

Uniqueness of Marriages among Tribal Community of Jaunsar Bawar

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Abstract

There is a famous quote that “Marriages are made in heaven”. However, if we look at the various phases leading to evolution of marriage in society, we perhaps wouldn't believe this myth. The origin and development of human marriage have been discussed by such eminent writers as Darwin, Spencer, Morgan, Taylor, Westermarck and many others. If marriages were made in heaven, then it would not have taken, as per LH Morgan, fewer than fifteen stages in the evolution of marriage and family. Marriages over a long period of time have evolved differently in different societies. Infact as per a survey conducted in recent past (2012), on classical polyandry, undertaken by Katherine E Stark weather and Raymond Hames, they identified fifty-three polyandrous societies outside classical Himalayan & Marquesean area. This goes to show that process of evolution to Monogamous marriage is still continuing in number of societies. Marriage celebrations in JaunsarBawar area of district Dehradun in Uttrakhand, India has an unique tradition, which perhaps were devised based on social economy of the people of the area. Infact it is interesting to note that in traditional Jaunsari Marriages, it is the bride which along with marriage party comes to bridegroom's place for the marriage and all the expenditure of the marriage are borne by father of the bride groom. Different categories of marriage also have been conceptualised in Jaunsari system of marriages to accommodate the varying economic capacities of the parents of the bridegroom. Literature available so far on Jaunsari Culture / Marriage covers some part of Jaunsari Marriage categories and process but fails to give descriptive ethnographic account of the uniqueness of marriage celebration in JaunsarBawar area. This paper is meant to highlight the process of Jaunsari marriage, which, I assimilated during my recent visit to Jaunsar area and is intended to chronicle this extraordinary system which may become extinct in not too distant a future. The description in this paper is unique as it has the advantage of an 'insider' or native anthropologist's in making view which incidentally is not covered in earlier literatures published so far. It is my endeavor through this paper to allow the readers to understand the deepest layers of the Jaunsari marriage system rather than touching the skin and failing to reach the heart[1]. 'Acculturation' of the JaunsarBawar hill tribal people to more dominant culture of the plains of Dehradun is however witnessing rapid shift in the tradition of the marriages which has its own repercussions.

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I. Evolution of Marriage

Before I dwell upon an interesting subject of Jaunsari Marriage called “Jojoda” in Jaunsari language, I thought it prudent to cover the brief history of the marriage itself. ‘Mahabharata’ a great Indian epic, refers to an age of sexual Up regulation, however, Swetaketu, son of the Rishi Uddalaka could not bear this custom, and

established the rule that henceforth wives should remain faithful to their husband and husbands to their wives [2]. The Chinese annals recount that “in the beginning, men differed in nothing from other animals in their way of life. As they wandered up and down in the woods, and women were in common, it happened that children never knew their fathers, but only their mothers’. The

emperor Fou-hi prohibited this promiscuous intercourse of the sexes and instituted marriage [3]. Ancient Egyptians are stated to be indebted to “Menes” for this institutions [3] and the Greeks to Kekrops.

In his book ‘System of consanguinity and affinity of the Human Family’ L.H. Morgan has suggested no fewer than fifteen normal stages in the evolution of marriage and family, assuming the existence and general prevalence of a series of customs and institutions” which must of necessity have preceded a knowledge of marriage between single pairs, and of the family itself, in the modern sense of the term [4]. According to Morgan, one of the first stages in this series is the inter-marriage of brothers and sisters, as evidence of which he narrates the historical statements that one of the Herods was married to his sister, and Cleopatra was married to her brother [4]. Bronislaw Malinowski, in his book, ‘Sex, culture and Myth’, had adduced “the combination of mating with parenthood constitutes marriage in higher animals including man [5]”.

The word “Marriage” is something more serious than the pleasure of two or more people in each other’s company. Edward Westermarck out of all the definitions of the marriage felt that there is but one definition which may claim to be generally admitted, that, namely, “according to which marriage is nothing else than more or less durable connection between male and female, lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of the offspring [6]” considering the acceptance of same sex marriage also now even this definition would need suitable modification. “The Egyptian Pharaohs married their sisters; and like them, the Hawaiian and Inla rulers, too, hit upon the concept of sibling marriage for preserving the sacrosanct character of the royal line. And the Azande of Africa allowed father daughter marriages for a high chief [7]”.

