CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Traditionally, the Rauts believe that they are divided into twelve and a half endogamous sections. In half endogamous section, they include the people who have been expelled or excommunicated from the section. The Rauts say that they were twelve brothers (Bara Bhai Raut). It could not be known why the twelve and a half endogamous section theory within the caste is prevalent among them, but it is a fact that there are twelve endogamous sections of the Raut caste living in the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya-Pradesh. They are as follows - 1. Kausuija, 2. Thethhwar, 3. Jheria, 4. Deshaha, 5. Menaz, 6. Darhoal, 7. Kawari, 8. Bandaiya, 9. Athhoriya, 10. Bhorathiya, 11. Kosariya, and 12. Magadha.

The different endogamous sections of the Raut caste are free to control and regulate their section with the existing norms of the group. The people of the Raut caste follow certain characteristic patterns of behaviour and have certain assigned attributes; among them a specialised occupation; according to which the Raut caste is different from the other castes of the village and the region.

When we dissect the organisation of the different endogamous sections of the Rauts, we find a fixed area of their spread, where they inhabit and have included a group of neighbouring villages for marriages, rituals and ceremonies. The relations are gratified by attending the rituals of the other families and, in turn, they work as a corporate group to defend the group's interests and rights. The solidarity of the caste is maintained by sharing the same familiar life-patterns and the common experiences of the
group's festivals and worship of the deities. In this way, they form concord plane of common attributes. Following are the twelve endogamous sections of the Raut caste living in Chhattisgarh.

Kanaujia

The Kanaujia Rauts have migrated to Chhattisgarh from Kanauj which is presently known as Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh. When the Moghul Emperors reigned there, the Kanaujia Raut were forced to give their daughters to the Moghuls in marriage and in protest, they left for Ratnapur Rajya (Presently in Bilaspur district) and took shelter in the domain of a contemporaneous Hindu King. Thereafter, they spread into other places of Chhattisgarh.

Kanaujia Rauts of Baloda consider Rawan-Bawan to be their ancestors, whose son was Amolidas. He got married and was the father of a son. He was a man of eccentric nature. When he went to the forest to graze cattle, he used to meditate beside the river and did not care for the cattle. Even it happened, at times, that the cattle returned back to the village, but he was sitting in the jungle unconcerned. Often the family members had to bring him home. In this way, gradually he renounced the family and became a mendicant. He drank only milk in the pasture and lived for twelve years by taking the juice of grass (doob) and led a hermit's life.

He dug a pond with his iron-fork which is called Baheradabari. This pond is situated a mile away from Baloda at Rampur, a small village. He planted trees of mango on the embankment of the tank and transplanted a mango-grove near that. The cattle used to drink water from that tank and he used to live there permanently by making a hut. After living there for a long time, he started for pilgrimage on foot. These are the centres of Badrinath, Jagannath, Rameshwaram,
and Dwarikadhish. After returning from the pilgrimage, he made a hut on the ridge where we find the settlement of Kanaujia Rauts today. There, Amolidas Baba (later on 'Baba' was added to his name for his renunciation) used to sit by lighting a fire (Dhuni), for which the name of that place became Dhuni-Chaura (fire-platform).

This was the period when the Kanaujia Rauts of Baloda began to cultivate the land. Due to saintly reputation and influence of Amolidas Baba, and land-lord's personal regard for him, his family was gifted a piece of land, near the Bēhāra-dabari and on the lower part of Bandhawa tank at Baloda, by the contemporary landlord. Gradually, they tilled the land and now it has become the main occupation of his descending generations. A descendant of his family, Ganesh Ram Yadav possesses 60 heads of cattle, which are emaciated, he has no means to feed them properly.

The son of Amolidas was Delau Ram. He was living in a hut and was keeping only three cows. He used to go to graze them in Deotaldih forest. Gradually, the number of cows increased. He felt tired and exhausted to go to the forest in the morning and return in the evening everyday. So, he made a fencing in the jungle to keep the cattle there and thought about providing water resource for them. He started to dig there a small tank and his family members also assisted him in this job. They used to go to the forest everyday in the morning to dig the tank. Later on the tank was named after him as 'Delamura'. In this way they coped with the problem of water and one member from that family began to live there permanently to take care of
the cattle. Thereafter, they improved their financial
condition and constructed houses of bricks and then of cement.
Delau Ram had instructed his daughters-in-law not to mix
water in milk, otherwise the country saying, "As is the
milk the same will be the son" (Jaisa doodh, Waisa poost),
will apply on them. So, they did not mix water in milk. At
the time of milking the cow, they do not tie calf with the
front leg of the cow or the peg and let them squeeze out the
milk from one side of the udder. From the other side, they
milk the cow. This is the existing norm of the family, but
everywhere it is not found. The Rauts usually take cut
entire milk from the udder after softening the teats by the
calf.

Thaththwar:

Theththwar Rauts are also Kanaujia in broader
categorisation of the Raut caste. They belong to Kanauj,
but there is no supporting proof of their coming from that
area in the present context of social relations which could
be traced out. At Baloda, the author was told during the
enquiry by the Kanaujia Rauts that the Kanaujia group is
divided into two sections, Ratanpuriha and Navgarhiha
Kanaujias. The Navgarhiha Kanaujias are the Thaththwars
who took shelter in the Navgarha Rajya and thereafter spread
into other areas of Chhattisgarh. This section of the Raut
caste has spread far and wide in Chhattisgarh.

