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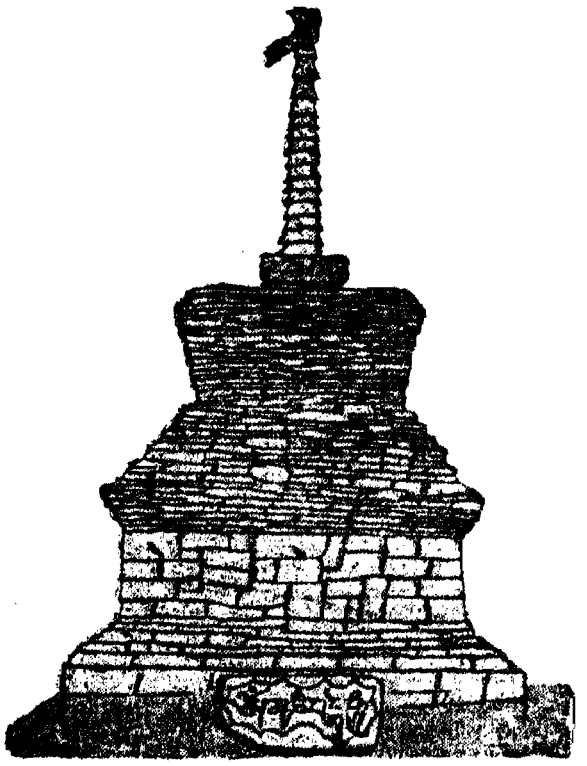
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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME XIII—PART VI—No. 1

Village Survey Monographs of Punjab

MONOGRAPH No. 1



TANDI

A VILLAGE IN LAHAUL & SPITI DISTRICT

OF PUNJAB STATE

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TANDI

A VILLAGE IN LAHAUL & SPITI DISTRICT

OF PUNJAB

Field Investigation

GURDEV SINGH PABLA, M.A., B.A. (Hons.),

&

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(Also prepared the First Draft)

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R. L. ANAND

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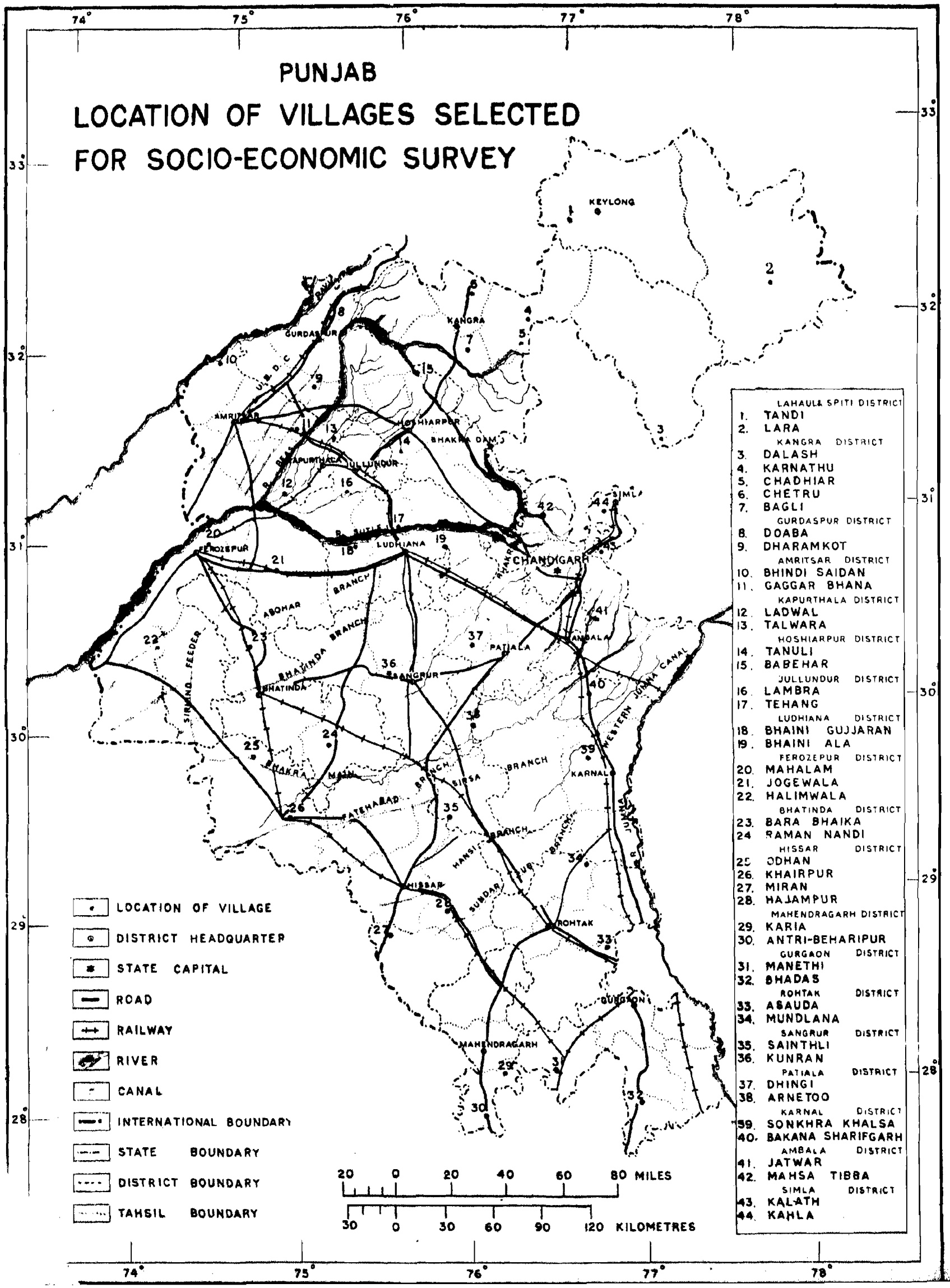
The 1961 Census Report on Punjab will bear **Volume No. XIII**, and will be printed in the following parts:—

Part IA	...	General Report, including Subsidiary Tables.
Part IB	...	Report on Vital Statistics of the Decade (including reprints from previous Census Reports).
Part IIA	...	General Population Tables.
Part IIB	...	Economic Tables.
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Part IV	...	Report on Housing and Establishments.
Part V	...	Report and Tables on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
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Part VII	...	Report on Handicrafts.
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Part X	...	Report and Tables on Fairs and Festivals.

Besides, there will be 19 District Census Hand-Books, one for each District.

PUNJAB

LOCATION OF VILLAGES SELECTED FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY



LAHAUL& SPITI DISTRICT
1. TANDI
2. LARA

KANGRA DISTRICT
3. DALASH
4. KARNATHU
5. CHADHIAR
6. CHETRU
7. BAGLI

GURDASPUR DISTRICT
8. DOABA
9. DHARAMKOT

AMRITSAR DISTRICT
10. BHINDI SAIDAN
11. GAGGAR BHANA

KAPURTHALA DISTRICT
12. LADWAL
13. TALWARA

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT
14. TANULI
15. BABEHAR

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT
16. LAMBRA
17. TEHANG

LUDHIANA DISTRICT
18. BHAINI GUJJARAN
19. BHAINI ALA

FEROZEPUR DISTRICT
20. MAHALAM
21. JOGEWALA
22. HALIMWALA

BHATINDA DISTRICT
23. BARA BHAIKA
24. RAMAN NANDI

HISSAR DISTRICT
25. ODHAN
26. KHAIRPUR
27. MIRAN
28. HAJAMPUR

MAHENDRAGARH DISTRICT
29. KARIA
30. ANTRI-BEHARIPUR

GURGAON DISTRICT
31. MANETHI
32. BHADAS

ROHTAK DISTRICT
33. ASAUDA
34. MUNDLANA

SANGRUR DISTRICT
35. SAINTHLI
36. KUNRAN

PATIALA DISTRICT
37. DHINGI
38. ARNETOO

KARNAL DISTRICT
39. SONKHRA KHALSA
40. BAKANA SHARIFGARH

AMBALA DISTRICT
41. JATWAR
42. MAHSA TIBBA

SIMLA DISTRICT
43. KALATH
44. KAHLA

FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this subcontinent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced 'elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of Indian life—sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to their conclusions'. In a country, largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple thing as age was liable to be inaccurate, an understanding of the social structure was essential. It was more necessary to attain a broad understanding of what was happening around oneself than to wrap oneself up in 'statistical ingenuity' or 'mathematical manipulation'. This explains why the Indian Census came to be interested in 'many by-paths' and 'nearly every branch of scholarship, from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion'.

In the last few decades, the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits to the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralization on the one hand and decentralisation on the other, my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive : the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

A brief account of the tests of selection will help to explain. A minimum of thirty-five villages was to be chosen with great care to represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnic diversity. Of this minimum of thirty-five, the distribution was to be as follows:

(a) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each

of them would contain one dominant community with one prediminating occupation, e.g., fishermen, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers, etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(b) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400 the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and selected character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500—700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extra-mural rigours of the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an extra, over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September, 1959, the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet; dress, ornaments and footwear;

furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended; worship of deities, festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March, 1960, by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September, 1959 conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, movable and immovable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership, and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel'; to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusions', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the Census count itself was left behind in March, 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May, 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June, 1961), restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November, 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. In the later half of 1961 again was organized within the Census Commission a section on Social Studies which assumed the task of giving shape to the general frame of study and providing technical help to Superintendents of Census Operations in the matter of conducting surveys, their analysis and presentation. This section headed by Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, has been responsible for going through each monograph and offering useful suggestions which were much welcomed by my colleagues. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December, 1961, when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together.

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in

attaining what it set out to achieve : to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to 'the most fruitful single source of information about the country'.

Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in an appendix.

New Delhi,
24th May, 1962.

A. MITRA
Registrar-General, India.

INTRODUCTION

Census is essentially a statistical survey, and as such it partakes of the limitations of such surveys because of its dealing with such aspects of human life as are capable of being expressed numerically or quantitatively. A Census report deals with the total population, rate of its growth, its distribution over land and according to age, sex, marital status, literacy, language, religion, occupation and other allied subjects. But the Census report does not satisfy completely the reader desirous of knowing the people as they live: it furnishes little information on social structure and material culture of the population—the type of houses they live in, the clothes they wear, the food they eat, their household equipment, their livestock, their hours of work and recreation, their beliefs and customs, and their traditions and aspirations.

2. With a view to presenting a more complete picture of the people than was done at the previous censuses it has been decided to prepare along with the main 1961 Census Report complementary monographs on socio-economic study of some selected villages. These studies have been limited to rural areas. The mode of selection of villages for socio-economic survey has been explained in the Foreword. The list of 44 villages selected for survey in the Punjab is given in the location map.

3. The newly created District of Lahaul and Spiti comprises an area of 4,714 square miles, among high and rugged hills in the north-east corner of the Punjab. In this region, there are peaks after peaks rising up to 18,000 feet above sea level or even higher, but the narrow and inhabited valley of Lahaul lies at a mean elevation of some 10,000 feet. The Tahsil of Lahaul is economically better off than the Tahsil of Spiti. The approach to Lahaul Valley is difficult and lies over the Rohtang Pass at a height of some 14,000 feet. The climate is never hot in this area: it is cold, colder and coldest in different seasons. Rainfall is scanty—hardly 5 inches in the course of the year—but it snows more than it rains. The peaks lie under a thick blanket of snow all the year round. But in the valleys along the Chandra and the Bhaga rivers the soil gets exposed for six to eight months. During this short period two crops are obtained in quick succession, barley followed by *kathu* (buckwheat). Even then the production of foodgrains is short of the requirements of the small population, and these and other requirements of life mostly are imported from the neighbouring Kangra District. The community pays for these imports mostly out of earnings from *kuth,* a medicinal herb of great value, the roots of a cultivated plant which matures after three years. *Kala zeera* (cumin) and some other herbs which grow wild are also collected and sent out. Another source of income is the *pasham* (soft hair of a particular type of hill goat) which is bought in Ladakh and sold

at Manali. Agriculture is the main occupation of the people, and next to agriculture, transport.

4. The valley hums with activity for about seven summer months. During the five months from November to March a considerable portion of the population moves down to Kulu where they work on roads or in fields. The young children and the aged persons are left behind, well-stocked with foodgrains and meat of fowls, goats and sheep, and dried fodder for the cattle, and both men and beasts spend most of their time indoors. During this short economically active period the people have to work extremely hard to be able to lay by enough provisions for the prolonged winter. Seventy per cent of the population of the District has been classified as 'workers' as against 35 per cent for the Punjab as a whole.

5. The traditional polyandry is still there, though it does no longer stand out as the most prominent feature of the community. Budhism, as practised and preached by the local Lamas still, has a strong hold on the population, though the trend towards Hinduisation is noticeable.

6. In the valley things are improving rapidly. The narrow paths are being widened and strong bridges and culverts are being constructed for introducing jeep-transport. Educational and medical facilities are being extended and better methods of farming are being introduced. The results so far are, however, not commensurate with the efforts being put in because the population is scattered in tiny hamlets and only a small fraction of land lends itself to economic exploitation. The hopeful feature, however, is that the local population is healthy, honest, hard working and by and large unsophisticated and receptive.

7. It is against this background that the description of the village of Tandi and its people may be read. This is comparatively a big village and falls on the main Ladakh-Kulu trade route. The confluence of the Chandra and the Bhaga which from this point together give rise to the Chandrabhaga or the Chenab river, is very close to the village and nature has been very kind in providing a comparatively extensive tract of land available for cultivation. The village lies at a distance of only four miles from Keylong, the District headquarters and the main distribution centre for the region. These advantages perhaps take away some of the representativeness of the village in the locality. But it was necessary to select a sizeable village for survey so as to get at one place people of different walks of life, to study their manners and customs in detail which would not have been possible in a small isolated hamlet. Moreover, visits to the surrounding human settlements have testified that the people of Tandi are very much similar in their food, dress and their social habits to those living in the locality.

8. This investigation was conducted by Shri Gurdev Singh Pabla and Shri Janak Raj Vashistha in the end of the month of August and the beginning of September, 1961. The team was headed by Shri B. S. Ojha, I.A.S., the Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, Punjab, who moved about in the valley and held discussions with local officials and knowledgeable persons to introduce a sense of comparison in this study.

I camped in this village for three days in September, 1960, in connection with the preparations and training programme for the 1961 Census and have come to know this village fairly well. For the collection and presentation of data Shri Ojha and the two Investigators are responsible. My contribution is limited to editing the report and supplementing it from my own notes and such knowledge as I have come to acquire about the locality during my last visit to the village and a previous visit in 1958 to the valley in connection with an economic inquiry. I am grateful to Shri D. K. Das, I.A.S., and Shri M. S. Gill, I.A.S. for lending out of their personal collections some of the photographs included in this report and to Shri Tshering Dorje, the Bhoti Master, for his assistance in finalising the draft and preparing the sketches of ornaments.

Chandigarh :
March 15, 1963.

R. L. ANAND,

Superintendent of Census
Operations, Punjab.

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SKETCH MAP OF VILLAGE TANDI

H. B. No 6/13 (LAHAUL)

DISTRICT LAHAUL-SPITI

N

W E

S

IRRIGATION STREAMLET

PASTURES

PASTURES

PASTURES

ROAD FROM THIBOT TO KEYLONG

KEYLONG

LAND UNDER CULTIVATION

IRRIGATION STREAMLET

ROAD FROM THIBOT TO KHOKSAR

ROAD FROM KHOKSAR TO

LAND UNDER CULTIVATION

VILLAGE THOLANG

SHOPS

POND

FIELD

FIELD

LAND UNDER CULTIVATION

RIVER BHAGA

LAND UNDER CULTIVATION

PASTURES

PASTURES

PASTURES

PASTURES

SHOPS

CHORTEN

CREMATION GROUND

RIVER CHANDRA

RIVER CHANDRA-BHAGA (CHENAB)

REFERENCES

ROADS & PATHS	
RIVERS	
STREAMLET	
PASTURES	
CULTIVATED LAND	
HOUSE of BODH	+
" LOHAR	△
" SHIPPI	□

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

Introductory

Tandi is a village of the Lahaul Sub-Division, of the newly created Lahaul and Spiti District.* "Lahaul, which in the Tibetan means 'the southern country' (Lho-yul) lies between north latitude 30 —8′ and 32 —59′ and east longitude 76 —49′ and 77 —50′. The head waters of the Chenab river flow through this territory". The surrounding countries include Kashmir territory on the north, Kulu and Bara Banghal on the south, Spiti on the east, and Chamba State on the west. The boundary lies along high mountain ranges to the west of which the Chenab river forces its way by a narrow valley, while on the north-east the Yunan river flows into Zangskar. There are passes on the north-east and south sides, in addition to those two channels, but they are all closed by snow in winter." †Lahaul remains snow-bound for six to seven months in a year. The Rohtang Pass, the gateway to this Sub-Division, which connects Lahaul with the rest of the State through Manali and Kulu, closes on account of snow to human and animal traffic towards the end of October and does not reopen till the end of April. Thus, this area remains cut off from the rest of the State for quite a long interval during which the inhabitants have necessarily to fall back upon their own economic as well as social resources. The nature of the country accounts for the prevalence of distinct social and cultural life-patterns and the emergence of an almost self-sufficient economy. The community life, in all its varied aspects, goes on even when there is heavy snowfall in the valley.

Ground for Selection

The Scheduled Tribes in the Punjab are confined exclusively to the Lahaul and Spiti District. In the programme of socio-economic survey of selected villages in the State a village belonging to this Sub-Division had to be selected and the choice fell on Tandi. Tandi is a typical village of Lahaul. It is inhabited by Bodhs, Lohars and Shippis. Bodhs have been declared to be a Scheduled Tribe by the President of India vide 'The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists Modification Order, 1956'. The survey of Tandi, therefore, is a case study of a typical village of Lahaul on the one hand, and socio-economic life of Bodhs, a scheduled tribe, on the other.

Location

Tandi is located on a ten thousand feet high flat ground in the Pattan Valley of Lahaul and Spiti District, four miles to the west of Keylong, near the confluence of rivers Chandra and Bhaga about half a mile above the Khoksar—Keylong jeepable road passing over the Tandi bridge. The

*The new District was constituted on the 1st July, 1960.

†Gazetteer of the Kangra District, 1917: Volume XXX A, Part III—Lahaul, Page 181.

District, Sub-Divisional and Tahsil headquarters are all located at Keylong. A Police Station is also located at Keylong. Though the commercial and industrial activities are being initiated at Keylong by the Welfare Departments of Government, yet the real centres of commerce and industry nearest to the village are at present located at Manali and Kulu in the adjoining Kangra District. Native cultural patterns are, no doubt, sought to be preserved and developed in the valley under the patronage of the welfare State by organising cultural shows and fairs on different occasions at different places of historical or religious significance, but the villagers regard Kulu, the scene of famous Dussehra Fair, as the chief cultural centre with which they come in contact.

Physical Aspects

The village site lies at an altitude of ten thousand feet. The surroundings, except a small avenue of willow trees, are bare. The cultivated area is some 50 to 60 acres. The texture of the soil is hard. It is thoroughly mixed with minute disintegrated particles of stones and rock. Agricultural fields are small, terraced and made fertile by heavy doses of farmyard manure. The water of a *Kuhl*, which is a glacier-fed channel oozing from the chasms in the mountains and meandering into the river below, is collected in a pond and used for irrigation.

Climate of Lahaul is dry and bracing. "The maximum temperature at Keylong ranges from 30.3° (Fahr.) in February to 73.6° in August, the minimum from 13.4° in February to 50.2° in July. The mean temperature for each month is as follows:—

	Degrees Fahr.
January ..	23.9
February ..	23.3
March ..	30.7
April ..	40.5
May ..	49.6
June ..	57.6
July ..	61.7
August ..	61.7
September ..	55.6
October ..	46.3
November ..	39.1
December ..	29.5
Annual ..	43.3

These figures are the averages of twenty-one years."*

Winters are really very severe while the summer in Lahaul does not really signify the same weather conditions as are associated with it on this side of the Rohtang Pass. As Lahaul is enclosed by high mountain ranges, the monsoon currents never reach it. Consequently, the summer rainfall is very scanty. Normal rainfall in Lahaul is about five inches.

Fauna and Flora

Wild animals found in the areas surrounding Tandi are: *bhalu, guanoo,* brown wild goats known as *kyin* or *tangrol, ropoche* and *phaya. Tangrol* always runs in the upper hills and is found in flocks. It comes down in winter but never approaches the *abadi. Guanoo* is snared and killed to sell its hide.

*Gazetteer of the Kangra District, 1917: Volume XXX A, Part III—Lahaul, Pages 187-188.

Birds found in this area include *khoari*, *haka*, *krimlo*, *piloni-pia*, *goeo*, *langtungza*, *yuad* and *tha*. *Krimlo*, *haka* and *khoari* are sometimes bagged with stones.

There are no snakes in Tandi and the surrounding areas. Some snakes are found near Jalahma 12 miles away from Tandi but it is believed that due to the curse of *Hiramba Devi* of Jalahma a snake cannot survive the moment it crosses the Phura *nullah*. However, poisonous centipedes are frequently seen in the ceilings of houses in Tandi.

There are about 10,000 pollard willow trees, locally known as *beli* or *shen boota*, and about 200 *falash* trees known as *pag boota* which grow largely beside the bridle paths leading in and out of the village. *Falash* trees is, in fact, a variety of the *poplar* tree. It was imported in Lahaul from Ladakh because the soil suits its growth and its wood is suitable as timber. The oldest *falash* tree in Tandi is aged about 150 years. There are about 60 *poplar* trees known as *gyalas boota* in Tandi. *Poplars* were introduced by the missionaries. All the trees are privately owned by the households of the village. The wood of pollard willow is poor and defective as timber. These trees have been deliberately planted to meet the requirements of fuel and fodder. They are pruned when they are 3 to 5 years old. Pruning lasts from January to March. There are no leaves on the trees which are pruned of their branches which reappear after about three years. The pruned branches are fed to sheep and goat. The goat can munch branches but the sheep are fed on the bark, the wood being burnt as fuel. In winter, no grass is available on hills which lie covered under a heavy blanket of snow for about six months and by January, the stock of grass stacked in September gets exhausted. The branches and bark of the pollard willow are, therefore, a very useful substitute for fodder. In Tandi is also found a wild growth of white mushrooms known as *mogsha* eaten as a vegetable in June and July.

During the last few years, six house-holds have grown eight trees of plum, twenty of apple and four of wild apricot. As yet, these trees are too young to bear any fruit.

Marigold and sun-flowers are cultivated in fields and kitchen gardens in view of their sacred value in most of their social and religious ceremonies. *Kuth*, a medicinal and aromatic herb, is extensively grown for commercial purposes. *Shekhanda*, a wild rose bush bearing red and yellow flowers, *dand*, a small spinous trees, and *kala-zeera* grow wild in this tract.

Size

According to the 1951 Census, the population of *Kothi* Tandi, which includes, Tandi and eleven other villages, was 791 : 404 males and 387 females. The census count for 1961 reveals that Tandi is inhabited by 165 souls of which 76 are males and 89 females. However, by the time this survey was conducted the number in the village had increased to 176 due to five new arrivals in this world and six new arrivals into the village from Manali and Chandigarh. There are 21 persons (11 males and 10 females) who have crossed the age of 60. Fourteen persons (8 males and 6 females) are between 45 and 60 years of age. Seventy-one persons, of whom thirty-five are females, fall in the age-group 20—44. There are twenty-one infants and forty-nine children and adolescents in the village (Table 1).

According to the 1961 Census record, there are in all twenty households in the village including eighteen households of Bodhs, one each of Shippis and Lohars. However, at the time of the survey, two households, namely, that of a roving forest guard and of the person who runs a tea stall at the Tandi bridge, were excluded from this study. Moreover, the entity of three Lohar households who, because of their belonging to the Bodh sub-caste, were included among the Bodh households in the census record, was kept distinctly separate. So, according to the Investigator, the village comprises thirteen households of Bodhs, four of Lohars and one of Shippis.

The number of family members in two Bodh and Lohar households varies between four and six. The number of households having 7—9 inmates is three among Bodhs and two among Lohars. One Shippi household, one Lohar household and eight Bodh households comprise ten or more than ten family members. Obviously, households are constituted on the pattern of joint-families (TABLE 2).

RESIDENTIAL PATTERN

The village site lies to the south of the meeting point of Khoksar-Thirot and Keylong-Thirot roads and to the north of river Chandra-Bhaga (Chenab). The Tandi bridge, a little above the confluence of Chandra and Bhaga, is under construction towards the east of the village. To the west of Tandi lies the village Tholing. The agricultural fields lie to the east as well as to the west of the village site. Land lying to the west is irrigated by the *kuhl* water and is more fertile. Most of this area is under *kuth* cultivation. There are pastures in the north, north-east and north-west of the village. The area towards the south of the village, extending up to the bank of the river Chandra-Bhaga, and the land lying between the agricultural fields towards the east of the village site and the bank of river Bhaga constitute the pastures. There are two bridle paths, and one bridle-cum-jeepable road leading out of the village which connects it with Trilokinath in Chamba.

Residential houses are grouped together. Majority of the houses are occupied by Bodh families. The Bodh houses are not interspersed with those belonging to either Lohars or Shippis. Three Lohar families own houses in the south-west corner whereas the Shippi household is settled in the north-west corner. One Lohar household has settled in a house on the northern outskirts of the village.

There are three water taps from which villagers jointly draw water. There are two grocers' shops and one tailor's shop on either side of the road leading to Thirot. There is one water-mill in the north-west near the pond in which *kuhl* water is collected. There is no school building and the primary classes are held in an open compound.

COMMUNICATION

Tandi, and for that matter the entire Lahaul Sub-Division, is connected by a jeepable road with Manali, a very well-known hill station in Kangra District, through the 13,400 feet high Rohtang Pass. The nearest railway station is at Joginder Nagar in Himachal Pradesh, 146 miles away from Tandi. There is a motorable metalled road up to Manali and there is a regular bus service between Kulu and Manali. Kulu can be reached by road as well as by air. A jeepable road starting from Manali ascends to the crest of Rohtang Pass, fifteen

miles away, from where it descends to Khoksar Rest House, crosses the Chandra by a bridge, then runs down its right bank to Sissu and Gondla, crosses the Bhaga river at Tandi bridge, and branches off to the village Tandi, whereas the main road, which is only a bridle path beyond Keylong, continues to the boundary of Zangskar. A private jeep plies over a distance of ten miles between Manali and Rahla. Jeeps of the P.W.D. cross over the Rohtang into Lahaul but private visitors have to negotiate the stiff and exhausting ascent to the crest of Rohtang Pass, which in the Lahauli dialect means 'a heap of dead bodies', either on foot or on pony-back and then traverse a three-mile long descending bridle path to Khoksar. A private Co-operative Transport Society runs a jeep between Khoksar and Tandi twice a day. Once a day this jeep goes beyond Tandi to Keylong. Tandi is about twenty-two miles away from Khoksar. The jeep ticket costs five rupees and sixty-two naye paise per head. Charges for luggage are five rupees per maund. Carriage charges between Tandi and Manali on pony-backs are twelve rupees for every maund of goods. There is a shelter-shed on top of the Rohtang and there are comfortable rest houses at Khoksar, Sissu and Gondla. Tandi is connected with the District headquarters by a four-mile long jeepable road. Keylong-Thirot bridle path traverses the lands of village Tandi in the north. At the time of survey, this bridle path was jeepable up to Lote. There are three bridle paths leading into and out of the village.

Postal facilities are available in the village proper but telegraph facilities are available only at Keylong. During summer, the mail is delivered once or twice a week but postal service remains suspended during the severest months of winter.

Important Public Places

Postal facilities are available in the village but there is no building of the post office. Shri Lal Chand, the school teacher attends to postal work in addition. The Block Development Agency has not as yet put up any Panchayat building, School building, or park. The cremation ground of the village is situated near the confluence of rivers Chandra and Bhaga to the south-east of the village.

Near the confluence of the two rivers there is a chorten, a pyramidical cenotaph constructed over the remains of a great man or religious priest. This chorten is always looked upon with reverence and worshipped on ceremonial occasions.

Sources of Water

Drinking water is obtained from the three taps installed by Government. The water of a *kuhl* flowing to the village from the north-west is stored in a pond and used for irrigating village land, particularly the *kuth* fields lying to the west of the village site. On religious and ceremonial occasions, people go down to the confluence of the rivers Chandra and Bhaga to take their bath.

Welfare and Administrative Institution, Market, etc.

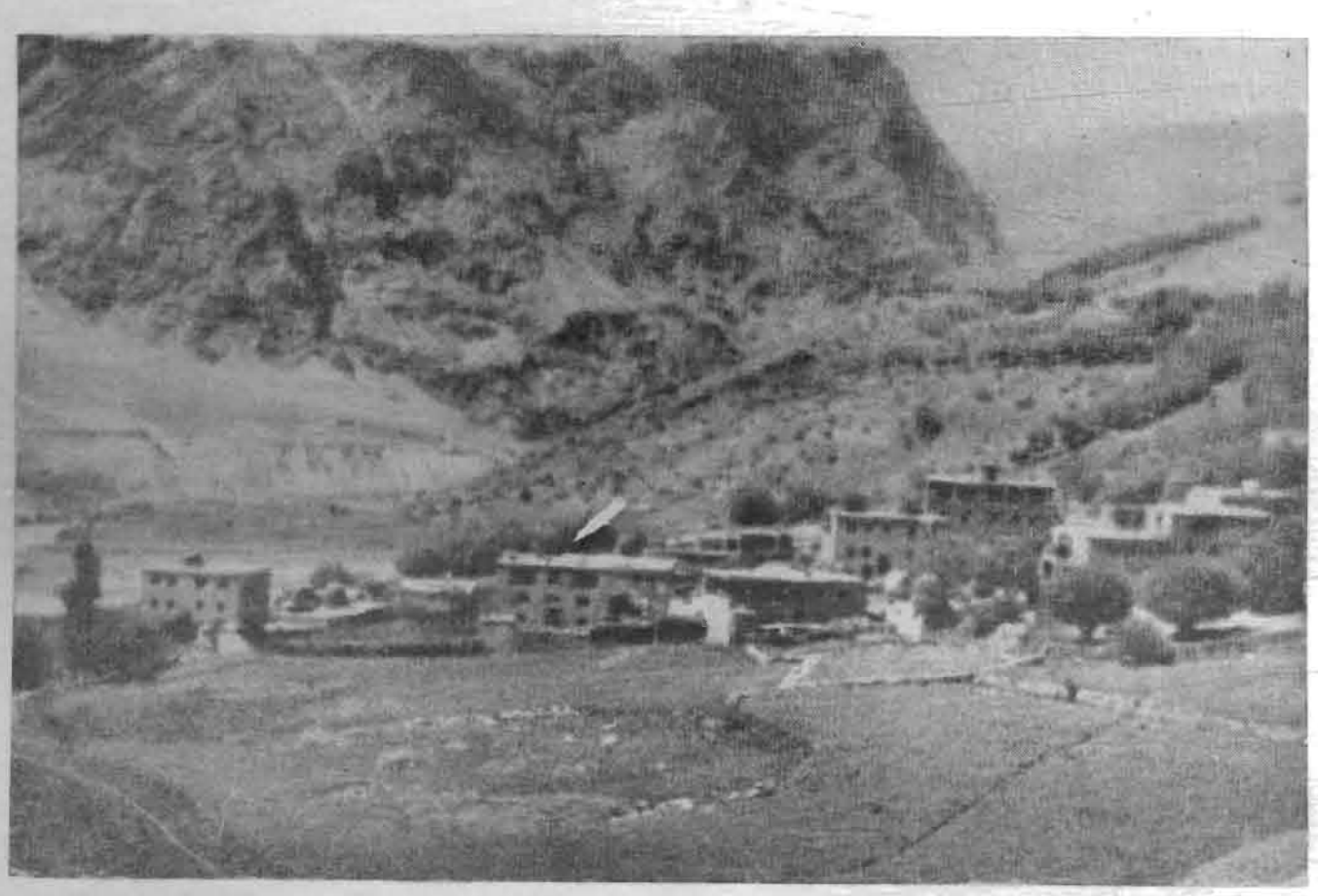
All the administrative institutions including district courts, tahsil office, police station, development block office, are located at Keylong. Some commercial activities on a very small scale are now taking place at Keylong but the market, in the full sense of the term, exists only at Kulu from

where people import consumer goods. However, the nearest market for *kuth* is at Manali where there is a Co-operative Society of *kuth* Growers of Lahaul.

