

HISTORICAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE OF AGRICULTURAL PROVERBS IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN PUNJAB IN COLONIAL INDIA: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

Dr. Mahender Singh*
Assistant Professor in History,
Rayat College of Law, Railmajra,
District SBS Nagar, Punjab (India)
Email ID: ms_history@rediffmail.com

ABSTRACT

The present paper aims at the understanding of the agrarian society through agricultural proverbs as these proverbs had a keen common sense, which depicted varied rural experiences and wisdom and most literate societies have valued their proverbs and called them for posterity and after all these proverbs have historical, scientific and contemporary relevance too. The historical relevance of these proverbs may be seen in the sense that many British administrators wrote about the agricultural proverbs and fully utilized them in their writings for better understanding of the local level agrarian features; however, there are not so much references of agricultural proverbs in secondary literature as these proverbs may effectively be utilized in secondary. These proverbs had a scientific relevance too; by which the peasant can learn a lot by adopting scientific methods of agriculture; if they adopted this method they would definitely yielded more; however in contemporary times the aged peasants have some understanding of agricultural proverbs whereas the young generation have no specific knowledge of these proverbs and found the scene very depressive after assessing the contemporary status of agricultural proverbs by conducting field work.

Keywords: Folk Literature, Famine, Moneylenders, *Khudkasht*, Veil, Ploughing.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Proverbs are, succinct and pithy sayings in general use, expressing commonly held ideas and beliefs. Proverbs are a part of every spoken language and are related to such other forms of folk literature or riddles and fables that have originated in oral tradition¹ and have recognized use.² Local sayings with which the peasants are intimately acquainted with their

day to day life are generally couched in suggestive phrases and idioms or in short simple sentences. The authors were mostly unknown rural 'illiterates' with a keen common sense who depicted varied rural experiences and wisdom. They had also the intelligence of appreciating the significance of different rural occurrences and communicating them in a language understandable to their neighbors. These proverbs have been found to be a great help to

the people through the ages, so much so that they have been preserved like precious treasures passed on from generation to generation as a worthy heritage. They are short, suggestive, and ingenious, packed with profound wisdom and ideas of great practical utility. The contents of these proverbs, in most cases, stand unchallenged even in these days of great advancement and researches in agricultural science. Obviously, a systematic study of proverbs will be of great interest not only to the farming community, but also for the planners, and persons engaged in the programme of agricultural development of this region. Most literate societies have valued their proverbs and collected them for posterity³. According to Emerson, "proverbs are the literature of reason, or the statements of absolute truth, without qualification. Like the sacred books of each nation, they are the sanctuary of its institutions." A justification for the study of proverbs, if any is needed, may be found in its usefulness for philology, psychology, folklore, or to interpret meanings.⁴ Its intimate touch of rusticity was not easily comprehensible to an urban-bred historian.⁵

The present paper is based on the assumption that agricultural proverbs may be effectively used as a supplementary and complementary source for studying the agriculture of the region under reference. They convey an intimate picture of how did the rural folk look up on to their own world from their own experience. They again provide a fragmented framework of glimpse into a social system in terms of their own language, belief and metaphor. It is an account of how the people interacted in their own little world, a world virtually unknown to many district officers. So these proverbs had a historical relevance in terms of their existence as a source, much primary sources, and also require to study in times of market demand. This section deals with some interesting agricultural proverbs which should be used in secondary literature

and also be corroborated to economic history. These had scientific and contemporary relevance too.

The present paper is divided into six sections. First section deals with the definition, relevance of the title. The second section focuses on the historical significance of agricultural proverb. This section is also confined to secondary literature related to the title; the importance of self-cultivation, animal husbandry, bull's relevance in agricultural economy and rainfall. The famine, moneylending system, ill-timed rainfall and attack of an obnoxious weed on crops and its remedy which, stagnated the agriculture, are discussed in a third section. The next part is about the scientific relevance of agricultural proverbs. The fifth section is confined to the contemporary relevance of these proverbs. The last section deals with the conclusion.

