Chapter III
TRANSUMANCE: THE CONCEPTUAL FRAME

3.0 INTRODUCTION

An attempt has been made in this chapter to develop a conceptual frame for the study of 'transhumance' and its various aspects. The approaches of other scholars have been critically examined with this end in view, their works demand a search for a suitable conceptual frame from the geographical point of view.

The anthropologists are of the view that in the earlier stages man was a food gatherer. He gathered his food from flora and fauna from nature. In the process of food gathering activities he learnt to devise and use more and more tools. He began to interfere more drastically with the biotic community, and the relations with plants and animals became more complex. His collecting activities extended immensely. In this process, man has entered into a far wider variety of relations with other members of biotic community than any other species. Some animals and plants permitted and encouraged wider relationships with man than others. In this process man has developed association with many types of animals; for example, with the dog, he developed master-slave relationship. He tamed and domesticated wild animals and came to acquire control over many species which changed the hunter into a tenderer of
flocks and herds. This relationship between human beings and animals showed a remarkable ability to live in partnership among them. But this relationship developed in various stages, which have been pointed out by a number of scholars on the subject.

In approaching the problem of the origin of domestication, no student of the subject can possibly avoid working within the framework of the known geographic relationships of food producing economies i.e. based on the systematic use of plants and animals domesticated in the world. The transition from food collecting to food producing economies are the results of domestication. While identifying the main stages of socio-economic evolution, Hans Bobek identified the following stages from the geographical point of view from the food collecting to food producing economies.

1) Food gathering stage

ii) Stage of specialised collectors, hunters and fisherman

iii) Stage of clan-peasantry (Sippenbauernstäm) with pastoral nomadism as a subsidiary branch

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iv) Stage of feudally or autocratically organised agrarian societies (Herrschaftlich organisierte Agrargesellschaft)

v) Stage of early urbanism and rent-capitalism

vi) Stage of productive capitalism, industrial society and modern urbanism.

Hans Bobek¹ is more and more inclined to the view "that nomadic animal husbandry should be conceived of not as an independent cultural stage but as an ecologically conditioned off-shoot of farming culture, and specifically of small grain farming. Not only the lack of autonomy of this way of life, which always and everywhere is bound to acquire supplementary food materials from the farmers, but also the numerous forms that occur between the small grain farming and the nomadic groups, the high degree of coincidence of their respective areas of distribution, and finally the identity of their animals, are indications that can hardly be refuted. Pastoral nomadism has reached beyond the small-grain farming area in only two places: in North Asia through the adoption of migratory reindeer herding in Taiga and Tundra, and in Africa where it has in part pushed back or overlain tropical hoe cultivation".

In all the symbioses of man and animal, man has gained the most, but in return, for subjugation the animals

¹. Ibid., p. 228.
themselves have also received some benefits. They have been handed and guarded not only from their obvious enemies, but also from their internal parasites. The advantages man has gained from the domestication of animals are numerous. They assisted men in hunting and removal of refuse. The goats, sheep and cattle provided him meat and milk, hides and skins, furs and wool for covering and insulation of his body enabling him to inhabit a wide range of climate and possibly contributing to his relatively hairless state. Requirements for early technologies were largely derived from animals and included bone needles, sinews for threads and antlers for axes.

Use of horses, camels and elephants made transport easier, increased man's military efficiency and mobility, which resulted in wider settlement of marginal areas and genetic merger of different human groups. Animals were also reliable source of power operating primitive machinery for irrigation of farms, grinding grain and performing similar other tasks. Without domesticated animals man could not have developed his dominant position and without their continuance at the present time his situation would be very different.

As a distinct way of life, pastoral nomadism developed in the old World, where five main zones can be identified shown in map (fig. 3.1). "The Arabian camel is well adapted

Fig. 3.1

Areas of Transhumance

EQUATORIAL SCALE 1:125,000,000

The World
to the desert and semi-desert regions of the Sahara, East Africa, Arabia, Iran and Baluchistan. Cattle are situated to the lush savanna grass lands of Central Africa and also to the sudanic belt, while sheep and goats are kept on the fringes of the arid deserts and savannas. Sheep are the main herding animals in the more temperate mountain and valley regions of South-West Asia and the Mediterranean border lands. In the more extreme continental climate of the Central Asia steppe, the nomads traditionally favoured the horse, but also raised Bactrian camels, sheep, goats and often cattle. Finally, in the sub-Arctic tundra regions of northern Eurasia, where the ground remains frozen the whole year round, only reindeer can be herded.

He developed a systematic process of herbage conversion into domesticated animals in a particular habitat. Areas which were suitable for cultivation of plants developed into agricultural regions and the domestic animals in such regions were fodder rather than pasture based. On the other hand, in the areas which were not suitable for agriculture but provided natural pastures, the domesticated animals were based on the latter, thereby giving rise to two distinct branch of animal husbandry. While fodder based system gave rise to agrarian society, pasture based system of animal husbandry gave rise to nomadism and then to nomadic pastoralism. A critical analysis of works on this theme follows:
Two different schools of thoughts have emerged in the study of nomadism. According to William Irons, it has arisen out of a need to handle fragmentary data. The units of its analysis are in effect not societies but 'ideal types', and its method of ordering phenomena is to produce typologies and classifications, viz., 'pure nomadism', 'semi-nomadism' etc.

Salzmann says, that the tremendous conceptual confusion in the study of pastoral nomadism has been brought about by the use of ideal-typical concepts.

The other school of thought has arisen out of the need to handle direct observation in the field. It can be characterised as behavioural or realistic because it arises from the necessity to record data which comes as an unclassified, continuous stream of happenings, whose pattern can only be discerned by missing as little as possible.

Its characteristic form is the analytic description of variables in a system, whereby general patterns are indicated through describing and interconnecting particular instances. These two different approaches lead scholars to different conclusions.


It is desirable to begin our search for a proper conceptual frame by separating nomadism from pastoralism, and thus take the basic step in moving towards analytic as opposed to ideal-type approach. Analytical procedure demands that 'spatial mobility' aspect of nomadism be recognised as the starting point in the search for a suitable model. The spatial mobility includes nomadic wanderings, ethnic penetrations, invasions, intrusions on the one hand and rest of the migratory phenomena such as to and fro migrations. Nomadism is a kind of spatial movement of households in tents and capital resources, which is repeated generally over a defined territory and is linked with economic activities, primary as well as secondary or provision of services of various kinds. Karder, however, feels that cyclical or rhythmic movement is also a necessary condition which distinguishes it from non-cyclical or non-periodical movement such as migrations which are a total displacement of habitats. This, as we shall see, is open to question.

3.1 NOMADISM

Persons who practice 'spatial mobility' in relation to different types of productive activities are termed as nomadis and have been classified according to their group.


occupations. Edgar Kant remarks "nomadism in the broad sense is a fairly indefinite term. It takes in a whole range of different ways of life and kinds of migrations". Bacon classified them as (i) True nomads, (ii) Semi-nomads, (iii) Semi-sedentary nomads. The bases of his classification are on the nature and degree of nomadism i.e. 'space mobility' in relation to their economic activities.

Thurnwald classified them as (i) hunting and collecting nomads, (ii) pastoral nomads, (iii) agricultural nomads. This classification is based on the nature of economic activity in relation to nomadism. Baines has classified them into following types, namely carriers, shepherds, woodworkers, earth-workers, well-workers, knife-grinders, bamboo-workers, mat and basket-workers, mimes, drummers, jugglers, acrobats, thieves, hunters and fowlers.

The all-India Enquiry - Nomadic Tribes Report has classified all the Indian nomadic groups into three categories

1. Edgar Kant, op.cit., p.345.
5. All India Enquiry - Nomadic Tribes Report, New Delhi, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1960 (Mimeo).
namely Pastoral nomads, *Khanabadoshes* (wandering tribes) and Semi-nomadic tribes. The pastoral nomads are those whose nomadism is connected with the needs of their herds.

"A classification on the basis of their chief means of earning livelihood has been suggested hunting and fishing nomads, pastoral nomads, food gathering nomads, collecting nomads, agricultural nomads, trading nomads, artisan nomads, nomadic professional amusers and nomadic criminals".

The semi-nomadic tribes include those who own homes and also land but wander periodically or during certain seasons of the year following the vocations as those of *Khanabadoshes*. The *Khanabadoshes* are a residual herdless homeless group of people roaming on foot, pack animals or in vehicles and working as food-gatherers, hunters, fishermen, ventriloquists, genealogists, oracles, fortunetellers, palmists, carriers, musicians, quack-surgeons, traders and artisans like blacksmiths, basket-makers, bamboo-workers.

The well-known African scholar E.F. Gautier\(^1\) certainly made the nomads into star actors in the great drama of the Dark Ages, but he did not get much further in his taxonomy than a division between erg and mountain nomads. There is nothing much in his work that gives any intimation of the great diversity in nomad life.

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The only scholars at this early stage who have provided a fairly comprehensive overview of the various types of nomadism are Bernard and N. Lacroix. They first set up five different types. The five types were:

1) Quasi-Sedentary natives who migrate only within the douar or tribal territory;
2) Nomads with limited zone of movement 20 to 50 kilometres, who oscillate between the Tell Atlas and the steppe without fixed routes of migration;
3) Nomads with separate winter and summer camps;
4) Nomads with summer pastures in the Tell area and winter camps in Sahara;
5) True Sahara nomads.

These were later reduced to three: half nomads, steppe nomads and desert nomads. To these P.G. Merner later added a fourth category of mountain nomads with many transitional forms—full nomadism to agriculture, transhumance, and also the so-called Alpwirtschaft (old mountain economy), which corresponds to Scandinavian fahod or Sater patterns.

Bernard's division is based chiefly on the extent of migrations. Merner's on the contrary, takes into account the

regularity of movements and the places between which they occur. Many important contributions to the typology and classification of pastoral migrations have been made by Philippe Arbos, Jules Blache and John Frodin. In his critical commentary on Blache's "L' Homme et la montagne" Arbos proposed a highly interesting dichotomous division or pastoral life:

Herdng - Wanderers

(Le vie pastorale - Pastoral life)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nomadism</th>
<th>Transhumance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great and regional nomadism</td>
<td>Great and trans- humanance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small and local nomadism</td>
<td>Small and trans- humanance (Petit humanance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Grand nomadism)</td>
<td>(grande trans- humanance)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the Geographical Congress in Amsterdam in 1938, Faucher presented a synthetic overview of migrations, which purported to include all forms of pastoral nomadism and transhumance, at least within Europe.


John Fordin's fundamental work on Alpine migration in Central Europe was issued at the beginning of 1940's like his studies of the Scandinavian fabod and Sater patterns and transitional forms between nomadic and completely sedentary life in central and southern Europe. It laid the foundation for an almost complete classification of all the kinds of periodic migration of the oscillatory type.

R. Capot Rey, Jean Depois and Rene Raynal, in their studies on North Africa, have made important contribution to classification of pastoral migrations. They have also given consideration to the recent crises of nomadism namely the increasing chaos of individual migration, and the processes of sedentarization. In addition, they also differentiate between temporary and total or definite sedentarization.

