Rukhwat The Sociological Change in Practices

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Declaration

I declare that this written submission represents my ideas in my own words and where others' ideas or words have been included, I have adequately cited and referenced the original sources. I also declare that I have adhered to all principles of academic honesty and integrity and have not misrepresented or fabricated or falsified any idea/data/fact/source in my submission. I understand that any violation of the above will cause for disciplinary action by the Institute and can also evoke penal action from the sources which have thus not been properly cited or from whom proper permission has not been taken when needed.

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APPROVAL SHEET

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1. INTRODUCTION

Discovery consists of seeing what everyone else has seen and thinking what nobody has thought.

- Albert von Szent-Györgyi

The attitude of ‘Why?’ let you know the things and their reasons but ‘Why Not?’ approach compliments the rational thinking about comprehending the elements in all possible ways. As we learn the principles of design thinking, we push ourselves to ask questions about our surroundings—the reasons, problems, magnitudes, consequences, and possibilities. Finding and identifying the problem is often a crucial step. One of the best ways to identify the problems is to pay attention to what bugs you and other people. Instead of becoming inured to the annoyance and accepting the status quo, innovators need to cultivate their sensitivity to displeasure and even empathize with the displeasure that other people might have long ago suppressed. We are on the lookout for the situations where satisfactory could become optimal. Conceding “that’s just the way it is” is the death knell of the progress. (Barry Nalebuff, Ian Ayres 2003)

My acquaintance to the ritual of ‘Rukhwat’ goes back to my childhood time around 1998 when I used to watch my aunts as busy as a bee in the preparations of sweetmeats to offer to the groom and his kin as a part of this ritual. It was a fun and surprise to see the big sized laddus and other sweets of unusually large. The handmade crafts, woolen hangings, beaded curtains, crochet work, paintings, and other bric-a-brac were also included as a hope chest. Sometimes I used to help in the process of making these arrangements for my cousin’s weddings. Later due to the unavailability of time, we started buying these things from the market. Even last year for my marriage, the women of my house lovingly bought a compact trousseau of bridal goods. Most probably the shopping of these things is done by inquiring about the shops and market areas to the newlyweds or more precisely the female relatives of the bride. One of my friend, Supriya, who had already made these arrangements for her sister’s wedding, played a vital role in the shopping of my bridal goodies. Being a newlywed
from last year now, I have become the source of this consumerism. This summer when Supriya called me to invite for her marriage, I offer to extend my help to arranging her Rukhwat within a moment, and the next moment she replied that they are not going to include the Rukhwat as she is doing inter-religion marriage. The guy is from the Jain community of the same locality, but they don’t follow this custom. Now, this was ironical and unfamiliar for me, which dwelled my attention to the question of Why? And Why not?

The search for 'the why' had always been resulting in either what or how to make in the search of term Rukhwat. There were some blogs available about this topic, which merely suggesting how to make these preparations or how this is the part of the bride’s memory. But nowhere it was explained why the Maharashtrian people mostly follow this custom. Also, most of the blogs were written in Marathi script, which gave me an insight that the word Rukhwat has the regional existence in the local script only, i.e., Marathi. Also, the blogs were varied in descriptions based on the caste, community, region, and status of the groups and people from Maharashtra use this word. The search brought an idea about the existence of small scale industries or probably household businesses running on selling Rukhwat related objects and based across Maharashtra, which was evident to underline the fact that this custom has a capacity to cater the customers of the second highest populous state, i.e., Maharashtra.

Meanwhile the investigation about the meaning of word Rukhwat came across the lexical database created by IIT, Bombay which described this as ‘a ceremony of offering breakfast or sweets to the groom from the bride’s side at her house before the wedding or the sweets & content(gifts) given by bride’s side to groom at the wedding.’ The definition was not enough to indicate the intention behind the ritual. Soon I realized that data might be available in unorganized bits of information and more discussion of the topic is necessary to put the research into the proper framework of social study. This curiosity finally led me to undertake this theme as my project for the formal study of the Rukhwat ritual. I noticed that comparatively less work had been done to define this ritual in detail which evoked several questions as follows-
• Why this ritual is essential or even exist in the Hindu marriage ceremony?
• What is the social history of the Rukhwat ritual and how it has shaped over time?
• How is the legacy of the custom passed from one generation to the next?
• Which castes and communities practice this ritual in the marriage ceremony, and what is the role played by the relatives?
• What parameter of this materialistic custom makes the follower keep continuing this ritual?
• What is the current socio-economic scenario of this ritual, and what we can expect in the future?

1.1. Objectives:
My present thesis is an attempt to collect and document all the records and references available in regional languages about the Rukhwat under the umbrella of a broad and vague topic of marriage rituals. Keeping the focus on the context of subject matter its broad objectives are framed as follow:

• To collect, understand, and document the references of Rukhwat from historical and mythological records.
• To analyze the cultural inheritance of the Rukhwat from oral traditions as folklore, folk songs and ballads, and artifacts.
• To study the involvement and interaction of society.
• To explore the Market and economic impression of this custom.
• To examine the changing pattern of the ritual and put forward the future expectations.
• To develop a tangible outcome from the study.
2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Bhartiya Sanskritikosh volume eight by Pandit Mahadevshastri Joshi (1979), reveals the intention behind this practice, as there is a law adopted which advocates that the groom’s appetite has to be fed while marrying a bride. In Marathi dictionaries, the meaning is reserved to the act of giving a present or a gift especially of sweetmeats to a bridegroom. Some Parsi words related to this meaning are also available in those dictionaries.

