CHAPTER V

KUDARIYA ORGANIZATION AMONG VARIOUS CASTES
Out of thirty-four castes belonging to ten villages in the Bundelkhand region, the majority of them have the intra-caste inter-village Panchayat, that is, the Kudariya.

Gahoi Kurmi (an agriculturist caste):

Under the jurisdiction of the Kudariya of the Gahoi Kurmi, an endogamous caste, there are four villages — Baroda, Hinnod, Salaiya and Sothiya (see Map 1). All these villages are situated within a range of 3 to 5 km from the Baroda Kudariya centre. Out of four villages, three villages — Baroda, Hinnod and Salaiya — have 133 families which are distributed among 21 different exogamous units, commonly known as gharanas. All these exogamous units are affinally related to each other and each exogamous unit is characterized by consanguinous ties, forming a descent group. The distance of each village from the Baroda Chontra is as follows: Hinnod, 5 km towards south; Salaiya, three km towards south-west and Sothiya, 5 km towards north-east. Parmanand Kurmi, aged about 60 years, is the Kurmi Kudariya chief, and his office is hereditary. He is addressed as the 'Lambardar'. He lives in Gidwani, some twenty-eight km from Baroda. Occasionally, he comes to Baroda. The Gahoi Kurmi have their own temple in Baroda.
Forty-five cases of keeping a woman as wife were recorded in three villages — Baroda, Hinnod and Salaiya — during field-work, and one person, Ishri Kurmi of Baroda, was still an outcast due to killing his wife.

Siloriya Kachhi (vegetable-grower):

Twelve villages come under the jurisdiction of the Siloriya Kachhi Kudariya, situated within a range of 3 to 8 km away from the Ghughar Chontra (see Map 2). All the 130 households of the Kachhis of nine villages (except Sanjara) belong to one endogamous unit, and come under one Panchayat. Further, all the above-mentioned households are distributed among 18 different exogamous units, that is, descent groups or gharanas, and all of them have consanguinous or affinal ties with one another. The jurisdiction of the Kachhi Panchayat extends over 12 villages, and the distance of each village from the Ghughar Chontra is as follows:
Sothiya, 5 km; Badbadi, 4 km; Barkhuwa, 6 km; Hinnod, 8 km; Baroda, 5 km; Chakeri, 4 km; Barkheda, 5 km; Jamuniya, 21 km; Pipariya, 6 km; Birpura, 6 km; and Salaiya, 5 km. The chief of the Kachhi Kudariya resides in Ghughar. The office of the chief is hereditary. The chief of the Kachhi Kudariya is Faggu Kachhi (age 59 years), and the chief is known as 'Patel'. The Kachhi Kudariya has its communal property — such as petromax, carpets, and some large utensils, which are used during caste-feasts and marriage ceremonies.
Out of ten villages, 19 cases of Kari (keeping a woman as a wife) from nine villages were recorded during field work. During the first visit (March 1972 to November 1972) Dhanse Kachhi, Maniram Kachhi and Halka Kachhi of Badbadi, and Tulsi Kachhi of Ghughar were outcasts.

Chamar (cobbler):

In these ten villages, 77 families of the Chamar caste are scattered in nine villages, coming under the jurisdiction of one Kudariya. The Kudariya of this caste includes 17 villages and all of them are situated within a radius of 3 to 10 km from the headquarter, Baroda (see Map 3). The distance of each village from Baroda is as follows: Hinnod, 5 km; Salaiya, 3 km; Badbadi, 4 km; Barkhuwa, 6 km; Barkhera, 6 km; Jamuniya, 6 km; Badera, 8 km; Pipariya, 10 km; Birpura, 10 km; Jhilpatan, 4 km; Sanjara, 6 km; Lakhni, 8 km; Ghughar, 5 km; Hanota, 6 km; and Mochal, 10 km. Among the Chamar, the chief is known as 'Mehtar', and his office is hereditary. The chief of the Chamar Kudariya, Lal Singh (age 45 years), resides in Baroda; hence the Kudariya's Chontra is in Baroda. The Chamar Kudariya meetings are held before feasts, marriages or any emergency conditions.

During the first visit (March 1972 to December 1972) two persons, one from Salaiya — Dhanu Chamar and other
from Baders — Nathu Singh Rajput, were found to have been declared outcasts.

Basor (bamboo-worker):

Fourteen families of the Basors are living in only five of the ten villages (Baroda, Barkhera, Salaiya, Hinnod and Badbadi). They come under the jurisdiction of the same Kudariya; and 35 villages are under the jurisdiction of the Basor Kudariya, which are mostly within a radius of 4 km to 30 km away from its headquarter, Sagar (see Map 4). The chief of the Kudariya, Punna Basor (age 58 years), resides in Sagar. The office of their chief is also hereditary, and he is known as 'Mehter' or 'Mata'. The Basor Kudariya jurisdiction is very extensive and it is under the control of six sub-chiefs or Badkurs. Thus, these are six sub-headquarters of the Basor Kudariya: Hinnod, Baroda, Bilehra, Choti Khural, Bakswaha and Samnapur. The six Badkurs live in the above-mentioned six different villages.

