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**A TRIBAL VILLAGE IN THE SHADOW OF
"POLO-NAGARI" ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS**

(A SHORT ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF DUNGRI GARASIAS)

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TRIBAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING INSTITUTE GUJARAT VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD-380 014

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

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The village Abhapur is located in Vijaynagar mahal of Sabarkantha district in Gujarat State. The village is situated at a distance of 8 miles west from Vijaynagar, the mahal headquarter. It lies on the Idar-Vijaynagar road and buses stop at the village. The main village is located on the southern side of the road, if one follows the road from Idar side. From Idar, the village Abhapur is nearly 24 miles east. Atleast six S.T. Buses ply over this road regularly everyday. Four of them ply between Idar and Ranee and between Idar and Khokharia while two ply between Ahmedabad and Ranee. Ranee is at a distance of 3 miles north from Vijaynagar. It is situated in Rajasthan State. Each of the above mentioned buses touch Abhapur regularly going to and fro. As such the frontiers of the village get open to the outer world through this modern means of communication. From Ahmedabad, the State capital of Gujarat, it is only 6 hour's journey by the S.T. Bus. The road between Idar and Vijaynagar is a kachcha one throughout its great part. However, it is an all weather road and thus communication do not disrupt between Idar and Vijaynagar except for a few days in rainy season when the river Harnav is in spate. The vehicles have to pass through the bed of this river at near about Atarsumba village as there is no bridge of any kind over this river. As the river remains dry for the most part of the year except for some time during rainy season, it is not difficult to negotiate through it.

VIJAYNAGAR MAHAL

Vijaynagar mahal is a small territory on the north-eastern part of the Sabarkantha district which itself forms the north-east part of the Gujarat State. The north-east frontier of the Vijaynagar mahal marches with the Udaipur and Dungarpur districts boundary of the Rajasthan State. Vijaynagar mahal is throughout hilly and wild except the south-east part which is generally known as Pal patta adjoining the boundary of Bhiloda taluka of Gujarat State. Vijaynagar mahal, which was formerly known as Pol estate, has a rich history. The whole area has become of immense archaeological interest and several temples and other structures of 1000 A.D. to 1500 A.D. have been excavated. These throw valueable light on the social and religious life of the community living in that period. Overall these provide deep insight into the rich cultural heritage of Hindu and Jain community. The earliest rulers of the Pol estate were the

Parihar Rajputs from whose hands it passed to the Rathod Rajputs of Idar estate sometime during the close of sixteenth century. When the Raos of Idar estate were driven out of their kingdom, the then ruler Rao Chando migrated to Pol estate which was in the possession of his wife's family, the Parihar Rajputs.

"Rao Chando came to Pol with the expressed intention of bidding them (his wife's relatives) adieu, and proceeding to Kashi, to die there. After remaining at Pol about two months, Rao Chando set out to retire to Benaras. There is a village named Surchow, about ten miles from Pol. The Rao halted there, and wrote to his friends at Pol, to come and eat a last feast with him, and return home. They came and feasted and drank with Rao Chando. When the Pol Rajputs were overcome with drink, the Rao caused them all to be put to death, and returning to Pol, seated himself on the royal cushion, and his descendants remain at Pol to this day" (Ras mala, by Alexander Kinloch Forbes, 1924, PP.427).

Incidentally, Sarchow (now known as Sarsaw) is still a village near Vijaynagar and mainly inhabited by tribals. Whether the tribals of that village assisted Rao Chando in enthroning at Pol or not, can be anybody's guess.

However, the ruins which have been unearthed in this area pertain to earlier period when the Parihar Rajputs were at the peak of their glory. When and how the Parihar Rajputs came to this area is not well known. But they are connected by historians with the rulers of Vallabhinagar which had been the earliest citadal of Rajput rulers in Gujarat.

Before the merger of the estate, the Pol comprised of nearly sixty villages with an area of 135 sq.miles. It had nearly 27,000 acres of land. After the merger of the State with India, the area of Vijaynagar mahal has increased to 102,789 acres as certain villages lying in the then Idar State have been incorporated in this mahal. The number of villages, according to 1961 census, has been 94. In the 1881 census, the population was of barely 5,858 souls. Now, according to 1961 census, the population has gone upto 30,111. Ofcourse, as said earlier, new areas have also been incorporated into the territory of the mahal which has been partly responsible for the fabulous growth of population within less than 100 years. The tribals have been always the main stream of population of this area. In the Mahikantha Directory, Vol.I, 1922, it has been mentioned that

"nearly 75 percent of the population consists of Bhils who being very idle and indolent are not good cultivators" (Compiled by Khan Bahadur Framroz Sorabji Master, Deputy Political Agent, Kathiawar). The 1961 census has also recorded nearly 70 percent tribals out of the total population in Vijaynagar mahal.

As such, the tribals have been living in this area since earliest times. It is, however, difficult to imagine what position they held vis-a-vis the society living in Polo-nagri. It has also been recorded in the history that Rana Pratap of Udaipur stayed in the area for sometime when he had been living a life in exile from his own kingdom. It is also well known, the Bhils have been of great assistance to him during his exile life. It may be possible that Bhils might have been standing in cordial relationships with the Parihar Rajputs as the Parihar Rajputs of that time had affinal relationships with Rana Pratap Singh. One can also guess that unless the Bhils were not in good terms with the Parihar Rajputs or vice-versa, it would have been not an easy task for those rulers to build such magnificent temples and other buildings. The Lakhena temples, the Sarneshwar temple at Abhapur and the group of eleven temples at Atarsumba are all within close proximity of tribal villages.

The name of the area as 'Pol' had been designated as the entire area gives an impression of a long and wide street, fortified on the both sides by two mountain ranges which run parallel for quite a long distance. The ranges are of Arravali mountains and at two places these reach a height of more than 2000 ft. One is Ghawa peak near Vireshwar temple and another is Kalazio peak, near Abhapur. In between these two ranges are the villages of Vijaynagar mahal. On the southern side, the hill range bifurcates Vijaynagar mahal from Bhiloda taluka while on north, the hill range separates it from Rajasthan. At certain places, the valley between these two ranges is completely plain.

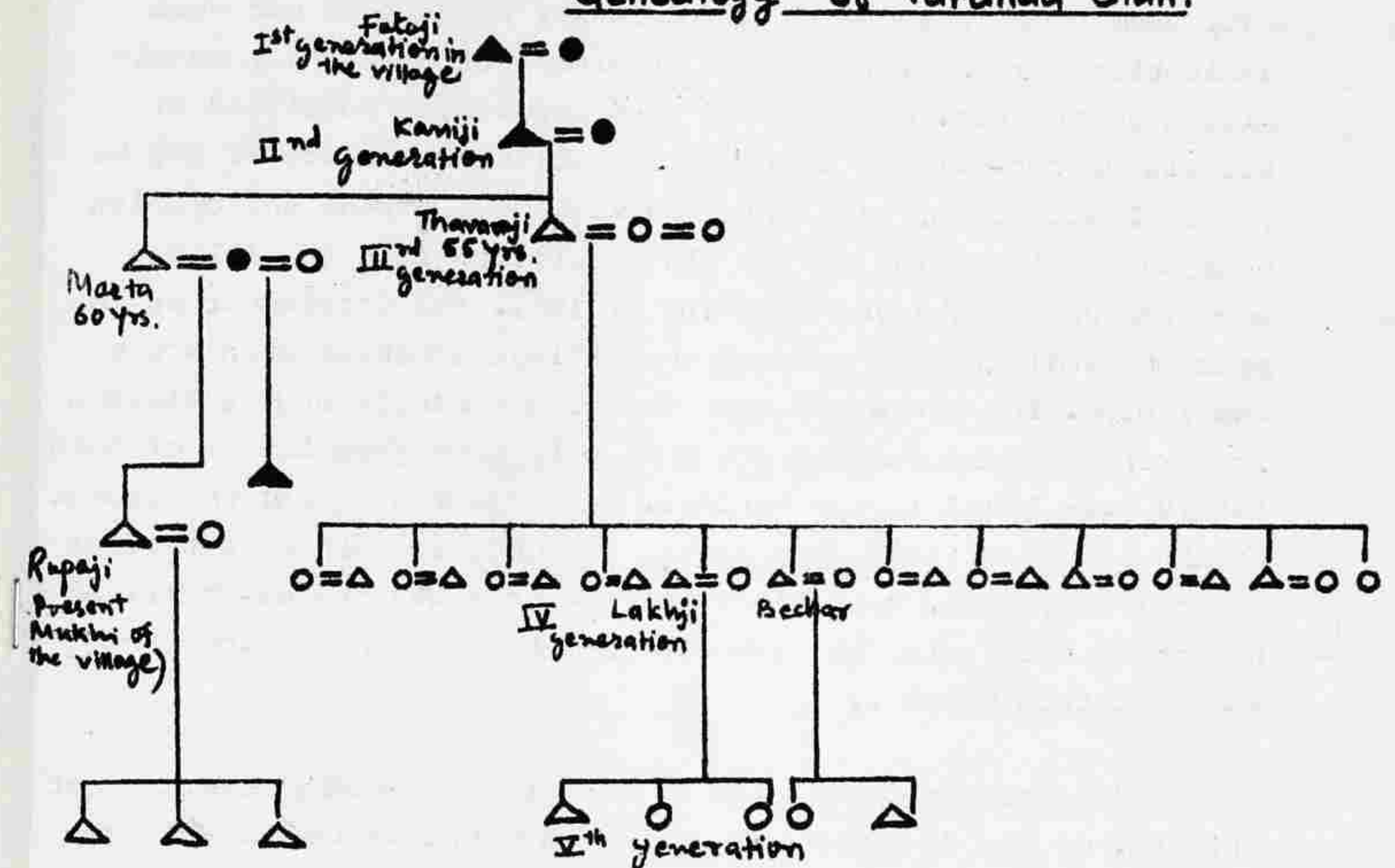
The whole area had been ravaged by the Mohemdans in the year 1240 and all the temples, particularly the oldest one, the Sarneshwar, had been badly damaged. This area also witnessed one of the bloodiest crimes in the annal of British history. That was the brutal massacre of more than 1000 tribals in the village of Dadhvav. Those were innocent villagers who had come under the spell of a reformer, by the name of Motilal Tejawat who somehow escaped from the scene leaving the innocent people at the hands of the British army. These were the kingdoms and dynasties under whose shadow lies our villages.

