such a secondary marital relationship is possible only with the consent of the widow and that of her parents or her deceased husband's relatives. The man persuades the widow to come and live with him as his wife, with the help or consent of her relatives, and brings her to his village where they start living together as husband and wife. If the widow is willing but her parents'
consent has not been obtained, the man brings her to his house and later on approaches her parents or relatives to give their consent. If the widow and her people are willing, the man may even take the consent of the panchas of his own caste before bringing her to his house.

Kari with divorced or separated woman:

When a husband and wife are unable to pull on together, for any reason, they separate. Such separation is considered as equivalent to a divorce, and it does not require to undergo any legal process. After this, the man and the woman are free to find another partner. These relations are accepted and recognized by the caste panchayat. The information is also given to the nearest police station.

Married woman accepting another man as husband:

When married woman does not like to live with her husband, for any reason, she goes to her parents’ house on some pretext and does not return. If the husband is suspicious and watchful, the woman has to leave secretly to go to her parents or to her lover, and then with the help of her parents, she gets her lover as her husband. Generally, in such cases, everything is left to the will of the woman. Even when the matter is reported to the police by the first husband of the
woman, they do not interfere. Later, these secondary conjugal relations are confirmed by the caste Kudariya. But the byahgat (compensation money) of the previous marriage is to be returned to the former husband by the woman's parents or her second husband. This decision is taken by the caste Kudariya but if the first husband does not agree, the case goes to the court of law.

Types of situations in this context:

Four types of situations can be generally observed:

(a) keeping a woman as Kari wife from the same caste;
(b) keeping a woman as Kari wife from a higher caste;
(c) keeping a woman as Kari wife from a lower caste;
(d) other situations.

Keeping a woman as Kari wife from the same caste: When the man and the woman are of the same caste but belong to different endogamous units, the Mukhia and the panchas of the caste decide whether the caste is to accept them as husband and wife or not. They are accepted in the caste with the consent of the Mukhia and the panchas, and their children get membership of the father's caste.
Keeping a woman as Kari wife from a higher caste:
When a man keeps a woman from a higher caste as his Kari wife, she is readily admitted into her husband's caste, but she loses the membership of her own caste. In such a situation, on the judgment of the chief of the Kudariya, they are accepted into the caste, and their children become members of the father's caste with the right to marry within the caste of the father. This is known as Pratiloma (hypogamous) marriage and it is permitted by the caste Kudariya.

Keeping a woman as Kari wife from a lower caste: In such a situation, the man loses membership of his caste and is excluded from it. This type of relationship is called anuloma (hypergamous) marriage, and it is viewed with disfavour by the caste. However, the caste of the woman does not object to this kind of relation; and the children born to such a couple get membership of the mother's caste, with the right to marry within that caste. Even in such a situation, the man is not readily admitted to the woman's caste. He has to make repeated requests to the Kudariya chief of the woman's caste. If this does not succeed, he must gather the Panchas of at least four Kudariyas. He must smoke a chilam (clay pipe) and drink water already tasted by the Panchas and put the shoes of the Panchas upon his head. He must also give a panga (pakka feast) to the kinsmen of
the woman. He must take his meals with the Mukhia and the Panches, wrap the pagdi (turban) on the Mukhia’s head and perform the ceremony of teeka on the Mukhia’s forehead. After this, he is admitted into the woman’s caste.

Other situations: If a married man has immoral sexual relations with a woman of lower caste and this becomes known to his clansmen, both he and his wife are declared outcaste. In such a situation, both of them are strictly debarred from using the public well, from entering temples and attending social ceremonies in the village. They cannot get re-entry into the caste for five to twelve years. During this period, if they conduct themselves properly and make ceaseless requests to the chief of the Kudariya, they may regain membership of their caste. After the decision of the caste Kudariya, they have to arrange a bhandara feast to the caste members, to which members of higher castes, and of clean and unclean castes are also invited. The husband and the wife then go to the Ganges or the Narmada for the purificatory bath. Only then they are accepted into their caste. If, however, during that period of probation, their conduct is not proper and satisfactory, they and their kith and kin are kept out of the caste. If the man belongs to a clean caste, he must hear the sacred katha (religious story) from the priest, and then he can be admitted into the caste.
Social customs relating to Kari:

