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MADHYA PRADESH

PART VI

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPH

No. 5

NAHARKHEDA

TAHSIL MHOW, DISTRICT INDORE

K. D. BALLAL
of the Indian Administrative Service
(Formerly Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, M. P.)

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(All the Census Publications of this State will bear Volume No. VIII)

PART I (in Sub-Parts)	.. General Report including Subsidiary Tables.
PART II- A	.. General Population Tables.
PART II-B (in Sub-Parts)	.. Economic Tables.
PART II-C (in Sub-Parts)	.. Cultural and Migration Tables.
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PART VI	.. Village Survey Monographs. (A separate Sub-Part for each Village surveyed.)
PART VII	.. Survey of Handicrafts of the State. (A separate Sub-Part for each handicraft surveyed.)
PART VIII-A	.. Administration Report—Enumeration.
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FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve; to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to 'the most fruitful single source of information about the country'. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in Appendices I and II to the monograph on village Bendri (Vol. VIII, Part VI, No. 2).

New Delhi,
July 30, 1964.

ASOK MITRA
Registrar General, India.

PREFACE

One of the distinguishing features of the 1961 census is the 'Village Survey' of selected villages in the country, which was undertaken with a view to continuing the old Indian census tradition of conducting sociological enquiries apart from presentation of census data in the census report. On the basis of these 'Surveys', it is proposed to analyse the contents and loci of two types of social and economic processes that are taking place in the rural India. They are; (*i*) Social and economic processes inherent in the structural setting, (*ii*) Social and economic processes induced through different factors.

The social and economic processes are proposed to be analysed mainly with reference to:—

(*a*) Ecology;
(*b*) History of settlement;
(*c*) Size of community;
(*d*) Ethnic composition; and
(*e*) Occupational specialization.

The social and economic processes of the second category are proposed to be analysed mainly with reference to the chain reactions caused by:

(*a*) Land reforms;
(*b*) Democratic decentralisation;
(*c*) Social legislation;
(*d*) Urbanization;
(*e*) C. D. projects and other development measures; and
(*f*) Culture-contact.

The selection of villages for the survey was made with a view to securing a fair representation and depiction of occupational life of the villagers following special occupations such as Basors making bamboo products, Dhimars following the vocation of fishermen, Kachhis as vegetable-growers, Lohars as iron smelters and so on; and secondly the social life of the villagers conditioned by the hierarchical status of various castes such as the castes enjoying higher status, the scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes and the denotified tribes. The intention was not to confine the study to a particular caste alone but to select the villages for this study where one of such castes was dominant numerically as well as from the point of economic power and social influence, for caste is the prescriber and traditional regulator of social relations, specially in the villages in India and so any rural or village survey would not be complete unless it is related to this dominating factor.

Besides these two considerations which weighed for the selection of villages, it was governed by the following factors :—

(*a*) that the villages should be at various distances from an Urban centre within varying radii of 15, 25 and 35 miles , so as to assess the degree of urban influence at different distances from the Urban centre;

(*b*) that the estimated population of the village should be between 250 to 400, so that detailed enquiry of every household could be possible; and

(*c*) that the village should be within a development block but not its headquarters, so as to evaluate the coverage in development activities.

Village Naharkheda, the subject of present survey, was selected in Indore district from the above points of view; it is dominated by a denotified tribe of Banjaras, situated within the stage II Development Block Mhow in a radius of about 15 miles from an urban centre, *viz.* Mhow Cantt.

Naharkheda, which has 28 families of Banjaras in two *tolas* (hamlets) came to be established as a camp for grazing cattle in the Vindhya ranges, in Mhow Tahsil of Indore district about 14 miles north-west of Mhow Cantt; there is a metalled road for 6 miles of this distance and the rest is a cart-track. The principal occupation of the

Inhabitants is agriculture substantially seconded by gathering of forest-produce especially fuel-wood, which is more or less as important as the principal occupation. Some of the families carry on dairy farming as a subsidiary occupation. The village is devoid of amenities such as water supply, roads, means of communication and transport etc.; Social services, such as education, medical aid, and the like are difficult of access. Being an isolated settlement in the forest, wholly inhabited by Banjaras, the village does not even have any carpenters, blacksmiths or barbers, for which they have to depend on the nearby villages of Menn and Badgonda and sometimes have even to travel to Mhow and Indore. They toil from dawn to dusk under the scorching sun, day in and day out in their fields or in the forest to eke out their meagre subsistence, but inspite of incessant hard work, they live in a perpetual state of indebtedness, always worried about the day to come. Economically, however, depressed, a Naharkheda Banjara does not lose the touch of gaiety in festivals and ceremonies traditionally handed to him by his ancestors. But this occasional gaiety does not lead to complacency; every Banjara is conscious of his hand to mouth existence and his contact with the opulent urban centres like Mhow and Indore has created in him a strong urge for a better life and in its wake, an unquenching thirst for more land and more economic privileges in the surrounding forests.

I took up this village Survey after the household schedules for every household in the village were canvassed by Shri H. L. Chaturvedi, Social Education Organizer of Mhow Block; which had to be recanvassed and supplemented by additional information derived from interviews with the Naiks of the Tandas and others from neighbouring villages such as Basi, Menn and Badgonda. It must, however, be conceded that I could not devote adequate time and attention to the present study owing to the work of Tabulalation offices, which was my primary and foremost concern and naturally, therefore, the present survey is conditioned by that limitation. Another, and perhaps more important limitation, is that it is an effort of a general-purpose administrator.

The humble presentation of this survey is not my work alone; it is a joint effort of my colleagues but for whose contribution it would not have seen the light. I am deeply indebted to Shri J. P. Dubey, Lecturer, Agricultural Economics and Statistics, College of Veterinary Science and Animal Husbandary, Mhow, who rendered invaluable assistance to me at all stages and our chief informant Sakkru Banjara, who spent days and nights with me in giving the information.

The photographs appearing in this survey were taken by Shri H. L. Chaturvedi and maps and layout of houses were drawn by Shri R. C. Vaidya, Overseer of Mhow Block; to both of them, I am grateful for their good work and willing co-operation. And above all, I am deeply grateful to Shri G. Jagathpathi, I. A. S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Madhya Pradesh , on whose valuable time I drew unreservedly for soliciting guidance. At all stages and for all details he shepharded the entire study.

My gratefull thanks are due to Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty, Office of the Registrar General, India for going through the draft twice and offering very valuable suggestions.

I am also thankful to my colleague Shri K. C. Dubey for reading the proof at all stages.

New Delhi
October 2, 1963

K. D. BALLAL

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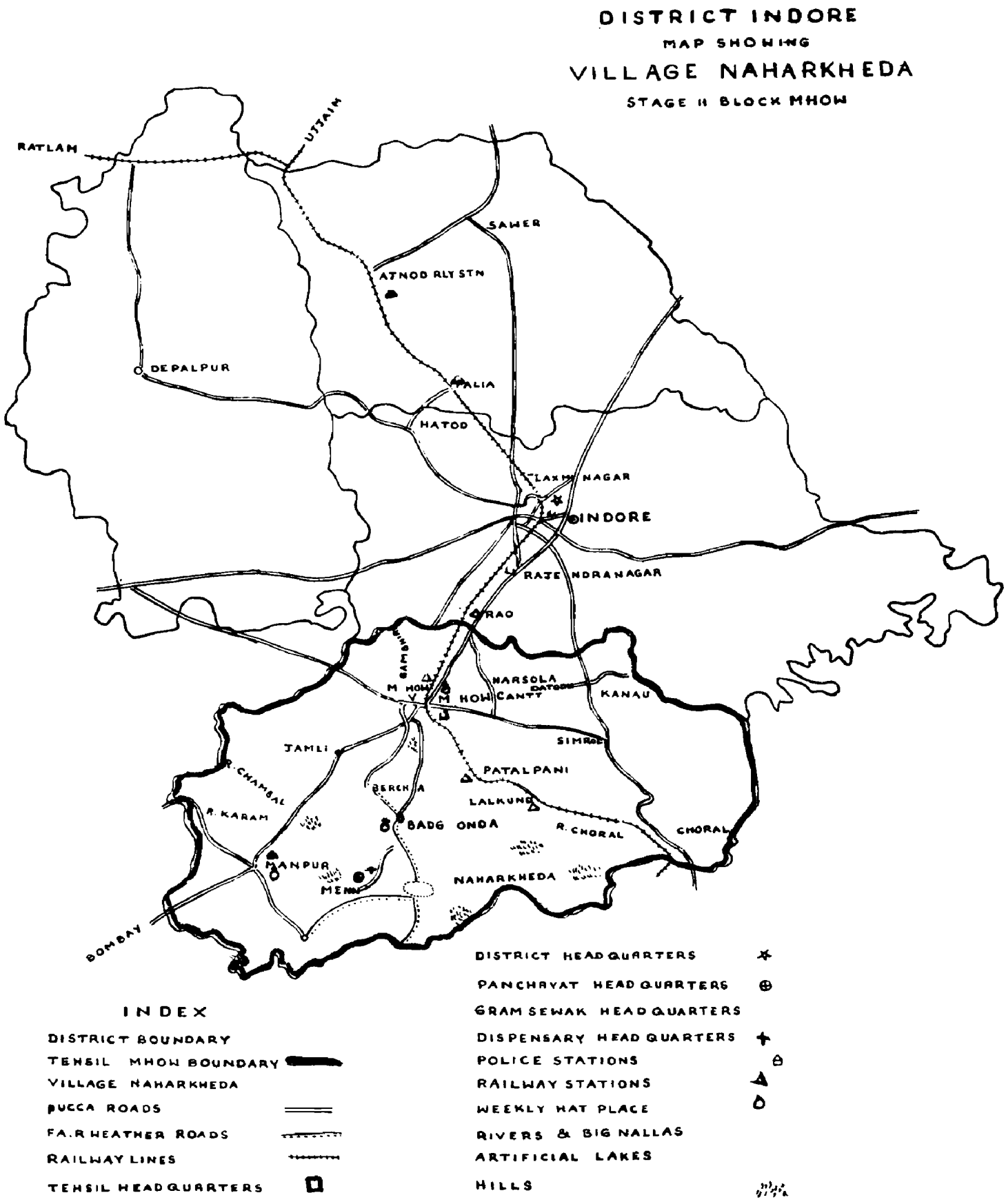

DISTRICT INDORE
MAP SHOWING
VILLAGE NAHARKHEDA
STAGE II BLOCK MHOW
RATLAM
UJJAIN
SAWER
ATNOD RLY STN
DEPALPUR
PALIA
HATOD
LAXMI NAGAR
INDORE
RAJENDRANAGAR
RAO
NARSOLA
CANTT
KANAU
SIMROL
JAMLI
PATALPANI
CHAMBAL
BERCHA
LALKUNO
R. KARAM
BADG ONDA
R. CHORAL
CHORAL
MANPUR
MEN
NAHARKHEDA
BOMBAY
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DISTRICT BOUNDARY
TEHSIL MHOW BOUNDARY
VILLAGE NAHARKHEDA
PUCCA ROADS
FAIR WEATHER ROADS
RAILWAY LINES
TEHSIL HEADQUARTERS
DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS
PANCHAYAT HEADQUARTERS
GRAM SEWAK HEADQUARTERS
DISPENSARY HEADQUARTERS
POLICE STATIONS
RAILWAY STATIONS
WEEKLY HAT PLACE
RIVERS & BIG NALLAS
ARTIFICIAL LAKES
HILLS

PLATE I

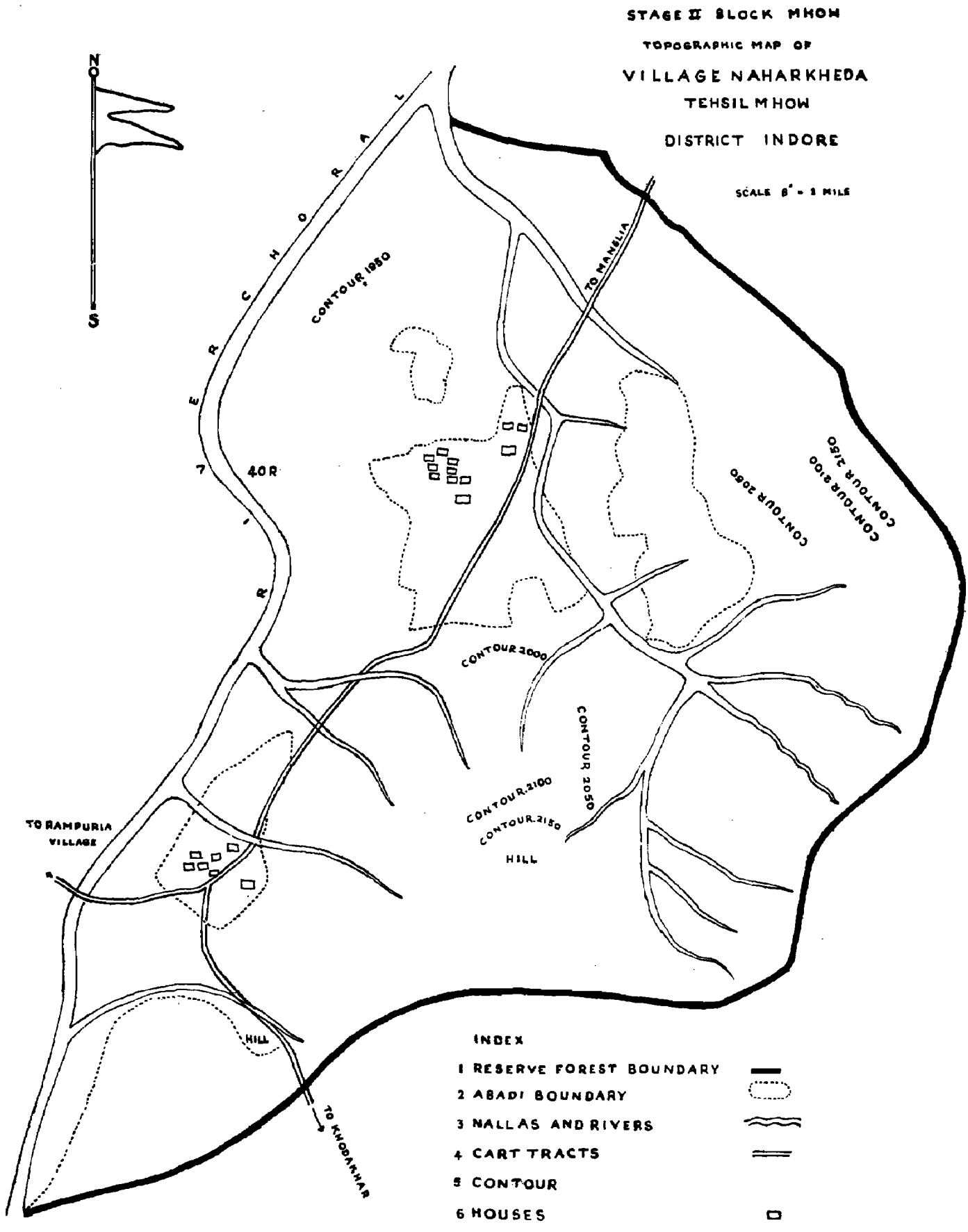
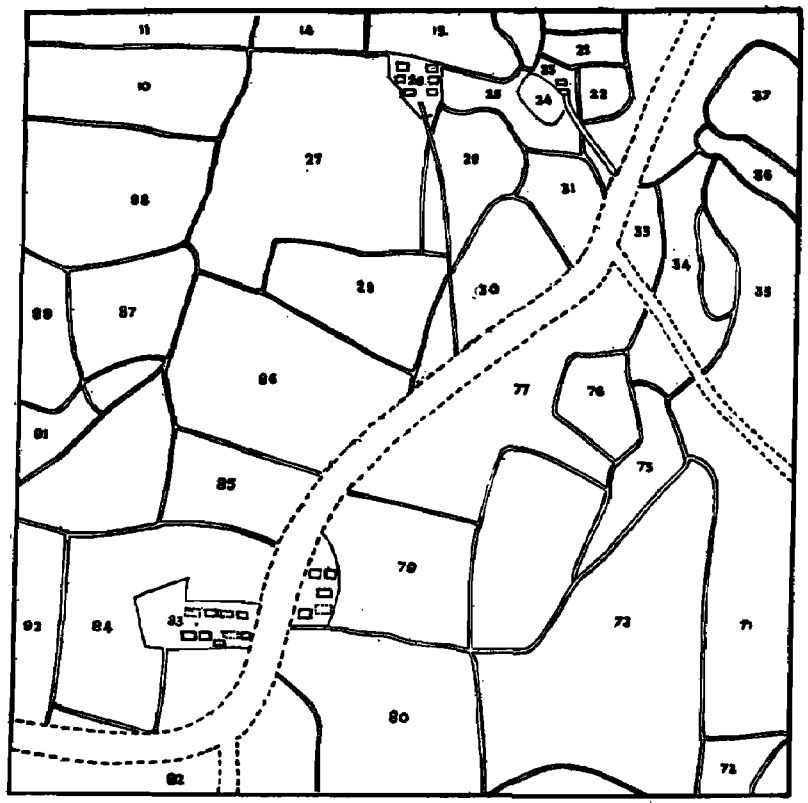

STAGE II BLOCK MHOW
TOPOGRAPHIC MAP OF
VILLAGE NAHARKHEDA
TEHSIL MHOW
DISTRICT INDORE
SCALE 8" = 1 MILE
N
S
CHORAL
RIVER
CONTOUR 1950
TO MANELIA
CONTOUR 2100
CONTOUR 2050
CONTOUR 2000
CONTOUR 2100
CONTOUR 2150
HILL
TO RAMPURIA VILLAGE
HILL
TO KHODANHAR
INDEX
1 RESERVE FOREST BOUNDARY
2 ABADI BOUNDARY
3 NALLAS AND RIVERS
4 CART TRACTS
5 CONTOUR
6 HOUSES

PLATE II

ABADI MAP OF VILLAGE NAHARKHEDA

TEHSIL MHOW, DISTT. INDORE.

SCALE 1"=16".



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1 CART TRACTS
2 FIELDS
3 HOUSES
4 FOOT ROUTS
5 CATTLE SHEDS

PLATE III

SKETCH MAP OF

VILLAGE NAHARKHEDA

TEHSIL MHOW DISTRICT INDORE

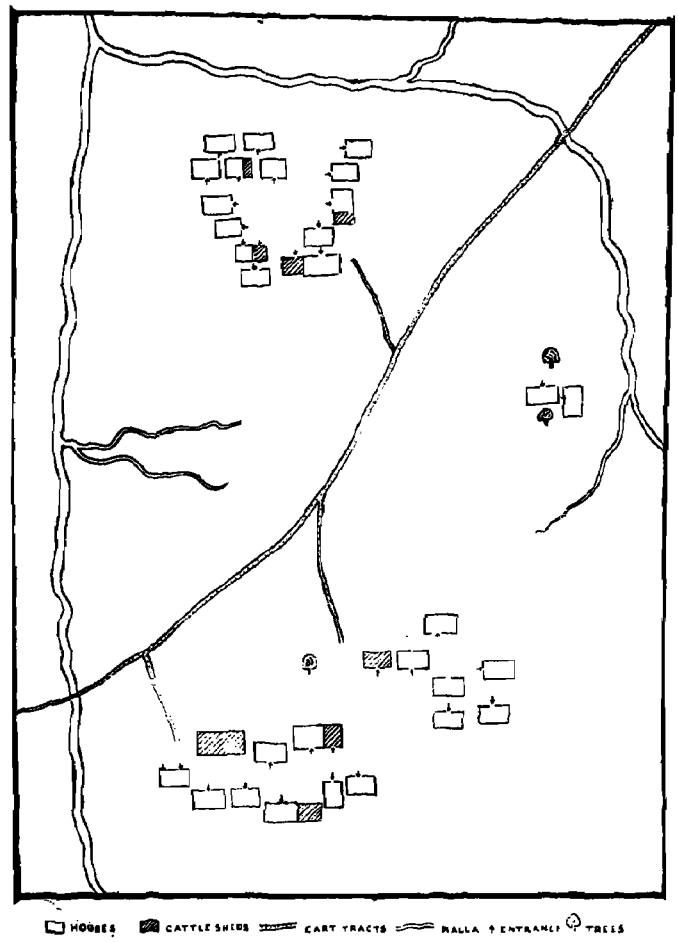


PLATE IV

CHAPTER I

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE VILLAGE

1. Naharkheda is a small-sized unicaste village in Mhow Tahsil, about fourteen miles from Mhow, which is the Tahsil Headquarters. It is connected with Mhow by six miles of metalled road recently constructed under the Community Development Programme, and eight miles of *Kachcha* jeepable feeder road, but generally covered by bullock cart or on foot. The last one mile stretch is not easily negotiable in the rainy season partly owing to the Choral river which has to be crossed in 4 to 5 feet of water and partly owing to slush. It is situated near 75°—46" Longitude and 22°—25" Latitude in the Malwa Plateau surrounded by Vindhya Ranges; (Plate V:1) the site and the fields appear like a shallow plate. On a height of 2000' above the M. S. L. the hills surrounding the village (plate V:2) are covered with fairly dense forest of teak and of other trees of fuel wood.

1.1 A small seasonal river Choral girdles the village boundary on the north at a distance of 2 furlongs from the Village site (plate VI). The river does not confer any irrigation benefits nor does it serve as a source of drinking water throughout the year, since it is dried up in about April and the villagers have to go to the nearby village Basi for fetching drinking water in the hot days of summer. The difficulty of obtaining drinking water is acute in the village as there is no well and the effort of the Community Development Block to construct a drinking water well proved abortive, two years ago, as there was no trace of water even when digging was done to the hard rock surface which, being almost impregnable, the search for water had to be abandoned.

Soil

2. The soil is generally black which is more suited for cotton. It is sticky and cracks only after two rains; it can be divided into five classes according to its depth which corresponds to the degree of fertility as under:—

Classification	Depth of soil
1 Kali I ..	.. 2 cubits and over,
2 Kali II ..	.. From 3/4 to 1-¾ cubits,
3 Kali III	
4 Khardi ..	.. One span from tip of thumb to that of little finger,
5 Halki ..	.. About 7 inches.

The total area of the village is 508.74 acres of which 77.83 are under hills, 31.35 and 97.15 acres are occupied by the river bed and forest respectively. Area under *abadi* and common land is 2.96 acres: the cultivable area is about 300.45 acres and the land under plough is 175.39 acres.

Flora and fauna

3. Within the village boundaries and on the hills surrounding the village are found Butea frondosa (*Khakra, Dhak or Palash*), Acacia Catechu (*Khair*) and shrubs like Grewia (*Dhaman*), Zizyphus (*Ber*), Capparia (*khir and khejra*) and Carrisal (*karanda*). Teak or Tectona grandis (*Sag or Sagwan*), Diospyros tomentosa (*tendu*), Gugeinia dalbergisides (*tuns and tinack*) and other similar species abound in the adjoining forest.

The bison which lived once seems to have disappeared mainly due to the opening up of the country as the animal has an extreme aversion to cultivation and man. Panther, black buck (antelope) and wild pig live in the adjoining forest and visit the village occasionally; tigers have, however, become almost extinct since the last two decades. The domestic animals of the village include buffaloes, cows, bullocks, ponies, goats, sheep and fowl. Oxen are employed for agriculture and as draught animals.

1 Cubit: —Ancient measure of length, 18" to 20"- length of forearm.

Climate

4. Climatologically, the village Naharkheda and its surrounding villages are blessed by nature's benevolence. The temperature range of the area is very moderate. It is never too hot in the summer nor too cold in the winter. During the rainy season, the variation in the temperature is small, seldom falling lower than 70° F in the night and the early part of the morning or rising higher than 85° F at noon. Only in the month of July the maximum temperature is 95.6° F, though the mornings become cooler soon after the close of the rainy season, there is not much of a cold weather till the month of December, which continues in January and February. During the hot season, the parching winds from the north and west which make most parts of India miserable are, here, comparatively mild and of short duration. The temperature during the day rises as high as 102°F, but the nights become cool and refreshing. The yearly maximum temperature is estimated to be 86.5° F and the minimum to be 61° F. In recent years the temperature has been increasing, may be owing to deforestation. The highest temperature ever recorded at Mhow (as Naharkheda is Isotharmal with Mhow) is 114° F in the month of May and the lowest ever recorded is 27° F in the month of February. On the whole, the climate of the place is salubrious and invigorating.

Rainfall

5. The average rainfall in this tract is 41.72": higher than the average rainfall of the district which is 38.39". The rainfall is mainly confined to the monsoon season during which 91% of the total rainfall is received by this tract; July being the month when it is heaviest. During the last 50 years, the maximum rainfall recorded in 1944 was 159% above the average and the year 1918 had the lowest rainfall which was 47% of the average *i. e.* 19.74". The rainfall is mostly concentrated in the months June to September, though small showers are not uncommon in the months of November and December.

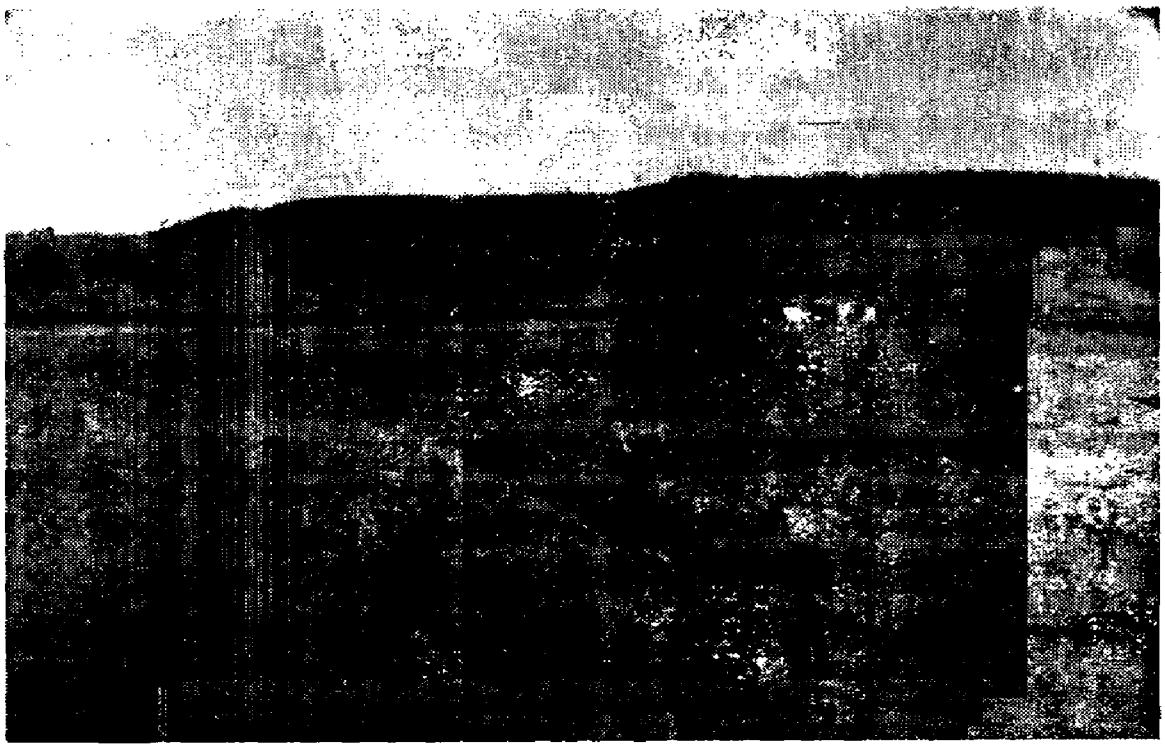
Village Scene

6. Out of the total area of 508.74 acres the inhabited area covers 13,561 sq. ft. and the village is a conglomeration of houses and cattlesheds situated in two distinct *tolas* (hamlets), separated from one another by a distance of a furlong and a half. A couple of houses stand in isolation on the fields. There is no orderly arrangement of lanes and the houses are huddled up together in whatever little space is available for one to raise one's dwelling. (Plate VII:1) The cluster of dwellings is interspersed with cattlesheds built of teak-leaves, bamboos and grass (Plate VII:2) or a rectangular barricade for impounding the cattle, particularly in summer, and dungheaps, where cattle-dung is composted. There is no village centre or *Chaupal* (a common gathering place), no temple, no school and no Government or public building. There are no stores in Naharkheda, no Police Station or Post Office. The Police Station is at Manpur 16 miles away and the post office at Bargonda 4 miles away. There is no hospital nor medical facilities at hand, the nearest one being a civil hospital at Mhow (14 miles) and a sub-centre of the Primary Health Centre at Menn (4 miles) where a mid-wife is stationed, who pays periodical visits to the village and attends to the ordinary ailments and sometimes ante-natal and post-natal cases.

6.1. Every family owns a house which is a single-room tenement with a floor area ranging between 100 sq. ft. to 1,200 sq. ft. The houses are built out of the materials locally available. No brick, cement or lime is used in the construction. Walls are made of matted bamboo sticks plastered with clay and cowdung or grass, teak leaves and dried stems of *arhar*. The material used for the roof is of two types. Some of the houses especially those belonging to the agriculturists have country tiles and bamboo or *balli*' rafters and those of the lowest income groups, have thatch or teak and *palash* leaves. (Plates VIII:1,2)

The floor is *kachcha*, uneven , plastered with clay and cowdung. There is no built-in device for proper ventilation. The house has only one or two doors, which also serve as ingress for air and light. The general appearance of the individual dwelling and surrounding enclosures is appealing in its simplicity as they are smeared with cowdung, well swept and kept neat and clean even when the supply of water is a problem.

Vindhya Ranges



The Village



PLATE V

Choral river girdling the village

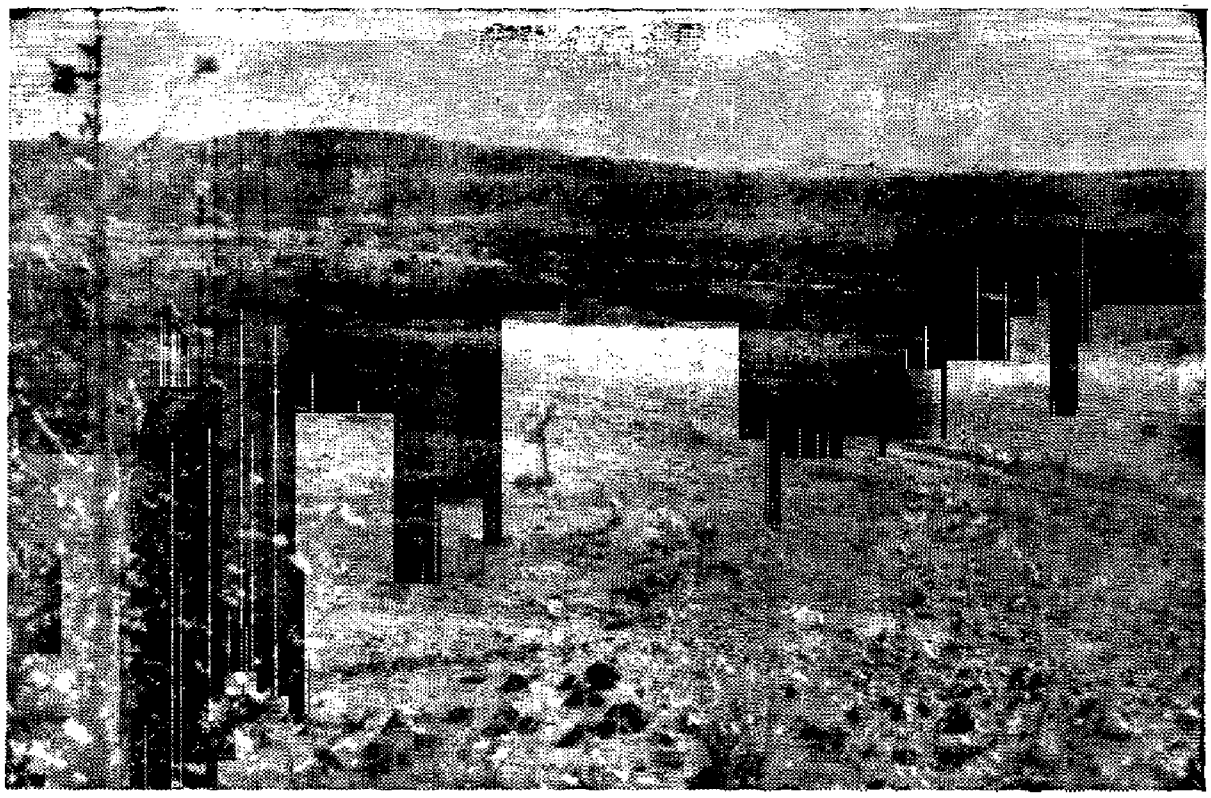
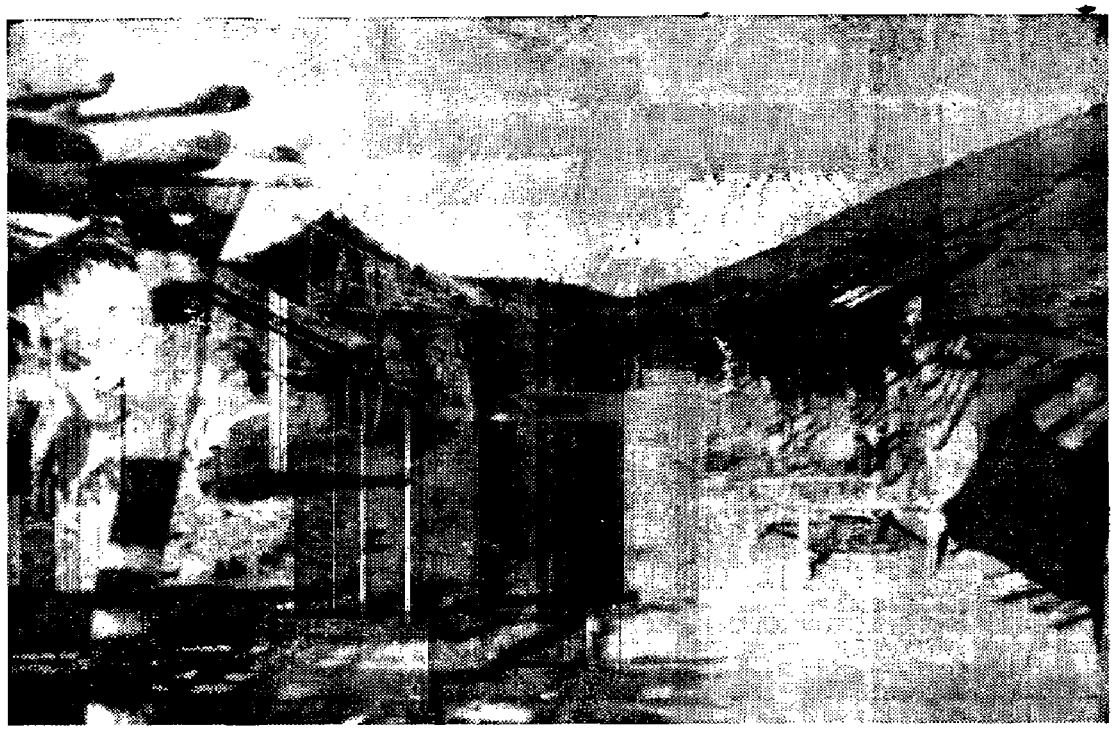


PLATE VI

Houses huddled up in a lane



A Cattle Shed

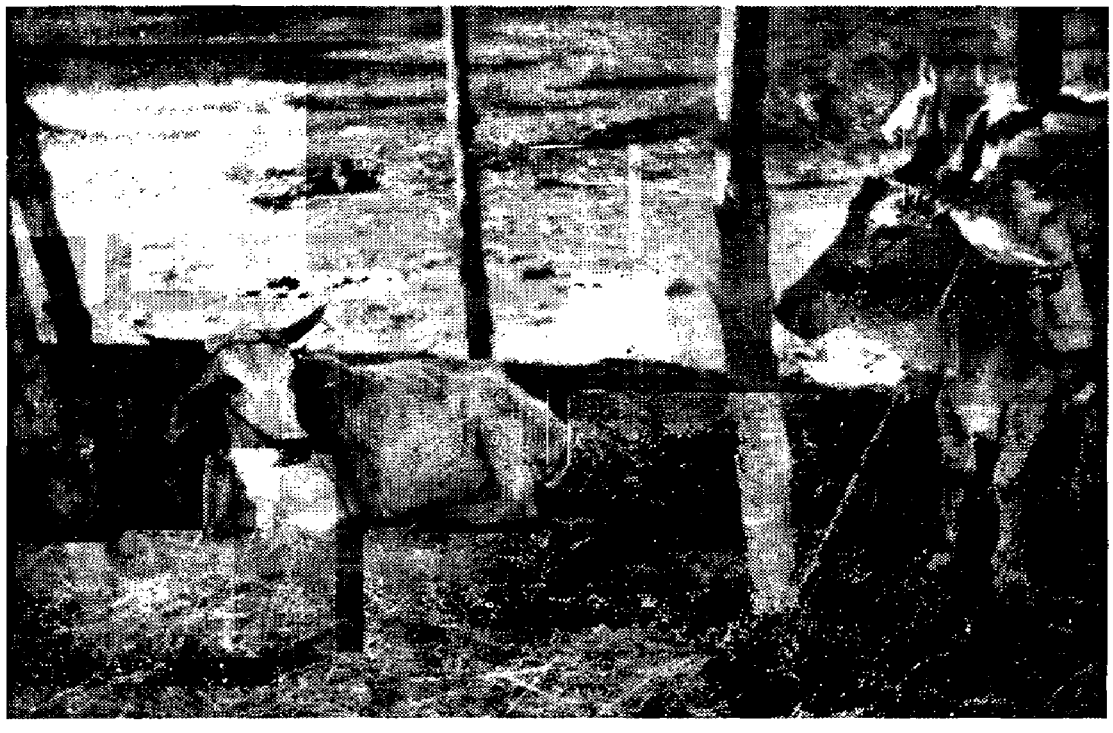
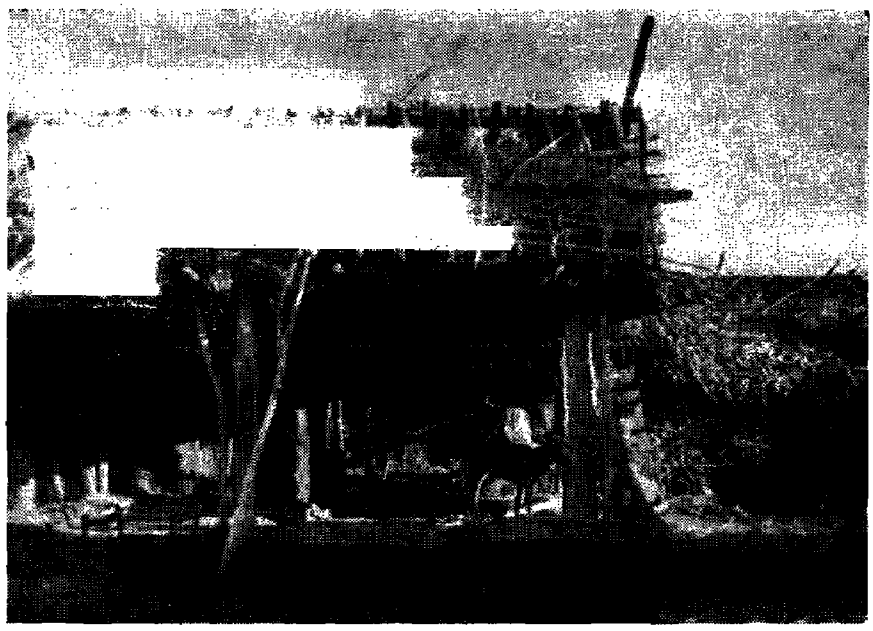


PLATE VII

A house of teak leaver and bamboos

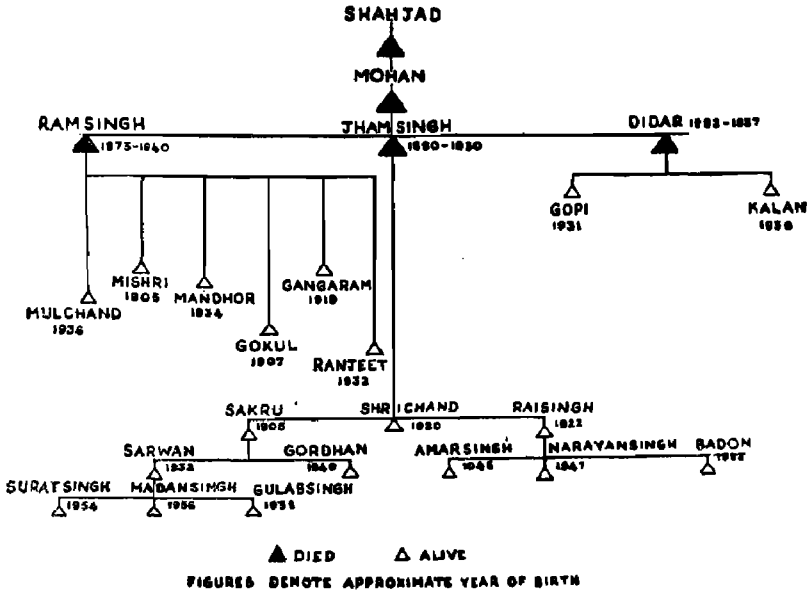


A house-*cum*- Cattle Shed



PLATE VIII

No written record of the village history could be traced, but, following geneological tree of Banjaras, who had established the village, the story of about a hundred years subsequent to the foundation of this village, has been built.



In the absence of any official record, the authenticity of the version of our chief informant, Sakkru Banjara is not independently verifiable but it appears reliable since the facts have been stated from his personal knowledge.

7.1 It is said that Shahjad Nayak, the great-grand-father of Sakkru, our informant, seduced a young Banjara girl who was already betrothed to some one else in his native village, Kannod, near Jodhpur in Marwar (Rajasthan). This misdemeanour created enmity between the two families and divided the village community into two factions. Tempers ran high and Shahjad feared that violence would break out if he continued to remain on the scene. He, therefore fled away with his *tanda* (normally means a caravan, but by usage denotes a group of persons) of some hundred persons, with their herds of cattle. It has not been possible to find out how this caravan came all the way to this part of the country from Rajasthan nor could Sakkru throw any light on this migration to such a remote and far flung corner in the Vindhyas necessitating a journey of several hundred miles through none-too-easy barriers of forests and rivers. But migrations of Banjaras from Rajasthan to Malwa plateau date much earlier than the settlement of this village, as evidenced by the Banjara settlements in Agar, Sarangpur and Maksi on the Agra-Bombay Road[2]. This suggests that, to the migrant Banjaras, the fertile plateau of Malwa had, for long, been an attraction, long before Shahjad Nayak's escapede from hot, arid Rajasthan.

7.2. The choice of the present location of Naharkheda seems to have been made by the original settlers owing to the availability of grazing facilities in the forest for their cattle and secondly, perhaps, due to the seclusion it afforded from the already existing habitations. The tendency among the Banjaras to prefer secluded areas, is sometimes attributed to their concern for concealing their criminal activities. Writing about the Banjaras of Central India in 1931, the Superintendent Census, C. I. has remarked: "These people (Banjaras) are extremely restive, and find it difficult to settle down in one place. Usually, they take up land for cultivation and pretend to have a fixed abode, but after reaping one or two harvests move away. They are bad cultivators and often given to thieving and cattle-lifting. The Police have to keep a constant eye on them. They are required to obtain a permit before leaving the village they inhabit. They prefer to have a separate independent settlement of village site, probably to conceal their criminal activities."[3]

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2. Census of India 1931, Central India Agency Report Part I. Pp. 222-223.

3. Census of Central India, 1931, Vol. XVI Part I P. 251.

7.3 In a like manner, the Banjaras seemed to have acquired the notoriety of a criminal tribe in Central Provinces and Berar.[4] Major Gunthrope has written an interesting account of the criminal activities of the Banjaras. He wrote: "In the palmy days of the tribe (Banjara) dacoities were undertaken on the most extensive scale. Gangs of fifty to a hundred and fifty well armed men would go long distances from their *Tandas* for the purpose of attacking houses in the villages or treasure parties or wealthy travellers on the high roads. Arms are scarcely carried, but each man has a good stout stick (*gedi*), the bark of which is peeled off, so as to make it look as white and fresh. The attack is generally commenced by stone-throwing and then a rush is made, the sticks being freely used and the victims almost invariably struck about the head or face. In house dacoities, men are posted at different corners of streets, each with a supply of well-chosen round stones to keep off any people coming to the rescue. Banjaras are very expert cattle-lifters, some taking as many as a hundred head or even more at a time. This kind of robbery is usually practised in hilly or forest country where the cattle are sent to graze[5]". But the Banjaras of Naharkheda have never been known to be criminals. There has not been a single complaint against them for committing robbery or dacoity, for that matter, committing any crime against property or person. It is now apparent from the history of the settlement, which we can review in the retrospect, that there was no intention of concealing themselves to facilitate commission of crimes in choosing the secluded spot in the Vindhyas. Besides the availability of grazing facilities for their cattle, the other consideration which might have weighed with the original settlers to choose the site for their camp, could be their desire to keep away from the local population and to avoid the possibility of a clash that might have arisen owing to the sharing of grazing facilities with them.

