APPENDIX
Appendix II: A

CASTE HIERARCHY:

PATTERNS OF INTERACTION AND INTER-DEPENDENCE

In the ten villages under study, there are 34 castes or caste-like occupational groups. Each of these castes is an endogamous unit, bearing its distinctive name and having its conventional code governing the nature and extent of social intercourse and communal relations with other castes. Each of these units is further characterized by its relative socio-ritual position vis-a-vis other units. For the traditional four-fold (or even five-fold) system of hierarchical grading, which is an all-India feature of the Hindu caste system, operates in this region too. On the basis of this traditional grading system, we arrive at the following caste hierarchy:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste-like Occupational Groups</th>
<th>Varna Positions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sanadhya</td>
<td>Brahmana</td>
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<td>Sarayupari</td>
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<td>Bhargava</td>
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<td>Kanyakubja</td>
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<td>Jujhotiya</td>
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<td>Rajput</td>
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<td>Sunar</td>
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<td>Parwar Jain</td>
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<td>Binsikiya Jain</td>
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<td>Lodhi</td>
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<td>Kurmi</td>
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<td>Dangi</td>
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<td>Yadav</td>
<td>Raj Gond</td>
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<td>Siloriya Kachhi</td>
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<td>Kachhawaha</td>
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<td>Kachhi</td>
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<td>Patwa</td>
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<td>Masi</td>
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<td>Dhimar</td>
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<td>Bedhai</td>
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<td>Luhar</td>
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<td>Bharbhunja</td>
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<td>Parjapat</td>
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<td>Jat</td>
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<td>Teli</td>
<td>Behna</td>
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<td>Unclean or</td>
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<td>Untouchable</td>
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<td>Dhobi</td>
<td>Gadariya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Athya Chadar</td>
<td>Panbesuriya Chadar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chamar</td>
<td>Basor</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The Brahmanas:

There are five endogamous units of the Brahmanas. These five Brahmana castes have a definite hierarchy among themselves. The Bhargava and the Sanadhya are two such segments each of which has limited commensal relations (confined to pakka food only) with the other but no connubial relations. They have similar commensal relations with the other three Brahmana groups as well.

The Saryupari, the Kanyakubja and the Jujhotiya are arranged in their conventional hierarchical order because they practise hypergamy besides practising isogamy as well. These three groups have free kachcha and pakka food relations among themselves due to inter-marriages between them. Their commensal relations with the Bhargava and the Sanadhya are restricted to only pakka food and that too on reciprocal basis.

Although characterized by an internal hierarchy and restricted commensality among themselves, these five Brahmana castes occupy the top position in the Hindu castes of the villages under study. The Saryuparis practise agriculture whereas the Sanadhya, the Kanyakubja and the Jujhotiya pursue their traditional calling of priesthood besides agriculture. Their priestly roles include officiating as priest on ritual occasions like birth and marriage, casting horoscopes,
determining auspicious moments (muhurtas), cooking kachcha and pakka food for communal feasts, receiving gifts, and the like. They render their priestly services to all castes except the Basor and the Chamar. All the Brahmanas accept pakka food from the hands of the Rajput, the Sunar and the Jains (both Parwar and Binaikiya) whereas all castes receive both kachcha and pakka food from their hands. However, the Brahmanas accept kachcha food only when they have cooked such food themselves.

The Rajput:

Coming next to the Brahmanas, the Rajput belong to the Kshatriya varna position. They are agriculturists by their traditional occupation. The Brahmanas, the Sunar and the Jains accept pakka food whereas all other castes accept both kinds of food from them.

The Sunar:

Gold and silver ornament-makers by traditional occupation, the Sunar claim a Kshatriya status which status they are accorded by all other castes. They render their occupationally specialized services to all castes. They accept both kachcha and pakka food from the Brahmanas, the Rajput and the Jains only on reciprocal basis. They are
non-agriculturist artisans.

The Jains:

Accorded a socio-ritual status equal to that of the Rajput and the Sunar, the Jains are outside the Hindu caste system. For they are a separate religious community in themselves. The Brahmanas, the Rajput and the Sunar accept kachcha and pakka food from them on the basis of reciprocity. All other castes accept both kachcha and pakka food from them.