(1) When a man keeps a Kari wife, he must give roti (kaccha feast) to members of his family, and only after this the woman is formally accepted in the family of her husband. She now puts on new churis (glass bangles). So the function is also called churiyan ki roti. If she had been a widow, she would already have removed her bangles on the death of her husband; and she would wear new churis in the name of her new husband. If she was a married woman already wearing churis, she would remove the old churis of the former husband and wear new ones in the name of her new husband.

(2) No one in his caste would take food with him until he has given roti to the whole caste. However, he himself can attend feasts, though he will be seated separately from his caste fellows.

(3) If the man is poor and is not in a position to feed the entire Kudariya, the Mukhia and the Panchas may permit him to make only nominal gesture. The Panchas suggest him to give five saalees of wheat (approx. 50 kg) or Rs.50/- for arranging the roti for the Kudariya. This is called nam matra ki roti (token bread), and after this, he is admitted into the caste.

(4) Until such a person gives Kari ki roti, his
clansmen do not take food with him, and the Kari wife is kept away from cooking and serving of food as well as from worship. This can be very awkward especially if there is a marriage fixed in his family. Till he gives roti to members of his caste, the marriage will have to be postponed.

(5) Even after Kari ki roti, the woman is not allowed to participate in Kulapuja (worship of family deities) and maihar puja (worship on the occasion of marriage) as the traditional marriage rituals are not performed in Kari marriages. Because of this disability, they cannot perform kanyadan of any girl in the family, nor can they wash the girl's feet (pav pakharna). In order to be eligible to perform these functions, they have to fulfil some formalities. For example, a symbolic marriage ceremony of the husband of the Kari woman with gold or silver doll (putli) has first to be performed under the green mandap (covered place where the marriage is performed). Then, the man and Kari wife have to tie the threads (ganth) as husband and wife. It is only after this that they are eligible to wash the bride's feet but they cannot perform kanyadan. They will have to go separately for this function as marriage is a sacred rite, and a Kari wife does not have the status of the ordinarily married woman for such purposes.
(6) If the woman has children from her former husband, the new husband has to accept them too with her. If the children are grown up, they are free to take a decision as to whom they will live with. Grown-up children, generally, tend to prefer to live with their own father.

(7) If a man is unable to give Kari ki roti for some years to his caste fellows, he has to pay something like a fine or a late fee (called baithake) of a rupee and a quarter per annum till he arranges the roti.

(8) At the function of Kari ki roti, men serve food to the men and the women to the women.

(9) If the woman belongs to another Kudariya, the Mukhia of the man's Kudariya invites the Mukhia of the woman's Kudariya to the feast.

(10) The man has to mark teeka on the foreheads of the Mukhia and the Panchas of the caste at the time of the feast, and to present a new turban to the chief of the Kudariya.

(11) If the woman is a widow, the man has to give the usual Kari ki roti, but if she is known to have had immoral relations with men of lower caste, he has to arrange a bhandara feast to which all the clean and unclean castes are to be invited.
(12) On a man's marrying a woman already having a husband, the former is to pay byahgat (harjana) to the woman's previous husband. The sum of byahgat is fixed by the chief and his assistants of the caste Kudariya, but if the former husband does not agree to that sum, then he is asked to go to the court.