7.4 This temporary camp of the Banjaras came to be known as "Naharkheda"; the name is as old as the settlement itself. The word "Naharkheda" is a compound of two words, *viz.*, *Nahar* and *kheda*"; *Nahar*, in Hindi means a tiger, and *kheda* means a village, hence "a village of tigers". It is said, that this place which is in the heart of Vindhya ranges, abounded in wild animals, especially tigers and, therefore, it was called place or village of tigers *i. e.* Naharkheda, although, at present wild animals are very rare in this tract.

7.5. All families of the original settlers remained together in this village up to 1938 when 4 families headed by Onkar Banjara and 3 headed by Gulab, left Naharkheda and settled in the nearby villages of Basi and Chhotijam respectively, whenre they are still living. The reason for leaving Naharkheda is stated to be paucity of land for cultivation in that village.

7.6. Shahjad and his followers started the traditional occupation of Banjara *i.e.* transport ing merchandise on pack animals from place to place. I say "traditional", because the Banjaras have been carrying on this profession right from the seventeenth century and were also employed by the Britishers in the eighteenth century. "The Charan Banjaras" Mr. Cumberlege states, "first came to the Deccan with Asaf Khan with the campaign which closed with the annexation by the Emperor Shah Jahan of Ahmadnagar and Berar about 1630. Their leaders or Naiks were Bhangi and Jhangi of the Rathore and Bhagwan Das of the Jadon clan. Bhangi and Jhangi had 1,80,000 pack bullocks and Bhagwandas 52,000. It was naturally an object with Asaf Khan to keep, his commissariat well up with his force, and when Bhangi and Jhangi made difficulties about the supply of grass and water to their cattle, he gave them an order engraved on copper in letters of gold to the following effect :—

Rajan ka pani
Chhappar ka ghas
Din ke tin khun maf;
Aur Jahan Asafkhan ke ghore
wahan Bhangi Jhangi ke bail.

"(If you can find no water elsewhere you may even take it from the pots of my followers; grass you may take from the roofs of their huts; and I will pardon you up to three murders a day, provided that whenever I find my cavalry, Bhangi and Jhangi's bullocks shall be with them)."

7.7. In 1791-92 the Banjaras were employed to supply grain to the British Army under the Marquis of Cornwallis during the siege of Serangapatam . The Duke of Wellington in his

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4 Q. W. Gayer, "C. P. Police Lectures, 1910, Pp. 53-54.

5. Notes on criminal tribes frequenting Bombay Berar & C. P. (Bombay 1882)

compaigns regularly engaged them as part of the commissaria staff of army; on one occasion he said of them" the Banjaras, I look upon them as the servants of the public, of whose grain, I have a right to regulate the sale, always taking care that they have a proportionate advantage."[6]

7.8. Writing about the Banjaras, the Superintendent of Census, C. I. Agency has remarked, "these people (Banjaras) were until the advent of railways, carriers of goods. Grain and other merchandise had to be carried on pack animals, chiefly bullocks, and the Banjaras undertook this work. As carriers, they enjoyed a good reputation: indeed without such a reputation they could not have plied their trade."[7]

Shahjad and his followers carried on their traditional occupation of transporting goods like jowar, wheat, sugar and salt. They carried wheat, sugar and jawar from places like Mhow, Indore Kukshi and Manawar (both these latter places are now tahsil headquar ters in Dhar District) to Samar in Rajasthan and brought from there maize and salt. Shahjad and his followers had 500 bullocks at that time and each bullock carried about three maunds of goods.

Shahjad and his followers did not know the methods and teachniques of cultivation and although some cultivable land was available to them after clearing the jungle, they did not do any cultivation and flourished on the primitive goods transport service run by them. In Shahjad's life time, as well as in the early years of Mohan, Shahjad's son, they earned a good reputation as reliable carriers of goods but this prosperity did not last long as it was hit adversly by the laying of the railway line between Khandwa and Ajmer between 1860 and 1865. The result was not the sudden and complete extinction of their trade in that decade but signs of decline began to appear and a set-back was gradually felt: Mohan himself carried on this profession for sixteen years with gradually falling clintele, until a point was reached in the late 80s of the 19th century when he found it unprofitable to pursue it. It was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain a big herd of cattle in the absence of regular income; he therefore, began liquidating it by selling as many heads as he could and kept about 50 bullocks in the whole *tanda*.

This however did not solve the problem of their subsistence. The only alternative was cultivation of land which was utilised by them as pasture. But they did not know the methods and techniques of cultivation. They employed some of the Bhils of village Rampuria, about a mile from Naharkheda, who were already working on the fields of Sondhia Rajputs in the village of Menn and Basi and got the land broken and ploughed by them. They continued to employ them for two years more, during which period they learnt the techniques and methods and began to cultivate themselves without the help of the Bhils. Later, agriculture came to stay as the main occupation and now Sakkru and his sons are as efficient cultivators as any body else in the neighbouring areas.

7.9. Naharkheda is a forest village where there is a sort of dual administration. The annual revenue papers such as statement of annual demand (*vasuli patrak*); ledger of individual holdings (*kista-bandi khatauni*) as well as the quinquennial *Khasra* are prepared by the village accountant (*Patwari*), the administration of the Land Revenue Code is done by the Tahsildar of the Revenue Department. Where as the actual recovery of revenue is made by the Forest Department on the basis of the papers prepared by the *Patwari*: the allotment of land for cultivation is also made by the same department. The Forest department carried out a settlement in this village in 1948 and granted Bhumiswami[8] rights to the tenants of this village; the same rights are enjoyed by the tenants in the revenue villages, as well. It would, perhaps, be useful to know what is exactly meant by a forest village, and how it differ from a revenue village, so as to appreciate the economic setting of the Banjaras of Naharkheda.

The Forest department persuades persons to settle down in a demarcated area within a protected or reserve forest in order to have a strong labour force at hand for the departmental operations such as felling of the forest coupes, afforestation, construction and maintenance of roads, etc. and for protection of the forest from fires. These settlements are called forest villages. There is another class of forest villages which are called "Revenue forest villages": these are revenue villages already in existence transferred to the forest department for the above purpose. Naharkheda belongs to the latter class. It is a village transferred by the Revenue Department to the Forest department. The above duties are enjoined by law on the

6. Bombay Gazetteer, Muhammadans of Gujarat, P. 86

7. Census of Central India 1931, Vol. XVI Part I, P. 251.

8. Bhumiswami, as defined in section 158 of the M. P. Land Revenue code; a superior tenure to that of occupancy tenancy.

settlers in the forest or revenue forest villages. The forest department allots lands for cultivation within the forest area to the settlers on leases which are terminable at the will of the forest department without any prior notice to the lessee, who has no right of transfer either by sale mortgage, gift or bequest; on his demise it could devolve on his heirs by a specific order of the forest department. The tenure of land held by the tenants of a 'revenue forest village', is superior, in that the ten ants have all the rights of a Bhumiswami in that land; it is for this reason that the Banjaras of Naharkheda possess Bhumiswami rights in their holdings.

Besides the facility of cultivation of land in the forest area, the tenants of the se villages also have certain privileges in respect of the forest produce, which are called "Nistar rights", which are the same in both categories of forest villages described above. These are;—

(*i*) free grazing of a pair of bullocks per plough and of one buffalo or two goats;

(*ii*) wood free of cost required for agricultural purposes;

(*iii*) fuel wood, required for domestic use, free of cost;

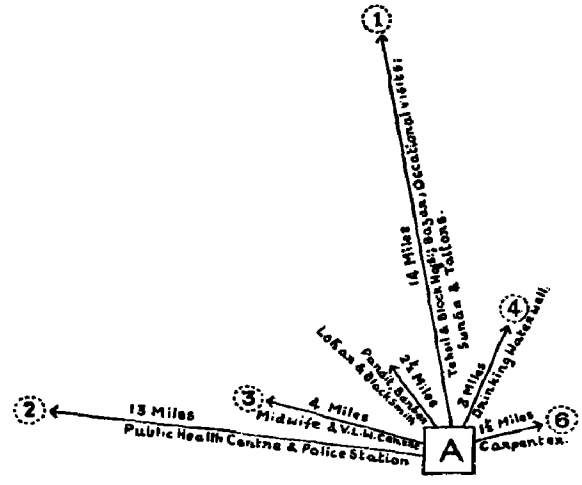
(*iv*) bamboos, grass and leaves of teak and khakra for the construction roof, free of cost and bamboos for the construction of a house at half rates;

(*v*) timber for house free of cost with prior permission of the Distt. Forest Officer; and

(*vi*) a free head-load of grass for cattle[9].

The Banjaras of Naharkheda enjoy all these privileges, which are conferred on them not because they are Banjaras but because they live in a forest village. Except for forest and land administration in which spheres there is a special treatment for Naharkheda as stated above, in other branches of administration it is like, any other village in the district. It is in the Stage II Block Mhow and under the jurisdiction of Village Panchayat Menn. As we have seen earlier, there is no school, the nearest being in Menn. Similarly for the services of a *Pandit* (Brahman) they have to call one from Badgonda and a carpenter from Rampuria. They buy their weekly requirements of daily life (in absence of any kind of shop in the village) from Badgonda or Mhow where they sell their agricultural produce, or cartloads of grass fuel wood and timber. For an ironsmith, they go to Badgonda. For the services of a barber they either go to Badgonda or Mhow. Drinking water during summer months, they fetch from Bassi. The Primary health centre and Police Station are situated at Manpur and a midwife who, occasionally, visits them is stationed at Menn.

The sketch below illustrates their dependence on the above mentioned villages for the various necessities of life:—



INDEX

A NAHARKHEDA

1 MHOW	4 BASSI
2 MANPUR	5 BADGONDA
3 MENN	6 RAMPURIA

9. Forest Department, M. B. 1952, Nistar Rights in regard to Forest produce, P. 10.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

8. The name 'Banjara' has been variously explained, as *'ban'* meaning forest or a jungle and *charan* which is a Hindi *tatsama* meaning a *'wanderer'*; *Charan* by usage seems to have been debased to *jara*; hence 'Banjara' is probably a wanderer in for est. There is a similar combination of these two words (*Samasa*) in Sanskrit, 'वनचर'; which has come to mean 'monkey'. Another and the most probable derivation is from the Sanskrit' *banijya kar*' , a merchant. Sir H. M. Elliot held that the name Banjara was of a great antiquity quoting a passage from the 'Dasa Kumar charitra' of the eleventh or twelfth century. But it was subsequently shown by Prof. Cowell that the name Banjara did not occur in the original text of this work. Banjaras are supposed to be the people mentioned by Arrian in the fourth century B. C., as leading a wandering life, dwelling in tents, and letting out for hire their beasts of burden. But this passage merely proves the existence of carriers and not of the Banjara caste. Mr. Crooke states that the first mention of Banjaras in Mohamma dan history is in Sikandar's attack on Dholpur in A. D. 1504. It seems improbable, therefore that the Banjaras accompanied different Mohammadan invaders of India, as might have been inferred from the fact that they came into the Deccan in the train of the forces of Aurangzeb. The caste has indeed two Mohammadan sections, the Turkia and Mukeri. But both of these have the same Rajput clan names as the Hindu branch of the caste, and it seems possible that they may have embraced Islam under the proselytising influence of Aurangzeb, or simply owing to their having been employed with the Mohammadan troops. The great bulk of the caste in Southern India are Hindus, and there seems no reason for assuming that its origin was Mohammadan.

8.1 It may also be suggested that the Banjaras are derived from the *Charan* or Bhat caste of Rajputana. Mr. Cumberlege, whose monograph on the caste in Berar is one of the best authorities, states that out of the four divisions existing there, the *Charans* are the most numerous and by far the most interesting class. The name *Charan* is generally held to mean 'wanderer' and, in their capacity of bards, the *Charans* were accustomed to travel from court to court of the different chiefs in quest of patronage. They were first protected by their sacred character and afterwards by their custom or *traga* or *chandi* that is, of killing themselves when attacked and threatening their assailants with the dreaded fate of being haunted by their ghosts.

8.2 Col. Tod identifies the *Charans* and Banjaras as belonging to the tribe Cucholia (*Kacheli*) who are Banjarries (carriers) by profession, though poets by birth. The alliance, according to him, is a curious one and appears incongruous, were not gain the object generally in both the cases. It was the sanctity of their office which converted our Bardais (bards) into 'bunjarries', for their persons being sacred, the immunity extended likewise to their goods and saved them from all imposts; so that in process of time they became the free traders of Rajputana[1].

8.3 Colonel Macknezie in his account of Banjara caste remarks, "it is certain that the *Charans* first rose to the demand which the great armies of northern India, contending in exhausted countries far from their bases of supply, created, *viz.*, the want of a fearless and reliable transport service. The start which the Charans then acquired, they retain among Banjaras to this day though in very much diminished splendour and position. As they themselves relate they were originally five bretheren, Rathore, Turi, Panwar, Chauhan and Jadon. But fortune particularly smiled on Bhika Rathore, as his four sons, Mersi, Multasi, Dheda and Khamidar, great names among the *Charans*, rose immediately to eminence as Commissariat transporters in the North. And not only under the Delhi Emperors, but under the Satara, subsequently, the Poona Raj and the subhaship of the Nizam, did several of their descendants rise to consideration and power[2]".

8.4 Mr. Cumberlege in his monograph referred to earlier, describing the internal structure gives four main divisions of the caste in Berar, the Charans, Mathurias, Labhanas and Dharis. Of these *Charans* are by far the most numerous and important. The *Charans* are divided into five clans, Rathore, Panwar, Chauhan, Puri andJadon or Burthia, all of them being the names of leading Rajput clans; as the *Charan* bards were themselves, probably, Rajputs, the Banjaras, who are descended from them, may claim the same lineage.

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1 R. V. Russell and Hiralal: The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India Pp. 163-165.

2 Berar Census Report, 1881. Pp. 152.

8.5 Although the existing caste seems to be of a very mixed nature and the original *Charan* strains still perfectly recognisable cannot have maintained their purity, still it seems a reasonable hypothesis that the nucleus of the Banjara caste was constituted by the *Charan* or bards of Rajputana.

It may also be interesting to give a story of the origin of the Banjaras as narrated by the Bamnia Bhat of Banjaras, who lives in Rajasthan and occasionally visits the village. Besides performing the role of a religious priest, he also works as a family biographer of the Banjaras. He visits the village once in a year or once in two years, goes to every household and reads the account of the family to the members and makes a careful and exhaustive jotting of the events and occurrances, such as births and deaths in the family, marriages performed, etc. which have taken place during the intervening period of his visits and thus brings the records up to date.

(It has not been possible for us to contact the Bamnia Bhat during the course of study of this village, August, 1961 to June, 1962,— as he did not visit this place within that period.)

The Bamnia Bhat gives the following story of the origin of the Banjaras.

Two Rajputs were in the service of the Mughal Emperor, but were disgraced for attempting to seduce a muslim woman and fled to Rajputana. While they were hiding in the jungle, the Rana of Udaipur came out hunting. Being thirsty, he sent a servant to fetch some water. He approached them and, hearing that they were Rajputs, took water from them for the Rana. On receiving the water, the Rana asked whence such cold water was obtained in the jungle and on being told about the brothers (Rajputs), set out to see them. They got nervous on seeing the Rana and told him that they were Bhats and not Rajputs. The Rana then took them to the capital and gave them the village of Bamnia as a Jagir. All their protestations as to their being Rajputs in reality were unavailing, and they were made out-castes and prohibited from marrying Rajput women. They thus lost status.

Later on, a descendant Rupa Naik took to plundering; the Jagir was confiscated, and they became carriers of merchandise. The extension of railways and roads forced most of them to take to agriculture. They used to carry salt from Pachbhadra and sell it in all parts of India. They started their camp in *Bhadon* (September) returning in *Jeth* (May). Bamnia is still recognised as their headquarters although the hills of Rampura form their real home. At Bamnia, stands the *Chhatri* (memorial) of Rupa Naik to which the members of the clan go and pray for the fulfilment of their vows.[3]

Such is the varied account of the origin of Banjaras but none in the village including our chief informant Sakkru knows any thing about it. All that they know about it, is that they have come from Rajasthan and belong to Rathore, Panwar and Chauhan *gotras* (names of clans among Rajputs).

8.6 Writing about the Banjaras of Central Provinces, Russell and Hiralal observe, "the Banjara caste is not closed to outsiders, but the general rule is to admit only women who have been married to Banjara men. Women of the lowest and impure castes are excluded. In Nimar, it is stated that formerly Gonds, Korkus, and even Balais might become Banjaras."[4] But in the case of Naharkheda Banjaras, it is somewhat to the contrary; here it is a closed community especially for women, as they do not marry outside their caste. The Balais and other scheduled castes are still considered as belonging to low castes and they could never be accepted within the fold of Banjara caste. The caste was open to the young boys of other caste Hindus who used to be kidnapped by these Banjaras to augment their labour force for carrying on the profession of transporting the goods and later on, to work in the forest. Sakkru tells us that his ancestors did kidnap young male children by enticing them away from the outskirts of their villages or if found in the forest and were brought up in the Tanda as Banjaras. This is corroborated by the Sar Panch of Menn village Panchayat.

Such converts were, however, considered lower in racial status and they were not allowed to eat in the bell-metal plate, which is an exclusive privilege of the blue-blooded Banjaras of Rajput stock. There is a considerable hesitation in contracting marital relations with the offspring of such converts. It was only 3 years ago (about 1959) that the Banjara Naik of Naharkheda protested against a proposed marriage between a son of a blue-blooded Banjara and a daughter of a convert and eventually it fizzled out. There are two such families in Naharkheda and nearly fifteen of them in village Chhotijam. This practice of kidnapping male children has ceased more than three decades ago and there has not been a single case in Naharkheda during this period.

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3 Census of India, 1931 CI. Agency Report Part I P. 222.

4 R. V. Russell and Hiralal; "The Tribes & Castes of the Central Provinces; P. 182.

8.7 The ethnical account of the Banjaras of Naharkheda will not be complete unless a mention is made about the virtues of Banjaras.

As stated earlier, the Banjaras of Rajasthan and Central Provinces, but none from Naharkheda, had attained a notoriety of being criminals especially as highway robbers, dacoits and cattle lifters, but there seemed to have been a distinct improvement in their bearing since the late 80 s of the nineteenth century as observed by Mr. Kitts; "the number of Banjaras convicted in the Berar Courts was lower in proportion to the strength of the caste than that of the Mohammadans, Brahmins, Koshtis, or Sunars[5].

8.8 Col. Mackenzie had quite a favourable opinion of them; "a Banjara who can read and write is unknown. But their memories from cultivation are marvellous and very retentive. They carry in their heads, without slip or mistake, the most varied and complicated transactions and the share of each in such, striking a debtor and creditor account as accurately as the best kept ledger, while their history and songs are all learnt by heart and transmitted orally from generation to generation. On the whole and taken rightly in their clannish nature, their virtues preponderate over their vices. In the main they are truthful and very brave, be it in war or the chase, and once gained over are faithful and devoted adherents. With the pride of high descent and with the right that might gives in unsettled and troublous times, these Banjaras habitually lord it over and condemn the settled inhabitants of the plains. And now, not having foreseen their own fate, or at least not timely having read the warning given by a yearly diminishing occupation, which slowly has taken their bread away, it is a bitter pill for them to sink into a ryot class or, often still, under stern necessity to become the ryot's servants. But they are settling to their fate, and the time must come when all their peculier distinctive marks and traditions will be forgotten[6]".

What Colonel Mackenzie has written of Banjaras in the early 80s of the last century is still to be found in the Banjaras of Naharkheda. Our Banjaras are absolutely non-criminal: the settlement has been in this part of the district over 100 years but there is not a single complaint against them regarding commission of any crime not only with the Police but also with the villagers of the neighbouring area with whom they come into intimate contact. The Banjaras of other parts are known for their proficiency in cattle-lifting[7] but there is not one case of cattle-lifting against our Banjaras. Even the offences of kidnapping of young male children which were indulged in by the ancestors of the present generation have completely stopped; and not one has been reported during the last thirty years. What they commonly and freely indulge in is the commission of forest offences such as illicit felling of trees and theft in respect of timber and fuel-wood from the adjoining forest. This is by all means culpable but there is an extenuating circumstance and that is their economically depressed condition: having lost their traditional occupation they are subsisting on the same area of cultivated land which they had 100 years ago with more than double the number of mouths to be fed.

8.9 About their being devoted adherents, I have personal experience. In the course of the present study I developed a close and intimate contact with some of them, notably the Naiks of the two hamlets. After my first two visits, they became so devoted to me that they would run down to my place for every little piece of advice or help in matters which even did not concern me. They would ask me what they should do to have a drinking water well, a school and other facilities from the block and would implicitly adhere to my suggestions. Some time in June, 1961, a batch of DDT sprayers (of the National Malaria Control Programme unit) went to the village and one of them allegedly tried to molest a Banjara woman, she raised a hue and cry which was heard by some of the Banjaras who were working in the forest: they appeared on the spot and avenged upon the alleged miscreant by beating him. The matter was reported to the police and according to Sakkru the Police wanted to arrest them. They kept in hiding for one day and managed to run down to my place. They narrated the whole incident and desired my advice. I asked them that they should immediately surrender themselves to the Police. They abided by my suggestion and surrendered themselves to the Police.

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5 Berar Census Report 1881 P. 151.

6 Berar Census Report, 1881: P. 152.

7 R. V. Russell & Hiralal, The Tribes and Castes of CP" P. 190."

"Banjaras are very expert cattle-lifters, some times, taking as many as a hundred heads or even more at a time. This kind of robbery is usually practised in hilly or forest country where the cattle are sent to graze. Secreting themselves they watch for the herdsman to have his mid-day dose and for the cattle to stray a little distance. As many as possible are then driven off to a great distance and secretaed in ravines and woods. If questioned they answer that the animals belong to land owners and have been given into their charge to graze, and this is done every day the questioner thinks nothing more of it. After a time the cattle are quietly sold to individual purchasers or taken to markets at a distance."

On another occasion, some of them saw me and in sheer disgust stated that, as they were not getting any additional land for cultivation from the forest department, they would unauthorisedly plough and occupy some pieces of land adjacent to their fields; on my hint that they should not become desperate and take the law into their own hands, they refrained from the unauthorised act: in any case they had not done so until I met them last in January, 1962.

The Naharkheda Banjaras like the Banjaras of Berar have the pride of high descent and are brave persons. They have a strong memory and can not only narrate their history and give their customary songs but also keep the account of debts in their head: alas! they do not have any account to maintain on the credit side. Col. Mackenzie has not mentioned one of the main characteristics of the Banjaras (maybe it might not have been present in the Banjaras he studied) that they are astute and sagacious. They make a clear distinction between the things which would disrepute their caste and which would glorify it in the estimation of the outsiders; and what things should be told and what should not. For example, there was a good deal of hesitation in disclosing that their ancestors kidnapped boys, that their caste includes converts, that a widow in the house is never allowed to marry somebody else but is married by the younger brother of the deceased husband or that nothing proceeds in the caste Panchayat until liquor is served. There is an awareness of the fact that these practices are deprecated in the society at large.

The Naharkheda Banjaras despite what I have said above in passing, have the clannish characteristics of being devoted adherents, truthful and good friends.

Caste Panchayat

9. The Naharkheda Banjaras have a strong caste Panchayat. Its constitution and competence are undetermined: anything calculated to cause an injury to body or mind, and miscounduct or an act of sacrilege and all kinds of wrongs done by any member of the caste and ma ters which require the sanction of the Panchayat, for expample, fixing the betrothal or marriage date, etc., are brought before the Panchayat. All male adults living in the village are the members of the Panchayat. There is a *Nayak* at the head of each Panchayat. Until 30 years ago, the Banjaras lived in one Tanda of which Sakkru was the *Nayak* but he left that Tanda as Gangaram, another important man in the Tanda did not see eye to eye with Sakkru on many matters which led to quarrel between them and Sakkru felt that his leadership was questioned by the followers of Gangaram. He, therefore, left that Tanda and established another hamlet in which he and his sons and some of his followers live today. After the division of the main Tanda, there were two Panchayats, one for Sakkru's tanda and another for Gangaram's Tanda. Sakkru continues to be the *Nayak* of his hamlet and Gangaram heads the Panchayat of the other hamlet. Matters arising in the Tandas are disposed of by the respective Panchayats. The office of the '*Nayak*' is hereditary and the eldest son of the *Nayak* assumes that office on the death of his father. In case the *Nayak* dies heirless, the Panchayat elects another person from the village. If the deceased *Nayak* is survived by a brother, he is preferred, if acceptable to the *Panchas*. There are 15 families of Banjaras in village Chhotijam and 10 in another village Bassi: both the villages have their own separate Panchayats headed by Amarsingh and Gulab, respectively. There is no territorial hierarchy among these four Panchayats, all have equal status and are independent of one another. When a Panchayat of a particular village considers that certain matters before it can not be satisfactorily dealt with by it, then it summons the Panchayats of all the four villages and places the matters in issue before them for decision. In case matters like damage by cattle trespass or some mischief to property are reported, the village Panchayat decides it finally; but if the wrong of a social nature like elopement of a girl, adultery or killing or maiming of a cow, etc., is committed, it is brought before the assembly of all the village Panchayats. Apart from the aggravated nature of wrong, the person affected may choose to summon the bigger assembly. There is no fixed periodicity of the Panchayat meeting, it is held when occasion arises and is summoned by the *Nayak* or the aggrieved person. The Panchayat is held underneath a tree near the Tanda, there being no fixed place for its meeting. One unique feature of the administration of justice by the caste Panchayat is that there is only one kind of punishment for all wrongs, social or personal whether flimsy or of considerable magnitude and that is, fine in cash to feed the Panchas and give them meat and liquor. Equity creeps in only to determine the amount of fine depending on the gravity of the wrong. The amount of fine varies from Rs. 5 to Rs. 50 If the complaint involves damage to property, then an additional amount to make good the loss sustained by the complainant is made to be paid by the person complained against. After the meeting of the Panchayat is over, the proceeds of the fine are appropriated to the drinks and feast. It is on a rare occasion that a small amount of the fine is kept by the *Nayak* in a common fund from which expenditure for the Community festival like '*Holi*', *Dasherra etc.*, and other occasions like distribution of *Prasad* on betrothal ceremonies taking place in the village is made. If there be no balance in the fund, the *Nayak* has to bear the expenses on the above items himself.

9.1 Some of the cases which came up for decision before the Panchayat in recent years are given below:—

(*i*) The *Nayak* came to know from the whispers current in the village that a certain unmarried girl aged 14 was enceinte and that the person who committed that misdeed was from the same Tanda. The *Nayak* summoned the Panchayats of all the four villages before whom the person admitted his guilt. He was fined Rs. 125 and the whole amount was spent on liquor and feast. The girl or her father did not get anything. The *Panchas* helped her father in getting her married at a distant place with another person without disclosing the incident.

(*ii*) Another case was brought before the village Panchayat by a husband of a woman who was not allowed to join him by her father. The father was summoned by the Panchayat and directed to send his daughter to her husband. He abided by the directive and sent his daughter to her husband and paid a fine of Rs. 5. It was alleged by the husband that the father intended to marry his daughter to some one else. This case was decided by the village Panchayat and other Panchayats were not summoned.

(*iii*) A Banjara woman of Bassi was molested by a Brahmin when she had gone to his house as a wage-earner. The *Nayak* summoned the Panchayats of all the villages and placed the matter before them. The husband of the Banjara woman was asked to recover a sum of Rs. 50 from the Brahmin and pay it to the Panchayat. Accordingly the amount was collected by him from the Brahmin and paid to the Panchayat.

(*iv*) One of the most important issues which came before the asembly not only of the four Panchayats mentioned above, but also the Banjara Panchayats of Double-Chowki, Balwada and Lendipura, was the request of the converted Banjaras to give them the same social status as those belonging to the original stock. We have seen earlier that the ancestors of Sakkru and Gangaram used to kidnap male children and include them in the Tanda and take them in the fold of Banjara caste. There are a number of families of this type in Chhotijam. Sakkru and others belonging to the original stock refused to allow them to eat from a bell-metal plate called' भाणा (*bhana*) which they considered was a privilege of the pedigree Banjaras. Those suffering from the loss of status requested the Panchas to remove this stigma and allow them to eat in *bhana* . The *Panchas* decided that each one of them should pay Rs. 200 to the Panchayat for upgrading their status. They did not agree to pay the amount and the Panchayat dispersed without settling the matter. The convert Banjaras still suffer from that treatment and it is one of the main reasons for disturbing the harmony of the caste organisation.

9.2 It appears that the hold of the caste Panchayat is waning, at least in matters which come within the purview of the statutory village Panchayat. My informants from Naharkheda stated to me that some matters, in which the aggrieved person feels that the caste Panchayat would not be able to redress his grievance, are taken to the statutory Panchayat, for instance, cases relating to the damage done by cattle trespass or recovery of loan or moveable property are being referred to the statutory Panchayat in preference to the caste Panchayat or some times when the aggrieved person is not satisfied with the decision of the caste Panchayat he would take it to the statutory Panchayat. The Sur Panch of Menn Panchayat (statutory Panchayat for Naharkheda) corroborated this trend.

MATERIAL CULTURE

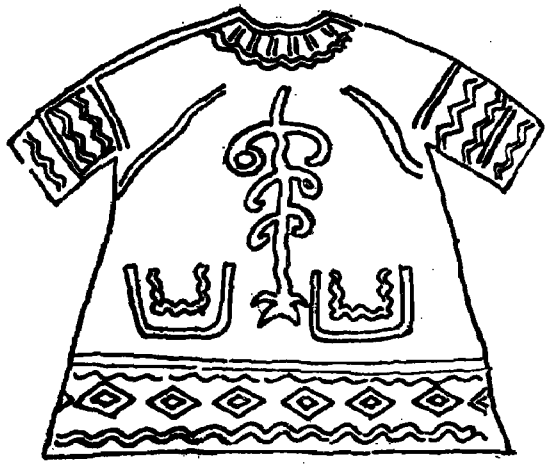
Dress and Ornaments

10 The gaiety of the Banjaras of Naharkheda is occasionally reflected in their dress. The male Banjaras generally put on a turban (generally of red colour) a shirt and a *dhoti* hanging slightly below the knees. The dress of these Banjaras does not present a shabby appearance except in case of a few of them who are very poor.

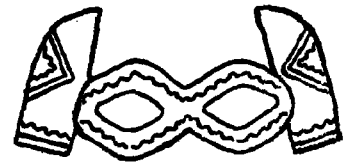
10.1 The Banjara women are dressed more or less like other village belles of Malwa tract. *Ghangra* and *orhni* are common to all of them. But the young married ladies put on *kanchli* (bodice) as distinguished from the elderly ones who wear *Zhabla*[8] (half sleeve blouse) instead. These women are not used to the *sari* which has become quite common in other villages. *Ghangra* is a typical Banjara garment. It is a sort of long skirt made from a long piece of

8 known as "*Polka*" in Central India & Bandelkhand.

maroon or re d cloth measuring about 30 yards. It is tied around the waist with a cord and reaches the ankle. *Kanchli* is a type of bodice usually cut from a cloth piece.



ZABLA



KANCHLI

"Zhabla" is a half-sleeved blouse buttoned up in the front. Its sleeves cover the uper arm completely; the blouse extends to the waist. Girls do not wear *kanchli*. They, however, put on *Zhabla*. Banjara women have a cloth pouch called, *khori* which hangs from their *ghangra* and is used as a purse.

Orhni is a long piece of cloth about 3' in width and 6' in length. It is usually a printed cloth of fine quality. Its one end, tied to the *kanchli*, falls loosely over the *ghangra* and the other end covering the head drops down on the right side.

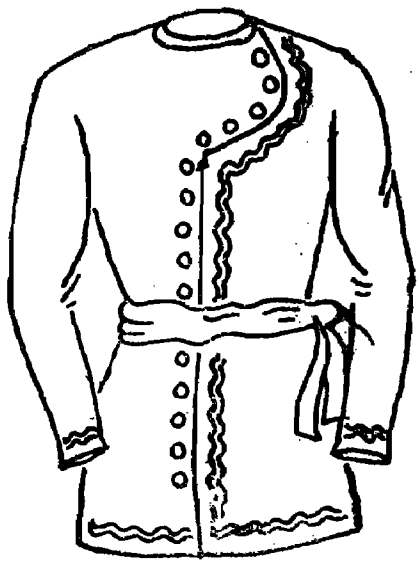


KHORI

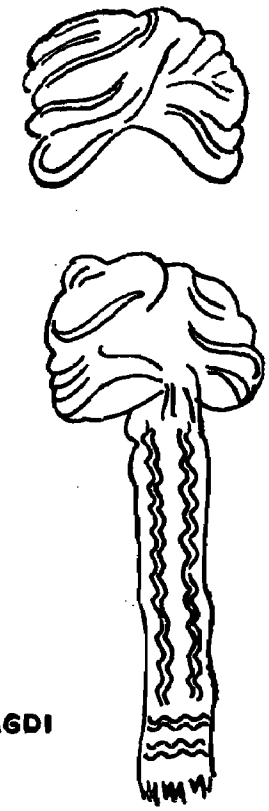
Dress on festive occasions

10.2 Cn festive occasions they put on clean dresses and sometimes new garments. When the Banjaras participate in marriage ceremony their dress comprises a *dhoti, Zhool* and a turban. *Dhoti* at this time is washed clean and put on in the *Marwari* fashion. *Zhool* is a long flowing

garment with long sleeves. It is loose and has no collar. It is buttoned up in the front. They also wear shoes on such occasions.

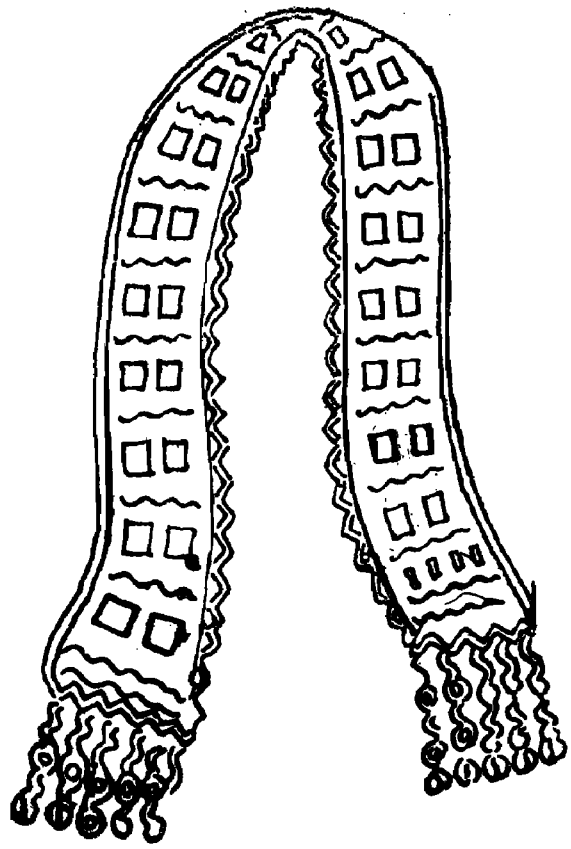


ZHOOL



PAGDI

It is interesting to see a Banjara youth in nuptial dress. He puts on a *dhoti* as usual but it is of a finer quality. Other components of the nuptial attire are *Zhool*, *saila* (Scarf) and a turban (*Safa*). *Zhool* of the bridegroom is made of superior cotton cloth or silk. It is wrapped aroung the girdle with a cotton cloth piece called *kamarpatta* which is about a yard in length and 12" in width. It is folded properly and used as a belt with the knot on the left side and the loose ends remain hanging. Another piece of cloth about one yard long folded to 6" width is put round the shoulder and falls over the *saila* which is a scarf kept in the left hand. *Saila* is generally made of coloured silk cloth. The *pagri* of the bridegroom is wrapped carefully and is given a proper shape in order to present an attractive appearance. The bridal dress does not differ from that usually worn by them except that their attire is of superior quality and more colourful on this occasion and they are laden with ornaments from head to toe. *Ghangra* of the bride catches one's attention. This garment is especially got made out of maroon or red cloth with beautiful embroidery.



SAILA

Hair Style

11. The men have a distinguishing feature as far as their hair style is concerned. It is typical of them as it is seldom observed in other communities. They get the front half of the head shaved and grow long hair in the back half. They do not keep a separate sacred tuft of hair (*choti*). This hair on the head is allowed to grow till it reaches the neck whereafter it is trimmed. Banjaras comb their hair daily and occasionally use some oil to give a shining lustre. These Banjaras grow moustaches and treat them as a matter of pride and a symbol of Rajput blood. It is combed and cleaned, twisted and the ends twirled up. They, of course, do not grow beards which only Sikh Banjaras do. (Plates IX:1,2)

There is nothing distinctive in the hairstyle as such of Banjara women except that in the back of their heads, they dress their hair in the form of a *jooda* which is adorned with a wooden stem vertically fixed. It is called *Rakhdi* and is a typical ornament of these ladies. A general belief associated with this ornament is that it is given by Guru Nanak as his blessing. (Plate IX: 3)

Ornaments

12. The men do not seem to be fond of ornaments which are more or less treated as a luxury. There are 8 persons in the prosperous families who do put on silver ornaments such as *chura* which is moulded to a $\frac{1}{4}$" to $\frac{1}{2}$" thick ring put on one of the wrists or on both. Only 3 of them put on silver buttons tied in a silver chain. These ornaments are used daily by the better-off Banjaras. Anklets or ear-rings are not in vogue but some of the children do wear them. Generally Banjaras wear a necklace of glass-pearls or beads. Some were found to be wearing a silver locket with an image of some deity.

Ornaments of Banjara Women

13. The Banjara woman, literally laden with ornaments all over her body, presents a picturesque appearance. These ornaments are usually made of silver. On the forehead and hair-plait, she puts a *bor* with a pair of *sela*. *Bor* is a cone in the shape of some flower and is tied with a string to the hair. It is placed in the middle of fore head at the hair-parting. It is

Typical hair style forehead



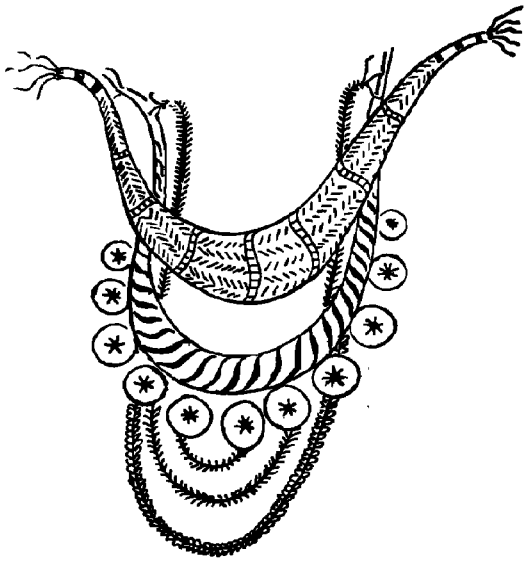
Hair grown reaching the neck



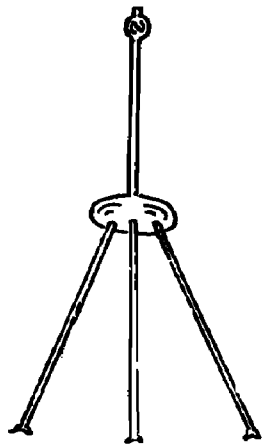


RAKHADI

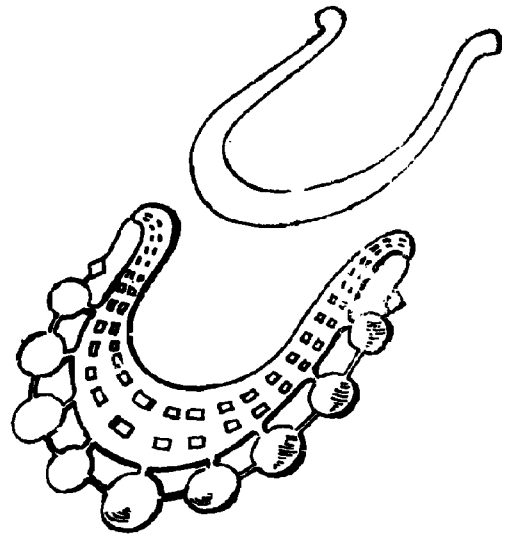
PLATE IX



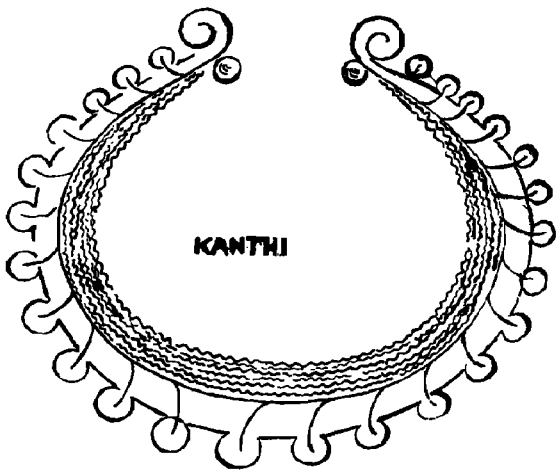
PITTAMBAR MALA

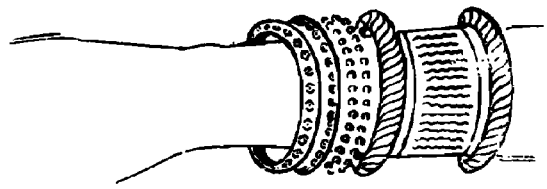


RAKHADI

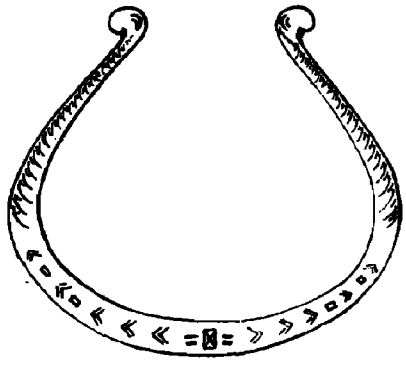


PITTAMBAR MALA





WRISTS IN NARETHI CHUDIA

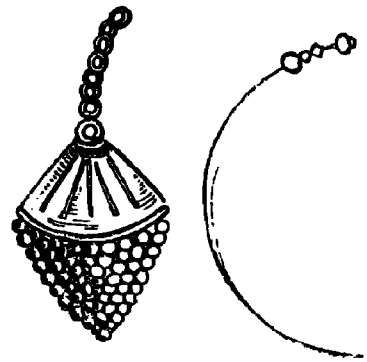


KANTHI

Ornaments

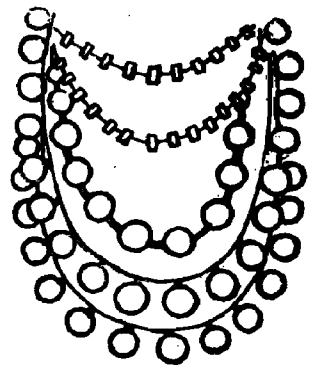
PLATE X

generally made of gold and weighs 4-5 tolas out of which gold is only 1 or 1½ tolas and the rest is lac.



BOR

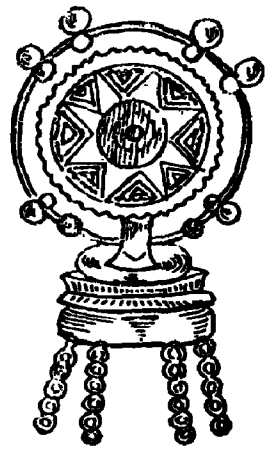
Zela consists of two silver bands of several threads hooked on one side with the *bor* and on the other side with a *topali*, reaching from the middle of the forehead down to the temple. It is made of silver and its weight ranges from 5 to 25 tolas.



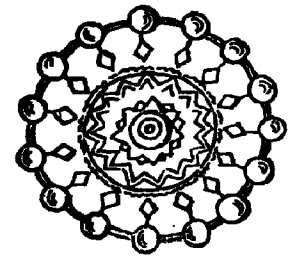
ZALARO

The ornaments of the neck are *hansli, kanthi satladi, pittar-mala* and *zalarao*. *Hansli* is a solid silver neck-ring. It is flat and broad in the front. Its both ends turned behind the neck, touch each other. Its weight ranges from 25 to 35 tolas. *Kanthi* like *hansli* is also made of silver and is worn round the neck. It weighs 10 to 25 tolas. *Satladi* is a necklace of several rows of silver chains weighing 14 to 30 tolas. *Pittarmala* is a chain of coins linked to a hansli. Its weight ranges from 6 to 10 tolas. *Zolaro* is a necklace of several silver coins linked in a silver chain or black thread and its weight ranges from 30 to 60 tolas. Each round silver coin weighs 2½ tolas.