While performing this ritual in the Maharashtrian weddings in the earlier days, loved ones prepared many regional sweets like Karanjya, Anarase, Chirote, Tarfenya, Laddu, etc. Also as per custom, a special type of laddus was made by mixing Betel nuts, turmeric sticks, dried date palm, almonds and shevkhand each of five in quantity with jaggery syrup and shaped into round laddu by taking five of each ingredient. Those laddus were packed with raw cotton threads. Similarly, legumes and puffed rice were used for laddus. Then the big baskets filled with all these sweets were used to bring to the groom’s side along with the procession. Rangoli was made around the wooden seat, the scented rod was lit, and these sweets were served to the close relative of the groom. The bride’s mother used to offer a spoon of ghee to the groom and groom’s leftover food was taken back for the bride. Predominantly the Brahmin community of Maharashtra had adopted these practices, whereas in other caste-like Maratha etc. the barber was supposed to carry the baskets to the groom.

2.1. Mythology and Occurrences of Rukhwat

‘Swayamvaram Kavya,’ the poetry on the marriage of a girl to the groom of her choice, is written by great saints like Shri Santoshmuni, Nrisimha, Narendra Pandit, Mahadamba and Chombha depicts the rituals about contemporary marriages. ‘Rukmini Swayamvar’ composed by Shri Santoshmuni Krishna Das and a similar one written by Nrisimha, elaborates the Rukhwat ceremony with details. J. N. Kalke (1986) interrogates all these events in his work and mentions that Rukmini herself takes the lead in making a Rukhwat for Shri Krishna and his relatives that came with him. Rukmini has been used to refer to cookbooks from time to time to make utterly perfect food. The carefully made recipes, garlands, and baskets covered by cloth were taken to the groom’s side with the procession.
Garments are sent to the groom and for the guests. Rukhwat were sent at night. Rukmini got disturbed due to delay in sending. The bride eats the food after the arrival of the message of the groom’s had dinner. This ritual is still followed by many Maharashtrian houses.

Mahadamba or Mhaindasa, the proto-poetess of Marathi, illustrates the Rukhwat sent to the groom Shri Krishna, who came at Kaundinyapur for marrying Rukmini, in her creations ‘Dhavale’ and ‘Matrukirkuminiswayanvar.’ Jadhav Shakuntala (2013) has studied this literature where Mahadamba writes, ‘The Rukhwat is sent by Rukmini and includes 18 recipes and uncountable syrups (Panhe and Kalvan).

Panharēyācī tātē thēvilī anukramē
Lēhē pēhē cōkhē khādyē chaturvidhe anne
Sanksā nāhī sākā panhē
kusamirī anupamya svādu
Krsnaarāvō ārōgīṭī prasādu māgatī
ud’dhavadēva nārandu

—Mahadambā, ‘dhavale’ uttarārdha

Plate 1 Abstract for ‘Dhavale’ in Devanagari script
J. N. Kalke (1986) has studied the Nrushimha’s work on this topic where the later situation of Rukhwat ceremony is depicted. All these recipes were not familiar to the people from the groom’s side, and it occasionally became humorous. Nrushimha explains this humorous situation is his verse as

Jē ghātyānncē jēvanāru who eats ghati (region of Maharashtra) cuisines
tē kā’ī jānatī hā parivāru they don’t know about this different food

On the day of Ramnavami, Saint Eknath completed his book on Rukmini Swayanvar which describes the marriage ceremonies of the contemporary 16th century. Moropant (2012) has edited Eknath’s verses. In his narration, Eknath mentions Rukhwat after Seemantpujan ceremony.

Ēkēm pacalī gōdapanēm.
Ēkēm saprēma salavanēm.
Ēkēm nusatīm alavanēm.
Baravēpanēm miravitī. 5.

Ēkē sabāhya āmbatēm.
Ēkēm ardhakācī turatēm.
Ēkē bahubījēm kadavatēm.
Ēkam tikhtēm tōndālēm. 6.

Ēkēm hiravīn karakaritēm.
Ēkēm paripavēṃ niścitēm.
Ēkē jārasē kakacacittēm.
Ēkam snēhadēthinhūnī satalīm. 7.

Vālalyā ānutāpakācariyā.
Vairāgyatalanēm aruvāriyā.
Rājasā vādhilā kōsimbiriyā.
Nānā kusarī rāˈiṭīm. 8.
Diced, plucked, chopped, and peeled vegetables are fried. Some dishes are sweet; some are bitter. Some are salty, or some are saltless. Some are having an astringent taste, and some are sour. Some vegetables are uncooked, fried. Some are very spicy, and some are in variety.

2.2. **Historical Occurrences of Rukhwat:**

Dr. V. G. Khobarekar has compiled folk culture of the period of King Shivaji(1630 to 1707) in the book ‘Maharashtacha itihas Maratha Kalkhand Volume 1, Shivkal (1630 to 1707)’. He documented marriage rituals of that era and also described the Rukhwat briefly. When the time for the wedding ceremony approaches, people from bride side give sweet dishes and gifts to the groom and his relatives and offer the attire and other gifts by welcoming him. Peshwai is another important era of Maharashtra’s history and the documents are available about marriage rituals among Peshwa Gharana which says in 1782 marriage ceremony of Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao took place in Poona. This elite celebration is depicted in detail by Kulkarni and Deshpande in ‘Peshwyanchi Bakhar’ and studied by P. A. Gavali (1979) in his thesis. The marriage ceremony took place at Thathe’s house. The daughter of Balaji Bahirao Thathe was the bride. The rukhwat (the ceremony of bringing refreshments by the father and friends of the bride to the abode of the bridegroom) from the bride’s house was brought and then people from Thathe came to bring the bridegroom.

Vaishali Bagal (2006) writes in her essay about women and their position in social and religious life, in Peshawa period that Dajiba Phadake presented his Motibag (a lavish garden) to Bajirao Peshwa II as an Aandan (gift), where later in 1808 Peshwa built a
Vishramwada. From the 18th to the 19th century, Kolhapur was a Maratha Princely state of British India under Deccan division. While Writing a history of Kolhapur state, Shinde K. A. (2002) jotted down marriage rituals of those centuries. On the fourth day, there was a custom of feasting together of both sides called Rukhwat, with worshipping the deities of the bride and groom.

