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HIMACHAL PRADESH

A Village Survey of

NACHAR

Nachar Sub-Division, Kinnaur District

Investigation and draft by
CHANDRA KUMAR

Guidance and final draft by
RIKHI RAM SHARMA
Assistant Superintendent of
Census Operations

Editor
RAM CHANDRA PAL SINGH
of the Indian Administrative Service
Superintendent of Census Operations
Himachal Pradesh

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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 India life—sometimes with no statistics attached, but, usually with just enough statistics to give empirical under-pinning 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 decentralization 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 the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

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

(a) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one 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 afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extramural rigours of the task. For the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an 'extra', over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959 the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record in situ of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet; dress, ornaments and foot-wear; 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 canvassed. By November 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. 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 and 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 standards in pictorial and graphic documentation.

July 30, 1964,
New Delhi.

ASOK MITRA
Registrar General, India

Preface

The Registrar General, India, Shri Asok Mitra, has so kindly written a very comprehensive foreword to the village surveys which we are bringing out and this would explain the reader the variety of material which we are dealing with. My thoughts also go back to another very distinguished Administrator of his days as Census Superintendent of Punjab, Denzil Ibbetson, and I am quoting from the Original Preface to the Report on the Census of 1881, written from Simla in August, 1883. Sir Denzil Ibbetson lays down, *"It has been my endeavour to furnish such a sketch of the salient features of native society in the Punjab as will often supply the immediate need." This reiterates the value attached to any census reports.*

When we selected Nachar for one of our socio economic village survey it was just one of the villages of Chini sub-tehsil. After the formation of Kinnaur district, this formed a sub-divisional headquarter. Winds of change had started striking here very fastly. Along with setting up of a Sub-divisional office, there was a stream of other government officials who joined. Then buildings came up and the whole village started humming with activity.

The villagers have agriculture as their main occupation though some of them have other occupation like sheep breeding and weaving. Houses have been built rather in haphazard manner with considerable wood work. In Nachar the temple remains a very important place.

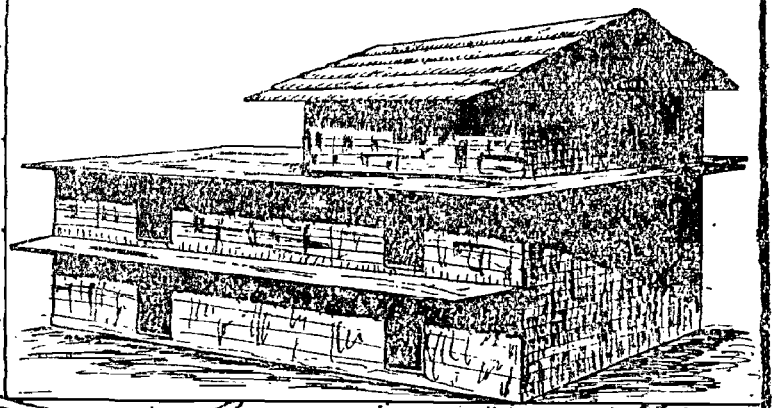
Initially inquiries were difficult and the questionnaire was altered, more questions were added and the investigator had to revisit Nachar and has been there a number of times since 1960. Then Rikhi Ram Sharma, Assistant Superintendent of Census Operations has spent a few days in Nachar and has helped in completing this monograph. I have had the advantage of having a very brief visit to Nachar and of meeting villagers from Nachar and many parts of Kinnaur during my tours in Kinnaur, Mahasu and other parts of Himachal Pradesh. A popular rendezvous for villagers is invariably fairs and festivals. The main famous fair to which Kinnauras go is the Lavi fair in Rampur.

I would like to convey my sincere thanks to Dr. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty of the Registrar General's office for the many hours of discussion we have over the preparation of these monographs. He has also been to Kinnaur. There would be some limitations of the report and for the shortcomings I am reminded of R.C. Trench's words, *"To make mistakes as we are on the way to knowledge is far more honourable than to escape making them through never having set out to seek knowledge".*

There has been delay in the printing of this report due to several reasons.

NACHAR

NOTIONAL MAP



ROAD.....
FOOT PATH.....
FOREST OFFICE.....
SUB DIVISION OFFICE.....
B. D. O's OFFICE.....
TEHSIL OFFICE.....
HIGH SCHOOL.....
TEMPLE.....
BOWLI.....
SHOP.....
RAJPUT.....
HARIJAN.....

1. The Village

Introduction

Nalche, as Nachar is called in Kinnauri dialect, means a place inhabited by dancers. This was a part of the erstwhile Bushahr State. It now forms a part of Kinnaur District. Situated on a hill slope environed by protected rich deodar forests, Nachar lies between the heights of 6,500′ to 7,200′ consisting of five hamlets Garadey, Puje, Kashpo, Nagani and Chamraling; the first four being inhabited by Kanets and the fifth exclusively by Kolis, a scheduled caste. River Sutlej—Shatadru of Vedic times, flows about three miles down.

This is the headquarter of the sub-division. The main occupation of the villagers is agriculture, other occupations like sheep-breeding, weaving, silver and blacksmithy are supplementary. Nachar is known for the temple of Usha Devi, daughter of puranic king Banasur.

The scenery all about is beautiful. Lying amidst the high Himalayan ranges, huge mountains towering to the skies, appear on every side. The slope is moderate and the fields are fairly level punctuated by fruit trees. In summer there is the cool breeze softly whistling through the stately deodars.

The area of the village is 815 acres or 329.81 hectares. In all, there are 213 households having a population of 1,166 persons—573 males and 593 females. The density per square mile comes to 915 persons.

From Simla it is 114 miles. The bus route passes a few miles below Nachar. The new Hindustan-Tibet motorable road passes along the left bank of river Sutlej three miles down the village. Kalpa the district headquarter is 27 miles away.

Although a few shops exist there, the nearest important market is Rampur. There is a post office. The nearest telegraph office is at Kalpa. The old Hindustan-Tibet mule road which passes through the village links it with the aforesaid motorable road at Wangtu 3 miles from the village towards Kalpa. There is a proposal to convert this mule road into a jeepable one.

Prior to 1948, Kinnaur formed a part of the erstwhile State of Rampur Bushahr. After that it became a Tehsil of Mahasu District. In May, 1960 the border district of Kinnaur was carved out. Since Nachar was a bigger village, the new sub-divisional, tehsil and block development offices were located here. There is a nice forest bungalow with a garden constructed by G. G. Minniken, the then Deputy Conservator of Forests of the Bushahr Division many years ago.

It used to be the seat of the upper Bushahr Forest Division from the time the forests were leased out by the Bushahr Durbar to the Punjab Government and continues even to-day. The administrative control of the forests now vests in Himachal Pradesh Government.

An ayurvedic dispensary, a middle school and a police station are located here.

Physical Aspects

Rock	...	Geneiss
Soil covering	...	Fairly good
Slope	...	Easy to moderate
Aspect	...	Northerly
Growing stock	...	Deodar.

Climate

Kinnaur has been divided into two climatic zones—the wet zone and the dry zone. The records of the meteorological department show that the monsoon rainfall decreases progressively from the outer ranges of the Himalayas to-

wards the interior. As far up the Sutlej valley as Wangtu the rainfall does not differ much from the outer ranges of the western Himalayas. Beyond that there is a decrease which has an effect on the vegetation. This is due to the local effect of the two lofty mountain ranges farming the southern and northern border of Kinnaur. They act as a barrier to the progress of the monsoon clouds blowing the Sutlej and Pabar valleys and cause rain on their southern slopes.