THE VILLAGE

The village Abhapur is mainly inhabited by the tribals who call themselves 'Dungri Garasias'. The non-tribals of the area, however, still designate them by the name of Bhils. What is truth, then? It is really a difficult task to provide the answer of the above question. However, we would treat them as 'Garasias'.

From the version of the present day old inhabitants of the village it appears that the village is not very old one. At the present time, only four generations have lived in the village. But, some older persons of the area say that there had been habitation formerly. The close proximity of Sarveshwar temple also suggest this. But whether that population consisted of tribals or non-tribals is not very well known. Whatever may be the real situation, well informed villagers are of the opinion that the last vestige of the old population left the village sometime during the great famine of 1901. The forefather of the present families also entered the village sometime soon after the famine. The genealogies of the oldest family of the village is given below to demonstrate that only five generations of this family have lived in the village. On account of being the oldest family in the village, the office of Mukhi is held by a persons of this very clan. Rupaji's father Martaji was the ex-Mukhi. As he became too old, his son Rupaji inherited the office of Mukhi of this village.

The present population of the village mainly comprises of tribals. Of the 44 permanent settled households in the village, 41 belong to the Garasia community, 2 to scheduled caste and 1 to Muslim. The Muslim family has been living in this village since 25 years. This family has migrated from Udaipur. Besides these households there are 12 households belonging to Rabari community. They are a migratory band of households. Of the 12 households, 8 have been frequenting the village since last 20 years while 4 have come to this village for the first time only last year. When we use the word frequenting, it means that sometime they live in this village while sometime they migrate to other village. Their contribution to the village economic and social life is negligible.

GENEALOGY OF VORANDA CLANGenealogy of Voranda Clan.

LAY OUT OF THE VILLAGE

The village is not built according to a definite plan. As the other tribal villages of Sabarkantha district, houses are scattered, except those of the Rabaris who have built their houses in one row. As has been said, the Idar - Vijaynagar road passes through the village. All the houses, except two, are located on the right side of the road. Of the two houses on the left ^{direction} ~~side~~ one belongs to the Muslim family while the other belongs to a tribal family who has recently migrated to this village. Beyond the agricultural field of these two families on the left side, flows the river Harnav. (In fact it flows during rainy season only). On the right side of the bus stop, just opposite the Muslim family's house, a bullock-cart path leads one to the village. Just by the side of the road on the right side is a shop owned by one, Ahmedbhai Usmanbhai Imam of Himmatnagar. The shop is being run by his employee. Only from this year, Ahmadbhai has also put his young son for apprenticeship in the art of carrying business. The shop is infact a multi-purpose shop, a kind of departmental store for the villagers, where they find nearly everything for their daily use. It sells readymade garments: clothes, grains, oils, soaps, che p lipsticks, bangles, mirrors, combs, biris, cigarretes and all other kind of provision. The businessman also carries out moneylending business. It provides commodities to the villagers on credit basis also.

Just by the side of the shop, on eastern side, is a small tribal hut. On the western side of the shop, the bullock-cart path intersects the village from north to south, ultimately entering the village of Dholiav. On the eastern side of this path are houses and agricultural fields of four or five families while the houses and agricultural fields of the rest households is on western side. Besides this path, there are several foot path leading from one house to another. All these pass through agricultural fields. The Rabaris live on the eastern side of the bullock-cart path, just behind the agricultural field of the shopkeepers which is behind the shop. The two scheduled castes families also have their houses on the outskirts, that means near the shop. Going beyond the house of a schedule caste family, the houses of families of Voranda clan is met with. There are five households of Voranda clan. Although the houses are not in close proximity, these are quite near from each other. This is

quite true of the pattern of building houses of the other clan also. But, ofcourse, this should not be understood that this practice is strictly followed. If within a clan, the lineages are different ones, the houses are bound to be in different places. For instance, among the families of Damor and Kharadi clans, all the members have not descended from one lineage group. With the reason, the houses of different lineage groups in the same clan are located at distant places from each other.

The village has a flour mill also which is owned by the Muslim family. As such it is situated on the left side of the Idar-Vijaynagar road. On going towards Vijaynagar, One will find the village school building situated on the right side of the road. This school building is a one-room kachcha structure with tiled roof. It has a verandah also which is used for holding classes. There is small open place in the front and behind of the school building. This small campus is used during winter season for holding the classes. Just behind the school is the Sarneshwar temple.

FAUNA AND FLORA

As with the case of other tribal villages of north-east frontier of Gujarat, this village too have jungles adjoining the village boundaries intersected by hill ranges. In case of this village, the jungles lie in the east and south of the village on the slopes of the hilly range. The forest is a deep one although not a dense one. The forest adjoining the village has been the home of tigers, (*Felis tigris*); bears (*Ursus labiatus*); wild boar (*Bus Indicus*); antelope (*Autilope Bezoartica*); Porcupine (*Hystix Cristafa*); Leopard (*Telis Jubatus*); wild cat (*Felis Chaus*); Hare (*Lepus Ruficandatus*); etc. Till recently these games were in abundance and were frequently met during night hours in and around the village. But now only in the deep forest on the south-east side of the village, these animals are met with and that also very infrequently. The driver of trucks who negotiate their vehicles in the jungle for bringing woods and charcoals during night hours, report that they frequently meet the wild animals.

Of the trees and plants, the mahua (*Bassia Latifolia*); teak (*Tectona Grandis*); raya (*Mimusops Indica*); vad (*Ficus Bengalensis*); asopalav (*Polyacthea Longiflora*); Khakhro (*Butea Frondosa*); wood apple (*Teronia Elephantum*); jambul (*Rugenia Jambolana*); are common. In the village, mango (*Mangifera Indica*) and Bor trees are common.

The forest comes under the jurisdiction of Dholvani forest range. In the hills, several deities of these tribal people reside.

CLIMATE

The village, lying on some altitude, has more than moderate rain fall. The average annual rainfall in the area is round 40 inches. In winter the season becomes a cold one while in summer climate becomes a pleasant one because of the high altitude.

LAND

The village has an area of 2,870.00 acres. The crop fields lie around the village. Most of the families have their crop fields just adjacent to their houses. The soil is sandy. In the low lying area the soil is loamy.