During the first visit (March 1972 to December 1972) the case of a Basor woman of Hinnod was recorded.

Athya Chadar (mason):

There are only six families of the Athya Chadar in three different villages out of our ten (Baroda, Barkhuwa and
Jamuniya). They are under the control of one Kudariya (see Map 5). The Athya Chadar is an endogamous unit or subcaste of the Chadar caste. The Kudariya of the Athya endogamous unit has under its jurisdiction 56 villages, mostly within a range of 5 to 38 km from Kanera-Mankiyal — the Chontra of the Athya Chadar Kudariya, which is about 14 km north-west of Baroda. The office of the chief among the Chadar is hereditary, and he is known as 'Mehtar'. The present chief in office is Gulab Chadar (age 45 years). This Kudariya's jurisdiction is very extensive, and it is further divided and placed under the control of 10 sub-chiefs or Badkurs, located at Baroda, Naryawali, Padrai, Jaisinagar, Semra-Gopalman, Gambhiriya, Masurayai, Bakswaha, Samnapur and Mudia Dhana.

During the period of field work, a Bhandara feast was arranged by Kishan Chadar of Baroda. Kishan Chadar had been accused of paraq (killing).

Panbesuriya Chadar (mason):

The Panbesuriya Chadar, an endogamous unit of the Chadar caste, have also a separate Kudariya which has under it 14 households of four different villages out of ten (Baroda, Minnod, Chakeri and Salaiya). The Kudariya of this caste has under its control 31 villages, falling within the range
of 5 to 38 km from the Ghughar Chontra (see Map 6). The
Panbesuriya Chadar Kudariya has also a separate chief,
Raghuwar Chadar (age 57 years), who lives in Ghughar, the
headquarter of the Kudariya. In this caste also, the chief
is known and addressed as 'Mehtar', and the office is
hereditary. This Kudariya has 8 sub-chiefs or Badkurs, and
they belong to the following villages: Mudra, Mahuwakhera,
Chartoriya, Ghughar, Godoli, Signa, Jaisinagar and Oriya.

Nai (barber):

Twelve households of the Nai, distributed among eight
different villages, come under the control of a similar
Kudariya. The jurisdiction of the Nai Kudariya is very
extensive and it covers 108 villages, falling within a range
of 3 to 38 km from the headquarter, Jaisinagar. This
Kudariya is also divided into ten regions with a sub-chief
each. They are as follows: Ghughar, Semara Masurayai,
Talchiri, Barkoti, Bareli, Birpura, Nayagaon, Semara-Gopalman,
Badbadi and Bilehra (see Map 7). The jurisdiction of the
Nai Kudariya is more extensive in comparison with the
Kudariyas of other castes, and the office of the chief is
also hereditary as in other castes. The chief is called
'Mehtar', a designation which is popular among many other
castes. The Nai Kudariya has its own temple in Jaisinagar,
and exercises effective control over its own caste members.
The chief of the Kudariya, Sunder Nai (age 57 years), resides in Jaisinagar, which is the Chontre of the Nai Kudariya.

During the first visit, Khet Singh Nai of Badbadi had arranged a caste feast, as he had been declared an outcast for having accepted water and food from the hand of Jhalian Basoran of Hinnod; and on the second visit (March 1974 to July 1974) Dwarka Nai of village Baroda had been made an outcaste for having killed his wife, and a Bhander feast was given by his family members while the accused was in Jail, sentenced to imprisonment for 20 years.

Dhobi (washerman):

Twelve households of the Dhobi, distributed among six villages — Baroda, Hinnod, Salaiya, Badera, Chakeri and Jamuniya — come under the jurisdiction of one Kudariya. The area of the Dhobi Kudariya is spread over 25 villages, which are mostly within a range of 5 to 38 km from the headquarter, Sagar. Two sub-chiefs or Badkurs reside in Bilehra and Baroda 38 km and 20 km respectively from Sagar (see Map 8). The office of the chief is hereditary and he is known as 'Mehtar'. The chief of the Kudariya, Manka Dhobi (age 60 years), resides in Chakraghat Ward of Sagar town.
Yadav (milkman):

Eleven households of the Yadav, an endogamous group, reside in two villages — Hinnod and Jamuniya, and come under the jurisdiction of one Kudariya. The Yadav Kudariya consists of 15 villages which are situated within a range of 8 to 33 km from the headquarter of the Yadav Kudariya at Sagar (see Map 9). The chief of the Kudariya, Harishanker (age 56 years), resides in Sagar. The position of the chief among the Yadav is hereditary, and he is known as 'Lambardar'.

Dhimar (waterman):

Among four villages — Baroda, Salaiya, Hinnod, and Barkhera — nine Dhimar families of an endogamous unit are living under the control of one Kudariya. The jurisdiction of the Dhimar Kudariya consists of 25 villages, falling within a range of 6 to 24 km from the headquarter, Mahuwakhera (see Map 10). The chief of the Kudariya is known as 'Choudhari', and he resides in Mahuwakhera. The office of the chief is also hereditary, as in other castes. The present chief's name is Kancchedi Dhimar, age 59 years. One Dhimar of Baroda was an outcaste during the time of data collection, because this man had kept the wife of another Dhimar of village Sattadhana. At that time, his financial
condition was not good; so he was not in a position to give a caste-feast for all the members of his Kudariya. He was still an outcaste at the time of the second visit.