Role of Kudariya:

When a woman is kept as a Kari wife, it is necessary to inform the Mukhia about it. If the Mukhia approves of the union, a date is fixed for a feast. This is known as Kari ki roti or milone ki roti. First of all, the Mukhia ascertains from the person whether the woman has been brought with her consent, whether she belongs to the same endogamous unit, whether the woman belongs to the same gharana (descent group), whether the woman had some immoral relations with anyone, whether she is issueless or has children, whether the husband is leaving her or she is not willing to live with him. It is also ascertained whether the woman's former husband was one who had been cast off from the caste. All this information is obtained by the Mukhia. If there are no objectionable aspects, then the Mukhia decides the date of roti, and sends invitation to the Panchas of the caste Kudariya. The Mukhia decides the number
of men to be invited — whether everybody from the caste should be invited or one member from each family or only a limited number etc.; and in making the decision, the economic condition of the man concerned is paid due attention. The Mukhia consults the Panchas, too, about the persons who are not to be invited. After the consent of the Mukhia, the information is sent to the persons of the Kudariya.

The Mukhia secretly confirms for himself whether the information, gathered by him, is correct and this he does by obtaining information from other members of the caste. One day before the date fixed by the Mukhia, the people gather in the house of the man concerned. Then the man himself or someone from his family arrives at the Mukhia's residence to request him to leave for the former's house. The Mukhia, then, again consults the members about the conditions. A day after this, the roti function is held. The Badkur implements the decisions of the Mukhia. He gathers the equipment at the place where the meals are to be cooked. The place is kept neat and clean. He makes arrangements for the equipment through the caste fellows or his family men. The meals are cooked by the Panchas under the guidance of the Mukhia and the Badkur, and the arrangements of pangat (feast), too, are made by the Panchas who inform the Mukhia of the social behaviour of the persons of their caste. But in the Mukhia's absence, the charge is given to
the Badkur. For instance, in the Kachhi caste, there is no provision of Badkur, but there are the Sangati of the Mukhia and the Sangatis arrange for the cooking and the serving of the meals. At this time, the Mukhia is offered Rs. 5/- and a tilak is marked on his forehead, and a new turban is presented. The Badkur or the Sangatis are also given some money: they, of course, get less than the Mukhia and a tilak is marked on their forehead. After this performance, the man and woman get confirmation in the caste.

The Mukhia has the power to include anybody in the caste. If the woman belongs to another caste but she is of similar status, the Mukhia can grant entrance to her into his caste. Before the Mukhia does so, he secretly consults the majority of the Panchas and after that he does not care for the minority. During the meeting of the Kudariya, the arrangements for the Mukhia's lodging, staying and meals are made by the Panchas.

Report on First Notice to Acceptance:

When a woman is kept as a Kari wife with her consent, first of all, her family men become aware of it, though the Panchas already have knowledge of it as the man secretly consults them first. Still after the men bring woman to his house, the Panchas are informed and they send the
information to the Mukhia. It is through the Panchas that the Mukhia gets the information of facts regarding her caste, her gharana, her willingness, her moral character. Depending on the information received from the Panchas, the Mukhia fixes the date of the feast.

In the event of known and established moral lapses on the part of a Kari woman, the members of the caste and the villagers at large impose such restrictions on the man and his Kari wife as prohibiting the kameena from serving them. Later on, the Mukhia is also informed about this. This is considered as the first notice. The Mukhia declares them out of caste and the man is not allowed to rejoin until the man calls the Mukhia and the Panchas for meeting, and gives a feast to the entire Kudariya as well as a satkom feast.

CASE STUDIES

Some cases, collected from the adjoining villages following the Kari custom, are described here by way of illustration:

(A) KEEPING A WOMAN OF THE CASTE AS KARI WIFE:

Bhujbai Kachhi :: Barkhuwa

Bhujbai Kachhi, aged about 33 years, an inhabitant of
the village Barkhuwa, was a widower. On December 25, 1973, he brought the widow (age 26 years) of late Nathoo Singh Kachhi from village Badbadi as his wife. He brought her at night, as her brother-in-law, Narayan Kachhi (age about 35 years), did not agree to this. Nathoo Singh had died six years back and his wife was leading the life of a widow, with her two sons and a daughter. They are all over ten years old at present. The woman left the children with her brother-in-law (dewar). Narayan, as the children are the heirs to their father's property. They, therefore, are living with their uncle, Narayan.

