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## HIMACHAL PRADESH

A Village Survey of

### **MAINGAL**

(Chamba Tehsil, Chamba District)

Field Investigation and draft

*by*

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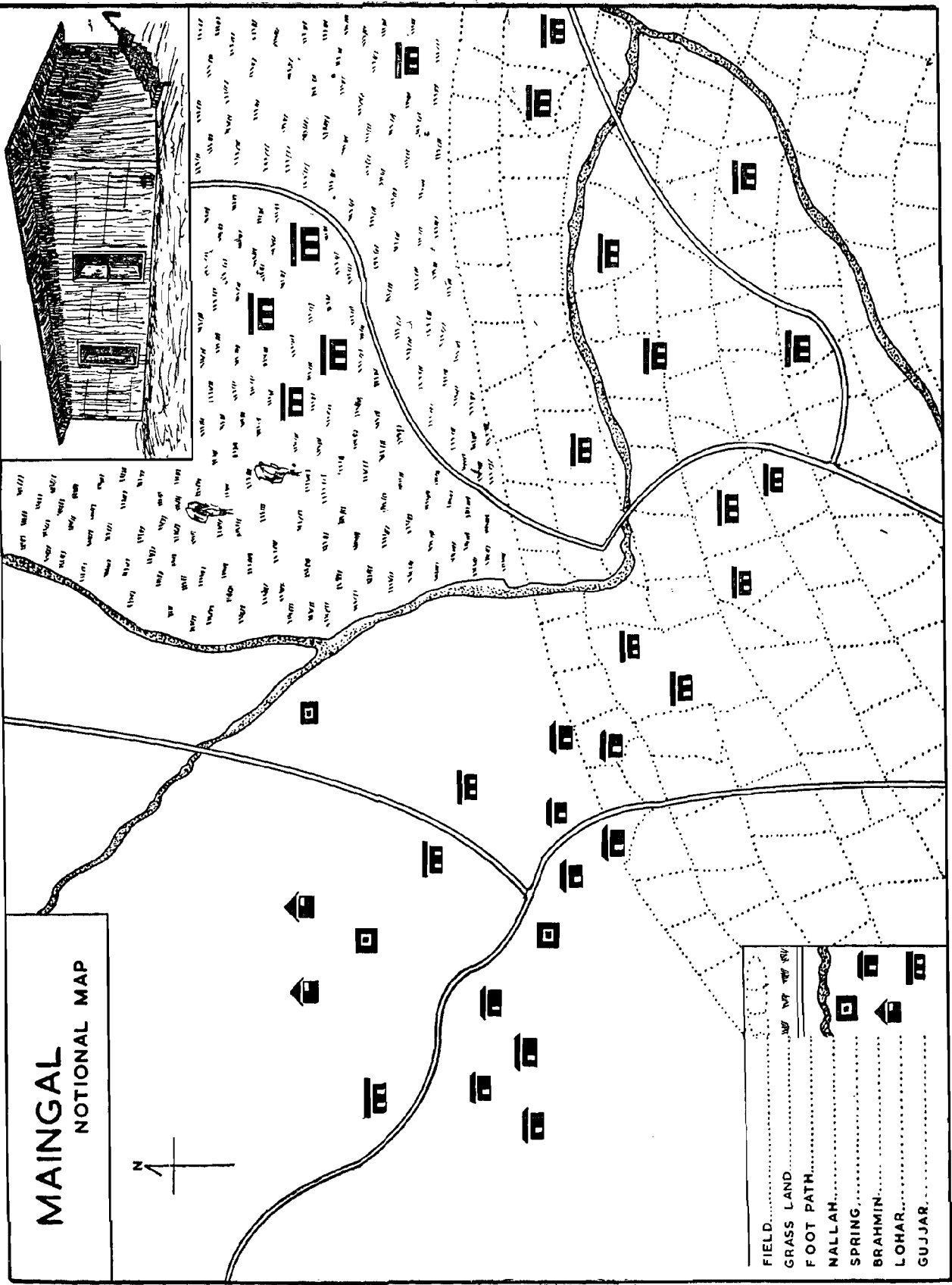
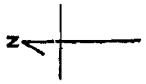
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# MAINGAL NOTIONAL MAP



- FIELD.....
- GRASS LAND.....
- FOOT PATH.....
- NALLAH.....
- SPRING.....
- BRAHMIN.....
- LOHAR.....
- GUJJAR.....

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## FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this subcontinent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of Indian life sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to their conclusions. In a country largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple thing as age was liable to be inaccurate, an understanding of the social structure was essential. It was more necessary to attain a broad understanding of what was happening around oneself than to wrap oneself up in statistical 'ingenuity' or mathematical manipulation. This explains why the Indian Census came to be interested in many by-paths and nearly every branch of scholarship, from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion.

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralization on the one hand and decentralization on the other, my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive: the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

A brief account of the tests of selection will help to explain. A minimum of thirty-five villages was to be chosen with great care to represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnic diversity. Of this minimum of thirty-five, the distribution was to be as follows:

(a) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, e.g., fishermen, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(b) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500-700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extra-mural rigours of the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others' was an 'extra' over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September, 1959 the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record in situ of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet; dress; ornaments and foot-wear; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended; worship of deities; festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March 1960 by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September, 1959 conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, moveable and immoveable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership, and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel; to approach, qualitative change through statistical quantities. It has been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusion', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the Census count itself was left behind in March, 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May, 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June, 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November, 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December, 1961 when the whole

field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve; to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to the most fruitful single source of information about the country.' Apart from other features; it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation.

New Delhi  
July 30, 1964.

**ASOK MITRA**  
Registrar General, India





## PREFACE

After a lot of touring and survey of over a dozen villages an idea struck into my mind that in our monograph series there is not much information about the Gujjar Community who are Scheduled as a tribe in Himachal Pradesh. As Deputy Commissioner, Chamba I had gathered enough impressions about these people and I had some idea where to find them in sizeable number. Lots of them migrate to hill tops during summer and they are back to warmer valleys during the winter months with all their paraphernalia. I had observed these people in different seasons and was almost obsessed to study them. This was, therefore, an opportunity and to omit Gujjars from study for the scope of the surveys to me something missing. Thus choice was Maingal-a small village situated at a distance of about 24 Kms. from Chamba.

The village is predominantly inhabited by Muslim Gujjars. Their study with other castes living in the village would afford an opportunity to reveal certain aspects of life which gives an idea how they live and behave together. Set the routine strifes and scuffles on petty matters aside, they live as a closely knit unit and are useful to each other at the times of need. We have tried to give as much information as we possibly could about the social and cultural life of the villagers.

After the preliminary survey I had the occasion to visit the village. My impressions about the changes and development in these remoter parts of the District are not pleasant to those who have been entrusted the duty of doing some constructive work in the rural areas. There is not even the basic facility of providing water to the villagers much less to speak of any development. People do not remember having ever seen any official except the Patwari. However, it was casually rumoured around that a water supply scheme was proposed by the Block Development Department some ten years ago and in the distant past some one had taken the measurements of the scheme, but no one knew what had happened to this project.

Gujjars are a happy and contented lot. They live in a world of their own. Their life cycle whirls around rearing up buffaloes and all they want is unrestricted pasture lands. They have not got any desire to send their children to schools and the fast changing world around them has no meaning to them. They look ever the same and none among them appeared to evince interest in the development of their community. They are so simple that a poorly literate Moulvi influences them and moulds them to his own thinking which will take them no where. Lately a Gujjar colony scheme was launched in Sahu village which is about 10 Kms. from Maingal just across the ridge and the Welfare Department had persuaded some Gujjars to settle in the newly constructed houses. But it was learnt that no

one ever came to live in these houses. They are practically static more so economically and are mostly exploited by the business community in Chamba.

I would like to convey my warm gratitude to all those who rendered useful co-operation in bringing out this monograph.

I hope this little piece of work like others will come upto the expectations of the lovers of the Census Publications.

Boswell  
Simla.

**RAM CHANDRA PAL SINGH**

# 1. THE VILLAGE

## Introduction

Maingal is a small hilly village 24 kms. from Chamba the District Headquarters. Upto four miles, the road runs parallel to Sahu stream. The village can be approached upto sixth mile-stone by a jeep. The onward journey of nine miles is on a dusty bridal path with a gradual ascent right upto the village.

On the way one has to pass Chambi, Gulaira, Jadaira and Shilaghrat villages. At the edge of the road on Jadaira, there is a Government Fruit Nursery comprising of about 2 acres where apple plants are propagated. A nice neglected but pretty little P.W.D. Rest House and a Panchayat-ghar are located in Shilaghrat.

The village is composed of many small hamlets. These are Bhalala, Bhooloo, Galoo, Gandera, Kayada, Maingal, Malog, Manaita, Manait, Manaiti, Ragnal, Dapaytha-got, and Tritha. Only Maingal has a concentration of six houses. The rest of the hamlets have two or one house each. Area within the village boundaries is known as Maingal Mohal. In fact, scattered houses are found in whole of the Shila Valley.

## Grounds for Selection

The village is predominantly inhabited by Muslim-Gujjars. These have been classified as belonging to Scheduled Tribes in Himachal Pradesh. Though Gujjars are nomadic, but here they own land and houses.

## History of the Village

It is generally believed that Gaddi Brahmins were the first settlers in this village. The Muslim-Gujjars penetrated in this area during the last three or four generations. Gradually these managed to acquire landed property and now have become the

permanent residents of Maingal. The village elders could not give clue to the past history of the village. Nor could they tell us as to how the village derived its name. Therefore, much reliance has to be placed upon the history of the village as available in the revenue records, This runs as:—

शजरा नसब मालकान बन्दोवस्त कानूनी मुहाल मंगल नम्बर हहवस्त 250 चक तसकीस पर्वत तेहसील व जिला चम्बा—  
1. बुनियाद हसूल हकीमत व तकसीम अवलोन जमीन । यह जमीन बसे पहले सदा ब्राह्मण को राजा से इस कारण मिली कि राजा ने हवन के लिये पण्डित बुलवाए । हवन का काम शुरू करने पर पण्डितों ने हवन के लिये आग मंगवाई । इस पर सला ब्राह्मण ने दूसरे पण्डितों को कहा कि हवन में आग खुद बखुद लगनी चाहिये । राजा ने आज्ञा दी कि यदि और पण्डित इस कार्य में असमर्थ हैं तो तुम डालो । सला ने मन्त्रों द्वारा हवन में आग डाल द । प्रसन्न होकर राजा ने दान दिया—अब हम सब जमीन पर काबिज चले आ रहे हैं—दिवर मालकान ने बाद में अराजी वजरिया नोतोड़ हासिल करी ।

2. बिनाये देह में वजहा तसमीयां—क्योंकि जो हवन इस सला नाम पण्डित ने किया उसमें आग मंगलवार को पड़ी इसलिये जो शपान उस ब्राह्मण को मिश्र वह मंगलवार को मिला—इस वास्ते मंगलवार का विगड़ते-विगड़ते मंगल नाम देह का पड़ गया—

## English Version

Genealogical history of the landlords of Maingal, Revenue village No. 250, Tehsil and District Chamba as available in revenue records.

1. Original acquisition, rights and distribution of the land.

First of all the land was donated by the Rajha to a Brahmin, Sala by name. The Rajha sent for some priests to perform a *hawan*.

Before the commencement of the *hawan*, the priests asked for the fire to lit the *hawan*. On this, Sala Brahmin asked the *pandits* that fire should be produced with the help of *mantra*. Hearing this, the Rajha said "If other priests are unable to perform the feat, let Sala Brahmin do it." With the help of *mantras*, Sala invoked fire to lit the *hawan*. Rajha was pleased to see it and donated some land to Sala. Since then he is in possession of the land. Later, the other owners got the land after acquiring nautors.

## 2. How the village acquired its name?

The *hawan* was performed on Tuesday after Sala lit the fire. He was also granted land on Tuesday. Therefore, the village came to be known as Maingal, a corruption of the word *Mangal*—meaning Tuesday.

There is no fort in the vicinity of the village. From the revenue history of the village, one can safely gather that the Gujjars did not put their feet on the soil of Maingal first. The village was first inhabited by a Brahmin family.

## Physical Aspects

The village lies at an elevation of about 7,500'. It is surrounded by forests, gradual spurs and ridges. The mountain which nestles the village is known as Chandi hill. A bird eye view of a portion of Chamba town, towards South-West, can be had from the village.

Down below on both the sides, Shila and Sahu streams flow. They converge at a point about three miles down near Shilaghurat. These are tributaries of Ravi river.

## Rocks

The commonest rock is schist in various forms. These provide stone for house building and roofing slabs of fairly good quality. A sub-crystalline lime stone quarry lies about a furlong away from Shilaghurat. This is now closed. According to a geological expert surveying the area in 1964, iron concentrations are rare. But the possibility of big copper deposits round about, are there. The elderly men also confirmed that people extracted copper for domestic use in the past.

## Soil

Generally the soil is clayey with varying depths. Due to heavy grazing and removal of leaves for manure, the soil is poor around the village.

## Climate and Rainfall

The autumn and winter begin in November and continuous upto March. Snowfall is generally heavy which hinders the out-door work during these months. Average snow-fall is about five feet. The change over from winter to summer is gradual. Even the April, remains cool and snowfall may occur. The climate remains bright and bracing till the break of proper rains in early July, though monsoons usually begin with occasional showers in late June. Upto the end of September, the atmosphere remains humid and the hills are often covered with mists and clouds. The recent heavy rain was during the 1954 monsoons when low lying huts on the bank of Shila stream, were washed away. Occasional rains accompanied with heavy thunders and hail may occur during April and May. Weather is dry and cool during October and November. It often snows as early as middle of October.

Name of the month	1958		1959		1960		1961		1962		1963	
	No. of rainy days	Rainfall	No. of rainy days	Rainfall	No. of rainy days	Rainfall	No. of rainy days	Rainfall	No. of rainy days	Rainfall	No. of rainy days	Rainfall
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
January	5	81.5	8	150.0	4	75.6				34.0		....
February	3	29.6	10	218.8	—	....				96.7		40.2
March	5	97.4	6	8.3	12	178.3				137.7		302.0
April	4	55.0	5	50.5	3	24.3				64.2		69.4
May	3	36.3	2	66.6	1	5.0				41.8		66.3
June	2	59.5	3	33.0	3	15.2				79.3		41.1
July	14	312.6	17	431.0	8	177.8				211.4		258.9
August	10	244.6	12	218.6	15	150.7				214.4		123.8
September	14	287.5	7	147.7	3	23.0				166.4		31.3
October	4	59.6	3	137.0	..	....		45.4		4.4		4.0
November	1	8.9	4	81.3	1	6.0		84.8		88.8		100.6
December	7	187.9	—	....	4	152.5		38.9		36.4		55.0
Total	72	1457.7	77	1618.2	54	808.9						

### Size

The village comprises of a fairly big area with 2034 acres. Out of this, only a small portion of 78 acres is under plough. The details of land under different categories as it stood on 1963-64, in revenue records are:

Area	2,034 acres
Forests	1,064 „
Land put to Non-agriculture uses	44 „
Culturable waste	5 „
Permanent pasture and other grazing lands.	827 „

Current fallow	20 acres
Net area sown	78 „
Total cropped area	95 „
Area sown more than once	17 „

According to our survey, the population is 249 comprising 122 males and 127 females. The density per square mile comes to 77.8 They live in 31 households.

Table below gives the size of households.

### Size of households

No. of Households	2-3 members			4-6 members			7-9 members			10 members & above		
	Households	M	F	Households	M	F	Households	M	F	Households	M	F
31	1	2	1	15	39	38	5	19	22	10	62	66

There is no single member household. For the entire village, the percentage distribution of the 31 households would approximately as:—

Two or three member families	3%
Four to six member families	49%
Seven to nine member families	16%
Ten members and above	32%

The most common type of household is the one having four to six members. Next come the households with ten or more members. The average size of the household in Maingal is with 8 members.

### Communications

The nearest bus stop is at Chamba. It is further connected by a net-work of metalled roads with Dalhousie, Pathankot and Mandi. The road between Chamba and Maingal is not properly maintained. A bus-service of the Himachal Pradesh Government Transport plys between Sahu and Chamba. This has been started to lift the milk of the Gujjars living in Shila and Sahu valleys. Some of the Gujjars from shorter distances are seen carrying milk to Chamba on their heads. The farm produce from the fields or manure to the fields is carried on human backs.

The narrow bridle paths connecting different hamlets and households are not looked after. Any urgent repair required is, at once attended to. Three mile mule road from Shilaghrat to Maingal has been constructed by contributing Shramdan in 1961.

### Post Office

The branch post office is functioning since 22nd January, 1961 at Shilaghrat. The School teacher is working as a part-time postmaster and the mail is delivered daily by a local shopkeeper.

### Market

The most important market is at Chamba where household goods like utensils and clothes are purchased by the people. Two shopkeepers at Shilaghrat also cater to the daily needs for little commodities. The villagers frequently visit these shops.

Some Gujjars from Maingal sell their milk to these two shopkeepers and avoid long journey to Chamba. The shopkeepers convert milk into *khoya* and sell it at Chamba with marginal profit

because the consumption of milk there is negligible. The milk products like butter and ghee are disposed of at Chamba by the Gujjars when sufficient quantity of these have accumulated. These are carried on human backs. The villagers do not have enough farm-produce for marketing. Just to meet daily needs, Gujjars are seen selling eggs to the shopkeepers also.

### Water Sources

The main source of water are two perennial streams Kandoh and Rehain. In different hamlets the villagers fetch water from the nearby springs.

### Water Supply Scheme

A scheme for water supply to Maingal was said to be in hand by the Block Development Département Chamba at a cost of Rs. 10,000. The villagers will contribute in the shape of Shramdan for laying the pipe line. The completion of the scheme will benefit the inhabitants of Maingal, Bhallala, Tritha, Galoo and Dapaytha—got hamlets.

### Graveyard

Muslim Gujjars bury their dead in Kalota grave-yard adjacent to Gandera. To mark the place of burial stones are erected at two ends.

Hindus cremate their dead on the bank of Rehain stream near Gandera. Children below six are, however, buried in a nearby open field.

### Welfare and Administrative Institutions

A primary school for the backward classes was started in the village during 1960-61 by the State Social Welfare Department. Till its shut down in 1963, some children received primary education. Now the school has been shifted to Sanotha village, four miles away.

A Samaj Kalyan Centre has been started at Shilaghrat by the State Social Welfare Department since 1960-61. It remained closed for the year 1963, for want of a Gramsevika. Its main functions are to impart preliminary training in tailoring, reading and writing to the women and girls.

A Government primary school is existing in Shilaghrat since 1960. A new Government building is under construction. At present the school is housed in the Panchayat Ghar.

Maingal falls in Shilaghrat Panchayat Circle. A good Panchayat Ghar surrounded by about 400 apple plants was constructed in 1954-55. It was

constructed from the funds of the Block Development Department and by contributing Shramdan by the villagers. To popularize poultry, a poultry pan was under construction.

A dispensary for the backward classes was opened in Shilghrat by the State Social Welfare Department during 1960-61. It remained closed since 1963 without a compounder.

A veterinary dispensary was opened in Shilghrat in November 1962 by the Veterinary Department, Himachal Pradesh.

#### Flora

The village lies amidst unprotected forest area. Vegetation is thin nearer the habitation. The neighbouring hills are green and beautiful with thick forestation of bushes and pine and oak trees.

Different species of trees are:—

Local name	Botanical name	Utility
1	2	3
Ban	<i>Quercus Incana</i>	The wood is used for building, ploughs and fuel.
Rai	<i>Abies Webbiana</i>	Timber of inferior quality.
Goon	<i>Aesculus indica</i>	For fuel.
Bhuj	<i>Betula Utilis</i>	The wood is hard, tough and elastic used for building purposes. The layers of papers are sometimes in houses.
Dhoop	<i>Vateria Indica</i>	Used for timber and burning in lamps.
Karum	<i>Morus serrata</i>	Fruit relished.
Kalon	<i>Cedrus Deodara</i>	It gives excellent timber.
Kharak	<i>Celtis australis</i>	The leaves are lopped for fodder and wood used for timber. It rots in wet.
Devidyar	<i>Cupressus toruosa</i>	A large evergreen tree, excellent for timber.
Fagoora	<i>Ficus palamta</i>	Wild big fruit not edible. wood used for fuel.
Cheer	<i>Prunus armeniaca</i>	Wild apricot. Fruit edible and oil is extracted from its kernel.
Aru	<i>Prunus persica</i>	Peaches are eaten and oil extracted from its kernel.
Kainth	<i>Pyrus Pashia</i>	A small tree; wood used for walking sticks, combs, tobacco pipes and such other purposes. The fruit is eaten.
Bhang	<i>Cannabissativa</i>	An annual herb, the fibers are used for making ropes. The intoxicating drugs are prepared from the resinous contents of the stems young leaves and flowers.
Khor	<i>Jugnlaus regia</i>	Wood very useful to make musical instruments. Fruit edible.

#### MEDICAL PLANTS

Kikukri	<i>Arisaema helleberi folium</i>	Cobra plant.
Bankakri	<i>Rumex hastatus</i>	..
Thuth	<i>Salvia moororoftiana</i>	..
Kuth	<i>Saussures lappa</i>	..
Smak	<i>Valeriana wallichii</i>	..
Banafsha	<i>Violo odorata</i>	..

Source:—Office of the Forest Range Officer, Chamba, Himachal Pradesh.

**Fauna**

Different elevations, of course, have the effect for various kinds of fauna seen or found. Broadly speaking, the following kind of fauna is found in or around the village:

**BIRDS**

Local name	English name
Baz	Falcon
Chakor	Portridge
Chidi	Sparrow
Eel	Common kite
Ghooghi	.. ..
Greez	Gold eagle
Kawa	Crow'
Maryadi	.. ..
Moorga	Jungle fowl
Pinjoo	.. ..
Taktola	Wood pecker
Tota	Parrot
Ooloo	Owl

**Source:—***Forest Guard, Shilaghrat,  
(Chamba Tehsil)*

**ANIMALS**

Bail	Ox
Ban Billa	Jungle cat
Bander	Monkey
Bhains	Buffaloe
Bhaloo	Bear
Billi	Cat
Brag	Leopard
Cheeta	Panther
Choocha	Field rat
Gai	Cow
Gidar	Fox
Gola	Baboons
Kakad	Barking deer
Karath	Jungle goat
Kirja	Lizard
Kuta	Dog
Lal Bhaloo	Red bear
Lomari	Jackal
Maindak	Frog
Pinja	Gural
Rons	Musk deer
Samp	Snake
Shikroo	Hyena



## 2. THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL CULTURE

### The People

The only dominant caste inhabiting the village is that of muslim-gujjars. They are spread over in 11 hamlets. The other castes which form a fractional part are, Brahmin, Lohars and Rajputs. Muslim Gujjars and Gaddis are treated as Scheduled Tribes in Himachal Pradesh since 1956.