The Jains are divided into two endogamous units: Parwar and Binaikiya. The Parwar are higher in socio-ritual status than the Binaikiya, and the two segments have commensal relations with each other. But they do not inter-marry. They are a trading people, and money-lending is their subsidiary occupation. A few Jain families have sizeable land-holdings and practise agriculture.

The Lodhi, the Dangi, the Kuzmi and the Yadav:

All these castes rank equal in the caste hierarchy. They are agriculturists except for the Yadav whose traditional calling is domestication of animals, especially cows and buffaloes. They accept pakka food from each other and from
the castes above them in the hierarchy. The Brahmanas, the Rajput, the Jains and the Sunar accept only water from their hands. All other castes accept both kachcha and pakka food from them.

The Raj Gond:

A scheduled tribe, the Raj Gond treat themselves as a Hindu caste and claim a status position equal to that of the Lodhi, the Dangi, the Kurmi and the Yadav from whom they accept only pakka food but accept both kachcha and pakka food from the Brahmanas, the Rajput, the Sunar and the Jains. The Brahmana renders his priestly services to them, and the other service-rendering castes (known as the Kameena) also render their services to the Raj Gond. By occupation, they are agriculturists.

The Kachhis:

Divided into two endogamous units, viz. Siloriya and Kachhawaha, the Kachhis are horticulturists. Vegetable-growing is their main occupation. All the higher castes accept only water from them whereas all the castes lower than them accept kachcha and pakka food from them. The Mali, the Luhar, the Parjapat, the Badhai, the Darji and the Patwa do not accept either kachcha or pakka food from them.
The Patwa:

Their traditional occupation is to deal in glass bangles, lac bangles and plaiting and embroidery, and they supply these articles to every caste. The mode of payment is always in cash. The Patwa accept both kachcha and pakka food from the higher castes whereas the latter accept only water from them. The unclean castes accept both kachcha and pakka food from them.

The Darji and the Mali:

Ranking equal to the Patwa, the Darji have tailoring as their traditional calling. Higher castes accept only water from his hands whereas he accepts both kachcha and pakka food from them. Castes below him accept both kinds of food from him. He is often paid in cash for his specialized services.

The Mali are the traditional gardeners. They supply flowers and garlands on ritual occasions like worship, ritual recitation of sacred texts, and marriage, and they are often paid in cash. They accept both kinds of food from the higher castes whereas the latter accept only water from them. The lower castes accept both kinds of food from him.
The Nai, the Dhimar, the Badhai and the Luhar:

The Nai have hair-cutting and shaving, supply of leaf cups and leaf plates (dona and pattal), and reaching invitations of feasts as their traditional occupation. They render their services to all castes and are remunerated for that. The mode of remuneration is both in cash and in kind. They accept both kachcha and pakka food from the higher castes but no food is accepted by them from the castes which are lower than them in socio-ritual status. The higher castes accept water from him.

The Dhimar are the traditional watermen who supply water daily or on special occasions of feasts. They render their services to all castes but they do not cleanse the joota utensils of the unclean castes. They receive their remuneration in both cash and kind. They receive both kachcha and pakka food from all the higher castes and the clean castes but do not accept either kind of food from the unclean castes.

The Badhai are specialists in wood-work, and they render their specialized services to all castes, and receive remunerations in both cash and kind. They accept both kachcha and pakka food from all higher castes but only water from the clean castes. They have no commensal relations with the unclean castes.
The Luhar are iron smiths who supply iron tools and implements to all agriculturist patrons. Their services are seasonal or periodical, and they are remunerated in both cash and kind. They accept both kachcha and pakka food from the higher castes but do not accept food of either kind from the unclean castes.

The Bharbhunja:

A caste specialized in baking certain food grain, the Bharbhunja come next in the hierarchy. The mode of payment for their services is always in cash. They receive both kinds of food from the castes above them in the hierarchical scale but accept no food from those below.

