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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961
VOLUME XX—PART VI—NO. 12

HIMACHAL PRADESH

A Village Survey of

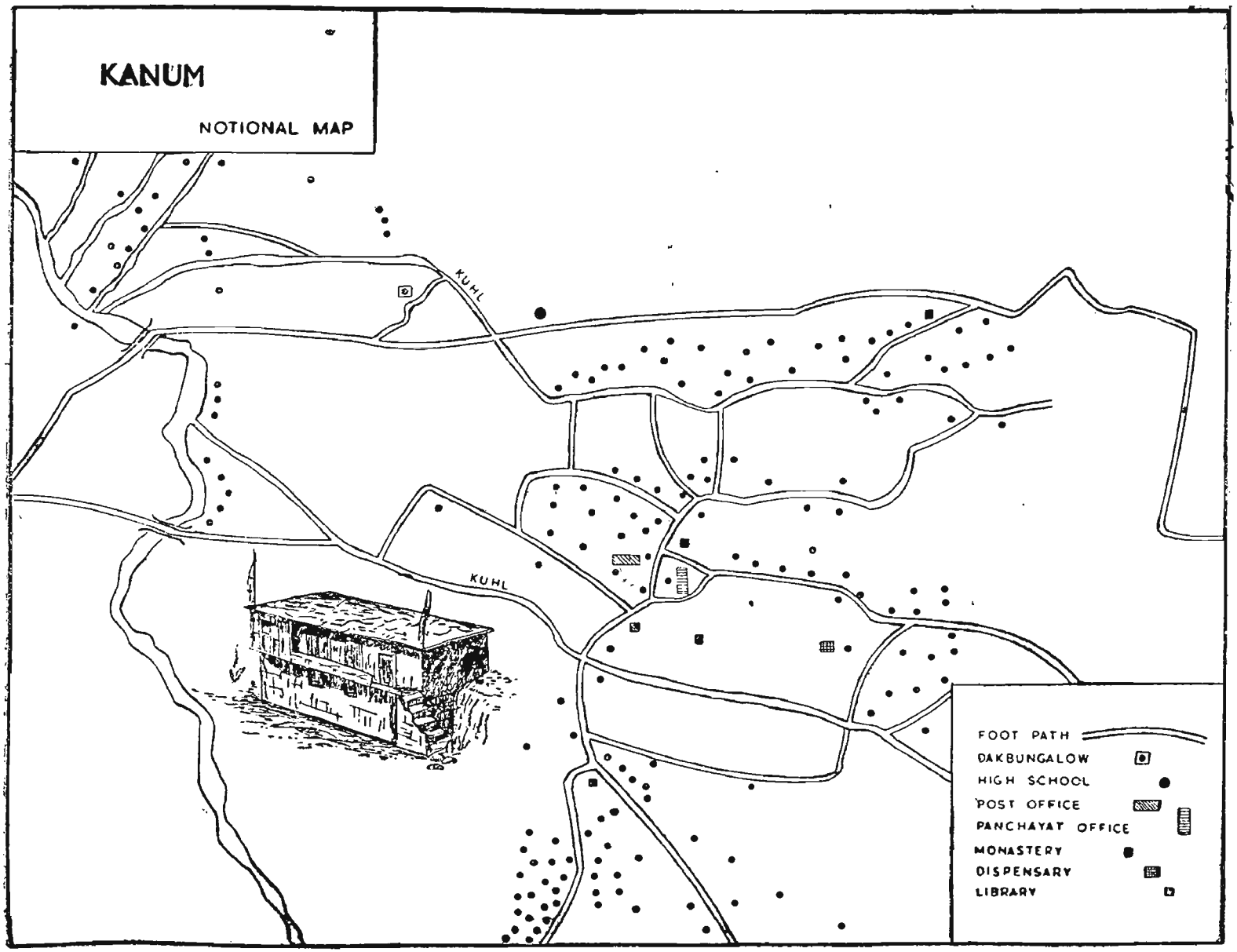
KANUM

Poo Sub-Division, Kinnaur District

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HIMACHAL PRADESH


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Contents

		Pages
FOREWARD	... ...	III—V
PREFACE	... ...	VII—IX
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	... ...	XI
1. **THE VILLAGE**	... ...	1—12

Introduction—Reasons for Selection—Physical Aspects—Flora—Fauna—Water Sources—Climate, Rainfall and Snowfall—Size and No. of Households—Residential Pattern—Important public places—Administrative Institutions—Welfare & other Institutions—Markets—Legend, History and name of the village.

2. **THE PEOPLE**	... ...	13—33

Caste Composition—Rajputs, Chamang, Domang & Ores—House Type—Customs relating to house construction—Households by Number of rooms—Pinchung (Storing vessels)—Household goods utensils—Dress—Hair Style—Ornaments—Food and Drinks—Special Dishes—Distillation of wine—Smoking habits—Birth, Marriage & Death Customs.

3. **ECONOMY**	... ...	34—48

Economic Sources—Occupational pattern—Income—Workers and Non-Workers—Expenditure and Indebtedness—Agriculture—Horticulture—Ownership of Land—Price of Land—Animal Husbandry—Village Crafts.

4. **SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE**	... ...	49—68

Fairs and Festivals—Folk Dances—Beliefs and Superstitions—Evil Spirits—Conversation with Dabla—Songs—Temples, Management, Income & Expenditure—Musical Instruments—Untouchability & Social Status of Women—Migration and Immigration—Family Structure.

5. **TRENDS IN RURAL CHANGE**	... ...	69—75

Education—Public Health & Sanitation—Community Development—Panchayats & Co-operatives.

PAGES

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I—*Extracts from Routes in the Western Himalayas, Kashmir, etc., by Lt. Col. T. G. Montgomerie* 76

APPENDIX II—*Extracts "Letters from India* 1829—1832" *by Victor Jacqemont* 77

APPENDIX III—*Extract taken from Rahul Sankritayan's "Kinner Desh" (Page* 145) 77

APPENDIX IV—*In the forest* 78

APPENDIX V—*Glossary* ... ... 78—82

APPENDIX VI—*Extract from the trans Himalaya, Discoveries and adventures in Tibet by Sven Hedin (Pages* 379 *to* 407) ... ... 82—93

APPENDIX VII—*Riddles* ... ... 93—94

APPENDIX VIII—*Report of the death of Mr. Csoma De Koras, Made to G. A. Bushby Esq., Officiating Secretary, Political Department, from A. Campbell, Esq. Superintendent, Darjeeling and communicated to the society.—(From Asiatic Journal—Bengal Part I*—1842) ... ... 94—97

APPENDIX IX—*Flora in Kinnaur District* ... ... 98—110

APPENDIX X—*From Buddhist Painting in Tibet by (Rahul Sankritayana—Marg, September,* 1963). 111—112

APPENDIX XI—*Kanum revisited, October,* 1964 ... ... 112—118

APPENDIX XII—*List of Census Publications* ... ... 118—119

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 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 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 predominating 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 settled

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 a field, 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 extramural rigours of the task. For, the Survey, alongwith 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, moveable and immoveable 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 convassed. 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 changes. 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. The social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

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
May 24, 1963

A. MITRA
Registrar General, India

Preface

The 28th of December, 1951, takes my thoughts back to over a decade. Browsing through 1951 Annual number of Eastern Economist, its contents 12 years later were worthwhile. It gave material for a comparative study. At page 1045, while discussing backward classes, the words were..... and it must be regretted that the days when the census used to be full of anthropological information have gone.....probably not to return. The social and economic advancement of the backward classes in India is now a problem of very great magnitude.....

It was a happy thought to realise that the census was always relied upon even then as now for a vast amount of diverse and interesting information. Fortunately Census of India 1961 continues this tradition and is pouring out information of every diverse interest to the Sociologist, Anthropologist and the Administrator. With these monographs from all over India, a need of the day would be fulfilled.

I am very grateful to the Registrar General, Shri Asok Mitra, for his comprehensive foreword to this monograph of ours. His words of encouragement have been there all along. Here we give a social and economic survey of Kanum, a village about 186 miles away from Simla. When we selected this village, it was quite difficult to go there. The rugged and a weather beaten small road would lead to what seemed a very inaccessible part of the Pradesh. We selected this village not knowing that one day a wind of change, so soon, would engulf the whole of this area to give it a wonderful road and to have it formed a part of a separate district. We had no idea, that such fabulous amounts would be spent and hundreds and thousands of people would be engaged on the superb road and the development work of this new district Kinnaur. Due to the social and historical reasons, Kinnauras form a scheduled tribe under the presidential order and this village has so many of them. Kanum is 33 miles away from Kalpa, the District Headquarters of Kinnaur and about 16 miles closer to Poo.

Due to the kindness of some officers and some officials of Himachal Pradesh Administration, I was able to get to Kanum in a jeep last December to be able to spend some days in Kalpa, Kanum and Poo.

Going from Jangi to Kanum is on the old Hindustan-Tibet road where somehow a jeep goes without the hood and without the footboard. There is the limitless beauty of Kinner Kailash, the rugged rocks, the autumn of many splendid colours. The first impression of Kanum was a whole lot of houses which reminded me of a big bee-hive. In spite of the sparce trees, some women were carrying heavy loads of timber. The first evening was spent with silversmiths, weavers and some families. Initially, I must confess some of the villagers on my arrival were very curious and were not at all happy to receive me because of my enquiries and because of the notes I was taking down.

The Head Lama and other Lamas of the Monastery who received me most cordially and answered all my questions, seemed, fairly convinced that this was a well meaning enquiry by the Government that we were carrying out. They made a rather difficult request that some of these copies should be printed in their dialect so that they could read and understand what we have put down. Their other request was that whatever we do, our reports should not hurt their culture. One of the local elders was good enough to act as an interpreter. It was

the most unusual experience to sit in that monastery in what seemed to be such a distant land. Every conceiveable colour adorning the murals and paintings of their various places of worship and decoration to their monastery had been used, of which I remember were golden, crimson, blue, black, green blue-silver. There were dragons, huge statues and books and manuscripts of great value and worship.

A great deal of an artistic talent had been put in years after years to make the monasteries so attractive.

To my question on Polyandry, the Lamas were good enough to say that this was an age old custom and had become a part of the way of life with these people and what might seem unusual to outsiders was a custom of the soil and perhaps of the 'khasas'. Talking of polyandry, I am reminded of the lines from Religion and Society, by our nobel President Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan:—

> "Polyandry and polygamy are forbidden and distinguished and yet there are occasions when both are permitted. Polyandry prevailed in certain communities. The famous instance is that of Draupadi's marriage with five brothers. Her father was aghast at the proposal, and said it was opposed to the codes (Lokadharma viruddham); but Yudhisthira argues that family traditions justify it, and it is difficult to know what is right in all cases. 3 Fantastic reasons are given to justify it; and the Tantravarttika goes to the extent of denying it, asking us to take it only figuratively as five persons marrying one rajya-lakshmi or royal glory. The custom prevailed among the Ksatriya tribes. Tantrika writes, among others, protested against it. Even in Malabar communities, where it has survived, it is passing out of fashion".

Since Lamas had studied scriptures for 16 to 18 years in Tibet and had wandered far and wide to visit places of pilgrimage like Rewalsar, Bodh Gaya and other parts of India.

During my stay I went round the Buddhist library, the temple and visited many houses. The mate and others very kindly took me round. To my amazement, I saw craftsmen building a boat. This they would use in the river far away and was being built in Kanum because the expert craftsmen live here. The boat was to be carried to Poo on human backs. It was neither too big nor too heavy but still looked very fantastic a boat being built in Kanum.

I spent quite some time with weavers and visited the old Buddhist library and monasteries and also saw an old temple orchestra. We went round and met people generally. In some houses where some Jomos live, they were very shy of talking to strangers who asked them questions. It was a common sight to see jomos carrying water or going to the fields and carrying manure in Kiltas. They were nuns who worship very often but they live in houses with their relatives and work alongwith them. We were given to understand that the Jomos also get married and give up nunhood. There were instances of Lamas getting married.

I was lucky enough, on my return journey, to get a place in one of the jeeps going to Poo. Before I mention my return journey, I must mention that Kanum to Poo has bleak mountains with practically no trees and having rocky mountains in the background full of snow and a tolerably narrow road utterly risky and ghastly. Just a few inches this way or that would mean the end of everybody. But it is amazing to see many of jeeps going about having comparatively less casualties. I suppose this was a wonderful and a new experience to go on this road. During my visit to Poo I met some Lamas, visited the monastery and met some craftsmen and went round some of the houses. In these areas a load of hay would cost from Rs. 60 to Rs. 80 a fantastic amount because there was such a scarcity and the demand was so great. There were seen caravans of mules loaded backward and forward. Setting out from Simla we came across flocks of goats and sheep coming from Ashang, Pangi, Rogi, Kalpa and Nachar, some of which were coming to Suni for their sojourn and some going to Tata Pani, Karsog and beyond. Others were trecking down, after their usual brief stay at Rampur for 'Lavi' to Arki and parts of Sirmur District. I have seen many a Kinnauras families migrating year after year with their flock of sheep.

Chuni Lal visited Kanum a couple of times. This is really his work and his investigation has been a very thorough one. I have supervised this project since I took over as Superintendent of Census Operations. After Rikhi Ram Sharma joined us as Assistant Superintendent of Census Operations, he had also been there and visited some parts of Kanum. He has helped Chuni Lal to piece together his material and has helped to remove some lingering doubts.

Recently Chuni Lal and I went down to Arki and met Gangajeet who has been coming from Kanum to Arki for over 40 to 50 years and is known so well near-about the town. We were

fortunate to meet one of the Jomos and an old Lama from Kanum on their way to Rewalsar. Some good photographs we were able to get from Roshan Studios.

And the other day while waiting for the KALKA Mail in the early hours of the morning of January the 10th, at Ambala Cantt, we saw a large number of villagers from Mahasu and from Kinnaur. Two of them turned out to be from Kanum—one just coming from Seoni. All to Hardwar—for the holy Maghi bath.

It is my kind colleagues who have helped with ceaseless patience and cheerful efforts. L. C. Sharma has been to Kanum to collect material on Fairs and Festivals. All the spade work regarding preparing of schedules for the village surveys was done by Durga Singh, our office Superintendent. His constant and able assistance has been of very great help.

Dr. Roy Burman was good enough to go through the draft and make valuable suggestions. I am ever so grateful to him. It has been a great thrill to visit Kanum and a greater thrill to meet people there all over again. For me it should be a happy occasion to see this through the Press. I have no doubt that Shri P. S. Ramachandran, Manager, Government of India Press, Simla, would bring this out attractively.

I must again request my readers to forgive me for any imperfections.

Boswell, Simla.
January, 1965

RAM CHANDRA PAL SINGH

Acknowledgements

Bal Krishan the well known Photographer from the Times of India has sent me some beautiful photographs of the Lavi fair.

Also my friend Nalini Jayal, the Deputy Commissioner, Kinnaur, has been good enough to take many photographs all over Kinnaur. Om Chand Handa, Draughtsman from my office and B. S. Thakur, Artist in their unassuming and hard-working ways have made numerable sketches and arranged photographs, sketches and drawings so attractively. There are some excellent photographs by B. S. Thakur.

Mrs. Ruthreeves helped me to get permission from the Ney York Museum to print some superb photographs. In all these years—her words of encouragement have been a great source of inspiration. I offer my thanks to the museum.

To Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, who is known to me since my child-hood and from whom I have received many kind personal favours I convey my deep thanks. From the Issue of the Marg he allowed me to print anything I wished to. Smt. Kamla Sankritayana, conveyed her gracious permission to take whatever extracts I wanted from her late distinguished husband's writings. I have given a portion at the end from one of his articles in "MARG" because there are similar colours in wall painting in Kanum and these are most attractive descriptions.

I am grateful to M/s. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., for kindly permitting me to print an extract from 'The Religion & Society' by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

Pyare Lal Negi, whom I have known for many years has recently retired from Government service. He served the Ruling House of Bushahr very closely and his home is so near to Kanum. It was kind of him to have gone through this material generously spending many days patiently looking through our pages. During these years it was common for me to ring him up whenever I found something I could not understand. He has all along shown me great consideration and has been of abiding assistance.

My gratitude goes to the Director, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, who had very kindly sent me some of the good photographs that are printed here. Lastly, to the villagers of Kanum my deep sense of gratitude. It is a glimpse of their fortunes in this brief Monograph which I have had the privilege to be so close associated with.

RAM CHANDRA PAL SINGH

1. The Village

Introduction

Kanum is one of the 77 villages of the newly formed 6th District, Kinnaur, in Himachal Pradesh. It is a big village in Poo Sub-Division. Out of total No. of 32 villages in the Sub-Division bordering Tibet, Kanum has a population of 701 souls comprising 350 males and 351 females.

Most of the district of Kinnaur with an area of 2,579 square miles is a high land of towering mountains of mighty ranges of the Himalayas. During the pre-independence period it was a part of the former Bushahr State and administratively constituted sub-Tehsil of Chini. After independence when the princely Hill States were merged into Himachal Pradesh, most of them formed Mahasu District. The Kinnaur District was formed on the 1st May, 1960 as a result of administrative reorganisation of the border area to ensure speedy and intensive development of this inaccessible area. In addition to the former tehsil comprising 63 villages, 14 villages from Rampur Tehsil of the Mahasu District were added to them to form a new district with Headquarters at Kalpa.

Kanum is about 33 miles from Kalpa. Surrounded by peaks capped with perpetual snow, it lies nestled peacefully in the lap of hills far away from Simla at an elevation of 9,600 ft. The village has been built up on terraced land and the River Sutlej flows about 2 miles below. It lies approximately in the longitude 78°-28′ E and latitude 31°-40′ N. The Sub Divisional Headquarters are at Poo, which is 16 miles farther away. The Hindustan Tibet Road, which was until recently a mule track, has been opened for jeeps about a year back. The new national high-way, which is under the construction passes about 2 miles down the village along the right bank of Sutlej.

About 6 miles from Kalpa one has to pass a bridge over Kashang Khud. Another bridge over Kirank Khud about 5 miles from Jangi, has to be crossed. At Kanum there is a PWD rest house.

Hemmed in by hills Kanum is pleasantly situated. Near upon the brow of a hill, which descends too precipitously, and surrounded by walnuts, wild apricots, bemi, muldum, palu, mangal, chilgoza and other green trees, the village presents a beautiful view when one approaches 'Sumchho Gori' as the cluster of the few villages including Kanum, is known locally. On the very rugged and uneven slopes the village 'abadi' is known as lower Kanum, central Kanum and upper Kanum.

Sven Hedin in his Travelogue TRANS HIMALAYA Vol. III while putting down his magnificent experience of discoveries and adventures made a reference about *Kanam*. A relevant paragraph is reproduced here:—

"From a commanding promontory where the Cairn Kanam—Laptse—stands, we enjoy for a moment a magnificent prospect. Deep down in a side valley lies the village of Kanam and farther off Pill and other villages. But the finest sight is the background formed by the nearest snow clad summits of a Huge Himalayan massive which is known by the famous name of Kailash. In the peculiar illumination and in an

atmosphere apparently saturated with warm vapour, its fern covered peaks make a deep and imposing effect. Steely blue clouds and round white fleeces form white beds round the higher parts of the mountains, and the blinking white summits rise above this sea of aerial surge".

In the 'Sumchho Gori' there are only 3 villages Kanum, Labrang and Spillo. The 4th village Karla, smaller than all the three, is a part of Spillo. All these villages are at a distance of 2 to 3 miles from one another. The people inhabiting Kanum are Rajputs, Kolis, Lohars and Carpenters locally called Ores and used to be Hindus but with the passage of time and severence of all connections with other Hindus now call themselves Buddhists. The Buddhist influence becomes more and more pronounced towards the frontier.

Reasons for Selection

(1) The economic, social and cultural study of the inhabitants of Kanum will represent that of a major portion of the sub division bordering Tibet.

(2) The language and the economic conditions of the people are different from those living in other parts of Himachal in a number of ways.

(3) Like other villages, agriculture is the main source of income in the village, but sheep and goat rearing is of great importance to the villagers and a study of these factors would supply valuable material.

(4) It is a fair sized village with a population of 701 persons. Agriculture though a principal occupation cannot produce enough to meet the requirements of the inhabitants. The villagers engage themselves in sheep and goat rearing as in trade involving exchange of produce of their country wool, woollen patties, chilgoza, goat and sheep with grains. Some work on the road side.

(5) The study would reveal customs of the area.

(6) Inhabited by Negis, Rajputs, Kolis, Lohars and Ores the village represents multi-ethnic composition groups and the study of inter relationship and interdependence of these castes would be of interest especially in view of the remoteness of the place.

(7) It was until recently quite away from the modern means of communication. The District and Tehsil Headquarters are 33 and 16 miles on the Western and Eastern directions from the village and the important business centre Rampur is 104 miles. The region is cut off from the stream of life which is flowing in the rest of the country. Thus their religious, social and cultural life has so far remained un-interrupted and unsophisticated for centuries. Its study will bring to light certain new facts of life of a tribal community.

Agriculture is the main stay of the villagers and other occupations such as weaving carpentry and blacksmithy are affected by the measure of its prosperity as weavers, carpenters and Lohārs, get their wages in kind. During winter people migrate to lower hills alongwith their flocks laden with chilgozas, wool, woollen patties, nuts, pasham, jira and other local herbs which are sold by them either in Lavi fair at Rampur or in the villages in Sirmur, Seoni, Arki, Suket, Bilaspur and Mehlog in their camping places. Apart from these activities they work as labourers onth e roads and buildings. During May, June they return from the lower hills taking with them salt, cereals, ghee and other requirements. The well-to-do people of the village used to go to Gartok in Tibet and buy wool, pasham, jira, sheep and goat. This trade has now practically come to an end.

Legend

There is a legend about this village. The story which was handed down from his forefathers to Chhering Jit Negi an elderly member of the village goes like this. "Long long ago Kanum was thinly populated and the village was confined to what is now central Kanum. There used to be a main gate to the village and every body here had to put off his shoes outside the main gate. A ghost used to visit the village and he would count the shoes. In case there was any additional pair of shoes, he would kill the visitor. Thus no body would dare to visit the village and its population did not increase much. When the villagers felt fed up with the Ghost they prayed before the village deity Dabla for deliverance. The Dabla proposed to marry his sister to the Ghost. It is believed that since the marriage of Dabla's sister with the ghost he never killed any body and its abadi has increased since. This led to the setting up of upper Kanum and all the houses there, more than one third of the whole village were constructed thereafter."

History and Name of the Village

Apart from the legend some village elders gave the version that some body migrated from lower hills and settled there. The man belonged to Lactas Lineage of which there are about 12 families, the largest of any other ancestry. This

version is further supported by the history of the village given in *shajra nasab* recorded at the time of settlement in Sambat 1982 BK corresponding to 1926 A.D. An Urdu version of the statement of the villagers in Devnagri Script is as follows—

व्यान मालकान दफा अवल-हसूली मलकीयत तकसीम अवलीन जमीन-पहले इस जगह लकटस खानदान खांगटा टीकर गड़ परगना नावर से आकर आवाद हुवा उसने अपने हमरा एक कोली देवटी चामंग लाया मोसमीयान आला हम मालिक मुकतलिफ जगह से आकर आवाद हुए क्योंकि यह जगह हमवार कशावा ऊफतादा थी हसव इजाजत आलि मालिक आवाद हो कर अराजी वंजर को सर दो करने गये और आला मालिक से इजाजत भी हासिल की, जिस कदर आवादि बड़ती गई उसी कदर अराजी वंजर को भी सरदो करते गये। पहले नौतोर की वावत कोई वंदिश नहीं थी। आला मालिक की एकदफा इजाजत लेकर अराजी ममलूका खुत काशत हसव मर्जी किया करते थे। तकसीम हिसस जदी पर हुइ वाद अजा चुंके रकवा गैर आवद बहुत था हसब इस्ततायत खुद व हसब इजाजत मालिक आला, हरएक ने रकवा गैर आवदा को नौतोर करके राजी मकबुजा को वढ़ा लिया। इसलिये हिस्से जदी का अमल जाता रहा-अब हरएक शवस मालिक कब्जा है। देहजा में कोई अराजीयात् सामलात मासवाए चरान्द आवादी रास्ता व वावड़ी आवनोशी वगैरा के नहीं है और रकबा चरान्द के तकसीम करने का कोई दस्तूर नहीं है। अगर कोई रकबा-वंजर चरान्द से ज्यादा हो तो हसब दरखास्त मालिक आला की इजाजत से नौतोड़ कर सकते हैं। रकबा शामलातदेह में वाज़ वाज़ टुकड़े ऐसे हैं कि जो किसी खास मालिक के मकबुजा हो उन टुकड़ों की वावत वही मालिक करार दिया गया है कि जिसके कब्जा में कोई ऐसा टुकड़ा वाका हो चक हजा में दाखिल खार्ज का भी अमल है।

विनाए आवादि के आवदि देह वमच वजा तस्मींया :—

चूंके मुरूस आलिखानदान लकटस विलाहसूल हकीयत इस जगह आवाद होते हुए वञ्जर अराजी को काशत करते वक्त उसको एक खूवसूरत पत्थर मिला-उस पत्थर पर लफज (का) लिखा हुवा था उसने उसको परमात्मा समझ कर घर लाया। अरसा के वाद जब कोई लामा तिव्बत से उसके घर में आया तो उसने वह पत्थर उस लामा से दिखाया। लफज का- तिव्वति का लफज् था। लामा ने कहा कि तिव्वति जमान में लफज(का) को परमात्मा या राजासाहिब वहादूर का हुकम कहते हैं। इस वजह से इस चक्र का नाम कानम् मशहूर हुआ जो अभी तक मशहूर चला आता है।

जिकर अदाए मालगुजारी व तरीका वाच :— पहले इस गांव की मालगुजारी किसी पैमाने से वाच न थी। हसब मर्जी मालिक आला व वक्तन फौकतन तफरीक हुवा करती थी। वहरहाल कमीवेशी का अखत्यार मालिक आला का था। उस वक्त माल गुजारी नकदी कम दाखिल करते थे लेकिन गल्ला, तेल, घी वगैरा अजनास की तफरीक ज्यादा हुवा करती थी। वल्कि हसव मालिक आला को किसी साल में व वाईस किसी काम रियास्त के जरूरत खर्च ज्यादा हुवा करती थी यानि आमदनी से मुकर्रा खर्च ज्यादा बढ़ जाता था तो ऐसी ऐसी वेशी अखराजात की अदायगी के हम मालकान जिम्मेवार रहते थे जो कि सम्वत १९३३ में हसव हैसियत जिमीदारान मामला तकसीम किया गया उस वक्त माल गुजारी नकदी व गल्ला वगेरा जो अठाड़ा (ठाड़ा वेगार) किरायल के नाम से मशहुर है वमय खिदमत मालिक आला कायम हुवा जोकि हतौज दाखिल खजाना करते हैं। मगर अशलाए कमी वेशी मालगुजारी का दस्तूर नाहाल वरावर जारी है यानि जब आमदनी मुकतर्रा खर्च से ज्यादा हो जाता है तो हम मालकान मतवातर वजरिया वाछ वसूल करते हैं और दिगर अखराजात संगीन मसलन शादी व गमी और जमार वन्दी सोसाटी का साहिव गद्दीनशीनी व खर्च भीमाकाली छःहवूव रियास्त इलावा मालगुजारी के अदा किऐ जाते हैं।

English Translation

Statement regarding ownership and division of land..... First of all niembers of Lactas family came from Khangta Tikkargarh Pargna Nawar (in Tehsil Rohru, District Mahasu) and settled here. They brought with them a Koli, Deoti Chamang. "We other owners finding this place level and flat came and settled here, coming from different places, and with the permission of the primary owner (the Ruling Chief of the erstwhile Bushahr State) we brought under cultivation the barren and uneven land. With the increase in population more barren land was brought under the plough. Previously there were no restrictions regarding grant of nautors. After taking the permission of the Primary owner once, the settlers used to plough more land according to their needs. The land so acquired was partitioned among the descendants, but after that because there was enough of uncultivated land, everybody according to his capacity brought more nautor under his possession with the permission of the Primary owner. Therefore, no trace of the original partitioning can be found and everybody is the recorded owner of the land actually in his possession. There is no common land except

pastures, village paths, and drinking water places and there is no custom to partition the pastural land. However, nautors could be granted out of pastures on application to the Primary Owner. In the common land there are certain plots which are in possession of individual owners and they have been declared the owners of such plots. In the said village mutation is also permissible.

How the village was populated and acquired its name?

While settling and ploughing the barren land in the village without acquiring the right of ownership, the head of the family of Lactas found a beautiful stone inscribed with words "Ka" in Tibetan language. He considered this stone as manifestation of God and brought it to his home and after some time a Lama from Tibet came to his house. The head of the Lactas family, showed the stone to him (the Lama). The Lama told him that "Ka in Tibetan scripture meant the command of God or the Raja" and it was thus that the village came to be called as 'Kanam'.

The narration of the mode of payment of land revenue.

In the early stages there was no fixed standard to govern the payment of land revenue. It used to be paid from time to time according to the whims and commands of the then Ruling Chief and the powers to increase and decrease the same also vested in him. During those times the payment of land revenue was made mostly in kind and major payments used to be made in the form of cereals, ghee, or oil. But when the expenditure exceeded the income of the state in a particular year, we the land owners were responsible for sharing the additional expenditure. The standard with regard to the payment of revenue whether in cash or kind including 'Athada Begar' or other services to the Primary Owner was laid down in Sambat 1933 (BK) when land revenue was fixed according to the size of the holdings. Till today we deposit the revenue according to the prevalent practice and extra expenditure on account of marriage, deaths, Gaddi Nashini of the ruling chief and Bhima Kali Temple are met by us by way of cesses—"Bachh."

As regards the settlement of other communities Kolis, Lohars and Ores there is a reference in the village history given above that the head of the Lactas family brought with him one Koli Deoti Chamang. The descendants of Deoti Chamang are known as Deoti even till to-day. 'Bethu and Basnu' Chamangs settled much later when its population had fairly increased. Informal interrogations revealed that the Kolis who are known as 'Bethu Chamang' migrated from Nahan in Sirmur District. The man belonging to Bethu ancestory settled in Kotra Baragaon in Sangri (Kumharsain, Sub-Tehsil Mahasu District). Again he migrated to Moorang village (in District Kinnaur) with a girl belonging to Koli family. While living in village Moorang he used to be called Namang Chamang meaning a strange Koli who did not know weaving which was expected of a Chamang's profession. Even in village Moorang he could not stay for long and cloped with a Negi girl to Kanum. The Lactas people employed him as servant locally called Bethu and after the lapse of some time he was given some land too. Since then the Chamangs who have their origin from the aforesaid Koli are called Bethus and they have as many as 8 households. This story of the immigration of Kolis was related by one Amar Chand who also belongs to the said group of "Kolis".

'Basnu Chamang' still another group of Kolis claim that their ancestor migrated to Kanum from Thangi a village in Tehsil Moorang (in Kinnaur District) about 2 or 3 generations ago and it was revealed that they were brought by late Hira Dass the wealthiest man of the village, for his menial services.

About the settlement of Lohars and Ores there is no mention in the revenue records nor could they tell any thing about their ancestors or the period of their migration to the village. However some of the elderly persons were of the opinion that the Ores also migrated to this village from the lower hills. While realigning the old Hindustan Tibet Road, some old graves were found near Kanum. The local people oblivious of importance of such relics thought that all the graves were that of Muslims, little realising the fact that this area never came under Muslim domination or, Muslims never came to live in this area. It is unfortunate that the relics obtained from these graves were not preserved. It was admitted by some village elders that some pottery and other knic-knacks were found in these graves. Rahul Sankritayan, who visited the village in 1948, also makes a mention of this fact in his book "kinner Desh". His views on the point as reproduced from his book are given in the appendix.

Physical Aspects

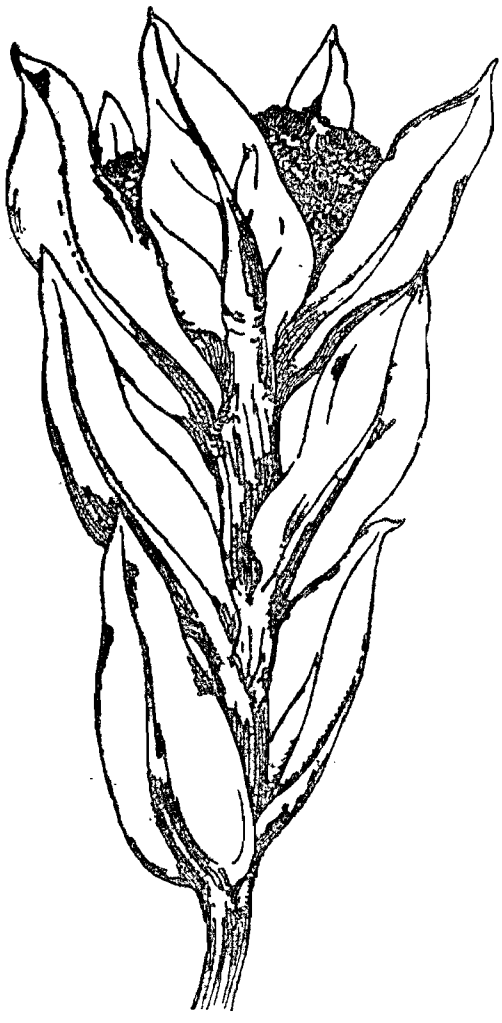
According to the revenue records this village has an area of 1,384 acres out of which only 198 acres are cultivated. The huge waste as well as other areas, on the peaks of Pruti Rao, Bruti and Merimath have not been measured and recorded when the settlement was carried out about 35 years ago. These too form parts of the village. The officials of the revenue Deptt. feel that the Estate formation as usually done at the time of regular settlement was not done nor has the village boundary been demarcated in any other way. On the Eastern direction about 8 miles towards Poo, Siaso Khad demarcates the boundary of Kanum from Ropa Valley villages. Giabong, Rushkling, Sunam and Siaso. On the Western direction, about a mile, it is separated by Kanum Khad from Labrang. On the Northern line it touches Spiti area of the Punjab and on the southern side it is separated from Nesang and Moorang villages by the Sutlej River. Topography and soil of the village is sandy light loam and its height varies from 8,600 ft. to 8,000 ft. on the slopes down towards the river. There is always the fear of soil erosion because the whole area is sandy and stoney. Even a few inches of rain-fall can create havoc and this area would have been totally different had it been in the rainy zone. Going up from Wangtu which is 26 miles from Jeori there is a decrease in the rainfall which has an apparent effect on the vegetation. Between Wangtu and Kalpa the zones can be classified as semi-arid, and beyond Kalpa it falls completely in the arid zone having occasional scanty showers. The village commands an open and sunny aspect and is also comparatively safe from fast blowing winds which is a general characteristic of all villages in Kinnaur. According to the people of Kanum, their village is the best as regards location in the entire area and to a great extent they are justifiably proud of this fact. They have a song: —

"Sacha demo Kanum Chhesmi bauian Sunam" meaning that Kanum has beautiful landscape and Sunam has beautiful women.

The table shows the area, houses and population of Kanum.

Area	Density per sq./Km.	No. of houses	No. of house-holds	Population		
				P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1,384 Acres	125	248	113	701	350	351

Flora



Dong-row

Approaching the region of Poo Sub Division the trees are stunted in growth. The area of Kanum forest compartment which mainly has chilgoza and deodar trees covers 205 acres. The villagers enjoy rights of grazing of domesticated cattle including sheep and goat used for carrying loads, yaks, donkeys and ponies during the year. They obtain free of charge trees of all kinds other than deodar for making 'Karling' or feeding and watering troughs, except that no standing Kail tree greater than 6' in girth are granted. In addition, the rights granted to them in the settlement report are—

(1) Timber for building purposes according to the rules prescribed from time to time.

(2) Right of passage for men and cattle along foot paths and roads to villages, alpine pastures, water springs, cremation, grounds and grounds used for fairs, festivals or religious ceremonies.

(3) Kanum villagers may have green standing trees for building timber only when a house has been burnt by fire or it has completely fallen as the danger from falling rocks is great in this village.

(4) To obtain trees other than deodar free of cost for the repairs of bridges on application to the local Range Officer.

(5) To cut bush wood and thorny shrubs.

(6) To collect leaves of broad leaved trees for bedding of manure.

(7) To collect dry and fallen wood for fuel purposes, personal use, for sale and to reserve all fallen trees except deodar and to fell and remove all dry standing timber.

(8) To lop trees of broad leaved species and yaw trees for fodder and bedding for cattle.

(9) To cut grass.

(10) To collect fruit, edibles, other seeds, flowers, roots, leaves and small branches for the preparation of dyes, medicine and to sell such products without hindrance.

(11) To cut and collect for personal use and for sale to agriculturists within the Bushahr State torch wood and to extract torches and resin from:—

(i) All dry standing trees other than deodar.

(ii) All fallen trees other than deodar.

(iii) Malformed blue pine and Neoja trees especially marked for the purpose.

(12) To collect for personal use and for sale chilgoza seeds.

Configuration, geology and soil—Situation and configuration of the forest area above Kanum village is—

Slope—steep to very steep.

Aspect—S to S-west.

Elevation—9,000 ft.—10,600 ft.

Soil—Dry, pebbly and friable.

The climate of the district varies at different altitudes and so its flora also changes with the climatic conditions. Summer months are really hot along the run of river Sutlej. As we proceed towards the arid zone the barren hill-tops present unpleasant sight and severe winds frequently rise carrying small pebbles and sand to the lower elevation. In the elevation varying from 8,000 ft. to 10,000 ft. the species of flora found in the surrounding forests of Kanum compartment are—

Botanical name	Local name	Utility
Cedrus deodara	Deodar (Kalmang)	For timber purposes.
Pinus Wellichiana	Lim	For fuel and timber purposes.
Pinus Gerardiana	Chilgoza	
Caragana (Brevisphina).	Namchoo	Bush
Prunus Persica	Bemi	Bemi trees are mostly on the edges of the fields and its fruit is relished. Liquor is also brewed out of it. Wood is used for fuel. Oil is extracted from its kernel.
Prunus armerica	Chuli	Chuli, wild apricot trees are found in plenty in the fields and this fruit is of paramount importance to the villagers, chulis are relished dried & oil is extracted from its kernels. Alcohol is distilled and agricultural implements made.
Sprisia Sivnerians	Kushat	Bushes.
Pistacia inligerrima	Tim	Used for fuel purposes.
Dephne oleondes	Agru	Bushes. Used as incens.
Junipers	Shur	Also like bushes used both for fuel and dhoop.
Fraxinus	Thum (Ash)	For fuel and fodder purposes.
Alnus Nuitada	Neuth	Its branches are lopped for fodder to cattle and for firewood.

Populas alla	Kramal	These are straight lofty trees and leaves are white on one side. It is used for fodder and for fuel purposes too.
Populas ciliate	Muldug	For fuel.
Walnut		Fruit and its wood used for fuel and other purposes.



Bee hives (wild)

Of these varieties of trees and bushes Cedrus Deodara locally called *Kyalmang,* Prunis Persica (*Bemi*). Prunus armerica (*chuli*) are of immense utility to the villagers. Apart from the utility of chuli and bemi as fruit trees, the wood is used for making agricultural implements also.

Fauna

Fauna like flora vary according to the altitude and climate of places. Common animals found in the forests around the village are—

Common Name	*Local Name*
Leopard	Thar
Fox	Gonuk
Wolf	Chanku
Bear	Hom
Deer	Fo

Wild Birds

Crow	Ka
Pigeon	Pekhra
Partridge	Kokchara

The domesticated animals are—

Cat	Pishi
Dog	Khwee



Tragopan

On the lower elevations snakes are found during summer. But the snakes found in this region are not generally poisonous. We had many pleasant surprises while going up from Simla and saw Himalayan Mag-pies, doves, rock pigeons, falcons, eagles, mianas, sparrows, finches and the Simla tits. There are occasionally handsome pheasants flying across the road. Near about Kanum there was a chakor. Once a rare while we have seen a leopard near Theog. While returning from Kanum near Rampur much to our surprise a ghural crossed the road. These have always been friends and companions who have broken the monotony and at times cheered us up as they flew across, jumped or passed by.

Water Source

The hill peaks where the village is situated are inhospitable and are bleak in outlook with barren and unproductive soil. In fact these are a mass of loosely knit rocks and wild chisnis, & 'Gottang Lungfa' Kanum Khad, the only source of water in 'Sumchho Gori' drains the water. Two Kuhls have been taken out from the aforesaid khad to meet the irrigation and drinking water requirements of the villagers. A water tank to store drinking water has also been constructed. This will serve upper and central Kanum only. During winter the temperature falls down to freezing point and the water discharge of Lungfa is reduced to a mere trickle which causes great hardship to the villagers and they have to augment the water supply from a spring, with scanty flow of water, at a distance of 2 or 3 furlongs from the village. This is often a scene of quarrels and scuffles among the village women.

The kuhl which supplies drinking water to the people of Lower Kanum is in a bad condition. Often it is full of dry leaves that fall from the trees and ponies and 'zoes' stand in it and defile the water. No wonder people often complain of hookworm. The dirty precious water is very often collected & transferred to pitchers with the help of a ladle or even that of the pang—topee.

Climate, Rainfall and Snowfall

Kanum is situated in the arid zone and climatically a year is divided into four quarters; spring from mid March to early May, summer from 2nd week of May to mid September, autumn from mid September to mid November and from mid November to March is winter. There is little rainfall in Kanum during the rainy season. In winter months it is the snow that falls, rains again being conspicuous by their absence, and thus climatic conditions are markedly different from the lower portions of the valley where the usual monsoon conditions prevail. There is a great deal of variation in the temperature, which varies according to the altitudes. During summer months the temperature on the peaks of the hills is lower than on the slopes where the village is situated and it is higher still in the valley. The village being situated in the inner most part of the high Himalayas is not touched by monsoon though during the months of July and August the sky remains overcast with clouds which do not precipitate into rain drops but disappear in the evening. Summer and autumn months are most pleasant whereas winter is extra ordinary cold and chilly.

There is no observatory to record rainfall, snowfall and temperature data at Poo. This was collected from Kalpa.

Rainfall

Month	Year					
	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	inches	inches	inches	inches	inches	inches
January	4·12	4·25	181·5	40·4	58·7	65·6
February	1·15	2·13	41·8	..	139·0	..
March	4·96	7·28	98·8	88·8	85·6	155·0
April	4·45	4·31	187·2	115·2	20·9	93·7
May	5·03	0·19	307·2	153·5	26·0	10·1
June	0·65	0·27	64·1	14·8	14·5	42·2
July	2·79	2·18	51·2	45·8	85·8	37·7
August	2·78	0·24	29·2	33·3	29·8	25·8
September	3·29	0·46	159·0	103·7	8·6	9·4
October	5·51	9·36	103·9	63·2	5·8	13·2
November	..	0·06	26·7	..	26·8	15·2
December	0·27	4·24	149·8	86·9	2·5	47·0

Kalpa is situated in the semi-arid zone whereas village Kanum is in the remoter part of the District.

Snowfall

Month	Year					
	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	inches	inches	inches	inches	inches	inches
January	41½	44½	71½	16	22½	25½
February	9	15	16½	..	54½	..
March	15½	64	18½	13	30	35
April	..	5	3	2	..	¼
May	..	..	14	..	..	..
June	..	..	..	..	..	..
July	..	..	..	..	..	..
August	..	..	..	..	..	..
September	..	..	..	..	..	..
October	..	..	26	..	..	..
November	..	..	2	..	6½	¼
December	8	42	55	30	1	18½
Total	74½	170½	206½	61½	114½	80

Kalpa and Kanum being almost in the similar altitudes there is not much variation in the snowfall.

But according to villagers the snow starts falling about early November and continues upto mid-April. On an average there is about 2 to 5 feet of snow. Fast and cold winds blow during this period and it is difficult to move out. The temperature is very low and goes down to the freezing point. The snow starts melting in April, and it is generally dry with occasional showers during rainy season.

It is common in Kinnaur that people build two or three storeyed houses. The majority of houses in Kanum excepting a few harijan houses are three storeyed. The houses are built on uneven slopes, they seem piled up one above the other keeping very narrow streets. It is easy to climb from one house to another through wooden ladders or otherwise. From a distance the compact houses look beautiful, but otherwise these have more disadvantages than advantages. The more the congestion in an area, the more are the chances of its streets and lanes becoming dirty This may be one of the causes that narrow lanes and approach paths are filthy and slushy during snows. Community-wise division of households is as follows: —

Community	No. of households
Negi Rajputs	78
Chamang	19
Domang	3
Ores	3
Khatri	1
Brahmans	7
Gupta	2
Total	113

The first four communities Rajputs, Kolis, Lohars and carpenters (Ores) are the permanent inhabitants of the village, but the latter three communities Khatris, Brahmans and Guptas are temporarily residing in rented accommodation of the villagers. They are either school teachers or working in the Primary Health Centre. Joint family system is in vogue because the people are largely polyandrous and frequent tendencies to divisions as we notice among the agriculturists of the plains or the lower hills are not found among them perhaps owing to the smallness of land holdings which makes it impossible to support large families. Size and composition of households is shown in the table: —

Total No. of households	Single member			2—3 members		
	Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
113	17	12	5	12	13	18

4—6 members			7—9 members			10 members & above		
Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
35	88	92	30	122	120	19	115	116

Out of the 17 single member households 14 belong to school teachers, State P.W.D. staff and dais posted in the Government High School, P.W.D. Sub division and Primary Health Centre Kanum. Besides the Government servants there are two or three women permanent inhabitants of the village who live independently and work either as agricultural labourers or on the road construction work as manual labourers. None of them possess land in the village.

Residential Pattern

As a tradition rather than a rule Rajputs, the high caste people have their 'abadies' separate from the low castes Kolis, Lohars and carpenters. There are distinct caste divisions. Rajput do not mix up with scheduled caste people and the housing settlement of the latter caste is at some distance from those of the Swarn castes. The scheduled castes Kolis, Lohars and carpenters also live separately from others.

The houses of scheduled castes are either at the bottom of the village or towards the sides. The top 'abadi' situated sharply on the slopes is that of Rajputs. First of all on the eastern direction of the village is 'Lundup Gamfel Gompha' beautiful Buddhist monastery where the Head Lama resides with his disciples. Down towards the Sutlej sprawls the village in three compact blocks. The houses of Domangs are on one side of the bottom of upper Kanum and at the other bottom are 3 households of 'Deoti Chamang' who are said to be the original inhabitants among other Kolis. The rest of the houses of Kolis are at the extreme bottom.

On the western direction above the Hindustan Tibet Road, there is a P.W.D. rest house, a small shop and a building which was lately constructed to serve as Panchayat Ghar but has for the time being been allotted to High School till the High School building is constructed across the Kanum Khad. Along the road side there is a small eating house which was opened about 3 years ago by a local villager where tea and food are available. Besides the 'Lundup Gamfel Gompha' on the top, there are three more temples. 'Locha Lama' temple is in the upper Kanum and the Temple of 'Dabla' is in central Kanum among the thickly populated area. There is a Buddhist library where Buddhist scriptures written in Tibetan script are kept. This is the Kanjur Gompha and is nicely situated in a clean and tidy locality. The Kanjur Temple, a double storeyed house which has been designed on modern style was under construction. Kuhls are the main source of water. One kuhl serves the upper Kanum and another serves the central and lower localities. The main source of these Kuhls is the Kanum khud locally called 'Gottang Lungfa'. Literally Gottang means 'Gharat' in the local dialect and 'lungfa' means 'Khud'. On the steep stoney and slippery banks of this khud are eight Gottangs all of them are managed by Ores and Domangs.

It is a feature of the residential pattern that some of the villagers who are better off have their cattle sheds apart from the residential houses. The cattle sheds are two or three storeyed high like the residential houses but the difference between the cattle sheds and residential houses is that cattle sheds are open on the front sides, especially the upper storeys, their entrance being from the side doors. The residential houses are not open except small windows like holes which are insufficient to provide enough light and air. Three Rajputs who are economically better off have constructed their houses a bit on modern designs by providing ventilation and separate baths. One house recently constructed has glazed windows. It is a common feature of the residential pattern that they have dry latrines in every household on one side in a corner of the first floor. Much less to speak of court yard, growing flowers or green vegetables, even the small patches, foot paths and narrow streets are not well kept.

Important Public Places

Kanum is famous for its Buddhist monasteries. At 'Lundup Ganfel Gompha', 12 disciples of Kachen-Lama were being educated. It is a residential Gompha and the Lama Ghhang have nothing to pay in the shape of rent. There are two big statues of Buddha in this Gompha. These it is said are made of sandal wood and were imported from Tibet. Small butter lamps are kept lit by the devotees and offerings of barley 'Sattus' are made. The walls of the central hall of the Gompha are adorned with painting depicting various phases of the life of Buddha. These paintings were done by the village artists. This Gompha stocks some religious books on Buddhism in Tibetan. There is a nunnery known as Tatshi Chhoeling where Buddhist nuns, reside and worship. Besides these the village is known for the temple of its deity Dabla.

Buddhist library, Kangyur Temple which houses Kangyur and Tanjur books is very well known. There are about 108 voluminous Kangyur books and 200 Tanjur books which are annually read on behalf of the villagers by the Lamas. The library is a huge two storeyed building. On the upper storey a Buddha statue and other stone images are worshipped daily by a Lama. Public functions and annual religious fairs are held in the foreground of the Kangyur temple. Another important public place is the shrine of Locha Lama where monthly meetings of the Gram and Nyaya Panchayat are held. Dumpting Langang is near 'Chamang Basti', Namgol Chhoestan and Surpu Gompha towards Eastern and Western directions at a distance of 2 furlongs and a mile or so are religious public places where annual functions are held.

Administrative Institutions

Government High School, Primary Health Centre, P.W.D. Sub-Division and a Branch Post Office are also located at Kanum. Headquarters of the Gram and Nyaya Panchayat Sumchha Gori—are there. Patwarkhana is at Lahran about 1½ miles from the village. The Headquarters of the Gram Sewak and Horticultur Assistant are at Spillo about 3 miles down towards the Sutlej, just opposite to Kanum.

Cremation Ground

The cremation ground, Lotang Ronma Polang is situated on a dry and sandy hill slop devoid of all vegetation. It is about half a mil from the village.

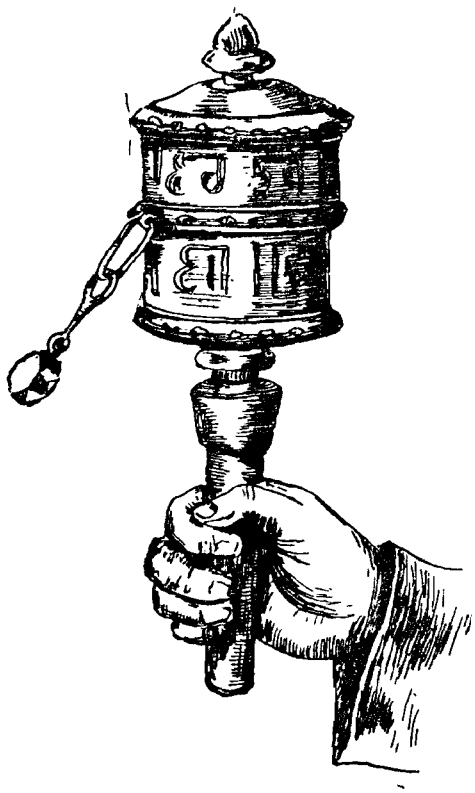
Welfare and Other Institutions

Among other welfare institutions there is a women welfare centre opened under the village uplift programme by the C.D. Block. The centre was just in the organizational stage and poorly equipped. The women welfare centre takes up adult education and imparts training in sewing

knitting and tailoring. Under the Industries Department there is a scheme to open a Leather Embroidery Training Centre in the village which will train the local craftsmen.

Markets

Rampur is the nearest big market at a distance of 104 miles from the village. The bus terminus an present is at Jeori about 90 miles away. Small purchases can however be made in Kalpa which is expanding with the establishment of the District Headquarters. But usually people buy and sell their things at Rampur as it affords them good deal of attraction of variety and competitive prices both for the produce that they sell and the things which they buy. Poo is developing into a market.



Prayer wheel

Religion

Religion is inter-woven with the daily life of these people in that many of their fairs are closely connected with the worship of the village deity Dabla. If a villager is asked what religion he follows the questioner may, perhaps, draw a blank. A general impression that would be gathered is that the people mostly follow that brand of Buddhism which is called Lamaism. There was no Brahman in this part of the country, the religious guidance from birth to death is provided by the Lamas. The villagers often pay visits to the monastery and make offerings of sattu murties and lit butter lamps before the image of Buddha. They consider it meritorious giving a few revolutions to the praying wheel in the monastery and by displaying at house-tops Darchots on which is printed the Buddhist prayer *"Om Mane Padame Hum"*, which is a praise to God sitting on the Lotus Flower. Some of them who can afford go on pilgrimage to places held holy by the Buddhists. Budh Gaya and Rewalsar are among them.

Fraser has admired these people in his Travelogue 'Himalayan Mountains'.

"Although the Kunawanrees are recognized as Hindoos by descent and general profession, they most generally follow the Lama religion. No Brahmans have ever settled in this District nor will they go there; perhaps the poverty of the country, and the privations necessarily to be suffered during a residence there, have deterred these holy-men who usually seem to prefer those places which afford them all the comforts of life The Lama priests are scattered about the country, the people carry about their persons small idols purchased at Lhasa or such as are brought for sale by the Lamas".

About Lord Buddha Sir Charles A. Sherring in "Western Tibet and the British Borderland" observes that—

, Buddha was an idealist in his philosophy like almost every philosopher since the time that the science of philosophy sprang up: he preached that things were not real or substantial, but that they took the shape that man gave them when he perceived them, and that they existed only as perceived. Starting with this ground-work, we come to the "Three Holy Ones," who are Buddha, the Law and the Church The Law is his doctrine of sorrow and human misery: look where one may, "man is born to sorrow as the sparks fly upward," and the Law is, therefore, comprehended in the "Four Noble Truths," which are (1) that there is no existence possible without sorrow, (2) that the cause of sorrow is Lust of Life: (3) that sorrow cannot end until the Lust of Life is completely overcome; (4) that the "Noble Eight-fold Path" can alone end sorrow. This "Eight-fold Path" consists of:

1. Belief.
2. Aims.
3. Speech.
4. Actions.

5. Right living.
6. Proper endeavour.
7. The right spirit within.
8. Meditation.

And these are supported by the "Ten Commandments"—

1. Thou shalt not kill.
2. Thou shalt not steal.
3. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
4. Thou shalt not bear false witness (i.e. lie).
5. Thou shalt not drink strong drink
6. Thou shalt not eat food except at the proper times.
7. Thou shalt not use ornaments or scents.
8. Thou shalt not use high seats.
9. Thou shalt not enjoy worldly pleasures such as dancing, singing, etc.
10. Thou shalt not possess gold or silver.

The teaching in the Law is that existence means sorrow, and that the existence of every living being is from ever lasting to everlasting, one life merely to live another life, the sphere of the new life simply depending upon the result of the good and bad deeds of the old life weighed in a balance as white and black counters —Karma. The law of Karma is an iron law: it leads every being from one rebirth to another as a driver leads some brute beast which knows nothing. From this it follows that the child which is born to happy parents is not theirs at all, it does not inherit their defects and virtues, it is merely the rebirth of another being who has nothing to do with them, who is utilising those parents to enter the world. This logical position is entirely opposed to all the European ideas of the Laws of Heredity.

At another place Sherring puts down:—

The prayer Om Mani Padme Hung. "Hail! Jewel of the Lotus Flower, Hail" is addressed to Him and is a request that He gives the suppliant assistance in the present life to reach the goal of salvation and look leniently upon the soul after death and apportionate it to a favourable region after rebirth. There are six syllables in the prayer and they correspond to the six phases of life, and each has a colour appointed to it which is typical of the peculiar phases Thus:

Om is the god and is white.

Ma, the Titans and is blue.

Ni, men and is yellow.

Pad, the beasts and is green.

Me, the ghouls and is red

Hung hell and is black.

2. The People

Caste composition and brief note on Rajputs

The following table gives the caste wise figures: —

Religion	Caste	Persons	Males	Females	No. of households
1	2	3	4	5	6
Buddhism .	Rajput	459	221	238	78
Buddhism .	Chamang	159	81	78	19
Buddhism .	Domang	31	14	17	3
Buddhism .	Ores	37	21	16	3
Hindu .	Khatri	1	1	..	1
Hindu .	Gupta	3	3	..	2
Hindu .	Brahman	11	9	2	7
Total		701	350	351	113

Rajputs are in majority. Out of a total number of 113 households, 78 viz., 69 per cent are composed of Rajputs. The last three communities as shown in the table Khatri, Gupta and Brahmans are not permanent residents of the village. They are temporarily residing there, for they have been posted in the High School as teachers, compounders and mid-wives in the Primary Health Centre and clerks and Overseers in the P.W.D. Out of a total population of 701 persons, 460 are Rajputs and the rest 241 belong to other communities. Next to Rajputs come 'Chamang' with a population of 159 souls. The Domangs and Ores have equal number of households, 3 each and their population is 31 and 37 persons.

About the castes of Kinnaur, there is a reference in "Ethnography of Bushahr State" by Pt. Tikka Ram Joshi, edited by H. A. Rose Chief Secretary of Punjab in 1912.

"*Caste*—Besides the Kanets and Jads the only two castes in Kinnaur are the Chamang who make shoes and weave, and the Domang, who are blacksmiths and carpenters."

Enquiries about the Rajputs revealed that Rajput was a title conferred on those Kanets who were the protege of the Ruling Chief or those who commanded the respect of the Raja, and who were permitted to attend the court.



Oldest man of Kanum

Sketch from Trans Himalaya by Sven Hedin

With the passage of time it became the hall mark of distinction in these areas and every Kanet felt flattered if accosted as Rajput. This is so even to-day. The business community manages to manoeuvre terms favourable to them in their dealings with illiterate cultivators by addressing them as Negis just as they address the Rajputs of lower hills as Mehtas. A Kanet would not, however, tolerate a Scheduled Caste being called a Negi and he would express his resentment in no uncertain terms. The abuse of this title is fraught with the possibility of local rows between the Kanets and the Scheduled Castes.

Of thesce Swarn castes Kanets and Jads which have been referred to in the Ethnography of Bushahr State only the Kanets or Rajputs are found in the village. 'Lactas' the original inhabitants of the village were Kanets and as it is customary in certain areas of Jubbal and Rohru, District Mahasu to be known by the names of their famous ancestors, the Kanet group have taken on the usual name of their illustrious ancestor and are called 'Lactas' after him. It proves the migration of the 'Lactas' from Nawar in Rohru Tehsil, District Mahasu. The Kanets or Rajputs of Kanum have further divisions among themselves: —

(i) Lactas

(ii) Mathas

(iii) Sarpan

(iv) Braskan

(v) Pranis

(vi) Panas and Chhirba

(vii) Galong

(viii) Khangsar

These are different sects and are related to each other. There is no class superiority among the different groups, though Lactas branch is a mention in the Ethnography of Bushahr claims to be Negis of the high order. About the Mathas, the second group of Rajputs there State—

"Mathas is the hereditary Kardar of a deity. His duty is to petition the deity on behalf of the public and he is found in every village where there is a deity."

The same practice is followed in Kanum too. Those who belong to 'Mathas' families are essentially the Kardars of the village deity Dabla and they act as oracles of the deity. Village elders belonging to different groups however could not throw any light as to how they came to be known as Sarpan. Braskan, ever could not throw any light as to how they came to be known as Sarpan, Braskan, Prannis, Panas, Chhirba, Galong and Khangsar, Mathas is however, equivalent to Mehta the dignified title by which Kanets irrespective of their sects are addressed to by other communities especially the business community in the lower hills.

Chamangs

Next to Negis are Chamangs or Kolies who occupy second position with 19 households and 159 persons. Chamangs have three different groups Deoti Chamang, Bethu Chamangs and Bashu Chamangs, and of them the former group was the first to settle in Kanum according to the revenue records. The latter groups settled afterwards. It is customary here that a man from the Deoti group is always kept as a Grokh, one who acts as an oracle of the village deity. There is no distinction among these groups so far as inter-family relations including marriages are concerned. Chamangs are leather workers and weavers. The Kolis of the plains who follow weaving alone as their profession, therefore, differ from those living here. The local word for a leather worker is Chamang, which does not seem very much different from 'Chamar' used in other parts of Himachal Pradesh and the plains. The Chamangs of Kanum should, therefore, be taken at par with Chamars. They claim to be Kolis. But in the absence of Chamars they took to leather work. This was in addition to their traditional profession of weaving. Thus due to absence of Chamars in this area the divisions of labour could not be effective.

Domangs and Ores

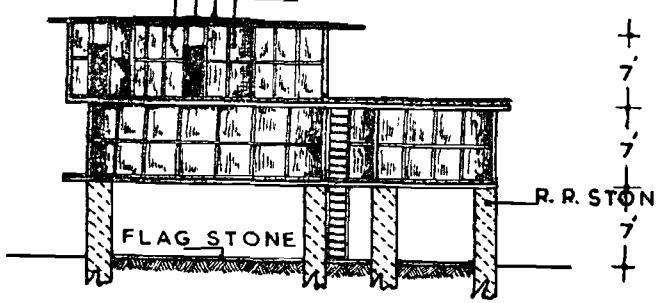
Domangs are blacksmiths and silversmiths and Ores are carpenters and masons. They are called so because of the profession they follow. Domangs and Ores claim themselves higher than the Chamangs and they do not mix up freely with them. They marry within their own castes. About their gotras and origin they could not reveal anything nor is there any mention about them in the revenue records.

House Type

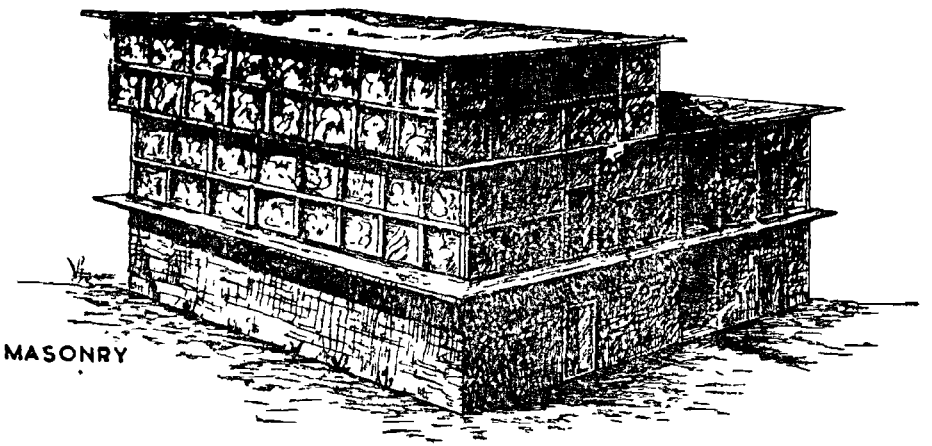
The housing pattern in an area is conditioned by the climatic conditions prevailing in that

HOUSE TYPE KANUM VILLAGE

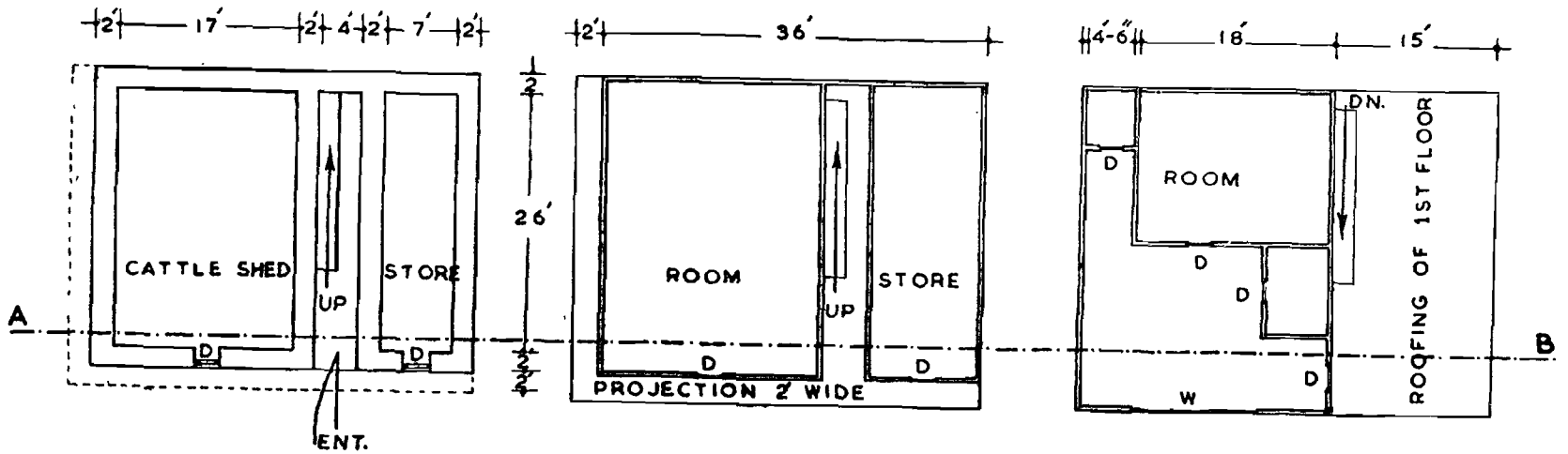
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SECTION ON A-B



PERSPECTIVE VIEW



GROUND FLOOR PLAN

FIRST FLOOR PLAN

SECOND FLOOR PLAN

region. The houses in Kanum follow more or less the general pattern adopted in Upper Kinnaur. The structure is either rectangular in shape having flat roofs and arranged in tiers one above the other. With a few exceptions, the entire houses are in three compact blocks presenting a beautiful view of the otherwise straggling conglomeration of houses from the opposite direction.