Paul Ward English identifies three broad types of nomadism in the Middle East: (1) horizontal or "true nomadism",


which involves the movement of herds of animals over large distances in the case of deserts, (ii) vertical nomadism or transhumance, which describes the seasonal oscillation of herds of sheep and goats between low land areas and mountain pastures, and (iii) semi-nomadism on the steppe margins of settled agricultural communities usually involving at least some cultivation. All of these nomads live in impermanent dwellings such as felt yurts, camel hair tents, or brush huts for at least part of the year. All follow regular patterns of movement adapted to the needs of the herds which form the core of their subsistence economy. Each specific type of nomadism is a highly rational adaptation of human life to local resources which enables a substantial number of people and animals to subsist in severely restricted environment. Thus, all these scholars are of the view that the concept of nomadism is limited to a kind of "Spatial mobility" of households in pursuit of economic activities in an habitat. Whether these economic activities are primary, or secondary or provision of services of various kinds. These space movements can be cyclic, rhythmic or non-cyclic or non-periodic in nature.

The next step in the analysis refers to the concept of 'Pastoralism'. The term 'Pastoralism' relates to the management of domesticated animals in relation to pastures, or in other words, pastoralism is a kind of management of a particular resource i.e. utilisation of pastures through domestication of animals. It involves all the techniques of herding, breeding, management of forage and pastures.

The activity of 'pastoralism' can be practised at a fixed place where it can be termed as 'Ranch Pastoralism' in which the movements are within fixed continuous grazing territory. But when the practice of pastoralism demands utilisation of pastures located in different areas and in different seasons of the year, spatial movement is required. In other words nomadism (space mobility) is practised for maintaining the forage needs of the animals. This type of pastoral activity can be termed as 'Pastoral Nomadism'.

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Animal Husbandry
  /   \
Fodder Based  Pasture Based
  |     |
Ranching  Pastoral Nomadism
  |     |
Transhumance
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Nomadism
  /   \
Artisan Services
Close examination of 'Pastoral Nomadism' as shown in Fig. 3.2 reveals that 'spatial mobility' and 'livestock rearing' are the two basic attributes of 'Pastoral Nomadism'. 'Pastoral Nomadism' is the intersecting subsets between sets Pastoralism and Nomadism. There are non-nomadic pastoralists like ranch farmers and there are non-pastoral nomadism like *gadis lohara*. It is only the intersection of these two sets that we get pastoral nomadism. Salzman has pointed out that the separation of these two concepts makes it possible to ask pertinent questions relating to both for analytical purposes.

3.3 PASTORAL NOMADISM - TRANSHUMANCE

The world 'Transhumance' is an adoption in English from the French word adopted as late as 1911. According to the mid-century edition of the Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary 'Transhumance' may be considered as the Frenchified from the Spanish 'transhumar' of Latin etymon.

Etymologically the term 'Transhumance' is derived from the Latin words 'trans' and 'humus' which respectively correspond to 'across or beyond' and 'ground or the lowest level'.

According to H. Boesch the word 'Transhumance' is of relatively recent origin and signifies the type of economy which is to be found beyond the good earth or the tilled fields, vineyards, and olive groves. This is obviously not a satisfactory explanation.

In fact, there is no English equivalent for the French term 'Transhumance' but it may be suggested here that pastoral oscillatory system seems to be the closest English equivalent for the French term.

In the light of above observations from the structural point of view, the pastoral system is articulated by three major variables, namely, man, animals and pastures, in which the primary function of man is to manage livestock and pasturage in such a way that a balance is maintained between the two in relation to man in an ecological habitat, shown in Fig. 3.3.

Spatial mobility is required to achieve such a balance so that the seasonal use of pastures may be optimised. The patterns of adaptation require successive use of highland

and lowland pastures or dry and wet season pastures. This seasonal access to pasturage is only an adaptive requirement in the pastoral system. Thus, the ecologically conditioned habitat is one of the important parameters of nomadic pastoral economic system. Within this habitat the pastoral economic system develops from nomadic to transhumance stage - a drift towards optimum use of available resources through a seasonal rhythm of oscillatory movements along a fixed route. The major components of this economic system, through which the developing situation can be visualised or measured are: Pastoral management through organization of movements, consequences of spatial mobility through bi-nodal habitations, evolution of economic system through family-stock interdependencies, the inter-connection of value structure and ecological response through formation
of social, functional groups, nomad-sedentary relationship through the relations with other communities of the habitat. As these components of pastoral economic system develop side by side and in stages; they are good indicators of development. A closer examination of these components follow as under:

3.3.1 Organisation of Movements

The organisation of spatial movements at an early stage of pastoral nomadism is in the nature of roaming. They roam about with all their belongings - on foot or on beasts of burden - in all directions in order to find better pasturage. In the following stage, movements are made through certain routes. But they may vary from year to year. There is no fixed routine or schedule about the direction to be taken, the distances to be travelled or the length of stay at any point. The circuits followed are not regular. The migration cycles start developing but without any fixed routes and directions. These moves are dictated exclusively by the need to find water and pasturage, and are dictated by variations in rainfall and temperature. With the accumulation of adequate socio-economic experience, these movements become regular and cyclic, between the areas of summer pastures and winter pastures. The orbit of routes and pastures, the routine, direction and schedules of movements are fixed. The inter
belt distances and the length of stay at any point get fixed. When this oscillatory character in the organisation of movements emerge between summer and winter pastures along with seasonal rhythm, the stage of transhumance is achieved.

3.3.2 Bi-nodal Habitation

In its primary stage of development the transhumant lives in tents and moves with his animals along undefined routes and after some experience temporary hut like structures are erected at suitable location for longer stay. When the routes are fixed between the summer and winter pastures, they construct two huts: one at the winter pasture and the other at the summer pasture. The tents are used only during migrations. At this stage of development in pastoral nomadism two well-defined settlements are the characteristics of the pastoral system and the stage can be termed as transhumance.

3.3.3 Evolution of Economic System

In its primary stage man obtains products from the animals, and these are consumed and utilised directly by him. Whenever they pass through agricultural areas and come in contact with the agricultural communities, they barter their animal products with grain and other necessities. When the stage of development reaches a point, where
regular summer and winter pastures emerge on the scene, they start small grain farming in or near one of the pastures or in both the pastures. The element of agriculture is introduced as a supplementary activity. At this stage the main occupation is animal raising the arable farming being only a secondary pursuit. The grain is utilised for human consumption and at a later stage forage for animals as well.

In herd management practices the institution of a professional shepherd emerges and becomes strong with time. This is of utmost importance. At the primary stage every man grazes his animals himself but slowly and gradually the professional shepherding comes up as an economic necessity. The contractual shepherd system emerges on the scene, whereby the animals are sent to the pastures under wage earning shepherds. These shepherds provide relief as well as income of the family.

3.3.4 Formation of Social and Functional Groups

The inter connection of value structure and ecological response can be seen through the processes of formation of social, functional and administrative groups in a pastoral society about which William Irons remarks that "A prominent organisational feature of nomadic society is the local

1. William Irons, op.cit., p.11.
exploitation group - set of domestic and herding units periodically drawn together by a temporary mutual interest in the peaceful exploitation of local resources". The hierarchy of social groups and sub-groups by which the pastoral nomads ordered themselves are:

- Kinship Cum Functional Groups
  - Kinship groups
    - Elementary family
      - Lineage
      - Clan
  - Functional groups
    - Herding group
    - Camp group

Where a kinship group is a lineage or an extended patrilineal group. The functional groups are formed for various socio-economic purposes, among these kinship groups, firstly the household groups form herding groups just to facilitate efficient grazing and herding. Secondly for social, economic and political purposes such as pastoral rights on pastures within the group and outside the group during migrations the extended patrilineal groups along with affinals are constituted into bigger groups with well defined headmen. When these kinship groups enlarge with the passage of time and the available pastures become a constraint, these groups start dispersing into suitable localities and keep the clan name which is generally based on actual patrilineal descent and is on a fichon of common descent. The developmental process at this stage is very complex.
Throughout their wanderings the elements of territorial possession is involved at this stage. However, they keep to lands, routes, pastures and water resources, which they claim their own and as long as they can defend their claim by force of arms. The clan boundaries are often the subject of disputes and this merely expresses the conception that each group has its own land with its water and pasture and should not trespass beyond its limits. It is always claimed by some groups and defended to the utmost against any encroachments. The struggle for territorial limits often results into conflicts among the groups and necessitate them for an administrative authority which can resolve the disputes, this can be tribal council with a well represented body of elders and authoritative leaders.

3.3.5 Relationship with Other Communities

In the pastoral system, movement through certain territories of the settled agriculturists is a must. As a result conflicts often occur and clashes are common among the sedentary and pastoral communities. Consequently special functional groups are formed under special leaders to meet a challenge with a challenge, to protect themselves and take revenge by way of cattle lifting and looting the sedentary population and vice-versa. "In the course of sudden raids cattle are lifted, grain seized and other

1. Ibid., p.11.
property is carried away. Such raids are parts of the
general pattern of nomadic life and are frequently carried
out by pastoral nomads. "\(^1\) In its advanced stage, when the
relations are developed between the two communities (pasto­
ral and sedentary), "agricultural community becomes tribut­
ary to some powerful nomadic tribes, which exacts a heavy
price for protecting the villagers from other nomads. This
frequently leads to the emigration of the peasants and the
occupation of their lands by nomadic herdman."\(^2\) But, when
a pastoral nomadic community attains the stage of trans­
humance in some localities the tendencies of these types
decline. The pastoral and agricultural communities have
developed a symbotic relationship. However, such sporadic
clashes sometimes are observed only during migration seasons,
while they are passing through the agricultural zones.

In a highly advanced stage of the pastoral system
in an area the development leads to the process of sedenta­
rization. Some persons start abandoning their wandering
life in favour of non-pastoral pursuits. But they retain
their relations with their parent tribal organization. In
most cases their conversion to sedentary life seems to be
fairly recent, but this is not necessarily the case every­
where. Some tribes have settled on the land for a fairly

\(^2\) Ibid., p.333.
long time, but still they continue to maintain their tribal solidarity and refuse to intermarry with other tribes.¹

3.4 TRANSHUMANCE SEDENTARIZATION CONTRAST

Before concluding the discussion it will be worthwhile to look at the place of transhumance in the system of primary production. The following differences between the attributes of agricultural activities on the one hand and transhumance activities on the other, may help us to provide a sharper focus to understand the transhumance.

The transhumance and sedentary economic systems can be easily distinguished from each other on the basis of the following major criteria.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transhumance involves</th>
<th>Agriculture involves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Man in relation mainly to animals</td>
<td>1. Man in relation mainly to plants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Domestication of particular type of animals (Goats, sheep etc.)</td>
<td>2. Cultivation of particular type of plants (rice, wheat etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Use of natural pastures and water resources</td>
<td>3. Use of fertile soils and water resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Unsettled or semi-settled population</td>
<td>4. Permanent and settled population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Animal Combination</td>
<td>5. Crop combination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Migration of animals and man in different seasons in different places</td>
<td>6. Crop rotation in different season at one place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. The market (exchange of the animal products, and the location of the markets are along the migration routes

8. The practice between areas of contrasting natural conditions (topography, climate and natural vegetation)

9. The two temporary settlement sites, one in summer pastures and the other winter pastures

10. Nomadic community pattern

11. The dependence of industries using animal products

12. The advanced technological application of scientific methods of cross-breeding, new variety of animals, fodder, crops, animal husbandry, medical aids, and control of diseases.