This is marked in the northern range which produces local rains in Pandrabis pargana. Further east the great Himalayan range there is rain. In the upper parts of Kalpa and Kailas ranges the climate is practically arid.

Nachar is situated in the wet zone. The charts showing the snow and the rainfall are given in the appendix. For climate, the year is divided into four usual seasons which are:—

Spring—March 16 to May 15.
Summer—May 16 to September 15.
Autumn—September 16 to November 30.
Winter—December 1 to March 15.

The place is windy and winters are severe. From October onwards upto mid-April there is little difference between winter and autumn. Villagers have to put on heavy woollens to keep them warm. The winters are made more severe by little sunshine which the village gets from October to the end of March. Woollen garments are used throughout the year. Spring and autumn are pleasant but the intensely cold months are December to March. To one who is not accustomed to these regions there may appear only two seasons; summer which includes rainy season also and the winter.

Sources of Water

Spring water is used for drinking. It is brought from a number of springs and *khuds* at the outskirts of each hamlet. Pipes are now being laid to carry water from the reservoirs to the groups of houses.

Flora

The flora growing round about Nachar is given in an appendix.

Fauna

Animals—Wild bharad, black bear, Himalayan goat, Indian fox, jackal, jungle cat, leopard, monkey, musk-deer and porcupine.

Domesticated—Cat, cow, dog, donkey, goat, horse, sheep, zo and zomo.

Birds—Chakor, doves, Himalayan crow, many coloured finches, monal, owl, pheasant, pigeon, vulture and wild fowls.

Others—Kirla (Chameleon), mice, rat and snake. Monal and musk-deer which were once frequent are on the wane.

(The information with regard to the physical aspects was taken from the forest working plan of the area).

Residential Pattern

The village is not laid in any systematic manner. Houses have been built wherever a suitable plot of land was available. Somewhere they represent a cluster of ill-shaped dwellings with small narrow by-lanes and at other places houses may be scattered. The village is a mushroom growth of houses.

Apart from Kolis who have their separate hamlet, other castes live intermingled. Kolis do not enjoy such a position because it was revealed they used to eat the flesh of dead animals including cow's flesh in the past. Also by doing leather work, they had to maintain a separate settlement to follow their profession of tanning. They have now given up eating flesh of dead cow. But they still tann leather.

Legend

History of the village is not available. According to revenue record, three Thakars once ruled the area.

It is said that Usha, daughter of Banasur who ruled over Sarahan wished to establish her supremacy over the area and she attacked and annihilated the Thakars. Since then she is worshipped as the presiding deity of the village.

2. The People

Inhabitants

Nachar is inhabited by Kanets, Kolis, Lohars and Badhis. Kolis, Lohars and Badhis belong to the scheduled caste. Kanets belong to Khasha tribe which finds a mention in even Mahabharat. The Kanets now style themselves as Rajputs. The Kolis are locally called Chamang. They are akin to Chamars in other parts of Himachal Pradesh. This is because Kolis used to engage in leather work. The Lohars who are blacksmiths and Badhis who work as carpenters are called Domang and Auras. The Kanets, of course, constitute the Swarans. They are higher ups than the other three.

A Kanet is often addressed as a Negi which was a sort of title conferred on leading Rajputs who were entitled to attend the court of the ruling chief. In due course every Rajput preferred to be called a Negi and other castes being lower to them in social status, humoured their vanity.

Rahul Sankrityayana, the eminent Hindi scholar gave an interesting account about 'Negi' in his book 'Kinner Desh'. He says "That the origin of the word 'Negi' is not known nor can it be attributed to some language. In western Himalayas often it is used to show honour to a person, but even there no one knows its meaning. In eastern Uttar Pradesh this word is not given any importance. On the marriage and other happy occasions, the persons, who are entitled to receive some customary payments are known as Negi or Pavani. This may cover persons from a barber, potter, carpenter to sisters and brothers-in-law. But even great grammarians may not be able to tell you its root".

Writing about Khasha, Rahul Sankrityayana says "That two thousand years B.C. Khasha entered Himalayas from the eastern Central Asia. Vedic Aryans came to Himalayas from the plains of north India after the Khasha. Even before these two tribes, possibly there used to live another tribe in the Himalayas known as Kinner-Kirat.

"Shanwar, the Asur kings who fought a war with Panchal king Divodas-Sudas of Rigveda era, were perhaps the Kinner-Kirat chiefs. These battles may have been fought somewhere in the hills near Panchal (Ruhel-Khund) instead of the interior of Himalayas. Vedic Aryans came to inhabit the Himalayas very late and by then Khasha had already established themselves entering via hill tracts from Central Asia."

Rahul further says that once Khasha were living throughout the Himalayas. In Mahabharata, it is stated that Khasha brought presents for Yudhishthira's Rajsuya Yajna to show their loyalty to the King. The *shlokas* referring to Khasha are:—

मेरूमंदरथोर मध्ये शैलोदाम अमितो नदीस
एते कीचकवैणन्नां छांयां रम्यामुपासते
खसा एकामना हयर्हा प्रदरा दीर्घ वेणव
पारदाश्च कुलिन्दाश्च तगणा परतंगण
तद् वै पिपपीलकं नाम उद्धृत यत् पिपीलिकै
जातरूपं दौणमेयम् अहार्षु पुंजशी नृपा
पार्वतीया वलि चान्यं अहल्य प्रणतः स्थित
अजातशत्तोनूर पते दूारि पिष्ठन्ति वारित

(मेरू और मंदुर (दोनों पर्वतों) के बीच शैलोदा नदी के किनारे कीचक (नामक) बांसो की रम्य छाया में खस एकासन, अर्ह, प्रदर, दीघवेणु, पारद, कुलिद, तगंण, परतगंण लोग वसते हैं, ये राजा (युधिष्ठिर के यज्ञ में) सुवर्ण को द्रौण द्रौण भर पुंजश

पर्वतीय उपायनों को लिए शत्रुहीन राजा (युधिष्ठिर) के द्वार को घेरे प्रणत: खड़े थे।

Manu has also made a reference to Khasha in his shloka—

शनैकस्तु क्रियालोपाद् इमा: क्षत्रिय जातय:
वृषलतवं गता लोके ब्राह्मणा दर्शनेन च
पौंड्काश्चौड् द्रविड़ा कम्बौजा यवना: शका:
पारदा: पहल्वा: चीना किशता दरदा खसा:

Grierson too suggests that earliest known Indo-Aryan or Aryan inhabitants of the Himalayan tract, known as the Sapadalaksha, were the Khashas who spoke a language akin to the Pishacha languages of Hindukush. These are now represented by the Khas clan of the Kanets. Later on the Khashas were conquered by the Gurjars, who are now represented by the Rajputs and also by the Rao clan of Kanets, which represents those Gurjars who did not take to warlike pursuits but remained cultivators, whence their claim to be of impure Rajput descent, over the whole of Sapadlaksha Gurjars and Khashas amalgamated gradually and they now speak a language mainly Gurjari; but also leaving traces of the original Khasha population.