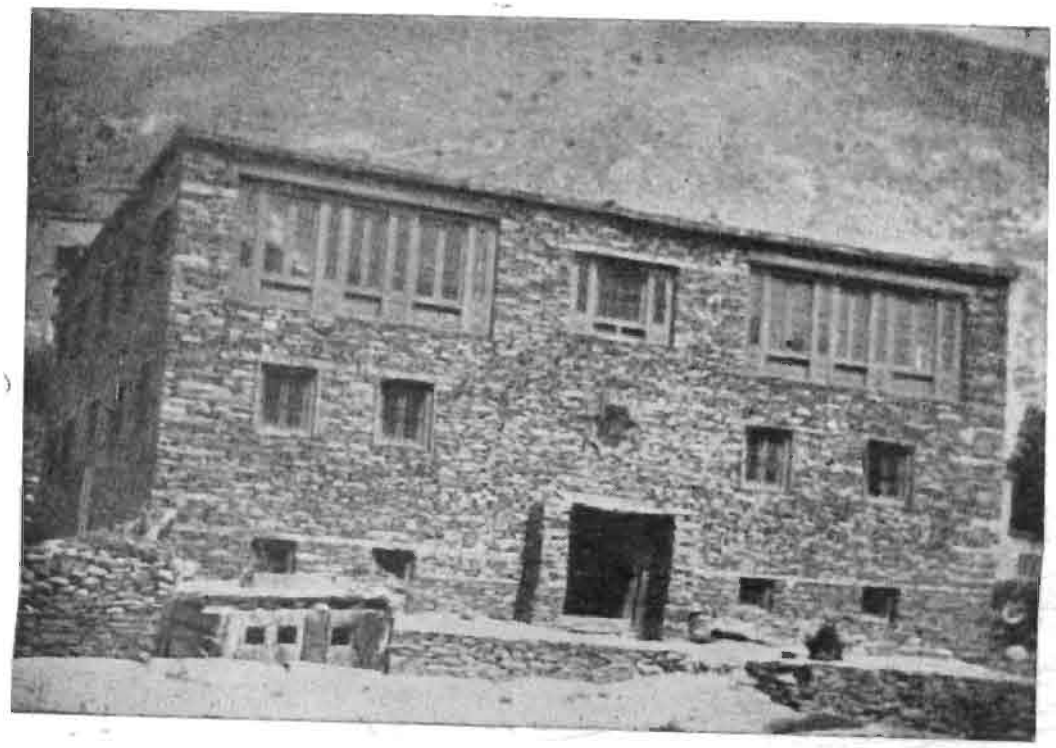
History of the Village Legend, etc.

According to the *Misl-e-Hakiat* 1891-92 (a note in the revenue and settlement record) "Tandi was founded by Raja Rana Chand Ram under the name of 'Chandi' which name, with the passage of time, has changed into its present name of Tandi. About three hundred years ago, Raja Bidhi Singh of Kulu established matrimonial alliance with the Raja of Chamba, who gave him this area in dowry. Later when Raja Jit Singh was the Raja of Kulu, the Sikhs annexed this area." This village was in the Kulu Sub-Division of Kangra District till the creation of the new district of Lahaul and Spiti.

However, people narrate legends associating the village with mythological personages. A section of the population believes that Dropadi, the wife of the Pandvas, gave up her mortal frame at this place and that Tandi means *tan-dehi*, giving up of body. Another section of villagers believes that the dead body of Vashisht, who meditated near the hot springs of village Vashisht about two miles north-east of Manali, was cremated near the confluence of rivers Chandra and Bhaga at the present site of the village and that this place has since been named as Tandi, i.e., body consumed. It can be reasonably surmised that the village is pretty old though no information as to its exact age is forthcoming. All the existing households settled in this village more than five generations ago (Table 3).



Tandi, the village.



A typical house of Tandi.



A Lahauli woman wearing traditional jewellery.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THE MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

Ethnic Composition and brief Note on each Group

The inhabitants of this village, and for that matter of this Sub-Division, are short-statured. Their complexion is ruddy brown. They have oblique brown eyes and broad foreheads. Their short hair are always well combed. They are pugnosed, and have prominent cheekbones. They are born traders and good carriers.

The inhabitants of Lahaul have a mixture of Mongolian and Aryan blood flowing in their veins. Some of them have originally descended from Mongols whereas others, particularly those professing Hinduism, are said to have come over to this valley from the adjoining areas of Kangra, Kulu and Chamba. As this area, till the creation of the new district, remained mostly cut off from the rest of the country, particularly due to the closing down of the Rohtang pass for a major portion of the year, the people here lead a life which is vitally and materially different from that led in other parts of the country. They exhibit a distinct culture-pattern and have developed a distinct mode of socio-economic and community life. They have their own religious beliefs and customs. In the community, the incidence of polyandry is fairly large. Women enjoy equal status with men. They do not observe 'purdah' and enjoy complete liberty of movement. They play a very important role in the economic life of the community. Besides attending to cooking and cleaning they actively assist their men-folk in different operations, cutting and storing grass, tending cattle, spinning wool, weaving tweeds and making *poolahs*.

Of the 18 households surveyed thirteen belong to the Bodhs, four to the Lohars and one to a *Shippi* (*Daghi*). Bodhs are sub-divided into five sub-castes: *Katoch*, *Kataro*, *Thopa*, *Shashni*, and *Katora*. The predominant sub-castes are the *Shashni* having a total of forty-three members and *Katora* having a total of forty-one members out of one hundred and twenty-five. Lohars are further sub-divided into *Bodhs* and *Moghu*. Bodhs among the Lohars number twenty-nine. The solitary Shippi household belongs to the *Panguwal* sub-caste (Table 4).

Bodhs

"Those (Lahaulis) who profess both Budhism and Hinduism live in the villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhaga from Gurughantal down hills".* The village Tandi is located in this tract of Lahaul. Bodhs still claim themselves to be Thakur Rajputs. They subscribe to a mixed religion though they lean more towards Budhism than Hinduism. They worship *Gephan* and *Gurughantal* and at the same time make offerings

*Gazetteer of the Kangra District, 1917—page 199.

to Lord Shiva. Almost all houses of Bodhs are found to contain wall-photos of Shiva and Krishna, and Dattatreya, the three-faced Hindu god. Every Bodh household possesses some scripture written in the Bhoti script. Local Bodhs, however, are conversant neither with the Bhoti language nor the script. Therefore, these scriptures are recited by the Lamas in every Bodh household on the occasion of Dudcchang festival, which comes off towards the end of Chaitra (March). Recently four households of Bodhs have bought copies of the Gita and some books on *Vedant*. The Bodhs of Tandi converse in the pattani dialect among themselves. With outsiders they talk in Hindustani though their womenfolk are not so proficient in it. They know the use of both Urdu and Hindi scripts. Bodhs regard themselves superior to all other castes in Lahaul except Swangalas. They do not intermarry or inter-dine with Lohars and Shippis. Bodhs own a major portion of the village land. They are peasant proprietors, with weaving, shopping, tailoring and Government service as subsidiary occupations. Government Contractors who undertake construction of works belong to the Bodh community. Bodhs are receptive to new ideas and influences. They have no folk-songs in the pattani dialect but have borrowed some from the people of Kulu, Chamba and Mandi relating mostly to Hindu religion and Hindu deities. They are adopting Hindu names as for instance, Prem Singh and Veena Kumari in preference to 'Tashi Tsherring, Ringzin Dolma', respectively.

Lohars

"The Lohars are called 'Gara' in the Tibetan tongue of Kolong and Khoksar, 'Domba' in Gara and Gondhla and Lohar only in Pattan".* According to a legend recorded by the Moravians in the Bunan dialect Garas (Lohars) were imported from Kulu with corn seed.† Lohars profess Hinduism as their major religion, but they also subscribe to Budhism. Most of their customs and religious ceremonies are similar to those of Bodhs. They worship Hindu deities on the one hand and Budhist monastery on the other.

Lohars speak the Lohari dialect which is somewhat different from the Pattani dialect but is common to all the Lohars or Garas of this area. Most of them can also understand and converse in Hindustani. Their households do not possess any scriptures. Lohars consider themselves superior to *shippis* (Chahans) with whom they neither inter-marry nor inter-dine. Bodhs do not regard Lohars as untouchables, but will not accept food from them.

The Lohars are blacksmiths by profession, though some of them also engage in farming as a supplementary occupation.

Shippis

Shippis are also known as Chahans and Chanals. It is believed that they have no Bhotia blood and have immigrated into Lahaul from Kulu. They profess Hinduism but

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*Kangra District Gazetteer of 1917, page 195.

†*Ibid*, page 196.

they also visit *Gephan* and *Guru-ghantal*. They converse in the Shippi dialect among themselves and can understand Hindustani. Shippis are regarded as Scheduled Castes by the other castes and are accorded the lowest social status in the village community. The solitary Shippi household, besides cultivating land, supplements its income through casual labour.

House Type

Dwellings are comfortable and commodious having smooth and attractive exteriors. They are designed to lodge with comfort joint families in summers, which are rather mild, and in winters, which are very severe. Houses remain the sole areas of activity of residents when there is half a dozen feet of snow all around. In winter, these tiny habitats hum with life while all without is cold and still.

In Tandi all houses are grouped together and lie on a level ground. They present a beautiful look. Of the twenty houses in the village six are three-storeyed, seven are double-storeyed, and the rest of them are single-storeyed. According to the 1961 Census Houselist, two households possess one-roomed houses providing accommodation to four inmates; three households possess two-roomed houses having twenty inmates; six households possess three-roomed houses sheltering forty-eight persons; three households having a membership of fourteen persons have four-roomed houses and seven households possess houses each with five or more rooms resided in by 69 persons (Table 5). By local standards there is no paucity of accommodation. The apartments are quite comfortable both in summer and in winter.

On an average, the plinth of a house measures 45′×40′. The ground floor known as *'Po'* contains three or four rooms used for tethering cattle, sheep, goats and horses, and for storing cow-dung and fodder. Large receptacles made of slate slabs set in wooden frames and plastered with mud and dung both from inside and outside, are used for storing foodgrains and other agricultural produce. These receptacles known as *datha* are provided in the ground floor. The first floor, *nipuri*, is the apartment for living. Approach to the building lies through *chhinga*, a rectangular porch, in the middle of this flat, climbed by a staircase. In the porch to the left there is a room, *srelsa*, used as a sitting place during summer and rainy season. Adjoining it at the back is another room, *chakhthab*, having in its centre an iron furnace with a chimney. Food is cooked here in cold weather. The family gathers round this heating apparatus to ward off cold. In the season of snows this place is the centre of all indoor life. One room to the right hand side in the porch is used for seating guests. This room is also known as *chhinga*. On this very floor there is a room at the back which is sub-divided into two or three roomlets. One of these is used as a latrine and the other as a bath room (though in two houses only). The third one is used as a store and in it is also fixed a staircase leading to the top storey. *Suli*, a small chest made of the same material as *datha*, in which are stored buckwheat flour and barley *saktoos*, is provided in this storey. Large stone bowls and iron cauldrons, in which water is stored, are also found in one of the rooms lived in by the inmates. The third storey, *srumupuri*, contains two or three rooms each one of which is known as *masari*. Dried cow-dung cakes, fuel and grass shoes are stored

in the *masari*. It is also used as a sleeping room in summer. Some households also install a hand-loom in one of the rooms of the top storey.

Generally the houses face the East. Plinth is raised only to level the ground. The height of the first storey is six feet and that of the second and the third storeys seven feet each. Thus the height of a house varies between thirteen and twenty feet according as the house is double or three-storeyed. Roofs are flat and rectangular in shape. Such roofs are made because corrugated iron sheets are either not available or are too expensive to be imported from Manali by an ordinary peasant. Flat roofs are favoured also because of their usefulness for drying grass, grains, and vegetables, which if dried on the ground would most probably be damaged by cattle. Designs for houses were given by the Moravian Missionaries. The comparatively new houses are well provided with windows having glass panes. Ventilators are not provided because the ceilings are low. The old houses do not have any windows but have holes in the upper roof for light and air. These are covered with stones when it snows. Only two houses are provided with regular bath-rooms. Women take bath in the *po*, on the ground floor, and men in front of their houses. Every house provides an improvised commode, an opening in a corner of the second storey through which the nightsoil drops and accumulates in a small enclosure on the ground floor. Nightsoil is daily covered with a layer of dried cow-dung and earth to reduce the stink. As often as possible villagers urinate indoors into these latrines so that urine is also absorbed by cow-dung. The nightsoil thus preserved makes excellent organic manure.

The building material consists of mud, slate-stone, wood, some reeds and grass. Walls are made of stone bricks and slate or woodenpieces finely laid in between wooden rafters inserted after every sixth or seventh foot (TABLE 6).

Walls are usually two feet wide. The roofs are constructed by arranging on the walls wooden rafters, beams or, sometimes, sawn trunks of a tree overlaid with small wooden pieces, covered with straw and dust. The top of the roof is finely plastered with mud. The rafters in the ceilings are supported by wooden columns fixed in the floor. Glass panes, provided to allow light but to keep off the wind, and iron bars used in the windows are usually imported from Kulu and Manali. The stone slabs are locally available; wood of *Kail* (pinus excelsa and *Devidiar* (Pencil Cedar) is transported from jungles around Mooring and Sitingari, four and eight miles away, respectively. Grass and earth are locally obtained. Iron ovens and chimneys fixed in the living room are either made by the local Lohars or obtained from Kulu and Manali where they are prepared by Lahauli Lohars who go there in winter.

The services of masons and carpenters for constructing a house are obtained from outside the village. Either of them is paid a wage of five rupees per day with two meals. The casual labour is also employed at the rate of two rupees plus two meals per head per day. The custom of mutual help prevails. All types, of manual labour is offered by relatives for eight to ten days and by co-villagers for about five days. Good meals are served to the persons rendering help. Enquiries reveal that, on an average, a

three-storeyed house costs about six thousand rupees as detailed below :

		Rupees
1. Wages : Carpenters	..	1,200
2. Wages : Masons	..	2,000
3. Wages : Unskilled labourers	..	2,100
4. Timber	..	1,300
5. Iron goods	..	250
6. Glass panes	..	150
Total	..	6,000

Houses are very well maintained. They are repaired twice a year. The walls are plastered with mud from outside in summer on the occasion of the *shegtsum* festival and the interior of the house is plastered in winter a few days before the *kuns* (Phagli) festival.

During the decade only two new houses have been constructed. They are three-storeyed and bigger than those previously existing. They provide separate bath-rooms and well-designed staircases. They also have a large number of glass pannelled windows fixed in the outer walls. However, though a change in the design is discernible, there is no change in the materials used.

Dress

Dress of the people accords with the climatic conditions and subserves the requirements of work-a-day life. Men wear a white or brown coloured *katar*, a sort of long and loose Tibetan gown, made of pure woollen *patti*. Coats are now being substituted for *katar* by the younger generation. Full-sleeved shirt of cotton cloth, both with or without collars is worn under *katar*. *Kurti*, a sort of Nehru-jacket made of woollen *patti* is generally worn over *katar* in winter. Brown coloured Kulu-cap called *topru* is the common head-gear. Marigold flowers are hung in the cap on festive occasions. *Sutna*, a tight trouser of *patti* cloth is worn to cover the lower half of the body. Vests and underwears are not worn by the old folk but their use is finding favour with the new generation. Young boys are also seen wearing full-sleeved pull-overs imported from Kulu or the plains. The clothes worn in winter are of thick cloth as compared to those worn in summer. *Pattus* used to protect the body against the rigours of cold are a domestic manufacture. *Patti* is woven in five households of the village, specially in winter season when all out-door life comes to a stand-still. Male dress does not vary appreciably with different castes and economic groups.

Females wear dark-grey or black coloured *sutna* which resembles its counterpart worn by men except that it is comparatively tight and has a line of golden or silver embroidery in the lower parts. Sometimes two lines of red and green threads are also used for embroidery, which is called *teb* in the local dialect. Underwears are not used. *Kurti*, a full-sleeved shirt of cotton cloth is commonly worn. *Choli*, a full-sleeved long gown generally of brown or black colour of cotton cloth in summer and of *patti* in winter is the familiar dress of women folk which is worn over the *kurti*. The lower-ends of the *choli* and the portion around the neck are generally embroidered with *zari* (golden or silver threads or laces) or woollen threads. A kind of jacket,

also known as *kurti* made of *patti*, *kashmira*, *blazer*, *shanil* or velvet are worn over *choli*. Cloth of different kinds and colours is used to make the front and the hind portions of *choli*. There is no covering for the head. Only a few girls wear a *roomal*, a fifteen inch square piece of cloth which is tied on the head and knotted below the chin. *Lapsi*, a woollen *roomal*, is worn in winter. Home-made shawls are used in winter. Some ladies are beginning to use tissued cotton towels in summer.

There is no prescribed dress for festive or ceremonial occasions. One or two ordinary suits kept spare are used on such occasions.

Ornaments

Members of only ten households out of eighteen wear ornaments. Whereas most of the women wear ornaments, very few men do so (Table 7). One man in six would wear gold rings. Gold ear-rings called *murki* and *kyauti* are worn by the old folk but are being discarded by the younger generation. Ornaments of Lahauli women are profusely embedded with beads which are mostly red, green or blue in colour. Only Bodh women adorn their heads with ornaments. Lohar and Shippi women do not put any ornaments on head. Among them married women merely cover their heads with a round cap known as *montsi*.

Different ornaments in use in Lahaul are described below:—

Kirkitsi.—It is a cup-shaped ornament having two clips at the bottom. It is worn by women, married as well as unmarried, on festive occasions. Old women wear it always. The clips are fixed in the hair and the ornament is supported in the upright position. The exterior of the ornament is shaped with about 15 tolas of silver whereas the hollow interior is shaped with 4 or 5 tolas of gold. One turquoise is fixed in the centre and four imitation-beads are fixed around it. This ornament is made by Lohars. If the ornament is made only of silver it costs about 50 rupees, but if it is made of both silver and gold its cost varies beteen 350 and 500 rupees.

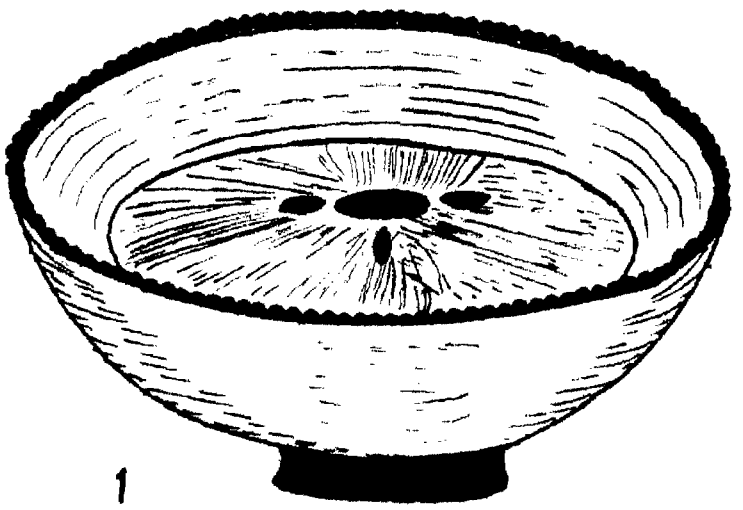
Tarka.—It is a clip like silver ornament used on either side of the forehead to keep the hair in position. A pair of *tarka* weighs 6 to 8 tolas of silver and costs 16 to 20 rupees. Women of all ages wear it always.

Poshel.—It is a pair of round balls made of a substance known as *kapur* imported from Afghanistan. There is only one hole in the *kapur* (ball) in which is fixed a small piece of gold or silver. One ball is worn on either side of the forehead and is tied with the help of a red thread to the plait at the back of the head. *Poshel* is worn by women of all ages. It is not made in Lahaul. Imitations cost 4 to 5 rupees but a real *poshel*, which is generally not available, would cost 40 to 50 rupees.

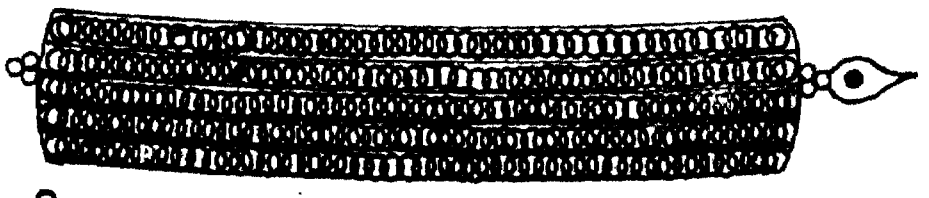
Phans.—It is a silver ornament weighing about 5 tolas. It is locally available. It is fixed by women of all ages on either side of the head to hide the red thread used to tie the *poshel* with the plait.

Along.—These are gold or brass ear-rings embedded with white and coloured imitation-beads used by women of all ages and castes. A pair of *along* weighs 1½ to 2½ tolas. Gold *along* costs 250 to 300 rupees while those of brass 4 to 5 rupees. These are made in Lahaul.

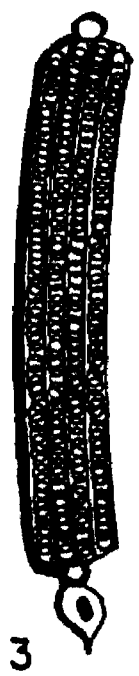
ORNAMENTS



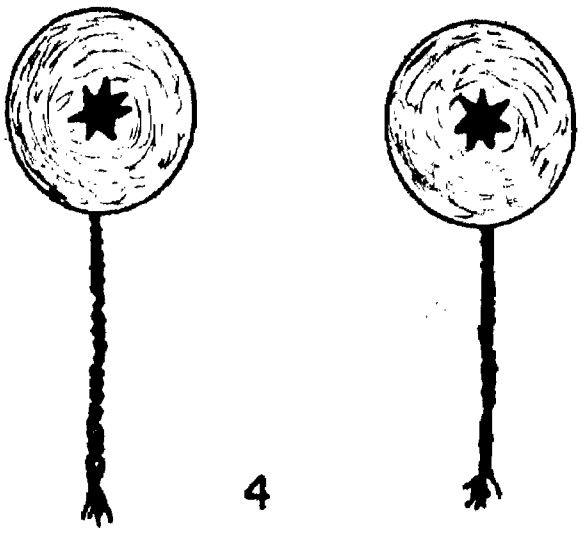
1



2



3



4

1. KIRKITSI
2. PHANS
3. TARKA
4. POSHEL

ORNAMENTS



1

2



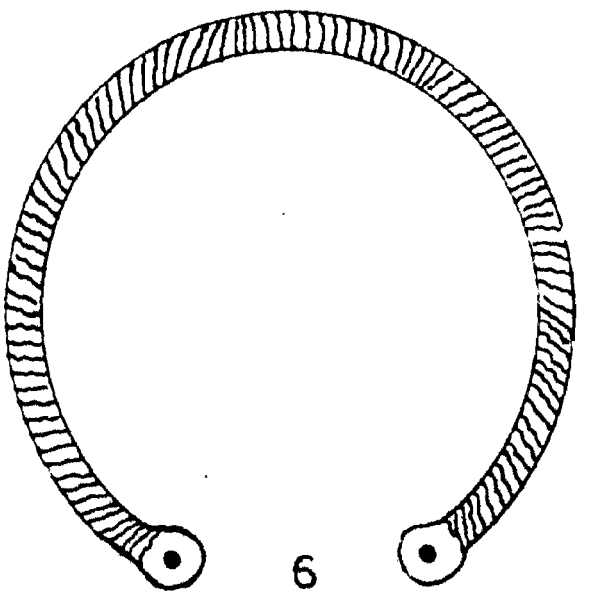
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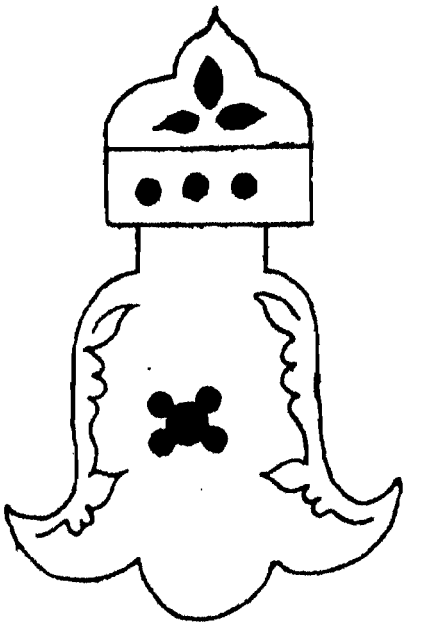


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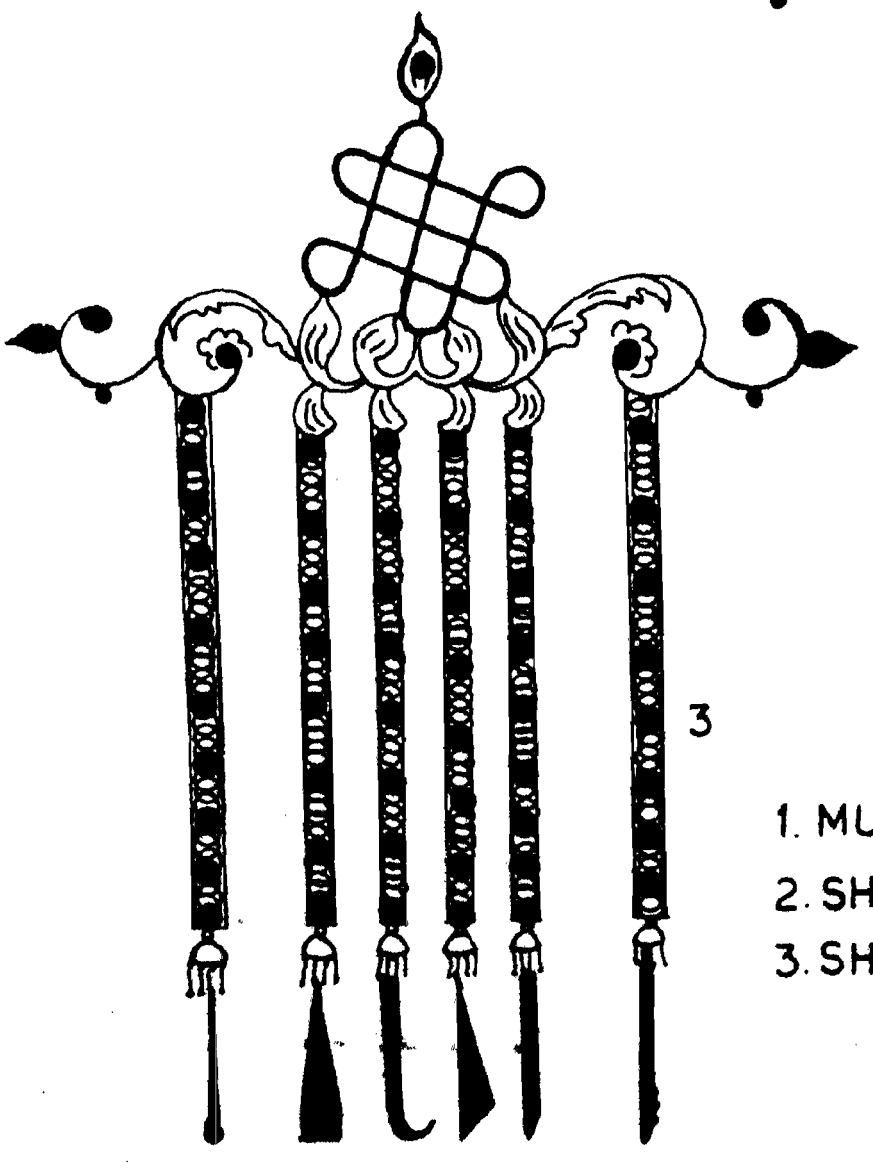
1. TUK KANTI
2. PHOLUNU-CHABU
3. KYAUTI (USED BY MALES ONLY)
4. GUITHAB
5. MURKI (USED BY MALES ONLY)
6. NANG

ORNAMENTS





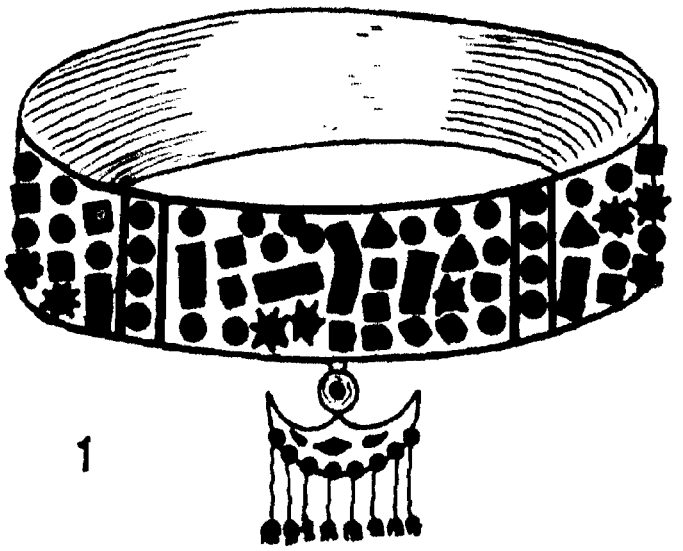
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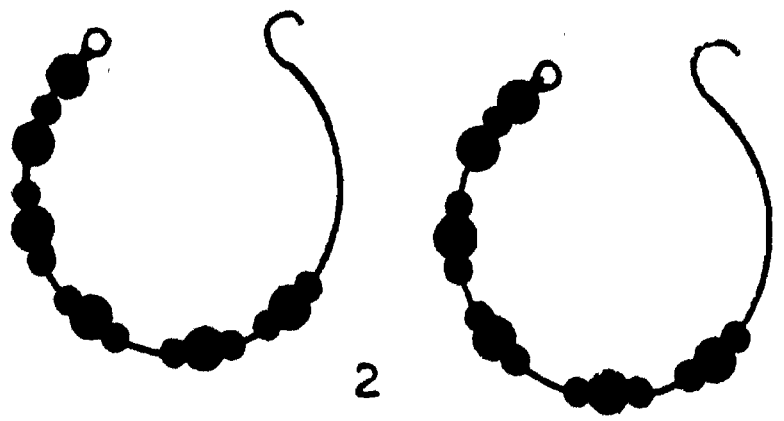
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1. MUTIGKANTI
2. SHUB
3. SHAMSHAM

ORNAMENTS



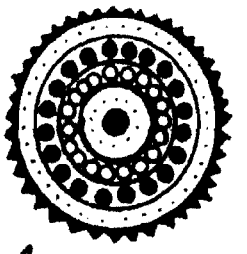
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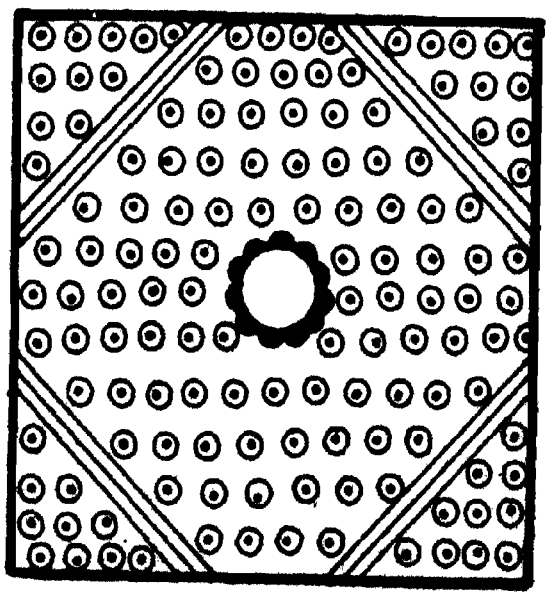
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1. YUTOD
2. ĀLONG
3. PHULI
4. PHULI
5. DUNKERTSA

Yutod.—It is a round cap, three inches tall. Its interior is made of thick cotton cloth over which is stitched red cotton cloth. Four pieces of golden *patti* ½ inch wide and 3 inches long are stitched on to the red cloth. *Zari* work is done on the golden *patti*. The remaining space is embedded with turquoise. In the front there are a silver moon and a sun joined together with short silver chains hanging down to produce some sound. Some imitation-beads are also embedded in it. This portion hangs over the forehead when the cap is worn. The ornament weighs about 1 to 1½ seers. It is worn only by Bodh women of all ages, married as well as unmarried except widows. It is worn for a very short duration. This ornament costs 300 to 400 rupees.

