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ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE BAGRI WITH THE
EMPHASIS ON KINSHIP SYSTEM

(A Case Study of Vagrant Hindus in Sind) ✓



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A thesis submitted to the Department
of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam Univer-
sity, Islamabad in partial fulfilment
of the requirement for the MASTER OF
SCIENCE DEGREE.



M. SALEEM SAFDAR
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD-PAKISTAN
1982.

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DEDICATED TO —

MY PARENTS

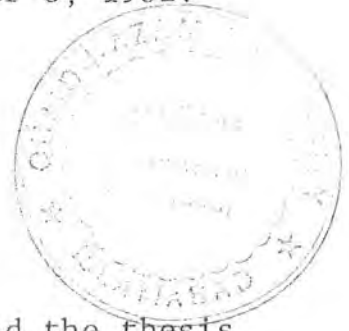
I PLACE MY HEAD
ON THEIR FEET.

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD

November 8, 1982.

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FINAL APPROVAL OF THESIS



This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by M. SALEEM SAFDAR and it is our judgement that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the degree of Master of Science in Anthropology.

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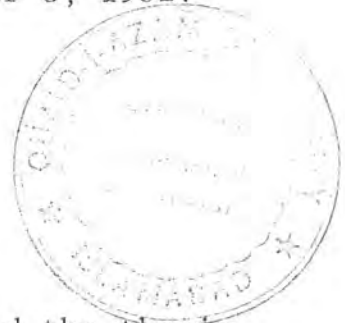
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

All praise to the creator of crown of creation
the most praiseworthy and the most gracious.

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MUHAMMAD SALEEM SAFDAR

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MAP OF PAKISTAN

Showing the field of Area



KEY


1. City. 
2. Rivers. 
3. Provincial boundary. 
4. Boundary. 
5. Field Area. 

MAP OF SIND

Showing the Field Area



KEY

1. Railway -----
2. Road —————
3. City •
4. River ~~~~~
5. Field Area 

CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

An ethnography is description of the social and cultural systems of one society (Friedl, 1976, p. 35), Hunter and Whitten, 1976, p. 11). This thesis concerns the ethnography of the Bagri, a vagrant Hindu tribe of Sind. But, since the study of whole socio-cultural systems is time consuming and requires exorbitant funds and vigour, in view of the time and finance limitations, I emphasized kinship. However, other aspects have been touched upon, but briefly.

A kinship system is defined as the customary complex of statuses and rules governing the behaviour of relatives. (Hoebel, 1958, p. 651). Anthropologists have pointed out two types of relatives: the consanguineal and affinal (Friedl, 1976, p. 259). The former types of relatives are those who have blood relations with one another, and the latter being related through the bond of marriage. Friedl (1976, p. 260) also defines another type of kinship ties, the artificial category of relatives who are neither related through blood nor through marriage.

These categories will be discussed along with other descriptions of the society in later chapters. This

chapter will contain the literature relevant to kinship systems in other societies. I shall also mention the reasons as to why I selected this group of vagrant bands people for the purpose of study, what were the obstacles I had to overcome while developing rapport, and consequently, what methodology has been used to collect the reliable data about the Bagri people.

1.1 PROBLEM STATED

Kinship is a complex of statuses and roles which extends over many facets of life of a people. It confers upon certain individuals the power and authority, and compels other to obey the dictates of the powerful; it creates expectations on the part of society, and at the same time pressurizes others to fulfill the expectations; this complex, to sum up, covers nearly all aspects of the group life. To grasp the nature of kinship in Bagri society, there are five key questions:

1. What type of kinship system do the Bagris have?
2. How are economic transactions influenced by the kinship system?
3. How does the kinship system seek justification from the religion?
4. What functions does the kinship play in the resolution of conflicts?

5. How is the kinship system exploited in the accumulation of influence and power?

To substantiate my concepts pertaining to kinship system, I shall later be presenting the relevant literature, but primarily it seems more reasonable to mention the locale of the society in focus.

1.2 LOCALE OF STUDY

The study was conducted in Sukkur, from March, 1981 to October, 1981, for seven months altogether. The Bagris are distributed throughout Sind and adjacent areas of the Punjab like Dera Ghazi Khan and Baluchistan. They make encampments in the outskirts of the towns and on the banks of the river Indus. These encampments are used alternately. During the season when the water has receded they shift to the river side from the vicinity of urban settlements. These settlements they refer to as Kacha (Levee land) and pakka (cultivated land) hinter encampments respectively. Since they are scattered throughout Sind, therefore, it is difficult though not impossible to cover all the camps of the Bagris. So perceiving the time limitation I selected five camps located around the city of Sukkur, the district headquarter.

The Bagris, as described by Somroo (1977, p. 61, who calls them 'Waghri') are from the Parkari division of

the Kohlis: the Kohlis being the remainders of the ancient people of subcontinent who were driven out of their settlements after the semi-mythical invasions of Aryans from Central Asia. The Bagris are a Hindu people. There is no authentic literature available pertaining to their origin and only myths have been utilized for this purpose. Ibbetson, MacLagan and Rose (1978, p. 83) in their glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab and NWFP, Vol.II, considers the Bagris as original inhabitants of Bagar, the prairies of Bikaner, which lie to the south and west of Hissar. They consider Bagris to be related to Hindu Rajput or Jat castes. However, pending further discussion about the origin of the Bagris in the coming chapter, it seems necessary to say a few words about their physical appearance.

Physically, they appear to be slim and of dark complexions. Since they are hardworking people living in a harsh environment their health condition is not good if not the worst. The height is less than average height of the area. Young women look comparatively more healthy than men, but early marriage, high birth rate and child mortality in addition to non-availability of clinical facilities bring on old age before time.

Economically also the Bagri are not well off. They are hunters primarily, but seasonal farming, begging and

labour constitute their secondary subsistence source. They say they are Hindu, but their belief system, however, can not be rendered as pure Hinduistic since concepts from other religions, like Islam and Sikhism, are stitched to the fabric of their belief system. In this respect their belief system can be considered as pluralistic.

Though they live within the administered territories, yet for the purpose of resolution of their conflicts they have their own system ^{like} / Panchayat. The entry of Police or other Law Enforcing Agency into disputes is not frequent.

The Bagri tribe as a whole is divided into nine clans which they call paro. These clans are of much importance and bear an influence in the economic, religious and political life of the tribe. Each clan is an exogamous group which necessitates the consolidation of the society through gift exchange at the time of marriage and also on other occasions. Each clan has a leader of its own who is termed as a Mukhi (having the face). The Mukhi represents the clan in the tribal meeting so as to consider problems of tribal importance, and chairs the Panchayat of the clan.

This is a brief introduction of the Bagris and their society. In the coming section, the literature having relevance with for an understanding of Bagri kinship will be reviewed.

1.3 RELEVANT LITERATURE

Hoebel's definition of kinship was presented earlier (1958, p. 651). Friedl (1976, p. 260) defines it as 'the system of defining and organizing one's relatives'. Hunter and Whitten (1976, p. 587) consider kinship as the social phenomenon whereby people establish connections with each other on the basis of genealogical linkages in culturally specified ways. The former two definitions are related to roles, expectations and statuses and they do not contain any idea of who relatives are the third, if it contains definition of relatives, it is, as is evident, half-hearted. In the societies which are traditional, the labelling of kinship extends out of the 'genealogical linkages'. There are categories of relatives not genealogically linked, but nonetheless important. Keesing (1935, p. 13) has defined kinship with somewhat more precision. He defines kinship as 'the network of relationship created by genealogical connections and by social ties (e.g. those based on adoption) modelled on the natural relations of genealogical parenthood". Since the society under examination considers individuals both linked by genealogy and equally important in their social system, so the definition of Keesing (1935, p. 13) holds good for my purpose.

A kinship system in any society over the globe is significant and elucidative. It varifies the nature of

behaviour of the people. This characteristic is evident from the works of many anthropologists. Evans-Pritchard, an eminent observer of African social life, observes in 'The Nuer' that in this society,

"rights, privileges and obligations are determined by kinship. Either a man is kinsman, actually or by fiction, or he is a person to whom you owe no reciprocal obligations and whom you treat as potential enemy".

(Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 182)

Radcliffe-Brown in his study of three tribes of Western Australia (1912) narrates several stories which add depth in the context of field research. One of his stories clearly defined the role of kinship in the life of the tribesmen. He established that kinship was so important for the tribesmen that sometimes it became impossible to have contact with them without establishing kinship. Similar experience was also met with by Hart and Pilling (1979, p. 124-25) during their fieldwork among the Tiwi. These descriptions elucidate the role of kinship in tribal life. Therefore, from these stories and many other, Friedl (1976, p. 219) concludes that:

"a kinship system provides the bases for social structure in all societies, and particularly in traditional, non-western societies kinship is over riding principle upon which social relations rest".

(Friedl, 1976, p. 219)

Robin Fox (1967, p. 30) is of the opinion that it:

"determines the man's behaviour patterns about his basic facts like mating, gestation, parenthood, socialization and siblinghood".

(Robin Fox, 1967, p. 30)

Friedl (1976, p. 210) looks at a kinship system in the context of social organisation. To him, the system

"can serve as the basis for economic interaction, such as distribution of food or the assignment of labour tasks, political interaction, such a distribution of power and authority over the other individuals of the society, and many aspects of life for members of group".

(Friedl, 1976, p. 210)

Economic interaction between kin takes place in many ways, as has been noted in this statement quoted. Either it may occur in form of distribution of food among kin like the giving of a feast, exchange of gifts, or in the form of participation in the ceremonies held from time to time. Uchendu (1965, p. 64-66) while discussing the kinship network, points out five kinship categories which he mentions as lineages. Consequently these five merge into three groups i.e. agnates, mother's agnates and the

remote kinsmen. With reference to economic interaction these agnates play an important role in the life of an Igbo. An Igbo Ego boasts of his relations when he says, the agnates are the source of one's strength'. The agnates come to his help when he is in difficulties. Mother's agnates are of prime importance for the Igbo. Uchenda (1965, p. 67) concludes that,

"it is the privilege of the sisters' son to take any thing from his mother's brother's house without asking his permission. The fruit trees in the latter's village are at his disposal without his asking permission. When he cannot buy enough palm wine to entertain his guests, he goes to his mother's brothers lineage to 'poach' liquor - an expedition which earns congratulations for the most adroit poachers".

(Uchendu, 1965, p. 67)

Hart and Pilling in their work, 'The Tiwi of North Australia', while discussing the daily activities in the camp mention:

"when the food gatherers return ... each household would cook and eat at its own fires as a unit ... members of smaller households in which the food returns for the day were probably smaller per capita than those of bigger households would drop in during supper....Usually a senior wife would offer to one of the visitors a piece of meat or a dish of Kwoka and if rebuked by her husband she would justify her act by mentioning her own kinship".

(Hart & Pilling, 1979, p.36)

Economic interaction in form of gifts between the kin have been documented by Eglar (1960) after the study of a Punjabi village in Pakistan and by Alavi (1972) in his study of a Punjabi village. This form of gift exchange as described by both Eglar and Alavi is called Vartan Bhanji and Neondra. Similar description of kin participation in the ceremonies is referred to by Basso in his book, "The Cibecue Apache: (Basso, 1970, p. 71). He says,

"during the day preceding a puberty ceremonial, the obligation which clan and lineage kinship entail are put to a critical test. Without the assistance of kinsmen the ceremony cannot be given. The members of the Pubescent girl's clan are expected to contribute large quantities of food and help prepare the dance ground..."

(Basso, 1970, p. 71)

If the Bagri kinship is viewed in this perspective there exists a correspondence between the Bagri kinship system and others. The Bagri kinsmen, both consanguineal, affinal and fictive can be classified as similar to Igbo kinsmen. They share food, participate economically in the social life of the clan (Paro), help kin in commencing certain functions of significant nature, pay the gift price in form of Niendro. After each hunt, the meat is presented to the kin, after each crop of melon and water-melon, the fruit is shared, after each crop of date-fruit, when a

Bagri is working as labourer in some date-garden, whatever he gets from his labour, is shared by the relatives. Such incidents are numerous when food distribution and gift exchanges take place in the social life of the tribe.

Another type of economic interaction takes place at the time of 'collective reciprocal labour at field', which is termed as Vangaro.

The second main function Friedl gives (1976, p. 210) is political interaction. This political interaction gives birth to an indigenous political system. Radcliffe-Brown, in Fortes and Evans-Pritchard's "African Political Systems" (1940, XIV) defines this as the,

"maintenance or establishment of social order within a territorial framework, by the organized exercise of coercive use, or possibility of use of physical force".

Hoebel (1958, p. 487) while discussing the bases of political organization demarks three major principles: (a) the genealogical or kinship principle, (b) the geographical or territorial principle, and (c) special interest associations. He is of the opinion that,

"primitive states generally rest most heavily on the kinship principle of lineages, clans, phratries and moities; each of their headmen are responsible not only for the regulation and guidance of affairs within their respective kinship groups, but also formally represent their groups in relations vis-a-vis other kinship groups. Collectively, they form several levels of councils that act for the tribe as a whole in public affairs".

(Hoebel, 1958, p. 487-488)

The Bagri political organization strictly falls under this principle. Quite identical with the observation of Hoebel (ibid), the Bagri society divides into two levels of leadership; namely Mukhi of the band and Paro. They all represent their respective level groups.

About the sources of leadership, there are similarly three possibilities. For example, among the Swat Pathans, studied by Barth (1959, p. 133) the base of the authority of the leader is wealth and conquest. Wealth is not in the form of 'currency' but in terms of subsistence. For this purpose a Pathan leader should have enough land so as to support and feed his followers. So the ownership of land is thus a direct source of political influence. (Barth, 1959, p. 74). Besides the land, personal attributes like self-respect, defence of honour are other qualities for leadership.