In Kinner-Desh Rahul Sankrityayana says that in the middle of the tenth century Pratihars established their rule on Kinnaur. Whether Kinnaur was ruled by a governor appointed from Kannauj or some local chief used to represent the empire is, of course, not known. The Hindi text is—

दसवीं सदी के मध्य में किसी समय किन्नर देश पर प्रतिहारों का अधिपत्य हो गया। कहा नहीं जा सकता, शासन सीधे कन्नौज द्वारा नियुक्त अधिकारी करता था या कोई किन्नर सामंत।

Even to this day Rajputs of Kinnaur call themselves Khas. According to local tradition, the Kolis, Lohars and Badhis were brought from outside to work as village artisans.

They speak a dialect which resembles more the dialect of lower hill, although it has acquired the influence of the Kinnauri dialect. They appear to have migrated from lower hills long long ago.

The castewise distribution of the families residing in Nachar is:—

Caste	No. of households	Persons	Males	Females
Badhi . . .	3	18	7	11
Brahman . . .	5	7	7	..
Chamar . . .	2	2	2	..
Koli . . .	50	257	121	136
Khatri . . .	4	11	8	3
Lohar . . .	2	22	14	8
Rajput (Kanet) . .	136	824	394	430
Rajput (Non-Kinnaura)	8	15	13	2
Sikh (Jat) . . .	3	10	7	3

Khatri, Brahman, Jat, Chamar and Rajputs have recently come from outside.

The old system of joint families persists. In majority of the households there are joint families. Whatever be the reasons for maintaining joint families, polyandrous marriages appear to be the axis of the joint family.

Religion

The villagers are Hindus. The form of religion practised by them may not be easily comprehended by an outsider. It may look a queer brand of Hinduism, a class by itself and quite different from the one followed in the rest of the country. But it must be remembered that these people have remained cut off from the main stream of Indian life and had little or no opportunities to come into contact with their brethren of the plains. They were oblivious of the many religious currents that swept time and again over the plains of India.

They were not fortunate in having the religious guidance from the priestly class, as beyond Rawin, situated at the foot of Sarahan, whole of the Kinnaur was considered inhospitable for Brahmans. Few Brahmans had ever gone to these areas. In such circumstances, it was natural for these people to develop their own form of worship and to create their own gods and to have their own means to know the will of God. The fountain head of the religion of Nachar is goddess Usha. It is she who ordains every walk of their life. She talks to her subjects through her oracle.

Other gods of Hindu pytheon are not known except Shiva. Legend goes—he once visited Kinner Kailash. A few know about Rama and Krishna but no temple is dedicated to them. Their worship is not prevalent.

Some have heard about Pandavas that these heroes of Mahabharata visited this part of the country during their wanderings. Villagers either perform the religious rites themselves or they may occasionally send for a Buddhist Lama who comes and recites religious hymns.

The old folks of the village do not know much about the epics and ancient heroes. As time rolls by and as they come in contact with outside world more, their present religious beliefs and faith in the village deity may undergo some change. So the time about which we are writing should be taken as a period of transition. The present state of affairs may not perhaps be discernible as years go by.

The legend goes that Banasur the father of goddess Usha performed austerities on Kinner Kailash mountain to please Shiva. Pleased with his penance, Shiva appeared before him. Banasur then installed a *shivlinga* on one of its peaks which to this day is visible from

Kalpa. His *linga* in the morning appears red and in the broad day light it gives the appearance of white and in the setting sun when there is not enough sun-light it appears dark. This natural phenomenon has been ascribed to the supernatural powers of the linga. For this reason the simple folk of the area look more reverentially to it and consider it as manifestation of God. Their homage to Shiva does not go beyond this. They continue to be the followers of the village deity.

House Type

The houses are constructed with timber and stones. Generally these are three storeyed. The ground floor is used as cattle-shed. The upper storey is for living whereas the last storey is for thrashing grains.

The first two storeys have two rooms each generally. The third storey may contain one room and some open verandah. A few houses have four to five storeys.

The size and the plinth area of the house depends on the site. Very few houses were built in the past. The necessity of a new house arose only if the old one came down or the family became too large for the house.

When someone intends to construct a new house, the first thing, of course, is the selection of the site. Since local deity controls every walk of life, the site has also to be approved by her. For this a clod of soil from the proposed site is placed near the palanquin of the deity. The bearers of the palanquin then perform a dance and if the palanquin tilts towards the clod, the site is considered to have been approved by the deity.

The auspicious months for the house construction are Baisakh (April-May), Jyeshtha (May-June), and Ashadha (June-July). The auspicious days are Sunday, Monday, Wednesday and Thursday. Beginning has to be made in Shukla-Paksha, the period of bright moon.

Foundations are dug to a depth of about two to three feet. The foundation stone is laid after performing little puja, by making an offering of poltu, holwa and some wine. The foundation stone is laid on the right side of the main door.

The walls are built with stones. If the financial position of the owner permits, the stones are dressed. Upto the plinth level it is raised in dry stone masonry. The material of the wall above plinth level consists of wood and stones. Wooden frame of cross-wise joists is inserted after every second or third layer of stones. This acts as a sort of frame and binder. The wooden beams are necessary as mortar is not used. These wooden binders in the wall make the structure strong enough to resist the shocks of earthquake, though the villagers may not be aware of the fact.

At the time of fixing the main door, *puja* is again performed and offering of poltu, wine and some halwa is made. This is to ensure peace and happiness to the family.

The height of a floor varies from 5 to 8 feet. When the four walls are raised upto the roof height the two opposite walls are further raised to form a triangle slope enough for the gable.

Openings for doors, niches and apertures are kept in the wall during the stage of construction. No lintels or arches are provided over the doors, since the wooden beams in the wall serve the purpose. No regular windows or ventilators are provided except in some cases, where small apertures are provided.

The wall above gable-end is an arrangement of wooden logs, joists and planks. The joists are framed to form a gabled wall which are alternatively placed on wooden blocks serving as stays of varying sections of $8'' \times 8''$ to $12'' \times 12''$ long enough to cover the thickness of the walls. These stays are normally square in section.

Roofs are made of wood planks, since slate or other roofing material is not available nor it is possible to import these because of heavy transport charges. The placing of the planks begins from the lower end to the top giving sufficient lap under the overlapping plank to avoid leakage.

The house is plastered with a mixture of cowdung and mud from inside. No cupboard is provided in the walls. There is no separate kitchen. Villagers cook their food on an iron tripod over the fire, lit in the centre of the living room. This is called meling. There is no regular chimney and smoke escapes through the chinks in the roof.

In most of the houses there is a cornice in a corner of the room. This is dedicated to the family god Kimshu who is supposed to reside there. He is worshipped on every auspicious occasion.

The floor is of wood. Wooden floors are warmer during winter. In Kashpo, one of the settlements of the village had a fire accident in 1943 in which more than a dozen houses are said to have been gutted. A few years ago again a score of houses of this hamlet were gutted.

The living rooms are low and contain only one small door. There are no ventilators or windows. The walls and ceilings often collect a thick deposit of soot. White-washing is not done, since lime is not available.

