The

GUJJARS

Book Series on History and Culture of Gujjar Tribe

Vol. 6

Compilation

Dr. Javaid Rahi
Chief Editor

J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages

Srinagar
PREFACE

Here is another issue of "The Gujjars" a book series started by the Academy with approval of its Central Committee. This is the 6th issue of this series. Prior to this some important issues on History, Culture and Language of Gujjars got appreciation from all the people in general and from Gujjar tribe in particular.

In order to highlight the vibration of Gujjar identity this series was started. The Gujjars was once a big identity. The Gurjara-Pratihara kings (6th to 11th AD) ruled various areas of today's India. They are also known as great builders. This dynasty had built a numbers of Forts, Buildings, Temples which are presently on the verge of extinction.

Some notable sculptures of this period include temples standing at Osian, Abhaneri, Kotah, and most charming sculptures Sursundari of Gwalior of the Gurjara-Pratihara Art.

In this issue, some articles are included to press the tribe to work for revival of vibrancy of Gujjar Culture. The

J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages
Srinagar/Jammu
article on Gujjars: A Community Fact-finding of Jammu and Kashmir, India by Dr. Florentina R, Ms. Grazia gives an insight about the Gujjar community residing in Kashmir valley.

Another article is George Abraham Grierson's study of Indo-Aryan Languages: Inner -sub -branch. Further the article of Shamim Ahmed Azad about Plants Used Against Gynaecological Diseases of The Gujjar, Bakerwal and Pahari Speaking People of District Rajouri (J&K) gives a information about wild trees and its usage by different tribes.

Dr. Kavita Suri and Deepshikha Hooda's Impact of Militancy on Gujjar-Bakkarwal Tribes In Jammu And Kashmir provide another view of Tribal life.

Meanwhile, The Gojri language loses its veteran writer, poet and researcher Ch. Bashir ud Din Naseem Poonchi who passed away on July 28, 2015 at his residence at Nunar village of Ganderbal district. He was 75. Naseem Poonchi was author of about one dozen Gojri books and as translator he had translated many world classics into Gojri.
He was the first author of the Gojri language who's book was adjudged as best in State level competition organized by J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages in 1977.

In 1978, he was appointed as founder Editor of Sheeraza Gojri in J&K Cultural Academy. He remained head of the Gojri wing of Academy for 17 years. Later he retired as Deputy Secretary Culture in 2000. His main Gojri books are Nain sulakhna, Khecha, Kalam e Naseem, translation of Rubayat e Khayam, Gulistan e Saidi, Bostan e Saidi, Kalam e Roomi, Karwan e Madina, Masnavi Maulana Roomi (six Volumes) into Gojri.

Dr. Javaid Rahi
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GUJJARS : A COMMUNITY FACT FINDING OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Dr. Florentina R. & Ms. Grazia,

ABSTRACT

In Jammu and Kashmir the Local tribes migrate in pastures and meadows of upper riches of Peer-Panjal range along with flock of sheep, goats, Buffaloes and horses in search of food and fodder where they resides in mud and wooden log huts locally known as ‘Dhokes’. In these Dhokes these tribes live a very tough life along with their cattle under the same roof without basic facilities. It is in this context, the present paper is an attempt to study the life style of Local tribes at Dhokes of block Budhal in Rajouri district (J&K) and also to suggest few alternative strategies to improve their way of life.

KEYWORDS: Dhokes, Gujjars, Bakerwals, Lifestyle

Local Tribes in J&K

Gujjars and Bakerwals is the third largest community in the state of the Jammu and Kashmir which constitute about 20% of the total population. In district Rajouri, there are only two scheduled tribes
Locals out of 12 tribes of the J&K state. As per 2011 Census the total population of Local tribes is 232815 which constitute 36.2 percent of the total population of the district.

In Rajouri district about 12% population is comprised of Bakerwals while 41% population belongs to Gujjars and SCs. Gujjars mostly rear cattle and they are herdsmen of buffaloes and possess small pieces of lands, kachha houses on the slopes and foothills of mountains in Rajouri district. They are having their Dhokes on the upper reaches of Rajouri district mostly in Darhal, Budhal, Kalakote and Manjakote areas. On the other hand, Bakerwals are the offshoots of Gujjars and they are nomadic tribes. Most of them are landless and houseless. Their livelihood is mostly dependent on sheep and goats for which they have to rear these animals. In search of green pastures for their herds and flocks, they travel from one place to another with their baggage and luggage, flock of sheep and goats, fleet of horses and dogs. Initially, they were rearing goats; therefore they are known as Bakerwals (who rear goats). They are living nomadic life. In the beginning of Summer season Bakerwal tribes migrates toward their Dhokes in the upper riches of Peer Panjal range and even cross the Valley
and reach Lolab, Gurez and Sona-Marg on the Eastern top hills of Kashmir.

**Methodology:**

The study is based on both primary as well as secondary data. For collection of primary data the researchers interviewed 50 sample households of the Local tribes in different dhokes. The secondary data has been collected from different journal and reports.

**Results and Discussion:**

Keeping in view the objectives of the study, the researchers made an insight on lifestyle of Gujjars and Bakerwals at dhokes and various problems being faced by them.

**Life Style of Locals at Dhokes:**

The Gujjars and Bakerwals lives a separate life at dhokes totally isolated from the rest of the area. The Gujjars and Bakerwals of Block Budhal, of the study area, migrates to upper riches of Peer-Panjal at dhokes namely, Rupri, Bella, Smartsar-marg, Richh-Begla etc. These dhokes are far away from the inhabited areas. These people have to cover a distance of 30-40 kilometres to reach in these dhokes. These places are green pastures and meadows where they graze their cattles.
These people don’t use kerosene oil for cooking instead they use wood as fuel. There is not even a single plant or tree in these pastures. To get the wood they have to travel long distances for the procurement of wood. At dhokes they live in Groups to cope with the challenges and threats of theft and risk from the wild animals. During the spare time they use radio and flute for recreation and entertainment. The ladies of Gujjars and Bakerwals rear cattle in day time and the men sleep at that time and wake during night time to guard their cattle from wild animals and thieves. To solve the internal disputes they elect a person of their own community known as Mukkaddm. Police and court also agrees with the Mukkaddm decision.

There is also shortage of food items due to far of location. Along with the pulses and food items which they took from the village or town at the time of migration, they also eat local panjali herbs and shrubs due to unavailability of food items. So at dhokes they had to eat local grown shrubs and herbs and also milk products like cheese, lassi, curd, butter and curry etc. There is not any medical & veterinary facility at dhokes. At the dhokes these people also use local medicinal plants for themselves and their animal...
treatment. Their ladies at dhokes give birth to the children by natural ways. In this area a person is totally depend on the mercy of God to overcome from illness. Mostly the patient died on the way to dispensary or hospital. There is unavailability of educational facilities for children. Mobile Schools it appears only exists on papers. Children get engaged in rearing of cattles in absence of educational facilities. Their life style and their living at dhokes is very tough in severe environment conditions. The climate is severe and harsh as stormy cold wind blow there. There is lack of oxygen also. After seeing their life style at dhokes one could analyse that these tribes are far from modernisation and development.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Dhokes</th>
<th>Total Households</th>
<th>Gujar</th>
<th>Bakerwal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Smartsar-marg</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rupri</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Richh-begla</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bella</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>19 (38%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>31(62%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey
A look at the table 1 shows that out of total sample households of different dhokes 62% are Bakerwals and 31% are Gujjars. This indicates that the migration is found more in Bakerwal tribe than the Gujjars.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem Faced (code)</th>
<th>No. Of respondents of different Dhokes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Smartsar-Marg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey

(A) : Long distance

(B) : No health facility

(C) : No education facility for children

(D) : Lack of basic facilities

(E) : Wild animal fear
(F) : Lack of Security

From the table 2. It could be analyzed that there is no health facility prevailing in any of the aforesaid dhokes. After lack of health facility, it has been observed that lack of education facility in the dhokes is second major problem being faced by the population. The other problems being faced in the surveyed area can be put in the following order viz (1) lack of basic facilities, (2) long distance, (3) lack of security, (4) wild animal fear.

(A) Nature

(B) Fear of accident

(C) Good quality grass

(D) : Security Forces/Police

(E) : Accommodation

From the above table, it can be interpreted that lack of good quality grass is the major constraint being faced by the nomads during their transition phase. Since Jammu and Kashmir being a high sensitive area hence the respective nomads have to face the problems pertaining to checking and verification and the percentage reads to 76%. these
nomadic areas being located in far flung areas with poor road connectivity is the next constraint being faced. It could be further assessed that lack of proper and adequate accommodation during the migration is almost nil. Fear of accidents is also one of the major problems being faced by nomads of the study area, as 46% respondents have met the accidents during their shifting of places.

**Problems and Constraints:**

1) **Long Distances:** To reach in Dhokes the Local tribes have to travel 20-30 kilometres on foot. There is no shed or tent facilities on the way for their stay. There is also no medical and veterinary services and other arrangements on their way. As a result during their migration from lower areas to upper Dhokes they have to meet so many hazards. During interaction with the

2) Respondents, researchers came to know that on the way on an average they meet with the loss of two-three animals.

3) **No health facilities:** In Dhokes there is not any health coverage. In order to get medical treatment these nomads have to walk long distances ranging from 15-20 kilometres. There is no mobile dispensary
in these Dhokes. As a result mostly patients died on the way especially the pregnant women. Thus in Dhokes these people totally depend on the mercy of God.

4) **No educational facilities:** There is no denying the fact that Govt. has launched the scheme of seasonal/mobile schools for the education of the children of Gujjars and Bakerwals people. But at the ground there is hardly any school working in these Dhokes. As a result the children of these nomadic people are deprived of the basic education.

5) **No veterinary services:** In Dhokes there is no visit of veterinary doctors nor any veterinary camp is organized. As a result their animals become victims of many diseases and ultimately die.

6) **Lack of basic facilities:** There is lack of safe drinking water, electricity, accommodation, food and other basic facilities in the Dhokes. As a result Local tribes have to lead a very tough life there.

7) **Wild animals fear:** The Dhokes of Local tribes are mostly in jungle areas which are inhabited by wild animals like leopard, wolf and bear. Sometimes these animals attack on the cattle and nomadic people.
Thus these people have also the fear of become the victims of these wild animals.

8) **They live an orthodox life:** Gujjars and Bakerwal tribes are the orthodox people. They live their life in their own way. They don’t get easily prepared towards modernization. Their traditional old beliefs and customs were found to create hindrance in their integration and growth.

9) **Lack of Security:** The Gujjars and Bakerwals also faced suffering due to infiltration of militancy in dhokes. Dhokes locates at for away in upper riches and is a safe place for the hiding of miscreants as a result these people get exploited by them. In recent years, some Gujjars and

10) Bakerwals left their occupation of rearing of goats and sheep because of feeling unsecure at Dhokes which further added their problem.

11) **Not exposed to Govt. Programmes and schemes for their development:** The Local tribes who practice seasonal migration are not much aware about various programmes and schemes which are launched for their upliftment by the central/state Government. There lack of awareness is also one of the reasons of their backwardness.
Recommendations and Suggestions:
The Local tribes lead a very tough life in the Dhokes. Their economy is livestock economy. To earn their livelihood they have to move from one place to another in search of food and fodder for their animals and for themselves. To make an improvement and upliftment of these downtrodden people, few recommendations are being made in the following pages:

- **Educational facilities:** There is a need for access to education among the Local communities. Looking at the living conditions of the nomads, it could be seen that much need to be done to improve the situation if they are to get educated. Educational backwardness amongst Gujjars and Bakerwals which is one of the key factors for their poverty, ignorance and overall backwardness should be addressed on top priority. There is a need to strengthen the mobile schools so that more and more nomadic children are able to take its advantage. Though mobile schools are operating in some areas, but still on a small scale and largely outside the mainstream of education system. Most of these are „mobile“
on paper. As mobile school provides a flexible model of education that is well suited to the nomadic lifestyle, these schools should move with the nomadic population.

In mobile schools, better teachers having knowledge and sympathy towards nomadic Gujjars and their culture and dialect should be appointed in these mobile schools so that schools remain functional throughout the year.

- **Mobile dispensaries and Veterinary camps**: The mobile dispensaries should be opened in Dhokes so that these people can get the medical facilities. In addition the veterinary& medical camps should be organized at Dhokes to check the health status of cattles of these nomads. Free medicines should be distributed.

Mobile doctors or health centres with compact medical requirements could go a long way in educating our illiterate Gujjars& Bakerwals for maintaining certain basic conditions for their health and hygiene.

- **Security**: The security should be provided to these Dhokes so that these nomadic people feel safe and secure at Dhokes. The security arrangement should be made up to the period...
of their shifting back to lower riches in winter. While their passing from the roads and highways, the traffic movement should be stopped so that they could be saved from the damage and loss caused by road accidents.

- **Food and Fodder:** The Government should offer food and fodder to Local tribes at minimum rates from Govt. Stores at nearby Dhokes. So that the problem of shortage of food and fodder could be minimized.

- **Lightening Arrangement:** It is suggested that since there is not any source of electricity at Dhokes. The Government should come forward as a goodwill gesture to donate one solar light lamp to each household. This will go a long way in raising the level of nationalism.

- A comprehensive grazing policy for Gujjars livestock needs to be formulated for the entire areas of these dhokes. Protection and proper management of the areas by way of introducing deferred and rotational grazing and fixing the stocking rates.

**Conclusion:**

In conclusion, it can be summed up that Local scheduled tribes are still leading a very tough life in
Dhokes. There is no denying the fact that Government has launched various schemes and programmes for the development of scheduled tribes but still a lot needs to be done. It is in place to mention here that since these Dhokes are their permanent migratory homes, there is a need to ponder upon these issues so that these tribes can lead a peaceful life.
References:

Bhardwaj, A.N. (1994), History and Culture of Himalayan Gujjars, J. K. Book House, Jammu


Education of Tribal Children in India
A study by: National Programme of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA)

The Indian Constitution assigns special status to the Scheduled Tribes (STs). Traditionally referred to as adivasis, vanbasis, tribes, or tribals, STs constitute about 8% of the Indian population. There are 573 Scheduled Tribes living in different parts of the country, having their own languages different from the one mostly spoken in the State where they live. There are more than 270 such languages in India. (India Education Report, 2002).

Who are STs

The term tribe or tribal is not defined anywhere in the Constitution although according to the Article 342, ST represents the tribe or tribal communities that are notified by the President. Tribes are not part of the traditional Hindu caste structure. STs in India are more like the “indigenous” or “native people” in other parts of the world.

Mishra (2002) defines Scheduled tribes as people who (I) claim themselves as indigenous to the soil; (ii) generally inhabit forest and hilly regions;
(iii) largely pursue a subsistence level economy; (iv) have great regard for traditional religious and cultural practices; (v) believe in common ancestry and (vi) have strong group ties. However, all characteristics do not apply to all tribal communities.

Tribals are not homogenous groups. There are at least four groups of STs – hunting-gathering group, agricultural group, irrigation-agricultural group and industrial wage earning group.

Source : Mishra, 2002, Jha and Jhingran, 2002

Accordingly to the 1991 census, the tribal population in India is 67.8 million. The largest number of tribals is in undivided Madhya Pradesh (16.40 million), followed by Orissa (7 million) and Bihar (6.6 million). However, the largest proportion of tribals in total population is in Mizoram (95%), followed by Lakshadweep (93%), Nagaland (88%), Meghalaya (86%) and Arunachal Pradesh (64%). Nine States – Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh, Orissa, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal – together account for more than four-fifth of the tribal population in India.
Tribals are Heterogeneous Groups

Tribals are not homogenous groups. Different tribes, even if living in the same village, maintain exclusive identities. Socialization is generally endagamous and they identify more with people belonging to their tribe rather than to those living in the same village or area. There is also a sense of being ‘superior’ to others in many tribes. For instance, the Gonds in Sidhi villages prefer to socialize only in their own community and do not consider the Kols and the Baigas equal to them.

Similarly, the Bhumiyas at Mulasar village in Orissa look down upon the Parojas and the Kandhas, and the Kharwars in Ukamad village in Jharkhand do not consider the Korwas as equals. However, this seldom leads to any form of exploitation and cannot be compared with the practice of untouchability. This is more to do with an isolated existence and separate territoriality in the past.

The Soligas in Maddur Colony consider themselves ‘superior’ to Kurubhas whereas the Jenukurubhas feel they are superior to ‘others’.
The Kunbis and Warlis in Mahal Village in Dangs district in Gujarat also consider each other ‘different’.

Source: Jha & Jhingran, 2002

There are 16 million ST children (10.87 million in 6-11 years and 5.12 million in 11-14 years) as on March 2001, out of the total child population of about 193 million in the age group of 6 to 14 years in the country (Selected Educational Statistics – 2000-01).

Realizing that Scheduled Tribes are one of the most deprived and marginalized groups with respect to education, a host of programmes and measures were initiated ever since the Independence. Elementary education is a priority area in the Tribal sub-plans from the 5th Five Year Plan. Education of ST children is considered important, not only because of the Constitutional obligation but also as a crucial input for total development of tribal communities.

Another important development in the policy towards education of tribals is the National Policy on Education (NPE), 1986 which specified among other things the following:
• Priority will be accorded to opening primary schools in tribal areas.
• There is need to develop curricula and devise instructional material in tribal language at the initial stages with arrangements for switchover to regional languages.
• ST youths will be encouraged to take up teaching in tribal areas.
• Ashram schools/residential schools will be established on a large scale in tribal areas.
• Incentive schemes will be formulated for the STs, keeping in view their special needs and lifestyle.

NPE, 1986 and Programme of Action (POA), 1992 recognized the heterogeneity and diversity of the tribal areas, besides underlining the importance of instruction through the mother tongue and the need for preparing teaching/learning material in the tribal languages.
Working group on Elementary and Adult Education for Xth Five Year Plan (2002-07) emphasized the need to improve the quality of education of tribal children and ensuring equity, besides further improving the access.

**STs and Literacy**

The literacy rate for STs has gone up from 8.5% (male – 13.8%, female – 3.2%) in 1961 to 29.6% (male – 40.6%, female – 18.2%) in 1991 and to 40% (male – 59%, female – 37%) in 1999-2000 as per the 55th Round of NSS.

**Table 1: Literacy Rates – STs Vs. All Castes (in %)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Schedule Tribes</th>
<th>All Castes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: Comparative Literacy Rates – (in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particulars</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>Other than SC/ST</th>
<th>Co-efficient of equality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>69.5</td>
<td>71.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>64.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Selected Educational Statistics 1999-2000*

States with large proportion of STs like Mizoram, Nagaland and Meghalaya have high literacy rate while States with large number of tribals like Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh have low tribal literacy rate (Sujatha, 2000).
For instance, tribal literacy in Madhya Pradesh was 7.6% in 1971, 10.7% in 1981, 21.5% in 1991 and 36% in 1999-2000 (NSSs 55th Round) – all below the national average for tribal literacy.

The disparity among various States in terms of tribal literacy rates is high ranging from 82% in Mizoram to 17% in Andhra Pradesh (India Education Report; 2002). As many as 174 districts (out of 418 districts in the country in 1991) in 1991 have ST literacy rate below the national average of 29.6%. Tribal literacy in 17 districts (7 in Uttar Pradesh, 4 in Madhya Pradesh, 3 in Rajasthan, 2 in Assam and 1 in Orissa) is below 10% while in 3 districts, it is more than 90% (2 in Himachal Pradesh and 1 in Bihar). Lalitpur district of Uttar Pradesh has the lowest ST literacy – 4.8%.

Data reveal that States, which are low in general and tribal literacy are also States with higher gender disparity (Sujatha, 2000). The female literacy among STs has increased from just 3.2% in 1961 to 37% in 1999-00. As per 1991 Census, female literacy of tribals is high in Mizoram (79%), Nagaland (55%), Sikkim (50%) and Kerala (51%), compared to Andhra Pradesh (8.7%), and Rajasthan (4.4%). There were 119 districts in the country in 1991 where ST female
literacy rate was below 10%. Most of them were in Madhya Pradesh (27), Uttar Pradesh (27), Bihar (20), Rajasthan (20) and Andhra Pradesh (11).

Although disaggregated data on tribal literacy from the 2001 census is not available yet, there is an indication that tribal literacy especially that of women may go up as most of the states with large number of STs have reported substantial increase in the literacy rate in the 2001 Census. NSS 55th Round (1999-2000) also gave indication of the rising trend of tribal literacy in India.

**Strategies and Approaches in SSA**

The National Programme of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), which aims to achieve Universal Elementary Education (UEE), has a special focus on education of the tribal children. Tribal children are an important constituent of the Special Focus Group (SFG) under SSA; other focus groups include girls, SCs, working children, urban deprived children, children with special needs, children below poverty line and migrating children. These groups are not mutually exclusive and they overlap.
One of the super goals of SSA is to “bridge all gender and social category gaps at primary stage by 2007 and at elementary stage by 2010”. The broad strategies under SSA reiterate that there will be a focus on participation of children from SC/ST and minorities, urban deprived children, children with special needs, working children and children in the hardest to reach groups.

The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) recognizes the varied issues and challenges in tribal education in view of the heterogeneous structure of tribal population in the country. The issues and challenges in tribal education can be categorized as external, internal, socio-economic and psychological. The external constraints are related to issues at levels of policy, planning and implementation while internal constraints are with respect to school system, content, curriculum, pedagogy, medium of instruction etc. The third set of problems relates to social economic and cultural background of tribals and psychological aspects of first generation learners.

STs are at different levels of socio-economic and educational development. STs in North Eastern States and those settled in urban and semi-urban areas are comparatively better placed. The problems
of education of the ST children vary from area to area and tribe to tribe. Therefore, SSA emphases on area specific and tribe specific planning and implementation of interventions, which could meet the learning needs of ST children.

The planning teams at the State and district levels under SSA have been sensitized about the approach adopted and provisions made in the SSA framework for the education of ST children. The assessment of the problems issues and challenges relating to/of tribal education is made through the household surveys and micro planning exercise. The plans are developed by the districts based on the findings as well as the secondary data.

The `Manual of Appraisal of Plans’ brought out by the Ministry of Human Resource Development has outlined appraisal issues with respect to planning of interventions for the education of tribal children. Monitoring tools have also been developed to ensure that programmes for education of tribal children are implemented as planned. A checklist to address the equity issues specially focusing the education of ST children has also been developed.
Some of the interventions being promoted in States under SSA include:

- Setting up schools, education guarantee centres and alternative schools in tribal habitations for non-enrolled and drop out children.
- Textbooks in mother tongue for children at the beginning of the primary education cycle, where they do not understand the regional language. Suitably adapt the curriculum and make available locally relevant teaching learning materials for tribal students.
- Special training for non-tribal teachers to work in tribal areas, including knowledge of tribal dialect
- Special support to teachers as per need
- Deploying community teachers
- Bridge Language Inventory for use of teachers
• The school calendar in tribal areas may be prepared as per local requirements and festivals.
• Anganwadis and Balwadis or creches in each school in tribal areas so that the girls are relieved from sibling care responsibilities.
• Special plan for nomadic and migrant workers.
• Engagement of community organizers from ST communities with a focus on schooling needs of children from specific households.
• Ensuring sense of ownership of school communities by ST communities by increasing representatives of STs in VECs / PTAs etc. Involving community leaders in school management.
• Monitoring attendance and retention of children.
• Providing context specific interventions eg. Ashram school, hostel, incentives etc.
Provisions under SSA

SSA provides for Rs. 1.5 million per district per year for specific interventions for education of SC/ST children. It also provides free textbooks upto Rs. 150/- for girls and SC/ST children (SSA framework for implementation, 2002).

The other components under the broad framework of SSA which have an impact on the education of tribal education are (i) school/EGS like alternative facility to be set up within one kilometer of all habitations; (ii) upgradation of EGS to regular schools after two years; (iii) mainstreaming camps, bridge courses/residential camps for out of school girls SC/ST children under the alternative and innovative education component; (iv) provision of process based community participation with a focus on the participation of women and SC/ST; (v) free mid-day-meal to all children at primary stage; and (vi) interventions for early childhood care and education.

Universalizing access

One of the challenges in providing education to tribal children is with respect to setting up schooling facilities in small, scattered and remote tribal
habitations. The majority of the Scheduled Tribes live in sparsely populated habitations in interior, and inaccessible hilly and forest areas of the country. Nearly 22 per cent of the tribal habitations have population less than 100 while more than 40% have population of 100 to 300. The rest have population of 300 to 500 (Sujatha, 2000).

**Relaxed Norm on Setting up Schools**

One of the reasons for poor access to schooling in tribal areas before 1980s was the high norm on population, number of children and distance for opening new schools. Most of the States have relaxed these norms to enable setting up schools even in small tribal hamlets. This, along with other measures has improved access in tribal areas. For instance, Andhra Pradesh has relaxed norms to set up schools in habitations even with 20 school-age children. Some States Karnataka etc. have lowered the population size norm, especially for tribal areas. EGS centers can now be established even with 15 children. In remote tribal habitations in hilly areas of North Eastern States and Jammu & Kashmir, EGS schools can be opened even with 10 children.
The Sixth All India Educational Survey (1993) shows that 78 per cent of tribal population and 56 per cent of tribal habitations have been provided primary schools within the habitation. In addition, 11 per cent of tribal population and 20 per cent of tribal habitations have schools within less than 1 km radius. About 65 per cent of rural habitations covering 86 per cent of the total rural population have primary schools within the habitations or within a distance of half kilometer, as against 56 per cent of tribal habitations with 79 per cent of tribal population. Mizoram and Gujarat have the highest percentage of population and habitations covered by primary schools within the habitations. As high as 95 per cent of tribal population and 85 to 90 per cent of the tribal habitations in the States are provided with schooling facility within the habitation. According to the Sixth All India Educational Survey (1993) there are about 176,500 habitations without schooling facilities, mostly in tribal habitations and habitations of hardest to reach groups. The situation regarding access has now improved substantially, thanks to the schemes like NFE/Education Guarantee Scheme and Alternative
and Innovative Education (EGS & AIE), DPEP and Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan.

More than 70,000 education guarantee centres and alternative schools were opened under the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP), EGS schemes and other programmes in the State over the last 10 years. In addition about 116,000 new primary and upper primary schools were opened since 1996-97 – as number of schools increased from 767,000 in 1995-96 to 883,000 in 2001-02 (Abstract of Educational Statistics 2001-02).

Subsequent to this statistical report, SSA sanctioned in the last two years over 85,000 new schools. In addition 300,000 EGS centers and equal number of alternative and innovative education centers were sanctioned to benefit more than 14 million never enrolled and out of school children. Many of these new schools, EGS centers and alternative schools have been sanctioned in the tribal habitations, improving the schooling access.
As per the latest estimate (2003-04), there are about 81,000 unserved habitations in the country. The largest number of unserved habitations without primary schools is in Bihar (14200) followed by Orissa (13100), Assam (12300), Rajasthan (8000), West Bengal (6600) and Andhra Pradesh (4100). These unserved habitations are being covered under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan. Considered the position of access to schooling in tribal areas in States. Madhya Pradesh has set up EGS schools in every habitation having at least 40 children. The majority of these EGS schools are located in tribal areas. Andhra Pradesh has gone one step further by deciding to set up community schools called ‘Mabadi’ in every habitation with at least 15 children. In Javadu hills of Tiru district of Tamil Nadu, access to formal schools was a major problem for the tribal population. The State has opened a number of forest schools in these areas. In Kerala, over 100 multigrade centres have been set up in small tribal habitations, which have at least 20 children. In Gadchirauli and Dhule of Maharashtra, there were many tribal habitations where children do not have access to schooling. Contract schools have been set up in these habitations. In Gujarat, there are many districts with significant tribal population, which migrate with children in search of work. The State has
adopted strategies like summer camps, seasonal hostels and salt farm schools for covering children in such areas. Bridge Courses are run for such children to ensure that children could be readmitted to formal schools. In Himachal Pradesh, Sirmour district experimented with mobile teachers for migrating Gujjar children in Nohrudhar education Block. There are residential Ashram Schools for tribal children in many States including Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh.

**Ashram School**

Ashram schools are residential schools for tribal children from a cluster of habitations. Based on the Gandhian philosophy of self-reliance, it was first experimented by Thakkar Bapa, a Gandhian in Panchamahal district of Gujarat in the pre-independence days (Ananda, 1994). Ashram schools were found effective as (i) it was not feasible to open full fledged schools in very small and scattered habitations (ii) it created congenial atmosphere for teaching learning as it is assumed that the tribal households do not have such an environment and (iii) it helped to
develop the total personality of the child and impart vocational skills to improve employment opportunities.

In Bihar emphasis is on opening Apana Vidyalayas in tribal dominated villages for non-enrolled/dropout children. The Angana Vidyalayas for 9+ girls have also been set up on a priority basis in SC/ST dominated areas. In Assam about 1200 AS centres are run in tribal and tea garden estates. Apart from setting up of alternative schools for remote habitations, the alternative schooling strategies under SSA have also targeted out of school children in tribal areas and pockets.

Universalizing Participation

Out of the ST child population of 16 million in the age group of 6-14 years, more than 14 million (11 million at primary stage and 3 million upper primary stage) ST children are attending schools during 2000-01 (Selected Educational Statistics 2001-02). This means about 2 million ST children were not attending school during 2001-02.

Table 3: Enrolment of ST Students During 1980-81 to 2000-01 (In million)

J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages
Srinagar/Jammu
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary (I-V)</th>
<th>Upper Primary (VI-VIII)</th>
<th>Elementary (I-VIII)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-86</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-96</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-97</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-98</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-99</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-00</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-01</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The enrolment of scheduled tribes at the primary and upper primary in the last 20 years from 1980-81 to 2000-01 increased by 2.4 and 4.2 times respectively. There has been a clear positive trend with respect to participation of ST girls in education. Their enrolment increased by 3 times at primary and 6 times at upper primary stage during the same period. The share of tribal girls in the total school going tribal children at the elementary stage increased from 32.1% in 1981 to 41.2% in 2000-01.

The Gross Enrollment Ration (GER) of ST children is now about 96 to 100% at primary stage and 88 to 89% at elementary stage, as shown in Table 4.

**Table 4: Gross Enrolment Rations (GERs) of ST Students (In per cent)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary (I-V)</th>
<th>Upper Primary (VI-VIII)</th>
<th>Elementary (I-VIII)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986-87</td>
<td>111.0</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>90.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>125.4</td>
<td>81.4</td>
<td>104.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages
Srinagar/Jammu
In DPEP districts, DISE Data on enrolment of tribal children during 1997-98 to 1999-2000 indicates increase in enrolment of tribal children as given below.

Table 5: ST Enrolment in DPEP (in 100,000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>Year 1</td>
<td>Year 2</td>
<td>Year 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>2.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>12.40</td>
<td>13.41</td>
<td>14.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>7.12</td>
<td>7.85</td>
<td>8.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>2.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>4.77</td>
<td>4.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Oases of Universal Education

The school participation of children, especially tribal children, is influenced by interplay of a range of factors at school, society and family. For school participation, ideally, all the three factors should be positive or at least one or two factors should be strongly favourable.

There are a few oases of universal education in the country. One such area is the tribal blocks of Dondi and Dondi Lohara Blocks in the Durg district of the newly formed Chhattisgarh State. In Dondi, out of the child population (6-14 years) of 24,518, the enrolment is 24,404. There are only 104 out-of-school children in the block. The net enrolment ration (NER) at primary stage is an almost impossible figure – 99.79%. The dropout rate is just 0.76% and completion rate is as high as 96.4% (DISE 2003, Durg).

Dondi Lohara, the adjacent tribal block is another island of excellence in UEE. It also has similar almost impossible educational indicators. Of the child population of 33,471, there are only 103
out-of-school children. The NER at primary stage is 99.24% and at upper primary 99.58%. The dropout rate is only 0.58% and completion rate 94.42% (DISE 2003, Durg).

I could not see a single out-of-school child in the fields, roads and ponds of Dondi and Dondi Lohar blocks during my three-day field visit in August, 2003. But one afternoon I saw an 11 year old boy grazing cattle in the Karre forest area in the Dondi Lohara block. When I approached him, the boy started running but I chased him. He was not an out-of-school child. A grade 4 student from the neighbouring district, he had come to spend 2-3 days with his uncle in Dondi Lohara.

What sets apart Dondi and Dondi Lohara – the islands of UEE – from the rest of the country? There are several reasons. Firstly, the hugely successful total literacy campaign in the Durg district in 1989-91 created a positive perception on value of education. Secondly, most of the children are second-generation learners, which reflects the parental interest in education. Thirdly, there are no social inequalities among social groups and there is no social exclusion or social disharmony. Fourthly, most of the tribals
and dalits have land holding and therefore, they are not affected by poverty or economic deprivation.

**Source: Zachariah, 2003**

**Education – Social Norm in Kerala**

Kerala is another example where the main driver of high school participation of tribal children is societal factors. In Kerala, the societal norm in favour of education even among STs had emerged long back. There were several factors – socio-potential awakening, absence of social inequalities and social exclusion and snowballing effect of the benefits of education – which helped to evolve social norms.

When asked why she sends her children to school, a mother in the tribal hamlet of Kozhikodam oor (hamlet) in Attapady block of Palaghat district in Kerala was baffled. She had not thought about it and did not know what to say. Where else the children should go other than to the school, she wondered. Sending children to school is a social norm in Kerala, the State that has achieved cent percent literacy.
and where the health and HDI indicators are comparable to that of United States.

Source: Zachariah, 2003

Convergence between the tribal welfare department and the education department is also critical for enhancing and ensuring school participation of STs. In many States schools in tribal areas are run by the tribal welfare department or tribal development authorities while the curriculum, textbooks, school calendar, examination are set by the education department. Moreover, synergy of replication, opening of new schools, residential camps etc. leads to larger coverage and outreach of tribal communities.

Quality Improvement

Most of the States address the issues related to teachers’ attitudes, medium of instruction, textbooks and materials, curriculum and pedagogy, and teaching-learning process in tribal areas.

An increasing number of researches strongly advocate the use of the mother tongue or home language as media of instruction in early stages of
education. This assumes greater significance in the context of education of tribal children because their mother tongue is often quite distinct from the prominent languages in the State or regional languages. ST children face problems wherever teachers do not speak their dialect at all. From the perspective of language, it is desirable to have a local teacher from the same tribal community (Jha & Jhingran, 2002).

Though Research evidence also favour bilingual or multi lingual schooling in view of its positive consequences for cognitive development and social interaction processes, it would need special treatment for tribal children to be able to cope.

The Constitution of India allows the use of tribal dialect (mother tongue) as the medium of instruction if the population of the tribe is more than 100,000.
Assam was the first State to prepare teacher training modules and separate teaching learning materials for the Bodo tribal language in 1995. Bodo is also a medium of instructions in some districts of Assam. The work on tribal language materials was undertaken through DIET staff and BRC/CRC coordinators who belonged to the tribal community. Resource material in Bodo language has been prepared and all workbooks at primary stage have been translated/adopted in Bodo language. In Golparra district, Garo medium workbook has been translated/adopted and distributed in the schools.

Most of the States have taken up activities for quality improvement of tribal area schools. One of the issues identified by the States was the problem faced by tribal children whose home language was very different from the regional language, which was the medium of instruction at the primary level.

In Madhya Pradesh teachers’ handbooks called Bridge Language Inventory (BLIs) have been prepared in 3 tribal languages viz. Gondi (Shahdol and Betul district), Kuduk, (Raigarh) and Bhili (Dhar). Identified teachers were imparted training for use of BLISs in classroom transaction. The teaching-learning package called Dham Dhama Dham was translated into Gondi...
and supplementary reading material Kopal was developed for tribal children. The class I textbook Bharati has been translated into tribal languages. Supplementary TLM for tribal children has been developed in Jhabua district using local cultural from i.e. folk tales, songs, proverbs, riddles to make the learning process interesting. In all, 450 teachers of 311 schools have been trained to use the supplementary materials.

*Researches have underlined the need to develop culturally sensitive programme of school education that can ensure dignity of tribal groups by providing them with economically viable options for life (Sinha & Mishra, 1997)*. Some attempts have been made for linking curriculum with the local needs of the communities. Such curriculum would make tribal children more sensitive to local contexts and sustain them in their respective environments instead of forcing them to move out in search of another life.

In Karnataka a textbook for class I & II has been developed and introduced for Soliga language. A handbook has been developed for sensitisation of
teachers towards social and cultural specificities of tribal societies. In Maharashtra tribal language dictionaries have been developed. Language resource groups have been set up for Bhili, Pawara, Madia, Gondi etc. Bridge material has been developed in Dhule district. Kerala has developed bilingual language materials at district level in Kasarkode, Waynad, Malappuram and Palakkad.

Orissa took initiative to develop a comprehensive strategy for education of tribal children as early as 1997. The State has initiated a number of activities for addressing the quality improvement of tribal education

**Quality Improvement: Orissa**

A large number of teachers have undergone attitudinal training which has had a significant impact on the attitudes of non-tribal teachers towards tribal children. Continuing efforts are being made to sustain the impact of the attitudinal training through block and cluster level meetings of teachers by including items for discussion on these issues in the monthly meetings. A linguistic survey and mapping has been completed by the Academy of Tribal...
Dialects and Culture in 4 districts viz. Kalahandia, Gajapati, Raygoda and Keonjher. The State has also explored the use of folklore in primary education, which would help to tap the rich tradition in arts, crafts, music, songs, etc. in tribal societies. Stories and riddles have been collected for use by the teachers and classrooms.

- Seven Tribal Primers in seven tribal languages i.e. Saora, Santali, Kui, Kuvi, Koya, Bonda and Juanag.
- Teachers’ handbook of the 7 tribal language primers
- Saora self reading materials
- Picture dictionary in tribal languages
- Training module on how to use the tribal primer in classroom.
- 16 folk stories developed in Saora (tribal language) and Oriya for both teachers and children.
• Conversation chart with about 100 commonly used sentences in Oriya Saora was prepared and distributed.

Andhra Pradesh has developed bilingual dictionaries and teacher training has been organised in Warangal and Vizianagaram districts. For use of the bilingual material, Research studies have also been undertaken on the issue of language and Maths learning by tribal children. It has been decided to use the multi-level kits developed for tribal areas in Vishakapatnam district in other tribal areas also.

Gujarat has developed dictionaries in Dangi and Bhili dialects. A local work glossary in Dangi has been prepared and distributed in schools for class I-IV in Dang district. Similarly a local word glossary in Adivasi dialect has been prepared for class I-IV in Banaskantha district and distributed in schools. The Vidyasahayaks were given training on the use of these dictionaries. Gujarat has also initiated extensive work for preparation of TLM in tribal languages. The TLM developed include flash cards for different languages and also cards for mathematics. These have been supplied to all school in tribal areas. Bridge Language
Inventory has also been introduced in Ho and Mandavi languages in Ranchi district of Bihar.

The acceptance of Teachers by the community as one among them is critical for increasing the schooling participation in tribal areas. An understanding of and respect for tribal cultures and practices are important for teachers to gain this acceptance.

The presence of tribal teachers, especially from the same community, has shown and improved school participation of ST children. Coming from the same community, it is believed that the teachers would understand and respect the culture and the ethos with much greater sensitivity. Studies suggest that teacher motivation contributes more to teaching – learning process than teacher competence (Vaidyanathan and Nair, 2001).

Realising the importance of having teachers from the local community many States have appointed community teachers or para teachers as they are popularly referred to. The
deployment of community teachers was first experimented in the late Seventies in NFE and later in the formal school with the Volunteer Teacher Scheme of Himachal Pradesh (1984). Nineties saw spurt in the appointment of community teachers, who are from the local community and appointed by the gram panchayat for Village Education Committees. Different States have different schemes for appointing community teachers –

Shiksha Karmi Scheme (Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan), Shiksha Mitra yojana (Uttar Pradesh), Lok Shikshak (Bihar), Andariki – Vidya Vo lunteer Scheme (Andhra Pradesh). Vidya Upasak Yojana (Himachal Pradesh), Shikshan Sevak (Maharashtra), Guruji (under EGS in Madhya Pradesh) Shikshak (under Basti Shala Scheme in Maharashtra) etc. It is estimated that there are about 220,000 para teachers engaged in full time schools in the country (Ed. CIL 2001).
The issues relating to classroom transaction are difficult as they deal with well entrenched attitudes and prejudices of teachers as well as seemingly intractable problems of the huge difference between home and school language. Attempts have been made to address the first issue through training programme for teachers. However, more emphasis on attitudinal training of teachers on the lines of Orissa is required in most of the States. The second issue has been addressed mainly through the BLIs and primers in tribal languages. There may be a problem of acceptance of the tribal language as a medium of instruction in the tribal communities, therefore, adequate dialogue with tribal communities and their leaders is required to prepare them on this issue.

Poverty, deprivation, poor economic condition, low earning, struggle for survival, dependence on forest products, seasonal migration are some of the other road blocks in providing universal education to scheduled tribes. Jha and Jhingran (2002) says that “One incidence of illness in the family, one year of drought or the transfer of a teacher – anything can bring a change in circumstances and may mean discontinuation in the schooling of these tribal
children”. All most all States have scholarships, incentives and allowance for ST children to offset their private cost of education and encourage school participation. These measures have been found fruitful, but timely provision of these incentives is important.

Children helping parents in their work is a social norm in many tribal communities. The involvement of children in livelihood activities – cattle grazing, collection of forest productions etc. – makes it difficult for them to attend school. Girls, apart from taking part in agricultural activities and collection of forest products are commonly engaged in sibling care. (Jha and Jhingran, 2002).

SSA provides for a range of approaches and interventions for working children and out of school children. This includes summer camps, back to school camps, bridge courses, residential camps, remedial teaching centres, remedial classes etc.
Learning Achievement

Earlier studies on learning achievement of tribal children at primary classes had shown lower levels of achievement compared to non tribals (Govinda and Varghese 1993, Varghese 1994, Sujatha 1998, Prakash et al. 1998), although empirical evidence suggest that tribal children do possess the basic cognitive abilities and psychological dispositions for successful participation in schools. The low achievement levels among tribals are attributed to school-related variables as in the case of non-tribal students.

Tribal students had additional disadvantages arising out of social and location factor (Sujatha, 1998). Singh (1996) and Singh and Jayaswal (1981) have argued that low levels of parental education, occupation, income and deprivation, are mainly responsible for poor performance of tribal children in the school. Other roadblocks include negative parental attitude to education, less parental support in schoolwork, low level of motivation and poor self-esteem of children. Sinha and Mishra (1997) argue that tribal children can perform well in school if the
intervention programmes directed at them can overcome their deprivation.

However, learning achievement surveys conducted in DPEP show that in a majority of the districts the gap between achievement levels of ST children and other children has been reduced to less than 5%. The situation is better in language than in Maths.

There is a need to evolve sensitive model of tribal education rooted in the psychological strengths of tribal children. Studies indicate that, in comparison to other groups, hunters and gatherers possess a high level of visual and tactual differentiation, they demonstrate capacity for fine judgement of shape and size of stimuli as well as spatial relations, and produce the categorization of an array of objects (Mishra et al., 1996). These abilities are greatly required for success in science, art, music, dance, athletic activities, and vocations like carpentry, tailoring, wood and stone crafts. These skills need to be utilized not only for education of tribal children in schools, but also in the broader economic spheres of tribal life. Such attempts will be helpful in generating and promoting the sense of competence, self-efficacy, self-respect, and positive
self-image among tribal children in general (Mishra, 2002).

**Community Mobilization/involvement**

As for all other population groups and areas, community mobilization and awareness generation on issues of enrolment, education of girl children, retention of children in schools and school involvement are carried out in tribal areas. The specific features of such mobilization in tribal areas have been / are:

- Use of tribal/folk art forms (Kerala, Assam, Bihar, Orissa)
- Meetings of mothers and family meetings and involvement of tribal youth volunteers (Assam, Kerala, Orissa).
- Leaflets posters, Kalajathas, and videocassettes in tribal languages (Kerala, Assam, Orissa, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, etc.)
- Organization of meetings in tribal ‘haats’ / bazaars and use of tribal fairs and festive
occasions to discuss primary education issues (Assam, Gujarat).

- Involvement of traditional tribal organizations in the mobilization effort (Assam, Orissa).
- Involvement of the community including VECs members in documentation of local folklore, history, traditional medicine, agricultural practices (Assam).
Gojri Language and Gujjars

Gojri Research Institute

Gojri is a living language, it is the language of scenic beauty and heartfelt love and affection, it is the language of cascades and forests.

As a language, Gojri it is not confined to any particular geographical boundary. It is the language of a people who are spread in the various parts of the sub-continent and beyond. Gojri speaking people have their abode in deserts and green pastures. Some Gujjars live a settled life, while some of them are nomads and are always on move. Gojri has benefitted from various sources, absorbed regional colours and imbibed influence from neighbouring languages and dialects but has retained its own flavour and has maintained its idiosyncrasy and individuality. The basic structure of the language has remained intact in spite of historical upheavals and social and political vicissitudes. Rich in word-hoard and folk-lore, Gojri like mountain stream has remained the unifying force amongst the Gujjars living in the various parts of the sub-continent. No doubt, however, slight regional variations in the Gojri are prevalent in the various parts of the country, but it is understandable to
Gujjars irrespective of their being a far from each other. Gojri has assumed varied nomenclature due to the settlement of Gujjars in different geographical surroundings but the undercurrent of a legacy has made it a unifying factor for Gujjars besides serves powerful vehicle for the exchange of their feeling and inner being. It is heartening to note that the Gujjars never renounced their language though they have been migrating from one place to another to maintain their love for freedom and independent character.

Gojri is the language of freshness and it imparts vigour to its speakers. It is not worn out language, but vibrant with charming dreams and sweet memories. It is the language which is bubbling with its vast, varied and multi dimensional aspects of Gujjars as an ethnic group. The myth and legend of their folk-lore are sure to unfold such historical realities which till date have escaped the attention of researchers and indologists. Linguistic anthropology helps a lot in understanding the culture of ethnic group but his subject has still wide scope to be handled by experts.

In comparison to other regional languages of the country, Gojri is as old as any other regional language. Historically speaking it has been in vogue for centuries together with slight variations here and
there because of peculiar historical and geographical factors. Sometimes it is termed as Mewati and sometimes as Mewari, but its syntax and word hoard has so much common that one form cannot be detached from the other. It is noteworthy that Gojri is being spoken beyond the frontiers of our country also. In north-western part of our country the tradition of creative literature in Gojri is not too old but in the western belt of our country it has a rich treasure of literature at its back. The reason behind this happening is the fact that Gujjars in western belt lived a settled life while in north-western part Gujjars adopted the way of nomads for obvious reasons, as north remained always a battle ground of invaders. In north they remained always on the move and used to touch the fringes of pamirs. They came in contact with a host of people which influenced their language. Due to interaction with various people creeping of words of other languages in Gojri was but natural. Gojri borrowed words from other language just as the process of give and take has generally been the common factor of all the languages of the world. Classical languages like Arabic, and Sanskrit too have borrowed from their surrounding languages. To borrow, adopt and absorb from other languages
provides the borrowing languages with vigour and vitality and enhances its capacity of expression.

The earlier history of Gujjars is still wrapped in mist, because hardly any conscious and concerted effort has been made to undo this mist. Like all other nationalities and regions of subcontinent a complete and comprehensive history from remote past to present days is yet to be written with zeal and zest after using all the tools of modern research and scholarship. It is a mere conjecture that Gujjar’s made their debut in India somewhere in 5th or 6th century AD.

The Gotras of Gujjars came prove of immense help in this connection. “Kushana” is one of the surnames of Gujjar’s which has a direct connection with Kushans and this testifies the fact that there is an element of Kushans in Gujjars. This is further corroborated by the fact that Gujjars consider Kaniska as one of the great kings of their nationality. Kanisha hailed from the tribe of elder Kushans who happen to have migrated from Kansu in China long before the advent of Christian era and appeared on Indian soil in 1st century B.C. prior to Kanishika vim-kadphisis and Kujlu-Kadfisis ruled north western Indian in 1st century B.C. Kanisha was the third Kushan king in
succession who dominated the Indian political science in his times. As such the theory of 5th or 6th century A.D. is relegated to back ground. Hieun-Tsang visited India in the 3rd and 4th decade of 7th century. He has referred to a Gujjar kingdom in his travelogue. Prior to this when Arabs made their appearance in Sindh in 7th century A.D., they had to face the resistance of Gujjars or Gurjars. Evidence at our disposal establishes that Gujjars were a power to reckon with in early 7th century which clearly shows that they had penetrated their roots deep in Indian soil long before the 6th century. It would have taken them a long time to stabilize their unique identity. The anthropological study of Gujjar folklore is sure to unlock the tangles in this connection. But such a study is yet to be undertaken as a comprehensive collection of scattered material has yet to take off.

With a rich folk-lore in its possession Gojri is sure to stage its come back in the realm of regional languages provided Gujjars show keenness for the resurrection of their language and culture which is as fresh as the air of pine forests.

Gojri has a common word-hoard with its neighbouring languages like Kashmiri and Dogri but it is yet to be decided whether these languages have
influenced each other due to proximity or have imbibed inspiration from a common source. It is established that Kashmiri belongs to Dardic group of languages while Dogri and Gojri both have a close affinity with western Hindi. It has been accepted by a host of linguistics that Hindki has played a vital role and has influenced surrounding languages. Kashmiri, Gojri and Dogri too could not escape this influence; which is born out by the comparison of word-hoard. Hindki even now helps linguistics in solving certain tangles of linguistics. Hindki known as Lahanda also has been a language of many dimensions. In this connection Grierson has written:-

“So much these languages resemble each other that different Kashmiri words can be explained by their Lahanda equitant. Thus, there is a famous pass in Kashmir ‘Hasti Wang’ over which there is a story of elephant going. In Kashmiri “Hasti” means elephant but there is no word “Wang”. His not till we here the south Lahanda Wanjna or Wanna, sindhi wanlan that we recognize that the name means the pass of the elephants. The tradition of the passage of the elephants and subsequent disaster is preserved in Kashmiri, but all the memory of the meaning of the name has been lost”. We do not subscribe to the view
of learned Grierson that there is no word like wanj in Kashmiri. In fact wanj or wand is even now a living word in Kashmiri and means crooked or curved. But Grierson’s conjecture has unfolded the close relation between the languages of the then south-western Group of languages of sub-continent. The common word-hoard of Gojri and Kashmiri is an interesting chapter of linguistic study. If at all there is any difference that is of accent, usage and vowels. Compare the common features of word-hoard of Gojri and Kashmiri:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gojri</th>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Gojri</th>
<th>Kashnun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apdha</td>
<td>HupDup</td>
<td>Atti</td>
<td>AAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adaam</td>
<td>Vidam</td>
<td>Akro</td>
<td>Vukur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agan</td>
<td>Ougun</td>
<td>Amb</td>
<td>Amb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un</td>
<td>Un</td>
<td>Unajl</td>
<td>Unjal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ang</td>
<td>Ang</td>
<td>AngHeno</td>
<td>AngaHeun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAro</td>
<td>AAra</td>
<td>Bakro</td>
<td>Bakur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baglo</td>
<td>Bagla</td>
<td>Bambro</td>
<td>Bambri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basto</td>
<td>Basta</td>
<td>Trikhadee</td>
<td>Trakar or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapalie</td>
<td>Tapali</td>
<td>Tato</td>
<td>Tut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tachno</td>
<td>Tachun</td>
<td>Tramo</td>
<td>Tram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traan</td>
<td>Traan</td>
<td>Trum</td>
<td>Trum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trat</td>
<td>Trath</td>
<td>Trupo</td>
<td>Trup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dandaso</td>
<td>Dandas</td>
<td>Dab</td>
<td>Dab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dung</td>
<td>Dung</td>
<td>Rout</td>
<td>Routh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The sound of “O” more frequent in present day Gojri was common in early Kashmiri also. The words of the sort are preserved in the Shruks of Nund Reshi. What we today pronounce as Heeth is sometimes pronounced as Heeio also, similarly the word Diut is recorded in earlier shruks as Dituto such example are not wanting in early Kashmiri.

At a point of time when Urdu and Hindi where yet to find their place on the linguistic map of India, Gojri had attained name and fame and Amir Khusro was glad enough to refer to Gojri language along with other regional languages then in vogue.

In its formative stage when Urdu came in contact with Gojri in Gujrat it borrowed quite a good number of words from it and when this Gojri travelled to Deccan along with its word-hoard it completed its travel from north to south.

On the demographic map of the sub-continent Gujjars are spread on a vast area right from ancient, Gandhara to Kamrupa. They live in different climes and surroundings and have set an example to live in friendship with their neighbours. They are not only at peace with their coreligionist but have forged the bonds of fraternity and comradeship with the people
of other ethnic entities. As an accommodative ethnic group Gujjars have never been at war with non-Gujjars and others. This attitude shows their sense of tolerance and respect for others. Inspite of their backwardness in education, employment, and economic prosperity, Gujjars have displayed their love for humanity and human values to the best of their capacity. “Live and let Live”, has all along been the guiding principle of their life.

“Gojri” has to go a long way in catering to the needs of the times. It is to be strengthened in such a way that it becomes the vehicle of expression of modern knowledge and thought process. It has to provide material which will quench the thirst of one and all including young and old people engaged in different pursuits.

We are conscious that all this cannot be attained overnight but anyhow we have to set the goals and work for achieving these with conviction and redoubled vigour and confidence. In the field of linguistics, Grierson’s work is undoubtedly pioneering not only for Gujari but also for most of the Indian languages. In other language much more work has been done after this great linguist. So far as Gojri is concerned, Grierson’s work though not the last word,
is still of immense importance. His work, however, has to been analyzed and examined by the native scholars, particularly belonging to Gujjar tribe.

By making this book available to people it is our earnest desire that scholars of all hues particularly belonging to Gujjar tribe shall benefit from it and examine its concerns in the light of modern research and scholarship. Grierson’s exhaustive work stretched out on bulky eleven volumes, has remained generally inaccessible to a common reader. The publications of Gojri -”THE LANGUAGE GUJJARS” has certainly made easy this difficulty for scholars interested to study Gojri.

Dr. J.C. Sharma an eminent scholar of modern times has also worked on the Linguistic aspect of the Gojri. He has been kind enough to provide his scholarly findings to Gurjar Desh Charitable Trust. We shall be shortly publishing his scholarly work separately in the form of another publication.

Gujjars have been the innovators and builders of caliber and competence. Gurjar-Paritihar-Style of architecture is the gift of Gujjars to the sub-continent, which has gained great popularity in the length and breadth of this great country. Even now this is a living
reality with certain modification, known as ‘beehive-type-temple-style’ to the experts. This style has been imported from central Asia and got currently at the hands of Gujjar-Paritihar rulers.

From Konark to Kabul imprints of Gujjars are evidently very much visible but efforts have not been made to decipher these imprints. Consistent efforts are needed to be made to collect, collate and analyze all that which has been the result of the patronage of the Gujjars of the yore. The contribution of Gujjars in various spheres is buried under the layers of forgetfulness neglect and lack of patronage, because cultural advancement comes to a grinding halt when political power slips out of the hands. Such a thing also happened with Gujjars in the middle-ages. It was the political geography that shattered the cultural geography of Gujjars and this on slaught continues even now. Political geography changes not only the boundries but also the social and cultural fabric of a clan, a tribe, and a nation. The ethnic geography of Gujjars is more or less intact but assimilation of other elements cannot be totally impossible. To recollect, redeem, and reanalyze heritage is of course an onerous task but not insurmountable. It is the firm will, scholarship, dedication and scientific
methodology which can lead to the goal. There is no room for exereting slackness in such endeavours. Gujjars have to make their presence felt, but like all other people, pursuit of their individual identity should not be allowed to become a hurdle in the oneness of our diversified complexion and character of the country. Since future of mankind depends on the fact that maintaining once identity should not be at the cost of trampling of the identity of others under the feet.
INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

OUTER SUB-BRANCH

George Abraham Grierson

We now proceed to consider the Indo-Aryan languages in detail, following the order of the list given Outer Sub-Branch. We begin with the languages of the Outer Sub-branch, North-Western Group and, among them with those belonging to the

Outer Sub-Branch

North-Western Group

North-Western Group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Survey</th>
<th>Census of 1921</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lahndā</td>
<td>7 092 781</td>
<td>5 652 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhī</td>
<td>3,069,470</td>
<td>3,371,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>10,162,251</strong></td>
<td><strong>9,023,972</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This group may be looked upon as consisting of the Indo-Aryan languages of, roughly speaking, the Indus Valley from Peshawar to the sea, i.e. the Western Punjab and Sindh. From Peshawar it has also spread to the north-east over the district of Hazara and the country to its east. To its north and north-east
it is in contact with Dardic languages. On the west it has the Eranian Pashtō, and on the south it meets the Arabian Sea. Only on the east is it in contact with other Indo-Aryan languages, and these are, in order from north to south, Punjabi”, the Mārwarī dialect of Rājasthānī, and Gujarati”, all three belonging to the Inner Sub-branch. Dardic languages were once spoken over the whole of this tract, and have left their traces on both Lahndā and Sindhī, but, notwithstanding this infection of Dardic speech, both are clearly Outer languages, and present points of relationship with the Outer languages of Eastern India, which are wanting in Punjabī and Rajasthānī.

The country which corresponded to the Western Punjab of the present day was described in the Mahabharata as rude and barbarous, and as almost outside the pale of Indo-Aryan civilization. It and the present Sindh included three kingdoms,—the most northern being Gandhāra, with Kēkaya lower down the Indus, and still lower the country of the Sindhus and Sauvīras. In spite of this evil character,—a character no doubt based on religious animosity, for the Western Punjab was from very early times an important centre of Buddhist teaching,—it is certain that Takshasilā, the capital of Gandhāra, was, so logn
ago as six centuries before Christ, the home of the greatest university of India. It was at Salātura, close to this university, that Pānini, the most illustrious of Sanskrit grammarians, was born in the fifth or fourth century B.C. In those early days, the land of Kēkaya also was famous for its learning. We are told in the Chhāndōgya Upanishad (V. xi) how five great theologians came to a Brahman with hard questions, which he could not answer for them. He sent them on to Asvapati, the Kshatriya king of Kēkaya, who, like a second Solomon, solved all their difficulties.

The Western Punjab has always been exposed to conquerors from the north and from the west. According to the usually accepted account, it was through it that the Aryans entered India. The next recorded invasion was that of Darius I of Persia (521-485 B.C.) shortly after the time of the Buddha. According to Herodotus he conquered it and divided it between two satrapies, one of which included Gandhāra (Herodotus iii, 91), while the ‘Indians’, i.e. the inhabitants of the Indus Valley, formed by themselves the 20th Satrapy (iii, 94). Beyond this the authority of Darius did not extend (iii, 101). Herodotus adds (iii, 94) that these ‘Indians are more numerous than any other nation with which we are acquainted,
and paid a tribute exceeding that of any other people, to wit, 360 talents of gold dust. Darius had such complete authority over this part of India, or rather over what was to him and to Herodotus ‘India’, that he sent a fleet down the Indus to the sea, whence they sailed homewards towards the west. The huge Security related agencies that his successor Xerxes led (480 B.C.) against Greece contained men from Gandhara and from the Western Punjab. The latter, according to Herodotus (vii, 65, 66), wore cotton dresses, and carried bows made of cane, and arrows also of cane with iron tips. The mention of cane arrows reminds us of the fact that arrows made of bamboo (to which Herodotus probably refers) were novelties to the Aryans who invaded India, and that they had to borrow the Austro—Asiatic name for them (see Appendix p. 120).

The invasion of Alexander the Great (327-325 B.C.) was confined to the Western Punjab and Sindh. In 305 B.C. Seleucus Nicator invaded India, and after crossing the Indus made a treaty of peace with the famous Chandragupta. In the second century B.C. two Greek dynasties from Bactria founded kingdoms in the Western Punjab. One that founded by Euthydemus, ended about 156 B.C., and the other, that of
Eucratides, about 20 B.C. After them, at various times, other nationalities, Scythains, Parthians, Kushanas, and Huns, invaded India through the north-west, and finally, through the same portal, or through Sindh, came the many Musalmān invasions of India, such as that of Mahmūd of Ghaznī or those of the Mughuls.

The whole Punjab is the meeting ground of two entirely distinct Indo- Aryan languages, —viz., the old Outer language strongly influenced by Dardic, if not actually Dardic, which expanded from the Indus Valley eastwards, and the old Midland language, the parent of modern Western Hindī”, which expanded from the Jamna Valley westwards. In the Punjab they overlapped. In the Eastern Punjab, the wave of Dardic with old Lahnda had nearly exhausted itself, and the old Western Hindī had the mastery, the resulting language being the modern Panjabī. In the Western Punjab, the old Western Hindī wave had nearly exhausted itself, and the old Lahndā had the mastery, the resulting language being the modern Lahnda. The latter language is therefore in the main an Outer language, strongly influenced by Dardic, but bearing ‘traces of the old Western Hindī” Such traces are much more numerous, and of much greater importance, in Panjabī. Lahndā may almost be described as a Dardic
language infected by Western Hindī while Punjabī is a form of Western Hindī” infected by Dardic. This linguistic condition leads us to the conclusion that a mixed language, mainly Outer, but partly Dardic, once extended over the whole Punjab, and that the inhabitants of the Midland, through pressure of population or for some other reason, gradually took possession of the Punjab, and partly imposed their own language on the inhabitants. In no other way can the nature of the mixed language of the Eastern Punjab be explained. One result of this mixture is that it is quite impossible to mark any definite boundary line between Punjabī and Lahnda, and if, for convenience sake, we take the degree of 74° East longitude as an approximate conventional frontier, it is to be clearly understood that much that is very like Lahndā will be found to its east, and much that is very like Punjabī to its west.

Sindhi, on the contrary, has much more nearly retained its original character of a language mainly Outer, but partly Dardic. To its east it has Rajasthanī, not Panjabī, but it is protected from invasion from the east by the physical obstacle of the desert of Western Rajputana. While modern Lahnda merges imperceptibly into Punjabī, Sindhī does not merge
into Rajasthanī, but remains quite distinct from it. Such border dialects as exist are mere mechanical mixtures, not stages in gradual linguistic change.

Although from very early times the area in which the North-Western Group of Indo-Aryan languages is spoken has been frequently subjected to foreign influence, it is extraordinary how little this mixed Dardic-cum-Outer form of speech has been influenced by it, except that, under Musalman domination, the vocabulary has become largely infused with Persian (including Arabic) words. In the true Dardic languages a few Greek words have survived to the present day, but I have not met any such either in Lahnda or Sindhī.

Little is known about the linguistic ancestry of these languages. The immediate predecessor of Sindhi was an Apabhramsa Prakrit named Vrachada, regarding which the Indian grammarian Mārkandēya gives us a few particulars. He moreover mentions a Vrachada Paisachi apparently spoken in the same locality, and lays stress on the fact that the Kekaya Paisachī is the principal form of that Prakrit. We have seen (p. 121-Appendixthat paisachī was the language of ancestors of the modern Dards, so that the fact of the existence of a Dardic influence on the languages...
of the North-Western Group is borne out by this evidence that Paisachī was once spoken in this same tract. We have no evidence as to the particular form of Apahbramsā spoken in the Lahnda area, except that Markandēya tells us that people who employed literary Apabhramśa in that locality,—the ancient Gandhara and Kekaya,—were found of using a word twice over in order to indicate repetition or continuance. But in Gandhara there were two famous rock inscriptions of the Indian Emperor Asoka (circa 250 B.C.) at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mansehrā which were couched in what was then the official language of the country. This was a dialectic form of Pāli, distinguished by possessing many phonetic peculiarities that are still observable in the Dardic languages and in Lahndā and Sindhī.