Jayanta Banerji (2015) has reported the presence of Rukhwat ritual in Dalit community of Maharashtra in his paper ‘Tracing The Fragments of Unwritten History: Indian Dalit Personal Narratives in The Light of Folklore and Indigenous Culture.’ The description is about the nuptials followed by Dalit in the 19th century. He has referred the book of ‘The Prison We Broke’ by Maya Pandit (2009), which is original ‘Jina Amucha’ in Marathi, written by Baby Kamble. Jayanta Banerji says,”Baby Kamble has registered with great care the details of the marriage ceremony of the Mahar community in 1930-1940. The marriage ceremony lasts for eight days, which starts at the bride’s house. Sada is the betrothal gift, and the few toys made of wheat flour are known as rukhwat. Older members of both parties would sing teasing songs to each other, which teem with explicit sexual citations. These folksongs are very peculiar to this Mahar Dalits. The sociological analysis of a text can heavily rely on these folk ballads or folksongs.

Here comes the rukhwar, come and watch,
Our Inibai’s got an itch in her crotch.
Give her a couch; she’s on heat,
Our brother is so mad; he says, ‘You know what?’
Get her a buffalo from the Jatra to fuck her,
That’s the only thing that can please her.
Get up, Iwan, take off her clothes,
Show her the house, give her a bath.

This song would make the groom’s mother burst into tears. She would shriek and holler with rage. Then the women from the groom’s side would soothe her and retort with another song that would mock the bride’s mother (addressed as Inibai).
Here comes the rukhwat, covered with sugarcane leaves.
When our Inibai gets hot, you know what she needs.
Not less than fifty-six horses! That’s what she must have,
So get them for her for that’s what she wants!
Our Iwan runs around to catch hold of the horse,
Come friends and watch the farce!
Thus Inibai cools off her itch,
So the groom’s mother doles out sweets.

This ukhana would enrage the other side, so much so that a fight would erupt. The song would soon have every person sobbing. The heavy bashings were then taken off.”

Shoma Sen (2017) has also analyzed the autobiographies of Maharashtra’s two Dalit activists and writers viz. Baby Kamble and Urmila Pawar and wrote a scholarly article on the social life of Dalit women in ‘The village and the city: Dalit feminism in the autobiographies of Baby Kamble and Urmila Pawar.’ Even in her article, she explained the Baby Kamble’s unabashedly narration about the weddings at her community’s villages, where the songs for the presenting Rukhwat were full of sexual jibes at the bride’s parents.

While reading about Vivah, I came across an Institute ‘Dnyan Prabodhini, Pune’ which contributes the information about Vivah rituals in the book ‘Vivah Sanskar Pothi.’ Ms. Madhuri Karavade, the hieratic at Dnyan Prabodhini, advised reading the literature of Dr. Sarojini Babar who has worked for her entire life in the field of collecting and editing the folk literature of Maharashtra. In the book, ‘Rukhwat’ Dr. Sarojini Babar depicts the entire rukhwat ceremony of the 19th century where women from both bridal parties describe the rukhwat items eloquently in the poetic style, which is called Ukhana. ‘Ja Mazya Mahera’ the another Marathi book edited by Babar also has few traces of Ukhana on the rukhwat. e.g.

\[\begin{align*}
Pahili \ dura\ddot{d}i \ phul\acute{a}c\acute{a} \ bh\ddot{a}ra & \quad \text{the first basket has loaded by flowers} \\
iv\acute{a}ya \ mil\acute{l}\acute{a}l\acute{a} \ hausad\ddot{a}r\acute{a} & \quad \text{got in-laws enthusiastic} \\
dusari \ dura\ddot{d}i \ k\acute{e}ly\acute{a}c\acute{i} \ phan\ddot{i} & \quad \text{the second basket has banana trunks} \\
rukhvata \ ughada \ navary\acute{a}c\acute{e} \ bhain\ddot{i} & \quad \text{groom’s sister, please open the Rukhwat}
\end{align*}\]
tisarī dūrada sākaraśā'ī
rukhavata ughada navaryācē ā'ī
cauthī duradī gavhācī lāpaśī
rukhavata ughada navaryācē māvaśī
pācavī duradī gavhācī sōjī
rukhavata ughada navaryācē ājī
sāvvī duradī anārasa lādū

the third basket has sugar syrup
the forth basket has wheat’s porridge
the fifth basket has wheat’s suji
the sixth basket has anarase (sweet) and Laddu
In a critical editorial article on the Babar’s work Mukund Kule (2019), has penned a critique on her birth century on January 7, 2019 as,” Sarojini Babar did a great job of collecting folk songs, but compared to that, she did not work on the analysis of folk songs gained. Folklore Veteran writer Durga Bhagwat wrote down the progressive book 'Loksahityachi Ruprekha' in 1953 for guidance about the study of folk culture, and she had warned the researchers about the danger, saying, "India has developed a strange curiosity about folk literature. Folklorist has only presented the emotional side of this literature in front of the general public with the false beliefs that folk literature is a demonstration of the great Indian culture. In reality, a large section of folk literature is dragging behind the people's wisdom by its hideous and dull reality. Still, Sarojini Babar considers the work of a collection of folk literature as a major and significant.”A well-known Marathi Chef Mrs. Mangla Barve has written several recipe books to date for the Rohan Publication. One of them is ‘Vivahsohala ani Rukhavatache Padarth (1993)’ which introduces the reader to different cuisine used for presenting Rukhwat. The book's front and back cover also depict the arrangement of Rukhwat items.
2.3. Rukhwat in Films and Serials