7. The market (exchange of the agricultural products and the location of the market is centrally based

8. The practice in the areas of similar natural conditions (topography, climate and natural vegetation)

9. The settlements are permanent and fixed at one place (villages) and the fields are around them.

10. Agrarian community pattern

11. The dependence of industries based on agricultural products

12. The advanced technological application of scientific methods of cross-breeding of plants, new variety of plants, manuring, irrigation and application of medicines to control the diseases of the plants.
Chapter IV

OSCILLATIONS IN THE TIME-SPACE CONTINUUM

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Transhumance is a response by pastoralists to topographic and climatic constraints, to protect their herds according to their climatic tolerance and to optimise the use of pastures. This effort results in oscillation through time over space or in cyclic mobility in a space-time continuum. The temporal scale of transhumance may vary from long term cycle spread out over number of years, an annual cycle or a diurnal cycle. The term "space" refers to different spatial zones or regions covered by a transhumant in a transhumance eco-system. The term "continuum" refers to the interconnectivity of the two coordinates so that if you know where a transhumant group is, you also know the time of the year and vice versa. Although it is an economic necessity for the Gujara Bakarwals to move with their flocks in each season to the areas where pastures are available, yet the migration has a greater value than this, as is apparent from the following consideration. They have two alternatives to them, merely two ways of expressing the same experience. A season is a stretch of country and vice-versa - rather, both are aspects of a unit within the migration
cycle. This explains that they interpret time and space alike with reference to migration. Keeping in view the above approach, the study in this chapter has been planned firstly, to see the nature and characteristics of transhumance through time, secondly, over space and lastly in a time-space continuum.

4.1 TRANSHUMANCE IN TIME

Transhumance is a continuous process which develops along a temporal scale over an ecologically determined habitat. The cycle is a response to the seasonal rhythm and is, therefore, annual behaviour pattern in its temporal spread and is measured in terms of a linear calendrical system as given in Table 4.1.

It has been observed during the field work that they have divided their year into the following four major sections.

Sardivah (Winter Season)

(1) Early winter season: Aghan, mid-Phoos (November 17th to December 15th)

(11) Late winter season: Mid-Phoos, Mah (December 16th to February 12th)

Basant or Bahar (Spring Season)

(1) Early Spring Season: Phagan, Chait (February 13th to April 13th)

(11) Late Spring Season: Baisakh, mid-Jath (April 14th to May 15th)
Table 4.1
GUJARIA BAKARWAL MONTHS AND THEIR APPROXIMATE ENGLISH EQUIVALENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Gujar Month</th>
<th>Approximate English equivalent</th>
<th>Seasons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Chait</td>
<td>March 15 to April 13</td>
<td>Basant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Baisakh</td>
<td>April 14 to May 14</td>
<td>(Spring)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Jeth</td>
<td>May 15 to June 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Har (Asar)</td>
<td>June 16 to July 16</td>
<td>Garmiyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Savan</td>
<td>July 17 to August 17</td>
<td>(Summer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Bahdon</td>
<td>August 18 to September 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Kunwar (Asoj)</td>
<td>September 19 to October 17</td>
<td>Patijhad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Katik</td>
<td>18th October to November 16</td>
<td>(Autumn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Aghan (Mangar)</td>
<td>November 17 to December 15</td>
<td>Sardiyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Phoos (Phoo)</td>
<td>December 16 to January 14</td>
<td>(Winter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Mah</td>
<td>January 15 to February 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Phagan</td>
<td>February 13 to March 14</td>
<td>Basant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
Since they follow the lunar calendar, the short days are added every third year and this is quite well-known to them as to how the addition occurs and how without the addition the yearly cycle according to seasons will lag behind.

They keep a record of March 21st as 'Noaroz' and September 21st as 'Het' when the days and nights are equal. As such the world 'Het' in Gujar meaning, "below". Preceding to Baisakhi, they have to decide their movement upwards that is about 'Noaroz' and about the autumn Equinox, they have to move down below back to their winter resorts.
Garmiyah (Summer Season)

(1) Early Summer Season: Mid Jeth, Har (Ashar), Sawan
(May 15th to August 17th)

(ii) Late Summer Season: Bhadon
(August 18th to September 18th)

Path Jhah (Autumn Season)

(1) Early Autumn: Kunwar (Asoj)
(September 19th to October 17th)

(ii) Late Autumn: Katik
(October 18th to November 16th)

Their socio-economic activities are regulated in this seasonal framework, as given in Fig. 4.1.

4.1.1 Sardiyan

Winter season is the most difficult part of the year for the transhumants, who stay during these months, on the slopes of the outer hills zone, bounded on the north by the middle mountain range and south by the foot-hill plain. These hills lie between 610 and 1220 metres above sea level. Each Gujara Bakarwal Kafila has customary winter area. In this area the dera of the same Kafila spread out in the form of Dadda-Potre groups on different hills slopes, where they have constructed temporary huts known as Kothas or (Dhombras).

These Gujara Bakarwal transhumants spend the whole of the winter season here looking after their flocks. The flock of sheep and goats are taken out daily for grazing. During
Yearly Cycle of Gujar Bakarwals

Autumn migration
- Fast daily movements along
- With grazing, crossing of
  vale of Kashmir, crossing
  Pir Panjal mountains,
  short stay at Rattan

Camps in winter pastures
- Stay at winter abodes grazing around
  neighbouring hills,
  purchase of house hold goods.

Spring migration
- Long journey, crossing vale of Kashmir,
  moving across Pir range, crossing
  with grazing

Summer pastures
- Tour daily twice a day, long journey,
  visit
- Long purchase of goods.
- Selling, selling, buying, activities
- Grazing, shearing, wool, zigs, games and sport.

FIG. 41
this season the vegetation is either dead or dormant and the animals have to live primarily on the stored dry grass or leaves of bushes. The severe cold temperatures (almost freezing at night) deaden the pastures in the south. They shift their animals towards lower heights of 610 metres or below.

The strategy in this season is to sit tight to protect the animals from the cold by means of housing the adult sheep and goats in the Bandi at night, building shelters in the Kothas for lambs and kids, providing blankets and cloaks for the horses, and compensating the lack of pasturage by feeding sheep, goats and horses with the leaves of bushes and chaff of grain from the limited local cultivation. During this season the sheep and goats are pregnant, the Dhaman leaves are purchased from the trees of the local samindars and are given to them. This is the time of winter rains, accompanied by snowfall up to 1220 metres high above sea level. The food production is scarce at this time so the transhumants depend upon the grains purchase from local samindars.

4.1.2 Rasant or Bahar (Spring Season)

In the month of March the lambing period of sheep and goats starts and the new ones require more care. Very few activities are observed in this season. The festival of Noaros (at spring Equinox) is celebrated by them. After
celebrating *Baisakhi* on the 13th of April, they start moving towards summer pastures. *Baisakhi* has a great importance for them, because it falls at the beginning of the main spring migration and, therefore, marks the beginning of a new year in a very real sense. Spring migration is of great importance in the annual cycle of transhumance.

The first part of spring season sees the appearance of grass and budding of plants due to the rise in temperature. The relative availability of pasturage varies from south to north in the middle mountain zone. In the south the pasturage is exhausted due to overgrazing in a relatively short time. The spring strategy of the transhumants is to move towards northern parts of the area. The movements of several herding groups starts in the month of April moving northwards towards the pastures on the southern slopes of *Pir Panjal* between 1830 and 2440 metres. Each herding group decides for itself the time to migrate, but up to the end of April all groups reach the southern slopes of the *Pir Panjal* range.

The movements in this season from outer hills to the middle mountains are constrained by the conventional usufruct right of lineages over hill slopes and *nallas*\(^1\) (stream

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1. Apart from Gujar Bakarwals, there is a considerable population of semi-sedentary Gujars in this area, who own the agricultural lands in the villages and pastures on the *Pir Panjal* slopes.
valleys). Permission for setting up camp has to be sought and is in most cases given; the feud sometimes occur. There is great pressure to limit the use of slopes in this season to the owning lineage only. The consequent denial of access to these slopes to other groups limits the camping facilities for lineage away from their own sources of pastures.

The coming of the second part of spring is signalled by the exhaustion of the pasturage in the middle mountains zone and at the same time the semi-sedentary Gujara of the middle mountain valleys also approach the same areas with their herds of buffaloes. Since the greater density of animal population results in more rapid exhaustion of these pastures, the flocks are taken by the transhumants through the Pir Panjél Passes across the valley of Kashmir to the Great Himalayan mountain pastures. During this period, they are on move and pass through the series of localities in a regular succession in the form of Kafilas. The factors which influence the spring migration in different localities are snowfall, temperature, rainfall, grass, soils, water supply, animal diseases, human population and relation with outsiders. They are shown in Fig. 4.2.
## Factors Influencing Gujara Bakarwal Spring Migrations in Jammu & Kashmir

### April, May, June

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Topographic Regions</th>
<th>Regions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Outer Hills 2000'-4000'</td>
<td>Rattan Pir Range 7000'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snow Fall</td>
<td>No Snow Fall</td>
<td>No Snow Fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temperature</td>
<td>Warm</td>
<td>Moderately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rain Fall</td>
<td>No Rain Fall</td>
<td>Rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grasses</td>
<td>Start Drying up Good Nutritional Value for Short Period</td>
<td>Good Nutritional Value but for Short Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soils</td>
<td>Dry Soils</td>
<td>Slippery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Supply</td>
<td>Adequate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal Diseases</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Population</td>
<td>House Hold Units: Herding Units Collect One After the Other</td>
<td>Kafila is formed and moves together with Tents &amp; Animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation with Outsiders</td>
<td>Sedentary Population: Animals are stolen by Villagers</td>
<td>Forest Deptt. Animals are put under penalties by Villagers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### FIG. 4.2
4.1.3 Garnivan (Summer Season)

During July, August and September, they settle at their appointed pastures and graze their flock over the rich pastures of the Great Himalayan ridges lying at the height of 3050 to 4570 metres, almost touching the snowline. The transhumants perform important economic and social activities during this season.

They live in Dharas and utilize their time in handicrafts like making shajily (ropes and cords which are woven for their use to pack the tents and baggage). They also spin wool, weave loo and pattu. They collect herbs, hunt for fur and also collect deer musk. Some engage themselves in hunting lumbering in the forests, others perform duties as coolies to the tourists near the tourist resorts. Summer season is also marked by a variety of social activities and festivities like marriages and religious gatherings.

The late summer season is signalled by short migration towards the pastures on the slopes lying along the Kishanganga valley. This short-term migration in the summers is very different from the migration mentioned earlier. The families remain in their Dharas at their appointed summer pastures. Only a group of young shepherds, pack up and organize this migration for a few days. They make some days' migration round the northern edge of the
Kishanganga valley slopes and return to their appointed resorts. The motive of this short trip is to make use of some good pastures within their reach.