The room may not conform to present day standard but serves the purpose of the villagers in an admirable way. It keeps them well protected during severe winter months when the whole family sits around the central fire which keeps them warm. No charpoys are used. The

entire family sleeps on the floor. The central fire which is never put out in winter keeps the room warm and enables them to pass the nights comfortably.

Kerosene lamps are not used for lighting purposes. Torch wood splinters called jyokhties are used. The splinters are either of kail or of chilgoza wood. They serve the purpose of lighting, (although the smoke emitted is very thick). Since it costs nothing, villagers prefer it to kerosene lamps. The cost of one kerosene bottle may be a rupee or even more. If someone uses a kerosene lamp it is of the wicks type without a chimney. Hurricane lanterns are, of course, used by a few well-to-do people of the village.

The upper storey of the house has a verandah running round three sides and the back is open. This verandah is often closed but in some cases it is open. Small windows like apertures are also provided in the closed verandahs.

The timber required by the villagers for the construction of a house is available to them at concessional rates from the Forest Department. They have to submit their applications to the Forest Department through their Panchayats. The concessional rates of the forest Department for wood are—

Girth of tree measured at 3 haths 4'—6" from ground.	Deodar	Kail	Walnut	Others	Species
For a tree not exceeding 2 haths (3') on girth.	0·50	0·12	1·50	0·12	IV
Exceeding 2 haths but not exceeding 3 haths (4'—6")	0·50	0·25	1·50	0·12	III
Exceeding 3 haths but not 4 haths (6').	2·00	0·50	1·50	0·12	II
Exceeding 4 haths (6') but not exceeding 5 haths (7'—6")	2·50	1·50	1·50	0·12	IA
Exceeding 5 haths but not exceeding 6 haths (8).	4·00	2·00	1·50	0·12	IB
Exceeding 6 haths .	5·00	2·00	1·50	0·12	IC & ID.

Kothar—Arrangements for storing grains are not made in the house. A separate *kothar* or store room is constructed at a slight distance from the main house. The underlying idea is to save the foodgrains in case the main house meets with some mishap. A *kothar* is a rectangular structure normally 7' × 8' and about 10' high. It is of wood with the usual type of roof over it. It is divided into four apartments with small opening at the top of each apartment. Access to it is made with the help of a small low door, which is always kept locked. Brackets are also provided on its walls on which can be stored some dry meat or dry fruits.

Gaurasing—When the house construction is complete *gaurasing* is held. According to this ceremony the mason-cum-carpenter who constructs the house, is not given daily wages. When the house is constructed he is invited for gaurasing along with his family. A grand feast is held in his honour in the evening. Next morning he is given a thali full of ghee and five to seven rupees. In addition, he receives clothes for his wife and himself. Often his wife is given dhaglo, the silver bangles weighing from 20 to 30 tolas. It is customary to please him. In case he is displeased he would curse the family. This curse is called chul, but this custom is fast disappearing. Masons and labourers are now employed on daily wages.

On gaurasing ceremony a feast is given to friends and relatives of the family. The daily wages for a labourer are Rs. 2.50 to Rs. 3.00. For a mason from Rs. 4.00 to Rs. 5.00. This ceremony used to be performed by all castes except Badhis, who construct their own houses. Even in the case of Badhis a feast for friends and relatives used to be given.

The local carpenters seem to welcome this change in custom, since government buildings are fast coming up. A number of masons have come from Kangra District for constructing the government buildings in and around Nachar.

Wood carving—Exquisite wood-carvings used to be done on the wooden walls, doors and on the wooden verandahs to decorate the house. In comparatively old houses and in the temples we find beautiful motifs and patterns carved on wood. No paint, varnish or protective coat is given to the wood work. On account of constant exposure to wind, rains, snow and sun, it has become weather beaten. If they could learn to protect the wood work, the houses will certainly look bright, pleasing and more picturesque.

Dress

The dress of the people is essentially the product of the climatic conditions of the region. Those who live in a warm climate may require little or no clothing, while those living in cold regions may require heavy protective garments. Nachar being situated in the inner Himalayas, the winter here is more severe and the summer is only for a few months, even then one cannot do without light woollens. The items of the dress worn by men and women are :—

MEN'S DRESS

Thepang—The head-dress of the men and the women is a woollen cap called *thepang* in the local dialect. Outside Kinnaur this cap is popularly known as Bushahri cap. It has a coloured velvet band usually of green, yellow, red, crimson, blue and purple colours. In fine weather this band is kept up but in cold weather this serves the purpose of a flap, which protects the ears and the neck from the cold winds and snow, when it is pulled down. It is made of locally woven woollen cloth but the band-cloth is imported from outside. On marriages, fairs and festivals people tuck flowers in their caps.

Chamu-kameej—A woollen shirt known as *chamu-kameej* is worn by men. It is made of locally woven woollen cloth and tailored by the village tailors. This has very simple collars and a pocket on the left side of the chest, and often side pockets too. In winter it is worn along with other clothes but in summer it alone is sufficiently warm. Besides this, shirts made of mill-made cloth have also come up for use recently.

Chhubba—Men wear a long woollen coat almost resembling an *achkan*. This is known as *chhubba,* which appears to have been corrupted from Kubba—Persian name for a long coat. On the ends of the sleeves it has coloured velvet outer lining. These when unrolled in cold weather cover the hands and keep them snug and warm.

Chhubba is of two types, one has buttons and the other has a tape instead of the buttons. Usually the buttons are made of old four anna coins.

Chamu-kurti—A sleeveless woollen jacket is used besides a *chhubba.*

Gachhang—Both men and women wrap their waist either with a woollen or cotton piece of cloth of 5 to 8 yards length and a yard in breadth. Its colour is always crimson. This is called *gachhang.* The cotton cloth is brought from the plains but woollen cloth is locally made.

The main reason for wearing this, people say is that it helps them carrying loads on their backs, as the load rests on the *gachhang* and gives some relief. It helps to keep the waist straight otherwise there is a tendency to stoop due to their habit of carrying all loads on their backs. Probably it resists the cold wind from blowing out the clothes. Besides this, a woollen muffler is also used to cover the neck.

Chamu-suthan—This is a woollen pyjama, which men use for covering the legs. This is either slightly loose or a *churidar*-tight.

Black or white pyjama is not worn. It is mostly grey. At the time of marriages, fairs and festivals, some persons use pyjamas which are exquisitely embroidered in various designs and colours below the knees. This is known as *tapr '-se-suthan.*

WOMEN'S DRESS

Thepang—The head-dress for the women is the same Bushahri topi 'Thepang'.

Dohru—Women wrap themselves in a woollen sari like garment called *dohru,* in a slightly different way than the sari. The first wrap is on the back with the embroidered border displayed throughout the length upto the heels. It is generally $4\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ yards. The borders are given beautiful patterns mostly in red, green, orange, sky blue and scarlet colours. The *phatao-rang* is quite simple and generally worn while at work by the poorer people. The *orang* is superior in texture and design. The third and the finest of all is *tapru-khamrudar.*

Besides these borders some of the *dohrus* have checks of various colours on the entire cloth. Such a *dohru* is called *bizrala-dohru.*

The *dohrus* are generally of dark or grey colours. White and yellowish colours are not liked, because these get dirty soon.