Lahnda is the name of the language of the Western Punjab. As explained above, there is no distinct boundary between it and Punjabī, which, even more than elsewhere in India, insensibly merge into each other, 74 East longitude being taken as the conventional boundary-line. It is spoken by seven millions of people, or about the same as the population of Austria. Lahndā is known by several other names, such as Western Punjabī, Jatki, Uchchi,
and Hindkī. The word ‘Lahndā itself means ‘(sun)-setting’, and hence ‘the west’. ‘Western Punjabī has the disadvantage of suggesting that Lahnda is a dialect of Punjabi, whereas it is nothing of the sort. Moreover it leads us into difficulties: when we wish to speak of ‘North-western Western Punjābī and similarly named dialects. ‘Jatkī means the language of the Jatt tribe, which is numerous in the central part of the Lhanda tract; but Lahnda is spoken by millions of people who are not Jatts, and millions of Jatts of the Eastern Punjab do not speak Lahnda. ‘Uchchī, the language of the town of Uchch (Uch or Ooch of the maps), is really another name for the Multanī dialect of Lahnda. ‘Hindki’ or ‘Hindko”, the language of the Hindus (i.e., non-Pathans), is the name given to Lahnda in the west of the Lahnda tract, in which Musalman Pashto-speaking Pathans also dwell.

**Lahnda Dialects**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multanī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khetrāni and Jātti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thalī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### The number of dialects of Lahnda is very great.

Some twenty-two are described, under various names, in the Survey. They fall into two main groups, a southern and a northern, the dividing line being the southern face of the Salt Range. As for the southern group, we must first mention a number of dialects spoken, south of the Salt Range, in the Rechna and Jech Dōabs, i.e., in the Districts of Shahpur, Jhang, Gujranwala, and Gujrat. The Lahnda of Shahpur is the form which has been taken in the Survey as the standard form of the language, and that of the other three districts is closely allied to it. South of the Rechna Dōab, we come to the Mūltanī dialect (2,342,954 speakers in 1921) which is spoken in the Multan, Muzaffargarh, and Dera Ghazi Khan Districts. In the two last named it generally goes by the name of Hindkī. It is also spoken in the State of Bahawalpur, where it is called Bahawalpurī. Moreover Multan is spoken by scattered communities all over Sindh, where it is called Siraikī Hindkī. Multanī is a transition dialect between standard Lahnda and points of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North-Western</td>
<td>881,425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-Eastern</td>
<td>1,752,755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7,092,781</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Srinagar/Jammu
similarity with the latter language. Returning of the Sind Sagar Doab, and in the adjacent parts of the District of Dera Ismail Khan, there is Thalī or dialect of the Thai, or Desert. It approaches the standard dialect of Shahpur, but differs in pronunciation, and has several points of connexion with the Dardic languages. Finally, there are two mixed dialects spoken by the Khetrans and Jafirs beyond the frontier in the Laghari and Sulaiman Hills. Khetranī and Jafirī are both very similar to the Lahnda of Dera Ghazi Khan, but exhibit many interesting Dardic peculiarities. As may be expected from their geographical position, they both borrow from Balōchī.

The dialects of the Salt Range and beyond it on the north fall into two sub-groups, a north-western and a north-eastern. These differ not only in vocabulary, but also in grammar. In the latter respect, the most typical point of difference is in the postposition of the genitive. In the north-west, this is dā, as in Punjabī, and in the north-east, it is nā, which connects us with Dardic. The north-western sub-group runs from the centre of the Salt Range nearly due north through the districts of Jhelum, Attock, and Hazara (where it is called Hindkō), and is also used by the Hindūs of Peshawar. The north-eastern is more
important. It covers the rest of the Salt Range, not only the eastern end, but also the western end, where it is the dialect of the important tribe of the Awāns and crosses the Indus into Kohat, where, as in Hazara, it is called Hindko. To the north-east it appears as Pothwarī (423,802 speakers in 1921), and under this name covers the district of Rawalpindi and parts of Jhelum and Gujrat. In the Murree Hills and in parts of Hazara it is also spoken with dialectic variations, and finally it is the language of the submontane tract south of Kashmir, where it is the tongue of the Chihb and other tribes and of the State of Punch.

Lahndā differs widely from the better known Punjabī in vocabulary, more nearly approaching Sindhī in this respect. Some of its words are also found in Kashmirī,—a Dardic language,—and it contains even words once used in that form of speech but now no longer current. It is in its grammatical forms that the most characteristic differences from Panjabi are exhibited. Lahndā has a true future, of which the characteristic letter is s, and a true passive formed by suffixing i, the former of which is strange to, and the latter of which is rare in, the speech of the central Punjab. It also employs pronominal suffixes with all the freedom of Sindhī and of the Dardic languages,
and has many postpositions which do not occur in Punjabī. The northern dialects are harsher and more nasal than the southern, and possess characteristic features of their own. Amongst them may be mentioned the use, as already stated, of the postposition nā instead of dā to form the genitive, the employment of an oblique form in the case of nouns ending in consonants, and the formation of the present participle.

Beyond ballads and other folksongs Lahndā has no literature. The majority of its speakers being Musalmāns, the Persian character is generally employed for writing it. Some Hindus employ a character common over the Punjab and Sindh called Landā, or ‘clipped’. This is a most imperfect means of writing. It has only two or three characters for the initial vowels, and none for the non-initial. The consonants, too, are far from clear and the script varies from place to place. It is seldom legible to anyone but the writer, and not always to him. In 1S19 Carey published an edition of the New Testament in this character, in the dialect of the country round Uchch. He called this dialect the Uchchī language.

Sindhi

J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages
Srinagar/Jammu
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vichōlī</td>
<td>1,375,686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirāikī</td>
<td>1,112,926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tharēlī</td>
<td>204,749</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lāsī</td>
<td>42,613</td>
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<td>Lārī</td>
<td>40,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kachchhī</td>
<td>491,214</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>7,031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,274,219</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sindhī is the language of Sindh, the country on each side of the River Indus, beginning about latitude 29° N. and stretching thence down to the sea. In the north it merges into Lahndā, to which it is closely related, and which, in the Sirāikī Hindkī dialect, is also spoken all over Sindh by scattered communities from the Western Panjab. It is spoken by three and a quarter millions of people or a little more, than the population of Denmark. Sindhī has six recognized dialects, Vichōlī, Sirāikī, Lāsī, Lārī, Tharēlī and Kachchhī. The first is spoken in Central Sindh. It is the standard dialect, and that employed in literature. Sirāikī is merely a variety of Vichōlī and is no real dialect. The only difference consists in its pronunciation being more clearly articulated and in slight variations in its
vocabulary, and it is frequently confused with the allied.

Sirāikī Hindkī spoken in the same country. In Sindhī, the word Sirō means the ‘head’ of anything, and Siraikī hence comes to mean ‘up-stream’ or ‘northern,’ from the point of view of the Lār or lower Sindh. Siriaikī is considered by Sindhīs to be the purest form of the language, or, as the proverb says,’ a learned man of the Lār is an ox in the Sirō. It must be remembered that, as the name of a locality, ‘the Sirō’ or ‘the upstream country’ is a relative term and that its meaning varies with the locality of the speaker. The lower down the Indus a man lives, the larger the extent of the Sirō, and from the point of view of an inhabitant of the lār, the term practically includes the Vichōlō, or Central Sindh.

Lasī is the form of Sindhi spoken in the State of Las Bela. It is a transition dialect between Vichōlī and Laṛī. The latter is the language of the Laṛ already mentioned, and is considered to be rude and uncouth, but it retains many old forms, and displays one important feature of the Dardic languages-the disaspiration of sonant consonants—which no longer exists in vicholī. Tharēli and Kachchhī are both mixed dialects. The former is spoken by the hunting and
outcast tribes of the Tihar or desert, of Sindh, which forms the political boundary between that province and the Marwar country. It is a transition form of speech representing Sindhi shading off into Rajasthanī, through a mechanical mixture of the two languages. Kachchhi on the other hand, is a mixture of Sindhi and Gujarātī, spoken in Cutch.

Sindhi has received very slight literary cultivation, and few books have been written in it. Its proper alphabet is Landā, which, as usual, varies from place to place and is legible with difficulty. The Gurmukhī and Nāgarī alphabets are also employed, but the Persian alphabet, with several additional letters for the sounds peculiar to the language, is the one now in general use.

Owing to its isolated position, Sindhi has preserved many phonetic and grammatical peculiarities History of Sindhi which have disappeared elsewhere, and is a typical example of the Outer languages. In ancient times Sindhi included the old Vrāchada country, and to the present day the language retains special features which were recorded hundreds of years ago as characteristic of the old Vrāchada Apabhramśa from which it is descended. As already stated, the Hindu grammarians
also recorded a Paisāchī dialect as spoken in the Vrāchada country. The Pisāchas, therefore, were once found in the country which is now Sindh, alongside of the people who then spoke Vrāthada Apabhramśa, and whose descendants now speak Sindhī One typical peculiarity of Paisāchī and of Dardic, its modem representative, is that the letter t when it comes between two vowels is not elided, as occurs in all Indo-Aryan languages, but is kept without change. In other Indian Prakrits such a t first became d and then disappeared altogether. The same phenomenon is to-day observable, though to a less extent, in Lahndā and Sindhī, and even occasionally in Punjabī. Punjabī as becomes its mixed origin, usually has both forms, that with the t and that without. But Lahndā and Sindhī is such cases prefer to keep the t intact. Thus, the word for ‘sewn’ is sitā in Lahndā (Sindhī uses another form), but sitā or sīā in Punjabī; ‘done; is in Lahnda kītā Sindhi kītō, but Punjabī kītā or kariā; ‘drunk’ is pītā in Lahndā and Punjabī and pītō in Sindhī. In a pure inner language such as Hindī the t would be dropped in all these cases, and we should have sīā kīā and pīā, or some such words 1.

In the Dardic languages, the formation of the past participle of a verb calls for no special attention
except in one case. In the Maiyā dialect of kōhistānī it ends in the letter l. Thus the verb kut, strike, has kuṭ-ag-il for its past participle. We also find Occasional instances of this in Shina; but we do not find anything like this in the Inner sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan languages or in Lahndā, though the form reappears in Sindhī. Here the past participle generally ends in yō, as in māryō, struck, form the verb mār-an, to strike. But, when it is desired to emphasize the adjectival force of this participle, the final ō is changed to l, so that we get such forms as mār-ya-l, meaning ‘one who is in the condition of having been struck’. Gujarati is an Inner language, but, as we shall see, it has been superimposed on another language of the Outer sub-branch, of which traces can still be observed. One of
these traces is the existence of this very l-participle, which is used in much the same way as in Sindhī, as in māryō or mārē-l, struck. Further south, in Marathī still an Outer language, we find this l-participle established as the only form of the past participle, as in mar-US, struck. So also we find this participle in all the remaining Outer languages, as in the Oriyā mārilā; Bengali mārila; Bihārī māral; and Assamese māril. This l-participle, therefore, is not only current over the whole of East-Aryan India, but reaches, through an unbroken chain of dialects, all imperceptibly shading off into each other, across India to the Arabian Sea, and thence northwards through Gujarātī and Sindhī, but leaping across Lahndā, into the Dardic country of the Indus Kōhistān. This is illustrative of the intimate relationship which exists among all these Outer forms of speech, and, although Assamese differs widely from Marathi” and a speaker of one would be entirely unintelligible to the other, a man could almost walk for twenty-eight hundred miles, from Dibrugarh to Bombay and thence to Dardistan, without being able to point to a single stage where he had passed from one language to another. Yet he would have passed through eight distinct tongues of the Indian Continent, Assamese, Bengali, Oriyā, marāthī,
Gujarātī, Sindhī, Lahndī, and Kōhistānī, and through many dialects
We now come to the consideration of the Inner Sub-Branch. The languages of this Sub-Branch fall into two groups, the Central and the Phārī. The Central Group includes Western Hindī, Punjabī, Rajasthānī, Gujarātī, Bhīlī, and Khāndēsī. Western Hindī covers the country between Sahrind [Sirhind] in the Punjab and Allahabad in the United Provinces. This almost exactly corresponds to the Madhyadēsā or ‘mid-land’ referred to above as the true, pure home of the Indo—Aryan people.

It is through this land that the mysterious River Sarasvatī of Indian legend flows underground, from where it disappears in the sands of the Eastern Punjab to the Prayāg, near Allahabad, where it mingles its waters with those of the Jamna and the Ganges. On the north, Western Hindī extends to the foot of the Himalaya, but on the south it does not reach much beyond the valley of the Jamna, except towards the east, where it occupies most of Bundelkhand and a part of the Central Provinces. The number of its speakers (thirty-eight millions) is the same as that of
the population of Italy and four millions more than that of England. It has several recognized dialects, of which the principal are Hindostanī, Braj Bhākha, Kanaujī, and Bundēlī, to which we may add the Bāngarū of the South-Eastern Punjab. Of these, Hindōstanī is now the recognized literary form of Western Hindī and it will be more convenient to consider it last. The home of Braj Bhākhā is the Central Dōāb and the country immediately to is south from near Delhi to, say, Etawah, its head-quarters being round the town of Mathura [Muttra]. South and west of the Jamna it is also spoken in Gurgaon, in the States of Bharatpur and Karauli, and in the north-west of the Gwalior Agency. To the west and south it gradually merges into Rajasthānī. For more than two thousand years Mathurā has been one of the most important centers of Indo-Aryan civilization. Here also tradition places the earthly scenes of the earlier life of the famous god Krishna. It was thus natural that the dialect of this country,—the direct descendant of the old Prakrit of Sūrasēna, should be used for literature. In the Sanskrit dramas, the ordinary conversation in prose of women of the upper classes was couched in Saurasēnī Prakrit, and a variety of the same dialect was employed by the Digambara Jains for their sacred books. In ancient times a part of Sūrasēna was known
as Vraja, i.e., the country of the cow-pens, and from this is derived the modern appellation of Braj, with its language known as Braj Bhākhā. The most important writer in the modern vernacular was the blind bard Sur Das, who flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century. As Tulasī Dās sang of Rama, so Sur Dās sang of Krishna, and between them, according to Indian opinion, they have exhausted all the possibilities of poetic art. Many are the traditions of minor poets who were unable to produce a single line which was not to be found already existing in the works of one or other of these two masters of song. To the European mind there can be little comparison between the two. Sūr Dās was a voluminous author who sang in one key, a sweet one it is true, while Tulsī Das, besides being a great reformer who raised superior to dogma and to creeds and who refused to found a sect, was a master of the whole gamut of human passion. Sur Das was not only one of the founders of a sect, but was also the creator of a school of poets whose theme was Krishna, and especially the youthful Krishna, the companion of the herd-girls of Mathra, a school which still exists and still expresses itself through the medium of Braj Bhakhā. The most celebrated of his followers was Bihari Lal (early part of the seventeenth
century), the author of the famous Sat Saī, or Seven Centuries of perfectly turned couplets.

Kanaujī is dialect of the lower Dōāb from about Etawah to near Allahabad. Opposite the ancient town of Kanauj, from which it takes its name, it has also spread across the Ganges into the District of Hardoi and further north. It is nearly related to Braj Bhakha, being really little more than a sub-dialect of that form of speech. It has received small literary cultivation, being completely overshadowed by its more powerful neighbour, but the Serampore mission arose used it for one of their translations of the New Testament in the early part of the last century. If we may trust the evidence of their translation, the dialect has since then lost several old historical forms which existed in Kanaujī a century ago, and which are still found in some of the Rajasthanī dialects and in the Khas of Nepal.

Bundelī is the dialect of Western Hindī spoken in Bundelkhand the neighbourhood, including not only the Bundelkhand Agency, but also Jalaun, Hamirpur, and Jhansi, together with the eastern portion of the Gwalior Agency. It is also spoken in the adjoining parts of Bhopal, and in the Damoh, Saugor, Seoni, and Narsingpur, and parts of the Hoshangabad
and Chhindwara Districts of the Central Provinces. Banda, though politically in Bundelkhand, does not speak Bundelī. Here the language is mixed, but is in the main Baghelf. Bundeli has a small literature dating from the time of Chhattar Sāl of Panna and his immediate predecessors of the early part of the eighteenth century. The Serampore missionaries translated the New Testament into it. The city of Mahoba is within Bundelkhand, and hence it follows that the most famous folk-epic of northern India, the Lay of Alha and Udan which deals with the fortunes of Mohaba and its capture by Prithīrāja of Delhi is sung by wandering bards in the Bundelī dialect.

These three dialects, Braj Bhakhā, Kanaujrand Bundeir, are all closely connected with each other, and are typically pure forms of the speech of the Inner Sub-Branch.

The Western Hindī spoken in the south-east of the Punjab has several local names, but it is everywhere the same dialect. In the Hariana tract of Hissar and Jind, it is recognized by Europeans under the name of Hariant They, however, call the same form of speech, when they meet it in Rohtak, Dujana, the country parts of Delhi District and Karnal, simply ‘Hindī’ Natives of the country sometimes call it Jātū,
and sometimes Bangarū, according to the caste of the people who speak it or to the tract in which it is spoken. Bangaru, or the language of the Bāngar, the high and dry tract of the south-eastern Punjab west of the Ganges, appears to be the most suitable name by which to identify it. This form of Western Hindī has Punjabī to its north and west, and Ahīrwatī and Marwārī (both dialects of Rajasthānī) to its south, and it is a mixture of the three languages, with western Hindī as its basis. It does not extend farther north than Karnal. North of Karnal lies the District of Ambala, in the east of which the form of Western Hindī” that we find spoken is the same as the Vernacular Hindōstānī of the Upper Dōāb which will now be described. In west Ambala we find Punjabī

As a vernacular, Hindōstānī is the dialect of Western Hindī which exhibits the language in the act of shading off into Punjabī. It has the Western Hindī grammar, but the terminations are those that we find in Punjabī. Thus, the true Western Hindī postposition of the genitive is kau’ and the corresponding form in Punjabī is da. The Hindostanī dialect of Western Hindī takes the k of kau, but the termination ā of the Punjabī dā, and has kā So also all adjectives and participles. Hindōstānī must be considered under two
aspects, (1) as a vernacular dialect of Western Hindi, and (2) as the well-known literary language of Hindostan and the lingua franca current over nearly the whole of India. As a vernacular, it may be taken as the dialect of Western Hindī spoken in the Upper Gangetic Dōāb, in Rohilkhand, and in the east of the Ambala District in the Punjab. It is spoken in its greatest purity round Mērath [Meerut] and to the north.

In Rohilkhand it gradually shades off into Kanaujī, and in Ambala into Punjabī. In the rest of the Eastern Punjab the language is Bangarū except in Gurgaon where Vernacular Hindōstānī merges into Braj Bhakhā, which may be considered to be established in the east of that District. In this neighbourhood, save in a few minor particulars, the language is practically the same as that taught in the usual Hindōstānī grammars. It is not, however, as the vernacular of the Upper Dōāb that Hindōstānī is generally known.

To Europeans it is the polite speech of India generally, and more especially of Hindostan. The name itself is of European coinage, and indicates the idea that is thus suggested, it being rarely used by Indians except under European influence. As lingua
Franca Hindōstānī grew up in the bazaar attached to the Delhi Court, and was carried everywhere in India by the lieutenants of the Mughal Empire. Since then its seat has been secure. It has several varieties, amongst which may be mentioned Urdu Rekjita, Dakhinī and Hind” Urdu is that form of Hindostānī which is written in the Persian character and which makes of free use of Persian (including Arabic) words in its vocabulary. The name is said to be derived from the Urdū-e-mu ‘alla or royal military bazaar outside the Delhi palace. It is spoken chiefly in the towns of western Hindostan, by Musalmāns and by Hindus who have come under the influence of Persian culture. Persian vocables are it is true, employed in every form of Hindostanī. We find them even in the correspondence of Prithīrāja, who ruled in Delhi before the Muslim conquest of India. Such words have been admitted to full citizenship even in the rustic dialects, or in the elegant Hindī of modern writers like Harischandra of Benares. To object to their use would be but affected purism, just as would be the avoidance of the use of all words of Latin origin in English. But in what is known as high Urdu, the use of Persian words is carried to almost incredible extremes. In writings of this class we find whole sentences in which the only Indian thing is the
grammar, and with nothing but Persian words from beginning to end. It is curious, moreover, that this extreme Persianization of Hindostānī is, as Sir Charles Lyall rightly points out, not the work of conquerors ignorant of the tongue of the people. On the contrary, the Urdu language took its rise in the efforts of the ever pliable Hindu to assimilate the language of his rulers. Its authors were Kayasths and Khatris employed in the administration and acquainted with Persian, and not Persians or Persianized Turks, who for many centuries used their own language for literary purposes. To these is due the idea of employing the Persian character for their vernacular speech, and the consequent preference for words to which character is native. ‘Persian is now no foreign idiom in India, and though its excessive use is repugnant to good taste, it would be a foolish purism and a political mistake to attempt (as some have attempted) to eliminate it from the Hindu literature of the day.’ I have made this quotation from Sir Charles Lyall’s work in order to show what an accomplished scholar has to say on one side of a much debated question. That the general principle which he has enunciated is correct, no one will, I think, dispute. Once a word has become domesticated in Hindostanī no one has any right to object to its use, whatever
may be its origin, and opinions will differ only as to what words have received the right of citizenship and what have not. This, after all, is a question of style, and in Hindostanī as in English, there are styles and styles, for myself, I far prefer the Hindostanī from which words whose citizenship is in any way doubtful are excluded, but that, I freely admit, is a matter of taste.

Rēkhta (i.e ‘scattered’ or ‘mixed’) is the form which Urdu takes when used by men, especially when employed for poetry. The name is derived from the manner in which Persian words are ‘scattered’ through it. When poems are written in the special dialect used by women, which has a vocabulary of its own, it is known as Rēkhtī.

Dakhinī is the form of Hindōstanī used by Muslamāns in the Deccan. Like Urdu, it is written in the Persian character, but is much more free from Persianization. It retains grammatical forms (such as mērē kō for mujh kō) which are common among the rustics of Northern India, but which are not found in the literary dialect, and in some localities does not use the agent case with ne before transitive verbs in the past tense, which is a characteristic feature of all the dialects of Western Hindostan.
The word ‘Hindī’ is used is several different meanings. It is a Persian, not an Indian, word, and Persian writers used it to denote a native of India, as distinguished from ‘Hindu’ or non—Musalmān Indian. Thus Amīr Khsrau says,’ whatever live Hindu fell into the King’s hands was pounded into bits under the feet of elephants. The Musalmans who were Hindīs had their lives spared. In this sense (and in this way it is still used by natives of India). Bengali and Marathī are as much Hindī as the language of the Dōāb. On the other hand, Europeans use the word in two mutually contradictory senses, viz., sometimes to indicate the Sanskritized, or at least the non-Persianized, form of Hindostanī which is used as a literary form of speech by Hindus, and which is usually printed in the Nagarī character, and sometimes, loosely, to indicate all the rural dialects spoken between Bengal proper and the Punjab. In the present pages I use the word only in the former of these two meanings. This Hindī, therefore, or, as it is sometimes called, ‘High Hindī’ is the prose literary language of those Hindus who do not employ Urdu. It is of modern origin, having been introduced under English influence at the commencement of the last century. Up till then, when a Hindu wrote prose and did not use Urdu, he wrote is his own local dialect, Awadhī Bundelī, Braj Bhakhā,
Vernacular Hindostānī, or what not. Lallu Lāl under the inspiration of Dr. Gilchrist, changed all this by writing the well known Prēm Sāgar, a work which was so far as the prose portions went, practically written in Urdu, with Indo-Aryan words substituted wherever a writer in that form of speech would use Persian ones. It was thus an automatic reversion to the actual vernacular of the Upper Dōāb. The course of this novel experiment was successful from the start. The subject of the first book written in it attracted the attention of all pious Hindus, and the author’s style, musical and rhythmical as the Arabic Saj, pleased their ears. Then, the language filled a want. It gave a lingua franca to the Hindus. It enabled men of widely distant provinces to converse with each other without having recourse to the, to them, unclean words of the Musalmāns. Everywhere it was easily intelligible, for its grammar was that of the language that every Hindu had to employ in his business relations with Government official, and its vocabulary was the common property of all Indo-Aryan languages of northern India. Moreover, very little prose, excepting commentaries and the like, had been written in any modern Indian vernacular, before. Literature and almost entirely confined itself to verse. Hence the language of the Prem Sagar became, naturally
enough, the standard of Hindu prose all over Hindostan, from Bihar to the Punjab, and has held its place as such to the present day. Nowadays no Hindu of Upper India dreams of writing in any Indian language except Urdu or Hindī when he is writing prose; but when he takes to verse, he instinctively adopts one of the old national dialect, such as the Awadhī of Tulasī Das of the Braj Bhakhā of the blind bard of Agra. Of late some attempts have been made to write poetry in literary Hindi” but I do not think that such attempts can have more than a small modicum of success. The tradition of a special language for poetry has taken deep root in India, and is well established. Such language is loved and easily understood by everyone down to the humblest ploughman, and so long as the influence of such poets as Tulasī Dās prevails it will, never fall into disuse.

Since Lallū Lals time Hindī has developed for itself certain rules of style which differentiate it from Urdu. The Principal of these relate to the order of words, which is much less free than in that form of Hindōstanī. It has also, of late years, fallen under the fatal spell of Sanskrit, and is showing signs of becoming, in the hands of Pandits, and under the encouragement of some European writers who have
learnt Hindi through Sanskrit, as debased as literary Bengali without the same excuse. Hindī has so copious a vocabulary of its own, rooted in the very beings of the peasantry upon whose language it is based, that nine-tenths of the Sanskrit words which one meets in many modern Hindī books are useless and unintelligible excrescences. The employment of Sanskrit words is supposed to add dignity to the style. One might as well say that a graceful girl of eighteen gained in dignity by masquerading in the furbelows of her great grandmother. Some enlightened Indian scholars are struggling hard, without displaying any affected purism, against this too easily acquired infection, and we may hope that their efforts will meet with the encouragement that they deserve.

We may now define the three main varieties of Hindostanī as follows :-Hindiostanī is primarily the language of the Northern Dōāb, and is also the lingua franca of India, capable of being written both in the Persian and the Nagarī characters and, without purism, avoiding alike the excessive use of either Persian or Sanskrit words when employed for literature. The name ‘Urdu’ can then be confined to that special variety of Hindostanī in which Persian words are of frequent occurrence, and which
therefore can only be written with ease in the Persian character; and, similarly, ‘Hindi’ can be confined to the form of Hindostanī in which Sanskrit words abound, and which therefore is legible only when written in the Nāgarī character. These are the definitions which were proposed by the late Mr. Growse, and they have the advantage of being intelligible, while at the same time they do not overlap. Hitherto, all those words have been very loosely employed. Finally, I use ‘Eastern Hindi’ to connote the group of intermediate dialects of which Braj Bhakhā and Hindōstanī (in its different phases) are the best known examples.

As a literary language, the earliest specimens of Hindostanī are in Urdu, or rather Rekhta, for they are poetical works. Its cultivation began in the Deccan at the end of the sixteenth century, and it received a definite standard of form a hundred years later, principally at the hand of Wali of Aurangabad, commonly called ‘the Father of Rēkhta.’ The example of Wali was quickly taken up at Delhi, where a school of poets took its rise of which the most brilliant members were Sauda(d. 1780), the author of the famous satires, and Mir Taqi (d. 1810). Another schools almost equally celebrated, arose at Lucknow
during the troubled time at Delhi in the middle of the eighteenth century. The great difference between the poetry of Urdu” and that written in the various dialects of Eastern or Western Hindī lies in the system of prosody. In the former, the prosody is that of the Persian language, while in the latter it is the altogether opposed indigenous system of India. Moreover, the former is entirely based on Persian models of composition, which are quite different from the older works from which the native literature took its origin. Urdu prose came into existence, as a literary medium, at the beginning of the last century in Calcutta. Like Hindī prose, its earliest attempts were due to English influence and to the need of textbooks in both forms of Hindostanī for the College of Fort William. The Bāgh o Bahār of Mir Amman, and the Khirad Afrōz of Hafizu’ddin Ahmed are familiar examples of earlier of these works in Urdu, as the already mentioned Prem Sagar written by Lallu Lal is an example of those in Hindī Since those days both Urdu prose and Hindī prose have had prosperous course, and it is unnecessary to dwell upon the copious literature that has poured from the press in the last century. Mohammed Husain (Azad) and Pandit Ratan Nath (Sarshar) are probably amongst the most eminent writers of Urdu prose, while in Hindi”
the late Harischandra of Benaras by universal consent holds the first place. As already explained, Hindi”, as defined above, has hardly any poetical literature. Such as there is confined to what are little more than experiments carried out during the past few years. All the great Hindu poetical works are written in one or other of the Eastern or Western Hindīdialects. There are several excellent modern Urdu poets, of whom the most celebrated is probably Altaf Hussain (Halī) whose Quatrains have been admirably translated into English by the late Mr. G.E. Ward.

Punjabī is spoken over the greater part of the eastern half of the Province of the Punjab, in the northern corner of the Rajputana State of Bikaner, and in the southern half of the State of Jammu. It is bounded on the north and north-east by the Western Paharī of the lower ranges of the

Himalaya, on the east by Western Hindī,-in east Ambala by the Vernacular Hindostanī, and in the country immediately to the west of the Jamna by the Bangarū dialect, on the south by the Bāgrī and Bīkanerī dialects of Rajasthanī, and on the west by Lahndā. In describing the last named language I have dealt at some length on the mutual relationship
between it and Punjabī. I explained that the whole Punjab was the meeting ground of two distinct forms of speech, viz., the old Outer language strongly influenced by Dardic, if not actually Dardic, which expanded form the Indus Valley eastwards, and the old Midland language the parent of modern Western Hindi, which expanded form the Jamna Valley westwards. In the Punjab these overlapped. In the Eastern Punjab the wave of Dardic with the old Lahndā had nearly exhausted itself, and the old Western Hindī had the mastery, the resultant language being Punjabī, while in the Western Punjab the old Western Hindī had nearly exhausted itself, the resultant language being modern Lahnda. It is thus impossible to draw any clear dividing line between Punjabī and Lahnda, and all that we can do is to take the 74th degree of East Longitude as a conventional frontier between the two forms of speech, with the understanding that this is an attempt to define a state of affairs that is essentially indefinite. On the other hand the line between Western Hindī and Punjabī is more distinct, and may be taken as the meridian passing through Sahrind (Sirhind). The net result is that we may say that the language of extreme Eastern Punjab is Western Hindi, that of the Western Punjab is
Lahndā, and that of the Central and East Central Punjab is Punjabī.

The mixed character of the languages of the Central and Western Punjab (Punjabī and Lahnda) is well illustrated by the character given to the inhabitants of these tracts by a hostile writer in the Mahābhārata, and by incidental references in the grammar of Panini. Although not distant from the holy Sarasvatī, the centre from which Sanskritic civilization spread, we learn that the laws and customs to the Punjab were at a very early period widely different from those of the Midland.

The people are at one time described as living in a state of kingless anarchy, and at another time as possessing no Brahmans (a dreadful thing to an orthodox Hindu), living in petty villages, and governed by princes who supported themselves by internecine war. Not only were there no Brahmans, but there were no castes, or else it was possible for a man of one caste to adopt another. The population had no respect for the Veda, and offered no sacrifices to the gods. They were rude and uncultivated, given to drinking spirituous liquor, and eating all kinds of flesh. Their women were large-bodied, yellow, extremely immoral in their behaviour, and seem to have lived in
a condition of polyandry, a man’s heir being not his son, but the son of his sister. That this account was true in every particular need not be urged. It was given to us by enemies; but, whether true or not, it illustrates the gulf in regard to habits, customs, and language, that existed between the Midland and the Punjab.

**Diaelects**

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Survey</th>
<th>Census of 1921</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard</td>
<td>11,180,611</td>
<td>14,795,309²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dogri</td>
<td>1,229,227</td>
<td>418,678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>352,801</td>
<td>1,019,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12,762,639</td>
<td>16,233,596²</td>
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Punjabi is spoken by thirteen millions of people, a number equivalent to the population of Czechoslovakia. It has two dialects, the Standard and Dogri. The Standard dialect is spoken over the plains portion of the Central Punjab, and varies slightly from place to place, the form spoken round Amritsar, i.e., in the Mājh or middle part of the Bari Dōāb, being considered to be the purest Its proper national
character is the Landā or ‘clipped’ alphabet also in use for Lahndā, and described above. As elsewhere, this is seldom legible to anyone except the writer, and not always to him. According to tradition, Angada (1538—52), the second Sikh Guru, found that the hymns of his religion when written in this character were liable to be misread, and he accordingly improved it by borrowing sings form the Nagarī alphabet and by polishing up the forms of the existing letters. The resultant alphabet became known as the Gurmukhī, or that which proceeds from the month of the Guru. This Gurmukhi alphabet is the one now used for printed text employed by the Sikkhs of the Punjab, and is also used by Hindus of the same country. Muslmans, as a rule, prefer the Persian alphabet.

Dogri is the dialect of Punjabī spoken in the State of Ju.cmu and in the adjoining parts of the Punjab proper. It closely resembles the Standard dialect. It differs mainly in the forms used in the declension of nouns, and in its vocabulary, which is influenced by Lahnda and Kashmīrī.

It has a written character of its own, allied to the Landa of the Punjab plains and called Takkarī, the name of which is probably derived from that of the Takkas, a tribe whose capital was the famous Sākala,
town which the late Dr Fleet identified with the modern Sialkot.

Punjabi has small literature, mainly consisting of ballads and folk-epics. These include several cycles of considerable extent, the most important of which are those referring to the famous hero Raja Rasalū, to Hīra and Ranjhā, and to Mirzā and Sahibā. The version of the Hirā and Ranjhā legend by Wāris Shāh is considered to be a model of the purest Punjabi. It is immensely popular, and gramophone records of selected passages find a ready sale throughout the country. The contents of the Sikh Granth, though written in the Gurmukhi character, are mostly in old Hindī only a few of the hymns, though some of these are the most important, being composed in Punjabi. Of late years a small prose Punjabi literature has sprung up with the introduction of the art of printing. The Serampur missionaries translated the New Testament and portions of the Old into Standard Punjabi, and the new Testament alone into Bhatnerī, a mixed dialect spoken on the borders of Bikaner. Punjabi a mixed is the vernacular of our Sikh soldiers, and is hence found not only in many parts of India, but is even heard in distant China, where Sikh police are employed in the Treaty Ports.
Of all the languages connected with the Midland, Panjabi is the one which is most free from borrowed words, whether Persian or Sanskrit. While capable of expressing all ideas, it has a charming rustic flavour characteristic of the homely peasantry that employ it. In many respects it bears much the same relationship to Hindi that the Lowland Scotch of the poet Burns bears to Southern English.

Directly south of Punjabī lies Rajasthanī, with eighteen and a quarter million speaker, equivalent to about half the population of England and Wales. Just as Punjabī represent the expansion of the Midland language to the north-west, so Rajasthanī represents its expansion to the south west. In the course of this latter expansion, the Midland language, passing through the area of Rajasthanī, reaches the sea in Gujarat, where it becomes Gujarātī, Rajasthanī and Gujarati are hence very closely connected, and are, in fact, little more than variant dialects of one and the same language. There are many traditions of migration from the Midland into Rajputana and Gujarat, the first mentioned being the foundation of Dvārakā in Gujarat, at the time of the war of the Mahabharata. According to Jain tradition, the first Chaulukya ruler of Gujarat came from Kanauj in the
Gangetic Dōāb, and in the ninth century A.D. a Gurjara-Rajput of Bhīlmal or Bhīnmal, in Western Rajputana, conquered that city. The Rāthaurs of Marwar say that they came thither from Kanauj in the twelfth century. The Kachhwahās of Jaipur claim to come from Oudh, while another tradition makes the Chaulukyas come from the Eastern Punjab.

The close political connexion between Rajputana and Gujarat is shown by the historical fact that the Gahlōts of Mewar came thither from the latter tract. That some Rajput clans are descended from Gurjara immigrants is now admitted by most scholars, who maintain that one of their centers of dispersion in Rajputana was in, or near, Mount Abu. These appear to have entered India with the Hūnas and other marauding tribes about the sixth century A.D. and rapidly rose to great power. They were in the main a pastoral people, but had their chiefs and fighting men. When the tribe became of consequence the latter were treated by the Brahmans as equivalent to Kshatriyas, and given the title of Rajaputras or Rajputs, i.e., ‘Sons of Kings.’ Some were even admitted to equality with the Brahmans themselves, but the bulk of the tribe which still followed its pastoral avocations remained as a subordinate caste.
under the title of Gurjaras, or, in modern language, Gujars.

**Rajasthani**

As its name indicates, Rajasthani is the language of Rajasthan, in the sense given to that word by Tod. It is spoken in Rajputana and the western portion of Central India, and also in the neighbouring tracts of the Central Provinces, Sind, and the Punjab. To the east it shades off into the Bundelī dialect of Western Hindī in the Gwalior State. To its north it merges into Braj Bhakha, in the States of Karauli and Bharatpur and in the British District of Gurgaon. To the west in gradually become Punjabī, Lahndā, and Sindī through the mixed dialects of the Indian desert, and directly, Gujaratī in the State of Palanpur. On the south it meets Marathī, but, this being an Outer language, does not merge into it.

Rajasthan is a tract divided amongst many States and many tribes, and it has hence many closely related dialects. No less than fifteen variations of the local speech have been counted in the Jaipur State alone.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Rajasthānī</th>
<th>Survey</th>
<th>Census of 1921</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marwarī</td>
<td>6,088,389</td>
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J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages
Srinagar/Jammu
Omitting minor local differences, there are some twenty real dialects spoken over the area of which Rajasthanī is the vernacular. An examination of them shows that they fall into four main groups, which may be called Marwarī, the Central Eastern Group (of which the typical dialect is Jaipurī), the North-Eastern Group (of which the typical dialect is Mewatī), and Malvīand these may be taken as the four main dialects of the language. In addition to these we may also notice Nimadi, Labhani, and Gujari. By far the most important of the Rajasthani dialects, whether we consider the size of the area in which it is vernacular, or the Marwar extent it has spread over India, is Marwari. Its home is Western Rajputana, including the great States of Marwar. Mewar, Bikaner, and Jaisalmir. It has many varieties, of which the best known are Thali, or Western Marwarī of the Desert, which extends well into Sind, the Mewari of the
Udaipur State. Bikanerī, and the Bagrī of North-East Bikaner and the adjoining parts of the Punjab. The last is often considered a distinct dialect. The Shekhawatī of North—West Jaipur differs very little from the Marwarī spoken in the east and entre of the adjoining State of Bikaner. Of the Central Eastern dialects, the most important are Jaipurī and Harautī. Jaipurī, as its name implies, is the language of the State of Jaipur, and we know more about it than we do about any other form of Rajasthani. ‘At the request of His Highness the Maharajah of Jaipur, an elaborate survey of all the various local dialects employed in the State was carried out by the Rev. G. Macalister, M.A., who has published the results in an admirable little volume. Harautī is the dialect spoken by Hara Rajputs of Bundi and Kota, and extends eastwards over the border of the Gwalior State, where it merges into Bundelk. The principal North-Eastern dialect is Mewatī or Bighotā, The language of the Mēos, whose head—quarters are in the State of Alwar. The Ahīrwatī or Hīrwatī spoken to the south and south—west of Delhi is a form of it. As might be expected, the dialects of this group are the forms of Rajasthanī which most nearly approach Western Hindī. In Ahīrwatī we see it merging into the Bangarū dialect of that language, while in the Mewatī of Alwar it is shading off into Braj
Bhakha. The head-quarters of Mālvi are in the Malwa country round Indore, but it extends over a wide tract. To the east it reaches to Bhopal, where it meets ‘Bundelī, and to the west it is stopped by the Bhīl dialects spoken in the hills south of Udaipur. It also occupies the north-western Districts of the Central Provinces.

A peculiar form of it, which is much mixed with Marwarī forms, is called Rangrī or Rajwarī and is spoken by Rajputs. In north Nimar and the adjoining portion of the Bhopawar Agency of Central India, Mālavī has become so mixed with Khandēsī and the Bhīl languages that it has become a new dialect, called Nīmadī, and possessing peculiarities of its own. Nimadī can, however, hardly be called a true dialect, in the sense in which we call Mārwarī, Jaipurī, Mewātī, and Mālavī dialects of Rajasthanī. It is rather a mixed patois made up of several languages, with Mālavī for its basis.

Labhānī or Banjarī is the language of the Banjarās, a well-know tribe of carriers who are found all over Western and Southern India. They are also called Labhanas. In many parts of India they use the languages of the people of the country in which they happen to dwell, but in Berar, Bombay, the Central
Provinces, the Punjab, United Provinces, and the Central Indian Agency, they have a language of their own, the name of which varies according to the local name of the tribe. Everywhere it is a mixed form of speech, but, throughout, its basis is some western form of Rajasthanī, the other element consisting of borrowings from the speech of the locality where the members of the tribe happen to be found. It may here be mentioned that two other tribal dialects have been found on examination to be the same as Labhanī. These are Kakerī and Bahrūpiā. Kakerī is the language of the Kakērs, a small tribe of comb-makers who emigrated from Ajmer in Rajputana some two hundred years ago and settled in the District of Jhansi in the United Provinces. The Bahrūpiās or Mahtams are now found in the Punjab Districts of Gujrat and Sialkot. They say that they came thither from Rajputana with Rajā Man Singh on the occasion of his expedition to Kabul in the year 1587, and then settled in the localities where they are now found. It is probable that they were originally a sub-tribe of the Labhānas.

The mention of the Gujarī dialect opens up an interesting period of Indian history. We have already seen that the Gurjaras, the ancestors of the present
Gujars, probably entered India in the fifth or sixth century A.D. and that some of their fighting men became recognized as Rajputs. We shall see, in dealing with the Pahāri languages, that in ancient times the present Districts of Kumaun and Garhwal together with the country to their west including the Simla Hills was known as ‘Sapadalaksha’, and that this tract was partly occupied by these Gurjaras in the course of their immigration. Thence certain of the Gurjaras descended into the plains, crossed the Gengetic Valley, and entered Mewat, whence they spread over Eastern Rajputana, and acquired its language. In after years certain of these Rajputana settlers again migrated towards the north-west, and invaded the Punjab from the south-east. They left a line of colonists extending from Mewat, up both sides of the Jamna Valley, and thence, following the foot of the Himalaya, right up to the Indus. Where they have settled in the plains they have abandoned their own language, but as we enter the lower hills we invariably come upon a dialect locally known as Gujarr In each case this can be described as the language of the people nearest the local Gujars, but badly spoken as if by foreigners. The farther we go into these sparsely populated hills the more independent do we find this Gujarr, and the less influenced by its surroundings. At
length, when we get into the wild hill country of Swat and Kashmir, we find the nomad Gujars here called Gujurs (if cowherds) or Ajirs (if shepherds), still pursuing their original pastoral avocations and still speaking the descendant of the language that their ancestors bought with them from Mewat. But this shows traces of its long journey. It contains odd phrases and idioms of the Hisdōstanī of the Jamna Valley, which were picked up en route and carried to the distant hills of Dardistan.

The only dialect of Rajathānī which has a considerable recognized literature is Marwarī. Numbers of poems in Old Marwarī or Dingal, as it is called for poetical purposes, are in existence, but have not as yet been seriously studied. Besides this there is an enormous mass of literature in other forms of Rajasthanī. I allude to the corpus of Bardic Histories described in Tod’s Rajasthan, the accomplished author of which was, until the late few years, probably the only European who had read any considerable portion of them. Since then, of late years a survey of these chronicles has been undertaken by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, under the auspices of the Government of India, and considerable progress had been made in cataloguing them and in publishing
texts, when the work was interrupted by the lamented death of Dr. L.P. Tessitori, the learned Italian scholar in whose immediate charge it was. Since then the project has been in abeyance. The most important chronicle of all, the PrīthirājRdsau of Chand Bardāi has also lately been made available to students by the publication, under the care of Nagarī Prachārinī Sabha of Benares, of the complete text with an abstract in Hindī.

A few episodes of it have also been translated into English by Beames and by Hoernle. It is written in an old form of Western Hindī— not in Rajasthani — also used by Rajput bards for poetical purposes, and known as Pingal, and, as we have it now, probably contains spurious additions; but it is nevertheless a wonderful storehouse of Rajputana history and legend. The Serampore Missionaries translated the New Testament into Harautī (a Central Eastern dialect), Ujainī (i.e; Malvī), Udaipurī (i.e. Mewari, a form of Marwari), Marwari, Jaipuri, and Bikaneri (another form of Marwari).

**Characteristics of the language**

At the time of Great War of Mahabharata, the country known as that of the Panchālas extended form the river Chambal up to Hardwar at the foot of
the Himalaya. The southern portion of it, therefore, coincided with Northern Rajputana. We have already seen that the Panchālas seem to have been one of these tribes who were earliest Aryan invaders of India, and that, therefore, it is probable that their language was one of those which belonged to the Outer Circle of Indio-Aryan languages. If this is true, it is, a. fortiori, also true of the rest of Rajputana more to the south. The theory also further requires us to conclude that, as the Aryans who spoke the languages of Inner sub-branch expanded and became more powerful, they gradually thrust those of Outer Circle who were to their south, still farther and farther in that direction. In Gujarat, the Inner Aryans broke through retaining wall of the Outer tribes and reached the sea. There are traditions of several settlements form the Midland in Gujarat, the first mentioned being that of Dvārakā in the time of the Mahabharata war. The only way into Gujarat form the Midland in through Rajputana. The more direct route in barred by the great Indian desert. Rajputana itself was occupied in comparatively modern times by invaders from Central Hindostan. As previously stated, the Rathaurrs have a tradition that they abandoned Kanauj in the Doab late in the twelfth century A.D., and then took possession of Marwar. The Kachhwahas of Jaipur claim to have come from
Oudh, and the Solankīs form the Eastern Punjab. Gujarat itself was occupied by Yadavas, members of which tribe still occupy their original seat near Muttra. The Gahlots of Mewār, on the other hand, are, according to tradition a reflex wave form Gujarat, driven into the neighbourhood of Chitor after the famous sack of Vallabhi. We thus see that the whole of the country between the Gangetic Dōāb and the sea coast of Gujarat has at present amount its occupants a large number of people who are members of tribes that emigrated from the Midland. These originally found there other Aryan tribes previously settled who, in their turn, belonged to what I call the Outer Circle and whom they either absorbed or drove farther to the south, or both. This is exactly borne out by the linguistic conditions of this tract. Rajasthanī and Gujarati are both, on the whole, languages of the Inner Sub-branch, but they show many traces of forms which are characteristic of languages of the Outer Band. A few may be mentioned here. In pronunciation, Gujarati, like Sindhi Marathī, and Assamese, prefers the sound of o to that of au. Thus, the Hindostāni Chauthā, fourth, is Chothō in Sindhī, Rajasthanī and Gujarati. Again, like Sindhi”, both Rajasthanī and Gujarati have a strong preference for cerebral sounds instead of dentals. Like Sindhi and
other North-Western languages, vulgar Gujarati pronounces s as h. So also do the speakers of certain parts of Rajputana. Like all the eastern languages and Marathī, but unlike the Inner languages, both Rajasthanī and Gujarati nouns have an oblique from ending in a. Under the head of Sindhi we have shown how a past participle in L, which is peculiarly characteristic of the languages of the Outer Sub-Branch, is also found in Gujarati. Finally, in the conjugation of verbs both Gujarati and Rajasthanī, like Lahndā, have a future whose characteristic is the letter S.

Rajasthanī uses of Nagarī character for its literature. For ordinary purposes it has a corrupt form of that script allied to the Landa of the Punjab. This is known as Mahajani, or the alphabet of the mercantile class, and is well-nigh illegible to everyone except its writer. It omits nearly all the vowels, and the stories about the consequent misreading are among the most popular chestnuts of Indian folklore.

Rajasthanī, in the form of Marwarī, can he heard all over India, there is hardly a town where the ‘thrifty denizen of the sands of Western and Northern Rajputana has not found his way to fortune, from the petty grocer’s shop in a Deccan village to the most
extensive banking and broking connexion in the commercial capitals of both East and West India.

As already stated, Gujarati is closely related to Rajasthanī. So late as the fifteenth Century Marwar and Gujarat had one common language, which has since then split up into these two languages and of which both originally formed little differing dialects. Gujarati is spoken in the British Province of Gujarat and in Baroda and other neighbouring Indian States. It extends South along the coast of the Arabian Sea to about Daman, where, is a mixed population, some speaking Marathī and some Gujarati. The two languages have no intermediate dialect. On the north, it shades off standard dialect is employed for official and literary purposes Still on the north, but to the into Sindhī, through the Kachchhī dialect of that language, although in Cutch (Kachchh) itself the standard dialect is employed for official and literary purposes Still on the north, but to the east of Sindhī it meets Marwarī, into which, a little north of Ran of Cutch, it gradually merges. On its east, it has the hill country, in which Bhilī and Khandesī are spoken, and on its south it has Marathī. The Bhil languages and Marwarī, like Gujarati, belong to the Inner Sub-Branch, and into these Gujarati merges naturally, and without
difficulty. The case of Sindhi is somewhat peculiar in this respect. Sindhi is an Outer language, and we have seen that the old language once spoken in Gujarat, but which has been superseded by the modern Gujarati itself also belonged to the Outer Sub-Branch, and must have been closely related to Sindhi. I have said that Gujarati merges into Sindhi through the Kachchhi dialect of that language. This is only partly true. Kachchhi, in its pure form, is not an intermediate dialect between the two languages. It is a form of Sindhi, with a varying mixture of Gujarati words borrowed from Gujarati-speaking neighbours. It is mixed rather than an intermediate form of speech. The peninsula of Cutch is inhabited not only by Kachchhis but also by numerous immigrants from Rajputana and Gujarat. These latter retain their own respective languages, but corrupt them in their turn, by borrowings from Kachchhi, so that the whole peninsula is polyglot, some of the population speaking what may be called a mongrel Sindhi, while others speak a mongrel Rajasthan for mongrel Gujarati. In popular speech, all these mongrel dialects are lumped together under the general name of ‘Kachchhi, and on this understanding alone can it be said that Gujarati merges into Sindhi through Kachchhi. As regards Marathi, lying to the south of Gujarati”, the matter is
different. Here there is no merging, even in the sense in which we have used the term in regard to Kachchhī. There is difference of race, and the country on the borderline between the two forms of speech is bilingual. The two nationalities are geographically mixed, but each preserves its own tongue, the Gujaratis speaking their own Inner Gujarati, and the Marathas speaking their own Outer Marathī.

The only true dialect variation of Gujaratī consists in the difference between the speech of the uneducated and that of educated. That of the latter is the standard form of the language as taught in the grammars. That of the former differs from the standard mainly in pronunciation, although it possesses a few contracted verbal forms which are ignored by the literary dialect. The differences of pronunciation are nearly the same over the whole Gujaratī tract, but, as a rule, though they are the same in kind, they are much less prominent in South Gujarat, and become more and more prominent as we go north. It is of interest to note that in this pronunciation followed by the uneducated rural classes, we meet over and over again relics of the old Outer language superseded by modern Gujarātī. Such are, to quote two examples, the tendency to
pronounce s as h, and the inability to distinguish between cerebral and dental letters, and there are many others. The Parsis and the Musalmans are generally credited with special dialects, but in pronunciation and inflexion these generally followed the colloquial Gujarati of their neighbours. Most Musalmans in Gujarat speak Hindostanî, but when they do speak Gujaratî their language is noticeable for the entire disregard of the distinction between cerebral and dentals. Here they only carry a local dialectic peculiarity to excess. In other respects, the Gujaratî of Parsis and Musalmans mainly differs from the ordinary colloquial language of the uneducated in its vocabulary, which borrows freely from Persian and (generally through Persian) from Arabic. Natives of the country give names (bases upon caste-titles or upon the names of localities) such as Nagarî, the language of the Nagar Brahmans, or as Charotari, the language of the Charotar tract on the banks of the Mahî, to various sub-divisions of these dialects, but the differences are so trifling that they do not deserve special mention, although the more important have been fully dealt with in the pages of the Survey. From the nature of the case it is impossible to give figures for the number of people speaking any one of these dialects or sub-dialects. We can say how many people
belong to a certain tribe, or how many live in a certain tract, but we cannot say how many of them speak the standard dialect and how many speak the dialect of the uneducated. According to the estimates of the Survey, based on the Census of 1891, the number of speaker of all kinds of Gujarati was 10,646,227 (about the same as the population of Persia), the corresponding figures of the Census of 1921 being 9,551,992.

We are fortunate in possessing a remarkable series of documents connecting the modern Gujarati with the Apabhramśa from which it is descended. The famous grammarian Hemachandra (fl. 12th cent. A.D.), whose work is at the present day one of our great authorities on the various Prakrits, adorns the chapter dealing with Apabhramśa with numerous quotations from poems in the literary form of that language. Hemachandra himself was a native of Gujarat, and, while the examples given by him vary in dialect, some of them are almost the same as the old language from which are sprung the modern Marwarī and the modern Gujarati. As for the old Outer language which in ancient times was superseded by the parent of modern Gujarati, we know very little about it. It is probable that it was intermediate between the
ancestor of modern Sindhi and the ancestor of modern Marathi, and that we find traces of it not only in modern Gujarati, but also in the Konkani dialect of Marathi.” But Gujarat has been so overrun from the earliest times by nations hailing from many different parts of the world, that there is little hope of our being able to resuscitate any fragments of it with certainty. The present Gujarat nation is curiously composite, Greeks, Bactrians, Huns, and Scythians, Gurjaras, Jadējas, and Kathīs; Parsīs and Arabs, not speak of soldiers of fortune from the countries of the West, have all contributed, together with the numerous Indo—Aryan immigrations, to form the population. In such a mixture it is wonderful that even the traces of the old Outer language that we have succeeded in identifying have survived.

Gujaratī has not a large literature, but it is larger than that with which it has sometimes been credited. The earliest, and at the same time the most famous poet, whose works have come down to us in a connected form was Narasimha Mehetō (or Narsingh Mehta), who lived in the fifteenth century A.D. His poems, and those of great number of later writers, have been collected and published in a poetical encyclopedia entitled the Brihat Kāvya Dohana. There
is also a considerable series of bardic chronicles, similar to those which we have described under the head of Rajasthanī, on which is based Forbes’s well-known Ras-mald, then, again, in addition to the long list of poets and poetesses whose lays are enshrined in the Brihat Kavya Dohana, there were writers on grammar and poetics. Of special interest for the history of the language are two works, the Mugdhavabodamauktika (1394 A.D.) of an anonymous writer, and the Kriya-ratna-samuchchaya (1410 A.D.) of Gunaratna. These works are Sanskrit grammars for beginners, and as such are of little value. But they are written in the Gujarati of those days, and each Sanskrit grammatical form is given its equivalent in that language. Between them they thus furnish us with a systematic account of the grammar of Gujarati of the early fifteenth century. No such document exists for any other modern Indo-Aryan language. Through them we are able to trace the history of the growth of the Gujarati tongue form the earliest Vedic times without a break, through Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramśa, and the parent Rajasthanī and Gujarati, down to the articles of a Parsī newspaper of the present day. We have grammatical documents for each stage of the long development.
The Nagari character was formerly used in Gujarat for writing books. Carey’s translation of the New Testament, Published at the beginning of the last century, was printed in that alphabet. For less important documents, that modification of the Nagarī character known in Upper India as Kaithī, and very generally used there for similar purposes, was also employed. This is now the official character of Gujarat, as it is of Biharī, and all books and papers in the language are printed in it.

Closely allied to Gujarati and Western Rajasthanī are two important groups of dialects, each of which is entitled to the dignity of being considered a separate language, they are Bhilī and Khandēsi, the latter being also called Ahiranī or Dhēd Gujarr Bhīlī is spoken in the range of hills between Ajmer and Mount Abu. Thence, in numerous dialects, it covers the hill country dividing Gujarat from Rajputana and Central India, as far south as the Satpura Range, and on the way it crosses the Narbada, up which it extends for a considerable distance. As its name implies it is the language of the Bhīls who inhabit this wild tract. South of the Satpuras lie the District of Khandesh and the Burhanpur Tahsil of Nimar, the latter forming a continuation of Khandesh plain. Here
Khandesī is spoken, and still further south, in the hill country leading up from Surat to Nasik, are found a number of wild tribes, such as Naikīs, Dhodiās, Gamtis and Chodhrīs who employ dialects closely connected with it. Both Bhīlī and Khandesī show traces of a non-Aryan basis, which are too few to be certainly identified. This basis may have been Mundā or it may have been Dravidian,-perhaps more probably the former, but has been completely overlaid by an Aryan superstructure, and they are both now thoroughly Aryan languages. But may be looked upon as a bridge between Gujarātī and Rajasthanī, and might, with propriety, be looked upon as an eastern dialect of Gujarātī. The dialects appear under many names (no less than twenty-eight varieties have been examined in the Survey), but they are all essentially the same form of speech. Like some of the colloquial forms of Gujarātī it shows several points of agreement with the Outer languages of the North-West and even with Dardic. As we follow these dialects. Southwards, we find them borrowing more and more from the neighbouring Marathī, but this is borrowing only. It does not affect the structure of the language any more than the borrowing of Arabic or Persian words affects the structure of Hindostanī. Khandesī with its connected dialects, is of a similar character, but is
more mixed with Marathī, which we find invading to small extent, the grammatical structure. On this account, and also because it is chiefly spoken in the Bombay Presidency, it is treated as an independent language, but, from the point of view of strict philology, it should not be separated from Bhīl. Besides the Bhīlī spoken in its proper home, we also meet Bhīl dialects in localities where we might little suspect them. In far Orissa and the Bengal District of Midnapur, more than a thousand miles from the true home of the race, the Linguistic Survey has discovered a wandering tribe, known as Siyālgīrs, who speak a distinctively Bhīl dialect. They perhaps left their own country for their country’s good, for they are described as tribe of thieving propensities, who came to Bengal some six or seven generations ago, probably as jetsam from the tide of Marathā invasion. The Bawariās, a wild hunting tribe found in the Punjab, moreover, speak a form of Bhilī which is known as Baorī.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Survey</th>
<th>Census of 1921</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhīlī</td>
<td>2,691,701</td>
<td>1,855,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khāndēśī and dialects</td>
<td>1,253,066</td>
<td>213,272¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages
Srinagar/Jammu
We must now leave Western India and consider the three Paharī languages. The word ‘Paharī’ means ‘of or belonging to the mountain,’ and is used as a convenient name for the three groups of Indo-Aryan dialects spoken in the lower ranges of the Himalaya, from Nepal in the east to Bhadrawah in the west. Before going into details it is advisable to state briefly what appears to have been the linguistic history of this tract. The earliest inhabitant of which we can mark any traces must have been people speaking a language akin to the ancestor of the modern Munda languages. These were superseded or conquered by Tibeto-Burmans who crossed the Himalaya form the north, and settled on its southern face. In this way the tract became inhabited by people speaking Tibeto-Burman languages, and so it has continued to the present day. But the original Mundās were not entirely swept out of existence, and the languages, although belonging to the Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family, incorporated many Mundā idioms, which can still be easily recognized. In later times, these Tibeto-Burmans were not left isolated. The plains of India immediately to their south were inhabited by Aryans, and these worked northwards into the Himalaya, and settled in the more accessible valleys, bringing with them Aryan languages and civilization.
Thus, Nepal, before the Gorkhā invasion, we find that a language akin to the Maithili dialect of Bihaï, spoken immediately to the south, was used as a court language and we even have a play written in that language still surviving. But another, and, from the point of view of linguistics, more important infusion of Aryan languages came from the west.

West of the present kingdom of Nepal, in Kumaun, Garhwal, and the hills round Simla, there is a sub-Himalayan hill-tract known in Sanskrit times as ‘Sapādalaksha,’ or ‘(the country of) a lakh and a quarter (of hills).’ The modern equivalent of this word,—sawā läkh,—still survives in the name of the well-known Siwalik Hills, south of Garhwal in the Saharanpur District. At the present day the bulk of the agricultural population of this Sapādalaksha consists, in the west, of Kanēts, and, in the east, of members of the Khas tribe. The Kanēts are divided into two clans, one called Khasiya, which claims to be pure, and the other called Rāo (i.e. Rajā or Rajpūt), which admits that it is of impure birth. On the other hand, the chiefs of the country all claim to be of Rajpūt descent. We thus see that the whole of the modern Sapādalaksha contains many people who call themselves Khas or Khasiyā. That these represent the Khaśas, Khasas, or
Khaśiras of Sanskrit literature and the Kàcioi of Greek geographers cannot be doubted. Like the Piśāchas, from whose speech the modern dardic languages are descended, they were said to be descended from Kaśyapa, the founder of Kashmir. In the Rqjataranginī the famous history of that country, they are frequently referred to as a thorn in the side of its rulers, and in the Mahābharata they are often mentioned as a people of the north-west, and even as closely connected with the Piśāchas, and with the people of Kashmir. They were Aryans, but had fallen outside the Aryan pale of purity. Other Sanskrit authorities, such as the Harivamsa, the Puranas, and the various law books, all agree in placing them in the north-west. In later times they spread eastwards over the whole of Sapādalaksha, and conquered and absorbed the more fertile tracts, where we find them at the present day. Still later, about the sixteenth century, they advanced, in the Gorkhā invasion, into Nepal, and mixing with the Tibeto-Burmans or Mundās whom they found there, became the Khas or ruling tribe of that country. We have seen that in ancient times these Khasas were associated with the Piśachas, and originally they must, like them, have spoken a Dardic language, for traces of that form of
speech are readily found over the whole Sapādalaksha tract, diminishing in strength as we go eastwards.

In dealing with Rajasthani reference has been made to the important part the Gurjaras, or modern Gujars, have played in the history of Rajputana. These people seem to have appeared in India first about the fifth or sixth century A.D. One branch of them occupied this Sapāndalaksha and amalgamated with the Khas population that they found in situ. In Western Sapadalaksha they became the Rao sept of the Kanēts, but were not admitted to equality of caste with the older Khasiya Kanets. These Gurjaras were those who took to cultivation, or who adhered to their pastoral pursuits. The fighting men were, as we have seen, admitted into the Rajput caste. From Sapādalaksha, Gurjaras migrated across the Gangetic Valley, to Mewat, and thence settled over Eastern Rajputana. In later years, under the pressure of Musalman rule, many of these Rajputs remigrated to Sapadalaksha and again settled there. In fact there was continual intercourse between Sapadalaksha and Rajputana. Finally, as we have seen, Nepal was conquered by people of the Khas tribe, who were accompanied by many of these Gurjara-Rajputs. It has long been recognized that all the Pahari languages are
at the present day closely allied to Rajasthanī, and the above historical sketch shows how this has come about.
The three Pahari languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Survey</th>
<th>Census 1921</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Pahari</td>
<td>143,721</td>
<td>279,715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Pahari</td>
<td>1,107,612</td>
<td>3,853¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Pahari</td>
<td>853,468</td>
<td>1,633,915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,104,801</td>
<td>1,917,537</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Pahari Group of the Inner Sub-Branch of the Indo-Aryan languages consists of three groups of dialects, which may be called the Eastern Pahari, the Central Pahairī, and the Western Pahārī languages respectively.