Another student of Pakhtun (Pathan) society, Ahmad (1977, p. 47) considers age, wisdom, generosity and bravery as the pre-requisites of leadership. The kinship in this case is not source of authority in presence of 'Tauboorwali' the agnatic rivalry. The Bagri are landless people so the significance of land is out of the question. On the other hand, lineage affiliation and kinship plus personal attributes like wisdom, power to resolve conflicts, etc. are of significance in the process of attaining the leadership-Mukhiship.

One who leads rituals among Igbo assumes the tribe's leadership. (Uchenda, 1965, p. 90). A Tiwi leader is the medium between the living lineage members and the ancestors. A Tiwi leader participates in the legislative, executive and judicial activities of the village. Turnbull (1961, 1962) in his study of the Forest People considers expertise in hunting as the criterion of leadership. Compared with these the Bagris political system cuts cross them at many points. Though there is no concept of accumulation of land and wealth, however, generosity, wisdom, and age factors are common. There is no concept of ritualistic leadership of a Bagri Mukhi, since all the religious and ritualistic services are led by a member of another community - the Bania, a merchant caste. Turnbull's criterion can be valid in the case of the Mukhi of the

band. But, however, expertise in hunting does not constitute the whole source of leadership. Here again kinship is involved. To further elaborate, let me explain the structure of the band. A Bagri band does not necessarily consist of agnates. Nuclear families from different paros constitute a band; they are relatives through marriage. The number of families of a paro in a band determines the leadership. For example if a band contains twenty families out of which 10 are from paro A, 5 from paro B and 5 from paro C, the leadership of the band will automatically go to A. It is then that the members of the majority band determine and decide about the leaders judging personal attributes like expertise in hunting, power of decision etc.

From the discussion made so far, it appears that kinship is of significant importance in the life of the tribe. But, description is only possible if we collect a detailed information, and this is only possible through applicable data collecting techniques. In the coming sections I shall discuss in detail the methodology adopted for the collection of information. Problems during this phase of data collection, and relevant methods to overcome these will also be discussed.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Hunter and Whitten (1976, p. 588) define the "little tradition", a term though considered highly ethnocentric, as "the localized cultures of rural villagers living in the broader culture and social contexts of mass industrial society, with its great tradition". The Bagri people live in the wider social context of the Muslim society of Pakistan, with its great tradition of an Islamic identity. (Ahmed, 1977, p. 12). The Bagris constitute a minority group, which is defined as a "group that is distinguished from the larger society of which it is part by particular traits such as language, national origin, religion, values or customs. (Hunter and Whitten, 1976, p. 589). The Bagris are distinguished from the majority population by language: they use Sindhi as lingua franca, but also speak a special dialect. By religion, they are basically Hindu though the worship of Muslim saints has crept into their belief system. Nevertheless their value and customs are to greater extent similar to that of the people from other communities around them.

Minority groups sometimes appears as very potent pressure groups. These groups are more prone, in view of certain unavoidable external pressures to constitute what is called 'negative solidarity' (Friedl, 1976, p. 159).

Their 'negative solidarity' is enforced by means of limitations "upon moving from one group to another. These limitations can be geographical or cultural". (Friedl, 1976, p. 159), Friedl elaborates the phenomenon of 'negative solidarity by means of an American example. She states that

"Indian Blacks, Mexican-Americans and many other minorities are frequently unwelcome in middle class American society, and thus they are forced to establish a solidarity class by negative pressures from the outside in addition to the positive pressures drawing members to the group from within".

(Friedl, 1976, p. 159)

The Bagri clearly conform to the above definition. Therefore, the documentation of their society has been made with the idea to explore whether there indeed exists negative solidarity, and if so what extent. Similarly associated with this aim the present study also explores the ways in which "little tradition" interacts with the great tradition and how these two function together. However, my aim is not to give a detailed analysis. Since this lies beyond the scope and spirit of ^{this} thesis, my task is only to present an ethnographic description of the society for such a type of analysis to be taken up by others.

Moreover, each and every student of politics in general, and of anthropology and sociology in particular, with slightest knowledge of day-to-day developments is aware of the fact that developing and under-developed traditional societies commence development programmes as an extension of central administrative powers. The result is frequent failure. It is becoming clear that a programme for development positively materializes only when it is started 'within' rather 'without' of the local community. Two examples are 'Hazara Pre-Investment Reforestation Project', conducted by Pakistan Forest Institute, in Peshawar and 'Karakoram Highway Tourism Development Project'. These projects are actually the acknowledgement of social scientific theory of pre-investment studies i.e. tracing of people's culture prior to the introduction of the development programmes. So, present study is also intended to provide information regarding the values, customs and tradition of the Bagri people so as to develop strategies consistent with the normative behaviour of the people to ensure the development programme introduced if ever.

If, however, these anticipations are not met with, this documentation of the Bagri society fulfills my academic need since this study was conducted primarily to meet the curriculum requirements of the department.

The significance of the study having been discussed, the final important aspect of the study which remains to be discussed is methodology used in amassing the data. In the coming section this will be discussed.

1.5 SELECTION OF FIELD AREA

The idea of working upon the Bagris came into my mind after my visit to my brother who is a contractor at Sukkur. During discourse, a friend of my brother revealed that a group of people keep wandering from place to place throughout Sind, Baluchistan and the lower parts of Punjab. He told me that the Bagris are basically Hindu, but somewhat different from the Hindus of settled area. The settled area Hindus do not let the Bagris enter into their temples and consider them to be outcaste. No traditional spiritual leader, (the Brahman) leads their rituals and ceremonies. Instead, a member of the merchant caste (Bania) usually leads their ceremonies. The next day he took me to areas where the Bagris had erected their huts. Here we met some of the Bagri leaders, who after a bit of hesitation invited us to their huts. The Bagri elders also took us to a hut which was temple. They showed us the holy books of the Hindus and the Sikhs kept there. Similarly, they expressed great reverence towards the Holy Quran, the holy book of the Muslims. Being a student of anthropology I was attracted

to this pluralistic belief system. Perceiving my enthusiasm, my brother encouraged me throughout my fieldwork.

When I started fieldwork, the problem was to locate the people, because the Bagris are not sedentary people, but keep on moving from place to place. So when a few bands landed in the outskirts of the city of Sukkur, I labeled five camps out of them as the 'subject' of my study.

1.6 APPROACH

When I decided to focus on the Bagris for my study, I visited the camps. I attempted to talk to the elders and youth of the Bagris but they responded to me with much suspicion. Few of them behaved scornfully and even refused to speak to me. This was a great hindrance. I returned to my brother's place, rather disappointed. He up-braided me and promised to secure help. With the help of his contacts with the local people, he found out that bands of the Bagris had hired agricultural land from a local landlord, Raja Khan. Raja Khan was also Councillor of the local Town Committee. Therefore, I decided to approach Raja Khan to seek help. These proved to be of great value. Somehow, my brother arranged a meeting for me with Raja Khan. I explained to him my aims and objectives.

And after lengthy dialogue he agreed to help me. The next day, he took me to the site and introduced me to an elder of the Bagris, Natho Chuhan, the leader of a clan. Raja Khan helped me in explaining my purpose, and subsequently Natho Chuhan consented to my visits to his band, and as well promised to explain my purpose to elders of other clans and bands so as to secure an admittance into a wide spectrum of the tribe.

This, however, did not solve the whole problem. The Bagris never objected to my presence in their camps, but were hostile upon my asking questions pertaining to their life. The elderly people tried to keep me at a distance and warned the youth against the consequences of talking to me. Despite the high resistance, I succeeded in approaching young people and they responded politely though not fairly friendly. I explained to them my purpose. I showed them the picture books of the African people, hunting, fighting, dancing, gathering food and performing their religious ceremonies. Leaving that I was so young and knew a lot about the people living seven seas farther, they were very much astonished and out of their curiosity mixed with praise, they used to gather round me and started asking questions. This chatting provided me much chance to understand their habits, their gesture and their tradition, and this understanding proved to be of much value later on.

Despite this, I had to work hard against their fear of paper. The elders, the source of wisdom, kept on alarming the youth against any mischief I could make by supplying informations about them to the government. So, for many days, I took down my notes at home, until I overcame this fear and succeeded in creating a good rapport. During these earlier days, once they snatched the camera from my friend, who was a co-worker, and I had to ask the son and nephew of Raja Khan for help in returning my camera from the Bagris. After repeated assurance about my being student, I could secure the positive opinion of the people.

The help of Raja Khan and of his son also posed a difficulty at one stage. As mentioned above, the Bagris had hired land from the said Raja Khan for thier seasonal cultivation. So, when Raja Khan introduced me to them and asked them to cooperate they apprehended me as 'Raja Khan's man' to spy upon them. This was revealed to me from their behaviour of concealing the informations regarding agriculture. This misconception also took many days to be erased. When I became sure of their positive and friendly response, I started collecting data about the Bagris.

1.7 METHODOLOGY

For the purpose of amassing information I utilized different techniques. These techniques were selected in view of my relationship with and response of the respondents. For example, I conducted census-form later rather than earlier in my fieldwork because of the high sensitivity of the Bagris to paper and pencil. However, following are different techniques:-

1.7.1 General Talks

The Bagris never allowed me to write down our talks. Sometimes on seeing paper, they bluntly refused to talk. So, I used to conduct general discussions. In this I asked many questions and fell into long discourses with them. During such discussions, many aspects of their life, their religion, their history, their kinship and their marriage system came into consideration. Sometimes, during such talks of offended them, and out of anger they in response, put in plain many aspects of their life. These talks, I used to write down later on at my residence. The information thus received not specific but common in nature regarding their word wherein they used to describe myths, their belief system.

1.7.2 Census & Questionnaire

To accumulate information pertaining to the population, such as clans, family type and family size, education, economic position, power and influence, I conducted a census form. This was conducted, when there was a clear surety of proper response. To conduct responses related to their economy, their kinship and marriage system and their political organization, a questionnaire was also conducted. This questionnaire was conducted during the middle period of the study. This questionnaire was directed towards information about the patterns of economy, transaction of wealth, labour, gift-exchange, about their kinship type, kinship terminology and role of kinship about the system marriage rule, selection of spouse, brideprice, divorce price and matrimonial life, about the institutions of politics, patterns of authority, nature of conflicts and subsequently, their resolution.

1.7.3 In depth Interview

To refine certain concepts about the life style of the Bagris, I conducted in depth interview. During such interviews detailed and valuable talks took place, however, a few specific topics were discussed since such interviews usually took place at the time of leisure. A respondent

was free to talk about the ideology and ideal behaviour. So to bring the real behaviour conspicuous, I participated in their activities.

1.7.4 Participant Observations

To further refine my data from the misleading ideal behaviour I personally participated in some of their activities. For example, they believed that begging is not a job of honour and so it is meant for old people, women and children. But when I was living with them I was invited to join a party of young men going for begging in the nearby town, contrasting the real behaviour from the ideal one.

In the process of participating, language was a big obstacle, because I knew neither Sindhi nor the dialect spoken by the Bagris. Urdu did work but sometimes it became very essential to listen to their talk when they were discussing some problem of prime importance. For this purpose I used an interpreter, usually a young boy, who translated the conversation for me in Urdu in return for the presents or very small amount of money.

Besides, I collected kinship terminologies, and genealogies to have further insight into kinship and descent rules.

CHAPTER-2

ETHNOGRAPHY AND ORIGIN OF BAGRI

The focus of this study has been defined. But at this point it is of prime importance, prior to the discussion of the kinship system, to know where Bagris live and what are the natural conditions? Who are the Bagris themselves? It is equally important to know about their subsistence pattern and how they perceive their relations with nature and supernature. The need to study these aspects arises from the fact, that human behaviour is not defined in terms of any singular social, economic, religious or biological factor but all such factors contribute equally to shape behaviour. Benedict (1939) in her book 'Patterns of Culutre' emphasizes that culture, which is shared behaviour of a group of people, must be taken as a whole. Any singel cultural trait cannot represent behaviour if viewed alone without reference to context or the other ingredients. Similarly anthropological geneticists bear the opinion that contemporary and historical variations amongst human behaviour are related to environmental pressures including climate and land, as well as values, attitudes, beliefs etc. Therefore, this chapter will cover the basic ethnographic features of the area.

2.1 GEOGRAPHY

The Bagris are distributed throughout Sind and adjacent areas. They make encampments in the outskirts of the cities and on the banks of the river Indus. These encampments are used alternately. During the season when the water has receded they shift to river side encampments from their abodes in the vicinity of the urban settlements. They classify these encampments as kacha (Cultivated nature Levee) and pakka (Cultivated hinter land). I selected five camps located around the city of Sukkur, the district headquarter.

Sukkur is situated on the Indus. It is the third biggest city of Sind province. Sukkur District lies between 27°-50' to 28°-20' north latitudes and 68°-20' to 70°-10' east longitudes. It is bounded on the north and west by Jalalabad and Larkana districts, on the south by Khairpur district, and the southeast by India. On the north it is bounded by Rahim Yar Khan district of Punjab province. Leaving aside crossing the boundary with India, all the other districts of Sind remain in the range of Bagri mobility.

passes

The Indus/through the district. During the summer the melting of snow in the catchment areas of the river

Indus results in floods. When the flood is over, the river leaves alluvial deposits upon which Bagri grow some crops e.g. water-melons, melon, peanuts and vegetables.