Choli—Next comes *choli* which is a sort of full sleeved blouse used by women. Some of these are simple but some have decorative coloured linings. The decorated *choli* is known as *sanjab-se-choli.*

Chhanli—This is an indigenous shawl which is used by the women and its two ends are held together near the breast by silver hooks called *digra.*

Footwear

Gunspona—The footwear commonly used is made of wool and goat hair. This is known as *gunspona.* The sole is made of goat skin. Over this sole the body of the shoe is woven with the goat hair. Often it has borders of black and white wool. Some of the shoes are embroidered in different colour designs which are called *tapru-se-baldanuspona.* Sometimes the shoe including the sole is woven with coloured woollen and cotton threads. These have beautiful geometrical designs. The price of the shoes ranges from Rs. 8 to Rs. 15 per pair depending on its quality.

By coming in touch with the people from the plains and opening of new shops in the village there is a tendency to use the other types of leather footwear brought from the plains.

The Kolis used to prepare the local shoes but of late they have given up this work. Now a cobbler from Mandi district has opened his shop. He cannot meet the total requirement of shoes. They have started getting shoes from Rampur.

Garlands and Flowers

Villagers love flowers and garlands. On fairs and festivals or other rejoicings they invariably use natural or artificial flowers. The garlands are even made of *chilgoza* and *chulli* kernels. These garlands are locally known as *tekuma.*

Chulli and walnut garlands are offered to the guests of honour, gods and goddesses. The artificial flowers, made from very thin paper like material obtained from a tree commonly found in Bilaspur, Mandi and Lower Mahasu, are called *chamuka-ϕo.*

We have now to see how this form of dress was evolved and what other circumstances besides climate lead to the finalization of this dress worn by the people of Kinnaur who belong to Khasha tribes. Rahul Sankrityayana the eminent Indian traveller and a Hindi Scholar in his famous book "Madhya Asia Ka Itihas" is of the opinion that Khashas were a sub-tribe of the Shakas.

While describing the dress of *Shakas,* he says

शकों की पोशाक सारे युरेशिया द्वीप में एक सी थी। उनके सिर पर एक नुकीली टोपी होती थी, जो शक सिक्कों से लेकर मथुरा और अमरावती की २री ३री शताब्दीयों की मूर्तियों में भी पाई जाती है, पैरों में पायजामा और देह पर लम्बा चोला, साथ ही घुटने या उसके पास तक पहुंचने वाला चमडें या नम्दे का बूट उनकी विशेष पौषाक थी। कमर में कमरबन्द के साथ सीधी लम्बी तलवार लटका करती थी। संस्कृत लेखकों ने शकों, यवनों, पल्हवों और बाहलिकों को खतमुख कहा है।

शक सुन्दरियों अपने सौन्दर्य के लिए भारत में अधिक विख्यात थीं। हमारे वैद्यों ने उनके सौन्दर्य का कारण प्याज अधिक खाना बतलाया है। बागभट्ट ने अपने अष्टांगहृदय (तरतंत्र) लिखा है–

यस्योपयोगेन शकांगनानां
लावण्यसारदि विनिर्मितानाम्

(that throughout Eurasia the *Shakas* had a uniform pattern of dress. A pointed cap, which we find on Shaka coins and in the 2nd and 3rd century images-*murtis* of Mathura and Amaravati, used to be the headdress. A *pyjama* and long coat alongwith leather, or felt shoes upto the knees were the main items of their dress. A long sword used to dangle from the waistcloth wrapped round the waist. Shaka damsels were known throughout India for their beauty and grace.

Though the pointed cap has been replaced by the round *thepang* or Bushahri cap, the other items of the dress more or less are essentially the same as described by Rahul Sankrityayana. The sword at that time was an essential item because of their nomadic life. Instead there of the people now may be found carrying an axe or a sickle tucked into the waist-band of purple colour; at time a flute may be carried likewise.

As for the beauty of Shakas, so highly spoken the Kinners themselves are not less pleasing. Their rosy complexion and grace may not leave a lasting impression, as they are careless about personal toilet.

Even at old age many Kinnauri women do not grow grey hair. This is ascribed to the effect of *chuli* oil. The hair are washed either with the cheap toilet soap or washing soap. Residue obtained after extracting *chuli* oil is used for this. In old times when soap was not available a filtrate of hearth-ash was used. Combs used for dressing the hair are small commonly called *kanghis.* They obtain this either from Rampur or bring back from other places during migration. The cheap plastic combs have appeared in the market and are used. No vermilion for the *mang* is used.

Hair Style

Women love to keep long hair. Their hair style is generally very ornate-rulke. There is a tendency to have an innumerable number of little plaits which come right across and are tied at the back to form one main braid at the end. *Chuli* or *baimi* oil is used for their dressing. After every seven of ten days these plaits are undone, combed and retied. Women of the family help each other to dress the hair.

Men do not get a hair cut very often. Perhaps once in six months is enough and under the *thepang* they wear the hair in a dishevelled form. Sometimes they cut each others hair, since there is no barber or hair cutting saloon in Nachar. Once a fortnight a barber comes from Wangtu and serves the government employees. A few villagers may then avail of his services.

The Change

With the spread of education and opening of roads there are changes. More people have come.

A girl studying in the school now does not like to wear a *dohru.* She would prefer to go in *salwar* and *kameez.* She still uses her picturesque head-dress, *thepang.* Similarly a boy who has not passed his matriculation may get on in trousers, shirts and coat.

Sometimes men wear coats in preference to *chhubba* and once a while an over-coat.

Perhaps this change is indicative of the feeling that their original dress is in some way out of sorts with the dress of the plains. If the pace of this change continues at this speed it is apprehended that in the next decade or so the whole

pattern of the dress would undergo a radical change. All the young people would give up their traditional dress which will be confined to the remaining few old patriarchs. We even find men and women putting on long sleeved pull-overs, canvas shoes, and using plastic bags.

These woollen dresses are prepared locally at present. During winter villagers spin wool. They have no work to do on their lands. Later they get this woven from weavers. The mill made cloth is purchased from the local shops or brought from Rampur.

There is no difference of dress among the various castes and all dress alike.

Ornaments

Traditionally women wear heavy silver ornaments. Gold is hardly used in one or two items of jewellery. Men do not use ornaments except sometimes in the form of a finger ring or gold ear rings known as *murki*. Usually the ornaments are purchased from Rampur bazar, since there is only one silversmith-cum-goldsmith in the village. He is more busy as a black-smith. Making ornaments in Kinnaur is a local art followed by the Lohars. They engrave very beautiful motifs on silver. The women of Kinnaur are very fond of putting on heavy jewellery. They do not mind the weight. Their zeal to have as many ear-rings as possible they will go to the length of having the outer ears perforated with holes all over. Hung at the end of the pig tail a woman proudly carries the *zutti* —a silver ornament weighing near about 50 tolas. Probably the use of ornaments on so extensive scale was meant to parade the material well being of a family. There are no banks in this area. The savings were invested either in acquiring property, building a new house or more commonly making ornaments. A village girl bedecked in all her finery and jewellery is quite a sight.

ORNAMENTS FOR THE HEAD

Chak—It is a round silver disc with decorative *meenakari* of blue, yellow, green and red colours. Worn by the women whose husbands are alive. Average weight 3 to 5 tolas.

Phiaeza—A silver band worn on the forehead, weighs 5 to 10 tolas.

Zutti—A heavy bunch of silver flowers hung at the end of the hair. Average weight from 40 to 50 tolas.