Badhai (carpenter):

Nine families of an endogamous group of the Badhai caste reside in Badbadi, Hinnod, Jamuniya and Barkhera, and all these families come under the jurisdiction of one Kudariya. The Kudariya of the Badhai consists of 20 villages, situated within a range of 6 to 33 km from the headquarter, Ghana (see Map 11). The chief of the Kudariya, who is known as 'Mehtar', resides in Ghana, and his office is also hereditary. Jaisingh Badhai, aged about 54 years, is the present chief in office.

Parjapat (potter):

Nine households of the Parjapat live in five villages — Hinnod, Baroda, Salaiya, Sanjara and Jamuniya, and come under the jurisdiction of one Kudariya. All of them belong to one endogamous unit. The Parjapat Kudariya has under its control over 56 villages, located within a radius of 5 to 33 km from the headquarter, Jaisinagar (see Map 12). The chief of the Parjapat Kudariya resides in Jaisinagar, where the chief of the Nai Kudariya also resides. The Parjapat chief is known
as 'Mehtar', and the office of the chief is hereditary. The present chief in office is Manmohan Parjapati, aged about 52 years.

_Luhar_ (ironsmith):

Six households of the Luhar, belonging to one endogamous unit and spread over three villages — Baroda, Badbadi and Jamuniya, come under the control of one Kudariya. The Luhar Kudariya has 34 villages under its jurisdiction, which are mostly within the range of 5 to 33 km from the headquarter, Pipariya (see Map 13). The chief is known as 'Mehtar', and the office is hereditary. The present chief in office is Khetsingh Luhar (age 65 years).

During the field work, one couple, Dhunde Luhar and his wife of the village Badbadi, had been declared outcaste because this man had taken food and water from the hands of a Basor woman of village Hinnod. So out of six, one household, that of Dhunde Luhar of Badbadi, was an outcaste.

_Behna_ (cotton-carder):

Five households of the Behna, a Muslim group of cotton carders, live in Baroda and Hinnod, and come under the jurisdiction of one Kudariya, comprising 15 villages: Bilehra, Baroda, Hinnod, Mahumakhera, Chortoriya, Bakswaha,
Panari, Berkheri, Sagar, Samara, Katangi, Natarri, Rampura, Jaisinagar and Sarkhari. All these villages are situated within a range of 5 to 38 km from the headquarter, Bilehra (see Map 14). The chief of the Behna Kudariya (Finge Behna, aged about 65 years) resides in Bilehra. The office of the chief is hereditary. The chief is known as 'Mehtar', as in some of the Hindu castes.

Gadariya (shepherd):

Five families of the Gadariya living in only one village, Hinnod, have also a Kudariya, and all of them belong to one lineage. The Kudariya of this caste consists of 12 villages, falling within a range of 5 to 38 km from the headquarter, Bamori (near Dhana). Some of these twelve villages are: Bamori, Hinnod, Karaiya, Bilehra, Ghughar, Jararo and Patan (see Map 15). The office of the chief is hereditary, and he is known as 'Patel'. The present chief, Manmohan Gadariya, age 52 years, resides in Bamori near Dhana — a village situated on Sagar-Rehli route.

Darji (tailor):

Four families of the Darji, in Baroda, come under one Kudariya's control. All these families are related to each other by bonds of consanguinity. The Darji Kudariya consists
of 20 villages, situated within a range of 9 to 27 km from the headquarter, Semara Masurai (see Map 16), which is near Rahatgarh — a village on Sagar-Bhopal route. The office of the headman is hereditary. He resides in Semara Masurai. The name of the present incumbent in office is Kashiram Darji, aged about 60 years.

**Patwa (bangleman):**

Two families of the Patwa, belonging to one lineage, have their own Kudariya, and it comprises 22 villages, falling within a range of 8 to 60 km from Dalpatpur — its headquarter (see Map 17). The chief of the caste Panchayat, Jaggu Patwa (age 55 years), resides in Dalpatpur. The office of the chief is hereditary and he is known as 'Mehtar'. The Patwa are in a minority in Baroda, so the meetings of their Kudariya are held very seldom.

**Teli (oil presser):**

Four families of the Telis of two villages — Baroda and Salaiya — belong to one endogamous unit which comes under the jurisdiction of one Kudariya. The Teli Kudariya consists of 25 villages, falling within a range of 5 to 24 km from its headquarter — Berkheri (see Map 18). The headquarter is near Bilehra — a village which is connected with Sagar
town by a metalled road. The office of the chief is hereditary, and he is known as 'Mehtar'. Hariram Teli, aged about 41 years, is the present chief in office, and his step-brother, Bhamani Teli, is a 'Badkur'.