Courtesy: Sven Hedin

Csoma's old House

Out of a total number of 113 households, only 15 are two storeyed and the rest are three storeyed. The building material consists of stone, timber burche, some bushes, Bhojpattar, all locally available. Stone and timber are required for walls whereas Burche and Bhojpattars are used for roofs. The walls are constructed of a frame work of wood filled in with dry masonry. Plaster is seldom used. The housing pattern in the District is not variegated and more or less similar types of houses are found upto Poo.

These houses mostly face the south. Whenever a new house has to be constructed the Lama has invariably to be consulted about the direction that the entrance to the house should face. As a part of the village survey, a line drawing of a typical house has been prepared. This would convey an idea about the shape of the houses. The structure of this house which may be taken to be a typical house at Kanum is as follows—

It is a three storeyed house and stands erected on a piece of land which is steep but provides a larger space to make the construction easier and less costlier. The foundation of the house was said to be 2½′ to 3′ deep and it is filled with stones. As the land slopes no plinth is necessary and walls of the house have been raised direct on the foundations right to the top level on a width of nearly 1½′. The material used for walls is dry stones within the wooden frame work which is either of deodar or chilgoza wood. These wooden binders vary in thickness but generally a standard of 6″ thickness is used to hold the dry stone masonry. Neither mud nor any other plaster has been used on the outer portion of the walls, though a thin plaster of local clay is used on the inner sides of the walls, after construction, obviously to fill the chinks as a protection against cold. It is difficult to distinguish the plaster because thick deposits of soot unrelieved by even occasional white-washing have completely blackened the walls though of late, in some cases, the people have started white-washing their houses from inside as well as from outside.

Bong—Bong, the ground floor, is kept for tethering the cattle. An open level space though not very wide has been kept and is enclosed by breast high walls. This serves as the court yard. In the centre of the ground floor a small door 3′ to 3½′ is kept as entrance. The length and breadth of the room is 20′ × 14′. The height is generally 9′. One has to bow considerably while entering the room. Except the little door there is no other ventilation and it is pitch dark inside.

Occasionally the doors and their frames and the front portions of the wooden super structure are fashioned by the local Ores and are decorated with carvings of peculiar designs not exactly geometrical. The carvings of them represent flowers, animals or imaginary figures which apart from revealing the skill in the craftsmanship of the carpenters, add to beautify the houses. No paint or varnish is used to protect the wood-work with the result that after a few years of snow and sun it becomes black and loses much of its original beauty.

Ghunsa Pathang—The ground floor is not in any way inter connected with the first floor. On the right side of the ground floor, there are wooden stairs which lead to the first floor called Ghunsa Pathang. The entrance to Ghunsa Pathang is through 'Tonkhang', tonang a narrow wooden glazed verandah. The sizes of the door and room are similar to that of the bong. During winter Ghunsa Pathang is used both for living as well as culinary purposes and the whole family puts up in this big room with little or no pretensions to privacy. In the centre of the room a fire place square in shape is kept and the iron tripod serves the purposes of Chullah and provides warmth to the family who all sit around it. The floor of the Ghunsa Pathang is made of wooden planks and there are two pillars in the room which support the

upper storey. On the back wall of the Ghunsa Pathang two small rectangular holes called Teenanang have been kept for light, air and serve as outlets for smoke. A narrow balcony outside hardly 3′ in width, is used for sun basking and towards the left there is the dry Chhakcha.

The upper storey, the summer residence of the family is called Thoring Panthang and its structure is different from the 'Bong' and the Ghunsa Pathang. It has to be approached either through wooden stairs from Ghunsa Pathang or direct from the roof of an adjacent small store. Its door is on the side facing towards the East and its structure also differs. The front portion is all made of a wooden super-structure of 2″ to 3″ thick planks and in the centre it is kept deliberately open to provide air and sun. On the right side there is a small cabin Titama Pathang. Near the entrance is the place for storing drinking water. The length and breadth of the upper flat is consistent with those of the lower Pathangs with the only difference that it is divided into three portions. The first is a rectangular big hall of 20′ × 14′ called Forting. On both ends of the Forting on the back side is a small grain store, Bizurath. This room is partitioned by planks and an entrance—not exactly like a door, is kept at the corner. This is called Quim where odds and ends and utensils are kept during summer. But for small Teenangs holes of hardly 9″ width which provide little air and light, the 'quim' is dark and suffocating. The floor of 'Forting' is of beaten earth and is not as smooth and pleasant as the mud floors are found in all Kacha houses of the lower hills or plains. The soil here is dry and sandy and it cannot be beaten into a homogeneous mass like clay.

Ceilings are not fitted to the roofs and the uneven roughly hewn rafters supporting the roof are visible both in the Ghunsa Pathang and Thoring Pathang. The floor of Ghunsa Panthang is of planks which is comparatively clean and keeps warm during severe winter months.

The roof of the house is flat and laid in layers. The outer layers of Bhojpatter Shakpat and local bushes 'burche' are spread over the wooden rafters.

On this frame is laid a layer of earth about 6″ to 8″ thick. The process of covering the roof starts gradually. First of all mud 'Phathing' is carefully spread and it forms a layer of about 1″ to 2″ thick. The Phathing thus spread is beaten by a small wooden flat club 'Tekut' and the masons and all those engaged in the work press the mud while walking to and fro on the roof. Sometimes children and others are also invited to play on the roofs which are under construction. After the mud layer has settled another layer of dry earth is spread and water is sprinkled and thus the beating and pressing process continues till the roof is considered strong enough to hold back the rain and snow. But still the mud roofing is not as good as the slate or tin roofing and in case of heavy snowfall the mud roofs leak. During March' and April, 1962 it rained unusually in this region and people had to suffer a lot because of the leaking roofs. During winter the snow is immediately shovelled down with a woll—a wooden shovel like implement, from the roofs as soon as it stops snowing to avoid leakage from melting snow, as also a protection against the possibility of roof-collapsing under the heavy weight of the accumulated snow. Even the P.W.D. rest house, built some 50 years back is mud roofed. But the servants quarters and P.W.D. office which were constructed only recently are, roofed with G.I. Sheets.

While building a house no provision is made for a separate bath room as people are not in the habit of taking regular baths. A bath is considered an unnecessary luxury by some due to the cold climate of the area.

Customs of House Construction

The Lama is consulted whenever any person intends to build a new house. The Lama would ask the name of the person intending to construct a new house and then after consulting his pothies or religious books he decides the direction of the main door. An auspicious day is worked out on which the foundation stone laying ceremony should take place and the particular man who would lay the foundation stone has also got to be approved by the Lama. On the foundation stone laying ceremony, the masons and carpenters are entertained. Meat, chapaties, rice and wine are offered to them. They too perform certain pujan with wheat rote. Gur or sugar is also distributed among all present and the work is thus started.

The house construction work is undertaken during summer only because the winter months are snowy and chilly. The Ores who are the main architects of house construction once employed have to complete the work and it takes often more than a couple of years to complete a house. Daily wages are not given to them. On the completion of the house the owner has to provide both the masons and their wives with woollen clothes, including shoes. The mason's wives also get Dagloo heavy silver Kangans—bracelets—weighing about 10 tolas each. The carpenters and masons are feasted on meat and wine. After that they are given each a thali

filled with ghee. They then see their reflection in the thali. It is a rigid custom that the reflection of the Ores should be clearly visible to them in the thalies and they have the right to judge how clearly the ghee in the thali reflects back their face. If the face does not reflect a cheerful image it means the mason is not pleased with what the owner has given to him and then he asks for more money. Thus he would go on seeing his image until he is presumed to look cheerful and the owner has to please him otherwise it is not considered a good omen if the masons and carpenters are not pleased at the remuneration they get for their labour.

Poriashma, Gharsning or Prathishta in Sanskrit—A ceremony is held after completing the construction in all details. Again the auspicious time is worked out by the Lama. Relatives and kins folk and villagers are invited on this occasion and they are sumptuously entertained with wine, Khura wheat chapaties fried in chuli oil, rice and meat. The Lama performs certain rituals to ward off evil spirits. A special ceremony Beldung is held in which all the invitees, especially the women, offer money and pattus to the owner. The beldung is offered like Tikka on the occasion of marriages too, and an account of the collection is also kept, because it is a bartan and has to be repaid to the relatives at the time of similar occasions.

The table showing number of households, persons and the number of rooms under their occupation.

Households by Number of rooms and by number of persons occupying

Total number of households	Total number of rooms	Total number of family members	Households with no regular rooms	
			No of households	Total No. of family members
1	2	3	4	5
113	398	701	..	..

Households with one room		Households with two rooms		Households with three rooms		Households with four rooms	
No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
23	36	15	67	25	176	22	193

Households with five rooms		Households with five rooms and more	
No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members
14	15	16	17
9	86	19	143

23 households shown as having one room are those of Government servants posted in the village and in many cases a room is shared by two persons. There are 15 two roomed houses, out of which 14 belong to scheduled castes and one recently constructed on modern design is that of a Rajput. The biggest house has as many as 16 rooms and it belongs to the well known Shahukar. The smallest house with only one room is owned by a woman who has no land and she earns her living by working as a labourer.

NOTE—The members of the three communities Brahman, Khatri and Gupta are living in rented houses.

On a corner of the roof of every house a stone 'Chanura' is erected and it is coloured with red ochre *Mangcha* and a member of the family worships it every Tuesday by offering dhup and sattu. It is believed that the Chanura helps in warding off the evil spirits.

Pinchhung

Pinchhung is a small wooden store house for grains and is made of deodar wood. It is attached to every house. In certain cases it is constructed at some distance from the dwelling, perhaps as a precaution against the hazards of fire. The length and breadth of this wooden cabin is generally 2′ by 10′ and height 16 to 21 feet. The Pinchhung is internally divided into different compartments for storing different varieties of cereals separately. It is a convention that grains are always stored in these Kothars obviously to save them from insects. The roofing structure of a Pinchhung is not different from that of an ordinary house and approximate expenditure on its construction varies from Rs. 300 to Rs. 400.

Household goods

There is very little household furniture. Round wooden container or Zom and kerosene tin are used for fetching and storing water. It is only since recently that kerosene wick lamps are pressed into use for lighting purposes, otherwise wooden splinters of chilgoza tree were used as torches. These are called Jogties. People sleep

on the floor on goat and ram skins. There is no potter in the area. Earthen vessels for storing water and other liquids are not in use and instead wooden vessels are used in each household. The material culture and possession of furniture is given in the table.

Households possessing furniture

Caste	No. of households possessing					
	Chairs	Charpoys	Tables	Mirrors	Benches	Stools
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Rajputs .	3	7	2	51	3	3
Chamang .	..	..	..	13	..	..
Domang .	..	..	..	3	1	..
Ores .	..	..	..	3	2	..
Brahmins .	..	4	..	7	..	..
Khatri .	..	1	..	1	..	..
Guptas .	..	2	..	2	..	..

Caste	Almirrahs	Wooden boxes	Lanterns	Torches	Stoves	Radio	Watches	Umbrellas
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Rajputs . .	16	34	12	16	1	1	8	40
Chamang . .	2	3	2	2	..	..	..	7
Domang . .	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
Ores . .	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
Brahmins . .	..	4	..	5	4	1	2	2
Khatri . .	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	..
Guptas . .	..	2	..	2	2	1	2	..

Kerosene oil being scarce is available at very exorbitant rates. The lamps, lanterns, petromax lamps and stoves are owned by the village money lender. He possesses a stove, a lantern, a petromax and lamps, but all these are very sparingly used on the auspicious occasions such as marriages, birth ceremonies and other festivals of importance. Chairs, tables, benches and stools are kept by a few well-to-do households. As would appear from the table—chairs and charpoys are owned by 3 and 7 families whereas only 2 households have tables. Mirrors are of course, common. Out of 113 households as many as 80 houses possess mirrors. The percentage is perhaps larger, because of the government servants residing here and they possess many items of furniture mentioned in the table. Of all the radio sets in the village one is owned by a Negi. The remaining are owned by the Government Servants. Six Negis own guns. Other items include woollen pattus, dorus, namdas, gudmas, kharchas and goat skins.

Utensils

Utensils commonly found in households—

Local Name	Hindi Name	Local Name	Hindi Name
Ronpaj	Tawa	Lamthu	Karchhi
Pano	Prat	Lothi	Karai
Fandil	Patila	Badni	Twitidar lota
Lotnith	Lota	Lanka	Chhoti karai
Glass	Glass	Zom	Lakkari ka bartan
Kargyol	Payala	Zochho	Lakkari ka bartan
Batith	Kouli	Zwat	Lakkari ka lota
Timbril	Kettley	Thumbu	Karchhi
Kramfa	Chimta		
Balti	Balti	Khyoth	Chamcha
Thali	Thali	Bhadu	Bhadu
Khawang	Handi	Musorbo	Kupidar lota
Kun	Tambia	Bendu	Tasla

Utensils which are in common use differ from those found in other parts of the territory and they vary in sizes too.

Kun—This is a big vessel for fermenting fruit and liquor is filled in it.

Dhangmo—This is a bamboo vessel. Boiled saltish tea is churned with butter in it.

Musorbo—It is used for offering wine.

Zom—This is a wooden container, found in every household. Some of these zoms are of large size. Material for fermentation is kept in them.

Kargyal—It is a Tibetan type of a silver cup.

Proth or Phuru—It is made of wood or china clay. This is for serving sattu.

Kulmo—It is a wooden log, kept in households to extract Chuli oil. This is made after scooping some wood.

Kulmo Chat—It is a wooden rod like pestle. Chuli kernel is pressed by it to extract oil.

Among other household goods 'Taklies' are used for spinning wool. Hukkas of small sizes are common. Two tailors own sewing machines.

Dress

Men's Dress

Tepang—A round woollen cap with its front band of velvet. Usually red, crimson, green, blue, yellow and purple colours. The cap is adorned with flowers which are tucked in the folded band.

Kamiz or Kurti—A cotton or woollen shirt. Tailored by the Chamangs and has a simple design.

Chhuba, gola—It is a woollen long coat of achkan type. The Chhubas are of two types plain and with embroidered borders. Plain chhubas are worn on all occasions and the embroidered ones are worn on special occasions like marriages.

Sadri—This is a sleeveless woollen jacket.

Coat—A common type of coat of locally spun coarse wool.

Pared-Sach or Gachang—A woollen or cotton garment of two or three yards length wrapped round the waist.

Suthan—Woollen or cotton pyjamas slightly loose or tight. Woollen suthans are of natural wool colours.

On the occasion of marriages a specially embroidered Chhuba of white colour is prepared. The dress worn by the bridegroom is—

Chhuba, Gola—Its borders are embroidered with different colours.

Buraka, Pared—A special type of 'Gachang' of silken fabric and fine texture.

Tepang—The Tepang with which the bridegroom is adorned is different from the one commonly used by the villagers. It is a black round cap.

Takose-Nayanlukh—A white woollen chadar with cross i.e., embroidered checks of different colours.

Takose-suthan—A tight woollen churidar suthan having coloured checks and other designs on the lower portion upto knees.

Gulmeta—This is a special type of muffler woven in different designs and colours.

Takose Chukh—These are woollen shoes with coloured designs.

WOMEN'S DRESS

Tepang—A round woollen cap with pagri.

Choli of velvet—This is like a shirt or a small blouse.

Doru or Thuma—A woollen garment. It is wrapped like a sari with the only difference that the knot is on the back and the embroidered border is displayed slightly backwards from the hips down to the heels. Both ends of the doru are tied with 'Digra'.

Doru is an all weather dress. This is of immense utility to them and serves the purpose of a blanket during night. Dorus are of two types (i) with fewer designs (ii) with many designs. The simple dorus are for daily use whereas the latter type are put on festive occasions.

NAMSHA'S DRESS

Kir-Kir-Tepang—The head dress of Namsha, the bride. This cap is different from the common tepang. Its borders are turned up and around the border a thin white cloth strifed red is wrapped.

Choli—A full sleeved shirt either of velvet of different colours or of cotton cloth.

Tekose Dori—Is a doru with checks of geometrical designs are woven on Tekose Dori and the embroidered portion falls below the hips.

Tekose-Nayanlukh—A white woollen pattu beautifully woven and profusely coloured. It is wrapped round the upper portion of the back.

Tekose-chukh—These are multi coloured woollen shoes.

Chukh and Paiche—Other footwear are chukh with its sole of goat hair. These are of three types (i) simple of black wool, (ii) Tekose Chukh half coloured and (iii) Paiche with all its upper portions done in multi-colours.

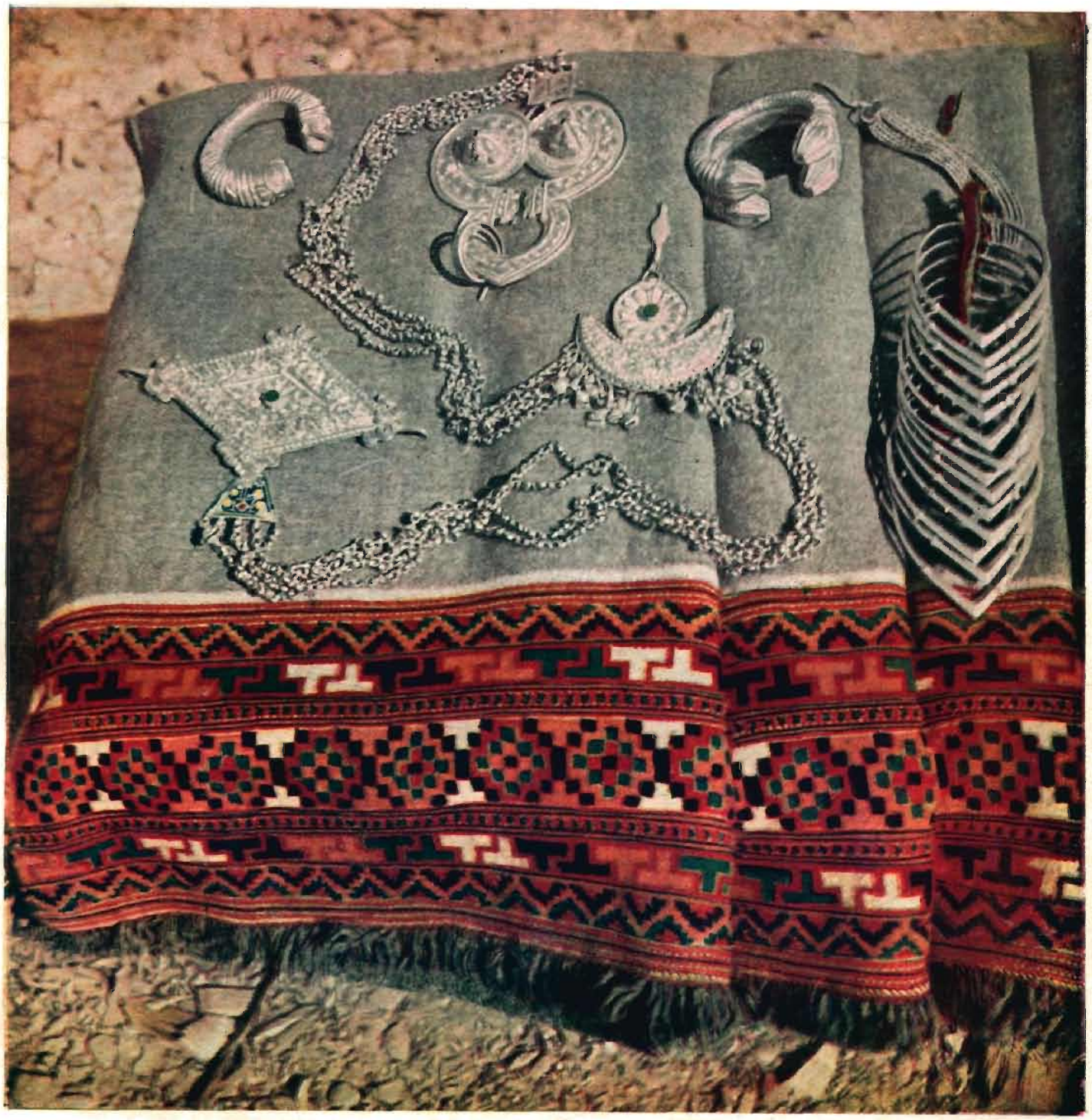
Leather shoes purchased from Rampur or Kalpa are used by some persons. During summer shoes are not used but during winter it becomes essential. 'Chukh' is for daily wear but "Tekose-chukh' or 'Paiche' are worn on the occasions of marriage.

Hair style

The hair style of the women is not very simple. Their long hair are combed, parted in the centre and twisted into numerous plaits joined to form a big braid or pigtail. 'Prandas' of cotton threads are inter-twined with these pigtails and on special occasions an ornament Zutti like a bunch of flowers of silver leaves or small size counch shells of white and red colours is added to the end of the pigtail which is now so long that it reaches the knees. It is not uncommon to find women adorning their hair with flowers tucked either in the pigtails or just above the left ears. Chuli oil is used as hair oil. This keeps their hair wonderfully healthy and Kinnaur women and men generally do not have grey hair prematurely. Bald men are few.

Ornaments

Women in Kinnaur are known for profusely adorning themselves with heavy silver and gold ornaments. They have a penchant for jewellery. Each item of their jewellery is distinct and is altogether different from what is found in the



Kinnauri silver ornaments, and a woollen dhoru showing Chamang teko a popular design

plains and other parts of Himachal Pradesh. While it may not be possible to explain in words the exact shapes and designs of each ornament the description that follows will, it is expected be helpful.

Ornaments worn by women

Tonal or Tonang—It is a gold or silver tressel like 'Jhalar' worn across the forehead.

Takpanshanglang—It is a silver chain like ornament tied to the hair above the neck.

Kuntai—Silver ear rings fixed on flaps and hung about the ears. These Kuntais are like 'Kan balies,' but their sizes are bigger and the weight is heavier than the usual balies found in other places. 6 to 8 Kuntais are worn by each woman on one side of the ear and average weight of a 'Kuntai' is a little above one tola. A set of Kuntais is systematically arranged on a piece of cotton cloth and then hung around the ears from the hair.

Zutti—A pranda with a bunch of silver bells and small size conches and reddish ratis and local beads at the end of pigtail are hung by the ladies.

Mulamentho—These are silver flowers worn in ears.

Garbit—It is a silver ear ornament.

Zumkoo—It is a silver flower hung by the sides of ears.

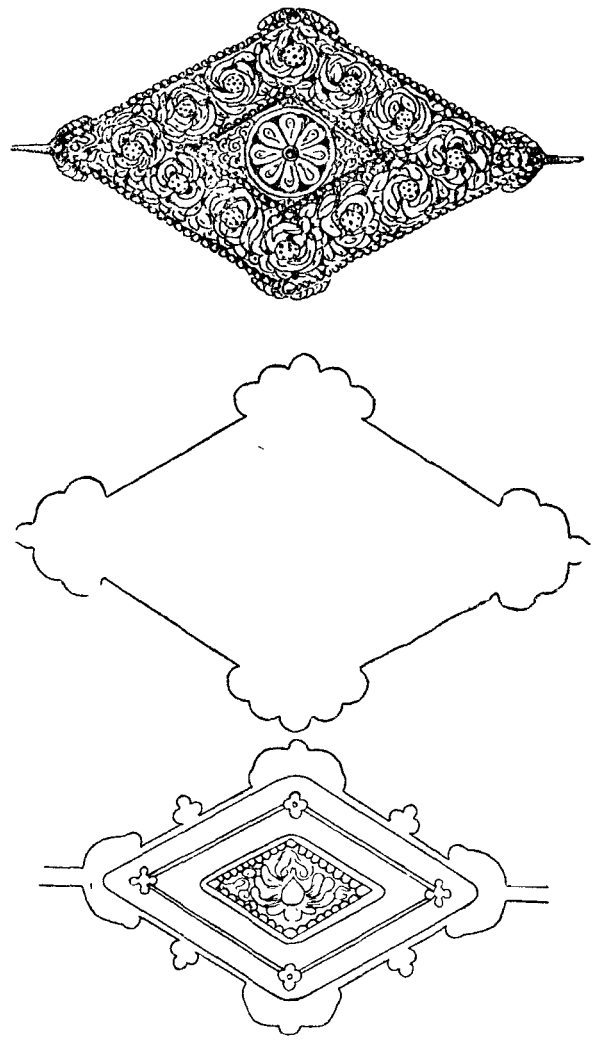
Khundo—It is a golden ornament for the nose. It is hung in between the nostrils and is a small size gold ring.

Shulig Chhu—It is a necklace of Moonga beads.



Pichuk or Tumukh

Pachuk or Tumukh—It is a large silver broach to hold doru.



Digra

Balu—It is a large nose ring made of gold.

Bulak—Bulak is a bigger nose ring and is worn through the hole made in the cartilege partitioning the nostrils.

Long—It is a gold ornament, button shaped worn on the right side of the nose.

Konthi—It is a necklace made of Moonga, Feroja and silver beads—coral and torquoise.

Bizli or Shokpotok—It is a necklace with three gold beads in the centre.

Doroli—Chandersenihar—It is a large necklace of silver coins.

Koshmal—It is a big silver necklace of silver beads.

Poshal—This is an amber necklace.

Mulugawoo— It is a silver or gold talisman of square type containing jantars mantars from Tibetan scriptures.

Boringu shanglang—It is a silver chain worn around the waist.

Digra—It is a Silver square, rectangular or circular shaped broach to hold together the ends of chaddar or doru at the chest.

Digra Chhu—It is a silver chain fitted to Digra.

Daglo—These are silver heavy Kangans made of silver.

Laksap—Silver or gold finger ring.

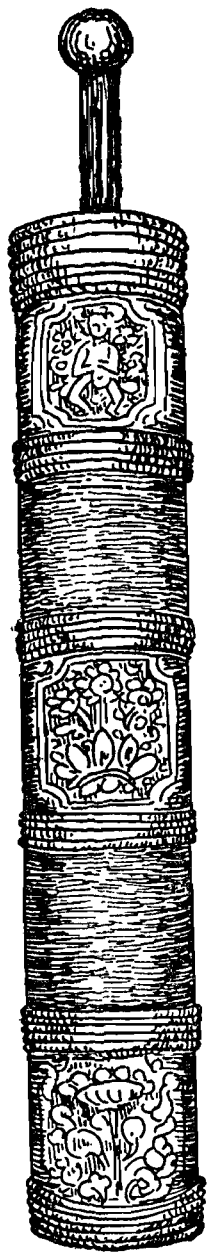
Of all the ornaments only Laksap are used both by men and women and other jewellery is exclusively worn by women. It is seldom that all the ornaments are owned byasingle woman, but the list gives the range of ornaments which the women of the village generally possess.

Food and Drink

The staple food of villagers is barley sattu. Barley grains are roasted and then ground. The sattu prepared does not require further cooking and is eaten with Thang. For food consumption the inhabitants cannot be divided into specific classes and the main cereals which are taken throughout the year are barley, ogla and phafra. These are the main produce of their land. Persons of all the castes are non-vegetarians and they relish flesh of goat and ram whenever they can get, though well-to-do families of Rajputs are more frequent meat eaters than the others.

Two to three meals a day are taken according to the seasons of the year. During winter when people have practically nothing to do due to heavy snows, they take only two meals a day, but during summer months from April to August three meals a day are taken. Morning tea is a must for all young and old. The first meal is taken at 10 a.m. and then Thang is frequently taken at noon time and the evening meal is usually taken at about 8 p.m. Pulses do not form a regular item of the menu. During August and September, green leaves of ogla and phafra, local products, are boiled and taken in abundance often without cereals particularly by those belonging to the lower income group. Others, however, add barley sattu, wheat flour or rice to the green leaves and then Thukpa is prepared.

Thukpa—Method of preparation of Thukpa is simple. Thukpa is a common word used for all kinds of cooked vegetables or cooked barley flour, rice as well as meat. Whenever Thukpa is to be prepared, they mix the flour with water and boil it in a lamthu for about an hour and then add salt to it. No fat is added. They relish it very much as parshad. Generally, all the year round, the diet of the people consists of barley sattus taken with saltish tea. They offer it to guests as well. Whenever they are on the move they carry with them a khaltu or two of barley sattus. Status are taken at meal times but tea may be taken any time.



Dhongmo

Lakkar-cha—The mode of preparing of lakkar-cha is different from the common tea that we take every where. Tea leaves which are sold under the name of lakkar-cha are boiled in a timbril, for 10 to 15 minutes and some salt is added. After it has been boiled quite a bit, it gives a light brownish colour and mild flavour. Then the liquid is poured into a Dhongmo, and some butter is added. In case butter is not available, walnut, chilgoja kernels and chuli oil are used to flavour the Thang. It is stirred with chatup a wooden rod. The Dhongmo is emptied into the timbril and kept on the Lodan for slow heating. The beverage is then distributed with a thumbu to the family members and in a single sitting a man or woman can heartily consume a dozen or even more small cups of it.

Kon—Another dish which forms the regular menu is Kon. It is prepared from barley, cheena, phafra and ogla flour.

The sattus of these cereals are boiled in hot water and frequently stirred with a wooden rod. Salt and animal fat are mixed. The difference between thokpá and Kon is that the former is taken in a liquid form whereas the latter is solid like pudding.

Chhoma—Chhoma is a seasonal preparation mostly consumed during Baisakh. Green leaves which grow in the wheat and barley fields are collected and then boiled. These green leaves are *Yaka, Sutrali, Khilas and Bro,* which grow without sowing and are simply weeds in the fields. Sattus prepared from *Ogla, Phafra, Cheena* are mixed in these green leaves and chhoma thus prepared is taken without chapaties. The chuli khal is added in the chhoma to give it an added taste. During August and September ogla and phafra leaves are boiled to prepare chhoma and during these months the remaining leaves are also dried for use in the off season.

Thugdru—Thugdru is much the same as Kon and is prepared from the green leaves mention about which has already been made. The only difference between the two dishes is that thugdru is a pure sag and flour is mixed in it. It is not taken in the liquid form like the thukpa or the chhoma. In some cases animal fat is used to flavour the dish, but mostly villagers take it without any fat.

Poli—Poli is made out the ogla, phafra and wheat flour. The flour is not kneaded as we do to cook chapaties but it is made into a paste and this paste is poured on the tawa and then a round shaped cake is prepared out of this. The tawa is frequently cleaned with ashes so that the poli are not spoiled on the tawa. The method of preparation is almost the same as that of dosa. Polis are considered a delicacy and villagers prepare it during winter or when they entertain their guests. In rich households these polis are smeared with chuli oil and then served to the distinguished guests with thugdru.

Chul-phanting—Chulis are of great importance and utility to the villagers. Besides relishing it as a fruit, they dry them on roofs and store for use during winter. The dried chulis are boiled in water and this is called 'chul phant' or kultho, which is relished by every body and this preparation is one of their favourite dishes. The children ask for this with added greed and often press their parents to prepare it rather too frequently. The soup has reddish colour. But these people have acquired a taste and relish it. The dried chulis have to be boiled for about 15 to 20 minutes and then stirred with a wooden tumma. Thus the chuli nuts are separated. The liquid is taken either in the pure form or with sattus. This liquid is called Lafi in the lower parts of Kinnaur and is eaten in the same manner.

Chuli-oil—Oil is extracted from chuli nuts and in the absence of ghee or any other fat, this is used as a cooking medium as well as for body massage. It has the smell of bitter almonds.

Special Dishes

Meat, kapo, jute or yute and khura are among the special dishes which are prepared on festive and other important occasions such as marriages, births and common festivals. Rice and wheat flour chapaties are among the rare preparations. The cooking method of each of these dishes is as follows:—

Meat—There are two methods of preparing meat:—

(i) Fresh or dried meat is roasted on a fire and taken with salt.

(ii) Meat is boiled in the usual way. Salt and chillies are added when it is half boiled. Onions, turmeric, corriander are not used to flavour the dish. Their preparation of meat is distinctly different from what we find elsewhere. It is not thoroughly mixed nor fairly cooked and is eaten with polis, rice and in rare cases with wheat chapaties. The

rice used is generally of an inferior variety and after boiling in water, is served in the form of balls.

Kapo—This is still another special preparation made from minced meat, which is used as stuffing for small balls of wheat or barley chapaties just the same way as boiled potatoes are filled in kachauris. Salt, chillies and kala-zira are added and then these ball-like pieces are boiled in water.

Jute or Yute—Ogla flour is kneaded in sugar water and the paste is cooked in chuli oil. This preparation is both sweet and saltish and is heartily consumed on every special occasion.

Khura or Poltu—Wheat or ogla flour is kneaded in the usual manner and then small chapaties are cooked in chuli or sarson oil. Khuras are neither saltish nor sweet and are consumed with any sort of dish. Chiltas of ogla, phafra and wheat flour are prepared on important occasions and the higher caste people distribute these to their menials at the time of festivals and rituals.

Drinks—Thang is the important beverage. People are fond of liquor which goes by the common name of *ghanti* This is distilled in every household and has become a sort of cottage industry. All important festive occasions are considered incomplete and devoid of zest in the absence of liquor. On religious ceremonies when Dabla is taken out in procession, many bottles of liquor are sprinkled in all directions and charnamarit of liquor is distributed to every body present on the occasion.

Liquor Distillation

The liquor is prepared by fermenting bemi fruit and distilling it in a patila and passing the vapours through a tube to a condenser. Occasionally some other fruit apple and chuli may also be used. In the area around Kanum grapes are grown and wine prepared from these grapes is called Anguri. The villages of Ribba and Spillo have acquired recognition among connosieurs of wine for the fine quality of *anguri* produced there. Anguri in these parts is used as tonic and medicine for coughs, colds and even pneumonal.

The use of ghanti, according to the people is essential, on account of the extremely cold climate of the area. They resent any move to put a curb on its distillation or consumption. Educated and thoughtful persons are, however, of the opinion that unrestricted use of liquor is proving ruinous to the people and they feel that time has come when its distillation on so unlimited a scale should be discouraged. There is a great deal of substance in what they say.

Due to high prices of the meat, a goat may cost more than Rs. 100, it has become difficult for people to supplement their diet with meat. In the absence of nourishing diet, the consumption of ghanti on so extensive a scale is having a detrimental effect upon their health. Many look emaciated anl pale and under-nourished and the incidence of T.B. is on the increase. Women, as a rule, do not drink.

On festive and marriage occasions liquor is consumed by gallons and drinking bouts are held which sometimes end in brawls.

Smoking

Smoking is prevalent in all the communities and 95 per cent of the male adult population smoke tobacco in hukkas. The higher caste people do not intersmoke with the Scheduled caste people. Cigarettes and bidis have become very common. The women do not generally smoke, but some old ones do occasionally enjoy a puff at the hukka which they smoke without the stem. The habit of smoking is so deep rooted that even boys have become addicted to this in their younger age. Some little tobacco is locally grown, but the bulk of it is brought from Rampur. The strong brand of hukka tobacco which is generally mixed with hearth ash.

Birth

No celebrations during pregnancy—Expectant motherhood is not celebrated in any way. All ceremonies are observed after the child is born. In the case of birth of a girl, major ceremonies are not performed. A pregnant woman does not undertake arduous duties nor is she allowed to carry heavy loads. The expectant mother is not allowed to look at the lunar eclipse, it is believed that if a pregnant mother does so the child in her womb is likely to develop certain physical or mental defects. In the advanced stages of pregnancy the woman does not climb trees nor does she go to other places.

Delivery takes place in a separate room—Delivery takes place in a separate room other than the main residence-cum-kitchen of the family. An experienced elderly woman in the neighbourhood or Gumo helps in the delivery. Dai is called Api in the local dialect and she is respected by the baby like a mother throughout the lifetime. There are no professional dais except 2 mid-wives recently appointed in the Primary Health Centre of the village. Since the appointment of the mid-wives only 48 delivery

cases were attended to by them from September, 1959 to the end of July, 1962.

Diet of the mother—During the first week after delivery, balanced diet consisting of ghee animal-fat, chuli oil, barley or ogla sattus, wheat, chapaties and rice are given.

Immediately after delivery hot ghee is given to the mother for drinking. Chuli khali is boiled in water and the mother and the baby are bathed in it. A massage of chuli oil is applied after the hot bath. This is to keep the body supple and strong and nourish the tender skin in this dry and cold climate of the area.

From the day of delivery, the mother is considered unclean for 7 days and during this period the male members observe bagnang. They do not take part in religious ceremonies nor are they allowed to enter the premises of the village temples. On the 8th day a Lama is requested to perform Sangs—shuddi. This is the first ceremony after the birth of a child whether male or female. Gomutra and holy-water of the Ganges if available, are sprinkled in the rooms. After that the house is considered clean.

Sangs and Minitima—This is a purification ceremony. All clothes of the mother are washed and the room is cleaned where delivery has taken place. The Sangs is performed by a Lama. Ghee or butter is mixed with barley sattu and then fed to the fire with wild aromatic roots called Saurko. The Lama chants certain Tibetan mantras. On the same day Minitima Namkarn ceremony is held. Birth time is noted and on the basis of this, small horoscopes are prepared by a few well-to-do people. The lower castes Chamangs and Domangs do not keep such horoscopes. For this, the local Lamas are not fully qualified and they have to get it prepared from other Lamas who have more knowledge. A Lama of village Lippa, which is about 10 miles from Kanum, is a well known astrologer in this area and he is approached to draw up a horoscope. He prepares these in Tibetan script.

Khas Kis—On the 15th day of the delivery a Khas-kis ceremony is held with great pomp and show. All the Bradari people and relatives are invited on this auspicious occasion and big feasts are held. Chamangs and Domangs are invited but they are entertained separately and do not enter the houses of the Negis. Chamapka flowers brought from the lower hills are presented to the father or the grand father of the child. The Api is given daily food during her attendance on the mother for 8 days and thereafter she is given clathes and some cash. In recognition of her services she is off and on invited and entertained for 3 years at least.

Bedhai—In the case of a male child Chamangs and Domangs come to offer congratulations to the parents in Chait especially on the Sankranti day and this is called 'Bedhai which is the same as bedhai used for congratulations in the lower hills and the plains. Musical instruments are worshipped by offering some wine and wheat or barley bread. After worshiping the musical instruments wine and bread are distributed among all present on the occasion.

Bose—Bose ceremony is held when the child is between 1 to 3 years. The selection of the day depends more on the convenience of the parents. A Lama, however, has to be consulted to find out the auspicious day. On this day Dabla is invited and given Sthan on the roof of the house. The first thing is to show reverence to the deity who is requested to bestow his blessings through Dologo. The deity is requested to reveal his wishes which are expressed through a maligrokh. The grokh goes in trance and demands offerings of wine, wheat bread, and munbhog. Some coins and a gagro are offered to the deity. The host will then present all the aforesaid articles to the Kardars. Thereafter the invitees are served wine in small Kargyols with Musarbo. Women are served Chhang, which is prepared by fermenting barley which contains very little alcohol. Chiltas, polis and barley sattu are served after the wine. The kith and kins then present Dagloo and clothes to the child. In addition to this, some bring barley sattu, wheat flour, butter and chuli oil too.

After the feasts are over the baskisa play on their instruments and the relatives, men and women take part in the dance that follows. The father of the child leads the dancing party and in a semi-circle all move backward and forward to the tunes of the local band. Songs are sung befitting the occasion. This merry making goes on for several hours and often continues throughot the night.

Krachoma—The hair cutting ceremony is called Karchokming in the local dialect and this ceremony is not observed with as much pomp and show as the Bose is done. When a boy attains the age of 3 or 4 years, the Lama is requested to select an auspicious occasion and on the day thus fixed the hair is cut of course, by a man whose parents are alive. Offerings of Khuras and Brayangs are made to appease evil spirits. It is, however, necessary that Krachoma should be done with a razor,

Marriages

Marriage customs in the village are different from those of the Hindus living in other parts of Himachal Pradesh. All rituals are performed according to Buddhism and the vedic phera system is not in vogue nor Brahman priests are found in the area. Lamas perform the religious ceremonies and play a very important role in the social life of the village.

Polyandry—Polyandrous system of marriage amongst all the castes has been continuing since times immemorial and this practice owes its origin to many factors. Enquiries revealed that the volume of work and the labour involved in tilling their small and scattered holdings coupled with their pastoral and migratory occupations need a number of workers to support the family. If they stick to a single occupation it becomes rather difficult to earn a square meal particularly when there is not enough land to till and the production is low. Polyandry serves as a safeguard against division of the family and fragmentation of the ancestral property. As a result joint family system, which has shown signs of disintegration under the impact of modern influences, is prevalent in this area and is still going strong in some ways.

Polyandry is always a delicate subject to discuss. Our enquiries took us to Lamas, village elders, elderly women, Jomos and young unmarried women. Some of the Lamas felt that this was a customary form of marriage—down from Pandavas time and there was absolutely nothing wrong if society had accepted this. The elderly men's reaction to our queries at times was that we should not be critical about their culture and their customs. They approved of polyandry and the main underlying factors governing this. We have carefully discussed this time and again. Many elderly women said that they had adjusted to this and there had been not too much of trouble. A tact, of course, manages these occasions.

Then the younger women—they shy away the question almost always and a great deal of quiet discussion takes place with smiles. We have never really been able to find out what all was discussed to our simple questions on polyandry. There have been instances of some Jomos or nuns getting married to polyandrous families though many scorned the idea. On polyandry they felt those who sought marriage had a right to say something—not nuns. If it suited them that was alright. Then some younger people have sought separate wives but once a while have an eye on the common wife too. Their getting another wife may be due to love or due to considerable differences in ages.

On polyandry Jacquemont feels:—

> "The religious precepts of Miss Frances Wright as regard sexual promiscuity are practised here, for not only polygamy, as in India, but polyandry, too, prevails; and since the latter institution is the prevailing one, the result is an excess of females, who retire into convents situated near the little abbeys ....."

Then we met a Kinnaura near Seoni last winter from an adjoining village. Pushing into his 60's we asked him about polyandry. We were all moving towards Shakrori.

"Sir, let these people pass". When we were together this Negi pointed to the hill top where his sheep were grazing and said "Negan is there —my wife". "What about the polyandrous wife?" "She is in the village". Then with a naughty smile he said, "some times when my wife is away and the brothers are not in the house she is mine".

He threw his arms into the air and clapped. These are some recollections of that happy sunny afternoon one of the many which we have spent with villagers from Kinnaur. Then Gangajeet's reaction to our question on polyandry was:—

> "A clever man always manages these situations and has an upper hand in the family, of course, the wife is a bagful of tact."

As a rule marriages take place with distant persons of the same caste but not of the common lineage. *Cholu Kima, Khutu-Kima* and *Milashojema* are the accepted systems of performing marital relations. The regular and most accepted form of marriage is Cholu Kima and details of this system of marriage are as follows:—

Cholukima—In this system of marriage the initiative for betrothal is taken by the parents of the boy. After an informal agreement between the parties 3, 5, or 7 always being the odd number *Majoumi*, middle men, are appointed to get the betrothal confirmed. The majoumi who generally belong to the village of the boy are appointed from amongst persons who enjoy good reputation for their straight and honest dealings.

Confirmation of Betrothal—On the appointed day, agreed to by both the parties, the majoumi go to the house of the girl's father. They take with them an earthen pitcher—huri almost resembling a surahi, full of wine and some cash from the boy's father. As a courtesy the majoumi would call the numbers of the

girl's family from nearby fields or wherever they may be. Perhaps deliberately they are absent from the house and then the betrothal talks are initiated and the huri is kept in front with some butter on it. All these talks are kept secret, but not so necessarily from the girl and she is sent out on that occasion on one pretext or the other.

Worshipping 'Sat' the family god—When an agreement has been reached between both the parties, Sat, the family god is worshipped by offering some wine and butter already kept on the huri. A tikka of butter is applied on the forehead of each member of the family, first the girl's father. The girl betrothed is then invited and the secret is passed on to her too. The youngest among the majouni applies tikka. While applying this some wine is given from the huri as charnamrit to all those present, in token of the acceptance of the betrothal. Five rupees are offered to the girl's father which he invariably accepts. While the pujan is done the following words are spoken:—

"Apoyaro bitanma, Chherring ma,

Chhang rang wangma".

Meaning the couple may have happy days in their lives, live long and prosper by having many children.

This occasion is called *Cholma* or *Namsha Batama*. When the Namsha Cholma is held, the Betrothal is confirmed and both the parties become socially drawn to each other. In addition to Rs. 5 a sum of Rs. 50 is given to the father of the girl for further distribution among the rest of the members of the family and the nearest relatives such as *mama*—the girl's maternal uncle, married sisters, aunt and maternal grand mother.

Social Change—Until recently the boy's father had to send his men to important relatives of the girl's side. In each of their houses, similar formalities had to be performed. It was customary among all the communities and in many cases it is still prevalent that they used to demand exorbitant amounts varying from Rs. 100 to Rs. 1,000 as *'izzat'* money from the boy's father. The person demanding a larger sum as *izzat* money was often a subject of discussion in the close quarters and thus he used to get flattered when asked *anche rupya izzat zau* meaning how much money have you taken as izzat. Each of the nearest relatives of the girl demanded *izzat* and until every-body was satisfied, there were always hurdles in solemnising the marriage.

Only 3 to 4 years ago this question was raised in the Gram Sabha meeting, the custom of pleasing each relative of the girl, it was realised besides being expensive was also most embarrassing as well and created difficulties for every body in settling the matrimonial alliances. It was, therefore, unanimously decided that instead of going to each relative of the girl a fixed amount of Rs. 50 should be given to the girl's father and he may himself distribute the money further among his relations.

Preparations—Auspicious months for marriages are Baisakh, Jeth, Asarh, Maghar, and Magha. After the Cholma has been performed it is up to the convenience of both the parties to fix the marriage date. The months of Fagun, Chait and Posh are considered inauspicious and no marriage is solemnised in these months.

It is for the boy's father to get a day fixed by a Lama and after the day is fixed he goes to the house of his Duras to intimate the auspicious day and arrangements are made accordingly. Relatives of both sides are informed and invited through special messengers—Frintan Khaido'. The nearest relatives such as the brothers and sisters of both the bride and the groom are informed of the impending marriage quite in advance say 2 to 3 months earlier, so that necessary arrangements on their part could be made.

On the day of tashis—marriage, the baskisa musicians who are generally Chamangs are invited and the musical instruments required are brought by them from the temple. The bridegroom takes his bath and gets ready to go to the house of the bride. The brethren are invited to accompany the makpa and they are entertained with wine, meat and khuras. The makpa is nicely dressed and he gets ready to undertake the journey. In case the village of the bride is at a distance the well-to-do people engage horses and others go on foot.

The Journey—The marriage party, janspa, is headed by the baskisa followed by Lama, Makpa, baktuth—a companion of the bridegroom and last of all the whole janspa. It is a social custom that at the time of marriage a companion always accompanies the bridegroom and the *baktuth* should be such a boy whose parents are alive. If the *janspa* is to go to a distant place only 15 to 20 persons accompany the *makpa* and in case it is to go to a nearby village 50 to 60 persons join the marriage party.

Koryang—When the *janspa* leaves the house of the *makpa* some women stand on the way of the marriage party with some metal pots full of skimmed curd, *brayangs* and some bottles of wine. The Lama then performs some pujan and sprinkles the wine, skimmed curd and Brayangas in all directions invoking the blessings of

gods and then the remainder of the offering is distributed by those women amongst the members of the *janspa*. This ritual is called Koryang—pujama. The marriage party then proceeds dancing to the tune of the musical instruments towards the house of the bride.

On reaching the Namsha's house—As soon as the marriage party reaches the house of the bride no body goes even a yard to welcome the janspa. The Lama is the first to enter the bride's house and he is given a warm reception. The oldest man in the household takes off his Thepang while greeting the Lama, while the *makpa* and the *baptuth* greet their in-laws by folding their hands.

The marriage party is first entertained with thang and thereafter food is served. Meat and wine are essential items of the menu and in the absence of these preparation a marriage feast is criticised. The women folk sing numerous songs which befit the occasion. The subject matter of the song is generally a piece of advice to the *makpa* that he should look after the bride with love and tenderness. So long as the janspa stays there singing and dancing continue always to the tune of the music. The *namsha* is bedecked with ornaments which are taken by her in-laws and some cash, ornaments and dorus are presented to her by her nearest relatives.

Return Journey—On the return journey the marriage party is arranged in such a way that baskisa should lead the janspa, followed by the Lama, Namsha, her father, brother(s) and relatives, all the participants of the makpas's side and last of all the bridegroom and his baktuth. Whenever the marriage party crosses a stream on their return journey a goat has to be sacrificed and it is carried in front of the bride. Again, when the marriage party reaches home the women perform Koryang pujama. Women offer, Brayangas to the *makpas* mother and these Brayangas are kept systematically arranged in the room where the bride, and all others have to be seated. The presentation of Brayangs is considered auspicious.

Meeting Gumo—mother-in-law—When Namsha reaches the door of her in-law's house her gumo comes to receive her. The namsha would immediately bow down to greet her gumo and a rupee is presented by the gumo, thus the gumo holds her hand and leads her to the room alongwith other distinguished guests.

Sitting Arrangements—Sitting arrangements in the room is systematic. The first seat is taken by the Lama, followed by *makpa* and all his brothers, gumo namsha, namshaeuomet—bride maid bouang—all people from the bride's side and the last of others, After everyone the 5 *zongbats* full of milk, chagti and *vitu kon* are brought and the baktuth presents these metal cups first to the *makpa* and his brothers and then to the *namsha*. The bridegroom and his brothers would simply touch the cups to their lips whereas *namsha* touches them wtih her middle finger. The Brayangs are distributed to all in the room. In case of a polyandrous marriage the eldest or the one who is the bride's equal in age goes with the marriage party and after the religious ceremony the *namsha's* right hand is held by the brothers and then all of them are deemed to have married her. After this, one goat is brought to the room and the Pujari of the devta, sprinkles some wine and water on the goat and it is then slaughtered in the room and Damas often rolled in the pool of blood simply for joke and fun. Singing and dancing too continues.

Beldung—Beldung is a custom like tambol—Tikka or bartan. The relatives and brethern offer their *beldung* in the shape of money, pattus and in certain well-to-do cases, rings, dagloos of silver are offered and the names of those who offer the *beldung* are noted alongwith the articles they present. The grooms and the namsha sit in order of preference and the village women start offering the presents. A big prat full of barley is kept in front. The money presented to the *makpa* and his brothers is thrown in the prat and pattus are put on the grooms. Some people also offer champaka flowers.

The role of Lama—Lamas are invariably requested to attend the marriage and all the time they murmur certain mantars which dispel evil spirits. They carry a small Budha Murti while accompanying the marriage party.

Concluding Dham—community meal—After the *'beldung'* ceremony a community meal is served to the invitees and a grand 'mela' of singing and dancing is arranged which continues for many hours. The *'majoumi'* and other relatives of the bride's side then sit together and the money collected as 'Udanang' on the bride's side is distributed amongst the middlemen and they are supposed to return it to the namsha as and when required by her together with an interest at the rate of Rs. 12½ per cent per annum.

Bandobast

'Bandobast' is an agreement between both the parties. The bride and the groom alongwith their parents and relatives sit and decide the terms. Written documents on plain paper are prepared. The boy's father has to set aside some land, a *'kothar'* and a portion of his house for the Namsha. The *'majoumis'* stand Sureties for the boy's father and these documents are present-

ed to the girl's parents. Likewise a 'Muchalka' on behalf of the bride is prepared in which certain conditions are imposed on her if she does not prove to be a good wife the husband shall have the right to divorce her. In the case of divorce the 'bandobast' will be void and she will not be entitled to a share of the property. The Namsha shall have the right to take all the 'udanang'. A list of all the articles is drawn up and kept with the documents.

The bonang—Those who accompany the namsha, on return to their houses are given a hearty send off and dried meat—Shakpo of a goat and some ration is given to them while bidding them farewell.

On the concluding day of the marriage the Dabla is brought and worshipped with wine and other offerings. A 'prat' and pugree with Rs. 5/- are also presented to the Devta and his blessings are invoked both by the *namsha* and the makpa. The Namsha bows down to the deity and offers some flowers and in turn one rupee is given to her from the Devta's fund. The Lamas too perform certain formalities in the house to drive off the evil spirits, which are supposed to have come with the *Bonang* and the *Namsha.*

Maitangasma

Return of the bride to her parents for the first time after marriage is called 'Maitangasma'. After 10 or 15 days, the Namsha and the bridegroom accompanied by their companions visit the bride's parent's house. They take with them some wheat or barley flour weighing from 10 to 20 seers, to be distributed among the relatives of the bride. They stay there for a week or more and on return journey atta, chuli oil and butter are brought by them in the same ratio.

Age and marital status of the entire population of the village will be seen from the table:—

Age Group	Total Population			Never Married		Married		Widowed	
	Persons	Males	Females	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
All ages .	701	350	351	186	195	150	117	14	39
0—4 .	64	35	29	35	29	..	..	..	..
5—9 .	66	34	32	34	32	..	..	..	..
10—14 .	81	48	33	48	33	..	..	..	..
15—19 .	50	27	23	23	23	4	..	..	..
20—24 .	76	44	32	30	20	13	12	1	..
25—29 .	60	34	26	14	12	20	14	..	..
30—34 .	48	20	28	..	10	20	18	..	..
35—39 .	53	29	24	2	11	24	13	3	..
40—44 .	44	17	27	..	3	17	22	..	2
45—49 .	39	17	22	..	8	16	11	1	3
50—54 .	33	13	20	..	5	13	10	..	5
55—59 .	31	14	17	..	4	12	8	2	5
60 & over .	56	18	38	..	5	11	9	7	24

It will be seen from the table that early marriages up to the age of 14 are totally absent. In the age group of 15—19 only 4 men are married, and this is due to the fact that in a polyandrous system of marriage, brothers in a family are deemed to have been married and as such four men fall in this category. Early marriages are almost absent and the normal, marriageable age is beyond 15 both for boys and girls.

Khutu Kima

This is another form of marriage custom prevalent in the area. In the local dialect 'Khutu' means to steal and 'Kima' means to take away. Therefore in this form of marriage the bride is secretly whisked away sometimes forcibly, but generally with the implied consent of the girl and her parents. Even if the girl be willing to marry, she feels shy of going with her paramour voluntarily. Some times a formal agreement is arrived at between the parents of the would-be-bride and the groom through a middleman and the parents are already in the know of the fact that their daughter would be whisked away from a certain fair or from the field.

The boy who intends to marry by way of 'Khutu Kima' would request some of his friends to accompany him and the secret is disclosed to them. In many cases Lamas are consulted and he works out an auspicious day. Mostly fairs are the most suited occasions from where it becomes easier to whisk away the bride and in case on a particular fair it is inauspicious, the girl whisked away forcibly is kept. in a neighbouring house till a suitable occasion is told by the Lama. But in such marriages these formalities are not strictly adhered to.

Immediately after the incidence the boy's father sends some middlemen to the girl's father's house seeking his forgiveness for the misbehaviour of his son and then it is a fine opportunity for the girl's father to demand izzat which varies from Rs. 100 to Rs. 1,000 or even more. The amount of izzat is more in case there may not be formal agreement between the parties and in the case of a formal agreement the amount of 'izzat' is almost previously agreed upon. Thereafter both the daughter and the son-in-law are sent for by the girl's father and the *namsha* is provided with new clothes including some ornaments. Other ceremonies in the case of 'cholukima' marriage are not observed nor goats slaughtered. This is a simple marriage and the entire expenses on the boy's side do not exceed Rs. 1,000 including the amount of 'izzat' and Rs. 100 on the girl's side. The girl's father generally recovers his expenses from the bridegroom

who has to please the uncle, mama, cheema of the girl by offering some 'izzat' money to them too. In a few cases the marriage rituals, as in the case of 'cholukima', are also performed, but these formalities can wait for an indefinite period, and when all this has been done marriage of the boy and the girl is considered to have been consumated.

A case study

Just to illustrate this system of marriage, we give a typical case relating to the marriage of one Virender Kumar aged 23 years caste Rajput of Kanum. His marriage took place in January, 1962. Virender Kumar with his friends during the festival of 'Khokcha' held after 15th Magh (BK) forcibly whisked away a young girl, Yangton, of 22, daughter of Dharam Sen Negi. The festival was held during night. The girl was asked by some one to go out of the premises of the fair on a certain pretext and as soon as she was a little away from the sight of the 'mela' Virender first caught hold of her arm. (It is always obligatory for the boy intending to marry to catch the girl first) and then all his friends helped him to forcibly lead the girl to his house. The girl, of course cried and resisted in vain and cried for help. As there was formal agreement between the parents of the girl and the boy, no body from the fair came to her rescue and they turned a deaf ear to her cries. She was not taken direct to his house by the boy but was kept in the house of Vidya Sen where new clothes and ornaments were given to her by Virender Kumar. Another girl Zangmo, a good friend of Yangtan, was called and she accompanied her. It is customary to invite a companion of the girl on such occasions. The same night Yangtan was taken by Virender Kumar to his house. The formalities as in the case of 'Cholukima' were observed the following day and brethern and relatives living in the neighbourhood were invited and a grant marriage feast was arranged. Immediately thereafter two 'majoumis' were sent by Virender Kumar's father to Dharam Sen's house to request him to pardon his son. First of all Dharam Sen was very angry with the 'majoumi', but after a great deal of coaxing and lengthy talks, he agreed to excuse the boy in case a sum of Rs. 500 was given to him as izzat money. The required sum was then presented to him by Chering Funchak, father of Virender Kumar. In addition a sum of Rs. 50 was given to him to please his other relatives too. After that the middlemen were nicely entertained with wine and special dishes.

'Beldung' ceremony as in the case of a 'cholo' marriage was not held, though some sweet things as 'vitukon', flour chagti, and milk were given both to the girl and the boy. A Lama was sent for from the 'Lundap Ganfel Gompha'.

On the following day of the marriage both Yangton and Virender Kumar visited Dharam Sen's house. They were received with courtesy and kindness and were thus considered to be absolved of the disgrace. Other two brothers of Virender Kumar, Inder Singh and Hoshiar Singh who held Yangton's right hand while the religious ceremony was going on were deemed to have been married.

Milasho-jema

The third form of marriage is, Mjlashojema—a love marriage. Such cases happen only when the boy and the girl are mature. There is nothing peculiar in this system and it almost resembles the usual love marriages. However, after taking away the girl the custom of giving some amount as 'izzat' money to the parents of the girl is sometimes observed and in such cases a very nominal amount is given. Religious formalities as in the case of 'cholukima' and 'Khutu kima' marriages are very seldom observed. Neither musical instruments are played nor big feasts are given.

The 'milashojema' marriages are negligible. During the last 3 or 4 years only one such case happened in which a Lama got entangled with a grown up girl of about 25 years of age. He gave a sum of Rs. 100 to the girl's father as 'izzat' money out of which an amount of Rs. 50 was to be distributed further among the relatives of the bride.

Polygamy

While the polyandrous system of marriage is universally prevalent among all the communities there is no social restriction against plural marriages particularly when the first wife does not have any issue. Cases of polygamy amongst the Negis and Chamangs are only three. In these cases second wives act as common wives for all the brothers. Out of the 3 households of Domangs 2 are polygamous, but in both of these households the previous wives had no issue and second marriages were contracted on that account.

Widow Remarriage

Widow remarriage is permissible, but at least for 2 to 3 years the widow is expected to stay in her deceased husband's house and after that she is at liberty to marry again. But no such case came to light while conducting the survey. The people being polyandrous a woman seldom becomes a widow unless she is unlucky to lose all the husbands!

Shingthama—Divorce

A case study

In the local dialect 'shing' means wood and 'thama' means to break. Whenever cases of divorce are to be settled, a thin wood is broken and the words 'shing thama' are spoken by the middle-men who decide the terms of divorce. Main reasons for divorce are domestic quarrels and in the wake of any dispute between the husband and wife, the middlemen, generally those who arranged the marriage, are again requested to intervene. In case the husband is not satisfied with his wife, he would divorce her and in each case the settlement terms are different. Divorce cases are not frequent and during the last 5 years only one case of divorce occurred in 1961. In this case Nasib, daughter of Madup could not pull on with Inder Singh Negi and his two brothers. She sought divorce and took the initiative. Three men from the village, who were 'majoumi' at the time of marriage, were requested by her to settle the dispute. The expenses which the boy's parents, had incurred in 'Khutu Kima' marriage had about 6 years back were worked out to Rs. 500. Of this amount the girl agreed to pay only Rs. 250 and Inder agreed to divorce her. After the agreement was reached written documents were prepared in which signatures of both the boy and the girl were taken that they would not have any claim over each other. In the end a thin wood was broken and words 'shing thama' were spoken. The matter then ended. In case the husband would have taken the initiative to get a divorce then he would not have been entitled to get any reimbursement of marriage expenses.

Harhanthu Jeu

To run away with some one is called 'Harhanthu Jeu' in the local dialect. If a woman indulges in adultery and elopes, the husband has the right to demand as much money as he thinks proper, but such cases are rare. During May, 1962 a Negi of Kanum eloped away with a young woman Butit, daughter of Ringchain Chamang. They could put up together hardly for a night when Ringchain—legal husband of Butit raised a hue and cry. The mischief monger was given severe beating and a sum of Rs. 30 was realised from him as 'izzat' money and the wife of Ringchain was restored to him by the middlemen. The enquiries did not reveal any other case where a woman of the other community ran away with somebody for good.

The rights of an illegitimate child

An illegitimate child is called 'Poltuth' or 'Zathu' and whenever such a child is born, the parents of the girl give 5 chhataks of chuli oil and 2 chh. of butter to the girl. The child is not entitled to any share of property nor the usual rituals are observed in his case. Only one such case was recorded in the village and the girl continues to live with her parents.

Death Customs

Dead body is disposed of by cremation. Infants up to the age of 2 years are buried. Children above 2 years and below 5 are thrown into the River. Those who die of leprosy or small pox are either thrown into the river or buried.

Foafudma

When the end of one's life draws near one is immediately taken down from charpoy. The Lama is immediately called in to chant some mantras. This custom is called 'Foafudma' and is essentially performed in each case and if one fails to do so, it is believed that the departed soul does not have a safe journey to Heavan. Panchratan is put into the mouth of the dying person and conch is blown after death.

The sad news travels fast through the village and distant relatives are informed through special messengers. The Lama has invariably to be requested to work out the time when the dead body has to be taken out for cremation. If suitable time is not easily available the dead body has to be kept in the house even for a day or two and it is often cremated after the sun has set. So long as the dead body remains in the house Lamas and *jomos* are requested to be present and chant mantras. Arrangements for feeding the Lamas and jomos have to be made by the heirs of the deceased somewhere outside the house visited by death. Other members of the household, however, take their meals within the premises. By the side of the dead the 'Lotang' a brass lamp full of chuli oil is lit.

Before taking out the corpse the dead body is cloth bathed in warm water and then wrapped with a white cloth. This is not laid on the bier but is rolled into a rough ball and kept in that position with the help of strings. It is then placed either on a wooden plank or sometimes without a plank and in the latter case a man selected by the Lama carries the corpse on his back which is taken in a procession accompanied by many persons.

Omf Kanma Kapra

The procession is headed by baskisa who play mourning tunes. Then Lamas and jomos followed by villagers who carry 'Omf Kanma Kapra' five coloured clothes, white, red, yellow, green and blue. This is intended to show the way to the departed soul. The man carrying the dead body follows those who carry *'Omf Kanma*

Kapra' and last of all are relatives. Women do not accompany the funeral procession to the cremation ground. They accompany the procession crying and weeping only for about a furlong or even less and return after washing their hands and faces. The conch shell is blown at regular intervals by the Lama.