CROPS

The major crop raised in the village is Maize (*Zea Mays*). It is the staple food of the villagers and in fact of all the Garasias. Besides, maize, Urad (*Phaseolus Mungo*); banti (*Panicum Miliaceum*); rice (*Oryza Sativa*); Gram (*Cicer Arictinum*) are also raised. I Sometimes back the villagers used to raise sugar cane but in subsequent droughts three years back, all the seedlings were damaged and thence forward the villagers have not been able to obtain seedlings for sugar cane. They have not been in a position to buy from open market. In the neighbourhood village of Dholiav, the Patels have a large farm of sugar cane but not a single tribal family in that village too has raised sugar cane. The main reason, as stated earlier, has been non-availability of seedlings. A few families raise groundnut but that too not regularly. None raise cotton as on account of cold winter, this crop gets damaged.

VEGETABLE AND FRUITS

As vegetable does not form an item in the diet of the villagers, they are least interested in growing. However, they grow one kind of leafy vegetables which is known locally as "chili". The tribals do collect fruit from jungles, such as Bor, Kathii, Jamun, etc.

DRINKING WATER AND IRRIGATION FACILITIES

The village has only three wells. Of the three wells, two is owned by non-tribals; one by the shopkeeper and the another by the Muslim family. Only one tribal family has a well in the village. That too is a Kachcha well. As such there is complete lack of irrigation facilities. This year, the canal which originates from the water reservoir at the Dam site on river Harnav is to be repaired during scarcity works. On account of the canal being damaged and the sluice gates of the water reservoir also not working well, it was difficult to bring water into the fields. The sluice gate has been repaired but then the canal was not in good shape.

EDUCATION

There is a primary school in the village which runs classes upto IVth standard. Altogether nearly 30 students are on the rolls. The school teacher hails from this very village and is educated upto VIIth standard. The school has come into being in the year 1963. For four years, it ran on Govt.-in-aid basis, after which the Taluka Panchayat has taken over its charge. The credit for opening the school goes to Shri Atmanand Maharaj, the Pujari of Sarneshwar temple. The school is located just by the side of the temple. Children from this village and the Bandhana village (situated across the Harnav river) take the benefit of this school. When there was no school in the villagers, desirous parent used to send their children to Dholiav, the neighbourhood village on south-west side. An ashram shala is being run at Atarsumba (3 miles away from Abhapur) where two or three students of the village are studying. If one wants to go beyond IVth standard, the nearest school is at Atarsumba. Of the total population of 286 persons, only 49 are literate or educated while the rest (leaving the children of minor age) are illiterate.

POLICE STATION AND POST OFFICE

The village comes under the jurisdiction of Vijaynagar Police Station. The nearest Post Office is at Atarsumba. The Tribal Block Development office is at Vijaynagar. The Malkari's office, too, is at Vijaynagar.

POPULATION

As pointed out earlier, the main population in the village is of tribals. According to our survey, the total population of the village is 286 persons.

Among the tribals, at least 13 clans are represented in the village. They are Ninama (8 families); Tavid (4 families); Voranda (5 families); Kotwal (6 families); Damor (6 families); Parmar (4 families); Khokharia (3 families); Kharadi (2 families); Bhagora (1 family); Asora (1 family); Bodat (1 family); Katara (1 family) and Bara (family).

Of the 286 persons, 136 are males and 150 females. Thus there is a preponderance of females over males. Clan and community wise break of the population is as follows.

Sr. No.	Clan & Community	Male	Female	Total
1.	Voranda	13	11	24
2.	Tavid	14	9	23
3.	Damor	19	32	51
4.	Kotwal	16	11	27
5.	Parmar	18	22	40
6.	Ninama	24	29	53
7.	Kharadi	4	3	7
8.	Khokharia	6	9	15
9.	Asora	5	3	8
10.	Bodat	3	3	6
11.	Bara	4	5	9
12.	Bhagora	1	4	5
13.	Katara	2	3	5
14.	Schedule Caste	8	5	13
15.	Muslim	1	1	2
TOTAL		136	150	286

At the time of 1961 census, the population of the village was 229 which means there has been a steady annual increase in the population of the village.

The average size of the households in the village is 6.6. There are two household who have 14 members. The smallest household has 2 members and there are two such households in the village. Following is the break up of tribal households according to their size. Nearly 82 percent of the households have

Size of the households

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	14	Total
No. of house holds	mem	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	
	2	2	5	6	9	3	3	2	6	1	2	41

4-10 members. Majority of the families are of nuclear type. Only a few families who have large number of members are of joint type. As is prevalent among these tribals, the married son establishes his own household soon after marriage. In case of a family of Damor clan, who has 14 members, the eldest son who is married and has children had been living in his father's household since the time he got married (nearly 10 years ago). Now he is constructing his own house in order to establish his own household. This illustrates that sooner or later the married sons always establish their own households. In case of the youngest son this rule does not apply for the parents prefer to pass their old age with him. As such, the youngest son generally does not get separated from his parents even after getting himself married and raising his own family.

HOUSES IN THE VILLAGE

It is remarkable how similar these Garasia's village of this region are - the scatter of houses, the surrounding fence around every house, the single narrow street, the absence of public buildings, the construction, materials and size of houses and compounds. This village lies between two hill ranges and as such the land in the village is more or less flat although uneven. On account of this the houses are not situated on hillock tops as is generally found among other Garasia villages. Houses are constructed in one's own agricultural field, as is the general practice among these people. But as within the village

boundary there is no hilly region, the distance between one house and another house is considerably less. Another factor for this is the smaller agricultural holdings owned by the majority of the households.

Majority of the houses have only one room with an attached verandah on the front side. By a rough estimate, it may be said that these houses are generally of 18' x 15' size. Some houses are much smaller in structure. Their size may not be more than 12' x 8'. Besides, one room house, there are several houses in the village which have two rooms, apart from the verandah. In fact, nearly all the newly constructed houses have two rooms. During our stay in the village, at least five houses were being constructed, and except in case of one, all were going to be two room house. There is only one house in the village owned by one Lakhji Thavra which has four rooms. Lakhji Thavra is educated upto VII standard. Ofcourse in one unit, two families are to be provided with. One is his own and the other one is for his younger step-brother (from a different mother). This younger brother is still unmarried and as such at the moment he does not need a separate portion. But taking a foresight view, Lakhji constructed a big house, making provision for his younger brother also.

The general ground plans of the one room and two room house are as follows. As can be seen, the doors in two room houses are not opposite to each other. The door of the interior room is fixed at the extreme left or right side. This is done in order to ensure strict privacy in the interior room. It is not exactly the sense of privacy, but to keep members and family belongings away from the evil eyes of witches and sorcerers. However, in one case it has been observed by us that both the doors of two rooms have been fixed just opposite to each other. The entrance in the fence can be made at any convenient place. There is no hard and fast rule for that.

The houses are completely kachcha which means that only earth and water has been used in their construction as far as walls and floors are concerned. For roofing a frame is made out of bamboo materials and is laid over the roof supported on wooden poles which are fixed horizontally across the two walls (not side ones) at regular intervals. Upon this bamboo frame,