4.1.4 Patihad (Autumn Season)

The beginning of autumn season is signalled by the snowfall on higher altitudes. The transhumants start moving towards the lower altitudes. They cross the Great Himalayan Passes and occupy the slopes facing the valley of Kashmir above the side valleys. After staying for a fortnight they move towards the Valley of Kashmir. This migration back to the winter resorts is faster than the spring migration. The reason is, that, after crossing the Valley of Kashmir they have to cross the Passes of Pir Panjal range, where generally in this season snowfall blocks the Passes. They travel fast and have long marches with a view to cross the Pir Panjal Passes before snowfall. After crossing the Pir Panjal range, they stay at intervening pastures of Rattan Pir Shah, Ladha dhar and Dudu Basantgarh ranges for few days and start moving slowly towards the south. From here they break up into different groups and spread over the winter areas. The factors which influence the autumn migrations in different topographic zones are the same, which have been described earlier in case of spring migration and are shown in Fig. 4.3.
### Table: Factors Influencing Gujara Bakarwal Migration in Jammu & Kashmir

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Outer Hills 2000' - 4000'</th>
<th>Rattan Pir Rang 7000'</th>
<th>Pir Panjal, MTS 7000' - 12000'</th>
<th>Valley of Kashmir 6000' - 7000'</th>
<th>Northern Foot Hill, Valleys 7000' - 8000'</th>
<th>Northern, MTS 8000' - 15000'</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Snow Fall</td>
<td>(610 - 1220) MTs</td>
<td>(2133 - 3658)</td>
<td>(1830 - 2133)</td>
<td>(2133 - 2440)</td>
<td>(2440 - 4572)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temperature</td>
<td>Cool</td>
<td>Cold</td>
<td>Cold</td>
<td>Cold</td>
<td>Cold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rain Fall</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes has been moved to another area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grasses</td>
<td>Bushes</td>
<td>Under snow</td>
<td>Under snow</td>
<td>Under snow</td>
<td>Under snow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soils</td>
<td>Wet Soils</td>
<td>Slippery</td>
<td>Slippery</td>
<td>Slippery</td>
<td>Under snow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Supply</td>
<td>Adequate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adequate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes has moved to another area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diseases</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human</td>
<td>House Hold units, Kothas</td>
<td>Herding Units, Kothas</td>
<td>Kafila formed and moved</td>
<td>Herding Units, Kothas</td>
<td>House Hold Units, Kothas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to gather along with tents &amp; animals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>with</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outsiders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Legend:**
- Cool temperature
- Cold temperature
- Slippery soil
- Adequate water supply
- Yes
- No
- Kafila formed and moved
- House hold units, Kothas
- Herding units, Kothas
- To gather along with tents & animals
- Animals stolen by forest dept.
- No penalty

**Fig. 4.3**
4.2 TRANSHUMANCE IN SPACE

In the previous section the activities of Gujara Bakarwal transhumants are viewed from temporal point of view. We now attempt to look at these activities in a spatial framework. The zone of oscillation of the Gujara Bakarwals is roughly a rectangular strip of land formed by a straight line from Khatua to Poonch and a straight line drawn in the North of the Kashmir Valley mountains from Deosai to the Zanskar Range towards furthest east in the Great Himalayas. In this strip of land, these transhumants plan their activities over space according to set schedules.

The connected activities of transhumants in space depend on the utilisation of natural pastures. These pastures are seasonal and lie apart. In this strip of land utilised by the Gujara Bakarwals, different areas succeed each other in providing the necessary grazing for flocks. While snow covers the mountains in the north, pastures are available throughout winters in south. The winter season is generally poor throughout, but then the harvested fields with their stubble become available for pasturage, since the value of the natural manure is recognised. Therefore, the land-owners encourage the transhumants to graze their flocks on harvested and fallow fields. In summer the usable pastures are found in the
areas of Great Himalayan ranges across the valley of Kashmir. An understanding of the oscillation and land use pattern in space is facilitated by the native concept of the Sardiyon ki Charagah (winter pastures), Dhoka (summer pastures) and Rasto (Route of migration).

4.2.1 Sardiyon-ki-Charagah (Winter pastures)

The Gujara Bakarwal's winter resorts are in the Sivaliks or outer-hills, which is bounded by the middle mountain range in the north and by the foothill plains on the south, in the forests extended from Poonch to Khatua.

The topography of the region is rugged and mountainous, covered with all kinds of bushes and grasses which are grazed by goats and sheep. These hill-ranges are 610 to 1220 metres high above sea level. The seasonal torrents have cut deep ravines buttressed with steep spurs on the sides in this area. The drainage consists of numerous streams. The entire area is rocky and undulating. The soil on the slopes has suffered a considerable extent of erosion.

The climate in winter is cold but free from snowfall, except for very little in the northern parts. A little and occasional rain occurs from December to March. But in summer the temperature is high and becomes almost intolerable. In the rainy season, the temperature becomes tolerable, but torrential rain falls and floods in streams
restrict movement. The winter resorts of the Gujara Bakarwals are cold with an abundance of bushes and moderate water supply from the winter rains, local streams and water springs. The bushes which are the main source of fodder supply in winter are Charanda, Sontho, Beri, Dharam, Khair, Thalla, Pandara, Lasari, Kaladi, Chanskar, Beikund, Lasara, Kainthi, Karkoli and Belo.

The functional community structure during this season is in the form of Deras (household units). These household units settle at one fixed place, where they have Kothas (house) and Jhoppras. It is only in small valleys or on slopes where water and a patch of land is available, a little cultivation of maize is undertaken therein. Small grain farming is combined with pastoralism.

Very few cultural, religious and social activities are performed in this region. The animals roam from one hill top to the other and on the slopes within a radius of eight to sixteen kilometres. Ascent and descent on slopes during the day time occur almost daily. Although these excursions are restricted in range, yet they are more or less regular and periodic and may be thought as local migrations within winter pasture zone. The zone of these diurnal periodic movements may extend from eight to sixteen kilometres around their permanent Kothas (houses).

The winter pastures zone is not free from animal's diseases. The animals suffer from various types of diseases
for example, **Mokhar** (swelling of foot), **Thandi** (small pox), **Bagdi** (the milk dried), **Sari** (swelling of mouth and ears), **Fodi** (boils on mouth, swelling of tongue), **Buri** (Swelling of tongue), **Mai** (tuberculosis), **Kachu** (stomach worms) and **Kushi** (skin disease).

The neighbouring communities in the winter pastures are semi-sedentary Gujars, who practise agriculture along with cattle rearing. Others are Chibs, Rajputs, Dogras and Thakkars.

Apart from small grain farming, the Gujara Bakarwals perform manual labour for the local **samindars** (agriculturists) and provide labour force for the construction of roads and buildings. Some of them do a little trade in animals and work as wage labourer in the nearby towns. The women spin wool, weave **Patu** and **Loi** (blankets).

Shearing of sheep wool is done towards the end of March and the beginning of April while in the winter pastures. The lambing season in these winter pastures extends from February to March. Most of the available pastures here are in the hands of villagers and are contracted for upon cash payments for a specified season. The usable terrain is itself unevenly distributed between non-arable hill side, scrub lands and the extensive fallows. Winter pastures everywhere are exhausted by late April. The transhumants begin to move to summer pastures before that.
This is in order to avoid difficulties that occur if they remain in the winter pastures after crops begin to grow. Keeping their flocks away from cultivated fields during this season is difficult and there is a great risk of conflict with the peasants and land owners, if they remain too long in the winter pastures zone. The fear of conflict and damage-claims also perform regulatory function in preventing over-grazing of pastures over which the occupants have no proprietary rights, and which they are inclined to over-exploit.

4.2.2 Dhoke (Summer Pastures)

The summer pastures of the transhumant Gujara Bakarwals are located in the Great Himalayan mountains, north-east, north and north-west of the valley of Kashmir. The major pasturing grounds are Matsil, Naushera, Gurez, Tilol, Matayan, Sonmarg, Dras, Ringdum, Maru and Wardwan locally known as maras.

The topography of this region is mountainous in character at 3050 to 4570 metres above sea level, near the snowline with steep slopes and occasionally tops are flat. These areas remain under snow during winter season. But in summer, the temperatures are quite favourable. The monsoon influence is insignificant in this zone. Local rainfall, however, occurs occasionally. The drainage and water supply is from the melting of snow or from the
glaciers. There are many Sara (tarns) which provide water for animals and men.

With the melting of snow, many types of nutritious grasses sprout from the ground, which are the main source of pasturage to the sheep, for example, Baeran, Deela, Cheeni, Jodhar, Piar, Kuth, Chatival, Tareri, Khatri, Choran and Godaali. The main bushes whose leaves supply food for the goats are Burz, Bessa, Bharat, Batal, Kanee, Dod, Sat, Burg and Kher.

There are certain poisonous grasses which are harmful to the animals. But the animals by their intuition and instinct avoid these grasses, for example, Mohari, Ingo and Salmei.

The functional community structure during summer season is comprised of different Deras (household units) who spread on the pastures in all directions. They construct Dharas and Jhonpras on the flat spaces available on the slopes and live at fixed places. Most of the social, religious and cultural activities like marriage, are performed in the summer pastures. The animals roam from one pasture to the other up and down the valley slopes and on the flat grassy grounds within the radius of about 8 to 16 kilometres under the care of male shepherds or professional shepherds (airis). The local roaming or diurnal migrations are regular and periodic in this zone around Dharas which are controlled by slight
change in temperature, precipitation and availability of water and grasses. Animal diseases are not many in the summer zone. The main diseases are Bah (dysentery) and Meel (bleeding through urine). They give local medicine by boiling Ratan Zog Buti in milk, which cures the animals.

The other economic activities apart from grazing are spinning, weaving, shearing of wool, labour on road, lumbering, hunting, forest collection and providing mules to the tourists who visit these areas in summer. Two shearings are done here, one at the time of arrival from the winter pastures in the end of June, and the other in the end of September, when they start the return journey to the winter pastures. In the summer pastures the neighbouring communities are Baltis, Ladakhis, Dards, Kashmiris and Pakhtoons.

4.2.3 Rasto (Channels of Migration)

Rasto\(^1\) is a traditional route of migration on which each Kafila travels during seasonal migrations. This Rasto connects seasonal pastures and passes through different topographical zones. The men and animals are taken over

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these routes during spring and autumn migrations. It also
has its traditional schedule of departures and duration of
occupation of the different localities and the combined
route and schedule which describe the location of Kafila
at different times in the yearly cycle constitute the
Rasto of that Kafila. Such a Rasto is regarded by the
Kafila as its property. Their rights to pass on roads,
over uncultivated lands and to pasture their flocks outside
the cultivated fields are recognised by local population
and authorities. The route (Rasto) of the Kafila is
determined by the available passes, paths of communication,
and by available pastures, while the schedule depends on
the maturation of different pastures and the movements of
other Kafilas. It, thus, follows that the rights claimed
a Rasto do not imply exclusive right to any locality through-
out the year, and nothing prevents different Kafilas from
utilizing the same localities at different times. The
efficiency of a good Rasto is determined in terms of the
shortest distance between summer and winter pastures having
sufficient pastureage, security from natural hazards, market
towns on route and an agricultural zone on it.

4.3 SCHEDULE OF ACTIVITIES IN TIME-SPACE CONTINUUM ON
OSCILLATION CHANNELS (RASTO)

The migratory pattern adopted by the Gujar Bakarwals
in this mountainous region of Jammu and Kashmir enable their
goats and sheep to be sustained not by the carrying capacity
of any given pasture but by the successive exploitation of pasturage at climatically different altitudinal zones. Thus, the area traversed by the Gujara Bakarwals is ecologically highly diversified. The tribe passes annually up from winter quarters in the outer-hills (Siwaliks) at 610 to 1220 metres contour level, through the fertile valleys of the middle mountains 1220 to 1830 metres, then the middle mountain ranges of Rattan Pir Shah, Gol Gulab Garh, Ladha dhar, Dudu Basant Garh and Sarthal 2440 metres. After crossing the watershed through the Pir Panjal Passes 3335 metres, they enter the world of alien Kashmiri peasants, and then onwards they move into side valleys. Through the narrow lanes of the side valley they reach the Great Himalayan slopes for pasturage in summers. The Gujara Bakarwals regularly oscillate between winter resorts and summer resorts for fulfilling the needs of their animals through these oscillation channels during the spring and autumn seasons and plan their schedule of activities in time-space continuum as under:

4.3.1 **Outer-Hills - Winter Season**

The Gujara Bakarwals stay in this physiographic zone only during winters, in the forests of the forest divisions of Billawar, Udhampur, Reasi, Rajouri and Poonch and graze their flocks. From mid of November to the mid of April, they disperse over the slopes between the contour
heights ranging from 610 to 1220 metres above sea level for grazing. In the early winter season from mid November to mid December the herds of Gujara Bakarwals graze around the contour heights of 1830 metres. As the winter advances they move slowly and gradually downwards to the contour height of 610 metres. A good majority of Kothas and Jhonpras are located around the contour heights of 610 metres. These Kothas form the nucleus of their activities in winter. When snowfall, severe cold winds, and winter rains lash the upper regions, in the months of December and January, the herds move further downwards below the contour height of 610 metres under the care of a shepherd. In the month of March the herds are again taken from 610 to 1220 metres height. From March to the mid of April the household groups remain between the contour heights of 610 to 1220 metres around these Kothas and Jhonpras. During winter season small grain farming is practised around Kothas by some of the Gujara Bakarwals either on lease or on their own small terraced fields on the slopes. The lambing in this season which requires constant care of animals is a reason enough to remain around Kothas. They start leaving this zone towards north when the temperatures become intolerable after mid of April.