As far as climate is concerned, summers are hot and humid while winters are cool and dry. During summer, temperatures sometime rise to about 120°F (49°C). The months of June and July are very hot. The months of August and September are stuffy and suffocating because of the humidity. In winter the climate is dry and mild. The sea breeze seldom touches this district, so the rain fall is poor, the annual average being 2 to 3 inches. Although cyclones and windstorms are not very common, the hot winds which set in early April blow morning till evening from the north westerly direction.

The chief natural forest of the area are babul (Acacia Arabia) bahan (Populus Euphratica), kandi (Prosopis Specigera), siras (Mimosa Lirisa), pipal (Ficus Religiosa), bhor (Ficus Indica) and lai (Tamarix Gallica). Of the bushes there are kirur (Cappris Aphylla), kip (Leptodenia), and the ak (Calotropis Hamitonii). (Source: District Gazetteer, 1972, pp.3).

Among the wild animals found in the area, are wolves, jackals, foxes, wild pigs, wild cats and several

varieties of deer. Beside, these big animals, hares, mongooses, tortoises and lizards are found frequently. The domesticated animals include mostly dogs, goats and sometimes hens. All the wild animals found in the region are hunted and eaten. Dogs are used in hunting and watching the camps. They rear two types of dogs for different purposes. For hunting, a fast-running breed of dogs is brought up whereas for watching the camp, strong dogs of different pedigree are kept in the settlements.

The Bagris, as described by Soomro (1977, p. 61), belong to group of wandering tribes of Sind. They are non-Muslim people. As regards their origin and presence in this area, there are many myths. Ibbetson, Madagan and Rose (1978, p. 33) consider the Bagris as original inhabitants of Bagar, the prairies near Bikaner, which lie to the south and west of Hissar. Russell and Hiralal (1975, p. 65) on the other hand state that "the word Bagri is derived from a tract of country in Malwa which is known as the Baga or 'hedge of thorns' because it is surrounded on all sides by wooded hills". Ibbetson and others are of the opinion that they are members of Rajput or Jat castes.

Similarly Russell and Hiralal (1975, p. 49-50) say that, "they claim to be Rajputs and were divided into clans with the well-known Rajput names of Solanki, Punwar,

Dhundhel, Chauhan Rathor etc." The Bagri of Sind have borrowed these names as Saroki, Punmar, Dhamdaro, Chauhan, Roda etc.

Local people believe that the Bagris had been living in Central India, and with the invasion of the Aryans they migrated to this area. The Bagris were deemed outcastes by the Aryans and under such severe social strains they went into jungle or desert parts of the subcontinent where population was scanty. Some people believe that with the passage of time they became naked due to their poverty and it is comparatively recently that they began to wear cloths.

They appear to be remnants of aboriginal tribes. Fuchs (1973) says that 'Bagdis' (Bagris) are another tribe of doubtlessly former aboriginal type which has settled in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal'. It is very probable that Bagris migrated from Rajasthan to its adjacent area of Sind. Fuchs (1973, p. 112) further argues that "their feature and dark complexion betray their aboriginal origin but it is impossible to trace them back to any particular racial group". The proof of their being aborigines further can be deduced from their profession of hunting and gathering (Fuchs, 1973, p. 128-130). With regard to their outcaste status, Fuchs (1973, p. 112) opines that

"socially (their) caste is very low; they accept food from all Hindu castes".

Again, in connection with discussing the Waghris of Gujerat, Fuchs (1973, pp. 128) considers Waghris, Bagris and Bagdis one and the same. Contrary to Ibbetson, he associates their origin with that of sansis of the Punjab. According to their own tradition. Fuchs asserts the, Bagris came to Gujerat via Rajasthan. From Gujerat they later spread over other parts of Sind. This seems reasonable from the fact that, though adopting everywhere the local languages, they have retained remanants of Gujerati in their present forms of speech. And this can be observed amongst the Bagris today.

From the above discussion one can infer that they are aboriginal people who, under the torrent of successive invaders, were displaced and dispersed and began to lead the vagabond life. The Bagris are divided into different clans. They cannot be traced to clear historic ancestors. However, they consider all the members of the clan as brothers and sisters. This prevents their marrying into their own clans. In other words these clans are exogamous groups. The local word for such a clan is paro. There are nine paros of Bagris.

They are;

1. Chuhan
2. Dabi
3. Saroki
4. Kori
5. Nanwarah
6. Punmarh
7. Damdharo
8. Roda
9. Wadyaro

I have termed these paros as clans. I feel that I am justified in doing so, if we examine the definition of clan. Robin Fox (1967, p. 49) defines clans as "higher order units often consisting of several lineages in which common descent is assumed but cannot necessarily be demonstrated". So each paro consists of several lineages. Every clan is a maximal patrilineage but cannot trace a common ancestor. However, as said earlier, they demonstrate this sense of commonness by the expression that "we are children of one person and therefore brother and sister. And since it is sin to marry a brother to a sister, we don't marry in the paro". Hoebel (1958, p. 334) considers a clan as "an enlarged unilateral kinship group that rests on the fiction of common descent from a founding ancestor

who lived so far in the distant past as to be mythological". This sense of common ancestry usually causes the regulation of their behaviour along the lines of putative kinship, he further concluded.

Taking this definition as a touchstone, if we view each paro with regard to legendary and mythological stories in the Bagris tradition, we come to the conclusion that each paro clearly fits in the definition of clan. Similarly, the prohibition upon marrying within one's own paro is regulating behaviour.

As regards their subsistence, they are basically hunter-gatherers but with the passage of time they have adopted agricultural labour but not to a preferred extent. Furthermore as Fuchs states,

"deprived of their original hunting and collecting grounds, they consider themselves justified to beg, to steal and to pilfer, to deceive, and cheat, even to break into houses and harm and rob travellers and helpless persons".

(Fuchs, 1973, p. 130)

I will, therefore, describe their subsistence patterns under the heading of economy in the following section.

2.2 ECONOMY

As mentioned in the foregoing paragraph they are basically hunters and gatherers, but also they practise primary agriculture, begging, labour and as well as such diverse economic practices as robbery etc. Before giving the details of their methods of subsistence activities, I intend to give a tabulated sketch of their annual calender of subsistence activities:-

CHART-1

TABLE SHOWING MONTHWISE SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Sr. No.	Month	Local month	Activities
1.	August	Badroon	Lizard hunting, begging
2.	September	Akhood	Vegetable sowing, begging
3.	October	Katkali	Harvesting peanuts and hunting
4.	November	Magar	Sowing water-melon
5.	December	Poh	Hunting
6.	January	Mahu	Hunting
7.	February	Phagan	Hunting, harvesting water-melon
8.	March	Chatro	Harvesting water-melon, hunting

(Contd...P/ 34)

Contd..... Table-1 P.33

9. April	Wahaki	Harvesting water-melon, hunting and melon-sowing
10. May	Jath	Sowing peanuts, begging
11. June	Har	Harvesting melon, begging
12. July	Sawan	Hunting lizards, begging

2.2.1 Hunting

For Bagris, hunting is the preferred mode of subsistence. Leaving aside the cow they eat every type of flesh. Beef avoidance is due to their Hinduistic belief that the cow is sacred and equivalent to the mother deity. They hunt wolves, jackals, foxes, mongoose, lizards particularly uromastics, and hare etc. They hunt wild boars when they come to eat and devastate their crops near river banks. Including in the game hunted are prohibited foods in Islam, Hinduism, Christianity and other religious sects of the area. Therefore, due to their social pollution occurring from the ingestion of prohibited items of consumption, Muslims, Hindus, Christians and Sikhs avoid mixing with them. Such diet among the Bagris have a historical background. As mentioned earlier, legends tell that they were beaten out of their abodes and compelled

to live in scanty environments for subsistence which may have led to this behaviour. Bagris still hunt with primitive weapons and use the trap and noose. They hunt either in their agricultural field or arrange hunting bands that leave in search of the game from place to place.

Agricultural activities consist of certain crops which can be classified as cash crops. They include water-melons, ground-nuts and peanuts. Jackals and wild bears eat the juicy roots of such crops. In the season when the crops have come near ripening, these animals are constant visitors. The Bagris hunt these animals. Bagris intentionally sow such crops hoping to entrap animals and so agriculture is subservient to the hunting.

For other types of hunting, hunters from different paros constitute a hunting band. These bands remain mobile from place to place in search of game along with their families. So a band encampment is not of simple cognates or agnates but it is usually a corporate group, wherein are included families of different paros for the purpose of hunting.

Bagris are great hunters and bird snarers. They domesticate dogs which are also excellent trackers. The

Bagris with the help of trained dogs, smell out the game. Dogs are highly valuable because they on one hand flush out the hunt from the bushes and then chase after it to injure or kill it for their masters. Sometimes when the game is too strong to be subdued by the dogs, the Bagris attack with their axes and kill it. Such hunting bands are organised in hot summer days.

Hunting is not only the source of food but it also provides extra money by selling the skins. These skins are used as decorations and also made into caps. The fresh meat so got from hunting has another purpose beside fulfilling the need of food. This is exchanged as a gift amongst Bagris kin and friends and therefore it is a sign of strengthening kinship bonds among the people.

When male members of the band are out for hunting, the womenfolk collect dry sticks to light the hearth and also search food stuffs such as mushrooms, grasses, roots and other edible objects from around the area. Sometimes, however, they go for begging into the near about villages and towns.

Hunting, therefore, is not a single and sufficient means of subsistence. The Bagris are compelled to adopt other means too, among them is agriculture.

2.2.2 Agriculture

Bagris are landless people. To meet the needs of the day they acquire land from local landlords on a contract basis and raise water-melons, melons, various vegetables and peanuts. They do not cultivate major staple crops like wheat, rice etc. because they require long and hard labour. Emphasis is upon cash crops which bring income within a short period. This behaviour suggests a short term mentality and present-orientation but is in fact made necessary by the temporary nature of their settlements.

The techniques employed for the cultivation are very primitive. They are:

- a. Khadda
- b. Nali

a. Khadda: Literally means a ditch. This method is used for the cultivation of water-melons. The land used for this purpose is near the banks of the rivers which have become marshy after the receding of the water. Alluvial silt is left behind and the land contains water. So the soil is dug down to the water table, about three to five

feet. On account of its marshy nature this area is termed as kacha (not hard). After digging is over, seeds are sown and are covered with wet soil and the ditch is left open.

This task of khadda cultivation requires the intensive labour of the whole family. Men dig the ditches and women and children sow the seeds. Sometimes for the purpose of cultivation the whole community participates. The family intending to perform such a task needing communal activity and invites its relatives and friends to help.

Before the commencement of such activity, the intending family informs the Mukhi (headman) of the paro about its intention and requests him to extend the invitation. And it is the responsibility of the Mukhi to do so. Locally this communal activity is termed as Vangaro. Here one can see a ceremonial display. The host family which requested relatives and friends to participate arranges sweets to be provided. These are offered to the gods and deities for their blessing before the start of work. The participants work from dawn to dusk till the work is finished. The host family is responsible for providing the food and drink for the participants.

Such types of feasts are also found among the North American aboriginals. G.L. Wilson (1917, p. 43) describes a feast given after a communal labour practice. He says that,

"the day after the corn was picked, they were going to give a husking feast. The invited helpers soon appeared. Most of them were young men from 19-30 years of age but a few old men were in the company. These were also welcomed and given a share in the feast. They were paid for their labour with meat given to eat. Each carried some of meat, which he could not eat, to his home".

(G.L. Wilson, 1917, p. 43)

This shows that the feasts are arranged in order to intensify their interaction because such feast beside meat also provide an amusement to the worker. Hence these functions have more implications than mere economic. Similarly Vangaro is, therefore, not only an economic activity but also a social function. Such a type of activity is not unique in this area but nearly every peasant in traditional society performs such functions with local variations of terms and nature.

For the purpose of cultivation Bagris acquire land from local landlords on fixed rates of tenancy. In ditch (khadda) cultivation the landlords receive half

the value of the total produce. Since produce is in the form of seasonal fruits and which cannot be stored for a longer period, the landlord does not accept the produce but cash. It is the responsibility of the cultivator to dispose of the crop before the landlord gets his share. So the cultivator markets his produce as well as the landlord's without any further reward for the extra labour involved.

Since ditches are dug where the water table is comparatively high, there arises no need of further irrigation. But various vegetables and peanuts are not deep-rooted plants and moreover water logging in their roots adversely affects their growth. So the cultivation of these vegetable is not through the method of Khadda cultivation but solely through Nali cultivation.

b. Nali: Nali or furrowing needs tools, which include ploughs, pairs of oxen and other cultivation implements. But since oxen and tools are not possessed by the Bagris, along with land they borrow these tools from the landlord. For this reason the tenancy pact is different from that meant for ditch cultivation. They plough the soil with primitive ploughs (though sometimes, however, they borrow technology for this purpose for which payment is

made in the form of an extra share in the produce from the land). After the land is channelled the seeds are spread by Kuatla (broad sowing by hand). For irrigation the water is acquired from the landlords tubewell on shared payment between the landlord and the Bagri who tills the land. This type of cultivation occurs at pakka (not marshy, solid land away from the river bank).

As far as customary tenancy rules are concerned, in this type of cultivation, one third of the total produce goes to the cultivators, and the remaining two thirds to the landlord. This rule is valid throughout the area irrespective of the nature of the tenancy (i.e. whether they are permanent tenants or temporary like the Bagris). Of this two thirds, one third is for lending the agricultural land, and one third is compensatory benefit for the oxen, ploughing tools, or water etc.