Both these sections of the Raut caste follow the
sanskritic norms of the Hindu society, but differences occur
in the customs, such as, the Thaththwars shave the head of
the bridegroom at the time of marriage and leave a tuft
of hair in the head, while the Kanaujias do not observe this
ritual. In Thaththwar's marriage, to wear ornaments on every
part of the body by the bride is not essential, but in Kansu group it is customary to wear ornaments on every part of the body.

The study of the Thaththwara Raut is done at Mahimarh which consists of 20 households of Thaththwara. At about 200 years ago, the place where Mahimarh is situated was a pasture (a part of the forest). Bisambhar Thaththwara, who migrated from Banka in Katgora tahsil of Madhya Pradesh, was the Gautiya of the village Odangi. He possessed a herd of cattle. He selected the place of Mahimarh as pasture and made a hut there. Water was also available there. He called his relatives and in this way, a hamlet of graziers gradually sprang up at that place.

There was abundant production of milk from which they made clarified butter. The whey was not consumed or sold by the Rauts, but they used to throw it into the pond as wastage. So the name of the village became Mahimarh, "Mahi-whey, and Marh-place", i.e., the place of whey. This village has two private wells for drinking water. There is one tank for public use and other two tanks for irrigation purposes. Leelagar river flows two furlong away from this village.

Jheria 4

The origin of the Jheria Raute could not be traced out. This section of the Raut caste has a wider spread in Chattisgarh. The Jheria Raute of the Phuljhar area in Raipur district are separate from the Jherias of Bilaspur district. Some people call them 'Phul Jheria'. In the same manner, the Jheria Raute of Jashpur and Udaipur areas in Raigarh district are called 'Chavaniya'. These three groups of Jheria Raute are endogamous, but marriages are now being
established in the Raigarh area between Phuljheria and Jheria groups.

Deshaha:

Deshaha Rauts trace their origin from Kashi-Banaras (Uttar Pradesh). They tell that they left their country, so that, they are called 'Deshaha' (countryman). Sherring (1979:101) mentions Deshahas as a section of Kurmis and describes them as a tribe in Chhattisgarh which is misleading, as they are, in fact, a section of the Raut caste in Chhattisgarh.

Giranlal Yadav (Deshaha Raut) of Khisora village told about their settlement in the village three generations ago. His fore-father named Chirkut made his Daihan (pasture) at Chhatadih, a tract of jungle which is situated 3 miles away from Khisora. When they come to know about a little pond at Khisora, they moved to that place and settled there about 250 years ago. At that time, there were only two families of Satnami, one family of Raut, and one more family of a Thakur. Later on, the population of the village increased.

Menav:

Menav Rauts have also migrated to this area from Maingarh-Mainpat, but it is difficult to locate that area, because they have settled here for last so many generations and they do not know about that area.

Rest of the sections, i.e. Darhoal, Kawarai, Bandaiya, Athhoriya, Bhorathiya and Kosariya are the inhabitants of Chhattisgarh. Magadha Rauts tell of their coming to Chhattisgarh from Magadha (Bihar).

In Phuljhar area of Chhattisgarh, the persons who have deviated from the caste norms and have married the women from the lower caste groups are excommunicated. They
have formed their own caste which is known as 'Banjariya' in that area. People count this to be a half-caste of the Rauts. A myth prevalent regarding the origin of this caste is as follows: "There was a Raut woman working as maid-servant in a Chamar's (leather-worker) house. She was a young woman. She developed sexual relations with a man of that family and after that she married to a Raut. They were outcasted and in this way, so many instances of this type happened which increased the population of these outcasted people, who formed the caste-group of 'Banjariyas'. In other areas of Chhattisgarh, they are not specified by any name, but are always in the black-list of the caste and they cannot resume their old status in their own caste-group. They forge relations with the families who have been expelled from the caste.

Hierarchy:

In regard to their position, the castes are ranked in the local hierarchy. The criteria for ranking are closely linked with observance of ritual pollution and purity that are inherent in the caste's practices.

We can stratify the Raut caste into two levels, i.e., the different endogamous sections and their hierarchical position in the viewpoint of Rauts with special attention to their purity and pollution and ritual status, in the other level, we consider their position among other caste people in the regional peasantry.

The Rauts compare themselves with the other sections of Rauts and measure their position in regard to their social values and observance of ritual purity. They are fast getting sanskritised, their customs are being refined and life values are changing. They are adopting the Brahmanical values and changing their customs to conform with the values of high caste Hindus. In this new endeavour of upward
mobility, we find the Kamujia section of the Raut castes to be very similar to upper caste Hindus. They claim to be superior to other sections of the Raut. In the second category, we can put the Thethhwar, Deshaha, Athhoria, Manav, Bandaiya, Darhoal, Bhorathiya and Magadha sections of the Rauts. In the third category, Jheria, Kosariya and Kawarai Rauts may be included. In this way, Rauts can be stratified into three levels which are equal in caste values, but when we scan the whole picture of their values and norms, we can grade them into three stratas of positional hierarchy as follows:

1. Kamujia;
2. Thethhwar, Deshaha, Athhoria, Manav, Bandaiya, Darhoal, Bhorathiya and Magadha; and

Some other points to supplement this hierarchy are observance of pollution of death and its purificatory rites. The Kamujia Raut perform the death rite within 13 days as seen among the Brahman, Thakur, Sonar castes etc., in Chhattisgarh. They also celebrate the ritual of 'Sohag-Deway' in marriage due to which 'choori' marriage cannot be done in this section of the Raut. The sections mentioned in the second strata observe the death-rite within 10 days, as also the custom of 'choori'. The sections belonging to the third strata bury the dead and observe 'choori' form of marriage. The persons who are economically well, they cremate the dead.