4.3.2 The Narrow Fertile Valleys of the Middle Mountains - Spring and Autumn Season

From the outer-hills they move towards north through the fertile and well cultivated valleys of the middle
mountains in the last quarter of April. The movements are along the valley beds and over the cultivated fields. The villagers put resistance to their movements. The feuds and animal thefts by the villagers and the transhumants are quite common. The grazing problems are many. Keeping their herds away from cultivated fields during this season is difficult and there is a greater risk of conflict with the peasants, if they remain too long in these fertile narrow valleys of the middle mountains. For this reason they move swiftly and in daily marches of moderate length to reach the intervening pastures on the middle mountains at a height of 2440 metres above sea level.

4.3.3 The Middle Mountains - Spring and Autumn Season

All the Gujara Bakarwal Kafilas reach the middle mountain slopes of Rattan Pir Shah, Gol Gulab Garh, Ladhadhar, Dudu Basant Garh, and Sarthal ranges by the first quarter of May. The grasses are available on these slopes during this season. They graze their animals for 15 to 20 days and utilize these pastures. Here they wait for the opening of the Pir Panjal Passes which are still closed by winter snow.

While on return journey from the summer pastures, they again occupy these slopes for about 15 to 20 days and graze their herds, where grasses are again available after monsoons in the last quarter of October.
Towards the end of May Gujara Bakarwals transhumants leave the intervening pastures at 2440 metres and move towards Pir Panjal Passes above 3335 metres. Nature is very hostile here. The untimely snowfall, rain, hailstorm, landslides, screefall, rock avalanches and floods in the streams take away many lives every year. The rugged slopes and scarcity of grasses add to their miseries. The routes are narrow along the deep gorges of ice-cold water and there is no shelter. The Gujara Bakarwals never think of camping in the open in these valleys; they always take shelter in the cavern of some secure bank, or scoop out, walls in, some ready hollow under the lee of any firm rock. Both men and animals are half-starved. They build seem (log bridges) across these streams at number of places. They cross the Pir Panjal Passes in one long swift journey which begins in the early hours of the day. The Pir Panjal Passes are covered with snow. The passage over the snow is very difficult, particularly near the Pass, the Kad\(^1\) creates difficulty. While crossing the main Passes the Gujara Bakarwals send two or three male members with sticks in hand at the head of the march followed by ponies to make

\(^{1}\) The term Kad indicates a glacial topography near the Passes. In holes in the snow are formed in the stones due to melting of snow.
a path over the snow. The other members of the Kafila follow them. They erect little pillars of snow here and there along the route by way of guide in case of mist or snow obscuring the path.

Indeed this is the most hazardous part of the migration channels. After crossing the Passes, they take rest around 2440 metres height above sea level on the slopes of the Pir Panjal range, for about three to five days. Sometimes the departure is delayed because of rain and hailstorm. The zone on the fringes of Kashmir valley is famous for clashes over animal thefts by the Kashmiri population. The Kashmiris roll stones from the slopes and when the Gujara Bakarwals run here and there for safety, they carry away their animals. There are organised gangs of Kashmiris in this zone, who commit animal-thefts and are in connivance with the local police. In many cases these types of clashes delay the departure. Here the firewood is collected from the forest which is to be used when they pass through the valley of Kashmir, where no firewood is available.

In the autumn season in the month of October, this zone is again crossed by them while on return journey from the summer pastures. They cross the Pir Panjal Passes swiftly for fear of snowfall, and reach 2440 metres contour height on the southern slopes of Pir Panjal range. These journeys are difficult and long with few halts during these months because
of the constant fear of rain, hail and untimely snowfall.

4.3.5 The Valley of Kashmir - Spring and Autumn Season

Upto the last quarter of May every year all the Gujara Bakarwals groups enter the plains of Kashmir valley from the slopes of the Pir Panjal ranges. In most parts of the Kashmir valley, the fields are sown by the end of May which is also the time of Gujara Bakarwals passing through the valley towards their summer pastures. The Kashmiri peasants do not allow them to pass on their fields for fear of damage to the crops. The clashes between the peasants and the Gujara Bakarwals are very common. Here the animals are dragged through the narrow lanes very carefully just to avoid damage to the crops. They cross the valley of Kashmir in very swift and long journeys with very few halts. This is not a favourable zone to them and poses problems of scarcity of pasturage and resistance from the Kashmiri peasants. After crossing this zone they reach on the other side of the valley of Kashmir and from there they disperse in small groups and enter the next zone of the side valleys. In the autumn season around mid of October they cross this zone again, while returning from the summer pastures. This is the harvesting season in the valley of Kashmir. The fields are harvested. The Kashmiri peasants welcome their stay on the fields for manuring purposes and pose no resistance in their way as they do in case of the journey
towards the summer pastures. After crossing this zone in autumn season they enter the Pir Panjal zone and cross the Passes.

4.3.6 The Side Valley - Spring and Autumn Season

These valleys provide facilities of cultivation from May to September and most of the Gujara Bakarwals own fields on the slopes in these valleys and perform maize cultivation. While going to summer pastures in the last quarter of May they move into the side valleys of Bring, Lidder, Sindh, Madhumati and their tributaries. Some of them have purchased lands of variable sizes for agricultural purposes in between the contour heights of 2135 and 2440 metres above sea level. A few have built good houses on their fields. They stay for about seven to ten days in this zone for sedentary activities and make purchase of provisions for the use in the summer pastures. During this period the animals are grazed on the slopes locally. One or two members of the family stay on these fields and rest of the members move further along with the herds to the summer pastures. Again in the last quarter of September (autumn season) they come down to 2440 metres height from summer pastures in these valleys, when the crops are ready for harvest in this month. They harvest the crops and help in collecting grass and tree-leaves for the consumption of animals of these members of
their family, who will stay during the winter season here. Here they also wait for the harvest in the main valley of Kashmir, so that the fields and routes are available to them for the return journey, which also delay the departure for 10 to 20 days.

4.3.7 The Great Himalayan Zone - Summer Season

This zone is occupied by them in the first quarter of June. They move from 2440 to 3335 metres contour heights further towards north along narrow lanes. They divide themselves into herding groups and move in daily marches with shorter journeys. They graze for 5 to 7 days on the slopes facing the Kashmir valley, then cross the Great Himalayan Passes and occupy the northern slopes. The mountain Passes are between 3660 and 4270 metres high above sea level. These Passes are difficult to cross as being covered with snow even in summers. Heavy loss of men and animals are sustained in this zone of Passes. They cross the zone of Passes with one long swift journey in the early hours of the day before sunrise.

In the month of June, they settle down at their appointed pastures and stay there throughout summer. They build Dharas around 2745 metres contour height on the mountain flanks or on the flat spaces available on the ridges. They graze their animals locally in all directions
till the first quarter of September. In the first quarter of September, the shepherds make a short trip further north from the summer bases for grazing purposes.

In this zone the shearing of wool is done, twice, one at the time of reaching and other at the time of return. Which they sell enroute. The women folk spin wool, weave loi and patu. The men folk collect medicinal plants, fur and deer musk. Some of them hunt wild animals and collect skins for sale to the Kashmir valley traders.

After spending the whole summer season they start their return journey through the same migration channel in the last quarter of September. This migration is known as Autumn migration. They cross the Great Himalayan Passes again with swift marches and reach around 2745 metres contour height on the slopes facing the valley of Kashmir in two or three days. The animals are grazed around 2745 metres contour height for about 15 to 20 days.

4.4 CONCLUSION

In the above discussion, we have seen firstly, that these transhumants have planned their activities into four major segments of time i.e. Sardiyon, Begant, Garmiyon and Patihad. Secondly, they act on space zones in outer hills (winter areas), middle mountains valley, middle mountains Pir Panjal range, valley of Kashmir and Side valleys (on routes of migration) and in Greater Himalayan ranges areas.
In the above pages, it has been observed, that from December to mid of April they stay in the winter pastures zone on outer-hills. They plan their activities on this topographic region according to the demands of winter season. In the last quarter of April till the first week of July, they are migrating towards summer pastures. During this time, they cross different topographic regions on the route of migrations and their activities are controlled both by the passing of time as well as crossing over the space zones in regulating their daily marches according to environmental conditions. From June to September they graze in summer pastures on the Great Himalayan ranges from a fixed point. There also the activities of these transhumants are controlled both by passing of time and utilization of space. In the month of October they again start returning to the winter bases with the same route of migration and reach there by the month of November every year. Thus, the limiting factors in highland habitation of Jammu and Kashmir for the transhumant Gujara Bakerwals is the availability of pastures. Which is controlled both by temperature and precipitation in time and space. Precisely we can say that excessive heat and cold both and nature of precipitation in each ecologic zones are characterised by limited pasturage, both seasonal and yearly and from locality to locality. The short spring season brings moderate temperatures, which melt the snow and produce an abundance
of bulbous and other herbaceous plants, in the middle mountain zones. By the end of April, however, the pastures are drying-up and depleted, the transhumant Gujara Bakarwals prepare once again to migrate to the next suitable zone. Thus, the seasonal scarcity of fresh pasturage keeps them pushing in search of pasturage from one zone to the next zone.

From the above analysis it is clear that variability in natural vegetation (pastures) which depends on topography and climate of different zones motivates them to migrate. If one observes the nature of their oscillation, in reality as a whole, their activities are correlated with the two most pronounced time-cycles in the physical environments, i.e. spring and autumn migrations. The planning of annual and diurnal activities over space and through time by these transhumants is to be seen in the time-space continuum.

Keeping in view the concept time-space continuum in relation to transhumant activities, we are going to analyse their migration patterns in the following chapters.
5.0 INTRODUCTION

The foremost characteristic of transhumance is the movement of men and animals from one seasonal pasture to the other in the yearly cycle of migration. This seasonal movement or "flow" of Ka\textit{f}il\textit{as} is essentially governed by the natural environment. Our purpose in this section is to see the nature and characteristics of Ka\textit{f}il\textit{a} flow during seasonal migrations while passing through the different topographic zones.

The study has been planned in the following manner. Firstly, we shall analyse the overall system of Ka\textit{f}il\textit{a} flows on all routes. This is followed by a routewise and zonewise analysis of the flow of Ka\textit{f}il\textit{as} which is intended to the capacity of the route and the regulatory measures adopted to control the flow at different locations on each route of migration. The zonewise analysis of the flow of the Ka\textit{f}il\textit{as} is intended to explain the utilization of different topographic zones and the use of the same to solve the problems of fodder on the one hand, and on the other of Ka\textit{f}ila congestion in each topographic zone on the route of migration.
Secondly, a detailed analysis of the flow of Kafilas on two major routes of migration, viz. Pir Panjal and Banihal Pass routes has been attempted with a view to look into the problems of transhumance on a micro level.