Bhuja, first of all, had taken the consent of the Mukhia of the Kudariya, Faggu Kachhi, age about 58 years, who lived in Ghughar village, the headquarter of the Kachhi-Kudariya. After this, with the consent of four other persons of his village (Ganesh Ram Tiwari, age 40 years; Harshay Tiwari, age 56 years; Chetu Patel, age 46 years and Bala Kachhi, age 28 years), Bhuja brought the widow to his home, with her consent. But he brought her in the night as her dewar was against it.

Bhuja sent the information to the caste chief through his younger brother, Bhide (age 28 years). Later, the kinsmen were informed. The news reached the police station Jasinagar through the watchman (Kotwar) of the village, who
is to inform the police about the newcomers and about those who go out of the village. The police, then, make enquiries as to whether the woman had been brought with her consent or forcibly. If they find that the arrangement has the consent of the woman and of the caste Panchas, the police take no action.

After a couple of weeks, Bhujbal gave roti to his kutumbis (extended family members) and the woman put on new bangles in the name of the new husband. This is called the churiyan ki roti.

After six months (in June 1974), Bhujbal arranged the feast known as Kari ki roti to the caste fellows of the entire Kudariya. The Panchas of twelve villages along with five persons from each village were invited to the feast. Bhujbal marked the teeka on the foreheads of the Mukhia and the Panchas by giving the former Re. 5/- and Re. 1/- to each of the latter, and presented a new turban to the chief of the caste Kudariya. After the roti rites, Bhujbal and his Kari wife were recognized as husband and wife. The woman, now, is living with Bhujbal in the village Barkhuwa, wears the red line (sindoor) in the mang (parting of the hair) and has become the mother of a son from him.

During the second visit (March 1974 to July 1974) this case was recorded.
Kalu Parjapat :: Salaiya

Kalu Parjapat is about fifty-five years old, and is living in the village Salaiya. About two decades ago, he had kept a woman as his wife and said that he was not financially in a position to give the caste feast to the entire Kudariya which included 56 villages. Kalu has three sons. Kalu was not admitted into his caste. Then the time came, when his elder son — Bharose (age 20 years) was of marriageable age. Then Kalu called the Mukhia from the caste Kudariya's headquarter — Jaisinagar, and the Panchas of the entire Kudariya and gave a feast to them. He had to give baithaki (a kind of fine per year to the caste chief) of twenty rupees at the rate of Rs. 1.25 per annum. Then, according to the caste tradition, a tilak was marked on the forehead of the caste chief who was given Rs. 5/- and presented with a new turban. The Panchas got one rupee each. After this rite Kalu got admission and his son was married in February 1971. This was narrated to the author by Kalu Parjapat of Salaiya.

Dhanse Kachhi :: Badbadi

Dhanse Kachhi, age 40 years, resident of village Badbadi, was unmarried. He had brought a Kachhi female from the village Pipare (23 km towards south-west), about
ten years ago. The woman had with her a child of two years from her previous husband. The woman did not want to live with her husband; so of her own will and with the consent of her father, she had come to live with Dhanse. Her former husband, too, had no objection as he had taken the ornaments back. The woman, living with Dhanse, now has two sons and a daughter. Being poor, Dhanse could not give kari ki roti to the members of caste Kudariya for about six years, but gave it formally in April 1974. The caste Panchas (Anta Kachhi, age 55 years; Ram Charan Kachhi, age 52 years; Bhagunte Kachhi, age 60 years; Ram Singh, age 40 years and Rai Singh Kachhi, age 45 years) of the village requested the Mukhia that only a sum of Rs. 50/- should be taken from Dhanse, and gur (jaggery) of that price should be distributed in the twelve villages. Dhanse gave Rs. 50/- to Faggu Kachhi, the Mukhia, who took food in Dhanse's house with the Panchas and purchased jaggery out of those fifty rupees and distributed it in the twelve villages. Dhanse was readmitted into the caste from which he had been removed for six years.