The Parjapat and the Jat:

The Parjapat, also known as the Kumhar, are the potters who supply earthenware to all castes. The mode of payment for their services is both in cash and in kind. They accept both kinds of food from all higher castes but do not accept any food from the castes below them.

The Jat are an agriculturist caste. They also accept both kachcha and pakka food from all higher castes and clean castes but accept no food from the unclean castes.
The Teli:

Specialized in oil-pressing and making oil-cakes, the Teli rank next in the caste hierarchy. They are treated as an unclean caste, and popular stereotype further regards them as inauspicious, equating them with evil and Lord Saturn. He supplies his articles to every caste, and gets paid always in cash. He accepts both kachcha and pakka food from all higher castes and clean castes but has no commensal relations with the unclean castes.

The Dhobi and the Gadariya:

The Dhobi are the traditional washermen. They wash clothes, seldom daily but often on special ritual occasions such as birth and death in their clients' homes. They are paid for their services both in cash and in kind. They accept food — both kachcha and pakka — from all higher and clean castes but have no commensal relations with the unclean castes.

The Gadariya are the shepherds. They raise sheep and goat. They accept both kachcha and pakka food from all higher and clean castes but do not accept any food from the unclean castes.
The Chadars:

Divided into two endogamous segments — Athaya and Panbesuriya, the Chadars have masonry as their traditional occupational specialization. The village watchman (known as the Kotwar) is often selected from their caste. They render their specialized services to all castes, and are paid in cash. They accept both kachcha and pakka food from all castes higher than them but accept no food from the Chamar and the Basor.

The Chamar:

Cobblers by profession, the Chamar deal in leather. Their specialization includes making of leather goods like country shoes and chappals, leather bags used for irrigation (charasa) and treating hides of dead cattle. They lift the dead cattle of their patrons, and, in return, supply leather goods to the owners of the dead animals. They receive their remuneration in both cash and kind. They accept both kachcha and pakka food from all higher and clean castes but do not accept any food from the Chadar and the Basor.

The Basor:

An occupationally specialized caste of drum-beaters, the Basor have bamboo work and midwifery (their womenfolk
are known as the Basoran who serve as the traditional midwives or dai) as their further specialization. They supply bamboo goods to their patrons of all castes. On the occasions of birth, marriage and death, they play the drums. On the occasion of child-birth, their women render their specialized services. They are paid in both cash and kind.

The lowest in the caste hierarchy, they accept both kachcha and pekka food from all other castes. But no other caste accepts any food from them.

The Behna:

A caste-like group among the Muslims, the Behna are the cotton-carders by their traditional occupational specialization. They are believed to have converted to Islam in not-too-remote past. About their pre-conversion identity, it is generally and popularly held that they once belonged to the Hindu-fold. Their names, their fasts, feasts and festivals, and the customary usages of their womenfolk are reminiscent of and lend support to their one-time Hindu identity.

The Behna render their specialized services to all the Hindu castes as well as the Raj Gond, and they are paid in cash for their services. In terms of the Hindu ritual
purity scale, they are treated as an unclean caste at par with the Teli. However, in their case, the notion of untouchability is not linked with the notion of inauspiciousness as it is associated in the case of the Teli. Since they form a part of a separate religious community, there are no commensal relations between them and the Hindu caste people.

Social Stratification and the Indigenous Taxonomy

In the Bundelkhand region of Northern Madhya Pradesh, an indigenous taxonomy is followed in order to characterize the relative socio-ritual positions of the different castes. This indigenous Bundeli classification of castes assigns to each caste its place in one of the three broad divisions. These divisions are:

a. the *oonchi jat* (literally meaning 'the higher castes');

b. the *chhiyat chuwaaut ke* (literally meaning 'those who can be touched or allowed to touch'); and

c. the *neechi jat* or the *neecha jat* (literally meaning 'the lower castes').
These three broad categories are such that sometimes cut across the traditional varna system. For instance, the castes designated as the oonchi jat are those which include both the Brahmana and the Kshatriya castes. As such, the term oonchi jat is a broad category as it signifies not one caste but many castes. In other words, the Bundeli term oonchi jat is suggestive of a cluster of castes which not only belong to two varna status positions but which also recognize their relative hierarchical differentiation inter se.