2.1 HISTORICAL RELEVANCE

As far as the historical relevance is concerned, the earliest examples of such studies are the efforts of some British Administrators. Maconachie made a great effort for collection and compilation of the agricultural proverbs to reconstruct the peasant ethos.⁶ Thorburn also narrated his own experience in this regard. In Bannu; 'Our Afghan Frontier is devoted an account of the.....proverbs.....the unwritten but fondly treasured literature of the Pashto-speaking inhabitants of the district, from which some insights into the thoughts and opinions which govern their actions may be gained. In 1872, hecommenced making a collection of their proverbs for his own pleasure and later published them'. Thorburn's account of the Pashto speaking peasantry of the frontier districts did not evince an effective utilisation of these proverbs about the frontier district. After him, one may refer to the work of Rai

Bahadur Ganga Ram who nearly ninety years ago published from Lahore a commendable collection of the agricultural proverbs in which he sought to establish, though not always successfully, a close relationship between different categories of agricultural proverbs and varied shades of the peasant life in the countryside of the western Punjab⁷ not so much about the South-Eastern Punjab. It was to the singular credit of Sir Malcolm Darling who by extensively quoting 'memorable phrases' from 'bucolic poets and the Punjab peasant's stock of rural 'saws' added a new taste and dimension to his writings on peasantry. He also studied the nature, extent and causes of debt and the specific conditions of different regions. He highlighted the agricultural development underlining what he calls 'close connection between prosperity and debt, in situations where peasant lived in primitive or backward conditions'. Prior to him, British civil servants, namely, Richard Temple, Ibbetson, Purser, and Wilson also played a praiseworthy role in their collection and compilation of proverbs. So these British officials took a keen interest to exploit the regional and local sources like agricultural proverbs.

However, a few writers began to take interest in highlighting these proverbs in contemporary times. K.S. Bedi, in *Agricultural Proverbs of the Punjab*, highlights the rural problems through the agricultural proverbs. However, all these works mainly discuss the areas other than the South-Eastern region.⁸ In recent years, proverbs have begun to be taken into consideration in historical studies in South-Eastern Punjab, as is evident from Prem Chowdhry's work, 'Veiled Women'. In this work, she has analysed the local proverbs to understand social and cultural ethos in relation to gender issues and the author also successfully highlights the problems through general proverbs, not so much discussion about the agricultural proverbs.

In rural South-Eastern Punjab, the values that were upheld and appreciated were not those of the aristocratic, pleasuring-loving zamindar, but those of the self-cultivating proprietors who toiled in the fields. The ideology of *khudkasht* (self cultivation)⁹ therefore, the direct cultivation was not only preferred but strongly advocated-'cultivation', correspondence, prayers and tightening the girth of your house should all be done with one's own labour; and that is way to live. The following proverbs are more of a medium of farm education from which the present farmers can learn about the agrarian system during the colonial rule.¹⁰

Cultivation was regarded as a good occupation-'Chokhha Dhanda'; however, it depended on the work of the owner, on personal care and effort. The following sayings, which are mentioned about this term;¹¹

"Kheti Khasman Seti, Kheti Sanyan Seti."
(If the owner does not go to the field, he would be ruined.)

Further;

"Jis Kheti Par Khasam Na Jawe, Wuh Kheti Khasama Nu Khawe."

(The field, to which the husband's man does not go, will eat up (ruin) the latter.

Only through *khudkasht* and hard labour;¹² one could get the most from the land to prosper in life, as:¹³

"Kheti to Thodi Karen Mehnat Kare Swai, Ram Chahe us Manas Ke Tota Kabhi Na Awe."

(A farmer who handles a small area, but puts in hard labour, God willing, shall never be in want.) In addition to another:¹⁴

"Kheti Karo to Hal Joto, Adhi Karo to Sath Raho;

Ghar Bethe je Poochhoge, to Bail De Ke Chhutoge."