In the regional peasantry, the Rauts put themselves after Brahmans and claim to be Kshatriyas affiliating themselves with Mahabharat people. But, in the modern context of peasant life, the dominating castes (Srinivas-1959) make themselves superior and place other castes downwards.
in the caste hierarchy, because they are greater in strength, economic and political power, ritual status and western education and occupations. Somewhere numerical strength does not matter, but the rest three elements ensure the dominance in the local peasantry. In different areas of Chhattisgarh we observe the dominance of different castes. The main factors which enabled them to achieve this position seem to be their hereditary status, i.e., Gautiya, Malgusa, etc., landlordism and ritual status. They work as the head of the village, so the village affairs are mostly directed and guided by them which makes them the arbiters of social and political affairs of the village.

In different areas of Chhattisgarh, we see different castes dominating and patronising the Rauts. In Katghora tahsil of Bilaspur district, where Karwar Rauts are in good number and the village Katakidabari where the study was carried out in this section of the Raut, they are patronised by Kanwar and Gond tribal people. Kanwars are rich cultivators and Rauts work under them as contractual labourers, graze their cattle, supply water and work in the ritual ceremonies of those people. In the Basma-Saraipali area, Agharias dominate among the local peasantry. They are good cultivators. They are being served by the Magadha and Jheria sections of the Rauts. In other areas of Chhattisgarh Brahmans, Thakurs, Sonars, Baniyas, Agrawals dominate and they determine the status and role of the Rauts.

Being a clean caste, the Rauts enjoy a good social status. They serve the upper and clean caste Hindus. They are employed to graze the village cattle and are called on ceremonial occasions to perform the rituals. They work as water carrier. Rauts are permitted to enter the kitchen and except Brahmans all caste people can take food cooked by them.
Brahmin take water from their hands. All these functional values related with the Raut caste determine their position in the caste hierarchy.

So, on the basis of observance of ritual purity and pollution, we can put the Raut caste with the clean caste people after Brahman and Kshatriya castes in the local peasantry of Chhattisgarh. But because they observe the 'shoori' form of marriage and complete death-rite within 10 days, they have been relegated to a lower strata among the other clean castes, who do not observe these customs and celebrate the ritual of 'sahag-devay' in marriage. To put the Rauts in hierarchy, the other castes of the region do not give much importance to their differences in observance of rites and other ceremonies, but treat them equally as a clean caste on the whole. They are given a due place among the clean caste people in the total structure of the regional peasantry in Chhattisgarh.

We have seen that the Raut caste is divided into twelve endogamous sections. The question arises, why they are separate endogamous sections? Do the customs differ or is there any sense of superiority and inferiority among them? Does it not possible for them to inter-marry among themselves? It is obvious from their group norms and values of life. In the preceding lines, where we have discussed the notion of hierarchy among the different endogamous sections of the Raut caste, it shows some sort of differences to observe the death-rite and marriage rituals. In comparison with Kanvasia Rauts, Thethhwar Rauts give less ornaments in marriage and shave the head of the bridegroom. But now this custom is breaking, and they do not observe it in every case. The Brahmin priest officiates in marriages of Kanvasia, Thethhwar, Dehaha, Athhoria, Menav, Darhsal, Bhorathiya and Bandiya sections of the Rauts. In rest of the four sections, i.e. Jheria, Kavarai, Kosariya, and Megadha; the priest is only consulted
on the day of betrothal to fix the date of marriage. Among
the Jheria Rauts the bangles of the girl are put off at the
time of anointing of oil and her wrists remain bare till the
marriage. When the bridegroom presents bangles to wear, they
are worn. Among the Kosariya Rauts, the bangles are not put
off in marriage, but they are simply changed when given by the
bridegroom. Among the Kosariya Rauts, both men and women
attend the wedding party, while in other sections only the men
do so. Palanquin is used by all the sections except Kawarai,
Deshaha, Jheria, Magadha and Kosariya, for bringing the bride-
groom. Among Kawarai and Kosariya Rauts, women do not pierce
the nose and if any woman is found doing so, she is punished
to hear 'katha' and to give a community dinner. Kawarai Rauts
inhabit in Bilaspur division, while Kosariya Rauts live in
Raipur division, so any type of relationship between these two
groups is beyond reach to geographical distance and some other
social matters. Kosariya Rauts take wives from Magadha Rauts
and give them equal status, but the women from other caste
groups are not given equal status. Magadha Rauts can take
virgin girls from Raut, Brahman, Kolata and Savara groups as
wife. Children born of the wives of these ethnic groups are
adopted in the caste. Magadha and Jheria Rauts of the Phuljhar
area in Raipur district regard Nanda Rauts of Orissa to be
the highest section of the Rauts, and they take any man and
the woman of that caste group in their own caste group. One
Nanda Raut migrated to that area and settled at Chhuhipali.
He married his daughter with a Jheria boy. Among the Kawarai
Rauts, the women from Gond, Kanwar tribes and Raut caste are
married and the children begotten from them are taken in the
caste. Kawarai Rauts call themselves as Krishnout Raut. If
the wives from Gond, Kanwar, Patel, Mouvvar, etc. groups are
taken, they are not absorbed into the caste, but their
children are taken in the caste-fold by the Bandaiya Rauts.
Junior levirate is prevalent among the Rauts except the Kanaujia section.