Rangoli Kachhi :: Barkhuwa

Rangoli Kachhi of Barkhuwa is about 45 years now. He had kept the wife of Kalla Kachhi of Chakeri as his wife with her consent, about fifteen years ago. The caste fellows asked Rangoli to give kari ki roti to the entire Kudariya.
but he was not able to do it and so he remained an outcast for about 15 years. Ultimately, Faggu Kachhi, the Mehtar of the caste Kudariya, and the Panchas of the same village (Mehgu Kachhi, age 60 years; late Malke Kachhi, age 45 years; Chetu Patel, age 45 years), and the Panchas of Badbadi (Anta Kachhi, age 55 years; Ghagunta Kachhi, age 60 years; Ram Charan Kachhi, age 50 years) and the Panchas of Chakeri (Kalla Kachhi, age 50 years and others) decided that it was enough to take a sum of Rs. 50/- from Ramgoli. In the month of Jyaiathe of 1970 Ramgoli gave Rs. 50/- to the Mukhia, invited him and the Panchas to his home and offered teeka to the Mukhia by giving him Rs. 1.25, and presented a new turban. With this, he gave baithaki of fourteen years, totalling Rs.17.50. For a sum of Rs. 80/- a hada (a big brass vessel) was purchased and was kept in the house of the Mukhia as the property of the Kudariya. The hada is used in the various ceremonial occasions like marriage, caste feast and other public functions. Now Ramgoli has joined the caste and has got social acceptance. This information was given to the author by Bhujbal Kachhi of the same village.
(B) KEEPING A WOMAN FROM A LOWER CASTE AS WIFE:

Nathu Singh Rajput :: Badera

Nathu Singh Rajput, age about 35 years, belongs to the village Badera. Tulsa Chemaran, age about thirty years, was living in the village Mochal with her husband. She had immoral sexual relations for a long time with Nathu Singh on whose farm she had been a labourer. Being a bachelor, Nathu Singh said that he wanted to make her his wife. For fear of being ex-communicated from the caste, Tulsa at first refused the proposal. Nathu replied that he had to do nothing with the caste and that he loved her and wanted to make her his wife. By degrees Tulsa acceded to his will and, leaving her husband, who lived in Mochal, started to live with Nathu Singh.

When Nathu Singh kept Tulsa in his house as a wife, it was known to the kinsmen and the villagers who warned him to get rid of Tulsa, otherwise he would be made an outcast. But Nathu Singh refused to give up Tulsa and so he was totally boycotted by the caste. He went away to Vidisha with Tulsa and lived there for four years. On his return after four years, he was treated by the caste as before and was kept out of the caste.

Nathu Singh cared little for this and spent a few years
with her, living as an outcast. Though his kinmen did not join him in the feast and other rituals, could not prohibit the barber from serving him. But Nathu Singh could not bring water from the public well of the village, as he was treated as a Chamar, and the Chamars were not allowed to draw water from the public well.

Nathu Singh, now, tried to seek entry into the Chamar caste to which Tulsa belonged. He made several requests to the Mukhia, Lal Singh, of the Chamar Kudariya. The Chamar did not agree, and advised him to leave Tulsa and to remain in his own caste. Nathu Singh did not agree and remained with Tulsa for five more years.

After incessant requests the Chamar Mukhia, Lal Singh of Baroda, was sure that Nathu wanted to join their caste. So he said that it was possible on the following conditions:

a. Nathu will have to invite the Mukhia from Sagar;
b. He will have to smoke chilam (clay pipe), and take water with the Mukhia and the Panchas;
c. He will have to keep the shoes of all the Panchas on his head;
d. He will have to take meals with them;
e. He will have to put teeka on the forehead of the Mukhia and the Panchas, give a feast to the Chamar caste and give Rs. 100/- to the Kudariya.
Only on those conditions would Nathu be admitted into the caste of the Chamars. For the sake of Tulsa, Nathu accepted all the conditions. In the first week of June 1974, he was admitted to the Chamar caste. He fulfilled all the conditions — the caste feast, the teeka, the pangat and donation — and became a Chamar. Now he has no connection with his previous caste — Rajput, and is living in Badera.