As brought out by Morgan earlier that it took fifteen normal stages before evolution of

marriage and family, main forms of marriage are Monogamy, Polygamy (which includes Polygyny, Polyandry and Polygyny polyandry), polygyny can further be sub divided into Bigamy, sororalpolygyny and general Polygyny whereas polyandry is sub divided into fraternal and non-fraternal polyandry marriages [8]. In-fact as per the survey of non-classical polyandry by Katherine E Starkweather and Raymond Hames published in human nature 23.2 (June 2012), identified sample of fifty-threepolyandroussocieties outside classical Himalayan and Margueseaw area [9]. This gives adequate impression about the fact that societies and cultures are still in the process of evolving to monogamous marriage form. It is therefore clear that marriages have evolved over a period of time and are surely not made in heaven.

II. Ephemeral Antiquity of ‘JaunsarBawar’

Before I discussed about the unique traditions of Jaunsari Marriages, I consider it to be appropriate to give a brief introduction to an area called JaunsarBawar. State of Uttarakhand is a hilly state and JaunsarBawar area is part of district Dehradun. History of JaunsarBawar dates back to the time of Mahabharata (2000 BCE). ‘JaunsarBawar’ was part of princely state of ‘Sirmur’ (Punjab) (Now in Himachal Pradesh). In recent history, however It originally formed part of the territories of the Rajas of ‘Sirmur’ or ‘Nahan’. In 1254 AD sultan MuazumNasir-Ud-Dunya-Wa-Ud-Din ravaged the Sirmurhills[10], However, in 1805 invading Nepalese army extended its control over the area and remained in power till they were defeated by the British in 1814-15 AD and subsequently British took over the control from the Nepalese. The Dehradun valley and adjacent hill, in the south western corner of Garhwal and the hill tract called JaunsarBawar west of Garhwal were annexed to Saharanpur district which was already under British rule. Later in 1829 the annexed section

became part of Dehradun district[11] and 'JaunsarBawar' was incorporated in Chakrata Tehsil the same year. 'JaunsarBawar' region is a valley spread over 1002 sq. km and 400 villages between 77.45 and 78 Deg 07.20 E to 30.31 and 31.33 N. It is located in Western Himalaya and is naturally bounded by the Jamuna river in the north and east Tons river in the South and West[12]. The boundaries of the Regions are contiguous with the former princely states of Sirmur, Jubbal and Taroch. The area, in the past, was isolated and had its own unique system, culture and rites. With time, this culture is also witnessing changing social profiles which is leading to acculturation to more dominant culture of the plains of Dehradun district.

III. Self-sustainable Living of Jaunsaris

A village of JaunsarBawar is entirely self-sustaining. It grows its own food; it makes its own implements and domestic utensils; it weaves its own woolen cloth; and looks to the outside world for little more than its requirements of salt, sugar, kerosene oil and cotton cloth. Even the cotton cloth is made locally in some villages and instead of kerosene oil the people burn torch wood, locally known as 'doee' [12]. RN Saxena had rightly observed that 'time seems to have stood still in these parts of Himalayas after the Pandavas climbed to heaven by satopantha, a snow peak near Mana, the last village on the Indo-Tibetan border [12]'. The above was true upto few years ago. However, due to 'acculturation' and post easy road connectivity to the remote villages, a huge shift in the culture has been observed due to easy movement to plains from the hills, resulting in more frequent interaction with dominant culture of the plains of Dehradun. Additionally, more and more people are getting jobs in the plains. All the above factors have resulted in 'acculturation' of the people of JaunsarBawar to more dominant culture of the plains. This has also affected the marriage rituals of the Jaunsari people. Since the area remained

cut off from the outside world for centuries, some of the marriage rituals are still in vogue, though the marriage culture and the rites which used to be an ethnographer's delight is surely on the wane due to 'acculturation'.