In this way, every endogamous section of the Raut caste maintains its own ethnic identity and separates from others due to some differences in customs, group-norms and behaviours. The Bandaiya Rauts had started for sometime to marry the Athhoriya Rauts, and a few marriages took place among them, but it did not continue for long because they differed on social matters relating with their groups.

The whole endogamous section can be divided into two structural groups according to its functions- the first group is known as 'Pariha', i.e. the families which are agnatic kin groups and it has been termed by Mayer (1960) as "lineage of cooperation". It is further assisted by interaction with agnatic kin in other villages which defines the size and depth of a lineage of cooperation. And the second group covers the whole endogamous section related by caste membership and political organisation. It is very similar to the notions of "kindred of cooperation" and "kindred of recognition" brought forward by Mayer to distinguish between the actual and potential ties of the villagers with outside world in the kinship frame of reference. The "kindred of cooperation" refer to the population within which marriages can take place without enquiry regarding credentials of membership and kinship ties can be traced, while "kindred of recognition" refer to the population in which it is through mutual kin that marriages are made and/or kin links can be traced.

The Rauts are monogamous. In case of barrenness of the wife, second marriage is permitted. In that case, both the wives can live together and this is done with the consent of the first wife. Both of them gain proper respect and in
case of begetting a child, the second wife gets more favour and love from her husband than the first wife. Polygyny is permissible, but polyandry is not permitted. A woman may, of course, leave her husband and take another husband, but she can not keep two husbands and at the same time. Widow-remarriage is permissible and junior-levirate is also in vogue. The younger brother of the deceased makes his first claim on the widow of his brother among some sections of the Rauts. The grades of relationship avoided in marriage are the close relatives of the father's and mother's side up to three generations.

The Rauts practice clan (gotra) exogamy, but they do not marry outside their endogamous section. In Deshaha section of the Raut caste, we find the same clan of the whole caste group, and marriage among them is performed, as a matter of course, due to their ignorance about clan-names. Among Deshaha Rauts, the clan is Kashi. They follow the proverb, "Bhoole Bhatke Kashi Gotra" (If we are forgetting the clan name, it is Kashi). The place of their origin, i.e. Kashi, has been accepted by them as their clan-name. Gotra, for all practical purposes, are like exogamous clans. Each gotra bears a distinctive name, which is either derived from a sage of ancient India or is totemic in nature.

Exogamous clans found in different sections of the Rauts are stated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table - 3.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Athhoriya</td>
<td>Kaunshil, Mangaliya, Mahato, Rautiya, Khurkhet, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bandaiya</td>
<td>Talanga, Kaunshil, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bhorathiya</td>
<td>Udems, Banshiyar, Murra, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Darhoal</td>
<td>Kaunshil, Kashyap, Sandilya, Chaubat, Parewa, Bhadai, Panahi.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Deshaha
- Kaashi.

6. Jheria
- Kaunshil, Karshayal, Nag, Bhainsa, Bagh, Dhurhi, Rishiyetra, Ghosi, Gurbhel, Kasar, Duthkewara, Manjhi, Padeva, etc.

7. Kansujia
- Kaunshil, Krishna, Kashyap, Gautam, Sandilya, Nag, Negi, Bargorhiha, etc.

8. Kawarai
- Bhainsa, Karshayal, Markap, Tekam, Sonwani, Garuda, Marai, Korram, Uragan, Bondara, Deelawa, Saarh, Nag, Karayat, Rawan, etc.

9. Kosariya
- Besan, Sindoor, Baghawa, Amadar, Besara, Bhainsa, Chaudhury, Sarapa, Chachan, Gur-bheliya, Hathi, Newara, Ghushd, etc.

10. Magadha
- Nag, Bagh, Saarh, Bhoi, Bagarti, Thappa, Jaal, Chhattar, Joir, Kaad, Mahkur, Bagar, Pod, Baohhiya, Sunami, Bandhera, Kapat, Thali, Gorwa, Lamsa, Hirna, Kalasha, Matari, Deep, Naik, Bankh, Hathi, Besan, etc.

11. Menav
- Bagh, Sarvariha, Palakiha, Seelaiha, Sonwani, Sariya, Saruwa, Bhainsa, Minimahar, etc.

12. Thethhwar
- Ooraiha, Khodahar, Rautiya, Gaujhoosar, Falenika, Mahato, Rangpiya, Pardhan, Saipar, etc.

The above clans can be included into four broader categories according to their meaning and adaptation. They are as follows:

1. Sages of Ancient India:
Kaunshil (Kaushik), Kashyap, Sandilya, Krishna (Lord Krishna of Gita and Mahabharat), Gautam, Rishiyetra, Rawan (Demon King of Ceylon described in Ramayan), etc.