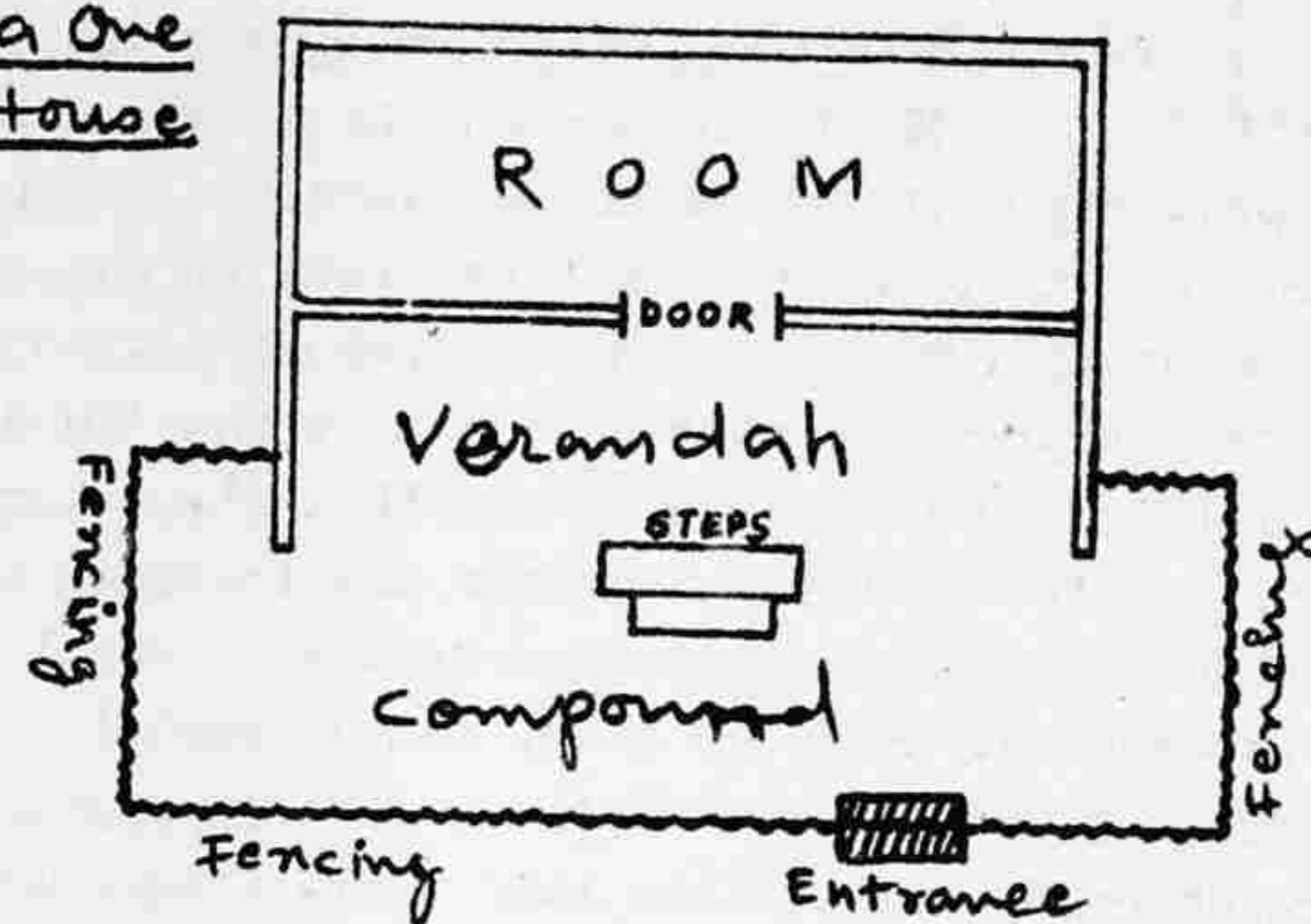
tiles are arranged in such a manner that it prevents water trickling down inside the room during rainy season. For constructing a house, a ditch is dug out nearby the site of the house. The earth, taken out of that ditch, is mixed with water in a given proportion. This material is used for erecting the wall. The wall is erected with the help of a wooden frame which is locally known as 'Sancho' (). There are two other implements used in the construction of houses which are known as 'Muhdo' () and 'Patli' (). The former one is used to fix the material properly while the latter is used for leveling the surface of the wall. The 'Sancho' is fixed in the space dug out for the foundation. The earthen material is poured inside the 'Sancho' and is properly hammered down by the 'Muhdo'. After this, the material is levelled down by the 'Patli'. After this operation, the 'Sancho' is taken out and is again fixed one step higher and the same operation goes on and on until the entire wall is re-erected. At every step, measurement is also done by tape in order to ensure that wall is coming up straight. After the walls are erected, the roof is laid down. This being done, the plastering of the wall and ground floor is done. The material used for plastering is earth mixed with cow dung. Both interior and exterior part of the walls are plastered.

Usually the houses are raised one or two feet higher than the level of the land. Ofcourse, there are several houses in the village which are exception to this rule. But such houses are mainly of poor villagers who find it hard to afford the cost of construction of a house. Nearly Rs.300 to Rs.500 are needed to construct a new house (depending upon the size of the house). Tiles have to be purchased from potters and wooden poles and beams have to be obtained from forest department on payment. Besides this, one or two labourers are also engaged for digging up the earth. (Apart from the members of the family who also work in the construction of the house). Certain households engage the services of an individual who is well versed and expert in erecting walls.

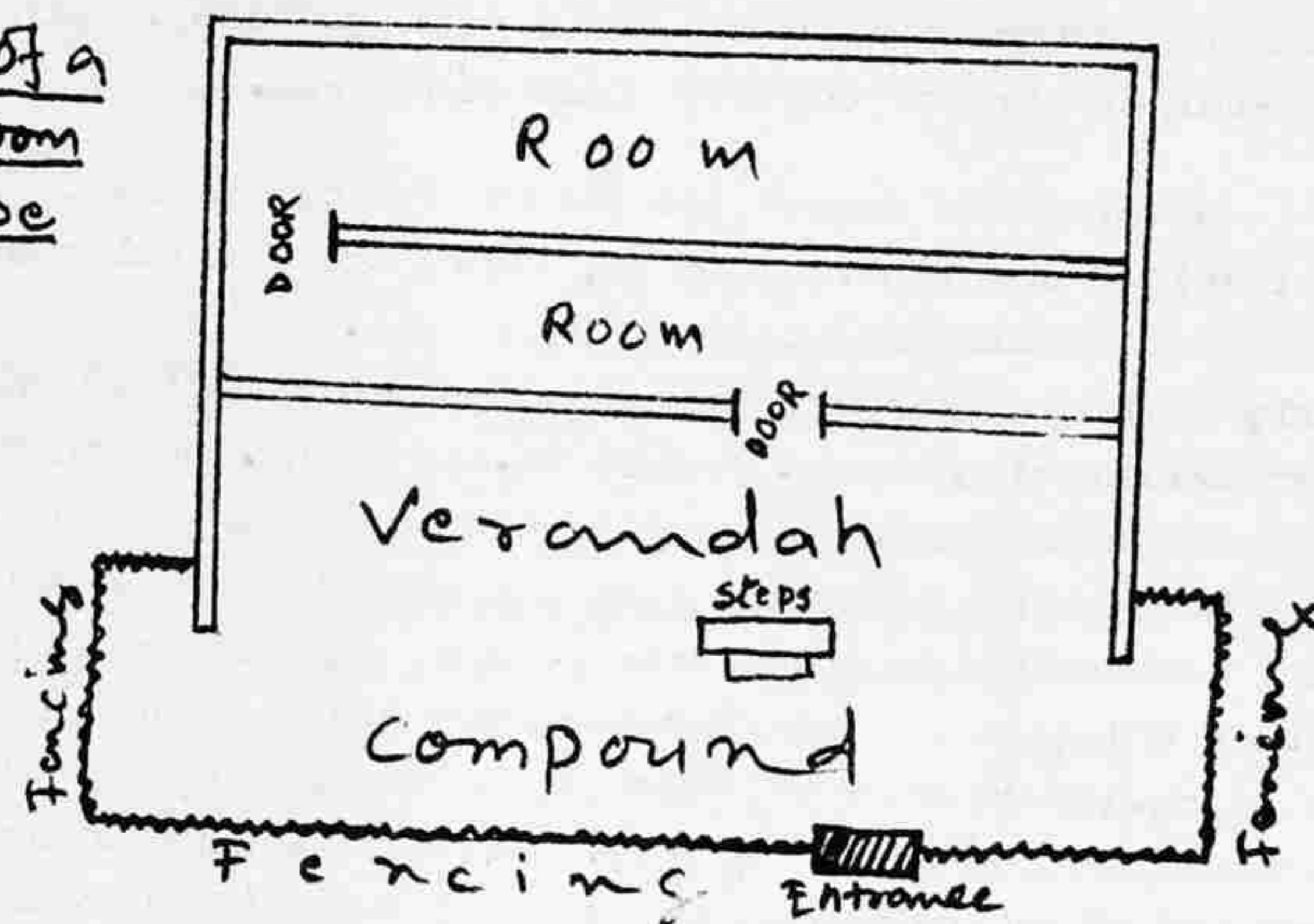
The families belonging to Tavid clan are perhaps the poorest ones in the village. Their houses are actually 'huts' except of one family. In one such hut two married brothers alongwith their children and mother are living together. Such hut-type structure do not contain even verandah. As such both brothers sleep with their wives in one room.