Up to the reaping of the crop all members of the family work in the fields. Women and children work in the day time when the men go for labour and in their absence they go for begging into the near by towns and villages. After coming from their work men spend a few hours more in their fields working. When the crop is harvested and a cultivator separates his share, it is first distributed among kin and the Mukhi. This gift-giving tradition

appears to be universal among societies of limited technology and has been mentioned frequently in anthropological literature.

One such example can be given of the Eskimos which are similar to the Bagri in their distribution of meat after a surplus hunt. When animals are killed these are distributed among the kin, band-members and friends in a prescribed manner. Each member of the hunting party distributes his part as follows: he takes the best part of it for his own family; then he gives to parents and parents-in-law (if they are in same camp); then to brothers and cousins; and finally to various other families in the camp.

After distributing gifts between relatives and the Mukhi and keeping a portion for personal use, the rest of the crop is marketed, and sold to a particular client. Every Bagri has a particular client in the market in Sukkur.

In addition to hunting activities and cultivation the Bagri search for work as casual wage labourers in the towns and villages.

2.2.3 Begging

Though explicitly they dislike begging, yet a major portion of the population begs: women and children are frequent visitors to houses in the towns. Aged Bagri men beg in the market place. In charity they get grain, flour, cooked food, clothes and money. Since clothes are not necessarily of the size of the beggar, so they are distributed within the extended kin group whoever they fit. Food is shared out amongst themselves by the gangs of beggars. The Bagri economy is based upon three methods or techniques. Such types of economy is also found among the Dani of Grand Valley of Guenia (Hieder, 1979) who are hunters and gatherers and also cultivate the sweet potatoes. Similarly the Bagri raise melon, water-melon and vegetables along with the hunting of wild animals and begging.

After describing subsistence activities it seems relevant to describe their general dwelling patterns.

2.3 DWELLING

Being deprived of land ownership, they are unable to construct permanent houses so they keep on moving and wherever they stay they erect shelter-pavilion made up of three erect trunks covered by dry date palm leaves.

The pavilions are open from all sides.

2.4 DRESSES

As regards dress, the women wear shalwar-qameez (loose trousers and shirts) and take a piece of cloth to cover their heads as a shawl or veil. Children usually remain naked. Young men wear shirt and dhoti as a sarong. For head dress youngsters wear Sindi caps and put a sheet of cloth at their shoulders. Old men wear the same dress as worn by young men with the difference that they wear a turban usually instead of the Sindhi cap. It denotes an aspect of acculturation by emulating. Some women, however, have silver ornaments which they display at the occasions of high festivity. These include, Mandro (ring), Kando (nose-pin) Wallo (ear-ring) and Chatto (ring).

2.5 PROPERTY

Among the Bagri there can be found only the moveable property. Immoveable property items such as land and houses are totally absent. Bagri property consists mainly of food stuffs, weapons and tools, dogs, ceremonial items such as Bhagvad Gita, Granth used in ritual performances, clothing, household utensils and some light ornaments.

Inheritance passes through male lines. If a father dies his property goes to his sons. In case there is no son, then it goes to daughters. If someone has no son or daughter, then his property is divided among his agnatic kin such as father's brothers and cousins. Most of the property left is possessed by the kind with whom the deceased has had good relations.

2.6 FOOD

Food is very simple and consists mainly of wild animal's flesh. They do not spare any animal and seldom care about pollution except cow. However, on the occasion of some festival they prepare sweets and special dishes from rice. Among other items of food include mushroom, baked roots, boiled leaves of salad, pulses etc. In all they are omnivorous.

They domesticate donkeys, for milk they rear goats and for poultry they rear hens. Usually every family has a couple of goats.

Human relations between the individuals of a family or paro are regularized in many ways, though the social values involved in social organization. Therefore, it is also important to examine the religion of Bagris.

Only the belief system will be focussed upon here. Rituals are discussed further in a portion of chapter four.

2.7 BELIEF SYSTEM

The Bagris do not believe in any singular concept of a diety and their behaviour in this regard is pluralistic. In certain spheres their ritual activity is quite similar to the Hindus. They worship many Hindu deities e.g. Rama, Krishna, Kali Devi, Sita Devi etc. They consider Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, as a godly person and keep his pictures or portraits in their possession for sake of good luck. Similarly they avoid to swear upon the Holy Quran considering it is holy book and strongly believe in the Sufi saints such as Sakhi Sarwar and Baho Sultan. They consider the Bhagavad Gita, the one of the scriptures of the Hindus, the Guru Granth Sahib, the holy book of Sikhs, and the Quran, the holy book of Muslims equally sacred. Their marriage rituals are essentially Hindu as I shall discuss further below. They would worship in Hindu temple but, according to one informant, since they untouchable (according to caste Hindus) they are not allowed to enter. Furthermore a Brahman does not lead their prayers, but a member of a trader caste (Bania) performs the duty of a priest in thier temple. The Bania does not live in the community but visits only at the time of rituals. He is

paid in form of sweets and presents, usually consisting of clothes and sometimes money too. The Bania decides in matters pertaining to religion. At the ritualistic ceremonies like Chhatti (naming of the child), Jhand (hair-cutting) and Jania (sacred thread ceremony for giving the membership into religious group). The Bania sings the holy verses from the Gita or Granth.

One important feature of the Bagris' belief system is their strong belief in Muslim saints, particularly Sakhi Sarwar, whose shrine is situated at Dera Ghazi Khan, a divisional headquarter in West Punjab. They pay pilgrimage to this shrine to seek good luck and offer gifts in kind and cash to the shrine.

They also believe in Krishna (incarnated as Ram) the one who creates, and Allah, the one who is merciful. According to their belief Krishna and Allah are brothers. Former is a god of Hindus and the latter is the God of the Muslims. The story is that once they were angry with each other and Guru Nanak resolved their grievances. Their beliefs reveal a heavenly family which is living in the skies and ruling all over the India.

My aim in this thesis is to grasp the nature of kinship among Bagri, I have described briefly their origin,

their economy, dwelling patterns, their belief system and the environmental conditions. This, will help me in understanding the Bagri kinship system, but data on social, political and normative behaviour will help me analyse their kinship organization. So, the next chapter will cover social organization.

2.8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter we saw that the Bagri claim their Rajput origin. They are scattered all over India and Sind - a southern province of Pakistan. The major source of their attraction to Sind, for the Bagri, is the river Indus which is the only source of water available to them. It makes natural levees which support their cultivation moreover the scrublands on these levees provide a shelter to wild animals of the region which are hunted by them. Their migration to the outskirts of cities and villages is caused by the overflowing of river and covering of these levees by flood water. In the months of floods they practice begging in nearby cities and villages and hunt lizards in hinterlands.

They are divided in patri-clans which are totally exogamous. They live in bands and nuclear families. Finally,

they are primitive people practicing plural beliefs
sncretized with nature worship, Hinduism, Sikhism and
Islam.

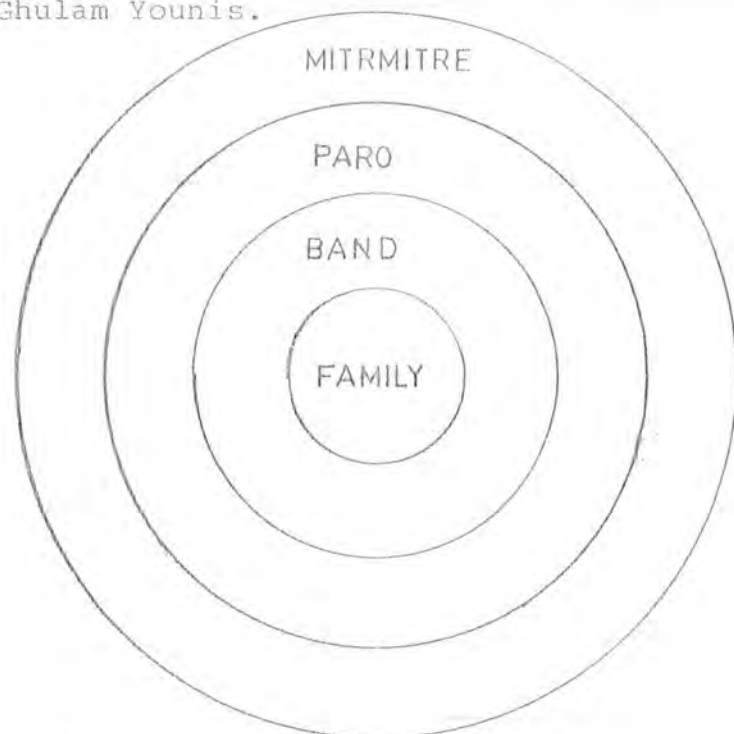
CHAPTER-3

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BAGRI

In the preceding two chapters I have described the geographic location of the Bagri tribe, their subsistence activities and patterns, and their origin. This chapter will deal with the framework of social organization and will demonstrate the political, ritual and kinship groups of the Bagris. Firth (1951, p. 40) defines social organization as "the systematic ordering of social relations by acts of choice and decision". Hunter and Whitten (1976, p. 974) also define social organization as "the systematic ordering of social relations through acts of choice and decision. These acts are guided by precedents that are provided by the social structure and limited by the range of possible alternatives". Lowie (1947, p. 4) defined social organization as "the groups into which society is divided, functions of these groups, their mutual relations and the factors determining their growth". The ordering of social relations assumes different levels on the base of blood, marriage, friendship, partnership and social interaction. The level and nature of the social ordering among the Bagri will be examined in this chapter with particular emphasis on kinship. Different

levels of the Bagri social organization can be stratified diagrammatically as follows that I drew with the help of my partner Ghulam Younis.

DIAGRAM-1



3.1 FAMILY

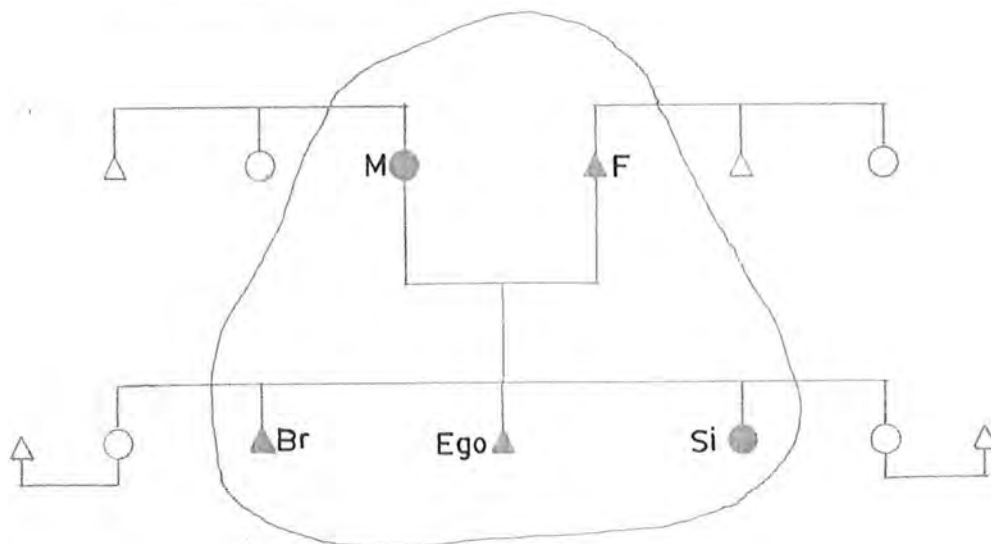
As is evident from the diagram, the family occupies the core and all other levels are determined by this core unit. It seems relevant here to first define the term theoretically. Murdock (1949, p. 1) defines the family as,

"the social group characterised by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship and (have) one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting adults".

(Murdock, 1949, p. 1)

The family as elsewhere is the basic unit of social organization of Bagris. By taking into consideration Murdock's definition, I will explain the nature of Bagri family and its' function. The Bagri family is of the nuclear type. Every male after marriage erects his own hut in the vicinity of his father's hut and particularly within his father's band. In this sense the family is patrilocal and can also be termed as virilocal. This nature of the family residence strongly suggests the patrilineal character of the tribe. The children live with their parents and share their hut until their marriage.

DIAGRAM-2



I observed 5 bands comprising 73 families with total population of 284 individuals. The calculated average

family size turned out to be 3.8 persons per family among the Bagris. The following table will reveal the size of families among the Bagri.

TABLE-1

TABLE SHOWING FAMILY SIZE

Band No.	Total Population	No. of families
1	30	7
2	36	9
3	65	13
4	85	21
5	68	23
Total	284	73

$$\text{Family size} = 284/73 = 3.8$$

As far as the functions of family are concerned, according to Hoebel (1958, p. 356), their gist is as follows:-

1. Sexual
2. Economic
3. Reproductive
4. Educational

These four functions of the family are fulfilled by the Bagri family. The family union is the socially recognised and legalised form for sexual activities and ultimately for the birth of children. In the context of social organization, submission to the social rules and norms is necessary. The rules of family determine legitimate and illegitimate sexual intercourse among the members of the group, in the form of incest and adultery. Tribe members formulate these rules and violation of the rules of marriage demarked by the family is incest and adultery. There is a typical example of sexual functions of a Bagri family which was observed during my study there. A boy of a band had illegitimate relations with a girl of another band. This was an utter negation of Bagri marriage rules. Eventually the boy was forced to buy the girl and marry her. As punishment he had to pay more brideprice than usual.

The second basic function of family among the Bagris in context of social organization is the 'reproduction'.

The reproduction of children is the ultimate purpose of the marriage and family union. Fox (1967, p.27) says that "death, reproduction and coupulation are the basic fact of life. Death creates destruction of the species and coupulation and reproduction are answer to it". Similar pattern is adopted by the Bagri also for their survival and continuation. They reproduce for the continuance of the tribe with new members who bear their cultural and traditional character of their society.