Plate 4 Still from Hindi serial ‘Tujhse Hai Raabta’


Tujhse Hai Raabta, produced by Full house Media (Amir and Sonali Jaffar), is an Indian television series in Drama category airs on Zee TV which has won the best TV show at 3rd Perfect Achiever’s Award on 30 December 2018. Set in Aurangabad, Maharashtra, the story of Maharashtrian family, revolves around the bitter-sweet relationship of a stepmother and stepdaughter (viz. Anupriya & Kalyani). In the 45th episode aired on November 5, 2018, the wedding arrangements of lead cast Kalyani are shown. Her stepmother (Anupriya) is busy in making dolls and other bric-a-brac for the Rukhwat and a day before marriage it is set to present to the groom (Atharva). Kalyani’s father Rao Saheb scolds Anupriya for making a very dull, simple and cheap Rukhwat preparation but the lead actor (Malhar) explains him about the intention of giving the Rukhwat. He says whatever Mai (Anupriya) gives to
Kalyani will be made with great love. He further continues that no Rukhwat can be cheap as it is made with love and care. The earlier rukhwat made by Anupriya for Kalyani’s elder sister Sampada was also made with affection and Sampada has still kept it safe as a memory.

In the telecasting of the 348th episode of popular Marathi serial ‘Lagir Zala Ji,’ on Zee Marathi channel on 1 June 2018, shows the marriage of lead actor and actress. This episode was entirely dedicated to the Rukhwat custom performance. After a communal marriage, the bride’s (Shital) parents, relatives, and friends bring the Rukhwat at groom’s (Ajay) house with the procession. When Ajay’s aunt opposes the procession by calling this custom old fashioned, his grandmother suggests conserving these traditions as this is our cultural legacy.

Plate 5 Still from Marathi serial ‘Lagira zhala Jee’

When Rukhwat is brought up to Ajay’s house, all attendees take the pleasure of watching and admiring the preparations. Bride’s cousin gives its credit to all the other sister and friends of Shital. One of the relatives insists the bride’s mother-in-law say Ahana aka Ukhanā. The groom’s mother is upset with the simple and inexpensive arrangement and insults the bride’s family by demanding car and necklace in poetic verse (Ukhana) as:

\[ \text{Ālā ālā rukhavata tyāta hōtī katyāra} \quad \text{Here comes the rukhwat it had a dagger} \]
\[ \text{navarā mulagā māgatōya navī kōrī mōṭāra} \quad \text{the groom demands brand new car} \]

The bride’s sister replies to this with another Ukhana as

\[ \text{Ālā ālā rukhavata daṇṭalī cāndavaḍī} \quad \text{here comes the rukhwat and} \]
\[ \text{it thrashed the Chandwadi} \]
\[ \text{dilī asatī mōṭāra paṇa vāṭa āhē khadabaḍī} \quad \text{we could offer a car,} \]
\[ \text{but the roads are improper and rough} \]

After that mother-in-law again demands necklace in the name of groom’s grandmother as

\[ \text{Ālā ālā rukhavata Tyāta āhē khēlanyāṭīla kāra} \quad \text{here comes the rukhwat and} \]
\[ \text{it has toy cars} \]
\[ \text{āni navaryā mulācī ājjī māgatē sōn’yācā hāra} \quad \text{and the grandmother of the groom} \]
\[ \text{demands the gold necklace} \]

Such lengthy reciprocation goes on and later settles down after making fun out of it.

Both these television shows come under Drama, which itself put into the possibility of exaggeration. Though it is an actual manifesto and exploration, no satisfactory and formal explanation is given. E.g., in ‘Lagir Zala Ji’ is the serial based on region Satara district of Maharashtra. They use the dialect of Marathi where ‘Ukhana’ or ‘Ahana’ is pronounced as ‘Aana.’ One can explore the topic through the medium of the documentary film, but it has limitation to show the text content from historical and mythological books.
The book People of India: Maharashtra part 1 and 2 (2004) has some traces about the Rukhwat custom in various castes of Maharashtra. Marathi book Lagnvidhi va Sohale written by Narayan Keshav Aloni has contributed by speaking on Marathi wedding rituals and mentioned about the presence of rukhwat and how or what to make for the preparation. But although the focused study and research about the background and inheritance of this ritual are still not carried out. There is a lot more possibility to join all the instances to align the array of ritual’s legacy. In a plethora of wedding rituals, this particular ritual remains unexplained, though the more substantial chunk of this discussion, i.e., Gifting in marriage ceremony has been explored quite in advance. In a classic work ‘The Gift (1990)’ the French sociologist Marcel Mauss explains the theories of gift exchange and reciprocity. Another French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss Gifts could be ‘vehicles and instruments for realities of another order; to show influence, power, sympathy, status, emotion; and the skillful game of exchange consists of a complex totality of maneuvers, conscious and unconscious, in order to get security and to fortify one’s self against risk incurred through alliances and rivalry’ (Levi-Strass 1996: 19). All these parameters are inevitable while studying the rukhwat ritual. As no book is available on the thoroughly focusing on the rukhwat, editing and designing a book can be a first progressive step towards learning about this theme.