### Muslim Gujjars

Out of 31 households, Gujjars live in 25 households. They number 203 persons 100 males and 103 females. Gujjars often lead a nomadic life. But here they have taken to land and are spread all over the *mohal*. According to "Glory that was of Gurjara desa" by K.M. Munshi—Gujjars had migrated from Gujar Des which once formed a part of Rajasthan and hence came to be called Gujjars.

The origin of the Gujjars has been exhaustively dealt with by Sir Denzil Ibbetson in his book "Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier Province Vol. II". He gives them a Rajput descent. Some of the gotras of Gujjars are similar to those of Hindu Gujjars which suggests a common origin, that is Rajputs.

There is a school of thought that the word Gujar, which is now called Gujjar is nothing but distortion of Groter Kshatriya, a brave and warrior community which won many battles.

In many ancient books, Groter was used for the qualities of a Kshatriya.

These people used to enjoy a title of 'Gorjan' (leader of masses). In Sanskrit the word Gurjar was used and now-a-days Gujjar is used in place of Gurjar which predicts the qualities of a warrior community (Kshatriya Bans Pradip, p. 13-812 Varama Viyavastha Mandal Phuhlera).

**Origin of Gujjar:**—Historians have different views about the origin of Gujjar community.

It is believed that Kshatriya community was destroyed twenty one times by Parshoramji. Such

a terrible destruction resulted in corruption and loss of morale among the masses. After facing all these odds, the Brahmin community, the predecessors of Parshoramji assembled on Mount Abu and performed a big Yajna. And from this Agni Kunda a new Kshatriya community was originated. This community later on was known as Gujjar community. No community, as I believe, can thus be originated but instead it is possible that at the time of Yajna some brave people might have taken an oath to shoulder the responsibility of mass protection.

Pratihar Gujjars and most of other also believe to have descended from Suriyavansi Kshatriyas and connect themselves with Shri Ram Chandra Ji. There is also another view in this connection. In Ujjain Rajputs performed a big Yajna and some Gujjar Rajas accepted to act as Pratihar (protector) of this Yajna.

According to Cunningham Gujjar tribe existed even before the birth of Christ—Gujjars, due to certain unforeseen causes, migrated from Gujarat (Kathiawar) to Northern India and settled in the dense jungles on either side of the Ganga and the Jamuna Rivers. During this period a Gujjar leader took possession of some the areas of Peshawar and Kabul and extended his territory up to the Jehlam river. They inhabited the area spread over from Indus river upto the Ganga and Hajara Hills of Gujarat. Not only that, in the middle of 2nd century A.D. Kaseypura (Multan) was also included under their administration. During the 5th century A.D. they ruled over the south-western part of Rajputana. In ninth century A.D. the Northern and Central part of Rajputana was named Gujarat after Gujjars. The foundation of Gujarat city in W.P. was also laid by a well known Gujjar Gvala Khan during the reign of Akbar. In 10th century A.D. Saharanpur was also known as Gujjar Garh, leaving apart Northern and Central India, they exerted their influence over Bundel Khand as well as South India. But unfortunately their decline commenced in 10th century A.D.

According to Roshandin Kazi of Maingal, Muslim-Gujjars are the converts from Hindus during

Aurangzeb rule. Originally they belonged to Jaipur. They took buffalo rearing as their main occupation. During their pastoral life, they spread all over the Northern India edging the Himalayan hills. Subsequently they entered the Jammu territory. It is from here that they penetrated into Chamba District, a close neighbour of Jammu. Roshandin further said that his ancestors were from Jammu. During the course of wandering, his father settled in Sahu about 12 miles away. He was asked to settle in Maingal by his father-in-law, Alladitta of Maingal. Alladitta migrated from Bhadarwah in Jammu and took some land from a Zamindar of Gandera and settled here. He has many sons who now live separately in other hamlets of Maingal.

Alamgir has another interesting story to tell. He speaks of his ancestors hailing from Rajputana and links them with a famous legend of Dullaha-Bhatti-wala, a love story. After roaming, his ancestors migrated to Jammu. Alamgir's great-grand-father was in the army service with the Raja of Jammu. He fell in love with a beautiful girl and eloped with her to the plains of Punjab. His children came to Chamba state and started leading pastoral life. It was Alamgir's father who eventually came to Maingal and acquired some landed property.

These descriptions by a few Gujjars lead to the conclusion that originally these people sprang from Rajputana side and spread over all the populated areas having pastures. This belief has been passing on from generation to generation.

To support that the Gujjars in Chamba entered from Jammu, there go two legends. According to one legend they were allowed to enter the erstwhile State of Chamba as a result of the services of an old Gujjar woman in saving the life of a closed relative of the ruling prince of that time. Second legend tells of some Gujjars being invited by the Rani of Chamba about 200 years ago for the continued supply of milk for the Royal family. In both the cases, it is presumed that they spread out in whole of the district with the passage of time.

Gujjars here have taken up farming along with their traditionally occupation of cattle rearing. They are educationally as well as economically backward. They are simple and wish to live peacefully without any ambition and outside interference or influence. If you approach them in sophisticated manner, they will seal their lips and their women and

children will contract to their dwellings. At times they may even frown at you. If you meet them in a formal way they will greet you with open heart. They will talk to you and tell every thing you want to know of them. And at such formal calls, it is the best hospitable community.

Gujjars are a good race with beautiful features and stout bodies. Men are tall and have broad shoulders. Similar are women. They have their own way of economical, social and culture life. They marry away their daughters in nearby villages and among their relatives. Consanguineous marriages are common among them. A wooden stick is a constant companion of every Gujjar whether male or female, young or old.

### Brahmins

According to the settlement report Brahmins were the first to settle in Maingal. The village elders of this community reveal that Muslim-gujjars have been penetrating for the last three generations. However, the process was slow. The entire mohal was a Hindu village once. The out-going Hindus have settled in nearby villages during the process.

Now, the three Brahmin households constitute 34 persons with 19 males and 18 females. They live in Maingal hamlet. Jaidyal states that his fore-fathers had come from Brahmaur. Chailo, an elderly woman and also a member of the Gram Panchayat said that she remembers of coming from Gaun village, 4 miles away. Similarly, Sharwan and Resalu Brahmins said that their grand-fathers had come from Mundna village,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles away. Some of these Brahmins rear large number of goats and sheep and are known Gaddi-brahmins.

These Brahmins wear *Janeo*. Their *gotra* is Bhardwaj. Their family life revolves round a loosely knit joint family system. They marry within their caste but outside the *gotra*. They are non-vegetarians.

Their economy is largely based upon agriculture. They keep goats and sheep to supplement their livelihood. Sharwan Brahmin owns the largest number of cattle heads-about 200 sheep and goats. He is the richest household in the whole mohal.

Like Gujjars, they have sturdy bodies and are capable of facing hardships. They have dark wheatish complexion.

## Rajputs

The only household of a Rajput in Mainga comprises of 4 persons, 2 males and 2 females. About two decades ago, Lehnoo, a Brahmin by caste had no children. He adopted Bahadur, a Rajput boy aged about ten years from Brahmaur. He now runs the household. It is said that this family was the first to settle here. The occupation of this caste is agriculture and they rear cattle. Being a recent off spring from a Brahmin household, the social and cultural aspects of this caste are the same as those of Brahmins.

## Lohars

Two households of Lohars reside in Dapaythagot hamlet. They constitute 4 males and 4 females. One household of Moti Lohar got the property from his father-in-law as the latter did not have a son. Originally his fore-fathers belonged to Chenjo village in Chaurah Tehsil. Another family has migrated from Bajauh village, a mile away.

Both of them have their landed property. They follow agriculture and black-smithy. However, they are seldom seen on the bellows. They marry within their castes.

The caste-wise distribution of households in thirteen hamlets of Maingal Mohal is as:—

Caste	No. of households	Males	Females	Total
Brahmin	3	16	18	34
Lohar	2	4	4	8
Muslim Gujjars	25	100	103	203
Rajput	1	2	2	4

## Religion

Muslim Gujjars are the converts from Hindus. But now they have become devout Muslims and practise Islamic customs. It is due to passage of time that they have slowly imbibed the Islamic traditions forgetting the real origin. All Gujjars are of Sunni sect. They keep holy Qurans in their houses. Calenders depicting the photos of Macca and Madina have been hung on the walls. A devout muslim offers prayers five times a day. Prayer is known as *namaz*. Five timings of prayer

are morning-*subha*, noon-*paishi*, evening-*digar*, sun set-*s'am* and before going to bed-*kufta*. Gujjars follow the same practice though young ones may not offer *namaz* even once. Idulzuha and Idul Fitr are observed at two occasions.

Hindus on the other hand are devout Hindus worshipping Shiva, their principal God. Besides, they also worship their family deities. They are Chond, Beer and Sitla. The other Gods and Goddesses worshipped are-Kali, Shakti, Rama and Lord Krishna. A small place for worship of family deities in a corner of the room is reserved by Brahmins. These are worshipped by offering incense. Sometimes, an earthen lamp is lit at the place. People revealed that temples for Sitla, Kali and Shakti are located in Bajanha, Aloda and Dila villages. The first village is one mile away and the other two are 3 miles.

Brahmins keep religious books like Ramayana, Gita, Mahabharat, Premsagar and Sukh Sagar in their houses. They believe in the worship of Pipal tree and Tulsi plant. For this they go to nearby villages. They observe fasts on *puranmashi*, *Ikadshi*, *Shivratri* and *Janamashtmi*. Sometimes a priest from Sahu is invited to recite the *satyanarayan katha*. During the course of fast meat is not taken.

## Residential pattern

The houses are scattered over the *mohal* in 13 hamlets. Except Maingal hamlet which has 7 houses closely built, other hamlets consist of one or two houses only. Maingal inhabited by Brahmins is surrounded by Gujjar hamlets on three sides. Bhalala lies hundred meters to the North, Thritha 50 meters to the South and Gandera and others 300 meters towards the East.

The houses have been built on the slopes without any planning. The narrow zig-zag foot paths connect these hamlets. In front of every house, a small courtyard has been planned where grains are spread for drying. Cattle are tethered in the courtyard in fair weather.

## House

The houses are single storeyed. Alla Ditta has built the only new double storeyed house recently with the grant given by the Social Welfare Department. The housing pattern of Muslim Gujjars and Brahmins are similar with slight differences. Brahmins have separate cow-sheds, whereas,

Gujjars put up with their cattle under the same roof. The houses of Gujjars and Brahmins can also be distinguished. Gujjars do not keep windows, whereas Brahmins do. The characteristic feature of the houses here is that they have only one entrance. This is because of the cold climate.

The dwelling of a Gujjar is known as *kotha*. These are rectangular having mud roof. The tendency among Gujjars is to live separately. The houses have been built adjacent to their fields. A Gujjar house has two rooms with one entrance. In one room cattle are kept while the second room is a multipurpose room. Kitchen is separated by a slightly raised platform and by a partitioning thin wall. No windows or ventilators are provided. The inside is dark stuffy and smoky due to constant fire. The stuffy atmosphere is due to the presence of numerous buffaloes in the adjoining room with no outlets. These dwellings are unhygienic and filthy.

Houses of Brahmins in Maingal have been built one behind the other. Their houses have windows and are comparatively open and clean. They have separate cowsheds and kitchens. The roofs are made of stone and mud.

### Material

For construction timber is obtained from the Forest Department. The villagers are critical of the Forest Department officials with regard to the grant of trees. The timber is procured at zamindari rates.

### Labour

The material is collected through collective efforts known as *saret*. For this, men of different communities join hands. No wages are paid to working men in kind or cash. Due to their tight economy, people revealed that the work of sawing timber, digging foundations, construction of walls and laying of roof are carried out by the house owner with the relatives and neighbours. The door frames and wooden beams are fashioned by themselves. It is rarely that paid labour is engaged. Sharwan Brahmin is reported to have engaged labour from Nakala village 4 miles away. He paid Rs. 2/- for a labourer and Rs. 5/- for a carpenter and mason.

### Construction

When material is collected, construction is started. Gujjars select any of the four days;

Sunday, Monday, Thursday or Friday for starting construction. But Brahmins consult their family priest and find out an auspicious day for starting the work.

The first stage is the digging of foundation which is about four feet deep and is filled with stones. No plinth is kept. When the foundation reaches the ground level, construction of walls is started. The walls are half feet in width. The width of foundation is generally three feet.

There is no superstition to keep the doors in any particular direction. It depends upon the site where the house is to be constructed. In a majority of house doors face the South. The door frame is placed when the wall reaches a height of about a foot. When the foundation is dug and door frames are placed *jaggery* is distributed to those who are present on the occasion. The construction of the outer walls and one inner wall is carried to a height of about eight feet. Mortar is not used. Walls consist of uneven stones and wooden beams placed at intervals. A mention about the back wall of the house may be made here. It is erected along the hill slope with the result that it remains damp during rainy season.

During the construction of walls, small niches are left out. When the walls reach the standard height, roof is laid. First of all, long wooden beams are laid about one foot apart over the walls. Then small wooden planks are spread over long wooden beams. After laying the small planks, it is covered with *bhojpatter*. Kakeh grass is also used in place of *bhojpatter*. Then about 9" thick layer of mud is spread all over the roof. Stones are placed at the edge of the roof all around to keep the mud intact. A thin layer of mud is spread after an interval of three-four years. The roof projects outward by about two feet over the walls. To one side of the house in some places, the extension is about 6 feet. This is to keep agricultural implements and fodder. As the roof gets heavier it is supported by one or two big vertical poles from the centre of the room. Then comes the construction of partition for the kitchen. This is done by a small thin wall.

Doors are of thick wood planks. These sometimes have a crude carving of flowers or animals. For windows, wooden planks are placed so that these can be closed or opened without any difficulty. Nails and bolts are brought from Chamba.

As usual bath-rooms and latrines are not provided. Hearths are made of clay in one partitioned room in a corner. This is plastered with liquid clay.

After constructing the walls and laying the roof, the last stage of plastering the house with mud comes. A thick plaster of brown mud is applied. When this dries, a coat of white clay is given from inside and outside. Door and window planks are coated with white or brown mud. The floor inside the room is given a thick coat of mud. The coating of floor and walls takes place once a year. In some houses, we have seen a few line drawings of a gun or a tree on the walls.

### House warming

A ceremony is held before entering the new house. Feasts are held. Near relatives, friends and neighbourers are invited. Among Gujjars, this ceremony is known as *na'az* while Brahmins call this *pathraitna*.

Different parts of a house in local terms are:—

Gujjar dialect	Dialect	English version
1	2	3
Bandi	Gaini	Cowshed
Booa	Dawar	Door
Chaat	Chaat	Roof
Choki	....	Place where namaz is held
Choohta	Chool	Hearth
	Dehray	Where family deities are kept
Ghanadi	Ghanad	Bee-hive shelf
Jagi	Gadoji	Place where water pitcher is kept
Kataila	Kataila or Fatta	Wooden seat
Killa	Killa	Wooden peg for tying cattle
Khurli	Khurdi	Manger
Kunda	That	Wooden vessel for giving water to cattle
Murgikhano	Kukdobru	Poultry pan

Gujjar dialect	Dialect	English version
1	2	3
Neeh	Neeun	Foundation
Oongan	Ootolu	Smoke outlet in kitchen
Podi	Podi	Stairs
Patda	Falta	Wooden seat
Passairi	Gaihad	Place under the extended roof
Pithi	Ootolu	Sky light
Rasolu	Rasolu	Kitchen
Seedh	Manj	Wooden stairs
Sheeri	Nas	Horizontal wooden beams supporting roof
Thamb	Thamb	Vertical wooden beam supporting roof.

Approximate cost of a house comes to Rs. 1200/. A Gujjar's house usually consists of two rooms. On an average household has a little over two rooms or say a room for three persons. Three households, two of Gujjars and one of a Brahmin have more than four rooms each. Six households of Gujjars with 38 members have one room each. 19 households with 141 persons have 2 rooms each and 3 households with 28 persons have 3 rooms each.

### Household Goods

Being a backward community and nestled in an isolated hilly region, people here cannot afford to keep furniture. Only useful types of articles like cots, wooden seats and mats made of grass are found in the houses. Cots are made of bamboo, stout legs made of wood and *ban* made from *munji* fibre (a type of grass). These are locally made. Even wooden seats and grass-mats are made by them. Alla Ditta possesses a couple of chairs. A Panchayat battery Radio set has also been installed in his house.

Generally, Gujjars sleep on the floors. Their beddings consist of durry, cushion, pillow and woollen sheets. Cushion is a home-made thick rug made of wornout old clothes. It is warm during winter. The clothes and other costly articles are kept in trunks or wooden boxes.

## Households by number of rooms and by number of persons occupying

Caste	Total No. of households	Total No. of rooms	Total No. of family members	Household with No regular room		Household with one room		Household with two rooms		Household with three rooms		Household with 4 rooms and more	
				No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Brahmin	3	15	34	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	21	1	13
Lohar	2	4	8	..	..	..	..	2	8	..	..	..	..
Muslim Gujjars	25	51	203	..	..	6	38	16	129	1	7	2	29
Rajput	1	2	4	..	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..
Total	31	72	249	..	..	6	38	19	141	3	28	3	42

A few households also possess sewing-machines and licensed guns. Every household possesses mirror, big or small and a comb. Due to their migratory character, they also have hurricane lanterns and wick lamps without glass chimney. The other useful household articles are grinding stones to do powder salt, chilies etc. This in local dialect is known as *sil-batta*. The grains are stored in big conical baskets. These are of many sizes. Grains are measured by a vessel known as *manyan*. Its capacity is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kilograms of grains. There are many other little household goods seen, if one has a peep into a house. The following articles are usually found:—

Airnoti	Wooden instrument to wrap woollen thread.
Balairna	Siever
Baukar	Broom
Charpoy or khat	Cot
Chekday	Beena made of grass
Charkha	Spinning-wheel
Chanja	Big conical basket for carrying fodder
Chakkoo	Small basket for keeping wool
Chhaj	Winnowing fan
Chhabdu	Small basket
Dandu or Paidu	Big grain storage bin
Jodi	Rope
Kant	Shearing scissors
Kangri Angithee	Angithee used by Kashmiries
Khaldu	Skin bag

Kilta	Conical basket used for Carrying manure
Kirl	Small grain storate bin
Kuran	Wooden instrument to remove snow
Laltain	Lantern
Palaitri	Sharp instrument for cutting vegetables
Pada	Basket
Pand	Grass mat
Peenjan	Carding machine
Sandook	Wooden box
Shagri	Angithee
Sil-batta	Grind stone
Toon	Small grain storage bin
Trangni	A rope-net to hold articles
Trivoodi	Wooden seat for pitcher
Trunk	Tin-box

## Utensils

Necessary utensils of the commonest type are possessed by all families. Earthern-ware are also in use. In addition, they use wooden utensils for kneading flour. Due to their migratory nature, Gujjars favour the use of light aluminium utensils. The following utensils are seen in the houses:—

## Mettalic utensils

Local name	English equivalent
Aftaba	A special type of a lota with a spout
Batlohi	Brass pitcher
Bati	Big brass plate

Chimta	Iron tongs
Dichka	A copper or brass vessel for churning curd
Gagar	Big brass pitcher
Gilas	Tumbler
Kadahi	Small Cauldron
Kadchi	Ladle
Katora	Big bowl
Katori	Small bowl
Lambooo	Big brass vessel
Lota	Bowl
Lunda	Iron parat
Masarba	A vessel with spout for serving water
Parat	Brass parat
Patila	Vessel for cooking pulses
Palaitir	For cutting vegetables
Samawad	Like a kettle in shape for preparing tea—a small angithi is attached to this
Taitha	Palta
Tawa	Pan
Thali	Plate

**Wooden utensils**

Doi	Wooden ladle
Kunda	A big vessel like parat
Madhani	Churner
Parat	For kneading flour

**Earthen vessels**

Ghada	Pitcher
Handku	Small pitcher for cooking kadi
Kounra	Small pitcher for storing butter
Pari	Pitcher for preparing curds
Tarunu	A big pitcher for churning.

Mettalic utensils are purchased from Chamba. Earthen-ware are procured from Panjala a neighbouring village. Wooden vessels are made by the carpenters at Sahu. Small wooden vessels are seen in use by a Brahmin household to feed his poultry and dogs.

*Material culture-possession of furniture*

No. of Households possessing

Caste	Beds	Char-poy	Stool	Table	Box	Radio	Watch	Gun	Almi-rah	Sewing machine	Lan-terns	Char-kha	Umbrella	Lamp	Piddi
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Brahmin	3	3	..	..	2	..	..	3	..	2	1	3	1	3	3
Gujjar	25	25	1	1	8	1	1	2	3	..	3	5	18	25	10
Lohar	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	2	2
Rajput	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1

**Dress**

The villagers wear simple but characteristic dress. The dress of Muslim Gujjars and Hindus differs. We may first take up the dress of Muslim Gujjars.

**MEN**

**Safa**—It is a white or coloured cotton turban of nearly five yards length. One end about  $\frac{1}{2}$  yard in length of the turban keeps hanging over the shoulder. This is called *lar*

**Kurti**—A shirt upto knees with collars and with one pocket on the chest and another on the side. Coloured check pattern is preferred.

**Baskat**—A half coat without sleeves. It has collars. Valevet or *shaneel* cloth is preferred. Small white buttons are stitched closely on the borders of collars and pockets.

**Coat**—Used during winter.

**Tehmat**—A checked coloured cotton sheet about 3 yards in length. Wrapped round the waist in place of *tamba*.

**Tamba**—Is a *salwar* made of white cotton cloth. Usually it reaches the knees.

#### WOMEN

**Joji**—This is a traditional head gear among Gujjar women. A small round cap with tail like piece of cloth hanging behind upto knees. Usually made of black cloth and ornamented with coloured threads from outside in different designs.

**Jhoomb**—A type of head gear made out of cotton sheet wrapped in a particular manner. It protects the wearer from sun and rain.

**Kurti**—A shirt. Its characteristic feature is that it is very loose with a side pocket.

**Suthan**—Tight trousers upto knees and very loose between waist and knees.

**Salwar**—Some women are seen wearing the Punjabi *salwar*.

**Khes**—A cotton sheet used to wrap bodies during winter.

The dress of Hindus is:—

#### MEN

**Topi**—A white Gandhi cap or a woollen monkey cap knitted by themselves.

**Kameez**—A shirt with collars and pocket on the chest.

**Baskat**—A buttoned up waist coat without sleeves.

**Sweater**—Woollen sweaters are used during winter.

**Coat**—Coats are made of home spun woollen cloth.

**Chola and Dora**—Chola is a big woollen coat falling upto knees having loose collars. It is held round the waist by a long black rope wrapped many times. It is known as *dora* and is made of wool. It is about 50 yards in length and weighs about 3 seers. It is very strong. Sometimes used to lower oneself down the cliffs to rescue sheep and goats. The *chola* above the waist-band is very loose and it contains various articles. Often three to four little lambs are kept warm inside the *chola*.