Banjara women wear a *topli* in their ears pierced for this purpose. It is in the shape of a marigold flower.



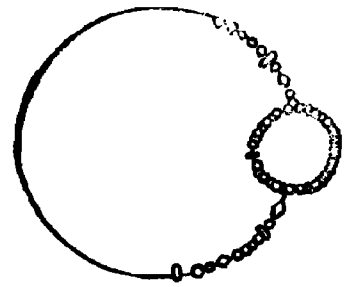
TOPLI



TOPLI

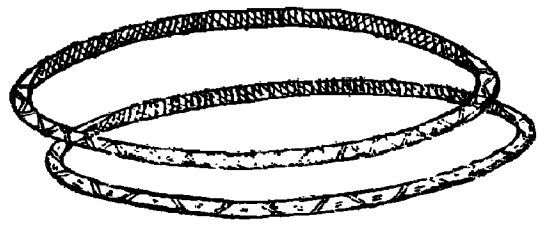
Its weight ranges from 4 to 10 tolas but silver content is only 3/8th of total weight and the rest is lac.

The Banjara bride puts on a "nose ring", in one of her nostrils. It is made of either gold or silver and weighs 1 tola.

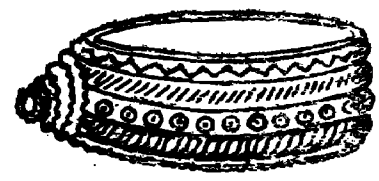


BALI

The arms of the Banjara women are usually covered to the wrist with various bangles and other ornaments of silver. The bangles are either of synthetic rubber of light cream colour or of coconut shells called *narethi chudis*.

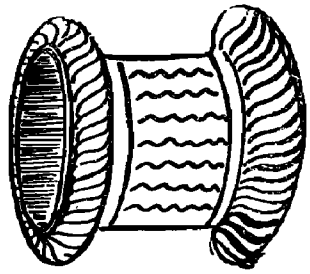


NARETHI

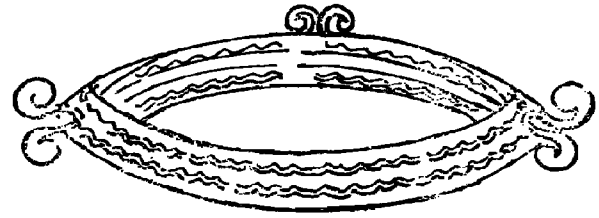


BHUJ BAND

The silver ornaments on the forehand are a ***hathphool, "gajra"*** and ***"bagtia" kangan.***

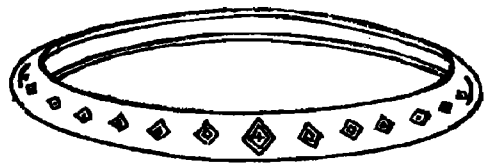


BAGTIA



HATH PHOOL

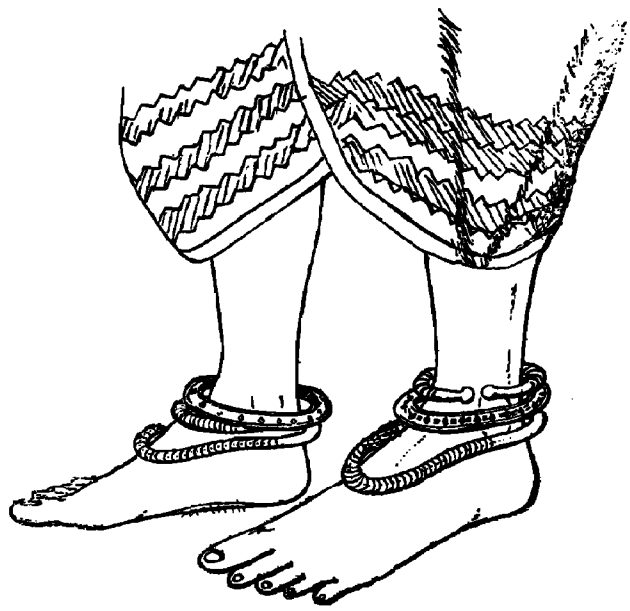
"Hathphool is a bracelet in the form of a ring. It is hollow from inside and tingy bells are hooked to it at different points. It is made of silver and its weight ranges from 20-25 tolas. Other such silver bracelets are *kangan* and *gajra,* both of light weight as they are also hollow from inside. The upper arm of a Banjara woman is also covered with ornaments like *bajuband, bhujband* and *awala.* The *"awala ring"* hangs over the elbow where as the *bajuband* and *bhujband* are fastened to the arms.



AWALA

All these ornaments are made of silver and their weight ranges from 14-30, 10-15 and 25-40 tolas. The *bhujband* has a knob of the shape of a flower.

The Banjara women put on some ornaments on their ankles ***viz., ramzol, pingny*** and



RAMZOL & PINGNY

toda. All these ornaments have turned edges which remain unlocked. The *pingay* is a flexible and curved thick chain and it rests on the foot and heel while *toda* and *ramzol* can be better described as rings round the ankle.



PINGNY



TODA

Toda is a solid open ring of silver and is quite heavy. Its weight ranging from 30 to 50 tolas. Its silver content is 1/3 of the total weight and the rest is lac. *Ramzal* is moulded from brass and is lighter than Toda as it is hollow from inside. Its weight ranges from 20 to 30 tolas. *Pingny* is light Silver ornament weighing 2 to 5 tolas. All the three ornaments are open and both their ends are turned out-wards.

It will be interesting to note that the total minimum weight of all these ornaments is about 8 lbs. and the maximum about 13 lbs.

House Type

14. As we have seen earlier, Naharkheda is a cluster of houses situated at two places known as Sakkru's tanda and Gangaram's tanda. There is hardly any lane or street in the village site and the houses are huddled up without any arrangement for disposal of water or rubbish. There is no common sitting place nor any temple in the village. Houses in both the Tandas are similar and there is an unrelieved monotony in their construction. In Sakkru's Tanda, every house has a cattleshed and there are two common rectangular barricades made of wooden *tallies* to impound the cattle in summer. The arrangement in Ramsing's Tanda is slightly different, in that some of the tenements do not have kitchen's but have only one living room. Such houses are of those grown up members of the family, who, although, living seperately, have a joint kitchen in the family house where their parents live. It is, therefore, a cluster of homesteads surrounding the main family house.

14.1 The main characteristics of all the houses in both the Tandas are common. For example every house is a singlestoried single room tenement; it is built out of the materials locally available and no cement, brick or lime is used in the construction; it has a *kachha* floor and there is no sink in the house, no bathroom, washing or bathing place or latrine inside or attached to the house. The distinguishing features are the material of the roof, the pattern of the wall and the *dagla* (a raised structure of wooden *tallies* at a height of 4' to 5', by the side of the cattleshed with a thatched roof, open on all sides, where fodder is stored and sometimes is used as a sleeping place in the rainy season). The roof of a house belonging to a well-to-do family is made of rafters and country tiles, whereas in the case of a poor man's house, it is of *palash* and teak leaves. Similarly, the walls of the house of the former category are of bamboo-mats plastered with clay and cow-dung, and of the latter category, they are of dried stems of *arhar*, grass, teak and *palash* leaves. In a poor man's house there is no *dagla* at all.

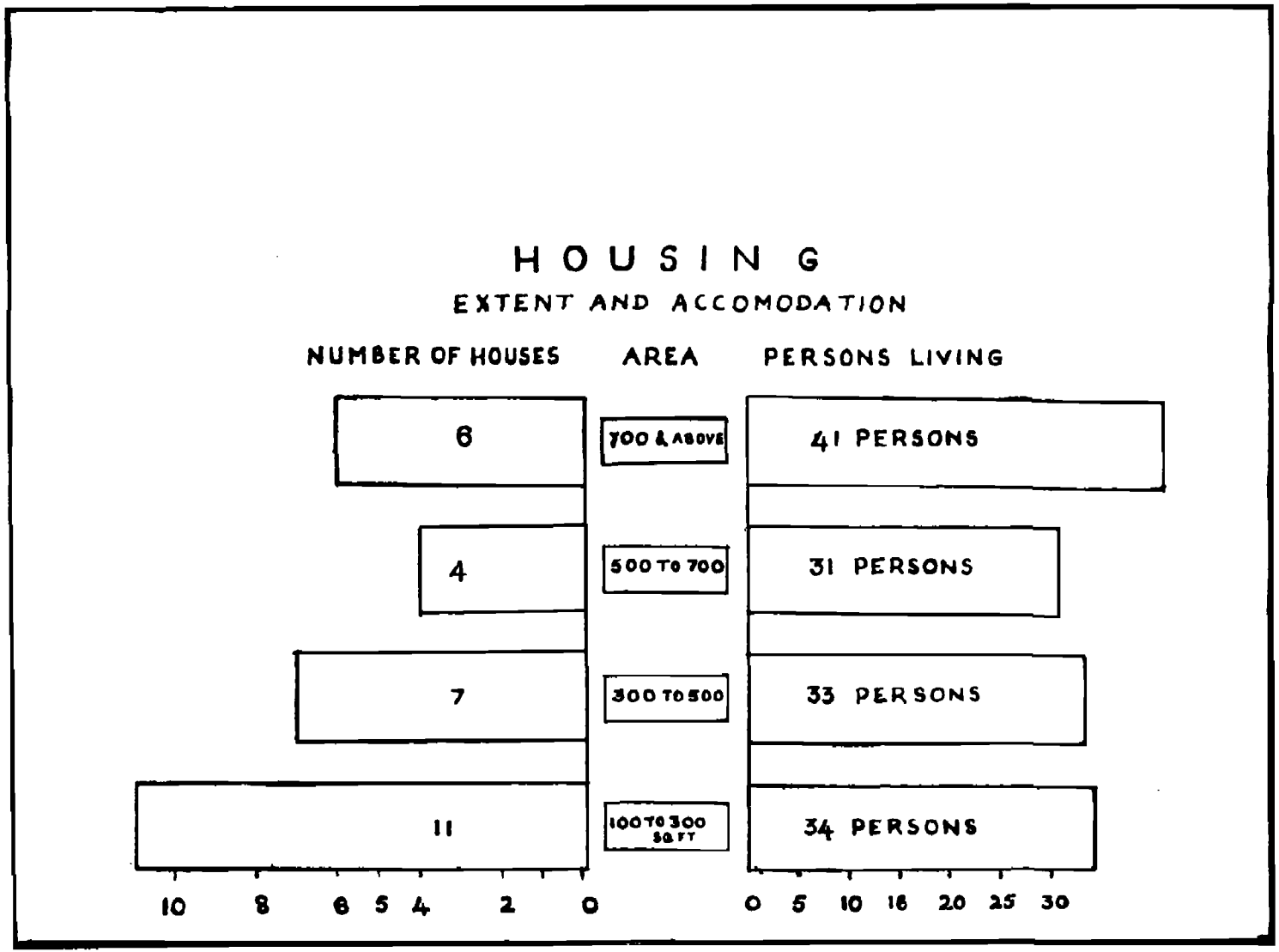
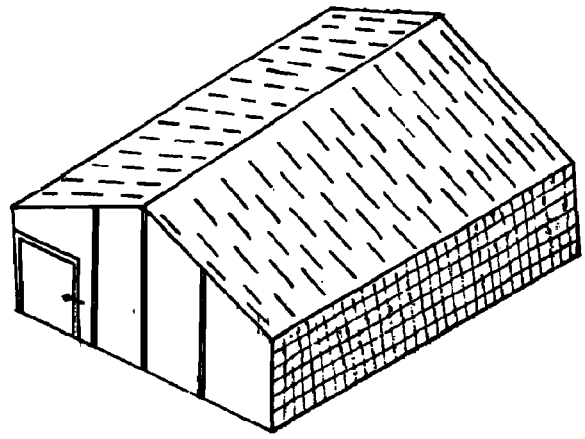
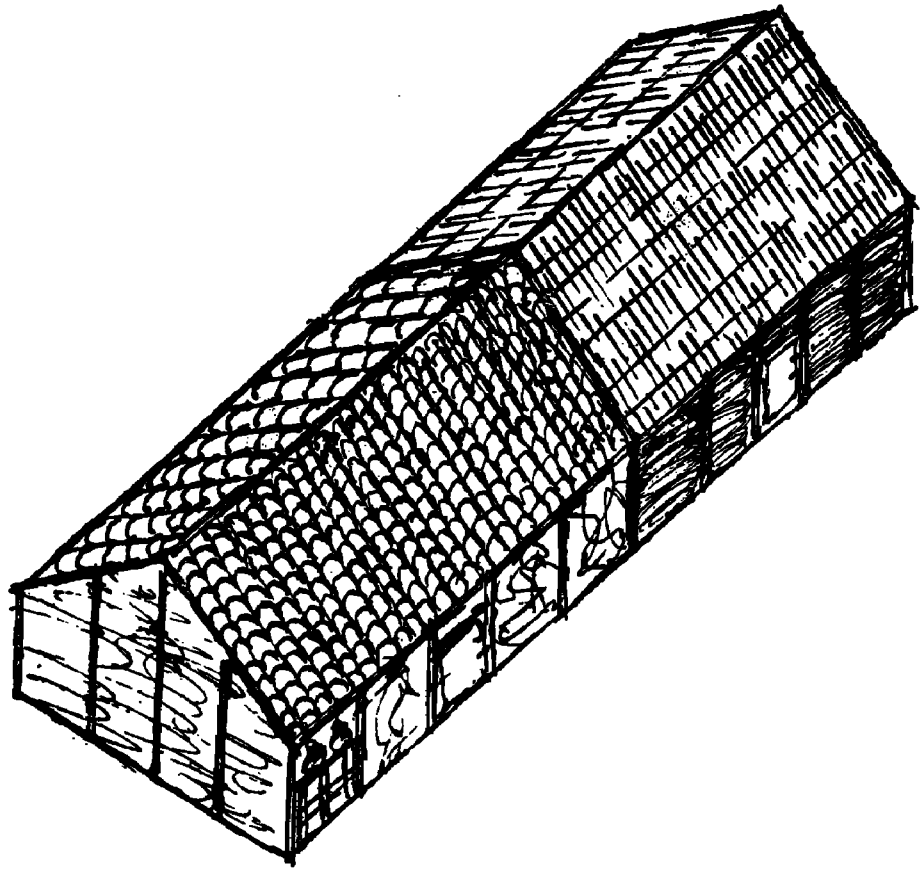

HOUSING
EXTENT AND ACCOMODATION
NUMBER OF HOUSES
AREA
PERSONS LIVING
6
700 & ABOVE
41 PERSONS
4
500 TO 700
31 PERSONS
7
300 TO 500
33 PERSONS
11
100 TO 300 SQ FT
34 PERSONS
10 8 6 5 4 2 0
0 5 10 16 20 25 30

PLATE XI

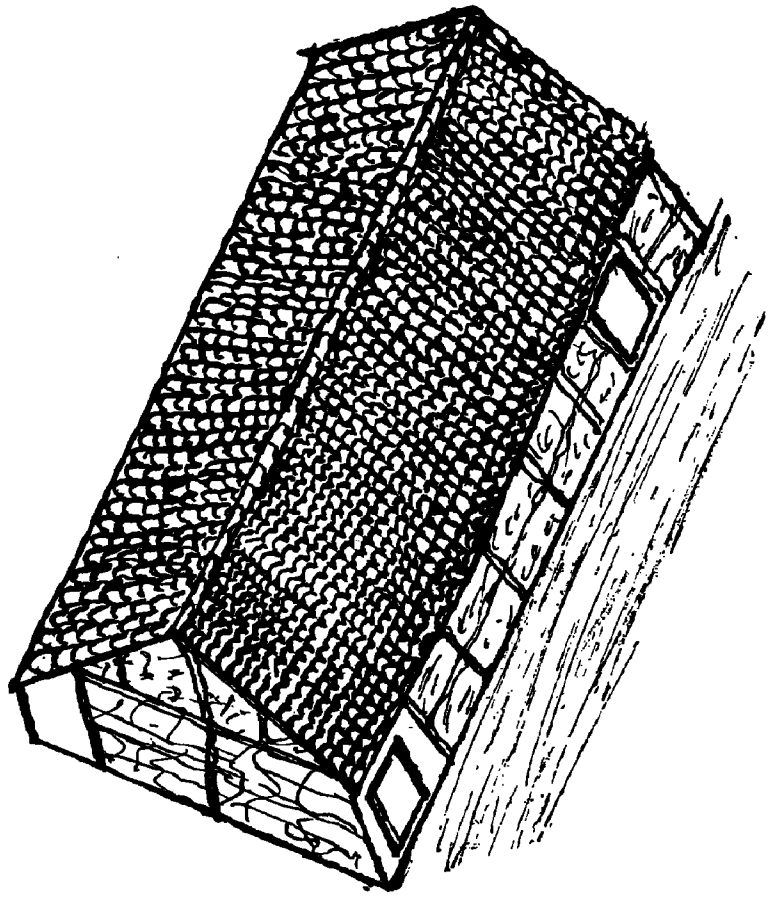


Thatch roof with walls of dried stumps of *Arhar*



Thatch-cum-country tiles roof

PLATE XII



Roof with country tiles

Table 1 below shows the floor area of the houses varying from 100 sq. ft. to 700 sq. ft.—

TABLE 1

Area of Dwellings, Cost and numbers of Occupants

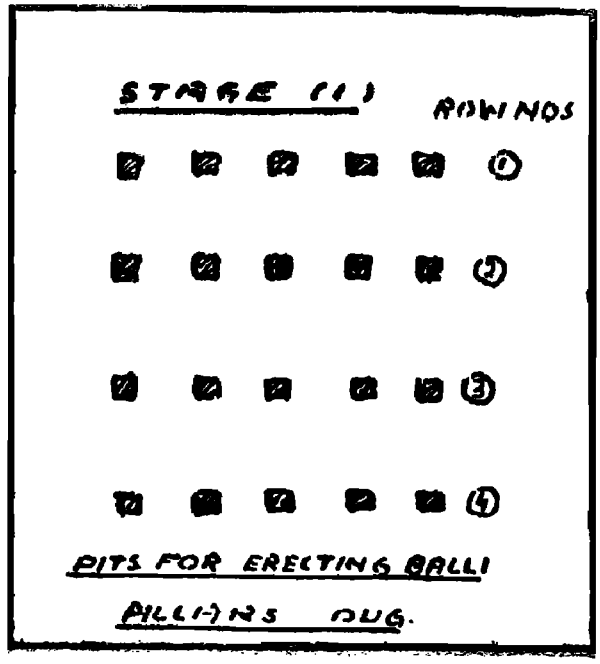
S. No.	Area in sq. Ft's. group	No. of houses	Average No. of living rooms	Average approximate value in Rs. nP.	Number of occupants
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	100—300	11	1	187.09	34
2.	300—500	7	1	388.00	33
3.	500—700	4	1	610.00	31
4.	700 and above	6	1	976.16	41

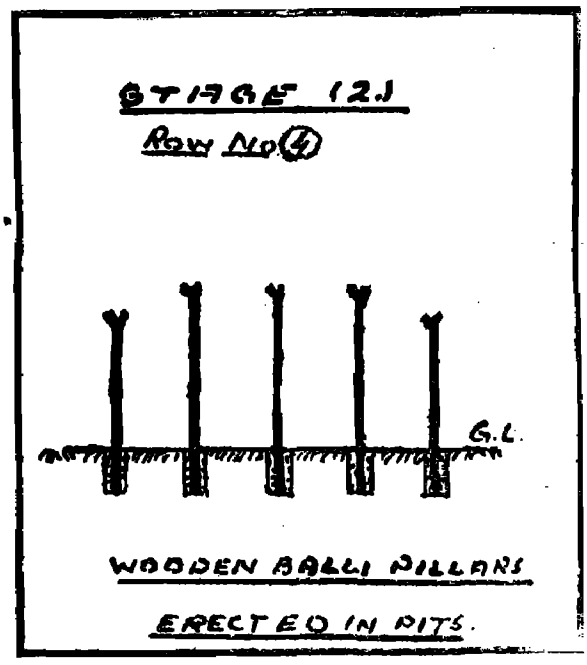
The approximate value of the houses mentioned in the serial numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 is Rs. 187.00, Rs. 388.00, Rs. 610 00 and Rs. 976.00 each respectively. But the actual expenditure on the construction of a house is much less, as they get the timber and bamboos free of cost from the forest. All that they have to pay for are the country tiles and the services of a carpenter.

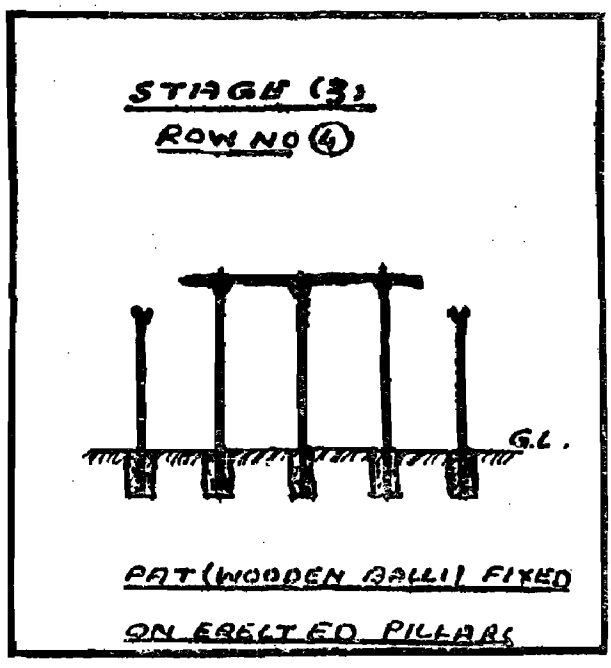
The Structure

14 2 There is no foundation nor any plinth to the houses.

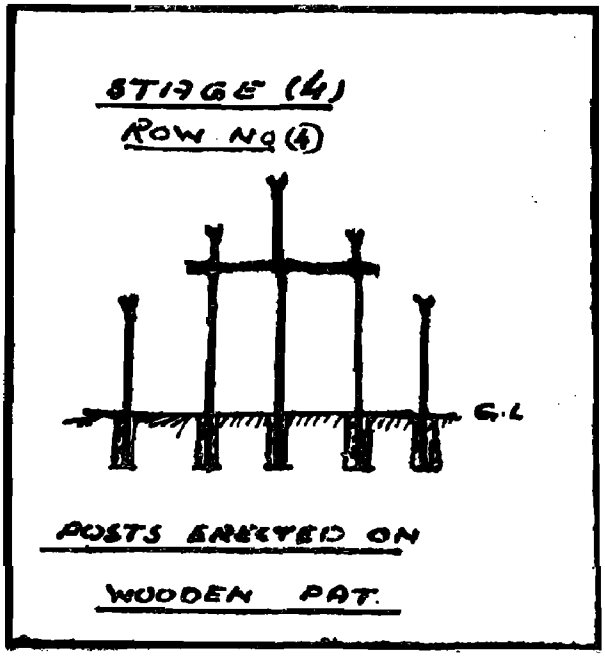
To begin with, wooden posts (*ballies*) of about 6" diameter are fixed at a distance of 5' to 6' from one another, in five rows, the rows on both the extremes are used for fixing the bamboo mats which serve as the walls. The height of the posts in other 3 rows is 6' to 7'.

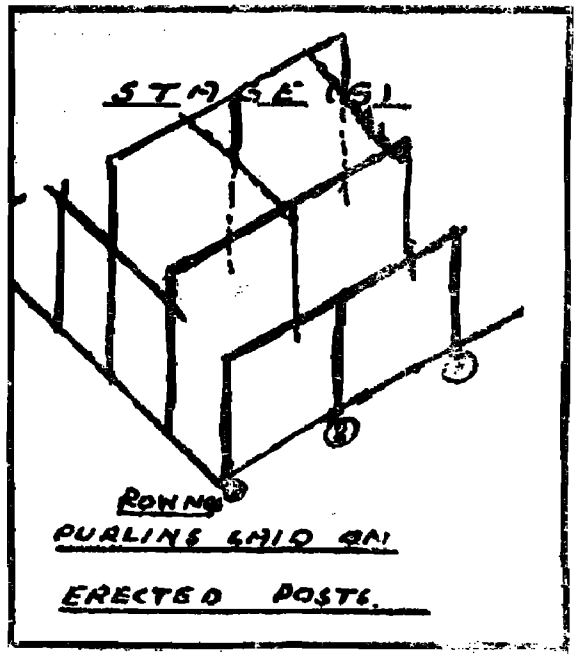


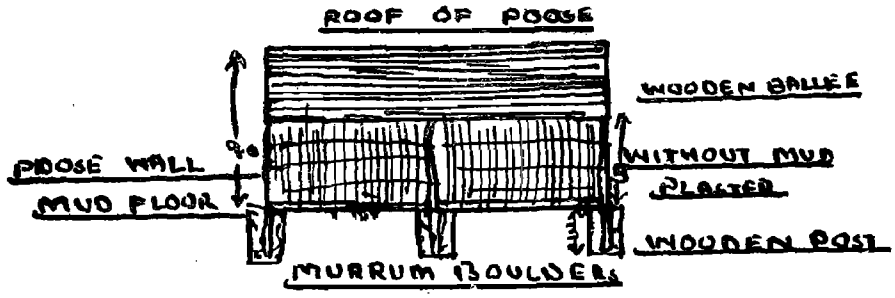


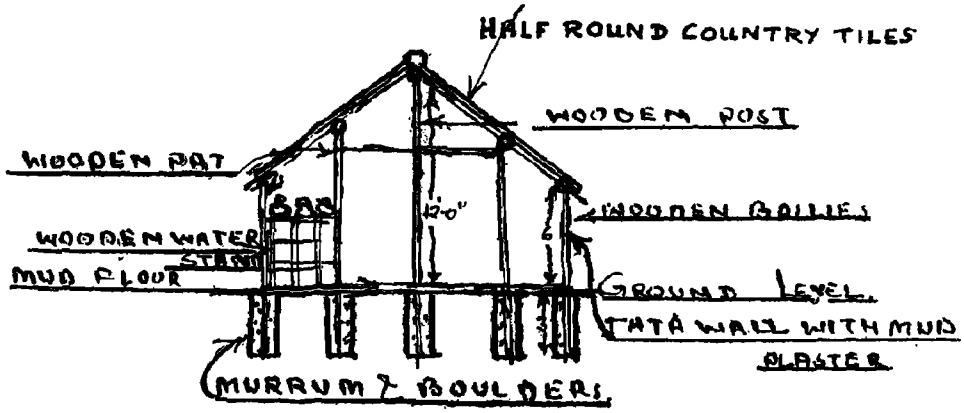


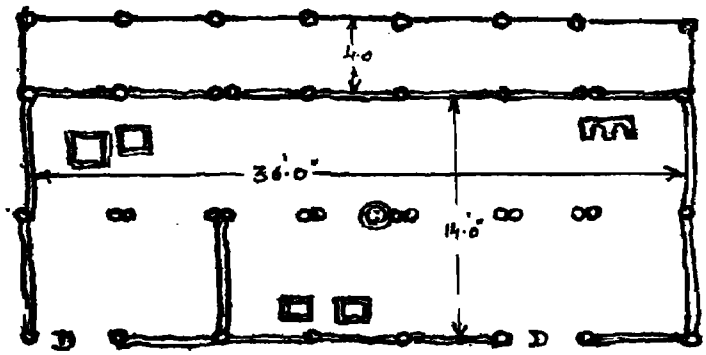
A horizontal beam (a wooden *balli* of 6" diameter) is fixed joining the posts in each of the three middle rows. On the beam are fixed small posts which serve as the members of the truss. On this scaffolding, *purlins* (wooden *ballies* 4" to 5" in diameter) are fastened by wire nails, and rafters (*saglis* of 3" diameter) are then fixed on the *purlins* by means of wire nails. The distance between one rafter and another is about 9". Thus the frame of the



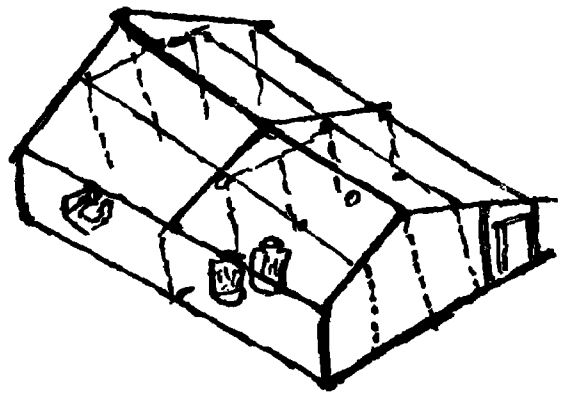








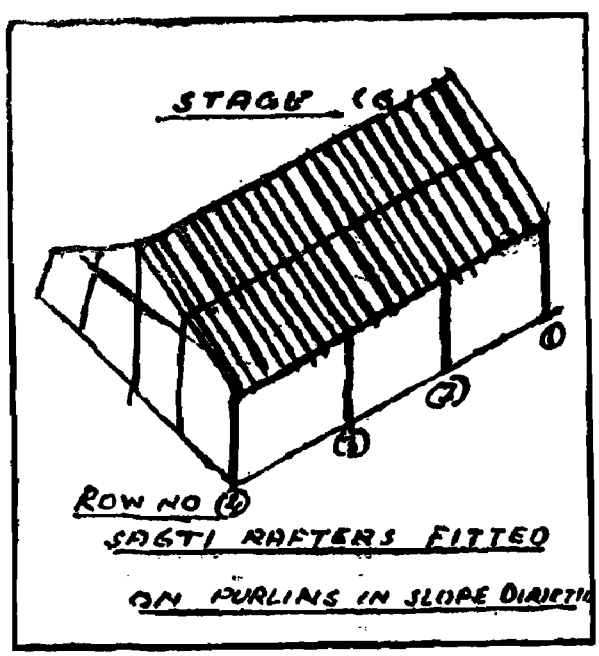
House Plan

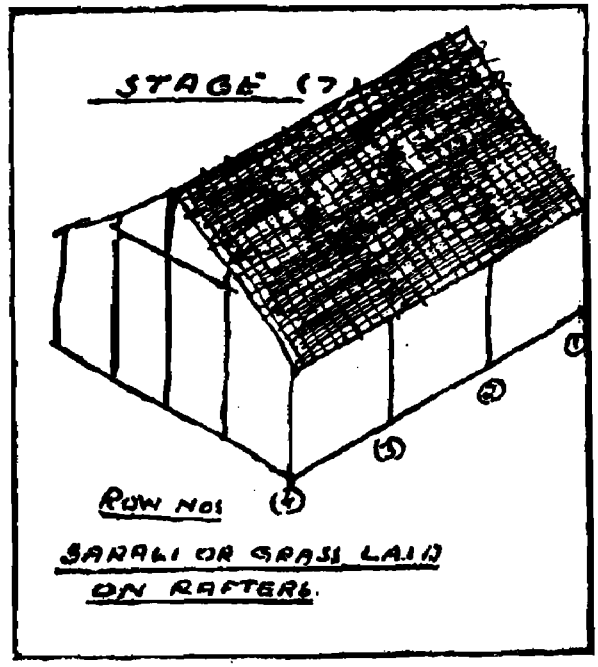


Scaffolding of Ballis and purlins

PLATE XIII

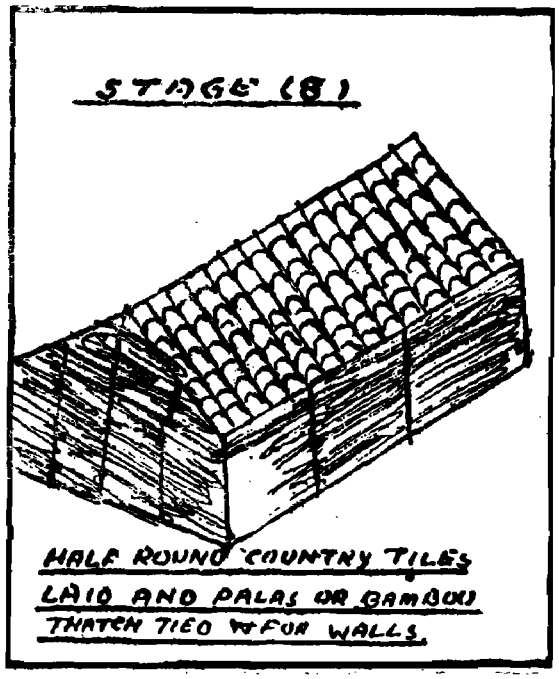
roof is prepared which is then covered by "*sarali*' weeds. Half-round country tiles are laid on the roof.





14.3 In the case of a house of a comparatively poor person, instead of tiles, a thatch of grass, teak and *palash* leaves is laid on the wooden fame of the roof. The walls are made of bamboo mats which are fastened to the exterior row of wooden posts and later plastered with clay and cow-dung instead of bamboo mat, thatch, and leaves of teak and palash serve as the material of the wall. The door frame is made of tin-sheets (of kerosene oil tins).

The floor of the house is *kachha* and is levelled after ramming hard-murrum and plastered with clay and cowdung.



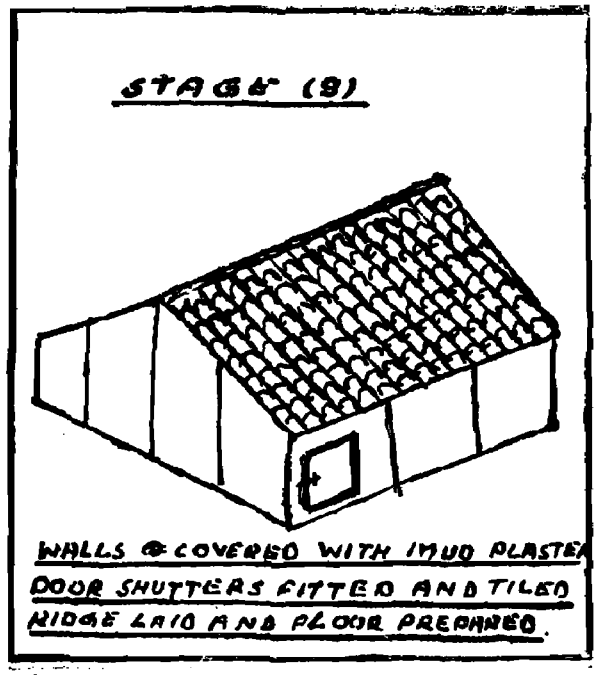


Table 2 below shows the number of houses by wall and roof material:—

TABLE 2

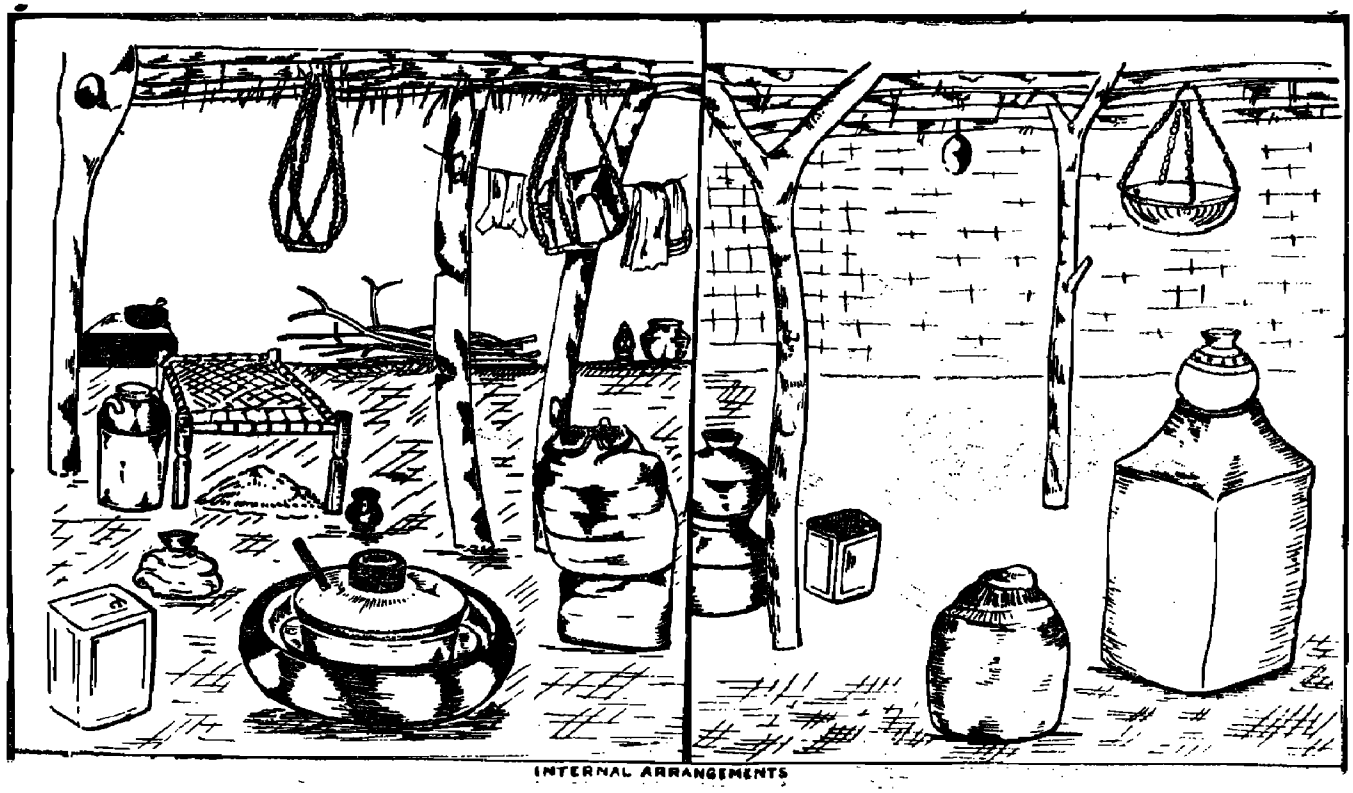
Houses used wholly or partly as dwellings by wall and roof material

No. of house-holds	Material of Wall			Material of Roof		
	Bamboo Mud	Bamboo Mat	Dried stumps of arhar	Half round country tiles and thatch of grass	Half round country tiles	Thatch of grass and leaves of teak and *palash*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28	20	7	1	17	8	3

The construction of a cattleshed is similar to that of the poor man's house, described above. There is no shutter to the door. (Plate XVI:1)

Internal Arrangement

14.4 As one enters the dwelling, one finds that all culinary articles, earthern bins for storing, grains, cots, etc., lie in a disorderly manner. It gives the impression that the structure is a store of household goods and not a homestead for persons to live in. Usually in one corner of the room, there is a cooking place with the clay oven (*chulha*) surrounded by cooking utensils, which are those usually found in any rural house-hold of the area. There are one or two cooking vessels (*tapelas*), two or three brass *thalis*, an iron sauce pan (*kadhai*), a *karhachi* (a big spoon), *tawa* (iron pan for making *rotis*) and a couple of brass or copper pitchers for fetching and storing drinking water. (Plate XVI:2) In the opposite corner, fuelwood is stored. In the other half of the house, the grain store bins are kept. In the summer, the inmates sleep in front of the house in the open. In the rainy season, the area of the kitchen and the space by the side of the store bins are utilised for sleeping. In the case of homesteads where there is more than one married couple living (this is the case only in one household), a partition is made by arranging the store bins which affords some kind of privacy. Plate (XIV and XV)



INTERNAL ARRANGEMENTS

Internal Arrangement





PLATE XIV

Internal Arrangement

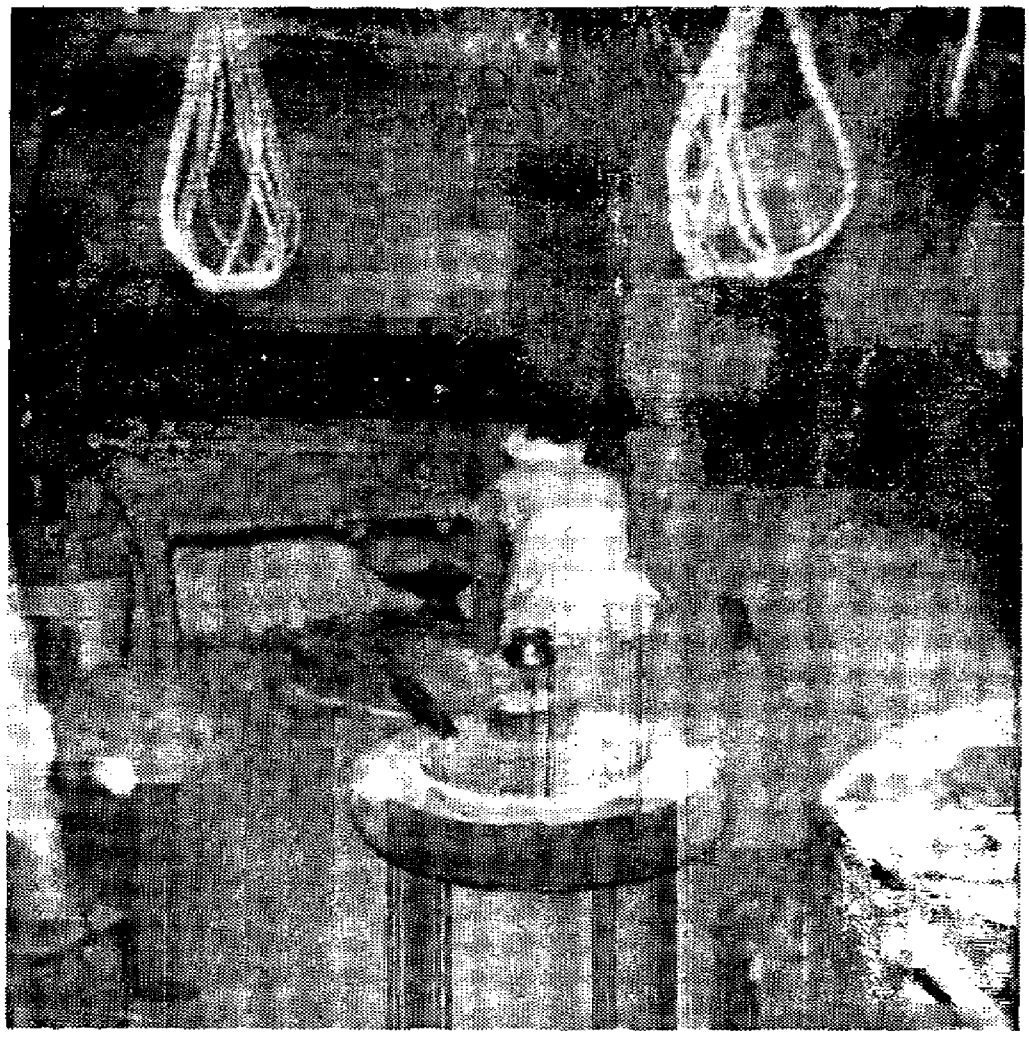


PLATE XV

Cattleshed



Culinary Utensils

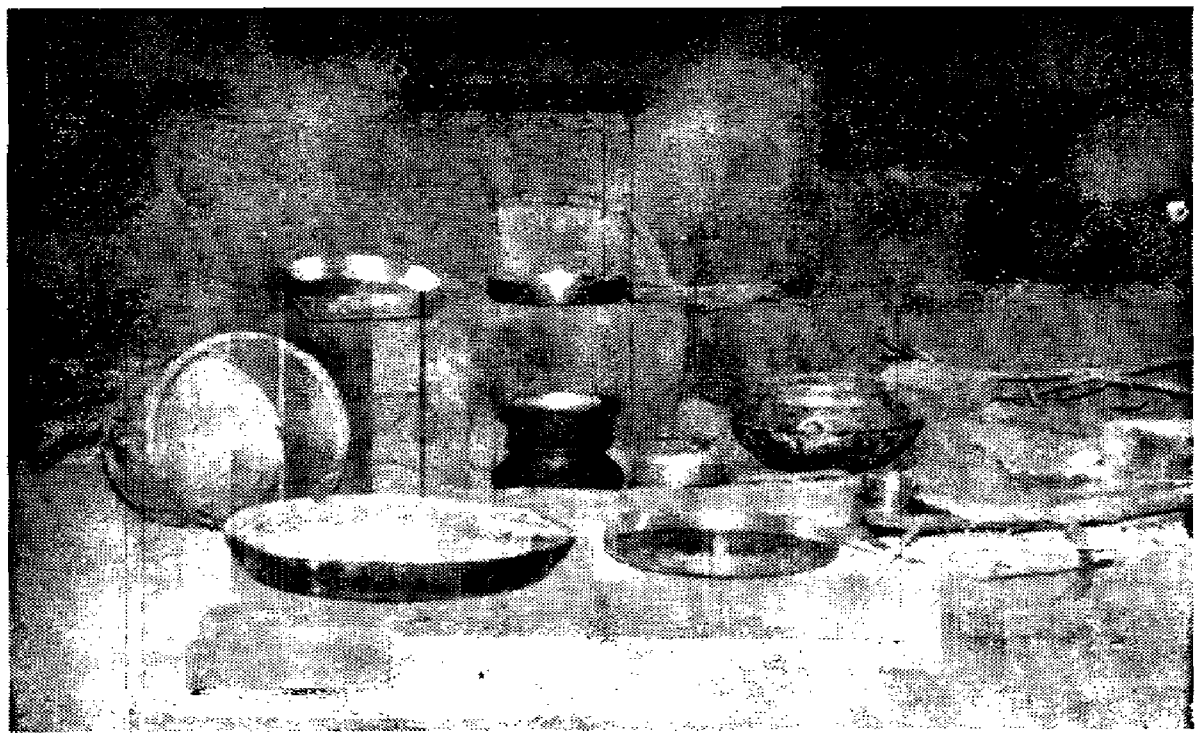


PLATE XVI

CHAPTER III

VILLAGE ECONOMY

15. The traditional occupation of the Banjaras in the past had been trade and transport[1]. They came to the present village as tradesmen and carriers of merchandise. But this vocation had to be abandoned as we have seen earlier in the life time of Sakkru's grandfather, Mohan. It was a change in the economy augured by the development of railways and roads. The mode of transport of merchandise by pack animals was replaced by mechanised transport. But to the Banjaras, it was a change in their very way of life. They were compelled by economic stresses to leave their traditional occupation. The only alternative to fall back upon was cultivation. It was Mohan who started reclaiming and cultivating the lands in the forest. He did not know how to plough the land and tend the field. He took his first lessons in cultivation from the Bhilsa of village Rampuria. He employed them on cash payment and got his fields ploughed and sown. Now the Banjaras have become good cultivators and the main source of their subsistence, is agriculture and animal husbandry. Although they had been keeping large herds of cattle in the past as pack animals, still raising of dairy stock is of recent origin. Naharkheda being a forest village, the Banjaras are able to augument their earnings substantially by selling fuel wood, which they are allowed to gather under the Nistar rights.