PLAN OF ONE & TWO ROOM HOUSE

① Plan of a One Room House



② Plan of a Two Room House



As construction of house is a bit costly affair, sometimes particular families have to fall into debt on account of that. There is such an instance in the village. Adhera Damor has constructed a new spacious house only a few months ago. As the crops had failed this year, he was not having ready cash with him to invest in the construction of the new house. Later, he obtained money from a Patel of Vijaynagar after mortgaging his two-third of his entire cultivable land to him (the Patel) for three years. For three years, the crops will be raised by the Patel on his land. As one of the child of Adhera had died in his old house, he and his wife wanted to abandon the old house. It was strongly believed by them that some one has spelled black magic to their former house. This is one of the reasons that many families do construct new houses although their old houses have been quite fit for habitation. As these Garasias remain very much suspicious about witchcraft and strongly believe in the power of black magic, they do not hesitate to change their dwellings in order to be on safeguard. Even during construction of a new house, due care is taken out against any kind of black magic. As long as the house is not completed and occupied, they hoist a piece of cloth tied down in a bamboo rod on the wall of the house. This is done in the name of Jhanpdi devi and Jhanpa dev who protect them against falling victim to any kind of black magic.

It is because of such things that the beginning of the construction work is made on auspicious days such as Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Thursday. In no case they will begin such work on Saturday. Again if bad omen is seen before the actual beginning of the work, it will be postponed for some other days. Among bad omen are (i) crying of 'Devchakli', (ii) seeing one-eyed person, (iii) seeing empty pitcher, etc.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Inside the house, the main things which attracts are the huge grain containers. Every well-to-do house has two or three such containers in which the grains are stored after the harvest. One such container, which is nearly 6 or 7 ft. in height and having sufficient broad diameter, can contain nearly 45 to 55 mds. of grain. Some small containers are also made to store pulses, grain etc. The structure of these containers are made out of bamboo. Then such bamboo structure are plastered with a mixture of earth and cow dung.

Besides these, several bamboo baskets, flat ones and round ones are used by these Garasias.

Another important object to draw one's attention is grinding stone which is used for grinding the corn. Only a few houses in this village do not have grinding stone in their houses, otherwise it is a must in every house. Although there is a flour machine operating in the village, the Garasias women prefer to grind the corn by themselves. However it was reported that newly married housewives prefer to go to the flour machine. But as the machine is not dependable one cannot entirely bank upon that for getting flour.

One or two small steel trunks can also be seen in nearly all the houses in which the women particularly keep their costly dresses. The money to be used for household expenditure is also kept in the steel trunks. These are not locked.

Every household keeps one or two tin chimneys for the purpose of lighting during night hours. Except in one or two houses, lantern is not to be found among them.

Among the musical instruments drum is found in quite a number of houses. Besides, a few families own country made 'sitar' also. The Bhagat family in the village has one or two pairs of 'Jhanj' (). Many children and adolescent boys keep flute, made by themselves.

Every household has bows and arrows by which they sometimes do hunting in the adjoining forest. Ofcourse it has almost become a dead weapon for these people.

The household utensils are not much in number in a Garasia family of this village. The bread is baked on earthen made 'tawa' (). Actually, they do not use 'tawa' but the broken piece of the bottom of a earthen pitcher is used as tawa for preparing the bread. However well-to-do families do keep an 'iron 'tawa'. Every household has two or three aluminium 'tapeli' (). This number depends upon the economic condition of the families, poor families may have only one such 'tapeli.' Big size thalis are perhaps owned by only two families in the village. Small size metal dishes are owned by nearly every household. A few families own enamel plates and dishes

while a few others own aluminium 'thalis' and dishes. Large size 'Katoras' are owned by some families. While medium sized or small sized is owned by every household. The number may range between 1 to 5 depending upon the number of members in the family. For drinking water, one or two metal 'lota' is owned by every family. Metal glass are not owned by poor families, while an average family in village has at least one metal glass, which is mainly kept for the purpose of entertaining guests. One or two buckets may be owned by these household although it is not a necessity. For storing water, earthen pitcher is used. But every family has one or two metal vessels for storing water. Tea spoons are not to be found among them. Large size metal spoons are used for the cooking of vegetables, pulses and rice etc. But only one or two can be found with every household.

The Garasias of this village are not as much fond of ornaments as the Garasias of Danta taluka. The men practically do not wear any kind of ornaments. Only in the ears of a few old men one can see 'murki' made up of either silver or gillete. Young men have discarded wearing ornament as this looks them to be old fashioned. The unmarried young girls in the family use a few pieces of ornaments. There will be 'Hakli', (a circular piece worn around the neck) ear-rings, nose-rings and glass bangles. Except the 'Hakli' or chain most of the ornaments are imitation products which they are able to buy from the local shopkeeper. A married woman, however, puts on more ornaments on her body. Besides the usual ornaments worn by the unmarried girls, there will be anklets worn around the ankles, 'Kara' worn around portion of the leg below the knee, several 'Har' (chain), metal bangles, lac bangles, etc. As for the dress the men usually wear Dhoti on their lower part of body and shirt, either collarless or with collar. This has become their usual dress. Some young men of the village do use trousers and bush-shirts but not regularly. They wear such dresses occasionally. Half pant is also used by young men. The children are given half pants or underwear and shirt or bush-shirt. Among the women, the unmarried ones use a long petticoat, which is slightly more long in diameter than the usual ones, and a blouse to cover the lower and upper parts respectively. Small girls are given frocks to wear. The married women use sari, mill-made sari and blouse. Beneath the Sari they also use petticoat. Some women use 'kabja' which is a kind of brassiere. But it is not universal in use among the woman of this village. The use of sari is universal among the women of

this village. The traditional 'Ghagra' is not worn by them. Some old women may be seen in 'Ghagra' but not any young housewife.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Agriculture is the mainstay of the Garasias of these village. Nearly all the households are cultivators. A majority of the households have less landholdings, less than 10 acres even though there are immense gaps as well. Some households have as less as 1-2 acres of land.

Women in particular play an important role in agricultural activities. Almost the entire work is done by them except ploughing and tilling. Rarely, women plough as well. But from tilling the ground before the rains to harvesting, women work more than men at every stage of the agricultural operation.

The technological equipment that these Garasias use are the same old ones although they have heard about and some have even seen modern implements such as tractors, pumps, oil engines and many other hand tools. Among Garasias of this village, the agricultural system, based on the plough, the bullock and the metal tipped wood and bamboo implements forms the technological core of these people. An enumeration of the items, the wooden plough with metal share yoked to a pair of bullocks, the wooden tbothed harrow, the sickle, the metal blade hoe, indicates the long standing complex of the region. Bamboo and wooden items are ubiquitous.

The modern world's technology is represented in the village by the sewing machine, petro-max, transistor radio - all owned by the muslim businessman of the village. The tribals of these village have no access to such things although they are quite aware of the existence of such things.

The bullock is the largest capital item and the most important piece of equipment, but it still partakes of the essential feature of the Garasias' technology. It is household owned and household operated. Their technology is based on the household unit of production and consumption and requires neither a capital nor labour force beyond that scale. Each producing unit aims at technological and economic self-sufficiency

But a good many of households have not even the bullocks. A pair of bullocks cost about Rs.400 to Rs.500. This is the only item which is beyond the means of poor, for if a man can afford bullocks, he can afford a plough, harrow, sickle etc.

There are two main agricultural season in this village, namely, (1) Kharif and (2) Rabi. The Kharif season starts from the last week of June and lasts till the end of October. The main crops grown in this season are maize and coarse paddy. The Rabi season starts by the end of October and lasts upto the last week of February. The main crops grown in this season are gramms, tuwer, etc. Wheat is grown by only a few families. In this season, the farmers think themselves fortunate if they get good crops. Lack of irrigation facilities and stray cattle are some of the reasons that do not allow an increase in the yield. This year, the rains have failed and as such the entire crops of gramms in the village have been ruined. The villagers do not grow cotton on account of low temperature during winter season which ruins the crop. Ground-nut is also not raised universally in this village. Some families grow this cash crop. Sugar cane was used to be raised formerly but now-a-days on account of non-availability of sugar cane seedlings, they do not plant this crop.

Generally, the seeds which are used by these tribal people are home grown during respective seasons. As they cannot afford manure, they are unable to produce good crops and grains out of the home grown seeds. Distribution of improved seeds is being done by the T.D.Block but the agriculturists of this village have not been benefitted by that. Improved variety of seeds do not work well unless there is proper irrigational facilities which are very scanty in this village.