Chhota Phuli.—It is a gold nose-pin weighing about 1/6 tola worn by all women of all castes except widows. It is made in Lahaul and costs 4 to 5 rupees.

Bara Phuli.—It is a gold nose-plug embedded with imitation-beads It costs about 50 to 60 rupees and is worn by all women of all castes except widows.

Dunkertsa.—It is a solid, about five-inch square, silver ornament with an imitation-bead in the centre. There are various designs on its face. It weighs about 20 tolas and costs about 100 rupees. It is made by local Lohars and is worn by Bodh women of all ages, even by widows on festive occassions. This is worn at the back near the waist where all the ends of different plaits are gathered.

Pholunu.—It is a silver chain about 2½ feet long, embedded with imitation-beads attached with the *dunkertsa*. Different ends of the *pholunu* are again gathered to which is attached *chabu* from which are hanging different silver chains producing sound. There is a hook with which the *pholunu* is twisted and attached with the *cholu*. *Pholunu* weighs 15 to 20 tolas and costs 45 to 50 rupees. It is worn only by Bodh women of all ages except widows.

Mutigkanti.—These are white beads knitted in threads interspersed with six sets of coral and turquoise. Hanging down in the middle is a star-shaped gold piece in which are embedded imitation-beads. It weighs about 14 to 15 tolas costing 500 to 600 rupees. It is worn by women of all castes and of all ages, even by widows. It is an ornament of daily use and is made locally.

Tuk kanti.—It is a long necklace consisting of beads of coral knitted in a thread having in the lower centre *zee* made of some special kind of stone. It weighs about 12 tolas costing about 200 rupees. It is locally made and is worn by all women including widows of all castes.

Shamsham.—It is a silver ornament weighing about 6 tolas prepared by local Lohars. It is a collection of 5 to 7 chain-like silver strings in which are embedded imitation-beads. At the lower end of each string there is a *chabu* which produces sound. From the *chabu* hang differently shaped small and thin silver pieces used separately for cleaning ears, nails, teeth, etc. It costs 50 to 60 rupees. It

is worn by all women including widows of all castes and ages. It is attached with *cholu* in the front.

Nang.—It is a pair of silver bangles weighing 20 to 25 tolas and costing about 50 rupees. It is locally made and is always used by women of all ages and castes.

Guithab.—It is a gold or silver ring weighing about ½ tola embedded with imitation-beads worn by males as well as females. *Guithab* made of gold costs 60 rupees while that of silver two rupees.

Murki.—It is a gold ornament always worn by males of all castes. It weighs ½ tola, costs about 50 rupees and is locally available.

Shub.—It is a silver purse used for keeping money and fastened with the *kerag*, the waist-belt. It weighs about 6 tolas and costs about 15 rupees. It is carried by women of all castes.

Kyauti.—It is a sort of ear-ring made of gold weighing about 1½ tolas and costing about 200 rupees. It is locally made.

A bare-footed person is an unfamiliar sight. All kinds of footwear are worn by the people—boots with or without holes, canvas shoes, slippers, hunter shoes and *paulah* (the ordinary *juta* made by the shoe-maker). These are brought mostly from Kulu and Manali. In winter, straw-shoes called *poolah* made from barley straw and twisted *bhang* (cannabissativa) fibre are commonly worn. Barley straw is used for the sole and coloured strings of *bhang* fibre are used for the upper portion. These shoes are very warm to walk in the snow but their life is rather short—one to three days only. Women make these at home in large numbers.

Household Goods

Household goods possessed by villagers are articles of utility rather than of decoration. They are just enough to meet requirements of a household. There is no material ready at hand for turning out decoration-pieces nor do the people have enough money to acquire them even if they were available. Furniture and other household goods are simple but durable.

All the family members sleep on mats spread on the floor and the use of cots is not common. Only five households out of eighteen possess *Khatias* (cots); there is no bedstead in the village. There are three folding chairs in the village, which were acquired less than five years ago, but there is no table (Table 8). *Thobis* (matting) woven with thick yarn made of goat and *Yak* hair, *'Chhultan'* (cloth cushions stuffed with grass and straw), *'Planza'* (cushions stuffed with small cloth and sack-pieces), and *Chaklas* (moohras made of grass) are the articles of furniture commonly found in every household. All these are manufactured at home. Skin of sheep, *thulpa*, is used as a sheet for spreading over the mat as a quilt and as a bed-sheet. Five Bodhs and two Lohars own *thobis*. In all, ten Bodhs own woollen carpets (*ghalichas*). Only three of these may be costing one hundred to two hundred rupees. The remaining are all rough and ordinary.

These *ghalichas* are spread in the drawing rooms. They are pretty durable but their colours are not fast.

A list of the various utensils owned by the households is given below:

Name of the utensil	Metal used	Purpose for which used
Ragzon ..	Brass	Large open mouthed cooking utensil.
Bagru ..	Brass	Small open mouthed cooking utensil.
Balori ..	Brass	Vessel for storing water.
Dogla ..	Iron	It is the same thing as "karahi", used for cooking, etc.
Karchhi ..	Brass-gilt	Ladle.
Prat ..	Brass-copper	Wide trough for kneading flour into dough.
Dabroo ..	Brass	Large deep plate used for making 'doo'
Asked ..	Iron	Frying-pan.
Lorand ..	Wood	Used for making 'lowad' dilution.
Koovad ..	Stone	Used for preparing meat-soup, 'thugpa'.
Thumbu ..	Brass	Used for preparing tea.
Dongmo ..	Wood	A cylinder used for mixing salted tea water with butter and milk.
Doi ..	Wood	Used for keeping 'thugpa'.
Thopo ..	Wood	Used for drinking 'Tshati' (soup)—a sort of metallic cup.
Petra ..	Bronze	A 'thali' for taking food.
Batra] ..	Bronze	A 'katora' for making food.
Birchru ..	Earth	Receptacle for storing 'lassi'.
Dhanoo ..	Stone	Pot for churning milk.
Chatori ..	Iron	Pot for keeping small quantities of ghee.
Lamza ..	Copper	Receptacle for storing water.
Chhoezom ..	Wood	Receptacle for carrying water.

Besides, there are stone bowls and iron cauldrons used for storing water.

Three Bodh families own radio-sets. There is only one bicycle in the village, owned by a Bodh. Four Bodhs possess sewing machines one of which was acquired by Paljore, a peon at Gondhla Dispensary, less than five years ago. At one of these a young niece of Lal Chand, the school teacher, is learning sewing. Six Bodhs and one Shippi possess watches. Eight Bodhs and one Shippi own fountain-pens of which three were acquired less than five years ago. Eleven households possess hurricane lanterns, three Bodhs possess torches and Lal Chand alone

possesses a petromax. Ten Bodhs, two Lohars and one Shippi own looking-glasses; Sajja Ram, Lohar possesses the only wall-shelf in the village (TABLES 9 and 10).

Fifteen households use toilet as well as washing soap, the remaining three use washing soap only. There is no washerman in the village. In fact, there is no practice in this area of getting clothes washed by *dhobis* (TABLE 11).

DIET

Lahaulis are non-vegetarians; they do not consider any food or drink as tabooed. Buckwheat (kathu) and barley constitute the staple food of the people and are consumed throughout the year. Potatoes and turnips in summer (May to September) and meat soup in winter (October to April) are taken in large quantities. Salted tea and *Lugri* (an intoxicant locally known as *tsagti* are very common and widely consumed beverages.

> "The principal food is buckwheat (Kathu) boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour which is thus baked into cakes or mixed with 'Chhang' beer and formed into dumplings. Parched barley flour or wheat flour boiled with butter and green herbs or vegetable or meat made into kind of soup is also eaten. 'Chhang', a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley is drunk generally. Tea added with salt and butter or 'sarson' oil is commonly taken. Potatoes originally introduced by the missionaries are a regular item of diet now".*

A description of the food preparations common in this village is given below:

CAKES

Lowad :—Buckwheat flour is diluted with water and fermented with butter-milk or sodium bicarbonate or *phaphle* (a fermenting material purchased from the *khampas*—Tibetan Nomads). Once flour is fermented, a portion of it is retained for use as yeast for subsequent preparations. The liquid is spread on an iron girdle and is baked into *lowad*. As the leaves of *Devidiar* are normally used as fuel, the girdle gets black with the smoke of the burning leaves. The *lowads* are baked on that side of the girdle which is blackened with smoke. When the accumulated smoke on the side is exhausted, the other side is turned. This is done to avoid burning of the *lowad* and sticking of liquid with the girdle. Though, in this way, the *lowads* get black yet the smoke does not impart any bad taste.

Tishkori:—Husk of buckwheat and grains of barley are powdered into flour which is kneaded and baked into *tishkori* a thick cake. It is taken with some vegetable, soup, sauce or salted tea.

Aktori:—Green leaves of buckwheat are boiled in hot water, and then mixed with buckwheat flour. Salt is added to this mixture which is kneaded and *aktori* cakes are baked on the iron girdle. These are taken with butter-milk.

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*Report on "Socio-Economic Survey of Lahaul with Special Reference to Indebtedness" issued by Economic and Statistical Advisor to Government Punjab in 1960, pages 22-23.

Mang Jang Kori:—Grains of buckwheat and barley are ground into flour which is kneaded into a dough. From this dough cakes called *mang jang kori* are shaped with hands and baked on an iron girdle. These are taken with salted tea, butter-milk or vegetable soup.

Aru Roti:—Potatoes are boiled, dried and ground into flour. Potato flour and barley flour are mixed to bake, on an iron girdle *Aru Roti* which is taken with tea.

Chhalli Roti:—These are baked loaves of maize flour and are taken with butter-milk, potato-vegetable or tea.

Soups

Gangthur:—Green leaves of buckwheat, cabbage, turnips, etc., are boiled in hot water and then fried in *ghee* or *sarson* oil, or the fat of goat or sheep. Condiments are then added. When the vegetable gets cold, a large quantity of butter-milk is mixed with it to make it a soup which is generally taken with *lowads*.

Aktshati or Aktupal:—It is the same thing as *gangthur* with the difference that butter-milk is not added to the cooked vegetable. It is taken with *lowad*. *Aktshati* contains more soup than *Aktupal*.

Kapi:—Rice is cooked along with some leafy vegetable, and fried in *ghee*, vegetable oil or fat. Salt, chillies and spices are added. It is taken without butter-milk.

Degdeg Tshati.—A small quantity of barley flour added to boiling water is stirred with a bundle of *siski*. Salt is added. Sometimes it is fried in vegetable oil or fat. The cooked preparation is taken with *lowad*.

Tur Tshati:—Small quantity of rice cooked in boiling water and salted but not spiced makes *tur tshati* which is taken with *lowads*.

Phempra:—Flour of *Saryara*, some rice and potatoes or peas are boiled in water to make a hotch-potch soup. Salt is added and the preparation is fried in oil or fat. It is taken by itself or with *lowad*.

Thugpa:—It is meat soup generally prepared in winter. Meat is cut into small pieces and boiled in water, which is diluted with butter-milk. Then *sattus* of barley are added to this soup. The preparation is fried in vegetable oil or fat. Salt, chillies and spices are added to improve the taste and lend flavour. This soup called *thugpa* is taken with *lowads*.

Aru Tshati:—Some quantity of rice is boiled in water. Pieces of potatoes and cheese are added. The hotch-potch soup is fried in vegetable oil or fat and condiments are added. It is taken with *lowads*.

Mixed Preparations

Doo:—*Saktoos* coarsely ground grains of barley are boiled in water and stirred with a bundle of sticks. Salt is added. The cooked preparation called *doo* is taken with sauce or *ghee*.

Boti-kulu:—Buckwheat flour is boiled in butter-milk and salted. It is taken with different soups, sauce or hotch-potch. *Boti-kulu* is mainly a substitute for *lowad*.

Tshempa kulu:—Buckwheat flour and *saktoos* of barley are boiled in water and stirred with a bundle of sticks. Salt is added. The preparation is made into solid balls which are

taken with butter-milk or dry potato vegetable or sauce.

Gangthur, kapi, boti-kulu, aktori and sauce are prepared only in summer, whereas *phempra* and *thugpa* (meat soup) are prepared only in winter.

Beverages

Salted Tea:—Stick-tea is boiled in water and then mixed thoroughly with butter and milk, in a vessel called *dongmo*. Salt is added. It is taken hot, once a day generally in the morning, but sometimes in the afternoon also. Ordinary tea is taken occasionally to entertain a guest.

Lugri or Tsagti or Chhang:—*tsagti* also known as *lugri* or *chhang* in other parts of Lahaul, is the favourite intoxicant. Barley grains are boiled and spread on a *thobi* or sack, to dry. These are then mixed with *phab* in the ratio of 2½ tolas to one seer. The boiled grains are kept in a sack for a day for fermenting, when they take the shape of a sour and soft substance. This substance is kept in an earthen vessel having a tight-lid. Whenever the intoxicant is needed, some of this substance is taken out of the vessel, diluted with water and strained in order to remove the dregs. The preparation is known as *tsagti*.

Teekesri.—The above-mentioned fermented material preserved in the earthen vessel for preparing *tsagti* is boiled in hot water. It is not stirred with a stick. After a shortwhile, the liquid is filtered through a coarse cloth. It is much more intoxicating than *tsagti* and is known as *teekesri*. Some liquid oozing out of the material placed in the vessel is also used as *teekesri* after suspended particles have settled at the bottom.

Arak or Sara:—From this very substance is prepared a wine known as *sara* (also called *arak* in some parts of Lahaul) by the indigenous process of distillation. This wine is frequently used on ceremonial occasions.

Potatoes, cabbage, peas, buckwheat leaves and different varieties of turnips are grown in the village and cooked as vegetables. Potatoes were originally introduced by Missionaries. Pulses are taken but rarely. Buttermilk is consumed in large quantities. It is taken daily with almost every meal. Butter is used in salted tea. Vegetable oils and fats are the cooking medium. Five or six sheep are slaughtered by each house, at the beginning of the winter season. The meat dries and keeps good in the bitter cold. Meat soup, called *thugpa* is prepared every morning in winter. Eight to ten households possess hens and cocks but only three of them consume eggs themselves, the others mostly sell them. Sugar and *gur* are used in limited quantities. Sugar is used only while preparing regular tea to entertain a guest. No sweet dish is prepared by any household. A sauce is prepared from *tsong* a plant having leaves resembling those of onion but without root), *labuk*, (a variety of radish), *tsha* (salt), *pipli* (chillies), *been* (corriander seeds) and *boti* (butter-milk). The sauce is consumed mostly in summer. Pickles are not used. Asafoetida, garlic, corriander seeds and *zeera* (cumin) are frequently added to cooked vegetables.

According to the District Gazetteer "The daily meals are usually three in number. Early morning pancakes made from buckwheat flour are eaten, and at midday porridge of barley flour mixed with dried buckwheat leaves.

The evening meal consists of buck-wheat cakes eaten with meat or soup when procurable or with curds."*

Now four meals are taken in summer and three in winter. Details are given below:

Season	Meal	Time	Menu	Place where meal is taken
Summer	First ..	7.30 a.m.	Salted tea, different kinds of cakes and vegetable soup	At home
	Second ..	11.30 a.m.	'Doo'	Fields
	Third ..	2 p.m.	'Doo' and Butter-milk	Do
	Fourth ..	9 p.m.	Same as 1st and 2nd meals	At home
Winter	First ..	10 a.m.	Salted tea, meat soup and *lowad*	At home
	Second ..	3 p.m.	Salted ea, potatoes and *lowad* vegetable	Ditto
	Third ..	10 p.m.	Vegeta ble soup and *lowad*	Ditto

Cooking is done in a room called the *chakhtab* which is the most important part of the house. It contains a square iron furnace in the centre with a chimney fitted over it to provide an outlet for smoke. A blowpipe of leather is attached to the furnace to air the fire. The furnace contains three round holes, over which food is cooked. In the cold weather all the members of the family sit around the furnace to keep themselves warm and do most of their spinning, knitting and making *poolahs*. The housewife cooks and serves food to members of the family while the young daughters assist at cooking, adding fuel in the furnace and cleaning the dirty utensils. The fuel consists of dry cowdung cakes called *basrang* and different kinds of wood known as *sing* (wood sticks), *kutulja* (small pieces of wood), *shukilja* (thin branches), *rara* (thick branches) and *kerelza* (dry bushes and shrubs). Bushes and shrubs are cut and collected in October and November whereas willow trees are pruned from December to April for providing fuel.

Beliefs and Practices connected with Birth, Marriage and Death

The birth, marriage and death customs and beliefs and practices connected with them are almost the same among Bodhs, Lohars and Shippis though they profess different religions. These are described below:

Birth customs among Lohars and Shippis

Among Lohar and Shippi women pregnancy is recognised when the menstrual discharge from the womb stops. The pregnant woman gets fatigued after a little exertion. Pregnancy is confirmed about two months later when she gets nausea and develops a craving for sour edibles, meat and chillies. No pre-natal practice or ceremony is performed. There is no professional *Dai* in the village. Old and experienced women

*Gazetteer of the Kangra District, 1917, page 208.

of the household and of the community help at the time of accouchement. When the child is about to be born the expectant mother assumes the posture of a sitting animal resting her body on her arms and legs. The attendant woman places the navel string on a piece of wood or stone, cuts it with a sharp knife and ties a woollen string around it. The clothes and the bedding which get spoiled with blood and placenta are washed at a spring not used for drinking water. The knife is buried near the spring. The woman who washes the clothes and the bedding gets one *sutna* or *kurti* and is served barley cakes with butter. The placenta is buried outside the house. The umbilical cord which gets separated from the navel of the infant after three or four days is tied in a piece of cloth to form an amulet which is attached to his shirt at the back. When this shirt wears out it is cast in water along with the amulet.

At the time of delivery some coins are tied in a corner of a square piece of white cloth and dedicated to *Dorje-Phagsmoa*. After delivery the cloth containing coins is hung on the branch of a high tree. It is regarded as ominous to remove these coins.

When the infant is two or three days old women of the community coming to greet it deliver 10 to 15 *marchu* cakes to his parents and are in return served good meals. Forehead of the baby is blackened with smoke as an insurance against the evil-eye.

Immediately before and after delivery the expectant mother lives mostly on boiled butter mixed with a small quantity of *saktoos*. For about a fortnight following child birth she takes barley-porridge and soup of meat. She is given very little salt as it is believed to cause excessive bleeding and swelling of the belly. She resumes light work after about 15 days of confinement.

The baby sucks his mother's milk for about a year and a half. But when he grows about five months old he is given the nutritive diet of cow or goat milk and *rukhu*. He is also given a dilution of *saktoo* in bone-soup when he has attained the age of eight months. It is only after he is about two years old that he is given regular diet. The child is mostly carried about in the lap of his mother or put in bed. In the case of birth of the first male child a lamb or a goat or a sheep is slaughtered in the name of *Dorje-Phagsmoa* a week after the delivery. Members of the village community and relatives from neighbouring places are treated to meat and *chhang*.

The ritual impurity lasts 21 days at the end of which the house as well as the clothes are cleaned. The mother and her baby are given new clothes to wear and treated to incense of *devidiar*. The ritual impurity being over the mother enters the kitchen.

Kramogtsi, the tonsure ceremony, is performed at any time between the age of one and three years. On this occasion the child wears new clothes and is seated on a cushion placed on a stool. His maternal uncle puts some coins before him and shaves his head. The hair are buried under a stone on a high hill. *Chhang* is distributed to all present. The new born is given a Hindu name within the first six months of his life at the discretion of his parents.

Lohars and Shippis do not use any contraceptives. Abortion is condemned as immoral. Barrenness among

women, continuous procreation of girls and still births are beleived to result from the curse of some *devta*. Blessings of *Naag Devta* of village Marbal, *Gephan Devta*, Shiva of Manimahesh and *Hiramba*, the goddess of Jalahma are invoked to avert these evils. In case the wish is fulfilled a goat is sacrificed at the altar of the god or the goddess. The person going to make the sacrifice returns with a few twigs of *devidiar* which are burnt to give incense to the child.

Birth customs among Bodhs

Beliefs about pregnancy and practices regarding delivery among Bodhs are similar to those among Lohars and Shippis. For three days following child birth male members of the household do not take meals cooked at home. Their food is cooked by neighbours. On the third day, a Lama is invited from Tubcheling *Gompa*, one mile away from Tandi, who recites *sangspe* for effecting *sangs*, i.e., purification, and performs *chhod-a*. He also gives a *Bhoti* name to the new born without consulting his horoscope though some Bodhs do get horoscope prepared by Lamas. *Bangtip*, ceremonial pollution, lasts 14 days for the mother when nobody accepts edibles from her.

After two or three days following the birth of the baby his maternal uncle brings clothes for him and his mother. Women of the village community bring *chhang* and *saktoo* cakes and get butter and raw-sugar in return. The women take the baby in their lap and greet him saying *katu-sringmi-juns* (blessings to the new born).

Kramogtsi, the tonsure ceremony, is performed when the child is two to three years old. Relatives and friends invited to the function are served meals and *chhang*. The hair are cut the following day before noon. The child is seated on a cushion before which grains of barley are placed. His maternal uncle gives him some money and shaves his head. The invitees give him money and blessings. The relations leave on the third day after meals.

For prevention of still births, infant mortality and barrenness among women, Bodhs of *Shashni* subcaste invoke the blessing of *Kutashani* goddess while others pray to *Gephan Devta*, *Naag Devta* of Marbal and *Dorje-Phagsmoa*.

Marriage Customs

In Lahaul, girls are married at any age between seventeen and thirty-five years and boys are married at any age between fourteen and twenty-six years. Very often the bride is older than the bride-groom. In Tandi it is permissible for a boy to marry the daughter of his maternal uncle. He is also permitted to marry the daughter of his father's sister. Marriages are solemnised within the same caste group but not within the same *gotra*. Only one Bodh household has no objection to contracting marriage with a Rajput girl. The Shippi household has no objection to marrying a Hindu, a Sikh or a Chamar. But no marriage in the village has been solemnised in contravention of the marriage rules of the community.

The incidence of polyandry is fairly large and it suits the socio-economic structure and needs of the community. It is more prevalent in Pattan valley than in Rangloi and Gara. Even the educated persons are not averse to belonging to polyandrous families. But it is only the eldest brother who is ceremonially married to a woman. There is an implied

understanding between all the brothers and the wife. The father, known as *Aava,* is only one but there are five other names given in the descending order to his brothers sharing with him a common wife. These names are: *Baaba, Baara, Phetse, Aatsha and Aau.* The *Aava* also acts as the *Gyaat*, i.e., the treasurer of the family. In a polyandrous family every person is designated in turn as the father of a child. Thus, if a woman having three husbands gives birth to four children, the first born will be assigned to *Aava*, the second to *Baaba*, the third to *Baara* and the fourth will again be allotted to *Aava*, and so on.

Three types of marriages are prevalent among all castes in Lahaul—(i) arranged marriage; (ii) marriage to which either or both parties are divorced; and (iii) marriage by abduction.

Marriage customs among Bodhs

Mothe Biah is the name given to an arranged marriage. When an eligible bachelor takes fancy for some girl in a nearby village his father deputes a relative, who is usually a maternal or paternal uncle, to contact the girl's father and enquire if the latter be willing to establish a matrimonial alliance with the family. The messenger takes with him a bottle of *sara* and some marigold flowers. If the response is favourable, the boy's relative puts some butter on the top of bottle of *sara* to signify the acceptance of his proposal. The girl's father brings on a platter *maarpind* consisting of *saktoo*, ghee, and brown sugar, with some butter applied on its top. The boy's relative performs *shaguna* by sprinkling some *sara* in the air with the help of a twig of *devidiar* while the girl's father or grandfather throws up around him some quantity of *maarpind*. All other persons present at the *shaguna* ceremony take *devidiar* leaves in their hand and touch their foreheads with closed fists to invoke the blessings of the gods and goddesses. Everybody throws *devidiar* leaves in the fire. The girl's relatives also throw some portion of the *maarpind* in the fire. The boy's relative performing *shaguna* applies a mark of butter on the head of everybody present. *Sara* sent by the boy's father is taken by his counterpart on the girl's side and other members of his family. The girl's father offers *tsagti* and *maarpind* to all present on the occasion. This practice of asking for the bride is known as *pachhwa.*

Betrothal known as *tawatsi* is the next ceremony to be performed. On an auspicious day, generally Monday, Friday or Wednesday, a near relative or an elderly person from the bride-groom's village goes to the bride's parents carrying *maarpind* and an earthen pot full of *tsagti.* The bride's father invites one person from every Bodh household of his village and the bride-groom's representative performs *shaguna.* Bride's parents offer *tsagti* or *teekesri* and meals to the invitees. After mutual consultations, date for the marriage and the number of the marriage party are settled. Bride's father directs if the bride-groom is to attend the marriage ceremony personally. No priest officiates at *tawatsi.*

A few days prior to the marriage day, one or two elderly persons called *nyerpa* are nominated by the bride-groom's household to preside at the marriage. He is invited at home and served good meals and *tsagti.* The *nyerpa* selects the marriage party in

consultation with the bridegroom's father and also appoints a *Bagthidpa* who is regarded as the brother of *dharma* of the bride. Only a person having both his parents alive is qualified to become a *bagthidpa*. He is given a gaudy dress and ornaments including *kyauti*, *tuk-kanti* and *nangs*. The dress and ornaments are taken back after the marriage. The *bagthidpa* always remains beside the bridegroom. The bridegroom wears *pagri* decorated with flowers of marigold and ornaments as worn by *bagthidpa*. Relatives attending the marriage are served *tsagti* after performing *shaguna*. The women serving *tsagti* offer marigold flowers to the relatives and pay *dhaal*. Only 15 to 30 persons out of the assembled relatives join the *baraat*, the rest of them stay back.