Working Population

15.1 48 persons *i.e.* 34.5 percent of the total population of Naharkheda are workers. This includes 15 women who work in the fields. There is one female worker for every 3.2 workers. In other words there are 2.2 male workers for each woman worker. This is a significant figure. Although no child below 10 years of age has been recorded as a worker a good percentage of women (31.2) work with their husbands. Percentage of men workers to the total number of workers in the different sizes of households is 100, 73.3, 57.1, 60 and 55.6 respectively whereas corresponding figures in case of women workers are 0, 26.7, 42.9 , 40 and 44.4. These figures indicate that in the smaller families, less women are free to work on the farm. In the higher groups the number of women workers gradually increases and thus we find that more women are free to lend their helping hand in the economic activity of the family in these groups. (Table 3.)

Number of Workers in the Different Families and Occupation

15.2 The percentage of workers to the total membership of the household, in the three high frequency groups of 2-3, 4-6 and 7-9 is 55.6, 41.2 and 26.3 respectively. (See Table 15) It appears from the above figures that the number of dependents goes on increasing with an increase in the membership of a family as we see that the percentage is much higher in the 4th group than in the 2nd group. (Table 15)

15.3 Agriculture and forestry are the two major occupations in the village. Out of a total of 28 families, 16 are engaged in agriculture. 4 among them do not pursue any subsidiary occupation. On the other hand out of 12 non-agriculturist families, 11 are engaged in forestry and one family is entirely dependent on wages. The proportion of the workers engaged mainly in agriculture to those engaged in the non-Agricultural pursuits is 1:0·9.

Income

15.4 The monthly income of the households varies from as little as Rs. 10 to a maximum of Rs. 115. Average monthly income for all the families is Rs. 33.39. Table 5 below shows the distribution of monthly income in the different groups of the families. The families have been classified into five categories with a class-interval of Rs. 25 in each case.

---

1. There is a legend that Lakha Banjara had a lakh of pack animals and was considered to be the richest of all tradesmen in the country.

TABLE 3

Workers and Non-workers by Sex and broad age-groups

S. No.	Age group	Total persons	Males	Females	Total Workers			Total Non-workers		
					Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	0-14	65	34	31	..	..	..	65	34	31
2	15-34	48	22	26	33	19	14	15	3	12
3	35-59	18	12	6	11	11	..	7	1	6
4	60 and above	8	5	3	4	3	1	4	2	2
	Total ..	139	73	66	48	33	15	91	40	51

TABLE 4

Non-workers by Sex, Broad age-group and Nature of Activity

Age group	Total No. of Non-workers			Persons engaged in household duties only			Full time students or children attending school			Sick, old and infants			Retired persons not employed again, rentiers, persons living on agricultural and non-agricultural royalty, rent or dividend or other persons of independent means		
	persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All ages—															
0-14	65	34	31	61	34	27	..	..	..	4	..	4	..	.	..
15-34	15	3	12	15	3	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35-59	7	1	6	7	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 and over	4	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	2	2	..	..	..
Total	91	40	51	83	38	45	..	..	..	8	2	6	..	..	..

TABLE 5

Monthly income of Families from different sources

S. No.	Income group	Number of families	Average income in Rs. nP	Sources of income							
				Agriculture	% to Average income	Animal husbandry	% to Average income	Forest	% to Average income	Labour	% to Average income
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	0-25	13	20·00	7·23	36·15	..	..	9·15	45·75	3·62	18·10
2	26-50	12	34·25	11·58	33·8	0·67	2·00	18·67	54·5	3·33	9·7
3	51-75	1	58·00	..	..	..	..	..	..	58·00	100
4	76-99	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	100 and above ..	2	103·00	33·00	32·8	45·50	44·00	24·50	23·2	..	

TABLE 6

Expenditure on Different Items of Consumption in Various Income-groups

S. No.	Monthly income group	Number of families	Average income in Rs. nP.	Average expenditure in Rs. nP.	Items of expenditure and the percentage of expenditure on each item to the total expenditure									
					Food	%	Clothes	%	Fuel & lighting	%	Pan & bidi	%	Intoxication	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1	0-25	13	20·00	31·15	17·31	55·6	3·62	11·6	3·08	9·9	3·53	11·3	3·61	11·6
2	26-50	12	34·25	40·85	20·67	50·6	6·08	14·9	3·58	8·7	4·83	11·8	5·69	14·0
3	51-75	1	58·00	47·00	20·00	42·5	5·00	10·6	2·00	4·2	12·00	25·7	8·00	17·0
4	76-99	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	100 & above	2	103·00	129·00	84·50	65·5	15·00	11·6	3·50	2·7	11·00	8·5	15·00	11·7

Forestry contributes Rs. 17.44 per month in the total family income. Next comes agriculture with an average of Rs. 17.27 p. m. The percentage share of agriculture in the total income of the families varies from 32.8 in the highest income-bracket to 36.15 in the lowest. Forestry forms 23.2 percent and 45.75 percent of the income in these two groups (Rs. 0.25 and 100 and above) with a highest of 54.5 percent, in the second (Rs. 26-50) group. Income from labour makes 18.10 percent of the total income in the first group and 9.7 percent in the second group. But 100 percent income of the single family in 3rd group is derieved from labour.

Family Expenditure

15.5 The meagre income of the villagers deprives them of the most of the comforts of life. They do not have enough money to purchase even their simple necessaries. Hence most of them are always in debt. In the village under survey, only one family with an average income of Rs. 58 p. m. could save something. As will be seen from Table 6 the expenditure

exceeds income in the 13 families of the first group by 11.15 rupees per month, by Rs. 6.6 and Rs. 6 respectively in the 2nd and the 3rd group of family. Schedules of expenditure of these families speak about their unbalanced household economy. Percentage expenditure on food in these families varies from 55·6% in the first group to 50.6 percent in the second group. Highest income in the last group may prove that with the rising income among poor people their propensity to consume also increases, and this is in accordance with the deduction drawn from Angel's Family budget study.

The family budgets of the different income groups show an incredibly high percentage of expenditure over tobacco and liquor varying from Rs. 22·9 in the first to 32·7 percent in the third income group. These habits of the villagers leave them little scope to spend on essential items of expenditure.

Expenditure on clothing in both, in the lowest and the highest income-groups is 11·6%. It is 14·9% in the second income-group.

Indebtedness

15.6 Owing to their low income and the seasonal nature of agriculture, the farmers are often compelled to take loans. These borrowings may be in the form of seed for a particular sowing season or in the form of cash for various non-productive and consumption purposes. Most of the loans taken for agricultural purposes are on short term credit to meet the capital requirements of the current season. It is the money lender-cum-trader who finances these credit needs and also many others. His premiums are exorbitant. Sometimes he realises three to four times the amount of loans advanced in kind, mostly seed. High outstanding debts are a result both of a high rate of interest and of poor repaying capacity of the borrowers.

15.7 Average amount of debt varies from Rs. 192.30 per annum in the lowest income group (0-25) to Rs. 2100 in the highest income group. The average annual income of households in this group ranges from Rs. 240 to Rs. 1236. By and large the loans were taken for agricultural purposes. Table 7 below shows that 88 percent of the total debt in the first group, 62.6 per cent in the last group and 71·4 percent in the third group, were taken for some agricultural purposes. Food accounted for 12,18·6 and 28·6 per cent of the credit needs in 1st, 2nd and the 5th group respectively. The families in the 2nd and 3rd group have alone incurred debts on account of social obligations, while the percentage in respect of the families falling in the former group is 18·6, the percentage in case of the only family falling in the latter group is 100. It means that this family has been spending the entire amount of dept on social obligations.

TABLE 7

Extent and purpose of debt

S. No.	Income group	Number of families	Annual average income in Rs.	Annual amount of debt in Rs. and nP.	Purpose of debt					
					Agriculture	Percentage to col. 5	Consumption	Percentage to col. 5	Social obligation	Percentage to col. 5
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	0-25	13	240·00	192·30	169·23	88·00	23·07	12·0	..	..
2	26-50	12	411·00	286·66	166·66	62·6	49·73	18·6	50·27	18·8
3	51-75	1	696·00	700·00	..	..	..	..	700·00	10·0
4	76-100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	100 and above	2	1,236·00	2,100·00	1,500·00	71·4	600·00	28·6	..	..

Our enquiries have also revealed the nature of agricultural credit. It is usually taken to meet the current farm expenses such as seed etc. and is taken in kind. If not repaid in time, these borrowings, originally small, accumulate into large sums. Although credit taken for capital improvements in any enterprise can be an indicator of its development, such credit as the above, taken by most of the cultivators of Naharkheda suggests nothing but paucity of resources. Loan taken for non-productive purposes is a pointer of the general poverty of the people. The proverbial description of the Indian farmers who are born in debt, live in debt, die in debt and bequeath debt is quite true in case ot these Banjaras also.

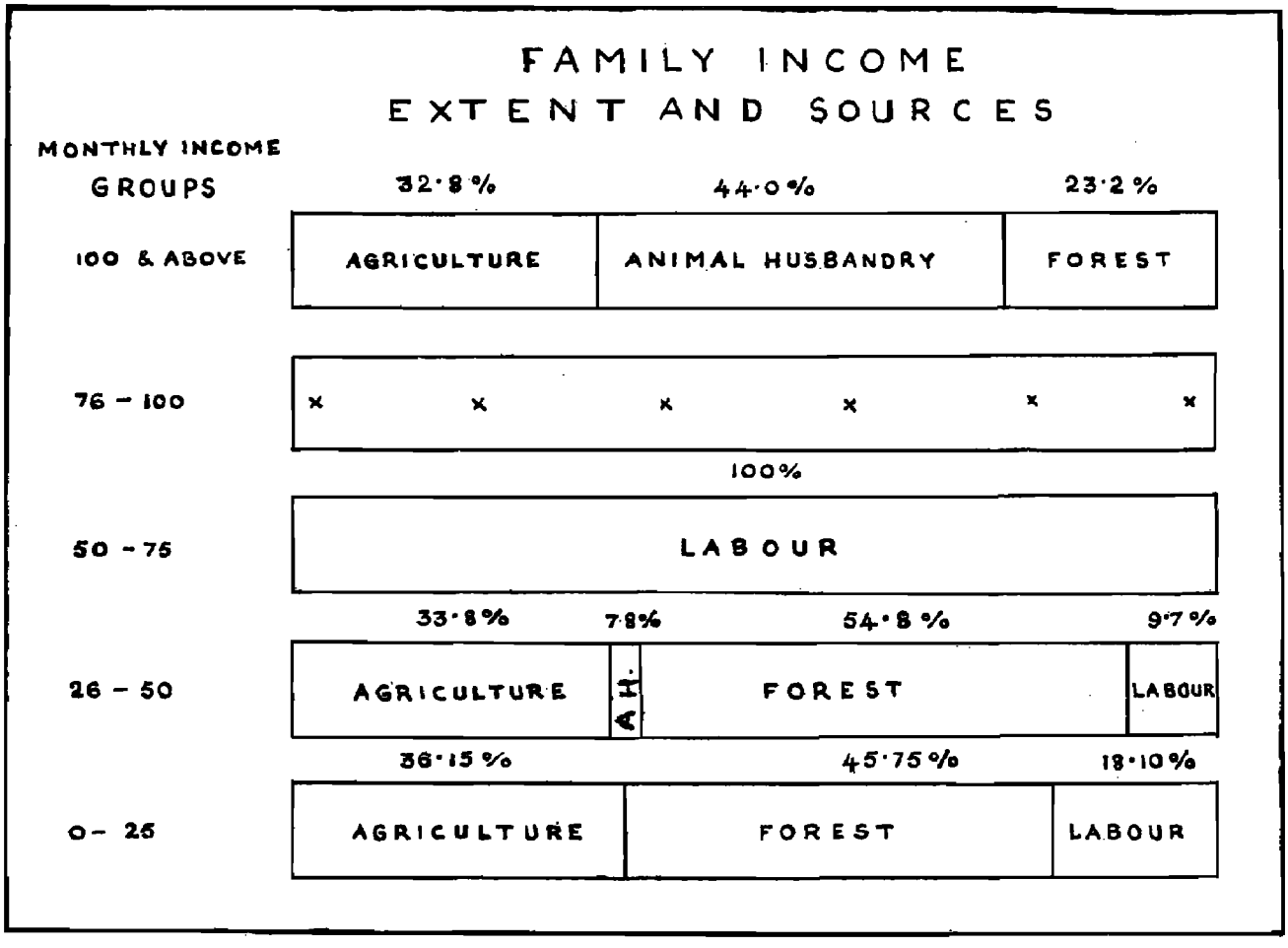

FAMILY INCOME
EXTENT AND SOURCES
MONTHLY INCOME GROUPS
32·8 %
44·0 %
23·2 %
100 & ABOVE
AGRICULTURE
ANIMAL HUSBANDRY
FOREST
76 – 100
100%
50 – 75
LABOUR
33·8 %
7·8%
54·8 %
9·7 %
26 – 50
AGRICULTURE
A.H.
FOREST
LABOUR
36·15 %
45·75 %
18·10 %
0 – 25
AGRICULTURE
FOREST
LABOUR

PLATE XVII

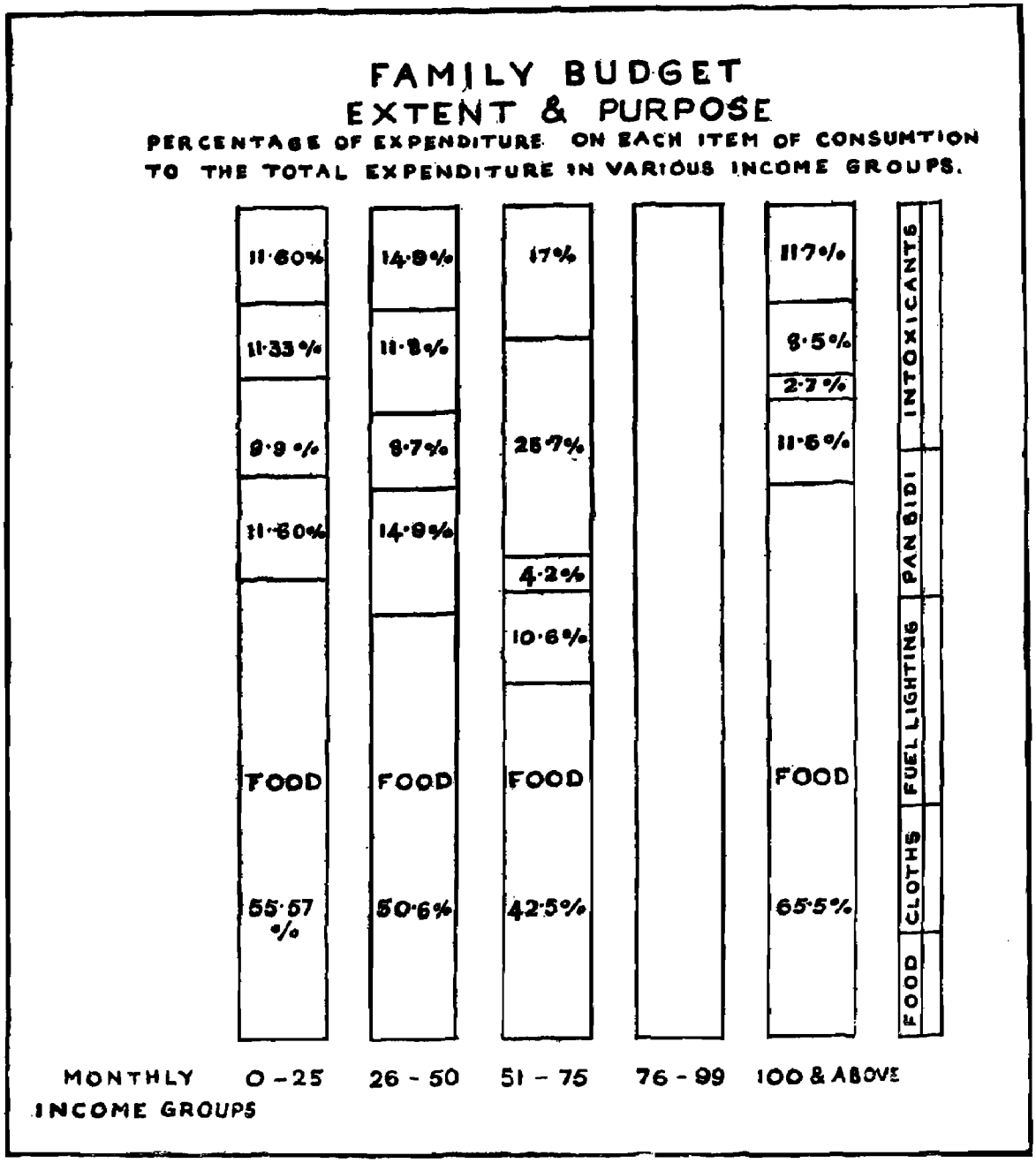

FAMILY BUDGET
EXTENT & PURPOSE
PERCENTAGE OF EXPENDITURE ON EACH ITEM OF CONSUMTION TO THE TOTAL EXPENDITURE IN VARIOUS INCOME GROUPS.
11·60%
11·33%
9·9%
11·60%
FOOD
55·57%
14·9%
11·8%
9·7%
14·9%
FOOD
50·6%
17%
25·7%
4·2%
10·6%
FOOD
42·5%
11·7%
8·5%
2·7%
11·6%
FOOD
65·5%
FOOD
CLOTHS
FUEL LIGHTING
PAN BIDI
INTOXICANTS
MONTHLY INCOME GROUPS
0 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 75
76 - 99
100 & ABOVE

PLATE XVIII

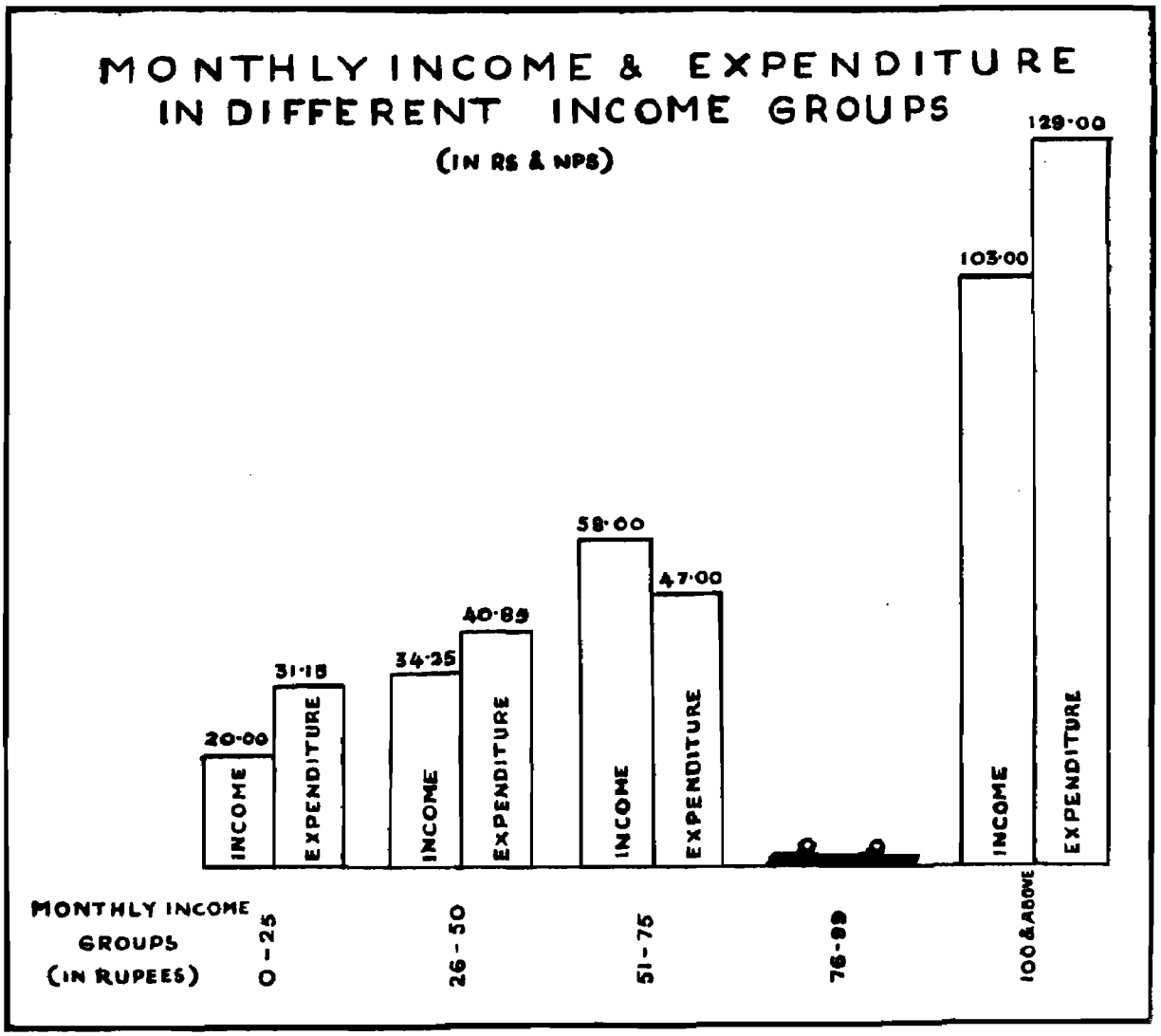

MONTHLY INCOME & EXPENDITURE
IN DIFFERENT INCOME GROUPS
(IN RS & NPS)
20·00
31·15
34·25
40·85
58·00
47·00
103·00
129·00
INCOME
EXPENDITURE
MONTHLY INCOME GROUPS (IN RUPEES)
0 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 75
76 - 99
100 & ABOVE

PLATE XIX

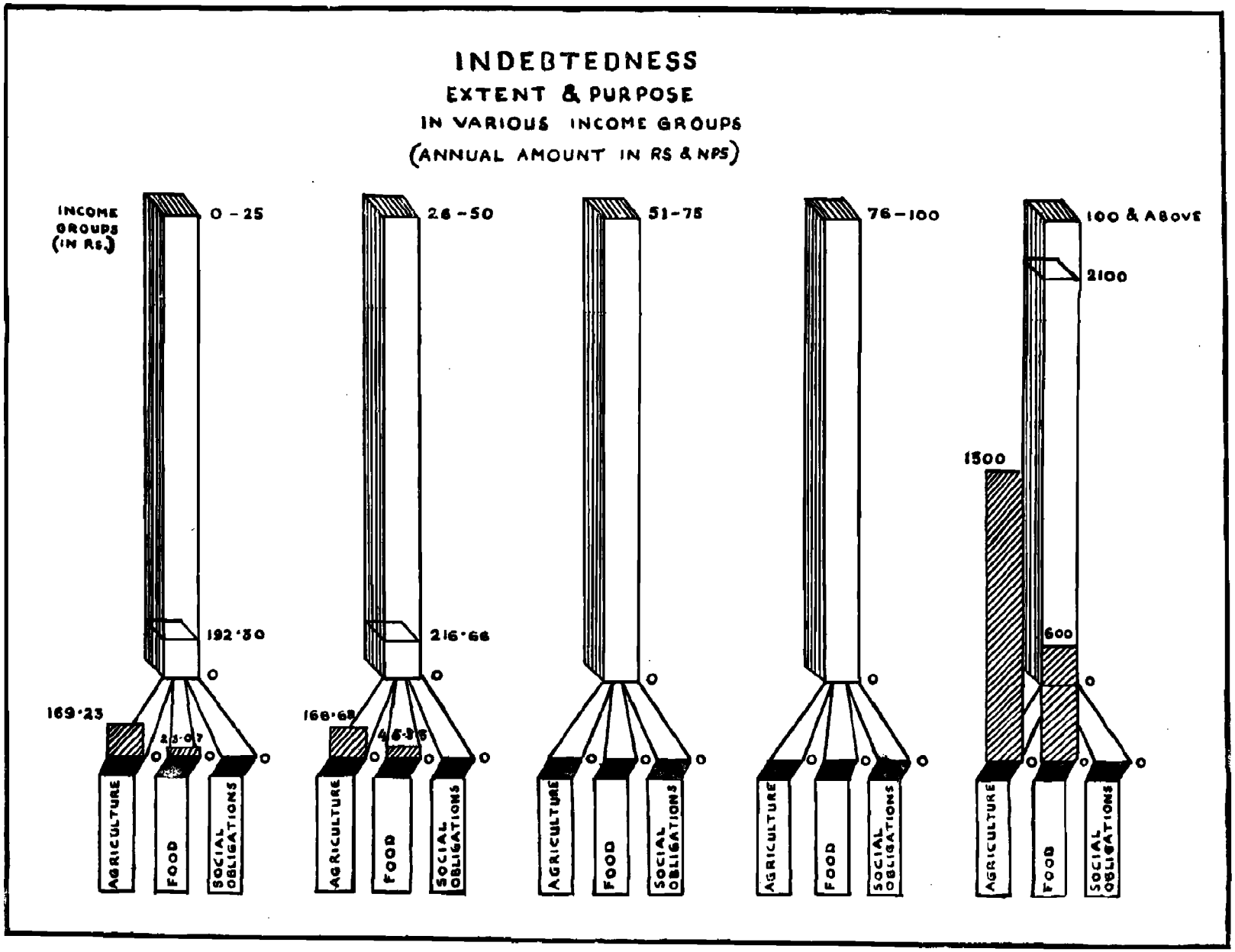

INDEBTEDNESS
EXTENT & PURPOSE
IN VARIOUS INCOME GROUPS
(ANNUAL AMOUNT IN RS & NPS)
INCOME GROUPS (IN RS.)
0 - 25
26 - 50
51 - 75
76 - 100
100 & ABOVE
192·50
216·66
2100
1500
600
169·23
168·68
AGRICULTURE
FOOD
SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS

PLATE XX

Agriculture

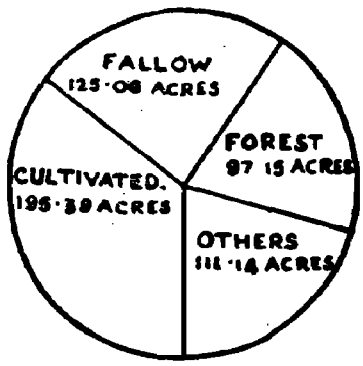
16. Agriculture for the Banjaras is their mainstay. Although they started learning the methods and techniquies of agriculture from the Bhils in the times of Mohan, the father of Sakkru Nayak, today they are as good cultivators as other farmers in the neighbouring villages. They work on their fields with great zeal and employ labour only when they cannot do without it. 175.39 acres of land is under cultivation in the year of the survey and it accounts for the largest area among the different categories of land classification. (Table 8)

TABLE 8

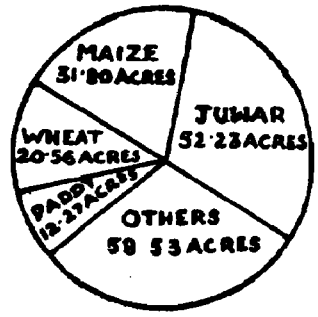
Land Classification

S.No.	Categories	Area in acres	Percentage
1	2	3	4
1	Area of *Abadi*	0·99	0·19
2	Current fallow	1·13	0·22
3	Old fallow	123·93	24·35
4	Area under common use	0·97	0·19
5	Nala	2·90	0·57
6	River	28·45	5·59
7	Hills	77·83	15·30
8	Area under forest	97·15	19·09
9	Cultivated area	175·39	34·50
10	Total area of the village	508·74	100·00

Area double-cropped is only 18·19 acres or 10·4% of the total cultivated area.



LAND UTILIZATION



AREA UNDER DIFFERENT CROPS

There are 16 households in the village who own land. The average size of the holdings per cultivating household is 14·06 acres.

Soil and soil erosion

16.1 Soil of the village is shallow. Below 6"-9" of soil there is hard stratum of morrum. The soil is black in colour and appears to contain a good percentage of organic matter in it. It is heavy in structure and possesses plastic properties. This type of black clay is characteristic of the Malwa tract. Soil drainage is poor. Since the area is hilly it is subject to severe soil erosion. But fortunately the cultivated area falls on plain ground and hence there is not much of erosion of the soil under cultivation but the land classified as old fallow has been badly denuded. (Plate XXI)

Irrigation

16.2 There is no source of irrigation in the village. Attempts were made to sink wells for water but they proved to be futile, since sub-soil water could not be found. Thus the agriculture is entirely dependent on rain water.

Cropping pattern

16.3. *Kharif* crops are obviously the more important. Some farmers have also been cultivating wheat and gram in the *rabi* season. Total area sown under *rabi* crops was 25.28 acres in the year of survey. Agricultue in the village is of the subsistence type, hence food crops dominate. Food crops have been cultivated over a total of 107 acres whereas commercial crops have been grown over only a total of 10.57 acres.

Jowar was sown on 53.23 acres, maize on 31.80 acres, paddy on 12.27 acres, cotton on 7.15 acres and 6.95 acres were kept under comparatively less important crop such as *urd*, *mung* and groundnut. *Jowar* was cultivated by 13 out of 16 cultivators and maize by all of them. Area under *jowar* varies from a minimum of 0.82 acres to a maximum of 13.06 acres, while area under maize varies from 0.71 acres to 5.24 acres.

28.83 acres were sown in the *rabi* season. The two *rabi* crops, mainly wheat and gram were sown on 20.56 and 8.27 acres respectively. *Rabi* crops are grown by a majority of cultivators although the area in each case is quite small. There are 10 households who cultivated wheat and 11 farmers who cultivated gram in the *rabi* season. The maximum area under wheat was 3.70 acres and for gram the figure was 1.50 acres. The lowest figures in the two cases are 0.70 and 0.03 acres respectively.

Distribution of the crops according to size group

16.4. The average area cultivated is 8.06 acres for the village as a whole. This is distributed over three types of crops, food crops like millet and cereals, commercial crops and grasses. On a holding of average size, 3.83 acres are under food crops, mainly under millet. The other 3.85 acres are under grasses. The remaining area of 0.38 acres is under commercial crops *viz.*, cotton and groundnut. 1.03 acres on an average holding are sown in the *rabi* season of which 0.84 aceres is under wheat and the rest 0.19 acre under gram. It appears from Table 9 that the proportion of area under grass increases with the size of the average holding in the different groups.

Crops sown in the average size of holding in different size of groups.

TABLE 9

Area in Acres	Average size of the holding	Area under		
		Food crops	Commercial crops	Fodder
1	2	3	4	5
0—5	2·69	1·53	0·36	0·80
6—11	6·23	6·23	..	..
11—16	14·23	6·28	0·53	7·42
16 and above	23·31	10·06	..	13·25

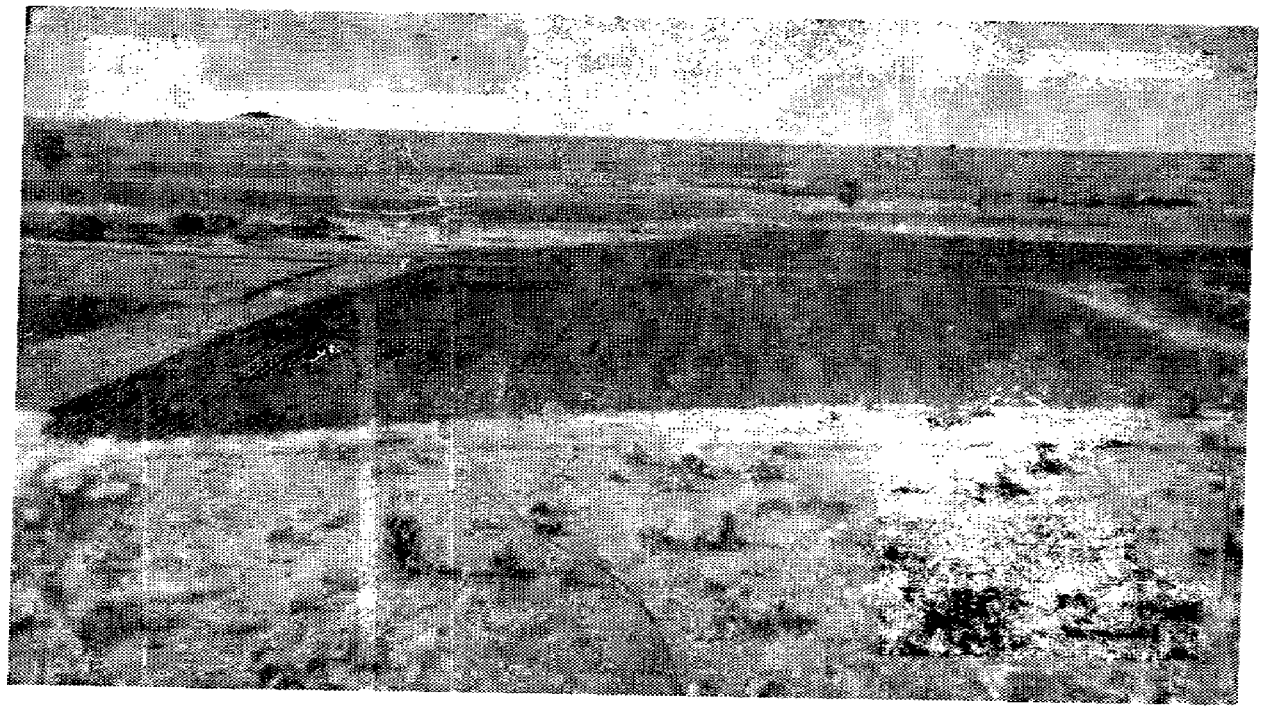
Seed

16.5. An overwhelming majority of the cultivators of Naharkheda procure seed from a village Bania of Badagonda, a nearby village. Only a small number of them is able to store some of the current year's produce to be used as seed in the next season, which is not of the desired quality. But they have to pay heavily for the seed procured from the Bania; for example for every 20 lbs., of cotton seed received from the Bania the cultivator has to return 80 lbs., of cotton. Improved seed has been introduced in the village only during last season when a cultivator purchased a maund of improved variety of *jowar* from the Village level worker centre at Menn.

Manure

16.6. Fuel being available in plenty, most of the cowdung is used as manure in these villages. Hence good quantities of rotten cowdnng are used as manure. It will greatly benefit the farmers if they could conserve most of the cowdung, a considerable part of which remains on the grazing ground and could make compost according to the improved techniques. The villagers have not yet started the use of fertilisers which could go a long way in increasing their crop yields.

Fields in the Village



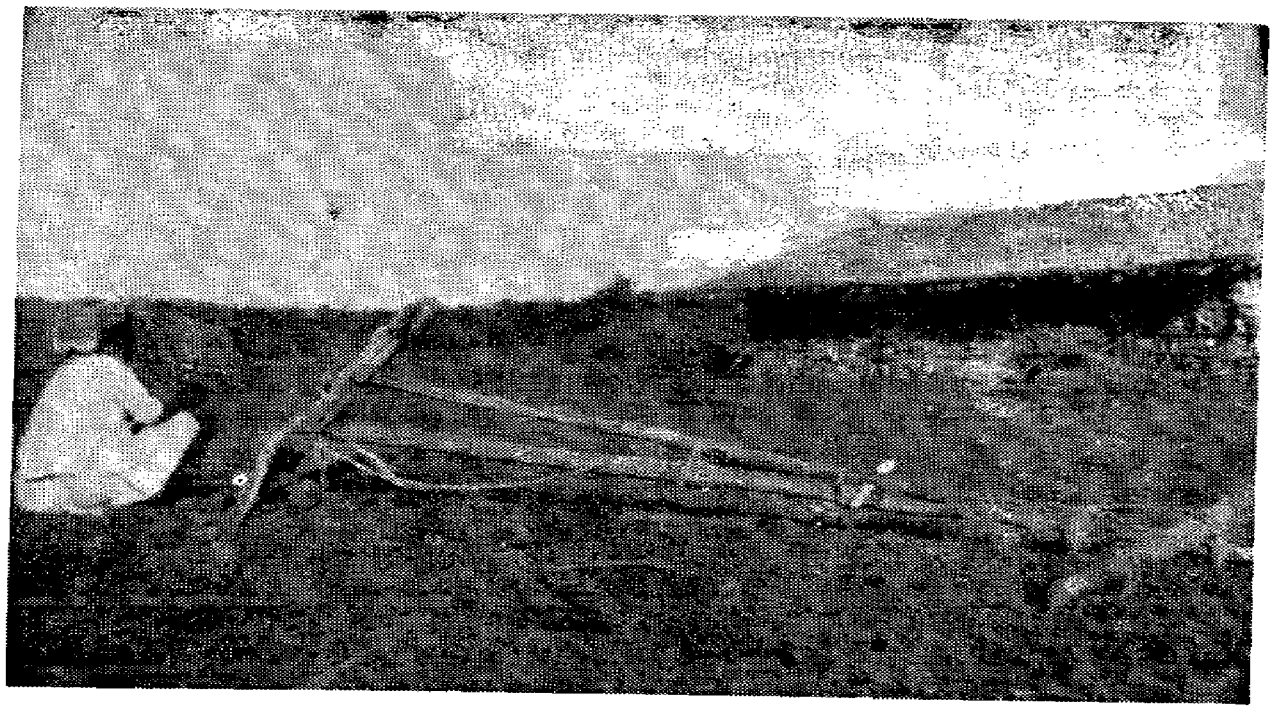
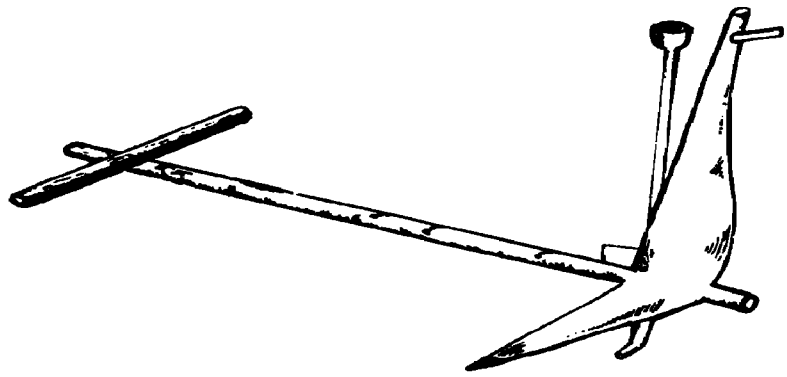
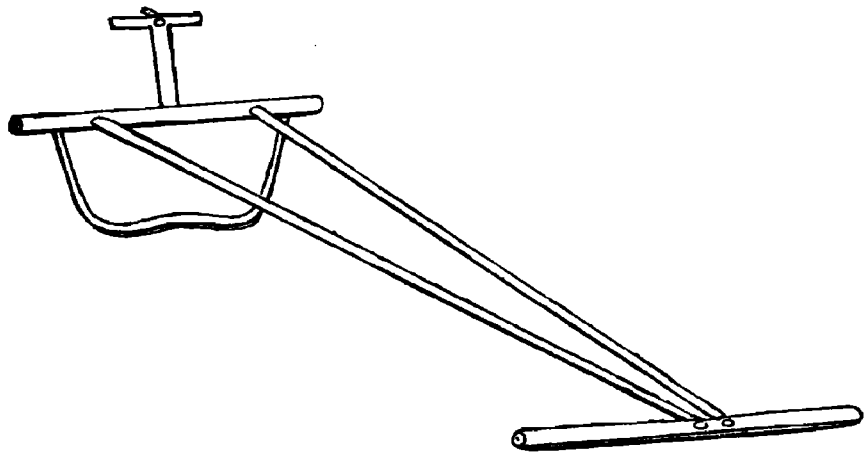


PLATE XXI

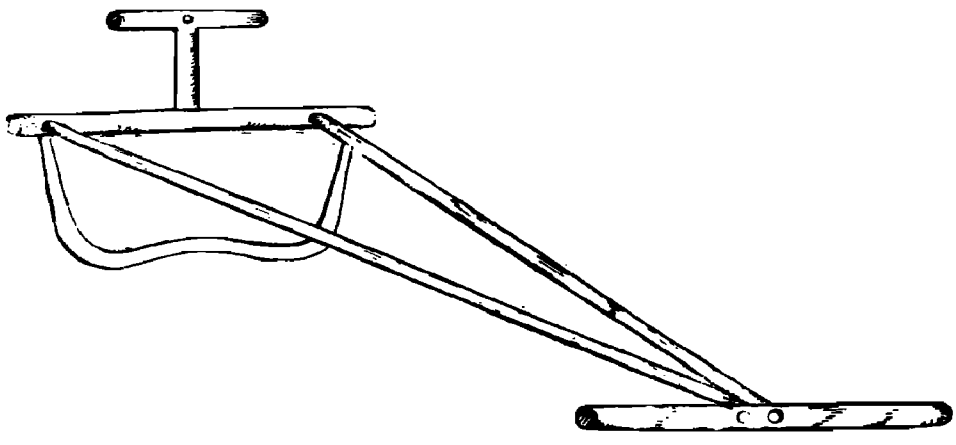
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS



NAI (SEEDDRILL)



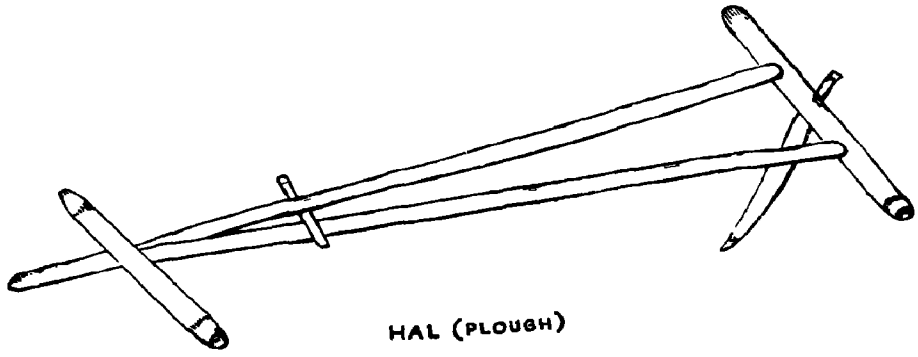
DORA



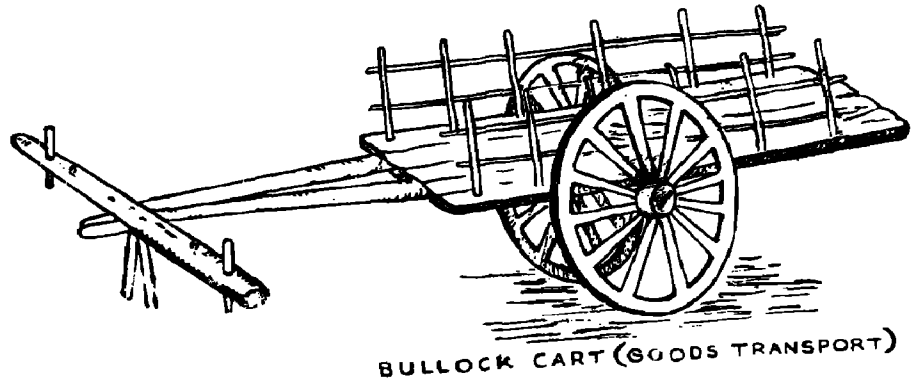
HARROW

PLATE XXII

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT



HAL (PLOUGH)



BULLOCK CART (GOODS TRANSPORT)

PLATE XXIII

Implements and tillage and Farm-operations

16.7. Farmers of Naharkheda are fairly good cultivators. They use such implements as *Nai* (a seed drill) and *Bakhar* (a cultivator) and thus are able to reduce the soil to a fine tilth and sow crops in lines with the help of a seed drill. Women workers help in the cultivation operations and there is no scarcity of labour for weeding or other intercultural operations

Agricultural operations start before the onset of the monsoon. The first shower is generally received in the last week of June but the land is ploughed two to three times prior to this. Crops are sown when the weather conditions are favourable. Sowing is generally done in the first or second week of July. When the *jowar* crop grows to a height of one foot above the ground, its first weeding is done. Subsequent weedings are done at regular intervals of 10-15 days. Occasional harrowings are also done with a *Dora*. Intercultural operations are more frequent in the case of the cotton crop. Maize takes two months to mature and is harvested in the month of August. *Jowar* is harvested in November end. The picking of cotton commences from the middle of October and lasts till the end of February. After the harvesting of *Jowar*, the produce is thrashed and winnowed and the grain is stored in big baskets. These Banjaras do not have a thrasher for separating grain from the cobs. This operation is done with hands only. Threshing and winnowing operations are mostly done by the women workers.