#### WOMEN

**Dupatta**—A coloured cotton sheet used as head-gear.

**Kurti**—A cotton shirt with different neck designs hanging upto knees.

**Dor**—A woollen sheet wrapped during winter.

**Salwar**—A sort of loose trouser.

**Churidar suthan**—Tight pyjamas. The portion above knee is not so loose as that of *suthan* of Gujjar women.

**Foot wear**—Gujjars during summer use Chamba *chupal* or locally made shoes known as *chhitter*. They are quite odd to look at and heavy in weight. They may often walk bare feet. During winter either local shoes or *poolay* made of grass are put on.

Brahmins on the other hand wear Chamba *chupal* or local shoes known as *juttay*. *Poolay* made of *ain* or *dhaman* grass are put on during winter. A pair of local shoes costs about Rs. 8/- whereas *poolay* are made by themselves. Young boys and girls are seen wearing mill-made canvas shoes. During winter, people wear woollen socks knitted with home spun wool.

#### Hair style

There is no barber in Maingal. Men cut the hair of each other with the help of ordinary scissors. The Gujjars remove all the hair with the help of a sharp razor. Hindus either cut all hair or keep English cut. The cut is often haphazard. Clean hair cut among Brahmins is known as *sara sheer muni dena*.

A Gujjar being a devout muslim supports a small beard and well trimmed. He does not have the flowing beard of Sikh or an old fashioned Hindu. The growth of hair on the upper lip is also kept restricted in that it is clean shaved in the centre and maintained in trimmed condition only at the edges. This fashion is called *sharaie* i. e. as ordained by *shara*. Hindus are clean shaven. They retain trimmed moustaches. Gujjars dye a part of their beard and hair with a thin paste of *Hallu* grass. This is like myrtle. It is done by elderly men to colour their grey hair.

The women keep long hair which are parted from the centre. These hair as gathered in numerous small plaits which are then joined to a



braid at the back. The end of the braid is secured by a *pranda* of red or black colour. Young girls use hair pins to keep the hair in place.

Mustard oil or ghee or oil of wild apricot is used for dressing the hair. The hair are combed with a small plastic or wooden comb. Hindu women use red vermillion in between the parted hair and on the forehead. Both Hindu and Muslim women use paste of hallu grass to colour their hands and feet.

**Bath :** Generally people bathe once a week during summer and once a fortnight during winter. The village *kazi* stated that Gujjar women bathe daily in the morning. But this is not convincing. Soap is not much in use. The women clean their hair with the help of cow's urine.

Cotton cloth is purchased from Chamba. The woollen cloth is woven out of home spun wool. Ordinary type of dress like *kurti*, *suthan* are stitched by Jaissa and Chailo Brahmins. *Chola* is also stitched locally. Other dress like *salwar*, *baskat*, *coat* and *joji* are got stitched by tailors at Chamba. *Churidar suthan* is stitched by Gujjar women. The stitching charges for a coat, *baskat*, *kurti*, *suthan* and *joji* are Rs. 6/-, 2/-, 0.75., 0.50 P. and 1.50. respectively. Gujjars consider Friday (which they call Jumerat) as the lucky day for stitching and wearing the clothes. Hindus prefer all the day except Saturdays.

Gujjars purchase slightly superior cloth as compared to Hindus. The average cost of cloth varies between Rs. 2/- to Rs. 3/- per yard. A cotton sheet, however, costs about Rs. 20/-. Gujjars prefer black, white or red check cloth with contrasting colours. Hindus on the other hand prefer white, grey or brown colour.

The clothes are washed with cow's urine or *ritha* or ash. The ash is first boiled in water and the mixture is kept for decantation. The dirty clothes are then rubbed in the solution. Their dress is doubtless comparatively cleaner than the people of the other castes here.

A wild herb with a pungent smell found around the village is kept in warm clothes. This serves as an insecticide. Gujjars call this herb as *bada* while others call this *samak*.

**Changes :** Outside influence is negligible here, because of the remoteness. Gujjars do not

like change in their dress. Young Hindu women however, are seen wearing *salwars*, a substitute for tight *churidar suthan*. The people at present do not like to discard their traditional drees. Change will have its effect, as the years roll by. At the time of ceremonial occasions, fairs and festivals, people wear new and neat clothes.

### Ornaments

Women are very fond of jewellery. Their husbands want that their wives must have a couple of important ornaments to be worn at the time of festive occasions. This also reflects their economic status among the community. Many varieties of ornaments are put on by women. On an average, a woman may have not more than six ornaments.

Gujjar women are usually seen with silver ornaments whereas Hindu women possess a couple of golden ornaments also. These are purchased from Chamba or Sahu. The rates for making silver ornaments at Sahu are between 0.50 p. to Rs. 1/- per tola depending upon the type of ornament to be made. Gold control order has no meaning to the people. It is very rarely that they purchase new gold. New ornaments are obtained by exchanging old types of ornaments. A couple of important ornaments are favoured among the women of a particular caste. Gujjar women must wear a silver *tabit* on the breast and a Hindu women must be adorned with *nathli* and *laung*. Ornaments worn by the two castes are:—

### Muslim Gujjars

The women do not have any ornament for the decoration of their head and feet, as they have to carry heavy loads on their heads and walk miles and miles during their migration.

### Ornaments for the ear.

*Baliyan*—These are big silver rings with a bunch of flowers which produce sound and weigh about 15 grams each.

*Dod*—A small silver hollow ornament weighing about 20 grams worn on the upper part of the ear. It produces sound with beads hooked to it.

*Jhumkey*—This is a silver ear ring like a big *kaney*. Its weight is about 15 grams.

### Ornaments for the nose :

*Balu*—A big silver ring studded with imitation type of cheap pearls, weighing about 30 grams.

*Laung*—This is a gold studded nose ring weighing about 10 grams.

*Mukri*—A golden or silver ornament which suspends from the central part of the nose. It is studded with few beads and weighs about 20 grams.

#### ORNAMENTS FOR THE NECK

*Dodmala*—A silver necklace of thin silver cylinder each about 1" to 1½" in length. Each piece is pointed at the ends and has a hole. All pieces are put in a thread and worn like a garland.

*Hamel*—A big necklace made of old silver coins of one rupee, four annas pieces, eight annas pieces. Small red beads are inserted in between the coins.

*Har*—It is a silver heavy necklace which produces sound and weighs about 400 grams.

*Manky*—A necklace of small silver beads or glass beads tied quite close to the neck.

*Naliya*—A cylindrical hollow silver ornament. It is tied round the neck by means of a thread.

*Tabet*—A small casket of silver which weighs about 30 grams and tied with red or black thick thread round the neck.

#### ORNAMENTS FOR THE WRIST

*Kangan*—These are round silver *karas*, weighing about 500 grams a pair.

*Kanch-ki-choodiyān*—These are glass bangles.

#### ORNAMENTS FOR THE FINGERS

*Angoothi*—This is a gold or silver ring weighing 5 grams.

#### ORNAMENTS FOR SHIRT

*Buttons*—Silver buttons are used in shirts. Silver beads hooked in the buttons produce sound.

*Mogla*—These are silver studs used as cuff links.

Men wear a silver *tabet* round their necks. Silver buttons are as well used by them.

Hindus have different kinds of ornaments. These are:—

#### ORNAMENTS FOR THE HEAD

*Chonk Fool*—This is a bowl shaped ornament fastened on the head. Usually this is made of silver and weighs about 60 grams. It is customary to have two small *chonk* along with the central *chonk*. These are fastened just behind the ears.

*Mand Tikka*—It is a small circular gold or silver ornament worn across the forehead.

#### ORNAMENTS FOR THE EARS

*Bali*—This is a golden or silver ear ring weighing 10 grams.

*Kantey*—These are made of gold or silver.

*Karan Phul*—This is a bunch of gold or silver flowers.

*Khunaey*—These are small ear rings.

*Tops*—Tops are purchased from the markets

#### ORNAMENTS FOR THE NOSE

*Laung*—This is made of gold.

*Nathli*—Like a *murki*.

*Tikki*—This ornament is like a *laung* with no stone or enamel work.

*Tilli*—It is a miniature *laung*.

#### ORNAMENTS FOR THE NECK

*Chandan Har*—A silver heavy type of necklace which weighs about 400 grams.

*Dodmala*—This is a silver necklace.

*Jomala*—A silver necklace weighing 250 grams and containing small beads in a thread.

*Lachha*—This is a silver necklace weighing about 60 grams.

*Mala*—An ordinary necklace made of glass beads.

*Sabi*—This is another name of *har*.

*Galsiri*—Another small necklace with silver beads hooked together.

#### ORNAMENTS FOR THE WRIST

*Bangan*—These are glass or silver bangles.

*Kangan*—These are made of silver and weighs about 200 grams each.

*Maridli*—These are round hollow silver bracelets in two parts joined by a screw and weighs about 80 grams. These are also known as *gojru*.

*Tokey*—There are similar to bangles.

#### ORNAMENTS FOR THE FINGER

*Angoohit*—This is a gold or silver ring. May be studded with a stone.

*Chhalla*—It is a plain silver ring.

#### ORNAMENTS FOR THE FEET

*Anguthra*—It is a silver ring for the big toe.

*Anguthri*—It is a silver toe ring.

*Jhanjra*—It is a silver anklet joined together with a screw, produces sound and weighs about 200 grams.

*Panjeb*—This is a silver anklet weighing 150 grams which produces soft jingling sound.

*Todey*—These are small silver rectangular pieces hooked together.

A Gaddi family must have two small silver ornaments. These are *kan-khurkni* and *dant-khurkni*. The latter is shaped like a small spoon used for cleaning the ear of its wax. The former is like a needle and used as a tooth prick.

Gaddi men wear small golden ear rings known as *nanti*. They put on gold or silver finger rings.

#### Fuel and Lighting

For cooking, firewood of trees like Ban, Bani, Kando, Kathi, Rosh and Taraivadi are used. Shrubs of Kaimal, Kangorey, Kasna are also used. The villagers get trees for fire wood free of charge. Thin long sticks of fire wood are brought from the nearby jungles. Big stocks of fuel wood have been kept by Gaddi households. Gujjars use dry dung cakes.

The fire is lit by match box among Gujjars. Yet another traditional way to lit the fire is

common among Hindu households. An iron piece is struck against a white stone and the sparks produced are made to ignite the dry grass. About two three strokes are sufficient to enable the grass to catch fire.

#### Food and drink

The diet of the people is simple. Except on special festival occasions, it remains the same. Their staple food is maize. It is taken in the form of bread with black gram and whey.

Paddy is not grown in the village. Wheat yield is very little in quantity. Therefore, these are taken on occasions, like marriages and festivals, Rice is boiled and conjee is given to the cattle. Coarse grains like barley, bathu and opla grown in little quantities are also consumed occasionally. Generally the diet of different castes living here does not differ much.

Usually food is taken three times a day. These are known as:

Muslim Gujjars	Timings	Hindus
Nihari	8-30 A. M.	Nuhari
Dupaihri Roti	12.00 noon	Kular
Sham ka khana	9.00 P. M.	Baiyli

The bread left over of the previous night is taken in the morning. Fresh bread is cooked for the second and third meal. Pulses left over of second meal is consumed in the third meal.

*Pulses*—Pulses of black gram, green gram and gram are boiled in water till they are thoroughly cooked. Chillies, salt and turmeric are added to taste.

*Vegetables*—Vegetables of many varieties are grown during rainy season. These are, *biblay*, brinjal, *ghandoli*, gourd, *kan guchhu*, pumpkin, lady-finger, onion, and potatoes. These are prepared in the usual way by applying *tudka*. Green leafy vegetables of mustard, *ain*, *fafru* and *khata saag* are consumed during the seasons. A wild root known as *sargadi* is relished much. To remove its bitter taste, it is boiled in water for a long time. It is not chewed as it causes some throat trouble.

#### Special dishes

The Gujjars have no special dish worth mentioning. However, they prepare *currywher* o o

which is taken with maize bread. On marriages, they prepare rice and serve it with sugar, jaggery and pulses. Gujjars prepare cheese and *kheer*.....

*Maithie*—A little fenugreek is first boiled in water to which is added jaggery and ghee. The dish so prepared is taken with rice or bread.

Hindus, of course, have a number of special dishes prepared on festive occasions or marriages. These are:-

*Babru*—Wheat flour is turned into paste and sugar or jaggery added to it. It is then fried in oil or ghee.

*Bedal*—Maize flour is turned into paste and then boiled. Rectangular small solid pieces are cut which are taken with honey or gur.

*Boor*—This is another name for curry.

*Bori*--A sauce-*chatney* is made of the kernel of wild apricot nuts. Little salt and chilly is added to taste. Gujjars and Gaddis take this gladly with bread.

*Chasni*—Sugar or jaggery is boiled in water and consumed with rice during marriages.

*Halwa*—It is prepared by frying wheat flour in ghee and then adding sugar or jaggery water to it.

*Kheer*—Prepared by cooking rice in milk. Sugar is added when fully cooked.

*Madhra*—The beans are first cooked in water and fried in ghee. Curd or whey is added in sufficient quantity and boiled on slow fire. It is very delicious and a favourite among Gaddis.

*Makki-ke-laddu*—Maize flour is mixed with water and *laddus* are prepared. These are then steam baked and eaten with ghee, whey, salt or pulses.

*Mithey chawal*—Rice is boiled in water and sugar or jaggery is added to taste.

*Patrodi*—A thick paste of gram flour with little salt and spices are applied to *kachalu* leaves. These are rolled and steam baked. To make them more delicious these are fried in mustard oil.

*Pindri*—*Koda* flour is first mixed with water and the paste is cooked over slow fire. When

cooked, small *laddus* are made which are kept for 3-4 days. When they become sour in taste, these are consumed with honey or jaggery generally made on Baisakhi.

*Sattu*—made of maize, wheat and barley and are consumed during summer. The grains are first parched then ground. *Sattus* are taken with whey.

The intake of milk among Gujjars is meagre. Infants are given milk once or twice a day.

*Meat*—Only a small fraction of the population are vegetarians. Muslim Gujjars do not take pork. They refrain from taking beef as well. Among Hindus, beef is a taboo. They may take pork. They shun meat of dead animals. If a sheep or goat is killed in accident it is consumed. People prefer fowls and meat of wild animals. Meat is prepared in the ordinary way. It is boiled in water. Little quantity of chillies onion and ghee are also added.

*Fats*—*Desi* ghee, vegetable ghee and mustard oil are used for frying pulses and vegetables. Oil extracted from wild apricot is much liked. Kernels of wild apricot seeds are pounded in a wooden mortar. Then it is squeezed either by hands or in a thick cotton cloth. Preparations made in this oil are delicious.

*Fruits*- Wild apricot grows in abundance and people consume this in large quantity. Plums, pears and wild peaches are also taken.

*Tea*—During winter, tea is taken twice while in summer it is taken only once in the morning.

*Wine*—The nearest wine shop is at Shilagrhat. Wine is a taboo among Gujjars, although many do drink. Brahmins, however, use it on festive occasions. They may purchase from the shop or may procure illicit liquor.

*Smoking*—Smoking is common among Gujjars and Gaddis. When on the move, they smoke cigarettes, biddis, pipes. Gujjars call pipe as *chilam* while among Gaddis, it is known as *tuti*. The tobacco used for smoking is locally grown. But this does not meet the demand, Extra requirement is imported from Chamba. Women do not smoke except that some elderly are seen smoking hubble-bubble. Children do not smoke at all.

A few tables showing food habits of the people are given below-

*Staple diet and food habits of communities*

Community	Number of households in community	Households taking						
		Rice	Wheat	Wheat and maize	Barley	Roots	Vegetarian	Non-vegetarian
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Brahmin	3	1	3	3	2	3	..	3
Gujjar	25	..	4	21	2	25	..	25
Lohar	2	1	1	2	..	2	..	2
Rajput	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	1

*Habit of Taking Sugar as Correlated to Income*

No. of households taking sugar with monthly income    No. of households not taking sugar with monthly income

Caste/Tribe/Community	No. of households taking sugar with monthly income						No. of households not taking sugar with monthly income					
	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101 to 150	Rs. 76 to 100	Rs. 51 to 75	Rs. 26 to 50	Rs. 25 or less	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101 to 150	Rs. 76 to 100	Rs. 51 to 75	Rs. 26 to 50	Rs. 25 or less
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Brahmin	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gujjar	2	4	4	6	8	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Lohar	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rajput	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

*Habit of taking Tea as correlated to income*

Brahmin	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Gujjar	1	4	4	6	8	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
Lohar	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rajput	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

## Food habits

Muslim Gujjar

Classification of family  
(Age groupwise)

	Males	Females	Total
Total No. of members	3	6	9
Above 50 years	1	..	1
Between 30-50 years	..	..	..
Between 10-30 years	2	5	7
Between 3-10 years	..	1	1
Below 3 years	..	..	..

Sl. No.	Name	Relation to the head of household	Sex	Age	One time No. of maize chapatis consumed	Approximate weight of each chapati	Weight of rice if consumed	Quantity of Dal consumed	Quantity of milk consumed	Any other substance consumed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Alla Ditta	Self	Male	60	3½	2 Ch.	7 Ch.	½ Ch.	½ seer	Ghee
2.	Fateh Mohamad	Son	Male	25	4	2 ,,	7 ,,	½ ,,	¼ ,,	Butter
3.	Makhan	Wife of 2	Female	22	4	2 ,,	7 ,,	½ ,,	¼ ,,	Lassi
4.	Kassim	Son	Male	22	4	2 ,,	7 ,,	½ ,,	¼ ,,	Sattu
5.	Bhoori	Wife of 4	Female	21	4	2 ,,	7 ,,	½ ,,	¼ ,,	
6.	Nek Mohamad	Son	Male	18	4	2 ,,	7 ,,	½ ,,	¼ ,,	
7.	Nurdin	Son	Male	15	3	2 ,,	7 ,,	½ ,,	¼ ,,	
8.	Basari	Daughter	Female	11	2	2 ,,	7 ,,	½ ,,	¼ ,,	
9.	Alinia	Daughter	Female	4	1	2 ,,	7 ,,	½ ,,	½ ,,	

## Food habits

Muslim Gujjar

Classification of family  
(Age groupwise)

	Males	Females	Total
Total No. of members	3	4	7
Above 50 years	..	..	..
Between 30-50 years	1	1	2
Between 10-30 years	2	2	4
Between 3-10 years	..	..	..
Below 3 years	..	1	1

Sl. No.	Name	Relation to the head of household	Sex	Age	One time No. of maize chapatis consumed	Approximate weight of each chapati	Weight of rice if consumed	Quantity of Dal consumed	Quantity of milk consumed	Any other substance consumed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Nurdin	Self	Male	50	4	2 Ch.	7 Ch.	½ Ch.	¼ Seer	Lassi
2.	Mehar Bi	Wife	Female	45	4	2 ,,	7 ,,	½ ,,	¼ ,,	Ghee
3.	Kassim	Son-in-law	Male	22	4	2 ,,	7 ,,	½ ,,	¼ ,,	Meat
4.	Dalmir	Daughter-in-law	Female	20	4	2 ,,	7 ,,	½ ,,	¼ ,,	Sattu
5.	Is-mail	Son	Male	20	4	2 ,,	7 ,,	½ ,,	¼ ,,	
6.	Shamshi	Daughter-in-law	Female	20	4	2 ,,	7 ,,	½ ,,	¼ ,,	
7.	Bibi	Grand Daughter	Female	½	..	..	..	..	½ ,,	

## Birth customs

*Customs among Muslim Gujjars*—The expectant mothers are not permitted to go near a grave-yard. Some pregnant women relish *guranti*, a type of gist. Delivery takes place in a safe corner of the room. It is, however, kept clean before hand.

The services of a trained mid-wife are generally not required. Old women of the neighbourhood or near relatives manage the affair. The husband of the expectant mother attends to outside work. Child birth to a Gujjar women is not a difficult affair. Their women are strong and sturdy and are used to hard way of life.

*The Birth*—The birth of a son is more welcome although there is a rejoicing when a daughter is born. The umbilical cord is cut by a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried outside the house. The woman attending the delivery will lightly pull the child's ear to confirm that the child is not dumb. The village *maulvi* is sent for. He whispers *Alla-ho-Akbar* into the child's ears three times. In his absence, the ceremony is performed by any elderly person present on the occasion. Jaggery is distributed to those present. The time of child's birth is not noted. The child is at once wrapped in a small piece of cloth. The woman attending on the mother is given one rupee and a shirt. She takes her meals in the child's house for the number of days she is retained.

*Diet of the mother*—The mother is given rich diet like rice boiled in milk with ghee. Dry fruit fried in ghee are also given to her. Boiled *ajwain* water is continued for a fortnight.

*Nafas*—The days of impurity usually last for seven days. On the seventh day, mother takes her bath. She is not permitted to touch utensils and milch buffaloes for forty days. A feast is given to all relatives and friends on the 41st day. She starts doing little household work after a week's rest. Other arduous duties, of course, are attended to by her husband or other worker in the family.

*Sunnat*—The ceremony of circumcision of a male child takes place after four or six months at any auspicious day suggested by the *maulvi*. A Gujjar barber from Sahu or Chamba is invited to perform the ceremony. He is given upto Rs. 20/- depending upon one's economic position. Before cutting, he applies a special type of ointment which heals the wound quickly.

*Khatna*—A grand feast is thrown to relatives, friends and neighbours to mark the circumcision ceremony. The feast consists of rice, ghee, milk and maize bread. The invitees give cash presents between 0.50 p. and Rs 5/- to the child's parents. This is known as *naindra*. The child is given food during this ceremony.

*Jali*—The first hair cutting ceremony takes place at any auspicious day when child is about 6 months old. The hair is cut either by mother or the women who attended the delivery. The subsequent hair cutting can be done by any body. The child is taken out of the house after about one month.

The boring of female child's ears and nose is done by an expert old women when she is about 7 to 8 years.

The name is given by the *maulvi* or by parents.

*Case study*—Alamgir had a son named Musa. He is about one and a half years old. The delivery was attended to by Alamgir's sister. The name was suggested by Alamgir himself. He told that circumcision ceremony will take place this year for which he will send for *Ilmu* barber from Chamba.