Irrigation problem is one of the main causes for the poverty of these Garasias of this village. They do not have any ^{rain} facility to irrigate their lands and have to wait until the rain comes. The village has only three wells. Two of them are owned by the Muslim family and the shopkeepers. Their wells are located in their respective field and they do use the water to irrigate the field. Among the tribal families only one well is owned by a member of Damor clan. That well is a kachcha one and hence unfit to be used for irrigation. Among other irrigational facilities, there is the small dam constructed by the then Vijaynagar State rulers across the Harnav river. Water from this dam used to be

canalised to the village fields. The canals are ofcourse kachcha one. But as the dam has become old and remained uncared for, water does not flow into the canal. Last year, some repair works had been done and the farmers of this village had been benefitted but this year again it has gone into disuse.

The agriculture produce are hardly enough to pull on for even four months of a year. This is generally true for majority of the families in the village. In such an event, the villagers have to depend heavily on labour work which ofcourse they are getting regularly in the adjoining forest. Labourers are engaged by the forest department and the petty contractors for making charcoal and cutting woods. During current year, scarcity works have been started and probably all the able bodied persons in the village would get works for at least three to four months. Besides labour work, the villagers collect gum from the neighbouring forests to supplement their income. Certain persons also collect honey.

Maize is the staple food of the Garasias of this village. Wheat is also used which they bring from Ration shops. The bread of maize flour is taken with chutney of hot and green chillies. Vegetables and pulses are not frequently used. Nearly all the households except one family (Thavra Bhagat) are non-vegeterian and hence occasionally they supplement their usual dish with goat-meat, buffaloe-meat and chicken meat. Use of mahua liquor is universal (except the Bhagat family).

SOCIAL LIFE

As has been mentioned earlier, the Garasias of this village are distributed into 13 exogamous clans. Next to the clan is the unit of lineage groups. Ofcourse, this is not very distinct in this village except in the case of Damor clan and Kharadi clan. In case of other clans, all the members have descended from a common ancestor who is known and as such their lineages are traced up easily.

The relationships between members of different clans are cordial and persons of one clan depend upon others for fulfillment of their social obligations. This is especially noticed at the time of marriage celebrations and death ceremonies. During our enquiry, Thavra Voranda had made a visit to another village

for negotiation of the settlement of his daughter's marriage. He had been accompanied by persons from Ninama, Damor, Kotwal, Parmar and Khokharia clans. All of them had gone for a proper and careful look about the boy's family. The views of every member of such team is taken into consideration before final decision is taken. As such, this illustrates inter clan dependence on such matters. Besides, Thavra himself, his two sons, his real brother, his brother's son, all have gone together.

Even in matter of agricultural operations, the bullocks are supplied to any needy family in the village irrespective of that belonging to different clan.

Kinship ties are maintained closely only among near kins. There is a strong evidence, which is illustrated by the genealogical tables of several families, that beyond the immediate range of kins, individual even do not remember the name of their relatives. This is particularly true in case of persons of second generation in the village. In the first generation, some persons do remember whereabouts of a large number of even distant relatives. During our stay in the village, Thavra's wife's brother's son had visited Thavra to enquire about their welfare. He has come after three years and that also because Thavra's youngest son from first wife was confined to bed on account of severe injury in the right thigh. Regular visits by kins are maintained amongst the immediate and most near kins. Even affinal kins visit regularly only when the wife is living. After her death, seldom they visit except on important events in the family when it becomes moral obligation for them to pay a visit. Married daughter, married sisters alongwith their husband and children do visit at regular intervals to enquire about the well-beings of the members in the family. In one family of Ninama clan, the wife's younger sister and her mother had visited them. The wife's sister who was a newly married girl had been accompanied by her husband who belonged to Vijaynagar. The wife's mother and sister stayed overnight but the husband of the sister went back to Vijaynagar in the evening. The family members pressed him very hard to stay overnight but as he has not obtained permission from his mother and father, he refused. It is considered very improper and shameful on the part of newly married men to visit wife's relatives and stay with them without the permission of parents.

When the married daughter or married sister visits her parent's or brother's family, she usually brings some cooked food with herself to give those to the children in the family. It is considered improper for her to come without such a thing. It is not that any special food is brought but it is just a gesture for the love and affection towards her natal family.

The following terminology is used for referring and addressing various kins.

Sr. No.	Type of relationship	Terms for reference	Terms for address
1.	Father	Bapa	Bapa
2.	Mother	Ma	Ma
3.	Grand father	Moto Ba	Moto Ba
4.	Grand mother	Moti Ma	Moti Ma
5.	Father's elder brother	Babo	Babo
6.	Father's elder's brother's wife	Babi	Babi
7.	Father's younger brother	Kaka	Kaka
8.	Father's younger brother's wife	Kaki	Kaki
9.	Wife's father	Sasraji	Sasraji
10.	Wife's mother	Sasu	Sasu
11.	Wife's father's younger brother	Kakoji	Kakoji
12.	Wife's father's elder brother	Babaji	Babaji
13.	Mother's father	Mota Bapo	Mota Bapo
14.	Mother's mother	Moti Ma	Moti Ma
15.	Son	Beta	By name
16.	Daughter	Beti	Bai
17.	Elder sister	Moti Ben	Bai
18.	Younger sister	Nani Ben	By name or Bai
19.	Elder brother	Mota Bhai	Bhai
20.	Younger brother	Nana Bhai	By name
21.	Elder brother's wife	Bhaujai	Bhaujai
22.	Younger brother's wife	Bahu	Bahu
23.	Son's wife	Bahu	Bahu
24.	Elder sister's husband	Banevi	Banevi
25.	Sister's son	Bhanej	Chokro or By name
26.	Brother's son	Bhatrija	Chokro or By name

27.	Son's son	Chhokra no Chhokro	By name
28.	Daughter's son	Chhokri no Chhokro	By name
29.	Wife's younger sister	Hali	Hali
30.	Wife's elder sister	Hali	Hali
31.	Daughter's or Son's father-in-law	Bevai or Saga	Bevai
32.	Daughter or Son's mother-in-law	Bevan	Bevan
33.	Wife's brother	Sala	Bhai
34.	Wife's brother's wife	Halaodi	Bai
35.	Wife's brother's or Wife's sister's son	Bhatriza	Beta
36.	Wife's brother's or Wife's sister's daughter	Bhatrizi	Beti
37.	Sister's son's son	Bhanej na Chhokro	Beta
38.	Sister's son's daughter	Bhanej na Chhokri	Beti
39.	Mother's brother	Mama	Mama
40.	Mother's brother's wife	Mami	Mami
41.	Mother's sister	Mahi	Mahi
42.	Mother's sister's husband	Maho	Maho
43.	Mother's brother's son or Sister's son	Bhai	Bhai
44.	Mother's brother's or Sister's daughter	Ben	BBai
45.	Wife's sister's husband	Naru	Bhai

With mother-in-law and father-in-law avoidance relationship is maintained. Same is maintained in case of wife's elder sister. It can be observed from the above list that the members of descending generation are mostly addressed by Beta and Beti. The same term of address is applied to all siblings in the descending generation.

The basic social unit is the household and family. The head of the family is always the father or in case of the death of the father, is the eldest brother. The authority lies in the hand of the head of the family. All major decisions are taken out by him. The adult sons and daughters, although have every freedom to exercise their own will but they must obtain the consent of the head if the issue concerns the family as a whole. Even in matters of their own concern, they inform the head and take his advice. The women too, have greater say in the family matters. Decisions in the family are not taken without obtaining

the consent of eldest women in the family. If she disapproves certain thing, the members have to abide by her wishes. Ofcourse, it does not mean that women are obstacles. Infact, they seldom interfere in family matters and keep full trust in the wisdom of their husband.

Children are treated with all care. Garasias are, infact, very much fond of children. Grown up children do not, as a rule, disobey elders.