Mali (gardener):

Three families of the Mali, belonging to one endogamous unit, are inhabitants of two villages — Hinnod and Baroda, and come under one Kudariya. The Mali Kudariya has jurisdiction over 22 villages, falling within a radius of 9 to 39 km from its headquarter, Jaisinagar. The office of the chief is hereditary, as in other castes, and he also is known as 'Mehtar'. The present chief, Pooran Mali (age 59 years) resides in Jaisinagar.
**Kudariya Office-Bearers**

The following office-bearers are found among the various Kudariyas:

**Chief**: 'Mukhia' (in common parlance).

'Mehtar' (among the Chamar, the Athya Chadar, the Panbesuriya Chadar, the Nai, the Dhobi, the Badhai, the Parjapat, the Luhar, the Behna, the Patwa, the Telii and the Mali).

'Mehtar' or 'Mate' (among the Basor).

'Lambardar' (among the Gahoi Kurmi and the Yadav).

'Choudhary' (among the Dhimar).

'Patel' (among the Siloriya Kachhi and the Gadariya).

'Khalipa' (among the Darji).

**Sub-chief**: 'Badkur' (among the Basor, the Athya Chadar, the Panbesuriya Chadar, the Nai, the Dhobi and the Telii).

'Sangati' (among the Siloriya Kachhi, the Gahoi Kurmi and the Yadav).

**Members**: 'Panchas' (among all castes).

**Manager of the Feast**: 'Sirpanch' (only among the Basor).

**Inspector**: 'Mukaddam' (in common parlance).

'Mebbatiya' (among the Athya Chadar and the Panbesuriya Chadar).

'Rasoiya' (among the Siloriya Kachhi).

'Parsiya' (among the Basor).

**Messenger**: 'Beranga' (in common parlance).

**Watchman**: 'Kotwar' (only among the Athya Chadar and the Panbesuriya Chadar).
The Mukhia:

Although variously named and designated in the different castes, in common parlance the Kudariya chief is known as the Mukhia. This office is hereditary. After the Mukhia's death, his eldest son or his younger brother soon assumes office. Customarily his office is inherited by his eldest son, but if the latter is a minor or otherwise incapable, the younger brother of the deceased becomes the ex-officio chief. The office cannot be held by anyone outside the caste, but in special cases, when the Mukhia has nobody in his family or when nobody in his kindred group (i.e., the extended family) is prepared to accept the office, it is given to someone outside the deceased Mukhia's lineage group but within the same endogamous group.

Concerning the new chief, there is a compulsory tradition that he will have to give a bhandara feast to the caste fellows including the Panchas of his Kudariya. Generally, this is performed by the new chief on the thirteenth day (Ierahin ceremony) of the deceased chief. This ceremony is also known as the Gangajali ceremony. On this very occasion, the new chief is presented a new turban before the Panchas and the elders of his caste. The performance of this ritual signifies that the new chief is confirmed in the office. Generally, this tradition is similar in all the castes which
have a Kudariya organization. The new chief, whether the son or the brother of the deceased chief or any other member of the caste, is to perform the bhandara compulsorily. The genealogies of some of the chiefs of different castes are presented below:

a. Four genealogies of four different castes — the Naï, the Luhar, the Parjapat and the Chamar — are such where the office is inherited from the father by the eldest son (see Genealogies 1, 2, 3 and 4).

b. Three genealogies of three different castes — the Kachhi, the Athya Chadar and the Behna — are such where the office is inherited from the deceased chief by his younger or youngest brother (see Genealogies 5, 6 and 7).

c. If there is no male member of the deceased chief's lineage or family, the caste members may select any other man from their own caste as the new chief of the Kudariya. For example, Kanchhedi Dhimar's father had been selected in place of the former chief of the Kudariya, and Hariram Teli's grandfather, Mohanlal, had been selected in place of the former chief of the Kudariya (see Genealogies 8 and 9).

The residence of the chief (i.e., village or place) is called the Chontra or centre of the Kudariya. So the Kudariya is commonly known by the name of its Chontra or headquarter
GENEALOGY

PRAJAPAT KUJAKYA: PRESENT CHIEF'S GENEALOGY

A = Ø
Unknown

A = Ø
Champatial
(70 yrs.)

A = Ø
Bassual
A = Ø
Khuman
A = Ø
Nannal

A = Ø
Kamta Prasad
(70 yrs.)

A = Ø
Mamohan
A = Ø
Ghanashyam
A = Ø
Bhagoni
(52 yrs.) (35 yrs.) (26 yrs.)

FORMER MUKHIA
(Dead)

PRESENT MUKHIA
NAI KUDARIYA: PRESENT CHIEF'S GENEALOGY

$\triangle = \emptyset$
Unknown

$\triangle = \emptyset$
Arjun
(70 yrs.)

$\triangle$
Nanaal
(80 yrs.)

$\triangle = \bigcirc$
Sunder
(57 yrs.)

$\triangle = \bigcirc$
Halku
(52 yrs.)