(The best way of cultivation is to plough it yourself; if you have a tenant, watch him; enquiries made sitting at home will yield nothing; you may have to sell your bullocks

as the tenant will misappropriate most of the harvest), but ploughing can be more useful in a unity form as:

“Ek Hal Hatya, Do Hal Kaj,
Teen Hal Kheti, Chyar Hal Raj”.

(One plough is not useful, two ploughs are some, three will consider for the best agriculture and by four ploughs, and will be as king.)¹⁵

The South-Eastern region seemed eminently suitable for ‘cattle’ and the British had realized that this region produced cattle greatly in excess of its own requirements. It is, therefore, quickly came to be treated as a “store”, and from which other parts of the Punjab began to be supplied. The tract had a near monopoly of cattle sales in the province, contributing 99 percent of the sale of cattle in British Punjab. Therefore, the region continued depending on its cattle re-enforced its existing social ethos; this was reflected in local proverbs, which abound in praise of its cattle. To cite a few only:¹⁶

“Gae Dukh Ke Rakhle, Labh Uski
Teen Gin,
Chha Pi Kar Ghi Behle, Bachre,
Bachri Bin.”

(Keep a cow and count its three benefits: drink the buttermilk, sell the *ghi* (clarified butter), and own the bull and cow calves.)

Yet, another maintained;

“Jin Ghar Kali Roz Diwali.”

(In a house where there are black she-buffalos; every day is a day of Diwali, a festival.)

In agricultural economy, bull’s power plays an important role. Thus, strong and efficient bullocks are necessary for intensive cultivation. Where there is no supply of bullocks the agricultural progress tends to suffer enormously. The bullocks are really speaking the soul of this occupation. The selection of the right type of bull, therefore, is of great importance. But, as we know, the making of selection is not an easy task and

only a few persons can carry out it effectively, thanks to the efforts of the proverb makers that they have supplied the farmers with simple aids with the help of which anybody can straightforwardly make a proper selection. In spite of the fact that cows and buffalos played a vital role for the family member’s but bullocks also played the enhanced role for the animals (for providing the grass) and monetary development for the family as well. Following proverbs are for the farmer who wants to choose the best bull for cultivation. The colour usually indicates the superiority of the breed. Accordingly, the worthiness is as follows;¹⁷

“Lakha lio lakh ka, Nila Lio Crore;
Dhula Lio Bah Ke; Pila Dio Chhod;
Itni Baat Kahun Men Kant;
Bhure Ke Ne Dekho Dant.”

(White blue and black are superior breeds, whereas the yellow and brown coloured are considered the worst.) And:

“Jhunga Bail Ho Parle Par,¹⁸
Sauda Karle Urle Par.”

(A ‘jhunga’ bullock (with horns curved forward and downward) is one of the best breeds. Purchase it, without examining it.)

Yet another:¹⁹

“Chhota Muh Aur Chhote Kaan’
Achche Bail Ke Ya Pahchan;
Chhoti Gardan Baingan-Khura;
Bisa Lio Ne Katai Bura”.

(A small muzzle and small ears are the marks of a good bullock. You shall not regret buying a bullock with short neck and brinjal-coloured-hoofs.)

“Bail Singala Aur Mard Muchchala.”²⁰

(A bullock with a pair of majestic horns; a man with an impressive moustache.)

And:

“Chhaggar, Satgarh, Phulion Wala,
Dam Kharach Mat Laio Kala.”

(Do not purchase a bullock with six teeth or seven, or spotted or black.)²¹

However, three bullocks in the house could not be considered best, as saying.²²

“Teen Balad, Do Chaki, Ugamna Khet, Sarkar ki Baki.”

(Three bullocks, two stone mill (grinder), east side field and Government debt are not to be considered the best for farmer.)