Pyre

The pyre is built on an iron tripod which is commonly used in the houses. Some ghee and havan 'samagree' comprising of *til, paddy, shurkua,* wild aromatic bushes locally available and barley are required to perform a 'havan'. The Lama who performs the 'havan' is seated on a wooden box covered with 'Kharcha' or woollen asan. While chanting certain mantras, he pours the ghee and havan material into the pyre. The dead body is kept on the iron chula and it is covered on all sides with the wood which is carried from the village. The 'havan' continues for about an hour and after it the Lamas and jomos depart. The relatives and other friends of the deceased then go round the pyre three times and after that they lit the pyre with 'Jogties'. The pyre is locally called 'Dhumkhang'.

As soon as the 'Dhumkhang' is lit every body returns to the village. After 3 or 4 hours, two or three men again go to the 'Lotang Ronma Polang'—cremation ground to see whether the body is completely cremated. If not, they pile more wood on the pyre.

The next morning one or two men are deputed to the 'Lotang Ronma Polang' who take some water mixed with milk. This milky water is sprinkled over the ashes. One of the persons collects the bones in a 'Khul' and carries these to the River which flows about 2 miles down the crematorium. The 'Doru Chadar' in which the corpse is carried is taken back home along with the 'Lodanang' All these articles including the wooden box, Kharcha, and one bag of barley are given to the Lama who performed the 'havan'. On the cremation day a few relatives and immediate neighbours stay back and take their meals with the bereaved family and others return to their houses.

In case a woman becomes widow, she puts off all her ornaments and unties her hair. And if a man becomes widower he puts off all his clothes inside out when he returns from the Loathing ronma Polang.

Chhotpa Lama

This is a sort of 'Kirya' and is held nine or ten days after the death. There is no fixed time to observe it. Again on that day, tht Lamas, jomos and relatives are invited. The Lamas and jomos continue reciting the holy hymns and the head Lama would write the name of the deceased on a piece of paper and then ask the son of the deceased to catch hold of the written paper and murmur the written 'mantras' for about 5 minutes and the whole family join in this custom which is called 'Shugu ronma'. After this the paper is burnt and then the Lamas and jomos are fed on meat, chilta, poltu and barley sattu and beside the food each of them is given some cash as 'dakshana'. The head Lama gets clothes on this occasion. A 'thali' lota and Rs. 5 in cash are given to him. The custom does not vary much from the Brahminical custom performed at the kirya ceremony when Brahmans are feasted and the family purohit is given clothes, bedding and utensils, except that in the absence of Brahmans here, the Buddhist Lamas have appropriated this right to themselves.

Atting

On the occasion of the 'Sherkan' fair held during the month of Kartika, a man from each family will go to the house where a death had occurred during the year preceding the fair to collect 'Khuras', 'chiltas' or 'poltus' which are prepared as a matter of custom on this day and the family of the deceased then distribute the prepared articles to the villagers 1 to each member of the family. Even if someone dies 2 or 3 days earlier of the aforesaid fair the custom has still to be observed. Another significance of *'atting'* is that the villagers have not to be invited on this day but they come and collect their share of chilta or 'poltu' or whatever is prepared as a matter of custom.

Punjang-Brukhema

This is still another custom which was in existence about 10 or 12 years ago, but it has ceased now on account of heavy expenditure. In this custom the household where a death had occurred was supposed to distribute some cereals especially barley at the rate of 1 seer, 1/2 seer or even ¼ of a seer according to one's capacity amongst villagers in such a way that a share should go to each member of the family. This used to be distributed on the day when death took place or on the day when 'Chhotpa Lama' was held.

Also during the fairs ' Menthoko' Khawangri 'Kwashhoor' held in Bhadon, Margshirsa and Baisakh all such households where a death has taken place in the preceding year of the fair, distribute chiltas and khuras amongst the villagers, but on these occasions it is not necessary that a share should be given to each member of the family as in the case of Sherkan fair'.

Mangcha

Mangcha is the last ritual held after 3 years of the death. Just to commemorate the memory of the deceased, the Lamas and jomos are entertained with tea and sattu in the temples or monasteries and they are given some money. On this occasion the Lamas and jomos are not invited to the household but the feast is given in the temple. This concludes the death rituals and after 'Mangcha' nothing is observed.

The approximate expenses on each of the rituals is given here:

	Rs.	
Cremation day . .	100	
Chhotpa Lama . .	400	
Atting . .	100	
Brukhema . .	500	But this custom is ceased to exist much now.

Mangcha

3. Economy

Economic Resources

The economy of the village based on human labour and unaided by any mechanical devices rolls on at a snail's pace. Villagers are always humming with activity which mainly whirls around agriculture, their principal occupation. Other occupations such as weaving, carpentry and blacksmithy are affected by the measure of agricultural prosperity as weavers, carpenters and Lohars get their wages in kind, though they own small holdings too. Agricultural produce of the entire village is not sufficient to feed them and to meet their requirements. They engage themselves in variegated occupations such as manual labour, sheep and goat rearing, donkey and mule driving as also in trade involving the exchange of produce of their country viz, wool, woollen patties, chilgoza, goat and sheep with corns of all kinds either in the Lavi Fair at Rampur or in their respective camping places in Karsog, Bilaspur, Arki, Seoni, Mehlog and Sirmur. On their journey back they load their goats and sheep with small bags made of goats' hair



Shearing

slung over the back and bring back salt, wheat, maize, rice, pulses, ghee and other necessities of life which are not available in the area. Prior to the India-China dispute Shipki-La Pass was open to all traders without passport, customs and without let or hindrance and some of the well-to-do villagers enjoyed this facility but no more do caravans of mules, flocks of sheep and goats and ladden human beings now wind through the cavernous openings of Shipki-La. Pasham, jeera, medicinal herbs, goats and sheep were the main items which they imported from Tibet in exchange of cereals and in cash payment as well. Main occupation of *Negis* is agriculture, goat and sheep rearing. Chamangs take to weaving as their main occupation. Carpenters are traditional manufacturers of agricultural implements, wooden utensils and masons. They work as 'baskisa' and get small remuneration for this work too. Domangs follow blacksmithy and silversmithy. The construction of roads and other Govt. bulidings has thrown open other avenues of livelihood for these people and an unskilled worker gets a daily wage of Rs. 3 at present.

Goats and sheep are reared by all the Negi families. Only 5 to 6 households amongst the scheduled castes have small number of goats and sheep which they keep with the flocks of the Negis. Sheep are sheared twice a year whereas goats are sheared only once. This Industry is patronised by the people rather on an intensive scale, because it provides them not only with wool and goat hair but as well meat. Healthy goats are employed as carriers of commodities. This results in a lot of saving to them. For storing cereals and other odds and ends bags of goat skin are used. These skins are also used as mattresses to sleep on.

Occupational Pattern

Out of 19 Chamang households, weaving and woollen shoe making is practised by 17 families. Twelve households do both weaving and farming and 5 of them live by weaving alone because they do not posses any land. Two Chamang families neither possess land nor do they have pitlooms. They either work as agricultural labourers or earn their living on the road construction work. In addition to their main profession, Chamangs work as whole-time or part-time servants in the Rajput houses. Their women are employed as 'Rigries' by the Rajputs and some men as 'Fawals'. It is not always necessary that *'rigries'* and *'fawals'* should be appointed from amongst the scheduled castes only; even Rajputs work as such, 'Rigries' and fawals are engaged for a period of one year from the 'Lossar' fair. A settlement regarding their wages is reached beforehand for entire year. A rigri according to the prevalent rate is given 80 'brekhangs', a wooden measure of about 2 seers of cereals, 6 seers of raw wool, a pair of leather shoes and woollen shoes, Rs. 2 in cash and daily meals. In addition to this she is allowed paid leave for 2 months during winter. Wages in the case of a 'fawal' for one year are, Rs. 100 cash, clothes including shoes, daily meals. However, some of the 'fawals' get Rs. 200 in cash. Tailoring and shoe repairing is also undertaken as subsidiary occupation by 2 to 3 housekols.

Badhis follow carpentry as their main occupation, besides agriculture and flour milling which are their subsidiary occupations. There are only 3 households of 'badhis' and out of them 2 possess very small holdings of land and one family does not have even that much. They are either employed as manufacturers of wooden parts of the agricultural implements or as masons-cum-carpenters for house construction work. Their women attend to gharats and charge at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers for grinding every maund of cereals. At the time of fairs, festivals, and religious occasions they play on musical instruments and this also supplements their economy to a little extent.

Domangs are occupied with blacksmithy and silversmithy. All the 3 households are engaged in this and one of them owns a little land. Besides agricultural implements, they make musical instruments and all items of jewellery and silver cups too. Tibetan type silver cups are the best pieces of craftsmanship of the Domangs of this village and their major earning is from silversmithy rather than blacksmithy.

In brief these are the economic sources of the people. All sections of the village community have been granted concession under forest settlement to collect chilgoza cones from the forest and extract seeds therefrom. The seeds thus collected are either sold at Lavi Fair at Rampur or consumed by them and some of them carry these as presents to their friends in the lower hills when they go there in winter. In addition to these permanent sources of income the villagers have found a new avenue of employment as labourers on the huge construction programme of roads, and buildings. Irrespective of caste or sex people have availed of this opportunity during the last about 5 years and consequently their economy has considerably improved. The well-to-do Zamindars were often observed showing concern about the changes and they found it difficult to engage labourers to attend to their sheep and goats. Men and women now prefer to work on the roads rather than work as 'fawals', agricultural labourers and *'rigries'* for obvious reason that they get better wages. With

the opening of a jeepable road to Poo the movement of the people has considerably increased and 3 local Rajputs have started shops in the village, thus breaking away from their traditional occupations.

It was observed that they were far better in their new occupations. The table given here shows households engaged in cultivation industry or business: —

Total No. of Households	Households engaged in Cultivation only	Households engaged in Industry only	Households engaged in Business only	Households engaged in Cultivation, Industry and Business	Households engaged in Cultivation and Industry	Households engaged in Cultivation and Business	Other occupations
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
113	63	8	..	..	14	3	25

63 households are engaged in cultivation whereas 8 are occupied in industry, weaving, carpentry and blacksmithy and none of them owns land. Fourteen households employed in cultivation and industry are mainly those who possess small holdings and besides their traditional occupations they do agriculture work as well. Similarly 3 families run business in addition to farming. Twenty five families engaged in other occupations include Govt. servants posted in the village and some labourers. From this it is apparent that out of a total number of 113 households 63 are purely those of agriculturists and 17 carry on with some other occupations in addition to agriculture, and the rest of 33 households are non-agriculturists.

Caste-wise division of occupations is as follows: —

Caste	Occupation	Households
Rajput	Agriculture	62
Rajput	Agriculture & Business	3
Chamang	Agriculture	1
Chamang	Agriculture & Weaving	11
		5
Domang	Agriculture & Blacksmithy & Silver-smithy.	1
Domang	Blacksmithy	2
Carpenters	Agriculture & Carpentry	2
Carpenters	Carpentry	1
Others		25
	Total	113

Income

The income of each household has been calculated on the basis of total annual produce and other sources which will give a general idea about their economic standard. However, one thing should always be kept in mind that villagers who can be often very vague about the simplest things of life that concerns them—are very roughish in calculating their income. Opportunities are many but villagers may not have fully realised or utilized opportunities to earn more.

In the foregoing paragraph it has been shown that 63 households are engaged in cultivation which is their principal occupation, but while assessing their income it came to our notice that even amongst the agriculturists one or the other member in the family occasionally worked as a part-time labourer and naturally this becomes an important subsidiary occupation which supplemented the income to an appreciable extent. 19 households who derive their income from agriculture possess sizeable holdings while 44 other households no doubt practise agriculture as their main occupation casually engage themselves in manual labour whenever they find an opportunity. There are only 3 households falling in the income range of Rs. 25 p.m. In these households old women are living independently and doing cultivation only worth the name and their income from the agricultural produce is hardly sufficient for 2 or 3 months. They eke out their living either working as part time agricultural labourers for their neighbourers or often on the road construction work.

Now coming to the income range of Rs. 26—50 we see that this group consists of 8 households falling in occupation No. 2 and 3 engaged both in labour and agriculture and labour while 20 families come under the income range of Rs. 51—75 and an equal number of households in the range of Rs. 76—100.

Monthly income per household by Sources and Occupations.

Occupation of a household	Source of Income	Rs. 25	Rs. 26–50	Rs. 51–75	Rs. 76–100	Rs. 101 and over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Agriculture	Agriculture	..	..	3	8	8
2. Agriculture Labour	Agriculture Labour	3	5	9	4	23
3. Labour	Labour	..	3	..	1	1
4. Agriculture & Shopkeeping	Agriculture and Business	..	..	..	..	3
5. Weaving	Weaving	..	..	3	1	1
6. Agriculture Weaving	Agriculture and Weaving	..	..	4	3	4
7. Carpentry	Carpentry	..	..	..	1	..
8. Agriculture and Carpentry	Agriculture Carpentry	..	..	..	1	1
9. Blacksmithy	Blacksmithy	..	..	1	..	..
10. Agriculture and Blacksmithy	Agriculture and Blacksmithy	..	..	..	..	1
11. Service	Service	..	..	..	..	20
Total		3	8	20	20	62

The largest number of families come under the income group of Rs. 101 and over. The percentage of higher income group is larger due to inclusion of the Government Servants posted in the village. The majority of families falling in the aforesaid income group is of those who work as tillers and labourers and they number 23. Only 8 households derive a fairly good income from agriculture which is attributable to their owning sizeable holdings. In addition to agriculture, sheep and goat breeding fetches them handsome returns but it is a general complaint that their flocks are small.

Out of 3 households running business, one is the biggest landlord of the village and his business is better than the other two. Being a landlord and money lender he has lent enough amount of money to the scheduled castes and others. He employs them as labourers in his fields. The wages earned by them are set off against the interest on the loans advanced to them. Consumer goods are supplied to them from his shop at high rates, thus his gains are twice blessed as compared to the other two.

Agriculture and weaving is practised by the *chamangs,* 4 households coming in the higher range of income group. From the appearance of their dwellings and the living standard one would be prompted to imagine the figures as inflated, but these households besides agriculture and weaving do other menial work. Their women make woollen shoes, work as part-time labourers either in the village or on the building and road construction work. These resources pooled together give them a slight edge to be placed in a higher income group.

Workers and Non-Workers

The economy of the village depends on the strength of the workers and their classification is given here.

Workers and Non-Workers by Sex and broad age groups.

Age Group	Total Population			Workers			Non-Workers		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
All Ages	701	350	351	456	220	236	245	130	115
0—14	211	117	94	19	7	12	192	110	82
15—34	234	125	109	205	110	95	29	15	14
35—59	200	90	110	192	87	105	8	3	5
60 and over	56	18	38	40	16	24	16	2	14

Out of a total population of 701, 456 persons are workers and 245 non-workers. From this it would be clear that workers are more than the non-workers and their further classification by sex, age groups and occupation is.

Workers

Age Group	Total Workers			Workers engaged in					
				Household Industry		Household Business		Household Cultivation	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
All Ages . . .	456	220	236	53	17	2	3	103	173
0—14 . . .	19	7	12	2	1	..	..	3	11
15—34 . . .	205	110	95	25	9	1	1	41	69
35—59 . . .	192	87	105	22	6	1	2	48	74
60 and over . . .	40	16	24	4	1	..	..	11	19

It is clear from this table that in the age group of 0—14 only 19 children, 12 girls and 7 boys are workers. The number of male workers is less than the female workers in this group. This can be attributed to the reason that boys in this group attend school whereas girls are employed in cultivation work. The largest number of workers come from the age groups of 15—34 and 35—59. While adding the males and females of the aforesaid age groups we find that the number of female workers is 200 and that of males 197 and it would be interesting to note that women outnumber men. As regards the position of non-workers the major population falls in the age group of 0—14.

From the statement where the workers have been shown engaged in household industry, household business and household cultivation, we see 53 men and 17 women, 2 men and 3 women, 103 men, 173 women respectively occupied in the aforesaid occupations and the larger number comes on the cultivation side. In these tables the Government servants have not been included. Persons engaged in household Industry are weavers, carpenters and blacksmiths and in their group the female workers are only 17 and they belong to Chamang caste.

Three women are helping in business. A Negi started a tea-stall-cum-eating house on the road-side and his wife and daughter work there. Another woman looks after the business affairs in the absence of her husband.

Classification of non-workers by sex, broad age groups and nature of activity is given in the table here: —

Non-Workers

Age Groups	Total Non-workers			Full time students or children attending school		Persons engaged only in Household duties		Dependents, Infants & Children not attending school and persons permanently disabled		Retired persons not employed		Persons seeking employment for the first time	
	P	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
All ages	245	130	115	61	9	..	14	66	92	1	..	2	..
0—14	192	110	82	54	9	..	..	56	73	..	..	..	..
15—34	29	15	14	7	..	..	14	6	..	..	..	2	..
35—59	8	3	5	..	..	..	..	3	5	..	..	..	..
60 and over	16	2	14	..	..	..	..	1	14	1	..	..	..

Children attending school in the age group 0—14 are 54 boys and 9 girls whereas in the age group of 15—34 there are 7 males, thus the total full time students are 70. The number of persons engaged in household industry are 14 women only and all of them fall in the age group of 15—34.

In columns 9 & 10, the number of non-workers is the largest, majority of them being children not attending school. Disabled persons are mostly in the higher age groups. The number of deaf and blind is 2 and 3 respectively. The higher number of women in the age group of 60 & over is naturally due to the fact that older women can not engage themselves in gainful occupations. However, there is no beggar or vagrant or one is without a specific source of income. 2 men in the age group of 15—34 interested in seeking employment.

Approximate expenditure and indebtedness

Income Group	Total No. of Households	No. of Households in debt	Percentage of Col. 3 to Col. 2	Average indebtedness per household in debt
1	2	3	4	5
Rs. 25 and below	3	2	66	250
Rs. 26 to 50	8	7	87	657
Rs. 51 to 75	20	16	80	637
Rs. 76 to 100	20	17	85	1,085
Rs. 101 and over	62	34	54	1,822

The main expenditure of the villagers is on food. Other items such as clothing, smoking, housing, religious ceremonies, amusements, debt repayment, land revenue and education of children do not account for even 30% of their total expenditure. From the table of indebtedness it is evident that percentage of indebtedness among all the households seems high. Out of a total number of 113 households 76 are in debt and the indebtedness per household varies from Rs. 250/- to Rs. 1,900/-. This may be exaggerated in the absence of any bank or credit society, people get loans from the village money lenders and the rate of interest prevalent here is Rs. 12½% per annum. Enquiries further revealed that debts were not in terms of money but most of the people in the lowest rung of the society have borrowed cereals on the condition of annual charge of additional 5 seers per md., as interest on cereals. Thus a person who borrows one maund of foodgrains is required to pay back one maund and five seers of the grains to the lender. According to the income groups the percentage of debt also progressively increases. In the income group of 101 and over 10 families of Government employees are free from debt and the rest 44 out of 52 households are in debt. Elaborate enquiries with regard to indebtedness revealed that major debts were continuing since the time of their fore-fathers and despite their best efforts they were not able to pay off the annual interest even, thus the amounts compounded yearly have become beyond their repayment capacities. Main causes of indebtedness are house construction or repairs of existing buildings, marriages, deaths, ordinary household wants and 2 households running business have to pay heavy amounts to their creditors at Kalpa. Another man who also engaged himself in business for 2 or 3 years has run into heavy debts and left the business in August, 1962.

There are 3 Negi families who lend out money and a very clear indication of these houses is that they display many coloured *Darchots* on their houses and the total number of grain stockists do not exceed 5 including the aforesaid *sahukars*.

Income and Expenditure of 3 households representing each caste is given. This will give an idea of the villager's economy: —

RAJPUT—MAKHAN LAL

Income of the household (Annual)

Sl. No.	Name of the produce and other sources	Quantity in maunds	Price	Total
				Rs.
1.	Barley	5 mds.	@ Rs. 45 per md.	225·00
2.	Wheat	1 md.	@ Rs. 50 per md.	50·00
3.	Ogla	4 mds.	@ Rs. 40 per md.	160·00
4.	Phafra	3 mds.	@ Rs. 35 per md.	105·00
5.	Cheena	3 mds.	@ Rs. 40 per md.	120·00
				660·00
6.	Income from the business run by the household.			1,000·00
			GRAND TOTAL	1,660·00

Expenditure

Items	Rs.	
1. Food	800·00	The number of family members in his house are six and he owns 3½ bighas of land.
2. Clothing	150·00	
3. Smoking	60·00	
4. Education	25·00	
5. Religious ceremonies and amusements	100·00	
6. Debt repayment	200·00	
7. Expenditure on Business	300·00	
8. Land Revenue	0·42	
	1,635·42	

CHAMANG—SUNAR DASS

Income of the Household (Annual)

Sl. No.	Name of produce	Quantity in mds.	Price	Total
				Rs.
1.	Ogla	1½ mds.	@Rs. 40 per md.	60·00
2	Phafra.	3 mds.	@Rs. 35 per md.	105·00
3.	Cheena	4 mds.	@Rs. 40 per md.	160·00
4.	Barley	3 mds.	@Rs. 45 per md.	135·00
			Total	460·00
	Income from weaving and labour			600·00
			GRAND TOTAL	1,060·00

Expenditure

	Rs.
1. Food	802·00
2. Clothing	75·00
3. Smoking	40·00
4. Education	25·00
5. Religious and amusements	50·00
6. Debt repayment	60·00
7. Land Revenue	0·87
	1,052·87

The head of the household Sumar Dass Chamang gave out that he had to support as many as 10 members of his family. Out of them 3 women work as *rigris* and they get their daily meals with their employer's. He owns only 2½ bighas of land.

ORES—DEVI NAND

He owns 6.3 bighas of land and out of this only 3 bighas are cultivated. Annual income from agriculture and his profession is as follows—

	Rs.
1. Ogla, 4 mds @ Rs. 40 per md.	160·00
2. Phafra, 3 mds @ Rs. 35 per md.	105·00
Cheena, 3 mds @ Rs. 40 per md.	120·00
4. Barley, 4 mds @ Rs. 45 per md.	180·00
	565·00
Professional and other income	780·00
Total	1,345·00

Expenditure

	Rs.
1. Food	1,000·00
2. Clothing	150·00
3. Smoking	60·00
4. Religious and amusements	50·00
5. Land Revenue	2·69
Total	1,262·69

Devi Nand has 14 members of his family and the income, other than the agricultural produce, is from his profession and a major share of the income is derived from running the gharats. Domangs follow the same profession.

From the perusal of the income and expenditure of these households it will be clear that people spend major share of their income on food and clothing. Expenditure on smoking is common. There is very little expenditure on education, because a Government High School exists in the village and the villagers have nothing to spend as monthly tuition fee except a little on annual purchases of books and stationery. Irrespective of castes the quantum of expenditure on food and other items do not vary much since their food habits are almost the same. All the year round they wear hand spun and locally woven woollen clothes and as such expenditure on this item is less at present, but the time is not far off when people may soon start using mill made cloth. School going children have already started gradually abandoning the use of woollen *dorus* and shirts. On each festive occasion villagers like to drink, this would lead one to infer that they spend huge amounts on wine, but actually the wine they use is home brewed from local fruit.

From what has been given above, it would appear that on account of large incidence of indebtedness, the village economy is in jeopardy. Due to the high rate of interest charged by the local money lenders, it appears difficult for the debtors to clear off their outstanding debts especially due to soaring prices. The villagers cannot repay old debts because at times of need they will not get new advances. Starting of a credit and thrift society might help.

Agriculture

The economic activities of the agriculturists are confined to ploughing, sowing, hoeing, harvesting and rearing their cattle and the main caste engaged in this occupation is Rajput. Not taking into account the income they derive from farming which is no doubt meagre, they continue to till the very lands which their forefathers had been tilling from times immemorial. Farming in hilly areas is not much productive except a few selected crops e.g. potatoes, but in this region it is not even as much paying as

it is elsewhere in Himachal Pradesh and in this connection an extract from Farmers of India by M. S. Randhawa (Chapter XX Farmers Communities) is reproduced below:—

"Agriculture in Himachal Pradesh means subsistence farming. Even so, it hardly suffices for the cultivator's simple needs. A survey carried out in 1950 showed that 48 percent of the working members of land owners and tenants families pursued some subsidiary occupations to supplement the income from land. The scope for employment as agricultural labour being very little, many of them have taken to rearing of sheep and goats, lumbering in the forests, weaving and selling milk and vegetables".

The total area of the village is 1385 acres and out of this only 199 acres are cultivable. Almost the entire cultivated area is irrigated, because without irrigation no growth is possible. Even grass for fodder has to be irrigated. Two crops are grown in a year and the division of cereals grown in each cropping season Rabi and Kharif is as follows—

Rabi—Wheat, Barley, Peas and Chestan.

Kharif—Cheena, Ogla, Phafra and potatoes.

Agricultural Practices—Agriculture calendar of the village is given below in which month-wise agriculture practices are given—

January/February—Practically nothing is done because of the snows. Occasionally villagers are seen feeding their cattle and spinning wool.

March—Manuring of wheat and barley is done. Land is prepared for sowing peas and potatoes.

April—Sowing of potatoes is done. Manuring is also continued. In case the snowfall is scanty, wheat and barley crops are irrigated once or twice a fortnight. Weeds are taken out during April.

May—Irrigation of wheat and barley is done too frequently now because the weather begins to warm up and crops require watering at least once a week. This work entails a lot of labour which is mainly done by the women.

June—Watering of wheat and barley fields. This is the month when women not only work during day but the irrigation work is continued throughout the night. Due to shortage, water is divided by the villagers according to their turns.

July—Villagers harvest barley and wheat. Threshing is also undertaken simultaneously. Bullocks are employed to trample over the dried barley and wheat.

August—Threshing and winnowing of barley and wheat continues till the mid of August and side by side sowing of Ogla, Phafra and Cheena is done. The fields are watered first and only one ploughing is given and the seeds are scattered. In the beginning of the month chulies are collected from the fields and kept for drying. Fodder is as well collected and stocks are built for the ensuing winter.

September—Watering the Ogla, Phafra and Cheena keep farmers busy. Green leaves are collected by the women for 'sag' and some of these leaves are dried for use in winter. Collection of grass still continues from Kandas.

October—Harvesting of Ogla, Phafra and Cheena takes place. Simultaneously land is prepared for sowing wheat and barley. Threshing of Ogla, Phafra and Cheena is undertaken. Villagers also start collecting chilgoza cones from the forests.

November—Sowing of Wheat and Barley, watering is done side by side. Collected Chilgoza cones are dried and seeds are extracted from them. This work entails a lot of labour and all members of the family join in this work.

December—In case of scanty snowfall irrigation of wheat and barley has still to be continued but in case of snowfall people enjoy leisure time.

The detailed Agriculture Calendar is followed broadly but there is not much of departure from the calendar because the people do not depend on rains and their crops especially cheena, ogla and phafra are entirely grown with the help of irrigation. Manuring is done only once a year in a big way and women are often seen carrying heavy loads of manure on backs in baskets. Jinswar Statements for the last one decade are given. From the perusal of these statements an idea about the different crops sown year-wise can be had. Further geographical and cultivated area of the village is shown in the accompanying land utilization statement which has been collected by the Investigator from the local Patwari.

Land Utilization Statement

(Area in acres)

Year	Total Geographical Area	Forest	Barren and uncultivated land	Land put to Non-agricultural uses	Culturable waste	Permanent pastures & other lands	Land under Misc. trees, crops & groves not included in net area sown	Bunjer Current fallows	Fallow land Current than fallows current fallows other wastes	Net area sown	Total cropped area	Area sown more than once
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1951-52	1,384	..	..	21	1,033	139	..	9	..	182	236	54
1952-53	1,381	..	13	9	1,009	154	..	7	2	187	306	119
1953-54	1,381	..	100	11	920	155	..	8	3	184	296	112
1954-55	1,381	..	100	11	920	155	..	3	..	192	309	117
1955-56	1,381	..	101	11	919	155	..	9	..	186	299	113
1956-57	1,381	..	101	11	922	154	..	3	1	191	286	95
1957-58	1,383	..	100	11	924	153	..	7	..	188	271	83
1958-59	1,383	..	889	22	124	153	..	3	..	193	298	105
1959-60	1,384	..	889	22	121	154	..	7	..	191	251	60
1960-61	1,385	..	889	22	121	154	..	6	..	193	317	124

Jinswar Statement 1951—1960

Rabi

Name of Produce	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
Wheat	41	61	54	57	59	59	47	53	49	44
Barley	95	68	96	79	98	72	86	75	104	62
Cheena	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kalau	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	2	1
Massar (Pulses)	..	..	1	2	1	1	1	..	..	..
Mattar (Peas)	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Chestern	1	1	1	2	2	7	2	1	2	..
Chuli (wild apricot)	1	..	4	4	3	3	3	4	4	3
Garlic	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Total crops harvested	138	130	157	144	164	146	139	134	161	111
Area of crops failed	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	..
Total area sown	138	130	157	144	164	146	150	134	161	111
Area brought under cultivation more than once	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Balance correct area on which crops were sown	138	130	157	144	164	146	150	134	161	111
Total assessment of harvest	140	140	141	141	141	141	140	141	141	141

Kharif

Name of Produce	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
Cheena	30	31	34	51	25	46	40	45	41	48
Vauu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ogla	43	57	55	44	86	55	49	40	49	57
Phafra	28	59	61	48	40	44	46	50	48	43
Neoja	..	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Potatoes	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total crops harvested	101	149	152	145	153	147	137	137	140	151
Area of crops failed	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Total area sown	101	149	152	145	153	147	137	137	140	151
Area brought under cultivation more than once	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Balance correct area on which crops were sown	101	149	152	145	153	147	137	137	140	151
Total assessment of harvest	140	140	140	140	141	141	141	141	141	141

It will be observed from the land utilization statement that there is a slight variation in the geographical area of the village from 1951 to 1961. The net area under cultivation is shown in col. No. 10 and there is slight increase and decrease in the figures in different years. The average cultivated area per *khatauni* holding comes to 4-4 bighas which is uneconomic and this is one of the reasons that people have to engage themselves in variegated occupations. The rough balance sheet of the average agriculturist possessing 5 bighas of cultivated land is given below:—

Detail of Agri. Labour	No. of days employed	Cost of labour at wage rate of Rs. 2 per day
1. Period required for ploughing of fields	2	4·00
2. Total period required for watering the fields	15	30·00
3. Period required for manuring the fields	4	8·00
4. Period required for harvesting and threshing the crops	8	16·00
5. Cost of Seed	..	75·00
Total		133·00

Income Outturn

4 mds. Rate Rs. 50 per md. (Wheat) Cost . 200·00

Net saving to the farmer Rs. 200—133=Rs. 67·00

Undoubtedly the villagers experience shortage of foodgrains and deficiency is met by importing grains from the lower parts of the Pradesh. In addition to this a scheme to provide wheat at subsidised rates is in force and the people get benefits from the aforesaid scheme.

Agricultural implements

Name of the Implement	Local Name	Cost	Life
		Rs.	
Plough	Nagal	5 to 8	3 to 4 years
Yoke	Pol	2	5 years
Leveller	Gyangma	1	2 years
Khurpa (Hoe)	Goling	1	2 years
Sickle	Chatham	3	3 years
Drat	Kutham	7 to 9	4 to 5 years
Axe	Tokhi	10	5 to 8 years
Tesa	Kuith	9	8 years
Belcha	Belcha	10	7 years

At the time of harvest, women gather in numbers from neighbourhood and complete the work to the accompaniment of their melodious songs. The host serves them evening food. Borrowing of implements from their neighbours is a matter of everyday occurrence and so they go on without having to feel any difficulty either in the matter of lack of agricultural implements or labour.

Fertilizers—Chemical fertilizers are not used. People do not appear to be bothered much about the chemical fertilizers and the coaxing by the gram sevak was not of much use. In all 5 households used ammonium sulphate and superphosphate during the last 5 years.

Year	Ammonium Sulphate	Superphosphate	Compost pits dug
1957	..	..	..
1958	2 mds.	15 seers	1
1959	..	..	1
1960	1 md.	1 md.	5
1961	..	..	1

According to the people the use of chemical fertilizers requires irrigation and water supply being inadequate from Kanum Khad, the artificial manure is likely to do more harm than good. They, prefer to use the farm manure and do not bother to convert it into compost.

The number of compost pits dug is few but even these were not being fully utilized. During summer the cattle are kept in the Kandas—grass lands on hill tops. In winter when they are kept in the 'bong' the cow-dung is not cleared from the shed. It piles up for many days.

Horticulture

(*An interview with Horticulture Assistant at Spilo*)—The soil and climatic conditions of the area are ideally suited for growing temperate fruit such as apple, pear, cherry, almond, apricot and walnut. A progeny orchard cum Government fruit Nursery was started on 20.9 bighas of land in Spileo, an adjoining village in October, 1961. The progeny orchard is just about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Kanum and a Horticulture Assistant has been posted there to look after the orchard.

The Agriculture Department, Himachal Pradesh has been striving to develop the area by introducing better methods of fruit cultivation. When these are successful they will go a long way in improving the lot of the people.

At a height of 8,500 ft. the orchard is just below the old H.T. Road, mile stone 169. Out of 20 bighas only 10 bighas of land has been reclaimed and sown. The work is, however, in progress. Till June, 1962, following nurseries were set up:—

	(In bighas)
Apples	1
Apricot	2
Almond	2
Grapes	3
Prunes	1
Walnut at odd place	

The target of the Agriculture Department for 1962-63 was to grow:—

	Number of plants
Almond	2,000
Apricot	1,000
Grapes	500
Apple	500
Prunes	500

When these plants grow and are ready, they would be distributed among the villagers of Kanum, Spilo and Labrang at nominal rates, apple at 12 nP., apricot at 25 nP. almond and grapes at 25 nP. and 10 np. per plant.

Besides this, the Agriculture Department contemplates starting garden colony schemes in Kanum too and negotiations to pool the land were going on. The main purpose of the scheme is to consolidate and start these orchards on co-operative basis. Just to start with, this scheme has been sponsored in Spilo, with 11 members who agreed to pool their lands. So far 200 bighas of land has been pooled to make an experiment. Out of this 50 per cent was cultivated and 50 per cent was barren. To encourage the people a sum of Rs. 20,000 was given as loan and 1,640 plants of almonds, apricots, grapes, pomegranates, cherry and apples have been planted by the farmers under the guidance of the Horticulture Assistant. In 1962, 200 bighas of more barren land below the H.T. Road has been added and the membership has increased to 16. Due to the initial difficulties, few plants survived.

These experiments in the neighbourhood are sure to influence the people of Kanum and close observations revealed that there is already an inner urge in them to switch over to horticulture. Their main difficulty—transportation—will be solved as soon as the New National High Way is ready for heavy traffic. It will take some time for the trees to come up well. Horticulture alone can change the face of this area because a prosperous fruit industry will not only provide a dependable means of livelihood to the growers but will throw open other subsidiary means of livelihood to others.

Ownership of Land

The holdings of land are shown in the following table—

Households Owning or Possessing Land

Community	Nature of interest on Land	Number of Households and Extent of Land									
		No Land	5 Cents and below	5—10 Cents	10 to 20 Cents	21 to 50 Cents	50 Cents to 1 acre	1 to 2·4 acres	2·5 to 4·9 acres	5 to 10 acres	10 Acres and above
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Rajput (Negi)	Land-Owned	14	2	..	21	9	10	8	15	13	4
Koli	Do.	7	3	..	1	3	2	1	..	1	..
Lohar	Do.	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Ores	Do.	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
	Land Held from Private persons—No. of households Caste-wise										
Rajput (Negi)	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Koli	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lohar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ores	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

From the above table it will be seen that 24 households do not possess land, five households own only 5 cents or below and their income from land is just nothing. Major holdings of

land are concentrated in 4 Rajput households and an equal number of households has held land from private persons.

Price of Land

The average cost of land is shown below from 1951-52 to 1960-61.

Panchsala Average cost of Land (1955-56 *to* 1960-61)

Year	No. of Mutations	Area	Revenue	Cost of Land	Average per Bigha
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1951-52	2	6—13	-/10/9	668	..
1952-53	1	1—17	-/9/3	480	..
1953-54	..	..	..	..	..
1954-55	3	2—4	-/8/9	875	..
1955-56	1	0—6	-/1/6	200	..
1956-57	..	..	..	..	..
1957-58	..	..	..	..	..
1958-59	..	..	..	..	..
1959-60	5	15—6	2/4/3	3,170	..
1960-61	..	..	..	..	..
Total	12	26—6	4/2/6	5,393	207·42

On the basis of sale price of the land the average cost per bigha works out to Rs. 207.42 P. The number of mutations during the decade ending 1961 was 12 and total land sold and purchased was 26 bighas.

Animal Husbandry

Caste	Milch cattle		Bullocks		Goats/ Sheep	
	No. of house-hold owning	Total No.	No. of house-hold owning	Total No.	No. of house-holds owning	Total No.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kanet (Rajput)	54	101	54	146	61	1,744
Koli	3	3	3	4	2	83
Lohar	1	2	1	2	..	..
Ores	2	2	2	3	..	..
Gupta	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khatri	..	..	..	..	..	..
Brahmin	..	..	..	..	..	..

Livestock rearing is of great importance to the farmers. Cattle are the real wealth of the peasants and consist of cows, yak dzo, dzomo-cross breeds between a cow and a Yak bull, sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. The type of milch cattle is not encouraging and the cows reared by them are of a poor breed. *Dzomo* is a better type of cow (crossed breed of yak and indigenous cow) and its milk yield is better than that of the ordinary hill cow. Similarly *Dzos* are far better than the ordinary hill oxen. These are not only employed for ploughing, but are often used as pack animals. From the livestock statistics it is clear that the largest number is of goats and sheep. Besides cows, goats and sheep's milk is used for extracting butter whatever the quantity of milk one gets, it is kept in *zomchoo* and the curd is then gently rolled in *khul*. This *khul* is specially prepared and blown when the curd is poured into it. With the help of a woollen rope the skin bag is rolled about till the butter floats on the surface. People do not use milk for drinking nor it is sufficiently available. The *choprang mar* is of course used in preparing saltish tea.

The Animal Husbandry Department have distributed some yak bulls for cross breeding purposes in this area, though rigidly speaking, some selection measures may have to be adopted to improve the existing non-descript breed of cattle. As regards improvement of sheep the department had distributed some imported breeds of rams to the breeders in this area. The nearest Animal Husbandry Institution is at Jangi at a distance of 12 miles from Kanum where there is a veterinary hospital, and a sheep and wool extension centre. Some 30 improved rams with foreign blood are kept for breeding. They are given free to the breeders during breeding season and then withdrawn.

People do not rear large herds of cattle due to scarcity of fodder, but the goat and sheep rearing can be encouraged on better lines. Poultry farming is not popular here. However, some Chamangs and Lohars keep a small number of cocks and hens. One household of a Rajput who is running a hotel has kept some hens and he sells eggs in the eating house. Cattle diseases are rare in this area and no contagious diseases have spread for a period of about half a decade.

Village Crafts

Weaving, blacksmithy, silversmithy, carpentry and spinning are the crafts practised by Chamangs, Domangs and Ores. Spinning is, however, done by everyone and it is a common sight to see a person revolving his Takli while going to fields or tending cattle. These crafts only suffice to serve the requirements of the village. It may be that occasionally a piece of doru or pattu may be sold to some outsider but this should not

mean that there is a regular export trade in these articles. The table given will show caste-wise number of households engaged in different industries as also their products: —

Community	Industry I Weaving		Industry II Blacksmithy		Industry III and so on Carpentry	
	Number of Households	Name of Products	Number of Households	Name of Products	Number of Households	Name of Products
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Chamang	16	Pattu, Doru, Muffler, Woollen shoes and Kharchas.	..	..	..	..
Domang	..	..	3	Silver and Gold ornaments, silver cups of different designs, all kinds of Agri. & Iron implements.	..	..
Ores	..	..	..	..	3	Agri. Wooden Implements and wood carvings.

Weaving—Sixteen Chamang households are engaged in the profession of weaving. Apart from pattus, pattis doru, mufflers, woollen shoes, they weave different beautiful coloured designs on the garments. The length and breadth of the various articles woven by them is as under: —

Doru	6 yards × 1½ yards.
Pattu	3 yards × 1 yard.
Muffler	3 yards × ½ yard.
Gachang	2½ yards × ⅓ yard.

The main material used for these articles is hand spun coarse wool but for coloured designs marina yarn is imported from the plains. These designs are woven on 'Takose-Noyan-lukh'.

For embroidery the following designs are generally in vogue: —

Gyatung	Hectagon 8 sides
Yungrung	4 TS in a square with heads outwards
Palpe	Multi coloured square design
Chhoesten	A Buddhist pagoda type
Karu tanka	4 right angled triangles with a double square

Colour scheme on the designs is:

(i) Black red and white.

(ii) Red and yellow green and red.

On the borders 4 TS are in red, yellow, green and blue colours.

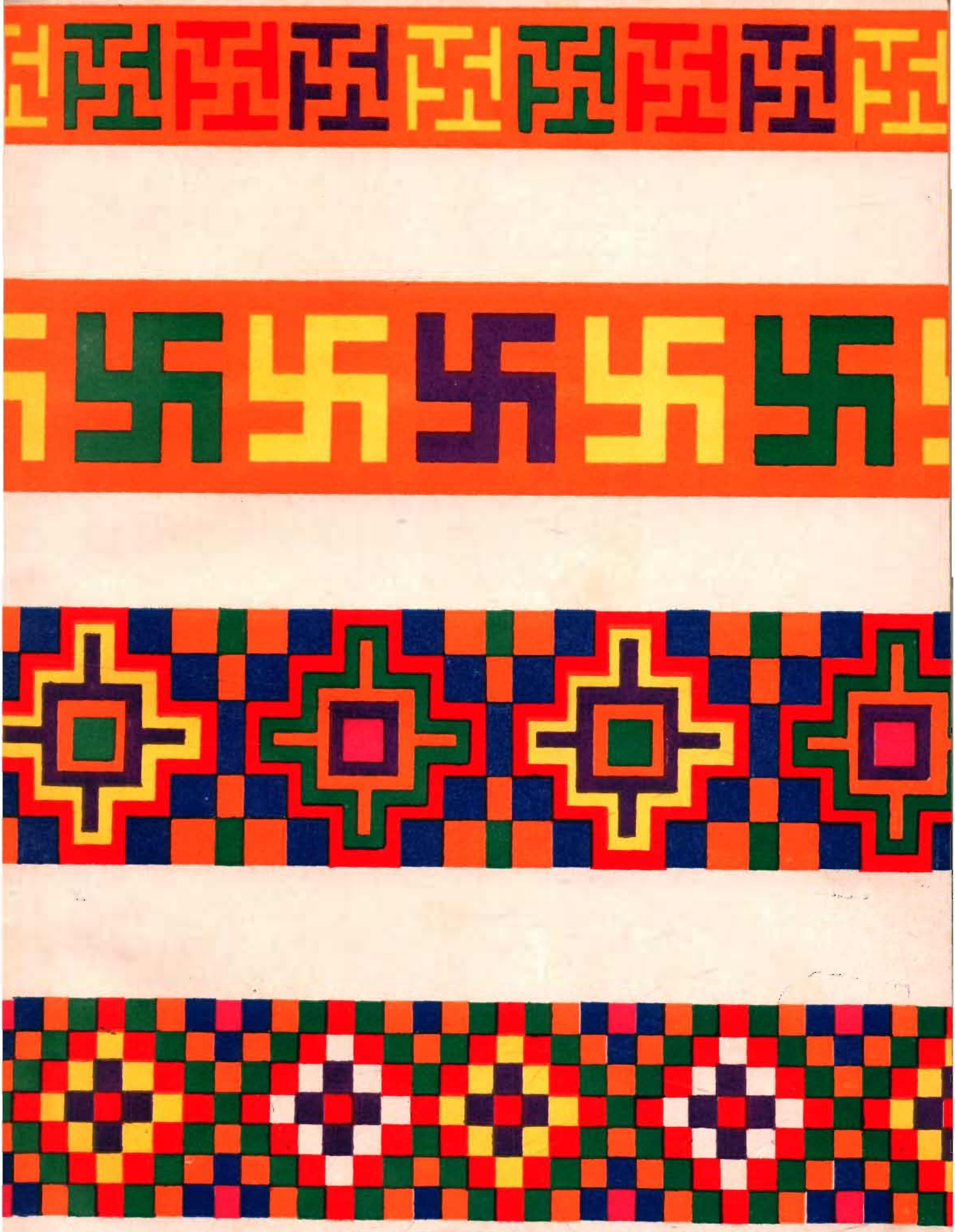
Pitlooms are installed in the ground floors of their houses which are sunny and airy. Main tools used by the weavers are: —

Malu
Hath
Scissors
Weaver's stick
Rachh
Combs

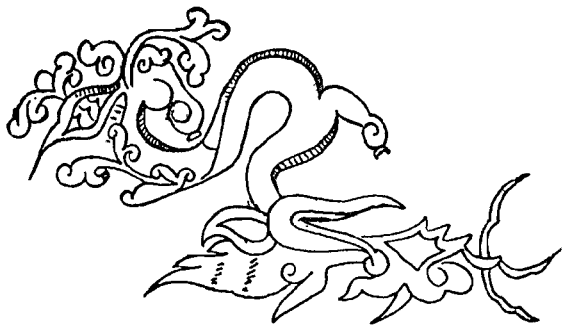
The weavers produce articles both for their own use as well as for the use of other communities. The spun wool is supplied to them by their 'Jajmans' and their wages vary according to the articles prepared. In the case of a Doru a weaver gets: —

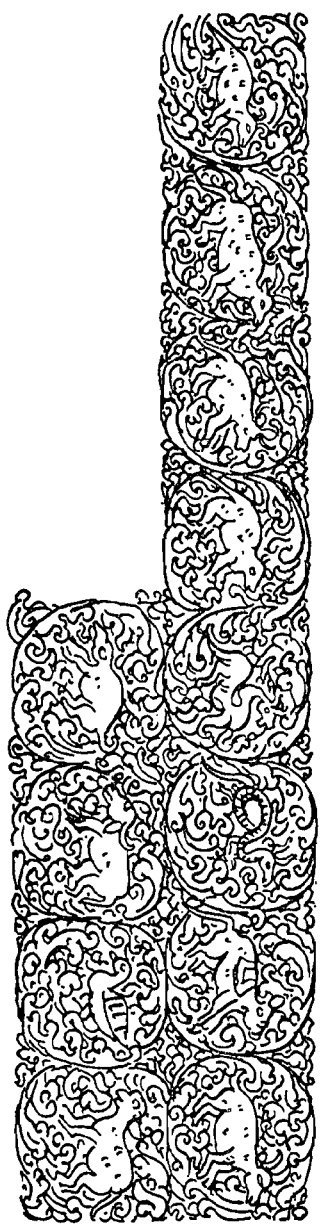
(i) 30 seers of Barley or Wheat.
(ii) Rs. 10 in cash.
(iii) Salt 6 chhataks.
(iv) Ghee or Butter 6 Chhataks.
(v) Wine 1 bottle.
(vi) Tobacco 6 chhataks.
(vii) Pulses ½ seer.

Blacksmithy and Silversmithy—Domangs are engaged in both blacksmithy and silversmithy. They make all types of silver and gold ornaments which are in demand. Besides ornaments, Tibetan type silver cups are made. Minor utensils, agricultural implements and musical instruments are made by them. A boat was also manufactured by the carpenters in Kanum. These articles are made to order. However silver cups are often kept for sale.



Local weaving designs:—(a) Kyumsa Yongrong (b) Yongrong (c) Yashin (d) Yaguma or Chholopanma





Silversmith's designs

Material for agricultural implements and ornaments is supplied by the villagers. The Domangs receive their wages in kind and its quantity differs from article to article. For agricultural implements they are given nominal fixed quota of foodgrains in addition to wine and other feasts on important and festive occasions. As regards silver or gold ornaments, they charge wages on weight reckoned in tolas which varies from ornament to ornament and the capacity of the customer. In the case of a silver cup weighing 10 tolas the silversmith will charge at the rate of Rs. 1.12 P. per tola. This rate of Rs. 1.12 P. can change if special *meenakari* or engraving is to be done on the cups. Rates for other types of jewellery are 75 P. per tola.

Carpentry—3 families of Ores practise carpentry as their main profession and in addition to making of wooden agricultural implements they do beautiful wood carving on the doors of the houses. They work as masons in house construction work on daily wages. Out of 3 Ores families, only 1 household has taken land from a Rajput and the other two do not have any other source of income except *gharats*. Male members of Ores family are employed by one or the other family and their women work on the *gharats*. Their income from manufacturing agricultural implements is meagre and has to be supplemented by other occupations. Annual repairs or manufacturing of new agricultural implements are undertaken only once a year by the cultivators and an Ore is asked to do that in the cultivator's house for 2 or 3 days. For the period of his employment he is either given food or 24 P. whichever may be beneficial to him. A group of households or *jajmans* are served by a particular family of Ores and the *jajmans* do not get their work done from any body other than their own artisan unless he shows his inability to do that work. The implements used by them are:

(i) Tesa
(ii) Randa
(iii) Nihan
(iv) Small Hammer
(v) Big Hammer
(vi) Saw
(vii) Burma

Wood, nails and the required material is supplied by the agriculturists.

Spinning Centre—In June, 1961, a spinning centre was opened in the village and a spinning organizer has been working there since its inception. Wool is supplied by the Government and he makes efforts to enroll spinners in Kanum and from the neighbouring villages. Statistics of

spinners and the wool spun by them month-wise is given below: —

Month and Year	No. of Spinners	Wool Spun		
		Mds.	Seers	Chhataks
August, 1961 to September 1961 ..	33	1	32	0
October, 1961 ..	11	..	25	14
November, 1961 ..	11	..	11	4
December, 1961 ..	11	..	36	6
January, 1962 ..	37	1	10	10
February, 1962 ..	38	2	8	0
March, 1962 ..	20	..	27	3
April, 1962	22	1	14	10
May, 1962	14	..	23	2
June, 1962	9	..	14	12
July, 1962	10	..	17	9

Rates of spinning varied from Rs. 2.75 to Rs. 5 per seer according to the quality of the yarn turned out. The spun wool is collected and utilized in the *gudma* and *namda* production cum common facility centre at Spileo. From the figures given it will be seen that the largest spinners were enrolled during January and February, and most of them belong to scheduled castes and only 25 per cent of the spinners belong to swarn castes.

Leather Embroidery Centre—The Industries Department, Himachal Pradesh had decided to start a Leather Embroidery centre in Kanum and a leather technician was deputed in July, 1962. In the beginning only 10 trainees from Kanum and from eight other villages were admitted to the centre who were to undergo a training for 1 year but the sadder part of the story is that during the Investigator's stay in the village up to the end of August, 1962 the centre had not started functioning despite the best efforts of the District Industries Officer, Kalpa who paid a visit to the village in early August, 1962 and the poor Leather Technician had to do nothing.



Local weaving designs:—(i) Chattham (ii) Chhoktin (iii) Darje-Setham

4. Social and Cultural Life

Fairs and Festivals

The simple, carefree and proud inhabitants of the village are happy by nature. They continued to live an isolated existence from centuries and were cut off from the stream of life which is flowing in the rest of the country. They do not bemoan their lot and strive hard to earn their bread whether in the fields or with flocks. Men and women are found working together and to relieve the monotony of their hard labour, they, especially the women, sing sweet songs in melodious tones which fascinate even strangers though they may not understand the text of the songs. This is a common sight while carrying manure to the fields or while returning. Undoubtedly village women are known for their sweet voice and both young or old burst into songs at the slightest pretext. It may be the beginning of spring or autumn, or the sowing or harvesting time, each event provides an occasion for songs which break the monotony and lighten the strain thus make the going smooth by providing pleasure with work.

Religious and festive occasions are the only means of recreation and source of entertainment to the villagers in which the social and cultural life of the village folk is so clearly depicted. During winter which is mostly the leisure time, people, except those who migrate to the lower parts of the Himachal Pradesh, remain confined to the four walls of their houses and the major work of spinning is done by one and all in the house. The annual quota of wool required for family clothing is spun during winter months. Tea and wine drinking has become a sort of a ritual rather than a habit with all the sections of the village communities and during snowy months the whole day is spent in the dark and dingy rooms where they sip either *'thang'* or wine, indulging at the same time in idle gossip or discussing petty village politics. Every fair brings a message of happiness to the villagers and they celebrate it in a joyful mood casting all their worries away for the time being. Drinking and dancing are common. The annual cycle of fairs and festivals is as follows:

Lossar—The word *'Lossar'* in the local dialect means new year. This is held to celebrate the beginning of the new year during Posh—*Parwa Shudi Shukal Paksha,* bright fortnight of the moon. This is an important fair. A day earlier preceding the fair, *khuras* and *chiltas* are prepared. Early morning an elderly man gets up and prepares *brayangs.* This is a satu stupa made from barley flour. It is considered auspicious first to see the *brayangs.* On top of this *brayangs* some butter is smeared and it is ready before other members of the family get up. A bottle of wine and some other articles such as chilgoza are kept in a *thali,* before the 'sattu murti' and a butter lamp is also lit near it.

Darchhot—In the early hours of the morning the villagers display new *darchhots,* on the roofs of their houses. The 'Darchhot' cloth is printed with Tibetan mantras and Lamas do it in the 'Labrang' monastery where wooden stencils are kept for this purpose. Then two men take the 'darchhot' and display it on the roofs. A pujan is performed with wine and *brayangs.* Then the elderly man offers charnamrit of wine and some vit to others. While distributing wine he says. *'Losmatashis',* which means "May the new year be bright and prosperous". Thereafter they enter the main residential room and offer 'charnamrit' of wine to the family members repeating 'Losmatashis' which is reciprocated by the members of the family. *Vitukon,* a special dish is relished by the family. All these rituals are completed before the dawn.

With the Sun rises, the villagers pay visits to their relatives and exchange *'kayangket'*. The words *'Losmatashis'* are repeatedly spoken and reciprocated. The *'Kayangkets'* are offered more by the Scheduled Castes to the high castes villagers who give them *poltus, chiltas* and wine in return.

Towards mid-day the *Bajantris* go to the 'Lambardar' who has to entertain them with wine. He is then taken by the *Baskisa* to a field near Kanjur temple and simultaneously other reach the spot, some of them with their horses. The younger folk organise a horse race. After the race is over the people flock to Labrang a nearby temple to hear an interesting debate by 2 Lamas on a religious topic. There is a common belief that this discussion brings happiness and prosperity to the villagers during the ensuing year.

At about 3 o'clock, folk dance in which both men and women take part is organised in the field and the dancing party is headed by 'dhure' a good dancer. The dance continues till late at night or if weather permits it may continue during the whole night. On the third day during night in another temple, 'Khache Lagang', the *Lamas* and *jomos* organise a dance in which the villagers take part and it continues till morning.

On the 4th day a youngman requests the head Lama of 'Khache Lagang' to allow the fair to be held again in the premises of the temple. Rs. 5 and a bottle of wine has also to be offered to the Lama and then the fair is resumed and the rejoicings conclude the Lossar celebrations.

After the Lossar fair 'rigries' and 'fawals' do not attend to their owners' work and go on leave for eight days. The people add a year more to their ages on this day irrespective of their actual dates of birth.

Sajo Fair—Magh Sankrant—On this day 'Dabla' is believed to have left for Thoring—Heaven. They assemble in the court-yard of the temple and the *devta* is brought out. The 'Dologo', puts questions to the *devta* ascertaining as to when he intends to return from the 'Thoring' and the other *mali* of the deity replies on behalf of the Devta that he would be absent for a fortnight. Thereafter the 'murtis' are kept in the temple treasury assuming that *Dabla* has left for 'Thoring'. During the period of the fortnight in the absence of *Dabla* sins such as cutting green trees and slaughtering goats, are not committed by any one. Marriages, songs and folk-dances are also suspended for this period. Any body breaking the custom is liable to pay a fine as imposed by the *Dabla* on his return from the *'Thoring'*.

Satpang gyatma—The day when the deity comes back from the *Thoring*.

This day falls either on the 14th or 15th Magh. The Murtis are cleaned and decorated on a wooden box and *gagro* are hung on all sides. Musical instruments are played upon by the Bajantris and the Grokh through whom the deity is supposed to talk, relates the events of the *Thoring*. He makes some forecasts about the ensuring crops and probable diseases too. All those who had committed lapse deliberately or inadvertantly confess before *Dabla* and pray for pardon, but others who do not admit their acts of omission or commission are picked up from the crowd and heavy fines are imposed on them. The money is realised on the spot by the accountant of the deity.

Mahang Sanga—On the following day of *'Satpang gyatma'* the festival of *'Mahang Sanga'* is held. Besides folk dances, tasty food is prepared in every household. Scheduled castes who are employed by the high caste people as whole time servants are given heavy bundles of food comprising *khuras, chiltas,* meat and *sattu*. Goats are slaughtered and meat is kept for drying which is relished on the ensuing important occasions throughout the year. Every 3rd or 4th year this fair is held rather on a larger scale. Each family exchanges good food with its relatives.

During Magh, 1962 *'Mahang Sanga'* fair was held on a larger scale. Chhering Jit Negi, the village Postmaster slaughtered 5 goats and invited 15 Chamangs. Wang Darje another Negi a relative of the former alongwith members of his family was invited and the following preparations were made:—

Meat, Rice, Khuras, Chilta, Jute and Wine.

Jekhaya Kushina—This is a ceremony of mutual feasting.

Khawakcha—From the 16 or 17 Magh *Khawakcha* fair is held continuously for 5 days.

1st Day—At about the sunset youngmen and women assemble in a field. *Baskisas* bring musical instruments from the temple and after having some drinks they start playing on their instruments. The young women burst into songs and dance which continues for sometime.

2nd, 3rd and 4th day—On the 2nd, the 3rd and the 4th day of the fair a man from each of the *Loctas, Braskan* and *Sarpan* clans offer one or two bottles of wine to the *baskisa* and on

each day singing and dancing continues sometimes throughout the whole nights.

On the 5th concluding day of the fair, the village mate collects barley, *cheena* and *phafra* flour at the rate of one seer from each household including those of Harijans. This collection known as *Brayang* includes dry *chulies* and is given to young girls. For fun and merry making the girls are thrown down from window of *Pikhang*—a house near the Dabla temple. In the evening the *brayang*—collected material is cooked and *Kon* is prepared by the girls. Thus a grand *dafma* for girls only is organised. Men, however, do not take part in this *dafma*. Late at night there is again a gathering and once more the dancing and singing is resumed. This finishes *Khawakcha*

Lamat—This is a fair of cleanliness, held in Falguna *Shukal Paksha Panchmi*—5th day of the bright moon. The villagers clean their houses and the fire place is coated with cowdung and *gomutra*. Good preparations such as wheat flour chapaties and pulses are prepared and relatives are invited. This fair continues for 6 or 7 days. It is believed that *Lamsha-Api Devies* visit the village during *Lamat* fair. The Devies are believed to come from *Kliksorang* a tank near Sholding in Nachar Sub-Division, District Kinnaur and every body is under the belief that the Devies enter the cleanest houses and bring happiness and prosperity. Small *chiltas* with butter are kept in a *thali* and a man performs *pujan* with *dhoop* on the roof of his house daily for 7 days. On the last day of *Lamat* a mali of Devta *Lamsha-Api* goes in trance and speaks about the cleanliness of the villagers and those who do not observe cleanliness and *pujan* are severely criticised by the Grokh-mali.

Chaitrang Thawatma—On the first Chait the baskisa go to each household playing on their musical instruments. Those families where a male issue was born during the year preceding *Chaitrang Thawatma* are specially visited by the *baskisa* who convey *bedhai* to them. The words *Chhang Wangu pisa Deo Chhangang Chikza Pagza Wongina* are spoken. These are blessings and prayers for prosperity of children. Three *brekhangs* of barley, *ogla* or *phafra* are given to the *bajantries*.

Beesh—This is equivalent to Bissu fair celebrated in other parts of Himachal Pradesh. To the accompaniment of music played upon by the *baskisa*, the villagers, men and women young and old go in a procession to the Sutlej to have their first post-winter bath after the chill of winter. There are separate bathing ghats for men and women and after having scrubed their bodies clean, grand feast of sattu, butter, chuli oil and wine is enjoyed by everybody. The women put on the best of their *dorus* and jewellery and they take part in a folk dance first on the bank of the river and on return in the *Sangtan* Temple.

Labrang jalma—*Labrang* is the name of a temple and *jalma* means to have *darshans*. It is held on any Tuesday or Monday during Jeth. On this day Dabla is taken round the *Labrang* temple 3 times and many bottles of wine are sprinkled in all directions so that the place reeks of wine. In the premises of the Labrang, women prepare *chiltas* which are distributed to all. In the evening a folk dance is organised.

Surpu Gompha Jalma—On the 7th Ashadh *Devta* is taken in procession to *Surpu Gompha* a temple about 3 miles from the village towards the North. Men, women and children join the procession headed by the *baskisa*. A day earlier the Lamas and *jomos* arrange meals for the villagers in the *Surpu gompha*. Besides this every body is supposed to carry with him wine and wheat chapaties which are offered to the *Devta* while he is taken round the temple. After distribution of *charnamrit* of wine people burst into folk songs and dances in the premises of Surpu gompha and keep it up on their way back and the whole night too.

On the 8th Ashadh the Devta is taken again to another temple *Chhoktan* towards the Eastern direction and here too *Dabla* is shown round the *Chhoktan* thrice and dance is resumed again. The unmarried girls entertain all those present with *bos*—rice balls.

Kangyurjalma—*Kangyurjalma* is held on the 15th Ashadh. The village mate collects 1 seer of *ogla* flour from each household and women are asked to prepare *chiltas* in the premises of *Kangyur*. These are distributed to everybody. Besides this some cash money at the rate of Re. 1 is collected by the *Dologo*. The money thus collected is utilized for common purposes such as entertainment of Lamas and *Jomos*, purchasing a goat for sacrifice to *Dumpting*. A goat is slaughtered to perform *dumpting* pujan during Falguna and some allowance to the *baskisa* and the *mali* of the deity. Other details of the fair are the same as described in the case of Labrang jalma and *Surpu Gompha Jalma*.

Dakhren—*Dakhren* 1st Sawan is a festival of good preparations such as pulses, wheat chapaties and butter. Relatives and Scheduled Castes are entertained with feasts by the Negis. In the evening the *bajantries* play on their instruments and the villagers take part in folk dances.

Menthoko—A fair of flower gathering. This fair is held on 20th Bhadon every year in Changmang Santan, a place about 6 miles towards the west from the village. People of villages Asrang, Lippa, Labrang, Spillo and Kanum take part in this fair. Youngmen and women desirous of witnessing the fair attire themselves in colourful clothes and go to these places in a joyful mood and reach the spot a little earlier before the sun sets. Feasts of wine, meat and *vitkon* are enjoyed by every participant. *Baskisa* come from village Lippa. Attractions of the fair are folk songs and dances which accompanied by music continue till morning and thus merry making goes on even upto noon whereafter the residents of Labrang, Spillo and Kanum go to Tabang Kanda about 3 miles from Kanum of course, carrying their rations along. Another party which visits Temchho Lake on the north about 10 miles from Kanum joins them in *Tabang* and a joint feast of vit and butter is enjoyed. Men and women exchange their preparations and thus cordial relationships are created, forgetting petty differences and quarrels which might have crept up in the routine discharge of their work on the common boundaries of their fields or in the distribution of water for irrigation purposes. The party then descends singing, dancing and rejoicing and on reaching village Labrang, it splits up in three sections Kanum, Labrang and Spillo. The dancing and singing continues upto and villages too.

Temchho Lake is a sacred place and people of this region visit it annually.

Dune Khayang—On the occasion of *Dune Khayang* in Asoj, shukal paksha Dwadsi, 12th day of bright moon, the villagers assemble in the Temple ground and Dabla is worshipped. Besides folk dances and songs which are a regular feature of every festival a big fire is lit in the ground and an *ahuti* of wine is poured into the holy fire. The *Grokh* of the Devta goes in trance and asks the villagers to divert the waters of the *kuhl* to prevent rains. (The rains during the month of Asoj are considered harmful and there is a common belief amongst the people that diversion of waters of the *kuhl* prevents rains). He further speaks on behalf of the *devta* that everybody should join the fair for it is a good omen. In every household good food is prepared and wine is poured into the fire, *khuras* and wheat *rote* are specially prepared for the Pujan.

Sherken—Sherken is one of the most important fairs and is celebrated from 7th to 9th Kartika. There is a mythological story about this fair that during the ancient times a man used to be sacrificed on this day in *Mishupma*, a flat little ground above the village.