When the investigator asked him whether he is happy with mixing with the Chamars, he replied that he had no alternative; otherwise he would have to spend his whole life without a woman.

_Boothe Kurmi :: Baroda_

_Boothe Kurmi, age about 38 years, lives in the Chamarpura of Baroda. About a decade ago, he had kept Bhagoti, age 30 years, daughter of Nathu Chamar, Salaiya, as his wife, with her consent. So Boothe remained an outcast for five years. Then Boothe sent requests to the Mukhia through the woman's father. Nathu Singh, as he was not a member of the Kurmi or the Chamar castes. Then the chief of the Chamar Kudariya. Lal Singh (age 55 years), decided a date in May 1970, and called the caste Panchas of fifteen villages. A meeting was organized near the house of the_
Mukhia—Mehtar, and two to four Panchas from all villages assembled. Boothe requested the Mehtar and the Panchas to let him join in their caste as neither he nor Bhagoti was prepared to leave each other. When Nathu Singh was asked about his consent, he replied that he had no objection if Bhagoti was willing. Then the Mehtar gave the verdict:

a. The Mehtar—Mullu Chamar from Sagar, too, should be invited in the feast;
b. Boothe will have to smoke *chilam* (clay pipe), and take water with all of them;
c. He will have to put their shows on his head;
d. He will have to give Rs. 100/- to the Chamar Kudariya;
e. He will have to wash the feet of the Mehtar and other Panchas at the time of the feast;
f. He will have to give caste feast (both *kacchha* and *pakka*) to the Chamar; and he will have to eat with them; and will have to give *teeka* to the Mehtar and other Panchas.

Boothe accepted all these conditions put by the Kudariya and on the very next day gave a feast to the Chamar, and presented Rs. 60/- to the Mukhia. The Panchas from fifteen villages and one person from each of the nineteen families of the Chamar of Baroda joined the feast. He gave *teeka*
to the Mukhia and the Panchas by giving Rs. 5/- to the
former and Re. 1/- to each of the latter. He presented a
new turban to Mullu Mehtar. Then he was admitted into the
Chamar caste. He has no connection with the Kurmis, and
he is still a Chamar. This information was obtained by the
investigator in an oral interview with Lal Singh Chamar, the
Kudariya chief.

(C) KEEPING A WOMAN AS A KARI WIFE FROM OTHER CASTE:

Kadora Kachhi :: Chakeri

Kadora Kachhi, age about 26 years, belongs to the
village Chakeri. About 25 years ago, the late father of
Kadora Kachhi had kept a woman due to which he had been
ex-communicated from the caste for his whole life. The
caste fellows know that the woman was not the offspring of
Kachhi, as her mother had immoral relations with a Kotwar
(Chadar). This was enough to prove that the woman belonged
to the Kotwar caste and not to the Kachhi caste. Kadora's
father, therefore, was an outcast and his parents remained
so throughout their life.

Like his father, Kadora, when twenty-five years old,
kept the daughter of a Khalipa (Darji) of Baroda as his wife
in 1970. About this girl, too, the caste fellows know that
she was the illegitimate issue of a Darji woman, who had immoral relations with a Kachhi of the same village. Having done so, Kadora made several requests to the Mukhia and the Panchas to adopt the former into their caste. He begged them not to treat him as an outcast as they had done with his father.

In March 1970, Kadora called the Mukhia and the Panchas of 12 villages in Chakeri and put before them the problem relating to his acceptance into the caste, on the following plea:

Kadora's father was a Kachhi, and mother a Kotwaran; to which caste he can be admitted.

Then the Mehtar gone his opinion that the issue of a Kachhi from a Kotwaran should be a Kachhi.

The Mehtar said that the blood of a Kachhi flowed in the veins of Kadora; so he should be a Kachhi and accepted in the same caste from which he had been ex-communicated for two-and-a-half decades. The Panchas of ten villages, except those from Hinnod and Baroda, were in favour of this opinion.