The most prominent grasses were dab, dubra (the well known dub and mainly used for animals) mainly found in good land everywhere and useful for animals as the local saying about the comparative qualities of “dub” and “dab”:-²³

“Wuh Zamin Khub, Jis me Howe Dub;

Wuh Zamin Adh, Jis Me Howe Dabh.”

(That land is better in which grasses were found but that land is worse in which the dab (type of grass) found.)

In addition to, other maintained:²⁴

“Aur Ghas Jal Jayenge, Dub Rehegi Khub.”
(The dub grass lasts well when other grasses have dried up.)

Agriculture in the South-East Punjab was mainly based on rainfall only 24.3 percent area was irrigated from the canals, wells, ponds and other sources even in 1948, which was insufficient for extensive cultivation. Therefore, the region continued to depend on rainfall and recognition in the local adages brought out:²⁵

“Jab Chamke Pachham Uttar ki Or;”²⁶

Tab Jano Pani ka Jor’;

Titar Pankhi Badli, Widhwa Kajal Rekh;
(Lightening flashes in the North-West, and a partridge feather-shaped cloud indicate certainty of rain; just as a widow who puts *kajal* (eye liner) in her eyes is sure to find a husband.); And also;²⁷

“Sadh do Aur Sawan Nit’

Bhadon Chyar aur Asoj Ek.”

(Two falls of rains in *Sadh* (June-July), daily falls in *Sawan* (July-august), four in Bhadon and one in Asoj, constitute the ideal rainfall of summer.)

But four months i.e. March-June there was no need of rain as:²⁸

“Chyar Mas ne Chkhe Barkha Soka Bind, Mangsar, Chait, Baisakh aur Chautha Jaith ko Doond; In Charo ko Chhodkar, Barkha Atho Mas;To Puri Howe Teri Ass (hope)”.

(Four months-Mangsir, Chait, Baisakh, Jaith-you do not need rains even of gold drops. The rain is welcome rest of the year. This ensures bumper harvests and safe threshing periods.)

3.1 STAGNATED SITUATION

In spite of the hard labour and good food habits, the following proverbs are related to stagnating situation in terms of famines, moneylending system and ill-timed rainfall in this region during colonial Rule, which existed in agrarian society. The other names which were synonymous to the South-Eastern region were ‘Famine ridden region’ and ‘Famine stricken region’ because the famine fell in a regular hiatus. There is a saying about symbol of impending famine, as:²⁹

“Sanwan Pahli Panchami Jai ne Gharoke Bayal; Dhande Dhone Bechkar Naj Bishan Jae.”

(If it is not thunder in the evening on the 1st 5th day of Sawan, sell your cattle and go to buy grain, i.e. there will be famine).

The significant group within the agrarian society was the moneylender. Moneylender had strong roots in the agrarian society. However, the British enabled the moneylenders to increase their numbers and rise in social and financial scale. The moneylender controlled both the sale of the village crops and purchase of necessities from outside.³⁰ On the contrary, an agriculturist moneylender is universally recognized to be an ‘extracting master’ in the rural society of the whole Punjab province. He generally advanced money often with the sale purpose of acquiring the lands of his indebted clients while a professional moneylender asked for it only when he had no chance of recovering his debt.³¹ The traditional Sahukar (Bania)

popularly known as 'Bohras' controlled the village economy in south-eastern region, having the vast majority of the peasantry at their mercy for all their economic needs.³² They took the exorbitant rate of interest for their credit, but this sometimes ruined him, as

"Mota Byaz Sahukar ne Khowe, Aurat ne Khowe Hansi, Alas Neend Kisan ne Khowe, Chor ne Khowe Khansi."

(An exorbitant rate of interest ruins a moneylender; the habit of uncontrolled laughter ruins a woman, the working time wasted in idleness, sleep ruins a farmer and coughing ruins a thief.)