II. Plants and animals:
Amadar (mango-branch), Bhainsa (buffalo), Karshayal
(deer) Hirana (deer), Garuda (eagle), Bendara (monkey), Saarh (oxen), Nag (cobra), Karayat, Parewa (bird), Bhada (she), Panahi (shoe), Bagh (tiger), Mimimahar, padawa (heifer), Bagar (she-buffalo), Pod (she-buffalo), Bachhiya (she-calf), Lamaha (hare), Hathi (elephant), Basghawa (tiger), Sarapa (snake), Chachan (vulture), Newara (mangoose), Dhurhi, etc.

III. Castes and places :
Markam, Tekam, Sonwani, Marai, Korram, Uragan,
Rautiya, Sarvariha, Palakiha, Seelaiha, Sariya,
Saruwa, Ghosi, Kasar, Dukripeva, Manjhi, Bhoi,
Bagarti, Thappa, Makhur, Sunani, Bandhera, Naik,
Bishi, Bankh, Udena, Banshiyar, Nura, Besara,
Chaudhury, Telanga, Kashi, Negi, Doraiba, Palaniha,
Mahato, Rangpiya, Pardhan, Saipar, etc.

IV. Titular names :
Deelawa (snake-pit), Mangaliya, Khurkhet, Chaubat,
Gurbheli and Gurbheliya (lump of Jaggery - the name of a kind of mango tree also), Jaal (net), Chhattar,
Joir, Kaad (a wooden pole), Kalasha (sacred oil lamp),
Deep (an earthen lamp), Materi, Besan (gram-flour),
Sindoor (vermilion), Chaud, Khodahar (deity of pasture), Gaujhoomar, Bargorhiha, etc.

In Raut caste, many families have accepted the main source of their livelihood as their clan's name. Bhaiusa (buffalo) clan is frequently found among the Jheria Rauts. Karshayal (deer), Dudhi, Bagh (tiger), etc., are some other clans. They think that they are not being harmed by these animals while grazing in the forest. Some people call themselves to be of Bagdhara (tiger) and Nag (cobra) clans.
They have accepted them as their family's deity and propitiate them.

These clans are comprised of many lineages. The lineage can be defined as "an association of people of both sexes comprising all the recognised descendants by an accepted genealogy of a single named ancestor in a putatively continuous male line" (Fortes, 1965:30). We can regard 'Vansh' as a lineage. Lineage is always exogamous.

**Kinship:**

Kinship is a relationship actually or putatively traced through parent-child or sibling relations, and recognised for social purposes. The whole society is structured by kinship and other functions are controlled by it. &amp;üeber (1952:219) writes that "It is generally accepted that among primitive peoples society is structured primarily on the basis of kinship and in more civilised nations largely in terms of economic and political factors. The function of kinship is relatively less in higher civilisation, and may be absolutely less. But kinship considerations always persist.........". In Raut caste, we observe the total effect of kinship and they are also related with the wider society by kinship.

We can divide the relatives into two groups in respect of kinship, who are consanguineal and affinal relatives. We put the persons under consanguineal who are related by blood, but the persons who come in relation by marriage are affinal relatives. The kins and affins form such group of people who are related by a common norm and custom in the society. They make a corporate group to perform the ceremonies and rites observed in the society by the caste members.

The children and the young persons show deference
to their parents and address them by kinship terms which show respect for them. All the members who are elder in age and relation are esteemed by the family and caste members. These relations are not only made with the family members or caste fellows, but are also solemnised with the persons who come in contact with them and cooperate in any level of work, such as, businessman, money-lenders, police, advocate, Sirpanch, Panch, etc. The Rauts assign them some kinship term to address when meeting together. Some of these kinship addresses are - Saav, Sethh, Gautiya, Sahab, Maharaj, etc.

In Chhattisgarh, we find some friendly relations established between the persons of the same age and sex to make the relations closer and sweet. At the festival of Bhojali, women present the 'Jawara' to their friends and link themselves in a new relation much nearer to their family members. This ritual is known as 'giya badana or mitani'. It is also found among men. 'Tulsi-dal' and Mahaprasad' are also the same type of rituals by which the persons from the different castes befriended and establish close and happy relations. On many occasions, this friendship relation is revitalised by exchange of gifts and hospitality to each other. In these relations, the kinship ties become the same as observed in a family among the members of the house. Both of them address the family members of each other's house by the same term.

In this way, we find kinship does not only tie the caste members in a good link, but it strengthens the solidarity of relations with the other caste people in both village and regional level. Dube (1949;98) also writes that "In the social life of the local groups and the village community, these friendships have a special
significance, for they bring together not only the unrelated families within the same tribe or caste but through them close inter-tribal and inter-caste contacts are also made possible.

When the Rauts meet the elderly persons they pay regards to them, and when with the same age people, say "Jai Gopal ki, or Jai Ramji, or Ram Ram", etc. They avoid to call any older or the same age people by their names, but call them as Baba, Dai, Bhaiyya, Giya, Mithan, Sahinav, etc. All these relations are obligatory and bring the people on the surface of mutuality, closeness and co-activity.