ORNAMENTS FOR THE EARS

Jhumku—These are silver tops.

Kantaie—These are silver ear-rings sufficiently big worn 6 to 8 in each ear, through so many holes which have to be pierced one by one. Average weight is 6 tolas.

Khul-Kantaie—Instead of *kantaie* rings are worn in the ears. These are systematically fixed on a piece of embroidered cloth and then hung over the ears from the hair. They may weigh 50 tolas.

Mool-U—It is a bunch of silver flowers—one each hung from the hair over the ears. Weight is 20 to 25 tolas.

Sedushankli—It is a type of silver top, having a silver chain, the other end is tied to the cap. Weight is 8 to 15 tolas.

ORNAMENTS FOR THE NOSE

Balu—It is a large gold ring for nose. Average weight ranges from 2 to 2½ tolas.

Khundoch—This is a gold nose ornament worn in the nose. Weighs upto 2 tolas.

Laung—This is a nose top of gold having a red or blue stone in the centre. Weighs 3 to 6 mashas.

ORNAMENTS FOR THE NECK

Chandramalang—It is a silver garland containing beads, of *pheroza* and *moonga* and old silver coins of four annas and silver rupees.

Kachong—This is a silver ornament close round the neck. Average weight is 10 to 15 tolas.

Kanthamala—This is a silver necklace with gold beads. Weighs about 1 tola.

Shatungma—This is a necklace with a big square, hexagon or pantagon silver box like structure with a lid. Its front side is of silver and is engraved while the backside is of copper. Some chant written by a lama or a talisman is kept in this ornament. Weight is from 8 to 15 tolas.

Trimani—This is a necklace having 3 large gold beads. Weighs about 1 tola.

ORNAMENTS FOR THE HAND

Dhaglo—Silver bangles. These are of two types single and double. Single *dhaglos* are used by the virgin girls whereas double and triple bangles are worn by married women. Average weight of a single pair is about 40 tolas, double pair about 100 tolas and of triple pair about 150 tolas.

Kagun—These are silver or gold rings with blue or red stone or *moonga* or *pheroza* imitation. Average weight 6 to 9 mashas. It is worn by men and women alike.

ORNAMENTS FOR THE TOES

Polries—These are flat rings worn on the toes by the women. Average weight is from 2 to 3 tolas.

DRESS ORNAMENTS

Digra—This is a decorative silver sari clip-cum-sari-pin used by the women to hold the two ends of *Chhanli*. Its weight is from 3 to 5 tolas.

Tamuch or Pechu—This is another silver ornament used for binding the two ends of a *dohru* near the left shoulder. Weight is from 6 to 15 tolas.

There is a change in the pattern of old and new jewellery. In the past there was greater emphasis on the weight. Now the preference is for light ornaments. The designs are slowly changing, some conform to the ornaments worn by the women in the plains. With the increasing contacts with the outside world cheap and light silver ornaments are in demand.

Food and Drink

One eats whatever one produces. Apart from rice it is seldom that villagers purchase grains from outside. Their diet is simple relieved by special dishes on festive occasions, which are keenly awaited.

Meals are served thrice a day. Morning tea is a must for everybody, but then every time is tea time. Food habits do not differ much from community to community and the staple diet is practically the same. The menu in a well-to-do family may be more varied than a poor household.

Milk does not form a part of the daily food since not enough is not available always. Whatever little milk their cows yield is turned into butter and whey. The butter is stored in leather pouches.

Chuli and *baimi* oil is the fat that is used besides butter. *Chuli* is wild apricot whereas *baimi* is wild peach. The fruit yield of golden yellow is profuse. It is sweet when it ripens. Then it is dried and stored in large quantities. This forms an important item of the diet. To extract oil the kernel is ground on a stone adding very little water just to moisten it. This is then sequeezed by hand on a slopping receptacle of stone and the oil collects at the lower edge. This is no doubt a wasteful method but they have no other alternative.

The *khali* is put to various uses. It is fed to animals and added to vegetables. Since it contains a large amount of unextracted oil, it is mixed with warm water and used for washing hands and feet during winter to keep them soft and supple. The oil smells like bitter almond oil.

Meat is relished by all. Hardly two per cent of the population is vegetarian. During winter they preserve the meat by drying it. Since sheep and goats are reared by every household, it is not difficult to obtain meat. Though this is not served too often owing to financial reasons.

Previously fowls and eggs were a taboo. Now the younger folks have started taking eggs and occasionally fowls also and the elderly people have reconciled to this change. Quite a good number of people have started rearing poultry and the use of eggs is on the increase. They have also learnt to prepare and take omelette which they relish very much.

Sugar was not in use simply because it was not available. Villagers use honey instead, though it too was not available in appreciable quantity. Gur is used to a considerable extent. But now more sugar is used among the younger ones as it is available due to the improved transport facilities.

Biscuits are available at local shops. These are brought from the plains. There is no bakery in or around Nachar. The people are ignorant of preparing pickles and jams. Those who have been visiting places outside Kinnaur purchase tinned pickles and jams from shops. Locally grown fruits are consumed.

The staple food of the villagers is *ogla, phafra,* barley and wheat. Besides these *cheena, koda, kala bathu, cholaie,* and maize are served. The principal pulses are peas, *mash* and beans.

The vegetables are pumpkin, potato, turnip, peas, tomato and beans. These have been grown by them since ages. Now on account of a number of government servants residing in Nachar, they grow cabbage, cauliflower, carrots and spinach. Some of these are sold. Mushroom are known as *Zangmuch*. These are also taken.

The meat of goat and ram is tasty. Being Hindus, the question of serving beef does not arise. Only a few years ago Kolis used to eat the flesh of the dead cows but now they have almost completely stopped it. The meat of *bayangta* (a specie of ram) is considered a delicacy.

The fruits grown are apples, baimis, chulis, pears and plums. A few walnut trees and sweet chestnuts are also found.

Some details about the local food—

Chhura—The skimmed curd *bot* is boiled to dry. This powder is then added to the boiling *kangni* rice.

Chilta or Hoda—This is a form of chapati made of *phafra, ogla* or wheat. A thin paste of the flour is prepared with water and spread on the hot pan and baked. Generally this is a very thin chapati. Sometimes thick *chiltas* are prepared. The pan may be greased with *chuli* oil though the use of any fat is not necessary as is for *pooris*.

Chulphant—Chulies are dried in the sun and stored in *kothar*. The dried *chulies* are boiled properly and then the stone is separated. The paste is cooked in a curry. While boiling, a pinch of *ogla* or barley flour is added. No salt or spices are added to flavour. This is served with *sattu* or just by itself. During winter this is relished and served since *chuli* is produced in plenty in this area.

Yut (Sattu)—Barley, maize or *chollaie* grains are roasted in an iron pan and ground. This is served with tea or *chulphant*.

Chutney—Two types of *chutneys* are common. One is prepared by making a paste of peeled *chuli* stone or walnut, dried *chuli, chillies* and salt. The second one is prepared by grinding the peeled *chuli* stones, which are bitter, over a piece of stone for about an hour and softening it with water. To this paste is added a bit of salt and *chillies*. These *chutneys* are served with *chilta* or with chapati.