Economic cooperation is the third main role of the family. All the members play their part in family economic activities. After the establishment of the household, both husband and wife work and contribute to the income of the family. The man usually hunts and the woman works for the children. The man ploughs and the woman sows the seeds in the soil. Their children start helping their parents at the early age of 9/10. Children usually make money through begging.

The fourth important function of a family is the educative one. This may be called socialization. Children are taught locally appropriate knowledge so as to make them useful members of the society. In Bagri society the most important knowledge is of subsistence techniques

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and ritual performances. The Bagri children are trained for begging, to pose as deserving of alms. They set out for alms in the morning and return in the noon with food grains, old clothes and cash. When a band goes for hunting, the young male Bagri accompany the band under father's leadership. During the hunt, the father teaches the boy about the techniques of hunting and how the prey is traced and trapped. Similarly, a young Bagri girl gets trained by her mother at home. She learns to prepare the meals, to rear the children, and also techniques of begging. These functions necessarily bring the family along side other families for mutual help and cooperation. In this way a social group forms wherein "reciprocally and mutually adjusted responses bind a number of participants" (Murdock, 1949, p. 3). A family participates in such a group with a set of clustered relationship. Murdock (1949, p. 3) counts eight such relationships as: husband-wife, father-son, father-daughter, mother-son, mother-daughter, brother-brother, brother-sister and sister-sister.

3.2 BAND

The next level of social organisation is the band. Hoebel (1958, p. 644) defines a band, as "a territorially based social group that is less inclusive than

the tribe". Turnbull (1965, p. 93-100) considers the essential prerequisites of the band as "territorially based membership". He is of the opinion that a band may be small or large. It may be composed of number of camps or even a single camp. Similarly, Hunter and Whitten define a band as "the simplest level of social organization marked by very little political organization and consisting of small groups of families. Cohesion comes through charismatic leadership, marriage alliances with other bands and family organization". (Hunter & Whitten, 1976, p. 53).

As given above, in the words of Hunter and Whitten, a band is the simplest unit of social organization. But in case of Bagri's this definition does not stand entirely valid because in the Bagri society, it is the family. Accordingly to second feature of the band, there is a very strong political organization among the Bagri bands and the bands themselves are the basic political units of society unlike other hunting people. The leadership and authority pattern is based on the observance of traditions parallel to the third characteristic of band. The Bagris' band is an aggregate of nuclear families consisting normally of 7 to 23 families per band.

The band comes into existence, on the basis of inter-paro marriage alliances, coming together for hunting purposes and some sorts of mutual cooperation such as in collective labour in cultivation.

Band is not exclusively a consanguinal group but consists of both affinal and blood kin. The following table will illustrate the size of a band regarding the numbers of constituting families.

TABLE- 2

No. of Band	Locality	No. of families
1	Sukkur	7
2	Sukkur Barrage	9
3	Garhi Pathan	13
4	Garhi Pathan	21
5	Punnu Akil	23
Total		73

Family average per band $73/5 = 14.6$

The average number of families in a Bagri tribe is 14.6.. However, there are certain bands consisting of as many as 23 and as little as 7 families.

Like the Bagris, Cheyennes are also based on band organization. As Hoebel (1960, p. 31) explains that among Cheyennes "the core of a band consists of several closely related relatives, although some families not directly related may choose to live with some particular band". Similarly the Bagri families live with a band of their choice maintaining their identity of Paro as well. He further tells that "the leaders of the bands are the outstanding heads of the several kindreds, who make up the band. They may or may not be tribal chieftains, and the head chief of a large band is almost certain to be tribal chief". Likewise, the Bagri Mukhis are the leaders of different bands. The band Mukhis may be the member of tribal council of nine Mukhis who attain the office on the basis of their renown among the band Mukhis. The tribal council of nine Mukhis is constituted on the equal representation of each of their nine Paros i.e. one Mukhi represents one Paro. Like the Bagri the Cibecue Apache (Basso, 1969, p. 5) are based on band organization. As, he states that "each (band) is headed by a chief who directs collective enterprises such as food gathering

and activities involving other local groups or 'bands". He also mentions, the territorial limitations and minor linguistic similarities. Among the Bagris, there is no concept of territorial limitations because they are landless and vagrant and all the lands are possessed by the Muslims of the region. Linguistic similarities are the identical feature of the Bagris with Cibecue Apache. The Bagri speak a modified form of Gujerati mixed with Rajasthani, Sindhi etc.

3.3 PARO

The third level of social organization, next to band is Paro. In chapter-2, it was concluded that Paro is equivalent to clan. Fox (1967, p. 49) defines the clan as "higher order units often consisting of several lineages in which common descent is assumed but cannot necessarily be demonstrated". To some extent it is true of the Bagris of Sind. Each Paro is based on the descent assumption but they cannot trace their common ancestor. They consider each band member as brother and sister, thus making it the foundation as to their common descent. As explained earlier, there are nine Paros in the Bagri tribe. Members of the different paros though not necessarily, directly related form a band and work together

collectively but maintain the identity of their respective Paros. This identity is expressed and displayed especially during the conflict. For instance, a member of the Chauhan Paro, living in a band where majority of the members is from the Saroki Paro, is not bound to obey the dictates of a Saroki Mukhi when there arises a conflict between Saroki and Chauhan Paros. He ultimately favours his own Paro whereas he will obey his band Mukhi like all other members in conflict other than with the Chauhan Paro. The Bagri Paro is much similar to the Swazi Sibongo (clan). Kuper (1963, pp. 16-19) gives the characteristic features of Swazi Sibongo (clan) as:

1. This is major source of initial identification.
2. Every Swazi acquires by birth his father's clan name.
3. Women retain their paternal clan name on marriage but may never pass it on to their children.
4. Swazi clanship regulates marriage, to some extent, political status.
5. Marriage within one's own clan is prohibited except for the King.
6. Subdivision of clans is a widespread practice.

As for as the Bagri Paro is concerned, each Bagri gets identification from his Paro and acquires his father's Paro name on birth. Similarly women retain their paternal Paro name on marriage but cannot pass it on to their children. Like the Swazi, Bagri Paro also regulates the marriage and political status. Each Paro is an exogamous kin group. Unlike the Swazi King there is no exception for the Mukhi to marry within the Paro. In addition one cannot marry in the consanguineals of mother who come from other paros. There is no further sub-division among the Bagri Paros.

3.4 MITRMITRE

This is fourth level of social organization. Those who participate in the pleasures and sorrows of each other are termed as mitrmitre. It is similar to the "Biraderi of Participation", Alavi (1972, p. 89). According to Alavi, "membership of the biraderi of participation, is expressed and acknowledged by a ritual of prestations and counter-prestations called Vartan Bhanji". Similarly Bagri practice Thoro (gift and ceremonial exchange) among the mitrmitre groups. Its purest form is Niendro and Mani which are exchanged on the marriage ceremonies. Niendro is the money given by the representatives of the mitrmitre's

households to the head of the household who celebrates the occasion. Whereas Mani is a feast given to the mitrmitre which cuts across the boundaries of the Paro also. It may include families other than Paro members who participate in the marriage ceremonies.

3.5 POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

To quote Hunter and Whitten, political organization is,

"that subsystem of social organization that specifically relates to the individual or groups responsible for managing the public policy, or who control the appointment or action of those individuals or groups".

(Hunter & Whitten, 1976, p. 591)

Among the Bagris there is no formal political organization that could regulate the activities of the tribe. Rather like any primitive society it is the individuals, who are generally at the realm of affairs that are aimed to attain the authority and the power. The symbol of authority among the Bagris is Mukhi at the band as well as Paro level. The following Chart will depict the names of Paro, and their present Mukhis.

CHART- 2

NAME OF PARO AND THEIR
MUKHI

Sr. No.	Name of Paro	Name of Mukhi
1	Chuhan	Natho Das
2	Dabi	Wazir
3	Saroki	Uttan Das
4	Punmarh	Lal Das
5	Dhamdaro	Adloo
6	Kori	Mangho
7	Roda	Baghto
8	Wadyarho	Buskun
9	Nanwara	Badam

However the determining factors of authority among the Bagris have many similarities as well as differences with other tribes in the globe. For instance, the Cheyennes of Great Plains have a council at tribal level and so is true of the Bagris. The tribal council among the Cheyennes is of "forty-four members, as their peace chiefs" (Hoebel, 1958, p. 33), whereas among the Bagris its total strength is nine Mukhis, each representing his respective Paro.

And the sources of authority among both the tribes are almost identical. A peace chief ought to be, as reiterated again and again by Cheyennes, an even tempered good natured with energy, wisdom, kindness, concern for well-being of others, courage, generosity and altruism". These prerequisites are similar to that of a Mukhi who is also a member of the tribal council. For instance, among the Bagris a person may become the Mukhi, a political head, on the bases of his personal attributes plus inheritance. No single attribute is, however, ^{the} Participation and interest in the affairs of the paro, cleverness, wisdom, the ability to solve the problems, to grasp a situation with sharp willingness ^{and} ability to be decisive are main personal attributes which are counted while selecting a Mukhi. As an extra quality, a Mukhi is expected to host strangers visiting the community. A Mukhi is respected and heard, however, there is no flag or banners which differentiate him from the rest of the members of the community.

Mukhi has got various duties to perform:-

1. He extends the request of a family calling for community help in the form of Vingaro (described in Chapter-2) to other individuals and families who,

usually, include kin and friends (locally termed as mitrmitre).

2. Mukhi resolves the conflicts arising within the paro or band and prescribes precise solutions.
3. He presides over the meetings at the paro level which are summoned to resolve the conflicts, and his opinion is usually final. As a token of his decision he breaks a sticks which indicates that "what is decided is final and no one can challenge and change it".
4. At the occasion of commencement of tribal council wherein cases of divorce and conflict between different paros are decided, a Mukhi represents his respective paro.

The Bagris have a formally instituted organization to resolve the conflict, which is locally called Nau Mukhis (nine Mukhis). It commences on tribal level. The meetings at paro level, as mentioned earlier, decide the matter pertaining to the paro only. There is no fixed venue for it and the proceedings may start anywhere within the

settlement.

As proceedings start both the plaintiff and accused offender deposit pieces of gold worth Rupees five hundred as a surety. This is to ensure that if either party does not adhere to the judgement, the surety will be forfeited. The main cases discussed in this council are of abduction, theft, adultery and divorce.

The council meets in the courtyard of the shrine of Badil Shah, a Muslim saint, at Sukkur. The Bagris believe that no one dare to tell a lie or make any mischief here in the shrine. Moreover, the saint, who is considered still alive according to tradition, witnesses the judgements and confirms them. This council is called when more than one paros are conflicting upon an issue.

Unlike the meetings at paro level which may commence any time on the request of a plaintiff, the council meets annually. All the Mukhi of the nine paros participate.

Jurisdiction of council extends to the cases of divorce, too, wherein two paros are involved because of exogamy. As a procedure the charges are narrated before the accused and then he is asked to speak in his defence. While he is defending his case the Mukhi of his paro assists him and gives necessary

him and gives necessary explanations when needed. When a point of difference arises, the plaintiff raises an objection and develops an argument in his favour. The Mukhi of his paro not only favours him but also supports him in his attempts to bring the council around his point of view. After the hearing is complete, the council gives its final verdict. A member of the jury (council acting as jury) breaks the stick as the token of final judgement.

A Mukhi for his services to the community gets shares, informally, from the income of the individuals. The amount of the share is not fixed. He gets a share in the hunt.

3.6 FESTIVALS

Bagri festivals commence many times a year and are given hereunder:-

3.6.1 Wirt

It is always celebrated in the beginning of Bagri year, usually in August. On this special festival which is termed as Wirt, every household in different bands cook foods and prepare many sweet dishes and distribute these dishes among dears and kins. It usually starts when the

moon rises, they collect wood and lit a fire and put some food in it. It is called Bhog (burning) and is considered an offering to the moon.

3.6.2 Sarad

This comes in September-October and starts when the sun comes over head i.e. noon. Bhog is also performed. It continues for 15 days. In Sarad festival offerings are given to the dead fore-fathers. Bania recites holy books Gita and Granth, which is called pathh. Gita is recited for seven days and Granth for three days. The Bania is given sweets, new clothes and money.

3.6.3 Divali

This is third festival which is called 'Divali' by them. It begins when the sun sets in. They all get together and light lamps in their huts. In the Mundir lamp is lit which is fueled by 'Ghee' (butter). On this special occasion foods of different kind are prepared and distributed among kins and mitrmitre.

3.6.4 Holi

Holi is fourth major festival among Bagri people. It is always celebrated towards the end of year. It starts

with the sun rise and continues until the sun is over their heads. They mix multi-colours and sprinkle it upon one another just for amusement. They make fun and cut jokes with one another. When it is over, they all go to their own huts after having a collective lunch which comes from all the huts of camp and drinks like coca cola are also taken.

3.7 DEATH RITES

Following rites are performed by the Bagri on the event of a death:-

3.7.1 Diva

When a person dies, the immediate reaction is shown by his relatives. They put him on the ground and a lamp is lit near his head on the heap of the wheat grain. It accompanies the corpse to the cremation place where it is extinguished after the rites.

3.7.2 Ashnan

Before proceeding to cremate the body family members of the deceased give it a bath. In the water of bath the water of river Ganga is diluted for its holy

conception. After the Ashnan rite they make a corpse taker.

3.7.3 Kai

It is made by canes of Jevari (millet) plant. These are put over the corpse (taker) and cover with cotton. This is performed with the oils. This ^{is} used in carrying dead body to the cremation place.