The kinship terms found in the Raut caste are shown in the table below:

Table - 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Terms of Reference</th>
<th>Terms of address</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Fa</td>
<td>Pitaji</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>Mataji, Na</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Br</td>
<td>Bhai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Si</td>
<td>Bahini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Br, (child of own Sautala Bhai father and another mother)</td>
<td>Bhaiyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Br, (child of own Bhai mother and another father)</td>
<td>Bhaiyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Si, (child of own father and Sautala Bahin another mother)</td>
<td>Didi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Si, (child of own mother and Bahini another father)</td>
<td>Didi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sl. No.</td>
<td>Terms of Reference</td>
<td>Terms of Address</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Step-Mo</td>
<td>Seutali Ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>El-Br</td>
<td>Bade Bhai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Yo-Br</td>
<td>Chhote Bhai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>El-Si</td>
<td>Bade Bahini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Yo-Si</td>
<td>Chhote Bahini</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Fa-El-Br</td>
<td>Baba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Fa-Yo-Br</td>
<td>Kaka, Chacha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Fa-El-Br-Wi</td>
<td>Badi Ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Fa-Yo-Br-Wi</td>
<td>Kaki, Chachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Fa-Si</td>
<td>Phuphi, Phuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Fa-Si-Hu</td>
<td>Phupha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Fa-Si-So</td>
<td>Bhai</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Mo-Br</td>
<td>Mama</td>
</tr>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Mo-Br-Wi</td>
<td>Mami</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Fa-Br-So</td>
<td>Bhai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Fa-Br-Da</td>
<td>Bahini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Mo-El-Si</td>
<td>Badi Ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Mo-El-Si-Hu</td>
<td>Baba</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Mo-yo-Si</td>
<td>Mausi</td>
</tr>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Mo-Yo-Si-Ri</td>
<td>Mausiya</td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Mo-Si-So</td>
<td>Bhai</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Mo-Si-Da</td>
<td>Bahini</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Fa-Fa</td>
<td>Baba, Nana, Dada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Fa-Mo</td>
<td>Nani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Br-So, Br-Da</td>
<td>Bhatij, Bhatiji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Hu-Br-So, Hu-Br-Da (Son of daughter of husband's brother)</td>
<td>Babu- Noni</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4 Contd. 

#### Kinship terms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
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<td><strong>English</strong></td>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td><strong>Hindi</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Wi-Br-So, Wi-Br-Da (Son or daughter of wife's brothers)</td>
<td>Babu, Noni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Si-So, Si-Da</td>
<td>Bhanja-Bhanji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Hu-Si-So, Hu-Si-Da</td>
<td>Bhanja-Bhanji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Wi-Si-So, Wi-Si-Da</td>
<td>Sali Beta, Sali Beti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>So</td>
<td>Beta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>So-Wi</td>
<td>Baburiya, Pato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>So-So, So-Da</td>
<td>Nati, Natinin</td>
</tr>
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<td>42.</td>
<td>Mo-Fa</td>
<td>Mamadada, Baba</td>
</tr>
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<td>43.</td>
<td>Mo-Mo</td>
<td>Mamadai</td>
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<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Hu</td>
<td>Gharwala, Dauki, Pati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Wi</td>
<td>Gharawali, Patni, Dauki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Wi-Fa</td>
<td>Sasur</td>
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<td>47.</td>
<td>Wi-Mo</td>
<td>Sas</td>
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<td>48.</td>
<td>Hu-Fa</td>
<td>Sasur</td>
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<td>49.</td>
<td>Hu-Mo</td>
<td>Sas</td>
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<td>50.</td>
<td>Wi-El-Br Wi-Yo-Br</td>
<td>Badsala, Sala</td>
</tr>
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<td>51.</td>
<td>Wi-El-Si, Wi-Yo-Si</td>
<td>Derhsas, Sali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>Wi-Br-Wi</td>
<td>Sala Ke Gharwali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>Hu-El-Br. Hu-Yo-Br.</td>
<td>Jethh (Kora Sasur) Devar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>Hu-El-Si</td>
<td>Derhsas</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
When we analyse these kinship terms, we see that the terms of reference are greater in number than terms of address. This shows that there are some of the relations who are addressed by the same term, which make them shorter in number than the terms of reference.

These kinship terms can be divided into two groups, i.e., classificatory and descriptive. Classificatory term means two or more than two relations addressed by a single term. For example - Bhaiyya, Didi, Mama, Phuphu, etc., are some such terms, whereas descriptive term means to address a single relative, viz. Dada, Dai, etc.
It is also clear from the kinship terms that child of own father and another mother (Br & Si) are known as Sautela Bhai and Sautela Bahan, while child of own mother and another father (Br & Si) are known as Bhai and Bahan. Here, we find that more weightage is given to the mother than the father and the kinship is so established from her. The children, who are begotten from the same mother, are real brother and sister, while the children from different mothers, but the same father, are step-brother and step-sister. In the same way, the relation is also inflicted on the step-mother. She is known as the step-mother of her husband's first wife's children.