*Customs among Hindus*—Among Hindus no prenatal ceremony is performed. However, the pregnant women do not climb a tree, avoid going near a grave yard or cremation ground.

*Delivery*—Delivery takes place in a corner of one of the living rooms. This place is cleaned before hand. The near relatives or a close woman neighbour helps in the delivery. The umbilical cord is cut with a pair of scissors. Placenta is buried in a safe place outside the house. In case of birth of a male child the women attending the delivery is given Rs. 2/- and a piece of cloth. Jaggery is distributed among neighbours and relatives. In case of a female child one rupee is given to the woman attending the delivery. Time is noted for preparing a horoscope.

*Diet of the mother*—The mother is fed on a light diet rich in ghee. Rice boiled in milk is the main food given to the mother. The child is breast fed. This continues for about three years. Ready made *ghuti* available from the shop is often given to the child to keep its digestive system in order.

*Dasewala*—After ten days the *shudhi* ceremony is performed. On this day, family priest is invited to conduct a *havan*. A feast is given to the relatives

and neighbours. The mother is given a bath. All her clothes are washed and she is considered clean.

*Hakaru*—After three months, male child is taken out of the house. Female child may be taken out earlier. Sometimes the priest is invited who performs a little worship. Water is offered to the sun. The priest is given food and Rs. 2/-.

*Khirpu*—The child is given food for the first time after six months. *Kheer* is prepared and priest touches this to the child's lips with a silver coin. An elderly member of the family performs the function in the absence of the priest. Name giving ceremony takes place on this day.

*Jamni*—This is the first birth day of the child. When it is one year's old, a cotton thread is taken and a knot is given at the bottom. Similarly a record of knots is kept year after year. By counting the number of knots, the age of the person can be found out.

*Jattu*—After two and a half years, hair are cut for the first time. Any member of the family can cut the hair with scissors. On this day, a feast is arranged and relatives are invited. The mother of the child makes god-brother with any of the near male neighbourer.

*Janeo*—Brahmins wear sacred thread. This ceremony takes place when the boy is about 14 years old. Family priest performs the ceremony. *Nav-Granthi-Pujan* is done. The boy is dressed in *dhoti* and his body is covered with deer skin, if available. He begs for alms from his relatives and others present to witness the ceremony. Feasts are thrown to all relatives and friends. The priest is given Rs. 5/- and some cereals. The sacred thread is sometimes worn at the time of marriage.

*Boring of ears and nose*—When the girl is about 8-9 years old, her ears and nose are bored by an elderly woman. A needle is used for boring. The ears of boys are often pierced at this age.

*Case study*—Jaidyal Gaddi has a girl aged 12 years, named Parju. Her delivery was helped by her close neighbourer-Chailo. Umbilical cord was cut by her. Placenta was buried in a nearby field. Except *Khirpu*, other ceremonies like *dasewala*, *hakaru*, *jamni*, and *jattu* were performed by Jaidyal himself. For *khirpu* a priest from Sahu was invited.

He gave the name (Parju) to the girl. Her ears and nose were bored by her uncle's daughter when she was about seven and a half years old.

### Marriage Customs

*Marriage customs among Muslim Gujjars*—Two types of marriages are celebrated among this community. One type is marriage by exchange i.e. *batta-satta* and the second type is marriage on payment of consideration. In marriage by exchange, sisters are exchanged. Under the second system money ranging from Rs. 100 to Rs.500 is paid to the bride's father for making the contract final. In some cases, after marriage the bride takes the money back from her father. Public opinion is against this custom. Besides this, marriage by elopement is prevalent among Gujjars. The man after eloping with the girl, may open negotiations with her father at a later stage. The father generally gives his consent. In each case, the marriage is solemnised by reading *Nakaah*.

*Betrothal*—Initiative with regard to marriage is invariably taken from the side of the boy. Some elderly family members or near relations visit the house of the girl and get her parents consent. Again, a day is fixed for re-visit, when the boy's father takes some gur or sugar, ghee, one ornament and one piece of garment. About three persons accompany him. The party spends one night at the girl's house. A feast is arranged in their honour. Jaggery is distributed among all those, assembled to witness the ceremony. Usually the betrothal takes place when the boy and girl are minor. It is after a period of six months or a year of the betrothal that the marriage is arranged. The approximate age of the boy and girl at marriage is ten to twelve years.

After this, a day is fixed for the marriage in consultation with the *maulvi*. The date proposed is communicated to girl's parents. Thursdays, Fridays and Sundays are the auspicious days preferred for the marriage. The bride-groom and bride are known as *maraj* and *bohti*. Their hands are dyed with Hena.

*Dress*—The dress of the bride consists of *joji*, *kurti* and *susi*. Ornaments given at the time of betrothal may be used by her at this occasion. The body is covered with a *dupatta*. The dress is made of coloured cloths.

The dress of the bridegroom consists of a turban, *kurti*, coat and *suthan*. A nuptial-chaplet is used



by the groom among this community. It is tied by his close friend, who had no enmity with him or his family. The clothes are usually pink or red.

*Barat*—The marriage-party consists of about twenty five men or more. All are dressed in their colourful traditional dresses which consist of *safa*, *kurti*, *baskat*, and *tamba* and *kangan*. The party alongwith bride-groom walks on foot. The marriage party is headed by a couple of drum-beaters. Some of the young members dance with sticks in their hands. They are well received at the bride's house. Good arrangements for lodging and boarding are made at the expense of bride's father.

*Tammen ceremony*—On arrival, the marriage party is led to a nearby tree, where a small ball of rags is tied to one of its branches. Any man from the party is to aim at the ball with a gun. He aims at the ball amidst beating of drums and a great applause from the spectators. If he succeeds, the bride's father gives him a rupee.

*Mugdar or Mudgar ceremony*—After this ceremony, the marriage party is led to another nearby place. A big wooden *mugdar* weighing about one and a half maund is kept for lifting by any one from the party. The drum is kept on beating. A few young men lift it over their heads with one hand. This completes the ceremony. This is in fact a sort of weight lifting ceremony though it has nothing to do with the marriage itself. This seems to have been devised to test the powers of the bridegroom and his mates.

*Nakaah*—After these ceremonies, the marriage party is led to a room where arrangements for their stay is made. The members of the party sit on a carpet spread on the floor. Their legs are gently pressed to remove tiredness. Milk, cigarettes and *hukka* are offered. The feast arranged in their honour consists of boiled rice, *shakkar* (brown sugar), ghee, milk, maize bread and pulses and vegetables. The meals are served in metallic *thalies*.

Next morning *nakaah* takes place. The bride and the bride-groom sit in separate rooms surrounded by their relatives and friends. A representative of the groom's side known as *vakeel* goes to the bride's room accompanied by two men, who are known as *gawah* i.e. witnesses. The *vakeel* takes the consent of her parents for the marriage. The *maulvi* keeps on sitting with the groom. The

consent is communicated to the groom's parents and the *nakaah* ceremony is thus over. The *maulvi*, *vakeel* and *gawah* are given Rs. 2/-, Re. 1/- and 50 paise each by the groom's side.

After *nakaah*, a grand feast is again given to the marriage party. After a stay of one night, the marriage party returns with the bride. About seven to eight persons from other side accompany her. They return after a stay of one or two nights. The bride also walks on foot and by tradition the groom walks just behind her.

*Tamol*—On return of the *barat*, a feast is given to the relatives and friends by the groom's parents. On this day, the people invited to the feast give some cash presents to the bridegroom. Similar cash presents are also given to bride at the time of marriage. The amount is kept by the girl's father. It consists of money ranging between 50 paise to Rs. 5/-. A list is prepared, which serves as a record for return gifts on similar occasions in the payee's family.

*Harfera*—After about five or seven days of the marriage, the first return visit of the couple to the bride's parents is arranged. She stays there till puberty. Afterwards, she returns with her husband to her-in-law's house where consumation of marriage takes place. No ceremony is performed at that time.

*Dowry*—Certain essential articles like a couple of ornaments, one complete dress, five to six pieces of utensils, one tin-box and a light bedding are given to the bride. A well-to-do family may give a buffalo also. The boy is given one suit only.

*Marriage expenditure*—Both the parties spend somewhat equal amount of money on the marriage. The amount is quite reasonable and comes to about Rs. 700 each side.

*Divorce*—Divorce is also prevalent in the community. It takes place if the wife is found guilty of adultery. The consent of the husband is necessary. On her second marriage, husband gets back all the ornaments given to her. Besides, he may get a certain amount of money as compensation as decided upon by the community.

*Widow re-marriage*—Widow re-marriage is also permissible. She may marry after about four months of her becoming a widow. A widow may also oblige by marrying one of the deceased husband's brother.

*Polygamy*—Polyandry is not permissible under Islamic law. Polygyny is permitted. A muslim can have four wives at a time. But this practice is not observed by Gujjars. Here Muslim Gujjars, in practice, have one living wife.

*Consanguineous marriage*—Consanguineous marriages are the rule among Gujjars. They marry within the clan only and all marriages are clan andogamous. The marriage alliances are always preferred with close relations in preference to distant relatives. Out of fortythree marriages, fourteen cases of consanguinity were found among this caste. In the village, consanguinity exists among them in six way as detailed below:—

Father's sister's daughter	..	5
Mother's sister's daughter	..	1
Father's brother's daughter	..	3
Mother's brother's daughter	..	3
Father's step mother's daughter	..	1
Father's sister's grand daughter	..	1
		—
Total	..	14

*Case study*—The investigators had the chance of attending a Gujjar marriage in Maindrū village about four miles away from Maingal. The marriage took place on the 26th April, 1964. In fact, we were invited by Anirudh Pradhan of the Shilaghraṭ Panchayat to witness the ceremony.

The marriage was of a *satta-batta* type. Basari aged nine years, daughter of Musa, village Maindrū was married to Gulam Rasul, aged ten, son of Mehar Bakash, village Munguwa. The two villages are about one mile apart. Under marriage by exchange, Fateh Mohammad, aged eleven years and son of Musa was to be married to Hazara aged ten years and daughter of Mehar Bakash. The two marriages were to take place simultaneously. The *nakaah* for the two marriages took place on the 26th and 27th April, 1964.

Musa, the father of the young bride told that betrothal took place about five months back. He did not remember the exact date. The two parties were brought together by Allah Bakash, maternal uncle of Musa, when an agreement for exchange of daughter was reached. In betrothal, a set of *baliyan* was given to the girl by the boy's father. It may be added that, that was not a case of consanguineous marriage. The marriage party from groom's (Gulam Rasul) side consisted of thirty-eight men. This was headed by two drum-beaters. *Taman* was not fired at, as there was no tree near

the house of Musa. *Mugdar* was lifted by Fateh Mohammad-II, as he was the only stout man in the party. Gulabdin could lift that only upto shoulders. Nur Baksh acted as a *vakeel* in the presence of Laldin *maulvi*. Saina and Nur Bakash -II, acted as witnesses.

The marriage party stayed for one night in the house of the bride. The feast consisted of rice, maize bread, milk and pulses. The amount of cash presents received was Rs. 90. The dowry consisted of three pieces of utensils, a tin box, a pair of garments, a pair of *kangan* and a *tabeet*. Musa promised to give a she-buffalo at a later stage. The noticeable feature was that the members of the marriage party were in colourful dresses and had put collyrium in their eyes. They were seen enjoying hubble-bubble. The three Hindu participants in the marriage were Panchayat Pradhan and two investigators. We were offered hot milk in glass-tumblers.

It was reported that the first return visit would take place after two days. The girl would return to her husband's house, when she would attain puberty. The marriage party was very reluctant to favour us with a snap of the young couple. It was only due to Pradhan's presence that we were able to have a snap. The young couple was very shy of being photographed. Second marriage was to take place on the 27th April, 1964 in Manguwa. The marriage party of Musa's son was to leave alongwith the first marriage party.

*Hindu Marriage customs*—The marriage takes place between families belonging to the same caste but of different *gotras*. The marriages at distant villages are not favoured. Four types of marriages are common among Hindus. The first type is *dharmarth*. Under this, the marriage is celebrated according to Hindu vedic system. The second type is of *batta-satta*. The third type is on payment of some cash upto Rs. 500 to the girl's father. And the last type is *gharjawantri*, in which the bridegroom is invited to stay at his in-law's home for ever. All marriages are solemnised in accordance with the Hindu vedic rituals.

*Marriageable age*—The average marriageable age for the boys is fourteen to twenty-five and ten to sixteen years for the girls.

*Mangwali*—The marriage proposals are always initiated by a third party. On this day, the boy's father gives a pair of clothes to the girl and distri-

butes jaggery or sugar among the neighbours. An auspicious day is fixed for the marriage by a *pandit* in the presence of both the parties. The *priest* writes down all the programmes. This is known as *lakhotri*. He is given about eight annas and some cereals.

*Batna*—is a mixture of barley-flour, mustard oil and little turmeric powder. It is rubbed on the bodies of the boy and the girl. Baths are given to both of them.

*Janeo*—In few cases, Brahmin boy also wears sacred thread before he leaves for the bride's house. A simple ceremony is held. The boy wears a *dhoti* and begs alms. God Ganpati is worshipped.

*Tel-pana*—The bride and bridegroom sit before their family deity in a room. Oil is sprinkled over their heads with the help of a little bunch of grass by their relatives and friends.

*Dress of bride and bride-groom*—After bath, the bride dresses in *dupatta*, *kurti* and a *salwar*. A big *chola*, specially prepared for the marriage is worn over it. The dress of the groom consists of a turban called *pag*, *kurti* and *suthan*. A long coat decorated with velvet-hem, is put on over it. A white scarf round the waist holds a dagger. In the hands, he holds a coconut wrapped in three silver plates. A *sebru* is also tied to his forehead. This is offered by his maternal uncle. The chaplet is tied at the auspicious time by his sister or the priest. This is first offered to family deity. The marriage party consists of twenty to forty persons. This is composed of male relatives, friends and children. All members of party are dressed in their best. Before the start of the procession, the groom is worshipped by a lighted lamp. A pitcher filled with water is kept outside the main gate. The bride-groom puts a coin in it. The party is led by the village orchestra.

On arrival at the bride's house, the party is led to a separate house, where arrangement for their stay is made. Immediately after their arrival, priest from boy's side takes a piece of ornament and a pair of clothes to the bride.

*Vedi*—At an auspicious time. The groom accompanied by marriage party, leaves for the house of the bride led by the musicians. At the entrance, his mother-in-law worships the groom with a lighted lamp. This is called *arti*. After this, the bridegroom is led to the *vedi*. The priest chants the vedic hymns. *Vedi* is made of quadrangular wooden

poles and is nicely decorated. Kamail wood is preferred.

The bride is then brought to the *vedi*. A brief ceremony is performed by the priest amidst chanting of vedic hymns. Both are then led to a room, where a brief worship again takes place. Family deity is worshipped. After a brief pause, the couple is made to walk round the sacred fire four times from right to left. This is the binding rite in the wedding. A brief ceremony of *gotar char* is held in the last. Under the chanting of hymns, the bride is transferred to groom's *gotar*. After this concluding ceremony, the marriage party leaves for their return journey. A palanquin may be engaged to carry the bride.

*Dhaam*—The marriage party stays for one night. They are given food two times. Boiled rice, pulses, sweet, fried bread, ghee, honey and *maize laddu* are the special dishes served to the members of party. Tea is served once.

*Pachaik*—About fifteen persons including a brother of the bride and other near relatives or villagers accompany the bride to her new house. After one or two day's stay, they come back to their village leaving behind the bride.

On arrival at home, worship ceremony of the couple is again performed by bridegroom's mother. Thereafter, Ganpati worship takes place. And the chaplet is removed by the priest.

*Moitri*—Next day, the couple is led to a nearby tree of peach or plum or pear or any fruit tree. They go round the tree seven times and untie their *kangan*.

*Tamol*—A feast is held at both the sides to which relatives and friends are invited. At the bride's end, the feast is held during marriage. On the groom's side, the feast is thrown after the return of the marriage party. The persons invited to the feast offer cash presents to the couple. The amount is kept by the respective parents. This is a barter system, which is repaid at the time of marriage.

*Ghera Phera*—After a stay of about three or four days, the couple comes to bride's parents home on some auspicious day. They return after about a week's stay after receiving little presents in the shape of cash and kind. Sometimes, the bride does not accompany her husband. In that case, he returns alone. She follows him at a later stage.

*Suwaj*—Dowry consists of a few pieces of silver ornaments and utensils. A small bedding, two pairs of clothes and a tin-trunk are also given to the bride. Approximate expenditure on a marriage ranges from Rs. 500 to 1,000. But this depends upon the economic position of a family.

*Chhodchara*—Divorce is permitted by mutual consent of the parties. The second man willing to marry the woman, is to pay some monetary compensation to the first husband.

Widow re-marriage is also allowed. She does not marry within a period of about one year of her husband's death. However, in such cases no compensation is demanded from the man, marrying her.

Polyandry is not practised. But polygyny is allowed though no man was found having two living wives.

*Case study*—Nidhiya, son of Jai Dyal Gaddi, married about three years back. The negotiations were finalised through marriage by exchange. The initiative was taken by Nidhiya's grand father (Nana). On betrothal, boy's father gave a *dupatta*, *kurti*, *suthan* and one pair of *tokey* to the girl.

Narayan Pandit, nana of Gyatri (Shmt. Nidhiya) acted as priest in the marriage. There were forty men in the marriage party excluding five men, who played upon the village orchestra. The party covered the distance of six miles in three hours. They reached Bawala village at about 9 P.M. The feast consisted of rice, pulses, sweet fried bread, ghee, honey and *laddus* of maize.

The bride was accompanied by twenty persons to Maingal. They returned after a day's halt. First return visit by the couple was paid after a week and Gyatri came back with her husband to her new home. As dowry, Gyatri received a pair of dress, tumbler, *lota*, *koli*, *thali* and one piece of golden ornament *tiki*. Now the couple has a little daughter aged about one year.

The betrothal of Parju has also taken place. She will be married to the brother of Gyatri. As the girl is still young, the marriage will take place after about three years.

### Death customs

*Customs among Muslim Gujjars*—The death rites among Gujjars are simple. After death, the body is removed to the ground. The body is laid

on a clean bed. While breathing last, the holy verses from Quran are recited by the *maulvi* and whispered into the ears of the dying man. The dead body is bathed in luke-warm water. The winding cloth is called *kaffan* and is made of white long cloth measuring twenty-two yards. This is torn into pieces representing a cap, shirt, a *tehmat* and four sheets. Two sheets are spread below the body. With the other two, the body is covered. The cloth is purchased from the shops at Shilaghlat.

The sad news of death is at once sent to all the relatives. Neighbourers are also informed. If a person dies in the evening, byrrial rites are held next day. Friday is the auspicious day for this community. And if a person dies on this day, the rites are performed the same day.

A bier is at once made of bamboos or of ordinary wooden poles. The villagers themselves make the bier. This resembles a stair-case. The dead body on bier, is covered with white or blue cloth. The body is carried to the graveyard by two persons. The first chance is given to the near relatives. There is no consideration for keeping the head of the corpse in any particular direction, while on way to the burial ground. The corpse is taken in a procession to the burial ground. The women are not allowed to accompany the dead body to the burial ground and they weep and lament behind at home.

A grave is dug by the people who are not paid anything. Digging the grave for the dead person is considered a duty. The grave is about four feet deep and another cavity is dug towards one side of the grave. This is called *lehad*.

In case a woman becomes widow she does not take off her ornaments. If a married woman dies, the relatives from her parent's side also carry the bier to the graveyard.

The corpse is not buried until the *maulvi* reads out the verses from the Quran. All people present, give him a patient hearing. Bcwing of heads known as *sajda* is not held. After this, the body is lowered into the grave and is covered with mud. All persons participate in it. While placing the dead body in the grave, the head is kept towards Macca. People pray for the peace of the departed soul. When the grave is filled, a big stone is kept over this. To distinguish the place of burial, a rectangular stone is erected over the grave. On return, all persons take bath in the stream or at home after leaving the chief mourner at his home

*Sata*—On the fifth or seventh day, a big feast is held in the bereaved house. In the past during this period, the members of the household used to take their meals in another house. But not now. Recitation of Quran takes place daily. Meat is not served in the feast. Those, who are invited to feast, give little cash or kind. Prayer is held in the name of departed soul.

*Chaliya*—After forty days, another feast is arranged. Near relatives and friends are invited to the feast. A goat is slaughtered. A good quantity of rice, *laddus* of maize and meat are served to the guests invited.

Every year family remembers the dead person by offering bread in memory of the departed soul. They also pray for the peace of the departed soul. This continues for three years.

The *maulvi* is given *kaffan* and one rupee for the services rendered. Hindus also participate in the funeral procession.

*Death rites among Hindus (Gaddis)*—Hindus cremate their dead. Intimation about the death is sent to relatives and friends through a man. The dying person, is at once removed to the ground if he happens to be on a cot. His limbs are straightened and body is covered with a sheet of cloth. While breathing last, religious scriptures and *Ram dhun* is chanted by any member of the household or community. In the mouth of the dying person, *panch ratna* is put. This consists of a minute piece of silver, a few basil leaves and a few drops of *ganga-jal*. The cremation takes place before, the sun set and if a person dies late in the evening, the cremation rites are postponed to next day. A lamp is kept burning near his head and the body is not left alone.

The dead body is bathed. But it is not necessary. Jewellery and clothes are removed and the body is covered with a shroud. The bier is made of bamboo or other wooden poles. Every person helps in collecting the wood for the pyre at the cremation ground. A small piece of sandal wood is also put in the pyre.

The dead body is taken by the near relatives and friends in a procession headed by the drum beaters

and musical instrument players. The musicians play sad tunes and they are given Rs. 3/. Half way the cremation ground, the bier is put down and rice balls are offered to the departed soul. Maha-brahmins are not necessarily sent for to perform the death rites. All important rites are attended to by an elderly person.

On the pyre, the head is kept towards North and a little ghee is sprinkled over it. Rice balls are again offered. Fire is lit under the head by the chief mourner. His head is shaved. *Kapalkirya* is performed, when the body is half-consumed by the flames. It is performed by the chief mourner with a long bamboo stick. The persons accompanying the funeral procession take bath before entering their houses.

*Phool*—Ashes of the dead are collected on the second or third day. These consist of bones of fingers, knees, ankles and nails. These are tied in a new piece of red cloth and hung on a tree. When convenient, these are sent to Hardwar. Those, who are not in a position to send, wash them in the village stream.

*Kirya*—Among Brahmins, it is held on the eleventh day, while Lohars observe this on the thirteenth day. Till this day, fried vegetables are not taken in the deceased house. The mourners sleep on the floor and the meals are taken once a day. Even milk is not used during this period.