IV. Rituals Preceding the Jaunsari marriage

According to the author's earlier study published in International Journal of Anthropology (2018) [13], Marriage in Jaunsari language is called 'Jojoda'. The events before marriage include finding suitable match (Girl) for the boy, which is invariably done through the local knowledge and close relatives. Before making the final push for selecting the girl, the issue is first discussed at boy's family, wherein everyone's views are considered, I was surprised to note in one of my interaction, when one of the respondent during my field visit, said that detailed in-house discussion is meant to bring out any negative aspects, traits of the girl's family, health of the family particularly of the mother and social stigma, if any, attached to the family. Post discussion, I got an impression that this whole ritual may be to rule out any genetic defect in the family of the prospective bride besides taking care of the other aspects. After the above in-house discussions, the boy's father accompanied by one or two relatives go to prospective bride's house to meet her family and parents. People from JaunsarBawar are very courteous and polite people and majority do not boast. During the discussions with girl's parents, it is invariably and customarily brought out by the prospective bride groom's parents that having relation with the cultured and socially well recognized family of the girl will give more respect to the boy's family as well. This is in-fact reciprocated even with humbler approach from the girl's parent side also. In case both the parties agree, the boy's father gives a 'bandho' (earnest money) also called "Rupiya Chodna", which is an earnest money of one rupee, invariably 'silver coin' to girl's father.

This process is also called 'Jeodhan'. The father of bridegroom also subsequently gives one small gold ornament to the prospective bride which is called 'Suhag'. This process completes one stage of the marriage and betrothal is thus completed.

V. Jojoda (Jaunsari Marriage)

On completion of the first stage, the boy's family calls the 'Brahmin' called 'KulBaman' who finds out some auspicious day for the marriage, which is also subsequently conveyed to girl's father also, and the day is mutually agreed. The dates for marriage are fixed based on the type of marriage and time and resource requirement for preparation of logistics for the type of marriage. Author has mentioned in his earlier paper about types of marriage existing in the village [13]. JaunsarBawar traditionally have following main categories of marriages:

- (a) BajdiyakaJojoda (marriage of generation with musical instrument from bride's village)
- (b) BariyakoJojoda (marriage of the generation)
- (c) AglaJojoda (first marriage of the generation)
- (d) BoeeDauduJojoda (marriage with limited number of marriage party)
- (e) BewaJojoda (marriage with 4 to 5 people only a marriage party)
- (f) UdawaJojoda (marriage by elopement)

BajdiyaJojoda (Marriage) is considered most important and calls for huge logistic arrangements as entire 'Khat' (There are total 39 "Khats" and 385 villages in JaunsarBawar and each Khat has number of villages in it), besides representatives from entire village of the Bride called 'Jojolty', and close relatives from outside the 'Khat'. In this form of marriage, the count of people could go upto 5 to 6 thousands. Making arrangement for such a large number of people

in inhospitable terrain, and extremely cold condition, witnessing subzero temperature in most of the areas during winter months is a challenging task. Incidentally most of the marriages in JaunsarBawar somehow coincide with the winter months only.

The interesting part in Jaunsari Marriage is that unlike in other parts of country, all the arrangement for the marriage are to be made by the bridegroom's father. In order to ensure adequate arrangements, there is a traditional process in place wherein logistics including, adequate fire woods, Goats, liquor and ghee (ghee is variation of clarified butter that originated in India) are made available in plenty. Most of tribal societies have absence of profit in their economic dealings, uses simple technologies and follow gift and exchange system. There is huge interdependence on each other in Jaunsar-Bawar area and this is best demonstrated during the marriage functions.

If it is 'BajdiyaJojoda', sufficient time of one to two years is given between 'bandho' (betrothal) and the marriage, as it requires making logistic arrangement for large number of people, at times for four to five thousand people. The father of the bridegroom takes assistance of the villagers to fetch & stock large quantity fire wood, as this is the cheapest mode of cooking available. All the close relatives of the groom's father's family assure specific amount of 'Ghee' (variation of clarified butter that originated in India), which also takes time to stock and is made available prior to the marriage. This 'Ghee' is one of the most important items of the Jaunsari marriage diet. It is given as a temporary loan to groom's father's family and he will have to slowly return this, and is generally returned before the similar marriage in the relative's house takes place. This kind of exchange system reduces financial burden on the would be groom's father. The people of the 'JaunsarBawar' consider goat meat also to be yet another and an essential delicacy to be included in