Baba (Fa-El-Br), Bade Dai (Fa-El-Br-Wi); Kaka (Fa-Yo-Br), Kaki (Fa-Yo-Br-Wi); Phuphu (Fa-Si), Phupha (Fa-Si-Hu) and their children are the important kins in the father's line, while mother's parents, Mama (Mo-Br), Mami (Mo-Br-Wi); Baba (Mo-El-Si-Hu), Bade Dai (Mo-El-Si); Mauhiya (Mo-Yo-Si-Hu), Mauzi (Mo-Yo-Si) and their children are the important kins in the mother's line. All of these relatives actively participate in the different ceremonies and rites of the family. In the same way, Bhato (El-Si-Hu) Bahanci (Yo-Si-Hu), Damad Babu (Da-Hu), etc. are the near affinal relatives who are given much importance and their presence is made necessary in the happy and sad occasions of the family.

Kinship obligation:

We find that many acts or functions of the relatives are obligatory in Raut's kinship system. At the occasion of marriage in the family, the daughters of the family who have been married to other places or in the same village are brought home and with them their husbands and children
also come. The daughters of the family function as Derha (Suwasin) in marriage and their husbands as Derba (Suwas). In Jheria, Kawrai and Kosariya sections of the Rauta, Derba and Derhin perform all the rituals of the marriage, while in other sections they only function as Derba and Derhin, i.e. anointment, with oil-turmeric, of the bride and bridegroom. This work is also performed by father’s sisters and their husbands. Likewise marriage, the daughters and sisters of the family have also significant role in death-rite. During the period of death-rite, they lit the fire and cook the food in the deceased house from the 1st day of the death. This cooking is done only once in a day and the meals for the evening is supplied by the near relatives of the both sides, i.e. consanguineal and affinal, whosoever, may be present in the village. It is quite obligatory and reciprocative. If the mourner family had supplied food to them in event of any death in those families, they will also do the same. Similarly, in other functions of the family, the relatives and caste-fellows participate. On the day of Chhatti, the relatives and caste people attend the ceremony. Men get shaved their beards by the barber as it is a purificatory rite and they are welcomed by the host family by being offered biri, tobacco, tea, etc.

On the day of Annaprassan of the child, a number of articles are presented to the child by its maternal side which include garba, amulet, waist-chain, canvas swing, toys, sweetmeats, fruits, etc. The parents of the married girls present them sari at the festival of Teeja which is observed in the month of Bhadon (August-September). They also present a white sari to their daughters if their husbands die. She wears that sari on the last day of the death-rite.

Besides these relatives, a major responsibility
falls on the shoulders of the paternal uncles after the death of their married brother in a joint family and they take care of the widow and her children, because they share the familial property and are a part of the family, so it is the moral responsibility of the uncles to take care of the widow of their deceased brother and his children too.

Joking relationship and Avoidance

There are some of the relatives who exchange jokes and jest with each other. "A joking relationship may be defined as a relationship within which are permitted words and actions which spoken and performed in any other relationship would arouse the anger of the person with whom one joked, or would be looked down by his family and others" (Naik, 1947:250). Out of the large number of the kinship relations that exist between different individuals of a kin group in a society, joking relations are by far the most charming and are found in large numbers in many communities in India. The joking or jesting relationship, as it is often called, is socially very important, because it pertains to many functional members of the family or the kin-group and because it strengthens the tie of affinity between them and enlivens the whole social routine which otherwise in day-to-day workings is very dry and drab" (ibid., p.250).

We also find some of the relations which are of avoidance and they go parallel with the joking relations. The relation between Sali (Wi-Yo-Si) or Sala (Wi-Yo-Br) and Bhato (Wi-Si-Hu) comes in joking relationship, while the relation between Derhsas (Wi-El-Si) and Damad (Yo-Si-Hu) comes in relation of avoidance. The jokes between Sala or Sali and Bhato sometimes reach to extreme, and they freely talk about all the matters. Derhsas does not come before her younger sister's husband and if, they have to talk to each other, they atleast maintain some distance and do not talk face-to-face. In the same way, the relation between
Devar (Hu-Yo-Br) and Bhaudi (El-Br-Wi) is of respect and friendship while the relation between Korasasur (Hu-El-Br) and Bahuriya (Yo-Br-Wi) is of avoidance. As we know that junior levirate is prevalent among some sections of the Raut caste, so the sisters-in-law give respect to their brothers-in-law equally as to their husbands. They exchange jokes and jest with each other. Korasasur and Bahuriya maintain a distance and avoid facing each other. In the same way, Mamasasur (Hu-Mo-Br) comes in relation of avoidance. The Bhanchapato (Si-So-Wi) does not face him and whenever, comes before him, covers her head with the side of the sari and she maintains a distance.

The relation between Baba (grand-father) and Nati grand-son) or Natinin (grand-daughter) comes in joking relations. They chat with each other and gain love and affection. The relation between Samadhi and Sāthin (bride’s mother and bridegroom's father and vice-versa) are of avoidance. In avoidance, these relations generally avoid meeting of each other, and if they meet on the road or anywhere else, the women turn their face, bend the head and look downwards till the opposite relation passes by.

In this way, kinship integrates and regulates the whole system and its functional values make the society meaningful, coordinated, and purposive to achieve the collective co-relation in the fields of activity and co-operation.