They have little in the way of sweets. Even the tea which they take is saltish. The only sweet dish which can be mentioned is *porsad* which is nothing but *halwa*. Ogla or wheat flour is fried in *chuli* oil and then the syrup of gur or sugar is added.

Some times rice and meat are cooked together to form *pulao* called *sulphanting*. It is served to guests because rice is not a local produce and has to be purchased from the market.

Poltu or Polle—It is prepared by frying chapati in *chuli* or walnut oil. This is of two types. *Thispolle* coiled like *jalebi, talpolle* resembles a *poori*.

Rote—It is a chapati prepared from maize, *chollaie* and wheat.

Salt and spices—Salt is an important part of the daily diet but other spices like black *zeera, dhaniya,* chillies, turmeric, garlic, spala—a local root and onion are also used to flavour the dishes.

Fats—The common fat is *chuli* oil. Besides this *baimi,* walnut oil and butter are used as fat. Recently coconut oil is used in kitchens. This is brought from the plains.

Shang or Bhat—Kangni or *cheena* are boiled like rice and served with *dal*. Since rice is not grown there, grains are consumed. The rice imported from the plains is consumed sometimes.

Beverage

Tea is the popular beverage. They never add sugar or milk. Instead it is saltish. The tea leaves are of two kinds. The bark of a local tree *yumdal* is used as tea. This is called *sangcha*. The other one is the tea imported from the plains and is called *lakarcha*.

Chilgoza, locally called *ree,* walnut or *chuti* stones are peeled. These are ground and softened with water. This paste and butter is mixed.

The boiled tea and the said paste together with a pinch of soda-bicarb are then poured into a cylindrical wooden vessel having a rod churner. This vessel is made of Shur or Bhojl patra wood and called *dongbo*. The mixture is churned for sometime. The tea is again boiled and is then ready to serve.

Sometimes tea is boiled and nothing is added to flavour. This is called *thang*. Certain persons are tea addicts. They do not drink cold water. This is refreshing and relieves fatigue.

Wine—Wine is locally called by the peculiar name of *ghanti* which in Hindi means a 'bell' !

Until recently the people of Kinnaur used to brew and distil wine at home freely. They prepared it by fermenting fruits like *chuli, baimi,* apple and added barley. But now restrictions have been imposed on housebrewing. There is a wine shop in Nachar.

Wine is put to such extensive use that it is a must on most ceremonies ranging from marriages to the various forms of worship in the temple. On fairs and festivals there is hardly any man who does not drink. It is a feature here that as a rule women do not drink. Neither are the small children below the age of 13 to 14 encouraged to drink.

With restrictions villagers are now finding it increasingly difficult to use wine commonly. It is gathered that some of the households distil illicit liquor as to purchase it from the market is an expensive affairs.

If people now do not try to reduce the use of wine in their daily life, it is feared that it would go a long way to affect their family budget.

Smoking

Smoking is wide and common among the people of Kinnaur. Little tobacco is grown here. The rest of it is imported from outside. Even teenagers smoke. *Hukka* is preferred but now many are smoking bidis and cigarettes.

Generally women do not smoke here. A few ones do, of course, enjoy a puff at the *hukka*.

The people are so fond of smoking that while on the move they would improvise a smoking device if they do not have any *hukka,* cigarettes or bidis. They carry a pouch full of tobacco. When they feel like smoking they scoop out two holes in the ground and cover these two holes with mud. This is *matyang chilum*. In one hole they place tobacco and burning ambers and inhale at the hole at the other end, lying flat on the ground. A sketch is given here.

Utensils

Utensils in common use are of brass and bronze. Aluminium wares have started finding favour with the house wives especially during the period of migration. Earthen pots are employed besides some wooden utensils. Metal vessels are bought from Rampur. There is a local potter in Nachar. The earthen pots are brought by the potters from Bilaspur and Mandi Districts who visit Nachar once in a year or two. They spend a few months in and around the village and manufacture the pots there. Wooden utensils are prepared locally.

In some well-to-do households a few silver utensils are kept. In these wine or tea is served to guests.

The shape and the size of the metallic utensils does not differ from those used in the plains, since these are brought from the plains. Local names for them are different owing to the difference in dialect.

Dongbo, rather an interesting wooden vessel for churning tea, is a must in every house. This is made locally. Well-to-do houses decorate it with silver engravings or other metal decorations.

Birth Customs

The women of Kinnaur are equal if not more responsible for running the home and earning bread for the family. They are hard working. Except ploughing, it is they who carry out practically all works connected with agriculture. The men plough. Women lead a full and arduous life. The prenatal care so essential for the women of the towns, is considered unnecessary in this area. Nor is it possible for them without serious disruption in their daily life to observe all the tenets of prenatal care. An expectant mother leads a normal life. She takes the normal food except in the last one or two months before child birth. She attends her routine duties. It is only then that she does not carry loads as precaution against possible abortion. A few superstitions are in vogue which every expectant mother observes. She may not look at an eclipse, she may not go to the cremation ground or visit such places which are considered to be haunted. She may not see a dead body. There is no rigid adherence to these superstitions. If by chance some-one ignores any of the restrictions, no penalty by way of performing atonement is done to dispel the evil effects of the contravention. Being healthy, robust and used to an outdoor life, a woman generally delivers herself without much fuss and botheration. There are instances when during migration and on the way a child is born. The mother is ready to resume the journey after a day's rest.

As the delivery time draws near she is confined to the lower storey and attended by an elderly woman of the household or some other elderly lady of the neighbourhood. Such a woman is carefully selected for her experience. This woman cuts the umbilical cord and bathes the new born child in warm water. She becomes a sort of a god-mother for the child and is known as Aapi in the local dialect. The child shows her the same respect as the real mother receives.

The mother and her family are considered unclean for seven days. None of the members of the family are allowed to enter places of worship. The musical instruments and other vessels of the temple are not touched. If any person from the family happens to violate this rule, a penalty is imposed, where a goat has to be offered to the deity. This penalty is known as *chheen.*

Again they have their own peculiar way of holding the *shuddhi* or the purification rituals, of course, unattended by any priest. On the seventh day the house is cleaned and *gomutra* and *gangajal* are sprinkled around. The hearth is given a coating of cowdung. The mother is then brought out with the child in the verandah. Both of them view the sun.

Seven pebbles are placed in the verandah over which a mixture of *gomutra* and *gangajal* is sprinkled. The mother goes round the pebbles seven times. On completing each circle, she throws away one of the pebbles.

Near relatives and members of the biradari depute their representatives to convey blessings to the new born on this occasion. They bring presents, a few *chhatanks* of *ghee or chuli* oil besides a seer of *ogla* flour or *kangni* rice for the mother. No feast is held for the guests.

These presents are received only from the people of the same caste strictly on reciprocal basis.

Kimshu, the family god, is worshipped. *Halwa* and wine are offered. After that the purification rites are complete. The members of the family can now visit the shrines and the temples and lead a normal life. This ceremony is known as *chhangshimig,* which makes the family clean again.

If birth takes place in the plains during migration no rituals are performed.

No special custom is observed on the birth of twins nor is there any difference in the ceremonies performed on the birth of a boy or a girl. The birth of a girl is not taken with a heavy heart.

Food for the mother—During the first fortnight after delivery, the mother is usually served buttered chapatis, *halwa, ogla-chilta,* coconut, *ghee* or *chuli* oil and wheat bread. Chillies and sour things are not given during these days.