Crop yields

16.8. Yields of the different food and commercial crops compare favourably well with the average yields in the adjoining areas. The average output of *Jowar* and Maize is 5 to 6 maunds per acre. Maize gives a better yield than *Jowar*. Cotton yield is 3 to 4 maunds in an acre. Wheat and gram are also sown in this village in the *rabi* season but are only taken as *rainfed crops* and consequently their yields 5.6 maunds in case of wheat and 4.5 maunds in case of gram are slightly lower than the average yields in the neighbouring areas.

Marketing of agricultural produce

16.9. Banjaras of this village consume most of what they produce thereby leaving an almost negligible marketable surplus in case of food grains. The only marketable surplus is cotton but even for this they get very poor returns. The only market for these villagers is Badgonda village whose *Bania* realises most of their produce as premium on the seed loan advanced by him[2]. And whatever little produce remains is also marketed by this *Bania*. The terms of sale are not very favourable to them because of their poor bargaining power which is due to their general poverty and indebtedness. It really pains one to see that the tradesmen of one time have fallen into clutches of the *Bania* who exploits their needs to the maximum.

Animal husbandry

17. Good grazing facilities have helped Banjaras of Naharkheda to adopt animal husbandry as an industry ancillary to agriculture. They inherited the skill in the maintenance of cattle from their forefathers who had large herds of cattle.

But now the purpose of maintaining their cattle is quite different. Almost every family in the village owns a pair of bullocks, a cart and a few agricultural implements. The bullocks are used both in agriculture for ploughing the fields and in forestry for carrying the fuel wood to the market. Milch cattle are also being maintained by most of the households but goats and poultry by a few, as will appear from Table 10 below;—

TABLE No. 10

Milch Cattle in Different Families

S. No.	Group according to the size of the herd	Frequency of Household	Average strength	Average No. of cows	Average No. of buffaloes
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	0—5	9	2·3	2·0	0·3
2	6—10	6	7·3	5·2	1·8
3	11—15	1	13·0	4·0	9
4	16—20	3	18·3	12·3	6
5	21—25	1	22·0	22	..
6	25 and above	1	51·0	..	37

2. Loan is advanced in cash or kind(seed) on the condition that the whole output of cotton would be sold to him.

Total number of cattle in the village number 257 including 51 bullocks. Among the milch animals 80 are buffaloes and 126 cows. This total includes calves and heifers. Number of calves and heifers among cows is 52 and among buffaloes it is 30. Thus there are 74 cows and 50 buffaloes in the lactation field. (Table 11).

TABLE 11

Distribution of livestock in different households

S. No.	Number of house-holds	Cows				Buffaloes				Bullocks	He-buffaloes	Poultry	Goats	Total
		Dry	Milch	Calves	Heifers	Dry	Milch	Calves	Heifers					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1	1	3	..	2	5	3	1	..	2	2	1	4	..	23
2	2	10	..	..	..	10	3	1	4	6	..	9	..	43
3	1	2	..	1	1	3	2	..	4	2	1	..	..	16
4	6	30	3	2	1	17	10	2	17	14	..	..	..	96
5	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	5	9
6	6	25	..	8	27	..	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	73
7	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	3
8	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	8
9	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	3
10	3	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
11	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	28	71	3	16	36	33	17	3	27	51	2	14	5	278

Breeds

17.1. It is hard to come across a pure breed animal in the village. Most of the cows belong to the Malawi and Nimari breeds. Bullocks too are of similar breeds.

Milk yields

17.2. At the time of enquiry there were 71 dry cows and only 3 were in milk. This incredibly high proportion of dry cows is mainly due to the fact that most of the cows go dry during summer. Cows are very poor milk yielders with an average of ½ seer to 1 seer of milk per day. The buffalo's yield is definitely better, the average milk yield being 3-4 seers per day

Maintenance of milch animals

17.3. Milch animals are owned by 21 households in the village 17 families keep some cows and 7 families keep buffaloes. Table 11 gives the average size of the herd in each of the size groups. Every household on an average has 10-11 milch animals. A family in the top group owns 51 milch animals, while the average for the lowest group of 8 families is 2-3 animals per family.

Every household which has a few cattle has a shed in the premises. It is just by the side of the dwelling house. These sheds are thatched with mats of *palas* leaves. There is no manger in the shed nor any facility for drinking water for cattle. Stall feeding is avoided so long as green grass is available in the jungle. Under *Nistar* rights they are free to fetch grass from the forest without paying anything and are also allowed to graze 2 buffaloes and 2 bullocks free of charge.

During the rainy season all cattle are sent to a high point across the river, where there is abundance of grass and the chances of infection are also minimised. No major cattle epidemic has occurred in the village in the recent past.

Although bullocks are an asset to them, to a majority of households milch cattle are a liability. Had it not been for the generous facilities of free grazing, the burden of this liability could hardly be borne by them. It is better to thin the number of animals by destroying the poor and indiscriminately-bred cattle and maintain a small herd of good cattle. The mere supply of large quantities of manures does not justify keeping such poor livestock in large number most of which are weak and useless.

18. Naharkheda is surrounded all around by a fairly dense forest and there is a close relationship between economy and habitat. Dr. D. N. Mazumdar in his study of the races and cultures of India observes, "Primitive society has tried to work out some kind of adjustment between material needs and the potentialities of environment."[3] This is true in case of these Banjaras also, though they can hardly be called primitives. They depend on the forest for meeting their needs and their income from this source accounts for 42% of their total income. They depend on it for fuel wood, timber, agricultural implements and for grazing their cattle. Thus forestry is their second major occupation running almost parallel to agriculture.

18.1. Most of the male workers of the village go to the forest for gathering fuel wood. This starts by the end of the *kharif* season *i.e.* after December and continues upto April-June, a period of 5 to 6 months. They are allowed to take 2 cart loads of fuel wood per head free of cost in a year. In addition to this, each cultivator is supplied 20 bamboos free in a year for repairing his hut. For agricultural implements the wood required by them is supplied free at any time for which no license is necessary but they can take this wood from *Nistar* forests only. Illicit felling is common among these villagers. While collecting the fuel wood they often cut and surreptitiously carry logs of timber to the market. Some times they also gather fuel wood without obtaining licences. According to the forest authorities the total number of offences committed are 22 in the last ten years (1952 to 1961): the nature of these offences being, felling of trees, grazing of cattle and collection of fuel wood without licence.

The details of these reported cases are given below:—

Offences committed by the Banjaras of Naharkheda during the last 10 *years under the Forest Act,* 1952 *to* 1961

Year	Name of the person	Nature of offence	Punishment awarded	
			Cost in Rs.	Fine in Rs.
1	2	3	4	5
1951-52	No case was reported.			
1952-53	No case was reported.			
1953-54	Daloo Jaisingh	Collected fuel wood without licence	Rs. 1 recovered as cost of the wood and a fine of Rs. 2 was inflicted	
1953-54	Bhoodia Mansingh	Collected fuel wood without licence	1	2
1953-54	Sarwan Sakkru	Felling of timber fuel wood 3 carts	2	5
1953-54	Gulab Keval	Fuel wood 3 carts		15
1954-55	Harisingh	Fuel wood (3 carts full)	30	15
1954-55	Sakkru Sarwar	Timber—3	5	10
1955-56	Mehtab Misra	Timber	4	10
1955-56	Mehtab Misru	2 cart fuel wood	4	20
1955-56	Kalya Didar	Timber—8	12	15
1956-57	Kaloo Tagya	Fuel wood and timber (7 others were also arrested).	316	50
1956-57	Thamsingh Hersingh	Teak Timber	18	18
1956-67	Ranjit Ramsingh and Pratap Bhim	Fuel wood 1 cart without licence	2	..
		"	2	..
1956-57	Chena Morsingh	Fuel wood	2	..
1957-58	Sakkru Jhamsingh	Timber—12	3	9
1957-58	Srichand Jhamsingh	Timber—2	1.50	5
1958-59	No case was reported.			
1959-60	Krishan Budia	Timber	30	recovered
1959-60	Natu Mansingh	Timber	60	recovered
1959-60	Kalu Jagram	Timber	under enquiry	
1960-61	Sarwan Sakkru	Grazing the cattle without licence		2
1960-61	Sarwan Sakkru	Grazing the cattle without licence		2
1960-61	Raisingh Jhamsingh	Timber		5
1960-61	Sadya Modsingh	Fuel wood 6 carts		10
1960-61	Ramsingh Jhamsingh	Grazing the cattle		6

3 Races and Culturals of India P. 67

As I have said earlier, these are the reported cases, that is to say, such cases which came to the noitce of the Forest officials either when the felling was in process or at the check posts in the transit. But these are not all. Grazing the cattle without a permit is a common occurrence, which goes unnoticed by the Forest Guards. Similarly, illicit felling is common too. It has, however, not been possible for us to collect the details and extent of illicit fellings perpetrated by the villagers of Naharkheda. But the *Nayaks* confessed to me that every family, which has a bullock cart and a pair of bullocks is involved in illicit felling. They said that they had to resort to it by sheer necessity for making their both ends meet, as there was a paucity of land and they had no other source of income to maintain their families.

Some factors influencing social and economic processes

19. In the post-independence period, an all-out effort is being made by different official and non-official agencies to introduce changes in the economic and social structure of the rural communities, through various development measures and social legislation. It will be our endeavour to take stock of the conditions in the far off village Naharkheda situated in the Vindhyan ranges and to see how far these factors have been able to penetrate the barriers of age-old traditions and the proverbial conservatism enveloping the rural community.

Land Reforms

19.1 The quintessence of the land reform measures, especially legislative, is the elimination of the middleman between the tiller of the soil and the Government which is evident in the provisions of the Zamindari and Jagirdari abolition Acts. Naharkheda, being a forest village, the cultivators hold leases of agricultural land direct from the Government and there has been no question of a middle-man between them and the Government. Their problem was different, it was the impermanent and uncertain nature of the lease, because, the Forest department could terminate the lease without any prior notice. It is entirely a different matter that no lease was disturbed and the same tenant remained in possession of his land right from the time of initial allotment, but the dormant threat of such a situation is prone to shake the sense of belongingness and deter the cultivator from making any improvements on the land. Whatever be in the mind of the Forest Department, the Banjaras had this feeling for reasons best known to them. But an administrative measure *viz.* the settlement of land undertaken by the Forest Department in 1948, conferred on the Banjaras' *pucca* tenancy rights on the land they held with them. By virtue of being *pucca* tenants under the M. B. Land Tenancy Act, they became Bhumiswamis[4] when the M. P. Land Revenue Code 1959, came into force. They now enjoy the right of transfer by sale or mortgage subject to certain restrictions calculated to prevent fragmentation of holdings; and also of sub-letting it if the holder suffers from certain disabilities such as widowhood, minority, mental and physical ill-health, etc.[5] A Bhumiswami is also entitled to make improvements on his land for better cultivation[6]. Although the Banjaras have not made any kind of improvement on their agricultural land, which is conditioned not only by the permanent nature of tenure or right in the land, but also by the economic capacity of the holder and the real difficulty of the Banjaras of this village is, whence the wherewithal can be had.

Social legislation

19.2 In the sphere of social legislation, we have the Hindus Widows Remarriage Act, Untouchability (offences) Act, Dowry Prohibition Act and the Special Marriage Act, etc.

The provisions of the Hindu widow's Remarriage Act seek to confer a right on a Hindu widow to remarry and guarantees the legitimacy of such marriage and her right to succeed to the property of her son or daughter from her first husband. But this reform is of no avail to the Banjara widows owing to a peculiar custom among them of not permitting the widow to go out of their house in a re-marriage. She is taken by the younger brother of the deceased husband. Referring to this custom, Russell and Hiralal assign a reason for its presence. "Owing to the scarcity of women in the caste, a widow is seldom allowed to go out of the family, and when her husband dies she is taken either by his elder or younger brother; this is in opposition of usual Hindu practice, which forbids the marriage of a woman to her deceased husband's elder brother, on the ground that as successor to the headship of the family he stands to her, at least potentially, in the right of a father[7]. There has been no case of a widow marriage outside the family and here the custom over-rides the enactment.

The provisions of the Untouchability (offences) Act do not come into play so far as the life in the village is concerned as there is not a single member of the scheduled castes living there. The effect of this legislation can only be gauged by their personal notions on the subject and their bearing when they come in contact with the so-called untouchables in the

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4 Sec. 158 of the M. P. Land Revenue Code, 1959.

5 Sec. 168, *Ibid.*

6 Sec. 171 *Ibid.*

7 R. V. Russell and Hiralal, The Tribes and Castes of C. P; P. 173.

neighbouring villages. The Banjaras regard the scheduled castes as low although they do not have any inhibition in touching them; but they would not accept water or food from them nor would they draw and drink water from a well which is used by such castes. But, there is no breach of any of the provisions of the above Act as there are no such castes in the village.

The practice of offering dowry in the form of bride-price and the custom of giving cattle and some household effects, as consideration of the marriage contract, is prevalent among the Banjaras of Naharkheda and the provisions of the Dowry Prohibition Act remain in abeyance.

In the like manner, the Special Marriage Act of 1954, merely adorns the statute book and in effect has not been able to over-ride the customs of the Banjaras regarding the marriage, for they cannot and do not marry outside the caste by their custom, nor would let the affairs come to a pass necessitating divorce or separation, as the caste Panchayat takes cognizance of these matters and would not permit a separation between the spouses.

The law of inheritance has very little to do with the poor Banjaras of Naharkheda. Except for land, home-stead and cattle they do not have properties which could be inherited by their heirs. They have their own code of inheritance which does not confer any right on the daughter. The division of land is made informally among the sons in equal shares on the death of the father while the land remains in the name of the deceased in the official papers. The house is divided in the same way and so also the heads of cattle. The widow of the deceased shares equally with her son but, on her death, her share reverts to her surviving sons.

Among Banjaras of Naharkheda marriages take place between 16-20 years of age in the case of males and 13 to 15 in the case of females. This is partially in contravention of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, which prohibits marriages under 18 years of age in the case of males and under 15 years of age in the case of females.

It will thus be seen that all social enactments are observed more in their breach in village Naharkheda.

Democratic decentralisation

19.3. Although the M. P. Panchayat Act, 1962, seeking to establish 'Panchayati Raj', came into force from 23rd July 1962, it has not been fully applied to this area nor have the duly elected institutions been so far constituted; the process is afoot and, at the time of writing this report (September 1962) preparation is going on for the election of the Panchayats.

Notwithstanding the above mentioned legislation, a three-tier system of Panchayats has been in operation under the provisions of the M. B. Panchayat Act, 1949, in this area. Under this Act, there is a village panchayat at the village level or at the level of group of villages, a Kendra Panchayat at the Block level and a Mandal Panchayat at the district level.

In 1956, a Debt Conciliation Board was established in each Panchayat to facilitate conciliation between parties in any suit, whether civil or criminal triable by the Nyay Panchayat and Nyay Panchayat was barred from taking cognizance of any dispute unless conciliation proceedings had failed.

The Panchayats are empowered to levy and collect two kinds of taxes: One is the land tax, which is 3% of the land revenue paid by the holder to the Government, house tax and the labour tax, five days labour in a year by persons from 21 to 50 years of age or in lieu thereof twice the amount of daily wage fixed by the Panchayats.

19.4 Village Naharkheda falls within the jurisdiction of the Village Panchayat at Menn. There are 12 members in the Panchayat but no one from Naharkheda; their representative is one Gulab Banjara from Bassi. The Kendra Panchayat is at Mhow, Nyay Panchayat at Harsola and the Mandal Panchayat at Indore. The Panchayat meetings are held once in a fortnight in Menn over which the *Sar panch* presides. The attendance is good enough just to form the quorum which is ⅓ of the total number of *Panchas*.

The Panchayat does not recover any house-tax from Naharkheda as the houses, come under the limits of exemption based on the value of the house. The income from land tax is Rs. 5.68 nP. from Naharkheda which is collected by the Forest Department along with land revenue and passed on to the Panchayats. The Panchayat has never recovered any labour tax; it has asked the villagers to give their labour contribution in the construction of the drinking water well but no account has been kept about the work done and no action is taken against the defaulters. In fact, the Panchayat has not bothered to find out who has worked and who has not. The Panchayat is the agency for development work and the grant-in-aid is given to the Panchayat on behalf of the Government. Three years ago, the construction of a sanitary well was sanctioned in village Naharkheda and an amount of Rs. 1,500 was given to the Panchayat. So far Rs. 239.50 nP. was spent on the work, which has not been

completed so far. The *Sar-panch* complained that the villagers did not give their part of contribution; people from Sakkru's *tanda* did not co-operate because the location of the well was in Gangaram's *tanda*, and secondly, he had no time to go and supervise the work. In my interview with the *Sar-panch*, he stated to me that he would take up the work himself and try to complete it in the summer of 1963.

The good offices of the Conciliation Board had been invoked freely in regard to cases presented by and against the villagers of Naharkheda as will be evidenced from the details of cases given below:—

Cases decided by the Conciliation Board and cases pending trial

S. No.	Case No./date of institution	Civil/ Criminal	Plantiff/Complainant	Defendant/Accused	Substance	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A. Cases decided—						
1.	638/1-6-61	Civil	Ramjilal Jagannath Mahajan, Badgonda Pl.	Amra Singh Banjara Naharkheda Def.	Cattle tress pass and damage to crop Suit for Rs. 5/9/-	Consent decree for Rs. 6.
2.	538/12-4-62	Do.	Budhia Mansing Banjara Rampuria. Pl.	Jham singh Harisingh Banjara Def.	Def. had taken silver ring from the Pl. and did not return.	Case dismissed due to failure of securing compromise.
3.	33/12-6-62	Do.	Bhima Badyaram Banjara, Rampuriya. Pl.	Mukhram Mehr chand Banjara, Naharkheda Def.	Regarding payment of wages amounting to Rs. 53/2/-Rs.38/5/- paid in cash and kind recovery of remaining amount.	Consent decree of Rs. 15.
4.	53/25-11-60	Criminal	Sakkru S/o Jhamsihgh Banjara Naharkheda Comp.	Sardar S/o Lalya Banjara and Delya S/o Sonsingh Banjara, Naharkheda Accused.	Threat to kill the complainant.	Case Compounded
5.	4/21-8-61	Do.	Shobharam S/o Morsingh Comp. Banjara.	Shravan S/o Kalu Banjara Accused.	Wrangle due to cattle affair.	Case dismissed as no agreement could be arrived at.
B. Cases pending trial—						
1.	24-8-62 ..	Civil	Mohanlal S/o Jagannath Mahajan Badgonda Pl.	Sakkru S/o Jhamsingh Banjara Def.	4000 sugar-cane plants destroyed by the defendants, horse.	
2.	24-8-62 ..	Do.	Do.	Do.	1500 Sugar-cane plants destroyed by Def's. ' hourse-damage of Rs. 93/12/-.	
3.	20-8-62 ..	Do.	Devisingh S/o Fatta Bhil Rampuria Pl.	Mukhram S/o Mehrchand Banjara Def.	Damage done by cattle, estimated loss of Rs. 50.	
4.	20-8-62 ..	Do.	Ratnyasingh S/o Mukund Bhil Rampuriya Pl.	Do.	Damage done by cattle estimated loss of Rs. 11.	
5.	10-9-62 ..	Do.	Shrichand S/o Jhamsingh Banjara-Pl.	Chhodya S/o Gowardhan Bhil. Def.	Crop damage done by cattle-3 mds. of maize claimed as damages.	

The Panchayat has not done any work in the field of agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, etc. The villagers of Naharkheda are not satisfied with the working of the Panchayat, firstly because there is no member from their village, secondly because it has not paid much attention to the village and lastly because it has not helped them in getting more land from the Government which is their most burning problem. They are so much agitated on that issue, that in every conversation they would bring up that topic and would openly condemn the Government agencies and the Panchayat for their inability to get them more land.

Asked about the utility of the village Panchayat, both the Nayaks said that they had now a forum to decide matters which were not satisfactorily resolved by the caste Panchayat; and that they did not have to go to Tahsil court or judicial court at Mhow for small matters, involving waste of time and money; instead they could now approach the panchayat at Menn nearest to them and get their grievances redressed at little expense from a body of persons known to them; but hastened to add, "what is the use of a Panchayat which can not give land".

Community Development

20. Naharkheda falls within the Stage II Block Mhow, which was originally opened as a pilot project on 2nd October 1952. But, at that time, Naharkheda was not within the block boundaries. It was only in 1956, when the block extended its limits making them co-terminus with the Tahsil boundaries that this village came in the block. Except for the Block Development Officer who visited the village twice during 1956-61, and occasional visits of the Gram Sevak and the Midwife, the village has not drawn attention of other extenison workers. In the sphere of co-operation, industry, animal husbandry and making of a village plan, nothing much seems to have been done. In spite of the fact that every family is heavily indebted to indigeneous money-lenders, there has been no effort even to start a service co-operative society.

The agriculture programme was initiated in a very small way in 1959-60 when the following persons took improved seeds from the Gram Sewak[5]—

S.No.	Name of Cultivator	Quantity of Improved seed distributed, in M. S. Ch.	Name of seed
1.	Sarwan	0-10-0	Urad.
2.	Gangaram	2-20-0	,,
3.	Rumal	0-30-0	,,
	In 1960-61 the coverage was increased as follows:—		
1.	Kalu S/o Jagram	0-10-0	Urad.
2.	Kalu S/o Bisram	0-10-0	,,
3.	Ramsingh	0-20-0	Sunhemp
4.	Rupa	0-20-0	,,
5.	Amar Onkar	0-10-0	,,

In the case of food grains and cash-crops, seed was given to the villagers in 1959-60 and 1960-61 as follows:—

S. No.	Name of Cultivator	Year 1959		Year 1960	
		Quantity M. S. Ch.	Seed	Quantity M. S. Ch.	Seed
1.	Sukhram	0-20-0	Jowar	..	..
2.	Peera	0-20-0	,,	..	..
3.	Sarwan	0-10-0	,,	0-5-0	Groundnut
4.	Kalu S/o Jagannath ..	0-10-0	,,	2 0-0	,,
5.	Shobharam	0-10-0	,,	0-5-0	,,
6.	Onkar	0-5-0	,,	0-5-0	,,
7.	Gangaram	..	..	0-5-0	,,

5 Records and V. L. W. Menn.

When I asked the villager why they preferred purchasing of the seed from Magan Seth and Bhagwan Seth of Badgonda to the Block Agency, they replied: "it is difficult to deal with Government agencies; if in any year, the instalment is not paid, they would auction our cattle and belongings; but the Seths are always ready to advance money whenever we want and can be had for asking; the Government loans are belatedly given sometimes when the need for loan has already passed off".

The contacts of the midwife seem to have been more frequent and useful. She has been attending to the ante-natal, delivery and post-natal cases and had earned a good name among the Banjara women by her devotion to work and that is one reason why she was successful in initiating some women in the use of contraceptives.

The main objective of the community development, *viz*, "a change in the mental outlook of the people instilling in them an ambition for a higher standard"[8], seems to have been attained, albeit, not so much due to the C. D. Block, as to their financial stringency and contact with opulent urban centres like Mhow and big villages like Badgonda and Menn. About the C.D. Block, the attitude of the Banjaras is more of indifference than positively favourable; they would say, "Block does not give us land for cultivation nor school for the children."

Culture contact

21. It is a cumulative effect of the social intercourse with the neighbouring areas. The visits of Banjaras to Mhow, Badgonda and Menn are very frequent and these have considerably influenced them. The visible influence on the hair style of the male Banjara youths is due to their contacts with Mhow. When they go to Mhow, they get their hair cropped in the saloon in the modern style and do not wear long hair, shaving clean the fore-part which is the customary hair style. The frequency of the hair-crop and shaving has also increased. Formerly, they would not crop the hair even once in 2 months, but now they do so once in a fortnight or in a month. Introduction of a safty razor marks a very important change. There are 10 persons who use safty razors and shave their beards themselves.

21.1 There has been some influence on the dress of the male Banjaras too. Formerly they wore a *pagri* as head gear, now it has changed to a *Safa* or *Pheta* which is worn by the Rajputs and cultivating classes of the neighbouring villages. Similarly *Chhoea* (a coat-like, slightly long wearing apparel with bands) has given place to *bandi*, a close-fitted wearing apparel with half or full sleeves, up to the waist with buttons and two side pockets; this is the working dress (upper garment) of the cultivating classes in Malwa. The dress and ornaments of Banjara women have remained uninfluenced.

21.2 The Banjaras considered it unlucky to inhabit a house with a cement or tiled roof, but presently we find that more than half of the Banjara houses in Narharkheda have tiled roofs which is the normal pattern of roof in the adjoining villages.

The recital of *Satyanarayan katha* is an influence of the neighbouring villages.

The introduction of tea in the Banjara household is a positive influence of their contacts with Mhow and Badgonda.

Of late (since last 5 to 10 years), when they go to Mhow, they see cinema shows occasionally.

And above all, what I regard as the greatest change among the Banjaras, is the complete transformation of their appalling apathy towards education into an urge for it.

Awareness and attitudes

22. The Banjara males of Narharkheda are aware of the freedom attained by the country; they recall that previously the Holkars ruled over them and the British (*Angrej*) ruled over Mhow. When asked, who are their present rulers, the *Nayaks* pointed to *Sar-Panch* of the Panchayat; thereby suggesting that their own representatives were managing the Government. They also know that if their work could not be got done at Mhow (Tahsil headquarters) they should go to Indore (District headquarters) and, last to Bhopal (State headquarters). The women are, however unaware of these facts. The Banjara males, at least 8 of them, have heard the name of Gandhiji and attribute the attainment of freedom to him.

They seem to be aware of the role of Gram Panchayat in the village administration and seem to be convinced that there are certain matters which can be decided only by the Gram Panchayat and not the Caste Panchayat as the former enjoys a good deal of authority.

Attitude

22.1. They are totally opposed to inter-caste and inter-community marriages and are wholly indifferent to the law governing the inheritance of property.

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8 Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, "Training of Officials and non-officials in Panchayati Raj", P. and D. M. P. page 13.

Family Planning

22.2. The married men of Naharkheda vehemently oppose family planning or planned parenthood; they do not see anything wrong in getting more children, who according to them will work and earn. Any recourse to prevent births is considered as an interference with the laws of nature and God's wishes. But contrary to the hostile attitude of men, the Banjara married women had shown an encouraging response to the propaganda of family planning initiated by a midwife of the Primary Health sub-centre at Menn, in 1960. It took four visits to bring home to the women the need for family planning, and on her explicit assurance that the contraceptives which she would give were harmless and would not come to the notice of their husbands, four of them agreed to use the contraceptives. The midwife had given them foam tablets for use. All the four women were in the age range of 35-40 and had 5 to 7 children each. Their husbands were agriculturists and they themselves were working in the fields and the forest. All the four women are reported to have used the tablets and one of them had asked for them on a second occasion as her earlier stock had run down. It is also stated that the husband of one of these women was greatly annoyed when he learnt that his wife was using tablets to prevent births. But after the transfer of that midwife from Menn in 1962, there was no follow-up by the new midwife with the result that, even these four women were stated to have abandoned the use of contraceptives.

CHAPTER IV

DEMOGRAPHY

23. As stated earlier, Naharkheda is a small unicaste village with a total population of 139 persons in 28 households according to 1961 census as well as from the house-hold schedules canvassed in connection with the present survey. The density of population, is 175 persons per sq. mile. The "*abadi*" density works out to 71 persons per acre or 45,440 per sq. mile. Table 12 below gives the basic figures of population and area:—

TABLE 12

Area ,Households and Population

Area in Acres	Area in Hectares	Density per sq. mile	Total No. of households	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
508·74	9·35	275	28	139	73	63

According to 1951 Census, the population of the village was 85 persons: 50 males, 35 females. There has been an abnormal rise in the population in the last ten years. The growth is 63·5% : the rate of growth of the district as a whole during the same period is 26·3%. There has been a net addition of 23 males and 31 females in the inter-censal period. This abnormal rise can be explained if we have even a casual look at table 13—"Distribution of population according to age-group." In this table we find that there are 25 males and 32 females in the age-group 0-9; *i. e.* 57 persons were born in the inter-censal period and are alive. Besides the above addition by births, there has been a small addition of 3 males owing to the migration of one Banjara family from Nimar District in 1958. Kaloo Banjara came to this village with his two sons: he is a relative of a Banjara family in Gangaram's tanda. Thus, although the increase in population is alarming, still it is accounted for fully.

23.1. The present (1961) sex ratio works out to 1000 males: 904 females which is higher than the sex ratio of the district which is 1000:882. In the district as a whole, the sex-ratio shows a decline in the number of females in the inter-censal period from 1000 males: 900 females in 1951 to 1000 males :882 females in 1961. In this village it has improved from 1000 males: 700 females in 1951 to 1000 males: 904 females in 1961.

The number of males born in the last decade is greater than that of females. This was not the trend in the preceding decade in which for every 10 males children 13 females were born. This predominance of female group was absent in the decade preceding the last one. On the contrary, the data show that in that decade (preceding the last one) boys were born at double the rate of the number of girls. In 10-19 age group we have 14 males and only 7 females. The sex ratio of the population below 35 years (0-35) tends to be more or less equal: 59 M: 56 F; but it varies in the age group 35 -39, the ratio being 2:1. Among those 60 and above, there are 5 men to every 3 women (Table 13).

Age Structure

23.2. The age structure has proverbially been a matter of speculative approximation. This is not because there has been any lack of effort in collecting the correct statistics in various enquiries conducted in this behalf, but because the respondents themselves are not sure of their own ages. This phenomenon has very rightly been touched upon in the 1951 Census Report, Vol. I (page 63.64) in the observations of the Census Commissioner who writes: "It cannot be denied that what we have by way of age statistics is largely a matter of speculative approximations. This is true not only of Madhya Pradesh and India but whole of the world. Our figures are as trustworthy as anybody else's."[1] This is equally true of Naharkheda

1. Gopalaswami, R. A., Census of India, 1951, Vol. I Part I-A Report, pp. 63-64.

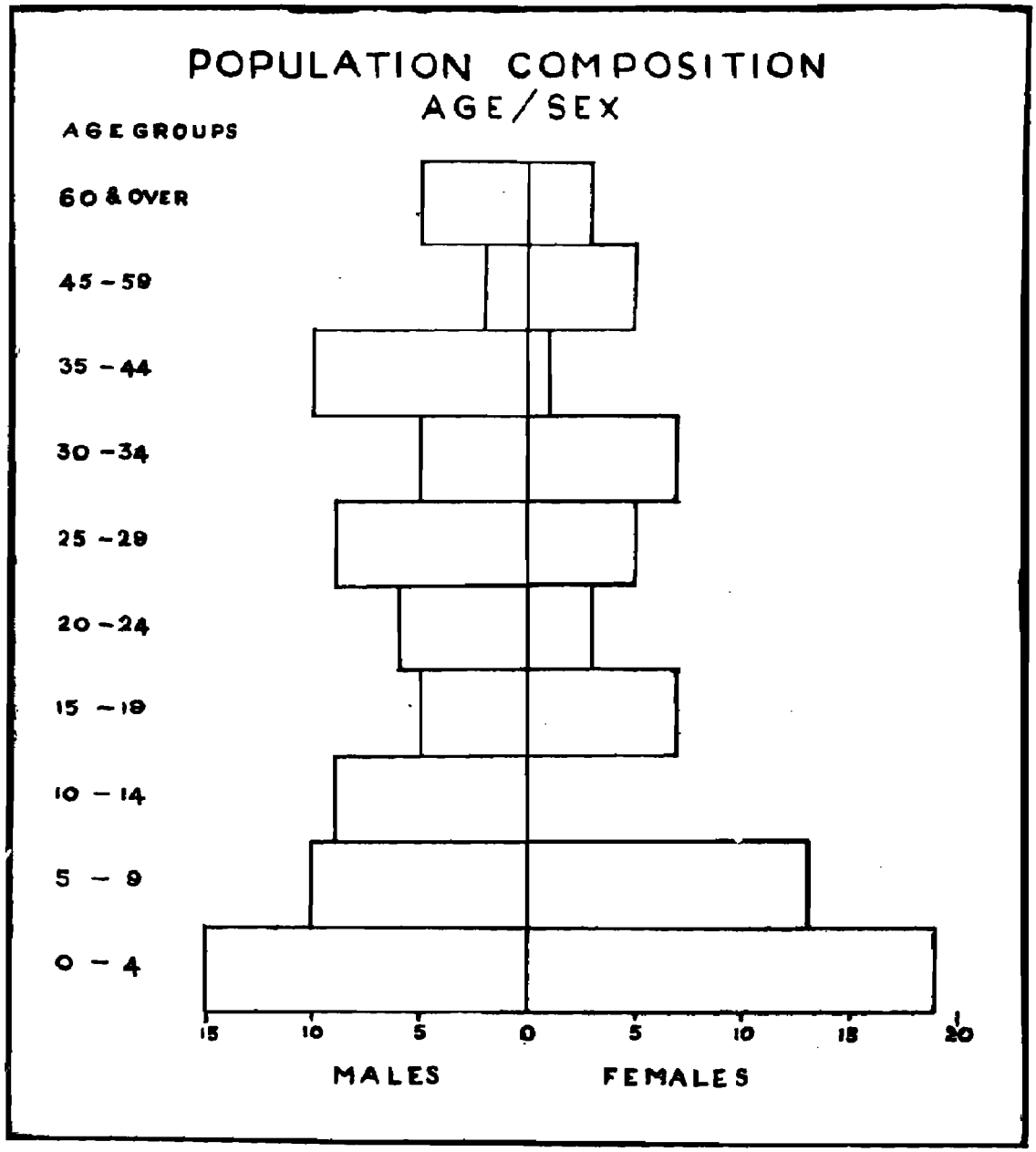

POPULATION COMPOSITION
AGE/SEX
AGE GROUPS
60 & OVER
45 - 59
35 - 44
30 - 34
25 - 29
20 - 24
15 - 19
10 - 14
5 - 9
0 - 4
15
10
5
0
5
10
15
20
MALES
FEMALES

PLATE XXIV

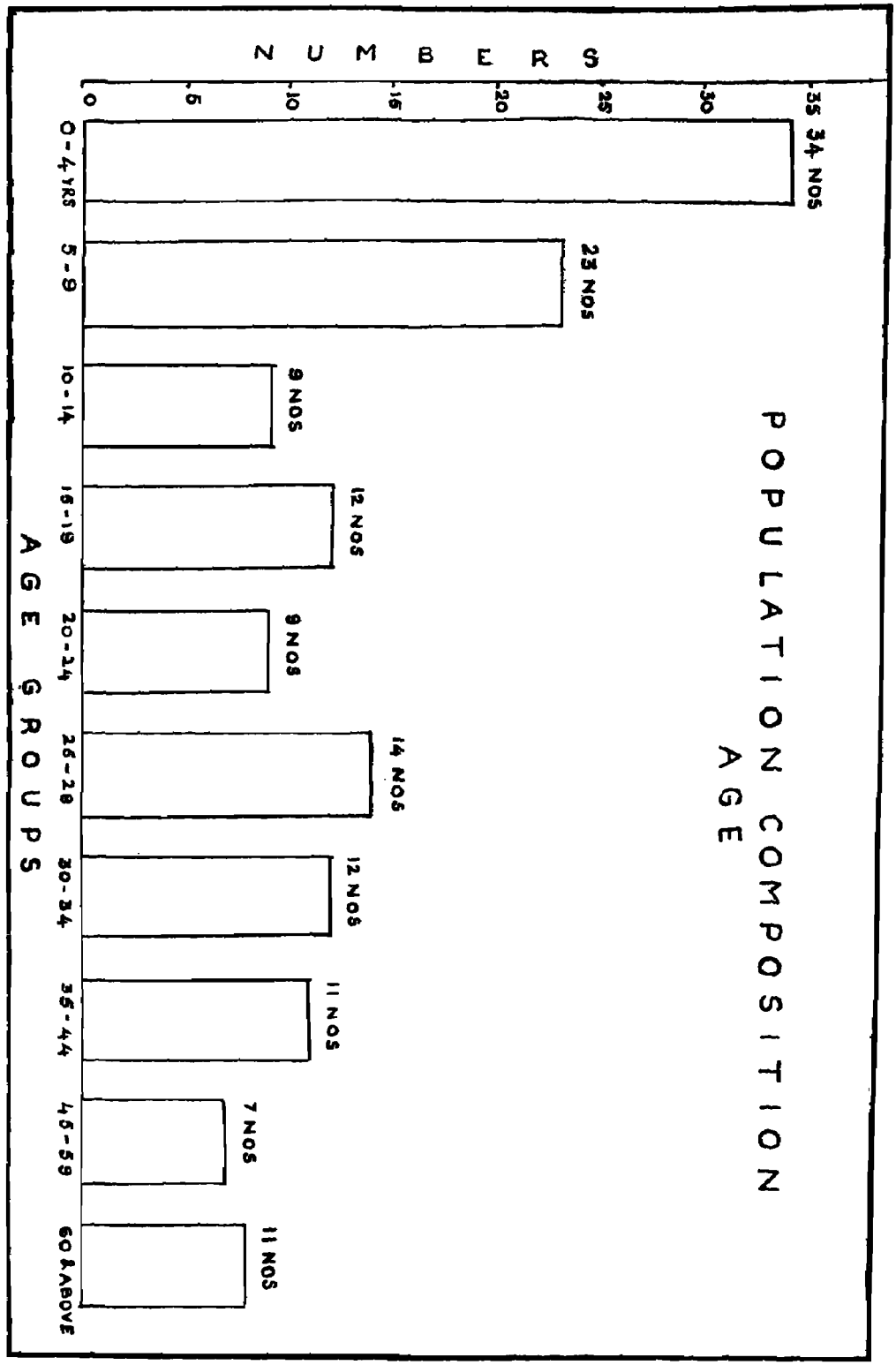

POPULATION COMPOSITION
AGE
NUMBERS
0
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
AGE GROUPS
0-4 YRS
5-9
10-14
15-19
20-24
25-29
30-34
35-44
45-59
60 & ABOVE
34 NOS
23 NOS
9 NOS
12 NOS
9 NOS
14 NOS
12 NOS
11 NOS
7 NOS
11 NOS

PLATE XXV

as well; one thing, however, must be said that the age statistics of this village are not in multiples of fives and tens but fairly well distributed over all ages as well be seen from Table 13 below:—

TABLE 13

Distribution of population according to age group

Sex	Total of all ages	0-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25 29	30-34	35-44	45-49	60 and above	Age not stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Males ..	73	25	9	5	3	9	5	10	2	5	..
Females ..	66	32	..	7	6	4	8	1	5	3	.

The population of the village is base-heavy with 34 children below 5 years of age and 23 between 6 to 9 years. Thus, there are more than 31 children below 10 years of age for every 100 adult persons. The largest number of persons falls in the average age group 25-44. There are 13 persons each in the ranges 25-29 and 30-44 and 11 in 35-44. Between 45 to 59, there are 7 and in the range 60 years and above there are 8 persons. An interesting feature is that there are no females in the range 10-14.

Marital Status

23.3 According to the provisions of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, marriages of boys under 18 years and of girls under 15 years are forbidden, so marriages under these ages should be termed as child marriages. According to the *Nayaks* of the Banjaras, girls are married between 13 to 15 years of age and boys between 16 to 20. This means that, in terms of the above Act, child marriages are not uncommon among Naharkheda Banjaras.

TABLE 14

Age and Marital Status

S. No.	Age group	Total Population			Never Married		Married		Widowed,		Divorced or separated	
		Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	0-9	56	25	31	25	31	..	..	..	..	..	..
2.	10-14	9	9	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3.	15-19	13	6	7	3	..	3	7	..	..	..	..
4.	20-24	9	3	6	1	..	2	6	..	..	..	..
5.	25-29	13	8	5	1	..	7	5	..	..	..	..
6.	30-34	13	5	8	..	..	5	8	..	..	..	..
7.	35-39	6	5	1	..	..	5	1	..	..	..	..
8.	40-44	5	5	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..
9.	45-49	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
10.	50-54	2	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
11.	55-59	4	1	3	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	..
12.	60 & above	8	5	3	..	..	5	1	..	2	..	..
	Total	139	73	66	39	31	33	33	1	2	..	..

It will be seen from the above table that not a single boy or girl is married in the age-group 0-9. It is also true that no boy has got married between the age-group 10-14 which bears out the contention of the *Nayaks* that boys are married between 14 to 16 years of age. The entries in the above table suggest that there is no married girl in the age-group 10-14; it is a queer coincidence that there is not a single girl in that age-group in that village. It should not, therefore, be concluded that the Banjara girls are not married between 10 to 14 years of age. This could have been proved, had there been any girl in that age-group and still not married. It is, however, quite interesting to note that there is *not* a single unmarried female of and above 15 years of age. In the age-group 15-19, the number of married females is more than double that of married males: there are 3 unmarried males in that age-group; but not a single unmarried male of and above 30 years of age. In 28 house-holds of the village, there are 33 married couples, indicating the presence of joint families in a limited way. There is no widow nor a widower among persons of and below 54 years of age; and if we exclude Kaloo who is a migrant of three years' duration, and is the only widower in the age-group 55-59, we find that there is not a single widower in the entire native male population of the village. There are 2 widows in the age-group 60 and bove. The analysis of marital status with reference to the figures in various age-group indicates that the people in this village enjoy very long married life.

Growth of Population: Births and Deaths

23.4 In 1951 the population figures were 85 persons, 50 males and 35 females. The population according to the present survey is 139; 73 males and 66 females. Thus there has been a net increase of 54 persons in the population during 1951 to 1961. This increase is accounted for by the annual birth rate of 6.7 percent (approximate). The growth in the case of males has been 4.6% per annum, whereas in the case of women it is 5.07 percent. (The rates of births and deaths could not be worked out as the vital statistics are not available.)

Size of the family

23.5 The size of the family ranges from 1 member to 11 members. There are two families of the size of 10 and above, whereas there is one family of the size of one member. The largest number of families *i. e.* 10, is in each of the size groups: 2-3 and 4-6. Five families lie in the size group 7-9. As will be seen from table No. 15 below, the average size of the families in the groups at serial Nos. 2, 3 and 4 (*i. e.* 2-3, 4-6, & 7-9) is 2.7, 5.1 and 7.6 respectively. In the families that fall within the size-group of 7-9 members, males out-number the females. But in respect of the families of 11 members each, the proportion is reverse.

TABLE 15

Average Members in Different Size of Families and Ratio of Sex, Marital Status and Working Force.

S. No.	Size of the family group	No. of families in each group	Average no. of members in each group			Marital Status			Workers		Non-workers	
							Unmarried		Males	Females	Males	Females
			Total	Males	Females	Married	above 10 yrs	below 10 yrs				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	0-1	1	1·0	..	1·0	..	..	..	..	1·0	..	..
2.	2-3	10	2·7	1·5	1·2	1·9	0·3	0·5	1·1	0·4	0·4	0·8
3.	4-6	10	5·1	2·6	2·5	2·1	0·4	2·6	1·2	0·9	1·4	1·6
4.	7-9	5	7·6	4·6	3·0	2·4	2·7	2·5	1·2	0·8	3·4	2·2
5.	10 & above	2	11·0	4·5	6·5	5·5	..	5·5	2·5	2·0	2·0	4·5

The percentage of children to the total members of the family, is 51.0 in the size group 4-6, 33.1 in the size-group 7-9 and 18.5 in the size-group 2-3. The trend, therefore, is the larger the number of members in the family, the higher is the number of children than the adults which is a natural result of a large number of children born in the preceding decade. The percentage of workers to the total membership in the families of the size-groups 2-3, 4-6 and 7-9 is 55-6, 41-2 and 26-3 respectively.