On this day, Maha-brahmin is sent for. He performs little ceremony and offers rice balls to the departed soul. In lieu of the services, he is given articles belonging to deceased and little cash upto Rs. 5/-. A feast is arranged and good dishes are prepared.

*Bar*—After a year, the priest is sent for. The occasion is signified by worship and a feast to the brotherhood. He is also given some new clothes and a little cash.

*Chabarkhi*—After the fourth year, the soul of the dead person is believed to have become a *pitter*. It is celebrated in the same way as *bar*. After this, Brahmins are fed with good dishes every year during the period of *shradhs*. Meat, however, is not served on these occasions.

### 3. ECONOMY

#### Economic Sources

Economic sources of the villagers are cattle rearing, agriculture, goat and sheep rearing, weaving and spinning. Economy of Gujjars who form the major population of the village depends largely on buffalo rearing. They sell ghee and milk to buy other necessities of life. Gaddis practise agriculture more intensively than the Gujjars and they do not depend for food grains on others. It was found during study that Gujjars had to pay food-grain debts to Gaddi brahmins. Besides agriculture Gaddi brahmins rear goats and sheep. They do household weaving and spinning. Basket and Kilta making is also practised by two households.

#### Occupational pattern

Occupations are classified better on caste basis. *Muslim Gujjars*—are engaged more in rearing buffaloes and agriculture.

*Brahmin Gaddi and Rajputs*—They are agriculturists and their subsidiary occupations are goat and sheep rearing, animal husbandry, weaving and spinning, basket and *kilta* making.

*Lohars*—Agriculture and blacksmithy.

#### Occupational Pattern

Age group	Occupation 1			Occupation 2			Occupation 3			Occupation 4			Occupation 5 and so on		
	Cattle breeding			Agr. and cattle breeding			Agriculture			Agr. & blacksmithy			Agr. & sheep breeding		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
All ages	7	4	3	128	67	61	14	7	7	6	3	3	4	2	2
0-14	..	..	..	26	14	12	2	2	..	2	1	1	2	1	1
15-34	5	3	2	67	33	34	8	3	5	1	..	1	..	..	..
35-59	1	..	1	28	15	13	3	1	2	3	2	1	2	1	1
60 and over	1	1	..	7	5	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Out of a total population of 249 persons 7 are engaged in cattle breeding, 128 in agriculture and cattle breeding, 14 in agriculture, 6 in agriculture and blacksmithy, 4 in agriculture and sheep breeding. From the table it is clear that the largest number of persons are dependent on agriculture and cattle rearing. Males and females take equal part in their work. Gujjar women cut and carry heavy loads of grass while their husbands take milk and ghee to Chamba. Major domestic work is

carried on by the women. Ploughing is exclusively done by men while hoeing and harvesting is done by both men and women.

#### Workers and Non-workers

The economy of the village depends on the strength of workers. Their classification by sex and broad age groups is given in the table—

	Total population			Workers			Non-workers		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All ages	249	122	127	159	83	76	90	39	51
0-14	115	55	60	32	18	14	83	37	46
15-34	84	39	45	81	39	42	3	..	3
35-59	39	20	19	37	19	18	2	1	1
60 & over	11	8	3	9	7	2	2	1	1

workers are 159 and non-workers 90. On the workers side males outnumber females, but the position of non-workers is quite the reverse. Non-worker females in the age group of 0-14 are more than boys. In the age group 15-34 there are only 3 female non-workers while there are only 2, one male and one female in the age group of 35-59 and similar is the position in the age group of 60 and over.

Further classification of workers by sex, broad age groups, industry and cultivation belonging to

the household is shown in the following table—

*Workers classified by sex, broad age groups and Industry, cultivation belonging to the household*

. Workers engaged in

All Groups	Total workers			Cattle breeding		Agriculture and cattle breeding		Household Cultivation	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
All ages	159	83	76	4	3	67	61	7	7
0-14	32	18	14	..	..	14	12	2	..
15-34	81	39	42	3	2	33	34	3	5
35-59	37	19	18	..	1	15	13	1	2
60+	9	7	2	1	..	5	2	1	

#### Income.

The income of each household has been calculated on a rough basis of total annual agricultural produce

and other sources. Caste-wise monthly income of each household showing main and subsidiary occupations is given in the table. This will give a general idea of the economic standard of the villagers life:—

## Castewise monthly income of households

Main Occupation	Subsidiary	Source of income	Rs. 25 and below	Rs. 26—50	Rs. 51—75	Rs. 76—100	Rs. 100 and over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>Muslim Gujjar</b>							
Agriculture	Cattle breeding	Agriculture and cattle breeding	..	7	4	5	5
Agriculture cattle breeding	Milk, ghee	Agriculture, cattle breeding, milk, ghee	..	1	..	..	..
Agriculture cattle breeding	Ghee selling	Agriculture, cattle breeding and ghee selling	..	..	1	..	..
Agriculture cattle breeding	Ghee and milk selling	Agriculture, cattle breeding ghee and milk selling	..	..	1	..	..
Cattle breeding	—	Cattle breeding	..	..	..	..	1
<b>Gaddi Brahmin</b>							
Agriculture	Sheep breeding	Agriculture and sheep breeding	..	..	1	..	1
Agriculture	Cattle breeding	Agriculture and cattle breeding	..	..	..	1	..
<b>Lohar</b>							
Agriculture	Blacksmithy	Agriculture and blacksmithy	..	2	..	..	..
<b>Rajput</b>							
Agriculture	Sheep breeding	Agriculture and sheep breeding	..	1	..	..	..

The households have been divided into three categories. It will be seen from the table that economy of the village does not depend on variegated occupations. Under the category of main occupation there are agriculture and cattle breeding. Subsidiary occupations are cattle breeding, ghee and milk selling sheep breeding and blacksmithy.

In the income group of 25 and below there is no house hold. In the next income range of 26-50 there are 11—the largest number of households eight of them are muslim Gujjars, two are of lohars and one of Rajput. Their main occupation is agriculture and subsidiary sources of income are cattle breeding, milk and ghee selling.

7 families come under the category of Rs. 51-75, of these six are of Muslim Gujjars and 1 household is of a Gaddi brahmin. Only 6 households fall in the income range of Rs. 76-100 and 7 in the higher income group of Rs. 101 and over.

#### Expenditure

The main items of expenditure are food, clothing and education. The fourth item 'other' includes expenses on smoking, refreshments, travelling, medical, religious ceremonies, land revenue, livestock and cultivation. The households have been grouped in 5 categories of expenditure as in the case of income. Castewise average monthly expenditure is given in the following table:—





It is evident from the expenditure table that expenditure on food gets higher and higher according to the income of the households. In the income range of Rs. 26-50 monthly expenditure on food of muslim households works out to Rs. 24.50 paise and Rs. 16.66 of 2 Lohar households. One Rajput family also spent the same amount on food. There is no expenditure on education and they spend very little on clothing and other items. Coming on to the income range of 51 to 75 we find that six muslim Gujjars spend Rs. 31.67 on food, 7.50 on clothing and Rs. 17.18 on other items. Expenses of one Brihmin household in this income range on food is 33.33 which is slightly higher than that of the Gujjars. The amount spent on clothing is lesser and this can be attributed to one factor that Gaddi brahmins in Maingal spend less on clothing as compared to the Gujjars. The amount of expenditure on other items is Rs. 24.61 which exceeds by about Rs. 7/- as compared to the Gujjars. The same difference is found in the income ranges of 76-100, 101 and above.

### Indebtedness

The incidence of indebtedness is very high in each income group. Out of 31 households 27 are in debt. Gujjār households are cent per cent under debt. Whenever they purchase new buffaloes, clothes and other articles of necessity, they go to the money lenders who also buy their milk products in Chamba and borrow money at 30% annual interest which is realised by the money lenders when the Gujjars go to sell their ghee and milk. Number of households in debt showing percentage of debt in each income group is given in the table below.

#### A Indebtedness

Income group	Indebtedness by income group		
	Total No. of households	No. of households in debt	Percent age of Col. 3 to col. 2
1	2	3	4
Rs. 25 and below	..	..	..
Rs. 26 to 50	11	10	90.91 Percent
Rs. 51 to 75	7	6	85.71 Percent
Rs. 76 to 100	6	5	83.33 Percent
Rs. 101 and over	7	6	85.71 Percent

There is one household in each income group which is not under debt and the percentage of debt is very high in each category. But from this percentage of indebtedness it cannot be assessed that Gujjars living conditions are bad. It was observed that borrowing has become a habit with them and they easily fall prey to the money lenders who get double benefit on their investments. The rate of interest is exorbitant and the ghee or milk purchased in lieu of the interest and principal is beneficial to the money lender. They would always buy at cheaper rates. The unit of weight at Chamba commonly called *tol* is again a losing bargain to the Gujjars. In Chamba *tol* one *batti* is equal to  $2\frac{1}{4}$  seers or 2 kgms. The saleable article is weighed in terms of *battis* which though actually weighs  $2\frac{1}{4}$  seers or two kilos, but the payment is made to the seller for only two seers. This in actual transaction a Gujjar gets the price of his ghee for 2 seers only. It was also found that Gaddi brahmins are not under debt and some of the Gujjars had to pay small amounts of money to them.

### Further classification of debts showing causes

#### B-Indebtedness by causes

Causes	Indebtedness by cause of debt	
	Amount of debt	No. of families in debt
(a) Purchase of cattle	4,100	6
(b) House construction or repairs, to existing buildings.	4,000	2
(c) Marriages	4,000	2
(d) Funerals	..	..
(e) To give dowry	..	..
(f) To clear outstanding debt	..	..
(g) Sickness	..	..
(h) Ordinary wants	12,650	19
Total	20,750	72

Total amount of debt with the debtors is Rs. 20,750/- and the number of families in debt is 27. Main causes of debt are purchase of cattle, marriages and ordinary wants. Only six families have incurred debts on account of purchase of cattle and two households were under heavy debts due to marriages. The largest number of households have incurred debts on account of ordinary wants.

## Agriculture

Agriculture is practised by cent per cent families in Maingal. The land utilization statement will show the classification of land for a decade:—

### Land Utilization Statement

Year	Total area	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
		Forest	Barren and unculturable land	Land put to non-agricultural land	Culturable waste	Permanent pastures of the grazing land	Land under miscellaneous crops not included in net area sown	Current fallows	Other waste	Net area sown	Total cropped area	Area sown more than once
1954-55	2034	..	..	53	8	1878	..	5	2	88	89	1
1955-56	2034	1731	45	..	8	155	..	4	2	89	92	3
1956-57	2034	..	..	45	8	1886	..	4	2	89	97	8
1957-58	2034	..	..	45	8	1886	..	4	2	89	89	..
1958-59	2034	..	..	45	7	1887	..	10	1	84	96	12
1959-60	2034	..	..	45	6	1884	..	9	1	89	104	15
1960-61	2034	..	..	45	7	1876	..	17	..	89	100	11
1961-62	2034	—	..	45	7	1876	..	11	..	95	113	18
1962-63	2034	1060	1060	45	5	827	..	13	..	84	92	8
1963-64	2034	1060	..	44	5	827	..	20	..	78	95	17

There has been no increase in the total area of the village during a decade from 1954-64. Out of a total area of 2034 acres only 88 acres is sown. From 1955-56 to 1957-58 there is an increase of 1 acre, but there is a sudden decrease of 5 acres in 1958-59. The decrease was made up in 1960 and 1961. The net area sown in 1961-62 rose to 95 but again there has been decrease in the subsequent years. Agriculture is not even as much paying in Maingal as it is elsewhere in low lying village. This is because of the high altitude of the place. Only one major crop is grown during the year. The area sown more than once is one acre in 1954-55 but it has risen to 17 acres in 1963-64.

Cultivation hardly suffices the simple needs of Gujjars and they are mainly dependent on the yield of their buffaloes. The crops grown in a year are :—

Rabi—Wheat, barley and sarson.

Kharif—Maize, bathu, ogla, paddy and potato.

#### Agricultural practices

Agriculture calendar showing crop seasons duration and agricultural operations are given in the table:—

#### Crop seasons

Period	Sowing period	Harvesting period	Crops grown
<b>Kharif</b>			
Baisakh to Kartika	Baisakh	Kartika	Maize, bathu, ogla, paddy and potato
<b>Rabi</b>			
Manghar to Jeth	Manghar	Jeth	Barley, wheat, sarson

#### Duration of crops

Name of crop	Season	Duration
1	2	3
Maize	Kharif	7 months from April to October-November.
Paddy	Kharif	5 months from April to October.
Bathu	Kharif	6 months from April to end of September.
Ogla	Kharif	6 months from April to end of September.
Wheat and barley	Babi	7 months from November to May.

#### Agricultural operations

January	Tending cattle. Gaddi Brahmins devote much of their time to.
February	Repairing of fields, walls and digging stone from the fallow fields.
March	Wheat and barley fields are manured. The fallow land is also manured before sowing maize. Fields are ploughed thrice.
April	The first ploughing is called <i>ogar</i> and the second <i>dorna</i> . In the third ploughing the maize is sown by a broad cast method. The sowing operations depend on the rain conditions.
May	Harvesting of <i>sarson</i> , wheat and barley.
June	Hoeing and weeding of maize.
July	Weeding of maize still continues and the grown plants are ploughed. This operation is called <i>halodna</i> .
August	After fields have been ploughed, the maize plants are supported with extra earth earthed up around the roots.
September	This is called <i>galorna</i> . Collect leaves to form manure. The maize crop is guarded against damages by monkeys, crows, jackals and porcupines.
October	Harvesting of maize begins. Cobs are removed and then kept on the house roofs for drying.
November	Threshing of maize.
December	Hey is collected for winter.

Rabi crop in Maingal is only worth the name. A small area is utilized for growing wheat, barley and *sarson*. It was revealed by the villagers that their land cannot yield two crops in a year. Wheat and barley take more time for ripening. They cannot utilize the fields for maize which is the main subsistence crop. During winter months annual stock taking of firewood and hey is done by men and women. Male members of Gujjar families are seldom seen doing manual labour but from other families they do go out in search of wages.

**Sowing** :—Maize is sown in April depending on the rain conditions or at the most if there is no rain in April, the sowing may be delayed till the beginning of May. The best time for sowing maize in Maingal is mid-April. They are very happy if it rains at this time. The maize sown during this period gives better yield and they have not to work hard to weed out large quantity of grass which springs up with maize plants. If there

are late rains this is invariably the trouble but in the case of timely rains the grass grows in lesser quantity. The weeds have to be vigorously hoed so that the crop comes up well. Before sowing maize three ploughings are given and the seed is sown by broadcast method. Usually manuring is done before the maize is sown.

*Howing work*—*Godaie* is undertaken by the end of May when the maize plants are about  $\frac{1}{2}$  feet above the ground. The hoeing is done with the help of a *nadani*. All working members of the

family take part in this operation.

*Halodna* :—When the crop is knee high bullocks are engaged and the crop fields are ploughed very carefully to earth up the plants. This operation has to be carried very carefully so that the crop is not uprooted. *Halod* helps in healthy growth of the crop.

*Harvesting* :—The crop is ready for harvesting by the end of November. It is reaped with *danda* a

### Jinswar Statements Rabi (in acres)

Year	Description of crop	Wheat	Barley	Sarson	Total crop harvested	Area of crops failed	Total area sown	Balance correct area on which crops were sown	Total assessment of harvest	Incidence of assessment on crops harvested
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1955	Unirrigated	15	3	3	21	..	21	21	..	..
1956	—do—	10	5	2	17	..	17	17	62.00	3.64
1957	—do—	18	2	2	22	..	22	22	62.00	2.83
1958	—do—	16	2	..	18	..	18	18	62.00	3.45
1959	—do—	13	5	4	22	..	22	22	109.32	4.97
1960	—do—	19	7	5	31	..	31	31	131.00	4.22
1961	—do—	13	7	1	21	..	21	21	104.00	4.95
1962	—do—	20	7	8	35	..	35	35	104.00	3.00
1963	—do—	14	5	6	25	..	25	25	110.00	4.25
1964	—do—	18	2	3	2 <sup>3</sup>	..	23	23	110.00	4.78

### Jinswar Statement Kharif (In acres)

Year	Description of crop	Paddy	Maize	Seul (bathu)	Fular (ogla)	Potato	Total crop harvested	Area of crops failed	Total area sown	Balance correct area on which crops were sown	Total assessment of harvest	Incidence of assessment on crops harvested
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1954	Unirrigated	..	60	2	2	4	68	..	68	68	62.00	..
1955	—do—	..	62	1	..	4	67	2	69	69	62.00	0.94
1956	—do—	..	67	2	..	6	75	..	75	75	62.00	0.83
1957	—do—	..	67	1	..	3	71	..	71	71	62.00	0.87
1958	—do—	..	68	1	1	4	74	..	74	74	119.00	1.51
1959	—do—	..	64	2	5	2	73	..	73	73	103.00	1.29
1960	—do—	..	73	2	4	..	79	..	79	79	103.00	1.30
1961	—do—	..	75	1	2	..	78	..	78	78	109.00	1.40
1962	—do—	..	65	1	1	..	67	..	67	67	103.00	1.54
1963	—do—	..	68	2	1	1	72	..	72	72	110.00	1.53

sickle and then big heaps kakras are raised in the corners of the fields. The cobs are removed after the maize kakras are kept for about a week. This is called *kukri chhila*. After removing the cobs maize is spread over the roofs for drying for about 20 days, and then beaten on the threshing floors. The grains are then stored in *dandus*-grain stores.

The area under various crops is shown in the Jinswar statements of Rabi and Kharif. The land utilized in each season is shown separately. Total area under Rabi was 21 acres in 1955 and there had been decrease and increase in this area during the decade from 1955-64. The highest area under Rabi crop was 35 acres in the year 1962. From the Jinswar statement it will be seen that there has been no failure of crops neither in Rabi nor in Kharif during a decade except a very small area of 2 acres in 1955 in Kharif season.

Wheat, barley and sarson are sown after the maize harvest. Mostly these crops are sown in the fields which are not intruded to be utilized for maize and a few households who have sufficient

land can afford to grow wheat and barley. Standing wheat or barley crops are sold in the lower areas to the Gujjars. It fetches more value to the cultivators than the cereals would have yielded. During April and May Gujjars start migrating to the upper hills and they buy standing crops of wheat and barley.

*Horticulture* :—The Shilaghrat Gram Panchayat set up an apple orchard in 1961 in an area of about 15 bighas. 250 plants are 4 years old and a nursery of about 200 plants was in progress. This has created some interest in the villagers, but so far no one has purchased the plants from the nursery. The President of Shilaghrat Panchayat takes extra pains to awaken them and it is expected his efforts will come out successful.

#### Ownership of land

Out of a total number of 31 households 28 own land and 3 families of Gujjars have held land from other persons. A table showing distribution of land is given here :—

#### Households owning or possessing land or have given out land to others for cultivation

Community	Nature of interest on land	No. land	5 cents & below	5-10 cents	10-20 cents	20-50 cents	50 cents one acre	1-2.4 acre	2.5-4.9 acres	5-10 acres	10 acres and above
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<b>Gujjar</b>											
1.	Land owned	..	..	..	..	1	2	11	5	2	1
2.	Land held direct from Government under a tenure less substantial than ownership.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3.	Land held from private persons or institutions.	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..
4.	Land given out to private persons or institutions.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<b>Rajput</b>											
	Land owned	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
<b>Brahmin</b>											
	Land owned	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
<b>Lohar</b>											
	Land owned	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..

Out of 25 Gujjar households 22 own land. There is one family who has 21 to 50 cents of land and 2 come in the group of 50 cents to 1 acre. 13 Gujjar households and one that of a lohar fall in the category of 1 acre to 2.4 acres. This group forms the largest percentage and the next come under the group of 2.5 acres to 4.9 acres. All the three Brahmin households own the largest holdings and they fall in the category of 10 acres and above. There is only one Gujjar who owns more than 10 acres.

From the over all position of land holdings it would appear that there is none here who is landless and others also own sizeable land. but actually their produce from the land is most uneconomic particularly because of high altitude they cannot produce two crops a year.

#### Price of land

From 1954-55 to 1958-59 no land was sold in Maingal, but in the next five years from 1960 to 1964 the following transaction were carried—

#### Price of Land

No. Intkal	Area		Cost of land	Average per bigha	Remarks
	Bighas	Biswas			
40	6—19		250.00	36.00	..
43	36—15		1,750.00	46.00	..
Total	45—14		2,000.00	..	..

In all 43 bighas and 14 biswas of land was sold for Rs. 2,000 and average cost per bigha works out to Rs. 45.00.

#### Agricultural Implements

Agricultural implements with their cost and approximate duration is given in the table. These implements are made by the blacksmiths. Some of the implements are also bought from the markets.

Implement	Use	Cost	Duration
Plough—Hal	Ploughing	Rs. 4.00	4 years
Yoke—Jungla		Rs. 3.00	5 years
Wooden peg	Nadi	Re. 0.10	3 years
Leveller— da	for levelling	Rs. 5.00	5 years
Drat	for cutting fuel wood	Rs. 3.00	3 years
Sickle—Dandal	Harvesting and cutting grass	Rs. 2.00	3 years
Chhike	Tide to the oxen lest they should damage the crop	Rs. 6.50	1 year
Axe—Kulahadi	To cut trees	Rs. 6.00	5 years
Hoe—Nadani	for hoeing and weeding	Rs. 2.00	3 years
Jabal	For digging	Rs. 4.00	10 years
Gainti	For digging	Rs. 3.00	3 years

Iron is purchased from the market and thereafter the implements are manufactured by the blacksmiths. Except Jabal and Gainti other implements

are made by the local blacksmiths who get grains at the time of harvest. Besides making new implements repairs are also undertaken.

### Marketing of produce

Gujjars in Maingal are not self-sufficient in foodgrains. They buy maize from the local shopkeepers in Shilaghrat or whenever they go to Chamba rice and other cereals are bought from there. Ghee is the chief marketing produce which they usually sell in Chamba. For making small purchases some families sell milk and ghee in Shilaghrat. One of the shopkeepers from Kangra in Shilaghrat prepares *khoya* and despatches the preparations to Chamba. Usually he buys milk at 0.50 paise per kilogram from the Gujjars.

*Nature of expenditure in connection with various operations.*—Expenditure on agricultural operations in terms of cash is hardly incurred by the farmers.

In some households where there is no male member the neighbourer invariably helps and he does not charge anything in cash except the meals. This sort of help is reciprocal. Oxen are also borrowed at the time of sowing. Gujjars and Gaddi brahmins extend help to each other at the time of ploughing, sowing, hoeing, manuring and harvesting.