the menu during marriages. Considering the total strength of the people as close to four to five thousands, it calls for lots of financial resources to meet this requirement. The local system is so designed as to reduce the burden on the bridegroom's father. All the maternal uncles called 'Mamas' and family of the married girls from the family, bring one big goat each, and in a period of one to two years, the family is able to arrange the goats, part of which will be from own family possession and few from villagers as the total at times could go up to fifty goats. The family of the groom uses the time of 1 to 2 years also to stock enough grains over the period of one to two years to meet the logistics requirements of the marriage. Though of late some conspicuous changes have been observed in marriage system due to 'acculturation'. The biggest logistics challenge, however, is to make arrangement for stay of these large number of people. In order to address all logistic and other pertinent issues, once the boy's father has finished making all arrangement for dry woods, ghee, goats grains and other smaller items. He discusses his plans with his close people (lineage) then calls for a meeting (called 'panchayat' or 'Khumdi'). This 'Khumdi' is attended by all men with wisdom and experience from each family of the village. It is here that total number of people attending the marriage are estimated, requirement of each item based on past experience and number of people attending is worked out. Father of the prospective groom confirms availability of all items to all present. After this, the decisions as to how many houses would be required to accommodate the guests are worked out and all the villagers voluntarily offer their houses for the purpose. Houses in 'Jaunsar Bawar' are well constructed and every house has enough to accommodate 15 to 20 guests for the night. It is in this meeting that people who would be cooking and serving (called 'Raswad') are finalized. It's common knowledge in the village, as to who is expert in cooking what

dish and accordingly groups are divided. These groups will also include people from the 'khat' (group of villages) who are having established credentials to be good 'Raswads'. Responsibility is also fixed for issuance of logistics to one group of people who would take over all logistics items from the family of the bridegroom.

Once all these arrangements are in place, the prospective groom's father is all set for the Bajdiya/BariyaKa/AglaJojoda and family of the prospective groom is generally left free so as to interact with the guests and their all requirement of food etc are met by these 'Raswads' from one day before marriage to two days after the marriage. The 'Raswads' on completion of the marriage (generally third day) have a special evening called "Raswad Biaee" (Dinner of the Raswads) which is a 'thanks giving' party from the father of the bridegroom for all the dedication of these 'Raswads'.

While the preparations at the prospective bride groom's place are in the full swing one or two day before the 'Jojoda', (Marriage), prospective bride groom's father accompanied by two to three respected people from the village go to prospective bride's (called 'Jojalty' in Jaunsar) house. The aim of these people called 'Boidadu' is to personally and humbly request, all the villagers to come for marriage (Jojoda) to bride groom's place. The 'Boidadu's are treated with lots of respect at bride's place and a few goats are also sacrificed and mood is festive in bride's (Jojalty's) village as well. While serving the dinner, cooked heart of the 'goat' is brought to a place where everyone is having dinner, with the 'Boidadu' and then quick consensus is built as to who should be respected with the heart of the goat to eat, and everyone, almost in one voice indicate that the father of the bridegroom or the eldest member of the visiting group should be bestowed with this honour and the cooked heart of the goat is accordingly put in the plate of the selected guest who also shares it with the others in the group.

Earlier there was very limited road network available in the area, therefore, the bride (jojolty) used to be sent early with four to five escorts so as to ensure that she enters the house of the bridegroom on preannounced auspicious time by the "Kul Brahmin" (family priest). All the distances were covered on foot. The married ladies of the village called "Raintudi" are invited for lunch on the day of marriage. They all adorn their traditional ornament and dress are served and treated with special respect. The shares of the ladies, who due to some reason, are not able to make it, are also handed over to another lady of the house and every lady is accounted for. The dress & ornaments of the women who come fully dressed in traditional attire for this function include bright coloured Ghaghra (a voluminous long skirt), Kurti (Tight fitting bodice) and piece of cloth covering the head and with a knot behind called 'Dhatnu', The jewelry of the women of the village (Raintudee) include, Kandudi (Gold neckless or earlier it used to be garland of silver rupees with a munga bead in the centre), Uttraeyain (Big gold ear rings tied with gold chain to head's scarf), Tungal (Large leaf shaped ear ornament), Bulank (Leaf Shaped ear ornament), Nath (A circular gold ornament with moong bids and tied to nose and Dhantu), Long (Nose pin), 'Sooch' (Garland of gold or silver), Khagati or Khagli (Neckless of round silver bar) this is not being worn now, Kaintha (A necklace with gold pendant in centre) and Dorsu (A Garland with coins).