3.7.4 Cremation

The interesting rite is the cremation of the dead. Four persons from the relatives of deceased preferably brothers, sons and cousins form a group called kandhi (who lift the corpse). They shave their heads, eyebrows, beards and monstaches before lifting the body. They take part in cremation, and are usually the heir of the deceased. Bania also participates in the cremation rites by leading the procession and recites holy books for the dead. He supervises the cremation and guide the kandhi in burning. They put the dead in a heap of wood collected for this purpose. They fire it from two sides i.e. head and feet. Ashes are collected after the cremation and are put in flowing water especially in Indus.

3.8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have discussed social organization, political organization and ritualist aspect of their religion. The Bagri social organization is based on nuclear family system. Each family has its own separate hut and consists of male, female i.e. married couple with their unmarried children. Their social structure assumes a picture of an atomic model. Nuclear family forms its nucleous while band, paro and mitrmitre are different kinship groups having different types of social relationship just like the energy levels in an atomic model.

The Bagri political system is based on band organization like other primitive of the world. Such as Kung bushmen, Australian aborigines and Eskimos etc. Each band among them has a leader called Mukhi who exercises the authority and decision-making. His authority is traditional as well as inherited. On tribal level, there is formed a tribal council of nine Mukhis representing their respective paros. It resolves the conflicts involving more than one Paros.

They perform several festivals and rites to reiterate their adherence to their religious beliefs and

to strengthen their kinship interaction. All the mitrmitre participate in the ceremonies, rituals and festive occasions of each other and exchange their social obligations.

Importance of kinship in their social organization is very clear in their minds. They follow the rules and procedure prescribed for each member of their kinship groups to confirm the consolidation of the society.

CHAPTER-4

KINSHIP SYSTEM OF THE BAGRI

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the earlier chapters I have described the Bagri's subsistence activities, their social and political organization and their belief system. I suggested that it is essential to have a thorough knowledge of their system of kinship - a general word for describing and relationship of one individual to mother through one's father or mother. The study of a kinship system usually contains reference to the marriage system, residence and descent pattern. As kinship is derived from marriage, a very basic and fundamental institution of family life, the chief ceremonies and rituals are described to show how marriage contributes to this system. Marriage prohibitions, choice of the bride and bride wealth are considered, since it is very important to understand the behavioral patterns and cultural values associated with marriage and kinship. In this chapter I shall discuss the Bagris' marriage system in particular and their chief ceremonies through which the marriage is brought about to create new kin relations. Kinship terminology has been particularly

emphasized to display its role in the kinship system of Bagris.

4.2 THE BAGRI KINSHIP SYSTEM

The Bagris carry recognition of kin relationships much farther than is common in other societies. Genealogical connections can be established with almost everybody no matter in how remote. Even if no direct link can be traced, all members of paro are supposed to be fictive sister and brother in their own generation.

Relatives are expected to be friendly and to help one another; a man looks to his kinsmen of all kinds for hospitality; assistance in work and support in times of trouble. A man usually relies above all upon the members of his own family and such other close relatives as his parents' siblings, along with their spouses and children, or his wife's parents and siblings. These relatives are supposed to advise and help with problems. Whenever any Bagri man arranges any sort of ceremony, his close relatives give gifts of food and commodities according to their particular statuses.

Among the Bagris, the membership is determined by patrilineal descent that is traced through the male line.

Property is normally passed from father to son. Father's relatives are invariably remembered to a greater genealogical depth than the mother's relatives. Parents have the duty to advise, support, look after and protect their children carefully. In return children are expected to respect their parents. A brother has to attend to the welfare of his sisters and help them in their troubles. A father's elder brothers are highly respected by the youngsters.

On the other hand, a man's relation with his father's younger brother are very affable and friendly. Children, when small, are often sent to live for a while at their mother's parental home. They are assured of a warm welcome and generous hospitality and enjoy many privileges. All close relatives come into prominence on festivals and other special occasions.

Among the Bagris, one can not marry cross and parallel cousin in the Paro because they are considered as sisters and brothers. This type of marriage is called clan exogamy. After marriage a man moves apart from his parents and makes a separate hut and cooking place. This is known as neolocal residence.

Now an attempt will be made to explain the Bagri's kinship terminology, marriage system, ceremonies and rituals and various behaviour pattern associated with their kinship system. In first section I will describe kinship terminology.

4.3 KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The kinship terminology reflects many but not all of the social distinctions within the society. The basic pattern is set by the terms used within the family. Hoebel (1958, p. 651) writes "kinship terminology is the set of names applied to the various statuses in a kinship system". Kinship relations consist of interacting roles that are customarily ascribed to the different statuses of relationship by a people. Every culture includes a set of words or labels that symbolize each of its kinship statuses. These labels are called kinship terms and the whole is called "the system of kinship (or relationship) terminology. It is believed that man is judged by the languages he uses a great deal of understanding of human behaviour depends upon kin terms".

Schusky (1963, p. 55) is of the opinion that "the anthropologist centers his attention on human behaviour

The above diagram shows different relations of Bagri tribe. The primary terms for Fa (Yaga), Mo (Yai), Si (Bahan), Br (Bhai), So (Dikra) and Da (Dikri) are used by them. In the grand parental generation Dado (Gr. Pa) and Dadi (Gr. Mo.) are differentiated from MoFa (Nana) and MoMo (Nani). FaBr is differentiated from MoBr, who is Mamo, on the other hand father's brother either older or younger is called (Kaka). FaSi is differentiated from MoSi. For father's sister the term used is (Pui) and for mother's sister they use the term (Masi). So these terms are used on the level of parental generation. On the level of ego's generation all are brother and sister whether they are parallel cousin or cross-cousins, all are considered brothers and sisters, called by Bahi, Bahan. Son is differentiated from daughter. They address their son as Dikra and say Dikri to daughter. Sister's children are Bhanja, Bhanji and brothers children are called Batrijo, Batriji. Ego's sons's son and son's daughter are termed as Potra, Potri and his daughter's son and daughter's daughter are referred Dotra, Dotri.

I collected affinal terms along with the consanguineal terms. Ego calls his mother's sister's husband "maso" and the term for father's brother's wife used is "Kaki". Father's sister's husband is termed as "pua" and brother's brother's wife named as "Mami". Ego calls

his wife "Bahwan" and his brother's wife is termed as "Barjai".

DIAGRAM-4:

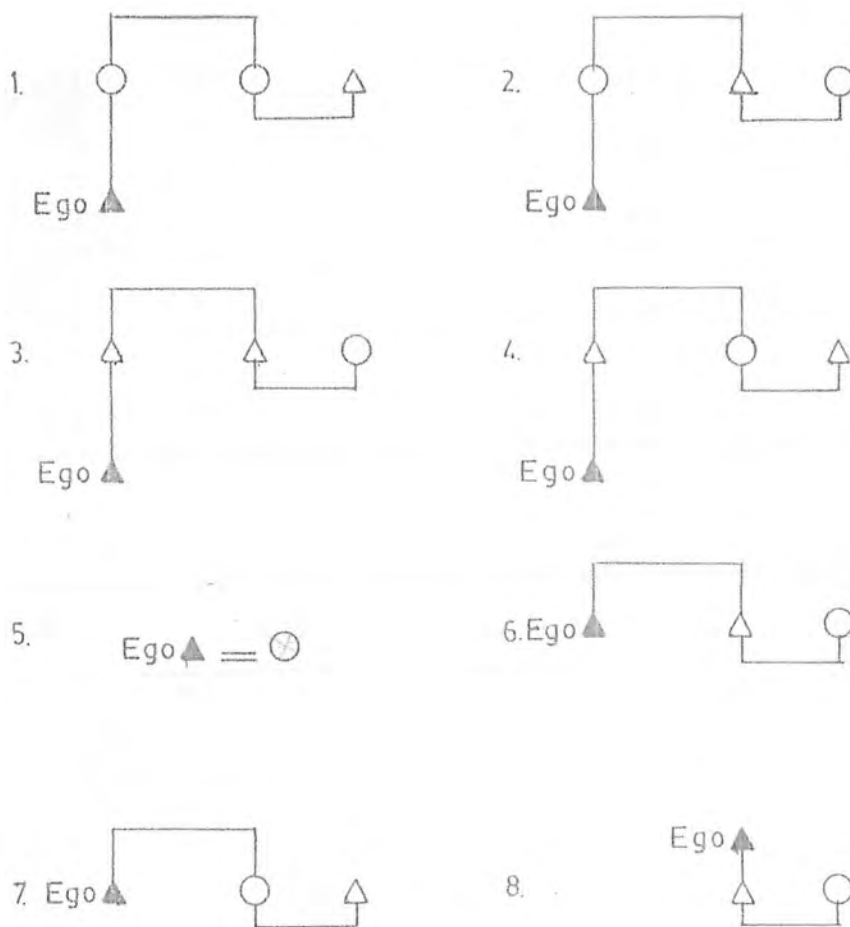


Chart-3 elaborates to whom ego address and refers to his known relatives.

CHART-3

Relationship	Address- ed	Refer- red	X	Relationship	Address- ed	Refer- red.
Father	Yaga	Yağa		Mother's sister	Masi	Masi
Father's father	Dado	Dado		Mother's brother	Mamo	Mamo
Father's brother	Kaka	Kaka		Mother's Sister's hus:	Maso	Maso
Father's sister	Pui	Pui		Mother's brother's wife	Mami	Mami
Father brother's wife	Kaki	Kaki		Ego's brother	Name	Bahi
Father's sister's hus:	Pua	Pua		Ego's sister	Name	Bahan
Father's mother	Dadi	Dadi		Ego's brother's children	Names	Batrijo, Batriji
Mother	Yai	Yai		Ego's sister's children	Name	Banja, Banjo
Mother's mother	Nani	Nani		Ego's son	Dikra	Dikra
Mother's father	Nana	Nana		Ego's daughter	Dikri	Dikri
				Ego's son's children	Name	Potra, Potri
				Ego's daughter's children	Name	Dotra , Dotri
				Ego's wife	Name	Bahwan
				Ego's brother's wife	Name	Barjai
				Ego's son's wife	Name	Bahoo

The Bagris speak Gujerati language but they also speak the Sindhi dialect. From this, I came to know different kin terms that are used by them. To take an example, Bhatrijo (brother's children) is the word that is both in Sindhi and Gujerati. Similarly, in Gujerati the word 'Kaka' is used for father's brother 'Dikri' is a term of address for the daughter, exactly same both in Gujerati and among the Bagris. Another word commonly used in Gujerati and Bagri for the same relationship is Dikra (son).

For example 'Masi' is an addressing word to call for mother's sister and Mamo to address mother's brother. The point of emphasis I want to make is that these are words commonly and locally used by the native Sindhi people and Bagri. Bagris have since their settlement borrowed many words from Sindhi people.

It is of remarkable fact that although a very large number of differing kinship systems are theoretically possible, society after society classifies its kinsmen in similar ways, so that the types of kinship system actually in existence are a few in number.

Hoebel (1958, p. 360-361) explains three main types of kinship system though there are others:

1. Hawaiian system
2. Eskimo system
3. Iroquois system

The Eskimo and Iroquois kinship system are absolutely different from Bagri kinship system. The Eskimo draw no distinctions between cross and parallel cousins but do distinguish them from siblings. In the Iroquois type of terminology, siblings and parallel cousins of the same sex are usually equated under one term whereas cross-cousins are distinguished by different terms. The Hawaiian kinship system, however, is very similar to Bagri kinship system. Here Hawaiian kinship is taken as a model to explain Bagri kinship. In the Hawaiian system, all cousins whether they are parallel or cross cousin and siblings are equated as sisters and brothers. In the Bagri kinship system all cross and parallel cousins and siblings are also supposed to be sisters and brothers and are termed as 'Bahi' (brother) and 'Bahan' (sister).

On the level of the parental generation in the Hawaiian kinship system, ego calls his father's brother 'father' and says 'mother' to his mother's sister and father's sister, while in the Bagri system a separate term

(Kaka) is used for father's brother and a separate term (mamo) is used for mother's brother. The Bagris use separate terms for mother's sister (masi) and father's sister (Pui) but in Hawaiian kinship system mother's sister is lumped under one specific word (mother).

There is, therefore, a slight difference between the Bagri kinship system and the Hawaiian kinship system. On the level of Ego's own generation the terms are classificatory. On the level of the parental generation in the Hawaiian system, terms are classificatory but in Bagri kinship, the terms are descriptive. It can also be stated that paternal and maternal relatives are classified but the sexes are differentiated and generational differences are pronounced.

The main structural principles of this terminological system are thus generation, patrilineage and sex. Among Bagri ties made by blood and by marriage tend to be the basis for building more intimate and essential social relations. Bagri people not only use these terms as taxonomic categories of kinship but they address each by speaking these terms. Among Bagri, kinship is core of social organization, economic and political organization. Ties by blood and by marriage tend to be the basis for

building the more intimate and essential social relations. This is particularly so with the consanguineal links which are ascribed. Kinship terms imply normative behaviour especially through interaction among them. An attempt is made below to explain various connected behaviour patterns:-

4.4 BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

4.4.1 Parent-Child

This plays an important role for any human society because it is a bond between two generations. Parents first obligation is to transmit the traditional character of their society from one generation to the other. When these two group remain in contact cultural traits are transmitted between them. Their second relationship is that of producer and consumer. Parents have to rear and to feed the children and children consume the production by the parent. Parents transmit the knowledge, beliefs, customs and traditions of their society to their children by providing them with practical examples. They take their children with them to work or to perform some subsistence tasks. When they are grown up enough to learn, children acquire practical knowledge about their society from the parents. Economic and other obligations

are reciprocal. In Bagri society, parents provide the children food to grow, protection from any difficulties, rear them up to marriage, provide the bride-price, provide the spouses, and support them against affines. These benefits given by the parents are reciprocated in certain ways, when the children later provide them with shelter and protection, feed them from their own earnings and give them due respect. They marry and reproduce and they reciprocate asymmetrically the service of their parents to their own children. They rear them and feed and transmit the knowledge customs and tradition given by their own parents.