The marriage party leaves for the bride's village in the morning. The *shirudara*, who is usually the maternal or paternal uncle of the bridegroom, walks in front with a chopper or sword on his shoulders. He is followed respectively by Shippi and Lohar musicians, *bagthidpa* carrying an arrow, the bridegroom, and other persons including the *nyerpa*. A Shippi accompanying the party carries a de-skined he-sheep. When the marriage party reaches the bride's house a *goor* standing on the top of the house cuts the abdomen of a living he-goat and removes its heart, which is scattered in the air in the name of non-vegetarian gods and goddesses and evil spirits. The members of the marriage party pick up portions of flesh and eat it in the raw. Performance of this ceremony is supposed to ward off the evil influence of malevolent gods who join the party on its way to the bride's house. But this custom is now dying out. Instead, a Lama holding *dorje* in the right hand and *dilbu* in the left receives the marriage party by chanting *mantras* in Bhoti while a *goor* moves over the heads of members of the party a platter containing three doughs of barley flour with butter applied on them, seeds of *sarson* and smouldering leaves of *devidiar*. The contents of the platter are then thrown away. When this ceremony is over the bride's relatives cut indecent jokes with their guests whom they ask to go back as they are very low people unworthy of their daughter. The bridegroom's relatives return the jokes. This continues for about 15 minutes after which the guests pay about ten rupees to the hosts and get admission to their house. Each member of the marriage party is given a few marigold flowers which he hangs in his cap and a small quantity of *maarpind* which he eats. They take their seats in the prescribed order—*shirudara*, *bagthidpa* and *bagpho*, i.e., the bridegroom, occupy the first three seats while others squat around. Persons taking *tsagti* or salted tea are seated in a separate room. The *shaguna* is performed by throwing a small quantity of *tsagti* and *maarpind* in the air and applying a mark of butter on everybody's forehead. *Tsagti* and salted tea are then served to the guests. Dancing and singing precede lunch which consists of rice, meat, and some vegetables. Merry-makings continue for an hour or so after lunch. In the mean time the bride is dressed up by the attendant women in a separate room. Then the *bagthidpa* along with two or three other persons goes inside and ties the arrow with the cloth-belt worn by the bride or with one end of a piece of white silken cloth stitched to her dress at the

shoulder. At this moment, a special song is sung either by the *bagthidpa* or another person accompanying him. They are served *tsagti*. The bride starts weeping. The *bagthidpa* and other persons lead the bride to the place of the ceremony. She occupies the fourth seat next to the *bagpho*. Her *saheli*, who is either an elderly woman or her sister, sits next to her. A *nyerpa* from either side sits face to face with the *shirudara*, the *bagthidpa*, *bridegroom*, bride and the *saheli*. A heap of *saktoo* is placed on a platter and butter is applied on its top. Five iron bars supporting on their tops five crows shaped out of flour are fixed in a heap of kneaded flour lying on a platter. The elderly persons read out five marriage songs called *phorog*. The flour-crows are demolished one by one after reciting a song. After this the heap of *saktoo* is divided into many parts and butter is applied on each part. The *bagthidpa* picks up *saktoo* and extends his crossed hands to the bride and the groom either of whom takes it from the hand in front of him or her. The remaining stuff is distributed among the marriage party. Marks of butter are applied on the heads of the bride, the groom and the other members of the marriage party. The bride's father gives clothes, cash, utensils, agricultural implements, and sheep in dowry. Bride's parents leave the site of the marriage ceremony and go to *srelsa*, their living room. The *bagthidpa* and three or four other persons from the marriage party then lead the bride to her parents. She walks with her face backwards. While coming out of the room she besmears her hands with diluted *saktoo* flour placed near the entrance and imprints impression of her hands on either side of the door of the room. This she does to leave behind in her parental house the memories of her childhood and the days spent there. When she reaches her parents she bows at their feet. They bless and sermonize her. The bride cries and makes an impression of her hands on the hearth. Her parents and relatives offer her some money. She walks with the *bagthidpa* out of the house with her face turned upon it. Before the marriage party starts on return journey one of the bride's relatives performs the *shaguna* known as *temrel* by sprinkling *tsagti* or milk over their heads with a twig of *devidiar* and offers *saktoo* and marigold flowers to each one of them. Some distance away from the house women of the village again perform *shaguna* and catch hold of the bride. They are paid 2½ rupees by the *nyerpa*. The marriage party then proceeds on its return journey to the bridegroom's house where it reaches the same evening. Any relation of the bridegroom living in a village on the way to his home also performs *shaguna*. When the marriage party is about a furlong from the bridegroom's house the relatives and villagers come to greet them with a pot full of *tsagti* and a lighted torch made of twigs of *devidiar*. This reception ceremony is known as *lamchhang*. When the marriage party arrives at the entrance of the bridegroom's house some persons accompanied by *goors* go to the top of the house with a light and a living he-goat or he-sheep. The *goors* shout: "Ghosts and evil spirits of the way are accompanying the marriage party. Offer the sacrifice of a he-sheep to scare them away." The persons standing on the roof cut the abdomen of the he-sheep and remove its heart. The *goor* throws it in the air in the name of ghosts and evil spirits. The he-sheep is then thrown down over the

heads of the marriage party, its flesh is picked up and eaten either in the raw or as cooked meat. This ceremony is known as *tarha-tshangdzi*. However, this custom is no longer very common. Now-a-days Lamas perform the *chhasum* ceremony to receive back the marriage party, this ceremony being exactly similar to that performed by Lamas at the house of the bride to welcome the *baraat*. In case the bridegroom does not attend the marriage in person the *goor* writes something on a cake of wheat with a mixture of coal and red powder of stone. He-goats shaped out of flour, flour-lamp, marigold flowers, meat and butter placed on the cake are moved sideways over the head of the bride and bridegroom and members of the marriage party and are scattered away in pieces. Butter and *saktoo* are sent to *Gurughantal*. Bride's relatives accompanying her are accommodated in a separate room and are offered *tsagti* with *shaguna*.

Later, all the relatives of the bridegroom and the persons of his community assemble in a room where the *shirudara*, the *bagthidpa*, the *bagpho*, the *bagmo*, i.e., the bride and the *saheli* sit in the prescribed order while the elderly persons recite the *phorog* and demolish the flour-crows placed there thus completing the marriage ceremony.

The next morning a relative of the bridegroom carries *tsagti* to bride's parents and invites them to his house. The bride's parents on arrival at the bridegroom's house are entertained to lunch and *tsagti*. A woman offers marigold flowers to every relative from either side and pays *dhaal*. They offer money which is taken by the bride. On the third day, bride's parents and relations return to their homes after offering some money to her. A few days later the bridegroom, his parents and the bride are invited by her parents when the total collection of dowry is estimated and handed over to the bride's father or maternal uncle for safe custody and suitable investment which may bring some income to the bride. Dowry is regarded as bride's personal property. With this ritual the marriage ceremonies conclude.

Marriage customs among Lohars and Shippis

The *pachhwa* and the *tawatsi* ceremonies observed by Lohars and Shippis are exactly the same as performed by Bodhs. On the occasion of marriage the bridegroom's parents invite all the relatives and one person from every household of the caste in *kothi* Tandi and *kothi* Warpa. The marriage party consists of about 15 persons only. Lohars and Shippis appoint their *shirudara* but they do not have any *bagthidpa*. Moreover, a few women, who carry *tsagti* on their backs, also accompany the marriage party. The marriage party is received at the house of the bride by a *goor* who moves *dorchhe* containing chillies, salt and seeds of *sarson* put in fire over their heads to de-possess them of the evil spirits. The *shirudara* marries the groom to the bride by giving in the hand of the former the piece of red cloth wrapped round the waist of the latter. The bridegroom puts on the head of the bride a cap known as *montsi*. A Lohar or a Shippi bride takes leave of her parents exactly in the same manner as a Bodh bride. On the morning following the marriage day parents of the bridegroom perform the *bag-gos* ceremony and offer ornaments to the bride. Two of the bridegroom's relations carry *tsagti* to the bride's parents and perform the *chheti* ceremony

by presenting 200 or 300 rupees or a piece of land to be maintained in the name of the bride. Three or four days after the marriage the bridegroom, the bride and two or three other persons carry about 50 *marchu* cakes and *tsagti* to the bride's parents, and they return after one or two days. With the performance of this ceremony which is known as *pheroni* the cycle of marriage rituals among Lohars and Shippis comes to an end.

When a divorced man has to marry a virgin or a divorced woman the same ceremonies and rituals as are observed in the case of *mothe biah* are performed with the difference that the bridegroom himself does not attend the marriage. Instead, his sister goes with some relatives and fetches the bride.

Marriage by Abduction

The boy secures the consent of the girl by sending her five rupees through some friend. The acceptance of money by the girl indicates her willingness for marriage. The boy with a small party reaches the girl's village at a fixed place where the girl would reach under some pretext. Someone from the party forcibly carries the girl on the back and they walk back hastily to their own village. For some distance the girl cries and pretends to get out of their hold, after that she willingly walks with the party to the boy's house. The girl weeps, first, to let the people know that she has been abducted and has not gone elsewhere and secondly, to show that she has not gone of her own accord and thirdly, to show her modesty. After reaching home, the relatives and villagers are invited and served with *tsagti* (Lugri) salted tea and meals. Next morning, some relative or friend of the boy approaches the girl's parents with a bottle of *sara*. He conveys the news of abduction of the girl with her own consent and tenders apology on behalf of the boy. He also conveys the offer to pledge some money and property in the name of their daughter. He requests her parents for their approval, which is usually granted. The bottle of *sara* is drunk by both the parties. The parents of the girl accompany him to the boy's house and ask the girl whether she wants to live with him as a wife. If the girl agrees, the parents also offer their approval and take *tsagti*. Then the boy and girl along with their relatives are invited by the girl's father at his house. The dowry is collected, bridegroom also contributes to it. Due to the apathy of the parents towards the marriage of girls who on account of their active help in cultivation are a source of income to the family, abduction is quite common. Moreover, marriage by abduction saves marriage expenses.

It was reported that roughly speaking, on a good marriage, the bridegroom's parents spend eight hundred rupees while the expenditure incurred by the parents of the bride is one thousand rupees; an average marriage costs half that much for either party.

Death Customs among Lohars and Shippis

When a person dies, a piece of white cloth 2½ yards long is spread over his dead body and a lamp burning *ghee* is placed near the head. The kith and kin are collected. The Bhatt Brahman is called from Kirting. He blows the conch-shell thrice and sprinkles water around the corpse. The corpse is given a bath and sewn in

the white cloth made into a shroud. The place in front of the entrance gate of the house is purified with a plaster of liquid of cowdung, cow-urine and water where the *doli*, i.e., the bier is placed. The Bhatt Brahman draws a line in wheat flour from the spot at which the person expired to the *doli* placed outside the house and the corpse is gently dragged over this line, which gets rubbed out, and is placed on the *doli*. Five or six sheets of coloured cloth are spread over the corpse. The Bhatt Brahman makes three rounds of the *doli* in the clock-wise direction and blows his conch-shell thrice. A cow and a lamb are then brought there. The lamb goes round the *doli* thrice. The Brahman ties one end of the *tshud* to the tail of the cow and the other to his own little finger of the left hand to the accompaniment of recitations in praise of cow and gods and goddesses residing in different parts of its body. He supplicates the cow to assist the dead person in crossing the ocean of the world and entering the gates of heaven. In the mean time the kith and kin go round the *doli* and weep. Homage is paid by touching the feet of the corpse and offering coins, which are collected by the Bhatt Brahman. Then, the Bhatt Brahman, along with the cow makes three rounds of the *doli* to the recitation of *mantras* and snaps the *tshud* by pulling away his hand.

The mourning procession then proceeds to the cremation ground. The Bhatt Brahman blows the conch-shell, one of the mourners carries a big smouldering dung cake and another carries *ghee* in a brass plate. Some Lohar and Shippi musicians leading the procession play on *nagara* and flutes. The *doli* is rested three to four times on the way to the cremation ground and every time. the chief mourner places coins on it. The musicians go round the *doli* and pick up the coins.

The Bhatt Brahman places three pieces of stone at the spot where the pyre is to be made and puts *ghee* and *sarson* grains on them. Logs of fuel wood are arranged. The sheets of coloured cloth are removed from the *doli* and a portion of the shroud is torn out. The *doli* is placed on the pyre and more fuel wood is deposited on it. The torn piece of the shroud is tied to a piece of wood and kept near the head of the corpse. The Bhatt Brahman makes three rounds of the pyre and gets some money. The musicians also do likewise and get money. The Bhatt Brahman and the chief mourner approach the pyre bare-footed and uncover the face and feet of the corpse. Then the Bhatt Brahman lights fire at the feet and the chief mourner at the head of the corpse. The Brahman, the musicians and the chief mourner together make three rounds of the corpse and the first two are given money in charity for the benefit of the soul of the deceased. The Bhatt Brahman then throws *sarson* seed and ghee at the burning pyre and recites *mantras*. When the corpse is fully consumed by flames, a bone is taken out and wrapped in a piece of cloth. The chief mourner places it in a plate of brass which is carried on his head to the confluence of the rivers Chandra and Bhaga. He is accompanied by the Brahman with his conch-shell who immerses the bone in the water with great respect. After this they return to the pyre. The persons who touch the corpse or the *doli* bathe at the confluence if it

is summer and take a hot bath at home if it is winter. They wash their clothes also. Other mourners attending the funeral procession merely sprinkle water over the body.

Before returning home every mourner picks up a small piece of wood, holds it behind his back which is turned upon the pyre and breaks it. The floors and the hearth of the house are washed with cowdung and cow-urine. The lamb is taken to the roof and slaughtered in the name of *devtas* and its blood is sprinkled in the house to effect purification. The Bhatt Brahman collects some money and leaves without taking meals. Other persons are served cooked food in the house.

Next morning, the musicians and some relatives of the deceased go to the cremation ground. The musicians play *prabhat-pheri* while the ashes and bones of the deceased are collected and immersed at the confluence. The musicians are given some money.

After one to five months of death, *sama* ceremony is performed. About 60 persons including villagers and relations assemble on this occasion. They are feasted on *chhang* and meals. In the afternoon the members of the household and their relations start crying and go to an open place away from the house followed by other persons. A platform of stones is made there and a piece of flat stone is placed on it in the up-right position. *Ghee* is put on the piece of flat stone so as to make it assume the shape of a human-being. Some cooked edibles and marigold flowers are placed on it and a cowdung cake is set smouldering. The musicians and others present make five rounds of the platform. Outsiders offer marigold flowers to the relations of the deceased and ask them to dance to dissolve his memory. Feasting begins at home which is combined with dancing and singing at night. The relations leave the next morning after taking meals.

The ceremonial pollution lasts only a few hours from the time of death to the cremation of the body. No member of the household takes meals during this interval. Lohars and shippis cremate their dead except children aged less than six months who are buried. They do not cremate their dead after 4 O'clock in the afternoon. Persons dying in the evening are cremated the next morning.

Death Customs among Bodhs

Bodhs wrap the bodies of their dead in a shroud made of a white piece of cloth 2½ yards long. A lamp burning *ghee* or *sarson* oil is lighted near the head of the corpse. Relations are informed about the death. Three to five Lamas are called from Tupcheling *Gompa* one mile away from Tandi. The corpse is not displaced until the Lamas arrive and recite *phowa*, a *mantra* about the transmigration of the soul. The Lama directs the members of the household to give bath to the corpse. After the bath the corpse is wrapped in the same piece of cloth. The sides of the shroud are sewn and two additional white sheets are spread over the corpse which is then placed in a corner of a room hidden behind a curtain. The lamp is also shifted there.

Lamas recite *mantras* for the peace of the departed soul. The relatives coming from outside are seated in a separate room. If death occurs

after 2 O'clock in the afternoon the dead body is kept at home and cremated the next morning to enable all the relatives to reach. Bodhs can take meal in the house even if the corpse is kept for the night whereas Shippis and Lohars cannot do so.

After Lamas have performed *chhodpa* the corpse is placed on a *doli* outside the entrance gate of the house. Three or four sheets of coloured cloth are put on the bier. All the relatives bow at the feet of the deceased and pay their homage. Lamas perform *vang-khug*, a prayer to invoke the blessings of the deceased for the surviving members of the family and relatives.

The funeral procession then proceeds to the cremation ground which is separate from that of Shippis and Lohars. The Lohar and Shippi musicians, playing on *nagara, dholak, pawan and flute*, lead the procession. Two of the mourners blow conch-shells. A Lohar or a Shippi carries fire in a utensil and leaves of *bhoj-patra*. On the way to the cremation ground the *doli* is rested at three or four places where coins offered at it are collected by the accompanying musicians. Lamas accompanying the procession continuously chant *mantras* and count the names of Budhist gods/goddesses. In the cremation ground Lamas make *dorje*, a shape of *bajra*, on the level ground with the help of a stick. Fuel wood is arranged. Sheets of cloth are removed from the corpse and are not given in charity but are retained in the house. The musicians play on their instruments. The *doli* is laid on the pyre. Lamas consult a scripture named *Memchhot* and prescribe the direction in which the face of the corpse may be kept. (Lohars and Shippis keep the face of their dead in the direction of Trilokinath). A portion of the shroud is torn off and divided into four parts. Each part is hung on all the four sides of the pyre. Lamas light a *bhoj-patra* and hand it over to the chief mourner so that he can light the pyre near the head of the corpse. Other mourners also light the pyre at different points. Musicians play on their instruments and move around the pyre in clockwise direction. Lamas then perform *byinsregs* with *dze* which is thrown on the burning pyre to the accompaniment of *mantras*. Before leaving the cremation ground everyone breaks a stick with his back turned upon the pyre. Lamas return to the house of the deceased. The mourners, specially those who have touched the corpse, take bath at the confluence if it is summer and at home if it is winter. The mourners disperse at the house of the bereaved family.

Lamas continue to perform *chhodpa* at the house for two to five days. The following morning accompanied by a Lama and musicians two or three persons of the bereaved family go to the cremation ground. The musicians play on *namlang*. The Lama picks up pieces of burnt up bones of the deceased and performs *mochhod* to the accompaniment of the music of *damroo*. The bones are then immersed one by one at the confluence of rivers Chandra and Bhaga. On the conclusion of *chhodpa* the Lamas are given utensils, clothes and some money in charity, a part of which is sent to the *gompa* the rest being divided by Lamas among themselves.

A month or two after the death *nagar sama* ceremony is performed.

All the relatives and the village people are served food of *chhang*. Every household in the village is given *marchu* cakes at the rate of three *marchus* per member. Persons attending *sama* ceremony offer marigold flowers to the relatives of the deceased person. The well-to-do Bodhs perform *sama* instead of *nagar-sama* to which persons belonging to the entire *kothi* are invited and served food and *chhang*. It costs 100 to 150 rupees to perform *nagar-sama* and 600 to 800 rupees to arrange a *sama*.

Bodhs invite four or five Lamas to perform *chhodpa*, a year after the death of a person. One member of the household visits Trilokinath where he offers money and lights a lamp. It has been reported that of late some Bodhs have started going to Haridwar to immerse the ashes of their dead in the waters of the holy Ganges.

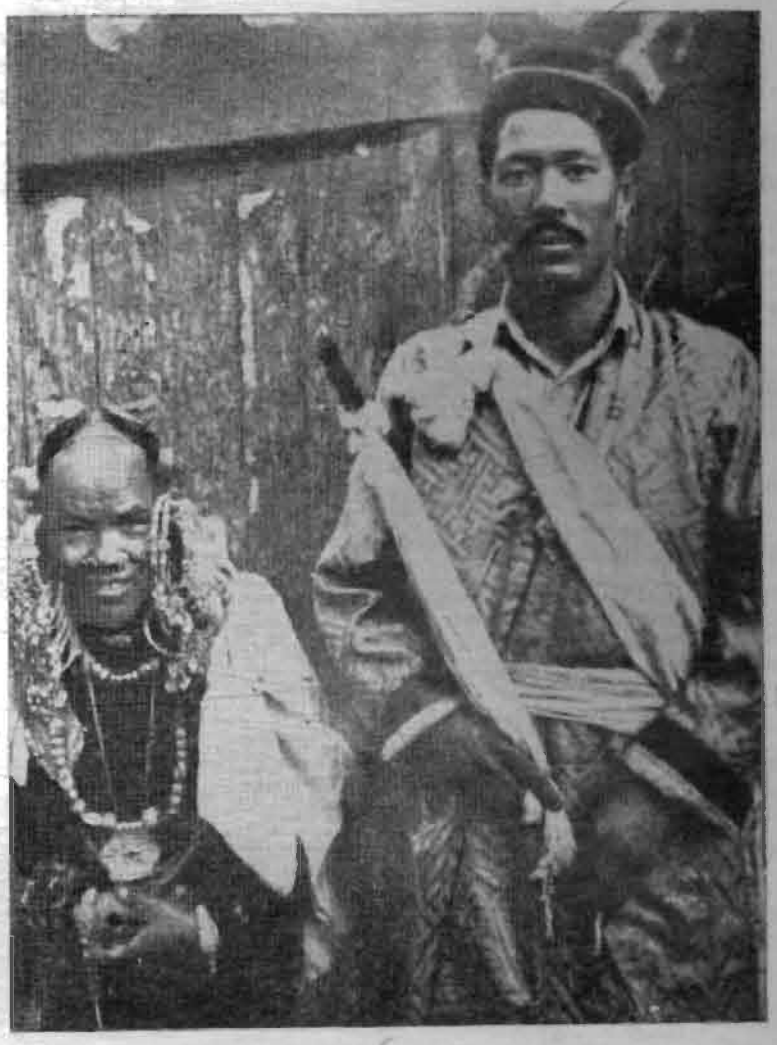
In some cases, particularly when a greatly respected person dies, a *chorten*, a conical structure, is erected in the family fields in the memory of the deceased. While setting out on important jobs people pay obeisance to the dead by going round the *chorten* in the clockwise direction and placing a stone on it.



Children at the water-tap.

A woman and her child
by a *Chorten*.





The *Bagthidpa* carrying the ceremonial arrow to the house of the bride and the bridegroom's sister carrying *Chhang*.



Clearing the snow from the roof of a house.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Economic Resources

The land area of Tandi is 92.4 acres out of which some 50 to 60 acres are cultivated. At the high altitudes there are no forests and hardly any trees. Therefore, the resources of wood and fuel are very meagre. The forests nearest to Tandi are at Moor-ing and Sitingari 4 and 8 miles away respectively. For construction, wood is obtained from there. There are about ten thousand pollard willow trees and two hundred *Falash* trees growing beside the bridle paths around the village habitation. The pollard willows meet the fuel and fod-der requirements. They are pruned once a year during March and April and leaves are fed to the livestock when the stocks of grass run out. Twigs are burnt but the timber of pollard willow is not suitable for con-struction. Therefore, people have grown some two hundred trees of *falash* which is supposed to provide good building material. Some land area of the village is under pastures, but as there has been no exact measurement of land, it is not pos-sible to indicate the details. There are eight plants of plum, twenty of apple and four of wild apricot, but these are not yet yielding any fruit.

The average annual rainfall in Lahaul including melted snow is only about 5 inches. A snow-fed torrent, known as *kuhl*, following a zig-zag course, provides the only channel of irrigation. Its water is stored in a pond from where it is diverted to different fields.

Livestock:—The livestock wealth of Tandi consists of 7 bullocks, 19 cows, 15 horses, 6 donkeys, 38 mules, 21 goats, 363 sheep and 16 *churis*. Besides, there are 49 cocks and hens in the village. There are also two pet-dogs (Table 12).

Factors Influencing Economic Life in the Village

Land reforms which have intro-duced changes of far reaching conse-quences in the agrarian structure of the State have had little impact on the agricultural economy of this area. In fact, a majority of the people is not even aware of most of the measures. The activities of the Development Block have been recently initiated and only two Bodh households claim to have benefited by minor land im-provement measures. The village economy has no industrial base. Only a few houses have been engaged in cottage industries and crafts and that too mostly as a subsidiary occupation. The articles of domestic manufacture are hardly sufficient to meet family requirements of the household. Dis-trict headquarters and the headquar-ters of the Block Agency being only four miles away, the village crafts are being given some support but these activities can hardly be said to spon-sor a process of industrialisation. The village being very much in the interior is about 45 miles away from the nearest town of Manali. The pulls and influences of urban values and ways of life acting so much far away are feebly felt here. It is true that now-a-days more persons visit towns in the

plains than ever before, but no household has migrated to any urban centre. There is, therefore, no trend of urbanisation in this village and, for that matter, in this area.

Improvement of Communications

There has been a considerable improvement in means of communication. The traditional trade route to western Tibet over the Rohtang Pass which was previously only a bridle path has now been made jeepable right from Manali to Keylong, the District headquarters. There is a private commercial jeep plying between Manali and Rahla on the one hand and between Khoksar and Keylong on the other, as already mentioned in the first chapter. Mechanised transport has considerably lessened the rigours of journey. A person leaving Tandi in the morning can reach Manali the same evening instead of having to spend two to three days on the way as had to be done previously. The improvement in transport facilities will make the Lahaulis rub shoulders with the residents of the plains more frequently and more vigorously than they used to do, in the past, but the jeep fare is still prohibitive. Tandi is also connected by a bridle path, which at the time of this survey was jeepable as far as Lote, with Thirot, the last point in Lahaul and Trilokinath, seat of famous Trilokinath Fair in the Chamba District. Tandi is also connected with Losar, the first village in Spiti after crossing the Kunzam from the Rohtang Pass end by a jeepable road. At present, only the P.W.D. jeep plies on this route but it is understood that shortly a commercial co-operative society will take a permit for this route also. Thus, very soon, there will be more contacts between the Lahaulis and Spitians than hitherto.

Marketing Facilities

The existing marketing facilities are very inadequate. The villagers import capital and consumer goods from Kulu and Manali. As mentioned elsewhere, it costs 12 rupees to transport on pony-back goods weighing one maund from Manali to Keylong. The alternative means of transport offered by the commercial jeep is in no way less costly. It costs five rupees to transport one maund of goods by jeep from Keylong to Khoksar. Things would be much better if there were a market in the village or at least at the District headquarters, from where all the articles of daily consumption could be purchased. There is no Marketing Society either, so that the enthusiasm to grow *kuth*, a commercial crop, is bedevilled by the difficulties of exporting it to Manali and the narrow margin between cost of production and selling price.

Sources of Finance

The money-lenders at Keylong, Co-operative Society and friends and relations are the agencies which can be approached for loans. But there is no rationale behind incurring and advancing loans. If finances were made available any time and on a rational basis, agricultural output and the output of *kuth* in particular can register a very big increase.

Occupations

The major occupation of the people is agriculture. All the 18 households are peasant proprietors. However, they add to their income by engaging in miscellaneous occupations. There are nine households engaged in agriculture, and four in blacksmithy. One is dependent on Government service. There is a household each combining

business with agriculture, teaching with agriculture, and agriculture with blacksmithy, respectively. The village school teacher also engages in agriculture in addition to imparting instruction (TABLE 13).

In Tandi there are 56 workers and 120 non-workers. Workers are all males whereas non-workers include females also. Three persons in the age group 15—34, five in the age group 35—59 and four in the age group 60 and above, are blacksmiths. There are two graziers, one of them is in the age group 15—34 and the other being below 14 years of age. Four persons in the age group 15—34, ten in the age group 35—59 and seven in the age group 60 and above, are engaged in agriculture. There is only one middle-aged contractor in the village. Nine persons in the age group 15—34 and three in the age group 35—59 are in Government service. One person in the middle-aged group runs a shop. There are four businessmen in the village all of whom belong to the age group 35—59. There are two tailors in the village, one of them is in the age group 15—34 and the other in the age group 35—59, and there is one labourer in the age group 35—59. Amongst the non-workers are fifty females engaged in household work. Three of them are in the age group 0—14, twenty-one in 15—34, seventeen in 35—59 and nine of them are on the wrong side of 60. There are fourteen male and twenty-one female infants. There is one disabled female aged more than 60 years. There are in all 32 students and children attending school; 19 boys and 13 girls. Out of these eight boys and eight girls are below 14 years of age while eleven boys and five girls have crossed the age of 15 years. There are two persons in the age group 15—34 seeking employment for the first time (TABLE 14).

Rigidity of occupation, as associated with certain castes as such, is missing in this village except that the functions of a blacksmith are performed only by Lohars. All the households continue to follow the traditional occupation except one whose head is now a school-teacher. However, there is a change in the nature of aspiration so far as occupation is concerned. Seven households of agriculturists and three of blacksmiths desire their children to enter Government service. Four households of agriculturists and one household each combining business with agriculture and service with agriculture are desirous of taking to business (TABLE 15).

As the details of occupation pattern in Tandi according to the 1951 Census are not separately available (since the information was published in a consolidated form for the entire *Kothi* including 11 other villages besides Tandi), it is not possible to study the trend of occupational mobility. Apparently there has been very little change hitherto. But with the intensification of developmental activities in this area and with the welfare department taking greater interest in different facets of village life, it can reasonably be surmised that the people will be progressively weaned away from their conventional callings and new sources of income will replace the traditional ones.

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is the main occupation of the villagers all of whom are owner-cultivators. None of the households has leased out any land for the size of individual holdings is quite small in relation to the number of family members. According to the

1961 Census, six households own land under one acre. One of these families comprises three members, two have 6 to 7 members, two others have 8 to 9 members and one of these households has more than 12 family members. Six households own more than 2 but less than 3 acres of land. Three of them have strength of 6 to 7, one of 8 to 9 and two of 10 to 11 members. One household having a strength of 10 to 11 members owns more than three but less than four acres of land. Two households possess more than four but less than five acres of land: the strength of one is 8 to 9 members and of the other more than 12 members. Three households having a strength of 8 to 9, 10 to 11 and more than 12 members respectively own more than five but less than 7½ acres of land. Small as these land holdings are, villagers cultivate them efficiently to be able to eke out their subsistence.

The pattern of land-use in the revenue estate (*Kothi* Tandi) would become clear from the following statement:—

Area devoted to different crops (in acres)

Year	Wheat	Barley	Buck-wheat (Kathu)	Kuth	Potatoes	Misc. crops. Peas and other vegetables	Net area sown	Total area sown
1950 ..	76	103	110	18	14	3	247	334
1951 ..	63	108	113	22	16	3	247	325
1952 ..	71	103	107	13	12	4	247	310
1953 ..	61	114	112	16	15	5	247	323
1954 ..	97	87	96	17	14	5	246	326
1955 ..	90	90	96	24	15	4	246	319
1956 ..	89	96	99	24	12	10	246	330
1957 ..	91	94	95	26	15	5	246	326
1958 ..	91	94	95	26	15	5	246	326
*1959								
1960	N.A.							
1961								
Average ..	81·0	99·9	102·6	20·6	14·2	4·9	246·4	324·3

*Data for years 1959 to 1961, not available.

Buckwheat (*Kathu*), barley and wheat constitute the main food crops of the *Kothi* Tandi. The averages of annual sown area under these crops are respectively 102.6 acres, 99.9 acres and 81.0 acres, for the years 1950 to 1958. It shows that about 85 per cent of the total sown area is exclusively devoted to food crops. *Kuth* is their major commercial crop with an average annual sown area of 20.6 acres (about 6 per cent of the total sown area) whereas potatoes and vegetables (mostly peas, cabbage and turnips) together cover on an average 19.1 acres of land (about 9 per cent of the total sown area).