Eastern Pahari is commonly called ‘Nepalī’ or ‘Nai-palī’ by Europeans, but this name is hardly suitable, as it is not the principal language of Nepal. In that State the principal languages are Tibeto-Burman, the most important being Newāri, the name of which is also derived from the word ‘Nepal.’ Other names for Eastern Paharī are ‘Parbatiya’ or ‘the Hill language’, ‘Gorkhalī’ or ‘the language of the Gorkhas’, and ‘Khas Kurā’ or ‘the language of the Khas tribe’. It is not a language of British India, the homes of its speakers being in the State of Nepal, for which no census figures are available. The 143,721 speakers recorded in the Survey estimates refer to natives of
Nepal who have come temporarily or permanently into British India. Many of them are soldiers in our Gorkhā regiments.

The introduction of this Aryan language into Nepal is a matter of modern history. In the early part of the 16th century certain Rajpūts of Mewar, under pressure of Musalmān attacks, migrated north, and settled among their Khas and Gurjara relatives in Garhwal, Kumaun, and Western Nepal. In 1559 A.D. a party of these conquered the town of Gorkhā (say 70 miles north-west of Kathmandu). In 1768 Prithvī Narayana Shah of Gorkhā made himself master of the whole of Nepal, founded the present Gorkhalī dynasty, and introduced as the language of the court the mixed Rajasthanī and Khas tongue that he had brought from Gorkhā. This has since been the Aryan language of Nepal, superseding, that country.

The bulk of the population of Nepal being Tibeto-Burman, the Khas conquerors have been in a minority, and there has been a mixture not only of race but of language. Eastern Paharī has borrowed some of its vocabulary and even some of its grammatical idioms from Tibeto-Burman languages, and although distinctly related to Rajasthanī it now presents a somewhat mixed character. Not only many
words but special phases of its grammar, such as the use of the agent case before all tenses of a transitive verb, and the employment of a complete honorific conjugation, are plainly borrowed from the speech of the surrounding Tibeto-Burmans. These changes in the speech are increasing with every decade, and certain Tibeto-Burman peculiarities have come into the language within the memory of men alive at the present day.

Eastern Pahari being spoken in a mountainous country has no doubt many dialects. Into one of these, Palpā, spoken in Western Nepal, the Serampore missionaries in the early part of the last century made a version of the New Testament, and as Nepalī is independent territory to which Europeans have little access that is our one source of information concerning it. The standard dialect is that of Kathmandu, and in this there is a small printed literature, all modern. The dialect of Eastern Nepal has of late years been adopted by the missionaries at Darjiling as the standard for a grammar and for their translation of the Bible, Eastern Pahari is written and printed in the Nagarī character.
Central Paharī includes the dialects spoken in Eastern Sapadalaksha, i.e., in the British Districts of Kumaun and Garhwal and in the State of Garhwal. It has two well-known dialects, —Kumaunī spoken in Kumaun (including the hill station of Naini-Tal), and Garhwalī, spoken in British and independent Garhwal and the country round the hill station of Mussoorie. These dialects vary from place to place, each pargana having a distinct form of speech, each with a local name of its own. Neither of these main dialects has any literary history. The Serampore missionaries published translations of the New Testament into each of them, and other versions of portions of the Scriptures have lately been made into Garhwalī. During the past few years a few books have been written in Kumaunī, and one or two in Garhwalī. So for as I have seen, both dialects are written and printed in the Nagarī character.

Western Paharī is the name of the large number of connected dialects spoken in Western Sapadalaksha, i.e., in the hill country of which Simla,
the summer head-quarters of the Government of India, is the political centre. These dialects have no standard form, and, beyond a few folk-epics, no literature. The area over which they are spoken extends from the Jaunsar-Bawar tract of the United Provinces, and thence, in the Province of the Punjab, over the State of Sirmaur, the Simla Hills, Kulu, and the States of Mandi and Chamba, up to, and including, the Bhadrawah jagir of Kashmir. The language has numerous dialects, all differing considerably among themselves, but nevertheless possessing many common features. We may conveniently group them under the nine heads given on the margin. Of these, Jaunsārī is the language spoken in the Jaunsar-Bawar tract of the District of Dehra Dun in the United Provinces, wedged in between Garhwal and the Punjab State of Sirmaur. It is a transition dialect between Garhwalī and Sirmaurī, but is much mixed with the Western Hindī spoken to its south in the rest of Dehra Dun. Sirmaurī includes three well marked dialects, and is spoken in the State of Sirmaur and in the south of the State of Jubbal. It is closely connected with Jaunsarī, but north of the River Giri and in Jubbal it begins to approximate to Kiuthalī. Sirmaurī lies west of Jaunsarī, and still further to the west we have Baghatī, these three forming a continuous band
forming the southern limit of the Western Pahari dialects. Baghatī is the dialect of the State of Baghat and

<table>
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<th>Western Pahari</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jaunsarī</td>
<td>47,437</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirmaurī</td>
<td>124,562</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baghatī</td>
<td>22,195</td>
<td>427,702</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kiuthalī</td>
<td>188,763</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satlaj Group</td>
<td>38,893</td>
<td>126,793</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kulu Group</td>
<td>84,631</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandi Group</td>
<td>212,184</td>
<td>237,934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamba Group</td>
<td>109,286</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrawah Group</td>
<td>25,517</td>
<td>139,262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td></td>
<td>702,224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>853,468</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,633,915</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the neighbouring tracts, and within its area lie then military stations of Kasauli and Dagshai. It is a transition dialect between Sirmaurī and Kiuthalī. Kiuthalī is the language of the central portion of the Simla Hill State, and is spoken round Simla itself and in the state of Keonthal, from the latter of which it takes its name. It varies greatly from State to State and from
Pargana to Pargana, so that no less than seven forms of it have been recorded in the Survey. North of Simla lies Kulu, separated from it by the River Satlaj, and on each bank of that river there are a couple of dialects forming a bridge between the Simla dialects and Kului. These form the Satlaj group given Satlaj Dialects, on the margin of p.98-of this book. In Kulu there are three dialects, Kuluī proper and two others. West of Kulu, and also lying to the north of the Simla Hill States, are the States of Suket and, to its north, Mandi. Here we have the dialects of the Mandi group. There are four of these of which the most important are Mandēalī and Sukētī. West of Mandi lays the Punjab District of Kangra, in which the language is a form of Punjabi. We need not therefore be surprised to find that the dialects of the Mandi Group represent southern Kuluī merging into Punjabī. North-west of Kulu and north of Kangra lays the State of Chamba. Here there are four dialects, of which the most important is Chameālī, the principal language of the State. Another dialect is Gādi, spoken by the Gaddīs, a pastoral tribe inhabiting the Bhamaur Wizarat of the State, on the Kulu frontier. The speakers are descendants of immigrants from the Panjab plains, who took refuge here from Musalman oppression. They now speak a form of Chamealī, but with the
peculiarity that they sound every sh-sound like ch in the Scottish ‘loch’. In the extreme north of the Chamba State lies the beautiful but isolated mountain tract of Pangī. Here the dialect is called Pangwalī also a form of Chamealī but beginning to show signs of transition into Kashmirī. Finally, north-west of Chamba proper and of Pangī, lie the Bhadrawah Jagir and the Padar District, both belonging to Kashmir, beyond hem lies Kashmir proper, of which the language is Kashmīrī. It is therefore to be expected that the dialects of Bhadrawah and Padar should be transition forms of speech between Chamealī and Kashmirī, and such in fact is the case. The dialects of this tract form the Bhadrawah group, and are three in number, viz., Bhadrawahī, with its sub-variety Bhalesī, and Padarī. This concludes a rapid survey of the numerous Western Pahrī dialects, and we have been able to trace the gradual change from the Khas dialects of Central Paharī through the Simla Hills into the semi-Kashmirī of Bhadrawah and Padar.

Western Pahari is written in the Takkarī alphabet, already referred to as the alphabet used for the Dogrī dialect of Punjabī. It has most of the disadvantages of Landa, being very imperfectly supplied with signs for the vowels. Medial short
vowels are usually altogether omitted, and medial long vowels are represented by characters which are also used for initial vowels, whether long or short. In the case of Chamealī, the character has been supplied with the missing signs, and books have been printed in it that are as legible and correct as anything in Nagarī.

For the present excluding from consideration the case of Eastern Pahari, as a modern importation into Nepal, we can now say that the lower Himalaya from Kumaun on the east to the Afghan frontier on the west is occupied by four languages,—on the east by Central Pahārī, to the west of that by Western Pahārī, and finally in the extreme west by Kashmirī and the northern dialects of Lahnda. We have seen that all these forms of speech show signs of ancient connexion with the Dardic languages, and it is interesting to observe that they are also more closely related than has hitherto been suspected with the languages of Rajputana and Gujarat Across the Gangetic Valley and, further west, across the Punjab, facing these sub-Himalayan languages. We also find a triad of well defined forms of speech. Facing Central Pahārī, across Western Hindī lies Eastern Rājasthānī; facing Western Pahārī, across Punjabi, lie Marwarī and
the connected dialects of Western Rajasthanī; and facing Kashmir and Northern Lahnda, across Southern Lahnda and Sindhī and to the south-west of Western Rajasthanī, lies Gujaratī The relative positions are shown in the accompanying map. But this parallelism is not merely geographic. It extends also to the peculiarities of the respective languages. Each language agrees with that facing it, and differs from its neighbours in remarkable characteristics. Thus, Central Paharī agrees with its vis-a-vis, Eastern Rajasthanī, in having the genitive postposition ko, and the verb substantive derived from the root achh—, while in the Western Pahari of the Simla Hills the termination of the genitive is ro as in the dialects of Western Rajasthanī, and one of the verbs substantive (a, is) is probably of the same origin as the Western Rajasthanī hai. We next come, in the southern triad, to Gujaratī Here the genitive termination is no, and the verb substantive belongs to the achh-group. The corresponding languages of the north are Kashmirī and Norhern Lahnda. In the latter genitive termination is no, but the verb substantive differs from that of Gujaratī, although the closely connected Kashmirī” forms it from the same root, achh-. Moreover, Gujaratī also agrees with all the Lahnda dialects in one very remarkable point, the formation
of the future by means of a sibilant, a peculiarity not found elsewhere in the Indo-Aryan languages. We thus find that right along with Lower Himalaya, from the Indus to Nepal, there are three groups of dialects, each agreeing respectively, in striking points, and in the same order, with Gujarati, Western Rajasthanī, and Eastern Rajasthanī respectively.

To sum up the preceding information. We gather that according to the most ancient Indian authorities in the extreme north-west of India, on the Hindu Kush and the mountainous tracts to the south, and in the Western Punjab there was a group of tribes, one of which was called Khaśa, which were looked upon as Kshatriyas of Aryan origin. These spoke a language closely allied to Sanscrit, but with a vocabulary partly agreeing with that of the Eranian Avesta. They were considered to have lost their claim to consideration as Aryans, and to have become Mlechchhas, or barbarians, owing to their non-observance of the rules for eating and drinking observed by the Sanskritic peoples of India. These Khaśas were a warlike tribe, and were well known to classical writers, who noted, as their special home the Indian Caucasus of Pliny. They had relations with
Western Tibet, and carried the gold dust found in that country into India.

It is probable that they once occupied an important position in Central Asia, and those countries, places and rivers, such as Kashmir, Kashgar in Central Asia, and the Kashgar of Chitral were named after them. They were closely connected with the group of tribes nicknamed ‘Pisāchas’ or ‘cannibals’ by Indian writers, and before the sixth century they were stated to speak the same language as the people of Balkh. At the same period they had apparently penetrated along the southern slope of the Himalaya as far east as Nepal, and in the twelfth century they certainly occupied in considerable force the hills to the south, south-west and south-east of Kashmir.

At the present day their descendants, and tribes who claim descent from them, occupy a much wider area. The Khakhas of the Jehlam valley are Khasaś and so are some of the Kanēts of the hill-country between Kangra and Garwhal. The Kanēts are the low-caste cultivating class of all the Eastern Himalaya of the Panjab and the hills at their base as far west as Kulu, and of the eastern portion of the Kangra district, throughout which tract they form a very large proportion of the total population. The
country they inhabit is held or governed by Hill Rajputs of pre-historic ancestry, the greater part of whom are far too proud to cultivate with their own hands, and who employ the Kanets as hushabnmen. Like the ancient Khaśas, they claim to be of impure Rajput (i.e. Kshatriya) birth. They are divided into two great tribes, the Khasiā and the Rāo, the distinction between whom is still sufficiently well-marked. A Khasia observes the period of impurity after the death of a relation prescribed for a twice-born man; the Rāo that prescribed for an outcast. The Khasia wears the sacred thread, while the Rāo does not. There can thus be no doubt about the Khasiā Kanêts.

Further to the east, in Garhwal and Kumaon, the bulk of the population is called Khasia, and these people are universally admitted to be Khasas by descent. In fact, as we shall see, the principal dialect of Kumaunī is known as Khasparjiyā, or the speech of Khas cultivators. Further east, again, in Nepal, the ruling caste is called Khas. In Nepal, however, the tribe is much mixed. A great number of so-called Khas are really descended from the intercourse between the high-east Aryan immigrants from the plains and the aboriginal Tibeto-Burman population. But that
there is a leaven of pure khas descent also in the tribe is not denied.

In this way we see that the great mass of the Aryan-speaking population of the Lower Himalaya from Kashmir to Darjeeling is inhabited by tribes descended from the ancient Khaśaś of the Mahabharata.
PAHARI

The word ‘Pahārī’ means ‘of or belonging to the mountains,’ and is specially applied to the groups of languages spoken in the sub-Himalayan hills extending from the Bhadrawah, north of the Punjab, to the eastern parts of Nepal. To its North and East various Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken.

To its west there are Aryan languages connected with Kashmīrī languages of the Punjab and the Gangetic plain, viz.:—in order from West to East, Punjabī, Western Hindī Eastern Hindī and Bihārī.

The Pahārī languages fall into three main groups. In the extreme East there is Khas-Kurā or eastern Pahārī commonly called Naipalī, the Aryan language spoken in Nepal. Next, in Kumaon and Garhwal, we have the Central Pahārī languages, Kumaunī and Garhwalī. Finally in the West we have the Western Pahārī languages spoken in Jaunsar-Bawar, the Simla Hill States, Kulu, Mandi and Suket, Chamba, and Western Kashmir.

As no census particulars are available for Nepal we are unable to state how many speakers of Eastern Pahārī there are in its proper home. Many persons (especially Gorkha soldiers) speaking the language
reside in British. India. In 1891 the number counted in British India was 24,262, but these figures are certainly incorrect. In 1901 the number was 143,721. Although the Survey is throughout based on the Census figures of 1891, an exception will be made in the case of Eastern Pahari and those for 1901 will be taken, as in this case they will more nearly represent the actual state of affairs at the time of the preceding census.

Central and Western Pahari are both spoken entirely in tracts which were subject to the Census operations of 1891, and these figures may be taken as being very fairly correct. The figures for the number of Pahari speakers in British India are therefore as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Pahari (1901)</td>
<td>143,721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Pahari (1891)</td>
<td>1,107,612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Pahari (1891)</td>
<td>816,181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,067,514</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It must be borne in mind that these figures only refer to British India, and do not include the many speakers of Eastern Pahari who inhabit Nepal.
To these speakers of Western Pahari must be added the language of the Gujurs who wander over the hills of Hazara, Muree, Kashmir, and Swat and its vicinity, Except in Kashmir and Hazara, these have never been counted. In Kashmir, in the year 1901, the number of speakers of Gojri was returned at 126,849 and in Hazara, in 1891, at 83,167, and a mongrel form of the language, much mixed with Hindostani and Punjabī is spoken by 226,949 Gujars of the submontane districts of the Punjab, Gujrat, Gurdaspur, Kangra, and Hohiarpur, To make a very rough guess we may therefore estimate the total number of Gojri speakers at, say 600,000, or put the total number of Pahari speakers including Gojri at about 2,670,000.

It is a remarkable fact that, although Pahari has little connexion with the Punjabī, Western and Eastern Hindī, and Biharī spoken immediately to its south, it shows manifold traces of intimate relationship with the languages of Rajputana. In order to explain this fact it is necessary to consider at some length the question of the population that speaks it. This naturally leads to the history of the Khaśas and the Gurjaras of Sanskrit literature. The Sanskrit Khaśa and Gurjara are represented in modern Indian
tongues by the words Khas, and Gujar, Gujar or Gujar respectively. The mass of the Aryan-speaking population of the Himalayan tract in which Paharf is spoken belongs, in the West, to the Kanēt and, in the East, to the Khas caste. We shall see that the Kanēts themselves are closely connected with the Khaśas, and that one of their two sub-division bears that name. The other (the RSo) sub-division, as we shall see below, I believe to be of Gurjara descent.

Sanskrit literature contains frequent references to a tribe whose name is usually spelt Khaśa with variants such as Khasa Khasha and Khasīra. The earlier we trace notices regarding them, the further north-west we find them.

Before citing the older authorities it may be well to recall a legend regarding a woman named Khasa of which the most accessible version will be found in the Vishna Purana, but which also occurs in many other similar works. The famous Kaśyapa, to whom elsewhere is attributed the origin of the country of Kashmir, had numerous wives. Of these Krodhavaśa was the ancestress of the cannibal Pisitasīs or Piśachas and Khasā of the Yakshas and Rakshasas. These Yakshas were also cannibals, and so were the Rākshasas.
In Buddhist literature the Yakshas correspond to the Piśāchas of Hindū legend. Another legend makes the Piśāchas the children of Kapiśā, and there was an ancient town called Kapiśa at the southern foot of the Hindu Kush. That the Piśachas were also said to be cannibals is well known, and the traditions about ancient cannibalism in the neighborhood of the Hindū Kush have been described elsewhere by the present writer. Here we have a series of legends connecting the name Khasā with cannibalism practiced in the mountains in the extreme north-west of India, and to this we may add Pliny’s remark about the same locality,—‘next the Attacori (Uttarakurus) are the nations of the Thuni and the Forcari; then come the Casiri (Khaśiras), an Indian people who look towards the Scythians and feed on human flesh.’

Numerous passages in Sanskrit literature give further indications as to the locality of the Khaśas. The Mahābhārata gives a long account of the various rarities presented to Yudhishthira by the kings of the earth. Amongst them are those that rule over the nations that dwell near the river Sailoda where it flows between the mountains of Mēru and Mandara, i.e. in Western Tibet. These are the Khasas .... the Pāradas (? the people beyond the Indus), the Kulindas
and the Tanganas. Especially interesting is it to note that the tribute these people brought was Tibetan gold-dust, the famous pipiika, or ant-gold, recorded by Herodotus and many other classical writers, as being dug out of the earth by ants.

In another passage the Khasas are mentioned together with the Kasmīras (Kashmīris), the inhabitants of Urasa (the modern Punjab district of Hazara), the Pisāchas, Kāmbōjas (a tribe of the Hindu Kush), the Daradas (or Dards) and the Sakas (Scythians), as being conquered by Krishna.

In another passage Duhśāsana leads a forlorn hope consisting of Sakas, Kāmbōjas, Bāhīlikas (inhabitants of Baikh), Yavanas (Greeks), Pāradas, Kuliftgas (a tribe on the banks of the Satlaj), the Tanganas, Ambashthas (of the (?) middle Punjab, probably the Ambastai of Ptolemy), Piśāchas, Barbarians, and mountaineers. Amongst them, armed with swords and pikes were Daradas, Tahganas, Khaśas, Lampākas (now Kāfirs of the Hindū Kush), and Pulindas.

We have already seen that the Khaśas were liable to the imputation of cannibalism. In another passage of the Mahābhārata, where Kama describes
the Bahīkas in the 8th book, they are again given a bad character. Where the six rivers, the Satadru (Satlaj), Vipaśā (Bias), Iravatī (Ravi), Chandrabhāga (Chinab), Vitastā (Jehlam), and the Sindhu (Indus) issue from the hills, is the region of the Ārattas, a land whose religion has been destroyed. There live the Bahīkas (the Outsiders) who never perform sacrifices and whose religion has been utterly destroyed. They eat any kind of food from filthy vessels, drink the milk of sheep, camels and asses, and have many bastards. They are the offspring of two Piśāchas who lived in the river Vipasā (Bias). They are without the Veda and without knowledge. The Prasthalas, the Madras, the Gandharas (a people of the north-west Punjab, the classical Gandarii), the people named Ārattas, the Khaśas, the Vasātis, the Sindhus and Sauvīras (two tribes dwelling on the Indus), are almost as despicable.

In the supplement to the Mahabharata, known as the Harivamśa, we also find references to the Khaśas. Thus it is said that King Sagara conquered the whole earth, and a list is given of certain tribes. The first, two are the Khaśas and the Tukhāras. The latter were Iranian inhabitants of Balkh and Badakhshan, the Tokharistān of Musalmān writers.
In another place, the Harivamsa tells how an Secuirity related agencies of Greeks (Yavanas) attacked Krishna when he was at Mathura. In the Secuirity related agencies were Sakas (Scythians), Tukhāras, Daradas (Dards), Pāradas, Tanganas, Khaśas, Pahlavas (Parthians), and other barbarians (Mlēchchhas) of the Himalaya.

Many references to the Khaśas occur in the Purānas. The most accessible are those in the Vishnu and Mārkandēya Purānas, which have translations with good indexes. I shall rely principally upon these, but shall also note a few others that I have collected.

The Vishnu Purāna tells the story of Khasā, the wife of Kaśyapa, with her sons Yaksha and Rākshasa and her Pisācha stepson already given. It also tells, (IV.iii) the story of Sagara, but does not mention the Khaśas in this connexion, nor does the Bhagavata Purāna in the corresponding passage (IX, viii). The Vāyu Purāna, on the other hand, in telling the story mentions the Khaśas, but coupling them with three other tribes. Of these three, one belongs to the north-west, and the other two to the south of India, so that we cannot glean from it anything decisive as to the locality of the Khaśas.
A remarkable passage in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (II, iv, 18) gives a list of a number of outcast tribes, which have recovered salvation by adopting the religion of Krishna. The tribes belong to various parts of India, but the last four are the Abhīras, the Kankas, the Yavanas, and the Khasas (v.l. Sakas). Here again we have the Khasas mentioned among north-western folk.

Again the story of Bharata, the same Purāṇa tells how that monarch conquered (IX, xx, 29) a number of the barbarian (Mlēchchha) kings who had no Brāhmans. These were the kings of the Kirātas, Hūnas, Yavanas, Andhras, Kankas, Khaśas, and Sakas. The list is a mixed one, but the last three are grouped together and point to the north-west.

The Mārkandēya Purāṇa (LVII, 56) mentions the Khasas as a mountain (probably Himalayan) tribe. In three other places (LVIII, 7, 12 and 51) they have apparently, with the Sakas and other tribes, penetrated to the north-east of India. This would appear to show that by the time of the composition of this work the Khaśas had already reached Nepal and Darjeeling, where they are still a numerous body.
We may close this group of authorities by a reference to the Laws of Manu. Looking at the Khaśas from the Brahmanical point of view, he says (X,22) that Khasas are the off spring of outcast Kshatriyas, and again (X, 44), after mentioning some south Indian tribes he says that Kambōjas, Yavanas, Sakas, Paradas, Pāhlavas, Chīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khasas are those who became outcast through having neglected their religious duties, and, whether they speak a barbarous (Mlēchchha) or Aryan language, are called Dasyus. Here again we see the Khaśas grouped with people of the north-west.

Two works belonging at latest to the 6th century. A.D. next claim our attention. These are the Bharata Nātya Sāstra and the Bphat Samhitā of Varāhamihira. The former in the chapter on dialects say, “The Bāhlīkī language is the native tongue of Northerners and Khasas’. Bahlīkī, as we have seen above, is the language then spoken in what is now Balkh. Here again we have the Khaśas referred to the north-west.

Varahamihira mentions Khaśas several times. Thus in one place (X, 12) he groups them with Kulūtas (people of Kulu,) Tanganas (seepage 103), and Kaśmirās (Kāshmīrīs). In his famous chapter on
Geography, he mentions them twice. In one place (XIV, 6) he puts them in Eastern India, and in another (XIV, 30) he puts them in the north-east. The latter is a mistake, for the other countries named at the same time are certainly north-western. The mistake is a curious and unexpected one, but is there nevertheless and moreover Varāhamihira is not alone in this. Bhattōtpala in his commentary to the Brihatsamhitā, quotes Paraśara as saying the same thing.

In the section dealing with those men who are technically known as ‘swans, Varahamihira says that they are a long-lived race ruling over the Khasas, Sūrasēnas (Eastern Punjab), Gandhāra (Peshawar country,) and the Gangetic Dōāb. This passage does to give much help.

Kalhana’s famous chronicle of Kashmir, the Rajataranginī, written in the middle of the 12th century, A.D., is full of references to the Khaśas, who were a veritable thorn in the side of the Kashmīr rulers. Sir Aurel Stein’s translation of the work, with its excellent index, renders a detailed account of these allusions unnecessary. It will be sufficient to give Sir Aurel Stein’s note to his translation of verse 317 of Book I.I have taken the liberty of altering the spelling
of some of the words so as to agree with the system adopted for this survey:

It can be shown from a careful examination of all the passages that their (the Khaśas) seats were restricted to a comparatively limited region, which may be roughly described as comprising the valleys lying immediately to the south and west of the Pīr Pantsāl range, between the middle course of the Vitasta (or Jehlam) on the west, and Kāshtavāta (Kishtwār) on the east.

In numerous passages of the Rajatarangini we find the rulers of Rājapurī, the modern Rajaurī, described as ‘lords of the Khaśas’, and their troops as Khaśas. Proceeding from Rajapurī to the east we have the valley of the Upper Āns River, now called Panjgabbar.... as a habitation of Khaśas. Further to the east lies Bānatāla, the modern Bān’hāl, below the pass of the same name where the pretender Bhikshachāra sought refuge in the castle of the ‘Khaśa-Lord’ Bhagika....The passages viii, 177, 1,074 show that the whole of the valley leading from Baṅ’hal to the Chandrabhaga (Chenab), which is now called ‘Bichhlarī’ and which in the chronicle bears the name of Vishalātā, was inhabited by Khaśas.
Finally we have evidence of the latter’s settlements in the Valley of Khasalaya...Khas’alaya is certainly the Valley of Khaiśāl (marked on the map as ‘Kasher’) which leads from the Marbal Pass on the south-east corner of Kashmir down to Kishtwār....

Turning to the west of Rajapuri, we find a Khaśa from the territory of Parnōtsa or Prūntz mentioned to the person of Tufiga, who rose from the position of a cowherd to be chosen Queen Diddā’s all-powerful minister. The Queen’s own father, Sirnharāja, the ruler of Lōhara or Lōh’rin, is designated a Khaśa,... and his descendents, who after Diddā occupied the Kashmir throne, were looked upon as Khaśas. That there were Khaśas also in the Vitastā valley below Varahamūla, is proved by the reference to Virānaka as ‘a seat of Khaśas’ Of this locality it has been shown...that it was situated in the ancient Dwāravatī, the present Dwārbidī a portion of the Vitastā valley between Kathai and Muzaffarabad.

The position here indicated makes it highly probable that the Khaśas are identical with the modern Khakha tribe, to which most of this petty hill-chiefs and gentry in the Vitasta valley below Kashmir belong. The name khakha (Pahari; in Kashmiri sing, khokh’, plur, Khakh) is the direct derivation of Khaśa,
Sanskrit ś being pronounced since early times in the Punjab and the neighbouring hill-tracts as kh or h (compare Kashmirī h< Sanskrit ś).

The Khakha chiefs of the Vitasta valley retained their semi-independent position until Sikh times, and, along with their neighbours of the Bomba clan, have ever proved troublesome neighbours for Kashmir.

We have already noted that another name for the Khaśas was Khaśiras. The name Kasmīra (Kashmir) is by popular tradition associated with the famous legendary saint Kaśyapa, but it has been suggested, with considerable reason, that Khasa and Khasira are more probable etymologies. At the present day, the Kashmirī word for ‘Kashmir’ is ‘Kashīr,’ a word which is strongly reminiscent of Khaśira.

Turning now to see what information we can gain from classical writers, we may again refer to Pliny’s mention of the cannibal Casiri, who, from the position assigned to them, must be the same as the Khasīras. Atkinson in the work mentioned in the list of authorities gives an extract from Pliny’s account of India (P. 354). In this are mentioned the Cesi, a mountain race between the Indus and the Jamna, who are evidently the Khasas. Atkinson (i.e.) quotes
Ptolemy’s Achasia region as indicating the same locality and this word not impossibly also represents ‘Khaśa’. Perhaps more certain identifications from Ptolemy are the Kācrioi Mountains and the country of Kāocria.

In other places he tells us that the land of the orropokō pói (Uttarakurus) and the city of Orropokō póa lay along the Emodic and Seric mountains in the north, to the east of the Kasia mountains. The latter therefore represent either the Hindū Kush or the mountains of Kashgar in Central Asia.
THE GURJARAS

While Sanskrit literature commencing with the Mahabharata contains many references to the Khasas, until quite late times it is silent about the Gurjaras. They are not mentioned in the Mahabharta or in the Vishnu, Bhagavata, or Markandeya Purana. In fact the earlier known reference to them occurs in the Sriharshacharita, a work of the early part of the 7th century of our era.

According to the most modern theory, which has not yet been seriously disputed but which has nevertheless not been accepted by all scholars, the Gurjaras entered India, together with the Hūṇas and other marauding tribes, about the sixth century A.D. They rapidly rose to great power, and founded the Rajput tribes of Rajputana. The Gurjaras were in the main a pastoral people, but had their chiefs and fighting men. When the tribe rose to power in India, latter were treated by the Brahmans as equivalent to Kshatriyas and were called Rajputs, and some were even admitted to the equality with Brahmans themselves, while the bulk of the people who still followed their pastoral avocations remained as a subordinate caste under the title of Gurjaras, or, in modern language, Gūjars, or, in the Panjab, Gujars.
So powerful did these Gurjaras or Gujars become that no less than four tracts of India received their name. In modern geography we have the Gujratand Gujranwala districts of the Panjab, and the Province of Gujarat in the Bombay Presidency. The Gujrat District is a Sub-Himalayan tract with a large proportion of Gujars. It is separated by the river Chinab from the Gujranwala District, in which Gujars are more few. In the Province of Gujarat there are now no members of the Gujar caste, as a caste, but, as we shall see later on, there is evidence that Gujars have become absorbed into the general population, and have been distributed amongst various occupational castes. In addition to these three tracts Al-Birūnī (A.D. 971-1039) mentions a Guzarat situated somewhere in Northern Rajputana.

In ancient times, the Gurjara kingdom of the Panjab comprised territory of both sides of the Chinab, more or less accurately corresponding with the existing Districts of Gujrat and Gujranwala. It was conquered temporarily by Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir in the ninth century The powerful Gurjara kingdom In South-Western Rajputana, as described by the Chinese Pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century, had its capital at Bhinmāl or Śirmāl, to the North—
West of Mount Abu, now in the Jodhpur State, and comprised a considerable amount of territory at present reckoned to be part of Gujarat, the modern frontier between that Province and Rajputana being purely artificial In addition to this kingdom of Bhinmāl, southern and smaller Gurjara kingdom existed in what is now Gujarat form AD. 589 to 735. Its capital was probably at or near Bharōch. Between these two Gurjara States intervened the kingdom of the princes of Valabhi, and these princes also seem to have belonged either to the Gurjaras or to a closely allied tribe.

The Gurjaras who established the kingdoms at Bhinmal and Bharōch probably came from the West. as Mr. Bhandarkar suggests. The founders of the Panjab Gurjara kingdom which existed in the ninth century presumably reached the Indian plains by a different route. There is no indication of any connation between the Gurjara kingdom of the Punjab and the two kingdoms of the widely separated Province of Gujarat.

As may be expected, the Gujar herdsmen (as distinct from the fighting Gujaras who became Rajputs) are found in greatest numbers in the north-west of India from the Indus to the Ganges. In the
Panjab they are mainly settled in the lower ranges and submontane tracts, though they are spread along the Jamna in considerable numbers. Gujrat District is still their stronghold, and here they form 13 1/2 per cent, of the total population in the higher mountains they are almost unknown.

In the plains tract of the Panjab they are called ‘Gujars’ or Gujjars’ (not Gujars), and they have nearly all abandoned their original language and speak the ordinary Punjabi of their neighbours.

On the other hand, in the mountains to the north-west of the Panjab, i.e. throughout the hill country of Muree, Jammu, Chibal, Hazara, in the wild territory lying to the north of Peshawar as far as the Swat riv.:; and also in the hills of Kashmir, there are numerous descendants of the Gurjaras still following the:” pastoral avocations. Here they are called ‘Gujurs’ (not Gujar’ or ‘Gūjjar’) and tend cows. Closely allied K them, and speaking the same language, is the tribe of Ajars who tend sheep.

The ordinary language of the countries over which these last mentioned people roam is generally Pushtō or Kashmiri, though there are also spoken various Piśācha dialects of the Swat and neighbouring
territories. In fact, in the latter tract, there are numerous tribes, each with a Piśāch; dialect of its own, but employing Pushtō as a lingua franca. The Gujurs are no exception to the rule While generally able to speak the language, or the lingua Franca, of the country they occupy, they have a distinct language of their own, called Gojri, varying but little from place to place, and closely connected with the Mēwātī dialect of Rājasthānī, described on pp. 44ff. Of Vol. IX, Pt. II of this Survey. Of course their vocabulary is freely interlarded with words borrowed from Pushtō, Kāshmīrī, and what not; but the grammar is practically identical with that of Mēwāti, and closely allied to that of Mēwārī.

The existence of a form of Mēwāti or Mēwārī in the distant country of Swat is a fact which has given rise to some speculation. One sept of the Gujurs of Swat is known as ‘Chauhan, and it is known that the dominant race is Mewar belongs to the Chauhan sept of Rajputs. Two explanations are possible. One is that the Gujurs of this tract are immigrants from Mewat (or Alwar) and Mewar. The other is that the Gujaras in their advance with the Hūṇas into India, left some of their number in the Swat country, who still retain their ancient language, and that this same language
was also carried by other members of the same tribe into Rajputana.

The former explanation is that adopted by Mr. Vincent Smith, who has kindly supplied the following note on the point:-

The surprising fact that the pastoral, semi-nomad Gujar graziers and Ajāṛ shepherds, who roam over the lower Himalayan ranges from the Afghan frontier to Kumāon and GarhwaI, speak a dialect of ‘Hindī’, quite distinct from the Puṣhtō and other languages spoken by their neighbours, has been long familiar to officers serving in the Panjab and on the North-Western Frontier. In 1908 the Linguistic Survey made public the more precise information that the grammar of the speech of the still more remote Gujurs of the Swāt Valley is almost identical with that of the Rājpūts of Mēwāt and Mēwār in Rājputānā, distant some 600 miles in a direct line. In the intervening space totally different languages are spoken. Why, then, do the Muhammadan Gujjar herdsmen of Swat use a speech essentially the same as that of the aristocratic Hindi! Rājpūts of Mēwār? The question is put concerning the Gujurs of Swāt, because they are the most remote tribe at present.
known to speak a tongue closely allied to the Mēwātī and Mēwārī varieties of Eastern Rajasthanī.

But dialects, which may be described as corrupt forms of Eastern Rajasthanī extend along the lower hills from about the longitude of Chamba through Garhwāl and Kumāon into Western Nepal, so that the problem may be stated in wider terms, as:— ‘Why do certain tribes of the lower Himalaya, in Swāt, and also from Chamba to Western Nepal, speak dialects allied to Eastern Rajasthanī, and especially to Mewati, although they are divided from Eastern Rajputana by hundreds of miles in which distinct languages are spoken?

It is not possible to give a fully satisfactory solution of the problem, but recent historical and archaeological researches throw some light upon it. All observers are agreed that no distinction of race can be drawn between the Gujars or Gujurs and the Jats or Jatts, two castes which occupy a very prominent position in North-Western India. It is also agreed that several other castes in the same region, such as Ajars, Ahīrs and many more, are racially indistinguishable from the Jafla and Güjars. The name Gujar appears in Sanskrit inscriptions as Gurjara, and nobody can doubt that the modern Güjars represent
the ancient Gurjaras. Long ago the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson recognized the fact that in the Punjab it is impossible to draw distinctions in blood between Gujars and many clans of Rajputs, or, in other words, local enquiry proves that persons now known as Rajputs may be descended from the same ancestors as are other persons known as Gujars. Mr. Baden Powell observed that ‘there is no doubt that a great majority of the clan-names in the Panjat) belong both to the “Rajput and the Jat”t sections. And this indicates that when the numerous Bala, Indo-Scythian Gujar and Huna tribes settled, the leading military and princely houses were accepted as “Rajpūt,” while those who took frankly to cultivation, became “Jat”. Mr. D.R. Bhandarkar has demonstrated recently that the ancestors of the Rānas of Udaipur (Mewar) were originally classed as Brahmans and were not recognized as Rajputs until they became established as a ruling family. In fact, there is abundant evidence to prove that the term ‘Rajpūt’ signifies an occupational group of castes, which made it their principal business to rule and fight. That being the traditional business of the ancient Kshatriyas, castes known as Rajput were treated by the Brahmans as equivalent to Kshatriyas, and superior in rank and purity to castes engaged in agriculture. We may takes
it as proved that there is nothing to prevent a Rajput being descended from a Brahman, a Gujar, a Jatt or in fact from a man of any decent caste. Consequently the Gujur herdsmen and Ajar shepherds of Swat may well be the poor relations of the Rajput Chivalry of Mewar, and the present divergence in social status may be the result of the difference of the occupations to which their respective ancestors were called by Providence.

If the Swat Gujurs and the Mewat and Mewar Rajputs come of one stock, it is not so wonderful that they should speak a language essentially one. Certainly there in no difficulty in believing that all the Himalayan tribes, both in Swat and east of Chamba, who speak forms of Rajastham, may be largely of the same blood as the Rajputs of Eastern Rajputāna. Of course, I do not mean that pure race is to be found anywhere in India-almost every caste is of very much mixed blood.

Not only are that the Jatta, Gujars, Ajars, etc. related in blood to the Rajputs, but we may also affirm with confidence, that blood is in large measure foreign, introduced by swarms of immigrants who poured into India across the north-western passes for about a century, both before and after 500 AD. The
Gurjaras are not heard of until the sixth century, but form that time on they are closely associated with the Hunas (Huns) and other foreign tribes, which them settled in India and were swallowed up by the octopus of Hinduism-tribes insensibly, but quickly, being transformed into castes. It is now certain, as demonstrated by epigraphical evidence, that the famous Parihar (Pratihara) Rajputs were originally Gurjaras or Gujars; or, if we prefer, we may say that certain Gurjaras were originally Pratīharas; and it is practically certain that the three other ‘fire-born’ Rajput clans—Pawar (Pramār), Solarikf (Chaulukya), and Chauhan (Chahamana)-were descended like the Parihars from ancestors belonging to a Gurjara or cognate foreign tribe.

We are not able to identify the locality beyond the passes from which these ancestors came, nor do we know what tribal names they bore before they entered India, or what language they then spoke.

Further, it is not possible at present to be certain concerning the road by which the Gurjaras, Hūṇas, etc., entered India. Probably they came by many roads. But the legend locating the origin of the fire-born clans at Mount Abu and much evidence of other kinds indicate that the principal settlements of
the foreigners were in Rajputana, which became the great centre of dispersion.

We know that as early as the first half of the seventh century, Bhinmāl (Srimala) to the north-west of Mount Abu, was the capital of a kingdom ruled by Vyaghramukha Chapa. The Chāpas were a subdivision of the Gurjaras. A coin of Vyāgbramukha was found associated with numerous slightly earlier Hupa coins of the sixth and seventh centuries on the Manaswal Plateau in the outer Siwalik Hills, Hosiyarpur District, Punjab, which at that period undoubtedly was under Hujia-Gurjara rule. Early in the eighth century, Nāgabhata I, a Gurjara, who had then become a Hindu, established a strong monarchy at Bhinmal, where Vyaghramukha had ruled a hundred years earlier. Nagabhata’s son, Vatsaraja, greatly extended the dominions of his house, defeating even the king of Eastern Bengal. In or about 810 A.D., Nagabhata II, son and successor of Vatsaraja, deposed the king of Kanauj, and removed the seat of his own government of that and successor of Vatsaraja, deposed the king of Kanau; and removed the seat of his own government to that imperial city. For more than a century, and especially during the reigns of Mihira-Bhoja and his son (840-908 A.D.) the Garjara-Prafihlra
kingdom of Kanauj was the paramount power of Northern India, and included Surashtra (Kathiawar) within its limits, as well as Karnal now under the Government of the Punjab.

I take it that the Gurjaras and other foreign tribes settled in Rajputana, form the sixth century onwards adopted the local language, an early form of Rajasthani, with great rapidity. They brought, I imagine, few women with them, and when they formed unions with Hindu women, they quickly learned the religion, customs, and language of their wives. I am inclined to believe that during the period of Gurjara rule, and especially during the ninth and tenth centuries, the Rājathani language must have been carried over a wide territory far more extensive than that now occupied by it. It seems to me that the Gujurs and Ajaṛs of Swat, and the similar tribes in the lower Himalayas to the east of Chamba, should be regarded as survivals of a much larger population which once spoke Rajasthani, the language of the court and capital. For one reason or other the neighbours of those northern Gujurs and Ajars took up various languages Pushtō Lahnda, or whatever it might be, while the graziers and shepherds clung to the ancient tongue which their ancestors had brought
form Rajpūtana, and which probably was spoken for a long time in much of the country intervening between the hills and Mewat. If this theory be sound, the forms of the Himalayan Rajasthanī should be more archaic than those of modern Mewatī or the other dialects of Rajputana just as in Quebec French is more archaic than current Parisian. I do not see any other way of explaining the existence of the Rajasthanī ‘outliers,’ if I may borrow a convenient term form the geologists. The historical indications do not favour the notion that the Gurjars, etc. came via Kabul and thence moved southwards, dropping settlements in the Lower Himalayas; they rather suggest immigration form the west by the Quetta and Kandahar route or lines of march still further south. Settlements dropped among the Himalayan Hills by invaders speaking a Central Asian language could not possibly have picked up the tongue of eastern Rajputana. The ancestors of the Swat Gujurs must have spoken Rajasthani and have learned it in a region where it was the mother tongue. The far northern extensions of that form of speech must apparently be attributed to the time when the Gurjara kingdom attained its greatest expansion. We know from inscriptions that the dominions of both Mihra-Bhoja and his son,
Mahendrapala (cir. 840-908 A.D.), included the Karnal district to the north-west of Delhi.

My answer to the problem proposed at the beginning of this note, therefore, is that the Gujurs, etc., of the lower Himalayas who now speak forms of Rajasthani are in large measure of the same stock as many Rajput clans in Rajpūtana, the Panjāb, and the United Provinces; that their ancestors emigrated from Rajputana after they had acquired the Rajasthani speech; and that the most likely time for such emigration is the ninth century, when the Gurjara—Rajput power dominated all northern and north—western India, with its capital at Kanauj.

Turning now to the other explanation, we may premise by stating that the Gurjaras may possibly have entered Rajputana from two directions. They invaded the Sindh Valley, where they have practically disappeared as a distinct caste, the Gakkhars, Janjuas, and Pathans being too strong for them. But their progress was not stopped, and they probably have entered the Gujarat Province and Western Rajputana by this route. In Gujarat they became merged in to the general population, and there is now in that Province no Gujar caste, but there are Gujar and simple Vanias (traders), Gujar and simple Sutars.
(carpenters), Gujar and simple Sonars (goldsmiths), Gujar and simple Kumbhars (potters), Gujar and simple Salats (masons).

Gujars, as distinct from Rajputs, are strong in Eastern Rajputana, their greatest numbers being in Alwar, Jaipur Mewar, and the neighbourhood. Here they are a distinct and recognized class, claiming to be descended from Rajputs. These must have come from Sindh along the other supposed line of advance by a more northern route. Several Gujar-Rajput tribes, such as the Chalukya, Chahamans (Chauhans), and Sindas, came to Rajputana form a mountainous country called Sapadalaksha.

Mr. Bhandarkar has sown that this Sapadalaksha included the hill-country from Chamba on the west, to Western Nepal on the east, thus almost exactly corresponding with the area in which Western and Central Pahari are now spoken. Now, in this tract at the present day it may be said that while there are plenty of Rajputs there are no Gujars. The main population is, as we have seen Khasa, in which the nonmilitary Gujars must have been merged. The Sapadalaksha Gujar-Rajputs, on the other hand, have provided Mewar with its Chauhans. We have seen that one of the Swat Gujar septs is also called
Chauhan, and the second of the two explanation for the presence of the Gujurs in their present seats is that they are not a backwash of immigration from Rajputana, but are the representatives of Gurjaras who were there left behind while the main body advanced and settled in Sapadalaksha. Instead of taking to agriculture and becoming merged in the population, they retained their ancestral pastoral habits and their tribal individuality.

We have seen that there were originally many Rajputs in Sapadalaksha. In the times of the Musalman rule of India many more Rajputs from the plain of India took refuge amongst their Sapadalaksha kin and there founded dynasties which still survive. Particulars regarding these will be found in the Introduction to the three Pahari languages and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that it is plain that down even to the days of late Musalmān dominion the tie between Sapadalaksha and Rajputana was never broken. And this, in my opinion, satisfactorily explains the fact of the close connexion between the Pahari languages and Rajasthanī.

We thus arrive at the following general results regarding the Aryan-speaking population General results of the Pahāri tract.

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The earliest immigrants of whom we have any historical information were the Khasas, a race probably hailing from Central Asia and originally speaking as Aryan, but not necessarily an Indo-Aryan language. They were followed by the Gurjaras, a tribe who invaded India about the sixth century A.D. and occupied the same tract, then known as Sapadalaksha. At that time they also spoke an Aryan, but not necessarily an Indo-Aryan, language. Of these Gurjaras the bulk followed pastoral pursuits and became merged in and identified with the preceding Khasli population. Others were fighting men, and were identified by the Brahmans with Kshatriyas. In this guise they invaded Eastern Rajputana from Sapadalaksha, and, possibly Western Rajputana from Sindh, and founded, as Rajputs, the great Rajput states of Rajputana.

The Khaśas were, we have seen closely connected with the tribes nicknamed ‘Piśachas’ or cannibals, of North-Western India. I have elsewhere contended, and I believe proved, that the wild tribes of the extreme North-West, immediately to the South of the Hindu Kush, are modern representatives of these ancient ‘Piśachas,’ and I have classed the languages now spoken by them and also Kashmiri”, as
belonging to the ‘Pis‘Scha Group. This Piśācha Group of languages possesses many marked peculiarities strange to the Aryan languages of the India Plains, and several of these are clearly observable in the various forms of Western and Central Paharī,—strong in the extreme west, but becoming weaker and weaker as we go eastwards. It is reasonable to infer that in this we have traces of the old language of the Khaśas, whom Sanskrit tradition makes to be related to the Pisāchas. But the Pahari languages although with this Khaśa basis, are much more closely related to Rajasthanī. This must be mainly due to the Gujar influence. We have seen that the Gujars occupied the country, and became absorbed in the general population, but at the same time they must have given it their language. Then there was a constant reflux of emigration on the part of the Gujar-Rajputs form Rajputana and the neighbouring parts of India. These re-immigrants became, as befitted their Kshatriya station, the rulers of the country and to-day most of the chiefs and princes of the old Sapadalaksha trace their descent form Rajputs of the plain. The re-immigration was increased by the oppression of the Mughul rule in India proper, and there are historical notices of tribe after tribe, and leader after leader, abandoning their established seats in Rajputana, and
seeking refuge from Musalman oppression in the hills form which they had originally issued to conquer the Gangetic Valley.

In Sapadalaksha proper (the hill-tract with Chamba for its western and Kumaon for its eastern extremity) the Khasas and the Gujaras have kept themselves comparatively pure form admixture with the Tibeto-Burmans who overflowed from beyond the Himalaya and also occupied the southern slope of the range. Here the Aryans succeeded in arresting their Tibeto-Burmans competitors in the race for possession. On the other hand, in the east, in Nepal, the Tibets-Burmans forestalled the Khasa-Gujars, and when the latter entered the country they found the others already in possession of the chief valleys. The bulk of the population of Nepal is Tibeto-Burman, and the Khas conquerors have ever been in a minority. The results have been a considerable racial mixture, which is well described by Hodgson and Professor Sylvain Levi in the works mentioned on p. 102-103. Most of the Khasas of Nepal are of mixed descent. Here it is unnecessary to do more than record the fact, and to refer the ethnologist to the works above mentioned for particular. What concerns us now is the language, and that has followed the fate of the
Khas-Gujar tribe. While still distinctly allied to Rajasthani, the Aryan language of Nepal presents a mixed character. Not only many words, but even special phases of the Grammar, such use of the Agent case before all tenses of the transitive verb, and the employment of a complete honorific conjugation, are plainly borrowed from the speech of the surrounding Tibeto-Burmans. These changes in the speech are increasing with every decade, and certain Tibeto-Burman peculiarities have come into the language within the memory of men alive at the present day.

The question of the language spoken by the Gujurs of Swat is different and more difficult. Two opposing theories have been given in the preceding pages, and the present writer will now attempt to give his own views on the subject. It must, however, be observed that these views are founded on imperfect materials, and are only put forward as what seems to him to be the best explanation till further materials become available.

We do not know what language was spoken by the Gurjaras of Sapadalaksha. It has been stated that it was not necessarily Indo-Aryan. This is true merely as a confession of ignorance. We simply do not know. All that we can say is that in, some respects (such as
the use of hando as a postposition of the genitive, the form chhaū, for the verb substantive, and the use of lō to form the Future tense) its modern descendant, Rajasthanī, shows points of agreement with the Piśacha languages of the north-west.

These Sapadalaksha Gurjaras came into Eastern Rajaputana, and their language there developed into Modern Rajasthanī. But as has been shown in the part of the Survey dealing with Rajasthan, this is not a pure language. The Gurjaras settled among a people speaking an Indo-Aryan language of the Inner Group akin to Western Hindī They adopted this language, retaining at the same time many forms of their own speech. The result was Rajasthanī mixed language in which, as has been shown elsewhere, the influence of the Inner Group of Indo-Aryan languages weakens as we go westwards. In the north-east of Rajputana, in Alwar and Mewat, the influence of the Inner Group is strongest.

Now the Gujurs of Swat speak this mixed Mewati Rajasthanī and not the language of the Sapadalaksha Gurjaras, whatever that was. Of this there can be no doubt. Swat Gujurī therefore must be a form of Mēwātī Rajasthanī, and we cannot describe
the latter as a form of Swat Gujurī, for we know that it originally came from Sapadalaksha, not from Swat.

Mr. Smith has described how the Gujars of Rajputana can have entered the Punjab, and, whether the details of his theory are correct or not (and the present writer, for one, sees no reason for doubting them), we may take it, that the main point,—their entry from Rajputana,—is proved.

We are thus able to conceive the following course of events. The Mewat Gujars went up the Jamna Valley, and settled in the Punjab plains. There they amalgamated with the rest of the population and lost their distinctive language. Some of them settled in the submontane districts of Gujrat Gujranwala, Kangra, and the neighbourhood. Here they partially retained their old language, and now speak a broken mixture of it, Punjabī, and Hindostanī The use of Hindostanī forms in this mongrel submontane Gujarī, far from the River Jamna on the banks of which Hindostanī has its proper home, is most suggestive. Finally, other Gujars, more enterprising than their fellows, went on further into the mountains beyond the submontane tract, and are now-a-days represented by the Gujurs of Swat, Kashmir, and the neighbourhood.
There last wander free over the mountains of their new home, and have little intercourse with the other inhabitants of the locality. They have hence retained the original language which they brought with them from Mewat. But even here we shall see in the specimens sporadic waifs picked up on their journey-stray Hindostanī and Punjabī forms, retained like solitary flies in amber, within the body of the Gujur speech.
PLANTS USED AGAINST GYNAECOLOGICAL DISEASES BY THE GUJjar, BAKERWAL AND OTHERS OF DISTRICT RAJOURI (J&K)

SHAMIM AHMED AZAD

ABSTRACT

The present paper deals with some ethnomedicinal plants of district Rajouri used by the Gujjar, Bakerwal and others including Pahari speaking people inhabiting different areas of the district. Ethnomedicinal information on 10 plant species belonging to 9 families were documented by interacting with local Hakeems and traditional practitioners for the cure of gynecological diseases. Concerned scientific names along with their family, vernacular name, part used, disease cured have been discussed in this paper.

Medicinal plants constitutes a precious resources for mankind. Since times immemorial, plants have been put to medicinal use by the traditional herbalists/Hakims, vaidays, Ayurvedic practitioners and the common man. The health care obtained by utilizing the plants, plant parts or plant
compounds has always been held in high esteem by the Indian folk.

Nature has blessed the Rajouri District with a very rich botanical and ethno-medicinal wealth and has been used continuously by the tribals. Rajouri district is located in the south-western side of the J&K state. It is surrounded in the east by Reasi District, on the south by Jammu District, on the north by Poonch and on the west by the Pakistan. Being situated in the border areas in the Jammu region and having a topography of difficult and hilly terrain, the district is economically poor and industrially backward. Most of the people from this region are farmer and are inhabitants near the peer panjal range which lies in the north and north-west. But over, the past few decades with the on slaught of industrialization, urbanization, deforestation, overgrazing and their reckless utilization, herbal health care has suffered a lot in this area.

The Gujjar, Bakerwal and Pahari Speaking People used the plants found around them to cure various ailments. Knowledge of these plants has descended from one generation to another as domestic practice. The hopes for remedies in chronic diseases generated new chapter in mind of
researchers to develop herbal medicines and the modern sciences has accepted to the potential of plant kingdom as source of new biodynamic constituents.

An attempt has been made to explore the herbal plants used against gynecological diseases by different tribes and to documents its traditional knowledge, so as to avoid from toxic side effects of synthetic drugs, and herbal drugs should be preferred and are used in widely.

**MATERIALS AND METHODS**

Regular fields trips were organized to different area of the District and the ethno-medicinal aspects of flora were studied. During the trips, the interviews, dialogues and discussion with rural, tribal and common elderly people, hakeems, vaid and women of different villages about the plants used to cure the gynecological diseases. Repeated queries were made to verify the data. The plants were collected from the area of Darhal, Budhal, Kalakote, Nowshera, Thannamandi and sunderbani Tehsil as they comprised of numerous hills and valley and rich in medicinal wealth. The plants have been cited in alphabetical order along with their local names, family and part used.

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RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

From time immemorial different plants are used as medicine in our country to cure the different types of ailments. But in the present investigation, ethno-medico remedies against gynecological diseases as many as 10 plant species belonging to 9 families were documented. It is evident from the Table, 1 that ethno-medicinal plants seems to be one of the remedial measures for the Gujjar, Bakarwals and paharies of this area. Ethno-medicinal plant wealth which are used by local inhabitants against Gynecological diseases to cure uterus displacement, irregular periods, post-pregnancy fever, menorrhoea, sexual weakness, etc. Shah et. al., 2009; Shamim and Anwer, 2012; Desai et al., 2007; Khare, 2004; Kumar & Bhargava, 2005 & Singh & Tyagi

Table 1 : List of Medicinal Plants for Gynecological Diseases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.</th>
<th>Botanical Name</th>
<th>Vernacular name</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Preparation and Medicinal uses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><em>Abutilon indicum</em></td>
<td>Kangi, Atibala</td>
<td>Malvaceae</td>
<td>The bread prepared from the mixture of leaf powder (10gm) and wheat flour (200gm) is taken daily during night for about one month for the care of uterus displacement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><em>Aloe vera</em></td>
<td>Peeli booti, sonpatri.</td>
<td>Liliaceae</td>
<td>Leaf juice (5gm) along with tumeric and black salt is taken twice daily in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Plant Name</td>
<td>Constituent</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Preparation and Usage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Azadiractha indica</td>
<td>Neem, Meliaceae</td>
<td>The bark of the true Acacia and bark of Acacia neotica boiled in three glasses of water and filtered. The filtrate one glass is taken in the morning in empty stomach for one week to cure white discharge.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cynodon dactylon</td>
<td>Doob, Dub, Poaceae</td>
<td>The whole plant and the flower of Hibiscus rosa-sinensis, old molasses are crushed with rice washed water and taken once daily in empty stomach to cure menorrhoea.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ficus religiosa</td>
<td>Pippal, Moraceae</td>
<td>The paste of the bark (10gm) is taken with water one glass twice daily for one month to cure white discharge.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Hibiscus rosa-sinensis</td>
<td>Jabakusam, Malvaceae</td>
<td>White flower of the plant atleast 5 in number taken in the morning in empty stomach for about two-three months to cure white discharge.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mangifera indica</td>
<td>Aam, Anacardiaceae</td>
<td>The skin of unripe mango fried in desi-ghee is taken daily to cure menorrhoea.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mimosa pudica</td>
<td>Lajwanti, Mimosaceae</td>
<td>The powder of Mimosa leaf 5gm. Is taken daily in empty stomach for one month to cure menorrhoea.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Musa paradisiaca</td>
<td>Kela, Musaceae</td>
<td>The stem juice one cup is taken twice daily for one month to cure menorrhoea.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Withania somnifera</td>
<td>Ashwagandha, Solanaceae</td>
<td>Root used in sexual weakness forms an important ingredient of 31 energy capsules.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2006 also reported sum of the plant species used against different ailments. Discussed some of the plants used by the different tribes against different ailments. So, the need of the hour is to go for their conservation and its cultivation in the area, as we are progressing toward modernization, the knowledge of traditional uses of plants may not be lost in due course.

**ENUMERATION**

The some of the important plants of the area studied were arranged in alphabetical order. Concerned Scientific names along with their family, vernacular names, part used singly or in combination with other plants, methods preparation and dosage are showed in Table 1.
REFERENCES


IMPACT OF MILITANCY ON GUJJAR-
BAKKARWAL TRIBES IN JAMMU AND
KASHMIR

Kavita Suri
Deepshikha Hooda

Abstract:

Gujjars and Bakkarwals are two important schedule tribes of Jammu and Kashmir who are primarily nomadic in character. The Bakkarwals travel to the upper reaches of the Pir Panjal mountain ranges and even spill as far as Kashmir and Ladakh in search of pastures while the Gujjars trek to the lower and middle reaches of Pir Panjal as part of their annual seasonal migrations for better pastures for their livestock.

Both these tribes have suffered due to militancy which erupted in Jammu and Kashmir over two decades ago. Besides, their geographical proximity to the border has also added to the despair of this community along with the other people of the region. Their economy which is totally based on the livestock has been shattered to a great extent due to the political hostility and insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir.
The proposed paper seeks to explore the impact of militancy on the these nomadic tribes and understand the current echoes of the conflict that once shook the valley besides coming up with recommendations that can alter the lives of the Gujjar-Bakkarwal tribe that once protested this conflict in its crowning.

INTRODUCTION:

Jammu and Kashmir, the northernmost state of India, along with its strikingly diverse landscape holds the immense multiplicity amongst its people. The state has a significant Scheduled Tribe (ST) population among 12 different tribes including Gujjars, Bakkarwals, Mon, Sipi, Changpa, Bot, Balti, Brokpa, Gara, Purigpa, Beda and Gaddi. Of these 12 tribes, the Gujjars and Bakarwals together constitute the largest scheduled tribe group. This group is also the largest nomadic tribe in Jammu and Kashmir.

The Gujjar and Bakkarwal population is found all over the state of Jammu and Kashmir but the twin border districts of Poonch and Rajouri in Jammu province are dominated by the Gujjar Bakkarwal population. Each year with the onset of summer, the members of both the tribes begin their journey to the higher reaches of Pir Panjal mountains travelling on
foot for weeks in search of better pastures for their cattle. As winter sets in and the higher areas become cold, they start their descent back to the plains of the Jammu region. While the Gujjars are known to keep buffalos, the Bakkarwals rear sheep and goats. Though a majority of Gujjars have settled down and maintain a segment of nomadism only by continuing to graze their buffalos and cows in the lower and middle pastures and not migrating to far away areas, the Bakkarwals on the other hand travel to the upper reaches of the Pir Panjal and even spill as far as Kashmir and Ladakh in search of pastures. They have remained purely nomadic and do not possess land holdings.

In fact, nomadic pastoralism in Jammu and Kashmir ranks high as compared to the rest of the country and this is contributed greatly because of the presence of the Gujjar and Bakkarwal tribe. These tribes continue this practice of nomadism despite several problems hindering with development to their community. While over the past two decades nomadism has seen a drop as practice especially among the Gujjar community, the Bakkarwals are still grappling with the issue of settling down. Many Gujjars and Bakkarwal kafilas are witnessing a
reduction in the numbers. Both these tribes have suffered due to militancy and their geographical proximity to the border has added to the despair of this community along with the people of the region. Their economy which is totally based on the livestock has been shattered to a great extent due to the political hostility in the region.

MILITENCY IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Two decades ago the turmoil in Jammu and Kashmir saw many insurgents infiltrating into the Indian border and waging war amidst the population of the region. To fight this movement the security forces upped their numbers and patrolling in the region. This left many Gujjars and Bakkarwals trapped in the middle of two fighting forces – the security forces and the militants.

The nomads would often encounter militants hiding in isolated regions. While on their way to the higher pastures the militants would often surprise the caravan travelling and ask for food and other supplies. The militants would also force the members of the caravan to hide them amidst themselves to gain access to the more urban areas without being noticed by the security forces. Other cases of exploitation
included using nomads to carry their equipment from one point to another, asking for shelter etc.

The conflict was not just borne by nomads who were traversing isolated routes. Even those community members who were staying in villages, had to face militant encounters in their homes every day. The village of Marrah Kulali saw militants enter the homes of Gujjar villagers asking for food and supplies. Exploitation was at its peak in the early 2000. Young boys were picked up to join militant organisations, and while some assisted, some Gujjar Bakkarwals also resisted. Though militancy has almost died down in the region, it has left these tribes with some crippling issues.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of this study are to understand and explore all the bearings of militancy on the Gujjar and Bakkarwal tribes. The study also aims to bring to the fore the voices of the people who bore the conflict first hand. The study also aims to discover the impact of conflict on both the nomadic and settled members of the Gujjar-Bakkarwal tribes and suggest measures that can better the lives of these people.
LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study was undertaken in two districts of Jammu and Kashmir-Rajouri and Poonch. Though these two districts hold the maximum Gujjar-Bakkarwal population in the State, the study could have been more holistic if these tribes were covered in Kashmir and the Leh region as well. However due to logistical and time constraints the research could only be conducted in the areas mentioned above.

Another limitation was that the research being held in the months of June and July, the migration practice had already taken place for the summer period. Capturing the migration at its peak would have brought a new dimension to the research. Another limitation was exploring the impact of violence on women. As the Gujjar-Bakkarwal society is patriarchal and women do not find space to voice their opinions too often, this reality made interviews with women challenging as they would shy away from speaking their mind and it would take several attempts to make them comfortable.

METHODOLOGY

The research is based on both primary as well as secondary sources. Both the researchers travelled together to the twin border districts of Poonch and
Rajouri and interviewed many Gujjar Bakkarwals nomadic tribes for the study. A detailed questionnaire was used for primary sources who were contacted in the field for the present research paper. Besides, the secondary sources including various government documents, reports, books, research papers in journals, J&K economic surveys, magazines and periodicals have been consulted thoroughly for the present study.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The findings of this research revealed that the Gujjar-Bakkarwal community was severely hit by militancy for over few years beginning mid-1990s. The community was severed from support of the civil administration as they failed to provide several amenities to the people.