2.4. Ethnographic approach

Ethnography is the study of culture. The Greek word ‘Ethno’ means folk or culture, and the word ‘grapho’ means writing. It simply means ‘writing about culture.’ This concept is often associated with the anthropologist Brainislaw Malinowsky who has produced the book, ’Argonauts of the Western Pacific’ which is often hailed as the first ethnography. This book is about the complex gift-giving activities of these islanders. Through detailed description and then explanations, Malinowsky proved how the everyday behavior of people brought life to the culture. The individual may not be really aware of his importance and place in the overall cultural systems; he may be performing his role in the relative ignorance of the whole broader social trends. Sam Ladner (2014) guides in the chapter ‘Using Theory in Ethnography’ about how to overcome the fear of checking the validity of the truth of written documents. He uses the word ‘verisimilitude.’ According to him, Gender, economic class,
and the race are the roles of identity people perform with varying degree of success. Gender roles affect how we perceive the product, what association and choice we make in the interaction. It is Ethnographer’s job to explain the system. Using the lens of Gender role means focusing on the process of ideal behavior of women or men. The second dynamic identity of the role is an economic class that we perform in social events. The economic discrimination is not always based on the wealth, but the socially created meaning which is negotiated argued or resisted. The third and last dynamic identity role is race or ethnicity. This parameter is arbitrary and complex to portray. We may also comprehend the fact that all these identities intersect in an ethnographic study. To empirical research about the concept of culture, he put forward a framework of the roadmap in the journey of ethnography as values, beliefs, and behavior.

2.5. **Book Design Approaches**

The word book is originated from old English word bok means ‘beech tree,’ which literally mean board for writing. Books have a long history of more than 4000 years, and the first book designers were Egyptian scribes who wrote on papyrus sheets. In the book making the process, the designer performs the role of shaping the physical nature, visual appearance, and positioning all the elements on the page. The designer selects the size, layout, format, typography, and binding in the book designing process. The designer also decides the illustrations, photography, and other graphic elements. For the theme of rukhwat, some earlier work related to book design on the cultural ethnography, customs and rituals, Indian women, Indian marriage rituals, etc. are studied based on the layout and composition aspects.
2.5.1. Women and rituals (Book covers)

Plate 6 Set of book covers on the topic women and rituals
2.5.2. Hindu Rituals (Book covers)

Plate 7 Set of book covers on the topic Hinduism and rituals
2.5.3. **Sample text layouts:** Samples for lines, illustrations and images used in layouts.

- **Marriages in Indian Society** by Prakash Chandra Mehta
- **Women in Ochre Robes** by Meena Khandelwal
- **Women's Lives, Women's Rituals in the Hindu tradition** by Tracy Pintchman
- **The Roots of Hinduism: The Early Aryans and the Indus Civilization** by Asko Parpola
- **Hindu rites and Rituals** by K. V. Singh
- **Vivahsohala ani Rukhwatache Padarth** by Mangala Barve
After reviewing the book cover designs on women and rituals, the color palette which widely used is black, grey, yellow, amber, Vermillion, and crimson. The books on Hinduism and society use earthen colors like shades of brown, red, green, and yellow. For the documents related to women, the picture of woman performing an act or the image of her hands is mainly shown on the other side to indicate the Hindu the portrayal of social ceremonies or events is used as the front cover. Uppercase letters and medium to heavy typefaces are widely used for the title and positioned mainly in the upper half of the cover page whereas the author’s name is at any position suitable to the composition. Titles are placed on solid background colors to avoid the visual clutter and improve readability.
Plate 9 Body text from the book ‘The Vivāha, the Hindu Marriage
Saṁskāras’ by Bhaiyārām Śarmā

For the interior layouts, single column grid is very often preferred. Illustrations are not majorly in practice, but one or two lines in horizontal or vertical directions are used on the first page of each new chapter. To depict mythological content illustrations are the better choice, but photographs are used otherwise on a large scale for explaining social content. Running heads usually describe the chapter name, and page number are written in the footer section. The text from another language is written using its actual script, diacritic, and the meaning in English. For this project, many times, the content is borrowed from Marathi, so it is necessary to document it using this style of writing.
3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Photography as a research method

The camera is an instrumental extension of our senses that can record on a low scale of abstraction. The important aspect of these records is that though it can be edited the impartial process of camera’s vision always contains a sufficient number of nonverbal truths for its audience to form concepts and reconstruct the schematic reality in social thinking. The special asset of photography that makes it a great value to anthropology is its ability to record precise material reality. It is different than the fieldworker’s notebook where information is collected and preserved in literal code. Instead, Photography collects specific information which has qualified and contextual relationship, which is most often missing in the written notes. These documents can be filed, duplicated, enlarged, cropped, and scientifically processed for statistical analysis. Capturing good ethnographic photograph depends on the subject matter of study. For the recordings of events, ceremonies, interactions require skill to observe the field by both distant and close photography that increases contextual information. Ideally, that demands the sequences of photographs to maintain temporal flow. (Collier & Collier 1986) The decision of color or black and white images should be taken based on the requirement of the research topic.

In his exceptional work, The Study of Man, Linton (1936) offers a functional theoretical framework to study behaviors. This framework in the field of Ethnography unarguably notes that people who follow and resist to follow the rules, and who does which and at when tells us information about a culture. He categorizes the concept of behavior into four types- universal, specialties, alternatives, and peculiarities. The theme rukhwat would fit into this framework as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavior</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example (rukhwat)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Universal</td>
<td>What everyone ‘should’ do</td>
<td>Arrangement of rukhwat in Marathi weddings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialties</td>
<td>What some roles (e.g., rich people) do</td>
<td>Pre-wedding photographs, electronic gadgets for lavish rukhwat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternatives</td>
<td>What some people do within the realm of ‘personal taste’ but not the ideal</td>
<td>Particular things like book’s exhibition as rukhwat or display of childhood memories as trophy collection, photos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peculiarities</td>
<td>What only ‘strange’ people do</td>
<td>Demanding for a toilet as rukhwat, rukhwat for homemaking game (Bhatukali), not having rukhwat in inter-caste or inter-religious marriages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Theoretical framework for behaviour related to Rukhwat

To validate this expected framework for the rukhwat theme, the pieces of evidence in the form of text, images, and interviews were necessary. The collection methods were categorized into two parts:

A. Theoretical Data Collection: through archives, books, journals, blogs, etc.

B. Fieldwork Data collection: on the sight of makers, markets, and performers.

3.1.1. Theoretical Data collection:

3.1.1.1. Keyword Selection:

As the word, rukhwat is a Marathi regional word, the possibility of finding the details about it in the database is less. So the list of following related or associated keywords is made to search the precise data.