Literacy

As will be seen from table 16 below, only two males, one in the age-group 10-14 and another in the age group 25-29, are liatrate in the sense that they can just read and write a little. Even they have not studied upto any standard, although they are said to have attended a primary school in village Badgonda, 6 miles away.

TABLE 16

Age-Sex and Education

S. No.	Age group	Total			Illiterate		Literate without educational standard	
		Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	0—4 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	5—9 ..	56	25	31	25	31	..	..
3	10—14 ..	9	9	..	8	..	1	..
4	15—19 ..	13	6	7	6	7	..	..
5	20—24 ..	9	3	6	3	6	..	..
6	25—29 ..	13	8	5	7	5	1	..
7	30—34 ..	13	5	8	5	8	..	..
8	35—44 ..	11	10	1	10	1	..	..
9	45—59 ..	7	2	5	2	5	..	..
10	60 and above ..	8	5	3	5	3	..	..
	Total ..	139	73	66	71	66	2	..

What Col. Mackenzie had written in 1881 about Banjaras of C. P. *viz.*, that "a Banjara who can read and write is unknown:" is substantially true in 1961 so far as the Banjaras of Naharkheda are concerned. The passage of a long period of more than 80 years has not brought any discernible change in the attitude of the Banjaras towards education. Besides the school in Badgonda as stated earlier, there are two more schools at Menn and Chhotijam within a radius of 5 miles but the Banjara boys are not attending either of them. But this age-old indifference towards education seems to have been suddenly changed into an urge for educating their children since last year (1961) or so and they seem to have realised and felt the need for it. We do not entertain the faintest idea of a claim that our contacts brought in this urge; far from that: but the fact remains that in our later visits (in the latter half of 1961 and early part of 1962) every time they would ask us whether there was a possibility of opening a school in their village. They said that they wanted their children to go to school but were not prepared to send them out of their village for that purpose. In early 1962, they had made an application to the village Panchayat at Menn demanding a school for their village which has set the ball rolling. I understand that the Education Department has sanctioned a primary school for Naharkheda and it is expected to be established from 1963-64 session.

Language

25. The Banjaras of Naharkheda like other Banjaras of this part of the country speak a form of speech known as ***Banjari***, which is derived from Rajasthani.[1] Here are a few peculiar Banjari words with their English equivalents:—

Banjara Dialect		English
मोरे आजा	(*Ore Aaa ja*)	Come here
परे जाउ	(*Pare jau*)	I am going there
कारे थारी तबीयत ठीक छे	(*Kare thari tabiyat theek chhe*)	Are you feeling well ?

1 Census of Central India, 1931: Volume XVI, Holkar State, Part I—page 25.1.

Banjara Dialect		English
कांई क्यों छो	(*Kai kyon chho*)	What do you say?
कत जाओ जी भाई	(*Kat jao ji Bhai*)	Where are you going ?
बत्ते राजी खुशी छै	(*Watte rajee khushi chh.*	All is well
तरस लागी पाणी परा दो	(*Taras lagee pani para do*)	I am feeling thirsty, get me water

PROVERBS—

घर डांडा से करम फूटयो।	(*Ghar danda se karam phootyo*)	Calamity starts from home
धरम कीदे करम फूटयो।	(*Dharam kee de karam phootyo*)	Badly paid for good work done

WORDS—

बाटी	*Wati*	Bread
कुकड़ी	*Kukdi*	Hen
अत	*At*	Here
वते	*Wate*	There
ओरे	*Orey*	This side
वरे	*Ware*	That side
खुराओ	*Khurao*	Food
गुआर	*Guar*	Man of Banjara Tribe
पाउना	*Pauna*	Guest
छोरा-छोरी	*Chhora-chhori*	Children

The names of men among the Banjaras of Naharkheda seem to have a striking similarity with those of the Rajputs; "Ramsingh", "Jhamsingh", "Raisingh", "Narayansingh", "Gulabsingh", in the early days, but these also seem to have been influenced by the local names, such as *Gordhan, Mulchand, Shrichand* and *Sarwan* etc.

The names of women do not have any set pattern, as will appear from some of the names given below.—

लाडकी	*Ladki*
ढापू	*Dhapu*
ग्यानुडी	*Gyanudi*
बमणी	*Bamni*
चौकली	*Chawkli*
रामदे	*Ramde*
परगुंडो	*Pagundi*

HEALTH AND SANITATION

General Health

26. The surroundings of village Naharkheda are conducive to good health, and the general health of the inhabitants is excellent. They seem to have developed immunity against diseases. Sakkru, our chief informant, when asked about the common diseases and illnesses in the village, took quite some time to recall even a single case of epidemic or serious disease in the past, and ultimately said that he could not recollect any kind of serious disease and added that there were cases of seasonal fevers and the like. The one common ailment in the village is the skin infection, scabies, which is due to the fact that they do not bathe regularly. The Banjaras of Naharkheda claim to be descendants of Rajputs and, looking at them, one feels that this is probably true. They are normally medium-to-tall in height

with a gaunt figure and clear-cut features. The nose in most of them is long and prominent but not very broad. The chin is single and pointed, lips are thin and the mouth, broad with strong and sturdy jaws with a clear jaw line. Their forehead is narrow, eyes medium in size and the eyelids in some cases drooping and alert in others.

26.1. The stature of most individuals is medium to tall and, in the case of tall persons, the legs are relatively long. The hair is smooth and black, and the colour of the skin varies from wheat brown to dark. The complexion of the females is slightly fairer than that of males.

60 years old Banjara Woman brushing her teeth



Dental Care

26.2. Banjaras are very particular about their teeth. Dental care is a communal tradition passed from one generation to the other. A child is given the first lesson in dental hygiene when he is quite young. He is taught not to eat anything before he has washed his mouth. The indigenous tooth-brush is a piece of some green twig of *neem or babul*, its one end crushed under the molars and reduced to a tuft of soft fibres. Whatever part of the village it might be, there is always some person somewhere found brushing his teeth. The brushing continues until they take their mid-day meal. It is done twice or thrice and each time they take about half-an-hour. The total time taken for brushing varies from half-an-hour to three hours. There is only one person in the village who cleans his teeth with tobacco-ash the whole day. He does it about 6 to 10 times. He uses tobacco-ash, because he does not chew tobacco.

Common ailments

26.3. Scabies is the most common disease in the village. Health authorities say that nearly 30-40 percent of the people suffer every year from this ailment. It is mainly due to the uncleanliness of their body. They do not take daily or frequent baths, nor do they change clothes very often. Thus the neglect of the skin, unclean clothes and constant contact with infected persons make them victims. They are extremely careless about this disease and generally no treatment is administered, except applying *Karanj* oil.

Next to scabies is the seasonal fever (now mostly "flu"), which commonly occurs every year. But the number of sufferers is not high. No cases of veneral diseases were reported in the village. There appears to be no case of any highly infectious disease in the village.

The village has not seen any epidemic or major calamity in the life history of the present generation. According to the health authorities there was an out break of Cholera some seven or eight years ago but this village was not affected. The anti-malarial campaign has reduced and almost eliminated the incidence of malarial fever in the village.

Health and Medical Facilities

26.4. Medical facilities are far and few between; the nearest health centre is the sub-primary health centre at Menn at a distance of four miles from the village The primary health centre is situated at Manpur, twelve miles from Naharkheda, and a hospital at Mhow 17 miles away.

When a patient with a minor ailment does not show signs of improvement by local treatment within two or three days, he is carried to the dispensary or the hospital as the case may be. Villagers are very prompt about some uncommon type of disorders. Minor ailments like fever, cough and cold, wound or a cut are treated with indigenous medicines.

26.5. A midwife visits the village once or two times in a month. She comes from Menn, the A. M. O., from Manpur also pays occasional visits to the village. Visits of the sanitary inspector are very rare. He comes only once or twice in six months.

Local Remedies and First Aid

26.6. For ordinary sprains the treatment is the application of turmeric and lime (hydrated calcium carbonate). It is fomented with hot water in which *muchada* leaves are boiled. For latent injuries, the treatment is fomentation with and application of *Ami-Haldi* (a kind of turmeric) poultice, which is made by crushing turmeric and onion together and frying it in mustard oil. Seasonal fevers are not taken seriously, nor do they give any treatment at all for first three to four days. Generally, the patient is not allowed to eat any solid food. If the fever persists, then he is taken to the dispensary for treatment.

For cough and cold, a dose of liquor is given and patient is asked to take a raw egg and eat chicken. They do not bother much about headaches or stomach-aches. They would wrap the forehead by a piece of cloth tightly in the case of headache and massage the stomach in the case of stomach-ache.

Maternity

26.7. Most of the Banjara women work in the field and tend their cattle in addition to their household duties. This routine is not disturbed in the early stage of pregnancy. But once she has crossed the sixth month, then she is not allowed to perform arduous tasks in the fields.

The pregnant woman does not get any special diet, nor any special attention, except for an occasional check-up by the mid-wife in her visit to the village.

The delivery is performed usually by an elderly woman of the joint family, invariably it is the mother-in-law, with the help of a *Dai* (an untrained mid-wife) residing in village Basi. She is sent for as soon as the pains start. The delivery takes place in the house where women of the family and from nieighbouring houses remain in attendance. No male is allowed to remain in the house until the child is delivered and the *Dai* has completed her work. The umbilical cord of the new born is cut by the *Dai* with an ordinary sickle only after the placenta has been taken out. The mother and the baby are then bathed in hot water in which some indigenous disinfectants (names could not be ascertained) are dissolved. Cases of infant mortality and post-natal mortality are rare. Similarly, the death of the mother in delivery or in the confinement period is also not known. The mid-wife of the primary health sub-centre visits the house and advises the mother about child-care and also about how she should take care of herself.

Sanitation

27. The village Naharkheda, being unicaste, has none of the common rural 'professionals' like the dhobi, barber, etc., and, especially in the absence of the Sweepers class, there is hardly any sanitary service. The village streets remain full of refuge thrown from the houses and the cattlesheds. The premises are kept comparatively clean. The floors of the houses are cleaned daily and occasionally are given a coating of cowdung. But the utensils the kitchen , the roof and corners of the houses are not given much care. There are no drains in the village, in fact there is hardly any need for drains since water is scarce and whatever water there is, it is stored by the side of the house on a raised platform. So only the ground under it gets wet. For washing and other purposes, the house is no place and people go out. For a wash or a bath they always go to the river. But bathing is not a daily routine for them. Even during the rainy season they do not take a daily bath. Women go to the river only once or twice in a week. It is a strenuous job for them to go two furlongs for a bath and for washing the clothes and on return to come with big vessels of water perched on their heads. Banjaras do not change their clothes daily nor do they wash them frequently.

Water Supply

27.1. The village is situated on a hard profile with no sub-soil water. Nor is there any other perennial source of water in close proximity. There is only a seasonal river flowing at a distance of two furlongs from the village. It has water for about 8 months, thus meeting the needs of the villagers for the major part of the year. But this too dries up in summer

Platform for water vessels



PLATE XXVI

and water becomes an acute problem. During the hot scorching days of summer these Banjaras have no other go but to fetch water from a village named Basi at a distance of three miles. Water acquires a value out of all proportions to its commonness elsewhere. They are prepared to pay any price for it especially when they have otherwise to run down a distance of 3 miles.

It is only during the rainy season that they have a proximate vision of water flowing in the river. But the water is muddy and they do not seem to clean it. They keep the water in vessels on a raised wooden platform about 4' in height erected on a side in the house. Four posts preferably with a 'V' end are fixed in the ground and by putting small beams and rafters over these posts, this platform is made (Plate XXVI).

Drainage

27.2. The gradual, and occasionally abrupt, fall in the gradient all around the village prevents water-logging or accumulation of heavy slush. During rains most of the water flows away but even then the village streets get puddled and slushy to a considerable extent. Under such conditions, these Banjaras become susceptible to malarial infections but since D. D. T. is sprayed twice in a year by the Public Health Department, the chances are minimised.

The floor of the houses gets damp as it is not built on a plinth and therefore the villagers during the monsoon period usually sleep over the *dagla* a sort of wooden compartment made at a height of three to four feet above the ground. They also send their cattle to a higher point where they construct sheds for them to prevent slush and diseases like "Haemorragic Septicimia".

Diet Food Habits—Common Diet

28. Most of the people of Naharkheda take only two meals a day. Their morning meal usually is *roti* prepared from wheat flour and *dal* prepared from some pulses. This is taken before 10.00 A. M. Then the second meal usually taken at 6.00 P. M., contains, besides *roti* and *dal*, some gruel prepared from maize corn (called *Makka ki thuli*). This is the common diet. When there is is no grain in the house, people start eating *mahua*.

28.1. The dietetic habits of the Banjaras are more or less stereotyped. It is so for lack of substitutes within their purchasing power. Banjaras always look for the occasion when they could eat meat. But they cannot afford to take it daily. It is only a festival dish. The better-off families take meat more frequently than the poorer ones. The expenditure on this head accounts for a major share in the over-all expenditure on food items. In by-gone days, they could supplement their diet with the meat of game shot or killed by them. This has become quite scarce with the growth of population in this village.

Moreover, measures taken for the preservation of wild animals have also curtailed the privileges of these people and thus deprived them of their most favourite food which incidentally also provided a lot of protein. Now they usually take the meat of goats and fowl. They do not eat beef nor do they take the meat of *Nilgai*, crow, peacock, or tortoise. The eating of beef or the meat of *Nilgai* is considered a sin by tradition. The meat of the crow and the peacock is considered to be poisonous. A few families in the village have their own goats. So also, there are some households which maintain some poultry. But there are very few houses which keep both.

Feasts

28.2. Hindu festivals are usually celebrated with feasts. Such feasts are many in a year. Some feasts are purely vegetarian whereas, in other feasts, meat and allied items form the essentials of the dinner. Feasts of the first category fall on the festivals *viz.*, *Dashera Guga-Nawami*, *Diwali* etc., and the feasts of the second category, on *Holi*, marriage or any sacrificial ceremonies. *Kheer*, *Puri*, vegetables and *Churma* are the important items of food of the vegetarian feast while the feasts of the second category include meat and liquor

INTOXICANTS

Tobacco

29. Banjaras spend a considerable amount out of their meagre incomes over intoxicants like liquor and tobacco. Most of the males in the village irrespective of their age chew or smoke tobacco. Even children above five years have been seen putting a pinchful of raw tobacco in their mouth and enjoying it. Banjaras say that the use of tobacco keeps them physically fit. It also keeps away all sorts of mouth and stomach disorders. But the women do not touch tobacco.

Liquor

29.1. The use of liquor is universal among the male Banjaras. Every person after he has attainted the age of five years or a little more earns a right to drink. Drinking has become a part of their life. The Banjara women of Naharkheda, however, abstain from taking any kind of liquor or intoxicant.

Illicit Distillation

29.2. Illicit distillation is not an uncommon practice amongst these villagers. Country liquor is distilled from *mahua* flowers, gathered from the jungle during the summer months subsequently dried in the sun. Every house in Naharkheda has its own stock of *mahua*. The process of distillation is very simple. *Mahua* is first fermented for a few days in an earthen jar or vessel. Then this material is taken to some obscure place in the jungle or on the bank of a river or *Nala* where it is distilled over mild fire. On the occasion of some big feast a large quantity of liquor is made and then consumed there itself. They do not bring it home since illicit distillation is punishable under excise laws.

Recreation

30. There are not very many organised pastimes or forms of recreation in the village. The struggle for existence keeps the Banjaras of Naharkheda so busy in eking out their meagre subsistence that they hardly have any leisure, and when they do have a little free time, they do not know how to utilise it to their advantage. No plays or dramas, of course, but hardly any dances either. This is rather unusual, for, among Banjaras of other places, singing and dancing are very common. I know of a Banjara village, *viz.*, Umaria, in Rajpur Community Project, (District: West Nimar), where life is full of singing and dancing, where not a week passes in which there is no such community programme, apart from the festive occasion, which are marked by mirth and joviality. Sakkru can not explain their very prosaic way of life, which is an exception amongst the Banjara Community as a whole.

Religion

30.1. Conversation is sometimes elevated to the status of a pastime among these people as in other agricultural villages. Often on cold, winter evenings, most of the men and boys of the *Tanda* sit round a fire and chat. Summer evenings are no exception. Women, however, do not join men in such sittings. The gathering is generally near Sakkru's house in the open place. The conversation is seldom intellectual or serious. Sometimes they talk of the weather, and agricultural operations. The elders advise the adolescent in the *'dos* and *don'ts* The talk about the search for a bride is initiated in these sittings Gossip about the neighbouring villages regarding a quarrel, elopement, dispute about land also gets currency. Quite frequently, they discuss the land problem and express views like, the one that tribals such as Bhils and others get preferential treatment in the matter of allotment of land for cultivation. Sometimes *bhajans* are recited. There is no instrumental accompaniment; it is only a vocal recitation. The common *bhajan* sung among these Banjaras reflects the philosophy of life according to them.

The Bhajan is reproduced below.—

नाव पुराणी बेड़ा न लागे लाखी बणजारा सुगन बणजारा,

Nav purani beda ne lage lakhi banjara-sugan banjara,

तने हाथसे दे दूं कडला गोखरू हमने उतारू परले पार।
लाखी बणजारा सुगन बणजारा।

Tane hath se de dun kadla gokhru hamne utaroo pariepar lakhi banjara-sugan banjara.

मार पालथी बैठग्या लाखी बणजारा सुगन बणजारा।

Mar palathee baith gya lakhi banjara-sugan banjara

तेरी सरड सरड नाम चाली ढीमर के लड़का जोड़ी जार पुरानी।

Teri sarad sarad nam chali dheemar ke larka jodi jaar purani,

तेरी नाम अडगी काली धार, में, ढीमर के लड़का जोड़ी जार पुराणी।

Teri ram adgi kali dhar mun dheemar ke larka jodi jaar puran,

तेरी धरम की पल्लो खोलियो लाखी बणजारा सुगन बणजारा।

Teri dharam ki palli kholiyo lakhi banjara-sugan banjara

तेरी सरड सरड नाम चली ढीमर के लड़का जोड़ी जार पुरानी।

Teri sarad sarad nam chali dheemar ke larka jodi jaar purani

तुमारी गुरू का लाल चंदोला दिख्ये लाखी बणजारा सुगन बणजारा।

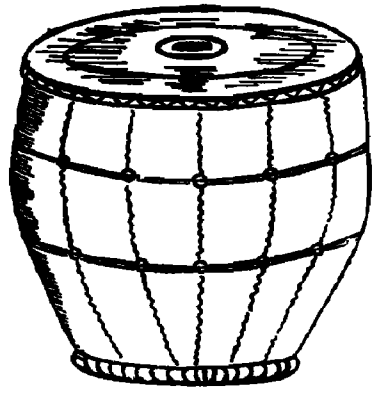
Tumari guru ka lal chandola dikhe lakhi banjara-sugan banjara.

तुम्हारा झोली झंडा उठाले अमर संग चेला डेरी झंडावाला बणजारा।

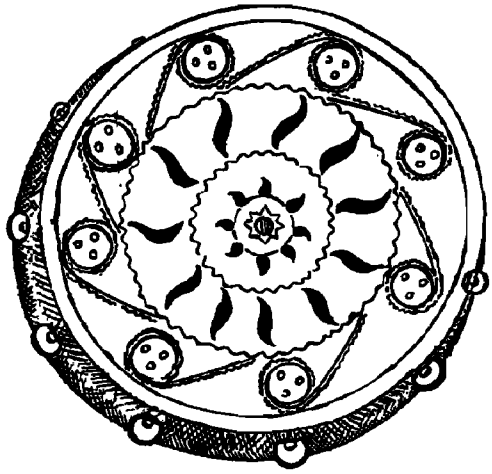
Tumara jholee-jhanda uthale amar sang chela deri Jhandawala banjara

गुरू का कढाव करले, अमर संग चेला डेरा झंडावाला बणजारा,

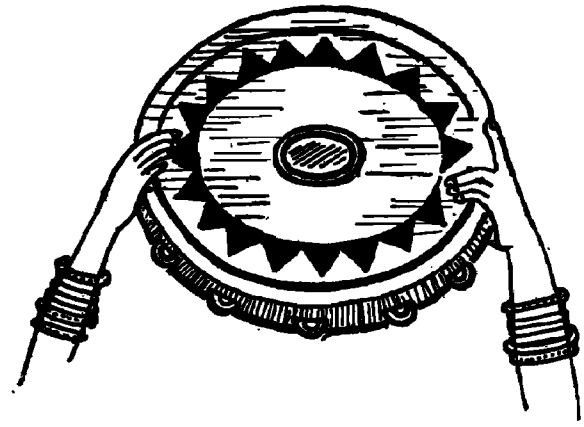
Guru ka kadav karle amar sang chela deri jhandawala banjara



DHOLAK



BIG DUF (FOR MEN)



DUF (FOR WOMEN)

PLATE XXVII

चमटी चमटी प्रसाद सब को बांट दे, अमर संग चेला डेरी डांडावाला बणजारा।
Chamti chamti prasad sub ko bant de amar sang chela deri jhandawala banjara
तुम्हारा छांढा अडग्या सकड़ा नो जणा लाखो बणजारा सुगन बणजारा।
Tumhara chadha ad gya sakda no-jana lakhi-banjara sugan banjara
तुम्हारा टोकणी पर फूल्या गरणो ढाक दे, अमर संग चेला डेरी डांडावाला बणजारा।
Tumhara tokni par phooliya garno dhak de amar sang chela deri jhandawala banjara
ढोरो प्रसाद सब भाई को बांट दे अमर संग चेला डेरी डांडावाला बणजारा।
Dhoro prasad sab bhai ko bant de amar sang chela deri jhandawala banjara.

(Life is compared with a boat floating on the sea representing the world. The person sitting in the boat is Lakhi-Banjara who is told that, "the boat is an old one and thus is not keeping pace in the fleet". Lakhi tells the sailor that, if the former is taken across, he would give all the ornaments of the hands to the latter. Lakhi then sits comfortably and the boat moves speedily. But it stops dangerously in a current of deep sea water. The sailor asks Lakhi banjara to remember the good deeds done by him in the past which should work as a sail to the chequered boat. Having remembered those deeds, the boat gradually starts floating. The sailor also reminds Lakhi banjara of the red turban put on his head which is an attribute of Guru Nanak. He is also asked to prepare *prasad* as a respect to the Guru and distribute it to all. In the end nine persons ask for *prasad* which is only given to the *Nayak*. Since *prasad* was totally exhausted, Lakhi is advised to put a coloured cloth embroidered with flowers over the empty basket of *prasad* and as a result of Guru's blessings it will again be filled with *prasad* which then Lakhi could distribute to all, once again).

30.2. Besides such occasional gatherings, the favourite pastimes are singing and dancing on various festivals and rituals, although dance is rather uncommon in these celebrations. On *Holi* festival the men and women dance, but never together. They form separate groups. Another occasion when these people dance is the month of *Sawan* (July-August), two or three days after *Rakhsha-Bandhan* (a festival observed by the Hindus; on this day sisters tie a piece of silk thread around the wrist of their brothers, symboli-ing a vow of protection. This festival is not observed by the Banjaras).

30.3. The dance has no particular rhythm nor is the movement of hands or feet based on any pattern. It only moves in a circle one after another, the right foot being raised a little high in the air. The men have small sticks in their hands which they strike alternately with their own and with those of the succeeding person. This dance is known as *Danda Khelna* (playing with sticks). The sound of the stroke synchronises with each step. The women also play with sticks in the same manner. The dance is accompanied with songs and instrumental music. The instruments are *Dholak*, *Duf*, and *Manjira* (small bells made of brass). There is nothing peculiar about these instruments; other villagers in this tract also use similar ones.

30.4. The following song is sung by men on the *Holi* festival—

हां हां रे भटेड उन्दा नगर मत जा गल कंठी पीली पागड़ी,
Hna hna re bhated unda nagar mat ja gal kanthi peeli paagdi,
हां हां रे भटेड अगये जाड जूं पछमे जाड़ जूं मत जाउं, उंदा नगर गलकंठी पीली पागड़ो।
Hna hna re bhated agye jad joo pachhme jad joo mat jau unda nagar gal kanthi peeli paagdi,
उदा मगर उंकडी रे हे जे जाय तिनको खाय है गलकंठी पीली पागड़ी,
Unda nagar daknire he rje jai tinko khai he gal kanthi peeli paagdi
हां हां रे भटेड चोरे परिहारी निकली चारी हरा डोर, गलकंठी पीली पागड़ी,
Hna hna re bhated chare parihari niklee charee hara door gal kanthi peeli paagdi
हां हां रे भटेड बिचली का कांटा लाग्या चारे झोला खाय गलकंठी पीली पागड़ी,
Hna hna re bhated bichli ka kanta laagria chare jhola khai gal kanthi peeli paagdi
हां हां रे भटेड कुण ओरे कांटा काडरिया कुण ताखेली पीर गलकंठो पीली पागड़ी,
Hna hna re bhated kund orey kanta kadria kund taakheli peer gal kanthi peeli paagdi
हां हां रे भटेड परण्या अको कांटो काडरिया हेतु ताखेली पीर गलकंठी पीली पागड़ी,
Hna hna re bhated parnya unko kanto kadria hetu takheli peer gal kanthi peeli paagdi.

("A warrior Banjara" wearing a yellow turban on his head and *Kanthi* in his neck is advised not to go to good town on this occasion, because a devil resides there and swallows up all those who go there.

Four women are going loaded with water pots on their heads. A thorn hurts the foot of the lady walking in the middle and this has caused great anxiety to all of them. The Banjara who is taking out that thorn and appears to be her well-wisher, that person is he who has married her and is her old lover and well-wisher.")

The women sing a different song on the *Holi* festival; which reads as follows.—

बड़ो त्यौहार छे होली रो मां।
Bado tyohar chhe holi ro man
हिंडोल माता बड़ो त्यौहार छे होली रो मां।
Hindol mata bado tyohar chhe holi ro man
करले नानडिया री ढूंढ रे मां।
Kar le nanadiya ree dhoond re man,
हिंडोल माता बड़ो त्यौहार छे होली रो मां।
Hindol mata bado tyohar chhe holi ro man
करले गूंजा पापड़ी रे मां।
Kar le goonja padpdi re man
कर नानडिया री ढूंढ मां।
Kar nanadiya ree dhoond man,
कौआ सुवाली ले गयो मां।
Kaua suwali le gayo man,
हिंडोल माता बड़ो त्यौहार छे होली रो मां।
Hindol mata bado tyohar chhe holi ro man
ले गयो तो माथे दे, और घणेरा होली।
Le gayo to le jande de aur ghanera holi
हिंडोल बड़ो त्यौहार छे होली रो मां।
Hindol mata bado tyohar chhe holi ro man
गोरी तो सूती घूरे मां।
Gori to sooti ghoore man
होठ रह्यो कुमलायें।
Houth rahhyo kumalaya
हिंडोल माता बडो त्योहार छे होली रो मां।
Hindol mata bado tyohar chhe holi ro man

(*Holi* is a great festival. 'O' *Hindol mata* (Holi mother) it is a great festival. On this occasion of celebration of child's birth *dhoondh* ceremony should also be performed. *Goonja* and *papdi* (sweet and saltish preparation) should be prepared.

A crow takes away some *puris* for which one need not worry as *Holi mata* will bless them many *puris*.

A woman is fast asleep and her lips are dried due to the day's exhaustion).

The *Sawan* song sung by women.—
सावन भादों गरज्यो छोरी मारो समच्यो लाग्यो,
Sawan Bhando garjyo chhori maro samchyo lagyo,
अे सिरदार साहिब भूली।
Aye sirdar sahib bhooli,
जागो जागो दोर जिठाणी बाई।
Jago jago dor-jeethani bai

आधी रात रो झगड़ो लाग्यो।
Aadhi raat ro jhagdyo lagyo
अे सांई सांझ रो झगडो लाग्यो,
Ae sai sanijhro jhagdyo lagyo
अे सरदार साहिब भूली।
Ae sirdar sahib bhooli
अे म्हारे घर में आटो न पिटो,
Ae mhare ghar me aato na peeto
देवरिया रो मनडो फाटो।
dewaria ro mandro phato
अे सरदार साहिब भूली,
Ae sirdar sahib bhooli
अे म्हारे घर में कुठी न मूठी।
Ae mhare ghar me koothi na moothi,
देवरिया री रांड भले ही रूठी।
dewaria ree raand bhale hee roothi
अे सिरदार साहिब भूली।
Ae sirdar sahib bhooli

("Clouds roar in the month of *Shravan* and *Bhadra*. All the women have gathered and are so much engrossed in mirth and rejoicing that they have forgotten their husbands. Two sisters-in-law, the younger and the elder, are asked to wake-up as some quarrel is going on in the house since evening.

The elder one says that there is no flour in the house and her husband's younger brother gets annoyed at this. There is no grain storing vessel nor is there any grain to be stored. The younger brother's wife is also irritated. But on the occasion of *Shravan* everybody is unmindful of all these things").

Other occasions when songs are sung are *Guga-Nawami*, *Gordhan-worship*, departure of the *barat* from the bridegroom's house and the arrival of the *barrat* at the bride's place.

Song sung on *Guga-Nawami*.—
ये ही बंबई भजन बणा जीमण बैठे सारी भजन भजो सींगनाथ।
Ye hi bombai bhajan bana jeemand
बैठे भजन भजो सींगनाथ।
bethe sari bhajan bhajo Seengnath,
घर मेंई माता घर मेंई पिता तीरथ ।
gharmeyee mata gharmeyee peeta teerath
मत जाओ भजन भजो सींगनाथ।
mat jao bhajan bhajo Seengnath
घर मेई बाड़ा घर मेंई लडका पराये
gharmeyee bada gharmeyee larka paraye
बाडू को गोद मत लेउ भजन भण्यो सींगनाथ।
badu ko god mat leu bhajan bhando Seengnath,
घर आंगन गंगा बेया कुवला कायानो।
ghar angan Gangabeya kuwala kayano
खोदाओ भजन भण्यो सींगनाथ।
khudao bhajan bhando Seengnath.

("This place is as good as Bombay and here are a lot of *bhajans* to sing. On this occasion of *Guga-Nawami* all the persons are sitting for dinner. All of them should sing the bhajan of *Seengnath* (Guga).

One need not do a pilgrimage as father and mother, babies and children, and all others are at home itself. One should not therefore look to others for them. He should sing the *bhajans* of *Seengnath.*

The Ganga is flowing by the side of the house. Therefore there is no necessity of digging a well. Sing *Seengnath's bhajans").*

Song sung on Gordhan Pooja:

हां हो केमला रांपाले लांपा ढोई ग्वालिया।

Hna ho kemla Rampale chapa doi gwaliya

हां हो केमला सभी सांजरो दियो जोदियो।

Hna ho kemla sabhi sanjro diaro jo pio

हां हो केमला आयो लांपा मेरियो कर गयो

Hna ho kemla aayo Lampa merio kar gayo

हां हो केमला पानी पिने गउआंउतरी

Hna ho kemla pani peene gaunwa utree

हां हो केमला लांपारी घेरीरो पाणी छान्योरी पीगई गउआ

Hna ho kemla lamparee gheriro pani chhanyoree pee gaye gaunwa

हां हो केमला रांपा तो सूतो बडलारी छांय री।

Hna ho kemla Rampa to sooto badlaree chharyalee

ग्वाने की दो माता चरो नो खंड मालवो।

Gwane kee do maia charo nau khand Malwo

हां हो केमला अबी नायकण हैल्लो पाडियो।

Hna ho kemla ubee Nayakan hello paadiyo

आवोरी राडेरिया नायकण गोवर्धन धोकलो।

Aao ree randeria Nayakan Gowardhan dhokalo

("Addressing the goddess Laxmi all the women of the *Tanda* say that earthen lamps have been lit in all the houses in the evening. There are two herdsmen named Rampa and Lampa. Their cows have gone to drink water. Lampa had kept some water in a vessel outside after washing his hair which these cows drank. Rampa could not attend to them as he was asleep under a shady tree. The herdsmen say that the cows could graze anywhere in the whole Malwa tract. The headwoman of the village stands and shouts asking the women of the entire *Tanda* to worship *Gowardhan.")*

Song sung on the occasion of the departure of *barat* from the bridegroom's house:—

झट देणे रे वचन मांग ले रे लाडा।

Jhat dende vachan mangle re lada

झट देणे मोलियो बांध ले रे लाडा।

jhat dende moliyo bandh le re lada,

तोने पियर बैठी बुलाय रे लाडा।

tone piyar baithee bulaye re lada,

झट देणे सैला राड ले रे लाडा।

jhat dende sela raad le re lada,

थाने भाई री बहण बुलाय रे लाडा।

Thane bhai ree bahana bulaye re lada

झट देणे कापडा पहन ले रे लाडा।

jhat dende kapda pahan le re lada,

थाने बापरी बेटी बुलाय रे लाडा।

Thane bapree beti bulaye re lada

("The bridegroom is advised to tie the folds of his turban and put on *sela* round the neck hanging up to the waist as his beloved is calling him from her father's place. She is the sister of a brother and a father's daughter. The bridegroom should therefore quickly dress himself.")

Song sung at the time of the arrival of the *barat* at the bride's place:—

दूर देशारो पावणियो आयो।
Door desharo pawanio aayo
बेठेन मांगेरे पाथरी।
Bethne mangere pathree,
थारे पाथरी कैसे देउं परदेशी पांवणा।
Thare pathree kaise deoon pardeshi pawana
म्होरे देस में सनेरो टोटो।
Mhore des me sanero toto
थारे पाथरी कैसे देउं परदेशी पांवणा।
Thare pathari kaise deoon pardeshi pawana
पावणा मांगे झारी लौटा, म्हारे देश मे पानी रो टोटो।
Pawana mange zari lota, mhare desh men pani ro toto
थारे पानी केसे देउं परदेशी पांवणा।
Thare pani kaise deoon pardeshi pawana

("The guest coming from a remote place asks for a cushion to sit on. How can I give it where there is a great scarcity of jute and sunn hemp out of which cushions are made. The guest asks for a jug and glass. How could I give him water as water is scarce in my place.")

Religion

31. Religion plays a great part in the life of the Naharkheda Banjaras. Though austere purity in thought, word and deed is not the ideal, numerous beliefs and ceremonies portray the Banjara as a devout man. The drab life of working, eating and sleeping is made gay by religious rituals and festivals.

It is difficult to describe precisely the religion of the Banjaras. It is simple and true to say that they profess to be Hindus and Hinduism is their religion. They observe almost all the Hindu festivals and, also apparently have faith in their gods and godlings, although they do not worship any family deity in their homes, but, out-side the *Tanda*, there is a place of *Mairama Mata* or Banjari Devi; which they propitiate on the occasion of festivals such as *Dashera, Gordhan* etc., as well as in times of calamity. Describing the deity worshipped by the Banjaras of C. P.; Russell and Hiralal have said: "One of the tutelary deities of the Banjara is the Banjari Devi, whose shrine is usually located in the forest. It is often represented by a heap of stones, a large stone smeared with vermilion being placed on the top of the heap to represent the goddess. When a Banjara passes the place, he casts a stone on the heap as a prayer to the goddess to protect him from the dangers of the forest"[1]

The Banjaras of Naharkheda still follow the practice of placing a stone as a prayer to the Goddess.

31.1. *Guru Nanak* has occupied a unique place in their religious life and rituals. They believe that their wealth or poverty, health or sickness, prosperity or adversity, everything depends on the blessings of *Guru Nanak*. If they visit any nearby town, they would go to the Gurudwara and make obeisance to the *Granth Sahib*, but would not go to a Hindu temple. It seems, these Banjaras are essentially Hindus, influenced by the cult of *Guru Nanak*. There is also a mention made by Russell and Hiralal about the influence of *Guru Nanak* on the Banjaras of C. P. & Berar.

"Mr. Belfour also mentions in his paper that the *Charan* sub-caste say that their ancestors were three Rajput boys who followed *Guru Nanak*, the prophet of the Sikhs. The influence of Nanak appears to have been widely extended over Northern India, and to have been felt by large bodies of the people other than those who actually embraced the Sikh religion. Cumberlege states (Monograph p. 12) that before starting to his marriage the bride-groom ties a rupee in his turban in honour of *Guru Nanak*, which is afterwards expended in sweetmeats. But otherwise the modern Banjaras do not appear to retain any Sikh observances."[2]

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1 R. V. Russell and Hiralal, The Tribes and Castes of C. P.; page 176.

2 Russell and Hiralal, The Tribes and Castes in C. P. Page 178.

"Dr. M. L. Jain describing the religion of Banjaras of Shajapur District subscribes to the view that the Banjaras are semi-tribal and semi-Hinduised.[3] It is difficult to endorse this view, for, there is nothing animistic in their out-look, whereas "animism[4]" is identified with the religion of the Tribals.

31.2. It is difficult to determine precisely their place in the hierarchy of Hindu castes. They do not marry in any other caste not even among other Banjaras, but among their own sixteen *gotras*.[5] They consider Muslim Banjaras, Sikh Banjaras and Christian Banjaras wholly different from them and have nothing to do with them. They would eat *kachha* and *pucca* food with Brahmins and Rajputs but from no other caste. Brahmins and Rajputs would not eat with them nor take the food (*kachha* or *pucca*) from the Banjara kitchen or prepared by the Banjaras. They consider Brahmins and Rajputs higher in status of caste hierarchy, but regard Bhils, Bhilalas, Balais, Chamars and other scheduled castes lower than themselves. There is, however, no inhibition in touching a Balai or a Chamar.

Religious Beliefs

31.3. Banjaras of Naharkheda believe in rebirth, and transmigration of the soul. They also believe in the religious myth that the soul has to pass through 84 lakhs of life cycles before it enters a human body. "Salvation", "Heaven" and "Hell" are familiar terms of belief to them and they think that *good deeds* in this life will earn them "Heaven" and wickedness will damn them to "Hell".

At the time of performing *Shradh-ceremony*, (death anniversary of the departed soul), they place a few morsels of food to be eaten away by the crows in the belief that the departed soul will rest in peace.

Auspicious Moments Omens and Superstitions

31.4. They commence any new work on Thursday, Saturday and Sunday as these are considered to be auspicious. Other days are normally avoided for rituals like construction of a house, sowing of fields, harvesting, etc. At the time of sowing the field, if they come across a Sweeper or Balai, it is considered to be a good omen indicating the prospects of bumper crop in the season. It they see a Brahmin on this occasion, it is considered an ill-omen which would bring a very low yield. If they come across a person carrying a pitcher filled up with water when they set out of their village, it is considered that the mission would be successful. The barking of a dog is considered a bad omen. If some-body sneezes, while-setting out for a journey or any work, the Banjara will return home and avoid that moment. If a serpent passes across the way, the journey is abandoned. This is called as *kal phir gaya* (death has come in the way). If a jackal crosses the way, it is believed that, scuffle or quarrel is inevitable. If the carbon underneath the iron pan reddens or bears reddish tinge, it is feared that there would be a famine.

If a cat dips her mouth in water, it is believed that some guest will arrive. If the sparrows roll in dust, it is considered a sign of heavy rainfall. But if they are seen dipping in water, it is feared that there would be no rain.

RITUALS

Ardhas" of "Guru Nanak"

32.1. *Guru Nanak* occupies the same place in the rituals and customs of the Banjaras as Lord Ganesh in the case of Hindus. Like Lord Ganesh, *Guru Nanak* is invoked before any auspicious work is undertaken; his blessings are sought and his protection prayed for, on all important occasions like marriage, birth, the commencement of agricultural operations or the construction of a house. He is not only remembered in times of happiness but also in distress. This prayer of *Guru Nanak* is called *ardhas* (perhaps derived from *Aradhana* or *prayer*. The text of the *ardhas* is as follows:—

एक ओंकार सद्गुरू प्रसाद ।

Ek Onkar sadguru prasad

निर्भय गुरू पाके धार बाबा दसवे ।

Nirbhay Guru pake dhar baba daswe

बाच्छा गूरू गोविन्द सिंग ।

Bachha Guru Govind Singh

तेरे सिमरे दुख मिट जाए ।

Tere simre dukh mit jaye

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3 Dr. M. L. Jain, 'A Socio Economic Study of Banjaras, village Sankota, P. p. 55;

4 Census of India 1931, CIA Report Part I p. p. 195.

5 Details of "Gotras" on page 59 infra.

("There is one Onkar or God and his realisation can be attained only with the blessings of the Guru or the preceptor. Guru Govindsingh, the tenth Guru; invoking you all miseries vanish".)

This recitation is followed by the distribution of *Kadah-ka-prasad*. It is made by frying wheat flour in *ghee* in a pan or vessal which is mixed with a thin paste of jaggery. The *ardhas* is invariably followed by the distribution of *Kadah-ka-prasad*, in the name of *Guru Nanak*.

Manta

32.2. *Manta*, (Worship of a deity after fulfilment of a cherished desire). Banjaras of this village make vows when they desire some kind of success or want an ailing patient to be cured or wish evils kept away or the affects of some epidemic eradicated. If—and after—their prayers are fulfilled, the deity is offered a *poojah* (worhsip) in a suitable form, the mode of which they commit themselves to in the vow itself. The nature of votive offerings varies from deity to deity, occasion to occasion and, also with the extent to which, and the promptness with which, the deity has honoured its part of the contract. If the deity invoked is *Guru Nanak* then *Kadah-ka-prasad* is offered and then distributed amongst all. In case of *Bhairo-deo or Sheetala mata*, a goat is sacrificed before the deity.

Naming a Baby

32.3 Banjaras of this village do not celebrate the occasion of the actual child-birth. But they do this at the time of naming the child. It is customary to give the child a name on the first "Holi" festival falling after his birth which may often be a long way off. This ceremony adds more colour to the gay atmosphere of the festival. In the morning the child to be named is given a bath and dressed in a new shirt. He is then taken by his father to the the place where *Holi* pyre is lit. The Nayak holds the child in his hands. Here two sticks are clapped over the head of the child several times and all the people declare amidst cheers that the child has been included in the *Tanda*. After this brief ceremony *Kadah-ka-Prasad* is distributed among all.

Mundan

32.4 In this ceremony the head of a child is shaved for the first time. This is usually performed on the 23rd day of *Chaitra* on the occasion of *Shitla Ashthami*. The child is given a bath in the morning and is dressed in new clothes. The father or elder brother of the child holds him in his lap when the barber shaves his head with a razor. A small crown on the hind part of the head is left unshaved. Hair is allowed to grow over the head upto *Kartika Asthami* on which day a second shave is given. But this time only the front half of the head is shaved. From this time onwards this portion is kept clean and the hair is allowed to grow in the back half of the head. This is the typical hair-style of the male Banjaras of this village.

Marriage

33. Marriage is a sacred institution amongst the Banjaras of Naharkheda, unlike some of their tribe settled in Shajapur District (M. P.) to whom it is neither a sacrament nor is it indissoluble and is considered "more or less a social contract strengthened by the bond of love between the husband and wife as well as by their love towards their offspring[6]". In the matter of rituals and ceremonies, a Banjara marriage or *byavh*, as it is called in their dialect, in Naharkheda is prone to give the impression of similarity with the marriage among Hindus of the surrounding areas, but it is not so, and there are quite a few point of contrast, which can only be found out by a close study of the institution. For instance, it is the father of the boy who goes in search of a suitable girl and the betrothal ceremony takes place at the *Nayak's* house. The price for the bride is paid by the bridegroom. The bridegroom's party is also required to pay for or carry provisions for the feasts which they have to give at the bride's place. Thus the father of the bridegroom has to spend proportionately much more than does his counterpart among the Hindus.

The interval between the date of engagement and the date of wedding may sometimes be a matter of years for the Banjaras do not marry their girls unless they have attained the age of puberty. But once the marriage is solemnised, the consummation is not delayed further pending the *gauna* (or the second marriage). The marriage rites are performed by a Brahman but the rituals and ceremonies are different from those of a Hindu marriage. Marital relations among close relatives are prohibited. A boy can not marry a girl from his *gotra* or from the *gotra* of his maternal uncle or aunt (father's sister). Polygamy and polyandry are not allowed by the caste Panchayat. There has never been a case of divorce, or widow marriage in this village so far.

Age at Marriage

33.1 Often children do get betrothed for marriage in this community but marriage of girls below 13 years and of boys below 16 years is prohibited by the caste Panchayat. When

6. Dr. M. L. Jain, Paper on Sankota, Banjara village, p. p. 41.

betrothal is made at an early age the wedding is postponed until the girl attains puberty; thus there is a large interval between the betrothal and the marriage. According to this convention the age of the boy and the girl at the time of marriage tends to be 13 to 15 years in the case of girls and in the case of boys it is somewhere between 16 to 20. A widower marrying for the second time may find his bride younger by five to fifteen years. This is so because, he can not marry a widow and secondly, no girl remains unmarried after 16 years of age. But it is with difficulty that a widower gets a girl for his second marriage. These people seem to be very particular about the right age of boys and girls at the time of marriage.