$\triangle$
FORMER MUKHIA
(DEAD)

$\triangle$
PRESENT MUKHIA
GEMEAULOGY 3

LUHAR KUDARIYA: PRESENT CHIEF'S GEMEAULOGY

△ = ∅
Unknown

△ = ∅
Bhal Singh
(60 yrs.)

△ = ∅
Chet Singh
(60 yrs.)

△ △ △ △
Ramdas Tulsi Ram Munna Belu

△ FORMER MUKHIA (DEAD)

△ PRESENT MUKHIA
Genealogy 4

Chama Kudariya: Present Chief, 1741 A.D.

Δ = O

Unknown

Δ = O

Mansukh (65 yrs)

Δ = O

Natthu (60 yrs)

Δ = O

Dalpat (80 yrs)

Δ = O

Lal Singh (45 yrs)

Δ

Former Mukhia (Dead)

Δ

Present Mukhia

Δ = O

Amju (42 yrs)
GENEALOGY 3

ATHYA CHADAR KUDARIYA: PRESENT CHIEF'S GENEALOGY

- Unknown
- Natn (70 yrs.)
- Kashiram (70 yrs.)
- Hattu (50 yrs.)
- Thoban (45 yrs.)
- Karan Singh (50 yrs.)
- Gulab (45 yrs.)
- Puran (40 yrs.)

F MARO MUKHIA
(Dead)

PS. SENT MUKHIA
GENEALOGY 6

SILORIYA KACHHI KUDARIYA: PRESENT CHIEF'S GENEALOGY

\[
\begin{align*}
\Delta &= \emptyset \\
\text{Unknown} \\
\Delta &= \emptyset \\
\text{Lalla} & \quad (60 \text{ yrs.}) \\
\Delta &= \emptyset \\
\text{Chakori} & \quad (50 \text{ yrs.}) \\
\Delta &= \emptyset \\
\text{Faggu} & \quad (50 \text{ yrs.})
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\Delta &= \emptyset \\
\text{FORMER MUKHIA} & \quad (DEAD) \\
\Delta &= \emptyset \\
\text{PRESENT MUKHIA}
\end{align*}
\]
GENEALOGY 7

BENNA KUDARIYA: PRESENT CHIEF'S GENEALOGY

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Unknown} \\
\text{Unknown} \\
\text{Dharmu (70 yrs.)} \\
\text{Dammu (70 yrs.)} \\
\text{Lalkhan (67 yrs.)} \\
\text{Fingge (65 yrs.)} \\
\end{array} \]

\text{FORMER MUKHIA (DEAD)}

\text{PRESENT MUKHIA}
TELI KUDARIYA: PRESENT CHIEF'S GENEALOGY

KARAI TELI (Sagar)

Mohan Lal (70 yrs.)

Chokori Laxman

Khem Chand (60 yrs.)

Bhawani (45 yrs.)

Khem Chand Hari (35 yrs.)

Ram (41 yrs.)

Balchand (42 yrs.)

Kasori (21 yrs.)

FORMER MUKHIA (DEAD)

FORMER BAKUR (DEAD)

PRESENT MUKHIA

PRESENT BAKUR
Unknown (Salatya)

\[ \Delta = \emptyset \]

Kare (60 yrs.)

\[ \Delta = \emptyset \]

Kudau (70 yrs.)

\[ \Delta = \emptyset \]

Kanchocli (54 yrs.)

\[ \Delta \]

Former Mukhia (Dead)

\[ \Delta \]

Present Mukhia
where the chief of the Kudariya resides. For instance, the Chontra of the Siloriya Kachhi Kudariya is in Ghughar, where the chief of the Kudariya resides. This system is the same in all the castes except the Gahoi Kurmi. The chief of the Gahoi Kurmi Kudariya resides in a village, Gidwani, permanently, but the Chontra of the Kurmi caste is in Baroda.

The Badkur:

The Badkur is the sub-chief of the Kudariya. Only the following castes have the office of the Badkur in their Kudariya: the Basor, the Athya Chadar, the Panbesuriya Chadar, the Nai, the Dhobi and the Teli.

The office of the Badkur is hereditary but if somebody else wants to become a Badkur, he has to give the bhandara feast (communal feast) to his kinmen. In either case, however, the ceremonial investiture of a Badkur in his office is performed in the same manner in which a Mukhia is confirmed in his office. The Badkur, too, is to wear a turban (pagdi) like the Mukhia and then he is confirmed as the Badkur of the caste Kudariya.

In the absence of the Mukhia, the Badkur has authority to give judgment on cases. So the Badkur generally accompanies and helps the Mukhia when he attends caste feasts and meetings of the Kudariya. (Among the Kachhi, the Kurmi
and the Yadav, there is no tradition of the office of Badkur, but they have the Sangati to the Mukhia.) The Badkur, or the Sangati's (where there in no office of the Badkur) and the Mukhia reach the host's village a day or two days before the caste feast. The arrangement is finalized only after consulting the Mukhia in whose absence the Badkur makes decisions.

The Panchas:

The Panchas of a Kudariya reside within the territorial jurisdiction of the Kudariya, and they are members of the same endogamous group.