Keywords: rukhwat, rukhawat, aandan, aaher, ukhana, ahana, mhani, phrases, proverbs, gift, gift-giving, gift-exchange, marriage ceremony, lagn, vivah, vidhi, sohala, rituals, custom,
practices, beliefs, marriage, Hindu, Hinduism, culture, folk culture, folk lore, folk ballads, folk songs, lok sahitya, lok gite, caste, class, religion, dalit, magas varg, samaj, varna, dharm, shared space, event, event space, hall, exhibition, display, dowry, stridhan, women, social life, society, sociology, social problems, social norms, Paurohitya, history, literature, Marathi saints, women poetess and their work, Sarojini Babar, Mahadamba, Dhavale, Saint Chokha, V. K. Rajawade, Historians, Rulers, Expeditions, Shivakal, Bakhar, Peshwa, Peshwai, Colonial period life, Eknathpurv kal, manusmriti, mahanubhav, Rukmini swayanvar, gatha saptashati, Marathi literature, Marathi land and people, Lok sanskriti, Lok jivan, Maharashtra, medieval Maharashtra, Indian rituals, Bhartiya sanskriti, Marathi shabdkosh, Bhartiya shabdkosh, Parsi shabdkosh.

**Expected outcome:** The written documents for the lexical resource, Mythological references, historical pieces of evidence of the ritual in the ancient and medieval period, social customs and marriage practices in Maratha warrior and king Shivaji’s period, Peshwa period, British period and in the modern age. The variations in the act of performing this ritual based on caste, class, and region of Maharashtra. Documents are revealing the legacy of passing techniques and methods to teach the next generation about the customs. Documents to clear the ambiguity between rukhwat and other gift exchanges like bride price and dowry. Associations of meanings and beliefs about performing the rituals.

### 3.1.1.2. Photographs collection:

Very often, people have photographs of the rukhwat which of their own marriage or attended events. The second approach is to ask and collect these photographs through digital or social media for further study.

**Expected outcome:** Photographs of the rukhwat display, Couple’s interaction with the rukhwat, attendee’s interaction with the rukhwat, photo of space arrangements. Video footage of these events.

**Contact Sheet:** See Appendix I
3.1.2. **Fieldwork Data collection:**

3.1.2.1. **Photography of Rukhwat making:**
To visit the artisan’s place to document the rukhwat making process, first, the researcher has to figure out such locations or shops. Visiting such sites with a camera to have photographic data. The questionnaire has to be made to understand the artisan’s work on the parameters of what why and how the making process is carried out.

**Expected Outcome:** Description about artisan’s role in the process, the procedure, information about raw material, and planning of the work, the involvement of other artisans, work experience details, their belief, and opinions.

**Contact Sheet:** See Appendix II

3.1.2.2. **Market of Rukhwat:**
This expects to visit the market area or shop to understand the socio-economical aspect, shop owner’s experience, their study about market demands, preferences in buying the goods from wholesalers, review of customer’s expectations, future scope.

**Expected outcome:** The outcome should consist of details about the consumerization of these artifacts, Photographs of seller customer interactions, images of the arrangement of items in the shop’s space, details about marketing and advertising.

**Contact sheet:** See Appendix III

3.1.2.3. **Arrangement of Rukhwat at the Event:**
This includes to visit the event place and to document the space arrangement for the display of rukhwat and to document the roles and relations of participants in the act of arrangement, the decisions and thoughts while rearrangements, gender-based work distribution and interactions of people to the display.
Expected Outcome: Pictorial database to show the temporal flow of the rukhwat arrangement. Images of items included and their alignment in the space — images of people interacting to the rukhwat exhibition.

Contact Sheet: See Appendix IV

3.1.3. Tools used:

Camera Nikon D5200 50mm and D750 35mm, Diary.


3.2. Book Design:

This section talks about the book design and layout processes, decision, and thoughts behind the refinements and selections of different aspects of the book.

Page setup: The primary step in book designing with Adobe InDesign CC 2017 involves the page layout setup. For book design, deciding a grid is a crucial step. A grid breaks space or time into equal and regular units. Multicolumn grid provides flexibility and integrates the text and illustrations or images. More columns offer more flexible format. To anchor all elements into a common rhythm, baseline grid is used. (Ellen Lupton 2004)

Page setup for the final layout is as follows.
Plate 10 Page setup window of InDesign 2017 CC
3.2.1. **Layout 1:**

For the first layout, the Frutiger, which is a Humanist sans-serif typeface designed by the Swiss type designer Adrian Frutiger is used. Frutiger is available in many variants and weights, as well as it has excellent legibility for small text too. It has a clean, modern and distinct look. The different fonts have a 12 pt baseline, and the text has left alignment. The trade paperback book size anywhere from 5.5” x 8.5” (a size that’s called digest) to 6” x 9” (also known as US trade) is preferred as it is go-to paperback size range for many novels or memoirs.
Review:

Book cover in grey scale does not justify with the rukhwat’s other colorful images and hence creates a contradiction. The color palette suitable to the content and database images would be preferable. Text layout will suit for the poetic content but not for the content heavy discussion. The weight of a font is high and need to minimize.