The members of the marriage party from the bride's village come later in the evening are also accompanied by musical instruments called "Baje", and "Bajdiya" jojada name has been derived from this. In Bajdiya Jojoda, the marriage party from village of the 'Jojolty' (Bride) carries painta (Dowry), which include big copper utensils, smaller sizes utensils, beds, item required for the bride including agricultural implements etc and same are carried by eight to ten people called 'Paintru'. The

marriage party from the bride's village is called "Jojoriye" and they enter the bridegroom's village with musical instruments (Baje) which consists of 'Dhol', 'Nagara', 'Damamu' & 'Ransinga' played by accompanying "Bajgis" also called 'Dhakis', who traditionally do this job in the Jaunsar Bawar area. The marriage party is welcomed at the bridegroom's house also with local musical instrument played by the bridegroom's village 'Bajgis'. This musical reception at groom's village is called "Badhai Bajana". This marriage party in earlier times also used to be accompanied with few guns, which used to be fired in the air just before entering the bridegroom's premises. The marriage party is made to sit either in the courtyard of the bridegroom's house or the common courtyard of the villages, if the size of the marriage party is bigger. The bride (jojolty), however, enters the bridegroom's house, wherein, the mother-in-law welcomes the bride in the house with small 'puja' which is a ritual wherein burning scented sticks kept in plate and is moved in a clockwise motion called 'aarti utarna'. The mother-in-law then presents the bride with some gold ornaments called the "sasubhet". Thereafter the bride (Jojolty) and the bridegroom are made to sit together and they are tied together with the piece of cloth. The Brahmin applies Tilak (Vermillion mark) to the bride's forehead. The Brahmin also recites some hymes in local dialect. The bride (Jojolty) (Bride) and the bridegroom are offered uncooked rice which is mixed in cow's milk by the Brahmin and then groom and the bride compete to apply this on each other's face and whosoever applies it first, is declared winner in a very joyous atmosphere. In case, the bride wins this small game, the friends of the bridegroom would continue to lightheartedly ridicule him for quite some time even after the marriage for having lost the first encounter with his wife. This process is called "Doodal Bhatikhelna" and the intention perhaps is to allow shedding of inhibition between the bride & the bridegroom. This process in

“BajdiyaJojoda” is followed by sacrificing of the goats which goes up to almost fifty goats in some cases. Name of the father of the bride, headman (Siana) of the Khut” or village and other eminent persons available are announced one after another to do the honour of sacrificing the goats. The process of sacrificing the goats is; one person invariably the “Bajgi” holds both the rear legs of the goat and another person stands in front of the goat and invites the goat’s attention. The moment the neck of the goat is straight the nominated individual with sharpened locally made sharpened sword (Dangra) cut the throat of the goat. In case he is able to cut it in single attempt, the marriage parties witnessing the process celebrate it. If, however, he is not able to do it in single attempt, he is ridiculed.

The guests are subsequently entertained with big feast consisting of liquor, Mutton, Ghee, Chapatis, Rice etc. The sumptuous dinner is followed by the marriage party (Jojodiye) spending the whole night singing & dancing inside the house. In this type of dance four to five people sit in the centre of the house crowded with marriage party to sing with musical instrument called ‘Khanjri’ & ‘Dholki’ and one person at a time stands up and dances in space of about 4 to 5 square feet between those singers. This kind of dance is called ‘BirashakaNach’ or ‘BhitrokaNach’ i.e. dance inside the house. Early next morning they are served with tea and then meal by about eight to nine AM. This is followed by plethora of folk dances outdoors in the village aangan. Marriage party put on a special dress called ‘Judo’ with sword in their hands, Judo is white coloured gown of ancient Rajputs. This is followed by dance by village women (Raintudi) who are fully dressed in the local attire which includes Ghagra (Long skirt), Shirt and Kurti (traditional jacket) and lots of ornaments. ‘Bajagis’ play the Dhol & Damau and ladies gyrate to a special dance called ‘JainthaRaso’, which is a graceful dance and involves synchronized

moments of hands & body, and steps. All the dances involve moving about in a circle. Other forms of dances are also performed, such as, dance competitions between the marriage party men and girls of the bridegroom’s village, ‘Jangbaji’ & ‘Patebaji’, where persons participating wield the swords and movement of two persons is synchronized and it demonstrates the fight between the two. After this, the marriage party also have lunch and then leave for their village with musical instrument (Dhol, Damanu, Ransinga) blowing at its best and the bride (Jojolty) is left behind.