The name of the ground still continues to be *Mishupma* which in the local dialect means "to kill a man". The custom of human sacrifice was discontinued by a man belonging to *Khangsar*, a sect of Rajput clan, who was a *dhure* and while leading the dancers he took them to a field in village Labrang a distance of about 1½ miles, from the *Mishupma*. Since then the human sacrifice was discontinued and instead, a goat used to be killed rather in a strange manner. Men and women while performing a dance would after break up of the dance pull the legs, ears, horns and head of the goat until it was dismembered. This custom continued till about the year 1937 but that too was discontinued and then a goat used to be slaughtered in the usual manner. Recently even the sacrifice of the goat has been stopped and little sprinkling of wine serves the purpose now.

On the 7th Kartika the religious custom of *Alting* in which *khuras* and *chiltas* are distributed amongst the villagers by those households where a death occurred during the year preceding the fair, is observed and on the 8th Kartika *Tashilup* another custom, which pertains to the collection of goats from such houses where first and second male issues were born during the year, is observed. The goats thus collected are slaughtered and meat is distributed in equal shares to all households including those of the harijans.

On the 9th Kartika the villagers after having their morning meals go to Labrang. The *baskisa* of Kanum, Labrang and Spillo wait for their participants at some distance from the fair ground. It is customary now that the dancing party should be headed by a man of Khangsar family of Kanum and he acts as *dhure* for at least three rounds of the dance in recognition of service rendered in abolishing human sacrifice. The dance goes on till the sun set. In the end the *Grokh* of respective deities of all the villages go in trance and for the well-being of everybody wine is sprinkled in all directions. Garlands of flowers are hung from doors and windows. Even the poorest and most scantily dressed person carefully tucks a bunch of flowers in his thepang or just above the right ear.

Khawangri—Khawangri is a festival of fire, celebrated in Margshirsa—Shukla Paksha Panchmi. The Dabla is taken to *Kang Kang* a place close by. Barley flour and *chuli* oil are collected from every house at the rate of ¼ seer and 2 chhatanks and then *khuras* are prepared by

the wife of the village mate. The *Damas* performs the *pujan*. Until recently a goat used to be slaughtered, but this custom has been discontinued now. *Charanamrit* of wine is offered to all present and the *khuras* are distributed. When it grows dark, *Dabla* is brought back to the village. Youngmen and girls assemble in the field. Small torch woodstick are lit and thrown at each other by the two parties each representing lower and upper Kanum. After this merry making, a *Brayangas* of big size is prepared in the Labrang and is taken to the corner of a field by the women. Typical songs are sung by men and women standing around the *Branyangs*. These songs tell the story of Dabla. After these rituals, singing and dancing is performed till dawn and thus *khawangri* is concluded.

Folk Dances—*Chama, Shonma, Dangkayang* and *Bakayang* are the main dances which are performed every now and then by the villagers and to depict the real essence of cultural and social life of the people, some description of these dances is necessary.

Nature is not bountiful in Kanum. From the foregoing chapter one would gather an impression that each festival provides an occasion for folk dance. But for songs and dances life in these hills would have been dull and devoid of all charm and novelty. Dancing is both a matter of pleasure and social obligation as also something essential because to eke out a bare existence from the small scattered holding is a feat that can be achieved with extreme physical labour and life would be a weary burden if it was not relieved by spurts of merry-making and good feasting. Any time is dancing time for these people who have learnt to depend on their own efforts not only in the matter of leading their own pattern of life but in devising occasions and means to enjoy themselves. The tune of the rustic band and the melodious tones of the songs, as they may appear to an outsider, are full of meaning to them. The songs and dances are such as to enable the maximum number of people to participate and derive fun out of them. No rigid training in required. Any one who has cared to learn the two-steps-forward and one-step-backward movement can take part in the folk dances.

Of the various types of dancing that the District Kinnaur is famous for, Shonma dance is the most popular among the local people. It reflects devotional, martial and romantic traits of the peasantry. Whether dressed in colourful costumes or in their routine garments, they enter the arena as soon as the sounding of Narshinga and beating of drums, trumpets and *thalis* resound the calm atmosphere. Even an outsider quite unfamiliar with dancing is tempted to take part in the dance. The *Dhure* with chounri sword in his hand, waves it in a stylish manner upward and down-ward, jerking and bending his body with the slow movement of his feet backward and forward exactly to the tune of the music. The dancers slow down and adopt graceful movements which are intimately interwoven with the tune of music and the theme of songs. Later they form a circle holding each other's hands. Gradually the tempo of dance reaches a climax when the spirited dancers often pair off and dance vigorously to the accompaniment of the drums.

Chama—In this form of dancing individuals dance without forming a line or circle.

Shonma—This is a circle dance lead by dhure and is the most popular amongst the Kinnaur Tribe.

Danakayang—This form of dancing in which the dancers catch hold of each others' hands is performed when the fair comes to a close and the folk dancers are about to disperse.

Bakayang—The dancers form two parties facing each other. The dancing process is that the steps of each line move towards opposite directions.

Beliefs and Superstitions

People have unflinching faith in deity *Dabla* who is worshipped on all occasions and held in great reverance by all sections of the village community. Whether it is birth or marriage or the commencement of any auspicious work, the *Dabla* is invariably petitioned by the *Dalogo* and his will is revealed through the *Grokh*. The temple of the deity is very old and no trace about its history could be found from the enquiries. However, there is an old story about the Devta which some elders of the village know. The story goes like this—

> "Long, long ago small children were playing in the fields with a toy made from grass. This was carried by them to and fro, and during the course of their play the toy became very heavy beyond the carrying capacity of the children. This news was given by the children to the villagers, who immediately assembled in the field. Out of sheer fright they put certain questions to the toy as to what it was. The toy replied that he had come from Lassa in Tibet in the guise of a Vulture and he further disclosed that his name was *Dabla* and a similar Devta *Zochemo* was worshipped

in Lassa too. Hearing this the people became happy and a temple was then erected in the village."

The people of Kanum are no exception to the traditional superstitions prevalent elsewhere and it is very difficult to rationalize any superstition on any logic but since it has once crept in their minds they must stick to it. During the course of socio-economic enquiry the Investigator wanted to take some photographs of men, women and a marriage procession, but the people strongly objected to face the camera. When enquired about the reasons, they replied that if their photographs were taken they would meet premature death. Any amount of pleading with them proved futile and they continued to stick to the blind faith.

While going out on an important business if one witnesses a dead-body being taken to the cremation ground, is sure to be successful in one's mission. Coming across a *Zom* full of water is considered a good omen while starting on a journey, and if one comes across an empty vessel it is considered a bad omen and the man is believed to be unsuccessful in his efforts. They do not however, attach much importance to sneezing.

Evil Spirits

Shuna ghosts are said to be very frightful and majority of the villagers are afraid of *Tinmo* and *Luta* ghosts who are believed to visit the vicinity of the village.

Tinmo—This ghost appears on the southern side of the village where the dead bodies are cremated. A dreadful woman is often seen taking a bath on the spring. If she laughs someone is sure to die. About 10 years ago the people saw the ghost and heard her laugh, on the next day of the incident, one Ringchain, wife of Raptan, died and this made the belief about the ghost all the more unflinching.

Luta—*Luta* is believed to be a very long white man and appears in the vicinity of *Locha* Lama's shrine during night. Its appearance is not so frightful as that of *Tinmo,* but often passers-by are wonder-struck if the ghost appears on their way.

There is a common belief among the people that those whose last rites are not performed according to scriptures become ghosts and they haunt the passer-by during night. The only remedy to escape from the evil spirit is not to talk to them. No harm is then expected to be done by the supposed ghosts. Another important method to get rid of the *shuna* is to light a match stick and as soon as the darkness disappears the ghosts run away.

Conversation with the Devta

About the village deity Dabla, Maha Pandit Rahul Sanskritayan has given an interesting dialogue between the Devta and the interrogator in his book 'KINNER DESH' and is reproduced here: —

'HINDI'

देवता हिल रहा था, पास खड़ा आदमी निरंतर घंटी बजा रहा था। अब मेरे शब्दों को और परिष्कृत भाषा में करके प्रश्नकर्त्ता (नंबरदार) ने हाथ जोड़ कर कहना शुरू किया :

—डंबर साहेब। आपकी सेवा में काशी के महापंडित राहुलजी नम्रतापूर्वक विनती करना चाहते हैं, गुस्ताखी माफ हो।

शिर ऊपर नीचे उठा अर्थात् "हां" कहें।

—कोठीकी देवी बहुत मनमानी अनीति कहती है। बुद्ध के धर्मकी अवहेलना करती है। बहुत क्रोद्ध में रहती है। इसकी वजह से खूनखराबी होती रहती है। कनौर के सारे देवता भगवान् बुद्ध के उपदेश मानते हैं, किन्तु कोठीकी देवी इन्कार करती है। देवी जब तक क्वारी रहेगी, तब तक ऐसा ही होता रहेगा। इसलिये उसका व्याह हो जाना चाहिये।

ढबला ऊपर नीचे खूब उछला, फिर उसने प्रश्नकर्त्ता की ओर अपना शिर झुका दिया अर्थात्-महापंडित बहुत ठीक कहते हैं, कोठी की देवी का व्याह हो जाना चाहिये।

—कोठी की देवी भी बड़ी देवी है, डबर साहेब वह साधारण देवता से व्याह करना कब पसन्द करेगी?

—डबर साहेब आप सोने की मक्खी की भांति अमर है हम घास की भांति जनमते मरते हैं। गुस्ताखी माफ करें।

शिर ऊपर नीचे फिर प्रश्नकर्त्ता की ओर—"हां" ठीक है।

—डंबर साहेब आप परोपकारके लिये शाक्य मुनि के धर्म की सेवा के लिये हमारे देश में विराज रहे हैं।

—"हां" हां ठीक है।

—डंबर साहेब धर्म के काम में आप सदा तत्पर रहते हैं। अधर्मी को अधर्म के पथ से हटाना धर्म का काम है।

—"हां, ठीक बहुत ठीक"

—आप जैसे बड़े देवता के साथ ही व्याह करना कोठीकी देवी पसंद करेगी, आप जैसा देवता ही उस चिरकुमारी चंड़ीपर नियंत्रण कर सकेगा।

शिर बड़े जोरों से अगल बगल में डोला, जान पड़ता था, देवता गुस्से में आकर कहीं नीचे न कूद पड़े। बगल में खड़े दोनों आदमियों ने उसे संभाल लिया। इस का अर्थ हुआ-"क्रोध के साथ नहीं, मैं नहीं व्याह करूंगा।"

डंबर साहेब—क्षमा-क्षमा। महा पंडित नहीं जानते आप भिक्षु हैं, आप व्याह नहीं करेंगे। भूल को क्षमा करें।

"कोई बात नहीं क्षमा कर दिया।"

—कोठी की देवी का व्याह हो जाना चाहिये यह तो आप ने भी पसंद किया। ———"हां, हां।"

—तो किस के साथ व्याह होना चाहिये यह तो आप ही बताएं ?

शक्कंशू के साथ ?

"नहीं, वह छोटा देवता है।"

—जंगी के साथ ?

——"नहीं छोटा देवता है।"

——रोगी के नारायण, चिनी के नारायण, उरनी के नारायण के साथ ?——नहीं वह छोटे देवता हैं, और देवी के संबंधी (भतीजे) हैं।

———सुड़रा के महेशू, भावा के महेशू, चगांव के महेशू के साथ ?जोर से शिर अगल बगल में हिला—— "नहीं, नहीं, क्या कह रहे हो, वह देवी के सगे भाई बाणासुर के लड़के हैं"।

———खांगी, दुनी, पंगी, रारड़ के देवता ?

———"नहीं, नहीं"।

प्रश्न कर्त्ता एकदम नदी कूद कर बस्पा उपत्यकामें पहुंच गया——डंबर साहेब। और कामरू के बदरीनाथ के साथ कैसा रहेगा ?

खूब उछल उछलकर शिर प्रश्नकर्त्ताकी ओर झुक गया —" बहुत ठीक जोड़ी रहेगी। वह भी राज्य के माफीदार और देवी भी माफीदार है"।

——डंबर साहेब। तो सरकार की राय है न, कि कोठी देवी का व्याह बदरीनाथ से हो जाये ?

उछल-उछलकर शिर प्रश्नकर्त्ताकी ओर झुका ——"जरूर हो जाना चाहिये। शादी होगी।"

—पंडित राहुलजी ने अनुचित बात तो नहीं की ?

"नहीं, नहीं, व्याह हो जाना चाहिये।"

—पंडित जी क्षमा मांगते हैं, आप को इतना कष्ट दिया डंबर साहेब।

——"नहीं, नहीं मुझे कोई कष्ट नहीं हुआ।"

——और कोई आज्ञा है पंडितजीको, कि बात समाप्त कर दें ?

———कोई आज्ञा नहीं, बात समाप्त हो गई।

—ताबेदार को कुछ हुकम देना है ?

——"हां, हां, काम है, जरूरी काम है"।

——भंडारका, आप के भंडार का काम है ?

——हां जरूरी काम है, बहुत जरूरी।

——हिसाब-किताब देखने का काम ना ?

——हां, हां, दो दो साल से हिसाब नहीं देखा गया। तुम उस के जिम्मेवार हो, हिसाब को तन्देही से देखो।

English Translation

"The doli of Dabla was moving about and a man standing near by was ringing a bell at this time. The Lambardar started the main theme with folded hands of my question in the local dialect:

'Dabla Sahab' please excuse "Maha Pandit Rahul Ji of Kashi is here before you and he intends to submit".

Moving up and down "yes, speak".

"The goddess of village Kothi commands, her own will. She flouts the Budha religion and is always angry which causes a great deal of violence. All the deities in Kinnaur follow Budhism, but for Devi of Kothi. So long as the Devi remains unmarried, the same thing will continue. Therefore she should be married."

Dabla moved up and down and then bent his head towards the interrogator, which meant Maha Pandit is correct, "the goddess of Kothi should definitely marry."

'Goddess of Kothi is a great Devi, Dabla Sahab' "How would she like to marry an ordinary Devta."

Moving and bending towards the interrogator, which meant "Yes, How would she like."

'Dabla Sahab', please excuse, "You are immortal like a golden fly and we die and take rebirth like the grass".

Moving and bending towards the interrogator, "Yes, that is correct. Dabla Sahab; In our country you stand for the welfare of Shakya Muni's Dharma".

"Yes, yes, that is correct".

"Dabla Sahab," "You are ever ready to serve the cause of Dharma and to put the Adharmi on the right path is a great dharma".

"Yes, that is," said Dabla, "Very right".

"The Devi of Kothi might like to marry a 'Devta' of your standing. A Devta of your integrity will be able to control the virgin Chandika".

The God became furious and his doli jerked faster towards both the sides and it was apprehended lest he might jump down to the ground. Two men standing beside Devta caught hold of the Doli and, he replied angrily, "No, I do not like to marry".

"Dabla Sahab ji, please excuse, Maha Pandit did not know that you were a 'Bhikshu' and you would not like to marry. Please pardon his impertinence".

"Excused" the Dabla said.

Dabla Sahab, "The Devi of Kothi should be married, it was consented to by you".

"Yes".

Then with whom she should be married? "with Shank-shoo".

"No, he is unworthy of her".

Then with the Devta of Tangi

"No, he too is of lower status".

"With the Devtas of Rogi Narayan, Chini Narayan and Urni Narayan".

"No, all these are unworthy of marrying 'Devi Chandika' and at the same time they are related to her".

Then with the Mahashu of Sungra, Bhawa and Chgaon?

In great anger the devta communicated, No, No, what do you say?

They are the sons of Banasur real brothers of the Devi.

Then with the Devtas of Khawangi, Duni, Pangi and Rasang?

"No, no"

At this the interrogator named 'Badri Nath' of Kamru in Baspa Valley.

Then Dabla moved up and down and bent towards the interrogator.

"That is quite right. They should be married".

Dabla Sahab, then it pleases your goodself that the Devi of Kothi should be married with Badri Nath of Kamru.

Jumping up and down and bending towards the interrogator "Yes, marriage should definitely take place".

Has'nt Pt. Rahul ji said any thing improper?

"No, no, marriage should take place".

Pandit ji begs your pardon for all this botheration, Dabla Sahab.

"No, no it does not matter."

Any further order to Pandit ji or the matter should be closed.

"Nothing further, close the matter". The interrogator said, "Any order for me?".

"Yes, an urgent piece of work for you regarding the funds of Bhandar".

The account has not been seen through since two years. See to it carefully".

Songs

The people of this area are fond of composing songs and they can concoct a song on any subject. Some of the songs in 'Shumchho Dialect' which is confined to a few villages including Kanum are reproduced here from the Ethnography of Bushahr State: —

Negi Shambhu Ram's Song[1]

(Composed in 1899 in the Shumchho dialect)

Hun bimig hache, rigen Changmang, santango,

Rigen Changmang santango, Shambhu Ram Negi,

Shambhu Ram Negi, shum koldung kayang.

Shum koldung kayang, girangu laeku shyara,

Zau dure hat tash? Zau dure tasha,

Zau dure tasha, Shambhu Ram Negi.

Ang chhang Shambhu Ram, girangu Labrang tha jana,

Girangu Labrang thajanha, aid parmi buto,

Aid parmi bunma, garbanu a'b shwasho,

Ulpau hanzaru garban, garban nish hache.

Translation

Now must we to go to the temple courtyard called Changumang.[2]

Where is Negi Shambhu Ram,

Whose body is very fat,

And who is one of our worthy sons?

Who is first in the dance?

First is the son of Lactas[3], by name Shambhu Ram.

O my son Shambhu Ram, you shoud not go to Labrang[4].

Because if you go there, a second wife will come for you,

And if she comes, the house will be divided,

And there will be two in one home.

---

[1]Shambhu Ram Negi is the son of Ram Parshad Lactas of Kanum village in Shuwa pargana and headman of that village.

[2]Changmang is a forest some miles above Lippa village.

[3]Lactas, a sept of Kanets found in Kanum village.

[4]Labrang a village in Shuwa pargana in front of Kanum.

The Song of Pandit

Bashaharo minchhat, Tika Ram Pandit,
gyalbou khasgi, Tika Sahbu guru.
Namang thashis take, murti tangshis make,
murti ta khyama mameu sanga golchhang,
zangu mulu muchhhe, dari shu minchhat.
Bashaharu shyana, heli darsan pares gyach;
omsko dhalangsmig sansar, nyumsko dhalangsmig-des.
Tika Ram Pandit, arak thu ma tung toyin?
arak ta gu tungma, ilim boshio;
ilim boshio ang hanzaru ilim.

Translation

Well known in Bashahr is Pandit Tika Ram,
The Raja's private secretary and the late Tika Sahib's spiritual father.
We had heard of him, but had not seen him.
When we see him we find him to be like the full moon,
Having a golden and silvery moustache, and remarkable for his beard.
He has tact in Bashahr: we should like to see him again;
Everyone in this world salutes him in his face, but he is worthy to be saluted even behind it.
"O Pandit Tika Ram, why do you not take wine?"
"If I use wine, then I shall lose my knowledge,
Which is worth thousands of rupees."

The Song of Jwalamukhi

Thi namanna namanna, Jwalamukhi tithang,
Jwalamukhi tithang rago me baro,
Rago me baskyang, tio me baro.

Translation

What a wondrous spot is the sacred place of Jwalamukhi[1].
Where fire burns in a stone;
Besides burning in the stone, it burns into the water.

[1]Jwalamukhi is in Kangra District. It is considered a great pilgrim place of the Hindus.

Sunnam Zamo's Song in the Shumchho Dialect

The following is a song in the Shumchho dialect. Though the name is not known as to whose it is, but it seems to be of any of the nuns (Zamo) of the Sunnam village, as will be known from the subject of the song

Hun bimig hache, bul-buli sang ta,
thau-shang chhasorang, zon-ba dum-mig.
Angu pyushim buto, shum-zanangu baski.
Dakk ring ring bi-ma, Loktasu Sharting,
i rati beshi, Tabe maidano.
Dakk ring ring bi-ma, Yangkhuk daniu den,
Yangkhuk danio dwanma, au chi chharo.
Da au kumo, tanjo tosh-ra-yin,
Zamo chunma chand, zamo chunma majang,
Zamo chunma majang, ang i patak ringze,
Dak ring ring bunma, Runang kandero,
Runang kandero, kesa jayul shesto,
Kesa jayul shesma, Tanam maidano,
Ang paziru kumo, ang Zaras kim-shu,
Loktasu kim-shu, Tassihombar meme.

Translation

Now, at break of day, we have to go
To offer Divine worship, taking with us the Scripture of the Buddhists.
The music of the three villages will escort us.
Then going up and ever up we arrived at Sharting[1],
And lodged for a night on the level land called Tabe[2].
Then proceeding again up and ever up, we reached the peak called Yangkhuk,
Thence we hallooed down to say:—
"O you nuns of Kanum, may you live in peace"
Among all the nuns there,
Is a sister of ours'.
Then going up again, we reached the peak of Runang,

[1]Sharting is the name of a hamlet belonging to Lactas Negi of Kanum.
[2]Tabe is the name of a level land in Sharting. Yangkhuk is a peak near Sunnam village. Runang is also the name of hill above Lippa village in Shuwa pargana.

Whence we see our native land,
In the meadows of Tanam[1].

There is our home, and there our family god deity called Zarshu,

And Loktas Negi's family deity is called Tassihombal or Tassihombar[2].

DUMING LAMA'S SONGS—(LOVE SONG)

Duming Lama bio, Gyalchha thang Kanum,

Santanu thusko nyotang, gulbashi banthin,

gulabashi banthin, chhwa lan-lan keyin;

chhwa lan-lan baskyang migisi ma khyach.

Duming Lama, argau shapthang the layin,

kinu ma shijat, nu waziru beti,

Hale ma shijat ringtoyin? Bangkhonu yutung yobchen;

atth anao yobchen, hale ma shijat ringtiyin?

Kyolang Dumig Lama, halam salam ma-ni,

halam salam mani, gyalbou Dumig Lama;

gyalbou Dumig Lama; Kanshyakch thonch Lama.

Translation

Dumig Lama proceeded from Gangyul[3] to Kanum.

In the upper part of the village is a place called Santan.

There dwell a pair of beautiful maidens of rosy complexion.

O beautiful maidens, please prepare food for me.

Oh ! they do not even favour me with a glance, then what hope is there of a reception.

O Dumig Lama, don't sound your pony's little bells,

You are not worthy of these minister's daughters.

Tell me why not? Is not a stirrup always under the feet?

Stirrup, which costs eight annas, is worthy of the feet.

I, I the Raja's Dumig Lama, am not an ordinary Lama,

For, I have learnt the holy book called Kanshyakch[4] by heart.

LOCHA LAMA'S SONG

The following song was composed in 1897 when the Rimbochhe[5] Locha Lama was invited by the late Tika Raghunath Singh, C.I.E. of Bashahr, from Tassilumbo,[6] which is about three marches this side of Lhassa,[7] to consecrate the Buddhist temple called Dumgyur at Rampur. Locha Lama has a monastery at Kanum[8] called the Lochau-labrang. He stayed at Rampur more than a year and was respected by all the Kanwar people. Kanwar is his native land, and he is said to be an incarnate Lama.

Thochalo shong ta, sarpa yune zargyos,

Mi ta li losho, nu hatu cahayang?

Nu chhayang chhyang, Rimbochheu chhayang,

Shong shongi bunma, khona Rampura,

Khona Rampura, Tika Sahibu ampi,

Tika Sahibas loshid, buchayinyan Rimbochhe,

Ki Rampur toshiyin, gomfa bunate,

Locha Lamas lotash, guru jiu wang maema,

Guru jiu wang maema, ki Rampur toshiyin

Ki Rampur toshrayin, gomfa bunate,

Gomfa bunate, ushangu karkhanang.

Translation

From the upper country (Tibet) hath arisen a new sun.

All men are saying, "Whose light is this?"

This is the light of the glory of the Rimpochhe Lama, by name Locha Lama.

Coming down and ever down, he arrives at Rampur,

Before the Tika Sahib,

Who asked. "Welcome holy Locha Lama, art thou arrived?

Be pleased to stay in Rampur: we will make a monastery for thee here."

[1]Tanam is a meadow near Sunnam village, Zar-shu is the name of a deity in Sunnam.

[2]Tassihombal or Tassihombar is the family deity of the Lactas Sept of Kanets.

[3]Gyalchha or Gyalsha is a term for Bashahr territory, used by the Tibetans, as well as by the Kanawar people.

[4]Kanshyakch is a Tibetan scripture of the Buddhist.

[5]A little of the Tibetan Lamas.

[6]A place in Tibet.

[7]The capital of Tibet.

[8]A village in Shuwa pargana.

And when Locha Lama replied that he had no order from his Spiritual Father to remain there for ever,

The Tika said, "Thou mayest live at Rampur as long as it pleases thee,

We will build a temple,

Like that of Lhassa.

The following song in the Shumchho dialect is sung in the Shuwa pargana of Kanawar:—

Toling shong bana yungza, hanzaru shekhi,

Hanzaru shekhi, pale ma ech take,

Pale ma ech take, ju Kaljugo dyaro.

Baiyar chei zammig, Kharta bayu den,

Baiyar zammig bero, i ruza meme,

Ruza memepang lonmig, ki ti kan birayin,

Ki ti kanmig birayin, lum faru shya ketak,

Lum faru shya ma yak, ti kan li ma big,

Ti kan li ma big gu ruza meme,

Ti kanmig ma bima, shing kanmig birayin,

Shing kanmig bima, poltung shya ketak.

Shing kanmig ma big, poltung shya li ma yak,

Zunmig-shya sangi, nyotang Makalau chhanga,

Nyotang Makalau chhangu, namang, thu dugyos?

Namang ta dugyo, Chanu rang Zaban,

Chanu rang Zaban, i amau chhanga.

Ya zunmigshya sangi, nu Shumchho gitang,

Nu Shumchho gitang, ki ring chalya rayin,

Ki rang chalya rayin, gunchha Markande,

Gunchha Markande, ki shong chalya rayin.

Translation

This year brotherhood was entered into with one

Who is very proud, and has no money at hand,

In these days of the iron age,

All the friends gathered at the water-pool of Kharta.[1]

At the time of the friendly gathering, there is an old man, the grandfather.

Tell the grandfather to go and fetch water:

He will be given the best of the meat.

The old man replied, "I'll not go to fetch water, nor do I want meat.

For I am old and a grandfather."

"If you will not go and bring the water, then go and fetch fuel,

I'll give you some more."

"I won't go, nor do I care for meat."

There are two dear friends, the sons of Makalta:[2]

What are their names?

They are Chanu and Zaban.

The sons of one mother and father.

Oh dear friends, carry this Shumchho[3] song

Into the upper country,

And in winter,

Down to Markande (in Bilaspur State).

THE SONG OF CHHEU RAM

The subject of the following song, which is said to be an old one, is the adoption of a man (by name Chheu Ram) by his father-in-law. Chheu Ram repents and praises his brother Palsukh Ram, who is living happily at home.

Hed chen li butash, baiyar muldung ma bush,

Baiyar chei-nu kansang, ijap chilim tolyayin,

Ijap chilim tolyayin, dam tamaku tungte.

Hed chen-nu birti, Chheu Ramu zaban,

Chhesmi dacho sansar, chhwang mi dacho bigyos.

Chhwang mi dacho bigyos, Yulchhung bandero.

Ang karam kochang, ang bagin kochang.

Bagin loshima, Palsukh Ramu bagin.

Gura balang ipang, jigich urchhu ampi.

Translation

"All others will pay me a visit, but never the dear willow tree!

Oh my youngest brother, take up a pipe,

And we will have a smoke."

Every one else's treasure is equal to the word of Chheu Ram

For, in this world, a bride is brought home by her husband,

[1] A pool in Shumchho ghori.

[2] Makala, a sept of Kanets found in Pilo.

[3] Shumchho, the dialect of three villages Kanum, Labrang and Pilo.

But never the husband by his wife, as in Spilo[1] village.

Chheu Ram said, "My fate is a bad one,

And my luck is also too bad,

But lucky is the lot of my brother Palsukh Ram,

Who has nine hundred cattle, at a place near the small grain-box.

MINDUP CHHERING'S SONG

Santan teteu fintan, ang cha Mindup Chhering,

Ang cha Mindup Chhering, banthinu tal-chu tha layin,

Banthinu lalchu tha layin, banthinas gar-ban matolya.

Ulpau batang ronchma, aulisu chimet firayin,

Mindup Chheringas lotash, ang tegahya nang,

Pandup-dup shya nang, kirshani nito,

Kirshani nima, garban chalyato.

Aulis tang jitas, pralab ishid ma-ech.

Mindup Chheringas lotash, ang tegahya bawa,

Ang teg-shya bawa, nu thu batang ringtoyin,

Nu thu batang ringtoyin, ide parmi gandu,

Ide parmi gandu, chuli binyate.

Translation

The message of grandfather Santan[1] is:

'O my dear Mindup Chhering[2], don't be hankering after a pretty woman,

Because beautiful maidens are unfit to carry homely duties.

If you hearken to our advice, take a poor man's girl,

Of dark black complexion,

If you will have such a wife, the cultivation will prosper,

And by the prosperity of the land, the business of your home will go right.

Riches and poverty depend on chance."

Mindup Chhering replied: "O my grandfather,

Why do you say so?

Some damsels are no good, so we must pick them out like apricots".

THE SONG OF MINDUP AND ZABAN PATI

Sanku ya Barje, bairang ta dwayin-yan,

Bairang ta dwayin-yan yungzu shapthang buto,

Yungze ya yungze, ki kumo jarayin,

Ringze ya ringze, gu khra khra tacha.

Alachar alachar, Santanu chhang Mindup,

Dak shong shongi bima, khona chu Ram-pura,

Khona chu Rampura, bairang bazaro,

Yabhagwan thakur, je hala pu-she?

Je hala pu-she? Ama mae shokrang.

Gu tithang bitak, jualamukhi tithang,

Jwalamukhi tithang, ma tangmig tangshid.

Tio diwang zudo, bayu me baro,

Rago me baskyang, tio me baro.

Yungze ya yungze, parmi hat dugyo?

Parmi ta lonma, Pancharasu chimet,

Pancharasu chimetu, namang thu dugyos?

Namang ta lonma, Zaban Pati banthin.

Translation

O Sanku Barje,[1] just go out and look,

I hear my adopted brother's voice.

O my brother, come in, come and take a seat.

O my dear sister, 'tis getting late for me.

I've no time, said Mindup, the son of Santan,

Then going down and ever down, he reached the level land of Rampur.

And stayed outside the town:—

"O my God, how did you arrive here?

You who have no mother or father, and are an orphan?"

"I have to go to the sacred place, called Jwalamukhi.

O marvel! I have seen what I never saw before!

There's a lamp in the water!

Besides the fire in the rock, there is fire in the water.

[1]A forest near Spilo.

[2]A village in Shuwa pargana.

[1]Barji, a sept of Kanets found in Lippa village.

O dear brother, who is your wife?
My wife is the daughter of Pan-charas.[1]
What's her name?
Her name is Zaban Pati, the beautiful,

The following song is on parting

Pancho baiyar zom-mig, yalu ratingo,
ya lu ra-tingo, zom-migu berang bralmig:
Zommigu berang bralmig baskyang, ma-zommig take;
ma-zommig take, omchu berango dena,
Jata berango, bralim ma chal chal,
tultuli mig-ti, mig-ti twan ma gya,
gu haches butak, dai golu nyumcha.
Bimigu berango, i gomfa nesh has gomfa lo.
Has gomfau nyumcha, gom jaja biggyos.
Gom jamig ma hanma, da mor-chhang ma narsh,
gom jamig ma hanma, da chhesmi ma narsh.

Translation

During the short nights, friends and others assemble together.
There is parting after meeting with friends;
T'were better not to meet in the first place.
Than to be tortured by parting.
They are unwilling to part,
She rains down tears. You ought not to weep dear,
I'll come soon again, after ten weeks.
At the time of departure, one step is forward and another backward.

After the next step, he goes away patiently, saying:—

"One who has no patience is not deemed the son of a brave man,"

She, who does not have the patience, is never esteemed as the damsel of a brave mother.

A LOVE SONG IN THE SHUM-CHHO DIALECT

Yalu-chu jamo, shib-jiu batang hala?
Shibjiu batang halt? Chull sho ma sho?
Ma-sho-ma baskyang, dasho tolu gosrang.
Ulpau zama pauli, asha lai khuchi;
asha la-u ma-la-u, change ma khere.
Ganthang tiu tare. Shibjiu lagyati parmi,
sanish barshang shungre. Hunzur thurare.
basila gyunma, shahukaru basila,
zulum chhebe ma; zulum ringi-tonnang.
foni chamatte. Tahsilu pitang fotte.

Translation

O you rosy nun, how are your private affairs?
Are the apricots ripe or not?
Instead of ripening they are fallen down on the ground.
There are many who long fer our beauty;
But we'll keep it for the sake of virtue.
Those who want salvation, must ring bells and do divine Service.
I'll wait for twelve years to fulfil my desire, and will try again and again,
If there will be the want of help, there's the rich man to help[2]

THE SONG OF PALU RAM BORES OF LIPPA

The following Song is in the Shumchho dialect, which differs somewhat from Manthanang, the language of Kanawar.

Napa jis tures, Boresu barji yungze,
Boresu barji yungze, Palu Ram Bores,
Palu Ram bigyos, krigaru panthang cho,
Krigaru panthang cho, ya krigaru chimet,
Ya krigaru chimet, ijap sharshim gyato,
Ijap sharshim gyato, palbar gofna lante,
Adang ratingo gofna, ki hati toyan?
Ning tali toyan, Palu Ram Bores,
Palu Ramas raingyos, laye nga rupaya,
Laya nga rupaya, ratingu i doluk,
Palu ram Bores, omchu li minchhat,
Omchu li minchhat, gyabtingchu li dakat,
Ya pancho baiyar, bekaida ring toyin,
Bekaida ringma, duware tahsil.

Translation

There comes the second (middle) son of Bores:—
By name Palu Ram Bores.

[1]Pan is the Kanwar name for Panowi village, and charas means the headman of a village. So pan-charas means the headman of Panowi, a village in Tharahis pargana.

[2]The rich man to help is Sanam Guru Shyaltu by a sept of Lippa village in Shuwa pargana.

Palu Ram went to the carpenter's house and said:—

"O you workman's damsel, get up for a little while

We will sing a song."

"Who are you, to bid me sing a song at midnight?

"I am Palu Ram Bores, a son of the Bores family."

Palu Ram gave five rupees for a day,

And one sheep for a night.

His family is famous from old for its generosity,

And well known at present too!

O friends, you do not say rightly!
If we are not right,

Then the Tashil door at Chini is always open.

THE SONG OF LOKTAS NEGI OF KANUM, NAMED ZINDUP DARZE OR Z-INDUP RAM LOKTAS, THE ELDEST SON OF HIRA DAS LOKTAS, A VERY WEALTHY MAN IN KANAWAR.

The following song is in the Shumchho dialect:—

Ya pancho baiyar, toshiming Yulchhung[1] dam du,

Khariu mazun budo, khariu mazun bunma,

Sukhzankras ja-ra-yin, shirna hirim buda,

Hirim ta ma bunma, dalang ma ru-lyas.

Zindup Darze bigyos, Shiliu[2] multhango den,

Shiliu multhango den, shushuri bajo,

Shushuriu kumo, byora thu dugyos?

Byora ta lonma, kansang kanichu pral lon, Sherkhan tashpa tashgyos? Katyang shum damya,

Thi namanna dugyo, ma zam nang guzam, Shumchho chhanga zamgyo, Shumchho chhanga majang,

Baktabaru beta, Zindup Darze baiyar,

Multhangu den thuredo, yen kachyang khyagyos,

Yen kachyang khyama, shahukarpo gurbai.

[1]Yulchhung is another name of Spilo or Pilo, a village in Shumchho ghori.

[2]Shili, a sept of Kanets living in Kanum village.

Translation

"O all your friends, 'tis better to live in Pilo.
But I feel much unhappiness"—"If you feel unhappiness,

Then come in safety, the wind is blowing gently.

If the air does not blow, the boughs of the trees will not shake.

Zindup Darze went to Shilis' house,

And there he plays his pipe.

What is the theme he sings to his pipe?

To his pipe he is singing his young friend's message:—

"When will the Sherkhan fair[1] at Kanum take place?"

"On the 3rd of Katik."

What a wondrous and crowded gathering it is!

All the youth of Shumchho ghori assembles there, and among the Shumchho youths,

The rich man's son Zindup Darze is running here and there.

Looking down from the verandah of the house,

He finds his father's adopted brother there.

Temples

Kanum is famous for temples for there are as many as 7 big and small temples.

Kangyur—Kangyur is situated in the heart of the village. It is a huge two storeyed building in which 108 *Kangyur* and 200 Tanjur books written in Tibetan script are kept. The books, it is said, were brought from Tibet at a cost of about Rs. 5000 and their present worth is estimated to be about Rs. 15000. The temple is dark from within and ill kept and ill cared for. The access to the upper storey is through an unhealthy wooden ladder. According to Rahul Sankritayan, the date of printing of these books is traced back to the times of Shahajehan who was undergoing imprisonment in Agra fort during the reign of Aurangzeb. Rahul describes that the wooden stencils of these religious books were engraved in Narthang (central Tibet). This temple is a sacred place. A Lama performs *pujan* of a huge Buddha statue daily and he is given a remuneration of Rs. 10 per month by Dharam Sen who claims ownership of the temple. A plot of land measuring 6 bighas is cultivated by him and this plot of land is in the name of the said

[1]Sherkhan, the fair that takes place in Kanum on the 3rd of Katik.

temple though its ownership has been entered in his name in the revenue records. The expenditure of the temple is borne by Dharam Sen.

Annually the Lamas are engaged by the villagers to read these books on their behalf and during the period when they are busy reading the scriptures arrangements for their food are made by their 'Jajmans'. Sometimes the villagers jointly engage the Lamas to read the books for the general welfare of the village. Every year a fair is held on 15th Ashadh, in the compound of the temple.

The walls of this temple are covered with small clay tablets embossed with Budha in sitting posture. These tablets are offered by the devotees and old tablets are removed from the walls to give place to new ones. Similarly slates and other stones on which prayers in Tibetan script are etched, are offered to the temple by the devotees. These stones or slabs are heaped unceremoniously all round the temple.

Lundup Ganfel Gompha or Kache-le-Khang— This is a Buddhist Monastery situated on the top of the village and is the nicest of all the temples there. The present Lama who lives in this monastery calls it Lundup Ganfel Gompha but the local people call it Khache-le-Khang. They ascribe some reason for the latter name. According to them the monastery was once an abode of some Muslims or a prayer house. The word Khache means Muslim in local dialect. But this belief was ridiculed by Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayan who visited Kanum in 1949. In his book 'Kinner Pradesh' he has elaborately dealt on this point. According to him the word Khache does not only mean Muslim but Kashmiri. Historically, Rahul has observed, this part of the country was never invaded by Muslims neither the area was administered directly by Mohamdans nor they ever lived there. However, there was a possibility of a Kashmiri temple there. Rahul gave two references in support of his opinion—

(i) Mahabhashantrakar Ratanbhadar learned Sanskrit in Kashmir and he went to Kashmir from Guga through this way and Kanum must have come on his way there. In all probability, he might have got constructed a Vihar in the Kashmiri style.

(ii) Shakyavirbhadra, Mahapandit of Kashmir, the last 'Sangh Raj of Bharat' ran from 'Bharat' and lived for 10 years in Tibet in 1213 A.D. On his way back to his birth place in Kashmir he stayed in Kanum and got constructed a Vihar. Shakayavirbhadara in Bhot is known as 'Khache-pan-chhen (Kashmiri Maha Pandit). Rahula is, therefore, of the opinion that the 'Vihar' constructed by Maha Pandit Shakaya Virbhadra came to be known as 'Khache-le-Khang. The monastery was built more than 7 or 8 hundred years ago, but the present building is of recent origin and was built on the site of the old temple by Tomo Geshe a renowned Lama who lived in Kinnaur some 30 or 40 years back.

There are giant Budha statues made of earth and some of them of sandle wood which present the graceful folds of the robe displayed by these silent figures bearing mute testimony to skilled craftmanship of the zealous Buddhist devotees. Apart from these, the religious books pleasantly arranged in red and yellow golden coloured cloth wrappers enhance the charm of the temple. The main room where Lamas offer daily prayers and small brass butter lamps are lit, carries beautiful paintings on the walls depicting Budhistvas, some in grotesque positions. The paintings, it was told were done by a local artisan, who is no more.

The monastery with about 25 small and big rooms is a residential Gompha. Its overall control vests with the Head Lama of the Gompha. He imparts free religious education to the students who are given free lodging. At the time of village survey 12 deciples were getting education from the Ringhboche, out of them only two were from outside the village and others belonged to Kanum. They have to make their own arrangement of food and the Ringboche do not charge any thing as his tuition fee. Little land, only 5 bighas is attached to the monastery. He mainly subsists on the alms and donations given by the people in exchange for religious guidance that they receive from the Lamas. The monastery was famous in the past and students from all over Kinnaur used to flock here for studies. In the absence of schools, this served as a pathshala for those who cared to get education, but it was the exclusive prerogative of the Lamas. Now with the opening of Govt. schools the Gompha has lost its prestige and importance. According to the Lama the people have become more mundane in their outlook. They do not yearn for salvation and thus religion is slowly losing its hold on the villagers.

The Investigator during his stay in Kanum had an opportunity to meet Kachan Dandup, a learned Buddhist devotee, who spent about 40 years in Tassi Lumbo in Tibet for learning Tibetan scriptures. He is held in high respect and whenever some one visits the temple he puts his Thepang off and out of reverance bows before the Lama at least thrice. The main difficulty to make elaborate enquiries was that he did not follow Hindi and an interpreter had to help the Investigator. When asked about the income and expenditure of the temple the Lama told that the economic position of the temple was not sound and whatever the villagers give during birth, marriage and death rituals was not sufficient even to keep the wolf away from the door.

In addition to this, 5 bighas of land is in the name of the temple and its cultivation rights vest with Sukha Ram S/o Chhering Bhog. About 50 per cent of the produce is given to the temple by the cultivator. When enquired about his mission in life he said that his main object was to attain Nirwana and do as much good to the mankind as he could. Buddhism teaches to remain bachelor and not to fall in the worldly pursuits of earning and spending and begetting children which are the perpetual source of worry and ambition. To avoid this vicious circle their religion teaches them to attain *mukti*—salvation.

Locha Lama or Labrang—Lamas and jomos often visit the temple and annual functions are held by them. Besides the religious functions, a fair in which village deity is taken round the temple is held in Jeth every year.

The management of the temple is entrusted to a Jomo. The Secretary of the Temple lives in Spiti in the Punjab who often pays a visit to look after the affairs of the temple. Annual repairs are carried out by him and other expenditure in connection with daily puja is met by the *Jomo.*

Management of Dabla Temple—There is a regular committee to run the management of *Dabla* temple affairs. The committee consists of 5 members elected from the village with the consent of the *devta.* Out of these one keeps the accounts and the other decides multifarious activities connected with the Devta. Dologos are amongst the regular members and the *grokhas* are amongst them. All the members except a *Grokh* belong to higher castes. The grokh of the Devta is a Chamang.

Income of the Temple—The sources of income are contributions both in kind and cash which are given by the villagers of their own accord at the times of births and marriages. About 15 or 20 years ago Rs. 4000 were raised and general repairs of the temple were thereafter carried out. The Kalash of the temple is made of brass which is brightly polished. In addition to usual contributions fines are regular source of income to the temple. The members of the committee disclosed that all funds had been exhausted and at the time of survey only a sum of Rs. 300 was said to be in the temple treasury. Besides this sum, each household is indebted to the temple for Rs. 15. On this principal amount an interest at the rate of Rs. 12½ per cent is collected annually from every debtor on the occasion of fair Kangyur jalma held on the 15th Ashadh.

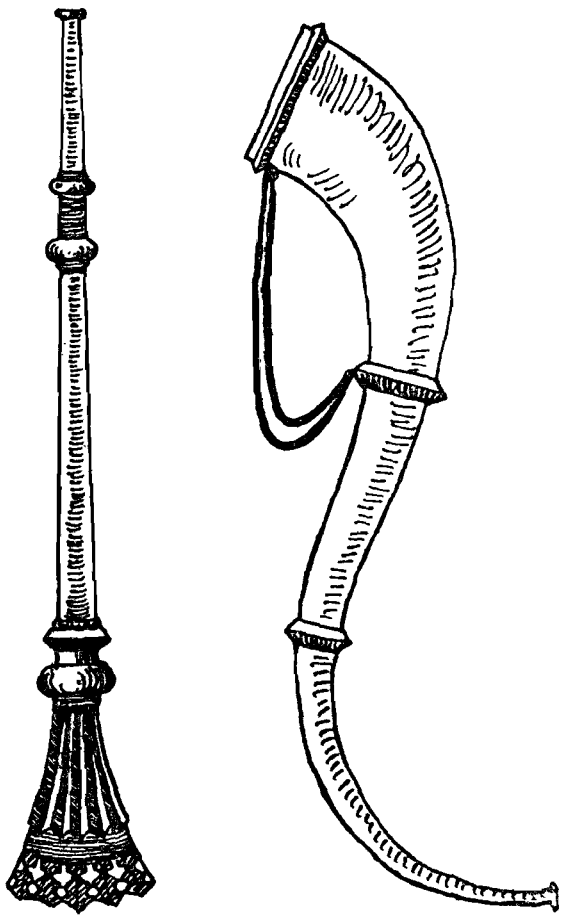
Expenditure—Main items of expenditure are repairs of the temple, renovation of musical instruments, allowance to the *baskisa,* purchase of wine and other contingencies. On certain occasions Devtas from Labrang, Spillo and Sunam are invited and expenditure on their visits is met from the temple treasury. Persons accompanying the invited Devtas are entertained out of the aforesaid funds. Besides this certain contingencies arising from unforeseen events are met out of this fund. During 1961, Tassy Namgal had invited the Devta from Labrang on the occasion of the Bose ceremony of his son, the village deity was presiding and both of them were given *sthan* on the roof of his house. Unfortunately his house caught fire and it was burnt to ashes. The next day the village Devta was petitioned who took mercy on him and a sum of Rs. 300 out of his funds was sanctioned in his favour, but the amount had not been given to Tassy Namgal till 31st August, 1962.

Tassi chhoeling—It is a Buddhist nunnery where women who for one reason or the other become Jomos reside. They do not marry and keep their heads shaved and wear red ochre clothes. Besides a hall where *murties* and certain Tibetan scriptures are kept, the Nunnery provides accommodation for as many as 25 nuns in small dark cells. This institution has 12 Jomos who attend the daily worshipping and read the scriptures. *Jomos* wear red woollen *kurties* and *suthan,* instead of the usual *doru.*

At early ages girls are taught Tibetan language by the Head Lama. When they attain the age of 20 or more, the Lama bestows his good wishes and an oath of good conduct is administered to them. During summer the Jomos attend to agricultural and other activities in their houses and thereafter they assemble in the *ashram,* but in winter when there is no work they remain in the institution.

Surpu Gompha and *Namgal Chhoestain* are Buddhist temples and annual fairs are held at these places. Besides these religious places one would find prayers written in Tibetan script on stone slabs in the vicinity of the village. These slabs are held in great reverence and whenever the villagers happen to come across these prayer slabs they walk towards the left.

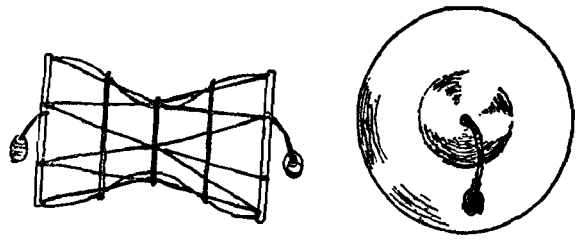
Musical Instruments



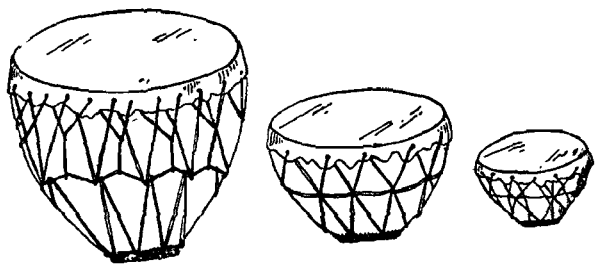
Karnal and Haransinga

Dabla maintains his own orchestra which comprise of the following pieces: —

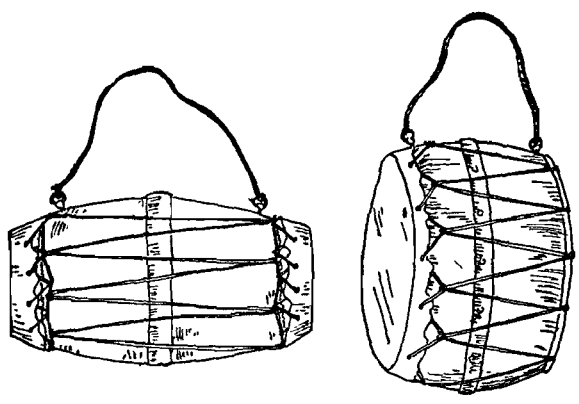
Bam . . .	Big cattle drum.
Chikit Bam . .	Small nagaras.
Nirshing or Narsingha	Made of brass, bronze and silver.
Kanal . . .	Made of brass, bronze and silver.
Bugjail . . .	Chan-chane (two bronze plates).
Bani . . .	A bronze big thali.
Jumra . . .	Flute.
Jugzang . . .	Made of brass and it is used by Lamas in the temple.



Zugzang and Bugjail



Nagara



Dhole and Chikitbam

This orchestra is played upon by the village *baskisa* on religious ceremonies and it is borrowed by the villagers to celebrate the birth and marriage ceremonies. The *baskisa* are given nominal wages in the shape of barley *sattu* and free meals. Local Domangs are the manufactures of the orchestra and whenever a new instrument is to be prepared or renovated *devta's* funds are invariably utilised.

Untouchability and Social Status of Women

Chamang, Domang, Ores and Rajput from the main caste groups and the former three castes fall in the lower level than the Rajputs who always look down upon them. Since times immemorial the Scheduled Castes have been serving swarn castes as agricultural labourers, artisans and leather workers. Their status continues to be the same as it ever was. Chamang, Domang

and Ores fall in the category of scheduled castes, but the latter two castes do not inter-dine and intersmoke with the former group who are socially at the lowest rung of the village Society.

Chamangs are both leather workers and weavers. They remove the carcasses of dead animals. It was disclosed during the enquiry that about 15 years back they used to eat the flesh of dead animals including cows, but none of the Chamangs eat the flesh of dead animals now and most of them have abandoned the profession of skinning dead animals too. Out of a total of 19 households belonging to Chamang 4 work as casual leather workers.

Domangs and Ores mix up freely. There is no social taboo with regard to inter-dining and inter-marriages among these people. Their professions no doubt differ but for all social relations they come under one group. They claim superiority over the *Chamangs* and both the castes do not mix up at all. Even the Chamangs do not accept the things cooked by the *Domangs* and *Ores*. *Domangs* and *Ores* are the *baskisa* of the temple orchestra. Main water sources are Kuhls and every body takes water from these Kuhls. There is no restrictions for the scheduled castes to bring water from a particular kuhl, however, they have to wait their turn at some distance if someone from the higher caste is taking water from the kuhl.

Negies do not allow the harijans to enter their houses and whenever they visit they sit outside in the courtyards. Food and water is served to them in the courtyards. The villagers are aware of the untouchability Act, but in practice there is no appreciable change in their outlook. Inferiority complex among the Chamangs, Domangs and Ores is more due to their economic dependence on the higher caste people and they do not want to break the traditional social laws. However after Independence they have been becoming increasingly conscious of their rights and old prejudices are sure to die with the spread of education and betterment in their economic condition. The changing times have not left them untouched altogether. Scheduled castes were not previously permitted to play the orchestra nor could they use a horse for the bridegroom to ride. But now restrictions are gradually vanishing.

Social Status of Women

Socially a woman enjoys all the privileges and positions which are normally sanctioned to her in other societies. She is the lady of her hearth and in a majority of cases she has to be consulted about the important decisions concerning the



Kinauri Belles

family. A husband generally does not by pass her. In settling matrimonial relations of their sons and daughters, mother plays a very important role and her opinion often prevails. At the time of confirmation of betrothels, the sisters and aunts have a special right to demand izzat money. It is a social binding to please them. Women folk do not confine themselves to household duties but they contribute equally in other spheres too. Agricultural operations except ploughing are carried on by Women. They are seen carrying water from the kuhls, flour from the *gottangs,* watering the fields, carrying manure to the fields and laden with heavy loads of fodder which they bring from the nearby forests. Practically no sphere of duty is left where the women do not take part. On religious and other fairs women play a dominant role in singing and dancing and without their presence, the fairs would lose all colour, fun and charm. In spite of her polyanderous position she enjoys a great deal of freedom and is free to seek separation from her husband(s) if things are not to her liking. Unlike her sisters

in the plains and lower hills, she is free to chose a partner of her own choice and not necessarily be tied for all her life to one chosen by her parents. She does not observe purdah and no social gathering or fair or festival is closed to her. Of course she has to work hard, but then life being what it is in these areas she possibly cannot afford to sit by the fire side in her parlour as a spectator while her people are grapling out side with the hard realities of life in the grim struggle for existence. But for her active co-operation and capacity to shoulder equal if not more burden, these areas would possibly have been barren and desolate.

Jomos—The virgin girls who turn nuns, however, do not keep hair and shave off their heads. They go about bare-headed and may not use the 'thepang'. Some may have either a boyish hair.

Statistics of age and sex distribution

(Total all ages)	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4
All ages			
0—4	701	350	351
5—9	64	35	29
10—14	66	34	32
15—19	81	48	33
20—24	50	27	23
	16	44	32
25—29	60	34	26
30—34	48	20	28
35—44	97	46	51
45—59	103	44	59
60 & over	56	18	38

Sex ratio is 1 : 1, the number of males and females being 350 and 351.

Migration

Throughout the year some one from almost each household is away with the flock of goats and sheep either in Lower Hills or in the alpine pastures on the peaks of mountains 8 to 10 miles from the village. During winter from October they migrate to Lower Hills as far in-

to Bilaspur. Arki, Mehlog some parts of Karsog, Seoni and Sirmur. They spend the chilly months in these places till the end of April. Goats and sheep are the chief riches of the people here as they furnish them with wool. Romang and bags are made from their skins. To these shepherds their homes are nothing better than rest houses. They stay there hardly for a week while going to the alpine pastures in Pruti, Brati, Rao, Runang, Weh Hangrang, Valley, Dubbling and Shayal-Khar, likewise they do not stay for more than a week in their homes when migrating to Lower Hills. In the alpine pastures on the high altitudes shepherds go without children, but coming down to Lower Hills is often with women and children, leaving elderly members behind who may look after the landed property. During migration season one might come across these people all along the way beyond Rampur some on the move with bag and baggages laden on goats. Bags made of goat or ram skin are slung across the backs and are full of edibles, utensils, wool, *pasham*, dried *chulis* and *chilgozas* in small quantity which are given as presents to their friends in the respective camping places and some resting on the road sides cooking their meals. The gruff shouting which is frequently heard is given to goats and sheep to keep on moving and the faithful dogs who guard their flocks are always with them. These dogs are of special breed and inspite of their leisurely gait are strong enough to challenge any night predator which may be on the look out for a kill. To protect these dogs from the leopards which is a serious menace to the goats and sheep, it is given a spiked iron collar round the neck. Some well-to-do persons have donkeys to carry miscellaneous articles like woollen patties, chilgoza and pasham which they sell in Lavi fair at Rampur, thus seemingly an unending caravan goes on slowly and steadily perhaps breaking their journey at many places to let their hungry flocks graze.

Some able bodied men and women leave their homes in search of labour and usually they find ample scope of work in the lower hills as these months are the most suited for terracing the fields. There they are drawers of water and hewers of wood. In some places, they work as labourers on house construction work and as carriers of manure to the fields, but of late with the opening of fresh employment avenues on roads and buildings, construction works, migration in search of labour has considerably decreased. This sort of migration has been continuing since ancient times and the people have established contacts and friendly relations in most of the places in the lower hills.

Family Structure

Caste and community-wise structure of family is given in the table.

Caste	Total No. of house-holds	Type of families living in the households			
		Simple	Inter-mediate	Joint	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rajput (Negi)	78	21	19	29	9
Koli . .	19	2	5	12	..
Lohar . .	3	1	..	2	..
Ores . .	3	..	..	3	..
Gupta . .	2	..	..	..	2
Khatri . .	1	..	..	..	1
Brahman .	7	..	..	..	7
Total .	113	24	24	46	19

From this table it will be seen that the village consists of simple, intermediate and joint families and the composition of family groups has been given on the following basis.

Simple—Consists of husband, wife and unmarried children.

Intermediate—Married couple and unmarried brother, sister, one of the parents.

Joint—Married couple with married sons/daughters or with married brothers/sisters.

Others—Single members. This group of family consists of Government employees posted in the village and some widowed women who are living alone.

In each caste group there is a tendency towards joint families perhaps polyandry being the main reason.

5. Trends in Rural Changes

An attempt has been made to portray a picture of the pattern of the village life in terms of socio-economic structure and the facts are based on close observations which would reveal certain significant changes in the rural society. The trend of change is mainly due to increased contacts of the local people with the outsiders mainly the school teachers and other Government officials and hundreds of others who visit the village frequently asking one thing or the other from the villagers or passers by. Most significant among the factors of change are Community Development, Panchayat, Co-operative movement and the spread of Education. To bring about these changes in the rural society the efforts of the Government cannot be undermined though it may not be commensurate with the amount of money spent on different schemes under the 1st and 2nd five years plans.

Education

Age Groups	Total Population			Illiterate		Literate without educational standard		Primary or Basic		Age groups	Matric or Higher Secondary		Intermediate and Shastri		Graduates	
	P	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
All ages	701	350	351	222	335	73	12	35	4	All ages	13	..	3	..	4	..
0—4	64	35	92	35	29	..	..	..	..	0—4	..	..	..	..	..	..
5—9	66	34	32	15	27	19	5	..	..	5—9	..	..	..	..	..	..
10—14	81	48	33	13	29	20	3	15	1	10—14	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—19	50	27	23	18	21	1	1	6	1	15—19	2	..	..	..	..	..
20—24	76	44	32	23	31	8	1	3	..	20—24	8	..	1	..	1	..
25—29	60	34	26	22	25	6	1	1	..	25—29	1	..	2	..	2	..
30—34	48	20	28	13	27	3	..	2	1	30—34	1	..	..	1	1	..
35—39	53	29	24	20	23	5	..	3	1	35—39	1	..	..	..	..	..
40—44	44	17	27	14	27	3	..	..	..	40—44	..	..	..	..	..	..
45—49	39	17	22	15	21	2	1	..	..	45—49	..	..	..	..	..	..
50—54	33	13	20	10	20	1	..	2	..	50—54	..	..	..	..	..	..
55—59	31	14	17	12	17	2	..	..	..	55—59	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 & over	56	18	38	12	38	3	..	3	..	60 & over	..	..	..	..	..	..

Out of a total population of 701 persons 144 are literates which works out to a literacy percentage of 20.05. According to 1961 Census literacy percentage of the Kinnaur District was 15.4 and that of Poo sub-division in which the village lies is 17.50. Thus comparing the figures, literacy percentage of Kanum is slightly higher obviously because of a Government High School and due to counting the Government employees living there. 85 persons —73 men and 12 women, shown as literate without any educational standard include children in the age group of 0—14 and *Lamas* and *Jomos* who can read and write Tibetan scriptures. While 39 persons—35

men 4 women, have completed Primary or Basic education—persons falling in the group "studied upto Matriculation or higher" are mainly either school teachers or other Government employees posted there. Amongst the villagers there is only one Matriculate who is a landlord and others who completed education upto Matric or B.A. are in services outside the village. Out of 4 women who have completed education upto Primary, 2 are mid-wives serving in the Primary Health Centre. They do not belong to the village and the other 2 are students in the school. On the whole the education conditions of the village in comparison to many other villages in the Union Territory is not unsatisfactory.

A Primary School was opened here as far back as 1918. It was upgraded to Middle Standard in September, 1960. The staff strength of the institution as it stood on 31st July, 1962 is as follows—

Headmaster ...	... 1
Trained Graduates ...	... 2
O.T. teachers ...	... 2
Drawing Master ...	... 1
P.T.I.	... 1
Junior Teachers ...	... 4
Clerk	... 1
Peon-cum-water carrier	... 1
Total staff	... 13

Classwise strength of students when it was upgraded to middle standard in September, 1958 was:—

Class	Boys	Girls	Total
V	6	..	6
IV	4	..	4
III	3	1	4
II	8	1	9
I	28	11	29
Total .	49	13	62

Strength of students as it stood on 31-7-1962 was as under:—

Class	Total No. of Students		Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes		Stipends given to	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
IX	5	1	2	..	5	1	..	1
VIII	6	2	..	..	6	2	6	2
VII	19	1	4	..	19	1	10	1
VI	22	..	2	..	22	..	13	..
V	5	1	4	..	5	1	7	1
IV	8	..	2	..	8	..	6	..
III	8.	1	8	1	8	1	7	1
II	11	1	3	..	11	1	4	1
I	7	3	4	..	7	3	2	3
Total	91	10	29	1	91	10	55	10

The number of students from 62 (September, 1958) has risen to 101 in July, 1962 and these figures include 30 pupils who belong to Scheduled Castes. Stipends are granted to the majority of students 55 boys and 10 girls. In addition to stipends text books were given free to harijans and girl students and no tuition fee is charged.

Accommodation—The school is facing an acute shortage of accommodation. Primary classes, store and Science Laboratory are housed in a rented building at an annual rent of Rs. 528. The Middle, High classes and the office are housed in the Panchayat serai building which comprises of 3 rooms and 3 small cabins. A new school building at an estimated cost of Rs. 1,65,600 was under construction across the Kanum Khud and it is expected that within a year's time the new school building will be ready. Besides the school building, teachers' quarters were proposed to be constructed just adjacent to the School.

Play Ground—At present there is no play ground and this hampers immensely the conduction of games and other co-curricular activities which are the very soul and life of an institution. Much less to speak of a good play ground there is not enough standing space for the students of all the classes at the time of morning assembly. So far as the problem of a play ground is concerned there is very little hope of its solution even at the new site proposed for the school.

Furniture and Science Laboratory—The school is poorly equipped, there are no desks or benches for the students of Middle and High classes. Floor mats and durries were found in a most unsatisfactory condition. The science laboratory is only worth the name. Whatever little science apparatus there is, was lying in sixes and sevens, because of lack of accommodation and science almirahs.

Mid-day-meals—Mid-day-meals scheme was introduced in the school in November, 1961 and an amount of Rs. 900 was sanctioned for the purpose. The meal consists of *gur* and parched grams and is served to the students in the recess period under the supervision of teachers. The daily quantity supplied to every student is ½ chhatak of grams and *gur* each.

School and the People—Educationally the people of Kanum and the surrounding villages are making definite progress day by day and efforts of the Education Department cannot be underestimated as for as the education of this village is concerned. Poor and deserving students are given every possible help by way of stipends, free supply of stationery articles and provision of text books in lieu of a nominal maintenance fee. In June, 1962 a literacy drive was conducted by the students and staff of the institution and many persons were persuaded by them to send their children to school stressing the importance of education.

Not only this, the high school is sure to bring about social changes among the people. Their association with the educated teachers will infuse new ideas into their minds and the younger generation were observed to have caught the new ideas. On Sundays and gazetted holidays it is now a common feature to watch the boys and girls washing their clothes and taking bath too along the banks of the kuhl and to look clean and tidy. The development of educational activities in the area have its deep rooted effect and it is sure to bring about awakening among the masses within a decade or so. Close observations revealed that their trend was not in favour of the people coming there from the plains more because they think that the people coming from the plains always look down upon them (villagers) and a sense of inferiority complex is the main drawback for close associations between the 'Kochas' as the outsiders are contemptuously called and the *Kinnauras*.

Public Health and Sanitation

Till 1959 there was no dispensary or hospital. Virtually they depended on the village deity and whenever any body fell ill, the deity had to be petitioned for the early recovery of the patient. But now they take full benefit of the medicines supplied to them from the Primary Health Centre.