About the wife of Kadora, too, the Mehtar was of the opinion that she should be a Kachhi as the issue of a Kachhi father.

Thus Kadora as well as his wife were proved to be the
Kachhi. The matter was deeply discussed and decided by the Panchas of ten villages. In spite of the opposition of the Panchas of Hinnod and Baroda, who crossed the floor and went back, the Panchas gave the verdict through the Mukhia that Kadora and his wife should leave for the sacred bath in the Narmada. Then, they would have to give feast (kachha and pakka pangat) to the entire Kudariya and the villagers, arrange for the Srimad Bhagwat Katha, erect a temple of Lord Shiva and mark the foreheads of the Mukhia and the Panchas, and donate a sum of Rs. 100/- to the Kudariya.

In April 1970, Kadora fulfilled all these conditions, and erected a temple of Lord Shiva in the middle of the village Chakeri. He gave teeka to the Mukhia and the Panchas by giving Rs. 10/- and Rs. 5/- each respectively. The Kachhis of Hinnod and Baroda are not happy with this inclusion of Kadora in the Kachhi caste; so they do not attend the meetings of such disputes of the caste. They explained that the reason of their dissatisfaction was that Faggu Kachhi (Mukhia) had taken a bribe of Rs. 1000/- from Kadora and had allowed him to join their caste. The Mukhia, on the other hand, thought that one cannot and should not continue to remain an outcast for a long time. Now, Kadora Kachhi and his wife are living happy with their three issues—two sons and a daughter—in Chakeri.
(D) OTHER SITUATIONS:

Halka Kachhi, age about 40 years, belongs to Badbadi and is the younger brother of Shanker Kachhi, age 46 years. Due to being lame, Halka remained unmarried. But Halka kept as his wife the married daughter of Hariram Kachhi, Bachhiya, who was about twenty-five years old at that time. She was married in Ghughar (5 km towards north-east) but was left by her husband due to her immoral relations with the brother-in-law of Fulle Chamar of the same village. Halka was unmarried and so he adopted her as a wife, some fourteen years ago. Due to this Halka and his brother, Shanker, were made outcasts. Halka and his wife could not draw water from the public well of the village. They were prohibited from joining feasts and the kameena were also prohibited to serve them. Halka, therefore being perplexed, left Badbadi for Sagar where he lived for eight years in Bada Bazar. But after eight years, he returned to his village where he was treated again as before. For twelve years he remained out of his caste. In spite of Halka's several requests, the Mehtar kept him out of the caste but after twelve years the Panchayat of the kinsmen was invited on April 5, 1972. In this date the Mehtar gathered the Panchas and other respectable persons from higher castes of the same and other villages (namely, Har Sahay Tiwari, Ram Shanker Tiwari.
Ganesh Ram Tiwari from Barkhuwa, and Janki Prasad Shukla and Babaji from Badbadi. The meeting of the Panchayat was held near the temple of the village. After getting the general consent of the Panchas, the Mehtar gave the verdict that "Halka Kachhi, who has spent twelve years of moral stability with his wife, should be included in the caste." The verdict was accepted by all the members. The author himself was present there when the verdict was given.

Halka was fined a sum of Rs. 250/- which was to be donated to the village Shiva Temple. He would have to perform the functions of the pakka feast, hearing the sacred text of Sri Satya Narayan, bathing in the sacred river like the Ganges or the Narmada, with his wife. The day after the decision, Halka went for the sacred bath in the Narmada with his wife.

On his return, he gave Rs. 250/- to the village temple. On April 8, 1972 Halka gave pakka feast to the men of his caste as well as to the satkom. In the feast of the caste, all the Kachhis of the same village and five persons from each of the ten villages (except Hinnod and Baroda) were invited. On the same day, he performed the recitation of the Sri Satyanarayan Katha, and the prasad was distributed among persons of all castes. Then Halka Kachhi got re-entrance into the caste and the prohibitions against Shanker, too, came to an end.