Our analysis in this chapter is based on the data collected in the Kafila schedules for 167 Kafilas, who traverse on eleven Pir Panjal mountain Passes during annual migrations. Table 5.1 shows the number of Kafilas on each route of migration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Major Mountain Pass route</th>
<th>No. of Kafilas travelled</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Jamiyan Gali Pass</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Nur Pur Pass</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Pir Panjal Pass</td>
<td>44</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Darbal Pass or Nanansar Gali</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Rupari Pass</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Budhil Pass</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Konsar Mag Pass</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Zeji Marg Pass</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Banihal Pass</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Reasi to Maru-Wardwan</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Jammu to Phelgan</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Sabra to Wardwan</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Sarthal Pass</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Others, from Mendhor valley to Pir Panjal pastures</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL 167

5.1 ROUTEWISE ANALYSIS OF THE FLOW OF KAFILAS

The routewise flow of Kafilas is analysed as shown in fig. 5.1.

1. For analysing the flow of Kafilas, the information about the winter bases, direction of the route, number of Kafilas junctions, summer bases and the length of the routes on map are plotted in flow line map, where the column of flow is explained by the thickness of lines between two stations which represent the number of households travelled on each track. The stations or junctions are represented by proportional divided circles, where number of Kafilas collect and disperse at each station in different directions.
5.1.1 *Jamiyan Gali (14 Kafilas)*

Fourteen *Kafilas* move from their winter bases around Naushera, Dharamsal and Rajouri. They reach Surankot via Bhimber gali. From there, through a nalla of Hari-Marote, they trek towards north to reach the southern slopes of Pir Panjal range at a height of 2440 metres above sea level. After a halt for few days around Ban, they cross the Pir Panjal through Jamiyan gali. Leaving one of the *Kafilas* around Gulmarg, out of fourteen, the remaining thirteen *Kafilas* cross the Kashmir valley. While crossing the Kashmir valley, the two *Kafilas* go towards Handwara and two go to Lolab valley. The rest of the nine *Kafilas* reach Bandipura and follow the road via Tragbal and cross over the Ramdhainangan Pass to reach the pastures of Matsil, Naushera, Bagtor, Gurez and Chorwani.

5.1.2 *Nurpur Pass (9 Kafilas)*

The Nurpur Pass *Kafilas* follow the same route upto Ban as in case of Jamiyan gali *Kafila*. From there nine *Kafilas* cross over the Pir Panjal range through Nurpur Pass and reach Srinagar in the valley of Kashmir. From Srinagar all of them go to Bandipura via Shalateng and four of them enter the valleys of Madhumati and Badkol, while the remaining five *Kafilas* follow the road via Tragbal and cross over Ramdhainangan Pass and join the route of Jamiyan.
gali Kafilas. Later on they spread over the pastures of Matai1, Nauabera and Gurez.

5.1.3 **Pir Panjal Pass Route (49 Kafilas)**

The Pir Panjal Pass route is approached by forty nine Kafilas from winter bases around Naushera, Chingas, Dharamsal, Sialswi and Rajouri. All of them reach the Rattan Pir Shah range and stay there for ten to fifteen days. Then they proceed towards Poshiana. The five Kafilas spread over the Pir Panjal pastures and remaining forty four Kafilas cross the Pir Panjal Pass and descend at Dubjan. From Dubjan these forty four Kafilas divert towards Gadder Maidan and Sangerveini. From Sangerveini they follow different routes through the valley of Kashmir. First, from Sangerveini to Srinagar twelve Kafilas go via Pulwana, Nieu and Pamore. Secondly, from Sangerveini thirty two Kafilas reach Pakharpur. From Pakharpur ten Kafilas follow the route via Chirar Sharif upto Srinagar and the remaining twenty two Kafilas reach Srinagar from Pakharpur via Nieu, Pamore. Srinagar is visited by forty four Kafilas one after the other. Then, from Srinagar four Kafilas go towards Arigam, Bandipura, follow the road to Tragbal and cross Razdahinangan Pass to reach the pastures of Matai1, Naushera and Gurez.

Out of the remaining forty Kafilas from Srinagar, six Kafilas pass through the city and reach Gandarbal. The
other thirty four Kafilas from Srinagar follow a route through Shalimar. From Shalimar five Kafilas cross Dara peak and descend at Saraf Rao in the Sind valley. The remaining twenty nine Kafilas from Shalimar reach Ganderbal. In all thirty five Kafilas pass through Ganderbal upto Woyil. From Woyil six Kafilas go via Chhatergul upto Gangabal pastures. The remaining twenty nine Kafilas from Woyil reach Kangan. From Kangan, four Kafilas go towards Sonmarg along Sind Valley. In the Sind valley at Suraf Rao they join the route of five Kafilas who descend through Dara peak from Shalimar. In all nine Kafilas reach Gaggangir. From there they follow different hill routes and spread over the pastures around Sonmarg, Kishan Sar, Bishan Sar and Matayan. The remaining twenty five Kafilas from Kangan follow the route via Wangat nalla upto Naranag. From Naranag three Kafilas go to the pastures around Naranag and remaining twenty two reach Gangabal. Some of them cross Satsar Pass and spread over the pastures of Tisel upto Badogam.

5.1.4 Darhal Pass or Nanan Sar Gali (11 Kafilas)

The Darhal Pass route is followed by eleven Kafilas from the winter bases around Kalakot. They move through Darhal nalla and reach Sarota on the ridge above Darhal town 2440 metres high above sea level on the southern slopes of Pir Panjal range. They stay for few days at this place
and then cross Pir Panjal mountain through Darhal Pass or Nanansar gali, and join at Aliabad Sarai on the Pir Panjal Pass route. Out of eleven Kafilas, six Kafilas spread over the Pir Panjal pastures. The remaining five Kafilas move further to join the Pir Panjal Pass route at Aliabad Sarai which is taken by forty four Kafilas from Poshiana.

From Aliabad Sarai they push through the Kashmir valley via Dubjan, Gadder Maiden, Sangerveni, Chirar Sharif and reach Srinagar (Shalimar). From there they enter the Sind valley via Ganderbal, Kangan, Gaggangir, Sonmarg. From Sonmarg they cross over the Zojila Pass and reach Matayan pastures.

5.1.5 Rupari Pass (16 Kafilas)

The sixteen Kafilas who follow Rupari Pass route move from their winter bases around Kalakot, Kot Bani and Panja. They reach Katha 2440 metres high above sea level on the southern slopes of Pir Panjal range. After staying there for more than a week they cross Pir Panjal range through Rupari Pass and join Pir Panjal Pass route at Sokhsarai and reach Dubjan. From Dubjan four Kafilas head towards Shupion and twelve divert towards Gadder Maiden. From Gadder Maiden four Kafilas go towards Pulwana where four Kafilas from Shupion join them. The remaining eight Kafilas go towards Pakhar Pur out of which four go to Pampore via Neiu and the others reach Srinagar via Chirar Sharif.
From Pampore the twelve Kafilas approach Srinagar. Out of the sixteen Kafilas, who pass through Srinagar, four Kafilas go through the city and twelve Kafilas take around via Shalimar, Khimer and reach Ganderbal. At Ganderbal these sixteen Kafilas join the route and reach Woyil. From Woyil four of them go via Chhatergul and approach the pastures of Gangabal. The remaining twelve Kafilas go to Kangan. From Kangan, eight Kafilas approach Gaggangir along the Sindh river valley and from there they move towards Kisanasar, Bisansar, Kaobal and some of them settle around Sonmarg. The four Kafilas from Kangan go via Wangat nalla, reach Naranag and spread over the pastures of Gangabal, Gadsar, Tilel and upto Badogam.

5.1.6 Budhil Pass (9 Kafilas)

The nine Kafilas who follow Budhil Pass route start from their winter bases around Dalheri and reach Budhil. After a week's stay there, they cross Pir Panjal range through Budhil Pass. One Kafila remains at the Pir Panjal pastures and eight Kafilas go to Pulwana via Shupion. One Kafila from Pulwana goes towards Tral via Awantipur and settles in the pastures above Tral. The remaining seven Kafilas go to Shalimar via Srinagar. Out of these seven Kafilas six Kafilas go to Harvan and from there they cross the Fakirgujar top and descend at Surfrao in the Sindh Valley. These six Kafilas from Suraf Rao follow Sindh
valley and reach Gaggangir. From Gaggangir two Kafilas go towards Bisansar and Kisansar pastures. The one Kafila goes towards Kaobal and the two Kafilas reach Matayan, via Zojila Pass. The remaining one Kafila at Shalimar goes to Ganderbal, Woyil, Kangan, Wangat, Narang and then in the pastures of Tiel.

5.1.7 Konsarnag Pass (2 Kafilas)

The two Kafilas who follow the Konsarnag Pass route start around Paura Kotla and reach Sangot. They stay for few days there and then cross the Pir Panjal range through Konsarnag Pass and reach Shupion. From Shupion they pass over to Pulwana, Avantipur and then spread over the pastures above Tral ridge.

5.1.8 Zejimara Pass (7 Kafilas)

The seven Kafilas who follow the Zejimarg Pass route start from Paura Kotla and its neighbourhood and reach Kaindar. They stay for few days there and then cross the Pir Panjal mountain range via Zejimarg Pass or Didam gali to reach Kulgam. From there they approach Anantnag. From Anantnag they pass through Aishmuqam, Lagnai nalla and reach Phelgam. From Phelgam one Kafila goes to Meerbagan pastures via Firoslane along East Lidder valley. The other six Kafilas reach Aru pastures via West Lidder valley and settle around Aru.
5.1.9 *Banihal Pass (42 Kafilas)*

The Banihal Pass route is approached by forty two *Kafilas* from different directions:

1) Jammu to Phelgam side - Fourteen  
2) Kathua to Wardwan side - Thirteen  
3) Reasi to Wardwan side - Fifteen  

5.1.9(1) *Jammu to Phelgam Side (14 Kafilas)*

Fourteen Kafilas who follow the Banihal Pass route start from their winter bases around Jammu, Akhnoor and Jandhra. They reach Ladha dhar range through Mir, Krimchi and Kainth gali. They pass over the Ladha dhar range in slow marches and descend at Ramban. From Ramban, they follow the National Highway along the Banihal valley and reach Shaitan nalla near Banihal. From Shaitan nalla they cross Pir Panjal mountain range through the Banihal Pass or Nehru Tunnel and reach Mazmu Munda village. At Mazmu Munda, they stay for three to four days and then cross the valley of Kashmir via Verinag, Achhabal, Anantnag and Bawan. From Bawan one *Kafila* goes towards Wardwan pastures and the remaining thirteen *Kafilas* reach Aishmuqam. From Aishmuqam one *Kafila* goes towards Awra.
nalla and the two Kafilas go to Lagnai nalla. The one Kafila from there goes towards Wardwan side also. The remaining nine Kafilas reach Phelgam. From Phelgam the six Kafilas spread over the pastures on the slopes of the east Lidder valley around Chandanwari, Asatan marg, Sheenag, Amarnath, Sokh nalla and up to Gumru nalla. The remaining three Kafilas from Phelgam follow the West Lidder valley and spread in the pastures around Aru.