General diseases in the village are, round worms, hook worms, thread worms, rheumatism, arthritus, asthama, diarrhoea, dysentery, cold catarrh, skin diseases mostly scabies, eczema and eye diseases. In women mostly leucorrhoea, dysmenorrhoe and menorrhagia is prevalent. Primary Health Centre was opened here in October, 1959 and since its inception the following number of outdoor patients were attended:—

October, 1959 to December, 1959 ...	506
1960	2,197
1961	2,091
January, 1962 to July, 1962 ...	1,485

In addition to these patients, the compounder incharge of the dispensary attends to some cases outside the dispensary when called at. It is unfortunate that there is no doctor in the centre. The compounder runs it as best as he can and refers serious cases to Kalpa.

Staff Position—The staff strength of the centre as it stood on 31st August, 1962 is:—

Compounder ...	1
Sanitary Inspector ...	1
Auxiliary Nurse ...	1
Nurse dais ...	2
Sweeper	1

The centre caters to the needs of Labrang, Spillo, Karla and Kanum villagers but in the absence of trained doctor only minor cases are attended to. Serious cases have to be taken to Kalpa where a full fledged District Hospital with 10 beds exists. The district hospital is of 33 miles from the village and it becomes very difficult to remove serious cases to the hospital.

Maternity and Child Welfare—Prior to the opening of the Primary Health Centre maternity cases used to be attended to by the elderly ladies, but now the villagers take benefit of the trained daies'. It was disclosed by Auxiliary Nurse and mid-wife during the survey that in the preliminary stages the people hesitated to utilise their services, but as their association grew with the villagers they have realised the importance of trained mid-wives' and the following cases of maternity and child welfare were attended to by the Auxiliary Nurse and the mid-wife.

	Total	Kanum
Maternity ...	195	48
After-natal cases ...	388	133

The figures are from 1960 to July, 1962. Besides this a special provision of supplying milk to small children was made and supplies of milk were expected to reach soon.

Sanitation—In every household there is a separate dry latrine known *chhakcha* generally provided at one corner of the second storey. The night soil is covered with *kon,* but still children and some people go out in lanes making footpaths filthy. As a result of this unhealthy practice the village lanes stink. The sanitary position as a whole is not satisfactory. The sanitary inspector no doubt occasionally preaches cleanliness simply to justify his existence. During summer especially when *chulies* are dried, flies make the position all the more unhygienic and unless people realise the importance of keeping clean, there appears to be no hope for any improvement in the situation.

The people themselves do not attach any importance to personal cleanliness. Their woollen dresses can conceal any amount of dirt. These are seldom washed unless otherwise necessitated by some religious or social occasion. There is no barber and the people wear long hair as long as they can conveniently go when the need is felt the villagers help each other to do a hair cut as best as they can. Few use soap either for washing the body or clothes. Naturally they are infested with lice and on a bright sunny day, some can invariably be found indulging in the gainful profession of picking lice from the clothes or heads.

But despite unhygienic conditions as they appear to us, nature comes to their rescue. In the living memory epidemics have never broken out nor the people have suffered from other serious diseases. The main cause of their looking run down is not on account of any disease but is due to under-nourishment and lack of balanced diet. Except on festive occasions when good food might be cooked and taken, the staple diet of the people consists of barley *sattus* taken with tea. This is no match for the arduous duties that they have to perform. No wonder they look underfed.

Community Development

In the initial stages when the N.E.S. blocks were started, the village was a part of Chini Sub-Tehsil in Mahasu District and due to the remoteness of the village there was little or practically no attention to bring the village fully under the impact of the Community Development. But with the formation of Kinnaur District the entire area has been divided into three blocks, Nachar, Kalpa and Poo. Kanum is covered by Poo Block. Some of the progressive villagers are aware of what the Government intends to do for their development and a majority of them do express their appreciation for the efforts to ameliorate their lot by constructing new roads, opening schools, dispensaries and advancing loans to them for house constructions and horticulture. However, the critics are also there to give vent to their dissatisfaction and are observed passing critical remarks against certain Government officials such as the gram sewak, the medical surveyors, social education organiser, agriculture inspector and the co-operative inspector that they do often visit the village but are of no help to them and it appears to them that public revenues were wasted on these officials. We have observed such officials at times impertinent and tactless who often feel these areas a punishing ground for them. They do more harm than good for the people. One day experienced, mature, good and efficient government servants too will be found in abundance and what shortcomings people observe in development plans are often due to their not being properly managed. But soon, it is hoped this will be the story of the past as more local leadership would come up. Pride would give place to understanding and suspicion to clarity. This should lead one to infer that the people are not altogether ignorant and expect full attention from the officials. The utility of the Government officials is comparatively lesser to the people because these officials mostly belong to the lower regions and they find it difficult to fully comprehend the local problems and by the time they acquire a hang of the affairs they are transferred to some other places. There is, therefore, no full co-operation between the public and the Government officials with the result that pace of development is not what it could otherwise be. It would do well to take the people into confidence and once they grasp the significance of the various developmental schemes launched in this area, their cooperation would be spontaneous and the present critical attitude of a majority of them would also automatically vanish.

The development activities carried out during the last 5 years are given in the accompanying table.

From the figures supplied by the gram sewak concerned it will be seen that during the years 1957, 1958 and 1959 nothing was done except distribution of some improved seeds of barley and wheat.

Apart from these figures the villagers participated in *sharamdan* for repairing kuhls, bridges and construction of a water tank. The work done by them during the last few years is as follows:

Serial No.	Item of work	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	Remarks
1	Chemical fertilizers distributed	-Nil	Mds. 2	Srs. 15	Mds.	Nil	Nil	Aggar Ram, Diwansen, Hirchander Amirdatta Sen.
2	Compost pits dug	Nil	One	One	Five	One	One	..
3	Improved seeds distributed	Np. 770 Wheat Barley 2 mds.	..	Wheat & potatoe 3 mds.	Wheat & potatoe 2 mds.	Wheat 3 mds. 10 seers	Nil	..
4	Fruit Plants sprayed against Senjo	Nil	Nil	Nil	150	300	350	..
5	Fruit Plants distributed	Nil	Nil	165	450	350	..	Apple, Peach, Plum, Apprioot, Cherry, Walnut, Almonds, Pear.
6	Loans for housing and Horticulture	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	..
7	Demonstration plots laid	..	..	..	1	..	42	..
8	Laying of Orchards	..	..	..	..	Apple 1	..	Dharam Sen.
9	Fruit Plants pruned	..	..	..	70	85	71	..
10	Vegetable seed distributed	..	..	1 Lb.	1½ Lb.	2 Lbs.	1½ Lbs.	Cabbage, Turnip Carrot, Latu (Salad).
11	Wheat Seed Exchanged	..	..	..	1¼ Mds.	..	..	..
12	Budding and grafting of fruit plants	..	..	..	25	57	89	..
13	Kitchen gardens started	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14	Zinc phosphied distributed	..	..	..	303	503	¼ Lb.	..
15	Eldrine distributed	..	..	..	..	..	1 Lb.	..
16	Vanmahotswa trees planted	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17	Soil Sample Collected	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
18	Fertilizer Depot at Spillo	..	..	..	1	..	..	..

Year	Particulars of work	Govt. Aid	Shramdan
		Rs.	Rs.
1958	Repairs of Kanum khad bridge	1,600	820
1959	Repairs of Upper Kanum kuhl	800	475
1960	Lower Kanum kuhl	1,200	1,690
1961		..	..
1962	Pipe Line Scheme Kanum	4,507	1,248
	Total	8,107	4,233

Panchayats

Prior to the Organisation of the Village Panchayats, petty village disputes used to be settled by the village elders who were known for their honesty and integrity but there were no regular caste or community panchayats. Organised in accordance with Himachal Pradesh Panchayat Raj Act, 1953 Gram Panchayat, Kanum came into existence in 1956 and Nyaya Panchayat in March, 1958 having their jurisdiction over villages of Labrang, Spillo and Karla with headquarters at Kanum. Panchayat meetings are held monthly in Labrang Locha Lama in Kanum.

The strength of the Gram and Nyaya Panchayat is—

Panchayat—

President	1
Vice President	1
Members	11
Scheduled Caste reserved seats	2
Women Seats	2

Nyaya Panchayat—

President	1
Vice President	1
Total Members	13
Harijan members	2
Women seats	—

The office bearers are elected every three years in a Gram Sabha meeting by show of hands. The Secretary of the Gram and Judicial Panchayat is a paid whole-time employee and is given a remuneration of Rs. 50 p.m. The executive side of the village Administration is taken care of by the Gram Panchayat and Judicial side is entrusted to the Nyaya Panchayat. The functions of the Gram Panchayat are many and have been

enumerated in detail in sections 16 & 17 of the Himachal Pradesh Panchayat Raj Act. The most important functions of the Panchayat are —construction, repair, maintenance, cleaning and lighting of the public places, reclamation of waste lands, medical relief, sanitation, registering births, deaths and marriages, regulating places for the disposal of dead bodies, establishing and maintaining. Primary Schools, construction, repair and maintenance of wells, tanks for the supply of water for drinking purposes administration of civil and criminal justice and selection of penal of persons for appointment as Panches, child and maternity welfare.

Since the organisation of the Gram Panchayat the aforesaid development activities were undertaken in Kanum. Besides these similar works were undertaken by the Panchayat in the 3 other villages which fall in its jurisdiction.

The Nyaya Panchayat registered the following cases: —

Year	Number of Cases		Decision of the Panchayat
	Criminal	Civil	
1959	3	2	Out of 3 Criminal cases registered in one case the defaulter was fined Rs. 10/- and in another case a fine of Rs. 60/- was imposed and one case was amicably settled. In one of the civil cases a fine of Rs. 75/- was imposed and the other case was settled amicably.
1960	5	1	2 Criminal cases were outrighty dismissed and 2 others were settled amicably 1 case was still under consideration. 1 civil case was compromised.

In order to have an idea of the tendency of crimes committed during the decade ended 1961 a crime statement obtained from the Police Station Poo is given below—

Year	Section of crime	No.
1947-48	U/s 379 IPC	1
1953	U/s 380 IPC	1
1955	1. 19 11 Arms Act	1
	2. U/s 448/149/323 IPC	1
1960	U/s 325 IPC	1
1961	U/s 380 IPC	1
	U/s 421 IPC	1

Comparison with the 1951 Census Figures— 1951 census figures of Kanum taken from the Mahasu District Census hand book are given here: —

Area of the village	1,379 Acres
No. of Households	98
Persons	664
Males	315
Females	349
Literates	134
	104 Males
	30 Females

There is a slight difference in the area as compared to 1951 census when it was 1,379 acres and now it is 1,385 acres in the revenue records. The number of households in 1951 was 98 whereas it has risen to 113 now. The population during the 1951 enumeration was 664 persons comprising of 315 men and 349 women and it has now gone upto 701 persons having 350 men and 351 women. In the 1961 census the population of the village was 764 souls out of whom 424 are males and 340 females, but the figures collected during June, 1962 are the latest. Actually during the 1961 enumeration, there were many houseless persons who were engaged in road construction work and did not belong to the village.

The birth and death statistics as recorded in the village Panchayat Register are: —

Death

Year	Males	Females	Total
1957	1	1	2
1958	2	1	3
1959	6	6	12
1960	7	6	13
1961	4	5	9
1962	3	..	3
(June)	..	..	..
Total	23	19	42

Birth

Years	Boys	Girls	Total
1957 (Dec.)	1	..	1
1958	2	3	5
1959	14	9	23
1960	6	10	16
1961	9	4	13
1962 (June)	5	5	10
Total	37	31	68

According to the death and birth statistics during the last 5 years from 1957 to 1962 (June) 42 deaths and 68 births have been recorded. This shows an upward trend in the population.

Financial Resources of the Panchayat—The financial resources of the Panchayat are:—

(i) Grant-in-aid from the Government,
(ii) Income of Fees,
(iii) Fines,
(iv) Local Rates (assessed from the land revenue).

The income derived from these resources is utilised for different development activities proportionately in the villages which fall in its jurisdiction and the general budgets are passed in the Gram Sabha meetings.

The institution of Panchayat is a preliminary step towards democratic decentralization. This will train the people in the art of self Government and they will acquire political consciousness. Through the organization of the Panchayat Raj during the post-independence period the village disputes are now decided in the Panchayati Adalat and the people have been saved the trouble of going to courts. Enquiries revealed that the villagers were very happy to have their own Panchayat because they can get speedy settlement of their disputes.

Co-operative Society

Multipurpose cooperative society, Kanum was registered on 4th September, 1958 with 90 persons as its members. The membership increased to 92 persons in 1961 and from Kanum alone 48 persons purchased shares of Rs. 10 each whereas 2 members took shares of Rs. 20 and 100 each. The Cooperative Society covers the neighbouring villages Labrang, Spillo and Karla and from these 44 persons have invested share capital in the society. The financial position of the society showing assets and liabilities as on 7th May, 1962 is as follows—

Liabilities—	Rs.
Sharies	1,040·00
Profit	..
Previous Profit	20·95
Profit	181·1
Commision	250·00
Payable Loan Central Bank	
Assets—	
Stock	332·50
Sundry Debtors	..
Dewan Sain	2,251·85
Union Share	400·00
Cash in Hand	1,373·30
Tehsil Union Chini	1,644·62
Chini Society	1,220·65
Total	4,357·40

Immediately after the registration of the society a cooperative store was opened in Kanum and the sales-man appointed by the members started giving things on credit. Besides this it was complained by the Secretary of the Co-operative Society that Tehsil Cooperative Union Kalpa sent such things as were not required in the village, and all these articles were still lying unsold. This resulted in heavy losses to the society and the Co-operative store was closed down. During the enquiries it was gathered that the faith of the people in the co-operative movement has shaken and every member lamented the loss of their hard earned money. This will naturally have an adverse effect on the cooperative movement in the area. The Cooperative Department, H.P. have a full fledged District and Cooperative Officer at Kalpa for the small District of Kinnaur having in all only 27 Co-operative Societies to run, and he should have arranged to restore confidence in the people. If the cooperative movement in this area has to get a foothold care will have to be taken to avoid a repetition of what happened in Kanum. Perhaps a little interest on the part of the authorities should have gone a long way in winning confidence of the people. At least this is what the people of the village feel. This feeling was also voiced in the General Review Report on Rural Credit follow up survey 1959-60—the fourth in the series—released by the Reserve Bank of India—

> "The fact that the problem of cooperative development is one that runs deep into the socio-economic structure of rural India, makes it necessary to have a thorough and periodical study of the growth and impact, as also of the shortfalls. of the movement. It is as a result of one such study in fact that we now know that, in spite of the so called remarkable growth of credit cooperatives throughout the country, there achievements have been anything but spectacular, the obvious reasons being that the forces of transformation were not as powerful as those that were sought to be counteracted".

Appendices

APPENDIX I

EXTRACTS FROM ROUTES IN THE WESTERN-HIMALAYAS, KASHMIR, ETC., BY LT. COLONEL T. G. MONTGOMERIE

Pages 11-12—

No. 8. CHINI to SPITI (Dankar) via The Sutlaj and Para Rivers.

No. of Marches	Names of Stages	Distance in miles between stages	Nature of country en route	Height in feet above sea level	Remarks
	Chini .. .. .. E	..	Country mountainous. Road descends to Malgun stream, height 8711 ft. at 5 miles, whence it ascends.	9096	A small village with a Govt. building for the accommodation of travellers. Supplies scarce. Water plentiful.
1	Pangi	6½	Road ascends for 1 mile to the Kashang cliffs and then descends for 2 miles to the Kashang nala, height 8133 feet. Crossing Kashang bridge at 3 miles it rises again to the Gimchang cliffs, height 9500 ft. at 5 miles.	9159	Village on right bank of the Sutlej. Supplies; F., G. and T. obtainable. Water plentiful.
2	Rarang .. .. .. E	8	Road level and passes through Deodar Forest. Leave Akpa at 3 miles.	9222	Village, F. G., and water available.
3	Yangi or Jangi B ..	7	Road ends at 4 miles and the trace descends to the Lipi stream at 7 miles; then a gradual rise.	9242	Village Supplies scarce water available.
4	Kanam	12	Country mountainous with gradual slopes and rounded tops; road rather difficult; a stiff ascent to the crest of Werung Pass, Height 14,000 feet.	8854	Village. Supplies and water plentiful.
Easier route	Kanam	..	..	8854	..
	Chhassu	12	..	9500	..
	Sungnum	5	..	9020	..
Alternative route	Jangi	..	..		
	Lippe	10	Steep ascent ..		
	Luffung near top of pass ..	8	Warung Pass		
	Sungnum	12			

APPENDIX II

EXTRACTS "LETTERS FROM INDIA 1829-1832" BY VICTOR JACQUEMONT.

On July 11 I crossed the Sutlej, or, if you do not consider that name grand enough, the Hyphasis; since than I have been advancing along its right bank, or, more precisely, three, four and sometimes five thousand feet above its right bank. The climate is beginning to be very different from that of the southern slope of the mountains. Here there are nothing but wind and haze, whereas on the other side the rain is coming down by the bucketful. There are apple-trees and vines in the gardens, though unfortunately no apples or grapes at this season; they will await my return. Buddha is now beginning to steal the clouds of incense of which Brahma has the exclusive enjoyment on the Indian slopes of the Himalayas. The religious precepts of Miss Frances Wright as regards sexual promiscuity are practised here, for not only polygamy, as in India, but polyandry, too, prevails; and since the latter institution is the prevailing one, the result is an excess of females, who retire into convents situated near the little abbeys full of lamas—no doubt for mutual convenience.

At Kanum I shall shortly see that incredible Hungarian original M. Alexander Csoma de Koros, of whom you have doubtless heard. He has been living there for four years past under the not very modest name of Sikandar-beg, that is to say, Alexander the Great, dressed in oriental fashion. But now he is ready to cast off his sheep-skin and black lamb-skin cap and resume his own name for the purpose of going to Calcutta and boring you, no doubt, with the Tibetan Encyclopaedia and all its rigmarole, which he has just translated. M.d'Eckstein translate it from German into French, we shall have nonsense raised to the fourth power, an expression whose far-reaching significance Porphyre will explain to you if your own algebra does not go far enough.

APPENDIX III

EXTRACT FROM RAHUL SANKRITAYAN'S BOOK "KINNER DESH", (Page—145)

ग्रोस्नम्, कनम्, सुंगनम् पुन्नम् (पूर्वणी), स्गि-(मोरंग) जैसे गावां के नामों के ग्रन्त में "नम्" का ग्राना कोई विशेष ग्रर्थ रखता है, किन्तु हम्-स्कदद् (शुं भाषा) में "नमै क" का ग्रर्थ है वासी या खराब हुग्रा, जिसका ग्रर्थ नहीं बैठता कनम् के बारे में कहा जाता है, यहां गांव बसते समय पत्थर पर "क" ग्रक्षर लिखा मिला, इसलिये इस का नाम क-नम् पड़ा। "नम्" का ग्रर्थ पुरानी शं भाषा में गांव मालूम होता है, ग्रौर "क" क का भी कोई ग्रर्थ रहा होगा (क-तुम कर-लाग्रो, कोर-खोदो)। यह ध्यान देने की बात है, कि "नम्"-ग्रन्तवाले सभी गांव बहुत पुराने हैं। हम ग्रन्यत्र लिख चुके हैं, कि यहां खेत बनाते समय ३० साल पहिले "खत्छे-रीखंग" (कब्रें) मिली थीं, जिन में कंकालों के साथ मिट्टी के बर्तन भी थे। लड़ाई से पहिले सड़क को नई जगह से घुमाया गया, उस वक्त वहां कई "राम्खंड" (शव-गृह) निकलीं थीं, परन्तु कंकालों ग्रौर वर्तनों को रखने की ग्रोर किसी का ध्यान न गया। यदि सड़क निरीक्षक ग्रपने बलती मुसलमान मजदूरों से भी पूछ लेते, तो मालूम हो जाता, कि मुसलमान कब्रें इस तरह खान-पान के साथ नहीं बनाई जातीं उन खोपड़ियों ग्रौर बर्तनों की किन्नर इतिहास के जानने के लिए जरूरी है, इसे कहने की ग्रावश्यकता नहीं। मुश्किल है, कि काफी खोदाई करने पर कब्रें इच्छानुसार निकाली नहीं जा सकतीं, क्योंकि उनका एक स्थान नियत नहीं है। ग्रस्तु, इस में सन्देह नहीं, कि प्र प्राक्तिव्वतीय प्रग्बौद्धकालीन (सातवीं सदी पूर्व) भी कनम् में ग्रादमियों की बस्ती थी, ग्रौर ग्रौर उस समय भी कनम् से लब्रंग के डांडे होकर लिप्पा जानेवाला यही मार्ग था, जहां पहाड़ों के डांडों से ग्राकर सुंगनम्का मार्ग भी मिल जाता था, ग्रौर फिर वहां से एक मार्ग चिनी होते सतलुज के किनारे किनारे निर्मंड होकर कुलत कुलूत (कुल्लू), चम्बा (ऊपरी चन्द्रभागा) होते कश्मीर जाता, दूसरा नचार, सुंगरा हो सराहन के ग्रागे की खड्ड से दारनघाटा हो, ग्रथवा नोगडी (रामपुर से ग्रागे) की खड्ड से सतलुज जल-विभाजक डांडे की पार हो जमुना की शाखा नदियों पब्बर ग्रौर टौंस के साथ होता एक ग्रौर डांडा लांघते सैंया होते कालसी की मंडी में पहुंच जाता था। बस्पा-उपत्यका वाले भी सीधे एक जोत पार कर टौंस में पहुंचते थे। इस प्रकार प्रचार पश्चिमी तिव्वतसे कश्मीर ग्रौर "मध्यमण्डल" के रास्ते कनम् से गुजरते थे। ग्रब भी कनम बहुत बड़ा गांव है, उसकी हजार के क़रीब ग्राबादी है।

APPENDIX IV

IN THE FOREST

Flora		
Clematis Montana		
,, Barbellata		
,, Grata		
,, Graveolens	Climbers	
,, Orientalis		
,, Connate		
,, Buchananiana		
Berberis Petiolaris		
,, Aristata		
,, Lycium		
,, Edgewarthiana	Common shrubs	
,, Umbellata		
,, Pseudumbellata		
Rhus Panjabensis		(Hurku)
,, Succedanea		(Sish)
Pistacia Integerrima		
Indigfera Gerardiana		
Desmedium Floribundum		
Pyrus Pashia		
Pyrus Communis		
Cotoneaster Bacillaris		(Roesh)
Viburnum Cotintfonium		(Tustuskhatele)
Myrsine Arficana		(Chitring)
Syringa Embodi		(Shapar)
Fraxinus Xanthoxyloides		(Thum)
Capparis spinosa		(Bussar)
Ilex dipyrena		(Kaderu)
Prunus-persica		(Baimi)
Prunus-armeniaca		(Chuli)
Prunus Puddum		(Phaja)
Prunus Padus		(Jamu)
Prinsepia Utilis		(Bhekumi)
Spiraca-landibana		(Kusht)
Rumex Hastatus		(Shrub)
Rumex Napalansis		(Shrub)
Pbetronthus rugosus		(Pag)
Elsholtzia polystachya		(Pag)
Daphne Oleoides		(Agru)
Loranthus elatus		
Vicsum album		
Arceuthobium minutissimum		
Juglans regia		(Walnut)
Betula Ultilis		(Bhojpatra)
Corylus Colurna		(Sheloi)
Pyrus Communis		(Nashpati)
Pinus excelsa		(Kail)
Pinus longifolia		(Chil)
Pinus Gerardiana		(Neoza)
Cedrus Deodara		(Deodar)
Pyrus Malus		(Apple)
Fauna		
Pteropus edwardsii		(Flying Fox)
Rhinolophus Tragatus		(Dark Brown Leaf Bat)
Hippoideros armigur		(Great Himalayan Leaf Nosed Bat)
Placotus auricus		(Long Eared Bat)
Myotis		(Common European Bat)
Ursus arctos		Brown Bear
Ursus torquatus		Himalayan Black Bear
Puterius		Stoat
Puterius		White Nosed weasel
Lutravulgaris		Common Otter
Felis uncia		Snow Leopard
Felis Pardus		Leopard or Panther
Felis Bengalensis		Leopard Cat
Felis Chaus		Common Jungle Cat
Paradoxurus		Himalayan Palmcivet
Conis Aureus		Jackal
Vulpes alopex		Common Fox or Hill Fox
Pteromys oral		Large brown Flying Squirrel.
Nesocia bengalensis		Common Field Rat
Mus rattus		Common Indian Rat or Roof Rat.
Mus musulus		Common House mouse
Hystrix Leucura		Common Indian poroupine
Lepus Hysiluiis		Upland Hare
Ovis Bharal		Bharal or blue sheep
Copra Sibirica		Himalayan Ibex

APPENDIX V

GLOSSARY

Local Words	*English*	*Local Words*	*English*
A		A—*contd.*	
Abadi . . .	. Habitation	Api . . .	. Untrained midwife
Achkan . .	. Long coat	Asharh . .	. Third month of Bikrami Sambat
Adalt . . .	. Law court	Ashram . .	. Institution
Adharmi . .	. Scheduled caste	Athada begar .	. Forced labour
Ahuti . . .	. Offering to fire	Atta . . .	. Flour
Anguri . . .	. Wine brewed locally from	Atting . . .	. The last death rites

Local Words	*English*
	B
Bachh	Customary contributions
Baisakh	First month of Bikrami era
Bajantri	A musician
Baktuth	Companion of the bridegroom
Bakyang	A form of dancing
Bando-bast	Arrangement
Banghang	A period of 7 days after delivery
Baojpattar	Betula Ulitis
Bartan	Customary exchange of gifts in cash or kind
Baskisa	Musicians
Basnu	A sect of Kolis (Lower caste)
Bedhai	Congratulations
Beldung	A ceremony of presenting gifts to the bridegroom
Bethu	Servant
Bhima Kali	Name of Goddess at Sarhan
Bizurath	Grain store
Bong	Ground floor
Bos	Rice balls or balls of barley sattus
Bose	The first ceremony after birth
Bradri	Brother-hood
Brasken	A group of Rajputs
Brayngas	Flour of roasted barleys fashioned into little idols
Brekhang	A wooden measure
Bro	Local green leaves
Bruti	Name of a local hill
Buraka	A cloth tied around the waist —Cummerbund
Burche	Local bushes
Bushahri-toppi	A special type of cap worn in Bushahr (erstwhile princely state)
	C
Chagti	A light intoxicant usually taken by women
Chama	A form of dancing
Chamar	Leather worker
Chamang	Scheduled caste
Chamang basti	Habitation of Kolis
Chanura	A stone kept on the house top
Charnamrit	A spoonful of wine or water given by the priest to the devotees
Chatup	A wooden rule
Cheema	Mother's sister
Cheena	A type of millet
Chhakcha	Dry latrin
Chhotma Lama	Obsequies

Local Words	*English*
	C—*contd.*
Chhuba	A sort of coat worn by men
Chiltas	Local bread
Choli	Bodice
Cholo	Betrothal ceremony
Cholokima	A form of marriage
Choprangmar	Butter
Chuli oil	Oil extracted from wild apricot kernel
Chuli khali	Residue of wild apricot kernel after extracting oil
Chullah	Hearth
Chukh	Shoes
Curry	Dish
	D
Dabla	The village Deity
Dafma	Feast
Dagloo	Thick silver bracelets
Dai	Untrained mid-wife
Dakshna	Money given to priests on ceremonies
Damas	A priest of the village deity
Dangkhyang	A form of dancing
Deoti chamang	A section of scheduled castes
Devta	Village deity
Dhangmo	A cylindrical bamboo vessel with a rod churner for churning tea and butter
Dhania	Coriander
Dhup	Incense
Dhure	The leader of the dancing party
Dologo	One who petitions the village deity
Domang	A scheduled caste in the village
Doom	A scheduled caste
Doru	A woollen sari like garment worn by women
Dhumpting lagang	A small temple
Dura	Relationship between the fathers of the bride and the groom
Dzo	A calf or bull obtained by cross breeding the hill cow and yak
Dzomo	A cross bred cow
	F
Fagun	11th Month of Bikarami era
Falaich	A fair of flowers
Fawal	Shepherd engaged on wages
Forting	Upper floor
Frintan Khaido	Messengers who invite relatives at the time of marriage

Local Words	*English*
	G
Gachi	Short for gachang
Gachang	A cloth tied round the waist
Gadi nashini	Ascending the throne
Gagra	Multi coloured clothes presented to the deity
Ghanti	Wine
Gharasning	A ceremony performed before occupying a newly built house
Ghee	Clarified butter
Ghunsa Pathang	Ground floor
Gompha	Monastery
Gomutra	Cow's urine
Gottang Lungfa	Kanum Khad
Gotra	Clan
Gottang	Water grinding mill
Gram	Village
Gram sabha	Village committee
Gram Sewak	Village level worker
Grokh	An oracle
Gumo	Mother-in law
Gur	Jaggery
	H
Havana	Sacred fire
Hukka	Smoking pipe
Huri	A vessel
	I
Inderlok	Heaven
Izzat	Brides price
	J
Jajman	Patron
Janspa	The party accompanying the bride to groom's house
Jeera	Cumin
Jeth	Second month of Bikrami era
Jinswar	Cropping pattern
Joghties	Chilogoza wood torches
	K
Kachen Lama	Head Priest
Kachori	A special preparation
Kamiz	Shirt
Kandas	Pastures on hill tops
Kanets	A section of Rajputs considered inferior in status by blue blooded Rajputs
Kangyur & Tanjur	Buddhist scriptures
Karchokming	First hair removing ceremony

Local Words	*English*
	K—*contd.*
Kardar	A responsible worker of the Temple Devta
Kargil	Cup
Karling	A wooden trough
Katora	A bronze deep bowl
Kayangket	Chilgoza garlands
Khaltu	A skin bag
Khangsar	Clan
Kharcha	A sort of drugget made of goat's hair
Khayap	Roof
Khilas	Local green leaves
Khud	Ravine
Khul	Short for Khaltu
Khura	A special type of preparation
Khutu kima	A form of marriage
Kinaura	A resident of Kinnaur
Kir-Kin-Thepang	A round cap
Kocha	A contemptuous term used for outsiders
Koli	A scheduled caste
Kon	Chilgoza leaves
Korang	A marriage custom
Kothar	Grain depository
Khul	Water channel
Kultho	A special dish
Kun	A big brass vessel in which wine is brewed
Kurties	Woollen shirts
	L
Labrang	Temple
Loctas	A clan of Rajputs
Ladu	A he goat employed for carrying loads
Lafi	An indigenous preparation
Lakkar cha	Inferior type of tea
Laksap	Finger ring
Lama	Buddhist priest
Lama chhanga	Students
Lassi	Left after churning the curds
Locha Lama	A temple, shrine
Loadnang	An iron tridpod
Lohar	Blacksmith
Losmatashis	New year greeting
Lota	A metallic utensil used for serving water or other liquids
Lotang Ronma Polang	Cremation ground
Lundup gamfel Gompha	Buddhist monastery
Lungfa	Ravine
Luta	A sort of ghost

Local Words	*English*
M	
Madhani	Churner
Magh	Nineth month of Bikramiera
Majoumi	Middle men
Makna	Bridegroom
Malu	Throw shuttle
Mangcha	Red ochre
Manghar	Eighth month of Bikramiera
Mehta	A clan of Rajputs
Mela	Fair
Mermath	Local hill
Milashojema	Love marriage
Minitima	Naming ceremony
Muchalka	Surety bond
Munbhog	Pudding
N	
Namang chamang	Strange koli (Low caste)
Namgal chhoestan	A temple
Namkaran	Name giving ceremony
Namsha	Bride
Namshen-Omet	*Companion of the bride*
Nani	Father's sister
Nauayana	God usually Vishnu
Nautor	Virgin land
Nayaya	Justice
Nirvana	Salvation
Nunchh	A utensil in which barley flour is taken
O	
Ogla	A type of millet
Ookhayang	Fair
Ores	Carpenters
P	
Panas and chhibra	Sects of Rajputs
Panch sala	Five yearly
Partishta	Another name for ghrasning
Path-shala	School
Pattus	Woollen blanket
Patwar khanna	Village patwari's Office
Pershad	Offiering
Phafra	A type of millet
Phating	Mud
Phuru	Eating utensils
Projeshana	Another name for ghrasning
Posh	9th month of Bikrami era
Prajnis	Sect of Rajput

Local Words	*English*
P—*contd.*	
Prat	A brass trough like utensil used for kneading flour
Pruti	Local Hills
Pujari	Priest
Pyzama	Trousers
Q	
Quim	Store
R	
Rajah	Ruler
Rao	Local Hill
Rigri	Maid servant
Romang	Goat hair
Rote	Bread
S	
Sadri	Jacket
Samigri	Material for worshipping the deities
Sankranti	Ist day of the Bikrami era month
Sarpan	A section of village castes
Sat	The family God
Satu	Roasted barley flour
Shahukar	Money lender
Shajra Nasib	Genealogical table
Shakpang	Boojpattar (Betual ulitis)
Shakpo	Dried meat
Shakrori	A village near Simla
Sherken	Name of a fair
Shingtahama	To break wood
Shonma	A form of dancing
Shramdan	Voluntary labour
Shukal paksha	Bright half of the moon
Shuna	Name of a ghost
Sthan	Place where the village deity is kept
Sumchho-gori	Local name of the valley
Surahi	An earthen water pot
Surpu gompha	Buddhist monastery
Sutak Sangas	A period of 7 days after delivery
Suthan	Slightly light Pyzama
Sutrali	Local leaves
Swarn	Upper caste
T	
Takli	A hand worked spindle
Takose Dori	Coloured designs on a woollen blanket
Tambia	A big copper utensil

Local Words	*English*
	T—*contd.*
Tassis	Marriage
Tassi chhoeling	Nunnary
Teenang	Small holes for light and air
Tekut	A small wooden club
Thali	A metallic plate
Thepang	Cap
Thoring panthang	Upper storey
Thumbu	Ladle
Tikka	Customary presentation of gifts to bridegroom
Titna panthang	A room in the upper storey
Tonkhang / Tonang	Narrow wooden verandah
Tupna	A wooden rod for churning curds
	U
Udanang	A ceremony of presenting gifts to the bride
	V
Vit	Roasted barley flour
Vitu kon	A preparation of roasted barley flour and butter
	W
Woll	A wooden shovel
	Y
Yaka	Local green leave
	Z
Zalma	To see
Zamindar	An agriculturist more especially a land lord
Zom	Round wooden container
Zomchho	Small wooden trough
Zongbats	Metal cups
Zutti	An ornament used for adoring the tresses

APPENDIX VI

EXTRACT FROM THE TRANS-HIMALAYA, DISCOVERIES AND ADVENTURES IN TIBET BY SVEN HEDIN (P. 379 to 407)

CHAPTER XXXII

A Learned Lama From Hungary

WHEN I set out from Poo on August 31, I had 200 miles to travel to Simla. A few hearty words of thanks to the missionaries' wives, a vigorous shake of the hand with the missionaries who escorted us to a bend in the road, and then we go off along the winding path through the state of Beshahr.

Here I travelled over a country which had been well known for a hundred years, and which had been thoroughly mapped by the topographical survey. I could therefore pack up my map-board and ride on free and unhampered without having to think of minutes and bearings. For two years I durst not omit to notice the smallest crook in the road, but now I had a holiday after a long period of work. Now I looked as long as I pleased at this wonderful country, noticed the villages and men who now become ever more common appearances, and gazed at the lofty mountains, the foaming river, and above all the vegetation which became more and more luxuriant, and passed gradually from high alpine forms to sub-tropical, and, finally, at the foot of the Himalayas, into tropical. As before, I could remark the increase of heat with the decrease of height, and the life and activity of man which beat with a stronger pulse every day we drew nearer to our destination.

After Poo our animals have no work to do. We employ coolies, in the English fashion, to carry our baggage. Fifteen coolies, men and women, carry our loads on their strong shoulders, while our animals tramp unladen, and even without burdens have to exert themselves enough to get over some awkward places. Beyond a sharp ridge of rock we have the Sutlej far below us on our left. Then follows a series of small projections and spurs, where the road is so dangerous that we must often help ourselves with our hands, if we would not lose our balance and fall into the water that rolls hundreds of feet below us. The road clings like a cornice to the cliff which often overhangs. Imagine this road where nature has done everything and man has not assisted with a single blasting charge! Branches, boughs, and slabs have, indeed, been thrust into all the crevices to provide steps and some little protection on the outer side, and at two places there is some attempt at a balustrade, but otherwise this road, with its abrupt sections and dangerous slides, has been formed by weathering.

Accustomed to the fresh air of elevated Tibet we are always perspiring; 77.7° in the shade is too much for us, and yet this is only the beginning of the heat which awaits us, and from which

I shall not escape until I come to Shanghai and Japan. My men will have done with it when they get home to Ladak.

The rocks on the left side are just as abrupt, and there also a path has been levelled which connects Tovalling with Nessang and Morang. In the distance it looks like a fine thread on the cliff, a suitable contrivance for rope-dancers and suicides.

Beyond a difficult passage through strongly folded dark mica-schist, we march up a rise with a cairn, and then go down headlong by many hundred zigzags to the bottom of the side valley Sha-lungpo. There flows a river with water of the purest bluish-green, and the foam flakes of its falls and rapids float like white soap-suds on its surface. A small level spot on the left bank affords room for our two tents and the campfires.

Ngurup Dorchehad left us and gone off to his home in a village close to Poo. The beggar from Chiu-gompa was still with us, and like the others had nothing to do. Beside me walked a young guide who was smart and active as a cat. We had passed our coolies half-way along the road and had to wait a long time down by the river bank before the undulating file appeared as small dots on the slopes. We saw sometimes their fronts, sometimes their backs or sides, according to their position on the zigzags; gradually they grew larger, and at last laid down their loads among the tents. There were some young girls among them and two of these were really handsome. I felt ashamed that these princesses of the wild mountains had to burden their shoulders with my baggage, while I was so comfortable myself. But my chivalry was out of place in the Himalayas, and the young ladies were quite pleased to work for their four annas a stage. I gladly doubled their pay, not only because it is absurdly small for such toil, but also because the black-eyed portresses were so indescribably charming.

On this road every fresh camping-grounds surpasses the last in wild romantic beauty. In the Sha valley one seems to be shut up in a maze, and wonders how in the world one is to get out. On all sides nothing can be seen but narrow dells among abrupt wildly-fissured slopes. The Shalungpo leads like a corridor down to the colonnades of the Sutlej valley. It is no use to try and make oneself heard here. The Sha river, with its 700 or 800 cubic feet of water per second, forces its furious way through all obstacles to reach the Sutlej, and tumbling volumes of water drum against blocks and ledges a loud sonorous march of victory over the mica-schist. The heat confined in the valley lies heavy and oppressive over the water. But I have only to stretch my hand out of the tent door to fill a cup with wounderfully refreshing water at a temperature of only 50°. During the night the temperature did not fall below 62.1°.

The shades of evening fall sooner in the narrow valley, and it is dark earlier than on the open flats above. The fires flame up high and cast a yellowish red light on the faces of the cliffs. The men move about like ghosts; they can only be seen, for their steps cannot be heard nor their voices, only the overpowering roar of the river. The tent stands open to left in the light draught produced by the stream.

The sun rises on another brilliant day. We have now to cross the river. After rain this river rises tremendously and floods the small spot where our camp is pitched. It is much too broad to be bridged over. It was now impossible to wade through with laden animals, for probably a horseman would have been swept down to the Sutlej. Therefore, a cable, as at Poo, has been stretched across the bed which in the middle of the valley is only 11½ feet above the water. Now only a third of the cable need be used, for the river runs in a single channel along the right bank, where the cable is anchored in a very steep slop above a level stone wall which serves as a landing-place. The loads are carried to the bank, and at the top of a stone heap lying in the bed are fastened to the block of the running pulley. Then the whole pack is drawn over to the stone dam on the right bank, where fresh coolies are waiting to take charge of them.

The men are conveyed across in the same way. The horses have to look after themselves, and can scarcely keep their feet on the bottom of the bed, and resist the rush of the water. Two small mules are pulled across with a rope. Takkar swims over, but Little Puppy is sent by cable.

The Sha river is said to be the boundry of the Kanam district. The ascent from the right bank is very perceptible, and the road makes sharp short windings through abrupt fissures, where high shafts of masonry have been built up to support the path, past shady nooks and under dark-green canopies of pine-trees, higher and higher, until at length we reach a saddle called Tungnang-la.

Just below us we see the Sutlej and the place where the metallic green water of the Sha river is swallowed up by the dirty muddy flood of the main river and disappears instantly. A small commencement of a pebbly delta has been mercilessly cut off as with a knife. The Sutlej suffers no useless hindrances on its way. Just opposite on the left bank debouches the Tomba-chu valley with its stream, and therefore the place is called Sumna, or the meeting of three valleys.

The Tungnang-la does not sufice us; we mount still higher and pass a cairn which stands like a landmark high above the wildly tossing river. But now the corridor is so steep and deep that we only now and then catch sight of a small stretch of the Sutlej. It would be dangerous to ride here so I go on foot. Tubges, Kunchuk, and Suen drive our unladen animals past us: the effect of the refreshing bath has not lasted long; they are sweating and their heads droop; but they keep up well.

Takkar is in a worse case; he must suffer terribly, for he takes short quick breaths and lets his dripping tongue hand out of his mouth. Whenever he sees a cleft with cool shadow he stops there. Then he runs past us to crawl into some other hole. He drinks from every rivulet, laying himself down on his stomach in the water. He is afraid of the heat, smells danger, and broods over secret plants. What is he thinking of? He perhaps recalls to mind his youth on the bare breezy heights of the province of Bongba and thinks of the march day when he was forced to leave his master and his home for ever. He had offered desperate resistance and none of us durst go near him. Afterwards he had quietly submitted to fate and had been as true to us as gold. How often had he saved me from spies, keeping jealous guard before my tent? Now he is thinking it all over and believes that he has been betrayed by us. Totling was all very well, and the Shipki-la was a glorious place which reminded him Bongba. There he saw yaks for the last time. But the heat of Poo was detestable, and now we were still following the great river down towards the sea. Takkar told himself that it must become hotter the farther we descended, and the scenes of Bongba returned more clearly and sharply to his memory. Thus he thought as he ran from one shady place to another. He felt like a hen when she sees the duckling she has hatched swimming in the water and cannot follow it. Now he rushes past us to look for another shady spot. We march on and neither see nor hear anything of him. Perhaps he will wait and follow our track in the evening. No, there he comes again, I call to him, but he does not obey as usual, he does not see or hear, he throws himself helplessly under an arching rock. He is in despair and knows that we are leaving him for good.

Parango is the name of a place where the path runs across a huge detritus fan. The guide informs us that it is dangerous in winter when avalanches roll down and landslips fall. After heavy rains also it is wise to make all speed in passing Parango.

Tsarak-tatang is a side valley with a murmuring brook; high up on a hill at its flank stands a hut among tilled fields. Here and there conifers make a rather thin wood, and rest is agreeable in a ravine near Kamurti. Immediately opposite we have a bird's-eyeview of the large Nesang river, throwing up white froth against the boulders that fill its rapids, but flowing calmly with a dark-green colour at its mouth.

From a commanding promontory where the cairn Kanam-laptse stands we enjoy for a moment a magnificent prospect. Deep down in a side valley lies the village of Kanam, and farther off Pill and other villages. But the finest sight is the background formed by the nearest snow-clad summits of a huge Himalayan massive which is known by the famous name of Kailash. In the peculiar illumination, and in an atmosphere apparently saturated with warm vapour, its firn-covered peaks make a deep and imposing effect, Steely-blue clouds and round white fleeces form white bedsround the higher parts of the mountains, and the blinding white summits rise above this sea of aerial surge.

We descend to the village of Kanam. Without a guide we should surely go astray in this confusion of narrow lanes, passages, and small squares between houses, walls, terraces, fields, and gardens, among which canals here and there cool the air with tiny waterfalls, or which are interrupted by actual jungles of extremely luxuriant vegetation. The houses remined me of Kashmir; frequently the beams project on all sides beyond the walls to form verandahs and a shelter from the rain.

Our tents were erected in an open yard in front of the lower sanctuary which is called the Kanjur-thakang because the holy scriptures are kept there. Naturally the first thing we do is to inspect the theological library. The hall is plain and not to be compared with those we have lately seen in Tibet. In the centre of the altar chancel towers a large chhorten called Kudung.

"Whose ashes does this chhorten contain?" I ask a monk.

"The ashes of a Grand Lama, Lotsava Rinpoche, who lived two or three centuries ago," he answers.

Locked cupboards stand on both sides and are opened at my request. They contain a number of small clayimages. The Kanjur and Tanjur scriptures are kept in two clumsy heavy bookcases. Some volumes of the former are absent, for the monks are reading them in their cells.

The Kache-lhakang, standing higher up the village, is more important. The name signifies the "Mohammedan hall of the gods."

"Why is it so called?" I ask one of our priestly ciceroni.

"Because a converted Mohammedan served the temple." But one of his colleagues said, "No, simply because the architect was a Mohammedan."

The latter explanation was the more probable, for the whole architecture of the cloister court was exactly like the caravanserais in Yarkand. As there, the two-storeyed galleries were turned to the court, in the middle of which a thick-stemmed apple tree lifted up its crown. Such courts are, indeed, not uncommon in Tibet, but here the Mohammedan style is more pronounced than usual.

Stone steps lead up to the temple hall, where we meet again our old friends Sakya-toba Chenresi, and Tsong Kapa. Some new tankas hang down from the roof and through its large impluvium daylight falls, gilding the pillars of the shrine.

"Where is the monk's cell which the European lama inhabited when he lived here?" I asked Gachen Lobsang Tarva, a monk about fifty-five years old, who was very amicable and friendly.

"Come with me, Sir," he said, and led me on to the flat roof. From here we mounted an outside staircase ending in a verandah before a small room.

"Who lives here?" I asked.

"Lotsa Rinpoche, a Kanpo Lama, who is now on a visit to the Tashi Lama. But this is also the room in which a lama from Europe once lived."

A lama from Europe! It sounds very improbable and yet it is quite true. A wounderfully entrancing human story is indissolubly connected with the monastery of Kanam. A true story, in which the wildest adventures of Hajji Baba are combined with superhuman patience and the finest example of the suppression of self in the interests of science. We stand on the threshold of the cell in which the Hungarian philogist, Alexander Csoma of Koros in Transylvania, spent three years of his life.

His greatness and his reputation survive in the works he published. But his personality and his life are little known, and hence the mystical charm surrounding his name. A few letters from him and about him afford an insight into his thoughts and schemes. In the narrative of one or another Himalayan journey his image flashes only rapidly before our eyes. It would take too long to dwell on all these narratives of travel. We will give here only a specimen. Captain C. Johnson on his journey from April to October 1827, visited the village of Kanam, and says in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 1834, P. 56:

There is in this city a Lama temple, and an excellent library.....Here they met with Tchoma de Coxas, an Hungarian traveller, who was there for the purpose of ascertaining the origin of the Huns....He had been in Luddak, and had acquired a knowledge of the language, but having become an object of suspicion, he had come south, and buried himself in the library at Kanum..... He was not very communicative, and lived the life of a hermit, upon an allowance granted to him by the Company.

In the book already quoted, Die lamaische Hierarchie and Kirche (Vol. ii. P. 286), Koeppen writes of Csoma.....who had made it the task of his life to track down the Uigur, the supposed ancestors or at least fellow-tribesmen of his people, the Hungarians, and he hoped, after searching fruitlessly for several years in Persia, Afghanistan, and Turkestan amidst hardships and privations, to finally discover them in some corner of the closed land of snow. But before trying to penetrate into that country he resolved to learn the Tibetan language, and studied it first in Ladag, then in Yangla, and lastly from 1827 in the monastery of Kanam on the Sutlej under the guidance of a literate lama, in spite of cold and want, with such heroic energy that at last he mastered it, the first European to do so, and at the same time acquired an exhaustive knowledge of Tibetan literature.

We can obtain a nation of the importance of Csoma's work from the following words of the present American Ambassador in Constantinople, the profound and learned Asiatic investigator W. W. Rockhill, in The Life of the Buddha:

Any one who has glanced at the analysis of the Tibetan Bkahhgyur by Alexander Csoma de Koros, published in the 20th volume of the Asiatick Researches, must have been struck with the wonderful patience and preservance of this extraordinary scholar. Some idea of the extent of the researches which are embodied in his analysis of the Dulva, about the tenth part of the whole Bkahhgyur, may be had when it is known that it occupies more than 4000 leaves of seven lines to the page, each line averaging twenty-two syllables.

Let us take a glance at the career of this extraordinary man. I follow here the account given by Dr. Th. Duka in his book Life and Works of Alexander Csoma de Koros. A Biography compiled chiefly from hitherto unpublished data (London, 1885). Korosi Csoma Sandor, or Alexander Csoma of Koros, was born in the year 1784, and in his youth devoted himself enthusiastically to the study of oriental languages, theology, history of the world, and geography. When he was thirty-six years old he left his

country for ever, and commenced the long journey which was to make his name known and renowned in the scientific world. He traversed the Balkan countries, sailed to Alexandria, and then made his way through Aleppo, Mosul, Baghdad, Kermanshah, and Hamadan to Teheran. At that time no Europeans lived in the Persian capital, except those attached to the embassies. Here Csoma enjoyed English hospitality until in the spring of 1821 he left Teheran in Persian dress to follow the ancient caravan road to Meshed, Bukhara, Balk, Kulm, Bamian, and Kabul. He almost always travelled on foot. From Constantinople to Bukhara he followed pretty nearly the same route as his famous countryman, Professor Arminius Vambery, forty-two years later. It was a heroic deed he accomplished. At that time it was more difficult than now to traverse these regions unscathed. Csoma has left no account of his adventures but from Vambery's graphic description we may gain some conception of the troubles and dangers which Csoma must have encountered. In the year 1890 I travelled along the same road as Csoma, and can very well imagine the privations he must have endured seventy years earlier.

Csoma passed through Lahore and Kashmir to Leh. On his journey back from Leh he met Moorcroft in July 1822, who had accomplished his memorable journey to Manasarowar ten years before. In Moorcroft Csoma found a sincere friend, stayed with him half a year, and received from his benefactor money as well as books and letters of introduction. Thus Csoma, throug Moorcroft's intervention, was enabled to spend sixteen months in the monastery of Yangla in Sanskar, where with a learned lama and a servant he occupied a cell thirty square feet in area, and there plunged into the study of the sacred writings. He found that the 320 volumes which are the foundation of all Tibetan learning and religion are a translation of an Indian Sanskrit original. In grinding poverty and amid great privations he worked his way into this new world of knowledge. Winter was a hard time, the little room could not be warmed, and Csoma had no money for lights. Wrapped in a sheep-skin he sat all day over the Tibetan folios while snowstorms howled outside in the mountains.

In the year 1825 the Indian Government accepted his offer to continue his investigations at their expense. English rule had begun to extend itself over India, and it was important to learn something of the languages and religions of neighbouring peoples. The Govt. offered him a remuneration of 50 rupees a month. It was a gigantic work Csoma had undertaken. He found that the Kanjur consisted of 98 volumes, each two feet long and eight inches broad, and containing more than 300 leaves. The Tanjur had 224 volumes with 76,409 leaves in the aggregate, and had been translated and arranged by 3000 persons.

These years Csoma spent partly at Sabathu in Kulu, partly at Pukdal in Sanskar. On one of his journeys he came to Kanam, and there heard that the holy scriptures were kept in the monastery of the village, whither they had been brought from Tashi-lunpo fifty years before. Therefore he determined to continue his studies in Kanam and received the sanction of the Government to a sojourn of three years.

About this time Dr. Gerard, who did such good service in connection with the geography of the Himalayas, an interesting letter, dated at Sabathu on January 21, 1829, Gerard relates that he had seen the learned Hungarian in the little romantic village where he was dwelling amongst his books in the dress of the natives, and living like them on buttered tea. Under circumstances which would have driven most men to despair, he had collected 40,000 Tibetan words. His teacher and assistant was a highly educated and amicable lama named Bande Sangs-Rgyas P Hun-Tsogs. The Hungarian reminded the English doctor of the philosophers of antiquity, for like them he was completely absorbed in his researches, and was blind and deaf to everything that was going on about him. But he was delighted with the unsuspected treasures he had brought to light from the gold mines of Tibetan wisdom, which would one day excite the astonishment of the learned world. He expressed, however, a fear that the Government might not appreciate his work; but on the day when he could hand over his grammar and his lexicon he would be the happiest man on earth, for then he would have carried out his engagement and could die contented.

He lived in poverty, for the 50 rupees a month were his only income. Half he paid to his teacher, his servant received 4 rupees and his dwelling cost a rupee a month. Twenty rupees where, then, left to provide him with food, clothing, writing materials, and all other necessaries.

Gerard Says:

> Mr. Csoma's hamlet is at the extreme upper limit of the village of Kanam, at an absolute elevation of 9500 feet. Around him are the romantic abodes of monks, whose religious ceremonies, their pious incantations, etc., have a singular affinity to Romish customs. Below is the monastery containing the Encyclopaedia.....Mr. Csoma showed me some improvements he had made to his cottage; one was a fireplace, which had

> cost him twelve rupees.....Two rustic benches and a couple of ruder chairs are all the furniture in his small abode.

In spite of all his proverty he retained an indomitable pride, and could not be induced to accept the smallest present from Gerard. Even the English newspapers Gerard sent him were refused. Rice, sugar, clothes, all were returned. The only things he kept at Gerard's earnest estreaty were an English Bible, which he read through in eight days, a Latin and a Greek dictionary.

Poverty had no power over him. He seemed to be raised above all wordly things. He had travelled for years through western and southern Asia on a mere pittance, and had laid the foundations of a new branch of science for the pay of a lacquey. He never went out except to fetch more volumes from the library. In summer he wore the coarse garments that could be procured in Kanam, and in winter he wrapped himself in his sheep-skin. The work itself was his life. He would earnestly and faithfully fathom the depths of Tibetan knowledge, hand over the results to the Government in Calcutta, and then continue his researches in Lhasa and pass at last into Mongolia. Finally he would search out the original home of the Magyars in Asia. But man proposes, God disposes.

News reached Calcutta that Moorcroft had died at Andkhoi in Bukhara. It was proposed to send Csoma thither to recover the papers of the deceased explorer, but the plan was never carried out. The Asiatic Society in Calcutta assigned 50 rupees monthly for Csoma's maintenance, but he was offended by the wording of the generous offer and refused it.

At the end of 1830 he left Kanam, where he had sojourned over three years, and took leave of his teacher, the good Bande Sangs-Rgyas P Hun-Tsogs, and went to Calcutta, where he was for several years librarian of the Asiatic Society, and superintended the printing of his large quartos, the grammar and the dictionary. Here he also wrote a number of learned essays and translated parts of the Bible into Tibetan for the missionaries.

He did not alter his Spartan mode of life in the capital. He took no part in society functions. He was not seen in the street. Silent as a Brahmin, he arranged the Tibetan manuscripts in the library and shut himself up among his own papers in his room, where he lived like a hermit and a misanthrope. Yet he had some intimates, a couple of friends who visited him frequently. The great Himalayan explorers, Moorcroft, Gerard, Wilson, Prinsep, Hodgson, Campbell, and others, came in contact with Csoma. The singular taciturn student could be lively and talkative when any one spoke of Hungary with kindly interest.

When he was fifty-eight years old Csoma resolved to travel to Lhasa and Central Asia. In Lhasa he would find the perfection of Tibetan learning, and in Central Asia would find the original home of the Magyars. He would devote ten years more to the East before he returned home. Probably he started from the Hugli by boat and then, travelling on foot through the fever districts south of the Himalayas, arrived on March, 24, 1842, at Darjiling, among the cool mountains which separated him from his desired bourne.

Here he met Dr. Campbell who afterwards expressed his admiration of Csoma's learning, and his astonishment at the curious mixture of pride and himility which formed the ground-work of his character. He knew a number of languages, says Campbell, and was conversant with still more—Hebrew, Arabic, Sanskrit, Pusthu, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, German, English, Turkish, Persian, French, Russian, Tibetan, Hindustani, Mahratta, and Bengali, and he had a dictionary of every language with him. He had spent twenty-two years in travel, or a longer time than any European since Marco Polo. An official in the service of the Raja of Sikkim was astounded at his Tibetan and Lamaist knowledge; an European who knew the languages and literature more thoroughly than any Kanpo Lama or Rinpoche!

Dr. Campbell recognized Csoma's worth, liked his society, and visited him frequently. He found him in a miserable hole sitting on a mat among four boxes of books. In this room, which was nothing than a closet, Csoma worked, tooked his simple meals of tea and rice, and slept in a coarsely woven blue wrapper. And in this closet Campbell found him on April 6, ill of fever, and tried in vain to make him swallow a febrifuge. On the 7th Csoma was better, and he spoke cheerfully and with lively interest. "What would not Hodgson, Turnour, and some philosophers of Europe give to be in my place when I come to Lhasa?" he several times exclaimed. He told with pride of his long journeys and his years of solitude on the frontier of Tibet, and was delighted with the sensation his literary researches had aroused among the learned men of Europe.

Campbell listened with almost religious reverence to his conversation, and thought that Csoma wished that not a single word should escape the attentiveness of the Englishman and not a syllable be forgotten. For now he spoke of the original home of the Hungarian race in Asia, of

the Huns and the Uigurs, and of the key to the dark riddle which lay hidden in Lhasa and Kham in the extreme east of Tibet.

On April 9, the indefatigable pilgrim again lay in high fever. His complexion was yellow, his cheeks had fallen in, and his thoughts wandered along misty paths vainly grouping after the original home of the Magyars. Now the doctor succeeded in inducing him to take medicine. But it was too late. On the evening of the 10th Csoma fell into a comatose slumber, and early the following morning he had ceased for ever his search for the open tablelands where the forefathers of the Magyar had once ridden about on wild horses.

On April 12 the dead hero and martyr was borne to the grave. Campbell read the prayers as the coffin was lowered; all the Englishmen present in Darjiling attended the funeral. The Asiatic Society erected a monument over the grave, and the inscription on the tablet contains the following words:

.....and after years passed under privations, such as have been seldom endured, and patient labour in the cause of Science compiled a Dictionary and Grammar of the Tibetan language, his best and real monument.

On his road to Lassa, to resume his labour, he died in this place, on the 11th April 1842.

Requiescat in pace.

Csoma had devoted the years of his manhood to Tibetan studies and also sacrificed his life for them. His was a tragic fate, to be snatched away just as he was about to cross for the first time the frontier of the promised land, the forbidden land of the sacred books. On my way from Tibet, where I had spent more than two years, I had now arrived at Csoma's farthest point from the opposite direction. I trod with the feelings of a pilgrim the lanes and banks over which Csoma had wandered in solitude to and fro between the library and his monk's cell high up in the village. I cherished a slight hope of finding some memorial of his sojourn in this place, though seventy-eight years had passed since his time.

Therefore I turned to Gachen Lobsang Tarva, the representative of the superior of Kanam. I have already mentioned that he had led me to the small room in the upper monastery enclosure.

"Do you know nothing of that Lama-Sahib?" I asked him.

"No, nothing at all. But Yangpur, an old man of eighty-two, is the oldest inhabitant of Kanam; he may be able to tell you something."

"Let him come at once."

A messenger was despatched, and after a time we had old Yangpur with us

"Do you remember the Lama-Sahib who lived here?" I asked him.

"No, Sir; I was a child when he left Kanam. But I remember very well that my father used to speak of him, and said that he lived some years in the monastery dressed just like our own lamas and regarded by them as a colleague."

"Do you remember his name, Yangpur?"

"Yes, he was named Ganderbek," the old man answered without a moment of hesitation. In the evening I wrote in my diary: "This name Ganderbek can be nothing else but Iskander Bek, the name by which Alexander the Great is known in western Asia, especially as Csoma's Christian name was Alexander." Now I find that Moorcroft begins a letter of introduction, written in Kashmir in the year 1823, with the following words: "The object of this address is to bespeak your good offices for Mr. Alexander Csoma, or Sekunder Beg, of Transsylvania, whom I now take the liberty to introduce." Alexander, Sekunder, Iskender, Iskander Gander, Iskender Bek was certainly Csoma's nom de guerre in Asia.

"How did this Ganderbek occupy himself?"

"That I do not know, but I remember from my childhood that every one spoke well of him, and he was highly respected."

"Is it certain that he lived in this little house?"

"Yes, that is quite certain; it was always said so from the time of my childhood. Ten years ago the house was shaky and the beams were jointed more firmly together, but just in the same form as before."

A low door and a small window open on to the verandah, both with red-painted frames while the other parts of the wall are white. The inner walls are of stone recently white-washed, and therefore it is useless to look for any remarks written or scratched on the walls. On the long side opposite the door and window stand a wooden bench and a small cupboard, both roughly made in European, not Asiatic, form. Yangpur asserted that they had belonged to Ganderbek. In addition there was a simple wooden couch. Narrow beams supported the roof and the floor was constructed of thicker boards. The whole accords exactly with Gerard's description: "Two rustic benches and a couple of ruder chairs are all the furniture in his small

abode." Now the chairs were gone, that was all. The position of the house in the village and with relation to the Kanjur-thakang is just as described by Gerard.

One of the finest landscapes on earth was displayed to the eyes of the student when he stepped out on to the verandah. Deep down at the bottom of the valley the narrow wild Sutlej winds through abrupt corridors, and in the background rise the sharply cut pyramids of the Kailas group. Dark-green patches are seen on some slopes coniferous woods. How often must Csoma have looked at these mountains and valleys during his years of solitude! I could not gaze at them long enough, monuments erected to his memory, as they seemed to me.

But the hours had slipped away and it was time to go down to the tents. Half-way down we looked for a moment into a third small temple, the Tarbaling-thakang, which had been redecorated five years before and was bright with gaudy colours. The old gods keep their places. Chamba sits there, ten feet high, with dangling legs and a crown-shaped diadem on his head. The monks differ from their brethren in Tibet in wearing small yellow caps and beards. Young bareheaded nuns carried water up to the monastery. Twenty monks and twenty-three nuns, belonging to the yellow sect, are said to serve in the sanctuaries of Kanam.

We had seen enough and, indeed, could see no more, for the darkness was deepening, and just as we prepared to go on again the conch summoned the monks to evening service, and a lama on the roof of the Tarbaling intoned in a loud clear voice "Om mani padme hum." The six holy syllables sounded as melodiously as the call to prayer of the muezzin from the platform of a minaret at sunset. The dogs barked in the yards and the grasshoppers kept up a shrill concert in the thickets. But above every sound was heard the roar of the mighty river down in the valley.

When I reached the tents Little Puppy came to meet me barking a welcome. But why did not Takkar come? He was not lying at his usual post among the tents. Two of my men went out to look for him, scoured the roads and bridges in the neighbourhood, shouted his name, and called him with piercing whistles. But he did not hear, and never showed himself again. He had turned round and run back to Poo.

CHAPTER XXXIII

My Amazonian Escort

The morning of September 2 was pleasant and cool after 55.9° in the night. The gnats did their best to disturb me in my sleep, and it would have been well if I had a mosquito net; but, what did it matter, for I had run the gauntlet and was now immune?

Noisy music of drums, cymbals, and trombones from the roof of the upper monastery of Kanam awoke me early in the morning, and when I looked out of my tent a new relay of coolies was waiting for our baggage. They wished to set out early that they might not have to march during the hottest hours of the day. Only two were men, and all the rest women, in frocks of coarse material and black, brown, or grey vests, which left the arms and shoulders bare. Silver pendants dangled from the lobes of their ears, bangles of brass adorned their wrists, and their naked feet surprised me, for they might have to walk over sharp rubbish and unmade paths where even horses get sore feet. But their soles are hardened by constant wear, and are as little sensitive as the callosities of a camel's foot. Our noble portresses had never touched the water of the brook of Kanam, but they were jolly, fresh, and dainty. Mothers and young girls slung our baggage by cords and straps on to their backs in a moment, and vanished with it into the shady lanes of Kanam.

A little later we followed in their footsteps along the bank of a canal shaded by leafy walnut trees. Blessed summer, lovely vegetation, how long it is since I saw such wealth! We are soon out of the maze of Kanam; the memorable village and its picturesque houses like swallows' nests disappear among the hills, and we go down to a bridge over the brook and up on the other side to the village of Kyap. Pill, too, and other villages, we pass on the road, which is still bad. I prefer my own legs to those of my horse, especially as a huge overhanging rock obliges me occasionally to bend my head sideways over the yawning abyss. We are now no longer so high above the rushing whirlpools of the Sutlej. The current is no longer so swift, and one feels much inclined to try a raft on this restless water.