It needs to be clarified here that though BajdiyakaJododa (Marriage with musical instrument accompanying the marriage party from the village of Jojolty), BariyakaJojoda (Marriage of one generation) AgalaJojoda (First Marriage of the generation in the family) are the same, except in BajdiyaJojoda, it is accompanied by music party and goats are slaughtered on arrival of the marriage party. This type of marriage is no more in vogue. However, Agla & BariyakaJododa are still being practiced where all the events explained above are same except the marriage party from bride’s village are not accompanied by music party and goats are slaughtered beforehand so that the mutton & other food is cooked well in time before the arrival of the marriage party.

The Other categories of marriages besides BajdiyaKoJojoda / BariyaKaJojoda / AglaJojoda are also practiced. The Marriages are conducted based on the capacity of each house hold. The societal norms also cater for marriages between families which cannot afford the heavy expenditure of ghee, goats, grains etc. They resort to ‘BoeDudee’ marriage, ‘Bewa marriage’ and ‘Udawa marriage’.

In BoeDudee marriage (Jojoda), number of people accompanying the bride is reduced considerably to thirty to forty people, and limited amount of painta (dowry) which include utensils,

bed and items of day to day use are given. No cash is transacted as dowry.

In Bewa Marriages, the marriage party accompanying the bride consists of five to ten people only. In this form of marriage there is negligible dowry and this form of marriage is simplest and avoids the resource burden on the father of bridegroom.

'Udawa' marriage is a marriage by elopement wherein the boy brings the girl to his house without anybody's prior information, such marriages though are very rare but are still existing. I noticed four such cases during my field visit in one of the village. In such cases, no marriage function is held, however, marriage is generally given social sanctity by inviting few people for dinner in the couple's house.

VI. Transformation Observed in Traditional Marriage Culture

Having explained the categories of the marriages in 'JaunsarBawar' in the preceding paragraph, it would be in order for me to also bring out how the earlier system of marriage is slowly witnessing the transformation due to "Acculturation". According to my previous paper [13], It is amply clear that 'Bajdia' marriage and 'Bewa' marriages are no more being practiced and maximum marriages are 'Boeeducdee' marriage and 'Agla' / 'Bariya' (once in a generation marriage) are still in vogue, however, since it is once in a generation marriage this type of marriage has lesser frequency. The important aspect which has been observed is, that some of the marriages from 'Jaunsar' area is slowly and surely being conducted in the plains of Dehradun as per the normal Hindu marriage traditions which was not being witnessed earlier. In Jaunsari villages too, some of the marriage rituals are still being followed, however, gradually more elaborate marriage functions which include seven rounds of sacred fire (Sat fera), services of Brahmin priest capable of reciting Sanskrit

mantras and introduction of mehndi and haldi ceremonies as witnessed in the plains of Dehradun district are also being observed. I witnessed the above changes during Bariya marriage which I participated in. Infact, as per one of the respondent during my field visit, it was revealed that most of the educated individuals from the area are following all the customs of the marriages prevalent in the plains, and Jaunsari tradition of marriage is being followed mostly by the people who are still working in the villages. In some cases, even people staying in the hilly tribal village also have to make arrangement for marriage of their daughters in the plains of Dehradun, as per the process of traditional hindu marriages. This transformation has not only shifted the burden of marriage expenditure from bridegroom's family to bride's family, but, has also resulted in number of family resorting to taking loans to defray the expenditure of the marriage and they get embroiled in serious debt trap. Whereas earlier traditional system of Jaunsari marriage had inbuilt social structure to meet these expenditures based on the capacity of each family, this new trend has surely disturbed the natural balance and the region, surely is, paying a heavy price for it.