Moneylender was also in common variety at the agriculturist's prayer being:

" Sah Badshah se Surkhruh Rakhiye, Aur is mein Achcha Naj de' Badshah Ko bhi Paisa de, Aur Shah ka Bhi Utar Jave."

(Keep rulers and bankers contended and grant a plentiful yield; so shall we pay the revenue and satisfy our moneylender.)³³
And:³⁴

"Tuta Banya Jab Janiye Jab Kahe Purani Bat"

(You may know that a Banya has come to grief when he talks of old times.)

Further:³⁵

"Jisda Mitar Baniya, Usda Dushman Raha na Koi."

(The man having friendship with Baniya will left with no enemy).

The following proverbs are about the ill-timed rainfall, and which is rightly called 'gamble in rains' for this particular sub-region.³⁶

"Jhad lagya jo Chait, ne Ghar ne Khet."
(Rain during the month of *chet* (March-April) ruins the harvest and consequently the household.)

Yet, another maintained:³⁷

"Chait Chirparo aur, Sanwan Nirmalo."
(If Chait (March-April) is hot, there will be no rain in Sawan.)

Continued rainfall was not considered good for the farmer, as maintained:³⁸

"Girta Mih Pachcheta Pala, Yih Kisan Ka Gala."

(A tardy rain and frost are the husbandman's loss.)

4.1 SCIENTIFIC SIGNIFICANCE

The following proverbs were also confined to the crop production by which one can learn and can increase the agricultural production. The following proverbs suggest that these had scientific relevance also.

Wheat was the main crop, which needs a plough in *har* (*sadh*) as the proverb says:³⁹

"Gehu Khana Chaha tha, Sadh men Kyon na Baha tha?"

(If you wanted to eat wheat, why did not you plough the *har*?)

Sugarcane and wheat required more ploughing than the other crops as;⁴⁰

"Nau Bar Ganda, Das bar Manda."
(Nine ploughing for cane, and ten for wheat)

Further;⁴¹

"Athais Bah, Giarah Pani, Nau Khod, Jab Dekh Ganne ka Lod."

(If you plough twenty-eight times, water eleven times, and weed nine times, you may look for good sugarcane)

" Das Bahi Ka Mara,
Bis Bahi Ka Gada."

(Whereas ten ploughings yield a poor harvest, twenty produce a cart load.)⁴² Further:

" Jis ne Bijhi Poh,
Or Ghar Baithe Roh."

(He who sows his 'rabi' crops as late as the month of *poh* (mid December to mid January) shall have to sit at home and weep (as he shall have little or nothing to harvest.)⁴³

" Pani Aaya Mangsar,
Gehun Aaya Rangsar."

(If there is a watering in Mangsar or Maghar (mid November to mid December), it benefits the wheat crop and imparts a good colour to it.⁴⁴

Some fodder crops needed sandy soil for their yield as, proceeds:⁴⁵

“Chhole, Moth, Bajra, ye Sain Rat Kan Kadla.”

Another important crop was cotton, The field of the cotton should be weeded once, twice, thrice or five times but the first weed required at the two leaf level strictly then twice again, as:⁴⁶

“Nalai Nahin do Pati;
Kya Chugoge Kupatti.”

(If you do not weed when there were two leaves; you will pick nothing.)

Therefore, this suggestion also should have to be implemented even today. Again the suggestion about the kor (first watering after germination) as;⁴⁷

“Maghsar men Nah Diya Kor, Kya Tere Baldan le Gaye Chor”?

(Not given the *kor* in *Maghsar* (month of November and December), what had a thief stolen your bullocks?)

Again for the reaping as the season must begin on Monday and must finish on Wednesday, as:⁴⁸

“Mangal lawa, Budh badhawa.”

(Tuesday for the reaper and Wednesday for finishing)

The land's fertility can be aggravated if it gets manure, which increases the yield of the crops and proverbs suggest:⁴⁹

“Khat Pade to Khet, Nahi te Kuda Ret.”