3.2.2. Layout 2:

Keeping the suggestions in review one in focus, the next layout is designed with changing typeface selection, grid, and different book cover design. The document has seven chapters and to relate it with the context of a wedding, the concept of ‘Saptpadi’ (Seven footprints on the floor using wet vermillion) is used. With each following chapter, the alignment of the footprint is placed ahead of the previous as if it leads to the next. The book size is changed to A5 to accommodate all the low quality images which are collected through social media. The
combination of multiple fonts creates visual diversity, so there’s no point choosing two that are broadly identical. In fact, the more similar they are, the more likely they will clash. Equally, two very different fonts could be in danger of pulling your design in opposite directions. So when it comes to font combinations, the golden rule is compliment or contrast, but never conflict. (Collins 2018) After trying combinations of Futura, Gill Sans and Helvetica with Palatino linotype and Baskerville, the combination of Gill sans (Heading and folio) and Palatino linotypes (body text) is finalized.
Book Size: A5

Pages: Approx. 100

Font: Gill Sans medium 24/30 for the chapter title

Gill Sans medium 8/12 for the running heads and footer

Palatino Regular 10/12 for the body text

Paper: matte finish 120/ 170 GSM

Cover: 250 GSM

Binding technique: Perfect binding

Grid and page layouts:
Introduction

Situated in the western part, Maharashtra happens to be the third largest state. On its west Maharashtra is bounded by the Arabian Sea, Madhya Pradesh to its north, Gujarat to its northwestern, Telangana, and Andhra Pradesh to its east, Karnataka in to south. The state is 567,738 sq. km in area. Being the second most populous sub-national entity on the earth and also amongst all Indian states, Maharashtra’s estimated population in 11.60 Crores in 2020 according to World Population Review.

Maharashtra population is heterogeneous in the demographic aspect, and according to Pravin Karve, the anthropologist from Maharashtra, non-immigrants happened to the Devarakandra of India. Very first was the Udravahar, to also have been populated from the north-west part of India got settled in the central Maharashtra. For the second immigration, he writes, “There is a new immigrant long-headed population in north Maharashtra which seems to have come from north-central India.”

By inference, the people of Maharashtra is supposed to have emerged around thirty to fifty thousand B.C. or less. The earliest
Review: The leading of text needs to increase for the better readability. A5 size book could be justifying for the quality print of photos collected from social media. But the size looks compact. Also, the theme photos have a lavish display so that the bigger images will give better visibility. The square size book will be more aesthetically suitable as the book contains more pictures inside. Illustrations look large on the plain page. The strokes of the typeface used for the title on the cover page seems straight and blockish. The chapter should have numbers on the content page. It is suggested to change the paragraph style.

3.2.3. Layout 3:
The book size is changed which tends to square shape. The typeface of cover page is selected among Baskerville, Salmela script and Gilroy bold. Chapter numbers are included. Two vertical bars are used in the running heads to enclose the chapter name as it widely used in Marathi mythological books. M-space indent paragraph style with keeping first line non-indentated is used for this layout.

Book Size: 7” by 8”

Pages: Approx. 120

Font: Gill Sans medium 24/30 for the chapter title

Gill Sans medium 8/14 for the running heads and footer

Palatino Linotype Regular 10/14 for the body text

Title typeface: Butler bold 68 pt

Paper: matte finish 120/ 170 GSM

Cover: 250 GSM

Binding technique: Perfect binding
RUKHWAT
The Sociological Change in Practices

Dhanashree Hindlekar

Book cover design 3
Introduction

Situated in the western part, Maharashtra happens to be the third largest state. On its west Maharashtra is bordered by the Arabian Sea, Madhya Pradesh to its north side, Gujarat to its northwestern, Telangana, and Chhattisgarh to its east, Karnataka to its south. It's area is 3.8733 sq. Kms in area being the second most populous sub-national entity on the earth and also among all the Indian states. Maharashtra's estimated population is 130.61 crores in year 2017 according to World Population Review. Maharashtra population is heterogeneous in the biological aspect, and according to B. R. Ambedkar, one of the prominent anthropologists from Maharashtra, two immigrations happened before, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. Very first was mesolithic to low-brachycephalic people originated from the north-east part of India got settled in the central Maharashtra. For the second migration, it notes, "There is a new immigrant long-haired population in north Maharashtra which seems to have came from north-central India."
3.3. **Post-Process:**

3.3.1. **Image Color Correction:**

The raw camera format is imported into Adobe Photoshop 2017 CC and set to the correct aspect ratio. Later the image is processed without permanently altering the original information from the image. Later, using adjustment layers, the images are corrected for the exposure to avoid the extra white and black value, and perfect tonal value.

![Plate 11 Color correction window in Adobe Photoshop 2017 CC](image)

3.3.2. **Printing:**

The project’s last phase is to come up with tangible output as a printed book. This phase requires repetitive print samples to check some technical parameters as:

3.3.3. **CMYK Profile for output:**

How do you optimize artwork for all different kinds of papers? Standard CMYK inks have been tested on all these different paper to the extreme. Select the color profile when you export a PDF using InDesign (Export → Output → Color Conversion & Destination).
3.3.4. Dmax:
How black is black? It is a unit or measure of the deepest black tone a printer/ink/paper combination can reproduce. Print with poor Dmax looks pale and weak. The glossy paper produces blacker black than matte paper.

3.3.5. Matte vs. Glossy
Matte papers have a texture like those used for painting – a look and tactile experience that is absent in plain photo papers. Matte paper reflects less but may pose shine in a motif too. Matte paper is printed with matte black inks to result in uniform blackening. Manufacturers such as Hahnemühle also offer glossy (Barytas) papers, which cover all tastes in high-gloss, semi-glossy or pearlescent. Glossy papers have a higher reflectivity than matte and are printed on with Photo Black ink. This creates more deep blacks and bold colors combined with the desired degree of gloss. In short, for pictures that are subtle and touching, select matte papers.
4. DISCUSSION

I found the research work to be rewarding because developing the written document on the practices followed by the large population has to be examined and the all the references which were present in the literature in bits and pieces need to be edited on the common platform like a book. Although I have been associated with rukhwat practices for several years, a formal study and fieldwork for six months were undertaken while working on this project. During the fieldwork, tools of data collection were used, such as photographic evidence collection, informal conversations with individuals, and in groups. The friendly conversations allowed to surface the subjective experiences of the performers and how they shaped and created a meaningful experience in the context while being interviewed.