A person cannot live in the society alone. He has to seek the help of others within the caste group or other of the village in the Indian society. Dube (1965:34) writes that "The basic and primary unit of the society is the
elementary or joint family. Every family belongs to an exogamous division of a caste or an endogamous section of a large caste. The caste group which he belongs is the main executive organisation which penalises the wrong-doers and in cases of offences, the whole family can be ex-communicated. It holds the organisation of the constituent villages of the caste together and links them by marital relations. Marriage is an important and cohesive institution which brings two families into closer relations and makes alliances with the other kins and kiths of both the parties. But it all depends upon the ritual and economic status of the family within the caste-group.

In Raut caste, the nuclear family preponderates due to their poor economic status. These people are cattle-holders, graziers, and farmers. Agriculture has been lately introduced in their caste, so the cohesive factors of land and joint enterprise have not, as yet, brought them within their fold. Soon after the marriage, partition takes place, and the property is divided among the members and they separate their family, and begin to earn independently for their livelihood. In the well-off families partition does not take place earlier due to demand of joint labour for production of crops, and they keep united in caste affairs.

Family is an unique and unrivalled institution in India. Here we find the head of the family to be the supreme authority, who controls the family. He thinks about all the aspects and needs of the family, both occupational and social, and assigns proper roles to individual members in that structure. As Dube (1951:63) writes in his study of 'The Kamar' that "It (family) is a distinct economic unit,
performing important functions of food-gathering, providing shelter and giving at least a minimum of material comfort to its members. In the same way in the Raut caste too, the family functions as a distinct economic unit to feed, to cloth and to give shelter to its members.

Families are patrilineal and patrilocal and they present unilateral social groups consisting of the parents and their married sons and/or unmarried sons and daughters. In some cases, it is also found that some kins and near relatives associate with them; but they do not possess any right on the family property. The women exclusively own all property which they receive as gift from their parents, and when they run away or desert their husbands, take these ornaments with them and the husbands have no claim over these. The husband can however claim the ornaments given by himself or his parents. The land and other property are equally shared amongst sons, the eldest one getting a little more than others. This greater share in the property which the eldest son gets by virtue of his being the eldest, is known as 'Jethhasi'. When a man has no child, his brothers inherit the property after his death, and if he has no brothers, the near relatives who perform the last rites get the property.

In nuclear family, the father becomes the head of the family. He possesses sole right to dispose of the familial property, in case he needs it to be done. When the children are grown up, he seeks advice from them. In joint and extended families, the decisions are taken collectively. The man who is the eldest in age in the family is given due respect and he takes resolutions on various matters concerned with the family and familial property with the approval of the other members of the family.
In family, relations become very cordial and affectionate. Girls and boys play together, but when they reach the age of 12, they become very conscious of their sex and then, play in their own groups of the same sex. Sometimes, quarrelling with each other creates tension in the family, but soon after the peace is resumed by normalising the relations.

**Husband-wife relationship:**

Customarily the husband is regarded as superior to the wife. Wives pay full regards to their husbands and in turn, they gain love, affection and protection. We found rare cases of beating or tormenting the wife by the husband. Even after being suspected or accused of infidelity, the husband gives her many warning before throwing her out of his home. In most of the cases occurring among the Rauts, the wives deserting their husbands, but the cases where husbands left their wives were very very rare.

Husband and wife constitute the foundation of the family. They maintain friendly relations and procreate children. Production and reproduction are two important phases of the cycle. Production means economic pursuits and procuring food, whereas reproduction means extension of the lineage by begetting children. They take the joint responsibility and equally try to uplift the family by securing economic development and enhancing their social status. The Raut families also maintain this standard.

**Parent-child relationship:**

The relation between parents and children are extremely cordial and loving among the Rauts. Parents take full care of them and try to train them in the line of their occupation.
as grazier and cultivator. From the very childhood, the sons accompany their fathers when going to jungle to graze cattle. Education is slowly becoming popular among them now. The parents take a very lenient attitude towards such habits of their children as smoking at an early age or using vulgar language.

Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship:

Usually the relationship between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law is cordial. Mothers-in-law who become fairly old simply sit at home and keep the children, whereas the daughters-in-law go to work. In cases where the mother-in-law is physically fit to work, she shares the work with the daughter-in-law. Quarrels are rare. Daughters-in-law show deference to mother-in-law and obey her orders and follow her advice. She takes the responsibility of house-keeping.

Father-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship:

Usually the relationship between the father-in-law and the daughter-in-law is cordial. Fathers-in-law show affection and love to their daughters-in-law as their own daughters and, in turn, get due respect, deference and obedience. She replaces her mother-in-law in most of the affairs of the house.

Head of the family:

The eldest male member of the house is usually regarded as the head of the family. On him falls the entire burden of running the family and arranging marriages, etc. The family also takes its name after him. The head is called the 'Mukhiya' of the house. Respect for the elders is still intact in the Raut caste.
deference, avoidance, are all inculcated as part of family roles (Dumont 1957: 7, 11; Carstairs 1957: 63-76; Sarma 1951: 53). Inside the family, deference to elders is essential in family relations. Among families each must strive to keep up and, if possible, to improve its prestige among other families of its caste.