### Animal Husbandry

Maingal is predominantly inhabited by Gujjars whose main occupation is cattle rearing. Livestock is of paramount importance to them. All Gujjar households possess buffaloes. Castewise livestock statistics are given in the table here:—

Livestock statistics

Caste	Cows		Oxen		Sheep		Poultry		Goats		Buffaloes	
	No. of households owing	Total No.	No. of households owing	Total No.	No. of households owing	Total No.	No. of households owing	Total No.	No. of households owing	Total No.	No. of households owing	Total No.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Gujjar	13	24	19	28	21	139	10	33	11	36	25	217
Brahmin	3	21	3	17	3	114	1	4	3	106	3	5
Lohar	2	4	2	5	1	5	1	2	1	4	..	..
Rajput	1	4	1	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..

Cows, buffaloes, oxen, goats and sheep form the entire cattle population of the village. All the Brahmin, Lohar and Rajput households own cows. Among the Gujjars 13 own cows, 19 possess oxen. Large number of goats and sheep is kept by Gaddi brahmins. They have 114 sheep and 106 goats. The number of goats and sheep in other households is much less as compared to the Gaddi brahmins. In 25 Gujjar households the number of buffaloes is 217 and on an average it comes nearly to 9 buffaloes per family.

Poultry birds are kept by 13 families and the number of birds is forty. Some of these villagers sell eggs in Shilaghrat to buy tobacco and cigarettes. From the livestock statistics one would be

prompted to form an opinion that every family in Maingal has fairly good cattle wealth and thus should be well off, but from the appearance of their dwellings and way of life they appear to be poor.

Gujjars do not have separate cattle sheds. Their *kothas* are divided internally. One portion is used for cattle and the other for living. Gaddi brahmins have separate cattle sheds, from the main residential houses. Court yards are used for tethering cattle. Buffaloes and other cattle are let loose during the day time to the pasture grounds. One member of each family is required to attend to the cattle lest they should go astray or damage the crops. Women usually bring fodder after attending to their household duties. Men are seen carrying heavy loads



of grass and leaves. This is one of the most important duties throughout the year.

The breed of milch and other cattle is indigenous. None is interested to improve the non-descript stocks. Gujjars have their own buffalo bulls and those who do not have their bulls borrow from their neighbours. They seldom utilize the facilities now available in the village centre Shilaghlat. The veterinary stock Assistant at Shilaghlat told that the people here depend more on country medicines for their cattle. The common diseases among the cattle are:—

Indigestion  
Bronchities  
General debility  
Infections  
Foot and mouth  
Wounds  
H.S.  
Mange  
Maggots  
Rinder pest.

The contagious diseases like H.S., foot and mouth and Rinder pest are very disastrous, but there has been no out break of these diseases within a decade. Since the inception of the Key-village Centre in Shilaghlat in November, 1962. The following progress has been made up to April 1964.

Cases treated	Castration	Service record
2,745	203	Cowbull 24 Buffalo bull 14

Out of the 2,745 cases treated in the Key village centre only 6 cases were registered from Maingal. As regards service record of cowbull and buffalo bull, none from Maingal availed of this facility.

The milk yield of cows and buffaloes is poor. A cow gives hardly one kilo of milk at one time during early period of calving. Even this quantity decreases to half or a quarter kilo gram after six months. Buffaloes do not yield more than 3 kilograms of milk at one time.

#### Village Crafts

A few basic human necessities are provided in the household economy. *Charkha* is kept in all houses

and spinning is done by the housewives. Gujjar families do less of craft work as compared to other castes. Gaddi brahmins utilize their spare time for spinning on *charkhas*. Weaving is done by a few families. Kilta and basket making is also one of the crafts. Sewing machines are kept by a few Gaddi brahmin families. One of the Gaddi brahmins owns a *gharat*.

*Weaving* :—Out of the three Gaddi Brahmins five have installed their pitlooms and weaving is done by the male members. The females also help them to some extent. This work is undertaken by them mostly during winter. Jai Dayal an elderly member amongst the Gaddi Brahmins revealed that the weaving work undertaken by them was mostly of their own. However, if some one from among the Gujjars wanted to get something done, they would attend to that also. The articles produced by them are *pattu*, *patti* and *mufflar*. Customers from outside the village seldom go to Maingal for weaving purposes.

*Kilta and basket making* :—The local requirements of *kiltas* and baskets are met by three Gaddi households. The bamboo and nagal are available in Sanotha forest and they do not spend anything on the material. Kilta and *kird* are of *nagal* which is brought from Sanotha forest. *Kird* is a very big conical basket which is used to fetch leaf droppings from the forest.

*Tailoring* :—Sewing machines are kept by two families. They undertake the sewing work of the villagers. The sewing charges are taken in cash. They charge 50 paise for stitching a shirt and 35 paise for a *suthan*.

*Gharat* :—A water mill is owned by a Gaddi Brahmin. Sila stream serves the *gharat* and the owner charges two kaccha seers for grinding a kaccha maund.

*Blacksmithy* :—Lohars practise both agriculture and blacksmithy. They depend more on agriculture than on blacksmithy. Agricultural implements are manufactured by the blacksmith on the payment of customary dues. Material is supplied by the farmers themselves. In case a plough is to be made the farmer supplies, wood and iron and coal. The blacksmith has also to be assisted by the peasant to blow the bellows and strike hot iron with big hammers. The repair work such as sharpening the sickle, axe and hoe are undertaken and the wages are charged in kind. The quantity of cereals

varies according to the quantum of work. The articles produced are:—

Plough

Yoke

Leveller

Axe

Drat

sickle

Hoe

Of late a Lohar has abandoned his work and some of the farmers have to go to Shilaghrat to get these implements manufactured.

## 4. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Muslim Gujjars in Maingal have a separate entity of their own. Their dwellings are scattered over the cold regions away from the tumultuous life of towns. Their peace is the least affected when they migrate to the jots. As quoted by Ibbetson in 'A Glossary of tribes and castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier Province' the Gujjars are described as a simple all enduring race, thrifty and industrious with no ambition but to be left alone in peace with their cattle.' They do not share any custom with the Gaddi Brahmins. They are staunch muslims and observe all the tenants of Islam. Fasts are observed in the month of Ramzan of Hizri era. The custom of reading *namaz* five times a day is observed by elderly Gujjars. They believe in Pir Dastgir. The Gujjars greatly believe in evil eyes and days and to ward off their effect they wear round their necks a *tabeej* encased in a silver case. *Tabeej* is put round the necks of even children. Women do not observe *pardha*.

### Festivals

The Gujjars do not have any festival peculiar to their own tribe. They follow muslim festivals and the most important are Idul Zuha and Idul Fittar. Muslim Gujjars do not engage themselves in singing and dancing nor do they have any musical instruments. Unlike other tribes they have not developed any folk dance or songs. They are always busy in their routine duties and have identified themselves more with their cattle.

*Idul Zuha* (An eye witness account)—When the Investigators were there, Idul Zuha fell on 23rd April, 1964. Gujjar houses were being cleaned and washed with local clay a day earlier. We asked Nura-an elderly Gujjar as to why all the Gujjars were observing cleanliness. He replied that it was because of 'Id'. Gujjar women were seen washing heavy bundles of clothes. Men and children shaved their heads. Fateh Mohmad extended an invitation to us for meals.

They got up early in the morning and took their bath and applied *kajal* in their eyes. We reached Fateh Mohmad's house at about 10 A.M. People

were going to Idgah—a flat little ground about two furlong down the village, amidst the forests. By about 11.30 50 men and 4 women assembled. They were sitting in groups and discussing subjects of their common interest. After a little chitchat they spread their sheets on the ground and sat facing the west in 4 rows. Children and younger people were in the back row. The women were sitting at the farthest end. They erected a screen on one side and we could not see what they did in *pardha*.

Then the *kazi* stood and read aloud *khatba*. The Gujjars kept sitting in silence some times touching the ground with their foreheads. This process continued for fifteen minutes.

Last of all the Gujjars stood up and one by one they went to *kazi* Roshan Din to put some coins in his right pockets. Women did not give anything to the *kazi*. There after they embraced each other in groups. Some of them put many questions to the *kazi*, and the elderly Gujjars sat to discuss their common topics. At about 12 everybody left the Idgah ground and went to their houses.

Preparations of *kheer* and maize *rote* were relished in each household. Fateh Mohmad offered *kurbani* by slaughtering a goat. They take their morning meal before the dawn and evening meal after the moon has set in.

*Idul Fittar*—Preceding a month from Idul-Fittar Gujjars observe *rozās*. They eat only once in the evening during *rozās*. But they take something before the day break and this is called *sehri* and throughout the day they do not take even water. A couple of days earlier they wash their houses with local clay, as in the case of Idulzuha, clothes are washed and cleanliness observed. They offer collective prayers and the *kazi* reads the *khatha*. *Kheer* is cooked in every household. Their relatives and friends also visit their houses. Quran is kept in each household. This is read twice a day. Fasts are broken with the words spoken *Rizeke-ka-vakat-hogaya*.

## Migration

The pastoral economy of the Gujjars demands extensive utilization of pastures and their migration to the higher hills begins in May. They go with their buffaloes to the Chandi, Chal Sakri and Nadin. It takes two days to reach the jot. They have their separate *khothas* on the jots. They carry with them-beds, cooking utensils, tins to keep butter and ghee and *madhani* and *dekcha*. The luggage is loaded on a bullock. Men and women also carry heavy loads on their heads. During their stay at jot they do not usually use kerosene lamps but burn torch wood extracted from kail trees. This is called *jogni*. It was revealed by some elderly Gujjars that this was the best suited season for them. During this season they store appreciable quantity of ghee which relieves them of long outstanding debts. The President of Shilagrhat Panchayat wittingly remarked that when a Gujjar has stored two or three tins of ghee he must quarrel with someone and then it is the busiest season for the Panchayat to settle their disputes. So long as their money is not spent fully they usually quarrel among themselves or with their neighbours. This is also one of the causes that they have not been able to improve their living conditions. The Gujjars are back from the jot in Maingal by September.

Gaddi Brahmins of Maingal are staunch Hindus. They have nothing in common with Gujjars. They follow all Hindu rituals and believe in various deities. They have an unflinching faith in fate and gods. Their family deities are chond, Bir, and Sitla. Rama and Krishna are worshipped. Goddess Sitla, Kali and Shakti are held in great reverence. The family deities are kept on a corner of their rooms. These are worshipped daily. Incense is burnt and an earthen lamp is lit occasionally.

The temples of Sitla, Kali and Shakti are in Bananha, Aloda and Dila villages which are within a radius of three miles from Maingal. Gaddi Brahmins often pay a visit to these places. They worship the *pipal* tree also as symbol of fertility. Fasts are observed on Shivratri, Janamashtmi, Ekadshi and Puranmashi—full moon day. Satya Narayan Katha is often held and Brahmins are invited from Sahu or Chambhi.

The Gaddis of Maingal are different from the Gaddis of Brahmaur. They do not lead a pastoral life but have settled on agriculture as their principal occupation. Only one household among them

has large number of goats and sheep. He is mostly away from his home, but his wife and children remain at home. They not have their separate priests from amongst them. On religious ceremonies and other occasions they engage Brahmin priests. Whenever they can afford they visit religious places like Mani Mahesh and Brahmaur. Annual cycle of fairs celebrated by them is given here:—

*Basoa*—On the 1st of Baisakha general cleanliness is observed. Houses are cleaned and washed with local clay. Clothes are washed and every one in the family takes bath. Good preparations of rice, pulses, *pindri* and *babru* are taken in every household.

*Patroru*—On 1st of Bhadon a special dish known Patroru is prepared and relished in each family. General cleanliness is also observed.

*Diwali*—Diwali the festival of lights is celebrated by Gaddi Brahmins of Maingal by observing cleanliness. Houses are washed with clay. The deities and devtas kept in their houses are worshipped and earthen lamps are lit during night. Preparation of *bedal*, pulses, rice and *babru* are prepared. Those who can afford, slaughter a goat or sheep.

*Khichri Sajja*—On the 1st Magh, *khichri* is prepared and taken with ghee.

Besides these, Janamashtmi, Shivratri and other Hindu festivals are observed. The devotees go to Chamba and other places of interest on these days. Fasts are observed and deities worshipped.

*Other Fairs*—Among other fairs Sahu Jatar held in April and Minjar fair of Chamba held in August are the main attractions to the villagers. Both Gujjars and Gaddi Brahmins participate in these fairs. A few Gujjar families have their relatives in Sahu Paddar. When they go to attend the fair they avail of this opportunity to pay a visit to their relatives.

*Sahu Jattar*—Sahu Jattar is held on the 15th and 16th Baisakh for 2 days at Chander Shekhar Maha Dev's temple in Sahu Paddar village which is 11 miles from Chamba and six miles through a short cut from Maingal.

There is a beautiful temple of Chander Shekhar Maha Dev whose *Pindi* is made of stone. Opposite to the temple a giant statue of Nandi bull stands. Whosoever participates in the fair, first of all must

offer prayer in the temple and then bow to the Nandi bull. Women sing and dance in the ground during the night. Offerings of flowers and money are also made by men and women at the Kali's temple and Chaturbhuj Narain's Idol which are just adjacent to the Maha Dev's temple. The priest of the temple offers *charnamrit* to the devotees.

The dance performed by women during night is called Ghurai dhandharas. Dance is performed during the day time by men. They form a circle and continue dancing to the tunes of music consisting of *dhols, nagaras, narsingh, karnal, shehnai*. On the concluding day of the Jattar towards the evening Chela of Mahadev goes into trance and the devotees invoke the blessings of the deity. Men and women are seen going round the shops. The Jattar is also the best suited occasion to establish *maitri* between a young man and a woman.

The term *maitri* seems to have been derived from the word *mitter* which means a friend and which is so very commonly used among Gaddis so much so that in this area a Gaddi is always accosted as *mittra*. The initiative to establish friendly relations may be taken either by the girl or the boy, but generally it is girls who are more eager to take the first step. She would go to the boy of her choice and invite him to establish *maitri* between the two. If the boy agrees, they both go to the temple, bow before the Mahadeva and promise to help each other in time of need. The boy generally gives some little cash to the girl and thereafter they go out and roam about the *mela* ground enjoying the fair together. The parents of the girl do not object her going about with a stranger boy with whom she has established *maitri*. It was gathered from more than one sources that this *maitri* is not generally abused so far as the boy and the girl who went together to bow before the Mahadeva are concerned. But it was confidentially learnt that the girl generally acts as a go between and is instrumental in introducing other girl friends to the boy who nine times out of ten abuses this concession. This being the state of affairs it may not be unrealistic to infer that in many cases even the *maitri* might be abused. This inference is further supported by the fact that young folks appear to be more romantic during fairs and kissing at public places is not considered a taboo.

*Maitri* (An incident with the Investigator):—On the concluding day of the *mela* we were witnessing the *chela* in trance. Thereafter some young men and women were seen performing *maitri*. The District

Welfare Officer Chamba who appeared to be in distress also stood before the *chela* and obtained his blessings. The Block Development Officer Chamba, and two Investigators from the Census Department were still discussing the system of *maitri* when a young girl from the down stairs walked up and asked one investigator to establish *maitri*. Having regard for her sentiments the investigator did not give a flat refusal but made her understand that he would be leaving very soon for a distant place and would hardly visit that place again. But she appeared to be adamant. The Block Development Officer also came to his rescue and with some difficulty they were able to put her off with fifty paise as a gift to her.

Muslim Gujjars also participate in the fair but they do not look as happy and gay as others. Gujar women are also seldom seen merry making in the fair nor do they establish *maitri*. Handolas are big attraction to young men, women and children. Six to seven marry-go-rounds were seen in action and a gathering of more than 1,500 persons enjoyed the fair. The number of shops put up by local shopkeepers and those who come from Chamba town were as follows:—

Muniary-General merchandize	15
Eating stalls	4
Confectioners	8
Chhaj seller	1
Potter	1
Basket and kilta seller	1
Photographer	1

#### Social Institution—The family

The family of a Gujar in Maingal constitutes of male member-head of the family wife and children. Polygny is common among them. In case their wives cannot pull on together the husband builds separate houses for his wives and cattle are also divided. He exercises duel control. The children live with their mothers. The produce is sold by the husband and he is responsible to manage the family affairs. The size of family is shown in the following table:—

*Community and nature of family*

Caste	Total No. of households	Type of a family living in houses			
		Simple	Inter-mediate	Joint	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6
Gujjar	25	11	1	13	..
Gaddi Brahmin	3	..	..	..	..
Lohar	2	2	..	..	..
Rajput	1	1	..	..	..

Simple family—Consists of husband, wife and unmarried children

Intermediate —Married couple and unmarried brother, sister, one of the parents

Joint— Married couple with married sons/daughters or with married brothers/sisters.

Out of 25 Gujjar households 11 have simple families, 1 intermediate and 13 have joint families. All the three Gaddi Brahmin households have joint families. Lohar and Rajput have simple families.

In the Gujjar households slightly more than 50% have joint families. In some cases the members of the same family living in Separate *Kothas* have been taken as joint family, because they have not divided their landed property and claim to be a joint family. In a few cases sons are living independently of their father, but informants told that they were having a joint family. Actually married couple with married sons or brothers were seldom found living together. They have built separate *kothas* and earn their livelihood as a separate unit.

The case study of a polygynous household is given here. This will give some idea of their family structure.

*Alla Ditta* :—He married four times. From his first wife he has four sons and 3 daughters, the sons are:—

- (i) Gulam Rasool—He is married and living separately.
- (ii) Abdul—Living separately after marriage.

- (iii) Moosa and (iv) Nawab Ali—They are together. One of their sister Begam is with them.

*Daughters*

- (i) Bathu
  - (ii) Ainsa
- } They have been married.
- (iii) Begam—She is living with Moosa.

His second wife deserted him and married another Gujjar in the same village. From her Alla Ditta has one son Mohammad who was still living with Umra his step father.

The third wife is living with Alla Ditta and from her he has four sons and 2 daughters.

Sons	Daughters
(i) Fateh Mohamad	(i) Mariya
(ii) Kasem	(ii) Barri
(iii) Neku	
(iv) Noor Din	

His fourth wife is quite young and she has no issue. They are living together. Alla Ditta was away from home. He was said to have left for *Haz to Macca*.

**Social Status of women**

Gujjar women in Maingal seem to occupy a lower status than men. She shares more responsibilities and works harder than the man. Milching of buffaloes in the early hours of morning is her first duty. Then she extracts butter from the curd. Preparation of meals, sweeping the kitchen and washing clothes are all important duties which a Gujjar woman has to perform. Men are mostly engaged to bring fodder. Ploughing is done by men but other agricultural operations are attended to by women. While on migration to the jot she accompanies her husband and carries equal loads on her head.

Polygamy is common among the muslim Gujjars and the woman is also at her free will to divorce her husband if she cannot pull on nicely with him.

Social status of a Gaddi Brahmin woman is slightly different than that of a Gujjar woman. She enjoys a better status and has equal share in her father's property. Batta satta is the main system

of marriages among the Gaddi Brahmins. As a young girl she ensures a bride for her brother. She arranges all domestic affairs and works harder than her husband. She is seen busy at home and in the fields. Whatever the husband earns is deposited with the wife and she exerts good influence among the strings of the family purse. On all important matters relating to marriages of their children a Gaddi Brahmin woman has an upper hand. None of the Gaddi Brahmins are bigamous. Chalo, an elderly woman is the member of Gram Panchayat Shilaghrat and she takes extra interest in the welfare of her community. She stressed the need for opening a Primary School in the village.

### Public Institutions

**Education:**—Literacy in Maingal is at the lowest ebb. In the year 1960-61 a Primary school was opened by the State Social Welfare Department which existed only upto 1963. As a matter of fact the Gujjar population of the village is the least interested in education. The number of students in the Primary School was too meager. It was revealed that the school was closed mainly because the Gujjars under the directions of their *kazi*, refused to send their children to a school where Hindi was taught. In fact they are strongly opposed to learning Hindi and, therefore, do not send their children to even Shilaghrat school. At present the nearest Primary School is at Shilaghrat about 1½ miles down from the village. There is no student from Maingal. The strength of students on roll in Shilaghrat is shown in the table :

#### Strength as on 31st March, 1964

Class	Boys	Girls	Total
1st standard	10	6	16
2nd "	..	..	..
3rd "	1	2	3
4th "	1	..	1
5th "	1	1	2
Nursery	5	..	5
Total	18	9	27

Primary school was opened in Shilaghrat in the year 1960. So far there is only one teacher and surprisingly enough the daily attendance is only 4

or 5 students. During our stay in Shilaghrat we did not find more than 5 students in attendance in the school. The school teacher disclosed that people have not realised the importance of education and they prefer to send their children to the fields or to pastures with the cattle rather than to the institution.

The school building was still under construction and so far the Panchayat Ghar is being utilized for housing the classes. The school is poorly equipped. The black board and other articles of daily use were found in disarrangement.

A table showing literate and illiterate population is given here :

#### Education

Age Group	Total Population			Illiterate		Literate without educational standard		Primary or Basic	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All ages	249	122	127	114	127	6	..	2	..
0—4	47	21	26	21	26	..	..	..	..
5—9	36	16	20	15	20	1	..	..	..
10—14	32	18	14	17	14	1	..	..	..
15—19	24	12	12	10	12	..	..	..	..
20—24	23	8	15	8	15	..	..	..	..
25—29	24	12	12	10	12	2	..	..	..
30—34	13	7	6	7	6	..	..	..	..
35—39	14	7	7	7	7	..	..	..	..
40—44	7	4	3	3	3	1	..	..	..
45—49	7	2	5	2	5	..	..	..	..
50—54	9	7	2	7	2	..	..	..	..
55—59	2	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..
60 & over	11	8	3	7	3	1	..	..	..
Age not stated	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

From the over all position of literates and illiterates we find that there are six literates and that too without any educational standard. Only 2

boys are Primary or basic. The remaining population entirely consists of illiterates. There has not been any adult education drive by the block functionaries in the village. The literacy percent works out to 3.2 per cent.

*Sanitation and health*--Houses in Maingal are scattered. There is no congestion and dirt is removed to nearby fields. Cow-dung is kept at some distance from the main living rooms by the Gaddi Brahmins. Gujjars on the other hand have common living with their cattle. They heap the dung just nearby. Incidence of disease is not very high. The village being on a high altitude the diseases are not common. Cleanliness is observed twice or thrice a year. Gujjars wash their houses on the occasion of Id-ul-zuha and Id-ul-fitar, and Gaddi Brahmins on the occasions of Baisakhi and Diwali. The Gujjars obtain *jantar* from the *Molvi* when they fall sick. Gaddi Brahmins also believe in *jantars* given by the *molvi*. There is no dispensary or hospital near about and in serious cases they go to Chamba. All sorts of facilities indoor and outdoor are available in the District Hospital Chamba, but they go there only when they have exhausted other methods and have failed to secure relief. Common diseases which are prevalent in this area are cold, cough and diarrhoea. Malaria is not common here, nor the village is covered by the Malaria eradication unit of the Medical Department, Himachal Pradesh. Malaria Surveillance workers visits the low lying villages.