The pattern of cropping in village Tandi itself can be seen from the following statement prepared from the revenue records:—

Year	Total cultivated area	Rabi			Kharif		
		Wheat	Barley	Peas	Buck-wheat	Potatoes	*'Kuth'*
	(Acres)	(Acres)	(Acres)	(Acres)	(Acres)	(Acres)	(Acres)
1951-52 ..	56	5	21	..	25	3	2
1952-53 ..	54	5	23	1	22	3	..
1958-59 ..	58	10	19	1	16	5	7
1959-60 ..	46	6	9	1	9	2	19
1960-61 ..	53	9	12	1	13	3	15

Calculating on the basis of figures, only for the last three years as available from the Village Patwari, we find that on an average for the last three years, the area under buck-wheat, potatoes, *Kuth*, wheat, barley and peas has been approximately 24 per cent, 6 per cent, 26 per cent, 15 per cent, 25 per cent and 2 per cent respectively of the total cultivated area. Thus buck-wheat, barley and *kuth* compete with one another so far as area under cultivation is concerned whereas year after year buck-wheat and barley maintain their relative positions, the percentage area occupied by *Kuth* may not be so consistent because *Kuth* is entirely a commercial crop and its acreage varies in proportion to the market price from year to year.

The farmers in the Pattan Valley manage to grow two crops during spring, summer and autumn, due to early melting of snow in March whereas only one crop is obtained in the other two valleys, viz., Chandra (Rangoli Valley) and Bhaga (Gara Valley). The Pattan Valley is clear of snow from March-April to September-October.

Barley, lentils and peas are sown in the first week of April and harvested in the middle of July. Buckwheat (*Kathu*) sown in the middle of July is collected from the fields in the end of September. Thus generally, two crops are sown during a season. But in those fields, which are under wheat and potatoes, only one crop is raised during the season. Wheat is sown in the middle of April and harvested in the first week of September whereas potatoes are sown in the first week of May and are dug out in the last week of September.

Kuth is a root crop and spreads under the surface of the land. It is the main commercial crop of Lahaul. In *Kothi* Tandi six per cent of the sown area is under *kuth*. *Kuth* is a three year crop and requires comparatively fertile land, which is properly drained, and has adequate irrigation facilities. The seed is sown either in the first half of October or in May.

The more appropriate season for sowing *kuth* is October. Plots selected for the purpose are manured at

the rate of some 15 to 20 *kiltas* (conical basket carried on the back) of farm-yard manure per bigha, a week before actual sowing. A *kilta* contains 30 to 40 seers of manure and a bigha is 1/5th of an acre so that the rate of manuring is from 60 to 100 maunds per acre. After spreading the manure evenly on land, one ploughing is given and the seed is sown in lines about 8 inches apart. The land is then planked and soon afterwards snow begins to fall and stays up to April next.

In some years snowfall starts earlier than the middle of October, and in that case the sowing of *kuth* is deferred to May next when it is sown broad-cast mixed with barley. In September barley is taken off and thereafter the young plants of *kuth* which are then three months old are properly spaced and manured.

From May to September, 5 to 6 waterings are given to *kuth* from the *kuhls* and the land is kept moist. At suitable intervals the weeds are taken out of the fields. Some farmers give another dose of manuring to the plants in the second year. In the third year the land is again intercultured in July. At this stage the plants flower which turn into seed balls and ripen in September. The seed balls are then cut and dried in the sun. It takes about a fortnight for the balls to dry completely. They are then beaten gently with sticks and the seeds are picked out. Some plants bear seed even in the second year.

The harvesting of *kuth* starts from the middle of September and lasts about three weeks. The leaves of the plants are first removed and collected separately for feeding the animals. Thereafter, the roots are dug out with the help of *gainti* (pickaxe) to a depth of one foot or even deeper. This is a time-consuming operation because some of the roots are about half a yard long and a little carelessness may result in the lower portion of the roots being lost in the ground.

The roots are then cleaned of the earth and chopped into bits and dried in the sun for about three weeks. When green, the roots are of dark brown colour but on drying they assume a yellowish brown tinge. The green roots are reduced to about a quarter of the original weight by the time they become perfectly dry.

In order to hasten the process of drying, some farmers place the roots on flat perforated pans and burn firewood underneath. This artificial drying, however, reduces the oil content of the roots if the fire is strong, and the stuff thus processed sells at a discount.

Generally speaking, the *kuth* plant stays on the land for three years, the crop sown in October, 1955 will be harvested in September, 1958. The crop which is sown in April is, however, harvested after 2½ years (e.g. April, 1956 to September, 1958). However, in areas where the land is of poor fertility, it is at times allowed to stay on for another year, should the roots have not acquired the proper size. When the *kuth* price be attractively high, some farmers in need of money would harvest the plants only two years old: in such cases the lower yield is compensated more or less by the high price.*

Kuth has many uses. It is an insect-repellent. It is used in the manufacture of perfumery, especially for

*'Kuth' cultivation in Lahaul Valley and its marketing' issued by the Economic and Statistical Organisation, Punjab, Page 6.

the hair. *Kuth* has also some medicinal uses as ascertained from some *vaids* during the course of inquiry, and these are mentioned below:—

(*i*) Application of green root is efficacious for ulcers both in the case of human beings and animals.

(*ii*) A few drops of *ghee* in which *kuth* has been previously fried, when dropped in the ear relieves it of pain and dries up any *pus*.

(*iii*) A poultice prepared from *kuth* is used for ripening the boils.

(*iv*) *Kuth* ground in oil is applied on rheumatism-affected joints.

(*v*) As a cure for snow bite, the face is exposed to the fumes of *kuth*.

(*vi*) When smoked with tobacco it is stated to relieve cough and colds*.

Kuth is mostly exported through the dealers at Manali and Amritsar to China, Europe and the United States.

All land under cultivation enjoys irrigation through *kuhls* (artificial drains) which obtain water from many little natural springs. Number of waterings and weedings given to different crops are indicated below:—

Name of crop	No. of waterings	No. of weedings
Wheat ..	3 to 4	2 to 3
Barley ..	3 to 4	2 to 3
Buckwheat (*Kathu*) ..	2	2
Kuth ..	9 to 12	6 to 8
Potatoes ..	1	2

Average rainfall is about 5 inches per annum. Should the snowfall in winter be deficient, there is less water in natural springs in summer and the lack of waterings to the fields results in drought and consequently crops suffer. People depend on rationed provisions and search out some work in the developmental activities which are being executed by the Government in this area. Such droughts were experienced during the years 1946-47 and 1959-60. Generally, almost all the households of the village are financially well off and such droughts are rare, if ever. They can patiently overcome such period by reducing a bit of their expenses and falling back upon their individual savings.

Manure usually applied is either farm-yard manure or night-soil. All cattle dung and urine is stored in one of the corners of the cattle-shed or in the adjacent room. Dry leaves, fodder waste and earth are used frequently to cover these heaps. Some three-fourth of the stock is utilised for manuring and the rest is utilised as fuel. Every house provides an improvised pit latrine, through which night-soil and urine continue to be deposited. It is daily covered with a layer of dry dung and earth to avoid bad smell. There is a universal practice of easing in the house and preserving excreta. The night-soil is cleared from the latrine after every six months. The fields are manured in April and October at the rate of some 10 to 15 maunds per acre. The use of chemical fertilizers such as ammonium sulphate and super phosphate is finding favour with the people. During the year 1960-61, 15

*'Kuth' cultivation in Lahaul Valley and its marketing issued by the Economic and Statistical Organisation, Punjab, Pages 7-8.

households of this village used about 15 maunds of chemical fertilizers. But the results are not yet known. Chemical fertilizers demand heavy irrigation and not much water is available.

Mutual Assistance and Employment of Casual Labour

As all the households are agriculturists, they render mutual assistance in various agricultural operations on reciprocal basis. Generally, women are employed as agricultural labourers as the remunerations demanded by them are less than those demanded by the males. Women are employed for dressing the fields, weeding and harvesting and potatoe-digging, and cutting of grass from hay-fields. They do not dig out *kuth*. Male workers are employed only for harvesting and ploughing. In addition to 3 meals, a male worker is paid Rs. 2 and a woman Rs. 1.25 only per day. Casual labour is engaged for short durations during the season on daily wages.

Menials

The Lohars, blacksmiths and chahans (Dagis), offer their services and receive certain customary payments in kind and other benefits. The Lohar makes and repairs agricultural implements. He receives 11 seers of buckwheat (*kathu*) and 11 seers of barley as remuneration from each family he serves for the year. Besides, he is given *lugri* and meals at least 12 times a year, on the occasion of festivals and social ceremonies. Peasants owning less than 2 acres of land pay only 6 seers of buckwheat and 6 seers of barley, though they serve *lugri* and meals as many times as bigger proprietors do. The Chahan plays on musical instruments on marriages and mournings, carries messages and offers other menial services when needed by the members of the superior castes. In return for his services, he is given *lugri* about 12 times a year, meals on festive occasions, and grains or flour weighing about 1 seer on each festival and ceremony. A he-goat, a trayful of boiled rice and one seer *lugri* are given to him on marriage in the household. Old clothes of the deceased are also made over to him.

Seeds

Seeds of barley, *kuth*, potatoes and buck-wheat are preserved at home out of the domestic produce. Wheat C-285 has been recently popularised by the Agricultural wing of the C.D. Block. People favour this seed as it can be preserved for long and gives better yield. Vegetable seeds at 50 per cent subsidized rates are available at the rate of one seer per household from the Block Agency. Both red and white varieties of potatoes are cultivated and regarded equally good.

Seed rates and output per acre are as under:—

Crop	Seed-rate	Output
	Mds.	Mds.
Wheat ..	1.5 to 2	7 to 8
Buckwheat ..	2 to 2.5	12 to 15
Barley ..	2 to 2.5	15
Potatoes ..	2	80 to 100
Kuth	0.25	50

Seeds are sown by the broad-cast method. *Kuth*, potatoes and wheat in some cases are sown in rows.

Crop Diseases

Cut worm (under surface) and Kuth-fly are the insects which damage

the crops. The crop diseases are bunt and rust. (The diseased leaves and stalks become red and yellow coloured, and grains are shrivelled).

Agricultural Implements

The agricultural implements used, the use of each implement, its cost and its useful life are given below:—

Name of Implement	Description	Use	Approx. value	Useful life
			Rs	Year
Ngal ..	Wooden plough with an iron blade	Ploughing	20	2
Khawangshing ..	Yoke or Panjali, similar to one in the plains	Yoking the bullocks for ploughing	5	3
Gainti ..	Pickaxe	Kuhl making, harvesting of kuth, and taking out of stones	10	4
Okthan ..	The same as 'Kudal'	Clod-crushing and levelling of land	3	2
Surmn ..	Iron hook provided to a wooden handle	Hoeing and weeding	2	2
Chagwal ..	Spade	Carrying the earth	7	5
Jatnugza ..	Sharp blade fitted to a wooden crooked handle	Harvesting the crop	3	3
Dranti ..	Scythe	—do—	3	4
Karji ..	Axe	Cutting wood	8	3
Chutsa	—	Chiselling	4	3
Kahi ..	Mattock	For making kuhl, for bunding the fields	3	2/3
Jhabbal ..	A big iron rod with a sharp end	Digging out big stones	15	10
Thewa ..	Hammer	Breaking big clods	16	12

No mechanical implements are used. It is obvious that the agriculturists are persisting in traditional techniques of production.

Marketing of Produce

It is estimated that during the last year the village produced some 62 maunds of wheat, 99 maunds of barley, 324 maunds of potatoes, 94 maunds of *kathu* and 146 maunds of *kuth*. The entire produce except *kuth* was consumed in the village itself. (Table 16). In fact, the stocks of foodgrains had to be supplemented with imports. However, *kuth* was sold through the *Kuth* Marketing Co-operative Society, Limited, Manali, and fetched Rs. 10,850. Because of the subsistence economy, there is little prospect of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities except costos being exported from the village.

Animal Husbandry

Most of the animals in Lahaul are of local hilly breed which is quite poor. There is shortage of fodder and cattle have often to starve. Cows of local breed are poor milkers. Cross-breeds, which are regarded as strong and superior, are, therefore, reared. The Yak is crossed with the local cow called *rad* to give a cross-breed of

churi (female) and *bang* (male). Cows are maintained for breeding as well as for milk. Yak is brought *from Zangskar* (Ladakh), or the persons who go there for trade bring one and sell it. In winter, one of the households maintains the Yak, the cost of maintenance is proportionately shared by the entire village.

Other animals found in the village are:

(*i*) *Churi and Bang*:—These are produced by crossing the local cow known as *rad* with Yak. The female offspring is called *churi* and male one is *bang*.

(*ii*) *Garu and Gari*.— These are produced by crossing *churi* with the Yak. *Garu* is not utilised for further breeding. Both of them require very cold climate.

(*iii*) *Tolfo and Tolmo*.—These are the cross-breeds of *churi* and *bangda* (local breed of ox).

(iv) *Laru and Lari*.—These are the cross-breeds of *gari* and Yak. Again *lari* is crossed with *bangda* (local bull), to produce *churi* and *bang*.

(*v*) *Brimdzo and Bree*.—The cross-breed of *lari* and Yak are called *Brimdzo* (male) and *bree* (female). *Brimdzo* is not used for further cross-breeding but *bree* is crossed with Yak to produce Yak and *bree*.

The Bodh households own 7 bullocks, 17 cows, 15 horses, 6 donkeys, 38 mules, 18 goats, 336 sheep, 16 *churis* and one pet-dog; Lohars possess 2 goats, 23 sheep, and one pet-dog; the Shippi household maintains 2 cows, one goat and 4 sheep (TABLE 12).

Cattle are tethered at night in *po*, ground floor of the building. During summer (early May to late September) when there is ample grass on the hills, graziers and shepherds are employed by the villagers to tend their livestock during the day. The *phogala* the paid-shepherd or grazier, is paid by every household at the rate of one *patha* (approximately equivalent to one seer) of buckwheat per sheep or goat for the season. A household sending out ten sheep or goats gives a day's meals to him according to the turn. The grazier of *churis* and cows is called *rotari* and gets 30 *patha* of grains from every household for the season in addition to getting one loaf of bread a day. The grazier of lambs and calves is called *kurtsa-rantagcha* and is employed on the same terms as the *phogala*. During winter, however, cattle have to stay indoors all through.

As already mentioned, a good variety of Yak is brought from *Zangskar* in Ladakh for raising the breed. There is no arrangement so far for artificial insemination in the Veterinary Dispensary at Keylong, four miles away. The best *churi* yields about 4 seers of milk per day whereas an ordinary one only two seers a day. The yield of milk per cow varies between 1 and 1½ seers. On an average, a goat and a sheep yield 4 chhataks and 2 chhataks of milk per day, respectively. Milk is used strictly to meet domestic requirements and is not sold.

A ram of the Hissar dale-breed has recently been provided by Government to one of the households for the benefit of the sheep-stock of the entire village. The Veterinary Department has introduced some improved varieties of poultry, such as R.I.R. and white-leg-horn, on subsidized basis. The number of fowls owned

by Bodh and Shippi households is 47 and 2, respectively. Only two households take eggs. The rest of them sell these. At present poultry keeping is practised on a very small scale in Tandi but there is scope for its becoming popular.

Village Crafts

Wool spinning and weaving are the major crafts of the village. There are in all five handlooms in the village, one of these is owned by a Shippi household and the remaining four belong to the Bodhs. These include three improved handlooms provided by the Industries Department. Only one Shippi and one Bodh household are professional weavers. The remaining three weave only for domestic consumption.

Short wool and hair are got carded at the carding machine at the village Lote, four miles away, whereas long ones, i.e., those not shorn for a full year, and those imported from outside are carded at home with hands. During winter (December to March), when people have to stay indoors the spinning wheel and the *takli* are ceaselessly worked. The yarn is thus usually home-spun made from wool obtained from the sheep reared by the family. A quarter of the quantity of wool is imported from Tibet. Goat hair are spun into thick yarn and used for weaving *thobis* used as matting and even as blankets. Woollen yarn is utilised for manufacture of woollen cloth, shirts and trousers, *patti* for coats and waist-coats, caps and *pattus*. It is also used to knit socks, pull-overs and gloves. Whereas spinning is completed in winter, weaving is done mostly in summer. All the articles are manufactured by indigenous techniques.

Straw shoes, *poohlas*, are made by every household in large quantities for use in winter. These are made of barley and wheat stalks and *bhang* fibre which are twisted well to make strings.

Proficiency in village craft has been acquired through sheer practice and apprenticeship at home. Two persons are proficient in wool spinning and weaving, 8 in wool spinning, one in spinning and weaving and one in spinning only. Three persons have acquired proficiency in blacksmithy. Since 1951, no weaver has given up weaving. In recent past, no new craft has sprung up and none has died out. Whereas six years earlier all weaving was done on indigenous handlooms, now three households own improved handlooms.

The woollen articles are sold in the village itself. Two weavers render paid labour. The wages are Rs. 2/6/- per yard for *patti* having a width of 31½ inches and annas four per yard of woollen cloth. Weaving charges for a *pattu*, 3 yards long and 1½ yards wide, vary between Rs. 3 and Rs. 5. Socks, gloves and sweaters are made only for domestic consumption and not for sale. Wages are accepted in cash as well as kind.

As the weavers themselves are zamindars, they command the same social status and enjoy the same standard of living as other members of the community supplementing their income from other sources.

Commerce

Commercial activities in the village centre round import of foodgrains and other goods and provisions for domestic consumption and export

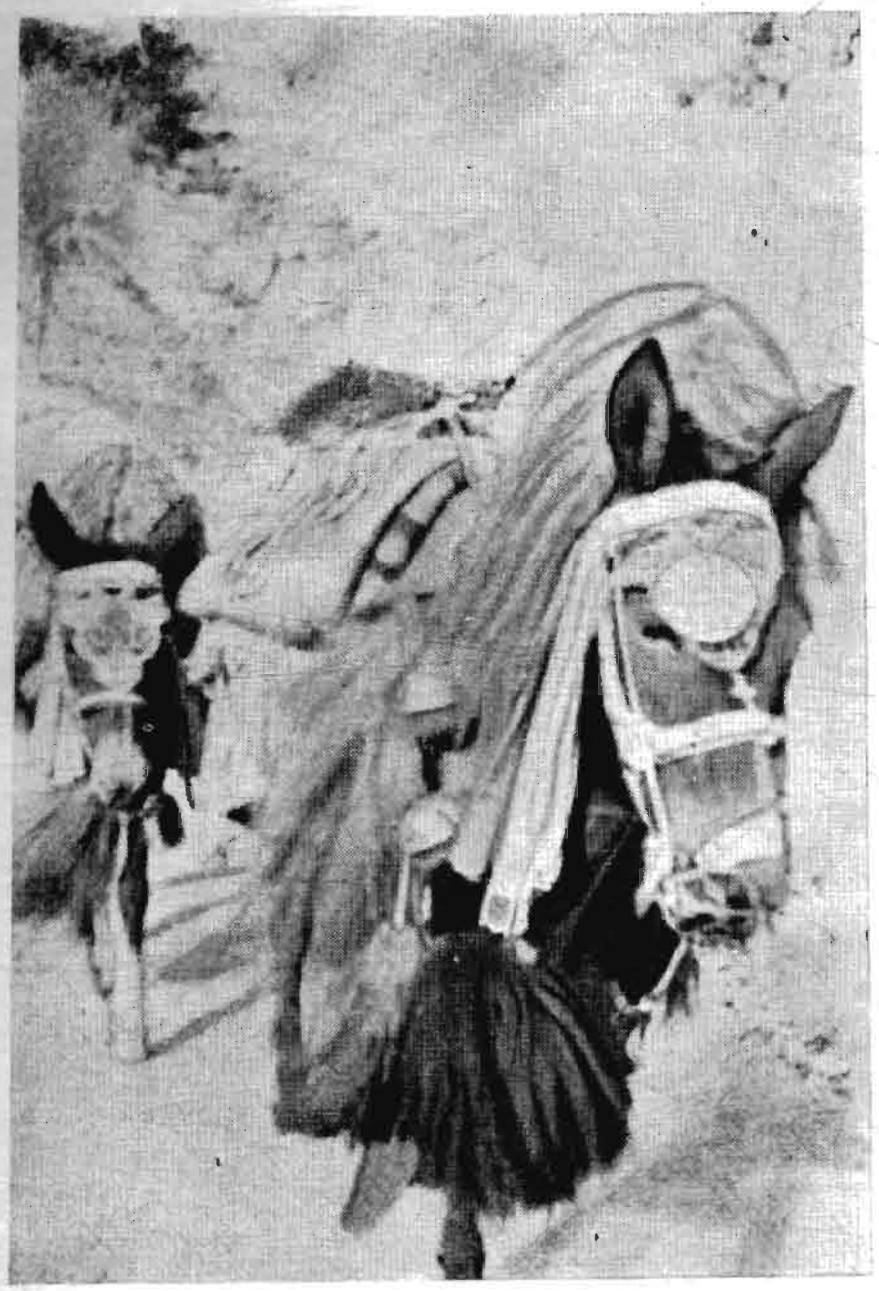
of *kuth*. The invisible items of commerce include earnings from pony-transport and services rendered as carriers and labourers. In the village there are two shops which deal in general merchandise and grocery. Some of the important articles sold by them are kerosene oil, *sarson* oil, tobacoo, cigarettes, rice, vegetable oil, tea, condiments, dry sweets, soap, potatoes, toys, flat shoes, stationery, *gur*, etc. Rationed goods like wheat, rice and sugar are available at Tandi bridge from the Depot. The local shopkeepers import foodgrains, spices, etc., from Kulu and Manali, and articles of general merchandise from Amritsar.

Four households of the village carry on trade with Tibet from July to September. They export tea, cotton cloth, utensils, *gur* and dyes and import horses, sheep, goats and ponies wool, *pashmina*, butter and cheese which they sell at Kulu and Manali. On an average, the annual profits of four Bodh households engaged in wool and *pashmina* trade, amount to Rs. 2,000, 3,000, 500 and Rs. 2,000, respectively. But the Bodh households dealing in grocery and general merchandise earn on an average Rs. 240 per month (TABLE 17). It is not possible to form an exact idea of the value of imports into the village but this much is certain that foodgrains valued at about Rs. 10,000 are imported since there is food shortage in the village. Cotton cloth, general merchandise, cigarettes, and tobacco are the other main items of import valued approximately at Rs. 6,000. *Kuth* is a commercial commodity which is mostly exported through 'The Kuth Marketing Co-operative Society Limited, Manali' and brings handsome returns depending on the market price. At the time of the survey, *kuth* was being sold at the rate of Rs. 100 per maund and its export in 1961 amounted to Rs. 15,000 approximately.

INDEBTEDNESS

It is very difficult to obtain an accurate idea of indebtedness in the village. There is a tendency among the people always to deflate their income and inflate their debts. However, patient enquiries have yielded some information though the estimates of indebtedness are at best only approximate. At the time of the survey, 38 persons of the Bodh household and 75 per cent of the Lohar households were under debt. Friends and relations, well-to-do zamindars, money-lenders and Government Departments are the different agencies from which loans are obtained. The Co-operative Society and the Government agencies charge an interest of 9 per cent and 5 per cent, respectively. It is not possible accurately to state the rate of interest charged by the money-lender and zamindars but approximately it stands at 10 per cent. According to Government rules governing loan-advances, land is pledged against the amount of the debt incurred but the other non-Governmental agencies do not impose any such conditions. According to the revenue records during the last ten years, only one acre of land was mortgaged for an amount of Rs. 2,000. There is no regular money-lender in the village though there are some at Keylong.

Short-term loans are available from friends, relations, well-to-do farmers and money-lenders, while long-term loans are obtained from Government. Short-term loans are



The Mule, a valuable asset in transport.



The *Yak*.

A damsel amidst fields.



Grass-collection in progress.

incurred to purchase cattle and consumer goods and to arrange social ceremonies wheras the long-term loans are sought for investment in business and house construction.

During the years 1954, 1959 and 1960, the debt incurred from friends and relations amounted to Rs. 400, Rs. 1,700, Rs. 200 and Rs. 1,200, respectively. Loan amounting to Rs. 800 was obtained by Lohars from Zamindars only in 1959 whereas Bodhs incurred a debt of Rs. 800 from the money-lenders in 1953 and obtained loans of Rs. 4,000 and Rs. 1,000 from the Government in 1956 and 1957, respectively. The picture of the outstanding loans as it emerged at the time of the enquiry showed that 83.2 per cent of the total debt was owed by the Bodhs as against 16.8 per cent outstanding against the Lohars. The total amount of debt for the entire village stood at Rs. 10,100 of which the debt incurred from the money-lenders, the Government, zamindars and relations and friends accounted for 7.92, 49.50, 7.92 and 34.66 per cent, respectively. The five Bodh families out of thirteen who are under debt owe Rs. 8,400. Three out of four families of Lohars have incurred a debt of Rs. 1,700. Thus the average indebtedness per Bodh household and per Lohar household stands at Rs. 1,680 and Rs. 566.66, respectively. It is interesting to note that as against the general tendency in other parts of the State, debt is not so much incurred for consumption purposes as for productive investment. Only about 28.7 per cent of the total debt was incurred for unproductive purposes. The percentages of debt incurred for investment in business, livestock and construction are 39.6, 21.8 and 9.9 (TABLES 18, 19 and 20).

It has not been possible to ascertain the details of indebtedness for the period earlier than the last about seven years, but it may be relevant to mention that with effect from the 1st March, 1962, the Punjab Government have enforced in the District of Lahaul and Spiti an Ordinance known as "The Spiti and Lahaul (Relief of Indebtedness Loan Application and Amendment) Regulation, 1962." As this measure has been enforced only after the enquiry was made, it has not been possible to assess its effects or ascertain people's reaction towards it.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Total population of Tandi is 176 including 91 males and 85 females. Almost forty per cent of the village population comprises children and teenagers. Fifty-eight persons including thirty-four males and twenty-four females belong to the age group 20—39. Sixteen males and eleven females have attained the age of forty years, but are below 60. The number of males and females having attained the age of sixty and above is eleven and ten, respectively (TABLE 1). 58.5 per cent of the villagers belong to the category of never married persons, the rest of them have married. There is only one widower aged more than 55 years and three widows aged more than 60 years. There are thirty males and 40 females below twenty years of age and none of them has ever married. It is obvious that child marriages are absent (TABLE 21).

Unfortunately, no statistics regarding births and deaths in the village are available. However, with the setting up of the new district, it is hoped, that proper records would be maintained. The most common diseases in this area are round-worm, dysentery, diarrhoea, elyspepsia, eye diseases and rehumatic pains. Lung and respiratory troubles are also not infrequent. Ammemrroea is the common disease among women. In the village itself there are no medical facilities available. There is no Vaid or Hakim. The nearest Civil Hospital is located at Keylong which is well-equipped with medicines, but is short of surgical instruments so that the major surgical operations are not undertaken by the local doctors. In the village there is no trained *dai*. Old and experienced women in the village manipulate deliveries. In response to queries it was found that one household believed in Allopathic treatment, three in Ayurvedic, three in Homeopathic, three in *jantar-mantar* (faith-curers) while the remaining eight households indicated no particular preference for any mode of treatment (TABLE 22). However, in actual fact people repose their belief in the faith-curers. Illness in the family and ill-luck, it is believed, are due to the influence of the evil spirits. Whenever there is any illness *goors* (disciples or agents of deities) who are invited to chant *mantras*, shake their heads and hands, and free the patient, it is believed, of the evil influence of spirits. Generally the *goor* goes to the crossing just outside the village, draws some lines with a piece of coal, asks the patient or his relatives to throw some rice, flour, and chillies between the lines thus drawn and he himself chants some *mantras*. A baked *chapati* is also placed at the crossing which, at the end of the rite, is torn into bits and scattered in all directions. Most of the households regard the performance of this ceremony as a sure cure of illness. Fifty-five per cent of the male and eighty-six per cent of the female population in the

village is illiterate. Out of ninety-one males eleven are literates without educational standard; ten have studied up to the primary; eleven up to the middle, four up to matric, and one up to the intermediate standard; there are four diploma holders. On the other hand, out of eighty-five females ten are literate without any educational standard, one is middle pass and one is a diploma holder. Literacy is confined mostly to persons between twenty and fifty years of age. As against a total of eighteen boys and twenty-three girls in the age group 0—10 years only three boys and four girls are literate without educational standard. Similarly in the age group 10—14, out of six boys and eight girls, five boys and four girls are literate without any educational standard (TABLE 23). Thus children go to school pretty late and even when they do attend school they do not persist in studies and quit it without attaining even the lowest educational standard. Literacy among females seems to be of recent origin. There is only one woman below twenty years of age who is a diploma holder, and there is no woman above twenty years of age who is literate.

Educational facilities up to the primary standard are available in the village itself. A Government Primary School was started last year under the scheme of free and compulsory primary education. At present there are about fifty students on rolls. The strength of the scholars is likely to increase this year as all children of school going age are required under law to receive primary education. Of the present fifty students only thirty belong to Tandi. The rest of them come from nearby villages. The class-wise distribution of students of this village is as follows:—

Standard	No. of boys	No. of girls	Total
I ..	6	5	11
II ..	6	4	10
III ..	4	2	6
IV ..	3	—	3
Total	19	11	30

Since the introduction of compulsory primary education, almost ninety per cent children of the school-going age have started attending the school. Students are evenly distributed among all castes. Five boys and girls are receiving their high school education outside the village. Four boys, two in the eighth class and two in the tenth class are studying in Government High School, Manali. One boy and one girl are students of the fifth and tenth class respectively at Government High School, Keylong. Two students are getting college education in arts subjects at Government College, Dharamsala, and one boy is undergoing M.B.,B.S. Course at Medical College, Amritsar. Thus the idea of higher education is finding favour with the villagers and the village community is likely to undergo some transformation under the impact of ideas and urban values which these educated persons will import from outside the valley.

The strength of the school staff is limited to two teachers only: one is Middle J.B.T., and the other is Matric J.B.T. The teachers hold a respectable position in the village. Shri Lal Chand, the Headmaster, is a local man. He is incharge of the Sub-Post Office also and villagers generally approach him even during school hours to get letters read and written. He claims to enjoy the status of the statesman and the spokesman of the village community.

As mentioned elsewhere, during the last decade or so this village has not witnessed the phenomenon of out-migration or in-migration. The villagers are, however, increasingly coming in contact with Government personnel from outside the valley who are the carriers of somewhat new ideas, values and modes of life. Due to this contact, a change in the external life and manners is already setting in. A piece of social legislation is the introduction of free and compulsory primary education. As yet it is too early to assess the effects of this measure but the start appears to be promising.