5.1.9(11) Kathua to Wardwan Side (13 Kafilas)

The thirteen Kafilas who follow Banihal Pass route move from their winter bases around Sambha, Ramnagar, Jandhra and Udhampur. They reach Ladha char range and cross it over to Ramban. They follow the National Highway through Banihal valley up to Saitan nalla. From there, they cross over the Banihal Pass and reach Verinag. From here, out of thirteen Kafilas, two Kafilas go to Achhabal. They divert from Achhabal to Wardwan pastures via Zojimarg Pass. The remaining eleven Kafilas from Verinag move towards Kasba Naobug through Bring valley reach Daksum and Kachwan. After crossing the Pass, they reach Inshin and from there spread over the pastures of Maru-Wardwan.
5.1.9(iii) Reasi to Wardwan Side (15 Kafilas)

Fifteen Kafilas who follow the Banihal Pass route move from their winter bases around Reasi, Arnas and reach Ramsu on National Highway via Sarbagani. They follow the National highway and cross over the Banihal Pass to reach Verinag. From Verinag one Kafila goes to the pastures around Halan and the remaining fourteen Kafilas reach Kasba Naobug. From Kasba Naobug, two Kafilas follow the route via Daksum and approach the pastures of Maru-Wardwan and one Kafila goes towards Singhpur pasture. The remaining eleven Kafilas from Kasba Naobug cross over the Sinthan Pass. Out of these eleven Kafilas, two Kafilas remain around Sinthan pastures and the remaining nine Kafilas approach Fariyabad and Ringdum pastures.

5.1.10 Sarthal Pass (5 Kafilas)

The five Kafilas who move through the Sarthal Pass start from Bilaur forests and reach Sarthal. After a stay of few days here, they cross over Sarthal Pass and reach Kishtwar via Bhadarwa. From there, they spread in different directions over the pastures around Padder, Fariyabad, Singhpur, Sinthan and Madwa.
5.1.11 **Others from Valley of Mendhor to Pir Panjal Pastures (8 Kafilas)**

The eight Kafilas from Mendhor valley go to the pastures of Pir Panjal range via Bafilaz, Baramgala, Chandimar and Poshiana. These Kafilas do not cross the valley of Kashmir and remain at the Pir Panjal pastures.

Thus, the routewise Kafila flow plotted in map (Fig. 5.1) reveals that migration on these routes is well regulated and distributed. But it is observed that at some places these routes join and at others diverge in different directions. This phenomenon indicates the carrying capacity of a route in a particular zone. Keeping into view this phenomenon, a zonewise analysis will further explain the regulatory functions of the Kafila migration.

5.2 **ZONE-WISE ANALYSIS OF KAFILA FLOW ON TEN ROUTES MIGRATIONS**

The nature of flow of man and animals in different topographic zones and during different seasons is explained by the map 5.1 as under:

5.2.1 **The Outer Hills (Winter Pastures)**

This topographic zone lie 610 to 1220 metres above sea level, which is a zone of winter pastures of the Gujara
Bakarwal transhumants. The nature of flow of men and animals in this zone is of central type. The families live at fixed places and the shepherds graze the animals around their winter bases within the radius of 8 to 15 kilometres. The daily movements are made in respect of herding activities. Timings and directions of these movements are daily decided. They move to valley-bed in the morning for watering the animals and then upwards on the slopes in the afternoon for grazing. These local movements do not involve a change of place and are quite often limited in distance.

5.2.2 Outer Hills to Middle Mountains Zones (Winter Bases to Intervening Pastures)

This topographic zone is situated at a height of 1220 to 2440 metres above sea level. This zone is traversed by the Gujara Bakarwals two times a year at the spring and autumn migrations.

The number of tracks available in this zone are fifteen in number on which 167 Kafiras move annually. This reveals that the average volume of flow is 11.13 Kafiras on each route in this zone. This further explains that while passing through this zone several Kafiras follow one track which connects their winter bases to the intervening pastures at Rattan Pir Shah, Ladhadher and Dudu Basantgarh ranges. Thus, there are
limited possibilities of using the terrain in this zone by the Kafilas.

The flow of Kafilas is regulated in this zone by short journeys and in the form of small marching groups. These small marching groups travel one after the other on these tracks through the sedentary population. They hurry through this zone for fear of animal lifters from the villagers. The animals generally damage the crops which causes a feud between the transhumants and the villagers; for this reason they move swiftly to cross this zone at the earliest. The position of junctions in this topographic zone is shown in Table 5.2. This table reveals that the junctions in the southern parts are market towns enroute and in the northern parts of this zone are at the foot of intervening pastures, from where they disperse over these pastures.

5.2.3 Intervening Pastures

This topographic zone on the route of migration lies at an height of 2440 metres above sea level. All the marching groups one after the other gather at the intervening pastures. They graze their animals for about 10 to 20 days on these pastures. During this period the movements are short in distances upto 2 to 3 kilometres a day. Actually they shift the sites on the intervening pastures for efficient grazing.
Table 5.2

NUMBER OF KAFILAS AT EACH STATION IN WINTER RESORTS TO THE INTERVENING PASTURES ZONE

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5.2.4 *Pir Panjal Zone*

The flow of marching *Kafilas* then enters the Pir Panjal zone which has three different types of topographic zonations.

(1) From intervening pastures to the foot of the Passes on the southern side. (Through the swift flowing streams of very cold water)

2440 to 2745 metres MSL

(11) *Pir Panjal Passes zone* (Through the steep, slippery wall like slopes, covered with snow).

2745 - 3600 - 2745 metres MSL

(111) From the foot of the Passes to the fringes of the Kashmir valley through the ice cold water streams on the northern slopes of the Pir Panjal range.

2745 to 2440 metres MSL

The number of tracks available in this zone are ten, which are through each Pir Panjal mountain Pass. The average volume of flow on each track is 16.7 *Kafila* in this zone, but the number differs on different passes, which indicates that in the Pir Panjal zone except the mountain pass, there is no other alternative track available for movements. The *Kafilas* on the route have to be pushed through the single mountain Pass (the main bottleneck, for reasons of natural communication) compulsorily. It also explains that in the absence of alternative routes the congestion of *Kafilas* is a regular phenomenon in this zone. *Kafilas* are funnelled through the single Pass which
sometimes leads to serious losses of man and animals among different Kafilas.

This zone is frequented with accidents, snowfall, rain, hail and stone avalanches. For these reasons the movements in this zone are regulated by marching in bigger groups and jointly for security from natural hazards. The movements are slow and very long in nature particularly on the day they cross the main mountain Passes.

The position of important junctions is shown in Table 5.3, which reveals that in this zone, the mountain Passes are the junctions because there are no alternative halting places available to them.

5.2.5 Valley of Kashmir

The routes in this topographic zone lie over the plains of Kashmir valley at a height of 2440 to 1830 metres MSL. There are forty one tracks frequented by Gujara Bakarwals in this zone.

While they cross this zone the Kafilas are subdivided into different sections for the purpose of using the terrain on several routes. They are joining and rejoining at different stations in the valley of Kashmir.

This is the zone of hostile sedentary population of Kashmir peasants, so they move in sub-sections through this zone, because large flocks become unmanageable and
### Table 5.3

**NUMBER OF KAFILAS AT EACH STATION IN PIR PANJAL ZONE**

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the Kashmiri peasants harass them by stealing stray animals. Just to avoid any conflict with the Kashmiri villagers over the animal thefts and damage of crops, they pass over this zone as quickly as they can. The flow is regulated in this zone by making long marches and fast movements.

The position of junctions in this zone is shown in Table 5.4 which reveals that the market towns and service villages where the routes converge with each other are the junctions in this zone. From there the marching groups join, rejoin and disperse on different routes.

5.2.6 **Side Valleys**

This topographic zone on the route of migration lies at a height of 1830 to 2440 metres MSL. The number of tracks available to the *Kafilas* in this zone are 57 and the average volume of flow of *Kafilas* is 2.9 per route, which reveals that, there are many alternative routes available to them in this zone. It has been observed that from the northern fringes of the valley of Kashmir 1830 metres MSL the *Kafilas* enter the side valley of Sindh, Liddar, Bring and their tributaries. It has been observed that the movement of *Kafilas* is stopped in these side valleys for seven to fifteen days. The reason is that they want to take rest after very long
Table 5.4
NUMBER OF KAFILAS AT EACH STATION IN THE VALLEY OF KASHMIR

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marches through the valley of Kashmir. The other reasons for this long stay are that some of these transhumants have acquired agricultural lands in these side valleys. They prepare fields and sow seeds on their land, while the flock grazes on the slopes of these valleys. The participation in the sedentary activities and the collection of provisions for the summer pastures from the nearby market towns are a reason enough for stopping the flow of Kafilas for a few days.

The position of the junction in this zone is shown in Table 5.5, which reveals that the junctions are at the head of tributary streams joining the main river valleys from where they enter the tributary valley.

5.2.7 Side Valley to Great Himalayan Zone

This topographic zone lies at highest of 3050 to 3660 metres MSL. While moving through this zone, it is observed that the Kafilas move slowly in short marches from the side valleys and ascend to their appointed summer pastures on the slopes of the Great Himalayan range. Some of them cross the Passes and go to the pastures situated on the northern slopes in the areas of Sures, Tilel, Matayan, Wardwan and Ringdu. In this zone, the flow of Kafilas stop for whole of summer and the Kafila members live in Dharas. The movements are local in nature for grazing purpose only.
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The position of important stations in this zone is shown in Table 5.6, which reveals that there are junctions in this zone which are situated from where the ascent to the slopes of the summer pastures starts.

Precisely it can be concluded that, the overall flow of Kafilas, (routewise and zonewise) in the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir, reveals that the difference in the concentration of resources on the routes in different topographic zones require the transhumants to be relatively concentrated in one of the zones and get dispersed in the other. The concentration of Kafilas on intervening pastures is due to concentration of pastures and in the Pir Panjal zone it is due to the availability of a single track through the mountain Pass. In the valley of Kashmir and in the side valleys the dispersion of resources leads to many tracks.

5.3 THE PATTERN OF FLOW OF KAFILAS ON PIR PANJAL AND BANIHAL PASS ROUTES

The above analysis relates to the overall picture of the Kafila flows. With a view to probe deeper into the specificities of transhumance, it was considered advisable to make a detailed study of the flow of Kafilas on two routes, viz. Pir Panjal Pass and Banihal Pass routes (Fig. 5.2 and 5.3). The index map and the profile of the routes explain different topographic zones on the two
### Table 5.6

**NUMBER OF KAPILAS AT EACH STATION IN GREAT HIMALAYAN ZONE (SUMMER PASTURES ZONE)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ganga Bal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sonmarg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kaobal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Aru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chandamari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Inshin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIG. 53
routes. The data about the number of households and
number of Kafilas marching on each route, plotted in
maps (Fig. 5.4 and 5.5) on Pir Panjal and Banibal Pass
routes respectively, reveal a net of dendritic pattern of
the flow of Kafilas from winter bases to the summer pas-
tures. For the suitability of analysis, the net work
pattern of the flow, is divided into the tree parts as
under:

1. The roots
2. The trunk
3. The main branches
4. The sub-branches
5. The leaves

5.3.1 The Roots

The flow of the Kafilas from their winter bases
upto joining the main tracks of migration in the outer-
hills represents the roots. In case of the forty four
Kafilas who follow the Pir Panjal Pass route, the nature
of Kafila flow from winter bases to Rajouri represents
the roots of a tree. The Kafilas in this zone approach
Rajouri from two main directions, i.e. from Dharasal -
Sial Sui side and Naushera - Chingas side. The groups
of households approach the main route of migration through
different hill paths and join one after the other at an
interval of two to three days and cover a distance of eight to ten kilometres a day.