### Community Development

Maingal is covered by the N.E.S. Block Chamba. The people do not remember to have ever seen the GramSewak in their village. There has not been any activity so far under the Community Development programme. They, however, faintly remember that 5 years back some one from the Block Development office Chamba visited their village and he promised to execute a water supply scheme, but since then nothing appears to have been done. The enquiries revealed that they know only the Patwari and the Forest Guard and to them, these officials are all in all. On our request the Block Development officer Chamba deputed an overseer to prepare a house line drawing. Incidentally they recollected about the pending water supply scheme which was surveyed 5 or 6 years back and it was only then that we came to know that it was the block overseer who visited the village and assured the people to execute the water supply scheme.

### Panchayats

Maingal falls in the jurisdiction of Gram Panchayat Shilaghrat which came into existence in 1954. Prior to the establishment of the Gram and Nyaya Panchayat the village disputes used to be settled in the village by the elderly person who were known for their honesty and integrity. They seldom went to the courts for justice on minor disputes. Since the inception of the Panchayat the villagers report all matters to the Gram Panchayat.

Maingal is represented in the Gram Panchayat by one Gujjar and a woman member from amongst the Gaddi Brahmins. One Gujjar and one Hindu represent the Nayaya Panchayat. The total strength of each of these Panchayats is 15. The last election to the Panchayat were held in 1962. New members are elected after every 3 years. Monthly meetings of the Panchayat are held in Panchayat Ghar Shilaghrat. On the paid staff of the Panchayat are a secretary, Chowkidar and lately a gardner was also appointed to look after the apple orchard.

*Functions*:—The functions of the Panchayat are enumerated in detail in section 16 and 17 of the Himachal Pradesh Panchayat Raj Act. The executive side of the village administration is taken care of by the Gram Panchayat and judicial side entrusted to the judicial Panchayat. Matters of vital importance which affect the general public such as levy of taxes and introducing social changes are discussed in the general meetings of the Gram Sabha. Day to day working is looked after by the Secretary of the Panchayat. Summons are served by the Panchayat chowkidar. Some of the important functions of the Gram Panchayat are—construction, repair, maintenance, cleaning and lightening of public places, bring about reconciliation between disputing parties. The President or in his absence Vice-President appoints *Samjhota samitis* consisting of three or more members for bringing about a compromise between the quarreling parties. Reclamation of waste land, medical relief, sanitation, registration of births, deaths and marriages, regulating places for the disposal of dead bodies, establishment and maintaining primary school. Construction, repair and maintenance of wells, *bowlis* and tanks for the supply of water for drinking purposes, arrange to maintain village paths, recommend the grant of trees for house construction, recommend nautor land for grant and to participate in the development activities.



*Nyaya Panchayat*:—The Nyaya Panchayat tries criminal and civil cases under the jurisdiction and powers as laid down in section 67 (civil cases) and section 57 read with schedule 1 criminal cases.

*Development activities*:—Shilaghrat Panchayat has acquired a plot of land measuring about 20 bighas. Plantation of apple was undertaken in 1961 and 200 plants were bought in the initial stage. 100 plants were grafted in the subsequent year. A nursery of over 200 plants was also raised. The garden is coming up well. The president of the Panchayat takes extra pains to look after the working of the orchard and it was revealed that this was the first panchayat to introduce the orchard scheme and a prize of Rs. 5000/- was given to this panchayat. The amount was spent on various development activities. Panchayat Ghar was constructed by the efforts of the Gram Panchayat. People contributed their share in the shape of shramdan and some help was given by the block. Adjacent to the Panchayat a poultry pen was also under construction.

Apart from these the following activities were carried in the entire Panchayat circle.

- (i) Pipe line scheme in 4 villages.
- (ii) 5 *bowlis* were repaired and cleaned.
- (iii) One *kuhl* constructed.
- (iv) Two bridges repaired.

*Financial resources of the Panchayat*:—Source of income to the Panchayat are :-

- (i) Local rate (assessed from the land revenue)
- (ii) Income of fees.
- (iii) Fines.
- (iv) Grant-in-aid from the Government.

The funds of the Panchayat are utilized for Development activities. Pay of the secretary and chowkidar is met from the subsidy received from the Government.

The following statement of cases registered from Maingal in the Panchayat will show the tendency of the crimes:-

*Cases registered in the Gram and Nyaya Panchayat Shilaghrat*

Sl. No.	Date	3	4	5	6
1	2	Name of the complainant	Name of the defendant	Description of the case	Decision of the Panchayat
1.	28.2.61	Abuulla s/o Kala Muslim Gujjars of Gandera	Alla Din s/o Sansa Gujjars of Kalthu	Rs. 92/— debt	The complainant did not turn up. The application was filed.
2.	28.3.61	Ismail s/o Akka Muslim Gujjars of Gandera	Basesar s/o Schedule caste of village Drabla	Rs. 20/— debt	The application was filed.
3.	6.9.61	Mahipa s/o Namu Gujjar of Bhalala	Ibrahim s/o Baza Muslim Gujjars of Charot	Rs. 48.12 debt	Certificate was given.
4.	28.9.61	Siri Kanth s/o Bhagwan Gaddi Brahmin of Maingal	Deel s/o Kadara Caste Arya of village Saletha	Rs. 14/— debt	Certificate was given.
5.	22.11.61	Sarwan s/o Kashi Gaddi Brahmin of Maingal	Sant Ram s/o Chet Ram village Maduwa	Dispute of ram	The case was referred to the court.
6.	28.3.63	Nurbax s/o Mehar Din Gujjar of Sagret	Lala s/o Namu Muslim Gujjars of Bhala	Rs. 40/— debt	The application was filed.
7.	1.11.61	Maheeya s/o Namu Muslim Gujjars of Bhalala	Ibrahim s/o Baza Muslim Gujjars of Charotu	Rs. 48.12 debt	The decree was awarded against the defendant.
8.	28.12.61	Abdulla s/o Kala Muslim Gujjars of Gandera	Alla Din s/o Samsa Muslim Gujjars of Kepu	Rs. 92/— debt	The decree was awarded against the defendant.
9.	28.3.62	Siri Kanth s/o Bhagwan Gaddi Brahmin of Maingal	Deel s/o Kadaru caste Arya village of Salehan	Rs. 15.25 debt	The decree was awarded against the defendant.
10.	27.7.61	Sawati w/o Bhadar Gaddi Brahmin of Maingal	Bhadar of village Maingal	Dispute between husband and wife	The application was dismissed.
11.	28.11.63	—do—	—do—	—do—	Bhadar was asked to pay Rs. 40/- as subsistence to his wife. Certificate was given.
12.	13.10.61	Fazla s/o Same Muslim Gujjars of Badhra	Mehru s/o Alla Din Muslim Gujjars of Bhalala	Criminal case	The parties were persuaded to reconcile.
13.	13.10.62	Moti Ram s/o Sikh Lohar of Doppida Got	Smt. Hebo w/o Gulam Mohamad and Mariya Muslim Gujjars of Maingal Mohal	—do—	Certificate was given.
14.	28.4.63	—do—	Kasem s/o Namu All Ditta s/o Dulla Muslim Gujjars of Bhalala	Damage of grass	The disputant parties were persuaded to reconcile.
15.		Smt. Begmu w/o Moti Ram Lohar of Dappida Got	Fateh Mohamed s/o Gulam Mohamed Muslim Gujjars of Bhalala	Criminal case	

Birth and death statistics as registered from  
Maingal :—

Births			Deaths		
Year	Male	Female	Years	Male	Female
1959	1	..	1959	1	..
1960	..	2	1960	..	2
1961	3	5	1961	1	3
1962	..	..	1962	2	..
1963-64	3	5	1963-64	1	..
upto 31-3-64			<b>Total :</b>	5	5
<b>Total :</b>	7	12			

## 5. CONCLUSION

The social, cultural and economic aspects of the life of the pastoral hill Gujjar tribe has been studied in the preceding chapters. This tribe is leading a simple life. The Gujjars of Maingal are different from the nomad tribes of the plains who move from place to place with their cattle and belongings in search of new pastures. They have their permanent residential huts on the jots where they migrate in summer and Maingal is their home. They prefer such places where they can rear their cattle without let or hinderance.

The total population of Gujjars here is literally employed in the pastoral occupation. All of them have land but agriculture is their subsidiary occupation. They devote very little attention to farming and are unable to get even half from a piece of land that what a Gaddi Brahmin would get from the same plot. The reason appears to be that except having learnt to face the hazards of nomadic life, which has become a way of life with them, the Gujjars are not hard workers. They would do only that much work that is absolutely essential. Then unhygienic living conditions, dirty houses and filthy surroundings all bear a witness to the fact that they are lethargic and would not like to better their lot even if it costs nothing except some physical efforts. They are deeply under the influence of the *maulvi* who appears to be a fanatic and does not want them to learn read and write. Under his gameful influence they have developed a sectarian outlook so much so that they would sell their ghee to a particular shop-keeper at Chamba who pays them much less than the market price.

They are Muslims and are divided into different clans. The ceremonies and festivals among them are not much different from other Muslims. The conflicts within the community used to be solved by the traditional Panches but since the inception of the Panchayat all matters of dispute are reported to the Panchayat.

Economic life of Gujjars is dependent on cattle rearing and agriculture. As compared to their nomadic tribes who have a migratory character the Gujjars of Maingal can be described as a better lot both economically and socially. Everyone of them is permanently settled having a house, land and a good number of cattle. Their earnings are not bad, but their extravagant habits and multiple marriages which cost not little have landed them in debt. But with a little of frugal habits, they are capable of liquidating their debts. It was gathered during study that indebtedness was more due to their spend thrift nature rather than a necessity forced upon them by adverse circumstances. Whatever they earn from selling their milk products, they would soon spend. In fact the time honoured adage that a fool and his money are soon parted is aptly applicable in the case of a Gujjar. Large portions of their income are realised by money lenders in Chamba as interest on the principal sums. More than one third of their total expenditure is required for the maintenance of their cattle. The remaining is left to meet the obligation of the family life. Every gram of butter and ghee is stored by them for selling. Why, of course, constitutes the main menu of their diet.

A Gujjar is a quarrelsome person and residents of Shilaghraat gave out that they destroy their crops and are non-co-operative in the betterment of their area.

They are steeped in ignorance and in the name of religion the *maulvi* does not encourage them to imbibe new ideas who would undermine his position. They would not avail of the servicing facilities of the stud bull at Shilaghraat presumably because the *maulvi* was not in favour of it on some religious grounds.

The immediate need of the Gujjars is to provide them facilities which could help them stop exploit-

ation by money lenders in Chamba. Loans are easily available from the shopkeepers in Chamba and the Gujjars who are in debt are obliged to sell their produce to them in lieu of the interest as well as the principal amount. The shopkeepers take the best advantage of exploiting the Gujjars who do not know the simplest mathematical calculations. Besides the Chamba *tol* which is higher by about 150 grams (for each two kilograms) they make other deductions the best way suited to them. We found during the course of our enquiry that many Gujjars in Maingal did not know the rate of interest charged from them. The rates of their ghee are also said to be lower than the actual market rates.

The remedy to eradicate this evil or exploitation can be the establishment of a co-operative society, covering credit, consumer store and marketing.

*Education:* -We have already stated the circumstances under which the primary school started at Maingal has to be closed. It seems therefore doubtful to persuade them to send their children to school so long as the influence of the *maulvi* is not counteracted. Then because they migrate to jots in summer, some sort of migratory school would be more suitable for their needs.

*Improvement of cattle breed:*—Propaganda and little bit of effort by the Animal Husbandry Department should help the Gujjar to change his opinion in favour of the improved breed of cattle.

They have not so far realised the importance and utility of the improved variety of cattle and this is yet another reason why they are reluctant to avail of the facilities provided in the Key Village Centre Shilaghra which is only about 2 miles down from their dwellings.

*Better Houses:*—The existing Gujjar *kothas* require a complete changeover. These dwellings are most unhygienic in as much as there are no outlets for the fresh air.

If they exert a little and try to cast off their lethargy they can surely live in clean surroundings without spending a penny more, but their social and cultural ailments would appear to be largely due to lack of education their blind faith in the *maulvi* and above all their apathy to hard work. It is not that they are too poor to change over to better living.

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I

### Old weight and measures of the village

36	Coin rupèe weight	≈1	Kaccha ser
4	kaccha ser	≈1	mani
20	mani	≈1	pira
20	pira	≈1	khar
100	khar	≈1	kharsu
180	coin rupee weight	≈1	Chamba batti
1	kaccha batti	≈5	kaccha ser
1	ser	≈2	Adh ser
1	Adh ser	≈2	pao
1	pao	≈9	coin rupee weight
1	chatack	≈5	tola
16	chatack	≈1	seer
40	seer	≈1	maund
1	Lahri	≈15	Bigha
1	Bigha	≈20	Biswas
5	Bigha	≈1	acre
.....			
1	hath	≈	From elbow to tip of the middle finger.
1	gith	≈	From tip of thumb to tip of small finger.
1	Goku	≈	From tip of thumb to tip of first finger.
1	Charik	≈	Three fingers together.
1	Girha	≈	Four fingers together.
1	Chota Gaj	≈	From elbow to tip of middle finger plus one full hand: This comes to about 12 Girha.
1	Bada Gaj	≈	Two times from elbow to tip of middle finger.
1	foot	≈	Two hands together with thumbs stretched in between.
.....			
1	yard	≈ 3	feet
1	yard	≈16	Girhas
1	foot	≈12	inches.

## APPENDIX No. 2

### Numericals

Cordial		Ordinal	
Ikk	— 1	Pahila	— 1st
Do	— 2	Duwoa	— 2nd
Trai	— 3	Triyya	— 3nd
Chaur	— 4	Chautha	— 4th
Panj	— 5	Panjwa	— 5th
Chhi	— 6	Chhatha	— 6th
Satt	— 7	Satwa	— 7th
Atth	— 8	Attuwa	— 8th
Nau	— 9	Naunwa	— 9th
Das	— 10	Daswya	— 10th
Bih	— 20	Adha	— half
Trih	— 30	Deudh	— 1½
Chali	— 40	Ikk Pao	— ¼ of a seer
Panjah	— 50	Paihli wari	— 1st time
Satth	— 60	Duwwi wari	— 2nd time
Sathattor	— 70		
Asi	— 80		
Nabbe	— 90		
Sau	— 100		
Heizar	— 1000		

### APPENDIX 3

#### Relationship

English	Gujjar dialect	Gaddi dialect
Father	Bap	Bapu
Mother	Ama	Ama
Brother	Bhaiyo	Bhaiya
Sister	Bibi	Didi
Father's younger brother	Chachu	Chacha
Father's elder brother	Tayo	Tao
Grand father	Dado	Dada
Grand mother	Dadi	Dadi
Mother's mother	Nani	Nani
Wife	Gujri	Ladi
Girl	Kudi	Kudi
Boy	Jagar	Gabru
Brother's wife	Bhabho	Bhabhi
Mother's sister	Mosi	Mosi
Mother's brother	Mamo	Mama
Mother's brother's wife	Mami	Mami
Father's sister	Phuphi	Boowa
Mother's sister's husband	Mosa	Mosa
Mother's brother's son	Bhaiya	Mowday-ra-Bhai
Father's sister's son	Bhaiya	Boobey-ra-Bhai
Wife's brother	Sala	Sala
Daughter's husband	Jawain	Jawain
Wife's sister's husband	Dadu	Sado
Wife's father	Chacho	Saura
Wife's mother	Chachi	Shashi



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**District Bilaspur**

- Dari and Dabhla, Ghamarwin Tehsil  
Deoli, Bilaspur Sadar Tehsil

**District Mahasu**

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(Price Rs. 3.75)  
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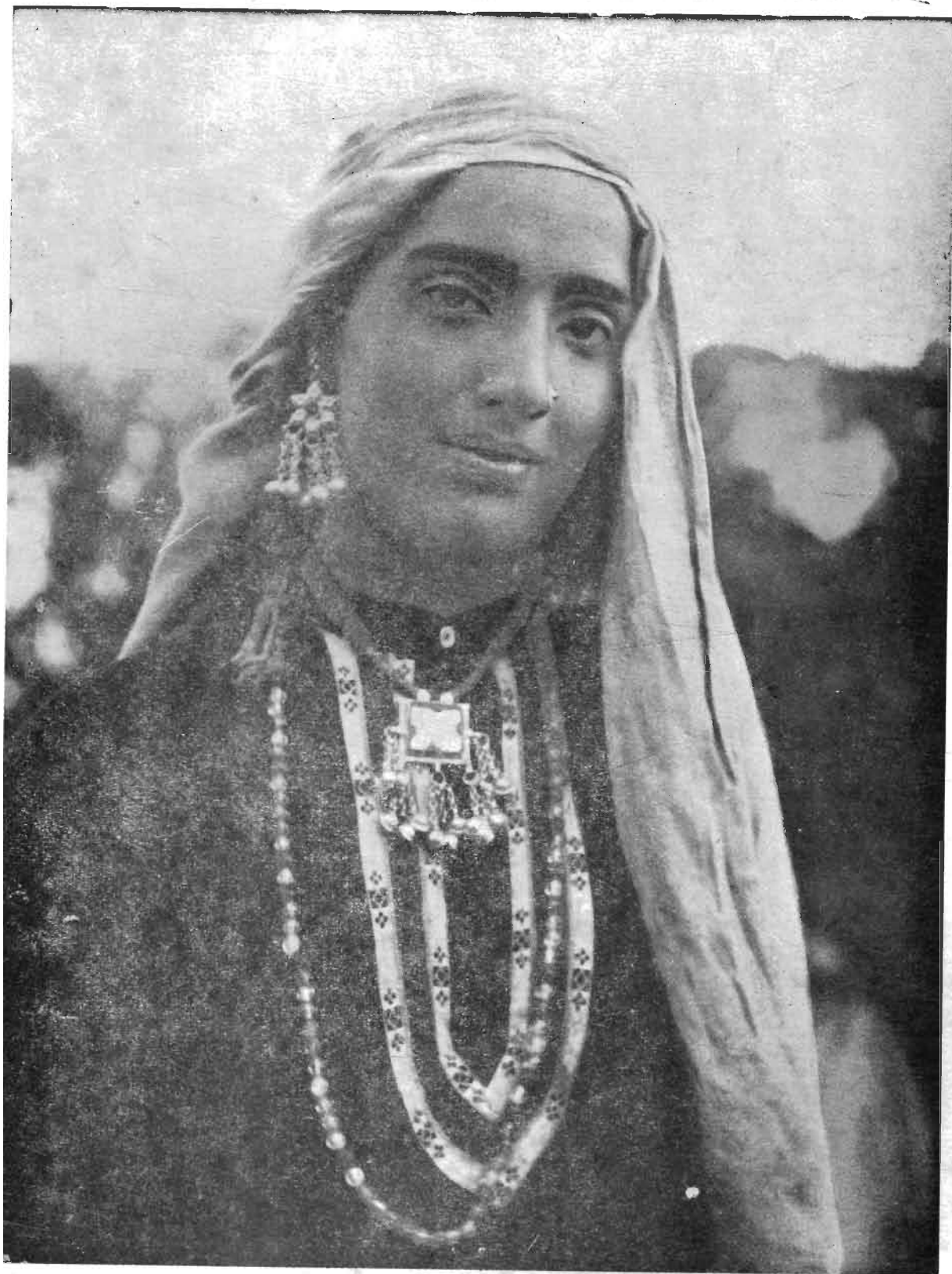
**District Kinnaur**

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- |         |   |   |   |
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| V-B(II) | A Study of Gaddi Scheduled Tribes<br>and affiliated castes by Prof. William<br>H. Newell (Price Rs. 2.90) | District Handbook — Mandi                               |   |
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|         |   | District Handbook — Sirmur                              |   |
|         |   | District Handbook — Kinnaur (Price Rs. 4.80)            |   |