The Panchas are not elected but they are generally those persons of the caste, who take keen interest in the functions of the Kudariya and mostly attend the meetings of the caste Kudariya. Another criterion for the selection of the Panchas is that persons whose fathers have been actively participating in the meetings of the Kudariya, become the Panchas. Persons who are well off, educationally superior or are elders of the caste, become the Panchas. With the help of these members, the Mukhia controls the unseocial activities occurring within the caste.

The Sirpanch:

The Sirpanch is a kind of manager. His office is not
inherited. If some one is interested, then the Mukhia and the Badkur nominate him as the Sirpanch. He arranges for the materials of the caste feasts. It is his duty to manage for the cooking, utensils and other necessary details of the feast. Only the Basor have the office of the Sirpanch in their Kudariya.

The Mukaddam:

The Mukaddam is a kind of inspector, who is selected from amongst the Panchas with the consent of the Mukhia and the Badkur. He remains in that office throughout his life. His duty is to see whether the cooking has been properly managed, whether it is sufficient or not; and if anything is lacking, he makes the required arrangement.

The Baranga:

Among all the castes, there is the office of the Baranga. The Baranga informs the Mukhia and the Badkurs secretly about happenings in his own caste. He informs them of the doings and mis-doings of everyone in the caste, especially in his village. Thus, every village has one or more Barangas. For anybody and everybody is expected to perform this role as his moral duty.
The Kotwar:

The Kotwar is to send information about the caste-feast to the members of the caste and of other castes in the villages coming under the Kudariya jurisdiction. On the advice of the Panchas, the Mukhia selects the Kotwar who performs the duties of shopping too. The office of the Kotwar is not hereditary. He is nominated by the caste-fellows of the village, and he remains in that office throughout his life. Only the Chadar (both Athya and Panbesuriya) have this office.

Authority of the Chief

The chief of the Kudariya is empowered to decide the following matters with the consent of caste fellows:

1. The chief fixes the date, time and place of the Panchayat;

2. He gets the widow-marriage accepted in the caste;

3. He can declare a person violating the caste norms and outcaste for several years;

4. The cases of parag, kari and immoral relations are decided by the chief; the major function of the chief is related to giving approval to a kari union (Atal, op. cit.).
5. The chief can give membership to a new person, who has come to his region from some other territory; this is the special privilege of the chief;

6. The chief decides the amount to be donated to the village temple and the amount to be given to the Kudariya;

7. He is empowered to excommunicate any member of his caste, who does not obey the decision of the caste Panchayat;

8. He offers condolences to the family of a man of his own caste, who has died; then he fixes the date for his Terasin or Gangajali;

9. It is the privilege of the chief to invite any member of a higher caste to the meeting of the Panchayat, Bhandara, Pungat, etc.

Functions of Caste Panchas

The functions of the Panchas, among all the castes which follow the Kudariya tradition, are given below:

1. To inform the Mukhia about activities against the caste norms;

2. To give basic confirmation to widow marriage or divorcee marriage;
3. To arrange for the boarding and larging of the Mukhia on the day of the Panchayat meeting;

4. To declare a boycott of those persons who act against the norms of the caste;

5. To get complete information about the activities of an accused person;

6. To recommend the membership of his Kudariya to a fellow who belongs to another Kudariya.

(If someone migrates to a place that is under the territorial jurisdiction of another Kudariya, he may continue to retain the membership of his original Kudariya. But in case he opts to get the membership of the new Kudariya, he has to give a Bhandara feast to all the members of the new Kudariya.)
Nature and Extent of Involvement of Higher Caste

When the Kudariya meets to consider a case in which a member of a clean caste is involved, then the Mukhia invites the Panchas of higher castes (such as the Brahmana and the Rajput) in the meeting of the Kudariya. But if the case is connected with a person of unclean caste, then the Panchas of both clean castes and higher castes are invited to the meetings. The men of higher castes are invited to attend the meeting at the request of the Mukhia as well as the accused. The meetings for discussing cases concerning the clean castes can take place anywhere in the village; but in the cases of unclean castes, they are held either in open air or in the verandah of the house of a person of higher caste. The persons of higher castes are invited to attend the Kudariya meetings for various reasons:

1. The accused belongs to the village, and even after the judgment, he has to live in the same village;
2. If the accused does not accept the verdict, he is pressurized by the involvement of higher castes of the same village;
3. The persons of higher castes accept water, tea, betel (pan) leaves, etc. from the hands of the clean caste, but food they accept only when the
former have prepared it themselves. It becomes, therefore, inevitable to invite the members of higher caste as jurors in the meetings of the Kudariya to see whether the case is decided fairly or not;

4. It is thought that the involvement of the members of higher castes would make the judgment impartial. As such, the Mukhia and the other Panchas of different castes give due importance to the advice of the persons of the higher castes. In this position, if the accused refuses to accept the judgment, the Mukhia has the backing of the higher castes. The Parijatı or kameena are prevented from serving the convict and, ultimately, this compels the convict to accept the judgment;

5. The person, held as a criminal, regains his social status in the caste and in other castes only when the persons of the higher castes confirm the judgment;