Likewise, the term shhiyat chhuyaut ke is again suggestive of a cluster of castes of relative hierarchical grading in between all the castes that are so designated. It may, however, be noted that all the castes included in this category belong to the clean or touchable (spra) Shudras of the classical varna system.

Similarly, all the castes designated as the neechi jat or the neecha jat are those which, notwithstanding their relative hierarchical grading along the socio-ritual scale, belong to the traditional fifth varna of the unclean or untouchable Shudras.

It may be recalled here that, throughout the text in the foregoing chapters, such English equivalents as 'the
higher castes', 'the clean castes' and 'the unclean castes' have been used, and that each of these terms is employed to connote what the indigenous taxonomy implies.

The Kameens:

Another word which has been frequently employed in the text, is the Kameens. It has been occasionally rendered as signifying 'the service-rendering castes'. The word Kameen, in Urdu, means a 'low-bred'. It is also used as an abuse in common parlance. Obviously, the word Kameen has been borrowed from Urdu language, and it has been incorporated into the Bundeli dialect. But when it is used as a referent of certain castes, it is not employed to imply an abusive; rather it is employed in the sense of the 'low-bred'.

It may, however, be added here that the local etymology and semantics justify the use of the word as follows:

"The word Kameen means 'those who earn their livelihood by rendering services to definite households' — ghar kameen walon ko kameen kaha jata hai".

When the author pointed out to the higher caste persons as well as to the so-called Kameen caste people how the word Kameen is also an abuse, they came forward with their aforesaid etymological explanation and semantic clarification
in order to justify the use of the term and its intended import.

Be it noted here that the Brahmanas also render their priestly services to the different higher and clean castes, occasionally including some unclean castes as well. But this, by no stretch of logic, would mean that such priestly Brahmanas, customary service-rendering that they are, also become the Kameens. It appears that the word kameen must, therefore, signify 'those lowly-bred ones who earn their livelihood by rendering customary services to definite households'.

The Satkom or the Sat Jat:

Still another term in vogue in the region under study is the sat kom or sat jat. The words kom and jat are Urdu and Bundeli synonyms of the word jati respectively. The prefix sat literally means 'seven'. Thus, the words sat kom and sat jat mean 'seven castes'. These seven castes are: the Badhai, the Basor, the Chamar, the Dhobi, the Luhar, the Nai and the Parjapat. As has been mentioned earlier, all these castes have occupational specializations as the traditional artisans, who render their specialized services to other castes in social, ritual and economic spheres of life.
The word sat, as a numeral, sometimes connotes 'all' as well. For instance, in a sat kōm feast, not only seven castes are invited but all castes are invited. Likewise, in the word sat jāt ki panchyat, the word sat is not suggestive of only seven castes but of members (often elders or sayane) of all castes.

The Jajmani System:

The Hindu caste system does not only divide the entire society into several segments but it also unites these several divisions into what may be called a symbiotic relationship or functional interdependence. Each caste has its traditional occupation, and some castes have their occupationally specialized services as artisans. These artisans serve the other artisan and non-artisan castes in a customary manner. The traditional pattern of rights and obligations of these artisan castes is known as the Jajmani System. The traditional councils — the intra-caste intra-village, the intra-caste inter-village and the inter-caste intra-village — protect these rights and ensure the fulfilment of these obligations. The traditional regulatory mechanisms, thus, ensure and sanction the pattern maintenance of social, economic and ritual inter-dependence.
The entire network of these traditional rights and obligations works in regard to the jaimans (patrons) and the Kameens (service-rendering castes). The system, as it functions in the area under investigation, can be best illustrated in the following diagram:
Diagram 1

BADHAI

PARJAPAT

FARMER

BAJOR

CHAMAR

NAI

LUHAR

DHOBi

→ Showing the services rendered to patrons

→→ Showing the remunerations received by the service-rendering caste