Trend of changes in Family Structure

Unfortunately, no comparative data on the subject are available. The people affirm that joint family system has been practised all through. At present there are one simple, three intermediate and fourteen joint families in the village. The solitary Shippi household has the structure of a joint family (Table 24). Only one Lohar household provides the instance of a simple family. There is no household having less than four members. Fifty-five per cent households have at least ten family members. 27.7 per cent at least seven members and the remaining at least four members. The structure of the economy has influenced the structure of social institutions including family, and the moderately large families are preferred to smaller ones.

A family is a well-knit unit in which every member has his assigned task. Within the family girls and women enjoy equal soical status with men-folk except for the share in property. In addition to running homes, women actively help their men-folk in outdoor life.

The village community is a composite organism, sub-divided into different castes but the members of each caste are unified among themselves and co-operate and collaborate with others so as to knit the community, that is the village. Villagers arrange joint celebrations of festivals in which all the households belonging to one caste participate as equals. In marriage and mourning, the entire community joins. In operations like harvesting and house-construction, the practice of rendering mutual assistance is quite common. Disputes are few and they are resolved by the caste Panchayat. Inter-hamlet co-operation and collaboration come to the fore at the time of different fairs, for instance, the fair at *Gurughantal*. Inter-hamlet bickerings and tensions are almost conspicuous by their absence. These social units keep their integrity and sovereignty inviolate, but they co-operate willingly in ventures, social and religious.

Lahaul has had its own customs regulating inheritance of property. "The custom of primogeniture prevails in the Thakur families of Lahaul. On the death of the father the eldest son (*gaga*) succeeds. As long as his brothers live with him, they are maintained and called *nono*, but when they set up house for themselves, they get a small allotment of *garhpan*, under the name of *dotenzhing* or younger son's land, upon which they have to maintain themselves. After two or three generations the descendants of younger sons become like other landholders, and have to do some service or pay some rent to the Thakur. Among the subordinate landholders all sons are considered entitled to equal shares of their father's holding but in practice they seldom divide, and live on with wife, land,

house and chattels in common. In Pattan, where the Hindu element prevails in the population, and where the holdings are somewhat larger and more productive, many brothers have married separately, and divided house and lands. A very few have done so in Gara and Rangloi also. In such families the custom which has hitherto prevailed, with regard to inheritance of the shares of brothers who die without issue, is quite clear; such share has always gone to the brothers with whom the deceased lived in unison, or to his issue, to the exclusion of all claim on the part of the separated branch of the family. The most exceptional point in the custom of inheritance prevailing in Lahaul is the fact that, in default of sons, a daughter succeeds to her father's whole estate in preference to nephews or other male kinsmen, provided that, before her father's death, she has not married and settled down to live on her husband's holding away from home. If she is married and living with her husband in her father's house, she succeeds, and if she is unmarried, she can hold for life as a maid, or can at any time marry and take her husband to live with her. Supposing such a husband and wife were to die without issue, it appears to be doubtful who would have the best claim to succeed them; whether the next of kin to the wife or to the husband. But it is agreed that the survivor of the two might lawfully give the estate to any member of either of the two families".*

In this village, however, married and unmarried sons get an equal share in property. The members of the Scheduled Tribes as well as of the Scheduled Castes in the scheduled areas of Lahaul and Spiti have been exempted from the application of Hindu Succession Act and the Hindu Adoption Act. All except two persons are ignorant of the changes made in the Hindu Succession Act and the Hindu Adoption Act as applicable in the rest of the country.

Leisure and Recreation

During the working season in summer when people have to gather two crops and store fodder and fuel besides other articles of domestic requirements, all persons, young and old, who can lend a helping hand, are busy like bees. During winter, however, they have ample leisure at their hands. The hardy Lahaulis have their own modes and games of entertainment in summer as well as in winter. There is no social recreation centre as such but in a small building in the village a *Sangeet* Club assembles to recite some songs in praise of Shiva on every Saturday in winter. The young and the old alike play various games of cards to while away their leisure. The teenagers play different games which are described below :—

Games of pice:

(i) *Khoti*:—Every player throws a pice in a round hole called *khoti* dug out in the ground, from a certain fixed distance. The player who happens to throw the pice in the hole or nearest to the hole gets the first turn. Thus the turn of each player is decided by the distance between the pice thrown and the 'hole' in the ground; the farthest the distance, the last would be the turn.

All players contribute an equal number of coins. The person having first turn throws them all together

*Gazetteer of the Kangra District, XXXA, Part II—Kulu and Saraj, III.—Lahaul, IV—Spiti, 1917, page 194.

near the hole. Those in the hole, he pockets. Then he is asked to strike a particular pice lying outside the hole and if he succeeds in striking it with a stone-piece, he wins that pice and continues to strike the others turn by turn until he misses the target. If he strikes a wrong pice, not only does he lose those lying in the hole, but is also required to pay one more as a penalty. Then the second player will try and so on. The game continues until all the coins are won by one or the other of players.

(ii) *Chowa* :—This game resembles *khoti* with the difference that in this game the striker is asked to strike a particular pice so that it may cross a certain fixed distance. If he succeeds in striking the required pice and the pice moves to the prescribed distance he will win all of them otherwise none. If all coins fall in the hole in the ground, then also he retains all of them. But he can't claim less than all coins which fall in the hole.

Gulli-Danda (Tip-cat) :—This well-known game of Northern India is also eagerly played by teenagers.

Doomadoo :—All participants hide themselves and one player locates them. Anyone who is located takes the next turn. Sometimes, the players also divide themselves into two parties. Alternately, one party locates all the players of the other party. This game is played by small children aged five to ten years.

Ngara :—This game is played mostly by girls with five small pieces of flat stones. Each player turn by turn throws all the five stones on the ground, then she picks up all of them one by one while catching a stone-piece in the air which is thrown up every time; in the second, third and fourth throws two, three and four pieces respectively are picked up together.

When all these four throws are successfully completed, all the five stones are placed on the palm of the hand and are thrown up in the air to be received and retained on the opposite side of the hand. The stones, are generally supported between the two fingers near the thumb. The player again holds all the five stone-pieces in the palm and throws them in the air, and holds on the back of the palm by the number of times which is decided by the number of stones she catches between the two fingers near the thumb. The number of points scored is proportional to the number of stones retained on the back of the hand. She who wins thirty points first is declared victorious. The player getting the minimum scores is required to give a ride on the back up to a certain distance to all the winners turn by turn. The victorious shouts "*ngara*", "*ngara*".....

Taregmatareg :—This game is also played by small children who form themselves into two groups. They divide certain area amongst themselves. Each party goes to its area and marks short lines with the white stones on a number of places. When they mark sufficient short lines, they shout *taregmatareg* to inform the other party about their arrival in the area belonging to the other group. The other party at once stops marking more lines and responds *taregmatareg* Each party finds out and cancels the short lines marked out by the opposite party. The group retaining uncancelled shortlines wins and becomes entitled to a ride at the back of defeated members.

Game of Rattis :—*Rattis* small bits of coral, are placed in a

hole and a big circle is drawn round it. Then everyone according to his turn strikes the *rattis* in the hole with a piece of stone. Those *rattis* which move out of the big circle are retained by him provided that no *ratti* is left between the circle and the hole. The game continues until all *rattis* are won by one or the other player. The game is played only by small children.

Baga:—This is the same as *Kabaddi* game but no holding of breath is required in it.

Thippi:—All players run and one tries to touch them. Those who are touched also touch the others. When all are touched, the game ends. This game is also played by children.

Hukkar-dukkar:—This is an important game of the winter-season. Boys sit in a circle round a fire. A stick of willow tree is burnt and passed on to every player. Where it extinguishes, the player's eyes are shut and anyone of the remaining players strikes his forehead with fingers. If the latter is named he replaces the former. The game continues thus as long as desired.

Religious Practices and Institutions

There is no regular place of worship in the village. Two years ago, some people of the village constructed a small building on the village common land which contains some pictures of Shiva. The *Sangeet* Club, Tandi, which consists of fifteen members of mixed religions and has been organised by the Community Development Block assembles there on every Saturday in the winter season. They sing devotional songs in praise of Shiva. The attendance generally goes up to sixty persons, women being in majority. The funds of the religious club are raised from members' contributions. The Block has provided some musical instruments, namely, Harmonium, drum, tongs, *khartal* and a pair of chains of ringing bells.

There was a temple of *Kautashini* goddess which is now completely in ruins and the place is marked by a stone idol of the goddess. Beestings are first offered to her. When any person falls ill or a baby keeps on crying, or the cow does not calve or throw milk, the goddess is invoked by the members of the family by offering parched barley, flowers and butter.

There is no priest in the village. The inhabitants, in fact, follow a mixed religion, though the Bodhs profess Budhism and the Chahans and Lohars claim to subscribe to the Hindu religion. The influence of Budhism is, however, much more marked and significant on people of both the religions.

Their major gods of worship are *Shiva, Gephan,* and *Gurughantal.* The minor gods include *Thara Nag* and *Kautashini* goddess.

Shiva:—Besides *Kirtan* of *Shiva* on every Saturday in the winter season, Shivaratri (birthday of Shiva) is celebrated, by all the households. *Bhog* or *Halwa,* milk, *babroo,* cakes, flowers and incense are offered at the pictures of *Shiva.* A he-goat is sacrificed by every household and its meat distributed among co-religionists.

Gephan and Gurughantal:—The Devta *Gephan* is located between Shashan and Sissu villages, and *Gompa Gurughantal* in Tupchiling village. On every festival and auspicious occasion, both these deities are propitiated by the people by offering

barley, butter, incense of *devidiar* and marigold flowers. Cloth, *sarson* oil, *sattu* and cash are offered on the fair of *Gurughantal.* All goats and sheep slaughtered for eating are sacrificed in the name of *Brajeshwari devi* of *Gurughantal.*

Thara-Nag:—*Thara-Nag,* is worshipped on the first of Magh (mid-January) in the village of Marbal, about three miles away, in the temple dedicated to the said deity. Sprouts of barley sown fifteen days earlier, and incense of *devidiar* leaves are offered to him. Should the rains fail, the *whole of Tandi *Kothi* sacrifices a he-goat near the temple. The musicians play on their instruments and the disciple (chela) of the Nag shakes his head while *the pujara* (priest) chants some *mantras* to invoke the gods for showering rain. The *chela* speaks on behalf of the deity and makes predictions.

Superstitions

Garu is regarded as a malevolent spirit which can assume different forms of human-beings and animals. Its shadow upon man turns him mad, upon milch cattle in lactation makes them dry and upon the crops brings damage through insects. *Goor* (disciple) of *Gephan* or *Gurughantal* is consulted who shivers and names the evil spirit. A thick cake (weighing about one seer) of barley or buckwheat flour is prepared and taken to a crossing outside the habitation. The *goor* writes on it with a mixture of coal powder flour, and powder of some red stone. He chants some *mantras* and breaks the cake into bits which are thrown in all directions.

The other deities are also believed to be capable of inflicting considerable pain. It is also believed that a person overpowered by *Thara-Nag* and *Gephan* speaks the Kulu dialect, that by *Brajeshwari Devi* the Bhoti dialect and that by Shiva the Gaddi dialect.

The neighbouring hillock towards the west is known as Parvati Pahar. It is believed that Parvati, wife of Shiva, lived here before her marriage and married Shiva who stayed at Mani Mahesh. A thirty-mile long greyish white track, resembling the milkyway in the sky, is visible all along the hillock along the left bank of the river Chandra Bhaga up to Mani Mahesh. It is held that the track was constructed by Shiva as a miracle at the time of his marriage.

The sight of an empty vessel, a dog or a cat is considered inauspicious at the time of departing on some important errand, whereas the sight of a person carrying water in a vessel or of a Chahan is regarded as lucky.

Fairs and Festivals

Festivities in which the entire community participates enliven the life of villagers in summer as well as winter. In summer after toiling hard during the sowing season they provide themselves some entertainment through fun and frolic on the occasion of one festival or the other. Again, to break the monotony of indoor confinement during prolonged winter the Lahaulis commemorate socio-religious ceremonies with gay abandon. Community-feasting and merry-making are the chief features of these fairs and festivals. The various family and village celebrations are described below:—

Utana (Lohri):—It is celebrated on the first day of Magh (mid-January). *Totu,* round balls of barley-*sattu,* buttered on the mounds are prepared in every household. Early in the morning the

members of family go to the top roof of their houses. They burn incense of *devidiar* twigs and throw *totu* balls in the air in names of *Gurughantal* and *Gephan*. *Doo* is prepared and eaten in every household. Relatives from the neighbouring villages are invited to share the feast.

Khogala (Diwali):—The festival is held on the full-moon night falling after the first of Magh (Vikram era), in the third or fourth week of January. At about 8.30 p.m., one person from each household takes out torch light (*mashal*) to the raised ground in the village. All collect at one place and make bonfire by throwing burning *mashals* at one point. Everyone throws leaves of *devidiar* trees in the bonfire in the names of *Gephan* and *Brajeshwari Devi*. Then all of them sit around the bonfire. They throw balls of snow on one another. This action known as *bhataka* (throwing of snow) is regarded auspicious. The people wear a typical dress which consists of *choru* (a white gown made of *patti*), a tight trouser of *patti*, a black round cap called *kirkir topru* containing marigold flowers. The entire function is called *sad-halda* (search light of gods).

Nam Halda:—(Torch light for ghosts and evil spirits). After a few minutes of *sad-halda*, *nam halda* is taken out in the name of ghosts and evil spirits. Every household burns *mashals* according to the number of male members of the family irrespective of their presence in the house at the time. This time, the *mashals* are taken to the lowest ground of the village and made into bonfire by throwing all of them at a single place. Pieces of raw meat and *Kazhu lowad* (*chilras* of buckwheat flour) are taken by them and thrown in the fire. These are also delivered to the Chahans and Lohars, who are menials. *Devidiar* leaves are also thrown in the bonfire. While taking *mashals* out of the houses, all people whistle and make tumultuous noise. They also speak in loud voice 'Sia-var Ram Chander Ki Jai'. This slogan has been introduced recently. Then they return to their houses and take *doo* with ghee and meat.

Phagli or Kuns:—It falls after a fortnight of *Khogala* on Amavas (moonless day) in the month of Phalgun. A night before the festival *babroo* also called *marchu* (*puris* of wheat flour cooked in *sarson* oil) are cooked in lump sum and are eaten at night after performing *shagana* by throwing some part of every edible in the air in the name of *Gephan* and *Brajeshari* Devi and other deities. At about 4 o'clock in the morning all members of the household get up and throw *yabra*, yellow sprouts of barley, stored in small earthen bowls and kept in the dark, in the air in name of *Gephan* and *Brajeshwari Devi*. After washing face and hands, people offer *yabra* (sprouts of barley and marigold flowers) to their elders and bid *dhaal* (*namaste*). Salted tea and meat soup are prepared in every household. The near relatives attend to greet by offering *yabra* and paying *dhaal*. *Doo* with ghee and tea is served to them. At about 11 a.m. all the menfolk go to the lowest house of the village taking *yabra* and *danza* (he-goat made of wheat flour cooked in oil). They pay *dhaal*, offer *yabra* and *danza* to the head of the household and take lunch there, to the accompaniment of *tsagti* and salted tea. The women go merely as spectators. Unmarried girls participate in dance but do not share meal and *tsagti*. They, however, take

tea. In the afternoon they go to the second down most house and take dinner there after paying *dhaal* and offering *yabra* and *danza* to the head of household. This practice of taking common lunch or dinner continues for about a week till all the households of the caste are covered. The Lohars and Chahans also celebrate *kuns* separately in the same way amongst themselves. *Garphi* dance, (a free style dance without regular movements) and folk songs are arranged after intervals in the afternoon lasting up to midnight.

Chetrori:—It is celebrated on the first day of Chaitra month. About ten Lamas are invited. *Danza* (two he-goats of buckwheat flour baked on *tawa*) are placed on *parkand* a rectangular mass about 12″ × 10″ × 1″ of *kathu* flour baked on *tawa*. These flour he-goats are aimed at with an arrow by every male adult from a distance of about fifty feet. It is believed that he who strikes the flour he-goat will be blessed with a son. The *danza* and *parkand* are made in the names of Raja of Chamba and Raja of Mandi who were always on bad terms with the Raja of Kulu, to whom they were subject. The person taking the aim says that the arrow may go in the chest of Raja of Chamba or in the head of the Raja of Mandi. *Tsagti* and salted tea are taken which are collectively contributed and prepared. Until five years ago, live he-goats or he-sheep used to be sacrificed before aiming with bow and arrow.

Dechang:—It is celebrated in the end of Chaitra. About ten Lamas are invited. They hold twelve religious booklets known *yum* and read one in each house of the Bodhs. A house is already fixed in the village which changes every year by turn. All villagers including women assemble there. A *dambrigya* is placed by the Lamas who chant *mantras* in Bhoti and beat *damru* (known as *damar*), *bugjal* (two dishes of bronze) and *nga* (a sort of drum) Men and women make perambulations round it. Tea and *Tsagti* are taken in houses. The festival is celebrated to worship and propitiate Lord Budha. Folk songs and dance are performed at night by the males.

Bhrishu (Baisakhi):—It is celebrated on the first of Baisakh. Early in the morning *totu* (balls of *sattu* flour with butter on their mounds) incense of *devidiar* and marigold flowers are taken to the roof of the house by every household and are offered to *Gephan* and *Gurughantal* by throwing in the air. Near relatives are invited and feasted with *doo* and tea.

Shegtsum:—It is observed on the first day of Shravan (mid-July), exactly in the same manner as *Bhrishu*.

Fairs

Gurughantal-ka-Mela:—It is held on the 15th lunar day (fullmoon night) of Asharah (mid-June) at *Gurughantal Gompa*, the oldest monastery in Lahaul which is located at Tupchiling village, two miles distant from Tandi. About two hundred persons attend the fair. Two *goors* who belong to Lohar and Bodh castes, are believed to be under the influence of the deity as they go in trance and make predictions. They speak and listen in Bhoti language. Lamas and *goors* are feasted by the monastery out of the monastery funds. Lamps in the

monastery are burnt by the visitors who put *sarson* oil in them. Free *tsagti* is served to the visitors on behalf of the monastery. *Phiag* (obeisance) is paid to the Budha and *Brajeshwari Devi* and other minor deities placed in the sanctuary. People of Tandi *Kothi*, Warpa *Kothi* and Gaushal *Kothi* are the followers of this monastery, and they go in processions to the accompaniment of Chahans playing on musical instruments. Some half a dozen Lamas make continuous prayers in the sanctuary throughout the day.

Village Panchayat

There is a statutory joint Panchayat of three villages of *Kothi* Tandi The Tandi village is represented only by one Panch. The Panchayat has repaired *kuhls*, levelled approaches to the village and contributed two hundred rupees to improve the water supply scheme in the village. Water taps have been fixed at three places to facilitate the supply of drinking water.

Community Panchayat

The traditional community panchayat plays an important role in regulating the social, economic and religious life of the people though its authority has been somewhat denuded with the setting up of statutory panchayat in the village and various Government institutions at Keylong. The community panchayat is composed of elderly persons, one from each household of the village. There is no caste restriction on its membership. Its jurisdiction extends to every household of every caste in the village. There is no office bearer in the usual sense of the word. A person known as *chara*, selected by turn from every household for a term of one year, is entrusted with the duty of convening a meeting of the community panchayat at an agreed place and time. During summer the meetings are held in the open ground but in winter the meetings are held by turn in the houses of Bodhs. Although a Shippi or a Lohar is also selected as a *chara* but a meeting of the panchayat is never held in the house of a Shippi or Lohar. The person playing the host entertains the panchayat members and the assembly to salted tea or *chhang*. The services of the *chara* are honorary. In the case of a dispute the parties involved discuss the matter individually with some elderly persons of the village. It is only when the elderly persons by mutual consultation certify the desirability of referring the matter to the community panchayat that the *chara* is directed to summon a meeting

The community panchayat has jurisdiction over intra-family and inter-family disputes relating mostly to division of property and social relations. The panchayat also settles intra-village and inter-village disputes connected with the use of *kuhls* for irrigation as also disputes regarding the use of pastures. It has authority to decide divorce cases and fix the quantum of compensation. It is the concern of the village panchayat that the land of any household whose male adults fall ill or become temporarily incapable of cultivating the land, does not remain fallow. It allots labour which the different households must do on the fields of ailing persons. Similarly, if information is received that any person belonging to the village has fallen ill outside Lahaul a party of two or three young persons is despatched to fetch him. Again, the panchayat arranges and regulates

mutual help when a new house is to be constructed in the village. The *yak* is purchased and owned by the community as a whole. The community panchayat is vested with the power to allot plots out of the common land to different households for collection of organic manure. The panchayat also attends to religious matters. In case the crops fail to mature due to scanty rainfall, unsatisfactory working of *kuhls* or scanty water in the *nullahs* or pest the community panchayat invites a *goor* or Lama to perform *tana mana* to prevent loss of crops. And, finally, the panchayat arranges religious discourses and recitation of scriptures in the village out of contributions collected from each household.

Shippis and Lohars have their caste panchayats having jurisdiction over all villages in *Kothi* Tandi and *Kothi* Warpa. But the functions of this panchayat are confined to providing manual help to the households at the time of social ceremonies like marriage and death. This is so because in any one village the number of Shippi and Lohar households is very small.

Kothi Panchayat.—The *kothi* panchayat comprises selected persons belonging to panchayats of villages included in the *kothi*. There panchayats came into being during the rule of Rajas of Kulu when *begar* was extracted by them and the Thakur Chieftains in Lahaul. The *kothi* panchayat used to regulate *begar* and allot different duties to different villages. Shippis and Lohars were required to carry palanquins of Rajas and split wood while the Bodhs were drafted to different agricultural operations including grass-cutting on the royal lands. The institution of *begar* continued even during the days of the British when local people used to transport on their backs luggage of British Officers on tour, and do all odd jobs connected with camp life. In addition, the *kothi* panchayat undertook the contsruction and repair of roads, paths, culverts and springs lying in its jurisdiction by mobilizing labour from the entire *kothi*. Now that *begar* has been abolished and developmental work entrusted for execution either to Government agencies or the statutory panchayats the *kothi* panchayat has lost its traditional importance. Now the function of the *kothi* panchayat is restricted to adjudicating inter-village disputes regarding common pastures and springs.

Voluntary Organizations

There is no library or drama party in the village. The school children, however, sing national songs on festive occasions. There are three youngmen, including one Shippi, a scheduled caste, who arrange *kirtan* in the village on important religious occasions. Villagers participate enthusiastically in such *kirtans*. The young unmarried girls have a different way of entertaining themselves. They collect at an appointed place in the village almost every week at night and prepare and share a joint meal. It is a contributory affair. When the meals are over, they sing and dance together. Males and outsiders are not allowed to participate or watch this function. There is also a *Sangeet* Club organised by the Community Development Block which caters to the religious fervour of the people. The club consists of fifteen members and they assemble in a small building built by them on the village common land.

every Saturday for singing devotional songs in praise of Shiva.

Development &Reform Measures

The village is covered by the Community Development Block, Keylong. Fifteen out of eighteen households stated having been benefitted by the activities of this agency. A *Gram Sewak* is working in the village to enlighten the masses of all developmental schemes of the Government. Improved poultry, for side business and domestic use, has been popularised by the Community Development Block. White-leg-horn and black Minarca breeds of poultry are sold at concessional rates to encourage poultry. About five households have been given chicken of improved variety by the C.D. Block to popularise poultry. A sum of six hundred rupees has been spent to implement the water tap system in the village. Scientific methods of sowing and plucking of *kuth* seeds, a major cash crop, are demonstrated by the Village Level Worker in the agricultural fields.

Family Planning

Polyandry is largely practised in the village which has proved an automatic check on the growth of numbers—five is the optimum number of children according to an average couple in Tandi. Four Bodh and one Lohar women, who were in late thirties, showed desire for more children. On the other hand seven Bodh, three Lohar and one Shippi women in the same age-group do not want to have any more children. Similar inquiries reveal that only one Bodh and one Lohar aged more than fifty years, two Bodhs in their forties and one Bodh each in his thirties and twenties want to have more children, whereas five Bodhs, three Lohars and one Shippi aged more than fifty years, two Bodhs in their forties and one Bodh in his thirties do not want any more children (Table 25). Three Bodhs and one Lohar having 1—3 sons and one Bodh each having no son and no daughter want to have more children but one Bodh and one Lohar having more than three children, six Bodhs, two Lohars and one Shippi having 1—3 sons and one Bodh having *no daughter do not* desire more children (Table 26). Thus, broadly speaking, the villagers like to restrict the child bearing period to a span of twenty years from twenty to forty years of age provided the couple has got at least three sons and daughters. As under the influence of new ideas the institution of Polyandry is bound to disintegrate and eventually, disappear, the safeguards against increasing numbers that it provides would no longer be available. Subsistence economy will not support new mouths and need for family planning will be actually felt before long. At present people live in unhygienic surroundings and follow unhygienic practices. The use of contraceptives is totally absent and efforts of Government agencies to popularise family planning are hardly known in the village.

Dowry System

It is very difficult to extract correct information from illiterate people about the value of dowry given or received at a marriage. Of the eighteen households surveyed only one Bodh stated that he had given dowry amounting to one thousand rupees, and only one Lohar said that he received dowry worth five

hundred rupees. That only two households took or gave dowry does not imply that the system of dowry is not prevalent. In fact, it is very much there. Contrary to the practice in the plains, the bridegroom's parents have to offer dowry to the bride's parents in the first instance. Later on, the entire amount given to the bride in the course of different ceremonies connected with the marriage is collected and made over to the parents of the bride. It is said that her parents also make a handsome contribution but retain the entire amount with themselves. Sometimes, they just keep the cash in safe custody and sometimes they invest it in some profitable venture. The main idea behind this system is to ensure that the bride has something to fall back upon in case she is divorced by her husband and incidentally the presence of this amount also acts as a safeguard against any maltreatment to her.

Untouchability

Untouchability is not rigidly practised in the village. Though a Bodh would not accept any eatables from the Chahans (Shippis) yet they have free access to the water-taps, the halwai's shop, the tea-stall and all other places of public resort. The touch of a low caste is not regarded as pollution. In fact, the scheduled castes are participating in all social gatherings of the village community. The head of the Shippi household is a farmer, a tailor and a watchman on the local Tandi Bridge under construction.

Other reform measures like the Hindu Adoption Act, the Hindu Succession Act, the Hindu Marriage Act, etc., have not been made applicable to the members of the scheduled tribes in the scheduled areas of Lahaul and Spiti.



The village artisans.



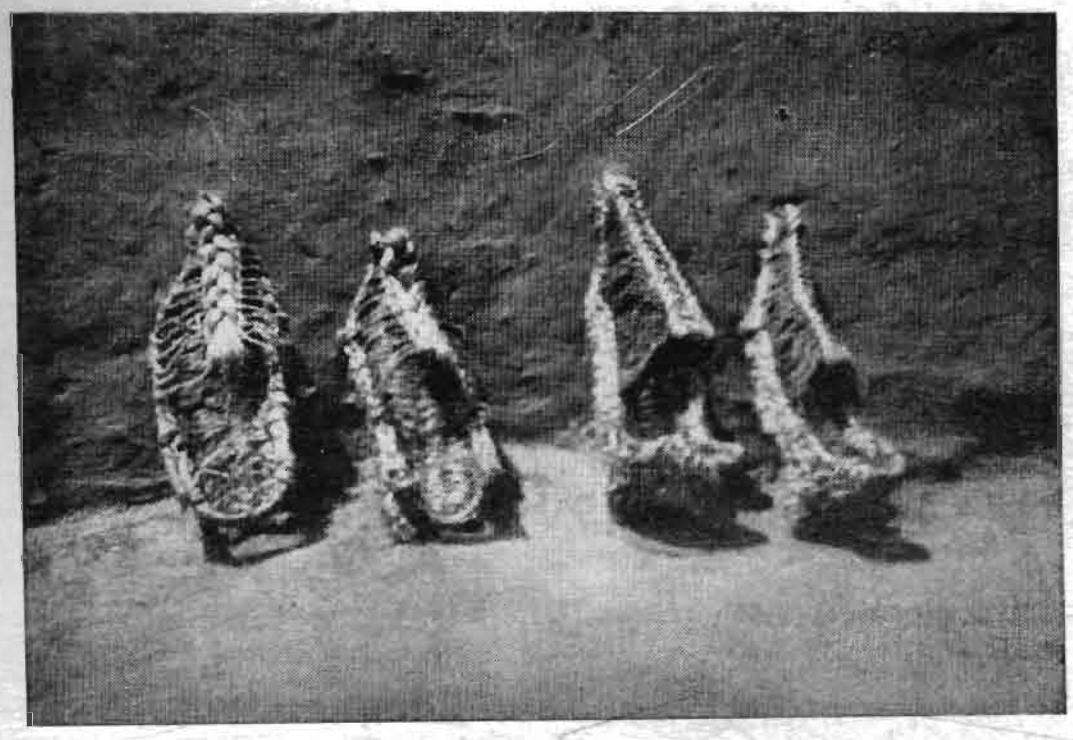
A teacher returning to school at the end of vacation.