6. The persons of the higher castes in the meetings pay due attention the economic conditions of the accused.

A few cases may be cited here to spotlight the nature and extent of involvement of the persons from higher castes in the Kudariya meetings of their lower castes:
Maniram Kachhi : Badbadi

When the villagers got the information that Maniram Kachhi, age about 38 years, inhabitant of Badbadi, had immoral relations with the wife of Fulie Chamar of the same village, they removed him from the local village community and the latter remained an outcaste for one month. Ultimately, Maniram called the Mukhia from Chughar and invited the Brahmanas of two villages — Barkhuwa and Badbadi, namely, Janki Prasad Shukla, Ambika Prasad Shukla, and Pujari Manmohan Das (from Badbadi) and Prem Narayan Pande, Ram Shankar Tiwari, Har Sahay Tiwari, Ganesh Ram Tiwari and Narayan Pande (from Barkhuwa) as the Panchas in the meeting. With the advice of all these Panchas, the Mukhia gave the judgment: "Maniram and his wife should go for a holy bath in the Narmada, should give a caste feast to the kinsmen and arrange a Bhandara feast to all the castes. Lastly, he will have to donate Rs. 250/- as a fine to the village temple." After a week of the judgment, i.e., on April 8, 1972, Maniram, with his wife, went for the holy bath. On the third day after coming back, he arranged the Bhandara feast to the satkam (all the castes in the village). In this Bhandara feast, the persons of the higher castes cooked meals themselves, and to this feast the persons of all castes were invited. After that, Maniram and his wife were readmitted to his caste, and the other castes confirmed his
admission. At the time of the Bhadra feast Maniram also
donated a sum of Rs. 250/- to the Shiva temple of the village,
and it was after this that the persons of higher castes
accepted water and Pan (betel leaves) from his hand.

At the time of judgment in this case, the research
scholar was present on the spot.

Dhanu Chamar : Salsiya

Dhanu Chamar, an inhabitant of Salsiya, age about 23
years, was seen having unnatural sexual relation with a cow.
This was reported to the villagers by Rajju Darji of Baroda.
Therefore, Dhanu and his father, Budhu, were boycotted by
their caste, and the other castes also suspended their social
intercourse with them. To decide this matter, Budhu invited
the following Panchas of various castes from three different
villages:

1. From Barkhuwa: Har Sahay Tiwari, Ganesh Ram Tiwari,
   Ram Deyal Tiwari, Bhagoni Chammar, Dalpa Chammar and
   Makoli Athya Chadar;

2. From Baroda: Lal Singh Chammar (chief of the Chammar
   Kudariya) and many Chammar Panchas as well as the
   witness, Rajju Darji;

3. From Salsiya: Param Kurmi and Har Lal Kurmi, and
   the kinsmen of Dhanu Chammar.
At the Kudariya meeting, the case was thoroughly discussed and the judgment was given by Lal Singh (Mukhia) in consultation with all these Panchas. Dhanu was asked about the case. Rajju Darji was asked to tell what actually had happened. He swore, with Gangajali in his hand, that the case reported against Dhanu was true. Ultimately, the Mukhia gave the judgment: "Dhanu should go to the Narmada for a holy bath, give Bhandara feast and donate a sum of Rs. 25/- to the Shiva temple of the village." But Dhanu did not accept his guilt. So the Mukhia, in a loud voice, addressing the Panchas as 'Maharaj' (meant for the Brahmanas), said that they should decide the matter. Ultimately, the same judgment given by the Brahmanas had to be accepted by Dhanu.

Halka Kachhi :: Badbadi

The matter of Halka Kachhi (for details of the case see page 147 supra) too was decided by the Kudariya chief, with the help of the members of higher castes, namely, Ganesh Ram Tiwari from Barkhuwa, Ambika Prasad Shukla, Janki Prasad Shukla and Babaji (temple priest) of Badbadi and several other Panchas of Halka's caste and other castes.
INDEX:
1 Sagar
2 Semra Masuri
3 Kanota Mankiyai
4 Ghughar
5 Baroda
6 Mahuwakhera
7 Berkhar
8 Bilehra

MAP
SHOWING
CHONTRAS OF DIFFERENT KUDARIYAS
CASTE-WISE VILLAGES OF KUDARIYA

1. Kurmi :: 4 Villages

1. Baroda
2. Sothiya
3. Salaiya
4. Hinnod
2. Siloriya Kachhi :: 12 Villages

1. Ghughar
2. Birpura
3. Sothiya
4. Baroda
5. Hinnod
6. Salsiya
7. Barkhuwa
8. Badbadi
9. Chakeri
10. Barkhera
11. Jamuniya
12. Pipariya
3. Chamar Kudariya :: 17 Villages

1. Baroda
2. Jhilpatan
3. Sanjara
4. Hinnod
5. Salaiya
6. Barkhuwa
7. Mochal
8. Badera
9. Barkhera
10. Jamuniya
11. Badbadi
12. Pipariya
13. Birpura
14. Ghughar
15. Sothiya
16. Hanota
17. Lakhni
4. Basor Kudariya :: 35 Villages