CLOSING OF PASTURES

The conflict situations prevailing in the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir witnessed the closing of various pastures which were used by these two nomadic tribes during their summer migration to the higher reaches. Due to militancy, the entry of Gujjars and Bakkarwals in many pastures located in Poonch, Rajouri, Kathua, Baramulla, Kupwara, Bandipura, Kargil and Leh was restricted. During the peak of
militancy, few of the pastures which were closed for the Gujjars and Bakarwals were Drass, Pir ki Gali, Chatapani, Hafkatorh, Lam, Karnah etc. Gujjars and Bakarwals were denied permission to enter the Suru valley in Kargil Zanskar belt. So much so that many political and social organisations like the Ladakh Buddhist Association also opposed Gujjar Bakkarwals grazing their cattle in the area saying that Gujjars had no right to graze the cattle in area. Due to such restrictions the Gujjars and Bakarwals suffered a great loss to their lifestyle, economy and tribal culture.

As per a survey conducted in 2012 by Tribal Research and Cultural Foundation, a community based organization working for the welfare of Gujjar-Bakkarwals of Jammu and Kashmir, more than 39 per cent Gujjars relinquished the “migratory tradition” of their nomadic lifestyle over the two-decade long turmoil in Jammu and Kashmir due to the restrictions imposed by the security agencies and militants on tribal migration in border and strategic areas and closing of pastures causing shadow over the centuries old tradition of seasonal migration. The killing of hundreds of nomadic Gujjars on the upper reaches also forced them to abandon their migratory practices. The study said that after the closer of
forests for nomadic communities in 1996, thousands of Gujjars abandoned their nomadic life style and turned into migratory labourers and faced extreme adversities owing to deficiency of resources in the areas to which they are forced to move. Most of the families shifted their summer pasture lands during the last two decades.

Many nomadic members of the Gujjar Bakkarwal community have also lost their traditional Dhoks (traditional mud and stone houses in the pastures) in the upper reaches. After a major military operation called Op Sarpavinash, pastures in the surrounding areas of Marrah Kulali in Hill Kaka area of Surankote were shut down. This led many nomadic grazers to give up their migratory lifestyle and settle down.

Nomadism to sedentarization

Since the militancy started in Jammu region, there has been a reduction in the number of Bakkarwals who would go up in the mountains some 30-40 years ago in comparison to the present times. After militancy erupted, the Bakarwals couldn’t go up in their mountain pastures. When the militants would take their goats and other things, they could not help but stopped moving for fear of gun. Once militancy
started, the militants started killing them, their dignity was destroyed, they lost their habitats and thus were hit badly.

Conflict thus impacted the livelihood of nomadic shepherd community as the presence of militants in the upper reaches and their atrocities and fear of retaliation or safety of their family members, made most of them abandon their annual migratory practices. Many of them were forced to remain in lower areas only and abandon the migration making their livelihood into an unviable proposition.

The Tribal Research and Cultural Foundation survey 2012 also said that the heavy loss of precious lives and properties, lack of basic education, health and communication facilities and restriction on nomadic movement in upper reaches of Himalayan region by security forces did leave a devastating impact on tribal life and economy of Gujjar-Bakkarwal resulting in recurrent decline in tribal migrations in Jammu and Kashmir.
Targeted killings

Gujjars and Bakkarwals also suffered a lot on account of militancy in the past over two decades. There have been a number of selected and targeted killings of the members of these two tribal communities besides several massacres in the mountains. Gujjar Bakkarwals were killed for various reasons including the allegations that they are working with Security related agencies and also for not obeying their diktats. Whenever a militant was killed, the finger of suspicion fell on the Gujjar family living nearby. They were also killed for participating in the elections against the diktats of the militants or simply for the reason that they formed Village Defense Committees (VDCs) with the objective to protect them and their families against the terrorists who would swoop upon their villages.

Few massacres of Gujjar Bakkarwals included the killing of four Bakkarwals on 20th July 2001 at Louchan Dhar Tagood in Kishtwar, five Gujjars were killed at Pathribal, Anantnag in March 2000 and fifteen VDC members of the Gujjar community were burnt alive by a group of militants armed with assault rifles massacred in February 2001 in the Kot Charwal
area of Rajouri. In February 2001, 5 Gujjars were killed in Bhandrai Taryath, Udhampur while March 2001 witnessed the killings of eight Gujjars at Atholi Doda. In May 2001, ten Bakkarwal Shepherds were killed near Kishtwar, Doda. In May 2001, militants massacred seven Gujjars in Dara Sangla, Surankote, Poonch district and in August 2002, seven Gujjars were killed in Kupwara,

In June 2004, another 12 Gujjars were killed including a woman and four children and eight injured in a militant attack in Teli Katha area in Marrah village of Hill Kaka in Surankote area of Poonch district. In July 2004, terrorists again gunned down five members of a Gujjar family in Rajouri district. In 2002, noses of some Gujjars of Kotdhara were chopped off by the militants. In August 2004, militants brutally killed a Gujjar couple in a remote hamlet in Poonch district apparently for not supporting militants.

Though there is no authentic data regarding the felling of Gujjar Bakkarwals to the bullets of the terrorists, a PTI report in January 2002 said that 230 members of the community were killed by militants in Poonch and Rajouri districts in the last six months.
Education in conflict

During militancy education of Gujjar Bakkarwal children also suffered the most as mobile schools meant for nomads remained shut or became immobile. The Education Department also orphaned the project for mobile schools as several challenges like teacher absenteeism in secluded areas persisted. The mobile schools were opened for the Gujjar Bakkarwal population in 1970s by the then chief minister Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah. The schools would move to high altitude with the nomads and would come down to plains with the movement of Gujjars and Bakkarwals. Most of the mobile schools were made stationary due to conflict. Due to militancy, over 150 schools were closed down or made stationary schools as the teachers refused to go to the higher reaches in these mobile schools for the scare of the militants.

As per the J&K government data released in 2007, there were 291 mobile schools functioning in the state, out of which 217 were stationary and 74 schools were mobile. Another state government data released in 2011 said that there were 263 Mobile Schools which had been established in Jammu division, out of which 88 were still mobile while 175
were stationary. The same year the J&K government proposed to strengthen the mobile schools. However, despite a lapse of three years, nothing was done beyond this announcement. Even though the militancy has waned now, the mobile schools continue to remain stationary and have not been again made mobile.

Students also did not even use schools situated in villages due to fear of young boys and girls getting picked up by militants. Due to the fear of militants, regularity and punctuality on the part of staff employed in such mobile schools was rare even though they belong to their community and areas. A number of teachers who were posted in remote far flung areas hesitated to go to those schools giving excuse of militancy. Many a teachers got themselves attached with the Zonal Education Officer of CEO office.

Health and medical facilities

Due to militancy, the health amenities were also scarce for the Gujjar Bakkarwal population as doctors and trained medical staff refused to travel to the upper reaches for fear of being killed by militants. The fact that the health department was underpaying the doctors also aggravated the issue. After settled in
the plains, it is noticed that they were facing a number of health problems. Living in the plains has made Gujjars physically weak, as they are deprived of the food and air of the mountains. They used to have lots of milk and milk products. But now, they sell it all to earn their livelihood. Due to non availability of medical facilities to nomads in the higher reaches, they are suffering from many ailments like skin problems, asthma etc. while women are facing health issues like anemia, leucorrhoea, coryza, fever etc is found.

No employment

Lack of employment opportunities or rehabilitation schemes also left many newly settled nomads in a state of tizzy as they had to fend for themselves. Most Bakkarwals who are predominantly nomads, did not have land holdings, hence they had to resort to farm labour jobs to acquire a roof in return. Many Gujjars have left their basic profession and now doing wage work here and there. Because of this force shift, they can’t sustain their economy.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

Several measures need to be taken for the betterment of Gujjar Bakkarwal tribal communities. Many Gujjars and Bakarwals are unaware of the
various schemes entitled for the Scheduled Tribes in the state. Perhaps generating awareness could be a first good step in this direction. Besides, education is the need of the hour for the Gujjar-Bakarwal tribe. It is the lack of education that has removed them from progress. The mobile schools need to be strengthened and as the security situation in Jammu and Kashmir has considerable improved, it is the time to turn these mobile schools into “mobile schools” in the real sense of the word. All the stationary mobile schools need to be converted back into mobile schools which can improve literacy levels among these nomadic tribes. This would surely be a good start for the achingly slow civil administration activities. Similarly medical aid can also be pushed into remote areas through the availability of funds. Better equipment and a well paid paramedical staff can tend to many health problems encountered by the community members on the move as well as those situated in remote villages. Also, lack of employment is prevalent among the Gujjar Bakkarwal youth and most families feel job reservations are used by the rich and powerful. The state interventions could insure the recruitment process is fairly executed.
In the wake of revival of militancy the state must ensure that the Gujjar Bakkarwal tribe is given a fair share of funds for developmental projects and has better access to health and education. For instance more homes could be provided under the Indira Awas Yojana for the homeless Bakkarwals. Besides, every year a large number of animals of these tribes perish due to unseasonal snowfall. A proper disaster management policy need to be formulated at the earliest which can help them a lot.

The Security related agencies also need to maintain its role as a provider of amenities in remote areas, for instance staging camps that serve as resting grounds for nomads migrating to higher reaches.

Gujjars and Bakkarwals who once resisted militancy, if not paid back by the state for their due efforts, could serve as an easy ally for the freshly revived militant recruits.
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Livestock Economy of Nomadic Gujjars: A Case Study of Udhampur District of J&K

Dr. Virender Koundal

ABSTRACT

Livestock production is an integral part of J&K economy and plays a vital role in the state economy. At present, livestock contributes about 41 percent to the agricultural sector and 12.20% in the NSDP for 2007-08 at current prices. In Jammu and Kashmir, animal husbandry plays a significant role as 0.13 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) of the state is contributed by this sector. The Gujjars who have been a nomadic tribe in the state of J&K, animal husbandry is their main occupation. They are mostly nomads in the state and are roaming from one place to another for the search of pastures for their animals. Generally, their cattle are considered to be of poor quality, uneconomical and a burden on land. We have conducted this study in order to assess the Gujjars bovine economy in the J&K state. For this we have used secondary as well as primary data. For secondary data, books, reports, journals, web sites etc we have explored. For primary data, a comprehensive survey of 100 households of nomadic Gujjars was conducted.
in Udhampur district of J&K. In this paper we have found that Gujjars are rearing local breed and possessing surplus animals. There is acute shortage of fodder especially green nutritious fodder, which is the major cause of low productivity of the livestock. The available fodder is not only insufficient but also poor in nutritive value; as a result, the productivity of the animals is very low. And due to this bovine economy is almost uneconomical for them. In this paper it is suggested to improve the livestock economy of Gujjars, they must get adequate supply of feed and fodder, adequate animals’ health facilities, improved genetic or breeding system, marketing facilities etc.

**Introduction**

Livestock sector plays a critical role in the welfare of India’s rural population. Contrary to many developed countries, where less than 3 per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry, nearly 70 per cent of the population in India is dependent on agriculture (mainly crop production and livestock rearing) (17th Livestock Census, 2003). As per provisional estimates of 18th livestock census 2007, total livestock population in the State has increased from 98.99 lakh in 2003 to 104.73 lakhs in 2007, registering an increase of 5.8%. The
number of livestock per 1000 of human population as per livestock census 2007 was 882 animals while as at all India level the number was only 457, as per livestock census 2003 (Epilogue, 2011).

Livestock production is an integral part of J&K economy and plays a vital role in the state economy. The latest livestock census (2003) reveals that the state has a contribution of 2% in the total livestock of the country. Livestock per hundred of population in the state is 93 animals as against only 46 animals in the country (17th Livestock Census, 2003). At present, livestock contributes about 41 percent to the agricultural sector and 12.20% in the NSDP for 2007-08 at current prices (SDPJ&K, 2009). In Jammu and Kashmir, animal husbandry plays a significant role as 0.13 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) of the state is contributed by this sector (Koundal, 2012).

The Gujjars who have been a nomadic tribe in the state of J&K, animal husbandry is their main occupation and their contribution to state GDP is very significant. Though, few of them become sedentary and own cultivable lands but still possess a few buffaloes and other animals. Their economy is revolving around their animals and they are mainly dependent on animal husbandry activity
(Koundal, 2012). They are mostly nomads in the state and are roaming from one place to another for the search of pastures for their animals. Generally, their cattle are considered to be of poor quality, uneconomical and a burden on land. We have conducted this study in order to assess the Gujjars bovine economy in the J&K state.

Generally, the Indian cattle are considered to be of poor quality, uneconomical and a burden on land (Chaktavarti, 1984). In order to assess Gujjars animal husbandry activity, this study has been conducted with the following objectives.

**Objectives**

1. To enumerate the number and quality of the nomadic Gujjars livestock.
2. To evaluate the productivity of their animals.
3. To find out the causes responsible for the low productivity and efficiency of Nomadic Gujjars livestock.
4. To suggest measure to improve the productivity and efficiency of livestock.
Hypothesis

The pure bovine economy of the Gujjars is uneconomical for them because of large numbers and poor quality of their livestock.

Research Methodology

For this study, researcher has conducted a survey using stratified sampling technique in Udhampur district of J&K. From this district, 100 nomadic Gujjars households selected. Similarly, secondary data and information are also collected from different published and unpublished sources.

Results and Discussion

Educational Level of the Nomadic Gujjars:

Table 1 shows the demographic information of the selected households. In Udhampur district, out of total sampled male population of 323, 69.97% were illiterates. In case of female population of 301 in the sample, 85.71 % were found illiterate. Over all literacy level was 22.44 % was found in the district. The important things which we have noticed in the sample district id that very few females are educated as compare to male. Secondly, no one has gone for higher education after getting the matric level education.
Table 1: Literacy and Educational Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational level</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>% age</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>% age</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiteracy</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>69.97</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>85.71</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>77.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy (Traditional)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12.07</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7.64</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>9.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matric</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Secondary</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduation &amp; Above</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Percentage with respect to total population of sample households
Source: Survey Data

Types of land holdings:

Type of land holdings of the farmers is being presented in Table-2. Majority of the Gujjars are landless (68 %). Those who are possessing land confer the fact that the size of land holding is very small and most of them are uneconomic holdings. Secondly, those who have no land they are possessing maximum she buffaloes as their sources of livelihood

Table 2: Types of Land Holding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Udhampur District</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J&amp;K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srinagar/Jammu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Animal resource:

They mostly reared local breed of buffalo. It has been found that maximum buffaloes (35.67) are possessed by those households who are keeping more than 15 buffaloes followed by 10-15 (15 animals per households), 5-10 (6.04 buffaloes per household) and less than 5 categories household who are having the lowest number of animals (2.43). It shows that on an average each household is possessing 10.65 buffaloes in the sample district.

Table 3: Animal Resource

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of land Holding (In Kanal)</th>
<th>No. of HHs</th>
<th>Size of land Holding (Kanal)</th>
<th>Number of Livestock holdings (Buffalos)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land Less</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-2K</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-4K</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-6K</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 6K</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>1065</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey Data
Milch and Dry animal:

The percentage of milch and dry animals to total animals in area under study is shown in the table. On the whole, the ratio of milch animals to the dry animals in the study area is 63.76 : 36.24 or 3: 2. It means that the milch animals outnumber the dry animals in the field area of study.

Table 4: Milch and Dry Animal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Milch and Dry Buffalo</th>
<th>Milch</th>
<th>Dry</th>
<th>Total Buffalo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5</td>
<td>64 (65.98)</td>
<td>33 (34.02)</td>
<td>97 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>109 (66.88)</td>
<td>54 (33.12)</td>
<td>163 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>146 (54.07)</td>
<td>124 (45.93)</td>
<td>270 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 15</td>
<td>360 (67.29)</td>
<td>175 (32.71)</td>
<td>535 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>679 (63.76)</td>
<td>386 (36.24)</td>
<td>1065 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

figures in parentheses indicate percentage
Source: Survey Data

Economics of milk production:

An attempt was made to calculate the economics of milk production of local buffalo. Tabular analysis was carried out on various aspects of economics of milk production and results were presented.
Production traits of milk animals:

For a local buffalo average age at 1st calving was 50 months, lactation length 352 days, dry period 252 days, inter-calving period 604 days and milk production was 3.84 liters.

Table 5: Production Traits of Milk Animals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Age at 1st calving (months)</th>
<th>Lactation length (Days)</th>
<th>Dry Period (days)</th>
<th>Inter calving Period (Days)</th>
<th>Average Milk Yield/Per day (Liters)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Udhampur</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>3.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cost of Maintenance of Buffalo (Rs. Per Lactation):

As dairying is a main occupation of the Gujjars in the upper and lower hill areas as well as in plains, it is necessary to find out the expenditure pattern. It is estimated that the cost of maintenance of a buffalo per lactation is Rs.10981.90. The expenditure incurred on feed and fodder as well as concentrate is highest in all the categories of expenditures. Labour was utilized for looking after the animals, feeding, grazing, cleaning of animal shed and milling of animals.

Table 6: Cost of Maintenance of Buffalo
Efficiency of milk production:

The efficiency of any enterprise depends on such combination of resources that are most economical. The profitability of dairying activity of Gujjars depends primarily on the productive traits of the breed maintained. The average lactation yield per buffalo is 1351.68 liters (352X3.84) during the lactation period. Net income from buffalo is 10794.98 as compared to total cost Rs. 10981.90. Overall the input-output ratio is 1:0.98.

**Table 7: Efficiency of Milk Production**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Yield (Liter)</th>
<th>Value (Rs.)</th>
<th>Value of Manure</th>
<th>Gross Income</th>
<th>Net Income</th>
<th>Input-Output Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Udhampur</td>
<td>1351.68</td>
<td>21626.88</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>21776.88</td>
<td>10794.98</td>
<td>1:0.98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Survey Data
Reasons for low productivity of livestock

Shortage & poor quality of feed and fodder resources:

The primary reason for the low productivity of livestock is inadequate availability of feed and fodder. It has been noticed that the quantity and quality of the feed and fodder is very poor in the area because large scale disappearance of grazing lands, pastures and forests. The loss in productivity of grazing land is due to heavy grazing.

Quantity and Quality of feed and fodder resources:

The available fodder is not only insufficient but also poor in nutritive value. The natural resources of the Himalaya have been exploited for centuries in an unplanned manner leading to degradation all along. Consequently the livestock productivity is very low.

Surplus number of livestock:

As mention above on the table, there is a large number of animals in the study area. If there are more cattle than required, or useless cattle, and/or more than that can usually be supported by land, these may be assessed as surplus.
Inadequate veterinary service:

The inadequate health coverage is also one of the reasons for low productivity in the region. The most of the doctors are available either in the main towns and cities in the states. Therefore, due to the poor transport and communication and uneasy approach to these centers, the Gujjars living in these hilly areas are unable to make use of these services.

Defective marketing system:

Another cause of low productivity of livestock was the lack of proper marketing facilities. Being nomadic Gujjars are unorganized; as a result of this they are being exploited by the middlemen. In the study it was found that the marketing of Gujjars products was controlled by middlemen or shopkeepers who took away a lion’s share of the profit leaving very little incentive for improved production.

6. Poor breed-
Another important cause of low productivity and efficiency of livestock in the study area was poor genetic and breeding system. In the study it was found that they were rearing indigenous breeds and hence were of inferior quality. This indicated that almost whole of the buffaloes in the study area belonged to indigenous breeds and hence the productivity and efficiency was low.
Suggestions and Conclusion

In view of this, it is necessary that concrete steps should be taken for improving the quality of livestock so that we can make Gujjars bovine economy economical. For this, a comprehensive policy for improving productivity and efficiency of livestock needs to be formulated for the entire area of the Jammu and Kashmir where emphasis should be laid on: adequate supply of feed and fodder, adequate animals’ health facilities, improved genetic or breeding system and proper Marketing facilities in the far-flung areas.
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PASTORAL PRACTICES AND THEIR TRANSFORMATION IN THE NORTH-WESTERN KARAKORAM

Hermann Kreutzmann

Textbooks and research papers dealing with pastoral practices in high mountain contexts generally favour the European ‘Alpwirtschaft’ or ‘Almwirtschaft’ strategy as the only important way of utilising mountain resources. The first diagram published by Arbos (1923: 572) described the movement of mountain farmers and their livestock in Tarentaise in the French Alps. More than half a century later it was reproduced as the sole and/or role model in the textbook on ‘mountains and man’ by Price (1981: 413). In addition, a diagram based on the situation in the Swiss Val d’Annivers, initially published in 1936 in the influential text of Robert Peattie later figured in the textbooks as the ‘ideal’ model of resource utilisation at different elevations. Needless to say, this practice has not existed in the Valais for nearly two generations. Nevertheless, this diagram was republished during the 1980s and even as late as 1997 (see Grötzbach 1982: 10; 1987: 65; 1988: 27; Grötzbach and Stadel 1997: 26). This seems to be an example of an Eurocentric view of pastoral practices.
in mountain regions. Western textbook authors seem to support a romantic view of long-extinct practices, while neglecting the existence of forms of mobile animal husbandry in other parts of the world. In an attempt to overcome this restricted and fragmented world view, in the present article emphasis is placed on current pastoral practices in High Asia.

**Types of Pasture Utilisation in High Mountain Regions**

In South Asian mountain contexts we find a full range of non-stationary practices in livestock-keeping which fill the spectrum from mountain nomadism through transhumance to combined mountain agriculture (Alpwirtschaft). Concepts of distinction will thus be clarified before proceeding with a case study from a Karakoram mountain valley which illustrates the dynamics and changing importance of animal husbandry in combined mountain agriculture (see Ehlers and Kreutzmann 2000). For the scope of this study three classes/categories are introduced which are linked to the utilisation of high mountain pastures by distinguishing mobility patterns, socio-economic organisation and property rights (Fig. 1).
Mountain Nomadism

In mountain nomadism, nomadic economy and labour activities are predominantly based on animal husbandry. Mixed herds are composed of sheep and goats, cattle/yaks for livestock production and camels, horses and donkeys mainly for transport of tents, household goods and utensils. The whole group covers great distances between lowlands and highlands during their seasonal migrations towards suitable and accessible pastures. The mobile communities show strong kinship relations. As a rule they distinguish themselves from their neighbours and business partners as a social group of livestock proprietors and traders. Nomads utilize pastures to which they claim rights of access based on customary law; nevertheless grazing taxes are levied and paid to the state or private individuals. Such are the business relations regarding pastures, in addition to barter trade with farmers for basic goods, such as grain. Traditionally, mountain nomads have engaged only in very few side activities beyond animal husbandry such as transportation, trade, services and other commercial activities, and crop cultivation was not a practice attributed to them. The absence of permanent settlements and village lands resulted in a mobile society of which movable property, including
tents and yurts, was characteristic and provided shelter in the grazing grounds. Both traditions have changed quite drastically in all these societies in recent years. Planned and forced sedentarisation of nomads, the introduction of permanent winter camps, agrarian reforms and general socio-economic change have resulted in adjusted and comparatively confined migration cycles. All factors have contributed to a controlled mobility with features of permanency, such as houses and stables in a community settlement. The expansion of crop cultivation and

Figure 1: Time–Space Diagram for Different Types of Pasture Utilization in High Mountain Regions
village lands, the reduction of available space and the progression of bureaucracy have limited the rangelands and pastures accessible to nomads. Territorial, political and private delineation of boundaries has increased the phenomenon of nomadism executed under ‘closed frontier’ conditions (Shahrani 1979: 169–212).

**Transhumance**

Described about a century ago as a regional pastoral practice in southern France, the term ‘transhumance’ has gained many connotations and global applications in recent years. Sometimes it is used in a wide sense, synonymous with pastoralism and nomadism as a comprehensive concept in Anglo-American publications; sometimes it describes pastoral practices linked to certain ethnic groups, while a narrow interpretation with a focus on flocks prevails in non-English language usage (Blache 1933; Rinschede 1979, 1988: 97f.). Rinschede (1988) addresses some features of livestock-related agrarian activities originally observed in the riparian states of the Mediterranean. Transhumance involves seasonal migrations of herds (sheep and goats, cattle) between summer pastures in the mountains and winter pastures in the lowlands. In contrast to mountain
nomadism the shepherds of a migrating team are not necessarily so strongly affiliated with one another as to form a group of relatives managing their own resources. They serve as wage labourers hired by the livestock proprietors on a permanent basis. As a rule, they are neither related to them, nor do they have livestock of their own. The proprietors of the flocks can be farmers or non-agrarian entrepreneurs. In terms of management, the year-round migration between suitable grazing grounds is independent of other economic activities of the proprietors. In cases where they are farmers, their farm management and agricultural activities are not related to their livestock breeding. Nevertheless, sometimes proprietor farmers provide shelter and grazing on their fields after harvest or on meadows. Usually common property pastures are used in the mountains, while customary rights or contracts with residents in the lowlands establish the winter grazing conditions. Shepherds live in mobile shelters (tents, carts etc.) or in permanent houses provided for them. Transhumance of this kind is found in mountainous regions on all continents (Rinschede 1988: 99f.), and there is no general trend of decline observable, although its share in pastoralism varies widely.
**Almwirtschaft/Alpwirtschaft or Combined Mountain Agriculture**

The terms ‘Alm’ (Austrian, Bavarian), ‘Alp’ (Swiss) and ‘alpage’ or ‘élevage avec estivage’ (French) all refer to the high pastures as a characteristic and idiographic feature of the European Alps. In this narrow sense only one seasonal aspect of high mountain agriculture is addressed: the utilization of alpine grazing grounds by mountain farmers during summer. At the same time, ‘Alp/Alpen’ is a term describing the whole mountain system or a general mountain range. Consequently ‘Alpwirtschaft’ could be understood as the specific form of agriculture prevalent in the European Alps. In a wider sense it addresses what Rhoades and Thompson (1975) understand as mixed mountain agriculture and what Guillet (1983: 562f.) introduced as an adaptive strategy description. Although these authors have identified ‘Alpwirtschaft’ as ‘agropastoral transhumance’, this description is questionable. There are a number of differences between both strategies in livestock-keeping. In Alpwirtschaft the proprietors of the flocks are residents of the homesteads in the valley grounds. They initiate and control the organisation and management of the grazing cycles to increase agricultural productivity and livestock.
numbers in a given territory. The example of the Hindukush-Karakoram- Himalaya region shows that not only can herd sizes be increased by incorporating high pastures into the domestic economy, but simultaneously the quality of natural grazing in the high pastures has been estimated as between twice and four times that in the lower zones of the arid mountain valleys (Sheikh and Khan 1982; Streefland et al. 1995: 85). On the one hand agricultural production in the homestead is strongly linked to the livestock sector by growing grass and storing hay for the winter provision of fodder. During the winter period the flocks are kept in stables or out in the open close to the permanent dwellings of the mountain farmers. The shepherds are traditionally members of the extended family, although in recent years a tendency to employ hired professional labourers can be observed. With growing job opportunities it becomes more difficult for mountain farming households to provide the manpower, especially during the summer season when the agricultural workload is high and other financially lucrative employment might be available. Thus it is fairly common for households to pool their livestock and send their herds with a trusted person or hired
professional to the summer pastures, which are mainly common lands.

All three practices mentioned above are to be found in the northwestern Karakoram mountains. More specifically, all three practices have been part of the agro-pastoral system of the Hunza Valley, although it seems nowadays that combined mountain agriculture has replaced mountain nomadism and transhumance. In the following section, a case study from the Hunza Valley is presented, highlighting societal and agro-pastoral variations over time and space.

Pasture Utilization in the Hunza Valley

Changes in political conditions over time and subsequent socio-economic transformations have affected all walks of life in the Hunza valley. Agriculture and the livestock sector in particular are no exception. Since high-mountain economy is a complex phenomenon and consists of an interrelated set of activities, significant changes could also be expected in the livestock sector. Consequently, it seems justified to address socio-economic transformations from the perspective of pastoral practice within a given ecological and politico-economic environment.
The latter aspect seems to be especially important, as political power structures and transformations have affected the local and regional economies significantly.

At first sight a well known pattern of pasture utilization is observable in the Hunza Valley (Fig. 2). Seasonal migrations take place between permanent homesteads in the arid valley grounds and natural high pastures in the vicinity of glaciers. Their schedule reveals a time-space relationship in the utilization of locally available resources. Going beyond ‘what we can see’, a number of questions arise about the underlying manmade rules and regulations, access rights and livestock productivity, workforce and composition of herds, commonalities and disputes. While focusing on pastoral practice, I shall attempt to assess the dimensions of change from three perspectives: first, the importance of animal husbandry for the generation of state revenue and the active role played by the Mir of Hunza in setting the stage for pastoralism within his sphere of influence; second, the availability and division of labour, which have undergone substantial changes over time and their impact on pastoral practices is strongly felt; third, the
Figure 2: Settlements, Pastures and Seasonal Migrations in Hunza
Source: Kreutzmann 1998

contribution of the livestock sector to present-day income generation and its role in the dispute about the commons.

Thus it might be possible to shed some light on the transformations that have occurred in time, space and quality. Both nomadism and combined mixed mountain agriculture have been undergoing regular changes, modifications and adjustments. In particular, their dynamic adaptation to a transforming
sociopolitical environment and their powerful incorporation within a supraregional market structure need to be looked at in any discussion of sustainable development, where the search for a role model has too often been orientated in terms of ecological conditions alone. The neglect of economy and society contributes to the presentation of a somewhat distorted representation of pastoral practices. Attention to animal husbandry and its role in high mountain agriculture is all the more challenging, as research about this sector seems to call for more complex approaches and historical depth.

Livestock Taxes as a Major Source of State Revenue in Hunza

A century ago the Hunza population had reached about one-fifth of the 46,000 individuals counted in the latest census returns of 1998. For earlier periods trustworthy estimates are not available, but oral traditions claim that the population was even lower at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Only Central Hunza was fully inhabited, by Burusho people who lived in fortified villages (khan), while a few Shina speaking settlers occupied the lower part of the valley. The upper Hunza Valley, which is now called Gojal, was devoid of any
permanent dwellings. Every summer, Kirghiz nomads crossed the northern passes of Hunza and utilised the high pastures in Chupursan, Mintaka, Kilik and Khunjerab, probably even further down the valley (see Fig. 2). Grazing taxes were delivered annually to the Mir residing in Baltit (present-day Karimabad) or extracted by his collectors on the grazing grounds (App. 1). Pastoral practices were divided between Kirghiz nomadic use in the upper part (Gojal) and combined mountain agriculture in Central Hunza and the lower parts of the valley (Shinaki); it seems unlikely that nomads and transhumant shepherds visited the Hunza Valley from the south. The only exception might be that of a Gujur community which had its winter camp in the present-day village lands of Sultanabad (Gujur Das) and spent the summer with its flocks in the Naltar Valley. Nevertheless, the Gujur were out of the taxation grip of the Hunza ruler, as his power did not extend that far south. The extra revenue from affluent nomadic communities was bitterly needed for the upkeep of the frugal lifestyle of the Hunza ruler. Mir Silum Khan III succeeded in expanding his territory further north in order to control more Kirghiz pastures. A contribution of one animal per forty sheep and one per thirty yaks had been agreed upon as annual grazing tax.
Relations between the nomads of the Taghdumbash Pamir and the Mir of Hunza continued for about one-and-a-half centuries (see App. 1). They contributed substantially to his income while he sent his own flocks with Hunza shepherds for summer grazing to the Pamirs as well. Mir Silum Khan III is still regarded as one of the most innovative rulers. He initiated the construction of a number of irrigation channels and increased the agricultural lands of Hunza significantly. The internal agrarian colonisation characterises the nineteenth century and coincides with a shift of pastoral practices within Hunza. The juvenile irrigated oases were meant to support a growing population and to provide shelter for refugees from neighbouring communities, thus increasing the population and – most importantly – the revenue of Hunza. In the aftermath a two-fold strategy was applied: the distant and difficult-to-control Pamir pastures were allocated to nomadic communities such as the Kirghiz and to peasants dwelling in adjacent Wakhan and Sariqol who utilised those summer pastures in their practice of combined mountain agriculture. In the Hunza valley itself and in its major tributaries the ruler tried to settle agriculturists on a permanent basis. Besides some fortified villages with Burusho settlers from Central
Hunza, mainly Wakhi refugees occupied the single-cropping region in Gojal and colonised the majority of oases at the upper limits of cultivation. As a rule, the share of animal husbandry in their combined mixed mountain agriculture was higher than in the lower-lying parts of Hunza where double cropping was feasible.

As a consequence of this development, Kirghiz nomads lost their traditional grazing grounds and were forced to shift their flocks northwards. Towards the end of the nineteenth century British intelligence reports claimed that the competition between Kirghiz nomads, Wakhi and Sariqoli on the one hand and Hunzukuts with their own and their ruler’s flocks on the other led to disputes, which were settled by the Chinese representative in Tashkurgan in the Mir of Hunza’s favour (App. 1). Although in the preceding period grazing dues had been levied in live animals, the production of livestock in Hunza itself seems to have increased substantially. From then on the grazing dues (khiraj˘) levied by the Mir of Hunza in the Pamirs were paid predominantly in kind—in felts, woollen blankets (namdà), yak hair ropes, cotton cloth (kirpas), coarse cloth (kham), coats (s´uqá), saddles ( j˘hul), rugs (s´armá) and socks (paipakh).
From the beginning of the twentieth century regular payment of grazing dues was received in Hunza; in 1931 those amounted to sixty-five felts, fifty ropes, twenty-five rolls of cotton cloth and two coats. These goods had an exchange value in the Gilgit and Kashgar bazaars and created a welcome extra source of revenue for the ruler. In addition, the political influence in the border areas and the participation in Central Asian trade as a transit region enhanced the value of authoritative presence in the Pamirs.

Livestock production in the newly developed oases within Upper Hunza grew substantially during the nineteenth century. Gojal provided four-fifths of all taxes in Hunza, although barely one-fifth of the population was settled here. In 1894 Gojal delivered 350 sheep and goats (kla) in addition to fifteen maunds (1 md = 37.32 kg) of grain to the tax collectors. This basically covered the regular demand of the Court, while additional livestock was available in the personal flocks. The then ruling Mir, M. Nazim Khan (1892–1938) backed by the British authorities in Gilgit, managed to increase his personal income manifoldly. The example of the village of Shimshal, where in the adjacent pamér the best grazing of Hunza is available, provides ample evidence. While in
1894 the livestock dues (ilban) amounted to fifty sheep (equivalent of 200 Rs), in 1938 the tax collectors extracted a total of 40 md salt (= 400 Rs), 7 md wheat, 16 md barley, 146 sheep and goats, and two yaks. The value of all goods amounted to 1598 Rs which equals an eightfold increase during Mir M. Nazim Khan’s reign (IOL/P&S/12/3292). Thus the forty-eight households (approximately four hundred people) of Shimshal contributed in 1938 nearly an equal amount of taxes to the Hunza revenue as did the whole principality in 1894 when a total of 1800 Rs was collected. The importance of Gojal in providing revenue to the state is obvious when we remember that all types of livestock amounting to 350 animals in total in 1891 were extracted from there (IOL/P&S/12/3292: 156; IOR/2/1079/251: 8). At that time the population of Hunza was about ten thousand. The resettlement of Wakhi refugees and Burusho colonisers in Gojal and the subsequent severe taxation practices considerably increased the wealth of the ruling family. Emphasis on a controlled grazing policy with higher returns from intensified animal husbandry was reflected in the stocking density all over Hunza. On a reconnaissance tour, Colonel R.C.F. Schomberg visited Gojal and acknowledged the overall importance of animal
husbandry in the combined mountain agriculture. He regarded the Wakhi pastoral practices within their combined mountain agriculture as equivalent to those of nomads or recently settled nomads.

The exploitative taxation at the climax of Mir M. Nazim Khan’s reign coincides with the loss of all rights in the Taghdumbash Pamir, such as the levying of grazing taxes as well as sending flocks from Hunza there. The loss was estimated at equivalent to a meager Rupees 200-300 Rs annually, and the Mir was compensated by the British authorities (see App. 1). While the Pamir revenue had been stagnating for about three decades, the livestock taxes within Hunza had grown substantially, as had the utilisation of grazing grounds. As a document from 1935 explains, from a legal aspect the Mir of Hunza regarded himself as the sole proprietor of all natural resources, including pastures:

All forests, mountains and pasture lands in Hunza belong to the Mir and have been granted by him to the different communities who take their flocks for grazing to their respective grazing grounds. The Mir is entitled to graze his flocks in any pasture he wishes. The Mir’s wood cutters are at liberty to cut
wood from every forest. If the Mir betakes himself on a pleasure trip to any of the above pastures, every shepherd should present him with a sheep and one roghan [wakhi *rug’un* = piece of dehydrated butter].’

The hereditary ruler put this into practice when he expropriated the grazing rights at Ultar (above Karimabad) for his own herds and when he compensated himself for the loss of grazing rights in the Chinese-controlled Pamir by shifting his personal herds to grazing grounds in bordering Kilik, Mintaka and Khunjerab which were previously used by Hunzakuts’ peasants. (Lorimer 1935–1938, II: 259).

It did not escape British intelligence that the exploitation of the Hunza people had reached an undesirable state. Colonel Schomberg, who admired Mir M. Nazim Khan as ‘a personality seldom met with in the East. He is a thorough Oriental in every respect, and that is to his credit’ (Schomberg 1935: 119) observed during his mission in 1934 that the Hunza ‘population is little better than serfs. Everything is done at the Mir’s orders.’ The future expectations and a relief option for the population is expressed as follows:
They only ask to be governed as they were before the British came. They ask that their Mirs should rule in future as their ancestors did in the past. The customary laws, especially in Hunza, amply safeguard the rights of the subject ... The Mir is the irresponsible arbiter and autocrat, governing solely for his own advantage.

The colonial administration in Gilgit feared social unrest at the northern frontier and registered a growing number of Hunza people escaping the state and attempting to settle in the vicinity of Gilgit town where cultivable lands and jobs were available.

Times had changed since the Gilgit Agency was leased by the Maharaja of Kashmir to British India in 1935. The activities of colonial authorities were directed in improving the ‘pedigree stock’ and in encouraging local farmers to produce more wool in order to meet the demands of the Gilgit bazaar. At the same time the first ever cattle show was held in Gilgit and merino rams were introduced. For some observers this event marks the beginning of development activities in the Northern Areas and it coincides with the peak of livestock-keeping in Hunza. At the same time the impact of colonial rule on local
administration and livelihoods had led to the loss of a previously existing ‘balance’ in the relationship between rulers and mountain farmers-cum-pastoralists.

**Importance and Quantitative Decline of Animal Husbandry in Hunza**

In the year in which revenue from pastoral practices reached its climax, Qudratullah Beg, a local historian compiled a survey of all pastures in central Hunza and Shinaki (see App. 2). His work, augmented by other contemporary sources provides us with a reference which forms the basis of comparison with the current situation. Although the number of households has doubled in central Hunza and Shinaki and quadrupled in Gojal since 1931, the number of persons involved in animal husbandry has decreased substantially. In several cases no shepherds at all are recorded today, in other summer settlements the workforce has been reduced to nominal representation. Indeed, high pasturing as part of combined mountain agriculture has undergone a significant transformation in the last fifty years. In central Hunza in 1935 every fifth to tenth household usually sent a shepherd to the high pastures, and in Gojal more than three-quarters of all households
participated in the seasonal migration (kuc˘) (Quadratullah Beg 1935; Schomberg 1936). Half a century later our enquiries revealed a completely different picture (See App. 2): little more than one percent of the households provided shepherds in Shinaki and central Hunza. Even in Gojal, the number has decreased considerably with the exception of Shimshal, where the proportion of households following the difficult tracks to the remote pastures resembles the pattern found fifty years ago.

The general impression is that the use of seasonal settlements for cultivation and animal husbandry has been reduced, in some cases to insignificance. Crop farming as a side activity of shepherds in the summer settlements has been given up almost completely. In a few rare cases the cultivated terraces are used for fodder production (grass and alfalfa). The animal mix has remained similar, only horses are not kept anymore. The size of flocks must have diminished considerably, although comparative data are difficult to come by. Especially in central Hunza, one or two shepherds are now sufficient to control the herds of their respective communities. With a population of over five thousand in 1992 the four clans of Karimabad accounted for
herds composed of 2,224 sheep and goats and 970 cattle. The average household (with 8.5 members) calls less than four sheep and goats and less than two cows its own. In comparison, the mean livestock property in Pasu accounted for twenty-three sheep and goats, and more than seven cattle (including three yaks) per household (8.5 members) in 1998. Both villages are far from representative of the overall situation and there is a growing tendency to extend cattle husbandry in the permanent settlements all year round. The cow in the homestead covers the household’s needs in milk and milk products.

What are the reasons for such a decline? If taxation was a burden, this problem was solved in 1974 when the State was abolished and the fiscal power and administrative authority of the hereditary ruler were terminated. In fact presently no direct taxes are levied in the Northern Areas at all. The decline of animal husbandry is linked, I suggest, to a general shift in economic activities. Contributions from off-farm resources have increased significantly, and simultaneously a labour shortage for pastoral activities has occurred. Jobs in the military and civil services and in trade and tourism require the availability and presence of manpower throughout
the year. The returns from non-agrarian occupations are in general also higher. This holds true especially for emigrants to Gilgit, Karachi and/or overseas. Even if there are periods with a smaller workload, these time frames do not coincide with the heavy burden in agricultural activities.
during the summer season and it has become more difficult for individual households to spare a member as shepherd. Different strategies are being followed to solve the problem of labour shortage. As off-farm jobs have been predominantly taken up by male household members of a certain age group, the agricultural burden is distributed among the remaining household members: women, elderly men and children, though children are nowadays rarely available for agricultural activities in Hunza as almost
all of them are registered in schools and attend classes, many of them becoming young migrants when they continue their education outside their villages. Boys and young men are seen on the high pastures when they accompany tourist trekking groups who very often follow the traditional migration paths of livestock or when they visit relatives during vacation after a long stay outside Hunza. Basically, the task of shepherding now lies in the hands of elderly men and women, where community rules permit them to go to the pasture settlements. Traditionally, the access of Burusho women was restricted while it is quite common among the Wakhi. This difference is not revealed in the layout of the combined Wakhi-Burusho pasture settlement in Shamijerav ilga-Burum ter (Fig. 3A), which harbours the two different milk-processing techniques applied in the Hunza Valley (Fig. 4). Wherever herds are kept in high pastures, durable and highly appreciated livestock products are made, the best part of Wakhi animal husbandry in Gojal being controlled and executed by female household members. Where men are still involved, the age structure of the shepherds has
changed, elderly men having taken over duties that were traditionally reserved for the sons of a household for whom it was a privilege to spend the hot summer season in the cool mountain pastures.

The flocks have decreased nearly everywhere, since no household is presently able to look after sizeable herds all year long. The extra value from animal husbandry is easily compensated through non-agrarian incomes. In the village of Gulmit in 1990, 12 percent of households were without non-agrarian income. Nearly 60 percent of households (217 people) had more than one additional source of income. The dependence on animal manure and products has
been reduced since mineral fertiliser has been distributed in Hunza. Fresh meat, poultry, milk powder and cooking oil are regularly on offer in the bazaars, even butter oil and qurút (dehydrated buttermilk) are imported from other valleys. The strong dependence of the household economy on the agrarian sector in general has been weakened by increased market participation. Furthermore the pasture rotation system (Fig. 5) has been simplified due to lack of qualified personnel. Difficult glacier crossings and passages along narrow and steep tracks require the guidance of experienced shepherds. Easily accessible pastures are used more frequently and for extended periods and this in turn is exhausting the natural pasture resources in certain areas, while giving up additional available pasturage in remote areas. Are we experiencing the final stage of combined mountain agriculture and the end of pastoralism? Does the commercial value of pastures lie only in fodder, timber and firewood? One aspect needs to be kept in mind. Since state rule in Hunza was abolished in 1974 the proprietary rights of village lands, including pastures, have been taken over by clans and village communities. In a region without cadastral surveys and registered property rights the transfer from ubiquitous Miri rule and absolute
control over resources to a democratic society with personal landholdings and communal property resembles aspects of agrarian reform. But such a transformation does not necessarily take place undisputed. The separation of the state and personal property of the hereditary ruler and his relatives from that of the farmers resulted in different perceptions and prolonged negotiations. Immediately valuable resources, such as physical infrastructure, communal meeting places, irrigated lands and cultivable waste were affected, while pastures and forests were less prominently impacted in the beginning.

High Pastures and their Part in the Commons

The scenario described above suggests a continuous process of decreasing importance for animal husbandry and a dramatically changing socio-economic environment. One would expect that these developments would affect all walks of life. Do economic activities nowadays take place mainly in the permanent settlements and does entrepreneurship function mainly outside the valley? If so, there should be severe consequences for agriculture. In such a scenario the pasture settlements should look barren and dilapidated, the ‘drama of the commons’
(Ostrom et al. 2002) would have reached the next act. This statement holds true for some places.
such as Shishpar along the left bank of the Hassanabad glacier in central Hunza (Fig. 3B). While in 1935 forty to seventy shepherds (hueltarc) spent the summers in the three habitations surrounding the animal pen (ag• él), their number had come down to four in 1985; nowadays mainly two shepherds from Aliabad inhabit the one remaining building, while the other two buildings are in ruins (see App. 2). For certain duties helpers are arriving to support the two elderly men, especially when the animals are driven up or down the valley (see Fig. 5). On the right bank of the Hassanbad glacier the pastures of Muchu Har are not utilised at all. In Tochi the former pasture settlement has been converted into an orchard with apples, pine trees and willows, and animals are not permitted to trespass. No shepherds at all visited Muchu Har in 1998.

In other places, such as Shamijerav (Burum Ter) above Khudabad, the Wakhi from Gulmit have sustained an intact pasture settlement which they share with Burusho from Khudabad who have their own corral and housing arrangement (see Fig. 3A). Both groups utilise their pastures intensively. In 1935 they sent twelve and six shepherds respectively, in the 1990s the numbers were still six and two. Similar
developments can be observed in Shimshal where the whole community is actively involved in the summer kuc˘ to the pamér. Here livestock numbers are still high and for over a decade fresh yak stock is being imported from the neighbouring Chinese Tashkurghan County.

The pastures north and south of the Batura glacier (Fig. 6) are used by farmers from Pasu and Hussaini. In 1998 the 87 households of Pasu sent a herd of 356 cattle, 282 yaks, 1547 goats and 468 sheep to their Batura pastures, while their neighbours from Hussaini sent only 47 cattle, 677 goats and 214 sheep.15 The significant change since the previous survey in 1985 is in the increase of yak numbers, all other herd sizes remaining quite stable, although the number of households (61 in 1985) increased (see Abidi 1987; Kreutzmann 1986: 102). Here we find a pattern where a village community depending to a higher degree on off farm employment than most other villages sustains a system of pasture utilization through the help of female household members, and the productivity of their herds has been increased by the introduction of Pamirian yaks.

Labour shortage has increasingly become a problem for all communities, but at the same time
attention has again shifted towards the summer pastures. Wherever these pastures are located near the access routes to high mountains or along trekking paths, the communities who share the right of pasture claim the right of guiding and portering in these areas as well. They feel entitled to negotiate the terms of trespassing on their common property. Villages that are affected by mountain tourism such as Pasu (see Fig. 6) and Shimshal have developed a rotation system within their community so that all households can participate in this source of income. In a few days more cash income can be earned by a household than a full summer of shepherding would enable them to do. Thus mountain tourism has led to a new valuation of high pastures.
A second case is provided by the people of Abgerch, i.e., the Wakhi settlements in the Hunza.
Valley above Khaiber (see Fig. 2). Their traditional right to two pastures in tributaries of the Khunjerab valley – Kükhel and Karajilga – was taken back when the Khunjerab National Park was inaugurated in 1975. The mountain farmers were promised compensation, which was, however, not paid until 1990 when a dispute between the Abgerch people and the Government of Pakistan broke out. Negotiations finally led to a settlement that included preferential provision of jobs to Abgerch people in the National Park and control of traffic and hunters, as well as certain access rights to pastures. These mountain farmers faced a dilemma. On the one hand global interest in the protection of Marco Polo sheep affected their pasture resources, on the other hand the protection of extremely old juniper trees in the Boiber valley – their second pasture resource – was supported by the International Union of Conservation (IUCN). The villagers are compensated for not cutting trees there anymore and for restricted pasture use. For these five villages – Ghalapan, Gircha (Sarteez), Morkhun, Jamalabad, Sost – the access rights to common pastures have become a negotiable quantity in their relations with the regional and federal administrations as well as with international organizations.
Although it may appear contradictory to the observations presented above, the commons as village property and one of the last communal resources have gained in importance recently. Never before have village funds been spent to such an extent in legal disputes in religious and civil courts (see App. 2). The village of Gulmit is the most severely affected of all and serves here as an extreme example. Gulmit’s pastures lie scattered comparatively far away from the permanent settlement and are not located just above the homestead (see Fig. 2 and App. 2). During the 1990s different disputes arose with neighbours about the hereditary rights of pasture use. In 1990 a severe dispute began with Shishket across the Hunza river. The Bori kutor clan of Gulmit was to be deprived of its right to access Gaush, and the Ruzdor clan had similar experiences in Bulbulkeshk and Brondo Bar (see App. 2). Although kinship and marriage relationships exist between the inhabitants of Gulmit and Shishket, no solution could be reached through the local institutions and negotiations by mutually accepted and respected neutral persons. The whole conflict escalated and became a major affair of defending property rights that had not been laid down in written documents. Representatives of public and religious institutions were consulted in vain.
before the legal proceedings started. Up to the present day more than 0.5 million Pakistani Rupees have been spent on lawyers and court fees alone by the people of Gulmit. Similar or even higher contributions were invested by the opponents, not counting all travel expenses and secret meetings of representatives. No solution is in sight, despite ‘stay orders’ issued by the courts permitting both sides to use the pastures. The funds spent exceed by far the commercial value from animal husbandry in these pastures for the next decade.

Another dispute between these two villages occurred about the waterless scrub area of Bulchi Das. The driving force behind allocating so much energy on a land dispute is, all opponents mostly explain, pride, and sometimes the case is interpreted as an ethnic dispute. But at the same time there is hope that potential mineral wealth will be found in the barren lands and pastures; there is also the need to develop irrigated land for future generations and, of course, those areas are the only land resources left. If they are lost to a community, the pressure on land will be even higher. A similar conflict soon followed about Baldi hel/Baldiate (see Fig. 2), in this case the dispute being between Gulmit and Altit. Again, huge funds
were spent on a dispute about a pasture which most of the opponents had never visited. The tradition recalled by one side claims that the pasture was divided into three sections, the westernmost part belonging to Altit, the central to the Mir of Hunza and the eastern one to the Gulmitik. The opposing party tries to make the point that already during the reign of Shah Ghazanfar (1824–1865) or Mir Ghazan Khan (1866–1886) the immigrant settlers from Altit and Baltit were allocated Baldi hel as their pastures. Obviously no eyewitness could be presented for this view. The abolition of hereditary rule in 1974 created misperceptions and controversial interpretations of customary rights. But here the attempt is to drive out one party entirely, although it has practiced animal husbandry in Baldi hel until recently. Normally, in such cases, knowledgeable and respected village elders are consulted first, in the second instance religious representatives give their advice before public bodies are addressed. In this case all institutions have failed to find a solution and now the ultimate instance is being considered – honourable men from both sides are being selected and requested to take an oath on the Holy Quran and then decide about the property rights.
The third case involved the Gulmitik in a dispute with the farmers of Khudabad about Shamijerav ilga, the high pasture above Khudabad (Fig. 3A). The customary priority was given to the Gulmitik, while the Khudabadkuts were tolerated in the same grazing grounds. Now the latter are attempting to reach a status of equal rights and finally separating the pastures into two shares. Again huge funds have been invested for the legal proceedings, with only little hope for a mutually accepted solution. These cases have been presented as an example for the need of a settlement in areas without cadastral surveys. It is quite clear that any settlement could generate more disputes and could become a painful affair for the concerned parties. Currently pastures lead the list of importance in land disputes. But stretches of barren land along roads are also coming under dispute in growing numbers. From the intensively used permanent settlements – where land disputes between the former hereditary ruler and local farmers were dominant in the 1970s and 1980s – controversies have shifted to the extensively used parts of the village lands: pastures and barren lands. The funds spent on these disputes by far exceed their present commercial value and result in huge economic losses every year. Noting on the one hand a
decline in the importance of pastoral practices we observe at the same time a general rise in the value of land.

**Recent Changes and Future Prospects for High-Mountain Pastoralism**

The issues elaborated on above do not complete the picture of the present state of pastoralism and the estimation of natural grazing grounds. Some observations may point towards a further decline in agriculture and pastoralism, but at the same time agriculture remains an important economic resource. In times of crisis for the national economy, when unemployment of skilled people increases and tourism, dependent as it is on global events, is affected by market shifts, we observe that the traditional agricultural resource base of the Hunza Valley also transforms to adjust whenever possible to higher levels of productivity. New and valuable cash crops such as potatoes, seeds, fodder crops, cherries and other fruits have been introduced and have become profitable. Although farming no longer depends on the supply of manure from animal husbandry, households prefer to keep some livestock for their own domestic needs. In Karimabad, the commercial centre of Hunza, changes have affected
not only individual growth patterns in irrigated agriculture, but also the common practice of free grazing (hetin) of all livestock in the cultivated lands between the harvest of the second crop in October and the germination of the next crop in March/April, which was abolished in 1993. Similar community-based legislation has occurred in other villages and is, as a rule, enforced by the respective local communities. Formerly private ownership of land was traditionally valid only during the cultivation period when animals were moved to the high pastures. After their return the harvested fields were accessible to everybody’s animals until the cultivation period began again in spring. This practice, which was regarded by development agencies as one of the most severe obstacles to improved cultivation techniques and as resulting in a stunted growth pattern, now belongs to the past. The ban is strictly supervised and noncompliance leads to severe penalties. Farmers who experiment with new crops are keen to avoid any losses from livestock interference. Fruit orchards and vegetable and especially alfalfa plots or seed beds are presently in favour and are devoted to utilizing the maximum vegetation period. Consequently, all sheep and goats are banned from other people’s fields all year long. This decision was reached in a consensual
village forum (jirga) and resulted in the search for a solution to how to deal with the remaining livestock. The farmers of Karimabad rejuvenated their previously more or less abandoned pastures. The Buroon clan which had sent six shepherds in 1935 with sheep and goats to Bululo, had no shepherd in 1985 to supervise the roaming oxen that were brought up there in spring and taken back in autumn. However, since 1998 the Buroon clan has adopted a system of turns (galt) as have the Baltikuts (mainly Qhurukuts) and Doom who make use of their pasture in Altikutse sat/Bericho chok. As no household can spare a full-time shepherd, the burden of watching the oxen and milking the few sheep and goats is distributed among all households on a two-day shift basis. Every household has to guarantee its participation and milking cows are kept in stables near the homestead. Similar developments have also taken place in Haiderabad and Aliabad and are under discussion in other villages. Reduced numbers of oxen and the disappearance of horses in central Hunza have opened up the opportunity of using high pastures differently. Ultar ter (3,600 m) above Karimabad is the best example for a combined use of livestock keeping and mountain tourism. For several years the pasture settlement has been extended, a
camping ground opened up and food and beverages supplied for the seasonal trekkers. Abandoned oxen pastures such as Sekai (3,600 m, see App. 2) have been stocked for the first time with yaks imported from the Chinese Pamirs.

The question of the future prospects of high mountain pastoralism within a framework of sustainable development deserves a complex answer, at least for the Hunza Valley. Evaluations should search not for an overall decline or replacement of high mountain pastoralism or agriculture as such by ‘modern’ enterprises and/or services, for the assessment of the fate of high mountain pastoralism within Hunza society has revealed that socio-economic transformations are reflected in all sectors, including the pastoral. Adaptations and modifications are influenced to a greater degree by political and social developments than by changing environmental conditions in the region where these practices are applied. Thus, sustainability has to account for all available opportunities under a given set of conditions. Consequently, pastoral practices and the use of grazing grounds will continue to play an economic and security-related role in Hunza economy. Their degree of importance for the
generation of household incomes may nevertheless vary quite significantly. How important political issues are in a globalised world was evident in the aftermath of 9/11. The tourism industry collapsed immediately and annual income losses of more than 90 percent from tourism have been recorded for the following two years. As a consequence dynamic responses to a crisis situation have been created and agriculture in general and animal husbandry in particular have gained in importance once again. Young men who were previously employed in tourism went back to pastoral practices, and subsistence production once again contributes a higher share to household incomes.

Notes


4. IOR/2/1079/251. Quotations from files and books archived in the India Office Library are referred to under the abbreviations IOR (for records) and IOL (for library) accompanied by the file number: ‘Transcripts/Translations of Crown-copyright records in the India Office Records appear by
permission of the Controller of Her Majesty’s Stationery Office.’

5. IOR/2/1079/251. British India and the Maharaja of Kashmir supported the Hunza ruler in 1896 with annual subsidies worth 3000 Rs (Godfrey 1898: 79). For the present state of pasture utilisation in Shimshal see Butz (1996) and Iturrizaga (1997).

6. Schomberg (1934: 211; 1935: 169). The nomadic connotation probably stems from a military report (General Staff India 1929: 144) and has been afterwards repeated by geographers such as Allan (1989: 135), Dichter (1967: 45) and E. Staley (1966: 322). The activities observed conform very well with what has been termed combined mountain agriculture and are quite different from nomadism. Similarly Gladney (1991: 37) terms the Wakhi and Sariqoli across the border ‘Tajik nomads of the Pamir mountains in southwestern Xinjiang’. All of these neglect the significance of irrigated crop farming in the combined high mountain agriculture of these peasants which has been an integral part of their agriculture since settling there and not merely a recent development.
7. Quotation from an untitled and undated (approx. 1935) file from the Commissioner’s office, Gilgit about the property rights of the Mir of Hunza.
8. All quotations are taken from Schomberg’s confidential report on the social condition in Hunza (IOL/P&S/12/3293: 3–7).
13. The twenty-six households without nonagrarian resources were mainly small households managed by widows or elderly people and without able-bodied members who would otherwise be engaged in labour, services or other occupations. Private enterprise, public services and educational migration plus labour accounted for the dominant occupations.
14. In 1995 Shimshal had about 4,473 goats, 2,547 sheep, 960 yaks, 399 cattle and 32 donkeys. The number of yaks was around 1,000 in 2003 and other livestock numbers were also stable.
(information provided by Didar Ali in Shimshal, August 2003).

15. The author is grateful for the data to Einar Eberhardt, Marburg who conducted the Batura livestock survey in 1998.


17. In 1996 a management plan for the Khunjerab National Park was outlined and with the withdrawal of the court case in 2000 the implementation process has started. The mountain farmers are permitted to graze about one hundred yaks in the park core zone (compared to four to five hundred in the 1990s) and about one hundred sheep and goats in Kukshel, and about eight hundred in Furzindur and Arbob Kuk. In addition, the Khunjerab Village Development Organization (KVO) represents the interests of the roughly 300 farming households. The KVO controls access to certain areas and is engaged in the management of ibex trophy hunting. Thus jobs are provided, Park entrance fees (three million Pakistani Rupees since 1998) and hunting fees (about one million Pakistani Rupees from 1996 to 2003) are collected and invested in projects of mutual interest and/or distributed among the
entitled households (information provided by Amjad Bahadur Khan, president of KVO, August 2003).

18. To sum up only briefly the areas of pasture disputes in the 1980s and 1990s besides the ones already mentioned: Murtazbad argued with Hassanabad about Hachindar; Ganesh and Shishket/Gulmit about the borders between Gaush and Ganzupar; Pasu and Hussaini about the limits of the adjacent newly colonised areas of Kharamabad and Zarabad; Hussaini and Ghulkin have different opinions about the environs of Borit lake and the lands of the seasonal settlements in Borit; Ghalapan and Kaiber disputed about Dildung kor; Kil and Kirmin both claimed stretches of barren land between the two villages; Misgar and Sost tried to claim Belli after it became commercially revalued due to its location on the KKH; after the construction of a tractor road Pasu and Shimshal fostered different opinions about the barren stretches of land between Tupopdan and Dut.

19. The Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) and the FAO/UNDP-sponsored Integrated Rural Development Project (IRDP) advocated such a strategy in the early 1980s. Fencing of irrigated
terraces was discussed as one solution, others included the keeping of livestock in stables. Neither was successful with their proposals then (AKRSP 1984; Saunders 1983, 1984).

20. In all villages, so-called Falai committees were founded and authorised to collect sanctions for trespassing animals. In Haiderabad the fees amounted in 1998 to 5 Rs per sheep, 15 Rs per goat and 25 Rs per unit of cattle. The collected fine is handed over to the owner of the respective plot.
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Appendix 1: Revenue of the Mir of Hunza Derived from Grazing Taxes in the Taghdumbash Pamir and Sariqol
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Revenue in kind</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Namda</strong> (felt, woollen blanket)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1760–1865</td>
<td>Grazing dues from Kirghiz²</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/10/278:216</td>
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<tr>
<td>1865–1878</td>
<td>No revenue²</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/10/278:216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Hunzukuts' looting in Taghdumbash³, extracting goods from Kirghiz</td>
<td>Biddulph (1876: 116)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1878–1887</td>
<td>Grazing dues from Kirghiz and Sariqoli⁴</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/10/278:217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879–1891</td>
<td>Taxes from Shakshu Pakhpur⁵</td>
<td>N.N 1928: 85</td>
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<td>1888</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>IOR/2/1079/251:8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>IOR/2/1079/251:8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>IOR/2/1079/251:8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Attack of Hunzukuts against Kirghiz nomads in Taghdumbash</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/7/61/52, 53</td>
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<tr>
<td>1891–1895</td>
<td>No revenue⁶</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/10/278:216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895–1902</td>
<td>Grazing dues of Kirghiz and Sariqoli</td>
<td>IOR/2/1075/217:40⁷</td>
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<td>1903</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/7/157/1277</td>
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<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>grazing dues of Kirghiz and Sariqoli</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/7/170/1893</td>
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<td>1905</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/7/181/1554</td>
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<td>1906</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/7/205/1602</td>
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<td>1907</td>
<td>4030 (~ total value 200 Rs)</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/7/222/2027</td>
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<td>1908</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/7/233/1556</td>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/7/243/1407</td>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/7/252/1654</td>
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<tr>
<td>1912–1914</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/10/826:1739</td>
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<td>1915</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/10/826:173</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Regular dues from Sariqoli¹⁰</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/10/826:140</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Regular dues¹¹</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/10/826:107</td>
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<td>1917</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/10/826:86</td>
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<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Regular dues</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/10/826:32</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>IOL/P&amp;S/10/826:9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. In the aftermath of the conquest of the Taghdumbash Pamir and following the supplanting of the Kirghiz there by the Mir of Hunza’s actions to drive them back to Tashkurgan, his control of the grazing grounds resulted in annual demands for grazing taxes from all users. Mir Silum Khan III materialised his claim by erecting a stone monument in Dafdar and presenting scalps of Kirghiz to the Chinese representatives in Kashgar and Yarkand (Godfrey 1898: 74, McMahon 1898: 5). Three hundred Kirghiz were estimated to have
lived there before. The annual tax was supposedly fixed at the rate of one sheep for every forty sheep and goats as well as one yak per thirty yaks.