4.4.2 Husband-Wife

The relationship between the husband and wife results after marriage. It needs an effective role relationship between the parties. First of all husband and wife are the base of marriage alliance between two paros of the Bagri tribe. This alliance is the base for extension of further kinship ties. It strengthens the relationship between two groups if successful. The failure of this bond not only breaks the personal relationship but also creates difficulty between the respective kin groups.

A good spouse is considered ideally as a good friend. In Bagri society divorce has significant results and marriage failure has problems for the parties concerned. Divorce is considered derogatory because it creates problems for children and also for the basic identity groups attached. The Bagri husband and wife are members of a group outside the family. Good behaviour of the spouse creates only irritation among the parties concerned. So a good spouse always tries to be affectionate to his/her companion and kin.

4.4.3. Brother-Sister

This is the most stable of all Bagri kin relations. It has two natures - individual and collective. It is individualistic in that two persons are involved when the sister is unmarried. Its collective nature is observed when sister is married. In both its natures it is a reciprocal relationship. Brother and sister exchange favours and material obligations with each other. They ideally support each other in every condition and at every moment of life. They visit each other's huts frequently. The brother should provide shelter to his sisters in the case of divorce. He has to speak in her favour against her husband, and pay her divorce-price in case their father is dead.

For these favours the sister also has to fulfil some obligations. She should insist that her husband's parents and her husband favour her brother in a conflict against some other person. In order to preserve her brother's social status it is necessary for her to prove herself as a good housewife. She should not indulge in extra marital affairs which decreases the prestige of her brother.

Marriage is a major factor regulated and controlled by descent, yet marriage is a whole social institution in itself and thereby needs exploring by itself.

4.5 BAGRI MARRIAGE SYSTEM

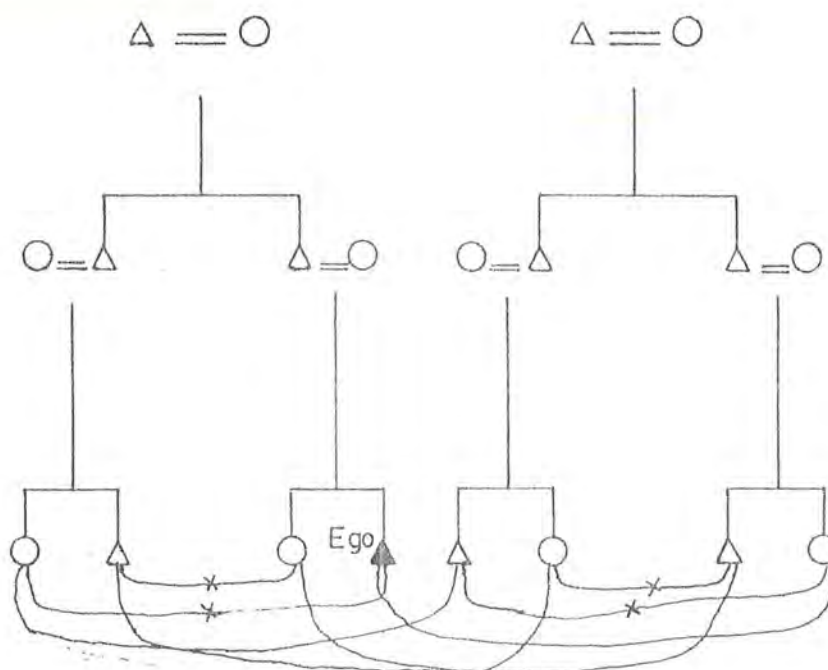
Marriage according to Hoebel (1958, p. 652) is "the social institution that regulates the special relations of a mated pair to each other, their offspring, their kinsmen and society at large".

Marriage is important because it fulfills certain functions of which of prime importance are the legitimacy of the offspring and the social sanction of sexual relations.

Taking the above mentioned definition of marriage, an attempt will be made to explain the Bagri marriage system.

In previous chapter, I have said that the Bagri tribe is divided into nine clans. Marriage is exogamous to the clan but on the tribal level is endogamous. The Bagri neither give daughters or sisters to another tribe nor do they take daughters from others.

DIAGRAM-5



Bagris cannot marry into the mother's family. Mother's family includes mother's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughters. They neither marry parallel cousins and cross cousins because they are also supposed to be sisters and brothers.

Normally marriages among the Bagri are arranged. In the strict sense of the term we may say that this is a sort of "imposed" marriage because it is not necessary to seek the consent or even opinion of the boy or girl going to be wed. As far selection of the bride is concerned, usually parents of the bridegroom visits the potential bride's home. During his stay at bride's place groom's father generally observes the bride to be. Though they are less concerned about the attractiveness of the girl that is considered as well. The main emphasis is given to physical fitness and working capability. Usually after two or three visits the programme is arranged and settled. After having seen the girl, the bridegroom's father takes counsel of his wife in this regard. Meanwhile the bride's parents and kin hold an assembly to discuss the new relationship and future of their girl. In terms of time the arranged marriages takes 3 to 6 months to complete the procedures.

Usually Bagris do not like the strangers to participate in their marital and in personal affairs. There is no practice of courtship before marriage in the Bagri. Traditionally there is no question of pre-marriage conversation between the bride and bridegroom.

There are three main types of marriage:-

1. Polygyny
2. Polyandry
3. Monogamy

The Bagri practice only one type of marriage that is monogamy. To define it Schusky (1965, p. 77) in his book 'A Manual for kinship Analysis' says, that "Monogamy is a form of marriage which limits a person to only one spouse at a time". No case was observed or even heard of regarding polygyny. It was surprising for them to be asked about the practice of having two wives or husbands at a time.

As far the age of marriage is regarded, it is usually between late ten to twenty for boys and early teenage for girls. It may be interesting to note that changing seasons play a role in commencement of the marriage ceremony. During the harvest season most of the marriages take place because of the availability of enough cash for the requirements like pride-price, dowry and other gifts usually given on these occasions.

Normally during the other months of the year they do not have surplus money available to meet expendi-

ture. Therefore, they avoid wedding ceremonies in these months.

Comparing the Bagri marriage system with other tribes' marriage systems, for example the Semai, brings out the basic features of Bagri marriage in detail. As explained by Roberts (1969, p. 73) the Semai strictly cannot marry anyone who is consanguineal in relation and traditionally they are not supposed to marry anyone descended from the grand parents. If a Semai man already married, tries to marry another woman, keeping his wife uninformed of the facts, she will leave him when she comes to know of it. Weddings among Semai people are very simple and quiet. It is rather difficult to pinpoint a married couple in Semai, for this marriage has taken place very quietly.

Leaving one difference that the Bagris commence their marriage with as much pomp and show as they can. In the Bagri system of marriage between the consanguineal kin is strictly prohibited. This inhibition again includes the decedents from the grandparents. As described earlier traditionally, the question does not arise of marrying within a paro where all descendants have the same ancestors, putatively at least.

Karve (1968, p. 118) gives information about the Jat - an agriculturist caste of south Punjab, the Delhi region and northern Rajputana in India. It is divided into exogamous gotras and the basic marriage rule is that a man must not marry into (a) his father's i.e. his own gotra, (2) his mother's gotra and (3) his father's mother's dadi's i.e. father's mother's gotra and a man also has to avoid his (4) Nani's i.e. his mother's mother gotra".

There is a difference in the observance of marriage rules in Bagris from the Jats. A Bagri can marry into his mother's Paro, his MoMo Paro and his FaMo Paro leaving cross and parallel cousins from both the paternal and maternal sides.

Marriage is not only the selection of spouses but as Murdock (1949, p. 1) explains the marriage is "the manner of establishing and terminating the relationship (between a sexually associating pair of adults within the family), the normative behaviour and reciprocal obligations within it, and the locally accepted restrictions upon its personnel". Among pre-requisites reciprocal obligations, bride-price dowry and divorce-price are important in the context of the society under focused so in the coming description I will discuss bride-price, dowry and divorce-price.

4.6 DIVORCE-PRICE

The separation between the wife and husband due to their insoluble mutual differences is seldom practiced custom. The marriage ends up when it becomes intolerable.

When it comes to divorce the Bagri complains of his wife's bad behaviour such as adultery, harsh behaviour to her husband, bad cooking, not serving food in time. A wife sometimes may be divorced merely because of frequent visits to her parents home.

Among the Bagris the wife cannot exercise the right of divorce. However, she can demand the divorce from her husband. To justify her separation, a wife accuses her husband of beating her and of paying little attention to her. She also complains about her husband's non-appreciation for her household services. Sexual dissatisfaction is also one of the justification given by the wife for separation. Divorce, if occurs, it mostly takes place during the first five or six years of marriage.

When a divorce takes place, the children are considered as a property of their father. In case, the

children are less than ten years of age then they are nursed by their mother upto the age of ten. After growing to the age of ten, they are sent back to their father's house, where they are looked after by their father's new wife or by any of his close relations.

This is an interesting aspect of the Bagris marriage system that a Bagri after divorcing his wife gets a sum ranging from Rs.2000/- to Rs.5000/- from the bride's parents as divorce price. This all procedure goes between the parents of both the groom and bride. When a Bagri groom informs his parents of his intention to divorce his wife, it is father of the groom who declares the divorce in the face of the bride father and demands divorce price.

My informant, Baghwan, told me that bride's parents are forced to pay divorce price as a compensation for the expenditure carried at the time of marriage by the parents of the groom. There occurs no specific ceremony but the bride's parent come to the house of groom to pay the divorce-price. I witnessed a similar occasion wherein bride's father, her FaBr and her brother came to pay. In the case I witnessed, a father of bride from Kori Paro came accompanied by his relatives from his own paro, to pay the price to the father of groom of Saroki Paro.

4.7 THE BRIDE-PRICE

Bride price is that amount of money or wealth which is given to the kin of bride from bridegroom's parents. In the Bagri tribe, brideprice is only calculated in cash. They do not give any thing in kind. Bride-price among the Bagris is usually about one hundred rupees. Sometimes the price is as low as two rupees which is given to fulfill the traditional formality.

About such a meagre amount of bride price, I was told by my informant, Baghwan, that this was done for two reasons. Firstly, it served as a token of good will and secondly it was in view of the expenses the groom's parents had to carry on to feast the guests to signify the occasion. This feast is eaten after the bride have come to his groom's parent's house. When the bride leaves for her new house (the newly wed couple's own home) all the guest depart leaving close kin i.e. FaBr, MòBr, FaSi, MoSi, FaBrWi, MoSiHu, FaSiHu, MoSiSo, MoSiDa, FaBrDa, FaBrSo, FaSiCh and MoBrch. They stay for couple of days.

Marriage may take place without receiving of bride-price and the bride's parents hand their daughter over to the groom. Such a bride is termed as Dharm Bati (the daughter given in the name of diety or the god they

believe in). Such happening is, however, less frequent.

4.8 DAN (DOWRY)

Dowry in Bagri language termed as dan, (gift, or reward) is the transferable property which is given to bride by her parents at the time of her wedding. It may be in cash or in kind. Amongst the Bagri the dowry is mostly measured in clothes, either ornaments and in livestock. The mother's mother of the bride gives a great deal of things with a lot of wishes and prayers for the happy married life of the bride and groom. The bride's mother's mother not only pays cash but she also gives clothes and silver ornaments.

4.9 MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

Marriage ceremonies start the very first day when groom's parent visit the bride's parent's house, and do not end up until the bride is taken to her in-laws.

4.9.1 Choice of Bride

The choice of bride is an important matter and the entire process is carried out by the parents. Parents carefully choose a bride for their son and consult almost

all their close kin when they do so. The bride's parents also consult all their close kin before giving the girl. After the first or second visit by groom's parents, the close female kin are asked to go to the house of bride to see her. Usually old women pay visits to the girl's house, ask girl's parents for the final approval of the bride and also have a close look at her. They pay some cash and some sweets to the bride's parent.

4.9.2 Bethrothal

After having selected the girl, the groom's parents fix date for the wedding ceremony in collaboration with all the relatives and close maternal and paternal kin. The bride's family receives one hundred rupees in bride price. The bride is adorned with new clothes especially prepared for the day and jewellery.

Certain types of ceremonies are performed before the actual wedding day. First of all these ceremonies comes the 'Kando' which is the joint assembly of the bride's paro and the members of the groom's paro. Then there is the 'Gana' ceremony. A thickish thread is twisted from ~~three~~ threads or various colours, which is tied round the wrist of bride and groom. Then come the turn of "Vatno" ceremony. In this ceremony Ato (flour)

is especially prepared for the occasion, is rubbed on the face, arms and feet of the bride and groom separately for 2 or 3 days, in their own houses. It continues for three days and during these days close kin gather together and sing special wedding songs. During these days bride's family is given dry food e.g. dates and peanuts etc. for the bride. On the 7th day Mani (locally used of general dinner) is served and distributed among the close relatives and mitrmitre. They are served with food sweets and drinks. In the evening all the mitrmitre give money in return for this food to compensate the expenditures of the wedding. This cash award (money giving) to the groom's family is called Niendro.