Search for a Bride and the Betrothal (Sagai)

33.2 Unlike other Rajput Banjaras who have settled down in Malwa especially in Shajapur District amongst whom marriages are mostly arranged by the near relatives;[7] it is customary and obligatory on the part of the boy's father to search out a suitable girl for his son and initiate negotiations. His close relatives, however, help him in finding a suitable match by suggesting girls from the families known to them. Such spontaneous suggestions are always welcome and given due regard. Sometimes a *Bamnia Bhat Banjara* visiting the village on his periodical tour may also give information about a girl or two. The suggestions about girls start coming in from the well-wishers of the family including their kith and kin when the parents think aloud of their intention to marry their son.

33.3 Generally, a girl from a well-reputed family is preferred and they do not like to go to a far away place in search of a bride. They seldom go beyond a radious of 40 to 60 miles in such a quest. Marriage in the same village, normally, is not possible because it is inhabited by persons descending from a common lineage and sometime they are members of the same *Gotra*.

Once a suitable girl is found then, the boy's father formally approaches her father and makes a proposal. The important part of the proposal is the offer of the bride-price. When this is mutually agreed upon, the proposal is signified to have been accepted. On the acceptance of the proposal, a mutually convenient date is fixed for the formal engagement.

No Brahmin or *Bamnia Bhat Banjara* is consulted for the fixing of this date.

33.4 On the date thus fixed, male members and near-relatives of the boy's family and caste *Panchas* go to the girl's village for the formal betrothal ceremony. It is a custom amongst these Banjaras that the betrothal does not take place at the bride's house but at the house of the *Nayak* of that village. The local *Panchas* and the bride's father and his near relatives also collect at the *Nayak*'s place. The boy's party also arrives there. When both parties and their *Panchas* assume their seats, the *Nayak* of the bride's village, addressing the bridegroom's party says, *milne julne aye ho ya kisi kamke waste aye ho ?* (Have you come here to meet us or you have any mission ?). One of the members of the boy's party replies, "We have come here for the betrothal ceremony with the girl of so and so and to fix her marriage with our boy". The *Nayak* will then ask the girls father whether he is willing to accept the proposal. The girl's father gives his consent for the marriage. Having ascertained the willingness of both the parties for the proposed marriage, the *Panchas* ask the *Nayak* to bring 'one and quarter pav' (about 10 Oz.) of jaggery, for distribution of *'Guru Nanak Prasad'*. The jaggery brought by the *Nayak* is placed in a metal plate (*Thali*). One of the *panchas*, recites *"ardhas"*, of *Guru Nanak* and the jaggery is distributed.

33.5 After the distribution of *prasad* the girl's father addressing the boy's father recites the following stanza :—

सगा तौ समुंदर बने ।
हम बने हैं जहाज ।
हमको पार उतारो ।
बांह पकड़े की लाज ।
Saga to samundar bane,
Hum bane hai jahaj
Humko par utaro
Bah pakde ki laj

(The boy's father is an ocean and we are a ship; please take us yonder and protect our prestige who have caught hold of your arm).

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7. *Ibid*, p. 1

The boy's father or a member of his party replies to the above address by reciting the following:—

सगपण तो उस दिन का ।
भये बणज भये अनेक ।
बुन्द मडी उस दिना ।
समीया पलटाने ।
बुलावो बामण जौशीया ।
अन्छल लिखवाने ।

Sagpan toe us din ka
Bhaye banaj bhaye anek
Bund madi us dina
Samyia palatane
Bulawo baman joshia
Anchhal likhwane

(Such formal ceremonies are innumerable but we have become real relatives for the day which will change the "time" call a Brahmin to record this decision).

Recitations over, part of the bride-price is presented. The amount paid on this occasion varies from Rs. 25 to Rs. 105. This amount is wrapped in a three yard long white cloth. One of the *Panchas* gets up from his seat and shouts out *Leo ab pheta* (take this turban). The *Nayak* of the girl's village says, "catch hold of the turban". One of the Panchas takes the piece of cloth and counts the money. He takes out Rs. 2 from the amount and hands it over to the *Nayak* ,which is credited to the "caste-fund". The remaining amount is passed on to the girl's father.

33.6 Later on, the girl's father gives a feast to the whole gathering. The menu consists of *Sira* made of jaggery, pulse and *bati* (round cakes made of wheat flour). Country liquor is served before the meal.

The boy's party leaves the village soon after dinner in the night if their village is close by otherwise they leave in the following morning.

33.7 An engagement (*Sagai*) thus finalised in the presence of the *Panchas* of both the parties is irrevocable. Any breach of engagement is taken notice of very seriously by the caste Panchayat and the punishment is ex-communication from the clan. Elopement with a girl betrothed to some body else or an attempt to break the earlier betrothal is liable to a heavy fine of Rs. 1,300 which is paid to the boy's father and in addition, the girl's father has to give another girl from his family to the boy with whom the earlier engagement was made. The girl in respect of whom the breach of engagement occurs, is not married again. Recalcitrance of the defaulter to carry out the above dictum of the *Panchayat* is meted out with dire consequences, such as mass violence and murder.

Price for the Bride

No marriage takes place without the boy's father paying the price for the bride. The amount of the bride price is determined at the time of the engagement which is Rs. 225 as a convention in this tribe, but it could be less if both the parties agree. It is paid in two instal ments, Rs. 100 to Rs. 105 is paid at the time of engagement and the balance at the time of marriage, but before the ceremoney of the wedding begins. If the price is not paid on this occasion, the marriage party has to wait there until the amount is paid. Sometimes when it becomes wholly impossible to remit the balance of the bride price, the marriage is solemnised, but the bridegroom is detained in his father-in-law's house and the marriage party returns without the newly wedded couple. The bridegroom has to work and earn wages and return bride price. He can only leave his father-in-law's place with the bride when the debt of the bride-price is completely discharged. Such detention, however, is very unusual. The *Panchas* on both the sides use their good offices to reduce the bride-price and bring about a compromise to enable the bridegroom's party to take the bride with them. It is said that in the history of the village, there was only one case in which the bridegroom had to remain in the father-in-law's house.

The Wedding date

33.9 Date for the wedding is decided by the parents of the boy and the girl according to mutual convenience and agreement. No Brahmin or *Bamnia Bhat Banjara* is consulted to find out any auspicious day for the marriage. The boy's father takes the initiative and asks the girl's father for the marriage date, saying that both the boy and girl have grown up now (*Ladka-Ladki siane ho gaye he*) therefore they should get married. The girl's father gives his consent for the marriage on the day proposed by the boy's father saying *Sari tan sakte ho* (you can spread the Sari). This expression relates to a ritual which is observed at the time of the departure of the bridegroom with the marriage party from his house. While he is stepping out of the door of the house, a *Sari* is held over his head as a canopy by four persons and he raises the *Sari* with the point of his sword. This is how the *Sari* is stretched or spread. The *panchas* are informed of it, who formally sanction that date, which then becomes final. although, there is no inhibition about any season or month nor is there any thing sacrosanct about a date of marriage; still by convention, marriages generally are not celebrated when they are busy in agricultural working season. These are mostly celebrated in the month of *Magh* (February-March) or *Baishak* (May-June).

The Wedding Ceremony

33.10 After the date for the wedding is fixed, preparation starts at the boy's house. It consists of making ornaments for the bride and buying clothes and garments for both. For the boy, a *dhoti*, a shirt, a red turban a *dupatta* (three yard-long white piece of cloth used as covering apparel) and a pair of shoes and for the girl, a *Sari*, bangles of silver, a pair of shoes, a small *durry* (Carpet) and a nose-ring of gold or silver, are bought.

33.11 The boy's father invites the *Panchas* of his village and his relatives from out-side as well and gives a feast. *Puri, laddu, rabda* and *thuli* comprise the menu. No meat is prepared on this occasion. The feast precedes with the recitation of *ardhas* to *Guru Nanak*. The next day, at about 4.00 P. M. the *barat* (marriage party) starts for the girl's village. While the the bridegroom leaves his house, the *Sari* which is bought for the bride is stretched over his head, by holding its four corners. He walks underneath the canopy while raising it high by the point of his sword. This ritual is known as *Sari Tan dena*, and symbolises setting out for the marriage. He walks only for a few steps under the *Sari* and crosses the threshhold of his house. The *Sari* is then kept in a bag and later offered to the bride, who wears it at the time of the wedding. Before setting out, a sum of a rupee and a quarter is kept in the turban of the bridegroom as an offering to *Guru Nanak*, which remains all along in the turban until the *barat* returns with the bride. On safe return of the *barat*, jaggery is bought with that amount and distributed as *prasad*. The women follow the *barat* upto the village boundary, singing songs. There is a special song which is sung by the women on the eve of the departure of *barat* (*see* page 50). In the Banjara dialect, this ritual of seeing the *barat* off, is called 'वलाव' (*Walav*).

The women never accompany the *barat*. They return home from the village boundary.

33.12 On arrival at the bride's village, the *barat* halts underneath a tree out-side the village. Two men from the *barat* go to the *Nayak*'s house with a few betel nuts and a little opium (now-a-days, opium is substituted by jaggery). The nuts and jaggery are presented to the *Nayak* and the arrival of the *barat* is announced to him. The *Nayak* and the local *Panchas* approach the bride's father and ask him when he would like to admit the *barat* in his house. He estimates the time required by him for making arrangements including raising of a loan for the ceremony and gives a date for receiving the *barat*. This interval may extend from 2 to 8 days and the *barat* has to stay out-side the village during this interval and the boy's father has to feed the party all these days.

33.13 In the meantime, the bride's father gets busy about making the arrangements. He goes to the market and brings wheat, rice, sugar, *ghee* and one goat. On the day when the *barat* is to be admitted, the bride's brother sets out with a brass pot, known as *Kachora*, containing *Churma* (crushed-wheat-cake) to receive the *barat*. He places the *Kachora* before the bridegroom, who puts two rupees in it. Both of them eat the *Churma* from the *Kachora*. The bag containing the bride's clothes etc., called *Kothala* is then entrusted to the brother-in-law and he carries it home on payment of two rupees by the bridegroom. The brother-in-law carrying the *Kothala* leads the *barat* towards the village. Here, the village *Panchas* are gathered. The bridegroom makes obeisance (*Naman*) to the Panchas. The *baratis* (members of the marriage party) individually embrace the bride's father, his relatives and the *Panchas*. All of them sit down. A brass vessel is presented to the bridegroom by the *Panchas*. One of them wishes the *barat* well by reciting a couplet;

सब पंच बैठी बावा नम खारी लाखके, बन नमखर सव्वा लाखके अपणा भाई सगा का सुख

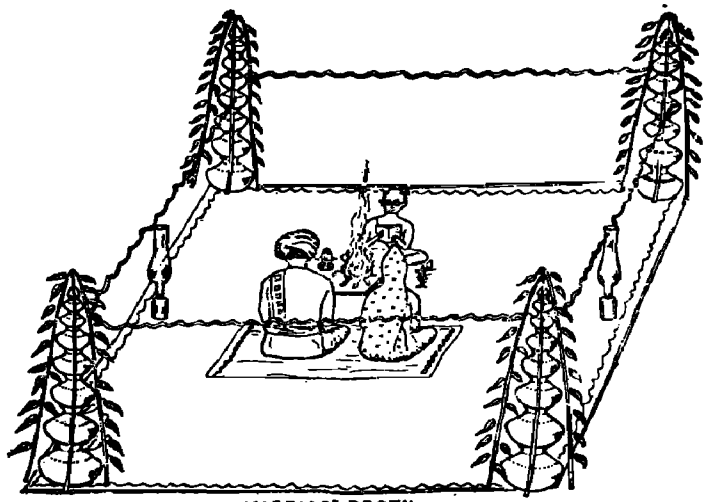
(*Sab-Panch baithe bava nam khari lakheke, ban nam khar savva lahhke apana sagaka sukh*).

This is repeated by the boy's party. Jaggery worth Rs. 10.25 nP. (Rs. 5 subscribed by the girl's father and Rs. 5.25nP. by the boy's father) is bought. *Ardhas* is offered to *Guru Nanak*. The jaggery is distributed as *prasad*. The *Nayak* receives the *prasad* in two shares, one in his individual capacity and another for his office as a *Nayak*. This ritual is called *Sa mbadh-Mela* (meeting of relatives). A sum of Rs. 25 is given to the *Panchas* by the boy's father, which is passed on to the bride's father. Then the fathers of the bride and bridegroom embrace each other. The bride's party with their *Panchas* leave for bride's place. The brother-in-law returns and takes the *barat* with him.

33.14. On the arrival of the *barat*, the *Panchas* ask the bridegroom to put one rupee on three stones arranged to appear like an oven and to strike the place once with a pick axe. The significance of this ritual is not known to the Banjaras. They call it *Tachka*. The bridegroom then assumes his seat in the gathering, removing the sword, which all along dangles around his waist. While this ceremony is performed outside, the women keep on singing marriage songs inside the house. In the evening, the bride's father gives a vegetarian feast of rice, *ghee* and sugar. After the dinner, the *Panchas* sit down and it is at this time that the balance of the bride-price is paid by the boy's father. The amount is kept in a brass plate covered with an embroidered piece of cloth. One of the *Panchas* counts the amount and declares that the bride-price has been paid according to the agreement. He takes out Rs. 4 from the amount as *Panchayat*-money and gives the plate with the amount to the women inside. On the second day the bride's father has to kill a goat and give a feast of mutton-curry. The *Panchas* demand liquor from the boy's father, who customarily pleads that he is a poor man and therefore, incapable of bearing a great burden of the cost of liquor. The *Panchas* normally accede to his request and reduce the amount for purchasing liquor. In a gathering of 100 persons, liquor worth about Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 is purchased. After drinks, which are served in brass utencils, they sit down to dinner. No woman drinks liquor on any occasion. Along with the mutton curry, *Sira* (Halva made of jaggery), and *bati* (round cakes of wheat flour) are served in the dinner. Everybody squats in the open place on *durries* or gunny bags. Food is served in big brass *thalis*. After dinner, *ardhas* is offered to *Guru Nanak* and the party retires for the night. On the next day, the *Panchas* ask the bride's father about the day for the *Phera* (wedding ritual) who announces a day. If this day is postponed to a future date, the boy's father has to feed his party in such an interval, which may range from 1 to 4 days. On the day thus appointed a Brahmin is sent for from a nearby village to conduct the wedding ceremony.

33.15. A specially decorated marriage booth is made, which is a peculiar structure. At the four corners of the booth, earthen vessels are arranged in columns. In each column there are seven pots stacked over one another which are painted with white lines with lime paste which gives an overall appearance of a mesh. Two pestles are placed vertically in between the two columns. A thread soaked in turmeric-water is wrapped around the columns and the pestles. Branches of *madder* are placed near the columns leaning against them. Leaves of mango tree also decorate the booth. Fire is placed in the centre of the booth and by the side of the fire, a *kalash* (a brass vessel with a coconut and mango leaves) is installed. On one side of the fire the couple take their seat facing the east, the bride sitting on the right of the bridegroom. The Brahmin sits on the other side of the fire facing the couple. The ceremony begins in the morning at about 4 A. M., The bride is smeared with turmeric by the women behind a curtain. The brother-in-law applies turmeric to the whole body of the bridegroom. Both of them take bath, which is known as *kakan dona*. The bride wears *Sari* which is brought

for her by the boy's father and was stretched over the bridegroom when he left his home for the marriage.



MARRIAGE BOOTH

33.16 The Brahmin offers oblations of *ghee* and cooked rice to the fire and recites some *mantras*. The couple is asked to stand up. The Brahmin takes a rupee from the boy's father and places it on the bride's palm, which is held fast by the bridegroom. They go round the fire seven times. For the first four rounds, the bridegroom leads the bride and in the last three rounds, the bride takes the lead. These seven rounds (*sapta padi*) signify the completion of the marrigge. There is no formal ritual of giving away the bride by the father known as *Kanya-dan*. But after the seventh round is completed, the bride's brother, requests the bridegroom to release the hand of his sister and charges upon him to be a good husband and treat her well with love and kindness. The brother-in-law has to present the bridegroom (*Byatdu* Banjara dialect), with some cash or a cow or a calf depending on the means of the family.

33.17. The couple resume their seats and feed each other from the *Kasar* (*Halwa* prepared by the Brahmin from the dry rations supplied by the bride's father). Seven morsels of *Kasar* are exchanged by the couple. After this ceremony, the couple play a sort of a game. In a vessel full of water mixed with rice paste, a coin and a betel nut are thrown. The couple put their hands in the vessel and search the coin, and the one who catches the coin wins the game. This is repeated seven times. Another game which is played is the throwing of water by the couple from the same vessel on one another. The bride is then taken inside the house and is given sweets to eat.

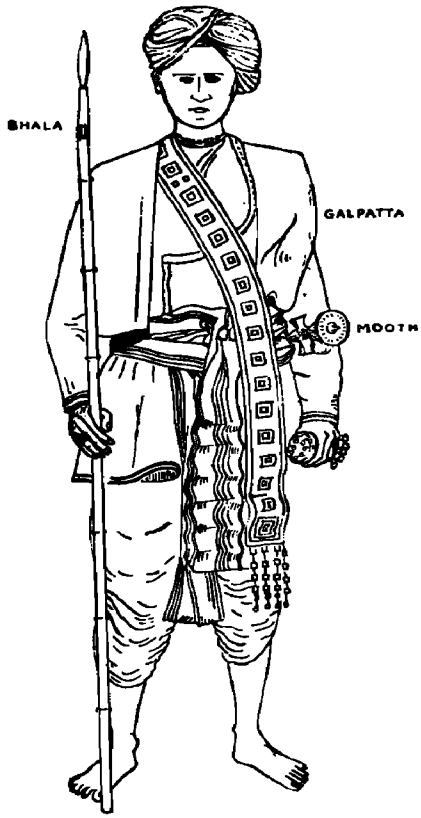
33.18. The *Panchas* ask the bride's father when he would send the *barat* along with the bride. He assigns a day, generally, the following day. The *Panchas* ask bridegroom's father to give them a feast (*goth*). The next day, he gives a feast of goat-meat and liquor.

33.19. Then comes the hour of departure, which is called *Lady ko bahar bithana* (to bid farewell to the bride). She is offered the bridal dress and ornaments made by her father, which she wears before leaving. (In the past, this gift used to be enormous, a herd of cattle, a maid servant, etc., When Sakkru's sister was married, 22 cows and one maid servant were given to her by his father).

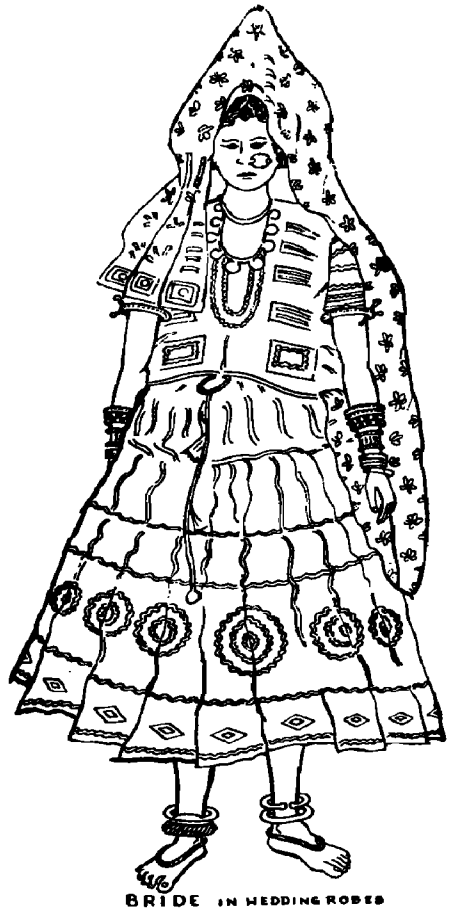
33.20. The bride sits outside the house, clad in her nuptial robes wearing all the ornaments and begins to cry which is known as *Dhabla*. All *Panchas*, of the villages and her-relatives on the father's side meet her and offer her cash presents.

33.21. The *barat* starts on return journey with the bride. The women in the bride's family and the *Panchas* go with the *barat* upto the village boundary and bid good-bye to them.

The *barat* is received by the women and the *Panchas* of the bridegroom's village on the out-skirts. The women sing and the *Panchas* ask about the welfare of the *baratis*. The bridegroom is conducted to his home, where *Guru Nanak's prasad*—jaggery (purchased out of a rupee and a quarter, which was kept in the turban of the bridegroom when he had left his home for the marriage) is distributed. In the day a feast of *sira* and *roti* is given to the *Panchas*. The feast is called *Bovdia-Jeeman*.



BRIDE GROOM
IN NUPTIAL ROBES



BRIDE IN WEDDING ROBES
WITH ORNAMENTS

PLATE XXVIII

BRIDAL GHAGRA

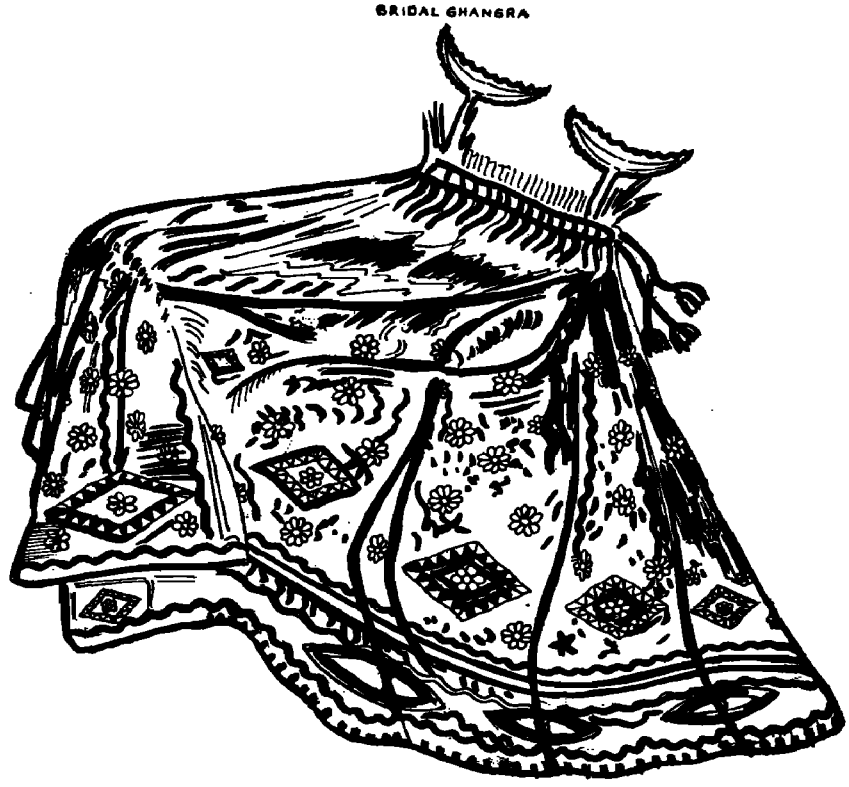


PLATE XXIX

Nuptial Garments and Ornaments

34. From the hour of reception till the conclusion of the wedding the bridgeroom is the leader of the party, its hero. He wears bright and multi-coloured robes, specially made for this occasion. He wears a new white *dhoti* and a *jama* (a loose shirt made of cotton long cloth). For headgear, he has a red turban with *zari palla*. He holds a spear in his right hand and has a sword hanging by his waist, and a shield (*Dhal*) on his back. He carries a a small sac or pouch containing betel-nuts, cloves and a nut-breaker. He wears a necklace of beads and silver bracelets.

Bride

34.1. The nuptial dress of a Banjara bride consists of a loose embroidered *lahenga* (skirt). It is an unusually long skirt dropping below the calves, reaching the ankles and is made of 30′ long red cotton cloth. She wears a *kanchli*, a blouse made of small bits of cloth in variegated colours, red, green and yelow. These piceces are stitched together and then the garment is made out of it. She has a covering apparel known as *Orhni*, which covers her body from her head to the waist line. It is a printed piece of silk cloth about 1½ to 2 yards in length.

Ornaments

34.2. Ornaments are made of several different materials from coconut shell and synthetic rubber and silver.

On her ankles a bride puts on brass anklets since it is not customary to put on silver on the feet, and wears brass rings on the toes, a silver *Kardhani* on her waist adjusted loosely on the *lahenga*.

Her both hands are covered with numerous bangles of different types. Some bangles are of plain white rubber or some synthetic material and have different diameters according to the portions of hand where they are worn. There are more bangles of coconut shells between the white bangles; these are coloured and glittering. On the fore-arm a *Kada* of silver is worn. On the upper arm is worn a silver *bajuband*, *ladian*, and *bandya* one below the other.

But the most distinguishir g item that a Banjara bride puts on is a *rakhadi*, a slender, rod-like piece of wood having three strings which are woven into the hair plaits. The upper part of this piece is pulled high with a cord which is again tied with the hair, making the rod stand erect on the posterior of the head raising the *Orhni* that covers it, still higher. This curious ornament is the symbol of married life for Banjara women. It is an ornament which distinguishes her from both widows and unmarried girls of her own clan, and her counter-parts elsewhere.

All ornaments which the bride puts on her body on the occasion of her marriage, are received by her as presents from her father-in-law.

Exogamy and Endogamy

35. Banjaras do not marry their blood relatives. They do not, as a rule, marry their consins, both paternal and maternal. Similarly, marital relations can not be contracted between sons and daughters of step-brothers and sisters. Nor is a person allowed to marry his niece or nephew or step-niece or step-nephew. Marriage between a person and the offspring of his or her step-brother or sister is prohibited. These restrictions apart, one can not have a girl of his own *gotra* for his bride. He is not permitted to accept a girl from the *gotra* of his maternal uncle or from the *gotra* of the parents-in-laws of his father's sister.

35.1. Rajput Banjaras of this tribe are divided in 16 *gotras*, or *gots*, *viz.*, Muchhal, Bhokia, Banot, Munawat, Binjrawat, Lonsawat, Badtia, Alote, Jalot, Toori, Bani, Waknote, Chhayat, Sapawat, Palthia and Lavdia. The first two are regarded higher in status. But the distinction in the status has a little meaning, for a boy or a girl from any of these gotras could marry provided they do not fall within the above restrictions. No marriage will take plac e outside these *gotras*.

Divorce

36. The Banjara community do not recognise 'divorce'. Often when a husband does not get on well with his wife, he illtreats her so that she would go back to her parents or run away elsewhere. But here also he has to be very careful. Because the illtreatment of women is looked down upon by the community and is punishable by the caste *Panchayat*. It is not so easy for the wife also to run away from her husband, because she can not marry again. Any person who ventures to keep such a woman in his house is punished by the *Panchayat* when an appeal is made to it by the husband. But the punishment in this case is not so severe as it is in the case of a man who has married or eloped with a girl engaged to someone else. When a man brings a *parni* (married woman) in his house and keeps her, he is fined by the *Panchayat* to the maximum extent he can pay. When such a case is brought to the *Panchayat*, the *Nayak* with the consent of the *Panchas* who represent each household declare the marriage to be void and decrees the person who is willing to keep the

woman to pay compensation to the former husband of the woman. But when a girl already engaged with some one else elopes, it is a serious offence for which the punishment is a fine of Rs. 1,300 and the person eloping with the *sagai* is ordered to give a girl of his house to the boy to whom the other girl was previously engaged.

Remarriage

37. Generally a widow is not allowed to remarry, similarly a man who has a living wife in his house can not marry a second woman. But a widower or a person whose other spouse is declared as excommunicated by the *Panchayat* can remarry. A widow, who is not allowed to remarry can, however, live with a man as his mistress. The process by which he could keep such a woman as a mistress is called *natra*. Wherever such *natra* takes place, he is liable to pay such compensation as may be decreed by the *Panchayat* to the *ex*-father-in-law of the widow and the widow is not allowed to take children from her former husband with her. There is an exception to this rigorous restriction placed on remarriage. On the death of an elder brother, the younger brother of the deceased can marry the widow.

Death and Funeral

38. Banjaras, like other Hindus, cremate the dead body of the deceased. Soon after death, the body is taken down onto the floor. It is properly washed and draped in new clothes. If it is a man, then the body is wrapped with a white cotton sheet. In case of a woman, red cloth is put on the dead body. This cloth is usually of the size of an *orhni*. Here no distinction is made between a married woman and a widow.

38.1. A morsel of *churma* (crushed particles of round cake of wheat flour) is put in the mouth of the corpse. The intention behind this ritual is to feed the soul of the deceased, so that it may not remain hungry. A ladder-like stretcher is made with bamboo stems and matting of grass is spread over it. The corpse is laid over the stretcher and then covered with a long piece of plain cotton cloth, just sufficient to cover the body well.

38.2. Soon after death, the sad tidings reach every house and all persons of the *tanda* assemble at the house of the deceased for mourning. They help preparing the bamboo stretcher and go to the ground in a funeral procession. Four of the closest relatives of the deceased lift the stretcher over their shoulders. The leader of the procession is a man who carries smouldering cowdung cakes in an earthen pot. Friends and relatives in the village send some fuel wood to the burial ground.

38.3. A pyre of fuel wood is prepared and the body is placed over it. Then it is covered with a pile of wood. The pyre is then lit with the fire brought from the house of the deceased. The man who has brought the smouldering cowdung cakes in the earthen pot, lits the pyre.

38.4. The skull of the dead is broken after the pyre is lit by striking it with a log, as unless broken, it would not burn. People attending the funeral wait until the body is completely consumed by the rising flames and reduced to ashes. Later on, the remaining bones (*phool*) and the remains of the ashes are gathered and put in an earthen pot. This pot is kept in a place outside the village which is also chosen for the feast given to the entire community on the third day after the death. This pot is continuously guarded from the wild animals by camouflaging it. After the funeral is over the people who had attended the funeral procession take a dip in the river and wash their clothes. They put on their clothes after they are dried and go back to their houses.

"Tijya"

38.5. On the third day after the death, a feast is given to the community as a whole. Arrangements for this feast are made in the place where the pot containing the ashes is kept. Liquor is not served on this occasion. It is purely a vegetarian feast. After this feast the remains (unburnt joints and ashes) of the deceased are sent to Onkareshwar for being immersed in the holy river Narmada. This is usually done within twelve days after death but if for some reasons it can not be done then it is postponed to some other occasion.

If the remains could be disposed of within twelve days, then on the twelfth day a bigger feast is arranged at the house of the deceased. On this day *Panch rasoi* (a meal of 5 dishes) is prepared. The person who had performed the skull breaking ceremony gets his head and beard shaved.

"Shradha"

39. Banjaras like other Hindus offer *Shradha* to the departed soul in the month of *Kunwar*. This offering is made on the date on which the deceased had died. If the deceased is survived by two sons then usually the elder one performs this duty to the departed soul. On *shradha* day again *panch rasoi* is prepared and all the kin of the deceased are invited to this dinner. Before the dinner commences some morsels of food are offered to the crows. The sanctity of this offering lies in the belief that in doing so the departed soul is propitiated.

Construction of a House

40. Whenever construction of a new house begins, a brief ceremony is performed. An auspicious day is chosen in consultation with a Brahmin, who attends the ceremony on the day thus fixed. A pitcher (*Kalash*) with a coconut is installed on the plot of land on which the house is to be constructed. The land and *kalash* as also the pick-axe and the spade are worshipped by offering *Sindoor* and turmeric. The owner then starts excavation of a pit to erect a post. On this occasion, most of the persons of the *Tanda* are present and join the ceremony. In the end jaggery (*prasad*) is distributed.

40.1. On the occasion of " गृह प्रवेश " (entry into the newly built house) a Brahmin is called, who recites *Satyanarayan Katha*. All persons of the *Tanda* are invited to listen to the recital. *Guru Nanak's prasad* is distributed, and a feast (*Panch-rasoi*) is given to the *panchas*

FESTIVALS.—

Guga Nawami

41 *Guga Nawami* is one of the most important festivals celebrated by the Banjaras of Naharkheda. On the ninth day of *Badi* (first part) of *Bhadon* (August—September), there is a festival in honour of *Guga*. The Banjaras do not know any thing about *Guga* except that they identify him with a great hero and a saint and observe the festival by tradition. Interesting legends about *Guga* and the origin of the festival are known to some old Sikhs and also to be found in Lewis's book on "Village life in Northern India".

41.1. It is said that Guga Pir is also known as "Zahir Pir" (the saint apparent), or "Zahir Divan", (the minister apparent), or in Punjab, as Bagarmala. His cult is wide-spread in Punjab. His worship extends throughout the State, except perhaps on the forontier itself. His shrines, of a peculiar shape and name, are seen in almost every large village all over the eastern districts of Punjab and he is universally worshipped through-out the sub-montane tract and the Kangra Hills. He flourished about the middle of 12th Centrury. He is really a Hindu and his proper name is Guga Bir or Guga, the Hero. But Musalmans also flock to his shrine, and his name has been altered to Guga Pir or Saint Guga. His grave is in Bikaner, near Dadrewa. It is also said that it is in his role as a snake king that Guga is specially worshipped. When he is duly propitiated he can save people from snake bites and cause those who neglect him to be bitten. His shrine is often found in association with Nara Sinha, the man-lion incarnation of Lord Vishnu, and of Gorakhnath, the famous ascetic whose disciple Guga, is known to have been. Guga is adored by Rajputs, Jats, Chamars and the Muslims alike. Even the Brahmin looks on him with respect. There is also a proverb which says "who is greater, Ram or Guga?" and the reply is "be who may the greater, between ourselves, I dare not say so, for fear of offending Guga" He is re-presented to be on horse-back, with his mother trying to detain him as he descends to the infernal regions He holds a long staff as a mark of dignity and there are two snakes over him, one coiling round his staff. The Hindus and Muslim Faquirs take the offerings devoted to him and carry his standard, covered with peacock feathers from house to house in the month of August. The following story also accounts for the origin of the festival;—

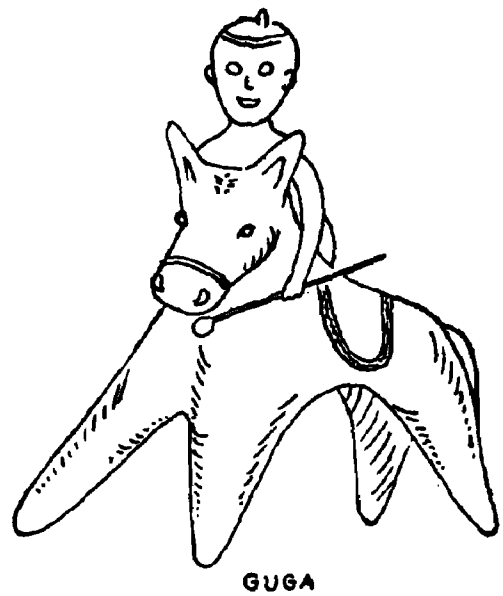
"There were two sisters, Bachal and Kachal, who served a holy man. Bachal was devoted but Kachal was insincere in her attention to the *Pir*. One day, the *Pir* opened his eyes after meditation and saw Kachal in attendance He blessed her with the birth of two sons. Later Bachal came and asked for a favour. The *Pir* told her that she was already bestowed with one. Bachal complained that her sister had not served him well. The Saint then blessed her with a son, who, he said would kill Kachal's two sons. This son became known as Guga, a brave fighter, who eventually fulfilled the prophecy. When his mother refused to look at him after the murder, Guga buried himself alive with his horse. Many years later, he appeared in the dream of a prisoner asking him to build a shrine above the place where he had buried himself. The prisoner ran away from the jail to complete the misson, but before he could reach the place, he was recaptured and put back in his cell. Again, he escaped and this time he succeeded in building a monument, dedicated to Guga Pir. It is also said that Guga appeared before living persons as well, mainly, his wife, whom he used to visit every night after his death But he stopped doing so, when his mother hid herself in the room to have a glimpse of him. Some people say that his grave still shakes every night, when Guga leaves it"[8]

Somehow, the cult of this hero got mixed up with snake worship. The snake is said to be Guga's brother and the two are worshipped together during the festival.

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8. **Lewis, 'Village life in Northern India' p. 210.**

41.2. On the day of *Guga Nawami*, the day after *Janma-Ashtami* the birth anniversary of Lord Krishna, the Banjara women make idol of *Guga* mounted on horseback out of clay which is installed in every house-hold in the early part of the day.



GUGA

41.3. Normally, a less frequented and least occupied part of the room is chosen for this installation. The place of installation is swept and smeared with cowdung. A swastika is drawn with wheat flour. Idol of Guga is then placed on the Swastika. A piece of string-*Rakhi* (a symbol of the vow of protection) is tied round the neck of the idol. This signifies propitiating Guga for protecting the worshipper from evil and adversity. A wick of cotton lint with oil is placed in a small earthen lamp (shaped like a small plate). The wick is set aflame. The idol is sprinkled with water; *sindur* and rice put on the forehead; and flowers are offered. This process constitutes the worship of Guga who then is offered food specially cooked on the occasion.

41.4. There is a special menu for the feast on this occasion marked by the preparation of sweets known as *Gulgula*; which is made out of wheat flour and jaggery. A thick paste is prepared with the mixture of wheat flour and jaggery and then a spoon-ful of such paste is fried in boiling oil (in some households in *ghee*) until it becomes brown. Besides *Gulgula*, *purries* and *khir* are also prepared. When the food is cooked by about midday, men go from house to house and eat a little in each and every house in the *Tanda*. The women do not leave their house but they feed the visitors. Visit to every house is significant and not the taking of food; nonetheless, they do eat something in each house.

41.5. Later, men collect at the *Nayak's* house and sing the following song:—

ये ही बंबई भजन बणा जीमण, बैठे सारी भजन भजो सींगनाथ

बैठे सारी भजन भजो सींगनाथ

घर मेई साता घर मेई पिता तीरथ

मत जाओ भजन भजो सींगनाथ

घर मेई बाडा घर मेई लडका पराये

बाडको गौद मत लेउ भजन भण्यो सींगनाथ

घर आगंन गंगा बैया कुवला कायानो

खोदाओ भजन भण्यो सींगनाथ

Ye hi bambai bhajan banda jeemand
bethe sari bhajan bhajo Seengnath,

gharmeyee mata ghar meyee peeta teerath
mat jao bhajan bhajo Seengnath
gharmeyee bada gharmeyee larka paraye
badu ko god mat leu bhajan bhajo Seengnath,
ghar angan Gangabeya kuwala kayano
khudao bhajo bhajo Seengnath.

(This place is as good as Bombay and here are lots of *bhajans* to sing. On this occasion of *Guga-Nawami* all the persons are sitting for dining. All of them should sing the *bhajans* of Seengnath (Guga).

One need not go a pilgrimage as father and mother, babies and children and all others are at home itself. One should not therefore look to others for them. He should sing the *bhajans* of Seengnath.

Ganges is flowing by the side of the house. Therefore there is no necessity of digging a well. Sing Seengnath's *bhajans*).

41.6. On the next day, the idol of Guga is carried by the children and laid to rest in the nearby field.

"Holi"

42. *Holi* is one of the most important festivals for the Banjaras of Naharkheda. Great significance is attached to it, as it is on this occasion that a newborn child is given a name and is included in the *tanda*.

42.1. The legend attributed to it is that it is celebrated in honour of Prahlad who triumphed over Holika his wicked aunt. Harnakush, Prahlad's father, a king and a tyrant proclaimed that he alone was God, and that none should worship Ram or utter his name. Prahlad became an ardent worshipper of Ram, under the advice of his Guru. Harnakush was filled with great anger and ordered his son to be killed. Prahlad was thrown down a hill, but he remained unhurt. He was chopped with sword, but to no avail. Holika, his aunt took the responsibility of killing him and ordered a pyre to be set up. She sat on the pyre with Prahlad in her lap and ordered the pyre to be lit. But Prahlad stood up alive uttering the name of Ram. This is the myth of origin of the *Holi* festival, which is named after *Holika* and therefore, pyre is lit to commemorate the triumph of the virtuous over the wicked.

This marks the onset of spring and also of harvesting of *rabi* crops. Holi is celebrated on the full-moon day in the month of *Phalgun* (March-April).

42.2. On the previous day of *Holi* an *Akan* tree (Madder) is brought from the jungle and is transplanted in a shallow pit. When the pit is dug, it is worshipped by offering water, *Sindur* (red oxide) and turmeric. A few coins are placed in it and the tree is planted in the pit by the *Nayak* of the *tanda*. In Naharkheda, *Holi* is celebrated separately in each *tanda*. The children start gathering fuel from the jungle well in advance and stack it in the open place, near the habitation of the *tanda*, where the pyre is arranged every year. No Brahmin or Purohit is called for conducting the worship of the pyre before it is lit. The men and children of the whole *tanda* assemble near the pyre. The *Nayak* worships the *pyre* by offering a coconut and a piece of red cloth. The pyre is lit. Everybody goes round the pyre making obeisance to it.

42.3. It is customary in this village to name a child on his first *Holi*. The child is bathed in the morning and is dressed in *Zabla* (a long shirt). He is brought before the assembly around the pyre. He or she is held by the *Nayak* in his lap. Two sticks are clapped over his head several times and it is announced that the child has been included in the *tanda*. The *Nayak* of the *tanda* gives the baby a "name" Guru Nanak is invoked to bless the child and *Prasad* (jaggery) is distributed.

42.4. The men sing the *phag song* (pp. 47-48) and dance round the pyre. They move towards the *tanda* singing and dancing. Women do not join the men. While the men are singing and dancing around the *Holi*, the women assemble at the house of the *Nayak* and when men leave the pyre, the wife of the *Nayak* leads them to the *Holi* spot The *Nayak's* wife offer a coconut to the *Holi* and makes obeisance. Other women follow suit. They then sing and dance. Singing and dancing go on till late hours.

42.5. The following day, is *Dhulendi*. The men and children gather ground the ashes of the pyre and throw dust and mud at each other. No body takes it ill. In the noon, they go to the river and take a bath. There is a community feast in the evening when men and children assemble on the river-bank. They kill a goat and cook its meat. They drink

(children are not allowed to drink) country liquor before the feast. The cost of the goat and drinks is borne by the caste *Panchayat*. Women do not participate in this feast.

Janmastmi

43. *Janmashtmi* is the birth day of Lord Krishna. Banjaras, who are otherwise disciples of Nanakpanth, celebrate it with the same zeal as other Hindus. They observe complete fast on the day and eat a number of times on the following day which is *Guga-Nawami*.

Dasehara

44. *Dasehara* which is a well-known Hindu festival is celebrated by the Rajput Banjaras of Naharkheda who claim to have inherited the great Rajput tradition of fighting for a right cause. *Dasehara* falls on the tenth day of *Aswin* (*Dashavi*) and according to the Hindu mythology Ram defeated Ravan on this day. Thus, it is a festival commemorating victory of good over evil. Banjaras celebrate the day by killing a goat (poor thing) supposed to symbolise the evil. The choice of the goat is possibly explained by the fact that a really satisfactory symbol of evil chosen from the animal kingdom may not make good eating

44.1. The sacrificial goat is fed well for a few preceding days. *Sindur* is applied over its forehead before killing. The strongest man of the village kills the goat. There is a community dinner after the celebration. The meat of the sacrificial goat is the main course of the dinner and liquor is served liberally to all.

Diwali—Goverdhan

45. *Diwali*, the festival of light, is also observed by Naharkheda Banjaras. It falls on *Amavas* day in *Kartika*. *Goverdhan* comes on the following day. By this time there is less activity in the fields. Ploughing is nearly over although sowing of wheat or other grains may be in progress.

45.1. On *Amavas* day, the cattle are not yoked but are bathed in the river and decorated on the back and on the head with a reddish paste. The animal is covered with spots of colour all over their horns which are painted red, green or blue and peacock feathers may be attached to them. Necklaces of beads and leather bands clinking with little bells decorate their necks. Nobody works in the fileld on this day. The house is swept thoroughly and the walls and the floor are plastered with clay and cowdung. Special food consisting of *puri*, *halwa* and rice is prepared.

45.2. On the next day *Goverdhan* festival is celebrated. A crude figure of a man is drawn out of a huge lump of cowdung, in an open place before the house. At about sunset the head of the family takes a metal plate on which he places a rupee or a silver ornament, some rice grains and some turmeric. He lights a lamp placed in the middle of the cowdung-man. He walks round the figure seven times followed by male members of the family. The women sing *Goverdhan* songs.

Village Organisation

46. Although the Banjaras of Naharkheda have remained a closed community especially during the last thirty years, which period marks the total extinction of the evil practice of kidnapping male children and although they have remained in isolation over last hundred years, still their dependence on the neighbouring villages in economic sphere of activities and social intercourse with them have developed a sort of inter-relationship with them, which it is proposed to study here.