2. During the reign of Yakub Beg (1862–1878) in Kashgaria and his occupation of the Pamir region the Mir of Hunza failed to realise any revenue there. The majority of Kirghiz nomads had given up the Taghdumbash Pamir as their grazing grounds during this period and shifted their activities to Aktash. Godfrey (1898: 74) states that until 1880 no taxes were collected. Subsequent to attacks by Hunzukuts around 1866–1867 the Kirghiz of Taghdumbash retreated to Tagharma (Gordon 1876: 115). The sedentary inhabitants of Sariqol took their place and used the grazing grounds in the Pamir.

3. In 1875 a group of Hunzukuts is reported to have attacked the camps of Kirghiz nomads in Taghdumbash. They took some Kirghiz as hostages and drove away horses and a large flock of sheep. The Hakim of Sariqol, Hussan Shah, organised a punitive expedition towards Hunza, liberated the captured Kirghiz and pulled down the fort at Misgar (Biddulph 1876: 115–16).

4. Around 1880 Mir Ghazan Khan permitted Kirghiz nomads (twenty tents) under the leadership of Beg
Kuchmumabad (Kuch Muhammad) to use the pastures in the Taghdumbash Pamir. The taxes were fixed at one namda-, one s´uqá, some rolls of kirpas, one rope or one saddle (j´hul) per tent (kirghah), the exact amount levied depending on the size of the flocks. Godfrey (1898: 74) mentions grazing dues of one sheep, one namda-, one rope and one pair of paipakh (socks) per tent for this period. Since 1883 Sariqoli shepherds annually visited the same region under the same conditions. In 1886 the competition between shepherds from Hunza and Sariqol led to quarrels in Taghdumbash which were settled by the Chinese representative (Taotai) in Kashgar. According to Mir M. Nazim Khan and Wazir Humayun Beg he settled the dispute in a local court in Tashkurgan in favour of the Hunzukuts (IOL/P&S/7/66/701: Letter from J. Manners-Smith to Resident in Kashmir, Gilgit, 4.4. 1892; McMahon 1898: 6).

5. Following a punitive expedition under the leadership of Wazir Humayun Beg directed against the inhabitants of Shakshu and Pakhpu (upper Yarkand valley) the annual dues were increased. Until the Hunza Campaign in 1891, the Mir of Hunza received annually five yambu silver
equalling 750–800 Rs (Godfrey 1898: 74). The taxes are supposed to have been paid partly in kind: Shakshu: one hundred sheep, silver being worth 60 Rs, two shot-guns; Pakhpu: ten *namda*-, silver being worth 60 Rs; two shotguns (according to A.F. Napier in IOR/2/1079/251: Hunza and Nagar Subsidies). During his escape to Yarkand Mir Safdar Ali Khan levied and collected this penalty for the last time. It had been introduced to make up for the previous enslavement of two Hunzukuts (Godfrey 1898: 74; McMahon 1898).

6. In the aftermath of the Hunza Campaign for four years no dues were paid in the Taghdumbash Pamir (Godfrey 1898: 74). This power vacuum was filled by Kirghiz nomads who came back to this region with two hundred tents (IOL/P&S/10/278: Marshall 1913). Following a directive by the Chinese Amban in Tashkurghan the Kirghiz began again in 1895 to pay taxes to the Mir of Hunza. At the same time the Wakhi settlers of Dafdar (established in 1894) remained exempted from all dues.

7. The taxes amounted to one *namda-* (five metres in length) per household. Impoverished camps would provide smaller *namda-*-, one rope or *paipakh*. In addition, the shepherds transported
all dues as far as Murkushi in Hunza (IOL/P&S/10/278). From 1896 onwards the Mir was supported by the Chinese administration in allocating his dues (McMahon 1898: 6). According to the judgement of the Political Agent in Gilgit the revenue of the Mir of Hunza from grazing taxes in Taghdumbash accrued to the value of 200–300 Rs annually around the turn of the century. This amount was higher than the tribute paid by Hunza to China and about one-tenth of the value of return gifts received by Hunza from the Chinese Emperor (IOR/2/1075/217:40: Letter from Political Agent Gilgit to Resident in Kashmir, Bunji 6:6:1900).

8. The value of coarse cloth (kham) amounted to 2 Rs, that of namda- to 150 Rs, that of ropes to 20 Rs and the value of one namda–sock (paipakh) to 0.5 Rs. During this year the inhabitants of Sariqoli (seventy-seven households) were the only grazing tax (khiraj’) payers. They demanded their exemption on the same basis as was applicable to the Kirghiz (thirteen households) and Wakhi (twenty-five households). This resistance could take place because of the little authority displayed by the Amban of Tashkurgan who refused to support the Hunza tax collector Kara Beg. He
provided him with two *c.árák a-ta-* (wheat and/or barley flour) and two *c.árák* fodder for his horse only while normally a substantially higher provision was allocated: one sheep, one *c.árák* rice, two *c.árák a-ta-*-, two *c.árák* fodder for horses; two donkey loads of firewood (IOL/P&S/7/231/1399: Kashgar News-Report 10.8. 1909).

9. In 1914 the Wakhi settlers of Dafdar (Sariqol) paid grazing dues for the very first time (IOL/P&S/10/826:173). At this time the grazing community was estimated as composed of fourty Sariqoli, thirty Wakhi and two to three Kirghiz households (IOL/P&S/10/278).

10. The Wakhi refused to pay any dues, since the Chinese authorities had threatened them with expulsion if they would not oblige the order to discontinue the tax relationship with Hunza (IOL/P&S/10/826: 155: Gilgit Diary March 1915; IOL/P&S/10/826: 143: Gilgit Diary July 1915; IOL/P&S/10/826: 140: Gilgit Diary August 1915). In the same year the Wakhi of Kilian paid grazing taxes (in currency) to the Chinese authorities for the first time. This agreement was negotiated by the British Consul General Sykes (1915: 26).
12. Fewer herds were counted in Sariqol, while an increase was registered for Tagharma.
13. Seven households from Mariang (Sariqol) refrained from accessing the pastures in Taghdumbash Pamir.
14. The exchange value of some items in Kashgar in 1928 (Source: IOR/12/50/394):
   - 1 kg čaras 5–14 Rs
   - 1 kg opium 40 Rs
   - 1 namda- 2.5–3 Rs
   - 1 horse 65–100 Rs
   - 1 donkey 20 Rs
   - 1 sheep/goat 5 Rs
   - 1 carpet 25 Rs
15. The riots in Sariqol made the Mir of Hunza decide not to send any tax collectors to Taghdumbash Pamir.
16. In 1937 the Mir of Hunza gave up all traditional grazing rights for his own herds as well as the right to collect taxes in the pastures of the Taghdumbash Pamir. The average profit for Hunza from the Taghdumbash Pamir revenue and the asset from grazing a herd of three hundred yaks were estimated in the range of 200–300 Rs annually during the previous three decades (IOL/P&S/12/3292).
Pamirian pastures with an increment of subsidies and the provision of barren land in Oshikandas, and offered the Mir of Hunza potential grazing rights in Naltar Valley (IOR/2/1085/296: 23–27).

17. While after the partition of British India the status of Hunza is not clear in respect to its incorporation into Pakistan, the Mir of Hunza took the opportunity to negotiate with the Chinese authorities the option of regaining his traditional grazing rights in the Taghdumbash Pamir (IOL/P&S/12/2361: Letter from E. Shipton to Sec. of GOI, Kashgar 5.4.1948). The Chinese Revolution of 1949 and its expansion into Xinjiang terminated these negotiations.

18. Agricultural reforms in China and Xinjiang entitled the regional authorities to start talks with the heirs of the Hunza ruling family who claimed property in China (especially in Sariqol and Yarkand) prior to the Chinese Revolution. The negotiations
### Appendix 2: Transformation of Pasture Utilization in Hunza in the Twentieth Century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Right of Pasture</th>
<th>Pasture Name, Location</th>
<th>Number of Households 1935</th>
<th>Number of Households 1985</th>
<th>Number of Households 1998</th>
<th>Number of Shepherds 1935</th>
<th>Number of Shepherds 1985</th>
<th>Number of Shepherds 1998</th>
<th>Type of Animal 1935</th>
<th>Type of Animal 1985</th>
<th>Type of Animal 1998</th>
<th>Cultivation Changes</th>
<th>Dispute</th>
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<td>Burun 1</td>
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<td>529</td>
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<td>H/O/H O XX</td>
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<td>130</td>
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<td>xx tt</td>
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<td><strong>Gojal</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Shishket,</td>
<td>Ghaush, Brondo</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gulmit 1</td>
<td>Bardi, Baltim Bar</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>H/O/H O</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gulmit 2</td>
<td>Ghaush,</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>H</td>
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<td>xx tt</td>
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<td>96</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>274</td>
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<td>208</td>
<td>274</td>
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<td>H/O H</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

D = donkeys; Y = yaks (bur. *bépay*, wakh. *u*)

xx = cultivation of grain crops in pasture area; tt = irrigated grasslands (bur. *toq*)

++ = disputes have occurred between neighbouring communities who explicitly claim that their right of access to pasture overrules the one of the other party. Generally the seniority of common law is applied in these disputes.

1. Number of households entitled to access respective high pasture.
2. Excluding Hindi (Nasirabad).
3. These flocks are pastured by Nagerkuts.
4. In fact these clans from Karimabad are utilising the right of access.
5. The Gulmitik village population consists of sub-groups organised in clans (*kutor*). According to the *kutor* relationship certain pastures are mainly accessed by certain groups: Bori kutor: Ghaush; Charshambi kutor: Baldi hel; Ruzdor: Baldi hel, Bulbulkeshk, Brondo Bar; Budul kutor: Shamijerav, Kunda hel. All Gulmitik are permitted to graze their oxen in Shatuber and Jerav, and all Gulmitik claim property rights in Bulchi Das.

6. The combined pasture area of Shamijerav (Wakhi: white valley) and Burum ter (Burushaski: white pasture) is jointly used by Wakhi and Burusho in a contiguous settlement with separate dwellings (cf. Fig. 3A).

7. According to Schomberg (1936: 38) and Shipton (1938) fifty households with 160 male members had access to these pastures. An untitled file from the Political Agent’s office in Gilgit recorded forty-eight households in Shimshal in 1938.

8. The term Abgerchi includes all Wakhi settlers of common origin who claim to be the first settlers of Morkhun, Gircha, Sarteez, Sost and Ghalapan who jointly are entitled to the use of all pastures of Abgerch, Boiber, Puryar and Mulung Kir above Morkhun. The data for Gojal originate from fieldwork by the author between 1990 and 1998.
a. The pastures at Hachindar are losing importance for animal husbandry and are gaining in interest for trekking purposes.

b. The pastures in Muchu Har are divided among three clans (Buroon, Qhurukuts and Barataling) of central Hunza. Buroon possess access rights for Mandosh and Bagh. Qhurukuts claim Tochi where no animals are permitted any more since some years ago, tree plantations (pines, willows and apple) have been converted this pasture into an orchard. The Barataling’s share is in Gaimaling and Bakhor where a water-mill (*yain*) proofs that in former time cultivation and pasturing prevailed. None of it exists anymore.

c. Only two shepherds from Aliabad controlled the herds of oxen, sheep and goats in Shispar in 1998.

d. After a long period the pastures in Bululo are again used by the Buroon clan of Karimabad which has introduced a shift (*galt*) system for shepherds. Each participating household has to provide shepherd’s services on a day-to-day basis which is negotiated each season. This practice has been reintroduced as, since 1995, free grazing in the cultivated lands (*hetin*) is
banned in most villages of Central Hunza throughout the year.
e. In 1996 a member of the Wazirkuts introduced yak keeping in Ultar. In addition the tourism importance of Ultar has grown significantly. Food and camping services are provided for trekkers.
f. After long periods of reduced summer grazing of herds the dispute between Altitkuts and Gulmitik (mainly Charshambi and Ruzdor kutor) about Baldi hel/Baldiate has rejuvenated the interest in seasonal livestock-keeping in these high pastures where an abundance of wood is available.
g. Since 1990 a severe dispute has existed between the neighbouring villages of Gulmit and Shishket about the pastures in Ghaush, Brondo Bar, Bulchi Das and Bulbulkeshk. Presently Shishket is using Brondo Bar alone (one shepherd) while both villages share Ghaush and Buri alga by sending one shepherd each to the high pastures.
h. Five Gojali households performed the pasture duties in Shamijerav. For the first time the community has hired five shepherds from Chitral and Wakhan as support for the women and children in the settlement. Three Burusho households from Khudabad participated.
i. The Abgerchi people have been utilising the nearby pastures of Boiber etc. (see Fig. 2) much more intensively since they were forced to abandon the Khunjerab valley pastures of Kükhel and Karajilga with the inauguration of Khunjerab National Park in 1975. In 1990 a dispute with the Government of Pakistan about non-compensation for pasture loss led to the reoccupation of the Khunjerab grazing grounds. A partial settlement in recent years enabled them to use the latter and to close off the Boiber valley for some years in order to rehabilitate the pastures and woods there. This project is done in cooperation with development agencies.
Pastoralism in India: An Introduction

Vijay Paul Sharma
Ilse Köhler-Rollefson
John Morton

The Social Context of Pastoralism

The worldwide literature on pastoralism is extremely uneven and determined by politics and security issues as much as by the need for empirical data. According to Blench (2000), Indian pastoralism is the worst documented by far, with confused descriptions of pastoral systems and confused terminology for pastoral ethnic groups. Screening of the anthropological literature, as well as of development reports, indeed confirms that pastoralists represent a subsector of Indian society that has received much less attention in comparison with other social groups, from both the research and the development angle. This can be linked to differences between the spatial and social organization of pastoralism in India and other countries, as well as to prevailing research and development paradigms. In Africa and the Middle East, pastoralists are usually tribally organized and associated with particular territories inhabited exclusively by them. By contrast, in India, pastoralists
are integrated into the caste system, representing endogamous social groups with a professional specialization in animal husbandry. There are certain regions – such as the most arid parts of the Thar Desert on the Indo-Pakistan border and the sub-alpine and alpine zones above 3200 metres in the Himalayas - which can only be utilized seasonally by means of pastoral strategies. But in most parts of India, pastoral and agrarian land use strategies are spatially integrated and interdependent activities pursued within the same landscape. Besides breeding their own livestock, pastoralists also take care of the animals of other communities, fulfilling the role of village cowherd.

Because, in India, the “village” has always been the focal unit for investigations by anthropologists as well as for development interventions, pastoralists, due to their transient and dispersed existence, somehow have fallen through the gaps and escaped the attention of researchers and development agencies. The term “pastoralism” is rarely used and remains so far an almost unknown category used neither by anthropologists nor animal husbandry people. The first usually talk in terms of “nomads”, a category, which in India contains a large number of
non-pastoral groups. For animal husbandry professionals, animal keeping outside “western models” (i.e. either for dairy purposes or production of broilers/eggs) has barely entered their consciousness and for many the term “pastoralist” is new.

Geographically, nomadic pastoralism is most prevalent in the drylands of Western India (Thar Desert) and on the Deccan Plateau, as well as in the mountainous regions of North India (Himalayas). Types of livestock kept in mobile pastoral systems include buffaloes, sheep, goats, camels, cattle, donkeys, yaks, and even ducks are raised under transhumant conditions. But there are also more sedentary forms of pastoralism, represented for instance by the buffalo breeding Toda in the ghat region of Southern India.

The pastoralists of the Himalayas and the Thar Desert have received much more attention than others and information about them forms the backbone of this report. However, this should not be interpreted as meaning that others are non-existent or not important, but simply as reflecting a lack of information.
Pastoralism in the Indian Himalayas

Pastoralism in the Himalayas is based on transhumant practices and involves cyclical movements from lowlands to highlands to take advantage of seasonally available pastures at different elevation in the Himalayas (Bhasin 1988). During the summer, when the snow melts in the higher alpine regions, Himalayan pastoralists move up to these areas to graze their animals. After the monsoon they move down to occupy the low altitude pasture for the winter months. Movement of people and their livestock proceeds between previously earmarked sites, which become more or less regular seasonal encampments or bases.

Migratory pastoralism is common throughout the Himalayas and, from west to east, some of the herding communities in the region include the goat and sheep herding Bakrawals of Jammu and Kashmir, the buffalo herding Gujjars in Kashmir, parts of Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, the goat and sheep herding Gaddis, Kanets, Kaulis and Kinnauras in Himachal Pradesh, the sheep herding Bhotias of Uttar Pradesh, yak herding Sherpas of Khumbu, Nepal and less well-known communities in the mountains of Bhutan, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh. All of these
herders continue a long-standing tradition of migrating up to the alpine pastures of the high Himalayas for the summer and descending to the low-lying Himalayan foothills in the winter.

Some pastoralists in the Himalayas are agro-pastoralists and besides rearing animals they also cultivate land, although the major portion of their household income is drawn from pastoral activities. In addition, they also engage in a multitude of other economic activities like handicrafts, trade and transport. For example, the Gaddis, in Himachal Pradesh are known for their beautiful handicrafts; the embroidered caps made by Gujjars are also famous. The Bhotias are the most prominent trading community on the Indo-Tibet border and similarly Changpas in Ladakh are involved in cross border trade with Tibet.

**Pastoralism in Western India**

The “Old World Arid Zone Belt” that stretches across Northern Africa and Northern Asia and has given rise to many pastoral cultures, reaches its most eastern point in Northern India. Its limit is marked by the Aravalli mountain chain that runs in a northeast-southwest direction roughly from Delhi to Ahmedabad. The area that is bordered by the Aravalli
hills in the west and the Indo-Pakistan border in the east is known as the Thar Desert; receiving average annual rainfall ranging from 100-600 mm, it is subject to frequent droughts, and therefore, pastoralism traditionally represented the predominant land use strategy.

In this region pastoralism can be a market-oriented strategy by landless people specialized in the production of animals and animal products for sale; but it can also be a subsistence and drought adaptation strategy by people who own land.

The pastoral castes of Western India are presumed to have immigrated into the area from Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Pakistan. In some instances this has happened recently and is well documented, in others the oral traditions are equivocal and open to interpretation. In general there are many similarities in dress and customs between the pastoralists of Western India and their counterparts to the west.

Although there are exceptions, most pastoralists are Hindus integrated into the village caste mosaic, for which animal husbandry represents a hereditary profession. The majority of them are
connected with particular livestock species by their myth of origin, tracing their descent to an ancestor who was created by God for the purpose of taking care of these animals. For instance, the Raika/Rebari are linked to the camel, the Charan in Gujarat are associated with cattle, and the Bharvad keep mostly small stock. Because of this heritage, these pastoralists are endowed with a special sense of responsibility for the welfare of their livestock. Taboos against the selling of livestock for slaughter were prevalent earlier and even now persist among some groups.

Although there are castes with a strong pastoral identity, the situation is to some extent fluid and the transition between herding and cultivation is possible. Some castes that originally were pastoralists have switched to crop farming, for instance the Ahir who are now the main farming caste around Junagadh in Saurashtra region of Gujarat. On the other hand, some members of castes who own land and are considered as cultivators have recently taken up (often nomadic or semi-nomadic) pastoralism because of good economic returns. These are known as “non-traditional” pastoralists and, in Rajasthan, include Rajputs and Meghwals.
Definition of Pastoralism

In the Indian context, pastoralists can be defined as “members of caste or ethnic groups with a strong traditional association with livestock-keeping, where a substantial proportion of the group derive over 50% of household consumption from livestock products or their sale, and where over 90% of animal consumption is from natural pasture or browse, and where households are responsible for the full cycle of livestock breeding.” It could also be added, at least for Hindu groups, that animal breeding traditionally represented a dharma or inherited duty. The fact that they breed animals separates them from other groups which make their living by combining trade in animals with other itinerant professions, such as blacksmithing (Gadulia Lohars), conducting bull oracles (Nandiwallas of Maharashtra) or selling salt (Bhats). Breeding activities also present a useful criterion for separating pastoralists from urban and peri-urban dairy producers, who, although they often belong to communities with pastoral identities, do not breed, but keep milk animals only as long as they are lactating. They continuously purchase replacement stock from rural areas.
Mobility seems to be an unreliable defining criterion for pastoralism in the Indian context. Village based herding is common in semi-arid western India; even large herds of camels - associated with extremely mobile husbandry systems in other parts of the world - are sometimes managed by completely sedentary households – by just allowing them to roam freely during the dry season (or for nine months of the year).

Size, Location, Ethnic Identities and Migration Pattern of the Major Pastoralist Groups

Although according to a semi-popular magazine, “more than 200 tribes1, comprising 6 per cent of the country’s population, are engaged in pastoralism” (Khurana, 1999), there appear to be no reliable statistics available on the number of “active pastoralists”. Since Independence, population censuses no longer collect data based on caste adherence; besides, not all members of pastoral castes are actually engaged in livestock keeping. Only a small proportion of young people from pastoral backgrounds have the opportunity or interest to become livestock herders and are engaged mainly in unskilled labour in cities.
Indian pastoralists can be divided into groups that practice horizontal movement patterns in the dryland regions and vertical movement patterns in the mountainous areas. But beyond that, they resist attempts for convenient classification and systematisation. In the following section we discuss the major pastoralists groups in India (see Tables 1 and 2 for summary).

**Himalayan Region**

**Gujjars**

Size and Location:

The Gujjars derive their name from the Sanskrit term Gurjara. Historically they were once a dominant people in western India and gave the territory occupied by them the name Gujarat. However, for unknown reasons, the Gujjars migrated from western India and spread out all over the north-western part of Indian sub-continent and to some extent central India. Cunningham (1871) describes their distribution to be in great numbers in every part of north-west India, and from the Peninsular Gujarat. The most reliable census data on Gujjars is over sixty years old. In 1931 the Census of India reported 2,038,692 Gujjars inhabiting eight provinces and Indian states;
Delhi, Jammu and Kashmir, undivided Punjab (now consisting of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh), the North West Provinces (now Pakistan), and other areas in and along the Himalayas.

There is a great controversy regarding the origin of the Gujjars. According to one view, they were pastoral nomads of Central Asia that migrated into India during the 5th or 6th century AD. According to another opinion, they are of Indian origin and were inhabitants of the region extending around Mount Abu in western Rajasthan, Malwa and Gujarat. They are said to have migrated around the 16th century AD in a north-west direction into Punjab Kandi, in primary and secondary waves. The primary wave of migrants

**Table 1. Major Pastoralist Groups, Size, Location, Ethnic Identities and Migration Pattern in Himalayan Region**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. NO.</th>
<th>Pastoral Group</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Location &amp; Species</th>
<th>Ethnic Identities</th>
<th>Outline Migration Pattern</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Population (Year)</td>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Script</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Changpas</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>South-East Ladakh (Yak)</td>
<td>Follow a primitive form of Buddhism. Speak a mix of Ladakhi and Tibetan language, with a Tibetan script.</td>
<td>Their migration cycle is around the various h of Rupshu plains in Changthang region of Lad</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Bhotias</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Upper regions of Garhwal &amp; Kumaon of Uttranchal (Sheep, Goats, Cattle).</td>
<td>Hindu. Speak Pahari group of languages with a Devanagri script.</td>
<td>They occupy lower districts of Uttrakhand like valley in winter months and move to higher and Kumaon Himalayas towards Nanda Devi pastures and adjoining regions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Monpas</td>
<td>34469 (1981 census)</td>
<td>Tawang and west Kameng district of Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>Buddhists: their language belongs to the Bodic group of Tibeto-Burman family.</td>
<td>Higher reaches of East Kameng and Tawang season of Arunachal Pradesh and migrate to Tawang in the winter months.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Kinnauras</td>
<td>59547 (1981 census)</td>
<td>Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>Rajputs or Khosias and the Berus include both Hindus and Buddhists</td>
<td>In summer sheep and goat flocks are driven to H.P. and in winter the flocks are driven to J.K. and H.P.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: NA: Data not available  
Source: Singh, K.S

comprised pastoralist nomads who moved into the hilly unproductive marginal areas bordering the Shiwaliks, where there were pastures for their herds
of buffaloes (Manku 1986). It is not very important here to resolve the controversy regarding the origin of the Gujjars. What is important and interesting is that according to both views the Gujjars were pastoralists. As pastoralists of Central Asian origin they would have entered India with their stock of sheep and goats, later taking to buffalo raising, which they were doing already according to the theory of their being of Indian origin. The contemporary Gujjars, especially that section which has embraced Islam, are, however, known to raise sheep and goats as well as buffaloes. The smallstock herders are known as Bakarwal and the buffalo herders as Gujjar or Dudh-Gujjar. The Bakarwal inhabit the territory of Jammu and Kashmir whereas the buffalo-raising Gujjars are in Jammu, and sections of them have also moved in a south-easterly direction from Jammu and western Punjab to Himachal Pradesh and the hills of Uttar Pradesh (now in Uttranchal State). This movement has been caused by the depletion of grazing resources in Jammu and Punjab regions and also due to increase in both human and animal population.

Although it is certain that in the Garhwal Himalayas the Gujjars have migrated from the Jammu region through Himachal Pradesh, it is difficult to
establish at what point of time they entered this territory. Atkinson (1888) and his contemporaries do not make any mention of the Gujjars while describing the people of the Garhwal Himalayas in the gazetteer of the Himalayan districts of the northwestern province of India. Walton (1910) also is silent about them in the gazetteer of Garhwal. However, it is generally believed that the Gujjars migrated to Garhwal some 100 to 150 years ago and till very recently were fully pastoralists, following transhumance between two distinct eco-zones without much diversification of subsistence strategy.

**Ethnic Identities:**

At present there are both Hindu and Muslim Gujgars in northern India but the Hindu Gujjars are mostly in the plains of Punjab, Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh, while the Muslim Gujjars inhabit the Himalayan region of Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, and the Garhwal and Kummaon divisions of Uttar Pradesh (now the new state of Uttranchal). There is yet another remarkable difference between the Hindu and Muslim Gujjar populations; the former are mostly settled agriculturists while the latter are agro-pastoralists in some areas and completely pastoralist in others. However, the vast majority of
Gujjars today are Muslim and are semi-nomadic, herding buffalo, sheep and goats. They also rear some bullocks, horses and ponies as pack animals. Most of the Gujjars do not own any land and do not practice agriculture, and are therefore dependent upon access to state forests where they live for most of the year.

The primary functional unit in the Gujjar social system is the dera (household or homestead). It is synonymous with the family and is the most dominant institution in the pastoral Gujjar society. The major socio-economic, political, religious and reproduction activities are centered around a dera (Negi, 1998). The Gujjars are polygynous as Islam allows more than one wife (up to four) at one time but actual cases of polygamy are not frequent. The Gujjars are divided into various gotras (clans), which are the same as among the Hindu Gujjars. Some of the clan names of the Gujjars inhabiting the lower Himalayas are Kasana, Chechi, Chauhan, Theckari, Dhinda, Pathan, Poshwal(d), Lodha and Kaalas.

Migration Pattern:

The pastoral Gujjars of northern India practice transhumance and migrate with their households and livestock between summer and winter pastures. The
basis of their economic activities is keeping buffalo herds and they are specialised producers of dairy products that are sold in local towns. With the approach of summer months, when grass and other fodder as well as water becomes scarce in the lowers regions, the Gujjars take their herds to high-altitude pastures of Himachal Pradesh and Uttranchal where grass is regenerated after snow. Winters are spent in the regions of Jammu, Punjab, lower districts of Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh (U.P.), and to the areas adjoining Rajaji National Park in U.P. Migration proceeds between predetermined sites along traditionally set routes and according to a more or less fixed timetable. The outward and inward journeys take about 15 to 20 days each. The buffaloes start migrating on their own when the weather gets hot in the month of March or April or when it becomes cold in the month of September (close to the snow line). At times, if Gujjars are not ready to move, they have to physically stop the herds. If they are not disturbed they can reach their destinations even on their own. The buffaloes forage mainly on leaf fodder during the winter months and on the rich grass of the Himalayan pastureland during the summers. In winter, gujjars lop off branches from selected fodder trees making sure that enough nodal branches and leaves are left so that
the tree may regenerate during the remaining period of the year. Also, they lop the branches just before the time of leaf fall of the particular species and in this way they ensure that the tree gets the full benefit of its foliage for growth. Buffalo manure provides a very rich fertiliser for the forests.

Earlier the gujjar deras would migrate with all its belongings and livestock to the high altitude bugyals. But recently a change has set in due to forest policies and opposition from the local populations. Fewer and fewer deras migrate to high altitudes. At the same time, the deras do not move as a whole: some members with some buffaloes remain behind in the winter habitat. This has resulted in partial sedentarization with more and more transhumance.

**Gaddis**

**Size and Location:**

The Gaddis, also known as Pahari Bahrmauri, live in northern India in the states of Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. Traditions say that Gaddis ancestors originally came from the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, and fled from Muslim invaders in the plains. They later fled to the Himalayan mountains for refuge. As per latest estimates (2000), the Gaddi
population is about 126,300. Their population in 1981 was about 76,860, which increased to about 105,100 in 1990 and 115,700 in 1995. The majority of the Gaddis (99.9%) are Hindus. Although shepherding is a key feature of the economic landscape of four districts of Himachal Pradesh – Kangra, Kullu, Kinnaur and Chamba – the main concentration is in the Kangra and Dharamshala regions of Kangra district.
Ethnic Identities:

The word Gaddi refers to a territorial group, or a special class of people who wear distinctive clothes. It also refers to the union of castes of Rajputs, Khatris, Ranas, and Thakurs. In general, the Gaddis are a people of rugged character. They travel and bear endless hardships in the pursuit of their profession. However, in addition to herding sheep and goats, they are also becoming much more involved in farming. The recent trends towards settling in more hospitable climates have brought agriculture to forefront of their economy, and shepherding is beginning to take a secondary position. The Gaddis like other Indians are divided into social classes based on the Hindu caste system. The Gaddi castes are divided into two basic classes: clean and unclean. The Gaddis are monogamous and have a successful community life based on mutual assistance.

Migration Pattern of Gaddi Community:

Gaddis practice long distance herding of sheep and goats. Gaddis were considered to be nomadic or semi-nomadic from the Kangra valley of Himachal Pradesh. However, most of the Gaddis are semi-nomadic and not nomadic, because they obtained permanent dwellings in the Kangra valley from a
government sedentarization programme. Whereas nomadism is defined as a grazing strategy in which “the livestock is herded by a whole social group (e.g., a family) as owners on their permanent and periodic movement from range to range and nomads live all year round in mobile tents, yurts, or huts, and rarely in permanent settlements”, semi-nomadism “combines the seasonal movement of livestock with seasonal cultivation. On their seasonal migrations - largely with small livestock - the social group lives in mobile camps but also in permanent settlements” (Rinschede, 1987). Although gaddis kept permanent dwellings the herding unit was still composed of the entire family unit.
The transhumant pastoralism in Himachal Pradesh is based on a seasonal exploitation of vegetation along the state’s elevation gradient. However, Gaddi shepherds of the alpine tracts are in the eye of a storm brewing in the foothills of the Himalayas. Dams, National Parks and expanding infrastructure interfere with their nomadic trails. The Gaddis move from high pastures to low pastures during the year, leaving for the low hills and plains in October and returning to their fields in April. Following winter grazing in the Shiwalik scrub forests, in early April, the herders begin to work their way northward, moving along the low mountain ranges that separate the Shiwaliks from the Dhauladhar. By early May, the Kangra Gaddis arrive in their villages, located on lower, southern slopes of the Dhauladhar Range. They spend the next two months-grazing village forests and higher elevation forests of the Dhauladhar.

The month of May and June are a particularly busy time in the Gaddi cultivation cycle because this is a time when the cultivators are required to harvest the winter crop and also to prepare the fields for the monsoon. In addition, the sheep and goats are
penned for a number of nights on the freshly harvested fields thereby providing manure as fertiliser for the next crop.

The Gaddi shepherds spend summer in Lahaul and Spiti, and the Trans-Himalayan region north of the Pir Pangal. Only a small number of herders do not move out, others migrate extensively. Now the access to the summer grazing grounds requires the crossing of passes at high elevation, possible only once the
winter snow has melted sufficiently. By the middle of June, the partial melting of the snow on Thamsar Pass allows herders to cross over into the Bara Banghal region of Kangra district and make their way to the nutritious forage of the alpine meadows (Saberwal, 1999).

By September, decreasing availability of forages forces the herders to begin their fall migration southward, including the re-crossing of high passes and the descent to their own villages. During the month of September, October, and November the animals are grazed in forests of Chota Banghal region of Kangra district. By the middle of November the herders begin to descend to their winter grazing grounds in the Shiwaliks. This journey lasts about a month, as the herders wind their way across and along the gentle hills of Kangra valley until they come to scrub forests of the Shiwaliks. Many herders move further south into the Hoshiapur Shiwaliks of Punjab, stretching from Pathankot in the west to the north of Ropar in the east.

By the end of December, the herders arrive at their winter grazing grounds. There are now several claimants to the resources of those low-lying areas, and therefore easily accessed, regions. Population
pressures are high, and the herders are now cheek by
jowl with the cultivators. On the winter migration
southward, as well as once herders have reached their
winter grazing grounds, forage is obtained in many
different and often unlikely places like village
commons, which tend to scrub forests, privately
owned grass lands (ghasinis) from which cultivator
communities have harvested grass to stall-feed their
animals, within stream beds and along road sides.

**Kinnauras**

*Size and Location:*

The people of Kinnaur in Himachal Pradesh
have traditionally been referred to as Kinners,
however, the term Kinnauras is also widely used. They
live under very harsh conditions, created by the
inclement weather and climatic conditions. Some
authors claim that in the past Kinnauras were
nomads, whose main source of life were animals.
Flocks of sheep, goats and cows, yaks and horses are
safety investments. Kinnauras are the tribes
inhabiting valleys between high mountains. The
district of Kinnaur is a part of tribal belt, which inside
Himachal Pradesh borders includes also the eastern
part of Chamba district and Lahaul Spiti district. There
are no reliable estimates of the size of Kinnauras.
Ethnic Identities:

The Kinnauras consist of the Rajputs or Khosias and the Berus. The Khosias include Hindus and Buddhists. The Berus are made up of four artist castes – the Lohar, the Badhi, the Koli and the Nangalu. Polyandry prevails in the villages but is rapidly losing ground to monogamy.

Migration Pattern:

In the summer sheep and goat flocks are driven to higher parts inside Himachal Pradesh borders. In the winters, flocks are driven to foothill pastures around Dehradun (Uttaranchal). Nowadays, shepherds with their animals spend the winter period also in Uttar Pradesh. According to their tradition Kinnauras hire shepherds from different parts of Himachal Pradesh, e.g. from Chaupal and Dodra Kawal tehsils (an administrative unit) of Shimla district and pay them clothes, shoes, basic foods (maize, salt, spices, ghee, etc.) and 7-8 animals (depending upon flock size). During migration to the neighboring State of Uttar Pradesh, they have to pay radar tax. Before 1947 the tax was paid to the then Tiri Raja (on U.P. side) and Bushahar Raja (on Kinnaur side) and a rate of tax was one anna (1/16 rupee) per animal. Today radar is being paid to the forest department in
amount of 50 paise per sheep and 70 paise per goat (data for 1996).

**Bhotias**

Bhotias are sheep herding pastoralists and live in northern parts of Bhutan, Sikkim, and Nepal and along the Indo-Tibetan border in Garhwal, Kumaon of Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh. They are a Mongoloid people who gradually moved off the Tibetan Plateau. However, details about their numbers, ethnic identities and migration pattern are not properly documented.
Bhuttias

The Bhuttias are the most prominent pastoralists of the alpine regions of Lachung and Lachen valleys of the northern districts of Sikkim. They migrate to the lower forests of Mangan in the summer season. They speak Tibetan dialect and are Buddhists. As per 1981 Census, their population was about 21,259.

Changpas

Changpas in the south-eastern region of Ladakh are involved in cross border trade with Tibet. They follow a primitive form of Buddhism and speak a mix of the Ladakhi and Tibetan languages written in a Tibetan script (Sabharwal, 1996). Their migration cycle is around various high altitude pastures of Rupshu plains in Changthang region of Ladakh.
Monpas

Monpas live in Tawang and West Kameng districts of Arunachal Pradesh and their population was about 38,862 in 1991. They stay in higher reaches of East Kameng and Tawang districts in summer season and migrate to low lands around Tawang during the winter months.
Western Region

The major pastoral groups of Western India (see Table 2), such as Rebari and Bharwad, subdivide into many small sub-units, but on the other hand also merge into each other. Among the Raika/Rebari who are extant in Gujarat and Rajasthan, as well as other states, there is a high degree of regional diversification with respect to language, deities worshipped, and clothing. They may share more outward similarities with the farming castes in their region than with members of their own community.
residing further away. Social organization is therefore rather decentralized, with very little contact and information exchange between groups living in different areas.

Maldhari is a collective term for the livestock dependent social groups of Gujarat. In this state, pastoralism is especially prevalent in the district of Kutch, bordering Pakistan. Saurashtra was also a pastoral area earlier, but now pastoralists only make up a small and further decreasing proportion of the population, concentrated in the northern part. In Gujarat, the pastoralist castes are members of the tertansali, a group of 13 allied castes, which eat, drink, and smoke together (Tambs-Lyche, 1997).

**Table 2. Major Pastoralist Groups in Selected States of India**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Pastoral Group</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>Golla (cattle), Kuruma (sheep)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>Monpa (Yak)</td>
<td>Khurana (1999)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Karnataka | Kuruba (sheep), Dhanger (sheep) | Anthra (1995)
---|---|---
Kerala | Toda (buffalo) | Rivers (1906)
Madhya Pradesh | Dhanger (sheep) |
Maharashtra | Dhanger (sheep) |
Tamil Nadu | Duck pastoralism |

**Rebari/Raika**

The Rebari/Raika are the major and most numerous pastoral groups in Western India. They are most densely distributed in Rajasthan and Gujarat, but also occur in Punjab, Haryana, and Madhya Pradesh and may be in other states. The term “Raika” is applied to the Rebari of the Marwar area of Rajasthan. It carries the special connotation of camel breeder with it. Rebari is the more encompassing term, and includes groups in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Haryana and other states. The larger Rebari community is composed of several endogamous
groups, which know very little about each other and do not form any coalitions.

The Rebaris of Rajasthan are divided into two groups, the Maru and Godwar. The Maru Raikas are concentrated around Jodhpur and in Pali district. The Godwar Raika, which were termed Pitalia or Chalkia in the British Gazetteers, inhabit the southern part of Pali district, Jalore and Sirohi districts. Sources from the colonial period describe the Maru Raika as camel breeders and the Godwar Raika as sheep raisers, but this does not apply any longer, since both groups herd sheep as well as camels. Both are endogamous groups that have separate decision making bodies and, although they would seem to have the same interests, they generally do not form political liaisons.

The Raika have retained their reputation as “camel people” until today. Yet, only a minority engages in camel breeding. The majority of them raise sheep or goats, or, in some areas, cattle, and even buffalo. If not endowed with livestock on their own, Raika often occupy professions where they interact with animals, for instance as village cowherds (in earlier times the Raika seem to have had hereditary rights to these positions), as care takers in gauhalas
(cow-sanctuaries), or as labour in the National Research Centre on Camel, Bikaner.

Photo: Raika Boy with Camels (Photo by Ilse Koehler-Rollefson/Courtesy of LPPS)

Table 3a. Population Estimates for the Raika/Rebari Communities in India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Rajputana</td>
<td>99,009</td>
<td>Population Census</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>215,664</td>
<td>Population Census</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Rajputana</td>
<td>135,820</td>
<td>Census of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Gujarat and Rajasthan</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>Westphal-Hellbusch &amp; Hellbusch, 1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>200,000 families</td>
<td>Bhopalaram Raika</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Rebari of Gujarat are said to have migrated there from Marwar in Rajasthan. They are subdivided into the following groups (according to Westphal-Hellbusch and Westphal, 1976):

- **Kutchi** - living in western Kutch between Lakhpat and Nakrathana and around Bhuj.
- **Dheberya** - inhabiting the area to the south and southeast of Bhuj in eastern Kutch, especially around Anjar and Mandvi.
- **Vagariya** - extant near Vagad and Rapad, also in eastern Kutch
- **Sorathi** - consisting of populations in the Barda Hills (1,000 families) and in the Gir Forest (10,000-12,000 people, )
➢ *Bhopa* - camel breeders in Okhamandal on western coast of Saurashtra (1400 families)

➢ *Gujarati* - inhabiting northern Gujarat, near the border with Rajasthan – (about 200,000 people of which 10,000 – 25,000 live in Ahmedabad)

There are no bonds between these groups except in the marginal areas and on the occasion of religious ceremonies in large temples.

*Photo: Nari Boy (Photo by Ilse Koehler-Rollefson/Courtesy of LPPS)*

**Bharvads**

The Bharvads herd sheep and goats and are often involved in milk selling, especially in peri-urban areas.

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settings. They are the most urbanized groups among Gujarati pastoralists and have monopolized many urban milk markets (Salzman, 1988).

Alternatively, they act as sedentary “village shepherds” who keep sheep and goats on the outskirts of villages and are paid in grain and cash by farmers for their manure (Tambs-Lyche, 1997). They either trade cartloads of small ruminant manure for the same volume of straw or another low quality crop residue, or leave their herds on fields overnight and get paid for this in cash or kind (grain, straw). Although traditionally regarded as lower in the caste hierarchy than the Rabari, they appear to be more upwardly mobile.

The Bharvads are divided into the Motabhai (who raise mainly sheep and goat and live in northwestern Saurashtra) and the Nanabhai (who keep cows and buffalo in eastern and southeastern Saurashtra, Bhavnagar, Surat). The two groups do not intermarry but merge with the Rabari in eastern Gujarat, near Rajpipla (Westphal-Hellbusch, 1975).

Charan

The Charan are traditional cattle breeders, considered to be the original guardians of Nandi, the
sacred bull of Shiva, but also act as genealogists and bards. They are concentrated in Kutch, Saurashtra, and North Gujarat and in Rajasthan.

**Mers**

The Mers from Saurashtra and Kutch are sometimes counted as pastoralists since they bred camels and horses for the ruling Jethwa Rajputs.

**Muslim Groups**

In Kutch, there are about 20 nomadic or semi-nomadic Muslim groups who migrated to Gujarat from Sindh, Balochistan and other areas to the west. Most of them are very small and consist only of a few hundred people, but still remain endogamous. One of the larger ones is the Jats/Jaths who were specialized camel breeders when living in Sindh. Their largest subgroup is the Danetha who now rear buffaloes, cows, camels, but also sheep and goats. They do not sell milk, only ghee or mawa. Another subgroup is the Fakhirani Jath who lives near the Lakhpat coastal area in portable reed huts.

In Rajasthan, the Sindhi Muslims, residing mostly in Jaisalmer and Jodhpur districts, are often classified as pastoralists, although they were traditionally involved in long-distance caravan trade,
rather than the breeding of livestock. Some of them breed camels or engage in sheep-migration, some sub-groups are specialized cattle breeders and have developed some of the most famous breeds, i.e. the Rathi cattle.

**Ahir/Gujjar**

The Ahir/Gujjar group is described as the largest pastoral community in India by Tambs-Lyche (1997). They were very early immigrants to India who herded cows, but most of them were already settled in the 1920s.

**Gairi (Gayri)**

The Gairi are a caste in the Mewar (southern Rajasthan) area said to be professionally involved in livestock breeding, especially sheep) (e.g. Wood et al., 2000), but details are not available.

**Non-traditional Pastoralists**

This term is used to refer to castes that were not traditionally involved in pastoralism, but have taken up sheep breeding because of its economic promise. This group encompasses the Rajputs who are the ruling, land owning caste of Rajasthan.
They are basically agriculturists (although they represent the traditional warrior caste), but Rajputs from the resource poor parts of Rajasthan (i.e. Jaisalmer) took up long-distance sheep pastoralism in the 1980s because it provided good income opportunities (Kavoori, 1999). Jats (cultivators), Meghwals (an untouchable caste), and maybe others, can also belong to this category. According to Kavoori (1999:189): “Rajasthani pastoralists are simply members of a more generally distributed society who move in and out of pastoralism as circumstance and opportunity indicate... In years of plenty the alternative may lie dormant, being confined to a few specialized castes; in years of want it spreads in the manner of a ‘capillary action’ through broader society and economy, becoming the dominant and determining element in the reproduction of livelihood.”

**SIZE OF PASTORAL POPULATIONS**

There are basically no official statistics informing about the size of pastoral populations and their trends during the last 60 years. The following theoretical possibilities exist for calculating these on a case-by-case basis and could be a researchable issue.
1. Combination of pre-Independence census data with population growth rates:

Up to Independence, population censuses were undertaken on caste basis. By superimposing these with population growth rates, an estimate of current population sizes could be arrived at. The disadvantage of this method is that the resulting figures would indicate number of people of a certain social and caste background, rather than of people active in livestock keeping. It does not provide a means of determining how many specialized pastoralists still live in their original habitats (and depend on livestock) and how large a proportion of them have out migrated to the cities in search for menial jobs.

2. Correlation with livestock population³:

In India, farmers keep more livestock in integrated systems than under pastoral conditions. But certain types of livestock - notably sheep, camels, yaks – are kept almost exclusively in pastoral systems and their relative trends would seem to be a reasonable indicator of pastoral trends. For the drawbacks of this method, see the section on trends in pastoral development below.

3. Migration taxes and grazing permits:

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Pastoralists wandering from one state to the other, for instance from Rajasthan to Madhya Pradesh usually need to have a permit and pay certain grazing taxes. When they cross the border, they are issued with written receipts, noting their number of animals.

Similarly, for access to forest ranges within the same state, grazing fees are usually levied. If these records could be accessed, then they would provide a rough indicator of pastoral movements.

4. Caste records:

Some pastoral communities undertake their own population counts or estimates, usually in an effort to impress politicians and lawmakers with their potential as a vote bank. These data, with all their limitations, would have to be obtained from individual caste leaders or associations.

Classification of Major Types of Indian Pastoralists

Pastoralism can be categorised in a number of ways. The most important of these are by degree of movement, species, management strategy, geography and ecology. The most common categorization is by degree of movement, from highly nomadic through
transhumant to agro-pastoral (Blench, 2000). Major types of pastoralists in the Himalayan and Western regions of the country are discussed below:

**Himalayan Region**

The pastoral groups can be classified into the following categories on the basis of their migration types:

**Nomadic Herders**

Van Gujjars of Uttranchal and Himachal Pradesh and Changpas in Ladakh, Jammu and Kashmir migrate from one pasture to another with their whole families. They do not cultivate land and their entire livelihood revolves around pastoral activities. They mostly depend on their neighbouring agricultural communities for cultivable goods for which they perform extensive economic exchange with them.

**Semi-Nomadic Pastoralists**

Gaddis and Bhotias of North-western Himalayas seasonally migrate to higher pastures with their animals. These nomadic groups own cultivable land and during half of the year are involved in agricultural activities. Bhuttias living in the Lachen and Lachung valleys of Sikkim and Monpas of Arunachal Pradesh are also included in this category.
Long-distance or Transhumant Herders

Village pastoralists practice long-distance herding of livestock and are considered to be transhumant herders. Transhumance is a grazing strategy “... in which the livestock is generally accompanied by hired men but also by owners and their relatives, but rarely by a whole family, on a long migration or transit between two seasonal ranges” (Rinschede, 1987).

Western Region:

Pastoral adaptations in the Western region of India can be classified into the following main types:

Urban Pastoralism:

Urban pastoralism refers to the keeping of buffaloes and cattle in and at the periphery of large cities (Ahmedabad, Baroda, and Jodhpur) for milk production with market-purchased fodder. Certain pastoral castes, especially the Bharwads of Gujarat, engage in this strategy. Often these groups do not raise their own replacement females, but continuously buy pregnant stock from rural areas that they keep only as long as lactation lasts. Salzman (1988) describes this strategy.
Village-based Pastoralism:

Village-based pastoralism (sedentary to semi-sedentary, depending on rainfalls) is the type of pastoralism usually practiced by owners of small to medium sized sheep herds, by goat owners and by also by some camel pastoralists, for instance in Pali District of Rajasthan. Herds usually return to the village for the night, although they may stay away for several days or weeks, if more distant pastures are to be utilized or fields that are farther away are to be fertilized. In years of severe drought, many pastoralists also will be forced to go on long-distance migration.
Long-distance Group Migration:

Long-distance migration (for 9 months of the year) is undertaken mostly by owners of large sheep herds, but also by some owners of large camel herds. About 10-12 families form a large group that elects one or more leaders (Patel, Numberdar) responsible for negotiating with land owners for night halts and access to fallow land, also to interact with the police, foresters and traders. These migratory groups are called dangs; typically, they consist of 4,000-5,000 sheep, 20-30 baggage camels and 50-100 able-bodied family members of all ages. In Rajasthan, long-distance migration leads to Madhya Pradesh, to Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh or to the Punjab. The herding groups move along well-established routes and often have developed contacts with landowners and traders en-route. Contacts with the home village are maintained – often family members take turns in joining the dang. Length and amplitude of the migration vary according to climatic conditions. In years with good rainfall, the herders can afford to stay longer in their home villages. When rains do not come, then return to the villages is delayed because no grazing would be available there.
Permanent Migration:
Permanent migration is a local term used to refer to pastoralists who no longer return with their herds to the villages. This situation is reported for Raika sheep breeders from Pali District in Rajasthan. Some of their family members stay permanently with the sheep herds in Madhya Pradesh.
Pastoralists as Poor People: In the Indian Context and in the General Context of Developing Countries

Vijay Paul Sharma
Ilse Köhler-Rollefson
John Morton

In government records, publications and documents, pastoralists are regarded as marginalised, backward and poor populations. The dispersed population, remote habitations, cultural uniqueness, low literacy rates and migratory lifestyles have contributed to this perception of the state.

In the Himalayas, they are a low-priority group and there has been no conscious attempt by the State or any other institution to assess their poverty status. The problems in assessing their poverty status are:

i. The socio-economic status of pastoralists in Himalayas is seriously under-documented.

ii. Their mobility and ownership of unconventional property assets i.e. animals have made it difficult to assess their poverty status with the help of existing poverty indicators.
iii. The only method to assess poverty status of Himalayan pastoralists would be through physically culling out the ‘whatsoever’ information about Himalayan pastoralists from district census data and compare it with the existing poverty indicators. There are also difficulties pertaining to available census figures because Jammu & Kashmir State was not covered under the 1991 Census and the new census figures are still awaited.

The pastoralists of the Western drylands are not particularly disadvantaged with respect to their position in the caste hierarchy since they occupy a medium position, very much on the same par as the cultivating castes. Although they are positioned below the elite castes of Brahmin, Rajput and Banya, they rank far above the untouchable castes. Nevertheless, they are commonly deemed to represent the most backward and conservative social group in the region and have been surpassed in social development by castes which were traditionally much more deprived, such as the Meghwals.

In both Rajasthan and Gujarat, the Raika and Rebari have the status of “Other Backward Castes4”
(OBC), which entitles them to certain benefits, i.e. quota for government employment.

As is the case with the pastoralists in the Himalayas, detailed data about their socio-economic status are not available. But experience suggests that according to commonly used indicators for social development, pastoralists qualify as some of the poorest rural groups. In comparison with other segments of the rural population, infant mortality is high and literacy rates are extremely low. It can also be stated that pastoralists are usually poor in terms of cash and land ownership.

Among the Raika, there is a negative correlation between herd size and land ownership – families with land have fewer animals on average; those that have large herds generally have no land. Technically, they represent landless livestock keepers. According to some sources, pastoralists were not entitled to receive land during the land reforms after Independence or, being accustomed to ample commons for grazing, were slow to understand the value of land ownership.

Nevertheless, pastoralists also have assets: Their usually sizeable holdings of animals can be
readily encashed and – in the case of small ruminants – quickly replenish themselves by natural reproduction. Another strong point is their largely intact social system and network. Within the Rabari community, there are various indigenous mechanisms for sharing and redistributing wealth. If a Rabari suffers from some catastrophic event, he will receive financial support from caste institutions. A young man who wants to start his own herd and has not inherited any stock, will be given animals by relatives and other cast members. The pastoralists also have a rich indigenous knowledge base, which – because of lack of documentation – is rarely appreciated.

This pressure to share resources (which is not unique to the Rabari, but a strong feature of many rural caste communities), also results in a succinct ethic or attitude of trying to appear poor outwardly, so as to avoid requests for support from relatives and friends. Pastoralists do not flout their wealth and may appear poorer than they are. On the other hand, with very limited land ownership and dependence on shrinking common property resources, they certainly are becoming relatively poorer. Combined with their reluctance to take advantage of education, further marginalisation is inevitable and in rural settings, as
well as within the community itself, the opinion is often voiced that the Raika have “fallen behind” other castes that are lower in social status, but more enterprising and flexible.

**Major Problems Experienced by Pastoralists**

The problems that pastoralists face are as much social and political as economic and resource-based. We have discussed the major problems faced by pastoralists in Himalayan and Western region separately, although there are many similarities, especially in the underlying issues of government policy. There is probably no need in this context for a further stratification of pastoralists into different groups, because many problems appear to be the common for most of them.

**Himalayan Region**

While the government has included the Himalayan pastoral groups, with the exception of the Uttranchal Gujjars, in a reserved category for government jobs and other facilities, Himalayan pastoralists are finding it difficult in many ways to follow their traditional livelihoods. The immediate threats they experience will be discussed below, but they derive in turn from underlying problems:
government attitudes to pastoralism, non-recognition of pastoral land rights, and population growth.

**Government Attitudes to Pastoralism**

In social evolutionary thinking, the nomadic lifestyle has traditionally been treated as less civilized, less productive and more degrading than a settled lifestyle (Saberwal, 1999). This cultural bias is clearly manifested in many of the colonial/historical documents, and seems to have many policy level implications for the Himalayan pastoralists. Pastoralists continue to be treated as a problem for administrators in terms of collecting taxes or controlling the population.

Due to the problem of their cultural stereotyping, small population and migratory lifestyle, the Himalayan pastoralists are ignored in the various policy-level decisions. Non-participation and ignorance of their due rights and status in the Indian State have seriously marginalized these communities. Their political marginalization is also visible across all the Himalayan states where most of the pastoral groups are not vocal about their concerns.

Incorrect and alarmist perceptions of the environmental threats caused by Himalayan
pastoralism have also had negative effects on policy. The conservation policies of the country are supposed to have as one of their bases the famous theory of Himalayan degradation which assumes a threat of disastrous floods for the population of the Indo-Gangetic plain, as a result of overgrazing of the Himalayan slopes and massive soil erosion (Ives and Messerli, 1989). Today Himalayan pastoralism is perceived by decision-makers and politicians as an environmental threat to the Himalayas and the local pastoral groups are incessantly blamed for overgrazing and livestock increase. There is little interest in a detailed objective analysis of the condition of the environment. At a local level, these attitudes are held especially by Forestry Department officials.

One manifestation of this perception is that pastoralists are being displaced from protected areas. There are 13 National Parks and 59 Wild Life Sanctuaries in the Indian Himalayas, covering approximately 10 per cent of the total Himalayan zone (State of the Environment Report, Himachal Pradesh). According to the National Park policy, all the stakeholders dependent on the Park resources are

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Srinagar/Jammu
displaced. As an effect there is a large pastoral population in the Himalayas which is affected by the formation of parks where their rights to access pastures have been denied for the purposes of biodiversity conservation. For example, due to recent notification of the Great Himalayan National Park in Himachal Pradesh all the pastoralists who used to occupy the vast alpine pastures of the Park for the summer months have been deprived of access to approximately 300 sq. km of pastures without having being allotted grazing rights in any alternative regions. There are similar examples in other Himalayan states where the availability of pasture resources is reducing with the increase of protected areas.

The pastoral development programmes that are planned and implemented by the state carry a bias against pastoralists. Various development schemes for the pastoral population carry an agricultural preference and pastoralism is considered to be an activity supplementary to agriculture. Programmes of livestock development have more beneficiaries from agricultural communities than pastorals. The government bias is also evident in various other development programmes such as those for education, health, and income generation where
pastoralists are ignored and constantly blamed for a primitive nomadic lifestyle - a hurdle in implementing the development programmes which are planned around the settled or landed communities.

Most of the research conducted on Himalayan pastoralism is inclined more towards ecological concerns rather than taking a holistic view and has given rise to a biased understanding. Many studies have concluded that the present knowledge of environmental degradation vis-à-vis livestock grazing by migratory Himalayan pastoralists is not sufficient and there is a need to rationalize and reinforce the existing knowledge. Studies elsewhere, from Poland to Tanzania to Mongolia, have shown that pastoralism can co-exist with, and contribute positively to, biodiversity conservation. However, no such study of the impacts of grazing on biodiversity conservation has been conducted in the Indian context.

**Non-Recognition of Pastoral Land Rights:**

The local pastoral groups regard themselves as owners of the pasture resources in Himalayas and there is an extensive customary usage of these resources by the local pastoralists (Chakravarty-Kaul M, 1998). They follow traditional rules and regulations in distributing and managing their resources amongst
themselves, like the Pipon system in the Sikkim Himalayas, which is still prevalent to facilitate the community resource management practices. Similarly each pastoralist community has evolved traditional resource management practices to use its commonly owned resources. This historical evidence is enough to support customary claims of Himalayan pastoralists to gain access to their common inheritance.

However, the customary usage of the forest resources or common lands is not documented in government records or officially recognised, thus Himalayan pastoralists are simply not understood as the stakeholders in their own land resources. This is very evident during the time of their displacement as a result of government projects such as Hydel power, social welfare programmes or National Parks where the pastoralist are completely ignored in the times of rehabilitation. There are also instances where the winter pastures of Gaddi pastorals in Himachal Pradesh were allotted to landless people under a social welfare programme and the resource use and the right to access these resources of Gaddi pastorals were absolutely ignored.

The more recent example is the Kandi Hydel Project in Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh where
the settled cultivators with private rights over the land have received compensation from the state and Gaddis have not been given any relief. There are problems when pastoral groups are withdrawn from the National Parks and are not compensated with alternative pasturelands as compared to the private landowners and the agriculturists. There are also fundamental institutional changes observed in the pastoral nomadic communities due to this process of land reforms and organizational restructuring.

**Population Growth and Land Fragmentation**

As a result of growing human population in the Himalayan region, land resources per household are decreasing, with sub-division and fragmentation of agricultural land. The data available on trends in population growth and per capita cultivated land in selected areas of Himalayan region indicate that the magnitude of reduction in per capita cultivated land is as high as 46.7 per cent within a decade in the case of Central Himalayas (Table 3b). Similarly the reduction in per capita land holding in the Western Indian Himalayas is also significant. This trend accelerated throughout the 1990s.
Table 3b. Population Growth Trend and Per Capita Cultivated Land (ha) in Selected Areas of Himalayan Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population Growth</th>
<th>Per capita cultivated area (ha)</th>
<th>Percentage decrease in landholding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>0.134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh (8 districts)</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>47.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Livelihood Threats:

These underlying factors are leading to the major immediate threats to livelihoods faced by the pastoral groups in Himalayas (a) reduced pastures and (b) disturbed migration routes.

a. Reduced Pastures:

Across all the Himalayan states, the pastoral livelihoods are seriously threatened by the problem of shrunken pasturage. This decreasing availability of pasture resources has been due to misinformed conservation policies of these states, as discussed and illustrated above, and encroachment on the pasture resources.
The land use practices in lower altitudes of Himalayas have dramatically altered in the last few decades. The ever increasing human population and the increased infrastructure and development in these areas have seriously reduced the size of available winter pasturage for pastoralists. There are 4 kinds of encroachments on the winter pastures of Himalayan pastoralists, which have also been responsible for disturbing their migratory patterns: (a) afforestation activities, (b) road construction, (c) Security related agencies establishments, and (d) agricultural expansion. Tensions between pastoralists and agriculturalists are important here: pastoralists prefer an open forest while agriculturists favour a “dark” or closed forest.

Similarly, the ever-growing agricultural activities, tourism, Security related agencies movements and exercises in these regions and terrorist activities in the area bordering Jammu and Kashmir also affect the summer pastures in Himalayas. Since many alpine pastures of the Himalayan region are located along the International borders, the Security related agencies settlements have taken over many summer pastures in the Himalayas. There are examples like Changthang.
pastures of Ladakh, Lachung valley pastures in Sikkim, the Tawang region of Arunachal Pradesh etc. The increasing agricultural activities in the high altitude regions of the Himalayas are also a threatening trend for Himalayan pastoralism.

b. Disturbed Migratory Routes:

The migratory graziers in Himalayas travel long distances from low to high altitudes. On their way to summer or winter grazing lands, they halt at common lands of various villages, which is important for animal forage and their social relations with the agricultural communities. As said earlier, the Himalayan states have gone through dramatic development in the last few decades and besides infrastructure development these states have seen tremendous tourism development, extensive road building, hydro power plants, hotels etc. across the length and breadth of the Himalayas. As a result, pastoralists frequently have had to alter their migratory routes and face problems of livestock being killed on roads, thefts and a constant pressure to move. There are instances where animals die of eating noxious weeds growing close to the roads or on degraded land.
Sedentarization

Sedentarization of pastoralists is now widespread, both because of active government policies and because of lack of support for migratory pastoralism. The Himalayan states like Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh have tried many times to settle their local nomadic communities, although this is against the very logic of migratory pastoralism in Himalayas.

The non-supportive government policies play an important role in the decrease of pastoral activities in Himalayas. Further the process of marginalization at cultural and policy level has seriously discouraged the upcoming generation to take over pastoralism as an occupation. The absence of any legal rights over their resources, which have sometimes been appropriated without compensation, has discouraged and marginalized Himalayan pastoralists in all the Himalayan states.

Some studies have shown that the local pastoral economy is in a process of change from a mixed agropastoral system toward agricultural or horticultural based economy, the primary factor being the lack of grazing land in the winter due to Forest
Department closure of winter grazing permits and increased human population. The pastoralists also feel that agriculture/horticulture provides a more secure future for their children as herding would become more and more difficult in the future.

For examples, due to the formation of Nanda Devi Biosphere Reserve and closing of Indo Tibet border for trade, the Bhotia pastoral population of U.P. hills has migrated to lower regions permanently. Now many higher villages in the Garhwal and Kumaon regions are vacant and there are no pastoral activities operational in these regions (Sabharwal, 2000). Similarly the extensive Security related agencies establishments in Jammu and Kashmir and Sikkim Himalayas have seriously endangered the prospects of Himalayan pastoralism in these regions and there are many instances where the local pastoralists have switched over to daily wage labourers.

**Western Region**

The major problems of different pastoralist groups in the western part of India are discussed below:
Decrease of Pastures

Pastoralists themselves consistently describe disappearance of common property resources and grazing opportunities as the most threatening problem. This is confirmed by many studies on changing land use patterns. According to Jodha (2000), CPR areas in selected villages of India’s dryland states declined between 30 and 55% between the 1950s and the 1980s (see Table 4). More recent figures are not available, but the situation has certainly further deteriorated since the 1980s.

**Table 4. Decline in Area of Common Property Resources (CPRs) in India’s Dry Regions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number of study villages</th>
<th>Decline of CPR area between 1950-52 and 1982-84 (%)</th>
<th>Persons per 10 ha CPR 1951</th>
<th>Persons per 10 ha CPR 1982</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The driving forces behind this development are agriculturally centred development strategies. In the course of land reforms in Gujarat, the government allotted village common lands to low caste landless residents. In Saurashtra (part of Gujarat), the majority of village CPRs was converted to cropland and permanent pastures were reduced to 20 per cent of the level at Independence. Pastoralists who had previously grazed their animals only on rangelands came to depend on crop residues and faced shortages of feed and fodder (Cincotta and Pangare, 1994).