We are at a sharp corner where the great side valley Kirang comes down to the Sutlej. The bridge over the tributary stands rather far up the valley, so the road runs up to a sharp point. From the corner we descend at first. The landscape is magnificent and fascinating. Old fir-trees spread over us their refreshing sweetscented crowns, while below us the cliffs fall suddenly to

the Kirang river, hiding it from us in the meantime. In only two bends of its bed can we see the stream tossing in white foaming falls and rapids over boulders and bars, and we perceive that the pure cold water of the Kirang is able, on account of its greater velocity and huge volume, to thrust out a light-green semicircle into the grey dirty Sutlej. Up the valley are seen fields and villages, one of them being Kirang. Just by the solid bridge the river forms thundering falls, dashing over gigantic rounded boulders. Whereever one turns the eyes fall on a charmingly beautiful scene. Let us linger a moment in the shadow of a rock to drink a cup of the cold water of the Kirang, which brings fresh greetings from glaciers and firns to the heat prevailing here. Life is worth living!

Here one might forget all his duties to stay for years as Csoma of Koros did. But we must go on, up the right bank where the road runs through fine woods of firs. Here I can ride again. From the Kirang bridge the road is excellent, for so far the trade highway, planned by the Indian Government to the Tibetan frontiers, is finished. Above Kirang also we had seen preliminary work at many places. Will the Tibetan Government follow this example on the other half of the route, from the frontier to Gartok? Yes, if they are compelled by a treaty, not otherwise. On the Tibetan side, moreover, there are greater difficulties to contend with. But, as it is, the stranger from Tibet gives a sigh of relief when he passes the Kirang valley. He enters on a splendidly made road, which avoids all dangerous precipitous cliffs or abrupt slopes, and has everywhere a regular gradual ascent.

And here! Another reminder of the power of England and the proximity of civilization. A small black tablet on a milestone bears in white oil-colour the inscription, "Simla 165," and for greater assurance a light-coloured board with black figures proclaims once more "165." So many English miles still separate us from our destination. We regard this milestone with a certain respect; it knows more than we do. It has 164 comrades, and we must pass them all. With growing elation the pilgrims watch the numbers fall and the distance shorten. 165 miles more to Simla—a mere trifle when I think of the distance I have travelled!

I sit dreaming on my white horse as though spellbound. The whole air sings, there is a buzz and murmur in the forest and in the depth of the valley. What is it, then? Ah, our guard of Amazons is climbing the heights. Look there, how they stride along between the trees in a row, with heavy firm steps and swinging gait. How charming sounds the song from young, almost childish, throats, and how happy! Before we overtake them they have halted to take a rest. Gulam and Kunchuk, who accompany them, have never enjoyed themselves so well in their lives; they dance for pleasure and are quite beside themselves.

I wish to hear them sing again and wait therefore until they troop off under the dark pines. The rhythmical sonorous singing peals out through the forest and is not overpowered even by the roar of the Sutlej. We might be in a theater. And what a theatre! Look at the background formed by the mountains on the left side of the Sutlej! Look at those gloomy recesses of dark-green conifers! The setting is the best after all. And round about whisper gentle zephyrs with the odour of the forest, and the roar of the victorious river resounds among the mountains. We travel as to a festival in these heavenly Himalayas. How different from dreary Tibet, where no forest overshadowed our road, no rivers made for the sea, and no women sang!

I ride in front. The singing becomes fainter and dies away in the distance. Only occasionally when we, the choir of singers and myself, find ourselves at the same time on a projecting spur of rock, can a few low notes be heard. But beyond the next corner of mica-schist I hear the song no more.

When I reached the village of Gyengring our horses and mules were already grazing on a meadow, and I rode off to our first bungalow, the last shelter on the Tibetan road. The keeper stood squarely in front of the door and told me that I could not pass the night there without a permit from Simla. A permit from Simla, when I came from Tibet! In Totling the doors were shut in our faces, but here we were on English ground. "Out of the way, old man." The lock must have been out of order for the door opened when I grasped the knob, and in a minute I had made myself comfortable in a pleasant room with a bedstead, table, and chairs. The yard where the men set up their tents stands like a platform above the valley, and the view over the Sutlej is charming.

Our female coolies laid down their loads in front of the bungalow and sat down to wait for their pay. And they had to wait for a while until I had drawn the portraits of some of them. Then they received an extra douceur for their pretty cheerful singing.

Little Puppy made me laugh by the extraordinarily cautious way in which he crossed the threshold of the bungalow. Apparently he thought it was some kind of bridge. "It is surely some new devilry," as Sancho Panza says at a

historical moment in the edition of Don Quixote, which wiled away many a long evening in Tibet. When Little Puppy had convinced himself that the deals of the floor did not shake like the bridges of the Sutlej, he picked up courage and laid himself down in the shade.

On September 3 our loads were transported, not by Amazons, but on mules, a striking contrast. But the Sutlej remained with us, and the road was always beautiful. On the farther bank opens the great side valley Rangri, and snow mountains shimmer in the background. Above the villages Morang and Risba, Kailas, or Keila as the name is pronounced here, towers among the clouds, a huge dome of snow and ice, with a circle of sharp pinnacles like a royal crown.

We have come somewhat lower, and the roar of the river is louder. The village of Apek lies behind us, and Aren below us; we pass by Riberang on the left bank and by Rarang. I scron the bungalow of the latter, but turn my attention to its chorten portal and its mani walls; they convince me that here Lamaism still holds its own. A man passing by gives me a fine bunch of grapes; the berries are very sour but refreshing, and the main thing is that they are actually grapes. The heat is not great; there is a wind, and the forest is dense; the dark-brown or grey stems of the conifers often stand among large boulders of granites and mica-schist. Where the road has been damaged by landslips and the decay of the timber, navvies are at work with spades and picks, and they always beg for a trifle to recompense them for their labour on behalf of travellers. We are now close to the Sutlej, and the noise is quite deafening. The river is larger than we have yet seen it, and is encumbered with foaming rapids. It would be death to attempt a voyage on a raft.

Two men on foot in Indian uniform came up and saluted us. One bore on his shoulder-strap a metal plate with the inscription, "His Highness the Raja of Beshahr."

"What do you want?" I asked.

"The Tesildar of Chini has sent us to attend on you and look after the transport."

"How did he know that I was coming?"

"Deva Ram of Poo has sent a runner."

And now we go uphill again, but not for long. Where we come down to the river against the road describes a double loop in the form of the figure 8. Chutar-kar is a large side valley with a fine river, crossed by a bridge of two arches. The valley is sunk between vertical cliffs; its fall is rapid, its channel full of blocks. The river fights its way down with frantic fury and forms a succession of white foaming falls. Here we halt for a while to watch the struggle of the water with the stones. The noise of the Sutlej is lost in this thundering tumult.

Beyond the bridge comes another stretch of fine coniferous forest, so dense that it is twilight under the crowns. A sunbeam breaks through here and there, and makes a granite boulder glow like fire. But the country is most beautiful where we see nothing on all sides but perpendicular cliffs. Here the road is blasted out of the rock, and the schist, gneiss, or granite forms an arched roof over our heads. Owing to the blasting the rock presents a fresh surface of fracture. On the outer side the road is protected by a low stone wall with small drainage holes.

In a valley through on the left bank we perceive the village of Pundam with its huts, fields, and groves. On our side the fresh dark-green forest increases in extent, and we enjoy the strong odour of pines. The road forks; its right branch leads up to the comfortable bungalow of the village Pangi, where I can lie and stretch myself in a deck chair on the balcony, and where white Vandals have perpetuated their unknown names on the table top. Illustrated papers and ragged novels are also signs of tourists' visits.

Early next morning the whole Sutlej valley lay buried in white mist, through which only the nearest trees were faintly visible-otherwise the verandah of the bungalow might have been an airship floating among the clouds. Soon the mist parted and the peaks of Kailas appeared again brightly lighted by the morning sun, with the turquoise-blue sky as background.

A short way beyond the bungalow we pass the village of Pangi and then through the well-watered Kojang valley, in which stand clapping mills and neat compounds. Farther down we come to Chini. While the caravan is proceeding to Rogi I go up to visit the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Bruske, and talk with them a while about the Land of Snow, for they have long watched for an opportunity of travelling to Tibet to preach the Gospel to the followers of Buddha. I could not encourage their hopes of better times and an open road over the frontier. They proposed to give up their fixed dwelling and travel about among the villages to address the people. In Chini "Om mani padme hum" has not all its own way with the souls of men. We are now in a district where Lamaism is losing its hold and Hinduism has the upper hand. Only a quarter of the population is Lamaist, and there is one Lama monastery for two Hindu temples. Several new chortens and mani walls seem to indicate a chance revival of the Tibetan religion. The village is said to contain 500 inhabitants, who all belong to one tribe called Kanauri and are

divided into three clans, each with its own language, or at least a dialect widely different from the other two, in which many Tibetan words are incorporated.

Time flies quickly in pleasant company, and all too soon I am obliged to leave the kindly missionary couple, and ride on along the road which, for the most part, is blasted out of vertical cliffs and has a crenellated breastwork. It is not much farther to Rogi, where we make ourselves at home in the bungalow. The camping place is numbered 490, and we have only ten days' journey to Simla. It would be bad luck if the mad dog were to bite us, which is rendering the roads of the neighbourhood unsafe according to the warning "Cave canem" displayed on posters.

Here we are at a height of 9350 feet. The minimum at night is 57.7°, and the air is fresher than it was higher up. We still see the peaks of Kailas, partially veiled in a dense mantle of cloud. Granite surrounds us and black mica-schist dipping to the north.

I write September '5. Again milky-white impenetrable mist fills the valley, but it is almost gone by nine o'clock, leaving only thin wisps of light gauzy cloud. The forest becomes thinner, the road runs through tracts of bare rock, the Sutlej is out of sight but its roar fills the mountains and valleys. I have forcibly to suppress an exclamation at a corner of the road where the indescribably magnificent valley of the Sutlej again comes into view. Look on the other side at that wild side valley, Bosba-garang, with its great river rushing for better or worse to the Sutlej. The main river grows with every fresh tribute of water which it mingles with its own. Just hear it roar. Look how it works to cut ever deeper into the heart of the Himalayas. Think of the pressure of this volume of water, and remember that it is in constant movement and rolls boulders and pebbles down its bed. No wonder that the valley is so deep, and that the landscape which fascinates our eyes assumes such grand contours and wildly-fissured forms.

In a small, deep side valley with a brightly-rippling brook we meet and mule caravan with loads which can only belong to a white man. There he comes, the owner, on foot, in a light summer scouting suit with a white Indian helmet on his head. Of course I dismount, and we salute each other. It is Lieut.-Colonel W. W. Norman, of the 22nd Regiment of the Frontier Force, with whom I have the honour to converse. We talk perhaps an hour in the shade before we go on, each in his own direction.

We have now descended, and the noise of the river increases in force. Ah, there is another side valley, the deep channel of the Yula-garang, which has cut down into the solid rock with furious violence. Beyond its bridge the road mounts again up to the bungalow of the village Urni. I wonder if anywhere in the whole world there can be a camping-ground in a finer situation than this, hanging over the valley of the Sutlej and commanding a charming view of the gigantic chasm up-stream. The station buildings have been purposely erected at the grandest point of view, in order to attract tourists from Simla.

Atmospheric effects presented a singular spectacle at Urni. The valley became suddenly filled with white vapour, which completely veiled all the environs and was not dispersed even by the heavy rain which poured down for an hour and a half. But when the rain ceased, a light breeze swept away the mist little by little, and white cloudlets came sailing along like dragons, while others in the form of balls and bells rose slowly upwards like balloons. The bottom of the valley was still filled with clouds of fog. The whole scene was extremely curious and perplexing. A sea of milk from which rose islands and holms. Air, water, earth, everything is alive in the Himalayas. In the heart of Tibet there is life only in the air, and the water is only occasionally roused from its torpid sleep when the strom wind lashes the lakes, and the surf strums its melancholy hymns on the beack.

The next milestone announces that we have only 126 miles to travel. 7874 feet above sea-level say the hypsometrical instruments. And the minimum thermometer declares that we had 61½° in the night of September 5.

Now we go down again, and after two hours are barely 65 feet above the river, and its din is overwhelming.

"What is the name of this river?" I ask the guide.

"Ganga," he replies.

"Not Langchen-kamba?"

"No, I have never heard that name." The Tibetan appellation stops at the frontier. The answer of the guide might seem to imply another confusion of the Sutlej with the Ganges, but ganga means simply "The River."

Our road skirts the bank. At one place three huge boulders have fallen into the river and the water flows between as through a gateway. A dangerous-looking path also runs along the left bank where a small deeply excavated valley opens—the Ramni-kar.

The gneiss stands in abrupt cliffs facing the valley, and huge blocks lie more frequently in the bed, like signs of warning to travellers and caravans of the danger that is ever present there. The water has eaten into them until they have been worn round, and a patient stream of water has hollowed out holes and indentations in their sides, flat surfaces and curved ridges—gutta cavat lapidem. It is their fate to be annihilated in time and be replaced by new blocks. Round them the water dances in foaming waves, showers of spray shoot up from hissing cascades between narrow appertures, and small falls pour down in bright domes of water which passes below into foaming whirlpools and witches' cauldrons. A raft would be of no use here; it would be dashed to pieces before one had time to look round, however stoutly it might be built.

A new surprise awaits us at a place where the rocks fall perpendicularly to the river, or slightly overhang. To blast out a gallery in the rocks would have been too expensive, for the distance is a hundred yards. Therefore all that has been done is to fix stanchions into borings in the rock and lay over them an open bridge with a rail on the outside. The height of this bridge above the river is perhaps a hundred and thirty feet, and when one leans over the railing the Sutlej is immediately below. Here the view is splendid, almost awful.

Beyond this bridge clinging to the precipice the valley contracts, though all dimensions are still colossal. Caves and gigantic potholes, once worn out by the water of the river, yawn empty and dry on both sides of the valley, showing how deep the river has cut its way down since they were formed. Again a noise of thunder is heard in front of us. The side valley, Pabe-kar, sends its great stream down to the Sutlej. A white imposing waterfall leaps down above the bridge over the Pabe. This bridge does not spoil the landscape. It rests on natural piers and dams, on boulders that have fallen into the bed. Overcome with astonishment and admiration I remain standing and sacrifice two of my last copper coins.

The next surprise in our way is the fine Wang-tu bridge, which, borne by ten wire cables anchored in the rocks, throws its solid roadway across the Sutlej. We have never been so low (5361 feet) and we are only six feet above the river. But we do not enjoy the satisfaction long, for on the left bank the path winds up again to the rest-house of the village of Nachar.

One of our horses from Bongba was resting with his leader at a bend in the road. He stood on trembling legs and whinnied with pleasure as he saw his white companion and his countryman pass by. But he saw us for the last time and his whinny was a parting greeting. Why did he stand in the broiling sun, when there was only a mile to dense forest with its cool shade? He could go no farther, he was worn out. His sight would soon be dimmed by other shades, darker than those of the forest.

Chapter XXXIV

The Last

I might have come to a conclusion at the turn of the road where the Bongba horse died. The remaining nine days' journey is only the last section of my retreat from the Tibetan frontier, which passes through well-known country. Many Englishmen travel annually along this road, and I have nothing to relate which has not already been seen and described by others. But we will let the line run out.

From the bridge of Wang-tu over the Sutlej we ascend 1770 feet to the bungalow of Nachar. During the next day's journey we descend the height of an Eiffel tower to Paunda, passing over open slopes or through fine groves of Himalayan cedars and copses of alder. The traffic increases and we meet travellers, small herds of black and white cattle, handsome and well fed, and sometimes with loads, sometimes without.

APPENDIX VII

RIDDLES

1. "Majang sak-tio bat-bang khirang."
   In the middle of the stream, there's a dish full of milk. (The moon).
2. "An li ma jach, angu li ma kech.".
   He neither eats himself, nor lets me eat. (A lock).
3. "Shum nudbasu i pag."
   Three friends with one turban. (A cooking tripod).
4. "Paldar mamau gachhyango zed-pug."
   Uncle Paldar has roasted wheat in his pocket. (A musk-deer).

5. "An ta rula, bandras khelya."
It shakes like a monkey's play. (A bunch of grapes).

6. "Kub kub khwangcho tho-rall."
White grains of rice in a deep vessel. (The teeth).

7. "Daniu nud yod nish nubdas, ma tang-shimig ma chhugshimig."
Two friends one on each side of a ridge, cannot see nor visit each other. (The eyes).

8. "Rin-bang rim-cho, kod-bang biyang."
In a field as broad as one's hand are two seers of seed. (A written paper).

9. "Dudu jangalo zangu diwang."
Golden lamps in a dark forest. (Jack-o-lanterns).

10. "Man chhitale, chhang malikan."
A wicked mother's beautiful child. (The edible pine).

11. "Rokk khulcho shwig chhuri."
A red knife in a black skin. (A black bird).

12. "Mulu baticho zangu tiknang."
A golden eye in a silver cup. (A narcissus).

13. "Sai mordas i mord fralmig."
Ten men cause a man to fall. (Bread).

14. "Stupcho nangch, koticho ma nangch."
It can be carried in the hand, but not put in a box. (A gun).

15. "Oms rokk, nyums shwig."
Black at first and red afterwards (Fire).

16. "Ghatich khwangcho em jass."
Sweet food in a tiny vessel. (A walnut).

17. "Kyushonu jall thoshim masko."
A handsome whip which cannot be lifted. (A snake).

18. "Patle damas dan yashim masko."
A spotted ox that cannot be trained. (The leopard).

19. "Shyang-rales rim hesim màsko."
A stony field that cannot be ploughed. (The sky).

20. "Rokk jancho shipi rug cha."
In a black sheet there are countless louse's eggs. (The sky).

APPENDIX VIII

REPORT OF THE DEATH OF MR. CSOMA DE KOROS, MADE TO G. A. BUSHBY, ESQ., OFFICIATING SECRETARY, POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, FROM A. CAMPBELL, ESQ., SUPERINTENDENT, DARJEELING AND COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY

Asiatic Journal Bengal Part 1 1842

It is with much regret that I report the death at this place, on the 11th instant, of Csoma de Koros, the Hungarian traveller and Thibetan scholar. He fell a victim to fever contracted on his journey hitherto, for the cure of which he would not be persuaded to take any medicines until it was too late to be of any avail.

Mr. De Koros arrived here on the 24th ultimo, and communicated to me his desire of proceeding to the residence of the Sikim Raja, and thence to Lassa, for the purpose of procuring access to stores of Thibetan literature, which he had been taught to believe, from his reading in Ladakh and Kansun, were still extant in the capital of eastern Tibet, (Lassa) and might have thence found their way into Sikim.

As the eldest son of the Sikim Raja is by the usage of the family a Lama, and as the present Tubgani Lama is a learned priest, and said to be in possession of an extensive library, I had some hopes that by making the Raja acquainted with M. De Koros, unobtrusive character, and known avoidance of political and religious subjects in his intercourse with the people of the countries he has visited. I might have contributed to procuring him permission to proceed into Thibet, and to this end I sent the Raja's Vakeel to visit M. De Koros, that he might satisfy himself as to the extent to which he had prosecuted his studies into the language and literature of Thibet, as well as the objects he had in view in desiring to visit the Tubgani Lama and the city of Lassa. The Vakeel, who is a man of intelligence and some learning, was altogether amazed at finding a Feringhee a complete master of the colloquial language of Thibet, and so much his own superior in acquaintance with the religion and literature of that country. I endeavoured to answer his numerous questions about M. De Koros, by detailing the particulars of his early life and later travels in Asia with which I was acquainted; by stating his devotion to the prosecution of his lingual and literary studies; my certain knowledge that in permitting him to visit Sikim and Lassa, the Raja would have nothing to apprehend from ignorance of the usages and religion of the people, or an indiscreet zeal, in the attainment of his objects; that he was not at all connected with

the service of our government, or any other power in India; but, that the Governor General had granted him his permission to travel through India, and that any facilities afforded to him by the Raja, would be noted approvingly by His Lordship and myself.

The Vakeel at my desire addressed the Raja, explaining fully my wishes, and Mr. De Koros resolved to remain here pending a reply from Sikim. He was full of hope as to the favourable result of the reference, and in the most enthusiastic manner would dilate on the delight he expected to derive from coming in contact with some of the learned men of the East, (Lassa) as the Lamas of Ladakh and Kansun, with whom alone he had previous communion were confessedly inferior in learning to those of a eastern Tibet. He was modest and almost silent on the benefits which might accrue to general knowledge from the results of his contemplated journey, but, "what would Hodgson, Turnour, and some of the philosophers of Europe, not give to be in my place when I get to Lassa", was a frequent exclamation of his during the conversations I had with him previous to his illness.

He had arranged, in the event of his getting permission to proceed, to leave with me all his books, papers, and bank notes to the amount of Rs. 300, to be cared for on his behalf and a complete copy of the Journal of the Asiatic Society, which he had received from the Society. He said he should ask me to keep in the event of his never returning. How soon were all his enthusiastic anticipations clouded, and his journeyings stopped for ever.

On the 6th instant I called on him, and found him feverish, with foul tongue, dry skin, and headache; I urged him to take some medicine, but in vain. He said he had suffered often from fever and other ailments, from which he had recovered without physic, that rhubarb was the only thing of the sort he had ever used, except tartar emetic. The former had been recommended to him by Moorcroft, and the latter by a Persian doctor. He took out of his box a small bit of decayed rhubarb and a phial of tartar emetic, and said, with apparent distrust in their virtues, "As you wish it, I will take some to-morrow if I am not better, it is too late to-day, the sun is going down." I sent him some weak soup, and returned to see him on the 7th. He was then much better, got off his pallet, entered into conversation, chatted animatedly with me for an hour on his favourite subjects of thought and enquiry. For the first time since I had seen him, he this day shewed how sensitive he was to the applause of the world, as a reward to his labours and privations. He went over the whole of his travels in Tibet with fluent rapidity, and in noticing each stage of the result of his studies, he mentioned the distinguished notice that had been accorded in Europe and India to the facts and doctrines brought to light by him. He seemed especially gratified with an editorial article by Prof. Wilson, in the Supplement to the Government Gazette of 9th July, 1829, which he produced, and bid me read; it related to the extreme hardships he had undergone while at the monastery of Zemskar, where with the thermometer below zero for more than four months, he was precluded by the severity of the weather from stirring out of a room nine feet square; yet in this situation he read from morning till evening without a fire, the ground forming his bed, and the walls of the building his protection against the rigours of the climate, still he collected and arranged forty thousand words of the language of Tibet, and nearly completed his Dictionary and Grammar. Passing from this subject, he said, in a playful mood, "I will shew you something very curious," and he produced another number of Wilson's paper of September 10th, 1827, and pointing to an editorial paragraph, desired me to read it first, and then hear the explanation. It run thus: (after noticing some communications to the Asiatic Society from Mr. Hodgson): "In connexion with the literature and religion of Thibet, and indeed of the whole of the Bhoti countries, we are happy to learn, that the patronage of the Government has enabled the Hungarian traveller, Csoma De Koros to proceed to Upper Busahir to prosecute his Thibetan studies for three years, in which period he engages to prepare a comprehensive Grammar and Vocabulary of the language, with an account of the history and literature of the country. These objects are the more desirable, as we understand Mr. De Koros considers the recent labours of Klaproth and Remusat, with regard to the language and literature of Thibet, as altogether erroneous. Mons. Remusat, indeed, admits the imperfectness of his materials, but Klaproth, as usual, pronounces excathedra, and treats the notion of any successful study of Thibetan by the English in India with ineffiable contempt." "Now I do not recollect," said Mr. De Koros, that I gave my opinion of Klaproth as it is given here, but oh! Wilson was very, very," and he shook his head significantly, "against Klaproth; and he took this opportunity to pull him down, and favour Remusat. It is very curious;" and he laughed heartily. Not being of the initiated in the curiosities of Tibetan literature, I did not fully appreciate

the jest; but others probably will, and I was greatly interested with the keen enjoyment produced in the mind of the Ascetic, by this subject.

At the same visit, he produced "Hodgson's Illustrations of the Literature and Region of the Budhists", and asked me if I had seen it; on being told that I had a copy, and had been familiar with its contents in progress of collection, although unversed in the subject; he said, "He sent me this copy; it is a wonderful combination of knowledge on a new subject, with the deepest philosophical speculations, and will astonish the people of Europe; there are however some mistakes in it". I think he then said, "In your paper on the Limboos, you asked if the appellation 'Hung,' distinctive of families of that tribe, had any reference to the original 'Huns', the objects of my search in Asia. It is a curious similarity, but your 'Hungs' are a small tribe, and the people who passed from Asia, as the progenitors of the Hungarians, were a great nation." I replied, that as the original country of the Limboo 'Hungs' was undoubtedly north of the Himalaya, and as he believed the same to be the case as regarded the 'Huns', it was at all events possible, that the 'Huns' of this neighbourhood, might have been an off-shoot from the same nation. "Yes, yes," he rejoined, "it is very possible, but I do not think it is the case." And then, as if preferring to luxuriate in remote speculations on his beloved subjects rather than in attempting to put an end to them by a discovery near at hand, he gave a rapid summary of the manner in which he believed his native land was possessed by the original "Huns", and his reasons for tracing them to Central or Eastern Asia. This was all done in the enthusiastic strain, but the texture of the story was too complicated for me to take connected note of it. I gathered, however, from his conversation of this day, and of the previous ones since our acquaintance, that all his hopes of attaining the object of the long and laborious search, were centred in the discovery of the country of the "Yoogars." This land he believed to be to the east and north of Lassa and the province of Kham, and on the western confines of China; to reach it, was the goal of his most ardent wishes, and there he fully expected to find the tribes he had hitherto sought in vain. The foundation of his hopes, to any one not deeply imbued with enthusiasm, or accustomed to put faith in phiological affinities, will probably appear vague and insecure. It was as follows, in so far as I could gather from his repeated conversations. In the dialects of Europe, the Sclavonic, Celtic, Saxon, and German, I believe, the people who gave their name to the country now called Hungary, were styled Hunger or Ungur, Oongar, or Yoongar; and in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian works, there are notices of a nation in Central Asia, resembling in many respects the people who come from the East into Hungary. In these languages, they are styled Oogur, Woogur, Voogur, or Yoogur, and from the same works it might be inferred, he said, that the country of the "Yoogurs" was situated as above noted. There were collateral reasons which led him to this conclusion, but he did not lay much stress on them, and they have escaped my memory. It has since occurred to me, that at the time of the conversations now detailed, Mr. De Koros had some presentiment that death was near him, for on no former occasion was he so communicative, nor did he express opinions, as if he was very anxious they should be remembered. On this day he certainly did so, and I feel it due to his memory to record them, even in this imperfect manner. To give his opinions point, it would require a knowledge of the subjects on which he discoursed, to which I cannot pretend; yet such, as they are, they may, as the last words of an extraordinary man, be prized by those who honoured him for his acquirements, and admired him for his unwearied exertions in the cause of literature, languages, and history.

Although so much better on the 7th than on the previous day, I dreaded that a return of fever was impending, and I again urged him to take medicine, but in vain. On the 8th I did not see him, but on the morning of the 9th, on visiting him with Dr. Griffith, I found that fever had returned; he was confused, and slightly delirious; his countenance was sunken, anxious, and yellow, and altogether his state was bad and dangerous. After much trouble, we got him to swallow some medicine and had his temples rubbed with blistering fluid. On the morning of the 10th he was somewhat better, but still unable to talk connectedly or distinctly, towards evening he became comatose, and continued so until 5 A.M. of the 11th, when he expired without a groan or struggle. On the 12th at 8 A.M. his remains were interred in the burial ground of this station. I read the funeral service over him, in the presence of almost all the gentlemen at the place.

The effects consisted of 4 boxes of books and papers, the suit of blue clothes which he always wore and in which he died, a few shirts and one cooking pot. His food was confined to tea, of which he was very fond, and plain boiled rice of which he ate very little. On a mat on the floor with a box of books on the four sides, he sat, ate, slept, and studied, never undressed at night, and rarely went out during the day. He

never drank wine or spirit, or used tobacco or other stimulants.***

Annexed is a detailed list of the contents of the boxes. Among his papers were found the bank notes for Rs. 300 to which he alluded before his death, and a memorandum regarding Government Paper for Rs. 5,000, which it is stated in transcript of a letter to the Government, dated 8th February, 1842, it was his wish to leave at his death to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for any literary purpose. Cash to the number of Rupees 224 of various coinage, and a waist belt containing 26 gold pieces, (Dutch ducats I believe), completes the money part of his effects. From this I shall deduct the funeral expenses and wages due to his Lepcha servant, and retain the remainder, along with the books and papers, until I receive the orders of Government for disposing of them. As the deceased was not a British subject, I have not made the usual advertisement of the possession of his effects, nor have I taken charge of them in the Civil Court, but in my capacity of Political Officer in this direction.

From a letter of James Prinsep's among the papers, I gather that he was a native of the town of "Pest", or Pesth, in the province of Transylvania, and I have found transcript of a letter addressed by him to the Austrian Ambassador in London, apparently on matters connected with his native country; I presume therefore, that the proper mode of making his death known to his relations, if such there be, and of disposing of the money not willed by him, will be through the Austrian Ambassador at the British Court. In some documents I found his address to be "Korasi Osoma Saudor."

I have the honour to be &c.

(Signed) **A. CAMPBELL**
Superintendent

APPENDIX IX

FLORA IN KINNAUR DISTRICT

Sl. No.	Botanical name	Vernacular or local name,	Altitudinal range		Use if any	Remarks
			Lower Limit	Upper limit		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Acanthaceae					
1	Strobilanthes glutinosus	..	3,000	6,000	..	Shrub
2	S. wallichii	..	7,000	10,000	..	Shrub
3	S. atropurourlus	..	6,000	12,000	..	Shrub
4	S. dalhousianus	..	7,000	10,000	..	Shrub
5	S. alatus	..	6,000	10,000	..	Shrub Amarantagea
	Amarantageae					
1	Bosia amherstiana	Khesbar (k)	Up to 6,500 feet		..	Herb
2	Cyathula tomentosa	..	Up to 5,000 feet		..	Herb
3	Deeringia celosioides	..	Up to 5,000 feet		..	Herb
	Anacardiaceae					
1	Lannea coromandelica	Jhingan	Up to 5,000 feet		Wood used, lopped for fodder	Tree
2	Pistacia integerrima	Kakarsingi	2,000	7,000	Kakarsingi is medicinal, wood used for carving.	Tree
3	Rhus cotinus	Tugang (K)	3,000	6,000	Leaves and bark used in tanning and dyeing.	Shrub
4	R. semialata	Titri	3,000	7,000	Fruit used in local medicines	Tree
5	R. punjabensis	Halashang (K)	3,000	8,000	..	Tree
6	R. wallichii	Urak (P) Hukru (KO)	5,000	8,000	Juice corrosive and blisters the skin.	Tree
	Apocynaceae					
1	Vallaris solanacea (syn. V. heynei)	..	Up to 5,000 feet		..	Climber
	Araliaceae					
1	*Hedera nepalensis* (syn. H. helix)	Bhanbatkari	2,000	10,000	..	Climber
2	*Schefflera venulosa* (syn. Heptapleurum venulosum)	..	2,000	4,000	..	Climber
	Asclepiadaceae					
1	Cynanchum auriculatum	..	6,000	8,000	..	Twining shrub
2	C. dalhousiae	..	5,000	8,000	..	Shrub
3	C. glaucum	..	5,000	8,000	..	Shrub
4	Tylophora govanii	..	7,000	8,000	..	Shrub
5	Periploca calophylla	..	Up to 6,000 feet		..	Twining shrub

	Berberidaceae					
1	Berberis petiolaris	..	6,000	12,000		Shrub
2	Berveris aristata	..	6,000	10,000	..	Shrub
3	B. ceratophylla (syn. B. Lycium)	Kalsu (K) (Ko) Kashmal (ko) Kashmi (P) Tutrum (K)		–	Roots are used for making Rasont used as a medicine for eye troubles	Shrub
4	B. edgeworthiana	..	8,000	12,000	..	Shrub
5	B. umbellata	..	9,000	11,500	..	Shrub
6	B. pseudumbellata	..	4,000	9,000	..	Shrub
	Bhamnaceae					
1	Berchemia lineate	..	6,000	9,000	..	Trailing shrub common in Kinnaur in Baspa valley.
2	Bhamnus virgata (syn. R. dahuricus)	Chorda (Ko)	5,000	8,000	Wood is good for agricultural implements, fruits used as purgative	,,
3	R. purpureus	Lhish	6,000	10,000	..	,,
4	R. triqueter (sageretia theezans)	Gargithun	Ascends to 6,000 feet		..	Tree
		Zartum	Ascends to 8,000 feet		..	Tree
	Bombaceae					
1	Salmalia malabarica	Semul	Up to 6,000 feet		..	Tree found to a very limited extent largely in Kachi tract.
	Boraginaceae					
1	Cynoglossum zeylanicum (syn. c. furcatum)	..	8,000	10,000	..	Herb
2	C. micranthum	..	9,000	12,000	..	Herb
3	C. wallichii	..	9,000	12,000	..	Herb
4	Mertensia racemosa	..	6,000	10,000	..	Herb
5	Myosotis caespitosa	..	6,000	11,000	..	Herb
	Campanulaceae					
1	Campanula argyrotricha	..	8,000	to 11,000	..	Herb
2	C. colorata	..		Up to 10,000	..	Herb
3	C. latifolia	..	8,000	11,000	..	Herb
	Capparidaceae					
1	Capparis spinosa	Bussar	2,000	5,000	..	Trailing under shrub on hot rocks.

APPENDIX IX—contd.

Sl. No	Botanical name	Vernacular or local name	Altitudinal range		Use if any	Remarks
			Lower Limit	Upper limit		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Caprifoliaceae					
1	**Abelia** triflora	Sbang (K)	Up to 9,000 feet		Fodder	Shrub
2	**Lonicera** angustifolia	Pilu (P) Kanchingzashe (K)	6,000	9,000	Fodder	Shrub
3	**L. parvifolia**	Hilru	8,000	12,000	Fodder	Shrub
4	**L. quinquelocularis**	Bhajwal	4,000	12,000	Fodder	Shrub
5	**L. hypoleuca**	..	7,000	10,000	..	Shrub
6	**L. orientalis**	Taknoi	Dry zone		..	Shrub
7	**L. alpigena**	Phulor	7,000	12,000	..	Shrub
8	**Viburnum** cotinifoloum	Tustus khateb (K)	Up to 9,000 feet		..	Shrub
9	**V. stellulatum**	Ensi	Up to 9,000 feet		..	Shrub
10	**V. nervosum**	..	Up to 9,000 feet		Fodder	Shrub
	Celastraceae					
1	Euonymus fimbriatus	Skiosh	4,000	9,000	Wood fine grained but only used as fuel, young shoots lopped for fodder	Tree
2	E. echinatus (syn. hamiltonianus)	Kala				Tree or shrub
3	**E. tingens**	Roini	6,000	10,000	Wood carved into spoons	Tree
4	**E. lacerus**	Angad	7,000	10,000		
	Coriariaceae					
1	Coriaria nepalensis	Litzaklo (K)	3,000	6,000	Leaves as fodder	Tree
	Cornaceae					
1	Benthamidia capitata (syn. Cornus capitata)	Shka (K)	3,000	7,000	Used as fuel wood and for fodder	Tree
2	Cornus macrophylla	Kanchhinu (P)	5,000	5,000	Used as fuel wood and for fodder	Tree
	Compositae					
1	Artemisia maritima	..	8,000	12,000	Fodder and medicinal medicinal	Herb
2	A. vulgaris	..	6,000	12,000	Fodder and medicinal medicinal	Herb
3	A. vestita	..	6,000	12,000	Fodder and medicinal medicinal	Herb
4	Aster molliusculus	..	5,000	8,000	..	Herb
5	A. asperulus	..	4,000	9,000	..	Herb
6	Bidens biternata	..	Up to 6,000 feet		..	Herb
7	B. wallichii	Eng. Black jack	Up to 6,000 feet		..	Herb
8	Crepis japonica					Herb
9	Echinops echinatus	..	Below 3,000		..	
10	E. niveus	..	– 4,000	8,000	..	Herb

11	Emilis sonchifolia	..	Up to 6,000 feet		..		Herb
12	Erigeron multiradiatus	..	7,000	12,000	..		Herb
13	Gerbera lanuginosa	..	4,000	8,000	..		Herb
14	Gnaphalium strumarium	..	Up to 10,000 feet		..		Herb
15	Gynura cusimbusa	..	Up to 7,000 feet		..		Herb
16	Inula cappa	..	Up to 6,000 feet		..		Herb
17	I. cuspidata	..	3,000	7,000	..		Herb
18	Jurinea macrocephala	Dhup	9,000	18,000	Used as incense		Herb
19	Leontopodium alpinum	..	9,000	18,000	Medicine		Herb
20	Lactuca scariola	Dhup	6,000	11,000	..		Herb
21	Microglossa albescens	..	8,000	12,000	..		Herb
22	Prenanthes brunoniana (syn. Lactuca brunoniana).	Dudhli	6,000	9,000	..		Herb
23	P. violaefolia	..	9,000	12,000	..		Herb
24	Senecio amplexicaulis	..	9,000	12,000	..		Herb
25	S. chrysantheomoides	..	7,000	13,000	..		Herb
26	S. graciliflorus	..	7,000	13,000	..		Herb
27	Solicago virga-aurea	..	8,000	13,000	..		Herb

Coniferae

1	Abies pindrow	Krom (ko)	8,000	11,500	Tiber value for all purposes; loop-	Tree
2	Abies spectablis (syn. A. webbiana)	Pindrai (P)	7,000	11,000	ed for animal bedding	Tree
3	Cedrus deodara	Kelmang (K)	7,000	10,000	Timber value for all purpose	Tree
4	Juniperus communis	Tailu pama (K)	9,5000	Upwards	Fruits medicinal	Shrub
5	J. pseudo sabina	Tailu pama (K)	10,000	14,000	..	Shrub
6	J. macropoda	Shur. Shuego (K)	8,500	14,000	..	Tree
7	Pinus wallichiana (syn.P. excelaa)	Lim (K)	6,000	12,000	Timber valued for all purposes. Lopped for animal bedding	Tree
8	Pinus roxburghii (syn. P. longifolia)	Shri (K)	6,000	7,000	Valuable for resin extraction and timber use	Tree
9	Pinus gerardiana	Rhi (K)	6,000	11,000	Fruits eaten	Tree
10	Picea smithiana (syn. P. morinda)	Rai (P) Rayang (K)	7,000	11,500	Do.	Tree

Cruciferae

1	Arabis pterosperma	..	Up to 12,000		..	Herb
2	Capasella bursapastoris	Eng. shepherd's purse	Up to 8,000		..	Herb
3	Erysimum hieracifolium	..	6,000	12,000	..	Herb
4	Eutrema Primulaefolium	..	6,000	11,000	..	Herb
5	Nasturtium officinale	Eng. Common water cress	Up to 7,000		Plant edible, considered to be anti corbutic and stimulating to the appetite	Herb
6	Sisymbrium thalianum	Eng. Thale cress	Up to 6 000			Herb

APPENDIX IX—contd.

Sl. No.	Botanical name	Vernacular or local name	Altitudinal range		Use if any	Remarks
			Lower Limit	Upper limit		
1	2	3	4	5	6	
	Cupuliferae					
1	Alnus nitida	Kuntz (P) Ni. Nown (K)	Up to 5,000 feet		Fodder from leaves	Tree
2	A. nepalensis	..	3,300	5,000	..	Tree
3	Betula utilis	Shak, Pad (K)	10,000	14,000	Leaves as fodder, bark used for thatching roof	Tree
4	B. alnoides	Sheori	6,000	9,000	..	Tree
5	Corylus colurna	Shuli (P) Sholi (ko)	5,000	10,000	Wood used	Tree
6	Carpinus viminea	Lolti (ko)	6,000	9,000	Wood used	Tree
7	C. paginea	Kosh (P)	7,000	9,000	..	Tree
8	Castanea sativa	Sweet chestnut	6,000	9,000	Fruits eaten	Tree
9	Quercus semecarpifolia	Kharsu, Kher	6,000	12,000	Fodder and fuel	Tree
10	Q. floribunda (syn. Q. Hdilatata)	Moru (P) Merghang	6,000	8,000	Fodder and fuel	Tree
11	Q. illex	Breh (K)	4,000	8,000	Fodder and fuel	Tree
12	Q. incana	Ban (P)	4,000	8,000	Fodder and fuel	Tree
	Cyperacae					
1	Bulbostylis capillaris	..	Up to 8,000		..	Herb
2	Carex filicius	..	5,000	6,000	..	Herb
3	C. filicurs	..	3,000	6,000	..	Herb
4	Cyperus cyperoides	..	7,000	8,000	..	Herb
5	C. cuspidatus	..	Up to 3,000 feet		..	Herb
6	Fimbristylis diphylla	..	Up to 6,000 feet		..	Herb
7	Kobresia trinervis	..	Up to 7,000 feet		..	Herb
	Dipsaceae					
1	Dipsacus strictus	..	5,000	9,000	..	Herb
2	Morins persica	..	Above 10,000		..	Herb
3	M. longifolia	..	9,000	14,000	..	Herb
	Ericaceae					
1	Cassiope festigiata	..	10,000	13,000	..	Shrub
2	Gaultheris trichophylla	..	9,000	13,000	..	Shrub
3	G. nummulariedes	..	10,000	13,000	..	Shrub
4	Lyonia ovalifolia (syn. pieris ovalifolia)	Yearta (P) (Ko)	6,000	9,000	..	Tree
5	Rhododendron arboreum	Brass (P) Sprak (K)	6,000	8,000	..	Tree
6	R. campanulatum	Simrang (K)	9,000	14,000	..	Shrub
7	R. lepidotum	Sumrat (Ko)	8,000	14,000	..	Shrub
8	R. anthopogon	..	8,000	14,000	..	Shrub

	Elaeagnaceae					
1	Elaeagnus umbellata	..	3,000	10,000	Fodder	Shrub
2	Hippophae rhamnoides	Sutz (k)	8,000	11,000	..	Shrub
3	H. salicifolia	..	7,000	11,000	..	Shrub
	Euphorbiaceae					
1	Andrachne cordifolia	..	5,000	8,000	..	Shrub
2	Buxus wellichiana	Pappar (P) Paprang (K) Shamshed	6,000	7,000	Wood locally used for carving	Tree
3	Euphorbia royleana	Suru	Up to 5,000 feet		..	Shrub
4	Mallotus phililopensis	Raini	Up to 5,000 feet		Lopped for fodder	Tree
5	Sarcococca saligna	..	5,000	9,000	..	Shrub
	Gentianaceae					
1	Gentiana argentea	Nilli Sarnal	7,000	12,000	Medicinal use	Herb
2	G. kurroo	Karu, Katki Ch. Karu	5,000	11,000	Medicinal use	Herb
3	Halenia elliptica	Pitpapra	6,000	12,000	Medicinal value	Herb
4	Swertia chirata	Charaita	5,000	10,000	Medicinal value	Herb
5	S. cordata	Charaita	4,000	10,000	Medicinal value	Herb
6	S. paniculata	Charaita	5,000	8,000	Medicinal value	Herb
	Geraniaceae					
1	Geranium ocellatum	..	6,000	10,000	..	Herb
2	G. nepalense	Tirhai	5,000	9,000	..	Herb
3	G. robertiapum	Eng; Granis bill			..	Herb
		Eng; Herb Robert	6,000	8,000	..	Herb
4	G. wallichianum	Chowheri	7,000	11,000	..	Herb
5	Impatiens bicolor	Eng. Balsam	5,000	8,000	..	Herb
6	I. balsamina	Eng. Balsam		Up to 5,000	..	Herb
7	I. cristata	Eng. Balsam	7,000	10,000	..	Herb
8	I. thomsoni	Eng. Balsam	6,000	12,000	..	Herb
9	I. roylei	Eng. Balsam		Up to 9,000	..	Herb
	Gramihbae					
1	A. royleana					
2	Arandinaria falcata	..	3,000	8,000	Used for house hold	Bamboo (Ringal)
3	Agrostis alba	..	..	..	..	
4	Agropyron semicostatum	..	6,000	8,000	..	Grass
5	Arthrazon Lancifolius (syn. A. microphyllus)	..	..	..	..	
		..	6,000	8,000	..	Grass
6	A. longearistatum	..	..	..	..	
	Andropogon gryllus	..	..	..	..	
	A. ianceolneue	..	3,000	4,000	..	Grass

APPENDIX IX—contd.

Sl. No.	Botanical name	Vernacular or local name	Altitudinal range		Use if any	Remarks
			Lower limit	Upper limit		
1	2	3	4	5	6	
	Oramihbae—concld.					
9	Arundo donax	..	Up to 4,000	..	..	Grass
10	Arundinella metzii	..	Up to 5,000	..	..	Grass
11	Cymbopogon distaus	..	Up to 3,000	..	..	Grass
12	Dactylis glowerata	..	6,000	7,000	..	Grass
13	Danthonis cachemyriana(syn. D. exilis)	..	Up to 8,000	..	..	Grass
14	D. glomerata	..	6,000	7,000	..	Grass
15	Deyonmis scabrescens	..	Up to 6,000	..	..	Grass
16	Digitaris cruciata	..	5,0000	7,000	..	Grass
17	Eragrostis nigre	..	5,000	7,000	..	Grass
18	Erlanthus ravenae	..	3,000	4,000	..	Grass
19	Eulalia argontea	..	3,000	6,000	..	Grass
20	E. millis	..	3,000	4,000	..	Grass
21	Festuca spn.	..	5,000	8,000	..	Grass
22	Ischaemum rugosum	..	Up to 3,000	..	..	Grass
23	Muehlenbergia himalayensis	..	Up to 3,000		..	Grass
24	Neyraudiax arundinacea	..	Up to 3,000		..	Grass
25	Oplismenus compoitus	..	Up to 6,000		..	Grass
26	Oryza perennis	..	Up to 3,000		..	Grass
27	Oryzopsis acquiglusus	..	5,000	7,000	..	Grass
28	Poa pratensis	..	..	..	..	
29	Panicum milaceum, P. plicatum	..	3,000	6,000	..	Grass
30	Phacelurus speciosus	..	6,000	8,000	..	Grass
31	Pogonatherum panicum	..	6,000	8,000	..	Grass
32	Pollinia hirtifolia; P. quadrinervis	..	5,000	6,000	..	Grass
33	Setaria itallica	..	6,000	8,000	..	Grass
34	S. intermedia.	..	Up to 3,000		..	Grass
35	S. glauca	..	Up to 4,000		..	Grass
36	Sorghum halepenso	..	Up to 3,000		..	Grass
37	Spodiopogon dublus	..	7,000	8,000	..	Grass
38	Sporobolus piliferus	..	4,000	6,000	..	Grass
39	Stipa sebinea	..	7,000	8,000	..	Grass
40	Tripogon filiformis	..	Up to 6,000		..	Grass
41	Triraphis arundinecea	..			..	
	Hamamelidaceae					
1	Parrottia jacquemontiana	Shater (K)	4,000	9,000	Wood excellent for tool handles and fuel	Large shrub

	Hypericaceae						
1	Hypericum cernum	Ping neara (Ko)		3,000	7,000		Shrub
2	H. patulum	..		3,000	7,000		Shrub
	Illicaceae						
1	Ilex dipyrena	Kanderu (P)		5,000	10,000	Wood used as fuel, Leaves used as fodder.	Shrub or small tree
	Labitea						
1	Elsholtzia polystachya	..		7,000	9,000	..	Shrub
2	Colebrookia oppositifolia	..	Up to	4,000		Fodder for buffaloes	Shrub
3	Plectranthus rugosus	Chhichhari		3,000	9,000	..	Shrub
4	Roylea sp.	..	Ascending to	6,000		..	Herb
5	Salvia glutinosa	Gwadro		4,000	10,000	..	Herb
	Lauraceae						
1	Litsaea umbrosa	..		5,000	8,000	..	Tree
2	Machilus odoratissima	..	Up to	6,000		..	Tree
3	M. duthiei	..	Up to	6,000		..	Tree
	Linaceae						
1	Reinwardtia trigyna	Basant	Up to	6,000		..	Small shrub
	Loganiaceae						
1	Buddleia paniculata	..		3,000	8,000	..	Shrub
	Loranthaceae						
1	Arceuthobium minuti ssimum	..		6,000	11,000	..	Parasite
2	Korthasella opuntia (syn. Viscum japonicum)	..	Up to	8,000		..	Parasite
3	Scurrula elata (syn. Loranthus elatus)	..		5,000	10,000	Parasite on Apricots, oaks	Parasite
4	Viscum album	..		3,000	9,000	..	Parasite
	Lythraceae						
1	Punica granatum	Anardana	Up to	4,000		Seeds used as anardana	Large shrub
2	Woodfordiafruticosa (syn. W. floribund)	Dhawi	Up to 5,000 Along Sutlej			Fodder	Large shrub
	Magnoliaceae						
1	Schizandra grandiflora	Ageli		5,000	10,000	..	Climber

APPENDIX IX—contd.

Sl. No.	Botanical name	Vernacular or local name	Altitudinal range		Use if any	Remarks
			Lower limit	Upper limit		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Meliaceae					
1	Azadirachta indica (syn. Melia azadirachta).	Drek Bakain	Up to 4,500		Leaves used as fodder and to save warm clothes from insect damage, wood used as fuel	Tree
2	Cedrela toona.	Toon (P) Krishing (K)	Up to 4,000		Lopped for fodder. Timber used for furniture and bridge work	Tree
3	C. serrata	Dari (Ko,P)	5,000	8,000		
	Melastomaceae					
1	Osbeckia stellata	..	Up to 6,000		..	Shrub
	Myrtaceae					
1	Eucalyptus globulus	..	Up to 5,000		..	Exotic tree
	Myrsinaceae					
1	Myrsine africana	Chitring (K) Banwan (ko)	2,000	9,000	Medicinal	Shrub
	Oleaceae					
1	Fraxinus xanthoxyloides . . .	Thum (K)	5,000	9,000	Lopped for fodder	Tree
2	F. micrantha	Anjar	6,000	8,000	Timber used	Tree
3	Jasminium humile	Kurang (K)	4,000	10,000	..	Climber
4	J. officinale	..	3,000	9,000	..	Climber
5	Syringa emodi	Shapar (K)	7,000	10,000	Browsed by goats	Shrub
6	Olea cuspidata	Wi (K)	5,000	7,000	Very good fodder	Tree
	Polygonaceae					
1	Polygonum vaccinifolium . . .	..	11,200	12,000	..	Herb
2	Rumex hastatus	..	Up to 8,000		Medicinal	Herb
	Rheum emodi	..	Up to 9,000		Medicinal value	Herb
	Primulaceae					
1	Anagallis arvensis	Eng. Pimpernel	Up to 7,000		..	Herb
2	Androsacelanuginosa	..	6,000	10,000	..	Herb
3	A. rotundifolia	..	5,000	11,000	..	Herb
4	A. sarmentosa	..	9,000	14,000	..	Herb
5	Primula denticulata	..	7,000	13,000	..	Herb
6	P. Peticlaris	..	4,000	12,000	..	Herb

Ranunculaceae

1	Aconitum heterophyllum	Patish, Mohra	8,000	12,000	Used in indigenous medicine as a mild and bitter tonic, roots a valuable fabrifuge	Herb
2	Anemone narcissiflora	..	6,000	9,000	..	Herb
3	A. obtusiloba	..	Above 8,000		Roots and seeds locally used; roots gives blisters and seeds cause vomiting and purging	Herb
4	Aquilegia pubiflora	Eng. columbine	5,000	10,000	..	Herb
5	A. polyanthes	..	10,000	12,000	..	Herb
6	A. rivularis	..	Above 5,000		..	Herb
7	Caltha palustris	Eng. Marsh marigold	8,000	12,000	It is acrid andoisonous Prefers marshy land	Herb
8	Clematis montana	..	6,000	9,000	..	Climbers
9	C. barbellata	..	5.000	12,000	..	Climbers
10	C. grata	..	2,000	8,000	..	Climbers
11	C. gravcolens	..	6,000	11,000	..	Climbers
12	C. orientalis	..	8,000	14,000	..	Climbers
13	C. connata	..	4,000	10,000	..	Climbers
14	C. buchananiana	..	5,000	10,000	..	Climbers
15	Cimicifuga foetida	En. Bugbane	7,000	12,000	..	Herb
16	Delphinium demudatum	Hin. Nirbisi	5,000	10,000	Bitter stimulant tonic; adulterant for Aconite	Herb
17	Paeonia emodi	..	5,000	10,000	Tubers used for curing uterine and nervous diseases. Seeds are purgative and emetic; Leaves contain an acrid juice causing blisters	
18	Ranunculus sceleratus	Eng. Marsh crowfoot; water celery.	Up to 5,000		..	
19	R. arvensis	En. Corn butter cup	4,000	7,000	..	Herb
20	R. diffusus	..	5,000	8,000	..	Herb
21	Thailictum elegans	Ur. Mamiri. Mamira	Above 10,000		..	Herb
22	T. filiolosum	Jarbini	5,000	9,000	Roots used in indigenous medicine eye ailments, toothache, brain tonic etc.	Herb
23	T. javanicum	..	6,000	12,000		

Rosaceae

1	Prunug persica	Bzaim (P) Rek (K)	5,000	10,000	Fruit distilled for wine	Tree
2	P. armeniace	Chuli (K)	4,000	11,000	Fruit is a staple diet oil extracted from seeds	Tree
3	P. jacquemontii	Shikarang (K)	7,000 Dry zone	10,000	..	Tree
4	P. cerasus	Wild cherry	7,000	10,000	..	Tree
5	P. cerasioides (syn. P. puddum)	Paja (P)	3,000	7,000	..	Tree
6	Prunus padus	Jaman (P)	Up to 10,000		Timber used and fruit eaten	

APPENDIX IX—contd.

Sl. No.	Botanical name	Vernacular or local name	Altitudinal range		Use if any	Remarks
			Lower limit	Upper limit		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Rosaceae—concld.					
7	Pyrus communis	Shegul (P)	Up to 4,000		Fuits eaten	Tree
8	Pyrus pashia	Shegul (P)	3,000	8,000	..	Tree
9	P. lanata	Behmpti, Marpol (K)	Moist zone			
10	P. foliolosa	Rangrek	Moist zone		..	Tree
11	P. malus	Palre	9,000	12,000	..	Tree
12	Rubus ellipticus	Akhi	5,000	9,000	Fruits eaten	Tree
13	R. purpureus	..	4,000	7,000	..	Climbing shrub
14	R. biflorus	Anchu	6,000	10,000	..	Climbing shrub
15	R. lasiocarpus	Sowating (K)	7,000	10,000	..	Climbing shrub
16	Rosa macrophylla	Rangyal (K)	4,000	10,000	..	Climbing shrub
17	R. webbiana	..	6,000	11,000	Flowers used for decoration	Climbing shrub
18	S. bells	..	7,000	10,000	Dry zone	Climbing shrub
19	S. canescens	Chakroi	7,000	11,000	..	Climber
			5,000	9,000	..	Shrub
	Rubiacae					
1	Galium asperuloides	..	5,000	12,000	..	Herb
2	Hamiltonia suavellens	Padari	Up to 7,000		..	Shrub
3	Leptodermis lanceolata	..	4,000	8,000	..	Shrub
	Rutaceae					
1	Boenninghausenia albiflora	Pissumar	6,000	10,000	Yields an insecticide	Under shrub
2	Skimmia laureola	Shashra	6,000	10,000	Used as incense for its like smell	Shrub
3	Zanthoxylum alatum	Tehbal Shashri (P) Patrang (K)	2,000	6,000	Used for walking sticks	Shrub or Small tree
	Sabiaceae					
1	Meliosma dilleniaefolia	Bakaraina (P)	5,000	10,000	..	Climbing shrub
2	Sabia campanulata	Bakrasang (K)	4,000	8,000	..	Small tree
	Saxifragaceae					
1	Bergenia ligulata (syn. Saxifraga ligulata)	..	Up to 9,000		..	Herb
2	D. Staminea	Deosu	3,000	9,000	..	Shrub
3	Deutzia corymbosa (Philru) (Ko)	Bhullu (P)	6,000	10,000	..	Shrub

4	Hydrangea anomala (syn. H. altissima)	..	4,000	8,000	..	Shrub
5	Ribes grossularia	Yanghai (K)	3,000	9,000	..	Shrub
6	R. orientale	Yanghai (K)	7,000	11,000	Dry zone	Shrub
7	R. glaciale	..	9,000	12,000	..	Shrub
8	R. nigrum	Behdi ki chuli	7,000	12,000	..	Shrub
9	R. rubrum	..	8,000 Moist zone	12,000	..	Shrub

Sapindaceae

1	Aesculus indica	(P.K.) Khanor	6,000	9,000	Leaves used for fodder and fruits for flour in deficit areas and in famine	Tree
2	Acer oblongum	..	2,000	6,000	..	Tree
3	A. pentapomicum	..	5,000	8,000	Fodder.	Tree
4	A. caesium	Bodal (P)	7,000	11,000	..	Tree
5	A. acuminatum (syn. A. caudatum)	Kanzal	7,000	11,000	..	Tree
6	A pictum	Kanzal (P) Tian	Up to 4,000		Fodder	Tree
7	Sapmidus mukorossi	(K) Ritha Kaganitz (K)	Up to 4,000		Fruit used for Soap nut	Tree near habitation.
8	Staphylea emodi	Nagdaun (P)	6,000	8,000	Walking sticks, keep off snakes	Shrub

Salicaceae

1	Salix elegans	Karishan (K)	6,000	11,000	..	Tree
2	S. viminalis	..	..	..	..	Tree
3	Populus ciliata	Ghum (P) Krammal	6,000	8,000	..	Tree
4	P. balsamifera	Mangal	6,000	8,000	..	Tree
5	P. alba	Mal (K)	4,000	10,000	Fodder	Tree

Scrophulariaceae

1	Digitalis purourea	Eng. Wooly fox glove	6,000	8,000	Cultivated medicinal plant	Under shrub
2	Pedicularis pectinata	..	7,000	11,000	..	Herb
3	Picrorhiza kurooa	Karu, Katki	5,000	12,000	Medicinal value	Herb
4	Scrophularia himalensis	..	4,000	10,000	..	Herb
5	Veronic serovllifolia	..	8,000	13,000	..	Herb
6	Wulfenia amherstiana	..	7,000	11,000	..	Herb

Simarubaceae

1	Picrasma quassioides	..	4,000	8,000	Used as tonic	Shrub

Solanaceae

1	Solanum dulcamara	..	6,000	8,000	..	Herb

APPENDIX IX—concld.

Sl. No.	Botanical name	Vernacular or local name	Altitudinal range		Use if any	Remarks
			Lower limit	Upper limit		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Styraceae					
1	Symplocos crataegoides	Lodj (P), Lojh (Ko)	3,000	8,000	Dye and fodder	Shrub
	Thymeleaceae					
1	Daphne oleoides	Liko Agri (k)	3,000	9,000	..	Shrub
2	D. papyracea (syn. D. cannabina) . .	..	5,000	7,000	..	Shrub
3	Wikstroemia canescens	..	5,000	10,000	..	Shrub
	Tiliaceae					
1	Grewia oppositifolia	Beul, Dhaman	..	..	Leaves are lopped for fodder wood is used for tool handles and fibre for ropes.	Tree wild as well as cultivated in kochi tract.
	Urticaceae					
1	Celtis australis	Ku. Kharak	5,000	10,000	Fodder	Tree
2	Debregeasia hypoleuca	..	Up to 5,000		..	Tree
3	Ficus clavata	..	Up to 7,000		..	Tree
4	F. foveolata	..	Up to 7,000		..	Tree
5	F. palmata	heru	Cultivated up to 5,000		..	Tree
6	Morus serrata . . .	Chimu, Pahari tut	4,000	9,000	Fodder	Tree
7	Ulmus wallichiana	Shke, maldang (K)	6,000	10,000	Fodder, timber useful	Tree
	Valerianaceae					
1	Valeriana wallichii	Muskbala	5,000	19,000	Tuberous roots valued for essential oil.	Under shrub
2	V. hardwickii	..	5,000	10,000	..	Shrub
	Vitaceae					
1	Ampelocissus divaricata	..	Up to 5,000		Sap drunk	Climber
2	Vitis parvifolia	Chakcha	3,000	6,000	..	Climber
3	V. himalayana	Severdakkan	6,000	11,000	..	Climber
4	V. semicordata	Bali	5,000	10,000	Wood good for picture frames	Climber

APPENDIX X

FROM 'BUDDHIST PAINTING IN TIBET' BY RAHUL SANKRITYAYANA—MARG, SEPTEMBER, 1963

"The passion for building monasteries continued in Tibet, and as the monkhood waxed rich and strong the different orders vied with one another in making their monastic strongholds resplendent with contributions of art. The use of paintings became more and more common. Beautiful tenth-century specimens are still provided by the Al-che and Sum-ra viharas in Ladakh, built by the Tibetan scholar Ratnabhadra. Unfortunately the Kashmir Government, in whose jurisdiction these magnificent treasures now are, has not followed the example of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, who, though a Muslim, has earned the world's gratitude by his timely preservation of the Buddhist art treasures of Ajanta, in his domain. The Ladakh frescoes, as fine for their period as the Ajanta frescoes, for theirs, are threatened with imminent destruction and will barely survive another handful of years unless the task of preservation is immediately undertaken.

The art of fresco painting on a high level once flourished all over Tibet, and it is still widely practised in a debased form even today, but time in league with an ignorant and in different posterity has allowed the fine work of the old masters to be all but obliterated. Fortunately for us, however, the painters of Tibet did not confine themselves solely to large decoration on monastic walls. Illustrated manuscripts and banner and scroll paintings on cloth or paper were other modes of expression favoured by the artists of Tibet. Every monastic library and hall of worship contains some treasures of this sort, and the palaces of Tibetan nobles and the old feudal houses of powerful families also possess such collections.

The oldest illustrated manuscripts that have been found in Tibet appear to date from the ninth and tenth centuries. In India the earliest illuminated Jaina manuscripts belong to the same period, though the greater number of Jaina manuscripts date from the twelfth century or later. In Nepal, however, there are Brahmanical manuscripts of the sixth and seventh centuries, and in some of the cave temples of Central Asia manuscripts of perhaps the same, or a little later period, including a few from Central Asia in the nature of directions to Tibetan army commanders and accounts, have been discovered.

The manuscripts in Tibet are of various kinds—Sanskrit originals, translations from Sanskrit into Tibetan, original Tibetan works, and a few Chinese translations of Sanskrit and Tibetan translations of Chinese. There are, of course, secular works as well as religious—histories, medical treatises, poetry, government orders, military rules, deeds of gift and property—but these are not likely to find their way into monastic libraries, which are naturally devoted to religious works. The Buddhist canon, the two great Tibetan collections, the Kan-jur and the Tan-jur, are the chief works to be met with here. The Kan-jur, already mentioned, purports to be all the spoken works of Lord Buddha, and these are gathered together in one hundred and three volumes. The Tan-jur, or Buddhis Shastras, and commentaries, are generally comprised in two hundred and thirty-five volumes. By far the greater number of the manuscripts are not illuminated, but many, on the other hand, show the fine brushwork of unknown artists. The illustrations depicting as usual, the Lord Buddha, the Bodhisattavas, and gods and goddesses, are on the whole far superior in quality to the paintings found in contemporary Jaina manuscripts. The colours are extremely suggestive, the lines delicate and full of refinement. Some manuscripts, in addition, are beautifully decorated with letters of gold and the covers are of cut leather inset with precious or semi-precious stones.

The Tibetan written language itself, with its four vowels and thirty consonants, is based on seventh-century Sanskrit as written in Kashmir at the time. The Tibetans were a nomadic people (as they still largely are) with little need of any written language until, Srong-btsan unified the kingdom and felt the need to keep in touch with his officials in the conquered and outlying provinces. He then sent men to India to learn the written alphabets in use there and adapt or invent one suitable for spoken Tibetan.

With the spread of Buddhism a great impetus was given to cultural development in Tibet. It was always the spirit of Buddhism to leave people free to follow their own culture and use their own language. Thus the Buddhist texts in Sanskrit were all quickly translated in to Tibetan, and side by side with these translated manuscripts were the commentaries and original works of Tibetan scholars. The Sanskrit manuscripts, of which I was able to trace one hundred and eighty-two, are all written on palm-leaf strips about two inches wide and

from one to two feet long. The Chinese manuscripts are inscribed on rolls of paper. Tibetan manuscripts are also on paper, but are not rolled. Before the twelfth century, certain letters were in use in the Tibetan script that were later dropped, so by the style of writing it is possible to know at once whether a manuscript belongs to a period before or after this. Block printing, used in China and Central Asia much earlier, did not make its appearance in Tibet until the fifteenth century. The text for a whole page was often cut in a single block of wood, and from this time on, of course, manuscripts were easily multiplied.