At the night the Bania (trader) is invited and wedding rites are led by him. He calls the bride and groom sitting with their foreheads meeting each other, in front of him. Then all the kin gather around. The couple is then advised to be sincere and helpful to each other during all the times to come. Mango wood is lit for illumination. Thereafter bride and groom complete 7 rounds of the fire called pharay and during these rounds the corner of groom's shirt is tied to the headcover of the bride. Bania recites from the Gita at the round taking occasion and prays for the good future of the couple. After the completion of

Pharays around the fire, the couple is brought in front of Pothi (local name of Gita).

The couple then appears in front of Pothi and pledges to remain with each other. This rite is called Ikrar (promise). After this, a drink from sugar and water is specially prepared for the groom. He has to take it and it cannot be drunk by mitrmitre of bride's side. It is considered as an evil, if it is taken by the bride's side's mitrmitre. There is a generations old belief among the Bagri that if bride kin takes that drink then marriage will not survive.

During the wedding drum-beating is very common among the tribe. It displays the pleasure and prestige of the parties. During all these ceremonies and rituals, the Mukhi has very leading role. He leads the wedding procession to bride's place and represents the side of paro. He is presented with gifts on the wedding day by the parties.

The newly-wed couple after marriage usually lives in a separate hut in the groom's gather's band. Thus they start an independent separate life after the wedding. They erect their own home, separately from their parents.

Now I shall describe some other very important rituals in which kin have very significant role to play.

4.10 RITUALS

4.10.1 Chatti (birth)

Chatti ceremony is performed on the occasion of child's birth to choose his/her name. On this occasion all close kin whether consanguineal or affinal are invited. The Bania is also invited and he recites the Gita. The name is chosen by the Bania by opening the Gita. First name encountered is given to the child. Sweets are served to kin and to Bania in addition to a certain amount of money that varies from family to family.

4.10.2 Jhand

Jhand (the first hair-cut of the child) is the second ceremony to be performed after the birth of the baby. In this ritual hair of child's head are cut in the Mandir (temple). Here father of the child or his paternal or maternal uncle cuts a bit of child hair in the presence of Bania. Sweets are distributed among the kin and offerings are given to the Bania by the parents of child. They

all make marry. Foods are served to the invited kin by the host family in a feast like manner termed as Mani.

4.10.3 Jania

This is a ritual in which threads are fastened to the wrist of the baby from the age of one till he is 6 years old. Bagri call it Jania. It is always performed by the Bania. The child is fastened with 3 threads twisted together of the same colour in such a way that the threads pass over the right shoulder and under the left shoulder. There are usually three meanings attached with the fastening of 3 threads, firstly to make and keep him an obedient child to the elders, secondly to make him serve his parents and thirdly to make the child serve the humanity.

4.11 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we had some insights into the kinship system of the society, including kinship terminology, marriage system, behaviour patterns and ritualist aspect of this culture. To me their kinship terminology is similar to Hawaiian system with minor exception. Moreover the marriage pattern among the Bagri is like Semai and Jats of India. In marriage regulations kinship is the prime source of

sanctions and taboos. Bagri can not marry in their paro (clan) which is a kinship group having a conception of common descent. Again kinship has a cardinal role to play in rituals. Kin and friends help each other in the rituals and ceremonies.

In short kinship is the basic source of integration in the Bagri society with certain networks and spheres of its significance.

CHAPTER-5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The study has presented an ethnographic description of the Bagris - a vagrant Hindu tribe in Sind. In this study the emphasis was placed upon the kinship system of the Bagri people. The study was aimed at understanding the behaviour patterns and life style of the Bagri people, which may be useful if considered for the purpose of the innovations to be introduced in the society for its uplift.

As regards the origin of the Bagri^{there}/are many myths. Each myth gives variant details, however, they seem to be aboriginal people who were turned into out-caste by the incoming invaders of prehistory, who drove them into the unsettled areas. They, after leaving their ancestral abode, adopted a mobile way of life and were scattered throughout the Thar desert, which constitutes a large portion of Sind in Pakistan and Rajasthan in India.

Because they left their homes, and became vagrant, they could not keep their belief system differentiated from the other beliefs in the area. When they came in contact

with Sikhs, this introduced Sikh elements, similarly when they interacted with the Muslims of the area, many beliefs of the Muslims crept into their belief system. In this way they became pluralistic believers. There is no special category or class of individuals among the Bagri which leads their religious ceremonies or functions, nor does the traditional Hindu Brahman guide them, but a Bania (member of money lender caste) leads their ceremonies of initiation and of other sorts. The Bania does not live within the community, but his services are requested from his home in the nearby towns. The Bagris, however, are prevented from entering into the temples of higher castes of Hindus.

The Bagri use Sindhi as lingua franca, but while talking to fellow Bagris they use a language supposed to be the mixture of Gujerati and other languages (Russell and Hiralal, 1975, p.).

The habitat of the Bagri is along the bank of the river Indus in Sind. They are not a sedentary people, even today, but carry on moving and live in thatched huts. For their livelihood they use different techniques which include hunting, seasonal cultivation, and begging. Their techniques and tools are very primitive. Hunting does not

yield sufficient means to enable them to meet the needs of the day, therefore, they borrow land from the local Muslim landlords, and cultivate melons, water-melons and vegetables. These lands are usually located along the bank of the river. They use the Khadda techniques for melons and water-melons, whereas for the purpose of cultivating vegetables the comparatively dry land, farther from the bank, is preferred. The Nali method is used for peanuts also.

Begging provides an extra income. Usually women, children and old people go into the nearby cities and villages and collect money, sweets and old clothes from door to door or from shop to shop. Young people, however, labour in the town's market places where they load and unload grain or other articles. Sometimes they obtain labouring jobs in the date-gardens and pick the fruit from the tree for the landlords who grow the cash crop. The meat from hunting, the produce from cultivation, clothes and food from begging are shared in between the relatives like other traditional societies such as Kung bushmen of Africa, aboriginals of Australia and the Eskimos.

The typical family is nuclear. After marriage a son lives in the territory of his parents paro but erects

an independent hut of his own.

Another grouping of people is the band. This grouping is on a corporate basis. Different nuclear families, yet related to one another by consanguineal relations or affinal ties constitute the band. Every member of the band is, in this way, related to the others but here arises a difference between direct affinal relations and indirect ones. The social cohesion is maintained through thoro (ceremonial gift exchange). Each band is the basic political unit as well, having a Mukhi as its leader.

The Bagris are groups into clans, locally called as Paros. There are nine Paros. These Paros are socially stratified in Bagri society. Chuhan and Dabi are the upper paros, while Kori, Roda and Nanwara are the lowest and Saroki, Punmar, Dhamdaro and Wadyaro are middle in the hierarchy.

The existence of exogamy signals two underlying factors: (i) the solidarity of the tribe as a whole, (ii) the strong sense of 'ownness' between the individuals of the same Paro. A Paro performs the same function as are listed in the definition of clan by Hoebel (1958, p. 348).

He says that "the clan as an institution has two universal functions: 1) to broaden the base of the security group formed on the kinship bond by providing mutual aid and collective protection and liability in legal action and disputes; and 2) to regulate and control marriage". Both functions are similarly performed by the Paro among the Bagris of Sind. Paro-members help each other in the disputes against other paros and also clan exogamy is one of the basic features of Bagri Paro.

Bagri political organization has two levels as far as authority and decision-making is concerned. One is the band Mukhi who is a person having rights of authority over the band. He decides the conflicts within his band or with other bands consulting the Mukhis of those band. A Mukhi achieves the office by his personal abilities plus inheritance i.e. a person having capability of being a Mukhi tends to be found among the heirs of the previous Mukhi. However, the potential Mukhi learns the skill and qualifications about the office by helping the previous Mukhi in the last years of his age. In this way a new Mukhi comes on to the scene before the death of previous Mukhi and assumes the offices on his death. Usually one of the sons, or brothers or brother's sons may come to Mukhiship.

On the tribal level there is a council of nine Mukhis who are person of renown, representing their Paros in yearly meetings held in different places and at different times for the decision of those conflicts which are so severe that band Mukhis could not resolve them. Examples can be, abduction, or conflicts among the Paros.

The importance of kinship becomes evident and plays an important role in the resolution of the conflicts. The council of nine Mukhis bridges and resolves the conflicts at the Paro level and inter-Paro levels. This is comprised of the representatives of the Paros (clans). This arrangement saves the tribe from disunity and maintains its solidarity. And it is by means of kinship, that band Mukhi are selected from the individuals genealogically linked with the previous Mukhi.

The Bagri kinship terminology is a generational system like the Hawaiians. As regards the marriage rules, the Bagri are tribally endogamous whereas clan exogamy is the basic principle among their paros. They never marry within their own paro considering each other as classificatory brothers and sisters. Consanguineal families of their mothers are also avoided for the purpose of marriage. Marriage is performed in a set of ceremonies and rituals. The youngsters are betrothed to each other by the parents

and the wedding rites are performed, which include Kando (invitation), Gana (fastening of twisted thread around the wrist of bride and groom), Vatno (rubbing of mixed floor on the body of bride and groom), Mani (feast), pharay (rounds of fire) and Ikrar (promise).

The bride price is fixed, being Rs.100/- (one hundred rupees) which goes to bride's father. Among the Bagri divorce-price is also paid when a woman demands the divorce. It is usually exorbitant as compared to the bride-price and is paid by the woman's father.

There are also a set of rituals pertaining to the life circle. Chati signifies birth, Jania the membership in the groups and Jhand is first hair-cutting of the child. The death rites include Diva (lamp), Ashnan (bathing), Kai (corpse-taker) and cremation. The Bagri also celebrate some festivals. These are performed on different times of year being wirt (a festival in the beginning of the year), Sarad (ancestor remembering), Devali (light ceremony) and Holi (colour sprinkling ceremony). This recalls the teaching of religion through singing and translating the Bhagvad Gita and Guru Granth Sahib by the Banias.

The expulsion of the Bagri from their original abode and the adoption of present residence in the desert required the consolidation of the tribe. This could be achieved through land (Barth, 1959), kinship (Fortes, 1940). The Bagri are landless, since the land is owned by the Muslim landlords in Sind. Hence there is no chance except for kinship to achieve social consolidation. Endogamy at the tribal level consequents in the integrity of the tribe.

The ecology, both social and natural, also helped the fabrication of a particular type of social organization. Socially they are being influenced by the sedentary groups through a functional interaction with the Muslim landlords and Bania. The Bagris borrow the lands for cultivation from the Muslim landlords hence suffer economic dependence while Bania provides religious leadership. Nonetheless, a considerable margin remains between the Bagri and Bania and also between the Muslims and Bagris due to their untouchable status. With economic development and increased social interaction with the sedentary population their kinship may accept some modifications. One of such indications is that they have started selling the surpluses which they used to share among themselves before. Secondly they may adopt any singular concept out of the syncretized belief system, which will be a source of their amalgamation

with sedentary population. If they adopt Islam, they will start to become merged into the Muslim society. But here again the kinship system impossibilizes any chance for one to desert his own faith, for he will have to reckon with a number of established rules of the tribe before doing so and that may be even ex-communication.

At present they have a very low status among the rural and urban populations of the region. Because of their kinship system each Bagri has a sense of altruism that comes through assisting each other during destitution. Since work parties mostly consist of the kin and other band members it agglutinates them further strong. Similarly their political units both at band and paro level which are another source of harmony and tranquility at higher level.

Contrarily the solidarity brought about by the kinship has its implication quite detrimental to the uplifting of the tribe. Not only this so-called solidarity has kept them segregated from the fellow beings in their adjoining but has also blocked the roads to their social elevation. A Bagri will never dare to eat beef or abhorre his diet such as lizard's flesh for two manifest reasons. He will be heretic if he eats beef and until he gives up his traditional diet, severely abominated by the Muslims, Hindus and Christians

alike, the gap between him and the said communities will remain insurmountable.

In succinet, with all its perfections and imperfections kinship system among the Bagri is the prime source of the tribal unity that keeps the tribe almost safe and secure from internal as well as external calamities.

GLOSSARY

1.	Ashnan	Bath
2.	Ato	Flour
3.	Bania	Member of money-lending caste
4.	Bhajan	Religious song
5.	Bhog	Offering the foods to deities by putting in fire
6.	Challo	Ring
7.	Chati	Naming ceremony on child's birth
8.	Dhoti	Piece of cloth wrapped around the waist like sarong
9.	Diva	Lamp
10.	Divali	Lightening festival
11.	Ghee	Purified butter
12.	Guru Grunth Sahib	Holy book of Sikhs
13.	Gana	Fastening of twisted thread around the bride and groom
14.	Holi	Colour sprinkling festival
15.	Ikrar	Promise
16.	Jania	Thread ceremony
17.	Jhand	First hair-cut ceremony
18.	Kai	Corpse taker
19.	Kandhi	Persons who lift the dead body
20.	Kando	Invitation to all relatives on wedding ceremony

21.	Kacha	Cultivated natural levee
22.	Khadda	Pit
23.	Mani	Feast on marriage
24.	Mitrmitre	Biraderi
25.	Mukhi	A leader
26.	Nali	Method of cultivation by plough
27.	Niendro	Amount of wealth or money given to the host on wedding day
28.	Pakka	Cultivated hinterland
29.	Paro	Clan of Bagri tribe
30.	Path	Sing of Gita or Granth
31.	Pharay	Rounds of Fire
32.	Pothi	Local name of Gita
33.	Sarad	A festival of ancestor remembrance
34.	Shalwar	Loose trousers
35.	Thar	The Great Indian Desert
36.	Thoro	Gift exchange
37.	Vatno	Ceremony of rubbing the flour on body of bride and groom
38.	Wallo	Ear-ring
39.	Wirt	A festival in the beginning of Bagri year

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