For Rajasthan, the processes behind the shrinking pasture resources and CPRs have been chronicled and analyzed in some detail (Brara 1992, Jodha 2000, Robbins 1998). The driving processes include:

a. Enclosure of Forests:

Large parts of the Aravalli forest range have become off-limits to grazing. This area represented the traditional rainy season grazing grounds for camel breeders in Pali district, but also year round pasture for sheep pastoralists and keepers of other livestock.
Especially the Kumbhalgarh Wildlife Sanctuary is a scene of daily conflict between forest authorities and pastoralists. In Gujarat, establishment of the Gir Lion Sanctuary caused the resettlement of over 845 Maldhari families between 1973 and 1981, and this is still cause for much resentment today.

The Dhangar Gowli are cattle keepers living in the forests of Northern Karnataka and Southern Maharashtra, with the population in Karnataka numbering about 10,000. *Dhangar* means wanderer and *gowli* means milkman or herdsman.

*Life of the Gowlis was happy and prosperous as the mountains and valleys offered them plenty of fodder and water...* they enlarged their livestock as much as possible and earned a lot of income by selling milk and its products... they prepared curd and butter to be sold in the markets... *They acquired lots of wealth by dairy occupation... But the life of Gowlis became miserable in the last 30 years. The forest restrictions do not allow their cattle free access in the jungle... The Gowlis are considered enemies of the forest because their cattle are said to be destroying the forest plants and the saplings... Present socio-economic conditions of the Dhangar Gowli are below poverty line... As
they live in small hamlets in the interior forest nook their development is not possible... They live a subhuman life and not better than the cattle they own...It is fortunate that most of them know herbal medicine and treat themselves and their cattle in times of ill health. ... What they need today is land to grow grains and fodder, organised dairy activities with few good yielding milch animals and entertainment of basic needs.

Extract from a self-description of a voluntary organisation for the development of the Dhangar Gowli Community in Karnataka.

· **Expansion of Irrigated Agriculture**

  Extension of the Indira Gandhi Canal Project (IGNP) into Jaisalmer district, subsidies for tubewells and electricity for agricultural use have led to expansion of cultivation into former wastelands as well as to multiple crop cycles in zones where crops were previously only grown during the rainy season. The latter has eliminated both long and short fallow areas for grazing.

· **Breakdown of Village Institutions**

  There is a complete breakdown of village institutions governing use of village commons (*gocher*) and sacred groves (*oran*).
During the pre-Independence period, use of village grazing areas was strictly regulated, users had to pay a fee, and trespassers were punished. These traditional institutions all but collapsed after governance of the commons was relegated to the village panchayats and then turned into a free-for-all.

- **Deterioration of pasture land**

As a consequence of an increase in livestock numbers and a parallel decline in CPRs, the stocking density has risen immensely – more than threefold – since the 1950s. Between 1952-53 and 1977-78 it increased from 39 animal units per hectare of grazing land to about 105.

The productivity of the remaining grassland has seriously deteriorated. Certain superior grass genetic resources of exceptional nutritious value are disappearing, such as sevan (*Lasiurus sindicus*) and dhaman (*Cenchrus ciliaris*) (Robbins, 1994), not only as components of village CPRs, but also in the form of distinct ecotypes. Famous grazing tracts, such as the sevan grass rangelands in Rajasthan’s Barmer/Jaisalmer/Bikaner districts, and the Banni grazing area in Kutch have
disappeared or changed their character. Infiltration of invasive exotic species, particularly *Prosopis juliflora* and *Lantana sp.* render huge tracts of former grazing land off limits. The former is unpalatable and the latter is poisonous, which causes thousands of death every year.

**No Access to Veterinary Care and Reasonably Priced Medicines**

Next to grazing, pastoralists perceive access to animal health care and to reasonably priced and genuine veterinary medicines their second largest constraint. The state government of Rajasthan recognises the importance of animal husbandry – which contributes about 15-19 per cent to its net economy - and operates a network of over 1000 veterinary hospitals where consultation and certain basic medicines are supposed to be provided free of cost. However, these facilities are geared towards the needs of landed and wealthier livestock keepers (for instance in their emphasis on Artificial Insemination and crossbreeding) and are rarely made use of by pastoralists, for several reasons. For one, there are the logistical difficulties of taking animals for treatment to the hospitals. Furthermore veterinarians lack training and orientation for successful interaction
with pastoralists whom they regard as backward and illiterate and whose traditional knowledge they do not appreciate.

Pastoralists often avoid vaccination campaigns (because they have experienced related losses and mortality in the past) and generally rely on their traditional knowledge for preventing and treating sick animals. At the same time, they are well aware that certain infectious diseases with major economic impact can not be controlled merely by means of traditional interventions and are extremely keen to benefit from modern medicines. They prefer to self-administer anthelmintics and trypanocides, but, being unable to read instructions, often utilize them inappropriately, since they do not understand the underlying principles (for instance classifying drugs only on the basis of their colour) or the need to give correct dosages, often giving half doses in order to save money.

Availability of genuine drugs is also a problem. There is an enormous volume of counterfeit medicines in the market and in remoter areas medicines are sold at double or triple of their supposed retail price.
Dependence on Middlemen for Marketing

For logistical reasons, pastoralists are largely dependent on middlemen for the marketing of their animals and products. This impinges on their profit margins, often to a considerable extent, although the fact that vyoparis (traders) regularly visit even remote areas to purchase animals certainly facilitates marketing for them. There are particular castes that act as middlemen who often are Muslims. But there are also many instances of middlemen belonging to the same pastoral communities as well.

Lack of Linkages with Outside World and Access to Information

Because of their dependence on various types of CPRs and the need to undertake migrations in years of droughts, pastoralists are required to “build bridges with many different actors” (Agrawal, 1999), i.e. engage in constant negotiations with land owners, forest officials, middlemen and police. In the current scenario, bargaining power however rests largely with their negotiating partners and the pastoralists tend to lose out. As a consequence they regard themselves as extremely marginalised, almost succumbing to a collective psychology of being different and out of luck. Their almost complete illiteracy and consequent
lack of knowledge of global developments may compound this feeling. Many of them are completely unaware that India is a nation state and that they as citizens have certain rights.

**Dilemma between Education and the Pastoral Livelihood**

With regard to education, pastoralists face a huge dilemma, although families actively involved in animal production less frequently articulate this. Pastoral leaders extol the need for education and going to school, even for girls. However, until now only a few girls have been sent to school. Those youths from pastoral families that have received even the most rudimentary education will seek employment elsewhere and usually no longer regard animal husbandry as a livelihood option. Herding animals is stigmatised as a lonely job and associated with illiteracy. In the Raika community, there are many cases of girls refusing to marry boys they have been engaged to, because they aspire to a career in herding.
Statement by Pastoral Federation (Pashu-Palak Sang) at Workshop on Pastoralism and Common Property Resources in the Thar Desert (March 1993).

(translated from Hindi/Marwari by V.K. Srivastava)

We propose the following measures for improving the situation of pastoralists:

i. **Grazing problems**
   - protection and development of gochar, oran and agor, and the routes leading to them
   - illegal occupation of these areas should be stopped
   - permission to graze in the Aravalli forest area
   - forest enclosures should be opened after every five years
   - support for grazing on fallow lands after the harvest
   - permission to graze in neighbouring states on minimum charges
   - development of grazing near the Indira Gandhi Canal Project
   - elimination of *Prosopis juliflora* from grazing lands

ii. **Financial measures**
   For the sake of economic upliftment, the prices for animal products should be raised according to the increase in the prices of other commodities. Taxes should be imposed on imported wool, to encourage local wool production.

iii. **Management of marketing of animal products**
    Pastoralists are often cheated in the wool markets; therefore, formation of co-operatives should be encouraged.

iv. **Animal health care programmes**
    The pastoralists should be given vaccines and anthelmintics at a reasonable rate. The programmes of the Department of Animal Husbandry and the Sheep and Wool Department should be organized so as to reach the pastoralists.

v. **Shearing**
    The pastoralists should be introduced to new mechanized methods of shearing

vi. **Education**
    For education boarding schools should be opened and the students given scholarships

vii. **Permission to use arms**
    For protecting themselves during migration, the pastoralists should be permitted to keep licensed arms

viii. **Help to pastoralists during emergencies**
    Pastoralists should be provided help at the time of epidemics, natural calamities, and accidental deaths in encounters with anti-social elements.

ix. **Representation of pastoralists in different bodies**
    Pastoral representatives should be invited to voice their opinion in different governmental and non-governmental bodies dealing with the welfare of pastoralists.
Trends in Pastoral Development

Current Situation

No reliable statistics are available on pastoralism in India. An important indirect indicator is provided by livestock population trends.

Himalayan Areas

In the Himalayan subtropical mountains the majority of farmers operate mixed crop-livestock farming systems. Land holdings are small and fragmented, consisting mostly of marginal uplands. As a result of growing population, land resources per households are decreasing, with sub-division and fragmentation and land over generations.

Although the number of livestock per household is decreasing, the total number of livestock has not declined enough to match the reduced per capita resource availability. This is because livestock are an integral part of a large majority of subsistence households and must be maintained at a certain minimum threshold. The most common livestock species in the Himalayan region (as exemplified by Himachal Pradesh) is cattle (42.4%), followed by goat (21.89%), sheep (21.07%) and buffaloes (13.73%). The population of livestock in Himachal Pradesh in 1992 was estimated to be 2.2 million head of cattle, 0.7 million buffaloes,
1.1 million sheep and 1.1 million goats (Table 5). The total livestock population in Himachal Pradesh has not increased significantly during the last one and half decade.

**Table 5. Trends in Livestock Population in Himachal Pradesh**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>2098</td>
<td>2106</td>
<td>2174</td>
<td>2241</td>
<td>2165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>1049</td>
<td>1039</td>
<td>1055</td>
<td>1090</td>
<td>1112</td>
<td>1076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>1035</td>
<td>1059</td>
<td>1119</td>
<td>1118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>-5266</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4162</td>
<td>4212</td>
<td>4636</td>
<td>4810</td>
<td>4992</td>
<td>5106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Livestock Census 1992, Government of India.*

An analysis of temporal changes in livestock population and composition from 1978-to 1988 in the UP Hills (“Uttarakhand”) and in Himachal Pradesh from 1982-92 reveals that in the Himalayan region there is a significant increase in the buffalo and goat population, whereas the cattle and sheep population has declined (Tables 6 and 7). The most noticeable change in the mountains is the considerable decline in the sheep population in total herd composition, which is the most important animal species reared by the pastoralists of this region.
Table 6. Livestock Population and Composition in the Indian Himalayas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Species</th>
<th>Central Himalayas (Uttarakhand) 1978-88</th>
<th>Western Himalayas (Himachal Pradesh) 1982-92</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>-5.2</td>
<td>-1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>13.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>-9.1</td>
<td>-8.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>5.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Revenue Department, Livestock Census, Government of Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow

Table 7. Trends in Livestock Population and Composition in the Himalayan Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Composition</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>Sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>↔</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Significant Increase ↔</td>
<td>No change</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
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There is a pressure on the migratory graziers to decrease the number of their livestock. For example, in Himachal Pradesh, sheep and goat grazing is perceived as a threat to the forest resources and the state government is consistently making efforts to discourage goat grazing, which forms an important component of Himalayan pastoralism. That this perceived threat is misplaced and misinformed, is evident from the government’s own records which show that a greater pressure is induced on resources by the cattle population. This kind of a problem exists with all the herd owners of Himalayas as the government consistently discourages the increase in population of sheep and goat through its programmes and policies.

**Western India**

The livestock statistics for Rajasthan show that between 1951 and 1992 there has been a steady rise in livestock populations, except for 1988, when a prolonged drought caused major losses. Contrasting to the situation in the Himalayas, in Rajasthan the general trend is for the earlier dependence on large stock (cattle and camels) to be replaced by an increasing reliance on small stock whose grazing needs are easier to cater for and for whom there are
no social and legal restrictions on slaughtering. The increase in buffalo numbers is linked to the spread of irrigated cultivation and the dairy co-operatives.

During the 40-year period under investigation, the cattle population remained fairly stable. On the other hand, the buffalo and sheep populations more than doubled. Goat numbers have almost trebled. The camel population initially grew quickly, doubling between 1951 and 1961, but then apparently stabilizing since 1988.

**Table 8. Growth of the Livestock Populations in Rajasthan over the last 40 years (in 100,000s)**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camel</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
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If we are concerned with people who are pastoralists by identity and who depend on livestock because of landlessness or very small land holdings, the development of cattle and buffalo populations is not directly relevant since these species are primarily...
kept by landed agricultural groups for whom animal husbandry is a secondary source of income (Rajputs, Jats). Similarly, goat keeping is so widely spread among all castes, that its numbers cannot be correlated to pastoralist livelihoods. However, sheep and camels are owned almost exclusively by specialized, often landless pastoral groups.

**Sheep Pastoralism**

From the early 1970s until the mid-1990s, nomadic sheep pastoralism from Western Rajasthan into areas of intensive agricultural production in Eastern Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana was on the rise and certain pull factors were made responsible (Agrawal, 1999; Kavoori, 1999; Robbins, 1998). In these areas, irrigation had enabled farmers to generate more than one crop. On one hand this meant that more land was enclosed which led to tensions and hostilities. On the other hand, it generated more biomass: crop residues became available more than once a year, creating added opportunities for pastoralists (Agrawal, 1999). At that time, sheep wool still generated a substantial income and, augmented by the sale of lambs for meat, of dung, and sometimes even ghee, this ensured substantial returns, inducing even non-traditional
pastoralists to pursue the option of migration. The trends in sheep and goat population during 1987-1992 are given in Table 9. In his detailed analysis of sheep migration from Western Rajasthan between 1977 and 1993, Kavoori (1999) showed that during this time period, sheep breeding was economically so attractive, that many non-traditional pastoralists also entered the business. Trying to determine whether the social base of pastoralism in Rajasthan had been shrinking or widening, he concluded that there were changes in the social composition of the migrating and pastoral communities. While the Raika (traditional pastoralists) continued to be the largest caste segment, other groups such as Jats, Raputs and Sindhi Muslims had also entered the business.


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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>1520</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>15032</td>
<td>17459</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>3.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>1557</td>
<td>2028</td>
<td>3584</td>
<td>4241</td>
<td>5.43</td>
<td>3.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>1112</td>
<td>1076</td>
<td>1119</td>
<td>1118</td>
<td>-0.66</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu and Kashmir</td>
<td>2493</td>
<td>2945</td>
<td>1396</td>
<td>1767</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>4.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>4727</td>
<td>5430</td>
<td>3888</td>
<td>6287</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>9933</td>
<td>12496</td>
<td>12579</td>
<td>15309</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>5881</td>
<td>5848</td>
<td>5921</td>
<td>6343</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>1.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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However, although there are no quantitative data available since Kavoori concluded his field studies at the beginning of the 1990s, there is ample circumstantial evidence that in the meantime the situation has changed for the worse and that by now sheep breeding has lost much of its profitability. There is a lack of market demand for wool, and in regards to meat production, sheep cannot compete with the more prolific goats. Grazing fees in the neighbouring states whose pasture resources acted as pull factors for migrating sheep, have risen significantly as well. These factors, combined with the constant and increasing fodder shortage, are now causing pastoralists to increasingly opt out of this strategy.

**Goat Pastoralism**

Goat pastoralism is on the increase because of a strong demand for goat meat and due to the drought resistance of this species and its ability to make use of a wide variety of vegetation. Essentially it always escapes starvation. According to Robbins (1994), in Rajasthan meat production grew 47 per
cent between 1986 and 1993. Previously, a small number of goats could be found in most rural households, but keeping large flocks of goats exclusively for meat production is a relatively recent phenomenon that could develop because of the increased purchasing power of India’s urban middle class. Whether it is an ecologically desirable development is another question.

**Camel Pastoralism**

Camel pastoralism is in precipitous decline. The Raika, Rajasthan’s camel breeding caste who earlier took care of the breeding herds of the Maharajahs, made a living from breeding camels for the purpose of supplying them to farmers and transport entrepreneurs. The camel is the only one of India’s domestic animals whose population is decreasing. While the demand for camels as draft animals may have diminished in certain more affluent areas, for many of the poor camel ownership still represents a very desirable asset since it provides a reasonable income sufficient to support a family. The reason for the decline of the camel population is therefore rather a reflection of the crisis of camel breeding and pastoralism rather than of a lack of market demand and need.
Many traditional camel breeders are giving up their occupation, because it has become almost impossible to provide breeding herds with a proper nutritional support base due to the closure of the Aravalli hills and the disappearance of fallow and wastelands. The reproductive rate of camels is very low and a fairly large number of female camels have to be kept to produce a yearly crop of male offspring that is sufficient to provide a reasonable income. Nutritional deficits have also increased the vulnerability of camels to disease.

Although the Indian camel population rose from 1,001,000 in 1987 to 1,035,000 in 1992, this overall development hides the fact that during the same time period, the number of young camels (defined as those under 3 years) decreased by more than 50% or by an average of 13.8% per year, signalling a dramatic decline in breeding activities. This trend is confirmed by interviews and surveys of camel breeders perceptions undertaken by LPPS (an NGO) which indicated that 76% of them had experienced declining herd sizes to a level where they were no longer sufficient to support a family. With respect to camel pastoralists, an increasing human
population apparently depends on fewer and fewer livestock.

**Cattle Pastoralism**

In the past, many pastoralists were specialised in the breeding of draught cattle. Some of India’s most prized cattle breeds such as Gir and Kankrej were the product of nomadic breeders (Rabari) who supplied bullocks to sedentary farmers. The breeding skills of these cattle nomads generated attention during the pre-Independence period, but more recent studies of them are noticeably absent. This is surprising, since the demand for draught cattle may have slackened, but certainly has not disappeared. Moreover, especially in drought years the media frequently depict huge trucks of more or less emaciated cattle to illustrate the plight of the rural people, so cattle pastoralists certainly persist, even if no further details are available. In addition to nomadic cattle breeders, there are also cattle traders belonging to the Bhat caste who can be seen moving herds from Marwar to Mewar to exploit price differentials. This is another adaptation that urgently requires attention.
Policies on Pastoralism and Past Interventions

Although pastoral production makes a considerable contribution to the economy, there is a remarkable absence of policies addressing its short-term or long-term development. The problem is simply being ignored and there currently appear to be no policies that explicitly address pastoral development, nor is there even a central policy on rangeland development. Neither of the two Union ministries (Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Environment and Forest) whose portfolios impinge on the two central concerns of pastoralists - livestock and pasture - has evidenced any inclination in dealing with these matters from the perspective of pastoralists.

With regards to livestock, early development plans of the Department of Animal Husbandry of the Ministry of Agriculture laid the emphasis on development through crossbreeding or hybridization programmes. Later there was some diversification into pasture development and feed & fodder resource development.

The goal was to increase the productivity of livestock as well as the pasture resources. Some of the
examples of development interventions by the State are presented below:

**Crossbreeding**

The target of animal hybridization is to get a high yield of products from the animals. The crossbreeding of Indian animals with the exotic breeds is believed to be in consonance with the changing needs of the society, which developed across the whole country after Independence (Singh, 1990). There have been many initiatives of crossbreeding undertaken in the Himalayan states as well as in the Western drylands.

*a. Himalayan Region:*

The development programmes implemented by the Animal Husbandry departments across all the Himalayan states have always focused on raising milk production. There 24 districts of the Himalayan states were adopted under the second phase of the Operation Flood, a milk cooperative scheme. The Operation Flood was planned and implemented for cattle development and therefore the programme covered only the agricultural communities and not the pastoral communities of the Himalayas. Similarly the cross breeding programmes for yaks have a target of catering to the agricultural communities through
crossing the local yaks with the cow to produce Dzos which are extensively used in the highland agriculture.

The only development programme which is well-known amongst the Himalayan pastoralists is wool production. The mountain sheep wool is graded as one of the best quality wool used for making winter clothing and carpets etc. Prior to the Fourth Five Year Plan the Ministry of Agriculture had set up an ad-hoc committee for formulating a sheep breeding policy. Under the programme, large sheep breeding farms, importation of exotic sheep in large numbers, improvement in processes of sheep shearing and wool grading, strengthening of sheep breeding farms and market organisation were planned. The idea was to educate and guide the wool producers to produce good quality wool through better sheep husbandry practices. For the development of sheep and wool industry a substation of the Central Sheep and Wool Research Institute (ICAR) in Avikanagar was also established in Kullu valley at Gersa in Himachal Pradesh. The programme included crossbreeding of Australian Merino sheep with the local sheep and formation of the wool cooperatives. The programme did not turn out to be a big success because the wool grading systems and pricing systems of the
government cooperatives were non-practical and most of the pastoralists preferred selling their produce to private traders through middlemen.

These kinds of initiatives were also taken in other Himalayan states. Today, the sustainability and adaptability of the crossbred livestock to the Himalayan environment, effectiveness of increased productivity vis-à-vis resource-use and comparative quality of the produce are all in question.

These initiatives of crossbreeding have given rise to few concerns:

- These initiatives disregard the strength of the local breed which is well adapted to the local Himalayan environment as well as to coexisting with other livestock such as goats.
- The emphasis of the programme is more towards the livestock kept by the agricultural communities, and large herds kept by the pastoralists are largely ignored.
- The crossbreeding programme amongst the pastoral livestock owners is scattered in its application and thus the effectiveness of the programme is not clear.
Western Drylands:

This part of India has always been famous for the quality of its indigenous livestock breeds, all of which were developed by pastoralists. Well known breeds include Gir, Kankrej, Tharparkar, Rathi and Nagauri cattle, Bikaneri and Jaisalmeri camels, more than 8 distinct sheep breeds, as well as Marwari and Sirohi goats. The local cattle breeds, such as Gir and Kankrej have been exported to Latin America and other parts of the world, having established worldwide reputation as prime beef breeds. Indian pastoralists whose animal breeding skills amazed colonial veterinarians developed the founder stock. However, because of the past decades’ official emphasis on crossbreeding, these breeds have now become almost extinct in India. Although the government has woken up to the problem and would like to remedy the situation, it does not have the linkages to the pastoralists who keep the remaining animals and is therefore at a loss about how to establish conservation and development programmes for these valuable genetic resources. On a global level - vide the Convention on Biodiversity - there is increasing recognition that plant and animal genetic resources are best conserved in the surroundings in which they are developed. Moreover, there are
demands that the indigenous communities that have acted as stewards of these resources must be provided with benefits for their contribution to the global common goods. This idea is gradually gaining ground and holds out some hope for pastoralists as well, since they play a crucial role in the conservation and sustainable use of livestock breeds which harbour genetic traits that have disappeared in high performance breeds (Köhler-Rolfes, 2000).

In Rajasthan, a specialised sheep and wool department was established in the 1960s for the purpose of ensuring the national wool supply. Its infrastructure consisted of 140 extension centres, 33 Artificial Insemination centres and 6 mobile laboratories. It has now been dismantled and its activities have been reintegrated into those of the department of Animal Husbandry. Its activities focused on upgrading the local sheep breeds through hybridisation with Russian Merino, Rambouillet and Corriedale. Rams with 50% exotic blood were sold to sheep pastoralists at a subsidised rate, however the programme could not be established because of a high mortality rate of lambs and because of reselling of the rams (Ray, 1999).
Pasture Development

Pastures have been targeted in the context of many development programmes, including (a) soil and water conservation, (b) fertilizer management, (c) burning and weed management and (d) silvi-pastoral approaches. The underlying assumption has been that most Himalayan grasslands are sensitive and have limited regeneration capacity, and that open grazing is harmful to the Himalayan environment. These programmes have simplistically advocated a ban on open grazing and introduction of stall feeding in Himalayan regions. The effectiveness of these programmes is difficult to assess in the context of continuing and developing Himalayan pastoralism.

The programmes on feed and fodder resources were based on supplementing the animal diet through portable feed. Since most of the pastoral communities keep large herds of the animals, which cannot be stall-fed, the programme has mainly benefited the animals kept by Himalayan agricultural communities.

Despite all these efforts by the government, Himalayan pastoralism is declining gradually and there are many small pastoral groups in Himalayas who
have completely switched over to other economic avenues. There are some research studies being carried out on various issues of Himalayan pastoralism and it is clear that pastoral development programmes can be successful only when pastoral livelihood research will be conducted in a holistic perspective. Pastoral development programmes should in particular address the needs and aspirations of herders and respect and utilize the vast body of indigenous knowledge that pastoralists possess about pasture resources.

The past trends of pastoral development programmes have seriously ignored the logic of migratory pastoralism in Himalayas. The non-participation of the pastoralists and their indigenous knowledge system is apparent in the present development programmes. These programmes have been very target-specific and were intended to achieve short-term productivity goals, which also contradict the prevalent resource use practices in the Himalayan states. There are problems with this kind of approach because no efforts have been made to see the compatibility between the productivity targets and the existing availability of resources. And the emphasis has always been on technology: producing
high quality livestock through crossbreeding or increasing the pasture quality through the introduction of high yielding fodder varieties. To date only 38 per cent of sheep in Himachal Pradesh are crossbred whereas the pressure for increasing wool yields is eminent across all the local pastoral groups. Ultimately the suitability and viability of crossbred animals and high yield varieties of fodder is being questioned in the Himalayan environment.

**Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP)**

This programme was launched in 1974 with the support of the World Bank and covered about 50 villages by the mid-1980s. It involved organising sheep breeders into co-operatives and enclosing pasturelands into 100 ha plots for the purpose of development. While the pasture development aspect failed, the remnants of the co-operative societies still exist today and the federation of sheep breeders was able to influence policy decisions by the BJP government in their favour (Agrawal, 1999).

In conclusion, it can be stated that the policy factors which are responsible for the unfavourable pastoral development trends include non-holistic framework for development policy formulation, agricultural bias, limited funds/low priority, lack of
knowledge about the pastoral production systems and non-participation of the local communities.

**Autonomous Development**

The experiences of the last decades have shown that, when genuine economic opportunities open up, pastoralists are quick to take advantage of them and have even overcome age-old social restrictions relating to the commercial production of milk and meat. As in many pastoral societies throughout the world, in traditional Rajasthani culture fresh milk was not meant for commercial utilization, but consumed by the family and offered to guests as a mark of respect and hospitality. Milk was marketed only in the form of ghee. Hindu beliefs also prevent the selling of animals, and in the case of cattle, these are legally enforced in the northern part of India.

Examples of pastoralists successfully moving into newly developing market niches, include urban and peri-urban milk marketing which is largely in the hand of Bharvads, but also of Rabari; switch to large scale goat herding for meat production by Rabari and camel milk marketing by Rabari in the Mewar part of Rajasthan and in northern Madhya Pradesh. In the Himalayan region with the help of a local NGOs, the buffalo breeding Gujjars around Dehradun have
started to market their milk as “natural” to differentiate it positively from the “synthetic” milk produced by farmers who artificially augment their milk yields through supplementary feeding of urea and administration of various hormones, including oxytocin.

**Camel Milk Marketing**

Rabari from the Mewar area in southern Rajasthan began marketing small amounts of camel milk as long as twenty years ago, purportedly driven by extreme poverty. From these small beginnings, camel milk marketing expanded and is now practiced in many towns throughout Southern Rajasthan and also in parts of Madhya Pradesh where enterprising milk producers migrated to. The milk is sold mostly to tea stalls where it is mixed with that of other animals. In the town of Jawra, camel milk composes an estimated 20 per cent of the total milk volume sold. Nevertheless, it is an activity that has received no acknowledgement from official side and proceeds entirely in the non-formal sector.

**Camel Meat Marketing**

Selling camels for meat is another, even more strident traditional taboo. It is an open secret that during the camel market in Pushkar, large numbers of
camels (including females) are sold for slaughter in West Bengal and Karnataka. Caste leaders are concerned about this situation and bewail the fact that middlemen now go directly to villages in southern Rajasthan to purchase entire herds also for the purpose of slaughter. This development does not bode well for the survival of the camel as the most drought-resistant element of Rajasthan’s agricultural biodiversity, but from the perspective of pastoralists it is a rational response to a scenario where camel breeding is no longer economically worthwhile.

**Prognosis on Pastoralism**

Future prospects for pastoralism are generally discouraging throughout India and, in view of dramatically decreased common property resources, removal of trade barriers for imported livestock products, and population pressure, the situation for pastoralists looks almost hopeless. On the other hand, pastoralism has been diagnosed dead many times before and so far has been remarkably resilient, also due to some inbuilt social and cultural strength of pastoral communities. At a time when nomadic pastoralists became settled in the rest of the world, nomadism actually increased in Rajasthan.
Regarding the likely trends of pastoral development in the Himalayas, there are threats of perceptions where pastoralism is considered as a non-sustainable economic process and a greater productive efficiency is assumed for capital-and technology-intensive sedentary livestock management systems (Karol, 1999). This would inevitably lead towards the discouragement and abandoning of nomadic pastoralism, but sounds unlikely for Himalayan pastoralism because Himalayan resources are spread across various altitudes and ecological niches and the region makes a case for perseverance of migratory pastoralism in the absence of any other viable alternative.

The new perspective on pastoral development looks at the relevance and effectiveness of western concepts which have been applied in developing countries. There is now an increased appreciation for the complexity and ecological and economic efficacy of traditional pastoral systems. It provides hope that the vast indigenous knowledge herders possess will be better understood and used in designing new interventions. Greater awareness of the need to understand existing pastoral systems should also help ensure that the goals and needs of pastoralists are
incorporated into new programmes and the local herders become active participants in the development process.

In the proceedings of a Regional Expert Meeting in Nepal on Rangelands and Pastoral Development in 1996 in the Hindu Kush-Himalayas, the following priority actions were identified vis-à-vis pastoral development (ICIMOD, 1996):

- Develop programmes to study traditional systems and perceptions of pastoralists' problems
- Improve people’s participation and community organization
- Conduct applied study of pasture resources
- Create opportunities for two-way exchange of information between pastoralists and professionals
- Determine the extent and severity of pastureland degradation
- Develop appropriate land tenure legislation and policies

In concrete terms the researchers have noted that the most important development intervention for Himalayan pastoralists would be that of reducing
isolationism and forging better links between pastoralists and external resources. Traditional pastoral management systems in the Himalayan region were designed around mobility for favourable forage conditions and the most important input required is to improve the market channels for the better prospects of the Himalayan pastoralists.

A major factor transforming the situation of pastoralists in the new Millennium would be the globalisation of trade in livestock products. As consumers become more aware about hygiene and food quality, the market may shift against pastoralists and more towards enclosed system. One of the biggest apprehensions pertains to the effect of removal of quantitative restrictions on the import of livestock products. Will import of cheap wool, milk and meat sound the death knell for pastoral livelihoods?

One factor that could reinforce pastoralism in a positive fashion is the rapid depletion of groundwater resources and lowering of the water table in Rajasthan and other areas that may force farmers to step back from year-round cultivation and open up fallow areas. Furthermore, Government might also look into more sustainable land use strategies and
investigate area development plans that favour pastoralism.

**Institutions, which speak for/Represent the Interests of Major Pastoralist Groups**

It is becoming increasingly clear that grassroots-level pastoral organizations or associations provide a path to empower pastoralists. Pastoral associations are not new to nomadic societies as traditional grazing management practices often relied on group herding arrangements and informal group tenure of grazing land. In many areas, vestiges and new variations on traditional pastoral organizations exist. Pastoral associations could help facilitate the participation of pastoralists in the design and implementation of development programs, improve the government’s understanding of pastoral systems, contribute to formulating more appropriate policies for land use, and reduce the level of government resources required for monitoring land use. Some of the institutions/organizations which represent the interests of the pastoralists in India, are discussed in this section.

**Himalayan Region**

There are quite a few government and non-government institutions, which represent the
concerns of pastoralists in the Himalayan states. Beside these institutions there are a few academic organizations/institutions, involved in research related to Himalayan pastoralism.

**Government Institutions**

Departments of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Environment and Forests, and Revenue jointly implement various development programmes for the Himalayan pastoralists:

- Animal Husbandry departments are functional in all the Himalayan states, as separate or subsidiary units of Departments of Agriculture. These departments are essentially involved in livestock development programmes, but their major focus is on settled farmers.
- Revenue and Forest Departments are responsible for the pasture development in the five Himalayan states.

**Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs)/Institutions**

Some NGOs working in the Himalayas realize the special place of pastoralism there and being in close contact with people are better placed than the state administration to be sensitive to the social,
economic and environmental situation concerning Himalayan pastoralism. Some of the NGOs, which are active in Himalayan region, are discussed below:

*Leh Nutritional Project (LNP):*

Leh Nutrition Project is based at Leh in Ladakh of Jammu and Kashmir. The organisation is working amongst the Changpa nomads of Rupshu plains for their integrated rural development, which includes the predominant issue of health and education.

*Contact Address:*

Dr. Samphel

Leh Nutrition Project, LNP

Leh-Ladakh-194101 (Jammu and Kashmir)

Phone: 01982-52807

*Society for Advancement of Village Economy (SAVE):*

Society for the Advancement of Village Economy is based in the Kullu district of Himachal Pradesh and they are trying to fight for the pasture rights of displaced local Gaddi pastorals after the notification has been issued for the Great Himalayan National Park.
Contact Address:

Mr. Iqbal Singh
Society for Advancement of Village Economy (SAVE)
Aut- District Mandi (Himachal Pradesh)
Phone: 01905-79234

Rural Litigation and Employment Kendra (RLEK):

Rural Litigation and Employment Kendra (RLEK), is working for the land rights of Gujjar pastorals in Rajaji National Park, Uttaranchal. They are also running programmes for education and employment generation initiative amongst this pastoral population.

Contact Address:

Mr. Avdesh Kaushal
Rural Litigation and Entitlement Kendra
21-East Canal, Road, Dehradun 248 001 (India)
Phone: 91-135-745539, 746071
Fax: 91-135-656881

Sikkim Biodiversity and Ecotourism:
This institution is based in Gangtok, Sikkim and works closely with the high altitude population of Yuksam valley in the Kangchendzonga National Park. The idea of their programme is to focus upon the attributes and values of the local environment to develop Ecotourism in the area.

Contact Address:

Mr. Eklabya Sharma
Sikkim Biodiversity and Ecotourism,
C/O G B Pant Institute for the Himalayan Environment and Development, Todong, Gangtok, Sikkim
Phone: 03592-31673

Center for Science and Environment (CSE):

CSE is an environmental organisation and has been conducting applied research and also publishing papers on the myth of Himalayan pastoralism and environmental degradation.

Contact Address:

Director
Center for Science and Environment
Community-based Organisations

Largely community-based organisations work alongside the local Panchayati Raj systems and there are also a few cooperative societies and trade unions of pastoralists that have been formed in the Himalayan states.

The Pipon system amongst the Lachen and Lachung pastoral groups in Sikkim, and the Goba, who acts as a political head of the Changpa nomads, are some of the CBOs. There is also a trade union of Gaddis in Himachal Pradesh, established in 1993 to speak for the causes of Gaddi pastorals in the region. Similarly, there are some trade unions of pastoralists functioning in Dharamsala and Kangra regions of Himachal Pradesh and also amongst the Gujjar pastorals of Uttrakhand as well.

Western Region

Ber Palak Sang

This is a federation of shepherd societies (353 societies) composed of nearly 10,000 households from semi-arid western districts of Rajasthan which is chaired by Bhopalaram Raika who maintains close...
connections to the BJP party (Agrawal, 1999). The previous BJP government often intervened in favour of pastoralists in the context of disputes with the Central government over access to protected forest areas.

**Pashu Palak Mitr**

Pashu Palak Mitr (literally “friend of the animal breeder”) is a monthly newspaper that has been serving as a communication tool for Raika/Rebari throughout India, for the last five years. It currently has 1570 subscribers/members in 14 states. It has been successful in making some of the problems faced by pastoralists known to the (state) government.

*Contact Address:*

Umaid Singh Rebari (editor and founder)

24A Shiv Colony, Dhani Gujran, Vidhyanagar, Jaipur, Rajasthan

**Lokhit Pashu-Palak Sansthan (LPSS)**

This is a registered voluntary society (NGO) with the specific objective of improving pastoral livelihoods through advocacy, facilitation and support projects. It developed out of research with camel pastoralists and has a strong base among camel
breeders of the Godwar area. Its activities consist of camel health services, training of pastoralists in use of modern medicines, research and documentation on ethnoveterinary medicine, support for camel milk marketing, camel breed improvement, income generation for women, exposure tours etc. LPPS successfully fought the ban on camel milk marketing that was precipitated by the High Court in Jodhpur on the grounds of camel milk being a human health hazard by bringing it to the Supreme Court in Delhi.

**Contact Address:**
Hanwant Singh Rathore
Desuri Road, Sadri 306702, District Pali, Rajasthan
Phone: 02934-85086. Email: lpps@sify.com

**Godwar Unt Palak Samiti**
This is an organisation of camel breeders in the Godwar area that works closely in association with LPPS.

**Contact Address:**
Kalyan Singh,
Bali, District Pali, Rajasthan. (Can be contacted via LPPS)
Institute of Development Studies

Some of the staff members of IDS have also worked on pastoral issues.

Contact Address:
Director, Institute of Development Studies (IDS)
8B Jhalana Institutional Area, Jaipur 302004,
Rajasthan Phone: 0141-515726. E-mail
sunil@ids.org

Marag or Maldhari Rural Action Group

Maldhari Action Group is an NGO in Gujarat that seeks to “create greater levels of awareness among the Maldharis, to organise them into different groups and to introduce specific development programmes within these community -based structures”. Its activities focus on formal and informal educational activities, group building for developmental activities, animal husbandry and pastureland development (with a focus on better management of natural resources) and upgrading skills of Maldhari women in their traditional crafts.

Contact Address:
Ms. Neeta Pandya,
Chamunda Road, Chotila, District Surendranagar, Gujarat
Phone: 02751-50294.

LIFE (Local Livestock For Empowerment of Rural People), an initiative for endogenous livestock development and community based management of animal genetic resources.
Contact Address:
W.M.K. Warsi (wmkwarsi@yahoo.com),
C/O LPPS, Desuri Road, Sadri 306702, District Pali, Rajasthan
Phone: 011-2410855.
Mr. Warsi also acts as the India representative of the CME (Conseil Mondial des Elevéurs/World Herders Council)

KRAPAVIS (is working with Gujjar buffalo pastoralists)

Contact Address:
Aman Singh, 5/218 Aravali Vihar, Kala Kua, Alwar 301001, Rajasthan
Phone: 0144-344863

Network for Livestock and Pastoral Development in Western India.
This is a newly established forum of rural development NGOs interested in improving their livestock related activities, as well as in advocacy for more appropriate policies. It meets four times a year.
Smaller NGOs in Gujarat initiated by pastoralists or working with them include, 
**Gopal Sena** in Ganesh Nagar, Bhuj, **Gujarat Jan Jagaran Sangh** in Bhuj, **Manav Kalyan Trust** in Tehsil Bhachau, **Mangal Mandir** in Bhujodi (Tehsil Bhuj), **Dhebar Rebari Sara Seva Trust** in Anjar (near Gandhidham).

The **Vivekanandan Training Institute** and the **Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP)** are larger organisations who work with pastoralists, especially in the context of resettlement around the Gir sanctuary.

The **Gujarat Gopalak Vikas Board** is a state organized livestock development board whose chairman is Arjunbhai Rebari. Its goals include the provision of education, general welfare, treatment of animals; pasture development and ensuring information flow to the government.

**Gujarat Rajya Bher ve Un Vikas Nigam** (Gujarat State Sheep and Wool Development Corporation) also has a Rebari as chairman. It assists in marketing of wool and also supports vaccination campaigns.

**Southern Region**
ANTHRA, an NGO of female veterinarians that works with Kuruba shepherds in Karnataka.

Contact Address:
Dr. Nitya Ghotge,
Shop F, Lantana Gardens, N.D.A. Road, Bavadhan, Pune 411021, Maharashtra Phone: 02139-51282. Fax 02139-51165. E-mail anthra@pn2.vsnl.net.in

Dr. Sagari Ramdas, 124 Vayupuri,
Secunderabad 500094, Andhra Pradesh
Phone: 040-7113167, Fax 040-7110977. E-mail anthra@hd2.vsnl.net.in

SEVA (is working with a variety of pastoral groups in southern India, incl. Toda and Vembur sheep breeders, encouraging community-based conservation of their indigenous breeds; is part of the LIFE initiative, and might be in a position to provide information on South Indian pastoralism.

Contact Address:
P. Vivekenandan, 45 TPMN Nagar, Virattipathu,
Madurai 625010, Tamil Nadu Phone: 0452-780082, E-mail: numvali@vsnl.com

Karnataka Dhangar Gowli Vikas Sangh is a voluntary organisation for the development of the Dhangar Gowli community in Karnataka.
Contact Address:
W.D. Patil, Secretary,
Kaulapur Wada, Waghwade Post, Khanpur Taluka,
Belgaum Dist. Karnataka – 590014
Institutional Arrangements which enable the Concerns of Pastoralists to be represented and thereby ensure Research and Development are truly Demand-led

The existence and problems of pastoralists in India have barely filtered into the consciousness of the general public and policy makers. If there is any awareness at all, then pastoralism is regarded as a way of life that is backward and doomed. It is this attitude that requires change. Pastoralism needs to be given recognition and promoted as a land use strategy that is ecologically and economically appropriate in certain marginal areas and basically has the same value in some areas as cultivation and wildlife conservation in others, besides providing positive reinforcements to them. Moreover, pastoralists make an important contribution to the conservation of biodiversity through their sustainable use of indigenous livestock germplasm. Making planners, policy makers and advisors recognize this situation would mean that a major part of the battle was won.

At the moment the groundwork has not been laid for achieving such a change in perspective. There is hardly any interaction between pastoralists and the
actors that could affect their situation. They essentially occupy different spheres that are very far apart and not at all interconnected. Building bridges across this gap, “institutionalizing vertical and horizontal linkages” so that regular and systematic interaction between the pastoralists and the concerned agencies can take place, must be given greatest priority.

As already mentioned, there is currently no government or non-government institution at the national level that supports pastoral causes. If such an institution is to be built, it is more likely to be successful - and act in a demand-driven way - if it is constructed from the bottom with great care being taken that it receive its impetus from the field, rather than from the top. The first priority must therefore be to strengthen and link field level and grassroots organizations composed of or working with pastoralists, as well as isolated research projects addressing relevant issues.

For the Himalayan region, the existing institutions are predominantly involved either in specialised research or planning development programmes with specific pastoral communities in Himalayas. Generally their highly focussed work is on
very specific issues and communities, which makes them susceptible to producing results that are contextual and based on subjective assumptions. At present, the foremost requirement is to have a holistic knowledge base on Himalayan pastoralism with an extensive coordination of all the institutions involved in Himalayan pastoralism.

For the western drylands it can be stated that there is a need for more rural development NGOs to get interested in working with pastoralists or pastoral associations and to develop the necessary attitude and approaches. Although there are more than a thousand NGOs working in the rural areas of Rajasthan and Gujarat, only a couple of them (LPPS, Marag) attempt to address the problems of pastoralists.

This is due to several factors:

- The activities of NGOs are largely driven by donor preferences, i.e. concentrate on those types of projects that are currently en vogue and therefore likely to be funded - such as watershed development. Donors so far have not shown interest in pastoralists.
NGOs also lack orientation to pursue work with pastoralists and to appreciate their positive qualities. If they involve in animal husbandry projects, they team up with the government departments in promoting A.I. and improved breeds. Instead they should be motivated and trained to understand and document the indigenous knowledge and institutions of pastoralists, as well as their significance.

The second interface that needs to be built is between NGOs/pastoralists on one side and policy makers and research institutions on the other. Many NGOs concentrate on local activities only without concern for effecting policy changes and even refuse to cooperate with governments. Examples of linkages between NGOs and research organizations are also virtually non-existent.

At the local level, it is also of crucial importance, that the forest department is enticed to work with pastoralists.

Thirdly, there is a need to combine the voices of pastoralists so they can be heard. While there are some instances where pastoral leaders have managed to effect changes in specific cases or the context of a
certain crisis, these are isolated events and too few and far between to achieve sustained impact.

There is thus a need for a body that collates information on the various pastoral groups and facilitates exchange, communication and mutual support between them. This could lead towards building regional pastoral platforms and a national pastoral forum. Ideally this in turn should be linked up with pastoral organizations in other countries for establishing a global forum.

Other responsibilities of such a national level pastoral organization or forum would be to create horizontal linkages between the various government departments that could influence the situation of pastoralists, such as forest/environment, agriculture, revenue and industry. It should strive to establish the credentials of pastoralism as a separate livelihood strategy from agriculture. For this it should be facilitated with its own administrative set up where all the government departments like agriculture, forest, revenue, environment, industry cooperate to sustain and develop pastoralism.

But merely representing pastoralists is not enough and it must be emphasized that creating such
a platform will not be sufficient until and unless requisite changes are achieved in the institutions and organizations that are supposed to listen. Animal husbandry and veterinary professionals have to change their attitude and need to be equipped with better communication techniques. Training in participatory approaches should be incorporated into the academic curricula. The research institutions, including universities, also need to be enabled to respond to requests for researching issues that are brought to their attention from bottom, especially from pastoralists; such structures for creating a bottom-up research agenda are currently not available.

“MORE PRO-PASTORAL ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS ARE NEEDED IN INDIA.”
Topics in Pastoral Development that Represent “Researchable Constraints” for Livestock Production Programme

Vijay Paul Sharma
Ilse Köhler-Rollefson
John Morton

Pastoralism is in crisis globally, both as a result of man-made and natural constraints, and internal and external influences. Even though the buzzword “people’s participation” is on everybody’s agenda, there has been very little progress in truly empowering and allowing participation by pastoralists in their own development process. As already mentioned, of all the pastoral regions of the world, Indian pastoralism is the worst documented by far, with uncertainty about ethnic identities and confused descriptions of pastoral systems. However, there is a growing interest by Government in tackling the issue of pastoral development for socio-economic and socio-political reasons. Therefore, it appears an opportune time to direct research efforts and funds into this sector. Some of the needs for researched, will include:

➢ A detailed study of the important pastoral communities in India to understand their needs
and problems, traditional livestock production systems, strategies and practices to create awareness amongst the policy advisors and decision makers to frame appropriate policies

- Given the lack of data on Indian pastoralism, the generation of a more reliable database to understand the problems relating to pastoralism through development of indicators of poverty and relative poverty, as well as monitoring mechanisms for the size of pastoral populations and their demographic trends

- A detailed investigation of policies adopted by various State Governments towards Pastoralists and selected case studies of National Parks/Protected Areas to understand their policies and management strategies to identify appropriate policy framework for the welfare of pastoralists.

- The generation of timely and appropriate information about Indigenous Knowledge and pastoralists’ coping mechanisms in the face of environmental and socio-economic stresses and pressures; and the efficacy of these coping mechanisms; filling the knowledge gap in pastoral issues, while creating a critical mass of local and international resource persons.
- An adaptive Study on impact of livestock grazing on biodiversity conservation including scientists from different disciplines, practitioners, policy makers, NGOs and other stakeholders (Larger project)

- The enhancement of the capacity of grassroot pastoral communities and NGOs and facilitate policy development and/or reform in line with the needs and constraints of the pastoralists through participatory process

The identification, analysis and diffusion of successful experiences for adoption by local level people through case studies

- Development of a model for improving access of pastoralists to relevant information (Training and Extension)

- Merging/blending of indigenous/ethnoveterinary with modern knowledge to control animal diseases

- Value addition to the indigenous breeds and livestock products that increases economic returns, e.g. goat milk (cheese), camel milk (health food), camel wool and leather and institutional arrangements for marketing
The scope for pastoral production as a variety of “ecological animal husbandry” and certification

Feasibility of pasture – especially silvipasture - development, not from a technical angle, but from a social and institutional angle. Many Government Organizations and NGOs are engaged in pasture development – but how successful have these projects been? Does this represent a viable option for creating grazing opportunities for pastoralists?

The compatibility of the conservation of wildlife and of indigenous livestock breeds? Are there non-exclusive or co-conservation concepts that do not require expulsion of pastoralists from protected areas?

The development and political acceptance of regional land use plans that do not discriminate against pastoralists
Reference


ATKINSON (1888) Gazetteer of N.W. Province, Himalayan Districts.


GTZ Programme on “Management of Agrobiodiversity in Rural Areas”, Eschborn (Germany).


WESTPHAL-HELLBUSCH, S. (1975) Changes in the Meaning of Ethnic Names as Exemplified by the
Jat, Rabari, Bharvad, and Charan in Northwestern India.


Socio-Economic profile of Dodhi Gujjars in Jammu and Kashmir

Ruhi Rafiq

ABSTRACT
This paper focuses on the socio-economic profile of Dodhi Gujjars. It analyses the typical characteristics featuring their life and organizational pattern among Dodhi Gujjars and other Gujjars of the community. This chapter deals with all the important institutions including economic, religious, Marriage and family in the context of Dodhi Gujjars. The paper gives an insight in the life of Dodhi Gujjars of Udhampur city.

INTRODUCTION
The word ‘tribe’ is generally used for a ‘socially cohesive unit, associated with a territory, the members of which regard them as politically autonomous’. Often a tribe possesses a distinct dialect and distinct cultural traits. A tribe, is a social group of humans connected by a shared system of values and organized for mutual care, defence, and survival beyond that which could be attained by a lone individual or family.
The tribals, who roughly constitute about 8 percent of the total population of the country, are regarded as the oldest ethnic group. Their distinct socio-cultural milieu makes them as a distinct group with a separate identity. These factors along with the geographical conditions of their habitations, impose upon them isolation from the main stream of national life and insulation from the currents of change. Their primitive mode of production and practices further pushes them down on the social hierarchy and drives them to live under conditions of abject poverty and conditions of extreme backwardness. The Britishers were the first people who made an attempt to break their isolation through extension of their administrative apparatus. However, their attempt was loaded, more, with self-interest rather than being a philanthropic one because the opening of their areas to outsiders made their positions further vulnerable and weak and paved way for the systematic exploitations of their forest resources and other natural vegetations. Ever since then, tribal development has become and has been a subject of great attention for academicians, planners and administrators. Many impressive schemes and programmes have been conceptualized and launched with the view to address and ameliorate the socio-
economic conditions of the tribals. After independence, the governments Endeavour has been to bring the tribes to the mainstream of development. The subsequent provisions in the preamble and State Directive Policy in the Constitution project their commitment and subsequent amendment in the clauses of the various acts reaffirms their will to implement it. However, with the passage of time, it has become clear that all these provisions, schemes and interventions have only provided marginal difference or relief to the general majority of tribal population; it has, on the contrary, fractured this rather homogenous group further and has given rise to a new class of elite with advanced education and training, who have now joined the government to manage the administrative apparatus generally in their own favour. (Chacko, 2005).

**LIVING CONDITIONS**

Dodhi Gujjar in Udhampur District live mostly in kacha houses. They have low level of standard of life as they cannot afford to have basic facilities of life which are now very much important for people to maintain their minimum standard of life. Gujjars are the backward community of the state, having kacha houses. They have very low source of income and
cannot afford to have good house, good food, good education and better health facilities. Following table represents the type of housing shared by Dodhi Gujjars:

**TYPE OF HOUSE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of house</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pacca</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Pacca</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katcha</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table reveals that 10% of the respondents live in semi-pacca house, 90% live in katcha houses and nobody has a pucca house. This means that that they don’t have proper housing facilities, they are mostly poor and not able to afford a pacca house.

**LEVEL OF SATISFACTION FROM HOUSING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Highly Satisfied</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un-satisfied</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table reveals that 26% of the respondents are satisfied and 74% of the respondents are unsatisfied with their housing conditions.

J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages
Srinarag/Jammu
In this study the area of the study was completely rural. 100% of the respondents didn’t have any toilet facility, they go in open for toilet purposes which shows that they are very backward in this modern time. All the respondents said that they use wood for cooking purposes as they can’t afford a gas connection.

**PROPER WATER FACILITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of area</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balli-Nallah</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battal</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakhari</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakhani</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gandala</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table reveals that 23 respondents said that they have proper water facility in their area and 27 respondents said that they don’t have proper water facility in their area. This means that maximum respondents don’t have proper water facility. Respondents from Balli Nallah and Jakheni mostly have Government water connections in their houses and have better water facilities than other areas taken in this research. The inhabitants of Battal, Jhakhar, and Gandala do not have water connections in their areas, they collect water from Bowli’s, springs and
one or two public taps available in their areas. They have to cover larger distances to collect water for their daily use and drinking purposes and it creates lot of difficulties for them. All of the respondents admitted that they had electricity facility in their area. This is one of the positive aspects of the study. This is due to their close proximity to Udhampur city.

**AVAILABILITY OF HEALTH FACILITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of area</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balli-Nallah</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakhar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakhani</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gandala</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table reveals that only 5 respondents have health facility in their area and 45 did not have health facility in their area. Only Gandala residents have health facility as there is Government Dispensary in their panchayat. All of the respondents in this study said that they go District hospital or to a private clinic in case of any health problem. They face lot of difficulty in reaching Udhampur District Hospital, some of the patient’s die on way while travelling to Udhampur District Hospital which is very unfortunate for them.
All the respondents in this study said that the sources of food items for their family is through public distribution system and else through open market, they said that price of food items now a days is very high and as such they can’t buy all food items from the market. Moreover they cannot afford to buy all essential food items for their family because they cannot afford it.

**ECONOMIC BACKGROUND**

Pastoral economy is another aspect of economic organization of the tribes in India. Most of the Indian tribes rear cattle for a variety of purposes but when people breed and rear cattle for commercial purposes and makes it the source of livelihood, they may be said to be living under pastoral economy. The Indian pastoralists usually do not lead a settled life and become wanderers and nomads only under the pressure of changing weather. The pastoral tribes who inhibits mountainous region migrate to the plains along with their cattle during severe winters but go back to their permanent abode at the advent of summer. (Hasnain, 1991).

All economic activity is carried out in a framework of Social relationships. Production is organized socially, market function as social values.
Agriculture is no exception. The institutional framework of agricultural production determines now and by whom land is cultivated, what kinds of crops can be produced and for what purpose, how food and agricultural incomes can be distributed, and in what way or on what times the agrarian sector is linked to rest of the economy/society. (Das, 2003) Economic organization is a type of social action. It involves the combination of various kinds of human services with non-human goods in such a way that they serve given ends. This means an arrangement of these elements in a system, by limiting the kinds of relation that can potentially exist between them. Such combination or limitation occurs not mechanically, but by giving values to the goods and services. Choice is exercised in the light of these values (Firth, 1955). Thus, choices are always exercised to make continuity, and only to have the most appropriate ends. (Chaudhary, 2004).

The income-generation programme are meant to enhance the income of the beneficiaries. The programme are planned keeping consonance with the existing income level of the beneficiaries. The programme are designed in such a manner that they provide a constant source of income to the
beneficiaries. A few specific programme in this category are as follows:

1. Integrated Rural Development Programme
2. Economic Rehabilitation of the Rural Poor
3. Integrated Tribal Development Programme
4. Programme of Orissa Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Finance Co-operative Society
5. Programme for Small and Marginal Farmers
6. Bonded Labour Rehabilitation Programme
7. Dug-well and Energisation Scheme
8. Self-help Scheme

A few specific employment-generation programme are as follows:

1. Jawahar Rojgar Yojna
2. Indira Awas Yojna
3. Self Employment for Educated Unemployed Youth (SEEUY)
4. Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM)
5. Programme of Execution of Lift Irrigation

Works Various programme under the category of social welfare programme are:

1. Nutrition and Food Supply Programme
2. Old Age and Widow Pension Schemes  
3. Disabled Pension Scheme  
4. Disabled Student Scholarship Scheme  
5. Pre-Matric Student Scholarship Scheme  
6. Small Savings Schemes  
7. Family Planning Programme  
8. Public Distribution Schemes

A number of programme have been implemented for the benefit of the beneficiaries. The beneficiary-oriented programme, according to the officials, are designed to bring the people above the poverty line. Such assets should be provided to them which would give them a constant income, thus enhancing it over a period of time. Only the very poor of the poor are being selected as beneficiaries. The community-oriented schemes are planned and implemented to provide basic amenities and infrastructure to the community. Further, the officials say there is a constant effort to make the people aware of these programme and to make them conscious of their democratic rights. The duty hours of the officials are framed in such a manner that all of them are able to reach the people and help them in time of need. Further, the beneficiaries are chosen through a proper selection process. It is done on the
basis of a household survey which is duly ratified by the villagers subsequently approved by the Panchayat Samiti and finally by the District Rural Development Agency (DRDA). (Chaudhury, 2004).

Further the tribal would have lost their culture, tradition, beliefs and values. Finally came the policy of integration proposed by Jawahar Lal Nehru. It is known as Tribal Panchsheel, where Nehru gave five principles. They are:

i. People should be allowed to develop on the lines of their own genius and nothing should be imposed on them;

ii. Tribal rights on land and forest should be respected;

iii. Induction of too many outsiders into the tribal areas should be avoided;

iv. There should be no over-administration of tribal areas and work should be done through their own institution as far as possible; and

v. The results should be judged not by the amount of money spent but by quality of human character that is involved.

The above principles implied three goals:
a. Culture specific and need based development programme for the tribal;
b. Participation of people in both planning and implementation; and
c. Empowerment leading to the formation of self-identity and self-esteem. Keeping in mind the policy of integration, several planned development programme were implemented for the development of tribal. Different Five-Year Plans provided different programme which were implemented through different agencies. In the Third Plan (1961-66) Small Multipurpose Tribal Blocks were created, later on renamed as Tribal Development Blocks. There are 504 such blocks operating in the country today. In the Fourth Plan (1969-74) area development approach was followed which later on became Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs).

The Fifth Plan saw a major boost for the tribal as the Tribal Sub-Plan was created, which had following components:

a. Integrated Tribal Development Projects to be opened up in tribal concentrated districts;
b. Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) to be implemented in less concentrated areas; and
c. Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) were created with a view to implement special need-based programme. In the Seventh Plan, another programme called ‘Cluster Approach’ was implemented in areas where tribal were found in a scattered manner. At present, the Tribal Sub-Plan is implemented in twenty-one states and two Union Territories where 194 ITDPs, 259 MADAs, 75 PTGs and 82 clusters are under operation (Ministry of Tribal Affairs, 2003). (Chaudhary, 2004).

In this study the economic background of the respondents was also looked into and it was noticed that all the respondents owned land but the land possessed by them infertile and grass could not grow on that land, that’s why that land was not useful for them and whether the land was purchased or inherited is given in the table below;

**WHETHER LAND PURCHASED OR INHERITED**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purchased</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inherited</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Srinagar/Jammu
The above table shows only 4% of respondents have purchased land and 96% of the respondents have inherited land. This means that all the respondents have land whether they have purchased it or inherited it.

**LAND OWNERSHIP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Owned</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-5 Kanals</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10 Kanals</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-15 Kanals</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 &amp; above</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table reveals that 36% of the respondents have 0-5 kanals of land, 46% have 5-10 kanals of land which is maximum, 10% of the respondents have 10-15 kanals of land and 8% of the respondents have 15 & above kanals of land which is minimum of land possessed by the respondents in this study. This shows that the land ownership is varied, most of them have land less than 10 kanals. This land is infertile and therefore uncultiviable and this possession of land is not very much useful for them.
All the respondents in this study said that although cattle rearing and milk vending was the main occupation of the people of their community and now with the advancement of time people of their community are changing from cattle rearing and milk vending to other activities. The cattle possessed by respondents varies between 4-6.

**EDUCATION**

This study showed that educational standards of Dodhi Gujjars are very low. Government has started schools for them in their villages but they still lag behind in their studies due to unavailability of mobile schools on dhars and moreover they are not aware of any government facility of mobile schools or scholarships given to Scheduled Tribe students.

### AVAILABILITY OF SCHOOLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balli Nallah</td>
<td>Gandala</td>
<td>Jhakeni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The above table reveals that Balli Nallah has a primary school, Gandala has a middle school, Jhakeni has a primary school, Jhakhar has a high school and Battal has a middle school. This shows that each area has not more than one school that too mainly up to lower level.

All the respondents in this study hold the view that earlier members of their community never thought that education is mainly responsible for the development of the human personality and now all the respondents in this study think that in the present time the members of their community hold the view that without proper education overall development of the human personality is not possible. This view may be because education provides all the opportunities with which they can become equal to outside society.

**CONDITION OF SCHOOLS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages
Srinagar/Jammu
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Worst</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfactory</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table reveals that 48% of the respondents hold the view that condition of schools is good. 26% of the respondents hold the view that condition of schools in their area is bad. 26% of the respondents hold the view that conditions of schools is satisfactory. In this study it is revealed that condition of schools is mostly good in their areas. Moreover they were of the opinion that schools are good but as they are not permanently settled because of their nomadic life, are not able to avail the facility of schools.

It was found that all the respondent’s small children go to schools when they stay in their areas but they don’t go to school when they remain on dhars because they cannot afford travelling fare daily and moreover it is also impossible for them to reach in their areas from dhars on time because of bad road connectivity from dhars to their places.

All the respondents hold the view that there was no mobile school available for them on dhars. This study showed that due to their nomadic nature
most of their children remain uneducated and they are mostly studied upto 8th.

All the respondents in the study hold the view that as children attain adulthood especially boys they are married. Some girls are married early also at the age of 15-16yrs also.

The relationship of education and society in contemporary changing societies has become very complex. The changing society needs a different education system and therefore forces certain changes in its function and structure, and as the society increases the quantum of planned change it thinks desirable, it calls upon its educational system to help it bring it about in a peaceful manner through the socialization of the younger generation.

It is true that the Scheduled tribes do not have an educational tradition in their homes. Most of them are illiterate; those that are literate have a very low level of education. A large proportion of tribal parents do not send their children to school to utilize the free educational opportunities offered to them. It may be argued, therefore, that they are not interested in education.
It seems that education does not have the same meaning for the Scheduled Tribes that it has for the middle and upper strata of society. They are at the lowest rung of the social ladder and have been deprived of the basic necessities of life of generations. Consequently, the idea of pursuing education for its own sake does not interest them. They do not look at it as an opportunity for self-expression, self-realization, or personality development.

The attitudes of the tribal people towards education are governed by the idea of economic returns. The practical and utilization aspects of education seem to appeal to them more. They look at it as a means for getting more and different kinds of work, as a means for bettering their living conditions, and as a means for a more secure future. This they wish to achieve in a short a time as possible, for they cannot afford to wait for long. It is the vocational rather than the academic aspects of education that appeal to them more. (Naik, 1972).

This is evident by the fact that a large proportion of tribal students drop out at the middle as well as high school stage. They may opt for whatever jobs become available to them at that stage of their education. Even at the college level, a large
proportion of them take to arts as course and some to commerce and science courses. As compared to those who take to these shorter courses, very few take to longer professional courses like medicine and engineering. (Desai and Pandor, 1974).

The changes that education has effected in tribal economy, politics, culture, and marriage and family are enumerated on the basis of some studies and surveys. The educated elite have taken up urban occupations and migrated to several cities in India and abroad. The introduction of adult franchise and statutory Panchayats helped break down traditional tribal councils and other related institutions. Many educated tribals play active roles in the new political system. They have started articulating tribal interests through political parties and associations. Education seems to have had a great impact on some cultural traits and values such as bride price, gender relations, and household composition. It has also fostered greater interaction among tribals and non-tribals. (Chacko, 2005).