A Gujar damsel



Gujjar women on the move



Preparing maize Chapati

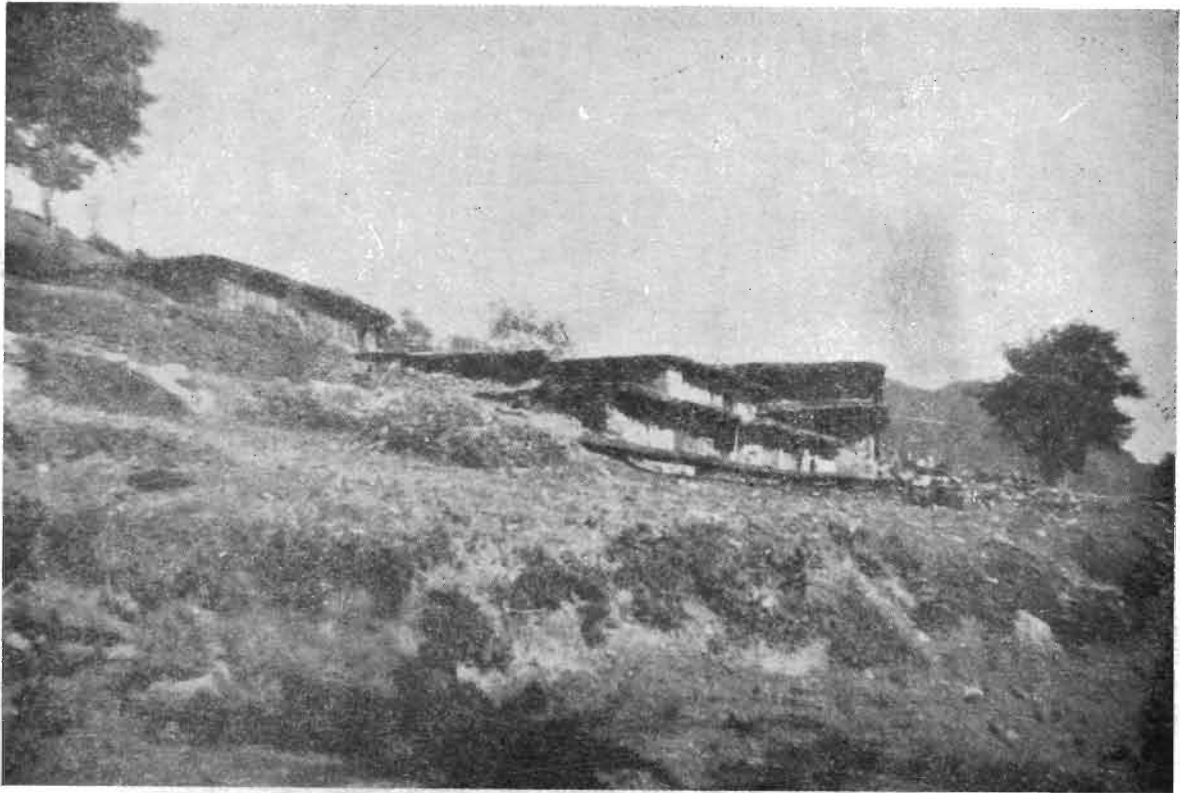


Gujjar bedding

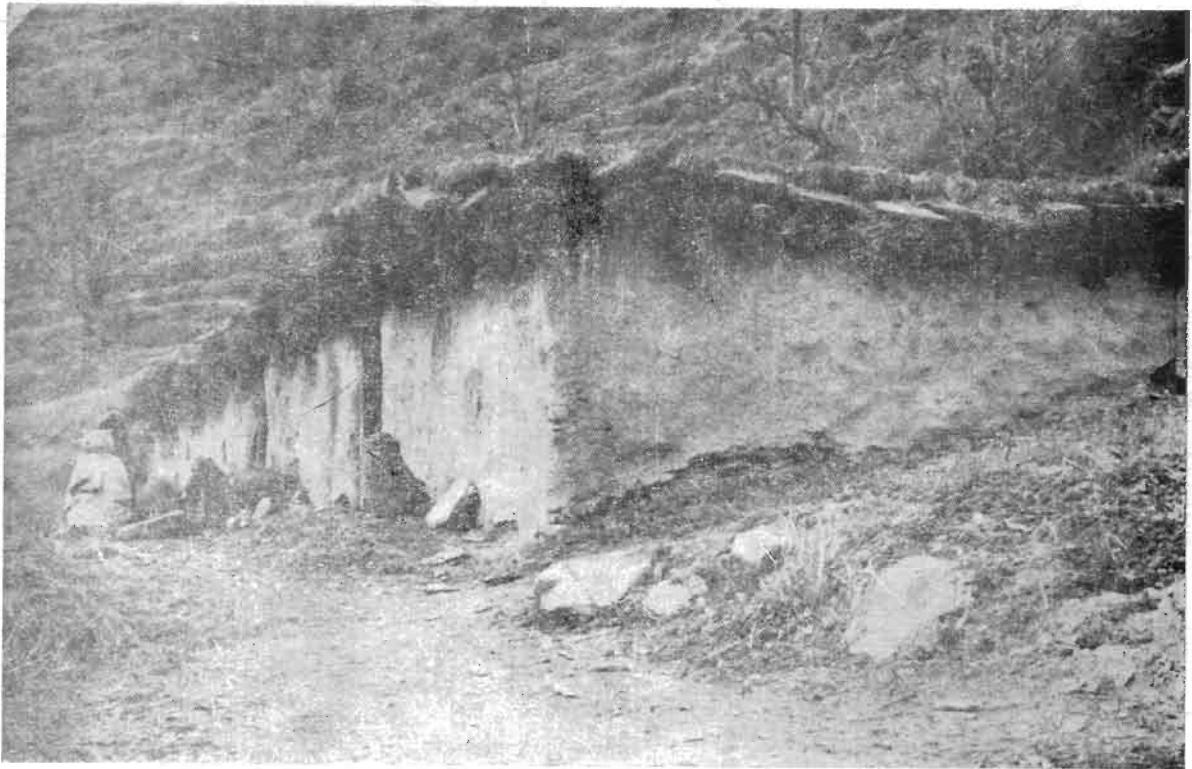


Hindu ladies of Maingal





A village view—not the flat roof



Gujjar's Kothás



The cattle wealth of Gujjars



Household utensils





A Machan to keep watch over maize crop

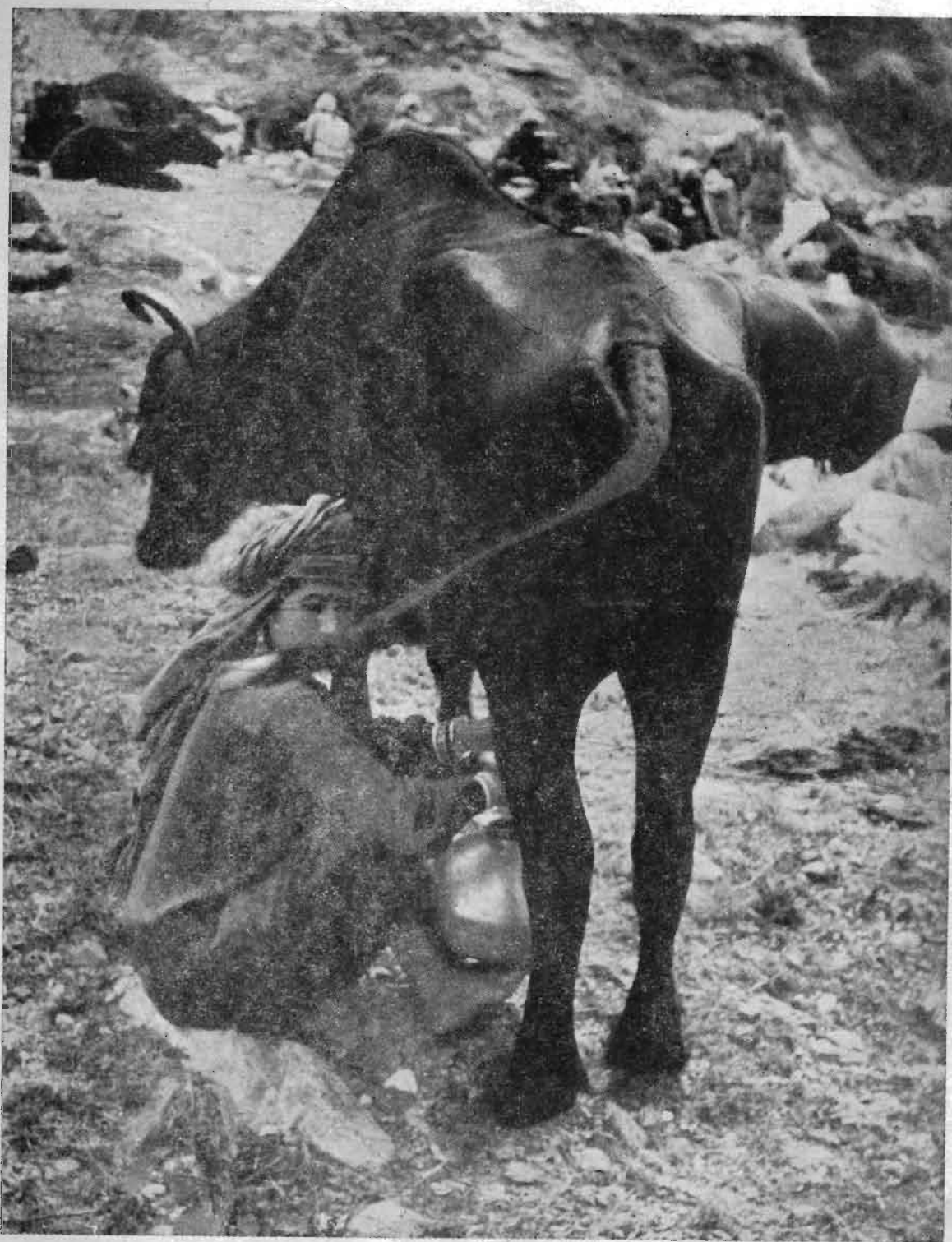


Shooting



Another Gujar lady on the move with her pots, pans and lantern

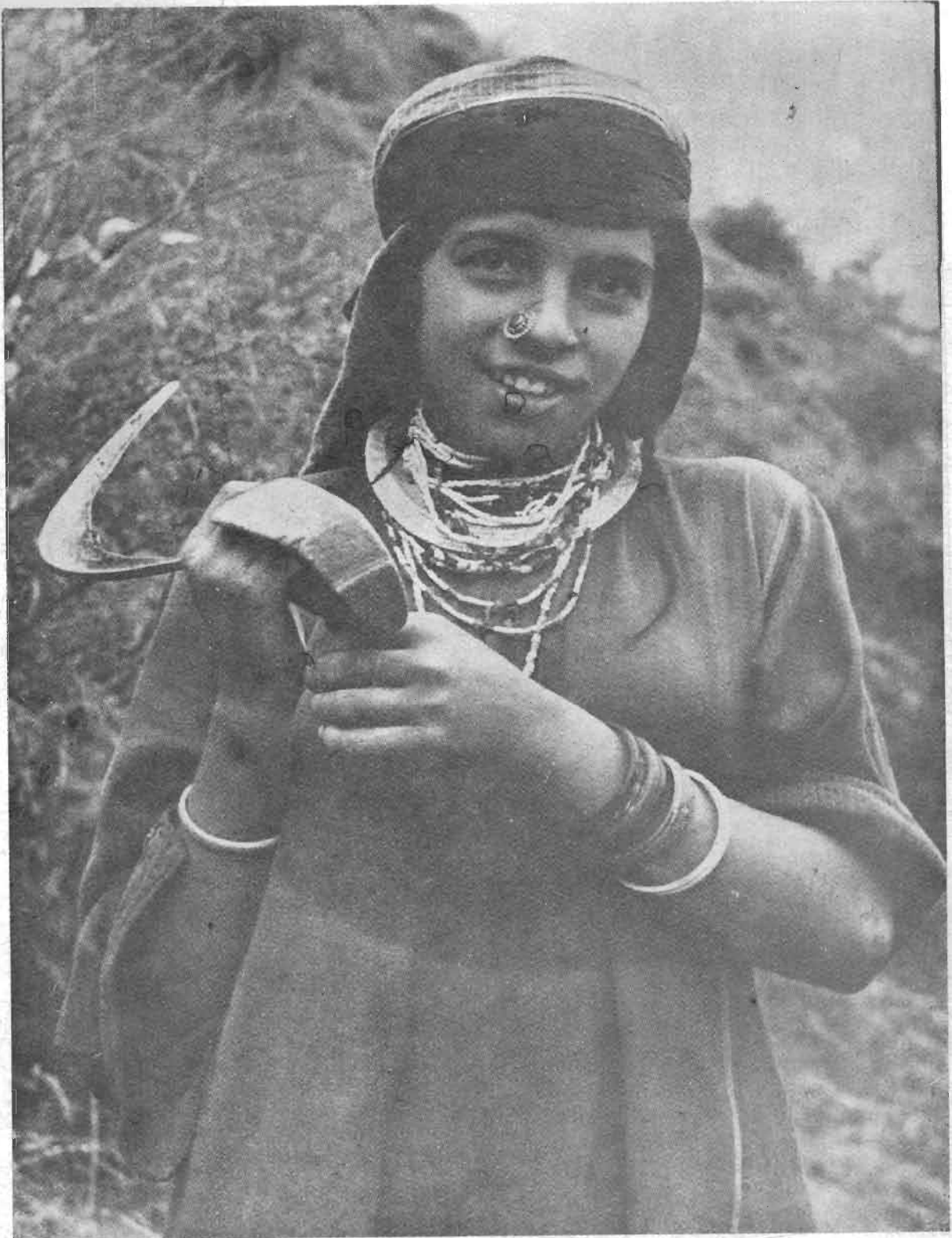




Milking a buffalo

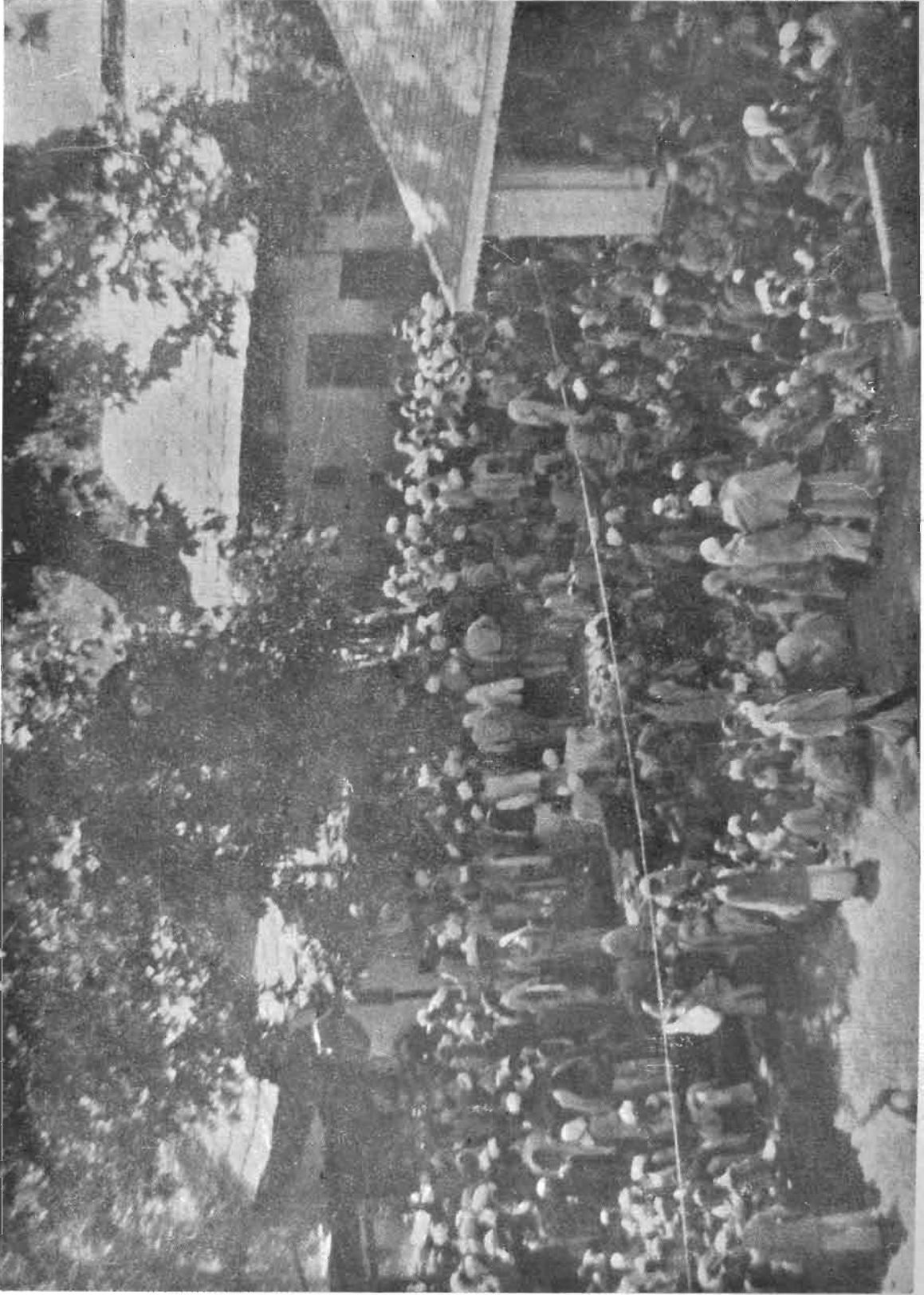


An old Gujjar

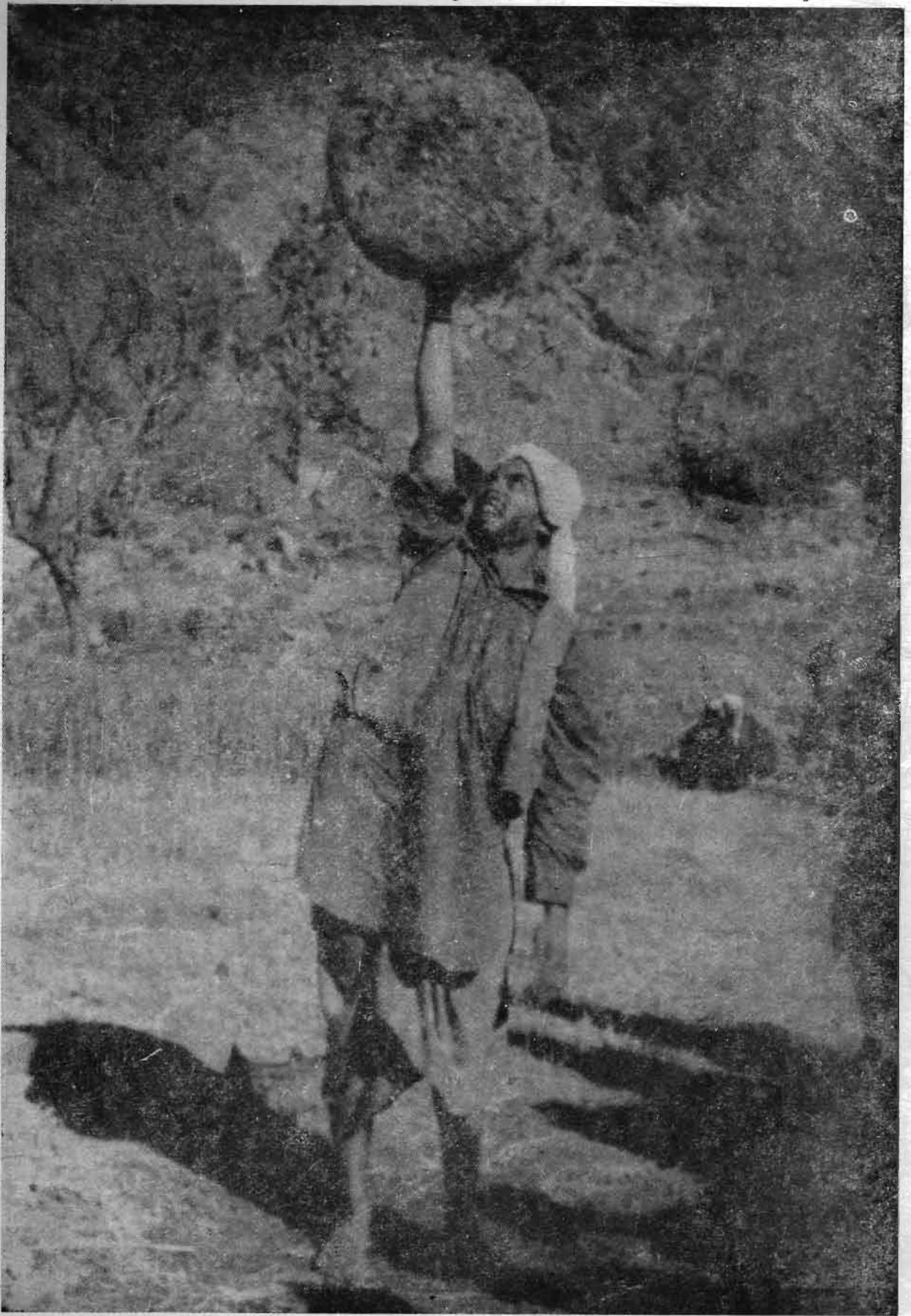


Quite ready for fetching grass





Jatra fair at Sahu



Weight lifting

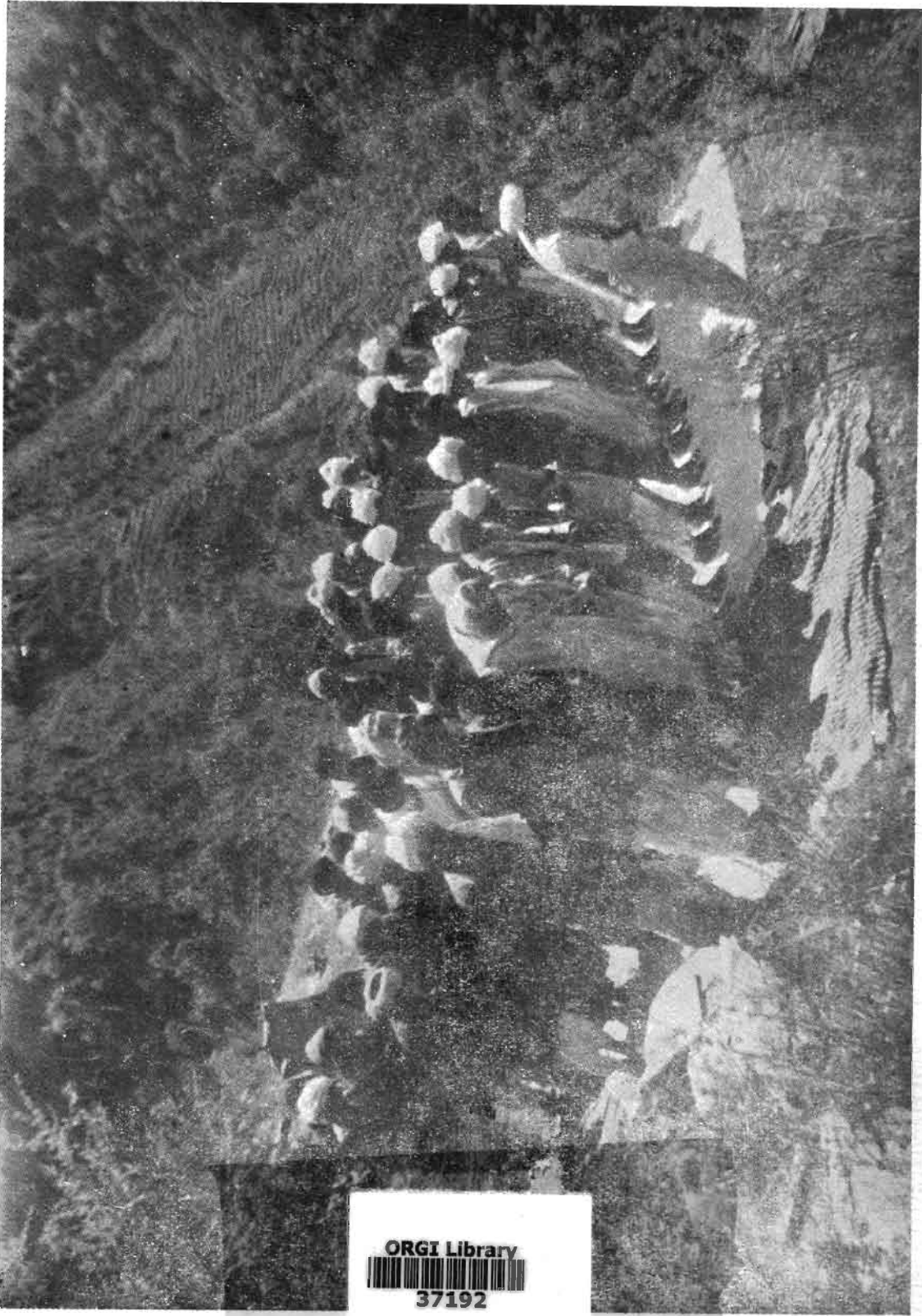




Hair cutting system



Bull used as pack animal



Offering Namaz

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