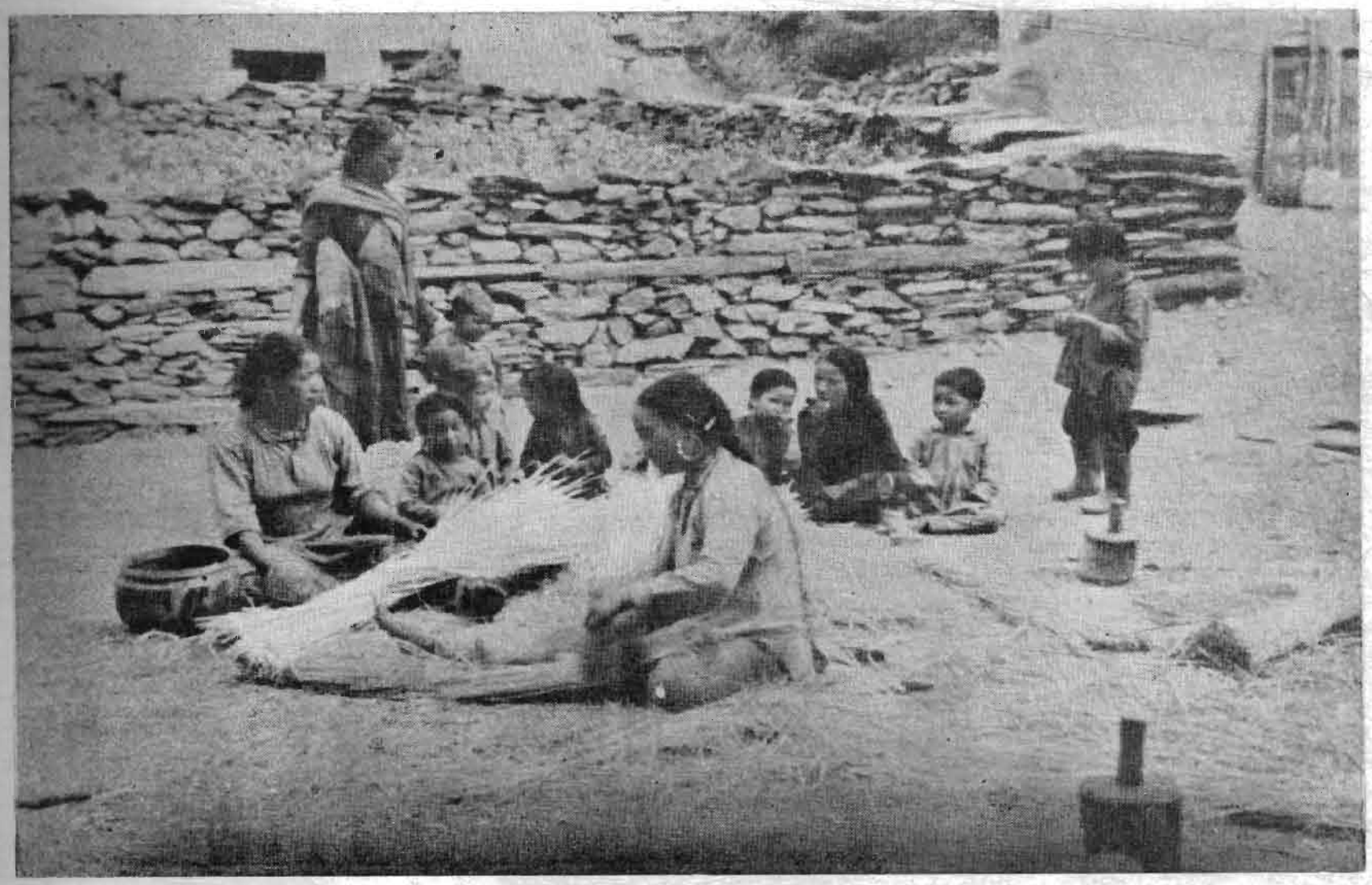
Chhang being served to a girl fetching *Pothis* from the *Gompa*.

Pothis being carried for the annual recitations.





Poolahs.



Women beating straw for making *Poolahs.*



Children playing with snow-balls.

A mother plying the *Takli*.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

The residents of Tandi are very shrewd, discerning and resourceful. They are very good traders. Just like other inhabitants of Lahaul, they show mental resilience and a remarkable capacity to inculcate and benefit from the new ideas and programmes that suit them. For instance, they have learnt and adopted a lot from the Moravian missionaries in the field of economy while successfully resisting the latters' zeal for indoctrination. Cultivation of potatoes and construction of internal heating arrangement the Lahaulis learnt from the missionaries. Besides, the mission at Keylong sponsored a scheme to impart instruction in the three R's and disseminate useful knowledge about elementary medical care. Thus the Lahaulis' contact with new ideas began in the 19th century with the advent of Moravian mission.

At present forty-five per cent of the males and fourteen per cent of females in the village are literate. With the introduction of the scheme for free compulsory primary education, the percentage attendance of children of school-going age has increased to almost ninety-five. The school master is already abroad. Boys and girls are receiving higher education in institutions outside the valley. Realising the dearth of qualified doctors and the need for proper medical treatment one of the households has already sponsored one of its members to obtain an M.B.,B.S., degree from the Medical College, Amritsar. The range of information, thanks to individual craving for knowledge and the government agencies for field publicity, is broadening day by day. There are three radio sets in the village acquired to gratify the twofold need for entertainment and information about the world beyond the high hills upon which the formidable gate of the Rohtang Pass remains closed for a considerable portion of the year. Contacts with relations and friends outside and within the valley are maintained through letters exchanged through the village Sub-Post Office. About a hundred letters are received and seventy despatched. During the open season an amount of about hundred rupees a week is received in the village while three hundred rupees are remitted in a month to the scholars of the village at Dharamsala and Amritsar. The head of every household knows the location and chief functions of all welfare departments and other Government agencies established in the Sub-Division. Two of the households even know all the changes in the Hindu Law of adoption, succession, marriage, etc., which are not in fact applicable to the members of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in the scheduled areas of Lahaul and Spiti. As a matter of fact, the exemption from application of the Hindu Succession Act was extended to the members of the Scheduled Castes in Lahaul and Spiti only recently at the recommendation of the Punjab Tribes Advisory Council which were sponsored by the local members. The villagers are interested in the happenings beyond Tandi and beyond the Rohtang. In fact, the traders having business and commercial interests in Ladakh and Tibet are

quite aware of the developments beyond our northern frontier. The immigration into the valley of the *Khampas* (the Tibetan refugees), who have now been engaged in road construction and other developmental projects in the valley has heightened the awareness among the locals of the problems facing the country in the international field. Newspapers are not locally available and take long to reach the valley, but whenever available they are obtained from the Government servants posted nearby and read by those who can. The residents of Tandi are not to be considered to be a pack of ignorant souls for their level of social awareness is at least average, if not higher.

Economic organisation and structure, religious beliefs and practices, and social institutions and relationship in the village are so much adjusted to one another as to produce a smooth pattern of community life. Considered in the background of the peculiar terrain, the dry and cold climate and the meagre natural resources, farming in the village is very efficient. The community is free from all disputes regarding ownership of land and other resources. The institution of property is there but the custom of inheritance is simple and unambiguous. The organisation of labour is not at all complicated. Men and women work equally hard to procure their subsistence and the village community has preserved the institution of mutual help. It is true that the techniques and tools of farming are out-moded but it is also true that the Lahaulis know the value of farmyard manure as perhaps no other farmer in the country does. Unspoiled by the ill-digested and artificial influences of modern civilisation, they have preserved dignity of manual labour. There are no agricultural menials except the technicians, like Lohars: there are no sweepers so that the womenfolk themselves clear the night-soil and dung and the manure so carefully prepared and preserved yields handsome returns when the manured fields bear rich crops. Lamas wield considerable influence on people. Budhism is the dominant religion though the impact of the Hindu religion like Shaivism is becoming increasingly manifest. As mentioned elsewhere, the villagers are giving to their children names similar to those of the children in the plains. Members of the castes other than Bodhs repose greater faith in Hindu gods and goddesses, but the worship of different deities by different sections of the village community does not give rise to any friction or tension. In the community festivals and fairs every section of the village population participates with equal enthusiasm and excitement. The Bhoti language, in which are preserved the Budhist scriptures, is no longer taught on the same scale as it used to be done previously. Hindi is replacing Bhoti, and the scriptures like the Gita, written in Hindi are finding their way even into the Bodh households. This religious transformation is going on quietly and unobtrusively.

Into the village community are integrated joint families. Caste stratification, though not of a rigid type, and joint families are the chief features of the social structure. There is no family in the village having less than four members. The optimum size of a family is considered to be five members. Another feature of the social life is the system of polyandry. Women enjoy equal status with men. A close-knit joint family engages in the joint venture of collecting enough foodgrains from the fields

TABLE 1

Population by Age-groups

Age groups	Persons	Males	Female
0—4 years ..	21	9	12
5—9 ,, ..	20	9	11
10—19 ,, ..	29	12	17
20—24 ,, ..	18	11	7
25—29 ,, ..	16	9	7
30—34 ,, ..	8	5	3
35—44 ,, ..	29	17	12
45—49 ,, ..	14	8	6
50 years and above ..	21	11	10
Total ..	176	91	85

TABLE 2

Size of Households

Tribe/Caste	Households of one member			Households of 2 or 3 members			Households of 4 to 6 members			Households of 7 to 9 members			Households of 10 or more members			Total		
	Households	Persons		Households	Persons		Households	Persons		Households	Persons		Households	Persons		Households	Persons	
		M	F		M	F		M	F		M	F		M	F		M	F
Bodh ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	7	4	3	11	13	8	49	41	13	67	58
Lohar ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	4	2	8	9	1	7	5	4	17	19
Shippi ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	7	9	1	7	9
Total ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	9	8	5	19	22	10	63	56	18	91	86

TABLE 3

Settlement History of Households

Tribe/Caste	Total households	Households settled in the Village			
		Before 5 Generations	Between 4—5 Generations	Between 2—4 Generations	1 Generation ago
1	2	3	4	5	6
Bodh ..	13	13	..	..	..
Lohar ..	4	4	..	..	..
Shippi ..	1	1	..	..	..
Total ..	18	18	..	..	..

TABLE 4

Castes and Sub-Castes

Castes	Sub-Castes	Households	Persons	Males	Females
Bodh Tribe ..	Katoch ..	1	9	4	5
	Kataro ..	2	15	9	6
	Thopa ..	2	17	9	8
	Shashni ..	4	43	24	19
	Katora ..	4	41	21	20
Lohar Caste ..	Bodh ..	3	29	15	14
	Moghu ..	1	6	2	4
Shippi Caste ..	Pangwal ..	1	16	7	9
	Total ..	18	176	91	85

TABLE 5

Households by number of rooms and by number of persons occupying

———	Households occupying such house	Total Members in the Households			Average persons per room
		Persons	Males	Females	
Houses with :—					
No regular room ..	..	..	..	..	..
One room ..	2	4	2	2	2
Two rooms ..	3	20	8	12	6·7
Three rooms ..	6	48	19	29	8
Four rooms ..	3	14	8	6	4·7
Five or more rooms ..	7	69	27	42	9·9
Total ..	21	155	64	91	4·7

Note.— According to 1961 Census House list, there are 21 households in village Tandi.

TABLE 6

Houses classified according to Type of Roof

Tribe/caste	Mud plaster without slope	Number of houses with		
		Tin roofs without slope	Wooden roofs without slope	Partly tin and partly mud plaster without slope
Bodh ..	10	1	1	1
Lohar ..	4	..	..	..
Shippi ..	1	..	..	..
Total ..	15	1	1	1

TABLE 7
Ornaments

	Tribe/Caste		
	Bodh	Lohar	Shippi
Total No. of Households	13	4	1
Households using Ornaments	8	1	1
Households using no Ornaments	5	3	..
Households in which Ornaments are worn by all members	..	..	..
Households in which Ornaments are worn by male and Female Adults	..	..	.
Households in which Ornaments are worn by Male Adults only	..	..	..
Households in which Ornaments are worn by Female Adults only	8	1	1
Households in which Ornaments are worn by Children only	..	..	..
Households in which Ornaments are worn by Children and Male Adults	..	..	..
Households in which Ornaments are worn by Children and Female Adults	..	..	..

TABLE 8
Household Furniture

Tribe/caste	No. of Households	Households owning									
		Bed Steads	Cots	Chairs	Tables	Mirrors	Benches	Stools	Wall Shelves	Thobis	Ghalichas
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Bodh ..	13	..	5	2	..	10	..	..	..	5	10
Lohar ..	4	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	2	..
Shippi ..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	18	..	5	2	..	13	..	..	1	7	10

TABLE 9

Articles used by Households

Tribe/caste	No. of Households	Households owning									
		Petromax	Hurricane Lantern	Kerosene oil pot	Torch	Kerosene Stove	Sewing Machine	Bicycle	Watch	Independent Pen	Radio Set
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Bodh ..	13	1	9	4	3	..	4	1	6	8	3
Lohar ..	4	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Shippi ..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Total ..	18	1	11	7	3	..	4	1	7	9	3

TABLE 10

Articles acquired during the last five years

Tribe/caste	Articles		
	Sewing Machine	Independent Pen	Radio Set
Bodh ..	1	2	1
Lohar ..	..	..	..
Shippi ..	..	1	..
Total ..	1	3	1

TABLE 11

Material Culture—Habits

Tribe/caste	Number of Households using	
	Toilet soap	Washing Soap
Bodh	12	1
Lohar	2	2
Shippi	1	..
Total	15	3

TABLE 12

Livestock and Households owning them

Tribe/caste	Households	Bullocks	Cows	Churies	Horses	Donkeys	Mules	Goats	Sheep	Pet Dogs	Poultry
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bodh ..	13	7	17	16	15	6	38	18	336	1	47
		(4)	(9)	(7)	(7)	(3)	(6)	(6)	(12)	(1)	(10
Lohar ..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	23	1	..
		..	..	..	..	..	..	(2)	(4)	(1)	..
Shippi ..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	4	..	2
		..	(1)	..	..	..		(1)	(1)	..	(1)
Total ..	18	7	19	16	15	6	38	21	363	2	49
		(4)	(10)	(7)	(7)	(3)	(6)	(9)	(17)	(2)	(11)

Notes.—(1) Figures within brackets show number of households owning different types of animals.

(2) The " Yak" used for breeding purpose is owned by the village community.

(3) 'Churies' are female off-springs from 'Yak' and cow, kept for milk.

TABLE 13

Occupational Mobility

Occupation	Number of heads of households following the occupation	Occupation of the father of head of the household
1	2	3
Agriculture ..	9	Same as column 2
Blacksmithy ..	4	Ditto
Business and Agriculture ..	1	Ditto
Service ..	1	Agriculture
School Teacher and Agriculture ..	1	Do
Teaching-cum-Agriculture ..	1	Do
Agriculture-cum-masonary ..	1	Do
Total ..	18	..

TABLE 14

Workers classified by Sex, Age and Occupation

Age groups	*Total workers*			*Agri-culture*		*Black-smithy*		*Cattle grazing*		*Service*		*Business*		*Tailor-ing*		*P.W.D. contract*		*Shop-keeping*		*Casual work*	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
0—14	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—34	18	18	..	4	..	3	..	1	..	9	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35—59	26	26	..	10	..	5	..	..	..	3	..	4	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	1	..
60 and above	11	11	..	7	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	56	56	..	21	..	12	..	2	..	12	..	4	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	1	..

TABLE 15

Occupational Mobility—Nature of Aspiration

Occupation	Households following the occupation	Number of Households who wish their sons to be		
		In the same occupation	In Service	In Business
1	2	3	4	5
Agriculture ..	9	..	5	4
Blacksmithy ..	4	1	3	..
Business and Agriculture ..	1	..	..	1
Service ..	1	..	..	1
School Teacher and Agriculture* ..	1	..	..	..
Teaching-cum-Agriculture ..	1	..	1	..
Agriculture-cum-Mistry (part-time) ..	1	..	1	..
Total ..	18	1	10	6

*The school teacher has no son.

TABLE 16

Agricultural Produce of the village and its Disposal

Product	Wheat	Barley	Vegetable Potato	Kathu	Kuth	Pulses
	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.
Quantity produced during the year ..	62	99	324	94	146	0.5
Quantity consumed during the year ..	62	99	324	94	..	0.5
Quantity sold ..	..	..	..	..	146	..

TABLE 17

Number of Households in Business and their income from the source

Tribe/Caste	Business in Wool and Pashmina			Business in general merchandise		
	Number of house-holds	Source of finance	Annual profit (Rupees)	Number of house-holds	Source of finance	Annual profit (Rupees)
Bodh ..	4	Self	2,000 3,000 500 2,000	2	Self	840 840
Lohar ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Shippi ..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE 18

Outstanding Debts classified according to the Source of Finance and year in which incurred

Tribe/Caste	Source of finance	Year in which incurred									Out-standing Debts (Rs)	Per-centage of out-standing debt to total debt
		1953 (Rs)	1954 (Rs)	1955 (Rs)	1956 (Rs)	1957 (Rs)	1958 (Rs)	1959 (Rs)	1960 (Rs)	1961 (Rs)		
Bodh	Friends and Relations	..	400	1,000	..	..	..	..	1,200	..	2,600	25.75
Lohar	Ditto	..	..	700	..	..	..	200	..	..	900	8.91
Shippi	Ditto	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	Ditto	..	400	1,700	..	..	..	200	1,200	..	3,500	34.66
Bodh	Zamindars	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lohar	Do	..	..	..	..	..	800	..	..	..	800	7.92
Shippi	Do	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	Do	..	..	..	..	..	800	..	..	..	800	7.92
Bodh	Money-Lenders	800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	800	7.92
Lohar	Ditto	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Shippi	Ditto	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	Ditto	800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	800	7.92
Bodh	Government Agency	..	..	..	4,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	5·000	49.50
Lohar	Ditto	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Shippi	Ditto	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	Ditto	..	..	..	4,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	5,000	49.50

TABLE 19

Incidence of Indebtedness

Tribe/Caste	Households		Outstanding amount of Debt (Rs)	Percentage of outstanding debt to the total debt	Average indebtedness per household in debt (Rs)
	Total	In debt			
Bodh ..	13	5	8,400	83.2	1,680
Lohar ..	4	3	1,700	16.8	567
Shippi ..	1	..	..	..	..
Total ..	18	8	10,100	100	1,263

TABLE 20

Outstanding Debt Classified according to Causes

Cause	Amount	Households under the debt	Indebtedness per family	Percentage of debt by cause to total debt
Business ..	4,000	1	4,000	39·6
Purchase of Cattle ..	2,200	2	1100	21·8
Domestic use ..	2,900	5	580	28·7
Building Construction ..	1,000	1	1000	9·9

TABLE 21
Marital Status by Age Groups

Age groups	Total Population			Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated	
	Persons	Male	Female	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0 – 4 years	21	9	12	9	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 – 9 ,,	20	9	11	9	11	..	..	..	..	..	..
10 – 14 ,,	15	6	9	6	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
15 – 19 ,,	14	6	8	6	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
20 – 24 ,,	18	11	7	8	2	3	5	..	..	..	..
25 – 29 ,,	16	9	7	5	5	4	2	..	..	..	..
30 – 34 ,,	8	5	3	5	5	..	3	..	..	..	..
35 – 39 ,,	16	9	7	2	1	7	6	..	..	..	..
40 – 44 ,,	13	8	5	2	..	6	5	..	..	..	..
45 – 49 ,,	8	5	3	1	..	4	2	..	1	..	..
50 – 54 ,,	3	2	1	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..
55 – 59 ,,	3	1	2	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..
60 years and above ..	21	11	10	2	..	9	7	..	3	..	..
Total ..	176	91	85	55	53	35	33	1	4	..	..

TABLE 22
Systems of Medicine availed of by Households

System of treatment	Households getting treated
Allopathic	1
Ayurvedic	3
Homeopathic	3
Jantar Mantar	3
Allopathic and Ayurvedic	..
Ayurvedic and Jantar Mantar	8
Total	18

TABLE 23

Education (by age groups)

Age groups	*Total population*			*Illiterate*		*Literate without educational standard*		*Primary*		*Middle*		*Matric*		*F.A.*		*B.A.*		*Other Diploma-holders*	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0—4 years ..	21	9	12	9	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5—9 ,, ..	20	9	11	6	7	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10—14 ,, ..	14	6	8	1	4	5	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—19 ,, ..	16	7	9	..	5	1	2	2	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
20—24 ,, ..	17	10	7	3	7	1	..	3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25—29 ,, ..	16	9	7	3	7	..	..	1	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..
30—34 ,, ..	8	5	3	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35—39 ,, ..	14	8	6	5	6	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
40—44 ,, ..	15	9	6	5	6	..	..	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45—49 ,, ..	6	4	2	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
50—54 ,, ..	3	2	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55—59 ,, ..	5	2	3	1	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 years and above	21	11	10	11	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	176	91	85	50	73	11	10	10	..	11	1	4	..	1	..	..	..	4	1

TABLE 24

Structure of Households

Tribe/Caste	Total number of households	Types of families living in the households			
		Simple*	Intermediate†	Joint‡	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6
Bodh ..	13	..	3	10	..
Lohar ..	4	1	..	3	..
Shippi ..	1	..	..	1	..
Total ..	18	1	3	14	..

*Consisting of husband, wife and unmarried children.

†Consisting of husband, wife, unmarried brothers and sisters and one of the parents.

‡Consisting of more than one married couple.

TABLE 25

Attitude towords Family Planning with reference to the age of Head of Household

Tribe/Caste	*Households wanting more children, the age of the head of the household (male) being*						*Households wanting no more children, the age of the head of household (male) being*					
	Total number of households	Above 50	41—50	31—40	21—30	20 or less	Total	Above 50	41—50	31—40	21—30	20 or less	Total
Bodh ..	13	1	2	1	1	..	5	5	2	1	..	..	8
Lohar ..	4	1	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	3
Shippi ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Total ..	18	2	2	1	1	..	6	9	2	1	..	..	12

TABLE 26

Information and Attitude towards family planning with reference to number of sons and daughters already in Households

Tribe/Caste	Total number of Households	*Households wanting more children*						*Households wanting no more children*					
		Have more than 3 sons in household	Have 1—3 sons in household	Have no son	Have no daughter	Have no children	Households	Have more than 3 sons in household	Have 1—3 sons in household	Have no son	Have no daughter	Have no children	Households
Bodh ..	13	..	3	1	1	..	5	1	6	..	1	..	8
Lohar ..	4	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	3
Shippi ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Total ..	18	..	4	1	1	..	6	2	9	..	1	..	12

APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR VILLAGE SURVEY

I. General

Location of village; its age; any legend or explanation about its name and how it was founded; any historic or important building; general description of the terrain; climate; type and quality of soil; area; 1951 Census population figures; Distance from the (1) nearest Railway Station; (2) Bus route, (3) Police Station, (4) Tahsil and District headquarters, (5) nearest Post Office, (6) nearest Telegraph Office, (7) nearest Hospital and (8) nearest School for boys and girls where education may be had up to Primary, Middle and Matriculation Standard; a description of the more important castes and communities and which among them own most of the agricultural land.

II. Settlement Pattern

1. Prepare a sketch map showing the location of the village in the District, Tahsil or Police Station. Show the main road and other channels of communication serving the village, and the distance of the village from these channels of communication.

2. Obtain a map of the village from the Patwari. Show in this map:—

(i) the habitation areas: indicate density of habitation by the aid of small triangles the number of families. In small villages one triangle for one household and in the case of big villages one triangle for five families and ∇ for less than five families. Explain the key in a corner of the map.

(ii) Water resources; drainage; agricultural fields; pastures; jungles, if any; graveyard and burning ghats, etc.

(iii) Roads leading to and out of the village, and roads, streets and lanes within the village.

(iv) Distribution of main communities in the village. Show this by over-writing on the map, or by numbers or symbols for different communities which should be explained in the margin of map.

(v) Public amenities, such as schools, hospitals, dispensaries, irrigation wells, drinking wells, tanks, etc.

3. If the village is electrified, number of connections for lighting, irrigation and industrial purposes.

4. If a photograph of the village from a distant high point is possible, such a photograph would be most useful.

III. Houses

1. Give rough plans of different types of dwellings in the village, also showing the distribution of huts or rooms round the family courtyard or within the family compound.

2. Describe a few typical houses of farmers, artisans, businessmen, harijans, etc.; number and dimensions of rooms and the uses to which they are put; the direction the main living rooms are made to face, should the villagers be having any preference.

3. Usual plinth, type of flooring, height to roof, construction of roof, ventilation.

4. A rough percentage of the houses which are more than one storeyed, and of kucha and pucca houses.

5. Facilities for taking bath and for easing.

6. Details of construction; materials used, and which of these are produced locally and which procured from outside.

7. Places for storage of food-grains and other agricultural produce.

8. Arrangements for tethering cattle during the day and at night.

9. Different types of workmen required for house-building and how they are secured. Any practice of mutual help in house construction ?

10. How often are the houses plastered or white-washed ?

11. Comparative importance of different means of lighting electric lamps, kerosene lamps, vegetable oil pots. For how many hours are the house lights used ?

12. Number of houses constructed during the last ten years; main points of difference between the old and new houses.

IV. Diet.

1. Staple food of the people; cereals, etc; how cooked; seasonal variations.

2. Other items of food commonly taken; pulses, vegetables, milk and milk products, tea, meat (by types) eggs, vegetable oils, sugar and *gur*, salt, *chatni*, *achar*, etc.

3. Number of meals taken during a day, and items of each meal.

4. Special dishes and sweet-meats.

5. What fats or oils are used for cooking ?

6. Description and sketches of cooking utensils, kitchen, hearth, *tandoor*, kinds of fuel used. Take some photographs.

V. Dress and Ornaments.

1. Describe the dress of men and women commonly worn in the village, mentioning any peculiarities in the dress of particular castes, tribes or economic classes.

2. Any particular dress for festive or ceremonial occasions ?

3. Describe the ornaments worn by women of different classes; what are they made of ? Are any ornaments also worn by men?

4. Take a few photographs of men and women in typical dress and ornaments. If there be an intelligent goldsmith in the village ask him to give a sketch of these ornaments, particularly the designs on the ornaments.

5. Describe the footwear in common use; whether made in the village or procured from outside.

6. What percentage of men and women generally walk about bare foot ?

7. Take a photograph of foot-wear if there are any peculiar to the village:—

VI. ANIMALS AND BIRDS

(a) Domestic animals—cows, buffaloes, horses, ponies, donkeys, goats, sheep, fowls, etc.

(i) Their number and breeds (This information relating to the last animal census can be had from the Village Note Book).

(ii) What steps are being taken to improve the breed ?

(iii) Photograph some animals of good breeds.

(iv) What is the yield of milk per cow and buffaloe of ordinary and best kind ? What is the system of disposal of milk surplus from family requirements ?

(v) Pet birds and animals.

(b) Wild animals and birds—Describe them and the extent of damage done by them. Are they killed, if so, how ?

Snakes : Names of local species; cases of snake bites during the last one year and how are the snake bites treated ?

VII. FURNITURE AND STORING VESSELS

1. Describe the main articles of furniture in common use, e.g., *charpoys, plungs, peerees,* almirahs, *moorhas*, chairs, tables, etc.

2. Take a photograph of all such articles assembled together in a court-yard.

3. Describe the vessels or silo-structures in which grain is stored.

VIII. FLORA & FAUNA

Describe the trees and plants, growing wild and deliberately sown. Uses to which they are put.

Photograph a few trees or plantations.

IX. OCCUPATIONS

1. Make a quick survey of the occupations of the people and give the numerical strength of the persons following each occupation (Non-cultivating owners; peasant proprietors, tenants, agricultural labourers, businessmen, artisans and others).

2. What occupations are associated with certain castes ? Is the custom very rigid in this respect ?

X. MEANS OF TRANSPORT

1. Describe whether goods are carried by human beings. If so, whether on the back, on the shoulders or on the head; or by pack animals (if so, what animals); or by carts, boats, etc.

Take a few photographs of typical modes of transport for goods and human beings.

XI. AGRICULTURE

1. Copy out from the Village Note Book the *milan raqba* (land utilisation) statement, since 1941-42.

Comment on the changes noted from this statement.

2. From the *jinswar* in the Village Note Book prepare a statement showing the acreage under main crops and total sown area for years 1941-42, 1942-43, 1951-52, 1952-53, 1958-59 and 1959-60. Give a brief note on the comparative importance of *rabi* and kharif crops and of cash and food crops.

3. Describe the chief sources for irrigation; area of crops irrigated since 1941-42, 1942-43, 1951-52, 1952-53, 1958-59 and 1959-60.

4. Note from the nearest rain gauge station the normal annual rainfall and its distribution among seasons.

Droughts; their frequency and severity (Note the area of crops sown and area failed to mature, from the Village Note Book for each of the last 20 years). How are periods of drought tided over ? Any improvement during the last ten years.

5. Should the village be in waterlogged area, describe the improvement or deterioration in *sem* or *thur* during the last ten years. Extent of resulting damage.

6. Extent to which farmyard manure is preserved; crops which are usually manured; use of chemical fertilizers.

7. Give a brief note about the tenant-landlord relationship.

8. Describe briefly the method in which rent is charged from the tenants; cash rents or *battai*—their rates. Any change in the rates of cash or kinds of rents during the last ten years.

9. In what month of the year are annual leases given to the tenants? Are such contracts reduced to writing ? Obtain a copy of one or two contracts.

10. What is the practice about engaging agricultural labour ? Are they generally engaged for the year, or for a smaller period or a season ? What is the usual mode of payment to them ?

11. How is the seed for different crops obtained ? What new varieties of seed have been introduced in the village and the common opinion of the people about each one of them ?

12. Prepare a list of agricultural implements used in the village. Describe the use of each implement, its cost and its useful life.

13. Give a list of mechanical implements used for agriculture. Are they owned individually or by a group of farmers ? In what respect are they superior to indigenous implements ?

XII. Village Crafts

1. Give a brief note about the craftsmen in the village, the castes to which they belong and the number of their families.

2. Describe in detail the process of manufacture for each craft, raw materials, whether available from within the village or procured from outside. Use local terms freely in your description.

3. How are the finished products marketed ? Are they sold for cash or for kind ? To what extent do the craftsmen work for wages ?

4. Any new crafts that have sprung up in the village or died out.

5. How many weavers since 1951 have given up this profession ? What are they doing now ?

6. How does a craftsman compare with an ordinary Zamindar in social status and standard of living ?

Take some photographs of craftsmen at work and also of their finished products.

XIII. Trade

1. Number of shops in the village ? List the articles sold or bought by each kind of trader.

2. Which town or mandi is more commonly visited by the people of this village and for what purpose ? How far is it from the village ?

3. Is the system of *hat* prevalent in the village; group of dealers moving from village to village by rotation. If so, give a brief description of commodities sold and bought by the villagers.

4. What are the chief articles imported into and exported from the village ? If possible, give rough estimates of quantities and value.

5. Enquire from the nearest Post Office the amount of money remitted to the villagers from outside. Who are chief remitters ? Also find out the number of persons in the village who have Postal Savings Accounts.

XIV. Indebtedness

1. What is the most common type of surety given for loans, e.g., personal surety, land, ornaments, etc. ?

2. What is the usual rate of interest charged for loans: for seed loans or loans of foodgrains, and cash loans ?

3. What is the acreage of land in the village which stands mortgaged and the amount of mortgage money ? (This information can be had from the Village Note Book).

Give a short note about the money-lender, should there be any in the village. What work does he do besides money-lending ?

4. What is the rough percentage among families who are in debt (farmers, tenants, agricultural labourers and artisans) ? What would roughly be the average amount of loan per indebted family ?

5. What are the chief sources for obtaining loans (for short-term, e.g., payable within six months, and for long period) ? Give a rough percentage of total loans advanced in the village by:—

(i) Co-operative Societies.
(ii) Well-to-do farmers.
(iii) Money-lenders.
(iv) Arhtis of the mandi.
(v) Friends and relations.