46.1. As may be recalled, the founder of this village, Shahjad *Nayak* had established only one *tanda* or hamlet and life proceeded in a harmonious manner in the time of Mohan as well as Ramsingh and Jhamsingh. It was only in the time of the present *Nayaks* that the main hamlet was split up into two, Sakkru having left that hamlet about 20 years ago and established another one where he and his followers are at present living. The main reason of the splitting up of the *tanda* is stated to be the waning influence of Sakkru on Gangaram and his nearer relatives. In the meetings of the caste Panchayat, his leadership had begun to be questioned and, on small matters, Gangaram and his followers had disagreement with Sakkru. This disturbed the harmonious life of the *tanda* and, in its wake, day-to-day incidents such as some one's cattle trespassing on (another's) field or some child pelting a stone at another man's house and breaking the water pitchers, which were considered normal and incidental and went unnoticed, began to assume aggravated form and every day some kind of quarrel would crop up. This state of affairs strained the relations between the two groups. So, Sakkru thought it wise and desirable to leave the *tanda* and establish his own. Both the *tandas* have their separate caste Panchayats headed by Sakkru in his *tanda* and Gangaram in his own. The two Panchayats very seldom meet except when persons are involved in any dispute from both the *tandas*. Incidents occuring in the *tandas* are disposed of by the respective Panchayat. These two Panchayats come together when the Panchayats of Basi and Menn also assemble together to decide vital matters.

46.2. One very significant change in the relation of the two *tandas* is that, whereas the members of the *tanda* participated in the religious functions such as *Satyanarayan katha*, a *mundan* and naming of a baby etc., without any formal invitation; now after the bifurcation of the *tanda*, they would not go except on a formal invitation. On festivals such as *Holi*, *Dasehra*, *Diwali* etc., the members of one *tanda* however, go to another *tanda* without any formal invitation.

In ceremonies like betrothal, marriage and birth of a child, etc., taking place in either of the *tandas*, the residents of the other *tanda* are invited and they respond to the invitation and attend the function. In the case of a death occuring in one *tanda* members of both the *tandas* collect, offer condolences and participate in the subsequent rites.

The festivals like *Holi*, *Diwali*, *Guga Navami* etc., are separately celebrated in the two *tandas* and after their own celebrations, they go and visit the other *tanda*. Both the *tandas* have their own *Banjari Devi* which is worshiped by the members of the respective hamlets: it has also been stated that the members of one *tanda* do not worship *Devi* of the other *tanda*.

46.3. In the sphere of economic activities such as agricultural operations, or collection of fuel wood and timber from the forest, etc., there is no feeling of mutual help or cooperation between the two *tandas*. At the time of inter-cultural labour-intensive operations, when they require labourers to work in the fields, the Bhils of Rampuria are preferred to the members of the other *tanda*; even for grazing the cattle, the hamlets have separate areas and cowherds.

46.4. Casual visits of persons from one *tanda* to another are uncommon. To this chain of minor incidents were added two more in the year 1960-61. Kaloo's son who lives in Gangaram's *tanda* encroached upon the field of Sakkru's son for grazing his cattle. Sakkru's son, Sarwan, asked him to take away his cattle but instead he received abuses from Kaloo's son. Sarwan drove him away forcibly. Kaloo's son reported the matter to Gangaram, the *Nayak* of his *tanda* who, instead of bringing the complaint before the caste Panchayat, which was their practice hitherto followed in dealing with such cases, took it to the Village Panchayat at Menn. Sakkru and his followers did not like Gangaram's conduct in approaching the village Panchayat directly ignoring the caste Panchayat.

Another incident took place on the *Holi* festival of the same year. On the second day of *Holi* a few men of Gangaram's hamlet went to Sakkru's *Tanda* to celebrate the festival. They were warmly received and offered special food prepared for the occasion. Men from Sakkru's *tanda* returned the visit on *Rang-Panchmi* but they were booed and jeered at and had to return to their hamlet. Sakkru felt enraged. These two incidents further deteriorated the already strained relations between the two hamlets; which was evident from a more recent (July 1962) incident. Once, Sarwan, Sakkru's son went, to the well in Gangaram's *tanda* (which has not been completed but in which rain-water is collected and is used by the people of the hamlet upto October-November) to fetch water. Gangaram very nearly restrained him from drawing water from the well, and contemptuously said "water of this well is poison for you; why have you come to take it"? Sarwan felt insulted and went away without water. I am told that this remark had a past reference. Sakkru's followers did not countenance the idea of constructing a well with Govt. aid and people's contribution in Gangaram's hamlet and when called upon to contribute in that work, Sarwan and others are reported to have declined to do it.

The two *Nayaks*, when asked about the relations between the two hamlets would not readily admit that they were quite bad; they would say, "we are quite friendly and would go and visit the other *tanda* when called for". This is a peculiar clannish characteristic of the Banjras who would not let an outsider know anything which might bring an aspersion on their caste.

46.5. As stated earlier, there are fifteen families of Banjaras in Basi and twenty in Chhoti Jam, where they have their own caste Panchayats. The relations between these caste Panchayats and those of Naharkheda have already been touched upon and need not be repeated here. On social functions like betrothal, marriages and on the occasions of deaths and births, the Banjaras of Naharkheda go to Basi and Chhoti Jam and in the like manner, the Banjaras of those villages reciprocate. But some of the Banjaras of Chhoti Jam who are not allowed to eat from *bhana* or the bell metal plate because they are converts and do not belong to the original stock, are not very happy with the Banjaras of Naharkheda and disapprove of the distinction made in respect of them. There is always of hesitation on the part of these Banjaras to visit Naharkheda and participate in the social functions there.

46.6. With the people of Rampuria which is the village in the immediate vicinity of Naharkheda, there is no social intercourse as they are Bhils, but they are engaged for working on the fields in the peak of the agricultural season for weeding or harvesting, etc. The carpenter from Rampuria works for the Banjaras of Naharkheda in making doors and windows and agricultural implements. As Menn is the headquarters of the village Panchayat, the Banjaras of Naharkheda have close contact with that village. They also seek advice from the villagers of Menn, especially the Sar Pancha and the Patel. The Banjaras are invited to attend marriages and *kathas* by their acquaintances in Menn.

46.7. The Banjaras have closer ties with village Badgonda from the very beginning when they worked as carriers of merchandise of the tradesmen of Badgonda At present, their chief money-lender, Magan Seth is in Badgonda, from whom they buy their requirements including seed. The tradesmen in Badgonda buy their cotton and surplus grain while it is on the threshing floor from the village. For the services of a *Purohit* (Brahmin) and a barber they have to depend on Badgonda, although their dependence on this village is diminishing, since they have found it more profitable to increase their contact with Mhow Cantt. Now-a-days, they carry grass, fuel-wood, timber and bamboo from the forest and sell in Mhow market and make most of the purchases there. Nevertheless, whenever the question of borrowing of money is concerned, they have to turn to the indigeneous money lender in Badgonda.

Inter-caste relation ship

46.8. Naharkheda being a uni-caste village, there is no opportunity to study inter-caste relationship; this can only be done in the context of their contacts with multicaste villages. To the Brahmins, the Banjaras pay respects and would make an obeisance by the expression *Pauo Lage Maharaj*; (respected Sir, I touch your feet). This is an exclusive privilege of a Brahmin; to others, such as Rajputs, Kurmis, Khatis Gujars and others, they would wish by saying *Ram Ram* or *Jai Ram ji ki.*

They consider a Brahmin much higher than themselves; and call him to conduct religious functions and to ascertain auspicious days for marriages, etc. and to prepare a horoscope of a child.

Thakurs and Rajputs are regarded as higher than themselves by the Banjaras and they take cooked food from their kitchen. The Rajputs of Menn and Badgonda invite them for marriages and *Satyanarayan katha*, so do the Banjaras and the Rajpurts attend their functions, although all of them do not eat food prepared by the Banjaras.

Bhils are considered inferior and there is no social intercourse with them, who are engaged as labourers by the Banjaras. They would not eat food prepared by Bhils and would expect Bhils to make an obeisance to them. Scheduled Castes, such as Balai, Bhangi, Chamar etc., are regarded as inferior in caste status and they would have nothing to do with them on the social plane.

Formal and informal Panchayats

48.9. Until recently, the caste Panchayat of Banjaras (informal Panchayat as distinguished from a formal or statutory Panchayat) was a very powerful body and all matters whether of misconduct or dispute were brought before it, but since the inception of the statutory Panchayat of Menn, there seems to be a slight change in their way of thinking and the operational efficacy of the informal Panchayat. This change is manifest in the conduct of Gangaram Nayak, who instead of taking the complaint of the misbehaviour of Sakkru's son with Kaloo's son before the caste Panchayat, directly approached the statutory Panchayat. There have also been instances, when the Banjaras requested the Sar Panch of the statutory Panchayat to adjudicate upon matters brought before the caste Panchayat. Both the *Nayaks* of the informal Panchayats acknowledge the superiority of the statutory Panchayat and say that what they can not decide amicably in the caste Panchayat, is brought before the village Panchayat. There is an increasing realisation among the Banjaras that there are certain matters such as, damage to property by mischief, suits for recovery of money or cases of assault or criminal intimidation which had better be brought before the statutory Panchayat.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

Whenever 'Banjaras' come to mind, especially to city-dwellers, they are likely to be identified with the 'Gypsis' or Lawan Banjaras, known for their nomadic way of life, full of gaiety and mirth. But, our 'Banjaras', as we have seen in the foregoing pages, are very different. They have been considerably influenced by the local customs, rituals, language and even the way of life. All that they have of 'Banjaras' in them is memories of their lineage from the Rajput Banjaras of Marwar and their devotion to *Guru Nanak*. They came to this village as traders and carriers of merchandise who knew nothing about agriculture. Their traditional vocation received a tremendous set-back, so much so that, they had to change it to a more difficult and uncertain occupation. They had the capacity for hard work and the tenacity to learn new industry. They took to agriculture only about two generations ago and to-day they are, with their scanty resources, as good cultivators as others in the area.

They profess Hindu religion but do not worship any God or diety in the house. They observe Hindu festivals and rituals but claim to be the desciple of *Guru Nanak*. None of the Naharkheda Banjaras knows any thing about the introduction of this cult of "Guru-worship" in their tribe. As the last word about the matter, they would say that Guru Nanak was the founder of their tribe (sic). This belief, however, is not supported in any document or religious writings.

Their social life is rather drab, and recreation confined to some of the festivals.

Their status as a tribe in the caste-hierarchy of the Hindu community can not be determined, in that, socially they seem to be insulated from other castes and tribes. They would eat *kachha* as well as *pucca* food from Brahmins and Rajputs and from none other where-as these two castes would not eat with the Banjaras nor eat *kachha* or *pucca* food prepared by them.

The Banjaras sing *Ardhas* to Guru Nanak on every religious and auspicious occasion and distribute *Kadaha-ka-prasad* in his name, visit Gurudwaras whenever they have an occasion to do so in the near by towns, but the Sikhs do not own them, so far as their *Panth* is concerned.

Their living conditions are far from satisfactory, housing is poor and daily food extremely meagre, but they are free from disease because of the healthy surroundings and salubrious climate.

Illiteracy is the bane of their isolated settlement. The population of the village is so small that no school could be started for that village and the distance between the village and the nearest school in another village prevents the children from attending the school. This community has lived for over three generations now, without going to school and one does not know, how long they would be denied this privilege. They may be illiterate but they are not ignorant. Experience of life, and contacts with urban centres constitute their "education" and this has created an awareness in them of their economically depressed existence. And the awareness is so great that it has made them jealous of the opulence and flourishing life of the well-to-do people in the neighbouring villages and the towns.

We have seen earlier, that almost every family is heavily indebted. It is partly because of exploitation by the village money-lender but mainly due to their "static" means of livelihood. The land under-cultivation is more or less the same since the last 100 years, but the population subsisting on it has increased many times over. Their greatest urge in life is for more land for cultivation and secondly, for easily available drinking water. The slogan of the village is *Hamko jal aur jamin chahiye*; (we want drinking water and land). Their urge for land sometimes causes indignation in them because, they see good cultivable land in the forest, which according to them is lying idle, and yet they can not use it for cultivation. The fact of the matter is that, this land lies in the reserved forest and the Forest Department does not permit allotment of such land for cultivation. The Banjaras do not seem to appreciate the difficulties of the Department. This is hardly the forum for discussing departmental policy, but, having come into intimate contact with the Banjaras of Naharkheda, in the present survey, one can argue with all emphasis in their favour that the demand for more land is wholly justified and it is up to the district administration and the Forest Department to thrash out the matter and lend a helping hand to them by giving them more land for cultivation; which lies in close proximity of the village.

Another point which deserves to be high-lighted in the economic life of the Banjaras is the mounting indebtedness. They have fallen into the clutches of the indigenous money-lender and are caught in the vicious circle of never-liquidating debt. The rate of interest is high on cash loans and that charged on commodities, particularly seed, is exhorbitant. There could be a two-fold remedy to extricate them from their financial debacle. The texture of the village community is ideally suited for bringing its inhabitants in the co-operative fold, a start being made with a service co-operative, with the ultimate aim of joint farming society. This would relieve them from the burden of exhorbitant interest on their borrowings for agricultural purposes, *e. g.* seed, bullocks, etc. Secondly, the caste Panchayat which plays a vital role in the social life of the Banjaras has to think seriously about the prevalence of some of the social ceremonies which entail large expenditure and re-orientate them in the context of their economic life which is full of stresses and strain. For example, the number of feasts in the marriages, the bride-price and the expenditure on liquor, compel a Banjara to knock at the money-lender's door for maintaining his social prestige and plunge himself into the deep sea of heavy debt. And once he becomes a debtor, he is always a debtor. The Panchayat should curtail the number of feasts and limit it to one only, and also the duration of stay of the *barat* at the bride's place. They could also discourage community drinking of liquor on such occasions although, enforcing total prohibition may be impossible, even for such a powerful body to whom every member of the tribe owes allegiance. The Panchayat could also ask its members to send their children to school, which the Education Department could open in Basi where there are Banjara families and the children of Naharkheda could easily attend it being quite near.

It is platitudious to say that the availability of land is always limited. It is equally true of Naharkheda also, and whatever efforts the departmental agencies may make (if at all;) to excise some parcels of land from the forest, still, it will not solve the problems of Naharkheda Banjaras. The crop yields are very poor. The introduction of improved methods and techniques of cultivation have not so far penetrated the Vindhyan ranges and this village is beyond these formidable barriers. The supply of improved seed, proper summer cultivation, line-sowing and use of fertilisers only as basal dressing; may go a long way to step-up the yield of the crop. Besides, boosting up production from the fields, there is a large scope for augmenting the incomes of these families by promoting subsidiary industries, such as poultry and dairy farming, which already exist in the village in a crude form and are carried on in an unsystematic way. But the nucleus is there.

There is a lot assignable to the caste Panchayat in the field of social reforms, but much is to be done by the developmental agencies of the State in the economic sphere. The Banjaras seem untouched and unaffected by the country's alround development and progress. They are in it but have not realised it. Such realisation will certainly come to them if they find an answer to the only slogan on the lips of every Banjara which is still ringing in my ears:—

"Ham ko jal aur Jamin do"

Give us land and water.

GRPG—263—SCOB—4-3-65—1000

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVT. OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS AS ON 31st DECEMBER 1962

Agra

National Book House, Jeeni Mandi .. .. (Reg.)
Wadhawa and Co., 45, Civil Lines .. .. (Reg.)
Banwari Lal Jain, Publishers, Moti Katra .. (Rest.)

Ahmedabad

Balgovind Kuber Dass & Co., Gandhi Road .. (Reg.)
Chandra Kant Chimanlal Vora, Gandhi Road .. (Reg.)
New Order Book Co., Ellis Bridge .. .. (Reg.)
Mahajan Bros., Opp. Khadia Police Gate .. (Rest.)
Sastu Kitab Ghar, Near Relief Talkies, Patthar Kuva, Relief Road. .. .. (Reg.)

Agartala

Laxmi Bhandar Books and Scientific Sales .. (Rest.)

Ahmednagar

V. T. Jorakar, Prop. Rama General Stores, Navi Path. .. .. (Rest.)

Ajmer

Book-Land, 663, Madar Gate .. .. (Reg.)
Rajputana Book House, Station Road .. (Reg.)
Law Book House, 271, Hathi Bhata .. .. (Rest.)
Vijay Bros, Kutchery Road .. .. (Rest.)
Krishna Bros., Kutchery Road .. .. (Rest.)

Aligarh

Friends' Book House, Muslim University Market (Reg.)

Allahabad

Supdt., Printing & Stationery, U. P.
Kitabistan, 17-A, Kamla Nehru Road. .. (Reg.)
Law Book Co., Sardar Patel Marg, P. Box 4 .. (Reg.)
Ram Narain Lal Beni Madho, 2-A, Katra Road .. (Reg.)
Universal Book Co., 20, M.G. Road .. .. (Reg.)
The University Book Agency (of Lahore), Elgin Road. (Reg.)
Wadhwa & Co., 23, M. G. Marg .. .. (Rest.)
Bharat Law House, 15, Mahatma Gandhi Marg .. (Rest.)
Ram Narain Lal Beni Prashad, 2-A, Katra Road (Rest.)

Ambala

English Book Depot, Ambala Cantt. .. .. (Reg.)
Seth Law House, 8719, Railway Road, Ambala Cantt. .. .. (Rest.)

Amritsar

The Law Book Agency, G. T. Road, Putligarh .. (Reg.)
S. Gupta, Agent, Govt. publications, Near P. O. Majith Mandi. .. .. (Reg.)
Amar Nath and Sons, Near P.O. Majith Mandi .. (Reg.)

Anand

Vijaya Stores, Station Road, Anand .. .. (Rest.)

Bangalore

The Bangalore Legal Practitioner, Co-op. Society Ltd., Bar Association Building .. .. (Reg.)
S.S. Book Emporium, 118, Mount Joy Road .. (Reg.)
The Bangalore Press, Lake View Mysore Road, P.O. Box 507 .. .. (Reg.)
The Standard Book Depot, Avenue Road .. (Reg.)
Vichara Shitya Private Ltd., Balepet .. (Reg.)
Makkala Pustaka Press, Balamandira, Ghandinagar (Reg.)
Maruthi Book Depot, Avenue Road .. .. (Rest.)
International Book House (P) Ltd., 4-F, Mahatma Gandhi Road .. .. (Reg.)
Navakaranataka Publications. Private Ltd., Majestic Circle .. .. (Rest.)

Bareilly

Agarwal Brothers, Bara Bazar .. .. (Reg.)

Baroda

Shri Chandrakant Mohan Lal Shah, Raopura .. (Rest.)
Good Companions Booksellers, Publishers & Sub-Agent .. .. (Rest.)

Beawar

The Secretary, S. D. College, Co-operative Stores Ltd. .. .. (Rest.)

Bhagalpur

Paper Stationery Stores, D. N. Singh Road .. (Reg.)

Bhubaneswar

Ekamra Vidyabhaban, Eastern Tower, Room No. 3 (Rest.)

Bhopal

Supdt., State Government Press
Lyall Book Depot, Mohd. Din Bldg., Sultania Road (Reg.)
Delite Books, Opp. Bhopal Talkies .. .. (Rest.)

Belghria

Granthlok, Antiquarian Booksellers & Publishers (24 Paraganas), 5/1, Amlica Mukherjee Road .. (Reg.)

Bijapur

Shri D. V. Deshpande, Recognised Law Booksellers, Prop. Vinod Book Depot, Near Shiralshetti Chowk. (Rest.)

Bikaner

Bhandani Bros. .. .. .. (Rest.)

Bilaspur

Sharma Book Stall, Sadar Bazar .. .. (Rest.)

Bombay

Supdt., Printing and Stationery, Queens Road
Charles Lambert & Co., 101, Mahatma Gandhi Road .. .. (Reg.)
Co-operators Book Depot, 5/32, Ahmed Sailor Bldg. Dadar. .. .. .. (Reg.)
Current Book House, Maruti Lane, Raghunath Dadaji St. .. .. (Reg.)
Current Technical Literature Co., (P) Ltd., India House, 1st Floor .. .. .. (Reg.)
International Book House Ltd., 9, Ash Lane, M.G. Road .. .. (Reg.)
Lakkani Book Depot, Girgaum .. .. (Reg.)
Elpees Agencies, 24, Bhangwadi Kalbadevi .. (Reg.)
P.P.H. Book Stall, 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road .. (Reg.)
New Book Co., 188-190, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road (Reg.)

Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road .. (Reg.)
Sunder Das Gaian Chand, 601, Girgaum Road, Near Princess Street .. .. .. (Reg.)
D.B. Taraporewala Sons & Co. (P) Ltd., 210, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road .. .. (Reg.)
Thacker & Co., Rampart Row .. .. (Reg.)
N.M. Tripathi Private Ltd., Princess Street .. (Reg.)
The Kothari Book Depot, King Edward Road .. (Reg.)
P.H. Rama Krishna & Sons, 147, Rajaram Bhuvan, Shivaji Park Road, No. 5 .. .. (Rest.)
C. Jamnadas & Co., Booksellers, 146-C, Princess Street .. .. (Reg.)
Indo Nath & Co., 24, Bhangwadi, Kalbadevi Road (Reg.)
Minerva Book Shop, Shop No. 1/80, N. Subhas Road .. .. (Reg.)
Academic Book Co., Association Building, Girgaum Road .. .. (Rest.)
Dominion Publishers, 23 Bell Building, Sir P.M. Road .. .. (Rest.)
Dowamadeo & Co., 16, Naziria Building, Ballard State .. .. (Rest.)

Calcutta

Chatterjee & Co., 3/1, Bacharam Chatterjee Lane (Reg.)
Dass Gupta & Co. Ltd., 54/3, College Street .. (Reg.)
Hindu Library, 69A, Bolaram De Street .. (Reg.)
S.K. Lahiri & Co. Private Ltd., College Street .. (Reg.)
M.C. Sarkar and Sons Private Ltd., 14, Bankim Chatterjee .. .. (Reg.)
W. Newman & Co. Ltd., B, Old Court House Street .. .. (Reg.)
Oxford Book and Stationery Co., 17, Park Street.. (Reg.)
R. Chambray and Co. Ltd., Kent House, P. 33, Mission Road Extension .. (Reg.)
S.C. Sarkar and Sons Private Ltd., IC, College Square .. .. (Reg.)
Thacker Spink and Co. (1933) P. Ltd., 3, Esplanade Est .. .. (Reg.)
Firma K. L. Mukhopadhaya, 6/1A, Banchha Ram Akrar Lane .. .. (Reg.)
K.K. Roy, P. Box No. 10219, Calcutta-19 .. (Rest.)
Sm. P. D. Upadhyay, 77, Muktaram Babu Street (Rest.)
Universal Book Dist., 8/2, Hastings Street .. (Rest.)
Modern Book Depot, 9, Chowringee Centre .. (Rest.)
Soor and Co., 125, Canning Street .. .. (Reg.)
S. Bhattacharjee, 49, Dharamtala Street .. (Rest.)
Mukherjee Library, Sarba Khan Road .. (Rest.)
Current Literature Co., 208, Mahatma Gandhi Road (Reg.)
The Book Depository, 4/1 Madan Street (1st Floor) (Rest.)
Scientific Book Agency, Netaji Subhash Road .. (Rest.)
Reliance Trading Co., 43/A, Netaji Subhash Road (Rest.)

Chapra

Alok Pustak Sadan .. .. .. (Rest.)

Chandigarh

Supdt., Govt. Printing and Stationery, Punjab
Jain Law Agency, Flat No. 8, Sector No. 22 .. (Reg.)
Rama News Agency, Booksellers, Sector No. 22 .. (Reg.)
Universal Book Store, Booth 25, Sector 22-D .. (Reg.)
English Book Shop, 34, Sector 22-D .. .. (Rest.)
Mehta Bros., 15-Z, Sector 22-B .. .. (Rest.)
Tandan Book Depot, Shopping Centre, Sector 16 (Rest.)
Kailash Law Publishers, Sector 22-B .. (Rest.)

Calicut

Touring Book Stall .. .. .. (Rest.)

Chhindwara

The Verma Book Depot .. .. .. (Rest.)

Chochin

Saraswat Corporation Ltd., Palliarakav Road .. (Reg.)

Cuttack

Press Officer, Orissa Sectt. .. .. (Reg.)
Cuttack Law Times .. .. .. (Reg.)
Prabhat K. Mahapatra Mangalabag, P. B. 35 .. (Reg.)
D. P. Sure Sons, Mangalabag .. .. (Rest.)
Utkal Stores, Balu Bazar .. .. (Rest.)

Dehra Dun

Jugal Kishore & Co., Rajpura Road .. .. (Reg.)
National News Agency, Paltan Bazar .. (Reg.)
Jugal Kishore & Co., Rajpura Road .. .. (Reg.)
National News Agency, Paltan Bazar .. (Reg.)
Bishan Singh and Mahendra Pal Singh, 318 Chukhuwala .. .. (Reg.)

Delhi

J. M. Jaina & Brothers, Mori Gate .. .. (Reg.)
Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmeri Gate .. .. (Reg.)
Federal Law Book Depot, Kashmeri Gate .. (Reg.)
Bahri Bros., 188, Lajpat Rai Market .. (Reg.)
Bawa Harkishan Dass Bedi (Vijaya General Agencies), P. B. 2027, Delhi Ahata Kedara, Chamalian Road .. .. (Reg.)
Book-Well, 4 Sant Narankari Colony, P. B. 1565, Delhi-9 .. .. (Reg.)
Imperial Publishing Co., 3, Faiz Bazar, Daryaganj (Reg.)
Metropolitan Book Co., 1, Faiz Bazar, Delhi .. (Reg.)
New Stationery House, Subzimandi .. .. (Reg.)
Youngman & Co., Nai Sarak, Delhi-6 .. (Reg.)
Indian Army Book Depot, 3, Daryaganj .. (Reg.)
All India Educational Supply Co., Sri Ram Buildings, Jawahar Nagar .. .. (Rest.)
Dhanwant Medical & Law Book House, 1522, Lajpatrai Market .. .. .. (Rest.)
University Book House, 15, U. B. Bangalore Road, Jawahar Nagar .. .. .. (Rest.)
Govt. Book Agency, 2646, Balimaran .. .. (Rest.)
Summer Brothers, P. O. Birla Lines .. .. (Rest.)
Universal Book & Stationery Co., 16, Netaji Subhash Marg .. .. .. (Reg.)
B. Nath & Bros., 3393, Charkhawalan (Chowri Bazar) (Rest.)
Rajkamal Prakashan (P) Ltd., 8, Faiz Bazar .. (Reg.)
Universal Book Traders, 80, Gokhla Market .. (Reg.)
Tech., & Commercial Book Co., 75, Gokhla Market (Rest.)
Saini Law Publishing Co., 1416, Chabiganj, Kashmeri Gate .. .. .. (Rest.)
G. M. Ahuja, Booksellers & Stationers, 309 Nehru Bazar .. .. .. (Rest.)
Sat Narain & Sons, 3141 Mohs. Ali Bazar, Mori Gate (Reg.)
Kitab Mahal (Wholesale Div.) Private Ltd., 28, Faiz Bazar. .. .. .. (Rest.)

Hindu Sahitya Sansar, Nai Sarak .. .. (Rest.)
Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Oriental Booksellers & Publishers, P. B. 1165, Nai Sarak .. .. (Rest.)
K. L. Seth, Suppliers of Law, Commercial & Tech. Books, Shanti Nagar, Ganeshpura .. .. (Rest.)

Dhanbad

Ismag Co-operative Stores Ltd., P. O. Indian School of Mines .. .. .. (Reg.)
New Sketch Press, Post Box No. 26 .. .. (Rest.)

Dharwar

Rameshraya Book Depot, Subhas Road .. (Rest.)

Ernakulam

Pai & Co., Cloth Bazar Road .. .. (Rest.)

Ferozepore

English Book Depot, 78, Jhoke Road .. .. (Reg.)

Gaya

Sahitya Sadan, Gautam Budha Marg .. (Reg.)

Goa

Jairam Sagoon Dhoud, Booksellers, Panjim .. (Rest.)

Guntur

Book Lovers Private Ltd., Kadiguda, Chowrasta (Reg.)

Gorakhpur

Vishwa Vidhyalaya Prakashan, Nakhes Road .. (Rest.)

Gauhati

Mokshada Pustakalaya, Gauhati, Assam .. (Reg.)

Gwalior

Supdt., Printing & Stationery, M. B.
Loyal Book Depot, Patankar Bazar, Lashkar .. (Reg.)
M. C. Daftari, Prop. M. B. Jain & Bros., Booksellers, Sarafa, Lashkar .. .. .. (Rest.)

Ghazibad

Jayana Book Agency .. .. .. (Rest.)

Hyderabad

Director, Govt. Press .. .. ..
The Swaraj Book Depot, Lakdikapul .. (Reg.)
Book Lovers Private Ltd. .. .. (Rest.)
Labour Law Publications, 873, Sultan Bazar .. (Rest.)

Hubli

Pervaje's Book House, Koppikar Road .. (Reg.)

Indore

Wadhwa & Co., 56, M. G. Road .. .. (Reg.)
Swarup Brothers, Khajuri Bazar .. .. (Rest.)
Madhya Pradesh Book Centre, 41, Ahilya Pura .. (Rest.)
Modern Book House, Shiv Vilas Palace .. (Rest.)
Navyug Sahitya Sadan, Publishers & Booksellers, 17, Khajuri Bazar .. .. .. (Rest.)

Imphal

Tikendra & Sons, Booksellers .. .. (Rest.)

Jaipur City

Govt. Printing and Stationery Department, Rajasthan .. ..
Bharat Law House, Booksellers and Publishers, Opp. Prem Prakash Cinema .. .. (Reg.)
Garg Book Co., Tripolia Bazar .. .. (Reg.)
Vani Mandir, Swami Mansingh Highway .. (Reg.)
Kalyan Mal & Sons, Tripolia Bazar .. .. (Rest.)
Popular Book Depot, Chouri Rasta .. (Reg.)
Krishna Book Depot, Chaura Rasta .. .. (Rest.)
Dominion Law Depot, Shah Building, P. B. No. 23 (Rest.)

Jawalapur

Sahyog Book Depot .. .. .. (Rest.)

Jamshedpur

Amar Kitab Ghar, Diagonal Road, P. B. 78 .. (Reg.)
Gupta Stores, Dhatkidih .. .. .. (Reg.)
Sanyal Bros., Booksellers & News Agents, Bistapur Market .. .. (Rest.)

Jamnagar

Swedeshi Vastu Bhandar .. .. .. (Reg.)

Jodhpur

Dwarka Das Rathi, Wholesale Books and News Agents .. .. (Reg.)
Kitab Ghar, Sojati Gate .. .. .. (Reg.)
Choppra Brothers, Tripolia Bazar .. .. (Reg.)

Jabalpur

Modern Book House, 286, Jawaharganj .. (Reg.)

Jullundur City

Hazooria Bros., Mai Hiran Gate .. .. (Rest.)
Jain General House, Bazar Bansanwala .. (Reg.)
University Publishers, Railway Road .. (Rest.)

Kanpur

Advani & Co., P. Box 100, The Mall .. (Reg.)
Sahitya Niketan, Sharadhanand Park .. (Reg.)
The Universal Book Stall, The Mall .. (Reg.)
Raj Corporation, Raj House, P. B. 200, Chowk .. (Rest.)

Karur

Shri V. Nagaraja Rao, 26, Srinivasapuram .. (Rest.)

Kolapur

Maharashtra Granth Bhandar, Mahadwar Road .. (Rest.)

Kodarma

The Bhagwati Press, P. O. Jhumritelaiya, District Hazaribagh .. .. (Reg.)

Kumta

S. V. Kamat, Booksellers and Stationers (N. Kanara) (Reg.)

Lucknow

Soochna Sahitya Depot, (State Book Depot) .. ..
Balkrishna Book Co. Ltd., Hazratganj .. (Reg.)
British Book Depot, 84, Hazratganj .. (Reg.)
Ram Advani, Hazratganj, P. B. 154 .. (Reg.)
Universal Publishers (P) Ltd., Hazratganj .. (Reg.)
Eastern Book Co., Lalbagh Road .. .. (Reg.)
Civil and Military Educational Stores, 106/B, Sadar Bazar .. .. (Rest.)
Acqurium Supply Co., 213, Faijabad Road .. (Rest.)
Law Book Mart, Amin-Ud-Daula Park .. (Rest.)

Ludhiana (E. P.)

Lyall Book Depot., Chaura Bazar .. .. (Reg.)
Mohindra Brothers, Kathcyri Road .. .. (Rest.)
Nanda Stationery Bhandar, Pustak Bazar .. (Rest.)
The Pharmacy News, Pindi Street .. .. (Rest.)

Madural

Oriental Book House, 258, West Masi Street .. (Reg.)
Vivekananda Press, 48, West Masi Street .. (Reg.)

Mathura

Rath & Co., Tilohi Building, Bengali Ghat .. (Rest.)

Madras

Supdt., Govt. Press, Mount Road .. ..
Account Test Institute, P. O. 760, Emgore .. (Reg.)
C. Subbiah Chetty & Co., Triplicane, Madras-5 .. (Reg.)
K. Krishnamurty, Post Box 384 .. .. (Reg.)
Presidency Book Supplies, 8, Pyerafts Road, Triplicane. .. .. (Reg.)
P. Vardhachary & Co., 8, Linghi Chetty Street .. (Reg.)
Palani Prachuram, 3 Tycrafts Road, Triplicane .. (Reg.)
South India Traders, Exporters, Importers, Agents and Govt. Booksellers, Rapapettah .. .. (Reg.)
NCBH Private Ltd., 199, Mount Road (Rest.)
V. Sadanand, The Personal Book shop, 10 Congress Building, 111, Mount Road .. .. (Rest.)

Mandya

K. N. Narimhe Gowda & Sons, Sugar Town .. (Rest.)

Mangalore

U. R. Shenoye Sons., Car Street, P. Box 128 .. (Reg.)

Manjeshwar

Mukenda Krishna Nayak. .. .. (Rest.)

Meerut

Hind Chitra Press, West Kutchary Road (Reg.)
Prakash Educational Stores, Subhas Bazar (Reg.)
Loyal Book Depot, Chhipi Tank .. .. (Reg.)
Bharat Educational Stores, Chhipi Tank .. (Rest.)
Universal Book Depot, Booksellers & News Agents (Rest.)

Monghyr

Anusandhan, Minerva Press Building .. (Rest.)

Mussouri

Cambridge Book Depot, The Mall .. .. (Rest.)
Hind Traders .. .. .. (Rest.)

Muzaffarnagar

Mittal & Co., 85-C, New Mandi .. .. (Rest.)
B. S. Jain & Co., 71, Abupura .. .. (Rest.)

Muzaffarpur

Scientific & Educational Supply Syndicate .. (Reg.)
Legal Corner Tikmanis' House—Amgola Road .. (Rest.)

Mysore

H. Venkataramiah & Sons, New Statue Circle .. (Reg.)
Peoples Book House, Opp. Jagan Mohan Palace .. (Reg.)
Jeevana Pustakalaya, 1254/1, Krishnamurthipuram (Rest.)
News Paper House, Lansdowne Building .. (Rest.)

Nagpur

Supdt., Govt. Press & Book Depot .. ..
Western Book Depot, Residency Road .. (Reg.)
The Asst. Secretary, Mineral Industry Association Mineral House .. .. .. (Rest.)

Nandid

R. S. Desay, Station Road .. .. (Rest.

Nanded

Book Centre, College Law General Books, Station Road. .. .. .. (Rest.)
Hindustan General Stores, Paper & Stationery Merchants, P.B. No. 51 .. .. (Rest.)

New Delhi

Amrit Book Co., Connaught Circus .. .. (Reg.)
Bhawani & Sons, 8-F, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
Central News Agency, 23/90, Connaught Circus (Reg.)
Empire Book Depot, 278 Aliganj .. .. (Reg.)
English Book Stores, 7-L, Connaught Circus, P. O. B. 328 .. .. .. (Reg.)
Faqir Chand & Sons, 15-A, Khan Market, New Delhi-1 .. .. .. (Reg.)
Jain Book Agency, C-9, Prem House, Connaught Place .. .. .. (Reg.)
Oxford Book & Stationery Co., Scindia House .. (Reg.)
Ram Krishna & Sons (of Lahore) 16/B, Connaught Place .. .. (Reg.)
Sikh Publishing House, 7-C, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
Suneja Book Centre, 24/90, Connaught Circus .. (Reg.)
United Book Agency, 31, Municipal Market, Connaught Circus .. .. .. (Reg.)
Jayana Book Depot, Chhaparwala Kuan, Karol Bagh (Reg.)
Navayug Traders, Desh Bandhu Gupta, Road, Dev Nagar .. .. .. (Reg.)
Saraswati Book Depot, 15, Lady Harding Road .. (Reg.)
The Secretary, Indian Met. Society, Lodi Road... (Rest.)
New Book Depot, Latest Books, Periodicals Sty. & Novelles, P. B. 96, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
Mehra Brothers, 50-G, Kalkaji, New Delhi-19 .. (Reg.)
Luxmi Book Stores, 42, Janpath Street .. (Rest.)
Hindi Book House, 82, Janpath .. .. (Rest.)
Peoples Publishing House (P) Ltd., Rani Jhansi Rd. (Reg.)
R. K. Publishers, 23, Beadon Pura, Karol Bagh (Rest.)

Sharma Bros. 17, New Market, Moti Nagar .. (Reg.)
Aapki Dukan, 5/5777, Dev Nagar .. .. (Rest.)
Sarvodaya Service, 66A-1, Rohtak Road, P. B. 2521 (Rest.)
H. Chandson, P. B. No. 3034 .. .. (Rest.)
The Secretary, Federation of Association of Small Industry of India, 23-B/2, Rohtak Road. .. (Rest.)
Standard Booksellers & Stationers, Palam Enclave (Rest.)
Lakshmi Book Depot, 57, Regarpura .. (Rest.)

Pathankot

The Krishna Book Depot, Main Bazar .. (Rest.)

Patiala

Supdt., Bhupendra State Press ..
Jain & Co., 17 Shah Nashin Bazar .. .. (Reg.)

Patna

Supdt., Govt. Printing (Bihar)
J. N. P. Aggarwal & Co., Padri Ki Haveli, Raghu Nath Bhawan .. .. .. (Reg.)
Luxmi Trading Co., Padri Ki Haveli .. (Reg.)
Moti Lal Banarsi Dass, Bankipore .. .. (Reg.)
Bengal Law House, Chowhatta .. .. (Rest.)

Pithorgarh

Maniram Punetha & Sons .. .. (Rest.)

Poona

Deccan Book Stall, Deccan Gymkhana .. (Reg.)
Imperial Book Depot, 266, M. G. Road .. (Reg.)
International Book Service, Deccan Gymkhana .. (Reg.)
Raka Book Agency, Opp. Natu's Chawl Near Appa Balwant Chowke, Poona-2 .. .. (Reg.)
Utility Book Depot, 1339, Shivaji Nagar .. (Rest.)

Pudukkottai

Shri P. N. Swaminathan Sivam & Co., East Main Road. .. .. .. (Rest.)

Rajkot

Mohan Lal Doccabhai Shah, Booksellers and sub-Agents. .. .. (Reg.)

Ranchi

Crown Book Depot, Upper Bazar .. .. (Reg.)
Pustak Mahal, Upper Bazar .. .. (Rest.)

Rourkela

The Rourkela Review .. .. .. (Rest.)

Rewa

Supdt., Govt. State Emporium, U. P. .. ..

Saharanpur

Chandra Bharata Pustak Bhandar, Court Road .. (Rest.)

Secenderabad

Hindustan Diary Publishers, Market Street .. (Reg.)

Silchar

Shri Nishitto Sen Nazirpatti .. .. (Rest.)

Sinnar

Shri N. N. Jakhadi, Agent, Times of India, Sinnar, (Nasik) .. .. (Rest.)

Shillong

The Officer-in-Charge, Assam Govt., B. D. Chapla Bookstall, P. B. No. 1 .. .. (Rest.)

Sonepat

United Book Agency .. .. .. (Reg.)

Simla

Supdt., Himachal Pradesh Govt. Press .. (Reg.)
Minerva Book Shop, The Mall .. .. (Reg.)
The New Book Depot, 79, The Mall .. (Reg.)

Srinagar

The Kashmir Bookshop, Residency Road .. (Reg.)

Surat

Shri Gajanan Pustakalaya, Tower Road .. (Reg.)

Tuticorin

Shri K. Thiagarajan, 18-C, French Chapal Road .. (Rest.)

Trichinopoly

Kalpana Publishers, Wosiur .. .. (Reg.)
S. Krishnaswami & Co., 35, Subhash Chander Bose Road .. .. .. (Reg.)
Palamiappa Bros. .. .. .. (Rest.)

Trivandrum

International Book Depot, Main Road .. (Reg.)
Reddear Press & Book Depot, P. B. No. 4 .. (Rest.)

Udaipur

Jagdish & Co., Inside Surajapole .. .. (Rest.)

Ujjain

Manak Chand Book Depot, Sati Gate .. (Rest.)

Varanasi

Students Firends & Co., Lanka .. .. (Rest.)
Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Gopal Mandir Road, P. B. 8. .. .. .. (Reg.)
Kohinoor Stores, University Road, Lanka .. (Reg.)

Vizianagram

Sarda & Co. .. .. (Rest.)

Vijayawada

The Book & Review Centre, Eluru Road, Governpet (Rest.)

Vezegapatam

Gupta Brothers, Vizia Building .. .. (Reg.)
Book Centre, 11/97, Main Road .. .. (Reg.)

Vellore

A. Venkatasubhan Law Booksellers .. .. (Reg.)

Wardha

Swarajeya Bhandar, Bhorji Market .. .. (Reg.)
Govt. of India Kitab Mahal, Janpath, Opp. India Coffee House, New Delhi. } FOR LOCAL SALES.
Govt. of India Book Depot, 8, Hastings Street, Calcutta. }
High Commissioner for India in London, India House, London, W. C. 2.

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS AS ON 31-12-1962

(On S and R Basis)

The Head Clerk, Government Book Depot, Ahmedabad.

The Assistant Director, Extension Centre, Kapileshwar Road, Belgaum.

The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Dhar.

The Assistant Director, Footwear Extension Centre, Polo Ground No. 1, Jodhpur.

The O. I/c Extension Centre, Club Road, Muzaffarpur.

The Director, Indian Bureau of Mines, Government of India, Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel, Nagpur.

The Assistant Director, Industrial Extension Centre, Nadiad, (Gujarat).

The Head Clerk, Photozincographic Press, 5 Finance Road, Poona

Government Printing and Stationery, Rajkot.

The O. I/c Extension Centre, Industrial Estate, Kokar, Ranchi.

The Director, S. I. S. I. Industrial Extension Centre, Udhna Surat.

The Registrar of Companies, Narayani Building, 2, Erabourne Road, Calcutta-1.

The Registrar of Companies, Kerala 70, Feet Road, Ernakulam.

The Registrar of Companies, H. No. 3-5-83, Hyderguda, Hyderabad.

The Registrar of Companies, Assam, Manipur and Tripura, Shillong.

The Registrar of Companies, Sunlight Insurance Building, Ajmeri Gate Extension, New Delhi.

The Registrar of Companies, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, Link Road, Jullundur City.

The Registrar of Companies, Bihar Jammal Road, Patna-1.

The Registrar of Companies, Rajasthan and Ajmer; Shri Kumta Prasad House, 1st Floor, 'C' Scheme, Ashok Marg, Jaipur.

The Registrar of Companies, Andhra Bank Building, 6 Linghi Chetty Street, P. B. 1530, Madras.

The Registrar of Companies, Mahatma Gandhi Road, West Cott. Bldg., P. B. 334, Kanpur.

The Registrar of Companies, Everest 100, Marine Drive, Bombay.

The Registrar of Companies, 162, Brigade Road, Bangalore.

The Registrar of Companies, Gwalior.

Assistant Director, Extension Centre, Bhuli Road, Dhanbad.

Registrar of Companies, Orissa, Cuttack Gandhi, Cuttack.

The Registrar of Companies, Gujrat State, Gujrat Samachar Building, Ahmedabad.

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS AS ON 31-12-1962

(Railway Bookstall Holders)

S/S. A. H. Wheeler & Co., 15, Elgin Road, Allahabad.

Gahlot Bros., K. E. M. Road, Bikaner.

Higginbothams & Co. Ltd., Mount Road, Madras.

M. Gulab Singh & Sons (P) Ltd., Mathura Road, New Delhi,

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(Foreign)

S/S Education Enterprise Private Ltd., Kathumandu (Nepal).

S/S Aktie bologat, C. E. Fritzes Kungl, Hovobokhandel Fredsgation 2 Box, 1656, Stockholm-16 (Sweden).

Publication Division, Sales Depot, North Block, New Delhi.

The Development Commissioner, Small Scale Industries, New Delhi.

The O. I/c University Employment Bureau, Lucknow.

O. I/c S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, Malda.

O. I/c S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, Habra, Tabaluria, 24 Parganas.

O. C. I/c S. I. S. I. Model Carpentry Workshop, Piyali Nagar, P. O. Burnipur.

O. C. I/c S. I. S. I. Chrontanning Extension Centre, Tangra 33 North Topsia Road, Calcutta-46.

O. I/c S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, (Footwear), Calcutta.

Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Hyderabad.

Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Krishna District (A. P.)

Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Jhabua.

Deputy Director, Incharge, S. I. S. I. C/o Chief Civil Admn. Goa, Panjim.

The Registrar of Trade Unions, Kanpur.

The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Gopal Bhavan.

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