(If you use manure-you have the best field otherwise you have the inferior field)

And:⁵⁰

“Achha Bij, Chhokhi Khad, Malik Khus Mujara Sad”

(Good seeds and enough manuring benefit both to the proprietor as well as to the tenant.)

“Kheti to Reti Bhali, Jisme Dali Khat,⁵¹
Kar Jode Kaman Kahe, Kant, Bah Lagade Sat.”

(Even a sandy field is good, if manure has been added to it. The farmer's wife coaxes him to plough it seven times, for ample harvest.)

And;

“ Pa Khad,
Beej Kamad.”

(If you have plenty of manure to add, sow sugarcane.)

In another,

“ Soh Wah,
Ne ik Pah.”

(A hundred ploughings are not equal even to one manuring).⁵²

Some obnoxious weeds were very dangerous to many crops of agriculturists but remedy is referred in following proverb, as:-

“Jis Kheti Me Kateli ka Wass,
Samjho Fasal Ka Satyanash,
Pehle Kat Ke Fucho Isko,
Kahe Bar-Gujjar Parkash.”

(Take it for granted that the crop in a field, which is infested with *kateli* (Argemone Mexicana, an obnoxious weed), shall be totally ruined. Bar Gujjar says (that to eradicate it effectively) cut and burn it (before it germinates).⁵³

5.1 CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

The above section deals with the historical and scientific relevance of agricultural proverbs. These proverbs should be corroborated in secondary literature too. Moreover in view of aged peasants, these proverbs have contemporary relevance but the young generation has no specific idea about the relevancy of the agricultural proverbs. I had done little field work in this respect. The major thrust of this field work was to assess the contemporary status of agricultural proverbs within the three age groups consisting of 16-30 and 30-50 and 50-85. These groups were involved in direct cultivation, which owned some ancestral land and were mostly educated. In this effort, I found the scene very depressive.

I interacted 82 peasants of five different villages.⁵⁴ There were 28 peasants between

the age group 16-30 and they were associated with the agricultural pursuits. Ninety percent of these had no specific knowledge about these above mentioned proverbs. Most of the peasants could not tell the exact meaning of general proverbs too. Only 10% of this group were able to tell the meaning of specific agricultural proverbs and said, "We have heard about these proverbs from our father and forefather." Then I further questioned them, whether these proverbs could be proved a medium of agricultural literacy themselves; of course, Suresh said promptly, these could be helpful for any farmer. Then I put another question if the proverbs could be corroborated in senior secondary level and in higher education? Most of these said, yes.

The second group I contacted included 30 peasants aging between 30 and 50 years. However, the situation was better as far as to the status of agricultural proverbs is concerned. Around 35 % peasants responded up to the mark and understood the sense and meaning of agricultural proverbs, remaining 65% were not aware of the specific meaning and status of these proverbs. But when they were given some ideas about these then they recalled it e.g. when I asked about the proverb, "Kheti to Thodi Karen Mehnat Kare Swai, Ram Chahe us Manas Ke Tota Kabhi Na Awe." The response was good. This proverb means that if a farmer works hard in a small area, he cannot be in a grip of debt in comparison with a farmer from big area. Then they also said that the situation has changed and no manual labour is being done by the present day farmers and consequently the economic condition has worsened today.

At last I communicated with the third group between the age of 50 and 85, included 24 farmers. In this group I found satisfactory understanding of agricultural proverbs. Around 80% of the farmers gave satisfactory answers and also told meaning of most of these agricultural proverbs. They were also anxious about the young generation who do

not care about the farm techniques through agricultural proverbs. The farmers of this group suggested that the young generation should learn practically from these agricultural proverbs which have passed through generation to generation and these can be helpful to increase agricultural production.