6. What are causes for short-term (six months) and long term loans ?

XV. Religious Practices and Ceremonies

1. Give the number and describe the places of worship in the village. Are the villagers enthusiastic about them ? Describe any shrines in the village, and how they are maintained.

2. What is the position of priests in the village ?

3. Describe the religious practices followed by members of each caste, tribe or religious sect in the village. Which god or godess is worshipped on such occasions ?

Describe the ceremonies in respect of a person before he is born, and ending with funeral rites.

4. Describe any custom associated with sowing, ploughing, reaping, harvesting, etc.

XVI. Fairs & Festivals

See a separate questionnaire on the subject.

XVII. Institutions

Write short notes on :—

(i) Schools; their number in the village, classes, number of teachers and students (boys and girls separately), rough percentage of scholars to total number of children of school-going age.

Are the students evenly distributed among different castes and classes ?

Number of boys and girls who are at present reading in schools and colleges outside the village.

Position of the school teacher in the village Community.

(ii) Hospitals and Dispensaries: a brief description: Are they well-equipped with medicines and implements; most common diseases treated.

Are there any Vaids and Hakims in the village, also any faith-curers ? Is their hold on the people increasing or decreasing ?

(iii) Veterinary dispensary: number of animals treated; any artificial insemination, if performed.

(iv) Post Office: its distance from the village, average number of letters received and despatched in a month; average number of money orders received or sent. How many telegrams are received in the village in a month ?

(v) Co-operative Societies: number and type, number of members, working capital, activities.

(vi) Panchayat: If there be a statutory panchayat in the village, describe briefly its membership and work done by it during the last two years.

If there is a caste panchayat or informal Panchayat, describe it similarly.

(vii) If the village is in a Community Development Block, give a brief description of its achievements.

(viii) Any other cultural activity in the village, e.g., Library, number of books,

journals subscribed, number of persons taking advantage.

Dramatic party: its members according to castes and age, its performances.

Any other social-welfare work, or entertainments; extent of participation by the people.

XVIII. Sanitation & Hygiene

Give a brief note on:—

(i) drinking water; sources and quality, men and women whose occupation is supplying water to houses, number of wells for drinking water, depth to water, how is water drawn.

(ii) Scavenging.

(iii) Evacuation habits.

(iv) Flies and mosquitos.

(v) Maternity care.

(vi) Most common diseases.

XIX. Games and Amusements

1. What games are played by children below 5, boys and girls from 5 to 18, and the grown ups—men and women separately (e.g., tops, bats and balls, *guli danda*, hide and seek, cards, dice, chess, kite flying, races, jumping, wrestling, guessing games). Give a brief description of these games.

Describe any social recreation centres in the village (*akhara*, club or any other place built or otherwise where men/women collect for leisure and gossip.

2. Are any folk plays enacted in the village ? If so, give their names and the usual time of the year when they are enacted. Are the actors professionals or laymen from among the local population ?

XX. Social

1. *Untouchability.*—To what extent has untouchability disappeared since Independence ? To what extent do the Harijans still suffer in regard to access to place of worship, to taking food from the *halwai* or *dhaba*, the drinking well and other places of public resort ?

From what castes or profession the common villager would still not accept water for drinking ?

Any notable achievements by the Harijans since Independence ?

2. *Refugees.*—Number of households of the refugees, their occupations present and before the Partition; area vacated by the outgoing muslims and how it has been utilised. Number of allottees and area allotted.

General relation between the refugees and the original inhabitants.

Effect of the incoming of refugees on language, dress and the general mode of life in the village.

3. *Migration.*—Number of families other than of refugees who have immigrated into the village since 1951; the places they have come from; the occupations they are following:

Number of families who have migrated from the village since 1951: the occupations they followed in the village; reasons for their leaving the village; the places they have gone to and the occupations they are following now. Do they still visit the village occasionally ?

4. *Family Planning.*—What is the general attitude of the people towards family planning: What is considered to be the optimum number of children in a family; any families using contraceptions. If there be a Primary Health Centre near the village, record a general note on the subject after discussion with the Medical Officer there.

5. *Popular beliefs.*—What beliefs, if any, are current in the village regarding spirits or other supernatural beings ? Are they invoked at the time of calamities, such as drought or illness or snake bite; if so, describe the rituals.

6. What animals are considered to be lucky or unlucky ? Similarly are there any plants which are considered to be lucky or unlucky ? What other things are considered lucky and unlucky, including persons of different types ?

7. *Local proverbs and pithy sayings.*—In the daily talk people generally substantiate their advice and observations by quoting pithy sayings and proverbs. These sayings relate to prediction of weather, food and laws of health, agricultural practices, characteristics going for food quality in animals and human beings, code of human conduct, etc., and others are in a lighter vein. Make a collection of such sayings with accurate rendering in English.

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HOUSEHOLDS

Indentification of the Household.

1. (a) Village ..... (b) H. B. No. .....

   (c) Tahsil ..... (d) District .....

2. (a) Serial No. of household .. _____

   (b) Name of head of the household .. _____

   (c) Occupation .. _____

   (d) Sex .. _____

   (e) Age .. _____

   (f) Religion and Caste .. _____

   (g) Name of the informant .. _____

   (h) Relationship of informant to the head of Household .. _____

   (i) Quality of response .. _____

Investigator

(a) Name of investigator _____

(b) Number of visits paid to the household _____

(c) Date on which the questionnaire was completed _____

(d) Signature _____

3. Composition of House hold including the Head

	Serial No.	Name	Sex	Relationship to the Head	Age	Marital status	Age at marriage	Educational standard	Occupation
A.—Earners	1								
	2								
	3								
	4								
B.—Dependents living with Family	1								
	2								
	3								
	4								
	5								
	6								
	7								
	8								
	9								

	Serial No.	Name	Sex	Relationship to the Head	Age	Marital status	Age at marriage	Educational standard	occupation
C.—Dependents living away from family	1								
	2								
	3								
	4								
	5								

4. (a) For how many generations, counting from head of the household backwards, has the household been residing in this village ? ——————

   (b) If head of the household has migrated to this village together with the household, where was his ancestral home ? ——————

5. (a) Religion ..... ——————

   (b) Sect. ..... ——————

   (c) Tribe or Caste ..... ——————

   (d) Sub-Caste or Sub-Tribe ..... ——————

9. (a) If there is a deity or an object of worship or a sacred plant in the house, give the name. .. ——————

   (b) Where is the deity or object of worship located in the house ? .. ——————

7. Do you know that untouchability in any form has been prohibited under law ? (Yes/No) ——————

8. **Marriage**—

(a) Has any marriage, in contravention of caste or tribal law, taken place in your household ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(b) If such a marriage has taken place, give details about the marriage ? .. _____

_____

(c) Whether Polygamy or Polyandry is permissible in your household ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(d) With what caste or tribe other than the caste or tribe of the household is marriage permissible ? .. _____

(e) With which of such castes or tribes would marriage be preferred ? .. _____

(f) Was dowry given on the marriage of the daughters ? (Yes/No) .. _____

If yes, state the value.

Year when marriage celebrated	*Cash*	*Ornaments*	*Clothes*	*Utensils and furniture*
1				
2				

(g) Was dowry received on the marriage of the sons ? (Yes/No) _____

If yes, sta e the value.
t

Year when marriage celebrated	*Cash*	*Ornaments*	*Clothes*	*Utensils and furniture*
1				
2				
3				

9. (a) Do you know that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Marriage Act ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(b) If yes, mention the salient features of this Act ? .. _____

_____

10. (a) Have you any objection to contract marriages for persons of your household with persons of same social and economic status as yours but belonging to other castes and communities ? (Yes/ No) .. _____

(b) Mark with (√) the following names of the communities against which you have no objection. .. _____

(i) Muslim

(ii) Chamar

(iii) Sikh

(iv) Hindu

(v) European

(vi) Any other

11. **Inheritance**—

(a) Do you know that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Adoption Act ? (Yes/ No) .. _____

(b) If yes, what do you think are the salient features of the recent changes ? .. _____

_____

(c) Do you know that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Succession Act ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(d) If yes, what do you think are the salient features of these changes ? .. _____

_____

(e) Which relatives, including male members widows and daughters, married and unmarried, inherit property on the death of a married male person belonging to the same caste as your household ?

(i) Widow (Yes/No)

(ii) Married daughters (Yes/No)

(iii) Unmarried daughters (Yes/No)

(iv) Married sons (Yes/No)

(v) Unmarried sons (Yes/No)

(f) What is the share of

Widow	Married daughter	Unmarried daughter	Married son	Unmarried son

12. Are you in favour of inheritance of property by daughters equally with sons ? (Yes/No) . .

13. **Agriculture**—

(a) Does the household possess land ? (Yes/No) . .

If yes, give following particulars, in acres:—

Type of land	Owned	*Self operated*		Operational holding	Remarks
		Leased in	Leased out		
1. AGRICULTURAL—					
(a) Cultivated—					
(i) Irrigated . .					
(ii) Unirrigated . .					
2. HORTICULTURAL ORCHARDS—					
Sub-Total (1—2) . .					
3. PASTURES . .					
GRAND TOTAL . .					

(b) Give details about the following crops, if sown by the household during the two previous harvests.

Name of crop]	Quantity obtained (Mds.)	Quantity sold (Mds.)
1. Wheat ..		
2. Gram ..		
3. Barley ..		
4. Paddy ..		
5. Maize ..		
6. Bajra ..		
7. Pulses ..		
8. Sugarcane ..		
9. Cotton ..		
10. Oil Seeds ..		
11. Tabacco ..		
12. Chillies ..		
13. Vegetables ..		
14. Fruits ..		
15. Fodder/Bamboo Cane ..		
16. Groundnuts ..		
17. Other Agricultural Products ..		
18. ..		
19. ..		
20. ..		

(c) Whether land possessed by you is sufficient for your livelihood? (Yes/No) .. _____

(d) If not, what are the other measures, adopted to serve the family ? .. _____

(e) How much land revenue do you pay yearly ? .. _____

(f) What is the organic manure used ? .. _____

(g) Do you use chemical fertilizers ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(h) Do you use any new agricultural implements which have been taught to you for the first time in the last five years? (Yes/No) .. _____

If yes, give names. .. _____

(i) Do you take help of neighbours at the time of sowing or harvesting? (Yes/No) .. _____

(j) Do you assist your neighbours and receive help at the time of cultivation in the shape of manual labour ? (Yes/No) .. _____

	Men	*Women*	*Children*
(k) How many members of the household are engaged full time in cultivation during working season?			
(l) How many members are part-time engaged in agriculture during the working season?			

14. How much did your father own at the time of his death? .. _____

(a) Land in acres .. _____

(b) Houses and other property? (Yes/No) .. _____

15. Live stock—

(a) Please state the number of the following owned by the household.

	Present Number	Breed	Number bought during the year	Sold during the year
1 Bullocks & cows ..				
2 Buffaloes ..				
3 Horses & Mares ..				
4 Donkeys ..				
5 Mules ..				
6 Camels ..				
7 Goats ..				
8 Sheep ..				
9 Pigs ..				
10 Ducks/Geese ..				
11 Pet Dogs ..				
12 Pet Birds ..				
13 Cocks & Hens ..				
14 Others ..				

(b) What is the number of decrepit animals with the household? How are such animals looked after? .. _____

(c) How would you view a person who gets destroyed a worthless bullock or cow which he cannot afford to feed? .. _____

(d) How much milk or milk-products do you sell (average per day) ?

	Within Village	*Outside Village*

(e) Does the household own any tank? (Yes/No) .. _____

(f) If fish is reared, was any quantity sold? (Yes/No) .. _____

If yes, mention quantity. .. _____

16. **Industry**—

(a) Do you conduct any industry? (Yes/No) .. _____

If yes, give the name of industry. .. _____

(b) What are the products? .. _____

(c) Which of them do you sell (i) within the village and (ii) outside ? .. _____

(d) How many members of the household are engaged full-time in this industry ? .. .. ..

(j) Have you adopted any improved tools or instruments for running this industry? (Yes/No) .. _____

(k) If Yes, give details of such tools and instruments. .. _____

17. (a) Name the art or craft in which you have earned proficiency? .. _____

(b) When and from whom did you learn it ? .. _____

(c) Do you consider further training necessary? (Yes No) .. _____

(d) If Yes, describe the type of training. .. _____

18. Occupation—

(a) What is your present occupation ? .. _____

(b) Did you change your occupation in your life? If so, state reason. .. _____

(c) What was your father's occupation ? .. _____

(d) If you follow another occupation, give reasons. .. _____

(e) Has the Household any traditional occupation, if so, what ? .. _____

(f) Is the traditional occupation being continued now ? (Yes/No) .. _____
If Yes, whether as the main or subsidiary occupation ? .. _____

(g) If the traditional occupation is not being continued, why was it given up ? .. _____

(h) How many members of the Household are engaged in traditional occupation ? .. *Males* _____ *Females* _____

(i) Are you content with your present occupation ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(j) If not, what other subsidiary work are you doing ? .. _____

19. What kind of work would you like your son to do ? .. _____

20. **Unemployment**—

(a) Is there any member of the household searching for a job ? (Yes/No) .. *Male* _____ *Female* _____

(b) If so, give following details :—

Serial No.	Name	Nature of previous employment	Date of cessation of previous employment	Reasons for leaving	Any subsidiary work doing at present
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					

(c) Do you know that Employment Exchanges help in providing jobs ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(d) Whether any member of your household registered his/her name with Employment Exchange. If so, with what result ? (Yes/No) .. _____

21. (a) Are you engaged in trade or business ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(b) If Yes, mention the commodities dealt in. .. _____

(c) **Approximate investment in goods dealt with ?** .. _____

(d) How do you get your finance ? .. _____

(e) What is your approximate annual profit ? .. Rs _____

(f) Do you sell commodities against cash or kind payment ? .. _____

22. Savings—

(a) Does your household save something ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(b) Is there any deficit ? (Yes/No) .. _____

If so, what is the source to meet the deficit ? .. _____

(c) How do you invest your savings ? .. _____

(d) Are you or any other member of the household insured ? If so, for what amount ? .. Rs _____

(e) Are you having some litigation ? (Yes/No) .. _____

23. Indebtedness —

(a) Is the household in debt ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(b) If yes, give the following particulars :—

Source	Year borrowed	Amount borrowed	Purpose	Whether secured or unsecured	Rate of Interest	Present amount out-standing
1. Co-operative Society						
2. Government agency						

Source	Year borrowed	Amount borrowed	Purpose	Whether secured or unsecured	Rate of Interest	Present amount out-standing
3. Money Lenders						
4. Zamindars						
5. Relations and friends						
6.						
7.						
Total ..						

24. Education—

Give following particulars about students in the household :—

Name	Age	Class in which studying			
		School in the village	School outside village	College	
MALES					
1 ..					
2 ..					
3 ..					
4 ..					
FEMALES					
1 ..					
2 ..					
3 ..					

Other persons below 15 years of age	What they are doing	Why not reading
MALES		
1 ..		
2 ..		
3 ..		
FEMALES		
1 ..		
2 ..		
3 ..		

(b) How much did you spend last year on the education of children ? .. Rs _____

(c) Are you in favour of educating females in your family ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(d) Does any member of the household regularly read a newspaper, listen to news broadcasts through the community radio sets ? (Yes/No) .. _____

25. Community—

(a) Does the head of the household know name of the (1) Panchayat (2) Thana (3) Tahsil (4) District in which his village is situated ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(1) (2) (3) (4)

(b) Does the head of household know names of the principal rivers flowing through the District ? (Yes/No) .. _____

26. (a) Do you think that the imposition of ceiling on land has resulted in any good to you ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(b) If yes, indicate how have you benefitted ? .. _____

(c) If not why have you not been benefitted? .. _____

27. (a) Are you a Batai-tenant ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(b) If yes, could you get yourself recorded as a share-cropper in the revisionary settlement ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(c) Have you been evicted from your land as a result of recent land legislation ? (Yes/No) .. _____

If yes, give particulars. .. _____

_____

28. Co-operation—

(a) Is there a Co-operative Society in your village ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(b) If yes, are you a member ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(c) If no, why are you not a member ? .. _____

(d) If you are a member, what benefits have you derived so far ? .. _____

29. Panchayat—

(a) Is there a Panchayat in your village ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(b) If yes, how long has the Panchayat been in your village ? .. _____

(c) Is it working properly ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(d) What are the main functions of the Panchayat ? .. _____

_____

_____

(e) What are the main parties in your Panchayat and which caste is predominating ? .. _____

(f) Are you or any member of the household a member of village Panchayat/Panchayat Samiti or Zila Parshad ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(g) Have there been any improvements in your village since Panchayat was established ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(h) If yes, what have been the improvements ? .. _____

_____

(i) What activities or works of Community benefits have been taken up in your village since the establishment of the Panchayat ? .. (i) School building

(ii) Wells

(iii) Panchayat Ghar

(iv) Young Farmers Club

(v) _____

(vi) _____

(vii) _____

(viii) _____

(j) Did you participate in these activities (by contributing land, labour, cash or material) ? If not, why not ? .. _____

(k) Have you benefitted from the work/activity ? (Yes/No) .. _____

30. (a) Has any Caste or Tribe of your village got a separate un-official Panchayat of its own ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(b) If yes, what are the main functions of this Caste or Tribal Panchayat ? .. _____

_____

(c) Since the Statutory Panchayats are functioning, do you think these Caste or Tribal Panchayats should still continue, if so, why ? .. _____

_____

31. Medical (Health)—

(a) What are the common diseases that the members of your household have suffered from, during the last one year ? .. _____

Serial No.	Name of disease	Male	Female	Children	Duration
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					

(b) In what types of treatments do you have greater faith (i) Allopathic, (ii) Ayurvedic (iii) Homeopathic, (iv) Unani, (v) Jantar Mantar? Give reasons. .. _____

(c) Does any member of the household suffer from physical or mental disability ? If so, describe. .. _____

(d) Does any member of the household use spectacles ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(e) Does any member of the household take physical exercise ? If so, of what type ? .. _____

(f) From where is drinking water obtained ? Any complaint about it ? .. _____

(g) Is there a Family Planning Centre in your area ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(h) Have you ever sought the advice on Family Planning ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(i) Do you know that man and wife can prevent conception of a child by deliberate means, if they wish to do so ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(j) Does the head of the household wish that no more children were born to him ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(k) What is the optimum size for a family ? .. _____

32. Diet —

(a) Record in the following Table the meals taken in the household :—

		Winter : October – March			Summer : April – September	
		Time	Principal items		Time	Principal items
Male Adults	1					
	2					
	3					
	4					
	5					
	6					
	7					

32. Diet—

(a) Record in the following Table the meals taken in the household :—

		Winter: October—March			Summer : April—September	
		Time	Principal items		Time	Principal items
Female Adults	1					
	2					
	3					
	4					
	5					
	6					
	7					
Children below 12 years	1					
	2					
	3					
	4					
	5					
	6					
	7					

(b). What is the staple food of the household ? _____

(c) What fats or oils are most commonly used for cooking : _____

(i) average meal _____

(ii) ceremonial meal _____

(d) Any food preparation peculiar with village _____

(e) What foods or drinks are prohibited ? _____

33. Utensils—

(a) Give the following particulars about the utensils used in the household for cooking, storing water and eating.

Serial No.	Name of Utensil	Material from which made	From where brought
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			

(b) Describe and give a pencil sketch of the utensils peculiar with the village or tract.

34. What fuel is ordinarily used for cooking ? _____

35. Furniture and ornaments—

Number

(a) Give a list of the furniture articles in the family—

(1) Bed stead	..	(1)
(2) Khatia	..	(2)
(3) Chair	..	(3)
(4) Table	..	(4)
(5) Mirror	..	(5)
(6) Bench	..	(6)
(7) Stool	..	(7)
(8) Jalchowki	..	(8)
(9) Wall shelf	..	(9)
(10)	..	(10)
(11)	..	(11)
(12)	..	(12)
(13)	..	(13)
(14)	..	(14)

(b) Is the household using any new kind of furniture for the first time in the last five years ? .. (Yes/No)————————————

(c) Does the household use mosquito net ? (Yes/No)————————————

(d) List all the ornaments used by (a) Men (b) Women. Give local names and mention whether gold or silver or brass or any other material is mainly used ? ..

		Gold	Silver	Brass	Any other
Men	1				
	2				
	3				
	4				
	5				

		Gold	Silver	Brass	Any other
	1				
	2				
	3				
Women	4				
	5				
	6				
	7				
	8				

36. Houses—

(a) Give the area comprising homestead .. _____

(b) Structure of House .. Kacha/Pucca/Mixed

(c) Structure of roof .. Kacha/Pucca/Thatched/Tin

(d) Material of Walls .. Kacha/Pucca bricks/Kacha bricks

(e) Material of doors .. _____

(f) Number of rooms in the House .. _____

(g) Area of rooms .. _____

Room	Length/Breadth	Local Name
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		

GLOSSARY

Aava	The father.
Abadi	Habitation.
Arak	Country-liquor brewed from barley.
Baga	A game resembling *kabaddi*, an Indian game.
Bagmo	The bride.
Bagpho	The bridegroom.
Bagthidpa	The male friend attending on, or on behalf of, the bridegroom.
Bang	A male animal, cross-breed of *yak* and *rad*.
Bangtip	Ceremonial Pollution following child-birth.
Baraat	Marriage party.
Basrang	Dry cowdung cakes.
Been	Corriander seeds.
Begar	Forced Labour.
Beli	Pollard willow.
Bhalu	Yellow bear.
Bhang	A narcotic plant (*Cannabis sativa*).
Bhojpatra	The leaf and bark of birch tree.
Boti	Butter-milk.
Bree	A female animal, crossed-breed of *yak* and *lari*.
Brimdzo	A male animal, cross-breed of *yak* and *lari*.
Brishu	*Baisakhi*, a festival celebrated on the first day of *Baisakh*.
Bugjal	A musical instrument consisting of two bronze dishes.
Byinsregs	*Havan* or fire-sacrifice.
Chagwal	Spade.
Chakhthab	A room on the first floor containing an iron-furnace with a chimney.
Chaklas	Grass matting.
Chara	Convener.
Chela	Disciple.
Chetrori	A festival held on the first day of Chet.
Chhang	An intoxicant brewed from barley.
Chhinga	A rectangular porch in the middle of the first floor of a house.
Chhodpa	Worship.
Chhultan	Cloth-cushions stuffed with grass and straw.
Choa	Coral pieces.
Choli	A full-sleeved, long gown of cotton or woollen cloth worn by women.
Chorten	A conical cenotaph erected by Bodhs.
Churi	A female animal, cross-breed of *yak* and *rad*.
Chutsa	A tool for chiselling wood.
Dai	Midwife.
Dambrigya	Accessories of worship.
Damroo	A musical instrument.
Dand	A small spinous tree.
Danza	A he-goat shaped from wheat-dough.

(x) ....

(xi) ....

Mark (√) the article possessed.

(b) Has any of the items been acquired for the first time in the last five years ? If yes, which are these articles ? .. _____

_____

(c) Does the Household use toilet soap/ washing soap ? .. _____

(d) Are clothes given to washerman to be cleaned ? (Yes No) .. _____

38. **Plan Activities and General**

(a) Whether your village has been covered by C.D. or N.E.S. Block? (Yes/No) .. _____

(b) If yes, do you know that the Government have employed the following to look-after your interest ? .. _____

(I) (1) Gram Sevak (Yes/No) .. _____
(2) Do you know what are his functions? (Yes/No) .. _____

(3) Has he ever come and talked to you ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(4) Has he ever demonstrated any of the improved agricultural practices ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(5) If so, did you follow his advice ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(6) Have you benefitted from NES Block ? (Yes/No) .. _____

(II) Gram Sevika (Yes/No) .. _____

(III) Social Education Organizer (Yes/No) .. _____

(IV) Agriculture Inspector (Yes/No) .. _____

(V) Co-operative Inspector (Yes/No) .. _____

(VI) Panchayat Inspector (Yes/No) .. _____

(VII) Extension Officer (Industries)(Yes/No) .. _____

(VIII) Block Development Officer (Yes/No) .. _____

(IX) Medical Officer (Yes/No) .. _____

(X) Veterinary Officer (Yes/No) .. _____

Datha	A large receptacle made of slate slabs set in wooden frames for storing foodgrains.
Dechang	A festival celebrated in the end of *Chet*.
Devidiar	Pencil cedar.
Dhaal	Salutations.
Dholak	Drum.
Dilbu	Bell.
Doli	The bier.
Doomadoo	The game of hide-and-seek.
Dorchhe	An incense burner.
Dorje	Thunder.
Dorje-phagsmoa	The goddess stationed at the Gurughantal Monastery.
Dotenzhing	Portion of land earmarked for the younger son.
Dranti	Scythe.
Dze	Paraphernalia of worship.
Flash	A poplar spp.
Gaga	The eldest son.
Gainti	Pick-axe.
Gari	A male animal, cross-breed of *yak* and *churi*.
Garphi	A local dance.
Garu	A female animal, cross-breed of *yak* and *churi*. Also, a malevolent spirit.
Gephan	A Budhist god.
Ghalicha	A woollen carpet.
Ghee	Clarified butter.
Golo	Snow-cocks.
Gompa	A Budhist monastery.
Goor	A disciple or agent of some god.
Guanoo	Yellow-fox.
Gulli-danda	Tip-cat.
Gur	Jaggery.
Gyalas-boota	A poplar spp.
Haka	Doves.
Hakim	A village quack.
Hukkar-dukkar	A game of the winter-season.
Jantar-mantar	Hocus-pocus or charms and incantations.
Jatnugza	Sharp blade fitted to a wooden crooked handle.
Jhabbal	A big iron rod with a sharp edge.
Kahi	Mattock.
Kail	Pinus excelsa.
Kala-zeera	Cumin.
Karji	Axe.
Kashmira	A variety of cloth.
Katar	A kind of long-and-loose Tibetan gown.
Kathu	Buckwheat.
Katu-sringmi-juns	Blessings to the new-born.
Kerelza	Dry bushes and shrubs.

Khampa	A Tibetan refugee.
Khatia	Cot.
Khawangshing	Joke.
Khoari	A bird, *chakor* or caccab's chukor.
Khogala	A festival held on the fullmoon day falling after the first of *Magh*.
Khoti	A game played with coral pieces.
Kilta	A conical basket carried on the back.
Kirkir topru	A round cap.
Kirtan	A recitation of devotional songs.
Kothi	A revenue estate.
Kramogtsi	Tonsure ceremony.
Krimlo	Pigeons.
Kuhl	A snow-fed irrigation channel.
Kuns	A Lahauli festival.
Kurti	A type of jacket; also a shirt of cotton cloth.
Kurtsa-rantageha	Grazier of lambs and calves.
Kuth	Costos or *saussurea lappa*.
Kutulja	Small pieces of wood.
Kyin	Brown-coloured wild goats.
Kyauti	An ear-ring.
Labuk	A variety of radish.
Lama	A monk.
Lapsi	A woollen scarf used as head-gear.
Lari	A female animal, cross-breed of *yak* and *gari*.
Laru	A male animal, cross-breed of *yak* and *gari*.
Lowad	A thick cake of buckwheat.
Lugri	An intoxicant brewed from barley.
Lungtunza	A hawk.
Maarpind	A ball of barley-*saktoos*.
Machhot	A Budhist scripture.
Mantras	Incantations.
Masari	A room in the second floor.
Mashal	Torchlight.
Mothe biah	Arranged marriage.
Nagara	A drum.
Namlang	A musical instrument.
Nang	A silver bangle.
Nga	A type of drum.
Ngal	Plough.
Ngara	A local game played with five stones.
Nipuri	The first floor of a house.
Nono	The younger son.
Nyerpa	An elderly person nominated by bridgrooms's father to preside at the marriage.
Okthan	Same as *kudal*.
Pag-boota	A poplar Spp.

Pagri	Turban.
Pardah	Veil.
Patha	Equivalent to one seer.
Paulah	Country-shoe.
Pawan	A musical instrument.
Phagli	A festival held in *Phalgun*.
Phaya	A fox.
Phiag	Obeisance.
Phogala	A shepherd or a grazier.
Phorog	Marriage songs.
Phowa	An incantation about the transmigration of the soul chanted at death.
Piloni-pia	Grey-coloured sparrows.
Pipli	Chillies.
Planza	Cushions stuffed with small cloth and sack pieces.
Po	The ground-floor of the house, used as cattle-shed.
Poolah	Grass-shoes.
Pujara	Priest.
Rad	A local cow.
Rapoche	Musk deer.
Rara	Thick branches.
Roomal	A kerchief.
Rukhu	Soup of animal bones.
Rotari	Grazier of *churis* and cows.
Saama	Same as *kirya-karam*, the last funeral rites.
Saheli	The female friend attending on the bride.
Saktoo	Coarsely ground grains of barley.
Sangspe	Incantations for purification of a person.
Sara	Country-liquor brewed from barley.
Sarson	Rape-seeds.
Shegtsum	A festival observed on the first day of *Shravan*.
Shekhanda	A wild-rose bush bearing red and yellow flowers.
Shenboota	Pollard willow.
Shirudara	A person heading the marriage party.
Shukilja	Thin branches.
Sing	Wooden sticks used for fuel.
Srelsa	A room on the first floor used for sitting in summer.
Srumupuri	Second floor of a house.
Suli	A small chest for storing flour and *saktoos*.
Surman	An iron hook provided to a wooden handle.
Sutna	A tight trouser or *patti* cloth worn by both sexes.
Tawa-mana	Same as *jantar-mantar*.
Tandoor	Cooking place having an iron-furnace.
Tangrol	Ibex.
Tawa	An iron girdle.
Tawatsi	Betrothal.
Teb	Embroidery on the garments.

Teekesri	Filtered *tsagti* intoxicant.
Tha	Kite.
Thobis	Mattings.
Thowa	Hammer.
Thulpa	Skin of a sheep used as a sheet for spreading over the mat.
Tolfo	A female animal, cross-breed of *churi and bangda.*
Tolmo	A male animal, cross-breed of *churi* and *bangda.*
Topru	Brown-coloured Kulu-cap.
Totu	Round balls of barley.
Tsagti	An intoxicant brewed from barley.
Tsha	Salt.
Tshati	Soup.
Tshud	A red thread.
Tsong	A rootless plant having leaves resembling those of onions.
Tug-kanti	A necklace.
Utana	The *Lohri* festival.
Vang-khug	A prayer to invoke the blessings of the deceased for the surviving members of the family.
Yabra	Yellow sprouts of barley.
Yuad	Vulture.
Yum	Twelve religious books of Budhism.
Zari	Gold or silver threads.

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