In case of forty two Kafilas who follow Banihal Pass route the nature of the flow from winter bases upto intervening pastures represents the roots of a tree. The Kafilas in this zone approach Ladha dhar range from two main directions, i.e. from Jammu - Akhnoor side and Sambha-Jandhra-Udhampur side. Fourteen Kafilas from the former, and thirteen Kafilas from the later direction approach Ladha dhar range. The herding units from different winter resorts follow each other at an interval of two to three days and cover the distance of eight to ten kilometres a day in regular marches.

Fifteen Kafilas start from Reasi-Arnas-Poni and follow each other in groups upto Gol-Gulabgarh range and from there via Sarbagni join the main National Highway at Ramsu.

5.3.2 The Trunk

The flow of Kafilas, from the south of intervening pastures upto the Kashmir valley, represents the trunk. In case of the Pir Panjal Pass route the trunk of the route is from Rajouri to Sangarveini which represents two characters of the flow:
(1) Rajouri to Thanna Mandi

(11) Thanna mandi to Sangerveini.

5.3.2(i) Rajouri to Thanna Mandi

Although the route from Rajouri to Thanna mandi is followed by all the forty four Kañlasa, yet their flow is in the nature of groups. From Thanna mandi, they disperse in various directions on the intervening pastures of Rattan Pir Shah range and graze their animals for fifteen to twenty days.

5.3.2(ii) Thanna Mandi to Sangerveini

The routes followed from Thanna mandi to Sangerveini represents the second part of the trunk of the Kañlasa flow. At Baramgalla, some Kañlasa from Mehndore and Surankot side also join the main trunk of the route but they settle down in the pastures of Pir Panjal. The congestion of Kañlasa in this zone gives rise to inter-Kañlasa feuds. From Baramgalla to Poshiana they cross Chitta Pani stream at least twenty times. The entire route is very difficult and dangerous for men and animals. Chandimar is the only halting place on the track. From Poshiana they cross the main Pir Panjal Pass in one long march and descend at Sathri. From Sathri they go down a gradual descent along the Rembaresa river till Dubjan. From Dubjan the Kañlasa cross ridges and spurs over to Sangerveini. In this area,
the availability of grass lands slackens the rapid movement of the Kafilas.

In case of the Banihal Pass route, the main trunk of the route starts from the South of Ladhadhar range. It is on the National Highway through the Banihal valley which is followed by twenty seven Kafilas upto Ramsu, where fifteen Kafilas from Reasi side also join the main trunk and all the forty two Kafilas follow the National Highway upto Banihal town (Saitan nalla). From Banihal to Verinaq the forty-two Kafilas cross over the Banihal Pass and descend at Verinaq.

5.3.3 The Main Branches

In case of Pir Panjal Pass route, from Sangerveini the forty four Kafilas are divided into three main branches to reach Srinagar.

(i) Twelve Kafilas move from Sangerveini to Pampore via Pulwana;

(ii) Twenty two Kafilas move from Sangerveini to Pampore via Pakharpur and Nieu;

(iii) Ten Kafilas move from Sangerveini to Srinagar via Chirar Sharif;

The Kafilas coming from Sangerveini via Pulwana and Nieu rejoin at Pampore (12+22 = 34) and go to Shalimar via Srinagar one after the other. The ten Kafilas from Sangerveini via Chirar Sharif also reach Srinagar.
The total number of Ka\i\i\las that pass through Srinagar city are forty four.

From Shalimar out of thirty four Ka\i\i\las five cross over the Dara Peak and descend into the valley of Sind at Surfaq. The other twenty nine Ka\i\i\las follow the route via Khimer, Ganderbal up to Woyil. The ten Ka\i\i\las that follow the route from Sangerveini via Pakharpur, Chirar Sharif up to Srinagar, reach Rambag (Srinagar) and from Srinagar out of these ten Ka\i\i\las four Ka\i\i\las go towards Bandi Pura via Sumal. The other six Ka\i\i\las go towards Ganderbal. They rejoin the route of twenty nine Ka\i\i\las which come from Shalimar side at Ganderbal and reach Woyil by the same route.

In case of Banibal pass route from Verinag, the Ka\i\i\las divide into two main branches. Some sixteen Ka\i\i\las follow the route from Verinag via Achhabal up to Aismuqam in the Lidder Valley. The other twenty five Ka\i\i\las from Verinag go towards Kasba Naobug in the Brin Valley.

5.3.4 Sub-Branchems

In case of Pir Panjal Pass route, from Arigam and Woyil the Ka\i\i\las start sub-dividing into different directions and follow different routes along the side valleys and their tributaries. Out of the four Ka\i\i\las going on Srinagar to Bandipur, two Ka\i\i\las change their
route at Arigam and go towards Patalwan along Erine stream, while the other two march on to Naushera pastures via Bandipur and Razdhanangan Pass. The thirty five Kafilas coming to Woyil from Shalimar (Srinagar) start sub-dividing into different directions and follow different routes. One Kafila from Woyil goes to Andarwan. Five Kafilas go to Gangabal via Chattergul and the remaining twenty nine Kafilas reach Kangan along the Sind Valley.

From Kangan out of twenty nine Kafilas, four Kafilas go towards Sonmarg along the Sind valley and rejoin the five Kafilas which cross the Dara Peak from Shalimar at Surfrao. From Surfrao nine (4 + 5 = 9) Kafilas follow the route till Gaggangir along the Sind valley. From Gaggangir they disperse over Sonmarg Kishansar and Vishansar pastures. The remaining twenty five Kafilas from Kangan follow the route via Wangat nulla till Naranag. From Naranag eight Kafilas go towards Neelgagger and the other seventeen Kafilas go to Gangabal, and disperse over their summer resorts.

In case of Banibal Pass route, from Aishmuqam the routes diverge into many sub-branches and are followed by different number of Kafilas as shown in the map up to Phelgam. From Aishmuqam, they enter Lagnai nulla, East Lidder valley, West Lidder valley and then disperse over the routes, which represent the sub-branches. In the Brin valley from Kasbanaobag the twenty five Kafilas
disperse into many sub-branches over Daksum, and Kachwan and cross over to Inshin, Sinthan Pass and Singhpur Pass routes.

5.3.5 The Leaves

The flow of Kafilas in the summer zones represents the leaves of the tree.

In case of Pir Panjal Pass route, from Patalwan, Gangabal, Neelgaggar and Gaggangir the smaller hill tracks are followed by the Kafilas to reach the summer pastures of Matsail, Naushera, Gurez, Tilel, Sonmarg and Matayan. The Kafilas disperse into herding units in different directions along the slopes and after crossing the Passes they reach their appointed summer resorts.

In case of Banibal Pass route, from Chandanwari, Aru, Inshin and other smaller junctions the Kafilas disperse into their summer pastures over different hill tracks to reach the summer resorts.

5.4 FACTORS REGULATING THE FLOW OF KAFILAS

The factors which regulate the flow of Kafilas on Pir Panjal and Banibal Pass routes have been plotted in map (Fig. 5.6) on both the routes and are shown in Table 5.7. This map and table reveals that the nature of problems and the regulatory measures taken into consideration in each topographic zone are with a view to utilize
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topographic zone</th>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>Regulatory measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Winter bases to intervenning pastures</td>
<td>Animal thefts by villagers, damage to the crops, feud with the villagers. Conflict with the other moving Kafilas (Fodder problem).</td>
<td>Move daily in short distances one after the other in small groups. Graze animals on the slopes of the ridges on both the sides of the route.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intervening pastures</td>
<td>Inter Kafila conflicts and rivalries over these pastures. Animal thefts by mixing each others animals, wild animals, rain, hail.</td>
<td>Guard the animals in the night from animal lifters and wild animals. All groups collect here one after the other. Prepare and purchase provisions for the next journey, feed salt to the animals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pir Panjal zone</td>
<td>Difficult terrain, rain, hail, snow, rock, avalanches steep, slippery slopes, narrow gorges, no fodder available, fear of loss of man and animals, snow over the Pass, traffic congestion, no halting place (Fodder problem).</td>
<td>Move in Kafilas, build log bridges, help each other in case of emergency, move in long marches with very few halts. Groups move one after the other with a duration of one day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valley of Kashmir</td>
<td>Animal thefts, feud with the hostile Kashmiri villagers, no fire wood available, road accidents damage to the crops.</td>
<td>Move daily in very long marches. Adopt various routes to cross the valley as quickly as they can. Also move at night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Side valleys</td>
<td>Conflict over Rakhs, Friends and relatives live there.</td>
<td>Spread over many smaller tracks. Rest for a few days after long journeys; perform sedentary activities, collect provisions for the summer pastures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Side valleys to summer resorts</td>
<td>Difficult terrain, with slopes of green grasses; rain, snow, hail and melting of snow causes difficulties sometimes.</td>
<td>Move leisurely, with slow and short marches. Follow different tracks in smaller groups and make full use of pastures.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the natural vegetation and terrain for the benefit of their flocks and to avoid climatic hazards and conflict with the settled population.

The dendritic pattern, which has been discussed above, brings out the following attributes of transhumance activities, as summed up in the following pages. The summer and winter pastures are the areas of dispersion, where the pastures have to be utilized in different seasons. Since the carrying capacity of pastures is limited, there is an advantage in extending the areas of exploitation through hundreds of years of social experience. The patterns of dispersal are fully developed and are regulated by accepted conventions, this analogy of the tree is valuable. It may, however, be noted that what may be considered to be the roots of tree of spring migration, it becomes the leaves of the tree of autumn migrations and vice-versa.

The trunks of the tree are the areas, where concentration is imposed by topographic constraints, both during the spring and autumn migrations. From this point of view the spring and autumn migrations have different spatial characteristics. In case of the spring migration concentration comes in the earlier phase and followed by lower degree of dispersal and than a higher degree of dispersal. In the case of autumn migration, however, higher degree of dispersal is followed by a lower degree of dispersal and
finally by a higher degree of concentration. This process is culminating in the dispersal over winter pastures.

The Kashmir valley and the side valleys permit dispersal in space, but this is highly limited over time because these constitute the areas of mobility and not for seasonal settling down. The junctions on the routes of migrations serve as market towns in the valley of Kashmir, grazing areas on intervening pastures, sedentary zones in side valleys and spring board for the purpose of crossing the mountain passes on both the sides of Pir Panjal range. The other prominent feature of the location of these junctions is that they are around 2440 metres contour line on both the sides of Pir Panjal range, from where the Kaiflas ascend to the Passes. In the side valleys these are located at the head of the tributary streams joining the main river, from where they follow different paths along these tributaries to reach the summer pastures.

The flow of Kaiflas and the movements of the marching groups are effected by the physical, climatic and cultural factors during annual migrations. These are:

(i) Difficult terrain: Steep slopes, slippery ground, rock avalanches, stony and undulating terrain without grass, narrow gorges.

(ii) Climatic factors: Temperature, hot or cold weather, snow, rain and hail;
(iii) Cultural Factors: Conflict over damage of crops, animal thefts, feud with the villagers, accidents, death, birth and inter-Kafila feuds.

All these factors, in combination with one another, effect the food-requirements and health of the animals, which ultimately settles the decision of the transhumant about the movements and the regulation of the flow of Kafilas with varying degrees in each zone. The areas which suit the transhumants and their flocks are utilized by marching over more number of tracks and for more number of days than the unsuitable areas, which are avoided by quick and speedy flight through single tracks.