1. Sagar
2. Tili
3. Kanera
4. Ramori
5. Chitora
6. Barkheri
7. Samnapur
8. Rampura
9. Manota
10. Sothiya
11. Ghughar
12. Birpura
13. Pipariya
14. Barkhera
15. Badbad
16. Salaiya
17. Baroda
18. Mudara
19. Mahuwakhera
20. Himnod
21. Soma
22. Chadoni
23. Paneri
24. Khuriya
25. Singna
26. Ramori
27. Barkheri
28. Bilehra
29. Cheti Khurai
30. Sahajpuri (Upper ki)
31. Sahajpuri (Neeche ki)
32. Gailpur
33. Bakshwaha
34. Chartoriya
35. Pipariya
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6. Panbesuriya Chadar Kudariya :: 31 Villages

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7. Nai Kudariya :: 108 Villages

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8. Dhobi Kudaria :: 25 Villages

1. Sagar  
2. Khejara  
3. Bannad  
4. Bamori  
5. Chitora  
6. Berkheri  
7. Salaiya  
8. Gonsara  
9. Sothia  
10. Ghughar  
11. Jamuniya  
12. Badera  
13. Chakeri  
14. Salaiya  
15. Baroda  
16. Hinned  
17. Somra  
18. Panari  
19. Katangi  
20. Madkhera  
21. Bilehra  
22. Soojpura  
23. Baksawala  
24. Ghoghari  
25. Geilpur
9. Yadav Kudariya :: 15 Villages

1. Sagar
2. Pathariya
3. Menpani
4. Suwatala
5. Talchiri
6. Najguan
7. Hanota
8. Hinnod
9. Tapra (Semra)
10. Jamuniya
11. Sarkhadi
12. Rajauwe
13. Bhapel
14. Sihora
15. Mardenpur
10. Dhimer Kudariya :: 25 Villages

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11. Badhai Kudariya :: 20 Villages

1. Ghana
2. Bisanpur
3. Suneti
4. Bamori (Ghana)
5. Khamaria
6. Berkhera
7. Jamuniya
8. Badbadi
9. Hinnod
10. Berkheri
11. Chitara
12. Hilgan
13. Chatampur
14. Udaipura
15. Baroda
16. Bansiya
17. Nekelpur
18. Hiranpur
19. Khamkuwa
20. Bidhwas
12. Parjapat Kudariya :: 56 Villages

1. Jaisinagar 29. Pargaspura
2. Sihora 30. Minned
3. Sooka 31. Khajuriya
4. Padrai 32. Panari
5. Sarkhadi 33. Gehunras
6. Sattadhana 34. Somra
7. Samadhana 35. Chandoni
8. Bhaapel 36. Kankarkula
10. Ghughar 38. Agaria
12. Sagar 40. Shobhapur
13. Hanota 41. Banjariya
14. Sanodha 42. Ghana
15. Pausoriya 43. Bamali
16. Piparia 44. Borkheri
17. Hilgan 45. Bilehra
18. Lalepur 46. Madkhara
20. Dhana 48. Rangir
21. Samanpur 49. Choti Khurai
22. Sotia 50. Barkoti
23. Baroda 51. Gaurjhamar
24. Jhilpatan 52. Maharun
25. Gadholi 53. Bakewaha
26. Sanjara 54. Bisanpur
27. Salaiya 55. Godai
28. Tendudawar 56. Dungaria
13. Luhar Kudariya :: 34 Villages

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14. Bahna Kudariya :: 15 Villages

1. Bilehra
2. Nattari
3. Sagar
4. Rampura
5. Baroda
6. Hinnod
7. Mahuwakhera
8. Semra
9. Sarkhadi
10. Katangi
11. Panari
12. Berkheri
13. Jaisinagar
14. Bakswaha
15. Chartoriya
15. Gadariya Kudariya :: 12 Villages

1. Ramori
2. Somra
3. Dhana
4. Baroda
5. Surkhi
6. Bilehra
7. Mahuwakhera
8. Karaiya
9. Hinnod
10. Ghughar
11. Jarejo
12. Patan
Darji Kudariya :: 20 Villages

1. Samra Masuryai
2. Samra
3. Naryaoli
4. Bhapel
5. Sihora
6. Somadhana
7. Ghughar
8. Sothia
9. Samnapur
10. Baroda
11. Samra Gopalman
12. Sarkhadi
13. Khajuriya
14. Chandoni
15. Padrai
16. Karaiya
17. Berkheri
18. Bilehra
19. Piparia
20. Jaisinagar
MAP 16

DARJI KUDARIYA JURISDICTION
17. Patwa Kudariya :: 22 Villages

1. Dalpatpur
2. Banda
3. Shahpur
4. Garhakota
5. Rehli
6. Anantpura
7. Surkhi
8. Kherano
9. Badi Deori
10. Tada
11. Kesli
12. Chaturbhata
13. Choti Khurai
14. Bilehra
15. Baroda
16. Keolari
17. Khamaria
18. Jaisinagar
19. Rehli
20. Sadia Godai
21. Asrani
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