6.1 CONCLUSION

In the agriculture of this sub-region, self cultivation was best recognised and strongly advocated. Manure was an important element to grow the major crops. Rainfall was considered as the only important source of irrigation. Animal husbandry was mostly suitable for this sub-region and bullocks were the soul of occupation. Food habits had own characteristics. Famine, moneylender, and ill-timed rainfall were major elements to stagnate the agriculture of this sub-region. After all, these proverbs are more suggestive than elaborative and reflect the farmer's actual life. The farmers must take the initiative, for its dividends and would sufficiently reward to all our further research on rural history. These proverbs can be useful in providing unique opportunity of reconstructing the 'dead hands of the past' and they can be used as a medium of farm education in this area. Therefore, the agricultural proverbs must be corroborated in the study of socio-economic life in secondary literature. These proverbs must be relevant not only for the South-Eastern Punjab but also for whole Colonial India.

7.1 REFERENCES AND NOTES

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⁶ Maconachie, R., *Selected Agricultural Proverbs of the Punjab*, Medical Hall, Delhi, 1890.

⁷ Ram, Rai Bahadur Ganga *Punjab Agricultural Proverbs and Their Scientific Significance*, Punjab Government, Lahore, 1920.

⁸ The south-eastern part (the modern day Haryana) of the Punjab province had a somewhat different experience than the province as a whole. This area had poor resources as compared to the entire region due to scarcity of rainfall. The ‘very appearance’ of the country, was different in this tract. Wells and trees gave place to sand and scrub, rainfall was scant and due to its poor resources, the area was ‘only administratively a part of Punjab’. The continued ‘backwardness’ and ‘under development’ of the tract despite overall ‘economic development’, brought about a situation peculiar to this tract alone. The geographical condition of this region suited to animal husbandry and it also reflects in agricultural proverbs.

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¹⁰ All agricultural proverbs, which are referred in the present paper, are in transliteration form.

¹¹ This proverbs were popular in Jullundur, Rohtak and Delhi. Similar discussion in Verma, D. C. *Haryana*, NBT, Delhi, 1999, p. 83.

¹² For those who worked hard right to live well (Angre dukh pet na such, Angre such pet na dukh.) Maconachie, R., *Selected Agricultural Proverbs*, p.188.

¹³ Verma, D. C., *Haryana*, NBT, Delhi, 1999, p.183.

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⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴¹ Chowdhry, Prem, "The Advantages of
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New Delhi, 1986, p.276.

⁴² Bedi, K.S., *Agricultural Proverbs of the*
Punjab, Public Relations Office Press,
Chandigarh, 1962, p.36.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.47.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.79.

⁴⁵ *Settlement Report of Karnal District*, Pioneer
Press, Allahbad 1883, p.178. Similar discussion in
D. C Verma's *Haryana* 183.

⁴⁶ *Punjab District Gazetteer, Vol. VI B, Karnal*
District, Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore, 1912,
pp.116-17.

⁴⁷ *Final Report of Third Regular Settlement of the*
Rohtak District, Civil and Military Gazette,
Lahore, 1917, p.17.

⁴⁸ *Punjab District Gazetteer*, Karnal, 1912, p.173.

⁴⁹ Parbhakar, Devi Shankar, *Haryana Lok*
Kathaye Tatha Kahawete, Laxmi, New Delhi,
1984, p.116.

⁵⁰ Singh, Mahender, "Agriculture in the South
East Punjab, 1858-1947", M. Phil Dissertation,
P.U, Chandigarh, 2002, p.70 and also see,
Mahender Singh, "Agriculture and Agrarian Life
in the South-East Punjab, 1858-1947", Ph.D.
Thesis, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2007.

⁵¹ Verma, D.C., *Haryana*, p.184.

⁵² Bedi, K.S., *Agricultural Proverbs of the*
Punjab, p.57.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.12.

⁵⁴ These five villages were Ahar, Kurana, Khalila,
Pardahana and Alupur in Panipat District and also
the home district of the researcher.