MARRIAGE

Marriage is universal among Garasias. No adult men or women of the village is unmarried. There are usually two types of marriage: (1) Arranged and (2) Love marriage, locally known as "Khainchi lavya". The former is a preferred one and majority of the marriages in the village in the present I and II generation have taken place accordingly. Love marriages are also not uncommon. But it is not preferred by the society of this village. In the latter type of marriage the actual marriage ceremonies may not take place while in the former, all the ceremonies are observed. In the arranged marriages, the negotiation is first started through a person known as 'Badhali' or 'Bhanggadia'. Such a person is a common acquaintance of the two families who want to unite in marriage bonds. After initial informations gathered through the 'Badhali' the boy's parents alongwith their immediate kins visit the girl's parents and formally announce their wish to take their (girl's parent) daughter as a wife for their son. The boy's parents carefully gather reports about the capabilities of the girl to do all household chores and only after becoming fully satisfied they announce their desire. The girl's parents will not immediately accept the proposal. They will say 'we will see'. Later, on a fixed date, the girl's parents alongwith their kins and friends visit the boy's parents. There they will personally scrutinize the family's economic and social condition and the boy's fitness. The party will get back to their village in the same evening. If they are fully satisfied, the girl's parents would communicate their acceptance. In case they are not satisfied, they would communicate their non-acceptance. After this a suitable date is fixed for the marriage ceremony which usually takes place sometime after Holi.

The bride price is a fixed one among the Garasias of this region. This is Rs.81.00 only. Besides, the cash, the boy's parent will present two or three pieces of ornaments to the girls and one set of clothing. In case the bride is to be brought from Rajasthan, one has to pay higher amount as bride-price as the villages of Rajasthan are not binded with the regulations of Sabarkantha district Garasia Panch which is responsible for fixing the amount of bride price in this region. But there is full understanding between the neighbouring Garasia villages of Rajasthan and Garasia villages of this region in matter of bride price. According to such understanding the same bride price (Rs.81.00) is given to the girl's parents/a ^{of} Rajasthan village, if similarly, the boy's parents of a Rajasthan village, if they decide to bring a bride from this region, pay only Rs.81.00. But in case of far away villages in Rajasthan State, this rule does not apply. As such, if a person of this village wishes to bring wife from such distant villages, lying in Rajasthan State, he will have to pay a much higher amount as bride price. One Bechar Kala Ninama of this village has brought his second wife from the village Nagar, 14 miles east, in the Rajasthan State after paying a bride-price of Rs.400/-. However, mostly marriages take place within this region and as such the usual bride price one has to pay remains Rs.81.00.

In case of love marriages, the girl simply goes to her future husband's house to live with him as his wife. The bride price is ofcourse has to be paid to the girl's parents. Such situation mostly arise when the girl becomes pregnant and she has to get a husband to cover up her illegitimate pregnancy. As there is considerable sexual laxity among the adolescent boys and girls, they do establish sex relations between themselves. One informant even pointed out that even girls and boys of the same clan do enter into such sexual relationships. (This ofcourse remains to be verified). In case the girl gets pregnant by a boy of her own clan, she immediately establishes such relationship with another boy of another clan. After carrying out such affairs with a boy or boys of different clan, she would announce about her pregnancy by the particular boy of different clan. The victim boy ofcourse never knows that the girl has not got pregnant by him. At last they get married as husband and wife and the illegitimate pregnancy turns out as a legitimate pregnancy. The informant further told that behind majority of the marriage between a boy and a girl of the same village, this

very reason lies. Ofcourse, the girl can also chose a boy of a neighbouring village.

At least one person in the village .bhapur is living with his wife without undergoing the actual marriage ceremonies. He is Dhana Tavid. His wife belonged to a distant village in Rajasthan State. She has recently become a widow and had visited bhapur to meet her one relative. Dhana Tavid met her here and fell in love with her. He proposed her to become his wife and after taking the consent of the village elders and the woman's relative in bhapur, he brought her to his house. There after she has been living with him as his wife. They are now parent of four children.

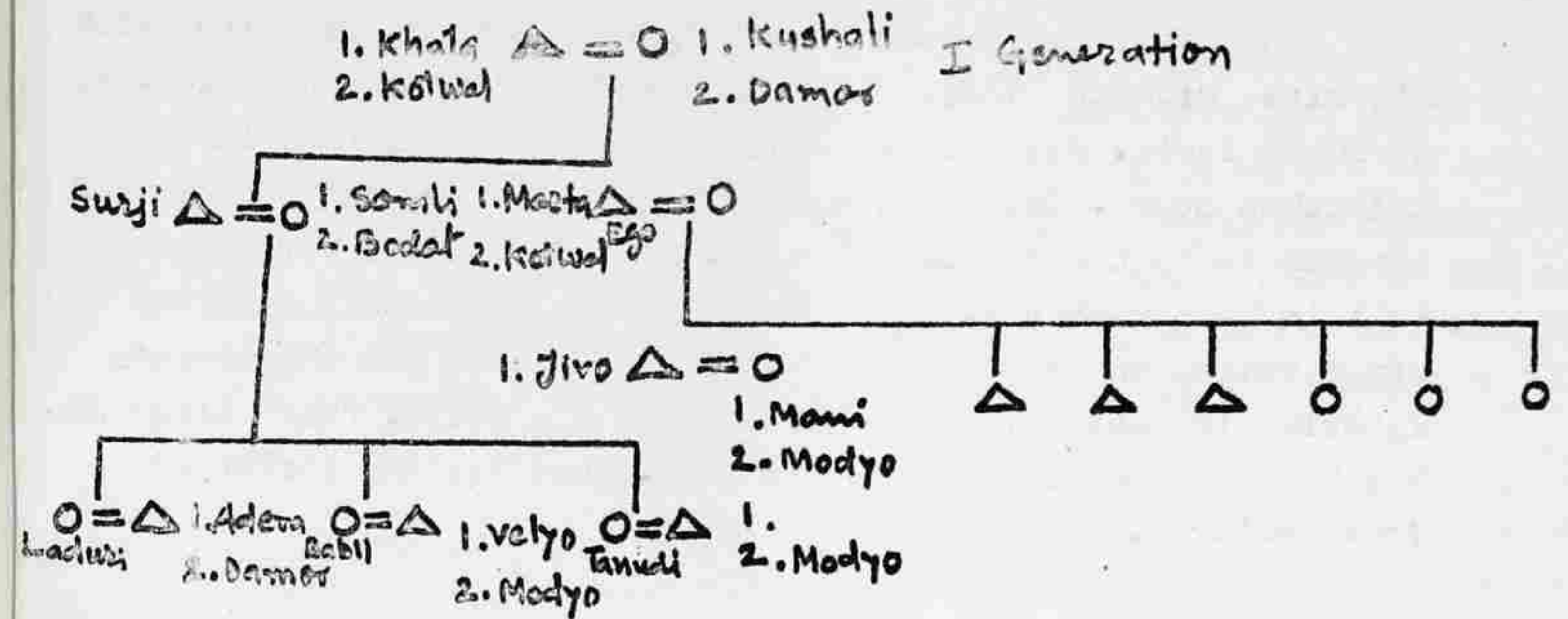
As the clan is exogamous in nature, spouses are always selected from different clan. There is not a single instance in the village against this rule. Another care is also taken while considering the selection of a bride. She should not belong to the same clan, to which the person's mother belongs. This means that two clan groups are avoided while selcting a bride. From the genealogies collected of several families, this seems to be true except in case of the genealogy of Voranda clan where the father has also married a woman of Gameti clan. While his sons have also married woman of Gameti clan. As such it appears that this rule is not strictly applied although avoided to a great extent. Here are genealogies of some families to demonstrate this rule. (On separate page).

It will be evident from a careful examination of the above genealogies that except in one case, all the members of second and third generation have not married a woman of their father's and mother's clan.