The Tibetan libraries contain many thousands of old manuscripts, wrapped in faded silk, held in place between board cogers and piled in phalanxes to the ceiling. But to remove the manuscript at the bottom of a row is an arduous task requiring the service of many hands. The room is invariably poorly lighted and in winter is extremely cold. In these circumstances it is not surprising that one finds but few learned monks now-a-days, and that most of those who enter the monastic colleges are content to study merely the five selected books of the curriculum, to the mastery of which twenty-five years are supposed to be devoted. Naturally the transient guest of a few nights or even a few weeks cannot hope to make much headway in exploring this hidden treasure. A machine-printed book is still a rarity and a newspaper is quite unknown in Tibet, but countless thousands of precious manuscripts, a legacy of the past when spiritual culture and learning stood high above where they stand today, have been guarded intact within the white and red walls of Tibetan monasteries, many of them as large as cities, rising in lonely grandeur from the brown windswept plains."

Asia Magazine

APPENDIX XI

KANUM REVISITED OCTOBER, 1964—CHUNI LAL SHARMA

I set out on my journey on the 14th of June, 1962 to conduct the Socio-economic survey of Village Kanum. There were many apprehensions and the reports gathered from different sources were most discouraging. My first night halt was at Jeory. I spent the whole night on a Bus top. Next morning I found hundreds of mules and muleteers camping on the road side. They demanded Rs. 80 as carriage of my bedding and few other articles from Jeory to Kanum. To me it appeared to be a fantastic amount but I had to pay. Two more companions, who were school teachers, accompanied me and we started on foot. The fears began to materialise. The site of the hills was gloomy. It appeared that the distant land of Kinnaur might be worse than its approach led us to expect. The next halt was at Wangtu. On the 16th June I started again and reached Kalpa. It was more difficult to reach Kalpa because I had to climb a steep ascent from Chooling to Roghi. The entire journey had to be under-taken on foot because the road was then under construction and there was no bus service. Occasionally, one could find a Jeep or two on the way side but they were packed to capacity and seldom gave lift to the travellers. Of course, when I was in trouble I thought of a arduous nature of the job and cursed my fate. But then I had no alternative.

I took rest in Kalpa for two days and met a few of my old friends who gave me all the comforts and I was fresh to start for Kanum now only 33 miles away. The Jeepable road from Kalpa to Poo was open but to get a lift depended mostly on chance. The journey was almost on foot, which I covered in two days. Ramesh Chander, Sorter reached a little later and we worked happily at Kanum for more than two months. On our return journey both of us had to sell our beddings as the transportation charges were very heavy. The Government stationery and schedules were carried by Sardar Trilochan Singh muleteer who appeared to me reasonable and honest amongst the muleteers.

Second time I was asked to visit Kanum by the end of October, 1963. Then to my amusement I found many changes in Jeory. There were no mule camps and the traffic had been opened for trucks. With some tact and resourcefulness it was possible to get a lift in a truck from Jeory. From Nachar I accompanied the Assistant Superintendent of Census Operations who was on a visit to Kinnaur. We went to Sangla. This time the traffic was in full swing and we found hundreds of Jeeps on the road between Tapri and Poo. Then one could expect to get a seat in one or the other Jeep. The changes were to be felt more by those who had seen the place without these facilities.

In October, 1964 visit I found more changes. The Jeepable road was not as busy as it was in 1963. More traffic was now on the lower road—the National High Way. Some of the impressions of the rapid changes that have taken place

are given here as suggested by Dr. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty in the R.G's Office who has been to Kinnaur in September, 1964.

This time luckily the Government of India had relaxed the travelling conditions and allowed mules and porters to carry personal effects. I availed of the opportunity and there was no difficulty, in the transportation of the bedding and other luggage.

Trilochan Singh muleteer was still there but had changed his occupation. He was a truck owner but there was little change in his courteous behaviour.

Many changes have taken place. A wonderful new road, the National High Way has been thrown open for Vehicular traffic. This has thrown the village into back-ground. All traffic is now through the new road. It has an effect on the business of the roadside eating houses. The High School has been shifted to Labrang Chak, a mile or so away. The School teachers are gradually shifting to village Spillo. Many new buildings have come up in this area. A small colony of Medical Staff has inhabited the barren landscape on the farthest end of the village which was once a cremation ground and said to be haunted by spirits and ghosts. Large sums of money have been spent and the local labourers were employed. They earned quite reasonal wages in this project. The work is now almost nearing completion and a sum of Rs. 150,000 has been spent. This colony consists of three blocks (i) Primary Health Centre which will have 10 beds with a outdoor wing (ii) staff quarters and (iii) a bunglow for the Medical Officer who is yet to be appointed by the Government.

A palatial new High School building has been completed across the Kanum Khad. The classes were shifted to this place on 6th October, 1964. The villagers are not satisfied with this change. Their children will have to walk 1½ miles to this new site daily. One of the local men has lost rental income of about Rs. 600 annually as the Primary classes were accommodated in his house. Apart from this rents from the school teachers had become a regular source of income, to some of the villagers who let out many rooms in the village. The school colony consists of five blocks (i) Main School building (ii) Science laboratory (iii) Teachers quarters (iv) Headmaster's residence and boys hostel. Another building for girls hostel is proposed to be constructed. So far Rs. 3,07,000 have been spent on this project. This has afforded an opportunity for the local wage earners.

Closure of trade with Tibet

Because of the International situation trade with Tibet has almost been closed. Out of a total of 113 families in Kanum only 10 or 12 were engaged in trade. They brought wool, pasham, butter, ghee, goat, sheep and salt from Tibet in exchange of rice, cloth, utensils, wheat, phafra and jaggery. The items of exchange used to be purchased by them at Rampur while in return from Tibet they sold their merchandise in the famous Lavi fair at Rampur. They depended on Tibet for their requirement of superior quality of wool and it remains a problem to them to get the superior quality. The local wool appears to be the ultimate solution. The village elders told that they have of late substituted their indegenous product to meet the requirements.

Trade was a monopoly of a select few who had the capital. Very few among them obtained loans from the village money lenders at the prevelent interest rate of Rs. 12½ per cent per annum, of course, compounded yearly. Rarely one or two obtained things on credit from the traders at Rampur to whom they were obliged to sell their articles on return from Tibet. Case studies of some traders are given here: —

Makhan Lal Negi aged 52

Originally Makhan Lal belonged to Rispa in Sub-Division Poo. He married Sangya Dolma of Kanum and settled in Kanum nearly 30 years ago. His father Karma Yandup of Rispa remained mostly away from home as a labourer with forest lesees in Jubbal and died while in service. Makhan Lal did not have any schooling. Since his early childhood he had been going from place to place in search of work. Later on he took to trade. In the initial stages he borrowed a sum of Rs. 400 from a money lender in Poo. With his 35 rams and 4 asses he managed to buy things at Rampur and visit many places in Tibet. When he remained away in Tibet he invariably kept his wife and children in Kanum but on his return journey he took his wife and children to Rampur. After selling his articles in Rampur they used to go to different places in Suket and Naina Tikkar in Sirmur District with his flock of Sheep, goats and the asses. He has only 3 bighas of land in Kanum which is looked after by his mother-in-law. His younger brother attends to the domestic affairs. This continued till 1958, but while in trade he could not repay the borrowed money to the money lender.

The Change

The trade with Tibet had by now become a risky affair, Makhan Lal thought of a change in

1959. He purchased a small piece of land nearing about 12 biswas from a local farmer for Rs. 306 and pitched a tent first on the upper Hindustan National Road side. Initially he started a small eating house and kept few more essential commodities such as cigarettes, biscuits salt, matchboxes. He says that a sum of Rs. 500 was invested. The articles were taken on credit from a shopkeeper at Kalpa. As the time passed on and the construction work on the Hindustan National road increased, Makhan Lal thrived in his new business. He constructed three rooms, at a cost of Rs. 3,000. One room for a shop, one for a kitchen cum eating house and the third provided beds for the travellers who were forced to halt for a night in Kanum. Now the work had fairly increased and he could not cope with it. His wife and his daughter lent him a helping hand. They managed the eating house and Makhan Lal was spared to conduct business, at his shop. His son who was yet a student of 6th or 7th class helped his father to keep accounts. In our second visit to Kanum we saw Makhan Lal dealing in thousands. There was a lot of hustle and bustle, hundreds of jeeps on the road and many travellers stopped there for tea and meals.

In October, 1964 visit, the position had changed. The traffic on the upper road had decreased thus resulting in a set back to the business but Makhan Lal is an experienced businessman and he would not lag behind. About a month ago he started negotiations with a farmer in Karla to buy a piece of land in Spillo on the new road side. He has succeeded in getting a small piece of land measuring about 3 biswas for Rs. 500 and pitched a tent. Now he has employed 3 servants. He works in Spillo with two servants. His wife and daughter with one servant are continuing their work in Kanum. Makhan Lal was now boasting of a good profit and he repayed recently the borrowed money to the money lender at Poo with full interest. He claims to have repayed the principal sum of Rs. 400 with 1,500 as interest.

Lal Chand Negi s/o Chhering Jit Caste Rajput

In 1940—45 Lal Chand Negi S/o Chhering Jit used to go to Tibet with a caravan of 80 goats, 5 donkeys and 3 horses. He had four fawals—shepherds who were paid Rs. 60 each (annually) free meals, 8 kilogram of wool, shoes and clothes. The migration begain in July and he was back in Kanum usually by November. Rice phafra atta, utensils, cloth, jaggery and chillies were exchanged with pasham, wool, butter, goat, sheep and salt. Some of these things were bought for Indian currency. The approximate value of the commodities exchanged did not exceed Rs. 3,000.

After a short stay in Kanum, Lal Chand brought these things to Rampur and sold them in the Lavi fair. On his return journey to Kanum, he took wheat, maize barley and other articles of exchange. An interview with Lal Chand Negi revealed that he did not earn much in this trade and left the business in 1947. His father was a teacher in Private School at Kanum and he too advised his son to leave the business. According to him trade with Tibet was not lucrative and at the same time it was very tiresome for little gains.

From 1947 to 1954 Lal Chand remained at home attending to agriculture work while his father was working as Govt. teacher. In the year 1955, he got a job as Secretary of the Gram Panchayat at Rs. 60 per month and he does not feel the pinch of closure of the trade with Tibet. Lal Chand's father Chhering Jit is not in favour of the trade.

After his retirment he has been working as a branch post master at Rs. 25 per month and recently he has set up a shop in the village. On an average he earns about Rs. 50 p.m. from the business.

Padam Ram s/o Tassi Dandup

Padam Ram has been carrying on the trade with Tibet for about 15 years. He claims to have been affected adversely with the closure of the Tibetain border. They have been carrying on this business since 2 to 3 generations. His father Tassi Dandup had been doing this business for many years. Even now Padam Ram often goes to some near about places and small quantity of wool, pasham and butter is brought by him.

Regarding the source of finance and initial capital for running the trade Padam Ram Negi has been a money lender since his grand father's time and he does not feel financial hardship. Money lending is also done in the village and he gets nearly Rs. 300 as interest annually from the debtors. It was, however, complained by him that this income was not steady. Of late money debts have become over due and there was little hope about the repayment of even the principal amount. The prevelent rate of interest here is $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Soil Conservation

An area of about 150 acres just above the upper Hindustan Tibet Road has been protected to conserve the soil and thus check erosion. This area has been measured and fenced. The Forest Department, proposes to grow more chilgoza trees in this area. The people of Kanum

were consulted before hand and they agreed to extend full cooperations to the Government.

The protected area is a common pasture land of the villagers and it was usually used for grazing goats and sheep. Restrictions on grazing goat and sheep have now been imposed in the fenced area, but the people would still continue to enjoy their right to cut torch wood and collect chailgoza seeds for personal use and for sale.

As a result of this change no new pastures have so far been brought under the purview of the grazing lands. The village elders disclosed that the protected area did not afford to cater to their goats and sheep to such an extent that should compel the villagers to feel the necessity of either decreasing the number of their goats or explore new grazing lands.

Kanda Land—The position of Kanda land is similar to that of the common pasture land. Every villager has a right of utilizing the pastures on the peaks locally known Pruti, Brati, Rao and Mermath. Only 10 families from Kanum have built their 'thach-huts' in the Kandas and these huts are not situated at one particular site, but are scattered over the slopes at different places. This depends on the availability of grazing ground. Smaller farmers cannot afford to have their separate huts in the Kanda and they usually share huts with others. Some of the bigger farmers take their goats and sheep to Hangrang Valley for grazing.

Administration of Gori

Gori in local dialect means a group of some villages, and Gories together form a Pargana. Kanum falls in Sumchho Gori, a group of 3 villages, in Shuwa Pargana which begins from Roghi right upto the border. Across the Sutlej from Karcham including Sangla valley is Tukpa parganas. Sumchho Gori has a separate Patwar-circle and Lambardar collects land revenue from the Patwar circle. In each of these villages there is a village mate who helps the lambardar wherever some one goes to the village. Lambardar gets Panjotra at the rate of 5 per cent of the total collection and mate was exempted from begar during the state regime. With the advent of the Panchayati Raj he however gets Rs. 15 P.M. from the Gram Panchayat.

Since the establishment of the Panchayats the authority of Lambardar has considerably decreased. The President of the Gram Panchyat is an important figure now. He exerts more influence in the Sumchho Gori and the Lambardar is merely an agent of revenue collection. Previously he enjoyed greater respect in his circle and was an important link between the Revenue officers and the villagers.

Alignment of road

About 2 decades earlier the trade route was from Jangi to Lipa, Lipa to Labrang and from Labrang to Goyabang. From Labrang one had to climb a steep ascent to cross the 15,000 feet high—Ronang whey pass. In 1961 a jeepable road was ready for traffic and Kanum became an important intermediatery between Jangi and Poo. Two eating houses on the road side were set up and had fairly good business. Government officials often stayed in the village and thus people had an opportunity to meet these officials. Prior to the opening of a Jeepable road large number of muleteer were seen trecking on the Hindustan Tibet road and Kanum was an important halting station for them. This afforded an opportunity to the villagers to sell their husk and hey.

The traffic on the Jeepable road was in full swing in October and November, 1963. It was amazing to find so many convoys of Jeeps between Kalpa and Poo. This was perhaps the peak season for businessmen in Kanum. In October 1964 the position had changed. The lower National High Way was opened for vehicular traffic. This has now resulted in shift of influence from Kanum to Spillo which is nearer to lower alignment. Now Spillo will be in an advantageous position and Kanum has been thrown into the back ground. Recently a Sub Post Office has been opened in Spillo and more school teachers are shifting from Kanum to Spillo. The upper road side eating houses present a deserted look.

Labrang Fort

Labrang was once an important village. There is a multi storeyed fort here. According to a common belief in the area it was once a very important place from the defence point of view. It is said that there used to be frequent raids from time to time in the past and for the safety of the region people used to fight the invaders from the fort. Village elders say that the fort was constructed in such a way that it was linked with an underground water source. However, there is no trace of the undeground path. The old trade routes passed through this village. Other villages were safe as there was no other track. Whenever there was fear of invaother track. Whenever there was fear of invasion people shifted to the fort and they could better defend themselves against the enemies

Religious institutions

Lundup Gamfel Gompha has not under gone many changes. At the time of initial survey in 1962, there were 12 disciples in the monastery, but the number has now decreased to 10 including the Kachen Lama. One Lama after getting education has gone to his village in Purbani and other to Tibet, the remaining 9 Lamas belong to Kanum. Out of these only 2 are unmarried and 7 are married. They share their wives with other brothers. The only difference between a married Lama and unmarried lama is that the latter is held in greater reverence than the former.

All the Lamas in the Gompha are above thirty and there has not been any increase in the number of lamas since a pretty long time. Interviews and personal enquiries with many of these lamas revealed that adverse circumstances in childhood were the main cause of their becoming lamas.

Brief biographs of some lamas are given here:—

Narbu

Narbu Lama son of late Samtan is 32 years. His father died about 15 years ago. Having only 3 bighas of land economic condition of his father was bad as he worked as a shepherd with the bigger farmers of Kanum. Narbu studied in Primary school Kanum and thereafter he too worked as shepherd with Penba Ram Negi of Kanum. They are two brothers. His younger brother Hari Chand works as an agriculturist.

At the age of 13 years Narbu thought of becoming a Lama. He started learning the tibetan language and the taputpulma ceremony was done by the Headlama of the monastery when Narbu was about 14 years. When the taputpolma ceremony is held the friends and relatives are invited to witness the ceremony. They offer some money to the new lama. After shaving off his head red clothes are donned by the Lama and then he is admitted to the monastery where he is taught the scriptures. The friends and relatives are then entertained with tea and sattu. Now Narbu devoted his time to religious techings and worked as an agricultural labourer of one or the other landowner in Kanum.

At the age of 22 years Narbu married a girl who stayed with him and his brother for 2 years only and then left them. From her Narbu has one daughter now aged 9 years. Two years after the first wife left Narbu and his brother married again. They have two daughters from the second wife. Last year a dispute arose between the brothers and they have started living separately. The wife took sides with Narbu and the children are with him. Hari Chand married last year and has had a son recently.

Their mother Norchang is living with Narbu and all of them work either on the road construction work or as servants of the bigger landowners. But Narbu still continues to be a lama and goes to the monastery every day. Narbu does not get preference whenever there is some sort of a religious ceremony in the village.

Giachho

Giachho son of late Chhombel Negi of Kanum is a learned lama and he is held in greater respect than the other married Lamas. He is 45 and devotes much of his time to religious teachings. He is invited to other villages also to perform rituals. Giachho has one brother and two sisters.

He studied upto 4th class in the Kanum Primary school and was thereafter admitted to the monastery. At the age of about 20 he was sent to Tibet for higher studies where he remained for 20 years and came to India with the Dalai Lama. He did not marry nor is he attached much to his domestic work. His brother Sanam Lal and one of his unmarried sisters looks after the agriculture work. Giachho extends help to his brother whenever required, but mostly he is away in the illaqua to perform ceremonies. They have 7 bighas of land which is in the name of Sanam Lal. Whenever there is shortage of ration the lama gets it from his brother.

Padam Jit

Padam Jit is the son of a lama—late Bhagpur Negi who had 4 sons and 3 daughters. Two sons and 2 daughters died in early ages and the third daughter is deaf. Neema Dandup and Padamjit are not living together.

Neema Dandup the elder brother of Padamjit is married and the ancestral property is also with him. He has 4 bighas of land and a house. Padamjit after studying upto Primary standard was admitted to the Gompha where he learned the tibetan scriptures. He is thirty. Three years ago he married a girl—daughter of Palzan Chhondan a widowed woman Padamjit as since severed all connections with his family and is now living in his mother-in-law's house. He admitted that since his marriage he lost in prestige and is not invited frequently to perform rituals. As an alternative to this loss he has taken up to agriculture.

Of late the lamas called a meeting of the villagers to express their concern about the decreasing number of lamas. It was also stressed

that there has not been fresh entrants to the Gonppha for a long time. They threatened the villagers that if they were reluctant to send their children to the Gonppha, the lamas too would abandon performing their ceremonies. The village elders then assured the lamas that they will now send their children to the monastery.

Captain Alexander Gerard has given the following description of the Lamas and their various sects in his "Account of Kanawar" published in 1841:—

"The Lamas in Koonawur are of three sects Geloopa, Dookpa, and Neengma, but I could not hear of that called Shammar by Captain Turner. The Geloopas or Gelookpas are reckoned the highest; since the heads of their religion at Teshoo Loomboo and Lahassa are of the same sect. They wear yellow garments and caps of the same of various shapes".

"The Dookpas are dressed indifferently, but have red caps, and the Neengmas wear the same or go bare headed; the two former do not marry, but there is no restriction on the Neengmas".

"The Lamas admit proselytes at all ages and any person can become a Dookpa, Geloopa, or Neengma at his pleasure; they are commonly initiated at the age of 7 or 10, and the Chief Gelong of Kanum said he would admit me although I came from a different country".

"The Lamas assemble in their temples twice or thrice a day to perform worship, which they accompany with band of musical instruments".

"The Gelongs, (monks) and Chomos or Anees, nuns, are the heads of the Lamas, and have nothing to do with worldly concerns, but employ themselves in chanting hymns, and writing and printing sacred sentences from blocks of wood. The nuns pass most of their time in reading and do not write so much as the Gelongs".

"The Lamas and Gelongs, who profess celibacy, reside in a monastery called Ghonpa or Ghoonk, and the nuns in a convert named Chomoling: these usually form distinct divisions and are apart from the other houses of a village".

"In Koonawur, Gelongs are not common; there is seldom more than one in the largest villages except Shealkhur where there are eight or ten Geloopas, improperly called Gelongs but not entitled to such a destinction".

"The Gelongs wear white trousers, a long red and yellow cloth garment, and either go bare headed or have head dresses, commonly yellow, higher than the rest, and shaped like a cone. I have also seen some with hats like ours, and others resembling those of quakers of a French grey colour".

Tassi Chhoeling

There has not been any increase in the number of jomos. The 12 jomos who were in the chhoeling previously are continuing and it was disclosed by the village elders that the younger girls were reluctant to join the Nunnary. The old jomos work in their houses or some of them are employed as rigries—maid servants in the landowners houses.

Brief biographies of two of the old jomoes is given here:—

(a) Thakure Zomo daughter of Penma Ram is 60 years. Her father had 7 bighas of land. Her brother died a couple of years ago. Thakure is the head Zomo of Tassi Chhoeling. She was admitted to the Chhoeling at the age of 17 and then she started learning the tibetan scriptures. She has thus devoted her entire life to the learning of scriptures.

Tassi Zangmo

(b) Tassi Zangmo is also 60 years. She had 4 brothers. Three of them have since died and only one is living who has set up a small shop. He works as an agriculturist at home. Tassi Zangmo was admitted to the nunnary when she was 18 years and since then she acted upon the advice of the lama who administered the oath of good conduct to her.

As in the case of a lama a Zomo does not continue to be a zomo if she marries.

Case studies of Polyandrous Families

I. Chhering Dupke, Hira Chand and Gyalchhan Jit are three brothers sons of late Zalam Sukh. They have 7 bighas of land and a house. Hira Chand is a lama. They were married about 40 years ago and their first wife died twenty years back. From their first wife they have only one son who is in service in Rampur and he seldom goes to his home. Gyalchhen Jit went to Dubbling a village near Poo and married there.

Hira Chand and Chhering Dupke after the death of their first wife married Yongchen Zongmo. From their 2nd wife they have two sons and two daughters. Four years ago a dispute arose amongst the brothers. Though Gyalchhen Jit has gone to Dubbling, he wants a share of property in Kanum. Hira Chand wants his separate share. The children and wife Zongmo have taken side with Chhering Dupke.

The landed property has been divided informally, but a dispute is still going on. Zongmo claims that 3rd son aged 12 years Ringchain is from Hira Chand Lama and this has caused a problem to Hira Chand Lama who disowns the responsibility of having any relation with Zongmo. The dispute was lingring on still.

II.	Virendar Singh.	47
	Padam Ram.	42
	Munsail.	35
	Vidya Sagar	30
	Kailash	25

They were married to Nawang Zongmo who is 52 some 7 years senior to Virender Singh, the eldest among all the brothers. They have 200 bighas of land including grass land and other waste land. They have 3 sons and two daughters. The daughters have since been married and the sons are studying in the school. The distribution of work among the family members is: —

Padam Ram is always busy in trade. He goes to Hangrang valley and other places and brings cereals. His money lending business is also spread over many places in Poo Sub-Division and he has to be away from home for a major part in the year.

During winter Virender migrates to lower hills, Patta and Mehlog in Arki Tehsil with his goats and sheep. He is accompanied by 2 shepherds and on his return journey he takes cereals, cloth, salt, pulses, rice and jaggery to his village. He is usually back in Kanum by May. Then he stays at home and Muhssal who is a lama goes to shayalkhar with goats and sheep. This division of work has been continuing for many years.

Vidya Sagar the 4th brother is a Matriculate and is employed as weaving and spinning master in Kalpa. He seldom visits his village. It seems he does not participate in the joint marriage. The 5th brother Kailash is away from home in search of employment. Their wife Nawang Zongmo attends to all domestic affairs with tact and there is complete harmony among the brothers. The head of the household is Padam Ram who manages every thing.

Participation in Fairs and Festivals

There is an element of compulsion for males and females to participate in the following festivals: —

1. Menthoko—held on 20th Bhadra
2. Beesh —held on 1st Vaisakha
3. Dune Khayang—in Asvina
4. Sheken—7th Kartika
5. Kangyur Zalma—15th Asadha

In case some one abstains deliberately he is fined Re. 1 by the village deity. There is no question how many men and women participate from one household but at least one male and one female must participate in the fair. In other fairs too participation is essential, but absentees are not fined. Women put on their best dresses and jewellery when they attend these fairs.

APPENDIX XII

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

District Chamba

Chitrari, Chamba Tehsil
(Price Rs. 3.60)

Devi Kothi, Chaurah Tehsil.
(Price Rs. 3.10)

Maingal, Chamba Tehsil.

Lakkar Mandi, Bhattiyat Tehsil.

Hathi, Bhattiyat Tehsil.
(Price Rs. 3.40)

Brahmaur, Brahmaur Sub-Tehsil.
(Price Rs. 4.20)

Kupha, Parmas, Malet and Karoti (Thamoh) Pangi Sub-Tehsil.
(Price Rs. 4.40)

District Mandi

Chauntra, Jogindarnagar Tehsil.

Bir, Mandi Sadar Tehsil.

Rawalsar, Mandi Sadar Tehsil.

Kot, Sarkaghat Tehsil.

Panjain, Chichot Tehsil.

Nalag, Sundarnagar Tehsil.

Pangna, Karsog Tehsil.

District Bilaspur

Dari and Dabhla, Ghamarwin Tehsil.

Deoli, Bilaspur Sadar Tehsil.

District Mahasu

Shakrori, Sooni Sub-Tehsil.
(Price Rs. 3.00)

Batal, Arki Tehsil.

Shathala, Kumharsain Sub-Tehsil.

Delath, Rampur Tehsil.

Dodra and Kwar, Rohru Tehsil.

Chargaon, Rohru Tehsil.

Purag, Kotkhai Sub-Tehsil.

Gijari, Theog Tehsil.

(Price Rs. 2.45)

Chaunri, Kasumpti Tehsil.
Basal, Solon Tehsil.
Chaupal, Chaupal Tehsil.
Jubbal, Jubbal Tehsil.

District Sirmur

Mangarh, Pachhad Tehsil.
Rajana, Rainka Tehsil.
Moginand, Nahan Tehsil.

(Price Rs. 3.75)

Kolar, Paonta Tehsil.

(Price Rs. 3.45)

Kamrao, Paonta Tehsil.

District Kinnaur

Kothi, Kalpa Sub-Division.

(Price Rs. 3.55)

Nachar, Nachar Sub-Division.

Kanum, Poo Sub-Division. (present issue)

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

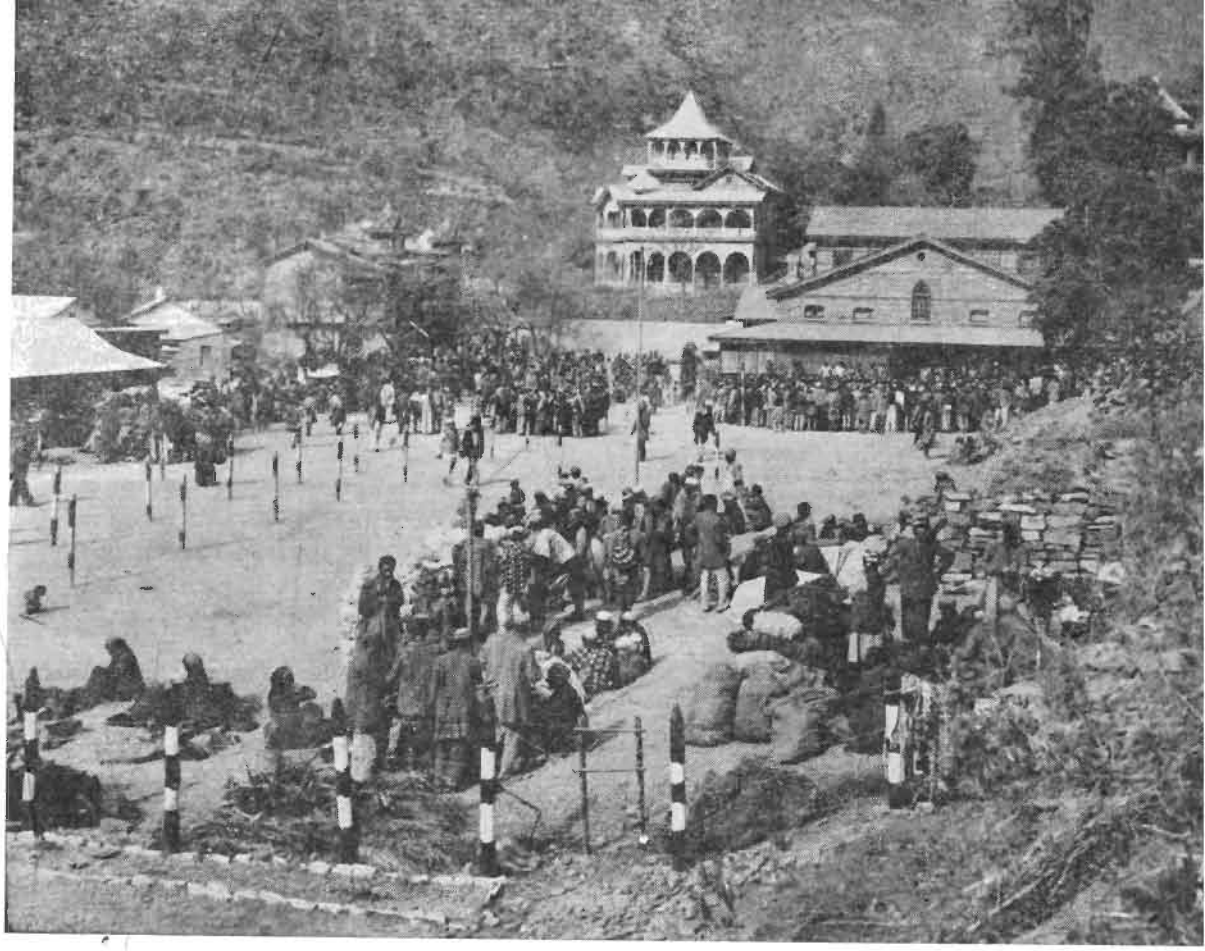
1961 Census Report, Volume XX—Himachal Pradesh, will be in the following parts—

I-A	General Report.
I-B	*Report on Vital Statistics and Fertility* Survey.
I-C	Subsidiary Tables.
II-A	General Population Tables and Primary Census Abstracts. (Price Rs. 1.75)
II-B	Economic Tables.
II-C	Cultural & Migration Tables.
III	Household Economic Tables.
IV	Report on Housing and Establishments.
V-A	Special Tables on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (including reprints).
V-B(I)	Ethnographic notes on Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes.
V-B(II)	A study of Gaddi Scheduled Tribes and affiliated castes by Prof. William H. Newell.
VI	Village Survey Monographs (35 villages).
VII-A	Survey of handicrafts.
VII-B	Fairs and Festivals.
VIII-A	Administration Report—Enumeration (for official use only).
VIII-B	Administration Report—Tabulation (for official use only).
IX	Maps (Atlas).

1961 CENSUS HIMACHAL PRADESH GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

District Handbook—Chamba
District Handbook—Mandi
District Handbook—Bilaspur
District Handbook—Mahasu
District Handbook—Sirmur
District Handbook—Kinnaur

L/B(D)16SCO(HP)—1,000—19-11-65—GIPS



Lavi fair at Rampur



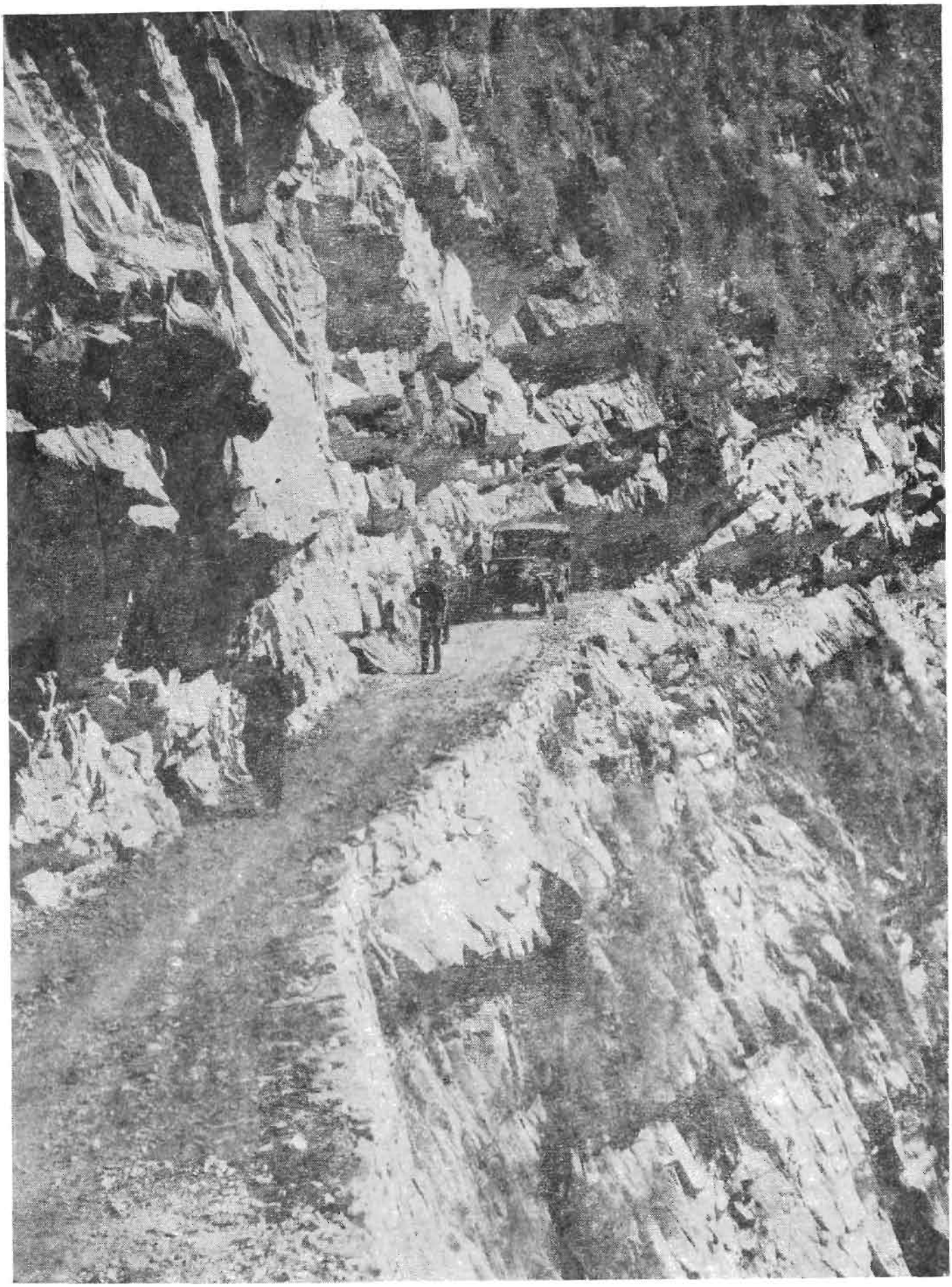
Trade in wool



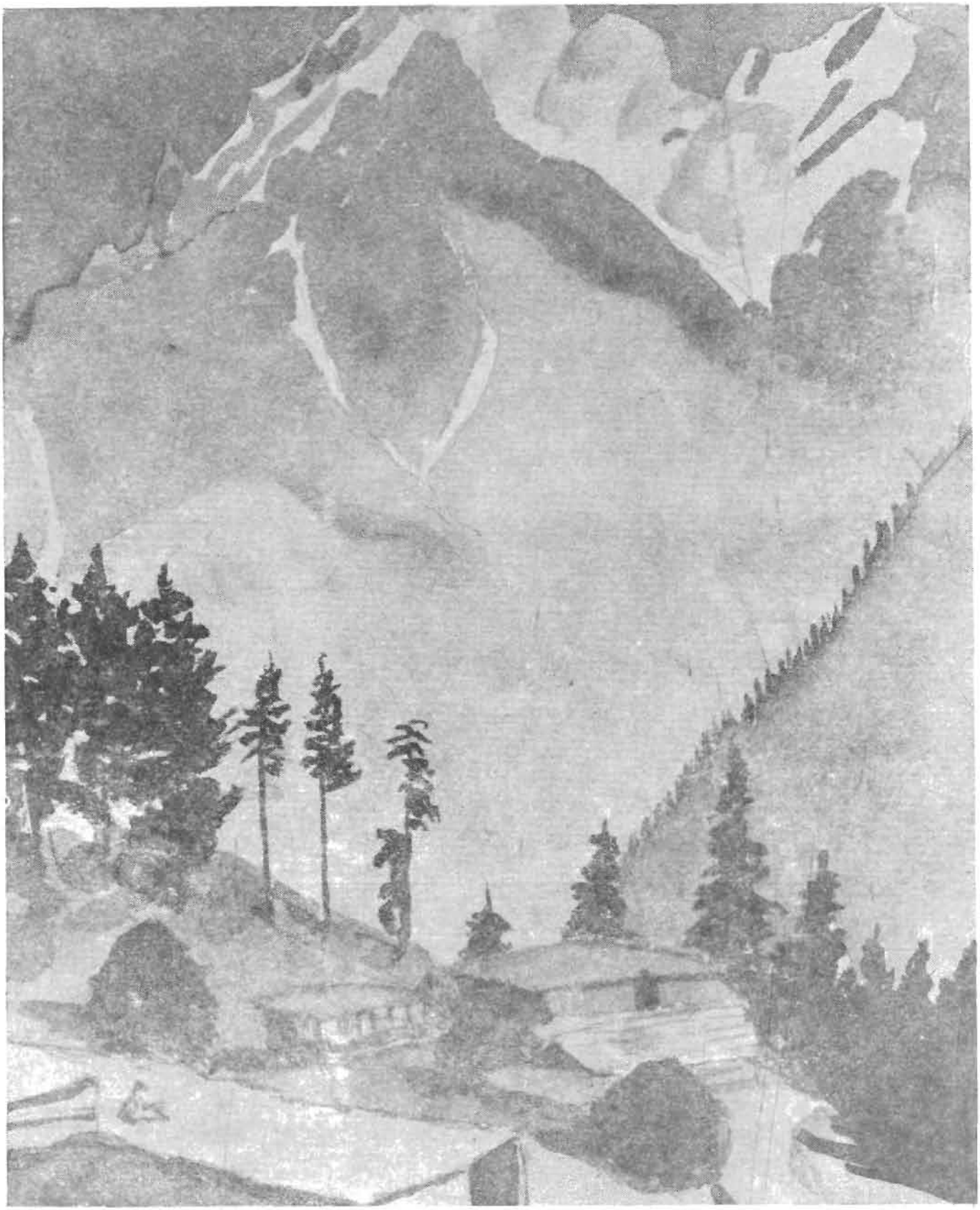
Horse and sheep traders



Shopping

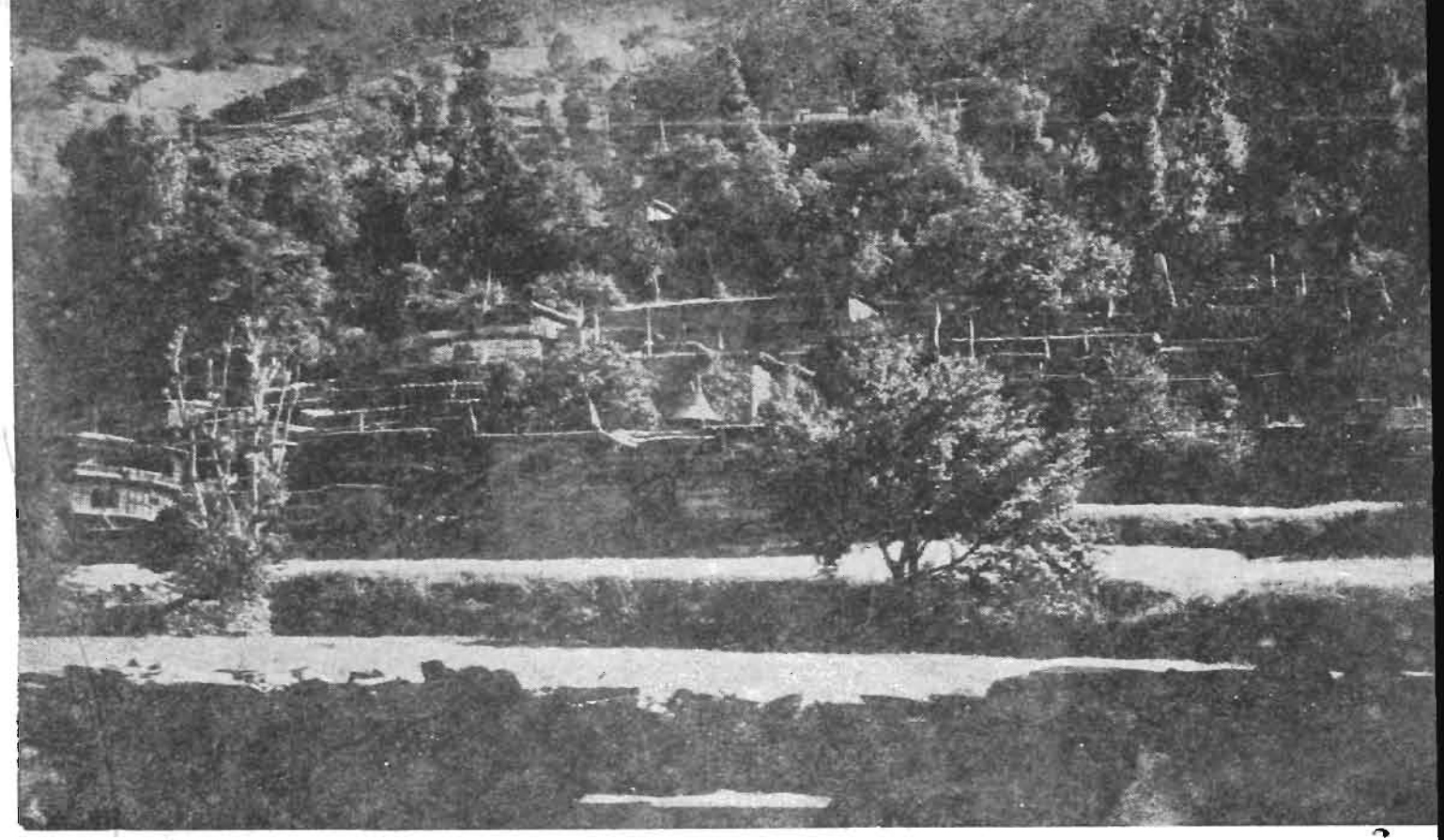


Hindustan Tibet Road

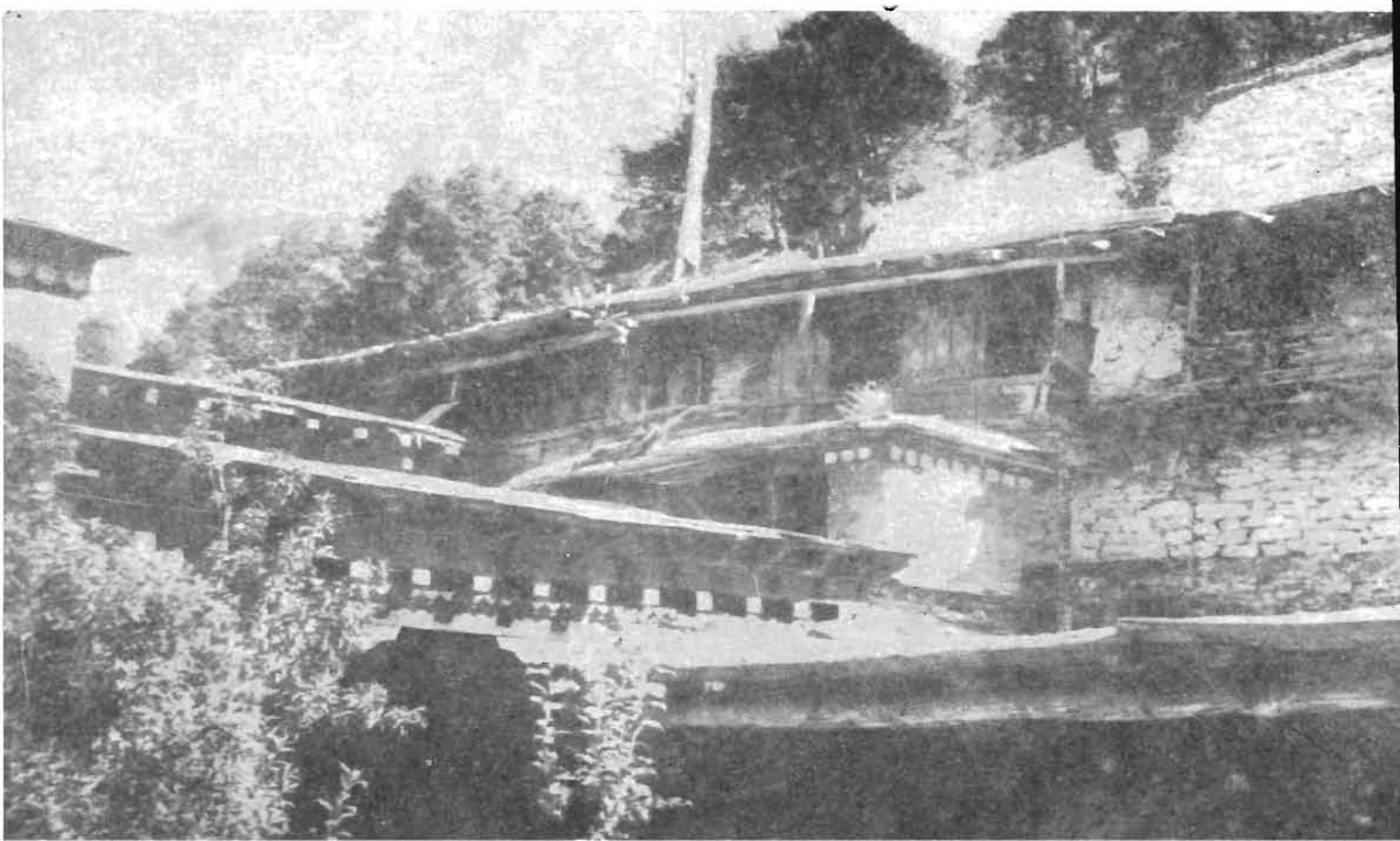


Peasant's Houses

Courtesy: John Martyn



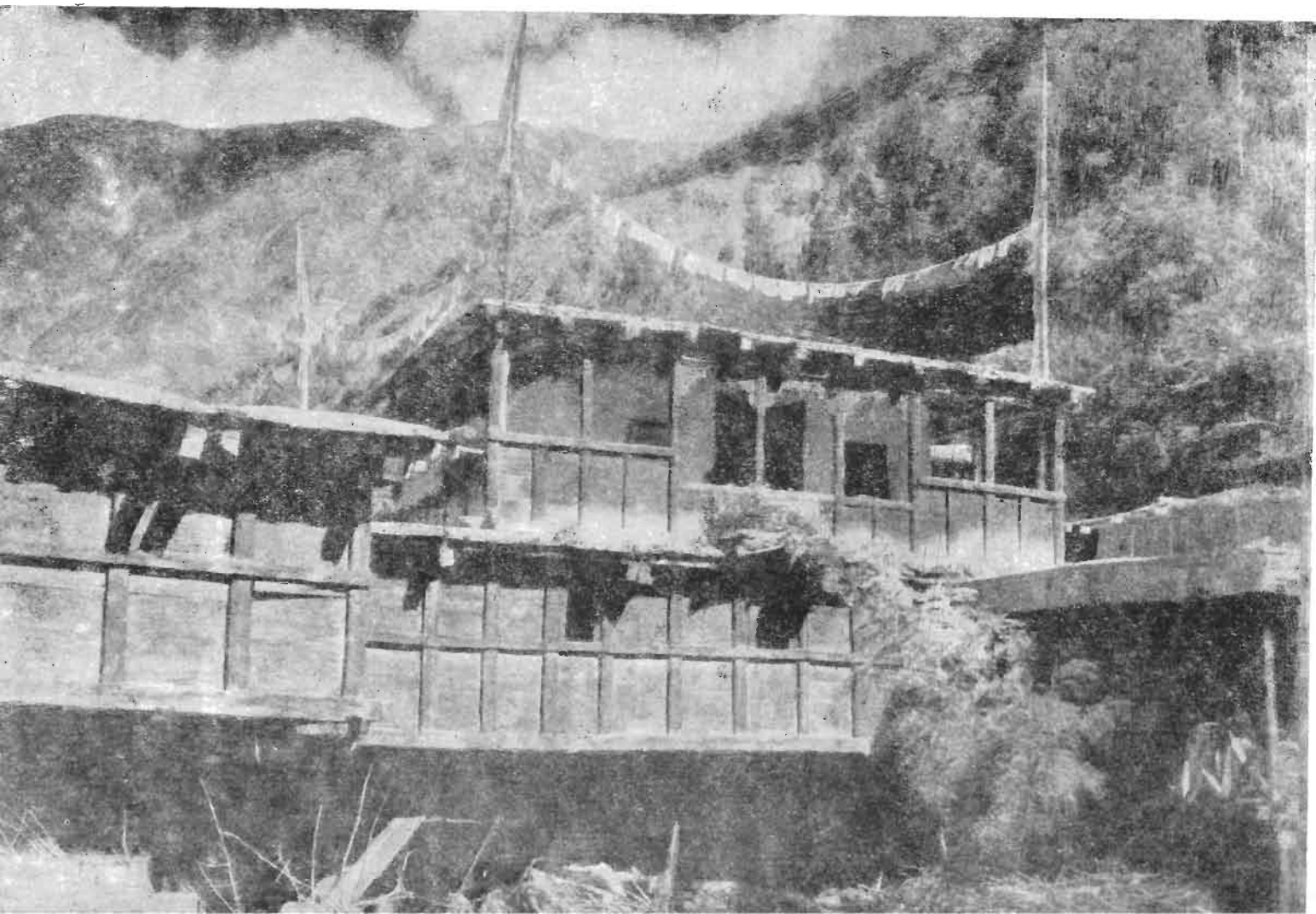
Cluster of Houses at Kanum

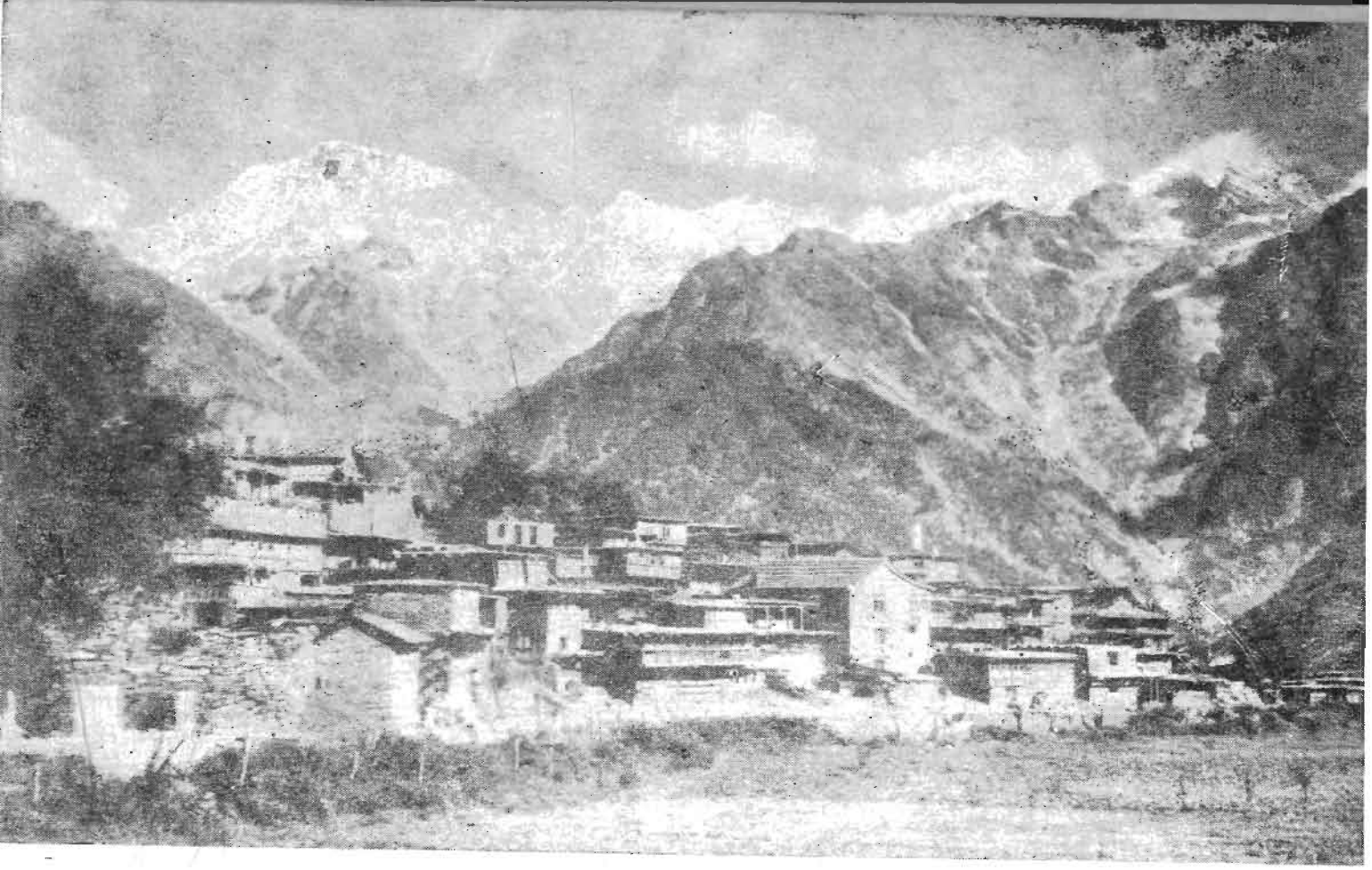




Artist's Impresion of Kalpa
Courtesy: B. C. Gul

House adorned with flags and buntings—Kalpa
Courtesy: Anthropological Survey of India





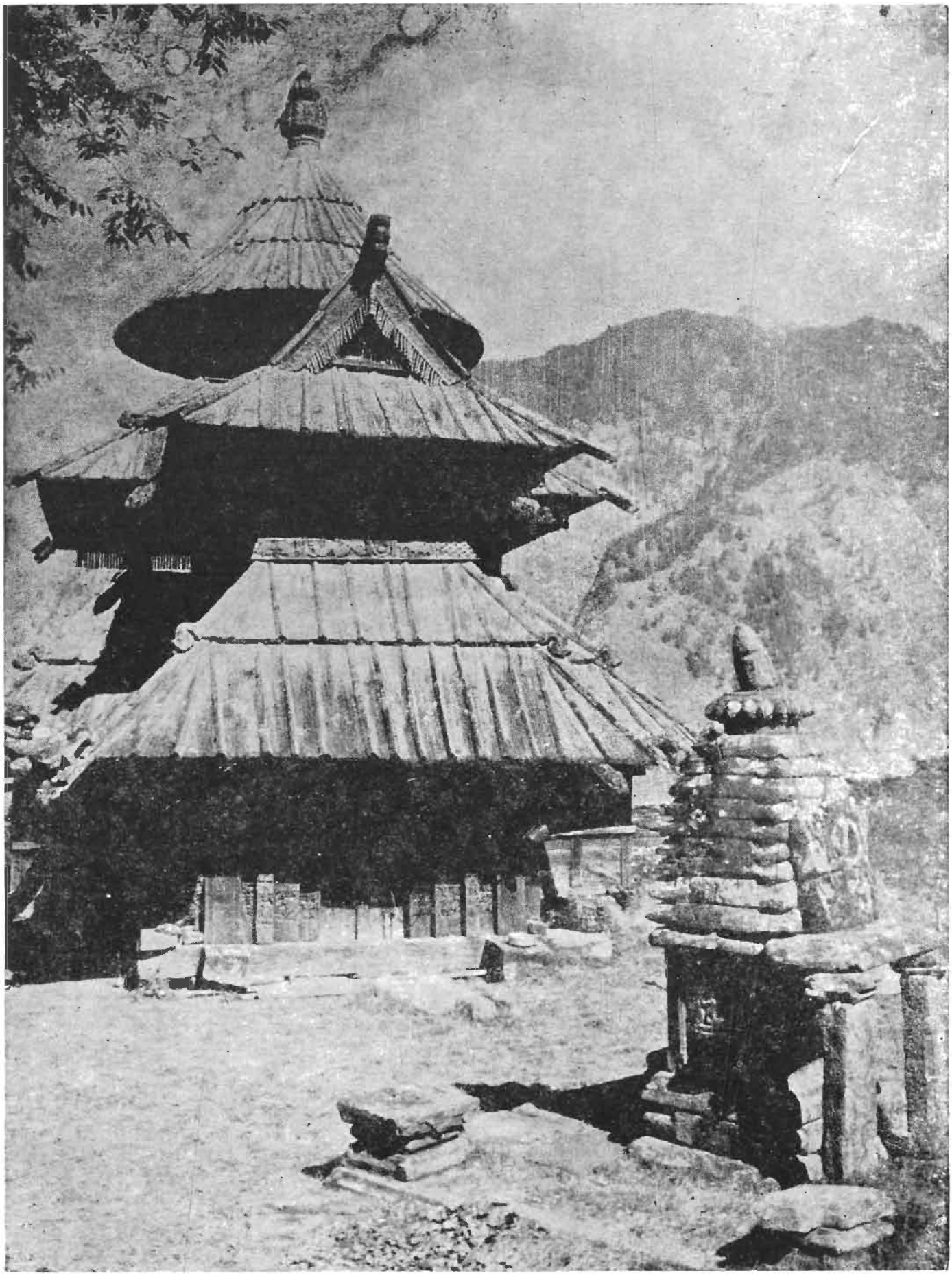
Kalpa

Courtesy: B. C. Gul

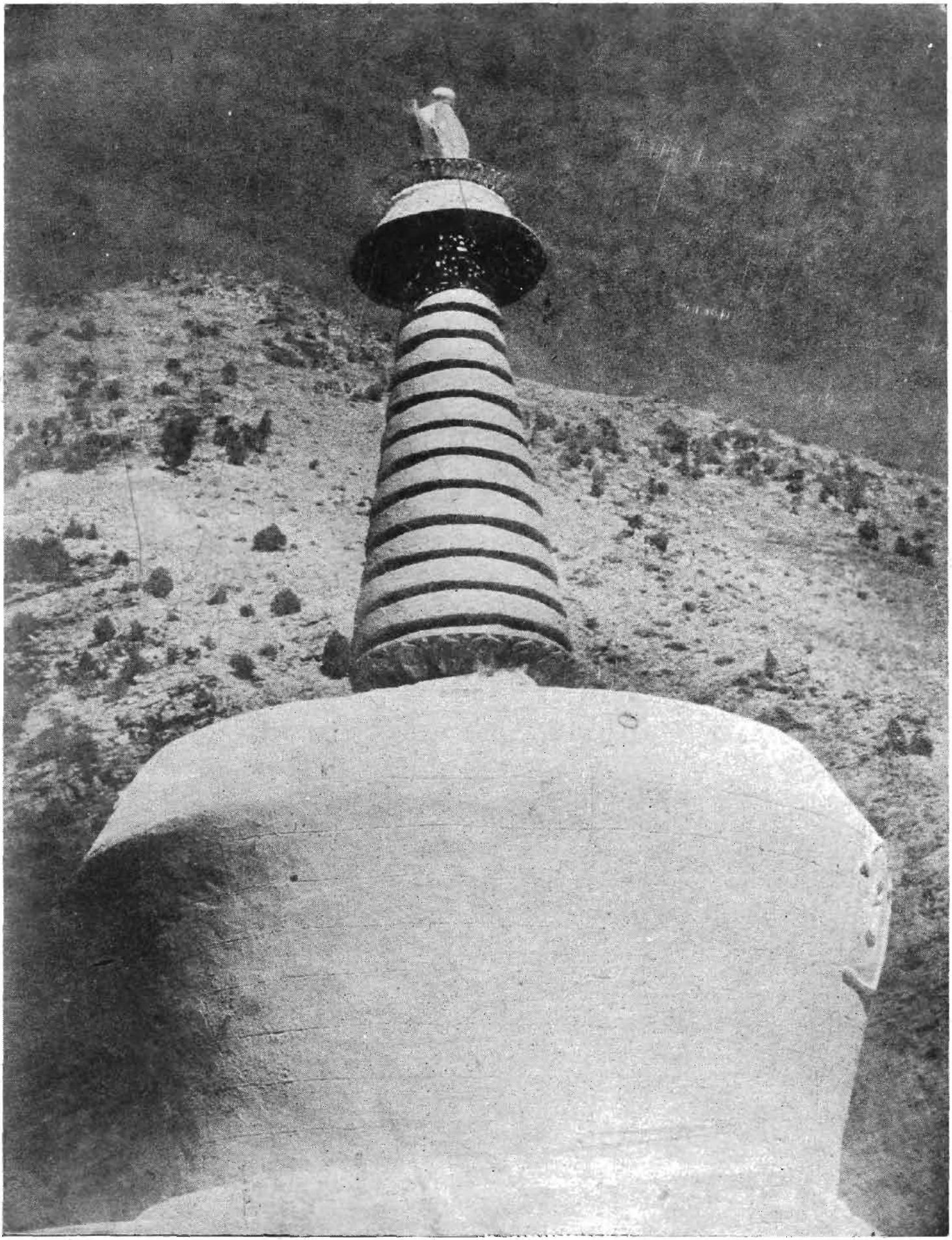


Artist's Impression of Kalpa

Courtesy: B. C. Gul



Sungra Temple, Nachar Sub Div.
Courtesy: Anthropological Survey of India



Chhostain



Picking of chilgoza cones

Courtesy: Development Department



Buying pasham at Lavi fair



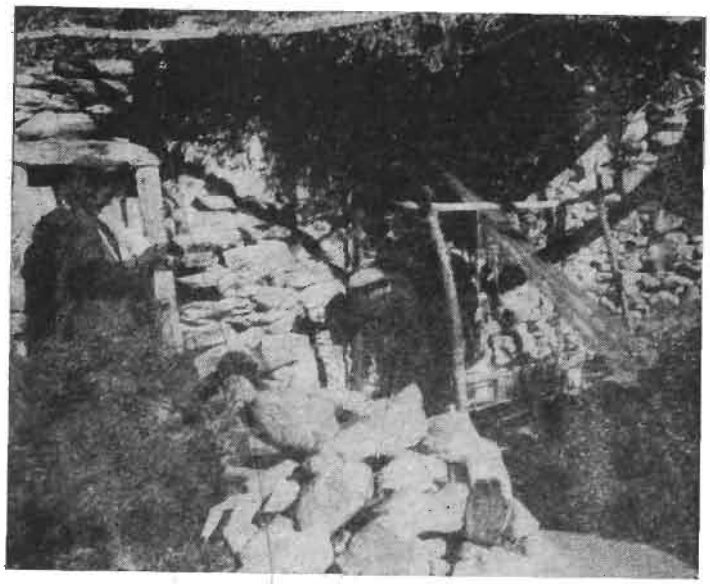
)inning for leisure



Flocks of goats & sheep on the move.