### TYPE OF FAMILY SYSTEM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Family System</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joint Family System</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear Family System</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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From the above table it was revealed that 10% of the respondents follow joint family system and 90% of the respondents follow nuclear family system. It was analyzed from the study that most of the respondents live in nuclear family system because conflict were taking place arising out of division of work both at occupational level and the household level and many a times after marriage sons got separate in Dodhi Gujjars.

All the respondents in this study hold the view that earlier women of their community were not permitted to take any initiative or decision in family affairs.

**WOMEN TAKING DECISION IN FAMILY AFFAIRS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table, it is analyzed that 70% of the respondents hold the view that with the passage
of time now women of their community are taking initiatives and decisions in the family affairs and 30% of the respondents hold the view that they don’t allow women to take decisions in Family affairs. This shows that maximum number of Dodhi Gujjars allow their women to take initiatives and decisions in family affairs, this may be because of dominant number of participation of women in the milk occupation.

All the respondents in this study hold the view that previously members of their community strictly followed their traditional way of dressing and now all the respondents hold the view that with the passage of time now the members of their community wear dresses other than traditional dress also.

### CONFLICTS WITHIN THE FAMILY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table it was analyzed from this study that 48% of the respondents hold the view that conflicts take place in their family and 52% of the respondents hold the view that conflicts do not take place in their family.
CONFLICTS WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table, it is analyzed that 64% of the respondents hold the view that they have conflicts with other members of their community, this was mainly because of land disputes taking place between them moreover 36% of the respondents do not have conflicts with other member of their community.

All the respondents in this study feel that they would prefer to settle disputes by Biradri Panchayat. This is because most of them do not want that their community conflicts should be made open to the world.

PREFERENCE TO SETTLE DISPUTES THROUGH JUDICIAL COURTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the above table, it is analyzed that 4% of the respondents would prefer to settle disputes through judicial courts where as 96% of the respondents would not prefer to settle disputes through judicial courts but would like to settle their disputes through Biradari Panchayat, they were of the opinion that it is better to resolve conflicts in their Biradari Panchayat and their community conflicts should not go to the Judicial Courts.

The association of human beings with super natural beings is very old. They generally attribute sudden mysterious happenings natural disasters like drought, famine, sickness and any mishap or accident to the super natural beings. In modern times, the development of scientific temper and formal rationality not withstanding, human beings relationship with the super natural continues in the same manner , may be in a lesser degree or with changed perceptions . This in extricable link has always aroused interest of the anthropologists to understand the structure and organization of the society. Often it has been viewed as a vital relationship which is crucial to man’s existence, particularly in tribal societies. (Chaudhury, 2004)14.
All the respondents in this study hold the view that Gujjars didn’t marry outside their community in earlier times.

**GUJJARS MARRYING OUTSIDE COMMUNITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was analysed from the above table that 98% of the respondents hold the view that Gujjar’s have not started marrying non-Gujjars and nearly 2% of the respondents hold the view that Gujjars have started marrying non-Gujjars also.

All the respondents hold the view that Polygyny is not prevalent in their community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table it was analyzed that only 96% of the respondents had only one wife and 2% of the respondents had more than one wife. This means that polygyny is much less in Dodhi Gujjars.
In this study it was found that all the respondents hold the view that previously the members of their community were in favour of keeping more than one wife and in the present era all the respondents hold the view that the members of their community were not in favour of keeping more than one wife.

It was analysed in this study that all the respondents hold the view that earlier divorce was fairly common among the members of their community and now all the respondents hold the view that practice of divorce has been minimized to a greater extent.

In this study it was found that average age of marriage among Dodhi Gujjars of a boy now a days is 21-25 years whereas the age of girl for marriage is 15-20 years.

**DOWRY PREVALENCE IN COMMUNITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table, it was analyzed that 62% of the respondents hold the view that dowry is
prevalent in their community whereas 38% of the respondents hold the view that dowry is not prevalent in their community. This means that dowry is mostly prevalent in their community.

In this study it was analyzed that all the respondents offer regular prayers and all the respondents hold the view that as a result of modernization the following of rituals with rigidity has declined considerably.

### VISITING SHRINES AND SAINTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table, it was analyzed that 96% of the respondents visit shrines and saints whereas 4% of the respondents do not visit shrines and saints.

All the respondents in this study hold the view that there was no special festival of their community which they celebrate in their areas.
REFERENCES

J. D. Cunningham : Notes on Moorcraft’s Travels in Ladakh and on Genard’s Account of Kanawar including the general description of the Latter district, in – J.


Ibid.


Medicinal shrubs used by Gujjar-Bakerwal tribes against various non-communicable diseases in Rajouri district, (J&K), India

Anwer Shah, Abdul karim Javed Ahmad Maheshwar Prasad Sharma

The present paper is based on the documentation of indigenous knowledge of medicinal shrubs used by the Gujjar-Bakerwal communities of Rajouri distirct of Jammu and Kashmir state in the treatment of various non-communicable diseases. The study led to interesting use of 42 plant species. The present study describes the botanical identity, vernacular name (in Gojri), part (s) of the plants, mode of preparation and administration, and name of the diseases for which the given plants are used.

Medicinal plants have been used as medicine for the treatment of various diseases since time immemorial. With the advent of sulpha drugs and modern medicine their use and practice registered a decline but the harmful side effects and toxicity brought medicinal plants again to the forefront of healthcare system. There is global renaissance of
medicinal plant research and great emphasis is being given to document the traditional knowledge on medicinal uses of plants available with various tribal communities, which has so far been undocumented. Present study is an attempt to document the plant species which are used by Gujar-Bakerwal tribes inhabiting remote areas of Rajouri district for their primary healthcare. Information on uses of plants is passed down by the Gujar-Bakerwal communities orally from generation to generation. Approximately 50-60% of local tribal population of Rajouri district is dependent on ethno-medicines as the dominant healthcare system for themselves and their domestic animals. This high dependence on medicinal plants is commonly attributed to high traditional beliefs, undulating terrains, poor socio-economic conditions and most importantly the lack of reliable modern healthcare. It is an interesting to note that traditional medicine, which had been shunned, stigmatized and disregarded in the past for its witchcraft and other illegitimate superstitious customs and practices, is now being actively promoted by western and international institutions as the dominant primary health care in developing countries. In 1987, the WHO urged member states to initiate the comprehensive programmes for the identification, evaluation,
preparation, cultivation and conservation of medicinal plants used in traditional medicines. Since then, the world has witnessed increased legitimacy and utilization of traditional plant remedies. One of the great benefits of this healthcare system is the independence it provides people who practice it, since they can treat themselves without relying on outside institution.

India has the second largest tribal population in the world after Africa. Many tribal communities in India still practice the use of their traditional knowledge to treat a variety of diseases and ailments as they consider them to be safe, effective and easily affordable.

**Study area and Gujjar-Bakerwal tribes**

Rajouri district is one of the 22 districts of Jammu & Kashmir state, India. It is located on the southerly foothills of the Pir Panjal Himalaya in the State Jammu & Kashmir [J&K] with an altitude ranges from 450-4500m above mean sea level (msl). The district is surrounded by Jammu to the South, Poonch to the North, Reasi to the East, Kulgam and Shopian to the North east and Pakistan to the West (Fig. 1). The climate of the area varies from semitropical to temperate, subalpine and alpine. The Rajouri has

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approximately 6, 42415 inhabitants with 30% share of Muslim tribes (www.census2011.co.in), J & K. Administratively it comprises of 7 Tehsils (Budhal, Darhal, Kalakote, Rajouri, Sunderbani and Nowshera) and 9 Blocks. The region is populated with people of all linguistic groups (Hindu, Muslim and Sikh) but the major chunk of Muslim population belongs to Gujjar-Bakerwal [Gujjars-who rear cattle and herdsmen of buffaloes and are semi-migratory and Bakerwals are nomadic tribes, most of them are landless, homeless and migratory, their livelihood is dependent on rearing of sheep and goats]. Due to their nomadic and mountain-loving life style, they have direct relationship with the plants and are sole custodian of this valuable but disappearing traditional knowledge which remained deep-rooted and very popular among their forefathers

Material and methods

The study area (Rajouri district) was divided into 4 sectors (1 Rajouri-Manjakote; 2 Darhal-Thanamandi; 3 Budhal-kalakote; 4 Sunderbani-Nowshera) having high proportion of Gujjar-Bakerwal population. A total of 40 (25 Gujjars and 15 Bakerwals) knowledgeable tribal people with diverse age group, sex and occupation were interviewed.
Majority of the respondents had admitted that they use medicinal plants for the treatment of different non-communicable diseases but also visit hospitals, private clinics and small dispensaries as their alternative healthcare as and when required.

Data were collected through interviews by targeting households of thickly populated sectors during the years 2013 and 2014 following the methodology proposed by Martin (1955)8. Sometimes, a walk through the field or forest area was also conducted in order to retrieve maximum traditional knowledge. The questions asked to the respondents and discussions during the survey were mainly in local language (in Gojri) focused on the following aspects; type of medicinal shrubs found in different sectors that were recognized by the tribal communities to be of medicinal value, part(s) used,
(e.g. roots, barks, flowers) human illness treated, mode of remedial preparation and administration. No designated professional or knowledgeable herbalist(s) or hakim(s) were found in Gujjar-Bakerwal communities throughout the study area; they are practicing what their parents and grandparents had passed them down through direct ‘Word of Mouth’ form or through personal observation and self experiences. The plant specimens collected from the area were dried, pressed, poisoned and mounted properly on the herbarium sheets. They were identified with the help of various floras such as Flora of Udhampur District, The woody flora of Jammu and Kashmir State, India, A Catalogue of Flowering Plants of Doda, Kishtwar and Ramban Districts (Kashmir Himalayas), A Contribution to the Flora of Rajouri and Poonch Districts. The Herbarium specimens have been deposited at the Department of Botany, Jamia Hamdard, New Delhi for future references. The botanical name of all the plants species have been updated with the help of website www.theplantlist.org.
Results

Present study led to the documentation of 42 medicinal plants species belonging to 36 Genera, and 25 families, which are used by the tribal communities of the study area for the treatment of variety of non-communicable diseases. During the course of ethno-botanical investigation the largest number of medicinal plants were observed from the family Rosaceae (4) followed by 3 species each from Apocynaceae, Ericaceae, Fabaceae, Lamiaceae, Solanaceae. Family Adoxaceae, Euphorbiaceae, Lythraceae, and Ranunculaceae are represented by 2 species each and rest of the families are represented by single species each.

In most of the cases single plant species is used to treat one kind of disease while some species are used to treat more than one ailment (e.g. Asparagus racemosus, Hypericum perforatum, Punica granatum and Zanthoxylum armatum, etc.). A wide range of non-communicable ailments are treated or managed using plant based traditional medications by the tribal communities in the study area. Some important non-communicable diseases occur in tribal communities inhabiting study area and their biomedical terms are given in Table 1. Traditional recipes are advised in
different form including juice (28%), powder (21%), brush (11%), raw fruit (7%), leaf wrapping (7%), tea (4%), infusion (4%), bath (4%), decoction (2%), massage (2%) latex (2%), and sauce (2%). The primary mode is oral (74%) followed by topical (26%) application. Five species are used as toothbrush (Nerium indicum, Indigofera heterantha, Astragalus rhizanthus subsp. candolleanus, Acacia modesta and Pseudocaryopteris bicolor); two for bathing (Inula cuspidata, Ziziphus oxyphylla) and leaf powder of Rhododendron anthopogon is administered through nasal passage. Of the 42 species reported in this study, medicinal uses of 22 species (marked with asterisk) are reported for the first time from the district. The detail of botanical name, family, local names, locality of collection, part(s) used, ailments treated and mode/method of preparations and administration is given in Table 2. Some of the important medicinal shrubs reported in the present study are also shown in (Fig. 2).

Discussion

The study area covered in the present study is hilly and mountainous and the modern day healthcare in this area is not easily accessible. Therefore, the people inhabiting the area are largely dependent on
the plant resources for their healthcare, food, fuel, shelter, fodder and forage and for other miscellaneous purposes. They have deep-rooted traditional knowledge of medicinal use of biomedical resources. This ethno-medicinal study on Gujjar-Bukerwal tribes of Rajouri district has revealed enormous diversity of medicinal plants and the popular use of these plants by them for treating various non-communicable diseases. Most of the plant species or their part(s) are used singly to treat a particular ailment; in some cases more than one plant are also used. Some plants are used to treat two or more diseases at a time. The plants are mostly administered in the form of decoction, latex, sauce, tea, raw fruit, infusion, massage, brush, powder, juice, etc.

The present study reveals that among Gujjar and Bakerwal, there are no designated herbalist/Hakims/medicine men in the villages. The farmers, headsmen and shepherds are well acquainted with traditional medicines and employed local shrubs for their primary healthcare system. Unfortunately, the traditional healthcare practice among these local tribal communities is on the verge of extinction because of;
(i) new generation is not interested to learn traditional medicines; (ii) inclination of younger generation towards the use of modern medicines; (iii) migration of younger generation; and (iv) cultural changes among Gujjars-Bakerwals communities. Majority of the population of these tribal communities inhabits a very difficult mountainous terrain, lacking transportation services and hospitals facility. Therefore, they use locally available plants for the treatment of various ailments. This led to a mass collection/over-exploitation of medicinal plants from the study area which has resulted in depletion of many of them.

Ethno-medicinally, Rajouri district is one of the least surveyed parts of the Jammu and Kashmir state. No thorough survey has so far been carried out with regards to ethno-medicinal plants of this district, though a few fragmentary reports are available on documentation of traditional knowledge on medicinal plants of the district. The present study has documented the traditional medicinal uses of 22 plant species first time from the district. This study has also exposed an interesting medico-magic perception amongst the Gujjar and Bakerwal communities about certain n by chanting few undisclosed verses over the
human body. Similar uses of plants is also reported by Maria Francis et al. for Paliyar community (a tribe of Tamil Nadu) where the leaves of the plant Anisochilus scaber is perceived to drive an evil when it is hanged on the lintel of a door and the rhizome of Corallocarpus epigaeus prevent cough and infection when worn on the neck of the children.

Table 1—Common non-communicable diseases among tribes and their biomedical terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ailments in tribal terms</th>
<th>Biomedical terms</th>
<th>Ailments in tribal terms</th>
<th>Biomedical terms</th>
<th>Ailments in tribal terms</th>
<th>Biomedical terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anntri mamlap / pet ma keera</td>
<td>Intestinal worm</td>
<td>Joura goudard</td>
<td>Rheumatism</td>
<td>Dil goHeart attack</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aphrochar gayo Badhazmi / hezo Chani go roug Chhati ma dard Daddar Nakseer Passo so gayo</td>
<td>Flatulence</td>
<td>Kabzi Kan ma dard</td>
<td>Earache</td>
<td>Gurdaan Kidney disease</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anntri mamlap / pet ma keera</td>
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<td>Rheumatism</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aphrochar gayo Badhazmi / hezo Chani go roug Chhati ma dard Daddar Nakseer Passo so gayo</td>
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<td>Anntri mamlap / pet ma keera</td>
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<td>Gurdaan Kidney disease</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Peer pe</th>
<th>Colic pain</th>
<th>Ulti-jlab lage</th>
<th>Diarrhoe a</th>
<th>Phat gayo</th>
<th>lagCut, wound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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Table 2—Medicinal shrubs used by *Gujjar-Bakerwal* tribes against various non-communicable diseases in Rajouri district

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Botanical name [Voucher number]</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Local name (Gojri)</th>
<th>Place of collection</th>
<th>Ailment treated</th>
<th>Part(s) used, preparation and administration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Abelmoschus moschatus</em> Medik*. [JH430]</td>
<td>Malvaceae</td>
<td>Ban-bar</td>
<td>Chaprian</td>
<td>Internal fever</td>
<td>Extract of 1/2kg freshly chopped roots is kept undisturbed over night; infusion so formed is mixed with <em>mishri</em> (crystallized sugar) and is given before breakfast twice in a fortnight.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Acacia modesta</em> Wall. [JH435]</td>
<td>Fabaceae</td>
<td>Phalah</td>
<td>Kalkote</td>
<td>1-Toothache 2-Mouth sores</td>
<td>About 6 inch fresh twig is chewed and then move gently up and down on the teeth and gums for about 5 minutes on alternate day for 5-6 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Asparagus racemosus</em> Willd. [JH419]</td>
<td>Asparagaceae</td>
<td>Sanspai pur</td>
<td>Muradpur</td>
<td>1-Liver ailment 2-Weakness</td>
<td>Juice of Chopped roots is given to relieve liver problem and weakness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Name</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Scientific Name</td>
<td>Parts Used</td>
<td>Treatment/Uses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Astragalus rhizanthus subsp. candolleanus</strong> (Benth.) Podlech* [JH427]</td>
<td>Fabaceae</td>
<td>jaijard kando</td>
<td>Pkg</td>
<td>1-Toothache, 2-Bad breath. About 6 inches long root is made into brush, chewed and moved gently up and down on the teeth and gums for about 5 minutes on alternate day for 5-6 days.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Berberis lycium</strong> [JH404]</td>
<td>Berberidaceae</td>
<td>Simloo Rehan</td>
<td>Liver ailments</td>
<td>Root bark are soaked overnight in a glass of water, the infusion so obtained is mixed mishri (crystallized sugar) and is given twice or thrice in week to the patients before breakfast for one month.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Buddleja asiatica</strong> Lour.* [JH411]</td>
<td>Scrophulariaceae</td>
<td>Battie Thuddi</td>
<td>Skin diseases</td>
<td>Juice of chopped leaves is applied externally on the affected part of the skin any time during the day or till it cures.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Callicarpa macrophylla</strong> Vahl* [JH426]</td>
<td>Lamiaceae</td>
<td>Nlk Budhi-More (Palma)</td>
<td>Joint pain</td>
<td>Leaves are tied with cloth over the painful part of the body. Kept it unchanged for 2 days.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Calotropis procera</strong> (Aiton) Dryand. [JH415]</td>
<td>Apocynaceae</td>
<td>Aak Dangri</td>
<td>Joint pain</td>
<td>Mild warmed leaves are tied over the paining part.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Carissa spinarum L.</strong> * [JH403]</td>
<td>Apocynaceae</td>
<td>Grandho Dangri</td>
<td>Constipation</td>
<td>7-8 raw fruits are eaten to get relief from severe constipation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant Name</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Part Used</td>
<td>Disease</td>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassiope fastigiata</td>
<td>Ericaceae</td>
<td>Pkg</td>
<td>Skin infection</td>
<td>2-3 drops juice of chopped leaf is rubbed on the affected skin once in a day for one week.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clematis montana Buch.-Ham. ex DC*</td>
<td>Ranunculaceae</td>
<td>Chambaylio</td>
<td>Cough</td>
<td>Juice of 10-20g of fresh or dried chopped leaves is given orally to a person suffering from fever and cough.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colebrookea oppositifolia Sm.*</td>
<td>Lamiaceae</td>
<td>Dhum</td>
<td>Fracture</td>
<td>Leaves are tied with woolen cloth over the fractured part of the bone.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cryptolepis dubia (Burm.f) M.R Almeida*</td>
<td>Asclepiadaceae</td>
<td>Chingus</td>
<td>Skin infection</td>
<td>3-4 drops of milky latex is applied on the affected part of the skin any time in a day for one week.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elaeagnus umbellata Thunb.*</td>
<td>Elaeagnaceae</td>
<td>Topa</td>
<td>Mouth sores</td>
<td>10-15 raw fruits are eaten once in a day as they are acidic, tongue-torting and give cooling effect.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euphorbia royleana Boiss.*</td>
<td>Euphorbiaceae</td>
<td>Thuddi</td>
<td>Joint pain</td>
<td>Succulent stem cut from one end, is warmed on coal fire, wrapped it with a piece of woolen cloth and move to and fro on the paining part of the body. Repeat the process once in a day for 3-4 days.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Euphorbia wallichii</strong> Hook.* [JH423]</td>
<td><strong>Euphorbiaceae</strong></td>
<td><strong>Hirbah</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dangah</strong></td>
<td><strong>Severe constipation</strong></td>
<td>Roots are dipped in a glass of water and kept undisturbed overnight; infusion so obtained is given on empty stomach once in a week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hypericum perforatum</strong> L. [JH406]</td>
<td><strong>Hypericaceae</strong></td>
<td><strong>Chie</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rehan</strong></td>
<td><strong>1-Joint pain</strong></td>
<td><strong>2-Urinary disorder</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indigofera heterantha</strong> Brandis [JH424]</td>
<td><strong>Fabaceae</strong></td>
<td><strong>Keynthis</strong></td>
<td><strong>Targain</strong></td>
<td><strong>Toothache</strong></td>
<td>Brush of 6 or 7 inch long twig is made and rubbed gently around the teeth and gums on alternate day for one week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inula cuspidata</strong> (Wall. ex DC.) C.B.Clarke* [JH418]</td>
<td><strong>Asteraceae</strong></td>
<td><strong>Peelobuto</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rehan</strong></td>
<td><strong>Evil eye</strong></td>
<td>Bath is performed in water soaked with chopped leaves once in a week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Justicia adhatoda</strong> L. [JH401] <strong>Nerium indicum</strong> Mill.* [JH402]</td>
<td><strong>Acanthaceae</strong></td>
<td><strong>Baykar Gandilo</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rajouri Rajouri</strong></td>
<td><strong>Swelling 1-Toothache 2-Bad breath</strong></td>
<td>Juice of 10-15gm chopped leaves is rubbed on the swelling area. Fresh twig to the size of 6 inch is chewed once a day or made into tooth brush which is called <em>miswak</em>, moves it on the gums and teeth, once or twice in a day for one week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific Name</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Common Name</td>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Prinsepia utilis</em> Royle*</td>
<td>Rosacea</td>
<td>Rehan</td>
<td>Abdominal pain</td>
<td>Powder of chopped leaves is given with water or milk once a day.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Roxb.ex Hardw.) P.D.Cantino</td>
<td>JH416</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pseudocarya pteris bicolor</em></td>
<td>Lamiace</td>
<td>Dangri</td>
<td>Toothache</td>
<td>Brush is made from 6 or 7 inch long twig and rubbed it gently around the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Roxb.ex Hardw.) P.D.Cantino</td>
<td>JH416</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>teeth and gums once in day after meal for one week.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Punica granatum</em> L.</td>
<td>Lythrace</td>
<td>Kanchi</td>
<td>1-Liver ailment 2-Backache</td>
<td>One glass of Sherbet (soft drink/syrup) prepared from the pulpy and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[JH407]</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>juicy seeds, is given once a day for one month.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Rhododendron anthopogon</em> D. Don*</td>
<td>Ericaceae</td>
<td>Taliya</td>
<td>Headache</td>
<td>Powder of dried ground leaves is inhaled through nasal chamber once in day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Roxb.ex Hardw.) P.D.Cantino</td>
<td>JH413</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>for 2 days or till it cures.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Rhododendron lepidotum</em> Wall. ex G. Don*</td>
<td>Ericaceae</td>
<td>Niko</td>
<td>Muscular pain</td>
<td>Powder of dried ground flowers mixed with oil, is massaged over the body</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[JH422]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hardul</td>
<td></td>
<td>for 2-3 times in a week or till it cures.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Rosa macrophylla</em> Lindl.</td>
<td>Rosaceae</td>
<td>Neela</td>
<td>Internal fever</td>
<td>Juice of 10-20g of fresh flowers is given orally to a person suffering</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[JH439]</td>
<td></td>
<td>–doke</td>
<td></td>
<td>from internal fever once in week.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Name</td>
<td>Scientific Name</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Part Used</td>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosa moschata Herrm.</td>
<td>Rosaceae <em>moschata</em></td>
<td>Rosaceae</td>
<td>Flowers</td>
<td>Internal fever</td>
<td>Juice of 10-20g of fresh flowers is given internally to a person suffering from internal fever.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubus ellipticus Sm.</td>
<td>Rosaceae <em>ellipticus</em></td>
<td>Rosaceae</td>
<td>Fruits</td>
<td>Constipation</td>
<td>5-10 raw fruits are eaten as they are having cooling effect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salix repens L.</td>
<td>Salicaceae <em>repens</em></td>
<td>Salicaceae</td>
<td>Fruits</td>
<td>Internal fever</td>
<td>The filtrate of 50-100gm chopped leaves mixed with sugar and water is given on empty stomach for one week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambucus wightiana Wall. ex Wight &amp; Arn.</td>
<td>Adoxaceae <em>wightiana</em></td>
<td>Adoxaceae</td>
<td>Leaves</td>
<td>Digestion upset</td>
<td>2-3gm powder of chopped and pounded leaves is given with water. It is highly emetic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarcococca saligna Müll.-Arg.</td>
<td>Buxaceae <em>saligna</em></td>
<td>Buxaceae</td>
<td>Leaves</td>
<td>Skin infection</td>
<td>2-3 drops juice of chopped leaf is rubbed on the affected skin once in a day for one week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scurrula ferruginea (Roxb. ex Jack) Danser*</td>
<td>Lorantheae <em>ferruginea</em></td>
<td>Lorantheae</td>
<td>Leaves</td>
<td>Blood purifier</td>
<td>Extract of 10-12gm chopped leaves mixed with hot water and sugar is given orally to small children as blood purifier for 3 or 4 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skimmia laureola Franch.*</td>
<td>Simaroubeae <em>laureola</em></td>
<td>Simaroubeae</td>
<td>Leaves</td>
<td>Colic pain</td>
<td>Dried ground leaf powder is given orally with water for 1-2 day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Species</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Common Name</td>
<td>Use</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Solanum pseudocapsicum</em></td>
<td>Solanaceae</td>
<td>Lalmarchh</td>
<td>Sauce (<em>chutney</em>) made from chopped fruit is helpful in expelling worms from the intestine when taken with meal any time during the day. Excess dosage is poisonous.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Solanum surattense</em></td>
<td>Solanaceae</td>
<td>Kandiar</td>
<td>Manja-kote Abdominal pain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Solanumviarum</em></td>
<td>Solanaceae</td>
<td>Mokri</td>
<td>Draj Dysentery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Viburnum grandiflorum</em></td>
<td>Adoxaceae</td>
<td>Kuchh</td>
<td>Skin infection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Woodfordia fruticosa</em></td>
<td>Lythraceae</td>
<td>Tave</td>
<td>Budhi-more Constipation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Excess dosage is poisonous.

½ spoonful powder of chopped root fried with ghee (milk fat) or mustard oil is given with a cup of lukewarm water once in a day for 2-3 days.

2-3gm powder of dried ground fruit is taken with water on empty stomach.

Fresh twig to the size of finger is warmed on a coal fire, rubbed it on a flat iron or a stone slate. The black warm sap oozed out is applied on the affected skin (toes) once in a day for 4-6 days.

2-3gm powder of chopped and pounded flowers is given with water as it is highly emetic.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zanthoxylum armatum</th>
<th>Timru</th>
<th>Mura d-pur</th>
<th>1-Fever 2-Body pain</th>
<th>Tea is made from the fruits and given twice in a day for 2-3 days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rutaceae DC. [JH412]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ziziphus mauritiana Lam. [JH431]</td>
<td>Rhamna ceae</td>
<td>Beri Mura d-pur</td>
<td>Abdominal pain</td>
<td>0.5Kg bark is boiled in water; decoction so obtained is given once a day for one week to relieve abdominal pain. Excess dose is sedative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhamna ceae</td>
<td>Cocon beri</td>
<td>Mura d-pur</td>
<td>Evil eye</td>
<td>Bath is performed in water soaked with chopped leaves once in a week time. It is also considered as sacred.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ziziphus oxyphylla Edgew.* [JH432]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Authors are of the opinion that it would be more appropriate if people are subjected to awareness that some of the important shrubs like

Asparagus racemosus, Abelmoschus moschatus, Acacia modesta, Nerium indicum, Sarcococca saligna, Elaeagnus umbellate, Punica granatum, Hypericum perforatum and Skimmia laureola would prove to be useful if they could be brought into cultivation in the locality. It is also commonly observed during the ethno-medicinal field trips in the study area that the tribal people collect almost all parts of medicinal shrubs and use them
either singly or in combination form with other ingredients for the remedial preparation but the most common

**Fig. 2**—Photographs of some medicinal shrubs of Rajouri district (J&K), India, [1-6] 1 Cassiope fastigiata Wall., 2 Hypericum perforatum L., 3 Rubus ellipticus Sm., 4 Skimmia laureola Franch., 5 Solanum pseudocapsicum L., 6 Woodfordia fruticosa (L.) Kurz

used plant parts were leaves (15 species) followed by fruits (6), root (5) twigs (5), flowers (5), bark (2), seeds (1), stem (1), latex (1) and whole plant (1).

**Conclusion**

This study pertains to ethno-medicinal investigation of 42 indigenously medicinal plant species (shrubs) representing 25 families used by Gujjar-Bakerwal tribes for ameliorating their health. The plants are collected indiscriminately not only by
the local peoples (tribals) but by crude drug traders or their workers also, which has resulted in depletion of many important medicinal plant resources. Therefore, it is imperative to make the training opportunities available for the tribal communities on the proper propagation techniques in order to encourage the domestication of valuable and threatened medicinal shrubs in the district. The domestication of medicinal shrubs will create a new vista for the local tribals such as provision of an alternative income and could help reduce the pressure of exploitation for the wild population. It is hoped that this exploration along with the work of other researchers from the district will form basis for in-depth documentation on the traditional therapeutic applications of the medicinal plants of this under explored hilly district.
References


Jagtap S D, Deokule S S & Bhosle S V, Some unique ethnomedicinal uses of plants used by the Korku


Tradition and Change: From Nomadism to Sedentarization

Mohammad Bashir Magray

The pattern of transhumance in Jammu and Kashmir, as elsewhere in similar socio-ecological set up, reflects not only the distinctive environmental conditions of the region but also the social and economic context of particular periods and places. Altered socio-economic and political conditions in regions where transhumance is practiced, invariably bring about radical changes in the economic and social organization of the transhumant communities as well, thus the pattern of transhumance in Jammu and Kashmir has been undergoing significant changes since independence, when the state government started initiating new strategies for the overall development of the pastoral nomads and their integration in the mainstream of regional development. In this process of transformation not all transhumant communities were equally effected.

The Gujjars and Bakerwals of Jammu and Kashmir, specially the former, can at present only very loosely be called true pastoralists, for want of a better term. As a matter of fact many of them are now only
partly pastoral and exhibit significant deviation from traditional pastoral transhumance, the deviations covering the entire spectrum from sedentarization to entirely nomadic mode of living. Indeed many Gujjar communities now regard pastoralism only as a supplemental economic activity.

In view of the great changes that of late have overtaken the once pastoral nomads of the region, three distinct categories among them can be distinguished as under:

1. Permanently settled type.
2. Semi-permanently type.
3. Nomadic type.

In an oscillatory society sedentarization process is a dynamic phenomena in a time and space continuum of socio-economic activities which often involve modifications in the traditional mode of production and settling down in a suitable locality which is a natural concomitant of adaptation of non pastoral occupation, more particularly agriculture. Infact sedentarization is a shift from one primary production process to another. In the state of Jammu and Kashmir the process of transformation from an oscillatory society to sedentary life has made a
considerable headway, particularly among the Gujjars, who have to a large extent adopted agriculture and a sedentary mode of living.

As a matter of fact quite a large number of Gujjar communities have entirely been sedentarized and taken to agriculture and other economic activities. These sedentary Gujjars are regarded as the best agriculturists in the mountain agricultural economy especially in some areas of districts Rajouri, Poonch, Udhampur. Since the Gujjars were already practicing agriculture during their winter stay in the foothills, permanent sedentarization and transition to a wholly crop cultivation economy was a logical development. In this process gentler slopes and valley floors, which served as winter pastures, were gradually devegetized and converted in to agricultural fields. The Gujjars were quick to learn the manners of agricultural production from the settled agriculturists in their neighbourhood. The process of sedentarization is also the logical concomitant of the spread of education and an overall upgrading of standard of living. Whenever a pastoral nomad achieves a satisfactory level of affluence or gets some education or both, the tendency to escape the hardships and uncertainties of pastoral transhumance
by adopting agriculture, trade or service as an alternative source of subsistence, become manifested. This change is all the more welcome because transition from pastoral nomadism to a sedentary mode of living also ensures mobility in the social hierarchy.

**Mechanism of Sedentarization**

It appears that in the transhumant Gujjars society there is positive correlation between economic status and sedentarization tendencies. In other words those at the upper and middle economic levels who can afford to because of greater affluence, make a break with pastoral nomadism are the first to adopt a stable sedentary life, to begin with, an affluent gujar who comes to own a large flock, acts like an absentee landlord in an agrarian system. He would not himself move with his flock but would rather employ Aajiris (shephards) for the purpose. The Aajiris may be regarded as the equivalent of landless labourers in the agrarian system. The owner of the flock himself would construct a permanent kotha (house), purchases some land and settle down as an agriculturists. He will plough back part of the income generated by his proliferating flock in buying more land for cultivation. A time may sooner or later come
when agriculture becomes the dominant occupation with the flocks playing a sub-servant and supplemental role. Should, as it happens occasionally, such a person or his family decides to move along with the flocks, the agricultural holdings might be leased or left to the care of share-croppers. However, with increasing affluence and the greater security offered by agriculture the links with pastoralism may altogether snapped and the family then settles down permanent, settled cultivator, thus abandoning for good the age old oscillatory mode of living.

Gujjars and Bakerwals have settled all over the state but their main areas of settlement are to be found at Ganderbal, Budgam, Bandipur, Karnah, Uri, Shopian, Pahalgam, Dacsum and Tral areas in Kashmir region. In Budgam district the main villages where Gujjars and Bakerwais constitute important segments are Kahipura, Dababal, Sevasiar, Balapura, Mainpura, Chanrooth, Conghawachhan, Panjanooor. Etc. the areas of Gujjar villages concentration in Baramula district are upper reaches of Bandipur, Machhal, Dhara, Wadha, Behnipura, Haftroda, Khuddi, Manbal etc. in Kupwara district, kalaoshmori, Niarikoit, Jatwar, Kharana, Gratphara, Gagul, Lolab, Avor, Hechmarg etc. are important villages which have been
In kornah villages of Gujjar concentration are panchayyan, Gondi Gojran, Dargrad, Deepkote, Moderchwa and in Uri Sukhdar, Goalata, Novaranda, Uri-proper: in Sawnari, Ajesh Bala and Ajesh pains are the villages of sedentarization. In Tangmarg (Budgam) the important villages are Mahyan, ponsepur, Darang, Quazipur, Darakesi, Rangwatan, Bandibala and Chaqtran. In shopian (district pulwama) the villages are kellerchaq, Bhalibela, Dipura, sidau, Dobjan etc. in pahalgam (Anantnag district) important villages where nomads had been sedentarized are Vail, nagbal, khair, Hafatnar, Achhnar, Sarichhaii, Landroo, Khilan, Shaikhpura, Lasorham, Nari, Avada Nala, Langogan et.In Srinagar district the concentration of Gujjar settlers is in Laar Valley, Kangan and on the sides of sindh valley upto sonamarg many villages had been sedentarized. In Taral (district Pulwama) the main settlements are Naristan, Postan, and Yolbstan where the Gujjars have been sedentarized. Apart from these, there are scattered villages all over the valley of Kashmir, besides Gujjar-Bakerwal housing colonies in major urban centres.

In Jammu province the gujar and Bakerwals have settled heavily in Poonch, Rajouiri, and upper
reaches of Udhampur district and in Jammu, Doda and Kathua districts sparsely. In Poonch the pure and dominant Gojjar villages are Mandhi Khatana, Bandi Chechyan, Danna, Dhakaryan, Geigwand, Phagla, Chhajla, Gursai, Kalaban, Lassana, Nar, Chhangar, Dharana, kasblari, Gonthal, Shindara, Hari, Marhote, Sanai, Kalai, kalar, kattal, Noona bandi, Ghani, Chhatral, Mankot, Banpat and pathana Teer etc. In Rajouri district the important settlements of Gujjars are Liran, Panihad, Sokar, Badhanoo, Choudhary Nar, Plangar, Alal, panghai, Kothra, Dodason Bala, Fatehpur, Danna, Dodaj, Ujhan, Palyarni, Majhoor, Khawas, kandi, peeri, prori, katarmal, Nadyan, Dhanore, kakora, chamba, Gurdhan Bala. Mangota, Dhok, Urgi etc. in the town a market settlement has been developed and Gujjars are being attracted to town for settlement and for commercial activities.

The important settlement in Jammu district are, villages of Mozakalas, Tasskalyan, khaipar, Dhanda Kalan, Dhanda khurd, Kharyan, Bhalisar, Gagian, Kasana Boolowala, Mehlo, kotla Chohana, Dab-Chakian, Chhak Badhana, Gajansoo, Thekri Banian etc. in Jammu proper a good settlement of Gujjars is developed and named after them as Gujjar Nager, at Jammu proper economically and politically
well where gujjars have settled themselves in various sectors, particularly the service class people from this community. In Udhampur the Settled Gujjars are found in Gool Gulabgarh, Mahore Tehsil, Arnas, Poni, Parakh and number of seasonal settlements are available in the foothill areas. In kathua district Dhodi Gujjars and Bakerwals are settled at certain places and mostly they settle temporarily during the winter season. In Doda district certain settlements are found in the Bhadarwah, kishtwar and Bhalesha tehsils, mostly they move towards lower foothills during the winters. The important sedentary settlements are Najwa, Odelbajran, Kasdan, Saradi, Jahi, Chinta and many smaller ones in significant number.

The poorer sections of the Gujjar community possessing smaller flocks are incapable economically of breaking away from the eternal cycle of transhumance. The people at the lowest economic status also lack the material support, such as adequate tents and ponies, to cope up with the hostile ecological conditions. They are thus highly prone to malnutrition, disease and other natural hazards. Should the flock be affected by some natural hazard the poorer nomads have no other option out to get attached as an Aajri With some rich Mukaddmn
(flock owner) to become a labourer or wage earner or in some other economic activity. In this way also the poorer section eventually leaves their links with nomadism and gets absorbed into the sedentary workforce. Thus the process of sedentarization operates at the two ends of the economic spectrum for entirely different reasons—affluence at the upper ring and object poverty at the lower.

**Sedentarization at Winter and Summer Location**

The process of sedentarization is naturally initiated and culminated at the two ends of the oscillatory cycle i.e. at the winter and summer camping sites. At any rate, the nomads, even in the transhumance cycle, have to stay for months together at the two ends naturally cultivate some land as a supplemental activity to their main occupation of pastoralism. At their main camping sites they usually construct Kothas, Bandis and Baras for providing shelter to themselves and their flocks. If agricultural land is acquired in the vicinity of these places, a regular village may come up, indeed it is not uncommon for Gujjars and Bakerwals to encroach upon the forests or reclaim the nearby wastelands for cultivation. Such Gujjar settlements are to be found at
numerous places in the side valleys of the Kashmir region where a regular cropping system spread over both the Rabi and kharif seasons. In this way full sedentarization is achieved and the once pastoral nomads get transformed into farmers cultivating regularly the valley slopes. In the same manner from the beginning at the winter sites this activity took place, which lead to a complete sedentarization of the Gujjars and Bakerwals in the lower-foothill area and the southern valleys of Pir-Panjal i.e. Rajouri and Poonch areas, generally between 1200 to 2000 m above sea level. At higher altitude terrain and weather conditions do favour.

Anyhow, the presently settled pastoralists in the side valleys of Pir-Panjal and other mountains were formerly the pasturelands for short term stay dewing migration of Gujjars and Bakarwals then turned into agricultural lands.

The process and level of sedentarization does not operate uniformly, but varies from kafila to kafila depending upon the following factors:

1. Duration of stay.
2. Demographic characteristics.
3. Availability of land for Cultivation.

It has already been explained that the duration of stay at the margs is an important factor as it provides the nucleus for sedentary settlements. The Demographic structure of the population is another important factor. As the fecundity among these people is high as the custom of early marriage prevails, the birth rate is quite high. The population increased by over 75% between 1891 and 1941 (Table No. 14). As it became increasingly difficult for nomadic pastoralism to sustain an ever-increasing population, diversification of the economy in the direction of agriculture, trade and services became inevitable under the demographic pressure. Thus demography also became a contributory factor in the sedentarization process.

**Growth Rate of Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Growth Rates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1891-1901</td>
<td>+16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1901-1911</td>
<td>+14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1911-1921</td>
<td>+16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>1921-1931</td>
<td>+15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>1931-1947</td>
<td>+11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>+74.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As for the availability of cultivable land is concerned, during the reign of Maharaja Gullab Singh, the land at their hivernage (winter sites) were allotted to Gujjar and Bakerwal pastoralists for winter grazing between contours 610 to 1220 m above sea level in the lower foot hills and valleys particularly in the slopes of Duns of Siwaliks. The fertile valleys at altitudes varying between 1220 m to 1830 m were always customarily under their possession. It was in these lands that sedentarization primarily occurred. The Gujjars and Bakerwals have customary rights over some pasturelands, called miras in the middle portions of the Pir-Panjal. However, these lands are specifically meant for grazing purposes and cannot be diverted to any other use.

Of late the Government’s efforts to improve the lot of these deprived people has also become a contributory factor in sedentarization. The developmental strategy of separate sub-plans for the pastoral nomads was taken in the fifth five-year plan. The main thrust of these strategies as well as that of the earlier Community Development Strategy was at educational upliftment, health care and economic development. These measures partly succeeded in bringing about a general upliftment in the level of
living and the resultant restructuring of the traditional socio-economic organization. The elite of the pastoral society, who were the principal beneficiaries of the governmental measures, thus were enabled to free themselves from the shackles of pastoral nomadism and became sedentarized.

As a result of differential impact of the modernization drive and general upliftment in the socio-economic conditions the sedentarization Gujjar-Bakerwal community has become structured. The different structured segments are as under: ‘

1. Economic Structure
   a. Agriculturists.
   b. Forest Contractors.
   c. Traders primarily engaged in the supply of pastoral products, *i.e.* milk, butter, ghee, khoya, cream, hide and skin, wool, meat and other products etc.

2. Functional Groups
   a. Aajris.
   b. Labourers.
   c. Government and other services.
Sedentarized Group

Apart from agriculture, a large number of Gujjars and Bakerwals have taken to trade and commerce, besides being absorbed in the service sector. They are now permanently settled down in almost all towns and villages and several have their links with traditional ways of nomadic life. But it has been observed that the nomads have little aptitude for trade and commerce and more often than not prove to be a lot to encourage trade and commerce by way of providing special markets for them in the urban centers. Their first preference in sedentarization is invariably agriculture and they are apt to encroach upon the forested slopes in the vicinity of their settlements, especially in the lower Pir-panjal zone.

Semi-sedentarization Groups

A fairly large number of Gujjars and Bakerwals occupy an intermediate position between nomadism and a sedentary mode of life. Such communities are neither completely nomadic nor yet fully assimilated in permanent settlement. They live in permanent villages in the foothills during the winter months, while during the summer months they migrate to high
altitude pastures like true nomads. The main feature of this group is that the entire family almost never moves. As they are slightly more affluent than the true nomads, they own some land in the foot-hills near their winter pastures. Part of the family, therefore, has to stay back and look after the agricultural fields. Other family members who are not needed for agricultural operation migrate alongwith the flocks from pasture to pasture upto the alpine meadows and then back again. The socio-economic organization may be regarded as the first necessary step towards complete sedentarization. As the size of dominant position, pastoral nomadism may generally be abandoned.

**Nomadic Type**

A numerically fairly strong component of the pastoralists has not taken to sedentarization at all and are still wedded to the oscillatory migration of transhumance. They are true pastoral nomads in the strict sense of the term. To this category belong most of the Bakerwals and Dodhi Gujjars who continue to depend entirely on goats, sheep, buffaloes and mulch cattle respectively. Economically they are not as well off as the settled component. It’s their object poverty,
which binds the nomads to extreme hardships of pastoral nomadism.

These pastoral nomads, being at the lowest ring of the socio-economic ladder, have access to fewer pastures, especially during the winter months when they have to buy fodder for their flocks. The situation is not quite as bad during summer because many of these groups possess their own summer margs where they spend four to five months each year.

The unique social organization of Gujjar-Bakerwal group evolved over centuries to this day is maintained and preserved in its pristine glory, by these truly nomadic sections of the community. In conformity with their age-old traditions they are almost entirely to this day, dependent upon their flock for sustenance. They have developed a perfect symbiosis between their culture, the environment they live in and their animals. Relatively free from outside control and influences, unlike the settled components of their communities, their economic universe is strongly influenced by emphases on social differentiation and kinship prevailing in nomadic societies and exhibit a reciprocal trait superimposed.
on a basically closed, large household framework of economy.

The oscillatory transhumance, described elsewhere in this reference is the dominant socio-economic trait of the truly nomadic type of the Gujjars and Bakerwals. They move over an extensive territory in the course of a year, from one pasture to another with their entire flocks—goats, sheep and cattle together with their entire worldly possessions. Their tents and other necessary items are highly portable and can be loaded and off-loaded in no time, even though the more affluent among them often possess elaborate tents and sufficient, containers and clothing.

Because of their peculiar mode of life, the pastoral nomads in the past acquired considerable military power and thus were able to through about their weight out of all proportions to their numerical strength. They invaded and terrorized the settled agriculturalists of the regions for centuries.

However, increasing sedentarization, expanding market economy and the conversion of part of their winter pastures in to agricultural fields and the growth and expansion in the power base of
the settled people have combined to place the nomads in a subservient position now under the impact of modernization many nomadic groups are now getting absorbed in to an exchange economy though still largely retaining their traditional mode of life. Some of them even practice agriculture in conjunction with herding and. thus become more or less semi-sedentarized.

The nomads have often been accused of ecological vandalism and a menace to the eco-system over which they operate. This view in fact is the result of an incorrect understanding of the true transhumance culture. Far from being and ecologically destabilizing factor, true transhumance operates in perfect harmony with the ecology of the region and thus helps in the preservation of the ecological balance. Transhumance represents a symbiosis between human culture and the environment. It becomes a factor in ecological deterioration only when the size of the flock considerably exceeds the carrying capacity of the forests and pastures. The settled people of the valleys have never come to terms with the mountain eco-system of the region in a manner the transhumants have. To the sedentary population the mountains have always been alien, the
abode of gods and demons, to be dreaded and revered seldom to be refriended. But where the realm of the valley alluvium ends, where maple popular and willow cease to grow, the land of transhumance par excellence begins the negative attitude of the settled people towards the mountains has squeezed them within the narrow confines of the valleys. But the nomad is fully at home in the mountains and the forests. Over the centuries they have continued to be a separate and distinctive socio-cultural stream, in harmony with their environment and with settled people of their region. Their relationship is symbiotic and communalistic not competitive and disruptive. In the semi-closed system of mountains and valleys, spreading from the foothills, across the Pir-Panjal and upto the high alpine meadows, the nomads are generally welcomed. Their flocks fertilize the agricultural fields and they barter pastoral produce with goods and other necessary items of their use with the valley people provided.

That pastoral nomadism of transhumance variety has persisted in the region for centuries speaks volumes about the resilience, adaptability and functional compatibility with their socio-environmental milieu. The entire ethos of these
people their social structure, familial structure, kinship organization and division of labour are all geared towards maintaining the symbiotic relationship with their environment.

The Habitat: Biome

Since pastoral nomads have their entire distribution of the vegetative cover plays an extremely important role in their life support system.

Types and Distribution of Forests

The state of Jammu and Kashmir has been endowed with rich and varied forest resources. In their extent, distribution and growth potential, these forests constitute a major industry and hence form the mainstay of the state’s economy. “The forests also play a vital role in the maintenance of ecological balance which is of paramount importance to a hilly region like Jammu and Kashmir.” They provide protection to the hill slopes from erosion, regulate water supply nullahs and rivers and enhance the aesthetics of the region as a whole. Besides the vegetation cover provides pasture for the nomadic harders. The Gujjars and Bakerwals use the natural fodder, while they are on move and at the winter and summer pastures as well. The forests of Jammu and
Kashmir, together with their associated pastures play an extremely important role in the economy and culture of the transhumant communities of the state, specially the nomadic Gujjars and Bakerwals. Over the centuries, a perfect symbiosis has developed between the forests/grassland, and the mode of life of the Gujjars-Bakerwals. An understanding of the spatial distribution and the nature of the forests are, therefore, essential, for a proper understanding of the cultural ecology of these nomadic communities.

**Table No. 5**

**Area Under Forests Jammu and Kashmir State Distt-Wise**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Area in Km</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Jammu</td>
<td>1445.49</td>
<td>7.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Kathua</td>
<td>789.25</td>
<td>3.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Poonch</td>
<td>825.53</td>
<td>4.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Rajouri</td>
<td>1296.40</td>
<td>6.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Udhampur</td>
<td>2278.69</td>
<td>11.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Doda</td>
<td>5403.27</td>
<td>26.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Srinagar</td>
<td>411.86</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Anantnag</td>
<td>2289.21</td>
<td>11.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Kupwara</td>
<td>1479.68</td>
<td>7.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Baramula</td>
<td>2504.83</td>
<td>12.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Pulwama</td>
<td>1008.76</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Leh</td>
<td>11.20</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages
Srinagar/Jammu
In Jammu and Kashmir 2,104 thousand hectare or roughly 9.5% of the total area of the state is under forests. One reason for this low percentage of forested land is the fact that the entire Ladakh region is totally devoid of forests. Ladakh accounting for over 69% of the total area of the state has only 4.6% of the land under forests. Forests, therefore, are confined only to the Jammu and Kashmir regions. In the two latter regions, the forest cover occupies 45.5% and 56% of the total area respectively:

The forests of Jammu and Kashmir fall into the following broad categories:

1. Tropical Dry Deciduous Forests.
2. Sub-Tropical Dry Evergreen Forests.
5. Himalayan Dry—Temperate Forests.
7. Moist Alpine Forests.
8. Dry Alpine Forests.
1. Tropical Dry Deciduous Forests

These forests are predominantly found in subtropical region of Jammu, extending from Basohli in the southeast to Mendher in the northwest, in all the foothills and lower valleys south of Pir-panjal. The environmental requirements of these forests are mean annual temperature from 24° to 27° C, dropping rather lower at the northern limits. Summer temperatures are generally high, touching about 43° C and the minimum-recorded temperature at the upper reaches in these forests are between -2.2° C to 6.1° C. High rainfall occurs during July-September period and light rainfall (500 mm to 1000 mm) during winter.

The common species of trees found in these forests are:

Holerrhetin, Dodonaea-Viscose, Carrisa-spinarm, Zizyplas,
Acacia-catechu, Dalbergia-Sisgoo, Nannca-grandis, Aegle-marmelos, Eleretia-Laewis, albizzitt-Labek, Acacia-modesta,
Malmtus-Philippensis, Carrisa-spinarum, Woodfordia-floribunda, Adhatoda, Puraria-tuberose, Bauhinia-
Varlicdandeo, Calamus-strictusnees and Ficusbeng-
alaensis etc.
The Tropical Dry Deciduous forests provide ideal habitat to the pastoral Gujjars and Bakerwals during winters, where they settle down for the season with their flocks. Tree leaves and grasses are also provided by these Jungles to the herding community when the higher altitude pastures are covered with snow. Excessive grazing and encroachments by agriculturists have considerably damaged these forests.

### Table No. 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Area in Km²</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Jammu</td>
<td>8124.00</td>
<td>40.27</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>12039.90</td>
<td>59.68</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Ladakh</td>
<td>107.25</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20175.02</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Sub-tropical Pine Forests

These forests are found on the steep dry slopes upto 1500 meters, on the Siwalik conglomerates and sandstone’s. They are fairly common in upper Jammu,
Udhampur, Reasi, Rajouri and Poonch areas. Lower Siwalik Chir is found in upper Jammu, Billawar and lower Rajouri areas. In upper Chenani, Reasi, Ramban and some patches of Rajouri-Poonch chir pine also occur. Certain species of this type occur around Jhajjarkotli, near Katra, Mansar, Kalidhar and Hathi in Kathua.

This type occurs under a wide range of climatic conditions; they receive rainfall between 900 to 2500 mm per annum with high summer temperature. Snow in winters gives rise to chir forests on upper reaches. The ideal temperature ranges between 15° C to 23° C with 1800-mm8 rainfall annually.

The common species found in these forests are Pistesici-integerrine, Olea-cuspidea, Pyras-cuspiden, Graviasoo, Albizziasoo, and Pimica-granatum. In general, the tropical pine forest belt preserves species like Lanneagrandis, Acacia-calachu, Dnlbergia-sisso, Wandlandia-exerta, Carrisa-spinarum and Eupherbai-rolyleanh, do regenerate naturally.

**Sub-tropical Dry Evergreen**

Also Known as Broad Leaved Sub-tropical forests, this type is widespread in Poonch, Rajouri, Reasi and Doda, concentrating heavily in patches on
sedimentary rocks such as sandstone and shale with shallow and sorts. They comprise of evergreen scrub and thorny species.

These species flourish best in areas having hot, dry summers and cold winters. The annual precipitation is less than 1000 mm the lower altitudes are wetter with 300 mm to 1500 mm’, rainfall occurring mostly in July-August.

**Himalayan Moist Temperature Forests**

These are extensive coniferous forests, occurring on Schist and Gneisses are abundantly found in Niru valley, Banaoli, upper Billawar and Basant-Garh. One of these important species, Deodar, is found in upper reaches of Rajouri, Poonch, Wangat, Nayak, Najvan, Wayul nullah of Sindh valley in the Kashmir region. Temperate deciduous species occur mostly in Bhaderwah, Sindh valley and Budhil, Oak Scrubs are found in Dehragali (2194 m) (Rajouri), Sudhmahadev (Udhampur), Arnas (Reasi) etc. Khairsoo Oak, at 2700 to 3000 m is found in Sarthal, Deosa and Basantgarh.

The common species of these forests are: (Quarcus-incana) Lit-saeasoo, Sympolocos-crataegoedes, Pistocia-intergarrima, Machilus-spp,
Rhododendron-arloorm, pieris-ovalifolia, Quarcus-ddelatala, Cedrus-deodavar Abies-pindrow and Pinus-walichinana etc. Moist Deodar forest species are: Qitarcus-incana, Aesculus-indica, Pmnus-padus, acerspp, salix-iocillicaianum, Pyusphashia, Quarcussemecarpifblio; Bdula-citilis, Abios-Pindroo and Urlica-divca, etc.

**Himalayan Dry Temperate Forests**

This type is found in the inner valleys of Greater Himalayas. In this type dry temperate Neozapine coniferous and Deodars are found having broad leafs in padder, thakri and chattru nullah areas. While degraded forms of deodars are found in vale of Kashmir, especially in Tral, kathri, and kishtwar and near Doda in katal range. The west Himalayan type is confined to Daksum, Lolab and Lidder valleys between altitudes 3000 to 3600 meter.

In the areas of these forests (inner valleys of Greater Himalayas) the summer monsoon never penetrates, consequently the precipitation is very low; Usually under 1000 mm precipitation mainly occurs in the form of snow in the winters10. More suitable conditions for these prevail in Gilgit where
mean annual temperature maximum and minimum are 22.4°C and 11.2°C respectively.

The main species in these forests are: Pinus-gemdiana, Cedrus desdara, Cedrus-decodara, quercus-ilex, Zanthaxy-luinlalin, Quercus-incena, Daphnn-oleiodes, pavrotia-jfIcciuontiana, Rosti-spp, Crttisaustvalis, Ephedin, Juniperus-maesopods, anasnitida and Populus-salix etc.

**Sub-Alpine Forests**

This type consists mostly of fir and birch in varying proportion besides dense scrap of silver fir in Drass, Tajwas, in Talel and other upper Sindh valley ‘margs’ above 3300 m. These species flourish best in areas having a mean temperature range of 5.4°C to 9°C and rainfall of about 80 mm. The sub-Alpine margs generally have alpine pasturelands.

The common species of this type are—Picasu-ithienn, pruneapadu, Birch, Batolantilies, Abies-Pindraw, Taxus-beceata and Pinus-zuallichmna etc.

**Dry Alpine Scrub Forests**

These forests are found in Ladakh where the scanty precipitation occurs in winters in the form of snow and temperature remains below freezing point.
for more than six months during the year. The important species in this belt are—Calaganasupp, Juniperus-recurana, Commuies-funipelas, Potentilva-spp, Ephedra-geoardiana, Artimisic-maritina, and salix-supp, Myricarea. A number of medicinal plants occur on riverbanks and on upper reaches of the hillocks.

**Moist Alpine Scrub**

These types are found in Aparwath and Tajwas at an altitude of 3600 m; and on the upper reaches of Pir-panjal, where no tree growth is possible. The common shrubs are: Trisanamore, Fritallaria-primula, Syranjamodis, aconitum-spp. Pasture species like gris, anemone, Filtelasia, Primula, fwiper are also found. A number of medicinal plants are found in abundance at upper reaches of the mountains.

**Distribution of Pastures (Meadows)**

For the pastoral nomads of Jammu and Kashmir, who have been practicing transhumance for centuries, the distribution of merges (meadows) and the routes connecting them are of crucial importance. Transhumance, infect, consists of people and herds from one merge to another along traditionally assigned routes. The margs and the routes, therefore,
constitute an interlocking system, which is functionally and integrally incorporated in the socio-economic life of Transhumant.

The Margs of Jammu and Kashmir fall in to three broad groups:

1. Greater Himalayan Margs.
   a. Talel margs.
   b. Gorez margs
   c. Sonamarg margs
   d. Pahalgam margs
   e. Wardwan margs
2. Pir-panjal Margs
3. Doda Margs
   a. Kishtwar margs
   b. Bhadarwah margs

These margs occupy broad latitudinal zones from north to south. The Doda margs occupying the outer foothills south of the Fir-panjal in the Doda district of Jammu constitute the lowest and southernmost series of pastures, which are the home of Gujjar-Bakerwals during the winter months. Because of lower elevation and latitudinal position and the protective role of Pir-panjal against intensely cold winter winds, these margs provide ideal ecological conditions for the winter camps of the
harders. Some important margs of this zone are Chinta, Jahi, sarthingal, sunbai etc. during summers and Mansar, Surinsar, samba, Bhadu, Bilawar, and Ramnagar areas of Kathua district during winters.  

The Pir-panjal margs occupy an intermediate location between the low altitude Doda margs and high altitude Greater Himalayan margs. The herders, on their way to the alpine margs have to pass through the Pir-panjal and the margs here provide pasturage for 15 to 20 days while the herds are in transit here and of the Gujjars and Bakerwals stay in Pir-panjal margs and do not stay up to alpine margs.  

The important margs in this area are Pir-ki-margr Kathnrkhal, Dobjim, sathripain and Bala, Jaji marg, Girjan, Hafat Khor, Nanansar; Rahnerah, Jajinar, Sarimastan, chittapani, Hillkaka, kern, Nilana, chandras, Rattanshah, Shakarmarg, Kharimarg, Dudwali, }addi, janjwali, kandawnli, Bela, Katharkhal, Kohlan, Khilanmarg, Chorpanjal, Toshmaidan, Aliabad, simkore, Sanasar, Seoj, Dodhpatri, Ladhadhar, Tangdar, Mehva, Chhatapani,Sarimastan and many others.  

The Greater Himalayan margs occupy a broad belt at altitude varying from 2000 m to 5500 m above
sea level from Talel through Gorez, Sonamarg, Pahalgam and wardwan 2334 m. These margs are the summer homes of nomadic Gujjars and Bakarwals who remain here from last week of June to ending September. An important feature of these margs is, those at the highest elevation are generally utilized by only the Bakerwals. The Gujjars prefer to remain at comparatively lower alpine margs.

Some important alpine margs are: Talel area; Gangabal, Chornar, Neelgagar, Lasspathri, Satsar, Jabdwr, Maseetnar, Asliwali, Chhattergull, Labnarg, Mammarg, Marmachh, Shirimarg, Kltamri, Nawa, Lapatthri, Puranaganga, Nai Ganga, Shadimarg, etc.

Sonamarg area: Madihpathri, Tajwas, Matain, Bugnu, Satnari, Gagangir, Kohlal, Baltal, Drass, Khilanmarg, etc.

Gerez area: Trakabal, Machhli, Karanbal, Gorez, Naibat, Kilsliah, Bishansar, Kishansar, Tar-sangam, Badda Aab and Millen etc.

Pahalgam area: Astanmarg, Dodal, Gondpathri, Chandanwadi, Shashnag, sukhnala, amarnath (4236 m), Khrinala, Gomri and many others.
Wardwan area: somar, Kudratnaln, kaimnar, Haftinala, Marwa, Walkadal, kargdam and so many others.
The sedentarization process of the transhumant Bakarwal tribals of the Jammu & Kashmir (India)

Umer Jan Sofi

Abstract:

The nomadic lifestyle and economy is increasingly under stress from contemporary socio-political and ecological changes throughout the globe. On the one hand, they are facing various socio-economic and political pressures, including state policies and interventions, population growth, land-use change and integration into a market economy; and on the other hand, they are exposed to climate change and its impacts on their environment and life. The study has been conducted among the Bakarwal tribals of Jammu and Kashmir. The sedentarization of the Bakarwal tribals in Jammu and Kashmir started in the late 20th century and is still going on. In this study 40 Bakarwal households who were formerly nomadic goat and sheep herders, and have now settled down were interviewed in order to document the reasons to settle and the subsequent changes in the lifestyle of these people. All interviewees expressed their satisfaction with their sedentary life. Pasture scarcity, access to education and health services, unstable
political atmosphere etc. were given as basic factors for settlement.

**Introduction:**

Transhumance is a viable socio-economic system which involves regular and cyclic seasonal movements of people (herds men) along with their livestock between areas situated at different elevations and having different physical and climatic conditions. It has played an important role in the evolution of the socio-economic and cultural life in these areas. The practice of transhumance is closely related with and responsive to the seasonal rhythm. It is practiced between high and low altitudes in the temperate zone and between areas closer to the poles and those away from the poles in the polar lands where breeders of reindeer seasonally oscillate in search of lichen which is a food for reindeer. In hot and arid/semi arid areas also, such movements are in vogue to take advantage of the seasonal rhythm. Nature has set certain limitations on the free exercise of man through diverse relief, seasonal rhythm and varying vegetative cover. Man interacts with these diversities with a view to optimizing resource utilization. Viewed in this perspective, Transhumance may be considered to be a human adaptation to
marginal and spatially variant environments with a view to optimizing the use of natural endowments changing over time and varying space (Bhasin Veena, 2011). Bakarwals are sheep and goat rearing transhumants, who oscillate between high and low altitudes in the hill tracts of Jammu and Kashmir with their flocks and household goods. Their economy mainly depends on the products of their flock and the use of natural pastures round the year. A majority of them are seen in different seasons of the year in the areas extending from Poonch to Khatua in the south (Jammu region) and over the greater Himalayan ranges in the north (Kashmir Valley). This strip of land from south to north is roughly rectangular in shape. It is approximately 250-300 kms long and 200-250 kms wide. The entire area traversed by them is a succession of ranges and valleys comprising Shwaliks, PirPanjal, Kashmir Valley, Side Valleys and Greater Himalayan ranges. In this strip of land the transhumant Bakarwals plan their annual activities according to set schedules (Khatana 1992).