Acculturation has affected the thinking to a great extent. Even girls who are educated only up to 5th to 10th standards are looking for life partner who is working in the plains, irrespective of his job profile, rather than marrying the boy who is working in the agricultural field in the village.

VII. Impact of Education and Urbanization Traditional Jaunsari Marriages

According to the author's previous paper [13], it can be derived that villages with higher literacy have relatively more number of marriages held in plains of Dehradun as per normal hindu marriage tradition which also gives an indication that more literacy in the area in foreseeable future is likely to lead to increase in this trend. During

my visit to one of the village in 'JaunsarBawar' area recently, I came across a curious case of a boy, who was working in some private firm with minimum salary of eight to ten thousand in the plains of Dehradun district, when his marriage was fixed to a girl from the area. However, since his family was doing reasonably well agriculturally, he decided to leave this petty job and came home to help his parents in their agricultural work. This boy being eldest, and family being well to do, the father of the boy had planned 'BariyakaJojoda' (Marriage of the generation) for him with all traditional flavour. However, once the girl, with whom his marriage was fixed came to know of it, she bluntly refused to marry him. Reason perhaps was hard life in the

villages. Not being able to lead the perceived better life of the plains. Unfortunately, the boy had to again take up the same low paying job again to allow the marriage to take place in the month of Dec 18.

The above trend is just one off case and perhaps can be considered as a tip of the iceberg. If this trend continues, time perhaps would not be far when we would head for total extinction of this kaleidoscopic culture. This will also encourage outmigration from the area. Exodus of the people from the area would be detrimental to the survival of this culture. Appropriate measures, therefore, need to be instituted to reverse this trend so that the area continues to flourish and cultural value system remains protected.

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Glossary

Agla	-	First
BajdiyakaJojoda	-	A particular type of marriage among jaunsari community generally celebrated among well to do families
Bandho	-	Earnest money given to girl's father before the process of betrothal
BariyakaJojoda	-	Once in a lifetime marriage of generation
BewakaJojoda	-	A Type of marriage which is performed with attendance of less number of people
Birashkanach or Bitrokanach	-	Dance inside the house
BoeeDaudu	-	A particular type of marriage celebrated in jaunsari wherein not more than twenty to thirty form the marriage party
Bulank	-	Leaf shaped ear ornament made of gold
Damanu	-	A semi spherical shaped drum covered from one

		side with goat skin and used as a musical instrument	Juda	-	A robe made of cotton cloth worn by men during special dance
Dangra	-	A sharp weapon made locally and generally kept by every family	Kaintha	-	Necklace with gold pendant in the centre
Dhol	-	A drum made of brass or silver and goat skin, used as a musical instrument	Kandudi	-	Gold necklace, earlier it used to be garland of silver coin rupees with 'munga' bead in the centre
Dholki	-	A cylindrical wooden musical instrument covered from both side with goat skin	Khagati or Khagali	-	Necklace of round silver bar
Doee	-	A piece of wood from pine tree used for lighting purpose	Khanjari	-	A small circular musical instrument covered from one side with goat skin.
Doodabhatikelna	-	A small interaction of forcefully applying rice mixed in milk between bride & bridegroom shortly after arrival of the bride at bridegroom's place.	Khat	-	Group of villages
Dorsu	-	A garland with coins	Khumdi	-	Meeting of the villagers
Ghagra	-	A long skirt worn by the ladies	Long or Fulie	-	Nose pin
Ghee	-	Variation of clarified butter that originated in india	Nagara	-	A musical instrument bigger than Damanu
JainthaRaso	-	A type of dance by the ladies	Painta	-	Dowry
Jeodhan	-	Earnest money given to girl's father in order to complete the betrothal ceremony	Paintrus	-	Men who carry the dowry
Jojodiye	-	Marriage party	Panchayat	-	Meeting of the villagers
Jojora	-	Marriage	Raintude	-	A woman in her husband village
Jojolty	-	Bride	Raswads	-	The people from the community used for cooking and serving during marriage
			Siana	-	Headman of the village or khat
			Sooch	-	Garland of gold or silver
			Tungal	-	Large leaf shape ear ornaments
			Udawa	-	Is a marriage by elopement
			Utterayen	-	Big gold earrings tide with gold chain from ears to head scarf