Ploughing with choor



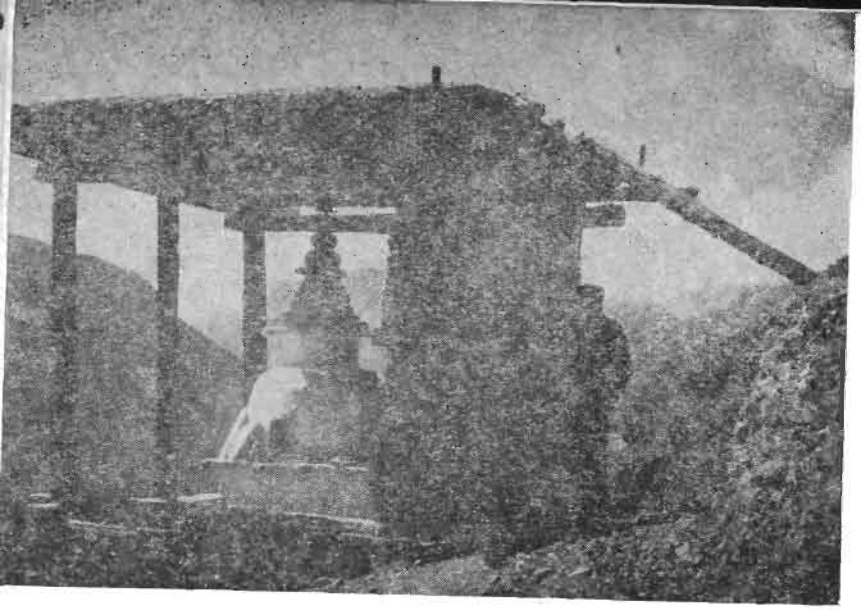
Picking up stones



Mirth at Khabo



Stone and wood walls



The gateway to Kanum

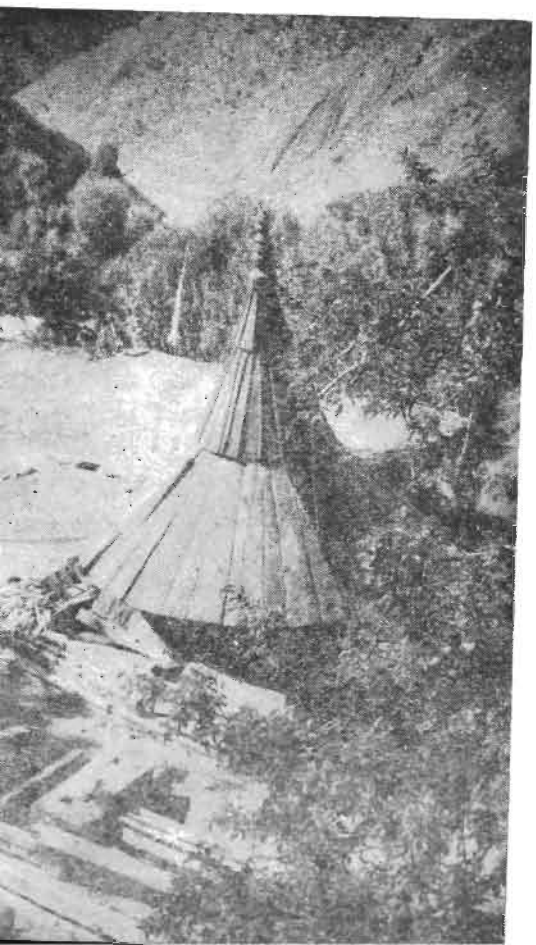


Old visitors



Painting in the Monastery in Kanum

Dabla Temple in Kanum



Hair-do





Lamas and Jamos



Interior of the Monastery at Poo

Another painting in the Monastery in Kanum



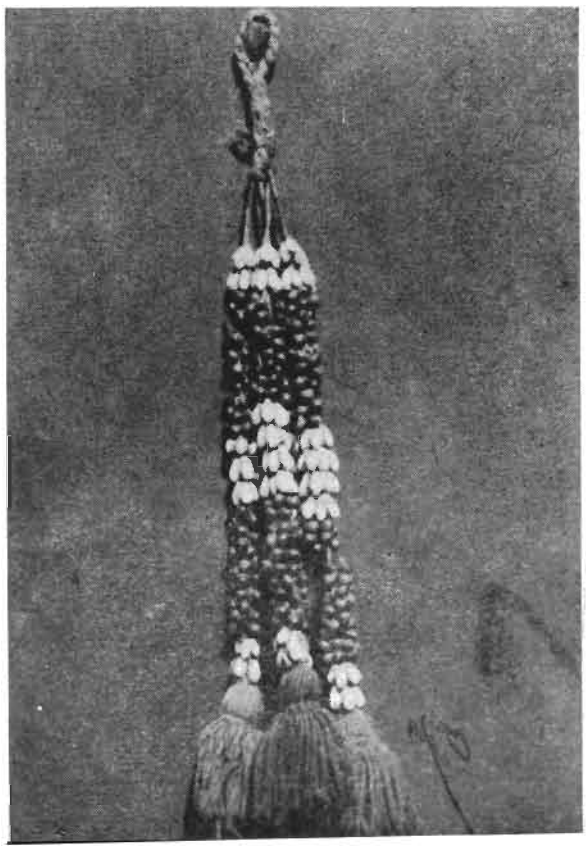


Singing together



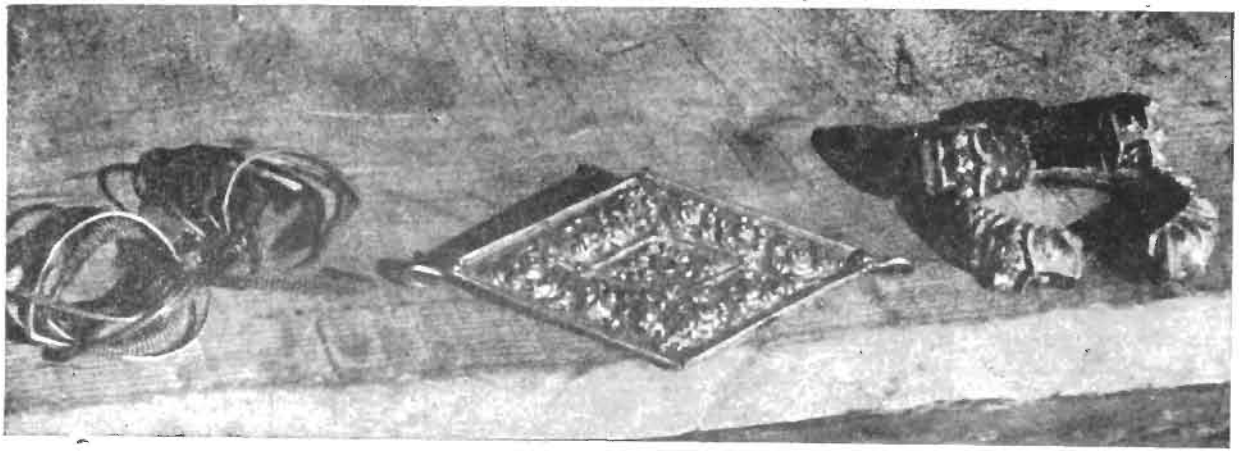
A delightful smile

Zutti—a hair pendant





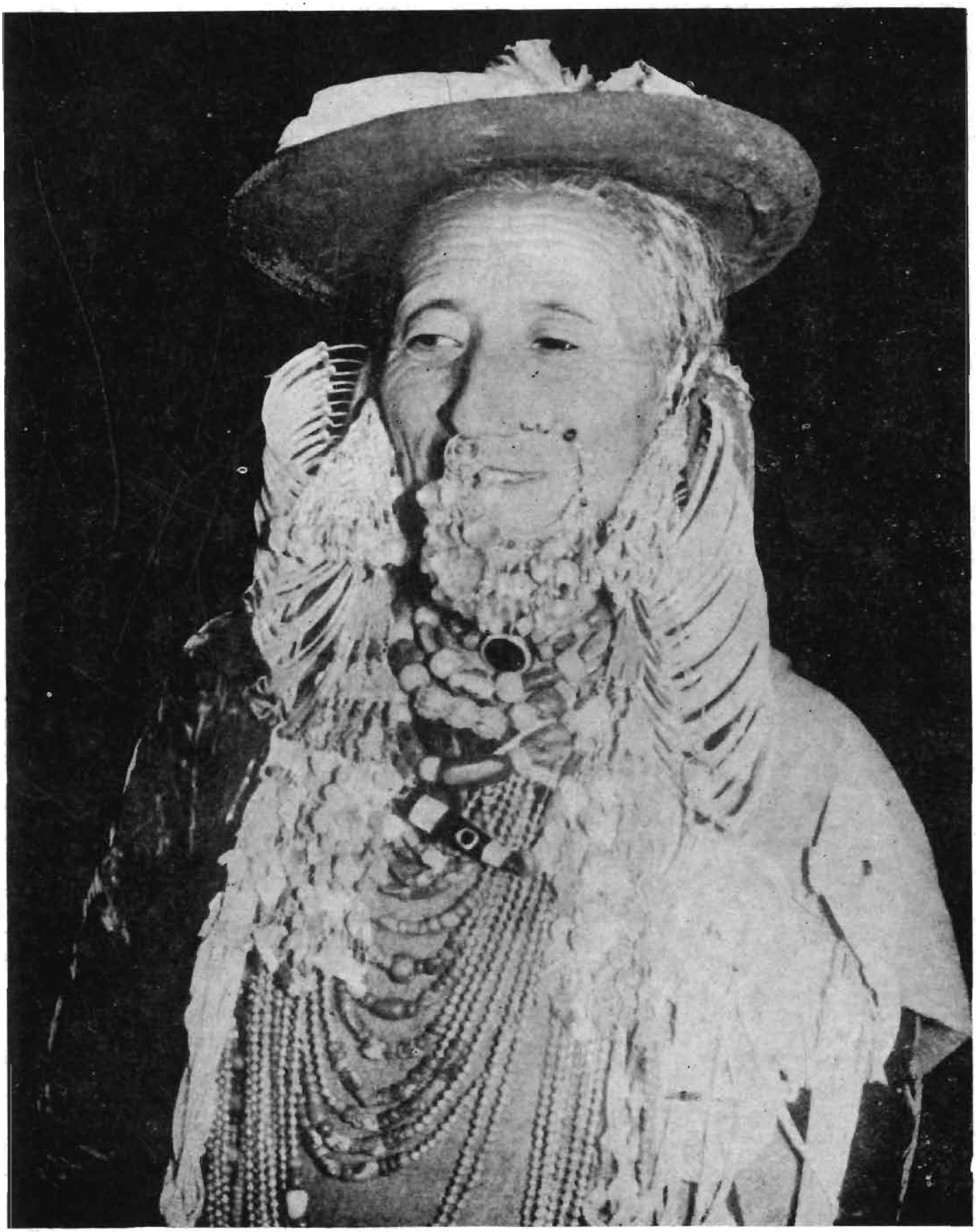
Expecting someone



Digra and
Kantai
for ears



Most ornate hairstyle and ornaments



Lust for ornaments does not wither away with age



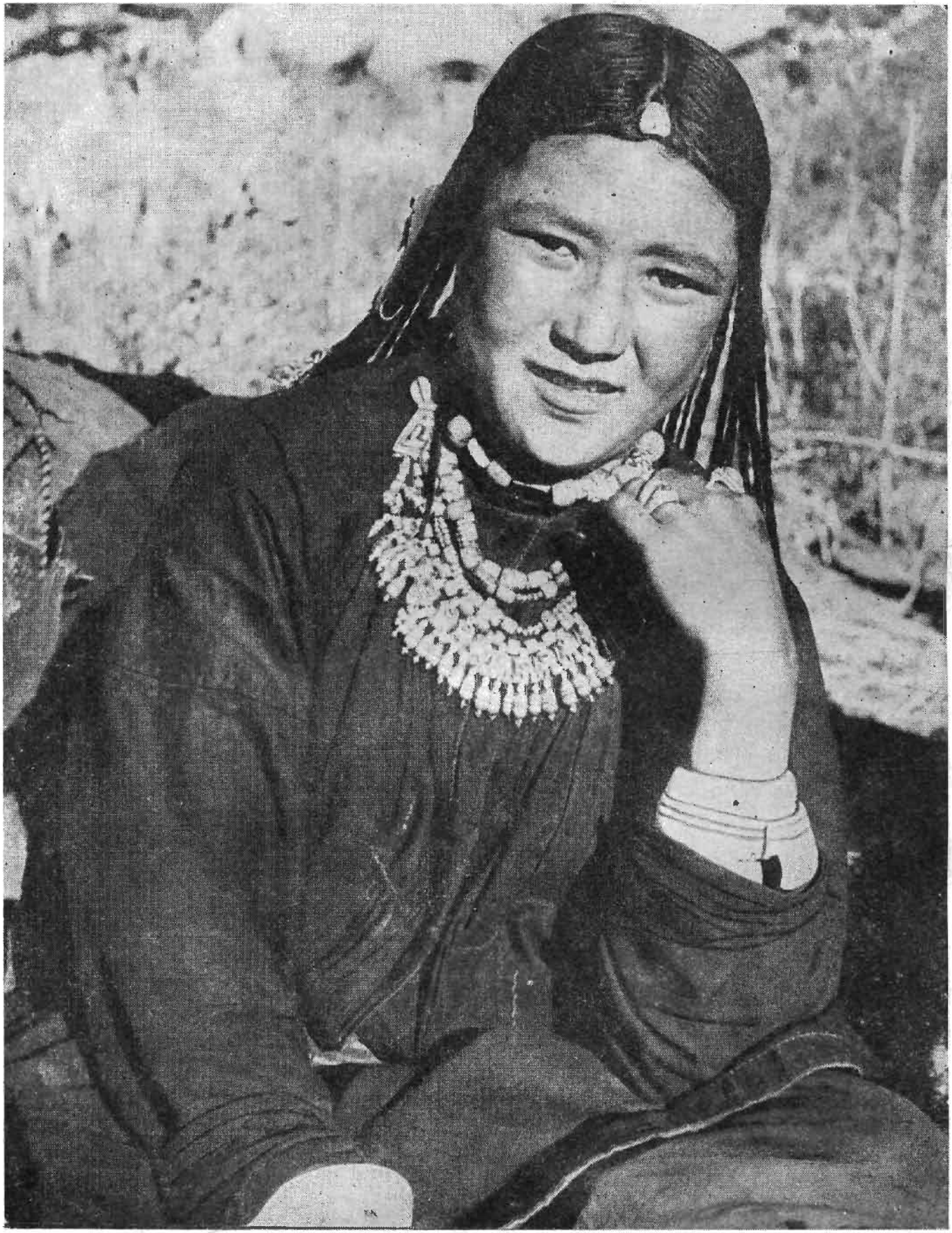
Profusion of ornaments and colours during Phulaich



Dressed for the fair



Raja Vir Bhadra Singh of Bushahr with Kinnauri women in their best



A road-side worker



Common designs for Shawl



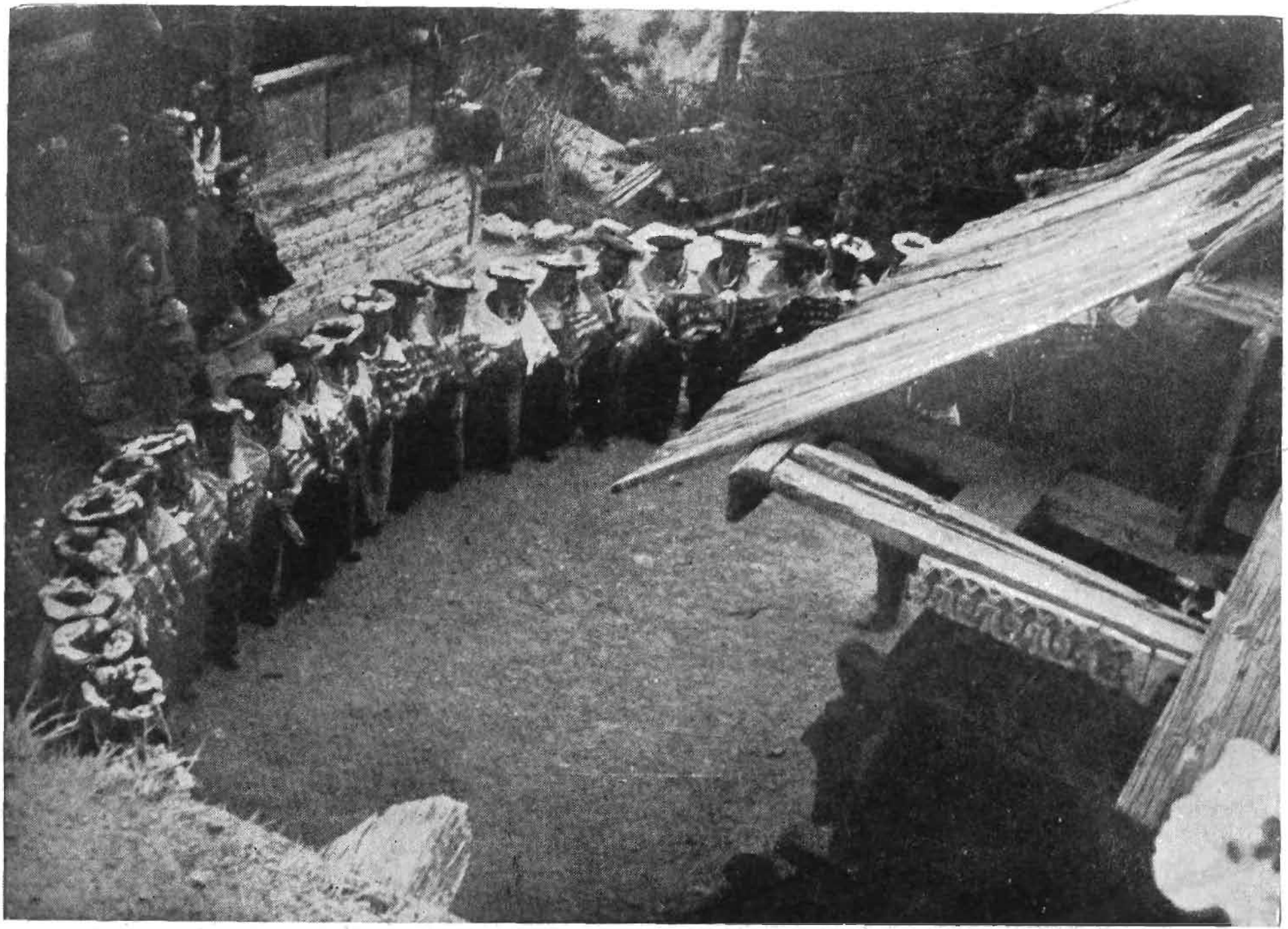
Full of jewellary



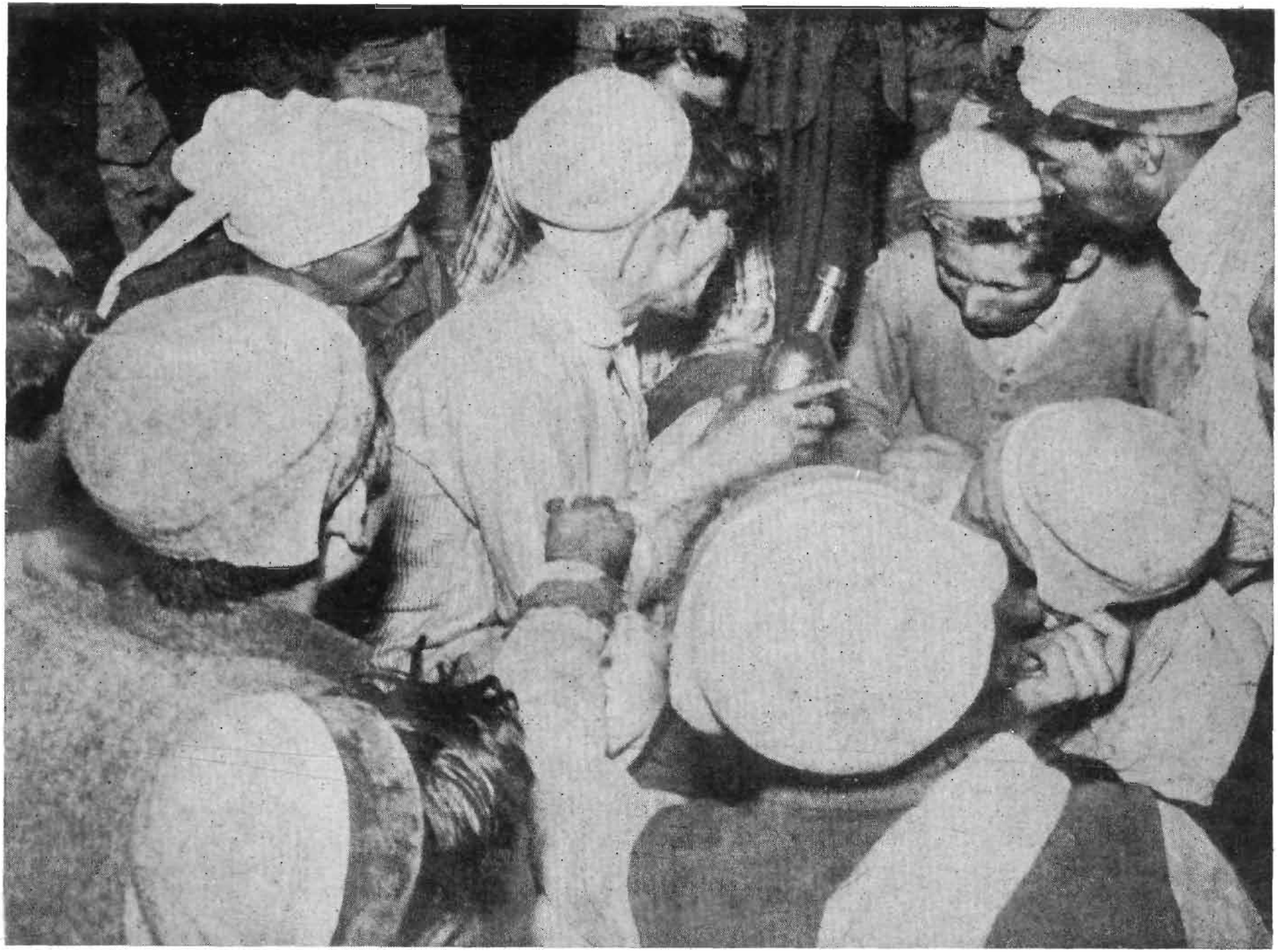
Young girls dressed for the
Republic Day celebrations, New Delhi
Courtesy: Mrs. Ruth Reeves



Dancing at Poo



Dancing during Phulaich at the temple in Kanum



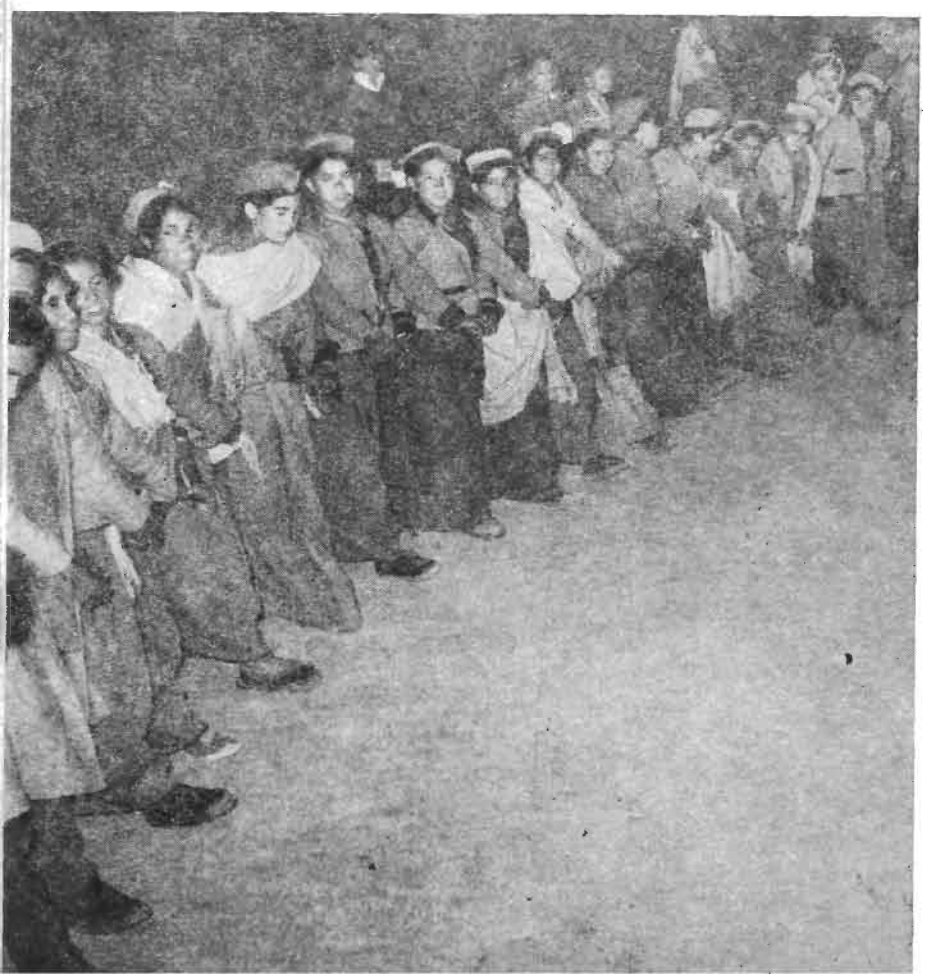
A weaver's cock-tail party



Laughter



In a gay mood—Singing at Phulaich.

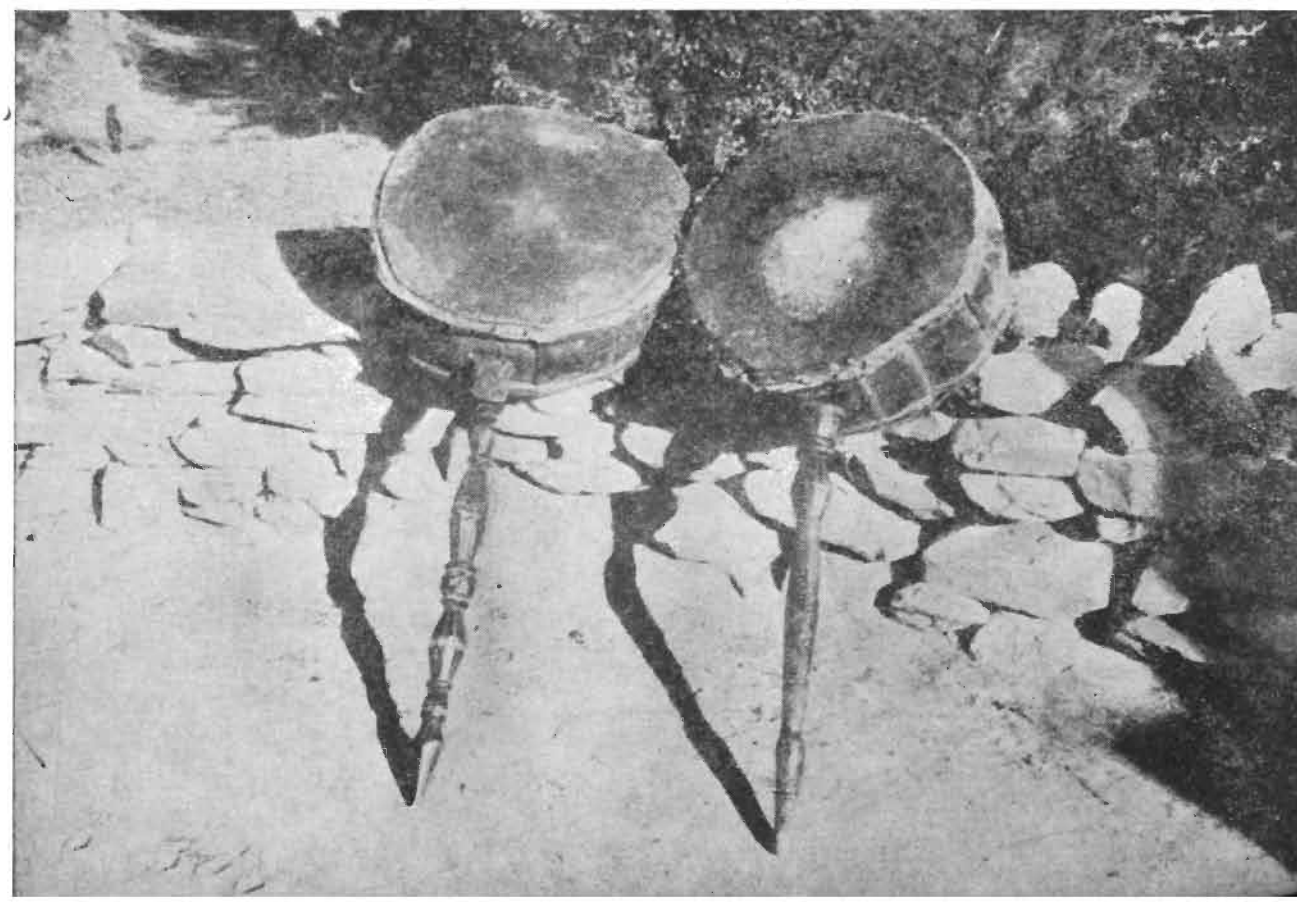


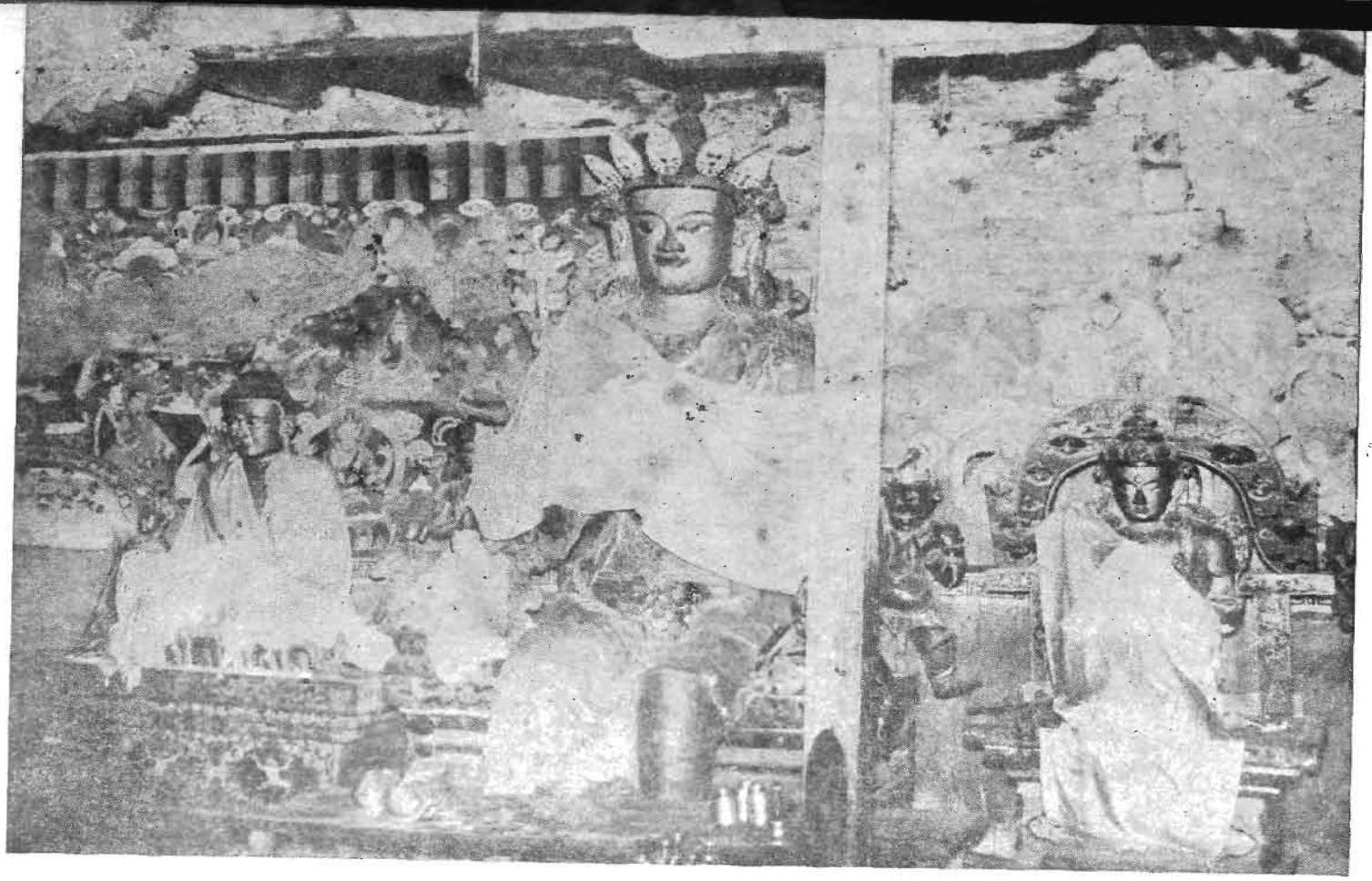
More Dancers at Poo



Sichu celebrations of Buddhist Monastery at Rewalsar—a place of pilgrimage in Mandi

Jugzang—Orchestra in Kanum Monastery





Inside the Monastery at Kanum

Murals paintings in the Buddhist Monastery of Kanum

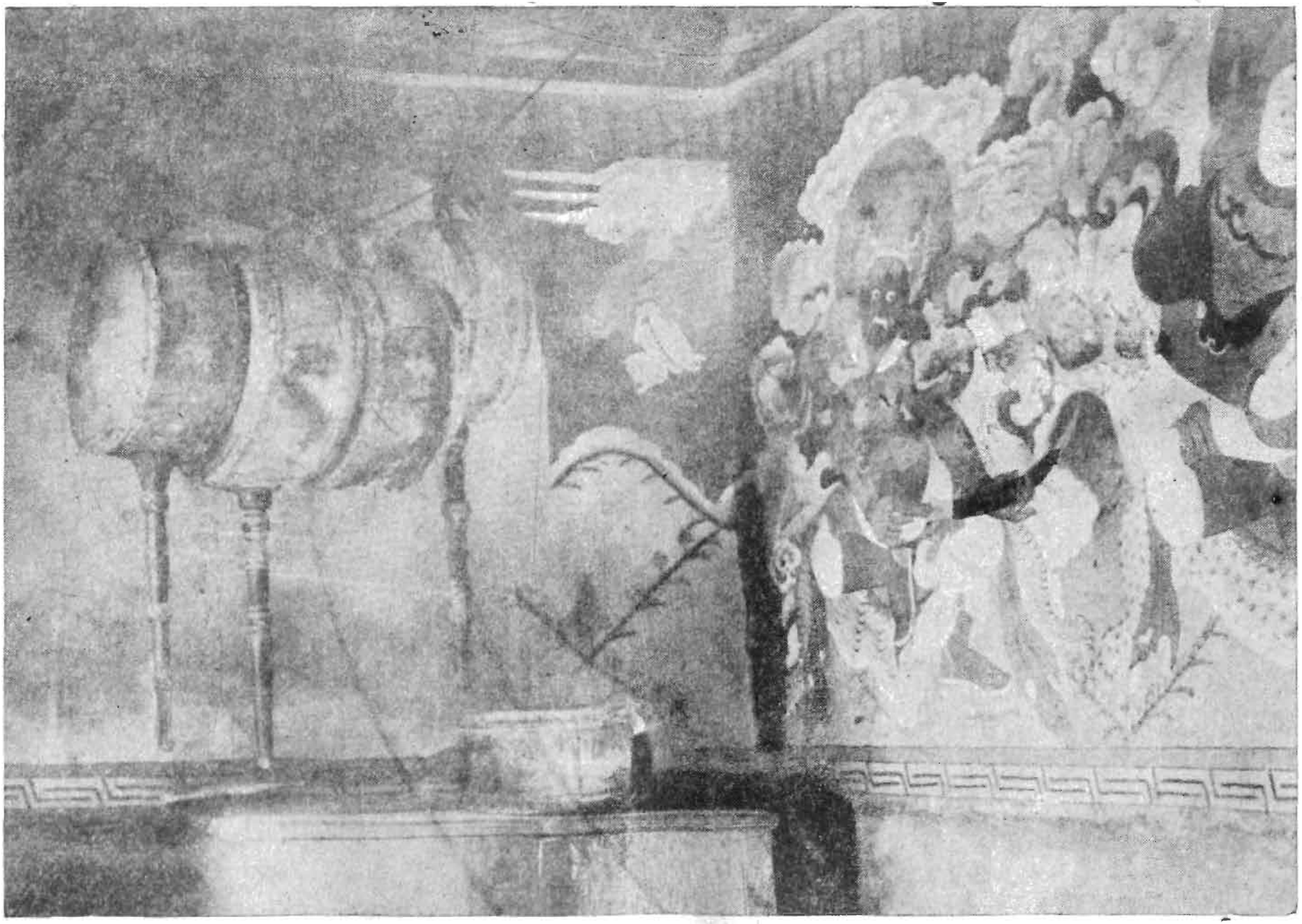




More Murals in rich colours

Mural painting from the Monastery

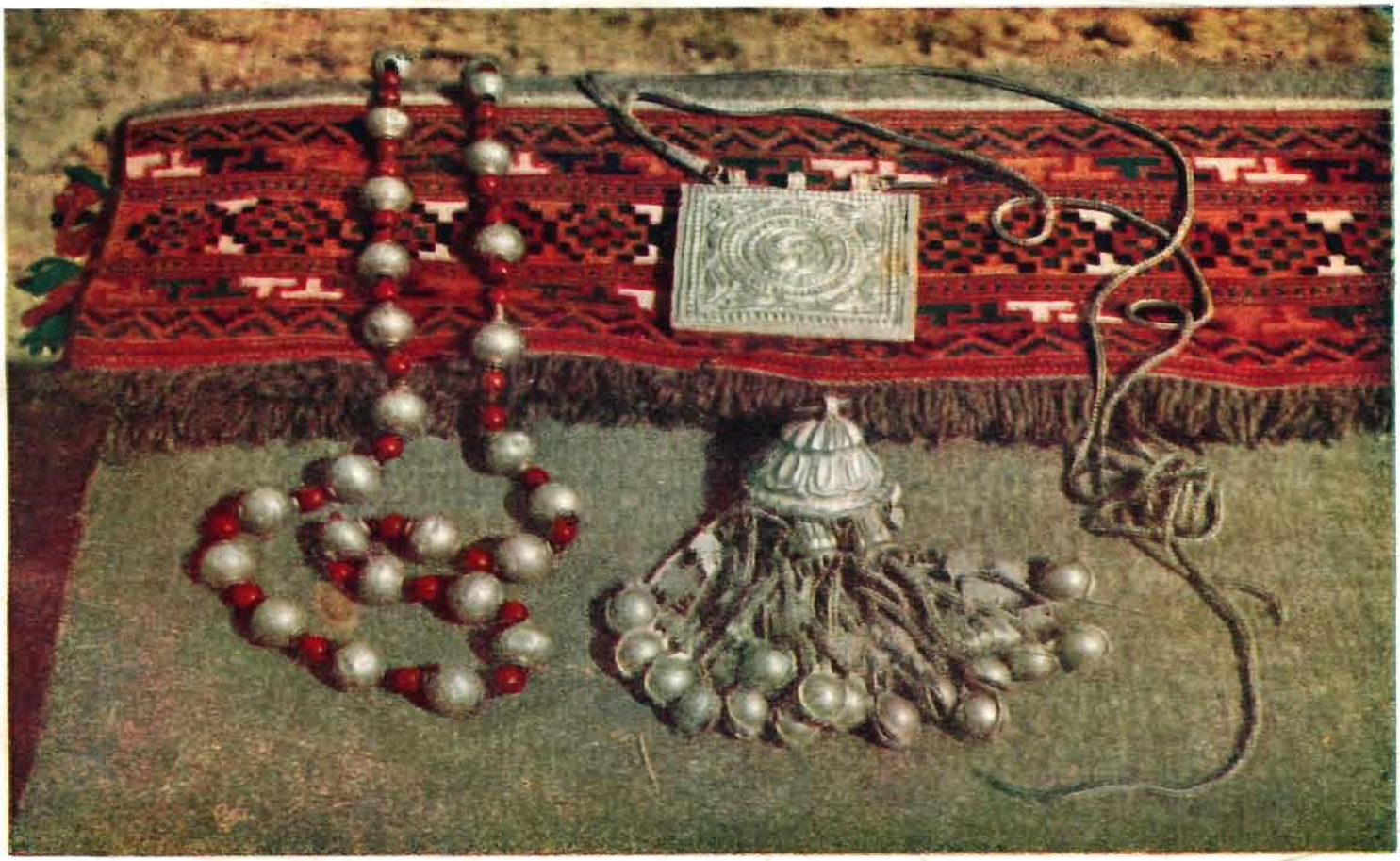




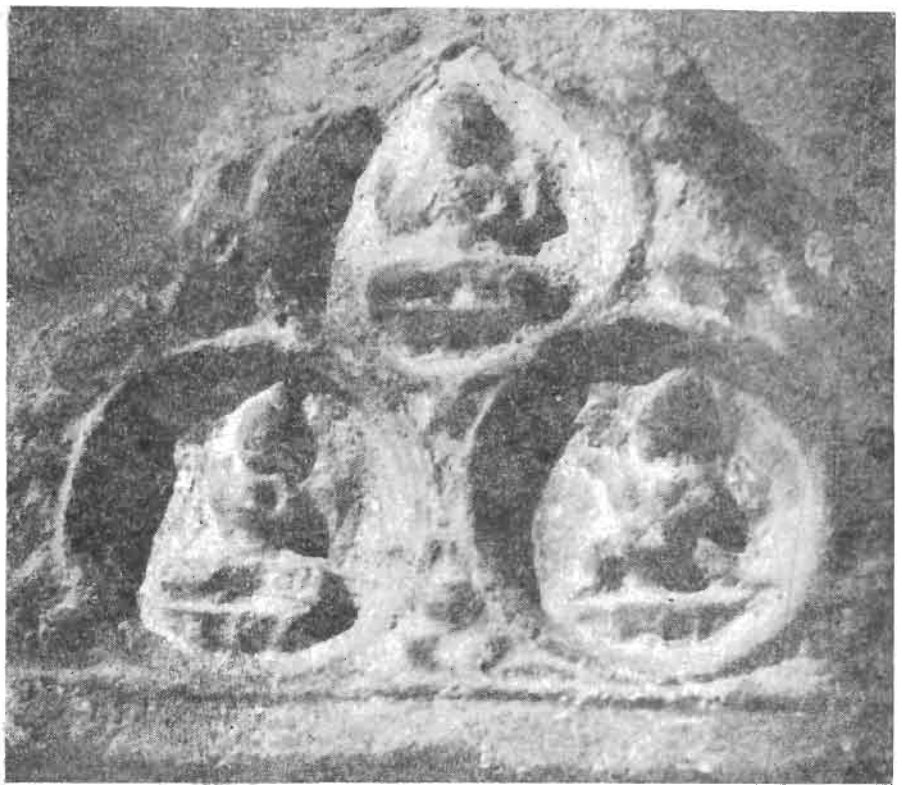
Painting from the Monastery



Silver tea pot, cups and a shawl



Ornaments and exquisite shawl



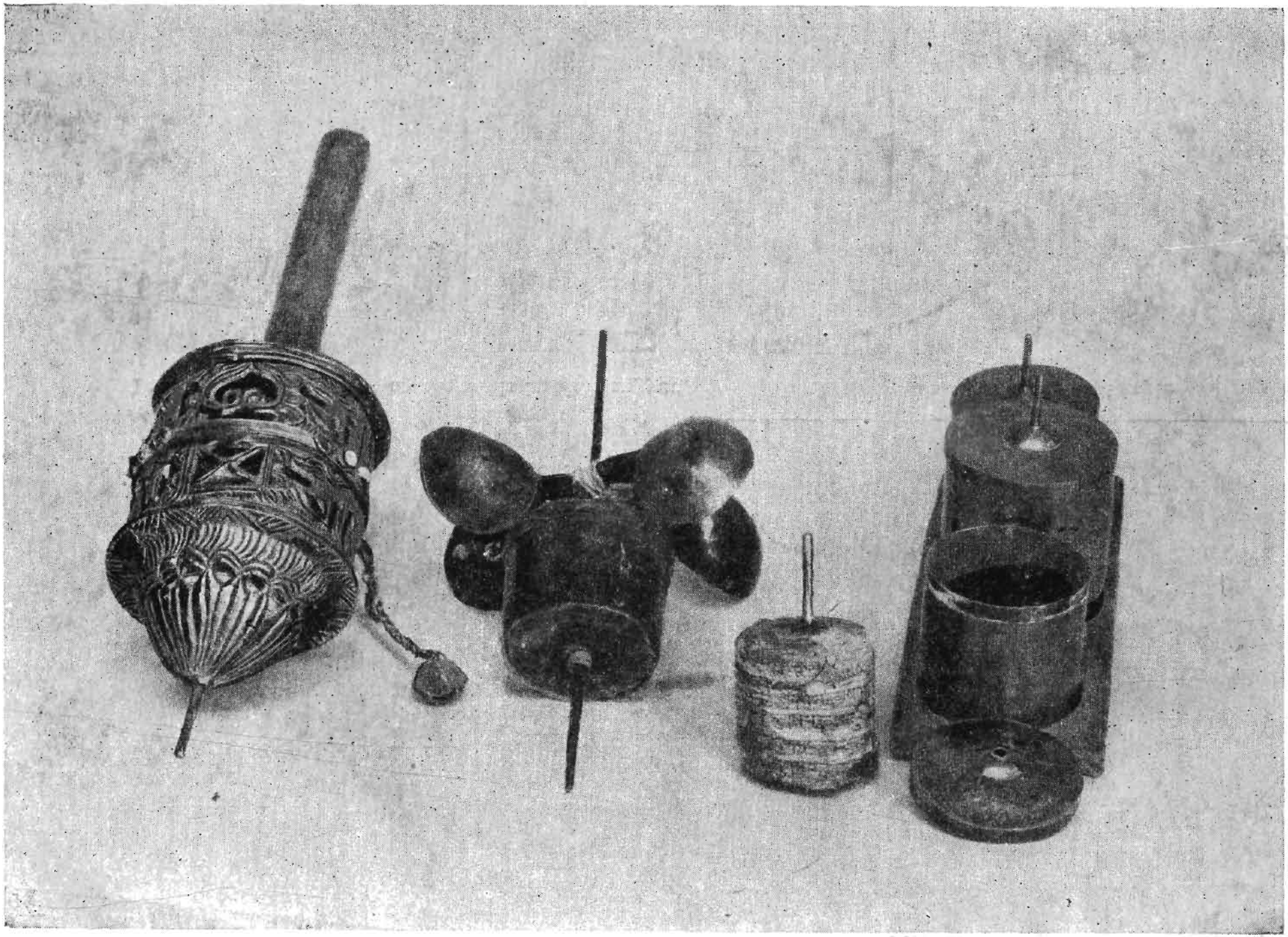
Budha status etched out on the walls inside Kangyur



Motifs from Kangyur temple



Jamos at the Monastery



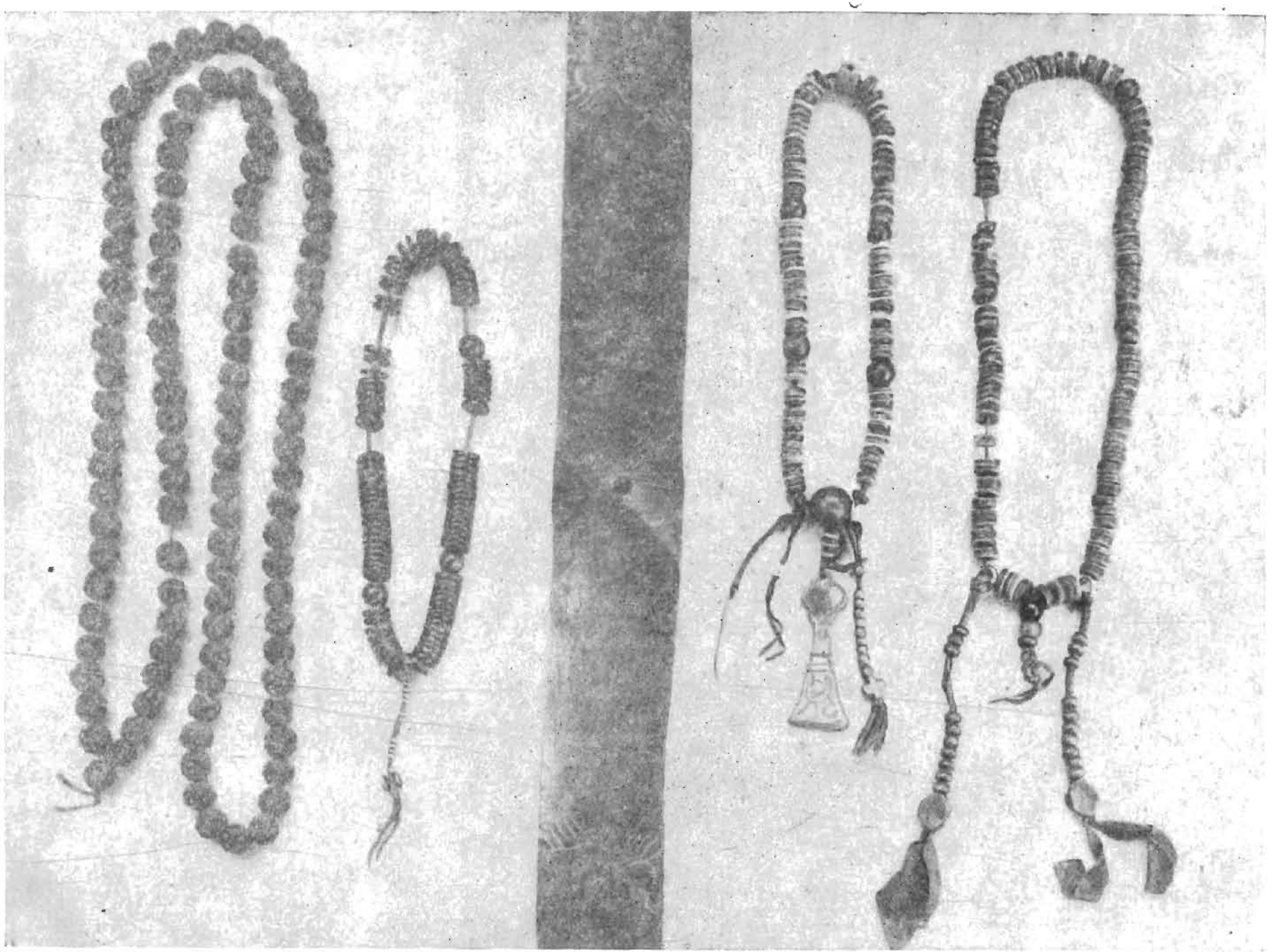
Tibetan prayer wheels showing three types (i) Hand wheel (ii) Wind wheel (iii) Table wheel

Courtesy: Newark Museum



Tibetan trumpets (i) Conch shell (ii) Thighbone (iii) Pair of long brass telescopic trumpets (iv) Pair—Silver with dragan head extremities (v) Two pair copper and brass

Courtesy: Newark Museum



Tibetan rosaries and rain bringing wind blade

Courtesy: Newark Museum



A Silversmith at work



Goats and sheep

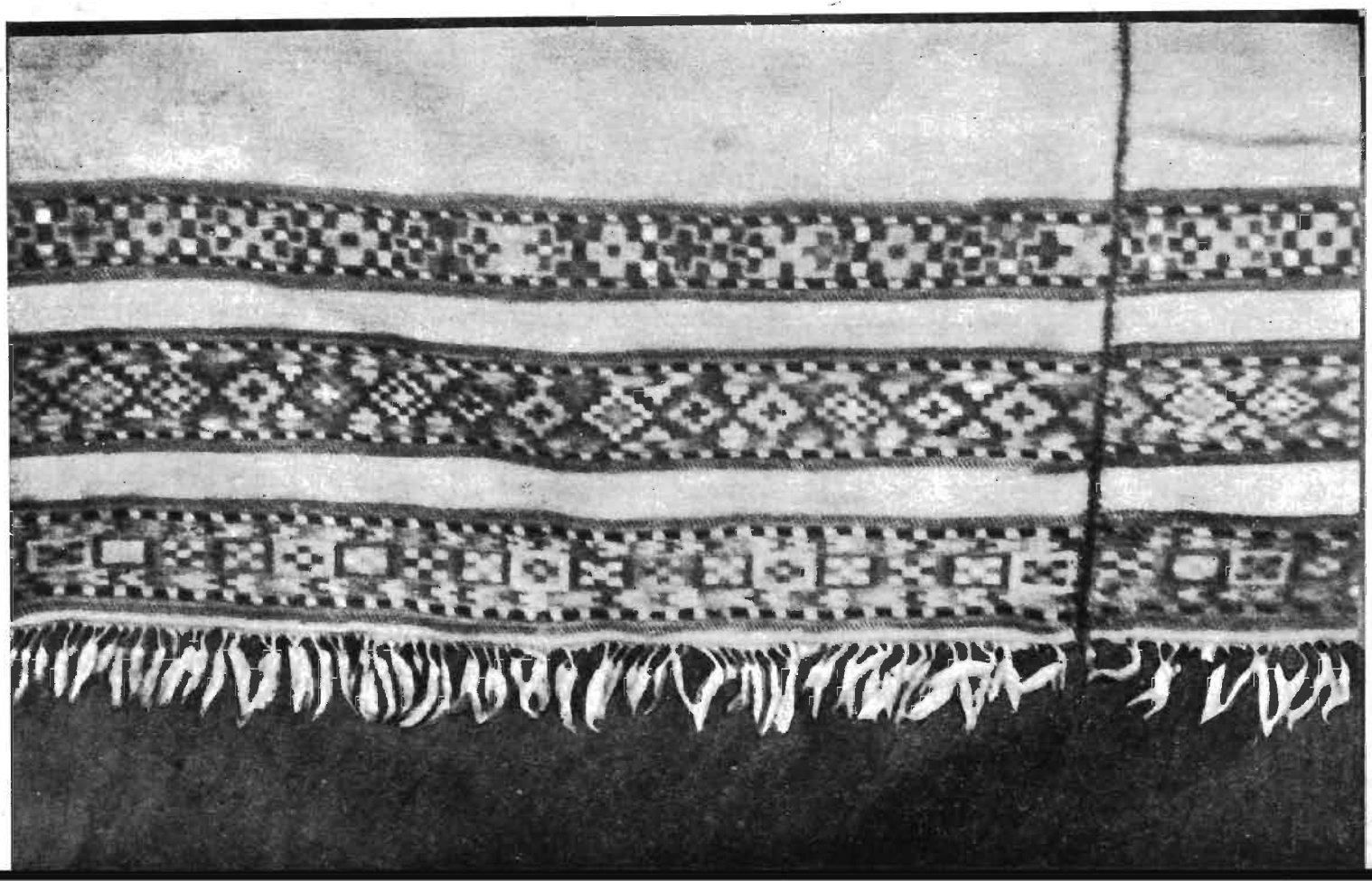
Pasham and spindle

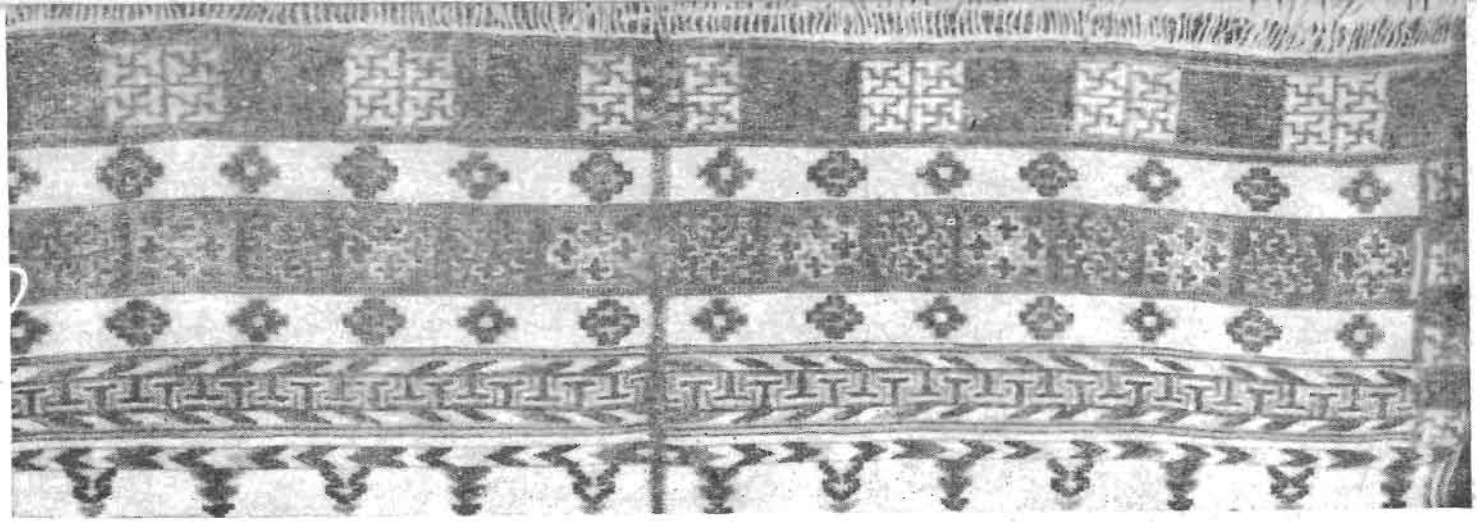




At the loom

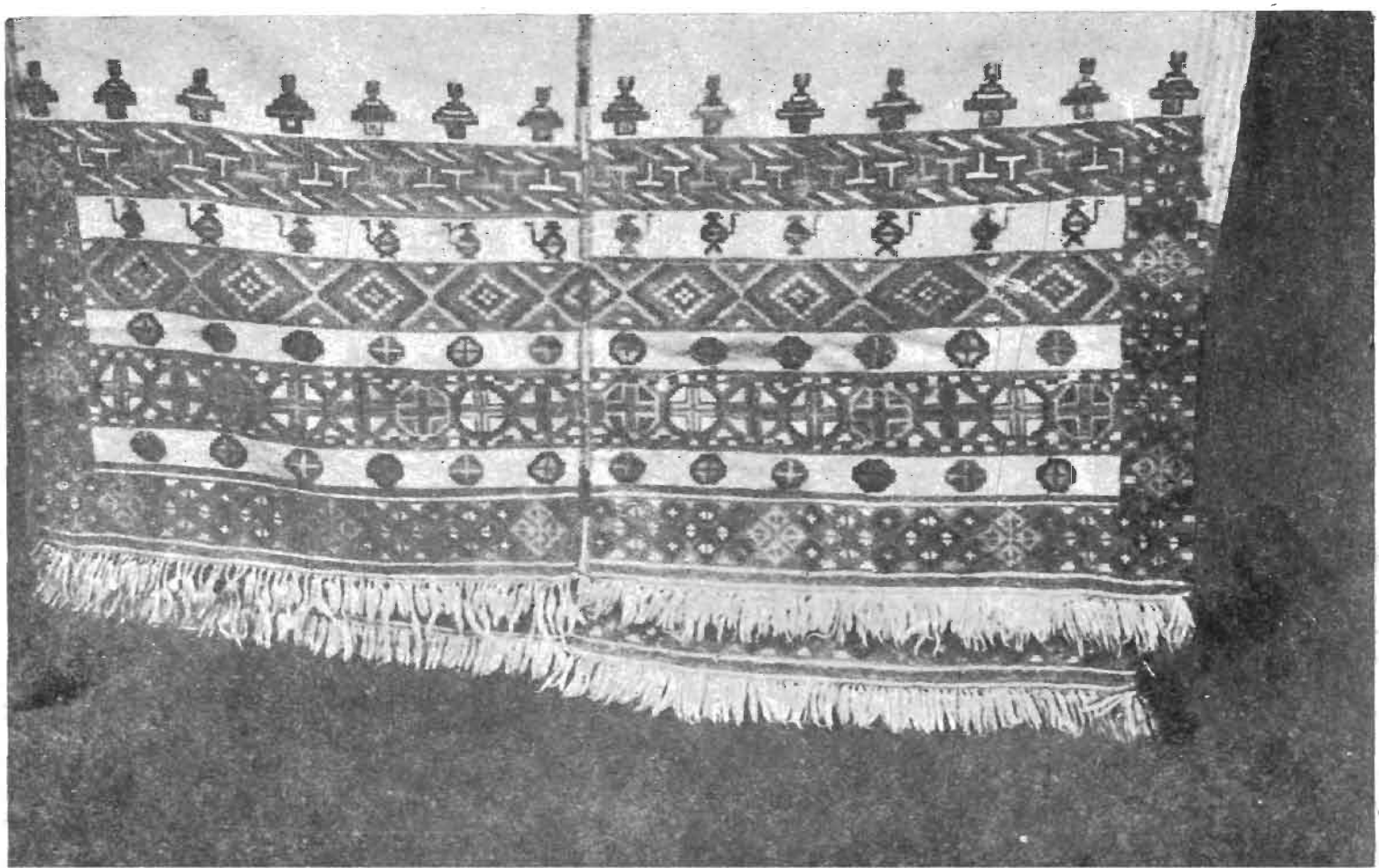
Many coloured exquisite weaving designs





Weaving design

Weaving designs on a woollen pattu .

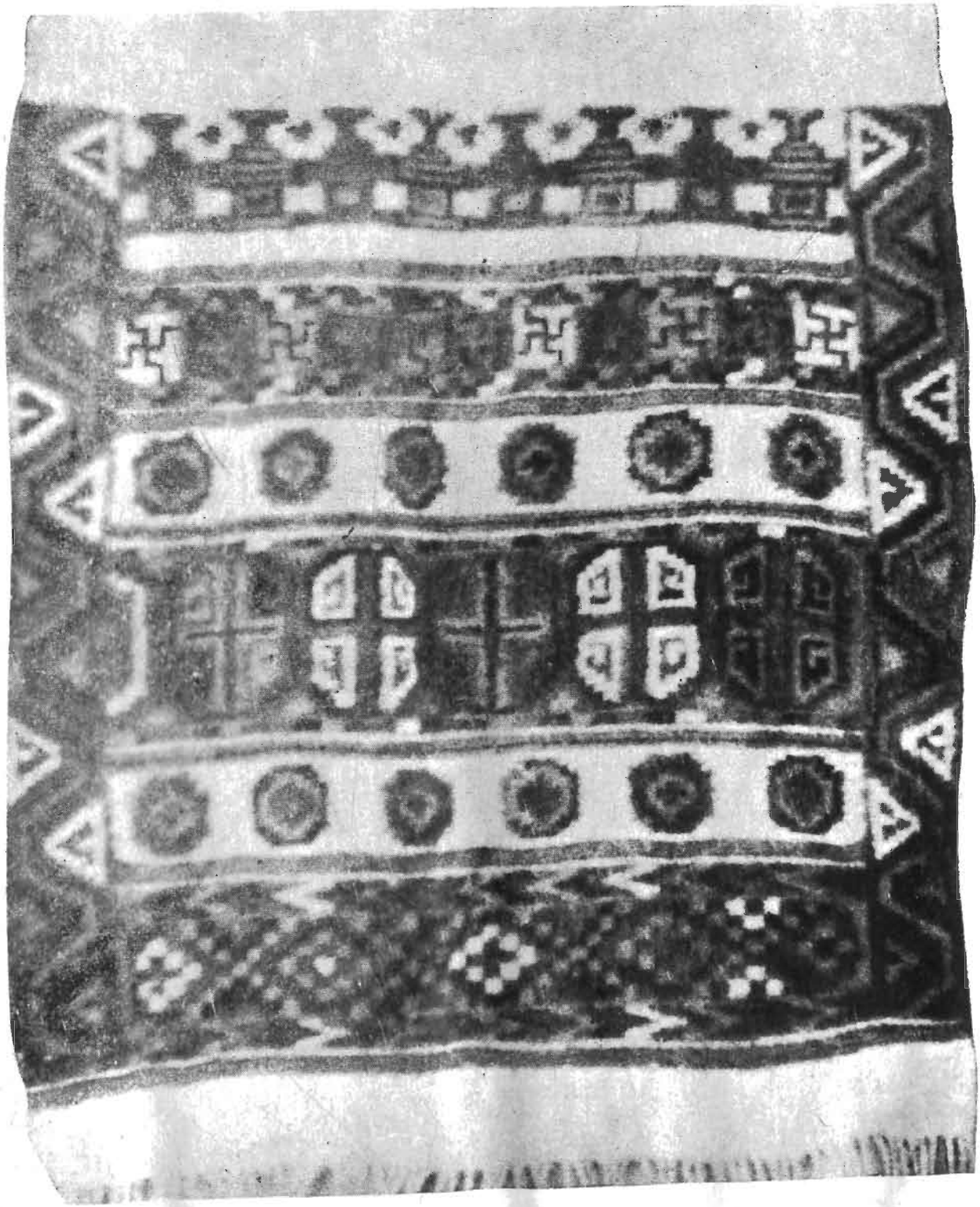




Lama and Jamo visiting the Dentist



Takose-Suthan, having coloured checks and designs below the knees



Many coloured exquisite weaving designs



Woollen dhoru showing chamang teko weaving design