**Tribes in Jammu and Kashmir:**

The constitution of Jammu and Kashmir has notified twelve communities as the scheduled tribes. Eight communities--- Balti, Beda, Bot, Brookpa,
Changpa, Garra, Mon and Purigpa, among them were given this status in 1989; And Bakarwals, Gujjars, Gaddis and Sippis were notified as the scheduled tribes vide the constitution (Scheduled Tribes) order (Amendment) Act, 1991. All the twelve scheduled tribes were enumerated officially for the first time during the census 2001, recording the population of 1,105,979. The scheduled tribes account for 10.9 per cent of the total population of the state and 1.3 per cent of the tribal population of the country. Most of these tribes are found in Ladakh region of the state. However, the Gujjar and Bakarwal tribes are mostly found in Jammu and Kashmir provinces of the state. Bakarwals (who are the focus of this study) are found in almost every district of the state but they are mostly concentrated in the districts of Poonch, Rajuri and Khatua of the Jammu province and in Kashmir valley they are mostly found In Anantnag, Badgam, Pulwama, Kulgam and Kupwara districts.

**Bakarwals**

The term “Bakarwal” is derived from the combination of two Gojri/Urdu/Punjabi/Dogri terms “Bakri” meaning goat/sheep and “wal” meaning “one who takes care of”. Essentially the name “Bakarwal” implies “high-altitude goat and sheep herders.”
Bakarwals are primarily pastoral nomads rearing goat and sheep in high-altitudes of Greater-Himalayas during summer and spend their winter in plains and foot hills of Shwaliks. They are special nomadic tribes mainly found in the Pirpanjal range of mountains located between the two states of Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh. Bakarwals are also found in every corner of Northern provinces of the Himalayan range, namely the states of Uttrakhand, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab. The tribe is also known as Dhanger in several parts of India. In Jammu and Kashmir Bakarwals are stretched out in all the three regions--- Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. In Kashmir valley they are mostly found in the districts of Anantnag, Pulwama, Shopian, Kulgam, Budgam, Kupwara etc. Bakarwals plan their activities into four major segments of time: winter, spring, summer and autumn. Secondly, they act on space and plan their activities in outer hills (winter pastures) on migratory routes and Dhoks (summer pastures). They stay in the outer hills from December to mid-April. They plan their activities in this zone according to the demands of winter season. They are migrating with their flocks (goat and sheep) towards alpine pastures of the Greater Himalayas from the last quarter of April till the first week of July. During this time they cross
different topographic zones successively on the route of migration and their activities are controlled both by the passing of time as well as crossing over the space zones in regulating their daily marches according to environmental conditions. From June to September they graze on the Greater Himalayas alpine pastures from a fixed location and the activities of the transhumants are controlled both by passing of time and utilization of space. They again start returning to the winter bases in the month of October with the same route of migration and reach the outer hills zone by November every year. The nature of their oscillation, the planning of annual and diurnal activities over space and through time is to be perceived in time-space continuum as their activities are correlated with the two most pronounced time cycles in the physical environment i.e., spring and autumn migration.

Materials and Methods

Study area: The study was carried out in Anantnag district between June and September 2012. The district was purposively selected because in Jammu & Kashmir a considerable concentration of Bakarwal tribals are found in the district Anantnag. As per the census report of 2001, the tribal population in the
district was recorded as 7,462,8, comprising about 7% of the total population of the district. In Anantnag a number of tribal hamlets are found were Bakarwals are settled down for more than two decades now. Two tribal settlements among them were purposively selected for this study—Awora and Vangam.

**Sampling :** A sample of 40 households was randomly selected from the two tribal hamlets, Awora and Vangam. out of 58 households of Awora 20 were randomly selected, similarly, 20 households were selected from 51 households of Van-gam for this study.

**Results and Discussion**

**Nomadic life:** Bakarwals are primarily pastoral nomads rearing goat and sheep in high-altitudes of Greater-Himaliyas during summer and spend their winter in plains and foot hills of Shwaliks. They are special nomadic tribes mainly found in the Pirpanjal range of Mountains located between the two states of Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh. Bakarwals are also found in every corner of Northern provinces of the Himalayan range, namely the states of Uttrakhand, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab. The tribe is also known as Dhanger in several parts of India. In Jammu and Kashmir Bakarwals are stretched out three regions--- Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. In
Kashmir valley they are mostly found in the districts of Anantnag, Pulwama, Shopian, Kulgam, Budgam, Kupwara etc. It is said that they originally belong to the Gujjar stock. In Jammu and Kashmir the Gujjars can be divided into three principle groups according to their mode of existence and occupational pattern:

The first group comprises the sedentary or settled Gujjars who have taken to the cultivation of land as their primary occupation and live in permanent villages in the plains bordering the foot hills. The second group consists of the semi-settled or sedentary transhumant Gujjars. These Gujjars combine the cultivation of land with pastoralism in varying degrees. They are settled permanently in the lower mountain areas where they engage in cultivation, but move during the summer season to the middle mountains and Pirpanjal pastures. The third group comprises the transhumant Gujjars who are wholly pastoral nomads and oscillate between winter and summer pastures. The transhumant Gujjars can be further divided into two distinct groups members of the first group are called “Dodhis” or “Baniharas”. They earned their name as they specialize in tending buffaloes and selling milk (Dudh) and milk products and they live in dense forests (Ban).
Those belonging to the other group are referred to as “Bakarwals” as they are skillful goat (Bakri) breeders. It is worth noting here that the terms ---Dodhi and Bakarwal were not coined by the Gujjars themselves but were employed by Non-Gujjars to distinguish these two groups along occupational lines. Today, however, these terms are widely accepted and used by Gujjars as well. Bakarwals divide themselves in two sub-groups called --- (a) The Kunhari Bakarwals . (b) The Illahiwal Bakarwals. These terms reflect the area which members of sub-groups claim they originally belong to and thus indicate the history of their migration. Those who describe themselves as “Kunhari” Bakarwals claim that their ancestors belonged to the valley of Kunhar, while the other sub-group contends that their ancestors belonged to the valley of Illahiwal, Kohistan and Swat in the Pakhtoon speaking areas of Pakistan. The Illahiwal Bakarwals speak Gojri with an accent which seems to have been influenced by “Pushto” language and follow the traditions of the Pushto speaking people in their traditions, customs, dress and personal names. However, the Kunhari—Illahiwal division among the Bakarwals doesnot have any direct functional relevance today, except that of identifying their places of origin (R.P.Khatana 1976). This tribal community
first emerged as a corporate group only in the early years of 20th century (Rao Aparna, 1988). It is a conglomeration of families whose ancestors belonged to different ethnic groups, spread over large parts of South-Asia. Numerically most important among them was represented by the Gujjars who lives as peasants or pastoralists in large parts of Pakistan, North and Western India, and in some pockets of Afghanistan. In Jammu and Kashmir, all Bakarwals are Sunni-Muslims and their traditional activities range from sedentary agriculture accompanied by a limited amount of multi-stock transhumance to nomadic uni-stock animal husbandry, together with little or no agriculture. Between these two extremes one finds several types, depending on the precise area and specific sub-group of Gujjars (Rao, A. and M.Y. Casimer, 1985). From last few decades a change has been witnessed in the life style patterns of Bakarwals of Kashmir. Nomadism being practiced by these tribals since centuries is now coming to an end. They are now gradually settling down permanently in Plain area. One of the main reasons of declining in Tribal movement is the killing of hundreds of nomadic Gujjars on upper reaches, in the turmoil. Another reason is the restrictions imposed by the Security agencies and militants on tribal migration in border
and strategic areas are also causing shadow over the fate of age old tradition of seasonal migration. Displacement of the Gujjars and Bakarwals may be considered as the collateral damage by many but it actually is one of the absolute realities of the unrest in Jammu and Kashmir. The unrest in the region led to the emergence of multiple categories of the displacement (Kashmiri Pandits, Gujjars and Bakarwals and other inhabitants) from all over the state of Jammu and Kashmir. These people have been uprooted either due to the external dimension of the conflict in the form of India-Pakistan hostility, or the internal dimension in the form of ongoing violent militancy in the Indian Kashmir. The most perceptible category, however, is that of the detachment of Nomadic Gujjars and Bakarwals Community from their centuries old Transhumance practice. The Indo-Pakistan ceasefire line cuts across vast grazing lands, restricting mobile herds to its south and east. The wars of 1965 and 1971 between India and Pakistan and the frequent armed skirmishes between these two countries have deprived yet more Bakarwals of their homes and pastures close to this line. The Kargil war (1999)and the on-going militancy in the Jammu and Kashmir have exacerbated the situation and deprived the transhumant Bakarwals of their pastures in
Zanskar and the Suru valley. In addition, certain decisions taken for “environmental reasons” by the local state forest, soil conservation and wildlife departments have led to loss of access to traditional pastures. In the study area a total of 25 percent of surveyed households have claimed the on-going conflict situation as the basic reason for sedentarization.

Process of sedentarization: The process of sedentarization of Transhumant Bakarwals has started in late 20th century and is still going on. The important factors were mentioned having influenced people’s decision to settle: (i) Pasture scarcity (ii) militency (iii) attainment of modern education and (iv) Availability of health services etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic reasons to settle down</th>
<th>Frequency n=40</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pasture scarcity</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of Education and other basic facilities</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict situation</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Education was one of the arguments put forward by the government to encourage people to settle. Parents were told to send their children to school to enable them to enjoy a better living standard and economic situation. Similarly, unavailability of basic necessities like health on the higher altitudes also compels the nomadic tribals to settle down. About 47 percent of respondents in the surveyed villages have revealed the access to education and other basic facilities as the basic reason to settle down. As a result of on-going violent conflict situation in Jammu and Kashmir various Pastures falling in close proximity of the Line of Control and International Border with Pakistan and other areas are marked as “forbidden” by the Security related agencies following the outbreak of insurgency in 1990. In view of firing on the Indo-Pak border and militancy, the security forces in Jammu and Kashmir had restricted the entry of Gujjars and Bakarwals in
few dhoks and pastures located near the divide-line in districts of Poonch, Rajouri, Jammu, Kathua, Baramulla, Kupwara, Bandipur, Kargil and Leh. Due to such restrictions the Gujjars and Bakarwals have suffered a great loss to their lifestyle, economy and tribal culture (Tufail 2011). Many of the transhumant’s shifted their summer pasture lands in the last two decades. 60.25 percent of the Gujjars and Bakarwals shifted their dhoks during the last twenty years of militancy in the state. Because most of their traditional pastures are affected by the presence of the terrorists they prefer to shift their pastures to the safer areas which are less affected (R.Javid 2009). Militants and security forces compel the tribals for food, beggar labour to carry their weapons, ration from one pasture to the other. Since there is no transportation in these areas. Not only this, they also forcibly snatch the cattle’s from the poor nomads. The exploitation of them was on peak during the last two decades of hostility in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir.

**Conclusion**

Since times immemorial the Bakarwals, take their sheep high into the mountains, above the tree-line to graze in the lush meadows. It may take them as
many as sixty days to reach these meadows. During the summer, they move from one meadow to the other. But now these nomadic Bakarwals who lead a lonely and tough life in the high-altitude meadows of the Himalayas and the Pir-Panjal are gradually settling down permanently in Plain area. As the afore said reasons reveal that political instability and conflict situation in the region is the basic reason for abandoning their traditional occupation and settling down permanently. This changing occupation and livelihood patterns has put this community into crises. While on one hand they are leaving their ancestral occupation of rearing cattle which was the not only their source of economy but the “whole way of life’. Now after changing their occupational patterns change has occurred in their whole way of life. The changing economic structure has changed their family structure, institutions of marriage and kinship have also witnessed some changes. As it is a fact that when a change comes it has both positive and negative consequences. Similarly change in livelihood pattern and economic structure of the Bakarwal tribals have also brought both things with it. While on one hand it has put the culture of these tribals under threat as a result of acculturation and assimilation processes on the other hand it has provided the various facilities
and improved the quality of life. Their children can now go to the schools, medical facilities and other health care measures are available for them and above all the changing occupational pattern has provided them with great avenues of social mobility also.
References:


Socio-Economic Conditions of Gujjar and Bakerwal Tribes of Kashmir

Azhar Ud Din

Abstract:

Gujjars and Bakerwal of Jammu and Kashmir are nomads. Gujjars and Bakerwals are two names of one tribe popularly known as Gujjars in the Indian subcontinent. Gujjars form an important ethnic and linguistic group in Jammu and Kashmir and constitute 20 percent of the total population of the state. Scattered in almost all districts of the state, J&K Gujjars who are mainly Muslims carry with itself the age old traditions and customs of prehistoric time. Most of them are still untouched with the influence of the outside world. Their simple and rustic lives arouse curiosity and interest of visitors as well as are part of extensive research work. The paper is conceptual in nature and tries to study the social and economic upliftment of Gujjars and Bakerwal.

INTRODUCTION

The nature of society in Jammu and Kashmir is heterogeneous in terms of its ethnic composition as well as religious orientation. The heterogeneity of the state is multilayered and can be seen at racial,
linguistic, cultural and religious levels. Dogras, Chibalis, Paharis, Mangolian, Kashmiris, Ladakhis, Gujjars are the various racial groups inhabiting the state. Dogras and Chibalis are concentrated in the Jammu region. Races like Champa, Ladakhi, Balti and Dard inhabit ladakh region. Kashmir is a Muslim majority region. Besides there had been a small community of hindus in Kashmir, commonly known as kashmiri pundits. In addition herdsmen, shephards, galawans, dums, boatmen, minstrels, watals, Gujjars, Bakerwal etc are important tribes of Kashmir. Gujjar Bakerwal and Gaddis are main tribal communities recognized as such by the government. Gujjars and Bakerwal form the third largest ethnic groups in terms of their population in the state. As per census they form 10.9% of population of state.

The history of settlements of various tribes and cultural groups in the state of Jammu and Kashmir is a record of constant impulse of immigration from the north-west, west, east and south. Various races ethnic groups and religious waves have entered and influence the region. In present situation Kashmiri Muslims and Gujjar and Bakerwal are the two numerically strong ethnic groups in the state of
Jammu and Kashmir. Much information is available about Muslims of Kashmir but very little is known about tribals of Jammu and Kashmir. They are nomadic peasantry living on lofty mountain slopes near alpine pastures and in high altitude valleys. The physical characteristics of Gujjar and Bakerwal, their language, manners, customs, dress, social organization and economic activities are quite distinct from other ethnic groups of the state. Gujjar and Bakerwal of Jammu and Kashmir state claim a common collateral ancestry with the Gujjars living in other parts of Indian sub-continent.

Jammu and Kashmir has 12 scheduled tribes- balti, beda, boti, boto, brokpa, drokpa, dard, and shin. Changpa, garra, mon, purigpa, Gujjar, Bakerwal, gaddi and sippi spread over three regions Jammu, Kashmir and ladakh. These tribes received tribal status during the tenure of chandra shekhar government in 1991. All the 12 scheduled tribes were enumerated officially for the first time during the 2001 census recording a population of 1,105,979. The scheduled tribes account for 10.9 percent of the total population of the state and 1.3 percent of total tribal population of country. The scheduled tribes are predominantly rural as 95.3 percent of them reside in villages. Out of 12
scheduled tribes Gujjar is the most populous tribe having a population of 7,63,806. Thus forming 69.1 percent of total scheduled tribe population. Bot is second major tribe having a population of 96,698 followed by Bakerwal 60,724 and brokpa 51,957. Gujjar along with the three tribes constitute 88 percent of the total tribal population.

**REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Various aspects of scheduled tribes have been discussed even then there are a number of aspects which are still untouched. Dr Javaid Rahi, (2011), systematically revealed the origin of Gujjar tribe, their tribal identity, and history of Gujjar community. Political empowerment of gujjars in j&k is also analysed by the author. Anita Sharma (2009), explores the community life of bakerwals, their religion, their power and reciprocity, knowledge, tradition, language, art, craft, music and dance in a detailed way, also a brief summary about the valley of Kashmir is given. Aparna Mitra, (2008) studied on the status of women among scheduled tribes in India and concluded that tribal women are less educated comparatively and gender equality among tribal group is a complex phenomenon. J.Daswani, (1993) gave a report on
“Tribal study synthesis report and a summary of significant findings. D.K. Behera, et.al (1999) made a study entitled “contemporary societies, tribal societies” studies on various social concepts about the tribes and concluded that tribals are socially and educationally backward. Sahu Chaturbhuj, (2006) made a study on some aspects of tribals in the book entitled aspects of tribal studies S. M. Dubey, (1972) carried a study on education, social change and political consciousness among tribes of north east India and concluded that tribes are illiterate and backward, and there is a need of creating political awareness among them. R.P. Khatana, (1976) studied on marriages and kinship among Gujjar and Bakerwals in Jammu and Kashmir and concluded that these scheduled tribes marriages within the community and within the clan strictly and also studied some aspects of transhumance in mountainous traits during the year 1976. Subsequent workers like B. Zutshi (1981) Kango & Dhar (1981) and Nau Nihal Singh (2003) have also studied various aspects of Gujjar and Bakerwal scheduled tribes.

ORIGIN

From literary, historical, archeological and numismatic sources, we find that (a) the word Gujjar
is rooted in the Sanskrit word Gurjara, (b) Gujaratra, is also found in Indian literary works around fifth century, (c) Kathiawar and Gujarat had powerful Gujjar rulers, and the area was known as Gujaratra. The historians opine that in the IX and X centuries A.D. the greater part of Rajasthan was called by the name of Gurjara Desa (country of the Gujjars). It is believed that their kingdom was attacked by the Arabs who were successfully resisted by the Gujjars of the then Gurjara Desa. These Gujjars migrated from Rajasthan in different directions in groups. One such branch migrated towards north in the plains of Punjab. The most likely time for such emigration was IX century A.D. when the Gurjara Pratihara dynasty dominated all the northern and north-western India. There they are believed to have set up a powerful kingdom in the IX century A.D. The Rajatrangini refers to Raja Shankarvarman of Kashmir, who is said to have invaded a Gurjar ruled region known as Tekka2 (Gujjar Bhoomi) situated in the area now known as the Punjab. It is reasonable to presume that Gurjara tribe had extended its reach to Punjab and it is probable that such places as Gujarat, Gujaranwala, Gujarkhan, where Gujjar habitation is still found in great numbers, derived their names from the Gurjar tribe.
Culture:

Gujjars are culturally very much depicting able by dancing, religious rites and customs etc. The tribes have got inclination towards religion. Some of them have converted themselves to Hinduism and also Islam. They are the tribes who strictly follow old traditions and customs. They still follow custom of early marriages, where girls are married at an age of 14 - 15 years and boys at 17-18 years.

Dress:

Gujjar and bakerwal wear a unique dress and have not changed their style despite the changes that have taken place in society due to modernization and development. Gujjars wear mostly their traditional costumes and jewellery. Women folk wear shirt studded with varieties of buttons and embroidery on it with a black shalwar, dupatta with multiple colours and round cap with a trail of course over threaded. The women folk young and old are found of wearing heavy jewelry, kangan, karras, seheeri, mahail loung, bali are commonly used. Women wear necklace with a triangular pendant, studded with a beautiful stone in the centre. It has religious significance, symbolizes evil eye and mainly utilizes to prevent bad luck.
Occupation:

The tribals herd animals like sheep goats and buffalo. Semi-nomadic people of Gujjar community are in the habit of migrating to upper parts of Himalayas along with their cattle during the summer season and back to the plains with the onset of chilly winters. There is dearth of trained Gujjar artisans in various handicrafts. Therefore, they are constantly dependent on the items needed by them from them. Gujjars and bakerwals perhaps is the only community which has preserved and maintained its originality throughout ages.

Food:

Mostly they depend on milk products as their staple food besides cereals, wheat and maize. They may be vegetarians and non-vegetarians. The favourite dishes of gujjar are maki ki roti, ganhar, sarsoon ka sag, lassi, kalari, karan, etc. It is surprising that Gujjar are mostly vegetarian.

Language:

The Gujjars and Bakerwals have their own Gujri language, which they generally speak in between them. But they correspond with the other persons in Urdu generally. The Government has given importance to the requirements of Gujjar culture, as
result of which the Radio Kashmir Jammu and Srinagar are daily broadcasting one hour Gojri programme. Besides this, there is a Gojri section in J&K Cultural Academy, which annually publishes literature on their culture and history and also organizes cultural & literary functions at different places inhabited by the Gujjar and Bakerwals.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF GUJJARS LIVING IN VARIOUS DISTRICTS OF KASHMIR

SRINAGAR:

The Condition of nomadic Gujjars is very pathetic as compared to Gujjars of Jammu Province. Srinagar is considered to be the heart of Kashmir Valley having considerable Gujjar Population. These people are mostly dependent on flocks and a few have adopted agriculture as their means of livelihood. The literacy rate among these Gujjars is very low. Though the district is having a good network of school education but Gujjars of the area are backward due to their inherent tendency towards the profession adopted by their forefathers and are not being benefited by this educational system. The Gujjars of Srinagar area are continuing their seasonal migration in Sona Margh, Kach Pahrthi Khilan, Matein and Drass
besides Traba, Karwbal of Machil area. Effects are on for the upliftment of Gujjars in Srinagar district regarding their social and economic position. Such efforts have not yielded much result due to:-

Lack of water resources and fertile land in the areas where Gujjars are living. Shortage of teaching staff in the Schools. Due to nomadic pattern of life children can’t continue their education. Awareness campaign is not being launched at govt. and non-govt. Level. Lack of competition in every field especially in the field of education. Lack of technological know-how to nourish the fruit orchards.

**GANDERBAL:**

Ganderbal is a newly formed district of state of Jammu and Kashmir carved out from Srinagar district. Formerly it was a tehsil of Srinagar having a considerable tribal population. These people are mostly dependent on flocks and a few have adopted agriculture as their means of livelihood. The literacy rate among these Gujjars is very low. The social and economical problems being faced by the Gujjars of this district can be summarized up as under:-

Shortage of teaching staff in the Schools. Lack of water resources and fertile land in the areas where
Gujjars are living. Lack of technological know-how to nourish the fruit orchards. Due to nomadic pattern of life children can’t continue their education. Awareness campaign is not being launched at govt. and non-govt. Level. Lack of competition in every field especially in the field of education.

**BUDGAM:**

District Budgam is having very low population of Gujjar and bakerwal. Even then thousand of gujjars are living in Phariyawara Kahipura, Dabba, Argwalham, Mengapur, Balpura, Gkrowth area. The maximum Gujjars in this district are local (MUKAMI) and have adopted agriculture as their means of livelihood. The Gujjars of this district face same difficulties as that of Gujjars of Srinagar. The social and economical problems being faced by the Gujjars of this district are :-

ANANTNAG:

Lakhs of Gujjars reside in this district. The percentage of literacy among Gujjars in this district is about 12%. Inspite of implication of Tribal Sub Plan / Development Scheme Gujjars in this district is very backward. The condition of Gujjars in Pahalgam tehsil is pathetic and painful. Some of the reasons social economic backwardness of Gujjars of this area includes:

- The Gujjars of this district reside in far-flung areas having no road links. Child labour. Low parentage of literacy among Gujjar woman. Unemployment in educated Gujjar youths. Less opportunities of coaching for admission in professional and technical institutions. Shortage of Schools. Poor economic condition.

KULGAM:

District kulgam is having good gujjar and bakerwal population. literacy among Gujjars in this district is very low. Inspite of implication of Tribal Sub Plan / Development Scheme Gujjars in this district is very backward. The condition of Gujjars in this district is pathetic and painful. Some of the reasons social economic backwardness of Gujjars of this area includes:

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The Gujjars of this district are scattered in different areas having no road links. Poor economic condition, Low parentage of literacy among Gujjar woman, Unemployment in educated Gujjar youths. Child labour. Less opportunities of coaching for admission in professional and technical institutions. Shortage of Schools.

**PULWAMA:**

In Shopian tehsil of district Pulwama Gujjars live in a large number. Their main occupation is agriculture. The Gujjars of Shopian, Tral and Kulgam face the following hardships:- Shortage of educational institutions in Gujjar localities. Malfunctioning of mobile schools. The inherent difficulties of Semi nomadic tribal resulting in lack of education. Lack of proper marketing facilities of wood, milk and matter. Lack of financial resources with Gujjars of Pulwama. Non availability of work to Gujjar labourers. The growing tendency of child labour.

**SHOPIAN**

In Shopian district Gujjars live in a large number. Their main occupation is agriculture. The Gujjars of Shopian, face the following hardships:- Shortage of educational institutions in Gujjar localities. Malfunctioning of mobile schools. The
inherent difficulties of Semi nomadic tribal resulting in lack of education. Lack of proper marketing facilities of wood, milk and matter. of child labour. Lack of financial resources with Gujjars of Pulwama. Non availability of work to Gujjar labourers. The growing tendency

**KUPWARA:**

District Kupwara is the only district where Gujjars live in maximum number. Maximum Gujjar population live in Karnah, Keeran, Awara, area of the district. Nomadic Gujjars also constitute a good number of Gujjars of the district. The main profession of such Gujjars include agriculture, sheep flocking and business of dairy products. The literacy rate among Gujjars in this district is about 18%.

The socio-economic difficulties faced by gujjars includes:- Lack of fertile land in hilly areas. Lack of mutual communication and competition. Establishment of school away from Gujjar population. Shelling on the boarders resulting in destroying the educational developmental and agriculture activities.

**BARAMULLA:**

In Uri tehsil, the tribe constitutes 40% of the total population of the area. About 17% Gujjars of the
district baramulla are literate. They have agriculture as a main source of livelihood. Being a border area the basic facilities of the life are not available to Gujjars of the district. The standard of living of this district is better but the Gujjar population is facing acute difficulties which include: Location of agriculture land near LOC. Road links are not easily accessible. Shortage of financial resources. Due to shelling, delay in the implementation of various schemes for the development of tribals.

**BANDIPORE:**

Bandipore district is of of the 10 districts of Kashmir. This district was carved out from the erstwhile baramulla district. A few percentage of Gujjars of the district are literate. They have agriculture as a main source of livelihood. The basic facilities of the life are not available to Gujjars of the district. The standard of living of this district is better but the Gujjar population is facing acute difficulties which include:.Lack of financial resources with Gujjars of bandipore. Non availability of work to Gujjar labourers. Road links are not easily accessible.
RECOMMENDATIONS

- Availability of water, electricity and other basic facilities to their families is strongly recommended.
- Construction of houses and roads for Gujjar and bakerwal families at earliest.
- Establishment of static and mobile schools and enrollment of all school going children in them.
- Establishment of centers for sale of wool, dairy and mutton products with an aim of strengthening their economic condition.
- Providing high breed sheep, goats, buffaloes and horses to Gujjar and bakerwal tribes.
- Making new empowerment schemes and making them accessible to everyone.
- Providing of fertile agriculture land and feed and fodder to gujjar and bakerwals on subsidy rates.
- Introduction of modern technology for the Gujjars who have adopted agriculture as means for livelihood.
- Providing professional skills to illiterate Gujjar men and women so as to establish their own units.
• Providing of govt. jobs to educated Gujjar and bakerwal candidates.
• Providing assistance and easy term loan to Gujjar and bakerwal for their upliftment.
• Establishment of veterinary hospitals for them.
• Enhancement of seats in technical/ professional institutions for Gujjar and bakerwal candidates.

CONCLUSION

Gujjar and Bakerwals of jammu and Kashmir are nomads spread almost all the regions of state. As nomadic tribes they are involved in pastoralism and transhumance with their livestock’s. They are a milk selling community. Economically gujjars and bakerwal are very poor. Livestock economy of the gujjars is managed by both men and women. They spend a pathetic life due to number of problems in their life. Need is to take immediate steps by government and other development agencies for their upliftment.

REFERENCES


Impact of militency on the seasonal migratory practices of Gujjar and Bakkarwal tribes in Jammu and Kashmir

Kavita Suri

Abstract:

The Gujjars and Bakkarwal scheduled tribes form the third largest community in Jammu and Kashmir. Primarily nomadic communities who move to the lower, middle and higher mountain reaches in the Pir Panjal mountain ranges and even beyond up to Kashmir and Ladakh with the change in seasons along with their flock of buffalos, goats and sheep, they have been severely hit by the militency in Jammu and Kashmir. The present paper aims to understand the impact of conflict situations in Jammu and Kashmir on the migratory practices of Gujjars and Bakkarwals. It also seeks to analyze the annual pattern of migration from upper journeys to the higher hills and return journeys to the lower hills and plains.

Introduction

Jammu and Kashmir, a border state of India is inhabited by a number of tribal communities who have settled down in all parts of this Himalayan state. For many years, Jammu and Kashmir had no
Scheduled Tribe (ST) population. It was only in 1989 that eight communities vide the Constitution (Jammu & Kashmir) Scheduled Tribes Order, 1989 and four communities, namely Gujjar, Bakkarwal, Gaddi and Sippi were notified as the Scheduled Tribes vide the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order (Amendment) Act, 1991. These twelve hill tribes of Jammu and Kashmir which were granted ST status are Balti, Beda, Bot (Boto), Brokpa (Drokpa, Dard, Shin), Changpa, Garra, Mon, Purigpa, Gujjar, Bakkarwal, Gaddi and Sippis. All the twelve Scheduled Tribes (STs) were enumerated officially for the first time during the 2001 census recording a population of 1,105,979.

The Scheduled Tribes account for 11.9 per cent of the total population of the State as per Census 2011. The total population of the state, as per Census 2011, is 1,25,41302 including male population of 66,40662 and female population of 59,00640. The Census 2011 shows the entire ST population of the state at 14, 93, 299 in comparison to 11,0,5979 of Census 2001. Thus, there is an increase of 3,87,320 in schedule tribe population of the state. As the Census 2011 figures on the individual population of 12 ST communities of J&K are not yet available, however as per Census 2001, Gujjar is the most populous tribe
having a population of 763,806, thus forming 69.1 percent of the total ST population. Bot is the second major tribe having a population of 96,698, followed by Bakkarwal (60,724) and Brogpa (51,957). Gujjar along with the three tribes constitute 88 per cent of the total tribal population (Census 2001) whereas Balti, Purigpa and Gaddi having population ranging from 38,188 down to 35,765 from 10.2 per cent of the total ST population. Remaining five tribes, Sippi, Changpa, Mon, Garra and Beda along with generic tribes constitute the residual proportion (1.9 per cent). Among all the tribes, Beda is the smallest group with a population of 128.

**Table 1: Population of Schedules Tribes in J&K**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>POPULATION OF ST Census 2011</th>
<th>POPULATION OF ST Census 2001</th>
<th>VARIATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JAMMU &amp; KASHMIR</td>
<td>14,93,299</td>
<td>11,0,5979</td>
<td>3,87,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kupwara</td>
<td>70352</td>
<td>51753</td>
<td>18599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badgam</td>
<td>23912</td>
<td>14547</td>
<td>9365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leh</td>
<td>95,857</td>
<td>96,174</td>
<td>-317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kargil</td>
<td>1,22,336</td>
<td>1,05,377</td>
<td>16959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poonch</td>
<td>1,76,101</td>
<td>1,49,018</td>
<td>27083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajouri</td>
<td>2,32,815</td>
<td>1,60,049</td>
<td>72766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathua</td>
<td>53307</td>
<td>33969</td>
<td>19338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>------------</td>
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<td>---------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baramula</td>
<td>37705</td>
<td>28886</td>
<td>8819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandipore</td>
<td>75374</td>
<td>54996</td>
<td>20378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srinagar</td>
<td>8935</td>
<td>3485</td>
<td>5450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganderbal</td>
<td>61070</td>
<td>41959</td>
<td>19111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulwama</td>
<td>22607</td>
<td>10552</td>
<td>12055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopian</td>
<td>21820</td>
<td>10944</td>
<td>10876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anantnag</td>
<td>1,16,006</td>
<td>80,856</td>
<td>35150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulgam</td>
<td>26525</td>
<td>20287</td>
<td>6238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doda</td>
<td>39216</td>
<td>28400</td>
<td>10816</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ramban</td>
<td>39772</td>
<td>29353</td>
<td>10419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kishtwar</td>
<td>38149</td>
<td>27917</td>
<td>10232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udhampur</td>
<td>56309</td>
<td>42875</td>
<td>13434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasi</td>
<td>88365</td>
<td>60753</td>
<td>27612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu</td>
<td>69193</td>
<td>42089</td>
<td>27104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samba</td>
<td>17573</td>
<td>11740</td>
<td>5833</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census 2011

In India, Gujjar Bakkarwals are spread throughout the northern part of the Himalayan Range. This includes the states of Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab. In Pakistan, Bakkarwals are found in the hilly northern parts of Punjab as well as parts of the North West Frontier Province. In Jammu and Kashmir in India, they are found in all the
three regions of the state including Jammu (comprising districts of Jammu, Kathua, Udhampur, Poonch, Rajouri Districts), the Kashmir Valley (comprising the districts of Srinagar, Baramulla, Kupwara, Pulwama, Budgam and Anantnag) and Ladakh (comprising Kargil). The Gujjar tribe has the highest concentration in Poonch and Rajouri districts in Jammu province followed by Anantnag, Udhampur and Doda districts. The state of Jammu and Kashmir has a Bakkarwal population of about 60,724 in 2001 (Jammu Kashmir Digest of Statistics 2011).
Table 2: Percentage of Scheduled Tribe to total population in Jammu and Kashmir

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRICT CODE</th>
<th>DISTRICT</th>
<th>Percentage Of STs (2011)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>JAMMU &amp; KASHMIR</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Kargil</td>
<td>86.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Leh(Ladakh)</td>
<td>71.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Punch</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Rajouri</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Reasi</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Ganderbal</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Bandipore</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Kishtwar</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Ramban</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Anantnag</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Udhampur</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Doda</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Kathua</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Shupiyann</td>
<td>8.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Kupwara</td>
<td>8.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Kulgam</td>
<td>6.2</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>Samba</td>
<td>5.5</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>Jammu</td>
<td>4.5</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>Pulwama</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Baramula</td>
<td>3.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Badgam</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Gujjars who were primarily a nomadic community, have now settled down to a larger extent in permanent villages in the plains bordering the foot hills and have taken to cultivation of land as their primary occupation. But there are many semi-settled or sedentary transhumant Gujjars who combine the cultivation of land with pastoralism. They move to the lower and middle mountain areas in Pir Panjal pastures in the summer with their flock of buffalos where they engage in cultivation and come back to the plains in the winters. The Bakkarwals who are the goat (Bakri) breeders are also primarily pastoral nomads rearing goat and sheep for livelihood. They also leave their homes each summer for the high-altitudes of Himalayas and spend their winter in plains and foot hills of Shivaliks. During their journeys to the higher reaches of the mountains during summers when the snows melt and the passes open, the Bakkarwals trek to the higher pastures of the Pir Panjal ranges where they graze their herd of sheep. Bakkarwals take long hard journeys to the higher mountains as long as even up to 500 kms. It may take them as many as sixty days to reach these meadows.
The nomadic Bakkarwals from Ranbir Singh Pura area in the plains of Indo-Pak International Border, Akhnoor, lower hills of Rajouri and Kalakote travel over 500 kms of journey with their caravans to Drass, Suru valley and Kargil in Ladakh via Kashmir valley and Pir Panjal ranges.

Seasonal migration patterns among nomadic Gujjar Bakkarwals of Jammu and Kashmir

With the onset of summers each year, the Gujjars and Bakkarwals migrate along with their livestock to upper reaches of Himalayas through seven major tribal migration routes. Besides, seven major migratory routes, there are many sub-routes also. All the major routes and sub-routes pass through various mountain passes which are known as Gallis in the local language. Various Dheras (clans comprising of various households) of nomads start their journey from various places like Marhot, Mendhar, Rajouri, Poonch, Surankote, Thanamandi etc. Every year around 20,000 people migrate to summer pastures and return back after the grazing season is over. Migration in the Jammu usually takes place from three regions: Poonch, Rajouri and Kishtwar regions. The Poonch and Rajouri migration makes for the
heaviest route out of the three. All these routes lead to different passes or Gallis in the Pir Panjal ranges.

Since the eruption of militancy in Jammu and Kashmir, the security forces including the police and Security related agencies has been keeping an eye on the migratory population and checking the movement of militants along with them. For this purpose, the security agencies and the state administration has set up Joint Forest Check Posts (JCP) since 2009 to monitor and record the movement of Gujjar-Bakkarwals. Under this initiative, each JCP maintains a joint biometric observation or monitoring of the migration by one representative each from the police, Security related agencies, a veterinary doctor from the Animal Husbandry Department and a Forest Department official. There are currently six such check posts in the Poonch-Rajouri located at Mandi, Kulali, Behramgala, Thanamandi, Darhal and Mahrot, along the routes followed by the Bakkarwals. Another JCP was set up at Kandi in the initial years.

Table 3: Migration pattern of the Deras (nomadic families) in Poonch-Rajouri in 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Joint Check Post (JCP)</th>
<th>Originated from</th>
<th>Middle reaches</th>
<th>Higher reaches</th>
<th>Destination</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Behramgala</td>
<td>Bachianwali</td>
<td>Dhokri</td>
<td>Jaranwali</td>
<td>Bagnuwali</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bhattardurian</th>
<th>Darabad</th>
<th>Dandidhar</th>
<th>Dandi Darabad</th>
<th>Dogrian</th>
<th>Sonama</th>
<th>Srinagar</th>
<th>Srilanka</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malhan</td>
<td>Mari</td>
<td>Dongewali</td>
<td>Said Baker</td>
<td>Jatani</td>
<td>Shopian</td>
<td>Meena</td>
<td>Majdhar</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tatakuti</td>
<td>Khutwali</td>
<td>Gajnawa</td>
<td>Jaranwali</td>
<td>Hill</td>
<td>Kaka</td>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>Tarkana</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Kulali</td>
<td>Dandidhar</td>
<td>Fasalabad</td>
<td>Kallar Katal</td>
<td>Marhote</td>
<td>Muri</td>
<td>Bearwali</td>
<td>Tungwal</td>
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<td>Ranjati</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Marhote</td>
<td>Naushera</td>
<td>Rajouri</td>
<td>Sunderbani</td>
<td>Kalakote</td>
<td>Sangla</td>
<td>Bearwali</td>
<td>Dobigaj</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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Traditionally, the seasonal migration commences in the first week of April each year and
generally the upward movement is completed in the last week of June or the first week of July.

The first to move are Bakkarwals whose livestock are hard and can survive on the short grass and shrubs that sprout after winter. The movement is to make maximum use of nature’s bounty in the form of good grazing for their flocks. The routes followed are centuries old and particular families follow particular routes without deviation. The dhoks (mud & stone houses) and grazing grounds enroute their final destination may not belong to that family who merely use the intermediary dhoks as staging areas. The locations where the Deras halt enroute and their duration of stay both during migration and reverse migration often differs. However Deras have certain earmarked Dhoks which are used by them every year. The carvans generally move along the roads for convenience and to avoid traffic. The movement is in the early morning and the routes of migration and reverse migration differ for some deras and there is no set pattern to this variation.

The nomadic Deras originating from Rajouri and Naushera, depending upon their preferred destination or the location of their dhoks (temporary shelters) either take the Bhimber Gali-Jaran Wali Gali
road and onward through the JCPs or through the JCPs of Thanamandi, Darhal and Kandi. The carvans crossing Thanamandi joint check post originate from Akhnoor and go to Bhamala-Sunderbani-Narian-Chingus-Rajouri-Saaj-Thanamandi-Manhal-Azmatabad-Naili-DKG-Ratan Pir pass and Banjh. Another route of Deras is from Akhnoor-Bhamla-Sunderbani-Narian-chingas-Rajouri-Gurian-Darhal-Pargal-Harimarg-Shakarmarg-Jalamang and then Naushera-Narian-Rajouri-Gurian-Pargal-Kharimarg-Shakarmarg/Jalamang. Both the routes taken by the Deras cross through JCP Darhal.


**Situations in Jammu and Kashmir and Gujjar Bakkarwals**

Jammu and Kashmir was hit by militancy in 1989. Broadly termed as ‘proxy war’ being waged
from across the border by Pakistan with an objective to have control over Kashmir valley, the initial armed struggle started with the objective to carve an independent Kashmir from rest of Jammu and Kashmir whose key players were outfits like Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), Hizbul Mujahideen etc. The Gujjar Bakkarwal population of Jammu and Kashmir has been badly hit by the militancy which erupted in the border state in 1989. Since the beginning of the armed insurgency in the border state, these two tribes were unwittingly drawn into this conflict.

**Objectives of the study**

1. To study the impact of militancy on the migratory practices of Gujjars and Bakkarwals.
2. To analyze the annual pattern of migration from upper journeys to the higher hills and return journeys to the lower hills and plains.
3. To suggest some measures for the betterment of Gujjar Bakkarwals including their migratory practices.
Methodology

The present study is based on stratified random sampling which was done in Poonch and Rajouri. The areas chosen for the study of the migratory practices of nomads were Poonch and Rajouri as most of the seasonal migration takes place through the Pir Panjal ranges in these two districts only. A number of interviews were conducted besides the case studies and questionnaire was used. Besides the primary data, secondary sources were collected from the books, journals, seminar papers, websites, newspapers etc.

Limitations of the study

The study could have been conducted in the entire Pir Panjal ranges. But due to time and resources restraint, it was not extended to other parts.

Results and Discussions

The protracted conflict in Jammu and Kashmir has impacted the lives of the Gujjars Bakkarwals. The worsening of the security situation in J&K did not stop the two great annual seasonal migrations but it did expose them to new pressures. As the terrorists would remain hidden in the dense forests in the upper reaches of the mountains especially in Pir Panjal ranges, the nomads who would also go to the higher
reaches were seen as a keen element in the escalated violence in Jammu and Kashmir. Travelling to far flung regions they would often come into contact with the militants who also used these areas to hide from the security forces. The security forces would also see their journeys to the higher regions as a source of support to the various terrorist outfits operating in the higher ridges. The nomads were sandwiched between the militants and the security forces and were hit from either side. If they won’t listen to the ultras, they were bound to be hit by militants’ bullet and if they were caught helping the militants, then the Security related agencies would not leave them. Not only the nomads meant food, shelter, directions across the remote areas, carrying their ammunition and equipments for the militants but also a plethora of other support like sneaking past the security forces with the nomads posing off as part of their caravans while hiding their arms and ammunition in their belongings atop the horses that the Bakkarwals possessed. This exposed the tribal population to further vulnerability and more retaliation of the hands of the militant cadres resulting which many of them abandoned their age-old practice of pastoralism and stopped moving as part of their annual migration for fear of gun.
## Table 4a) Summer Migration of Gujjar Bakkarwals from 17 April - 4 August 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Joint Check Post (JCP)</th>
<th>Total Der of (families) movement</th>
<th>Number of Males</th>
<th>Number of females</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Total persons</th>
<th>Total animals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Behramgal</td>
<td>583</td>
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<td>946</td>
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<td>207</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>5704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marhot</td>
<td>1702</td>
<td>2474</td>
<td>2533</td>
<td>2933</td>
<td>7940</td>
<td>29927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandi</td>
<td>1538</td>
<td>1538</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>996</td>
<td>3509</td>
<td>78232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darhal</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>1348</td>
<td>19491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thanamandi</td>
<td>1383</td>
<td>2909</td>
<td>1387</td>
<td>859</td>
<td>5155</td>
<td>65704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>5820</td>
<td>9542</td>
<td>6236</td>
<td>6093</td>
<td>21886</td>
<td>246070</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Joint Check Posts (JCPs) Records 2012*
Table 4b): Winter (reverse) migration of Gujjar Bakkarwals from 13 September - 15 November 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Joint Check Post (JCP)</th>
<th>Total Der Of (families) movement</th>
<th>Number of Males</th>
<th>Number of females</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Total persons</th>
<th>Total animals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>544</td>
<td>8915</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marhot</td>
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<td>971</td>
<td>1021</td>
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<td>3318</td>
<td>11732</td>
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<td>484</td>
<td>303</td>
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<td>718</td>
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<td>2317</td>
<td>2577</td>
<td>8668</td>
<td>127298</td>
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</table>

*Source: Joint Check Posts (JCPs) Records 2012*

The analysis of the data and the interviews conducted with the nomadic members of Gujjar Bakkarwal tribes shows that the conflict has impacted the livelihood of nomadic shepherd community as the presence of militants in the upper reaches and their atrocities and fear of retaliation or safety of their family members, made most of the families abandon their annual migratory practices. Many of them were forced to remain in lower areas only and abandon the migration making their livelihood into an unviable proposition.
### Table 5a) Summer Migration of Gujjar Bakkarwals from 05 April 2011 – 20 July 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Joint Check Post (JCP)</th>
<th>Total number of Dera (families) movement</th>
<th>Number of Males</th>
<th>Number of females</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Total persons</th>
<th>Total animals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>325</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>4804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2561</td>
<td>3191</td>
<td>7934</td>
<td>21957</td>
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<td>1644</td>
<td>844</td>
<td>1221</td>
<td>3709</td>
<td>76561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darhal</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>729</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>22477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thanamandi</td>
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<td>1542</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>2708</td>
<td>61450</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Grand total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4593</strong></td>
<td><strong>7569</strong></td>
<td><strong>5941</strong></td>
<td><strong>5778</strong></td>
<td><strong>19288</strong></td>
<td><strong>224805</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Joint Check Posts (JCPs) Records 2011

### Table 5b): Winter (reverse) migration of Gujjar Bakkarwals from 11 September - 19 November 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Joint Check Post (JCP)</th>
<th>Total number of Dera (families) movement</th>
<th>Number of Males</th>
<th>Number of females</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Total persons</th>
<th>Total animals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Behramgala</td>
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<td>278</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>6508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulali</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>1808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marhot</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>1076</td>
<td>2651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandi</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>867</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>898</td>
<td>2249</td>
<td>52203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darhal</td>
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<td>221</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>7091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thanamandi</td>
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<td>1449</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>2563</td>
<td>75590</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages
Srinagar/Jammu
According to a survey conducted in 2012 by Tribal Research and Cultural Foundation, a community based organization working on the Gujjar-Bakkarwals of Jammu and Kashmir; more than 39% Gujjar-Bakkarwals who are migratory by tradition relinquished their nomadic lifestyle in these years of turmoil in the State. Heavy loss of precious lives and properties, lack of health and communication facilities and restriction on nomadic movement in upper reaches are few of the reasons, the survey said adding the main reason of declining in annual tribal movement is the killing of hundreds of nomadic Gujjar-Bakkarwals on upper reaches in the turmoil besides the restrictions imposed by the security agencies and militants on tribal migration in border and strategic areas.

The migratory practices of the nomads in Jammu and Kashmir have undoubtedly been impacted by the armed conflict. Firstly, ever since the militancy started in Jammu region, there has been a reduction in the number of Bakkarwals who would go up in the mountains some 30-40 years ago in comparison to the present times. After militancy erupted, the Bakarwals
couldn’t go up in their mountain pastures. When the militants would take their goats and other things, they could not help but stopped moving for fear of gun. Once militancy started, the militants started killing them, their dignity was destroyed, they lost their habitats and thus were hit badly. Few of the Bakarwals turned to farming which is very less seen among their tribes.

Secondly, the caravans have become smaller, the goats are no longer in plenty, the number of their cattle is reducing with each passing day and as they do not have any major land holdings, many of them have been forced to leave their centuries old tradition of nomadism and are forced to do labour work. They are no longer able to fend for themselves.

Thirdly, the Bakkarwals who travel to the higher reaches with their herd use forest land for resources.

These forests proved shelter and food for many Bakarwals as many set camps under large trees. In the 1980’s the Forest Department decided to close and fence off a major chunk of the forest land in the Jammu region. These forests and the Forest department wanted to conserve this land that fed the
seasonal migrations of the nomads. There was huge
dependence of these tribes on the forest area and its
closure ultimately stopped many nomads from
migrating.

**Table 6: A comparative state of Deras movement of**

**Gujjar Bakkarwals 2010-2012**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Joint Check Post (JCP)</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deras</td>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>Animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behram Gala</td>
<td>817</td>
<td>3652</td>
<td>49049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulal</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>865</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandi</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>3345</td>
<td>79959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marhot</td>
<td>1520</td>
<td>8437</td>
<td>26203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darhal</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>1164</td>
<td>15304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thana mandi</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>3246</td>
<td>71227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4598</strong></td>
<td><strong>20709</strong></td>
<td><strong>247133</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Joint Check Posts (JCPs) Records*

The analysis of the data collected in the past
three years also shows that there had been an
increase in the total number of Deras that have
migrated in 2012 as compared to previous two years.
However there had been a sharp decline in the
number of persons migrating (only 12095 compared
to about 20,000 persons for lesser number of Deras).
This sharp decline in the number of persons can also be attributed to the opening of Mughal Road and the new trend of people moving in transport to the grazing areas. Maximum number of Deras moved through the JCPs at Mandi, Marhot and Thanamandi areas whereas JCPs at Kulali, Darhal witnessed minimum migration. The analysis of the data also shows that the seasonal migrations commenced at least a week later than the usual time of the year in 2012. This can be attributed to the extended winters. The movement of nomads to the middle reaches was delayed as the areas were still covered with snow whereas from few JCPs, the movement was more as the availability of grass and cattle feed was more in their areas. In the upper reaches, the effect of summer is late.

The number of Deras which migrated from JCPs rose from 4593 in 2011 to 5779 in 2012 with corresponding increase in persons as well as sheep/goat/cattle and horses. Similarly, for reverse migration of Deras, the figures were 1617 in 2011 to 2260 in 2012.

In December 2011, 652 Deras moved from Behramgala JCP during their onward migration but only 163 deras returned. The number of Deras which
migrated from the JCPs of Thanamandi and Darhal rose from 1132 in 2010 to 1240 in 2011 with corresponding increase in persons as well as sheep/goat/cattle and horses. However, the reverse migration of Deras from JCP Thanamandi and Darhal was significantly less in 2010 which was only 514 as compared to 678 in 2011.

**Table 7a: Details of the migrating Deras for 2008-2010 obtained from the JCPs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>JCP</th>
<th>Deras</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Sheep/Goat</th>
<th>Cattle/Horses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Behramgala</td>
<td>902</td>
<td>3298</td>
<td>32306</td>
<td>7167</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kulali</td>
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<td>2044</td>
<td>10646</td>
<td>2386</td>
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<td>Marhot</td>
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<td>2062</td>
<td>4314</td>
<td>5928</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mandi</td>
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<td>4575</td>
<td>71020</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Thanamandi</td>
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<td>3643</td>
<td>62415</td>
<td>9716</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Darhal</td>
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<td>1672</td>
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<td>Kandi</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>2122</td>
<td>13222</td>
<td>1888</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4363</td>
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Table 7b: Details of the reverse movement of migrating Deras for 2008-2010 obtained from the JCPs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JCP</th>
<th>Deras</th>
<th>Perso ns</th>
<th>Sheep/Goat</th>
<th>Cattle/Horses</th>
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<td>Marhot</td>
<td>Mandi</td>
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</table>
Table 8: Details of Deras that changed their migration routes from 2008-2010

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<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Migrated</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
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<th>Reverse</th>
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<td>1130</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1520</td>
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<td>Mandi</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>964</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thanamandi</td>
<td>943</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>1017</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darhal</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kandi</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Joint Check Posts (JCPs) Records 2012

An analysis of reverse migration data of the nomads clearly establishes the fact that most of the livestock carried by Deras was sold off by them. This is an obvious outcome based on the fact that they earn some money by their sale especially during the festivities after Ramzan. This also impacts their migration routes. During the seasonal migration, the route of induction and de-induction differs every year. Not necessarily the Deras will return by the same route as it had taken to induct. At times if their livestock is disposed off, the members may move back by road. The pattern of onward and return migration...
is also unlikely to confirm to a set pattern of sticking to one route/mode of returning during the winters. The movement pattern of various carvans or Deras shows that there is marginal variation in the route of induction. The deras may also return by the surface transport via Jammu even if the livestock is not disposed off.

The improvement of the Mughal Road has been a major factor in the increase in deras movement via Behramgala. Deras have been able to move along the valley and reach the road approximately five km short of Pir Gali. The worst stretch of movement to Pir Gali is normally the climb to the pass and thus the Deras are now able to move along the road alignment. The wider pass is lowest on the Pir Panjal ranges and thereafter the movement is a reasonably good one along the road for some distance and then via the valley selected by the dera. This is the main reason for the increase in Dera movement via Behramgala.

**Conclusions**

Clearly, the migratory practices of nomadic Gujjar Bakkarwal population of Jammu and Kashmir have been impacted by the armed conflict. Not only more and more Gujjars and Bakkarwals are settling in
the plains for fear of terrorists, but the fodder shortage due to closure of pastures and forest areas is also posing problems for them.

Besides, the Gujjar Bakkarwals have no adequate political voices especially the Bakkarwals have not a single member in the Gujjar Bakkarwal Advisory Board. The Gujjar Bakkarwal Advisory Board possesses great authority in determining who from the Below Poverty Line section will get access to various schemes. There should be at least one Bakkarwal member on the board. As both the Gujjars and Bakarwals gain greater political power they will be able to demand and control developmental funds for their own areas. Government should formulate a plan to protect their nomadic identity by providing them education and health facilities during their migration at upper reaches.

Therefore, for the betterment of the Gujjar Bakkarwal community, corrective measures must be taken by the government. Adequate security needs to be given to them while on seasonal migration, more channels of communication should be available to them so that in remote isolated place so that they can get in touch with administration and security forces in times of need. The nomadic Deras move freely across
higher ranges of Pir Panjal ranges. Due to lack of communication with the security forces or the district administration, they face terror or climatic urgencies. They are not able to contact anybody and thus suffer a lot. There are no adequate communication networks among the nomadic population and the security forces or administration which can not only provide them with the latest information about the various terrorists operating in the higher ranges and their outfits, activity patterns etc but also will also help them in case of bad weather conditions or sudden rainfall etc. and thus launch Rescue and Relief operations. There are many instances where in the Security related agencies came to the rescue of hundreds and thousands of Bakkarwals in J&K in higher reaches when sudden cold and snowfall took a toll of them and their cattle. Thus stronger means of communication are also required.

References


ANALYSING SOCIO - ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF TRIBAL GUJJAR WOMEN; A CASE STUDY OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR
Farhat Chowdhary

Abstract:

India is one of the countries having a large concentration of tribal population. In this respect, it ranks second in the world and comes next only to Africa. There are 537 different tribal communities spread all over India. As far as Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, according to 2011 census, the Scheduled Tribe population was 14,93,299, it recorded a growth of 1% and reflected as 11.9% ST’s in state as compared to 2001 census in which the tribal population was shown as 10.9% only. Thirteen tribes have been scheduled in respect of Jammu and Kashmir. One such tribe in J&K is Gujjar. In Jammu and Kashmir, Gujjars form the third largest majority in terms of their ethnic identity after the Kashmiri Muslims and Dogra Hindus. They are nomadic, practice transhumance or seasonal migration with their livestock. The Gujjars mainly raise buffaloes and are pastoral in J&K. Gujjar women of Jammu and Kashmir form a distinct category. They share the backwardness of the Gujjar community and yet at the
same time they also share the deprivation from which women suffer in Jammu and Kashmir. They form the lowest category in terms of the various indices of social and economic status. They live in utter deprivation due to poverty, illiteracy, early marriage, nomadic way of life, superstitions, traditional neglect and lack of awareness about welfare schemes. The objective of the present study is to evaluate the socio-economic conditions affecting the tribal Gujjar women and to give suitable suggestions to overcome their status of continued backwardness and deprivation.

**Keyword:** tribals, Gujjar women, social conditions, economic conditions.

**SOCIAL CONDITION OF GUJJAR WOMEN IN J&K.**

India is one of the countries having a large concentration of tribal population. In this respect, it ranks second in the world and comes next only to Africa. There are 537 different tribal communities spread all over India (Prasad and Sinha, 2012). As far as Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, according to 2011 census, the Scheduled Tribe population was 14,93,299 , it recorded a growth of 1% and reflected as 11.9% ST’s in state as compared to 2001 census in which the tribal population was shown as 10.9% only.
Thirteen tribes have been scheduled in respect of Jammu and Kashmir. One such tribe in J&K is Gujjar. In Jammu and Kashmir, Gujjars form the third largest majority in terms of their ethnic identity after the Kashmiri Muslims and Dogra Hindus.

They are nomadic, practice transhumance or seasonal migration with their livestock. The Gujjars mainly raise buffaloes and are pastoral in J&K. Their economy mainly depends on the products of their flocks and the use of natural pastures round the year. Their constant life of movement from one place to another keeps them untouched by the forces of modernization operating in the society. Hence, they live mostly in primitive conditions, suffering from dismal poverty, illiteracy, political marginalization, backwardness etc.

Gujjar women of Jammu and Kashmir form a distinct category. They share the backwardness of the Gujjar community and yet at the same time they also share the deprivation from which women suffer in Jammu and Kashmir. They form the lowest category in terms of the various indices of social and economic status. (Borgohain and Akand, 2011). They live in utter deprivation due to poverty, illiteracy, early marriage, nomadic way of life, superstitions, traditional neglect
and lack of awareness about welfare schemes mentioned by study conducted by tribal research cultural foundation (TRCF). In fact they are overburdened with work. Besides their responsibility of producing and marketing the milk products, they have the addition burden of running the family cooking for the household, tending the cattle and taking care of children. Besides the household work, they have to travel long distance to fetch water and fuel. The very life style they lead makes it imperative for them to be active throughout the day time without much time for rest and leisure. In addition to this many of them are also involved in secondary activities like collecting wood and forest goods for personal consumption or for generating income.

i. To study the social conditions affecting tribal Gujjar women.

ii. To examine the economic scenario faced by tribal Gujjar women.

iii. To give suitable suggestions.

The present study was conducted among tribal Gujjar women residing in Jammu and Kashmir. Both primary and secondary source of data were used in the study. The data was taken from the interviews conducted by the researcher. Data collected from the
Gujjar women constitute a sizeable chunk of J&K state’s population. This third ethnic segment of populace has been suffering neglect and deprivation even after five decades of independence. It cannot be believed that a millennium has gone by, without even remotely touching the Gujjars community (Javed, 2000). As far as living standard of Gujjar women is concerned, on the whole, it is very miserable, the huts and shelters of these people (Kotha) at the highlands as well as at their lower hills and plains are in very dilapidated condition. Regular migration does not induce them to invest much on their housing. Most of them cannot afford to spend Charak (1983). According to Goverdhan Rathore (2005) the Gujjar tribe in J&K lived an idyllic life. No electricity, no education, no access to modern medicine. Mortality of every kind was high; population growth was high as was child marriage and having many children was the norm. Yet it seemed idyllic because they lived a frugal existence, living off the land, thriving on animal husbandry and
subsistence farming. Shabnum (2005) found that 97 percent of the Gujjar women were illiterate. According to her, “there has not been any significant improvement in the educational achievement of their daughter either. Economic constraints in the family prevent Gujjar girls from attending school. Where girls have been enrolled within one or two years for receiving education, they have been withdrawn from school to join the labour force to supplement the family income or to manage the house hold. They have additional burden of singly shouldering the responsibility of running the family and even raising money for their livelihood. Like any other community, there are definite male and female stereotypes that women find themselves overburdened with work outside and within the domestic sphere. It has been observed that “women Gujjars are highly superstitious due to illiteracy and backwardness which has also made them timid. The superstitions and myths of course, play a dominant role in their day to day life Choudhary (1995). Lindhoo (1987) found that since economic and social conditions of a family determine food and eating habits, there has not been any change in the eating habits of the Gujjars. The staple food of these families is maize, butter, milk etc. Due to imbalanced nutritional food, food Gujjars men, ladies
and children are suffering from number of diseases like chronic bronchitis, round worms, T.B., pleurisy, pneumonia and gastro-intestinal dysfunction. Health improvement and care can be regarded as basic needs of pastoral nomads.

As far as economic conditions are concerned, the tribal Gujjar women represent a disproportionate share of the poor. Kashmir Times (2004) published a report of a survey conducted by Tribal Research and Cultural Foundation (2004), a primary organization working for the cause of Indian tribes’ claimed that 67% population of nomad Gujjars in the state of Jammu & Kashmir alone is living below poverty line. The survey says the Gujjars of Himalayan ranges are without sufficient food, fodder for their animals and lack of basic facilities like proper shelter, health, drinking water, education, etc. Javaid (2011) states that Gujar women are undergoing through exploitation. They have to attend all the chores of the house hold from cooking to selling milk and helping their men at farming and cattle feeding. The dull lifestyle and hard working from morning to late night makes her physically as well as mentally fatigued. Besides this the nomadic Gujjar women had been the
victim of excessive work load despite that she is not getting due respect and position in the tribal society.

Women and girls are supposed to tend their herds throughout day and walk long distances with their children and household luggage on their back as they are mostly nomads. They have to cook meals and do some washing on their temporary stops and again pack for the next destination. Ultimately, they get no time even to think of their social status. Bansi Lal (2007) in his article “Gujjar Woes” expressed that Gujjars, one of the ancient tribes, Times, however, played havoc with them and they became the victims of intrigues and were plunged into darkness. Their economic conditions worsened. With the passages of time Gujjars women faced deep educational backwardness and poverty morass. This position continued for centuries together. Even today there is no appreciable change in overall conditions of them. Sudan, Mandal, Gautama (2007) stated that various pastoral development programs, planned and implemented over the time have failed to make significant improvement in the lifestyle of such pastoralist specially Gujjars women of Jammu and Kashmir.
There are a number of reasons for low level of education and low level of literacy among Gujjars women. The people of this community do not favour to send their daughters to the schools out of sheer ignorance, age old social taboos, and outmoded thinking and backwardness. Mobile schools are not functional and therefore, not many opportunities are there for the nomads to be educated. Generally schools are not within close reach of the settlement of nomadic Gujjars and hence, women remain deprived educationally. There are not many incentives for these women to be educated or to send their female children in schools. They have to walk on an average 3 to 4 kms to reach school. The areas in which there are schools are situated don’t have adequate strength of regular teachers. The outside teachers don’t prefer to serve in these remote areas where Gujjars stay and those who are posted in these remote hilly areas either get themselves attached to the schools in the urban areas or resort to absenteeism thereby inflicting heavy academic loss to the poor nomadic student particularly female students for no fault of theirs. We need to overcome all these hindrances in order to make education more viable to tribal Gujjar women.
Tribal Gujjar women must have access to comprehensive, affordable and quality health care. A holistic approach to women’s health which include both nutrition and health services with special attention to the need of women and girls at all stages of the life. In view of the high risk of malnutrition and disease that these tribal Gujjar women face, measures should be taken by Govt to enable women to be informed regarding their reproductive rights, delaying early marriages and various health problems like malaria, tb, hypertension and cardio-vascular disease. Outreach mobile clinics and community based system can be helpful. Modern medical facilities like hospital deliveries, prenatal check up and care should be made available to them in order to check on infant mortality rate and maternal mortality rate.

Poverty is a major reason among tribal Gujjar women for their Detroiter economic condition for they don’t have any employment opportunity available for them. Employment opportunities in handicraft etc should be made available for them.

Efforts should be made to improve their living conditions as it is evident from the above findings that tribal Gujjar women are living in miserable condition with no electricity and water available to
them. It is also seen that they are malnutrition due to their eating habits. Proper initiatives need to be taken providing them with electricity and water connection. In order to overcome their malnutrition, anganwaries need to be opened so that proper food, medical facilities can be made available to them.

Various schemes are launched by state and central government to uplift them socially, economically, educationally, and culturally. The need of the hour is to make tribal Gujjar women aware of various initiatives taken for them and made them take full advantage of it. Policies like integrated child development program, Janani Suraksha Yojna, Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya can go a long way in improving their socio-economic conditions. The problem faced by tribal Gujjar women are multifarious, the most crucial problems faced by them are overburdening them with work outside and within domestic sphere, gender discrimination, loopholes in educational and economic policy etc. various suggestions which are presented in this paper can go a long way in improving the socio-economic conditions of nomadic Gujjar women.
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