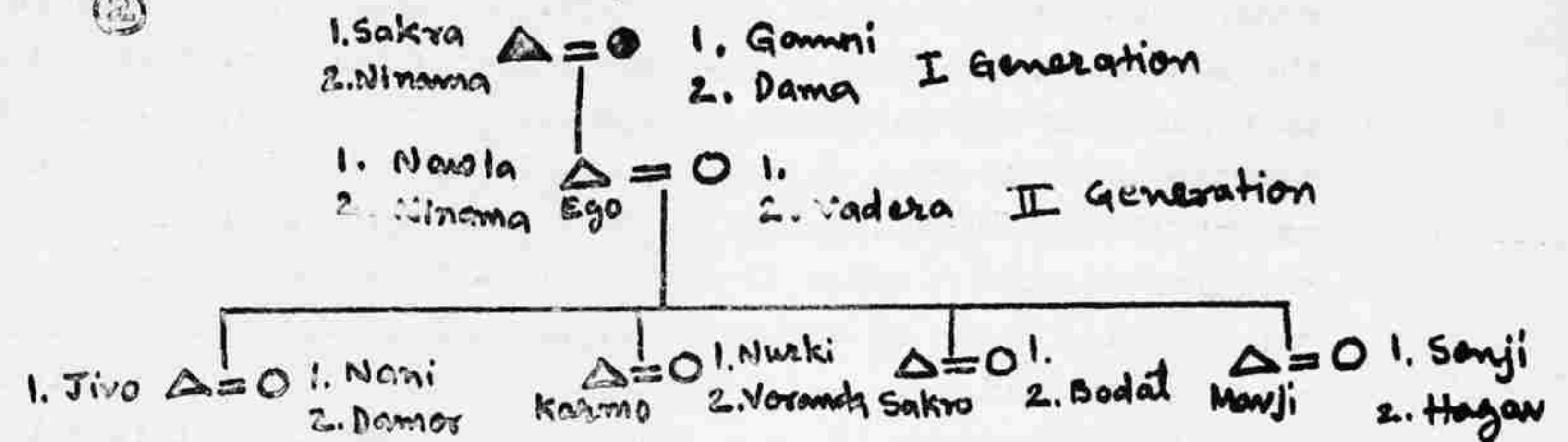
As mentioned earlier, there is enough sexual laxity among the Garasias of this village. Pre-marital sexual offences are not viewed with any concern. But it should not be regarded that there is no moral code in the society. In fact, even such pre-marital sexual offences are made in secret and the affair is kept hidden as far as possible. Another thing to be noted in this concern is that nearly all such sexual affairs are carried out during day time as it is quite difficult for the partners to meet during night hours. During day hours the partners have to retire in the jungle and to find suitable place for indulging in sexual

Genealogies Showing Marriage Connections

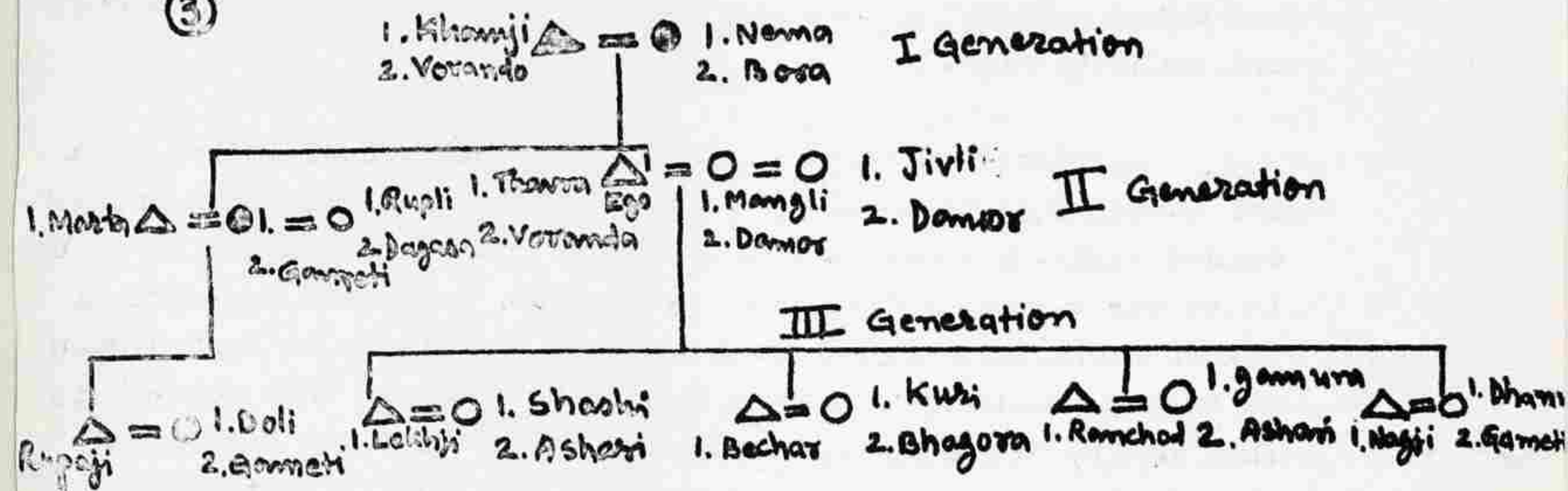
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Note:

- 1 - Name of the village
- 2 - Name of the clan

activities. All these are not so easy to arrange. The lovers arrange their meeting much before hand and it is the boy who suggests the place where to meet. One informant informed that seldom a girl refuses a boy for sexual co-habitation unless she thinks he is fool enough to make the affairs open. While approaching a girl for the first time, the boy offers some eatables to the girl. If she accepts, the first hurdle is crossed. Next the boy would say that "since you have eaten my things, you will have to pay something in return". The usual reply of the girl is "who is afraid of paying you back?" In this manner the things are settled and then the place and time is fixed for meeting each other.

Levirate and sorrorate are permissible among the Garasias of this region. Sexual relations with elder brother's wife is also kept in certain cases even ^{when} the elder brother is living. But such an affair is ofcourse kept hidden from the others. There is one woman in the village, wife of a person of Kotwal clan, who allows men for sexual enjoyment with her on payment. Her husband is invalid and the family is on the whole a poor one. Both these factors induce her to encourage men of the village to come to her for sexual enjoyment. Desirous men cohabit with her after paying something between 0.75 paise to Rs.1.50.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN THE VILLAGE

The village has not been the particular concern of any Government agency and nothing in its history singles it out from the ~~sun~~ of villages around it. Abhapur is the ordinary village of this region, Vijaynagar taluka and it is this very ordinariness that makes it a desirable object of study. The local authorities of Tribal Development Block and Taluka had made some visits and attempts, during our stay to rally the villagers for scarcity works to be opened in the area. As has been earlier mentioned, even the programme of construction of wells has not been carried out in the village and as such the basic problem of drinking water remains yet to be solved. No special Government services are located in or tendered to Abhapur. The whole economic life of the tribals of this village follow the natural lines of the economic structure of the community rather than Governmental plan. Since agriculture is the basis of livelihood in Abhapur, land is of utmost importance. But no programme of land development or improvement has been carried out in the village for which there

appears to be immense scope for such a programme as the village land do not have hilly regions and more or less is plain land. There is no sign in the village that the farmers have been using improved seeds, particularly hybrid maize. This programme cannot be successful without provision of adequate irrigational facilities in the village. It appears that the developmental agencies have consistently ignored the wants of villagers. For the health facilities the villagers have ^{to} depend upon Government dispensary at Vijaynagar which is eight miles away from the village. Many villagers have made complaint to us that they do not get proper treatment at the hands of the Medical Officer at Vijaynagar. One, Thavra Voranda, has to come to Ahmedabad for the medical treatment of his son who had fractured his bone in the region of his right thigh. Since Thavra is a well-to-do farmer of the village, he could very well afford to bring his son to Ahmedabad for treatment. But what about poor ones? And what about the case of villagers in matter of lesser ailment? There is no way out except to depend upon indigeneous way of treatment by means of herbs and taking refuge in the hands of sorcerers. As many persons in the village have suffered due to lack of medical facilities and ineffectiveness of their indigeneous methods, the villagers in general have strong belief in witchcraft and sorcery. They attribute their sufferings to black magic and evil design of jealous persons in the village and even outsiders. We were many ^a times refused cooperation in our work, by the villagers (particularly women) on the ground that "if the name of their children would be written by us, they would die". Upon our protesting, they remarked that many children and even grown up persons died soon after the last census enumeration in the village. In this regard there is another incident worth mentioning. Once, in course of our research work we approached a household. The head of household has been sitting in the courtyard alongwith an old woman. We were offered seats. In course of our talk, we enquired from the old woman whether she was mother of the head of household. She became angry and in an irritating tone replied that "You do not have a proper eye. I am his wife". She further remarked that because of black magic played by some evil persons in the village, she has been sick since a long time and her health has ^{been} so much completely ruined that she looked like the mother of her husband. On further enquiry about her medical treatment it was learnt that medicines had been of no use to her. She firmly believed that she was a

victim of witchcraft and hence no medicine would cure her.

Attitudes toward Governmental programme is not favourable. In this regard it is to ^{be} remembered that ~~there~~ is a society whose whole economic and social life had taught its member to depend upon themselves and not on any outside agency. Hence it is futile to think they would come by themselves to developmental agencies for amelioration of their conditions.

Note:

The field work for this research has been carried out in the winter of 1970.

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