I found photographic images and video clips more valuable than ‘records of material reality or documents that can be filed’ (Collier and Collier 1986). In fact, camera as a vital mode of data capture and transmission is increasingly being used in social science research; photographs are an unarguably important source data that can be both illustrative and self-explanatory. I found that it provided me easy access to expressions and gestures that can be viewed, processed without damaging the original source and copied on a number of different platforms several times to explore and interpret their proper meaning. For me, the camera is not only a source for capturing the moments of reality but also an instrument of objective observation. It helped me to view the fact from the perspective of the subject of research, focusing my attention in a proper angle that led me to develop a ‘skilled vision’ to aid my research.

In the course of documenting such cultural behaviors, I realized that, in the modern and rapidly changing world, the rukhwat culture would alter without leaving behind any trace of its original meanings. No one from future generations will ever understand the importance and legacy of this custom; the practices of ancestors and the treasure of folk literature associated with this custom. Certainly, this ritual will not be performed in the future the way it is performed today. Therefore, I thought it essential to preserve the images as records of material reality.
4.1. My role as a researcher and ethical considerations:
Having prepared myself for the study and the fieldwork, I entered the field with an unbiased mind and kept myself flexible with the varied opinions of people around the topic. This has helped me to study the facts freely without anticipating anything and to accept every occurrence of comprehension as it comes. To avoid familiarity about my personal opinions towards the research, I consciously viewed all documents or evidences from the records entirely in a new way. Initially, it was difficult to drop those presumptions, but after reading the books and journals thoroughly, I could get over it. Many participants did not understand the meaning and purpose of research and sometimes even hesitated to share the information. Finally, I had to explain to them calmly that I am collecting the data for my college assignment. I gained their confidence, especially while interacting with the shopkeepers; that was a great asset all through my research in fieldwork. As a researcher, it was my duty to ask for the consent while interviewing or capturing any image form the participants and not to assume or take them for granted. As the replication of any craft is possible in this project, getting photographs from the shops was a difficult task. In many shops, I got negative feedback, and people were reluctant to even speak on this. But introducing the concept in various manners; by respecting the decisions of people and promising them to not to violate any confidential data, I managed to gather the records.

4.2. Future Scope:
As far as considering the first attempt of developing adequate written records on the subject matter in the stipulated time, the research is partially completed. The more unknown facts can be studied in the future by interacting more number of performers. One can witness the events in large numbers to quantify and analyze the act more in detail. Rukhwat also touches the paradigm of ‘memories and possessions’ which is not discussed in this thesis. The book can be an efficient source to introduce the ritual and its importance to the people who blindly perform the customs without knowing the history behind it. It can also be included as a part of the rukhwat itself. It is expected to use and create awareness about the ritual and to indicate the soft protest towards the concept of hidden dowry.
4.3. Learnings:

The thesis project progressed through various approaches and finally reached at an experience of the book on ‘Rukhwat The Sociological Change in Practices.’ When the project began with content search and photographs collection, I reviewed a good number of thesis and journals written on the social history of Maharashtra and Marathi people on databases like Shodhganga and Open library for books; Ethnographic researcher’s work and book designs on visual ethnography. While studying about Maharashtra, I came across the research work of experts like Iravati Karve, V. K. Rajwade, Pandit Mahadevshastri Joshi, Enthoven R. E., Dr. Sarojini Babar. Their books are the remarkable work in this field, and understanding Ethnography of Maharashtra without referring the writings of these scholars remains incomplete. Meeting with people who are strangers to me while studying their environment and their area of strength showed me a new path of exploration. Meanwhile, I got an opportunity to visit Dnyan Prabodhini, Pune, where people selflessly work in the domain of social and spiritual development. The journey was quite exciting as I crossed lanes in Charni Road, Mumbai, Chhabildas Road, Dadar and communicated with people.

Data collection method introduced me to some aspects of Ethnography and its realm for the study of society and their social behaviors. This field empathizes with the people and suggests a number of ways to improve our understanding and knowledge about people and their habits of living. Coming to the final approach, Book Design, I learned the basics of typography, grids, layout, and printing. I realized the researching about content would be worth if it gets served to the audience through the apt medium. And to identify the aesthetic beauty as well as functionality in the book design, I reviewed many books and the designer’s work, their new trials and attempts. This helped me to improve my compositional skills, understanding of grid and layout system, and how to previsualize.
5. CONCLUSION

The pursuance to know the legacy of rukhwat custom with several unorganized queries and questions about etymology, history, inheritance, traditional as well as socio-economic importance. Except for the few sporadic references, hardly any scholarly literature could be found on this tradition of gift-giving. Realizing this reality, it was decided to undertake an ethnographic study of this ritual performance. These initial questions formed the base for formulating the objective of the study and the research questions. Study of references from historical and mythological literature, informal conversation and solicited and unsolicited interviews at market area and the actual event photography were used as tools of data collection. From the literature review, I could collect the etymological and historical pieces of evidence which helped me to understand their traditional and newly acquired meanings; analyse the change in terms of myths, beliefs and practices; describe their socio-economical form in society, role and identities in kinship system; and examine the nature and functioning based on caste, class and regional variations.

This project work sheds light on the fact that how it is different from the illegal dowry system as this gift-giving is not demanded or imposed on the bride’s party and the objects of rukhwat have less monetary value rather than dowry as well as cash is not a part of this system. Creating a book on this theme is an attempt to document the wedding ritual which has around 800 years of historical background and still having no such focused study on it. Through this, it is expected to understand the practice in its very original form and preserve it against any modern misleading alteration.
6. REFERENCES