A daily massage of *chuli* oil is given to the mother and the child, followed by a hot water bath. Special care is taken to keep the feet of the mother warm.

Karachogming or Mundan Ceremony—When the child is of one or two years, an auspicious date is taken from the oracle or a Lama for removing the child's hair. This is done in Shukla-paksha or the period of full moon.

Then on the fixed day the maternal uncle, or in his absence, some other person whose parents must be alive, cuts the child's hair with scissors. The hair are thrown in the Sutlej. Some friends and the near ones may be given a feast. This is called *karachogming*.

If any child cuts the upper tooth first this is considered a bad omen for the mother's parents and brothers. To ward off the evil effect the mother or the father would inform the maternal uncle. Thereafter the child's maternal uncle brings a few clothes for the child. Before entering the house he would drop these clothes from some outlet in the roof. The mother collects them and puts them on the child immediately. Then the maternal uncle enters the house through the main door. This is believed to ward off the evil effects attended with the cutting of the upper tooth first.

Marriage Customs

Polyandrous marriages have been the tradition with the Kinners. The eldest brother marries. She becomes the common wife to the rest of the brothers. The male children of a polyandrous marriage inherit the property jointly. It is passed on intact from generation to generation. Nachar forms a part of Kinnaur. This practice here is therefore, quite natural.

Much has been said on the subject of polyandry and still further research is going on. Rahul Sankrityayana holds that from the very beginning Khasas practised polyandry and the present customs are nothing but a projection of the past tradition.

Origin of polyandry is hidden in the long process of the social evolution of man. What might have prompted the adoption of such a custom is difficult to guess. But a common and popular reason given in support of this system is that it has been useful in keeping the family closely knit and in preventing the fragmentation of small land holdings.

D. N. Majumdar in his book "Himalayan Polyandry" attributed it to geo-economic causes. Another writer W. Llyod in his book "A Journey in the Himalayan Mountains" remarked, "Polyandry, as I have before observed is frequent, and the men assigned as a reason, that their trading avocations often forcing them to be absent for a long period from their homes, it was requisite that the females should have more husbands than one".

It can also be argued that while other hill-people whose geo-economic conditions are not much different from those of the polyandrous tribes, have been living reasonably happily even without this system, why should polyandry be the nucleus of the economy of these tribes?

Certainly, therefore, there must have been other causes, deeper than the geo-economic ones which contributed to the evolution of such a system of marriage. No doubt that these problems require keener and deeper attention.

Time is fast changing and the socio-economic contacts of the Kinners with the outside world are on the increase. It is, therefore, natural that their pattern of life also undergoes some changes. The direct effect of these contacts seem to be on polyandry, since this is on the decline. The younger generation, especially those who are educated, appear to be revolting against this system. Monogamous marriages, it is expected, would ultimately replace polyandry.

A man brings a second wife in case his first wife is barren or he requires additional help for agricultural operations. A few cases of polygamy were recorded in Nachar.

The arrangement of marital relations in a polyandrous family depends on the resourcefulness and tact of the wife. So long as the eldest brother is at home she is his consort. If he is out then the next one has a right over her. Usually all the brothers do not remain at home at one time. The eldest is the head of the family. Often he has to visit places. Then some other brother goes to look after the flock. Thus they somehow make adjustments. She may be fond of one brother but she does not neglect the others either.

Sometimes a younger brother in a polyandrous family prefers to bring another wife for himself because the common wife is much older. Then he goes to live separately. Love may play a part in separating one of the husbands in a polyandrous family by bringing him a new bride.

The marriage ceremony in local dialect is known as *Zanetung* or *Ranekung*. Besides this, marriage is solemnised in two other forms *Dub-dub* and *Damchalshish*.

Zanetung or Ranekung—It is not customary to consult the boy and the girl for matrimonial alliances. Simply the boy's parents and the girls' parents consent. After that the boy's father invariably selects middleman known as *baisis* in whom both the parties have confidence. He may be known for his honesty and integrity and is friendly with the families. He accompanies the boy's father and carries the marriage proposals.

Barnistanmu—If the girl's father accepts the proposal the middleman gives five rupees to him. The sitting arrangement at the betrothal parleys is as follows. The foremost seat is taken by the girl's father who is called *dhure*. The middleman and the boy's father sit to the left of *dhure*.

After this the boy's father and *baisis* go to the girl's maternal uncle to ask for his formal approval. Again five rupees have to be offered to him. The girl's father, mother and maternal uncle play the pivotal role in the settlement of the marriage, though the formal consent of *biradari* is taken which is freely given. This ceremony is called *barnistanmu*—betrothal.

The girl's father can demand more money than the customary five rupees. At times the demand goes upto Rs. 500/-.

The auspicious months for the marriage are only Magh and Maghsar correspoding to January and November. All the marriages have to be performed during these months. If, however, a marriage ceremony has to be postponed for a few days and has to take place during the other months due to very exceptional circumstances, a ritual known as *chanungkhumu* is performed. In this ritual an ornament of the bride is taken to the groom's house by the *baisis* within the days of the said months so as to dispel the evil influence. It may again be stressed that postponement is possible only for a few days.

The girl's father then fixes the year and any month out of the two months for the marriage. But the actual day is, however, left to be decided by the boy's father which he does in consultation with the oracle of the goddess.

Kothipujaimu—The girl's father and the *baisis* then go the god or the goddess of the girl's village and offer *poltu, halwa* and wine in *puja*. A goat has to be sacrificed. On approval by the *devta,* wine is served as *charanamrit* to those who are present. Re. 1 to Rs. 5 are offered to the deity. This is *kothipujaimu.*

After these rituals are performed, the girl's father asks the boy's father, through the middleman to prepare a number of ornaments for the bride. Usually all or at least a number of the following are demanded. This depends on the financial position of the groom's father.

Khundoch (ornament for the nose).	Gold.
Laung (ornament for the nose).	Gold.
Kantaie (ear rings).	Silver.
Zutti (ornament for the hair).	Silver.
Chak (ornament for the head).	Silver.
Pechu and Digra (ornament for the dress).	Silver.

But *dhaglo* (thick silver bangles) are always given by the bride's father. In case the girls father has demanded more than the customary five rupees in *barnistanmu,* some more ornaments and *dhaglo* are given by him to his daughter.

After this, the middleman would request the bride's father not to bring a large number of persons with the bridegroom's procession. The number of persons which he gives, has to be accepted by the bridegroom's father. Usually for every member of the bridegroom's party deputed to bring the bride, the return number for the bride's party is 15.

Finally *baisis* and two to three close relatives of the bridegroom go to bring the bride. The important observation here is that the bridegroom does not go with the procession.

It is customary that the marriage procession should reach the bride's house at dusk. Some members from the bride's house receive the party at the gate. Some *chilte* and *poltus* are thrown in different directions after circling these round the heads of the members of the procession. This is done to ward off evil spirits that may have accompanied. Then an evening feast is held for the party. Before the meals one or two girls from the family help them to wash their hands. *Baisis* gets precedence over others and he has to give a rupee or two to them.

Usually two feasts are held, evening and morning. If the bridegroom's village is situated at some distance, the party stays for a day. *Ogla* or wheat *chilte,* pulses, meat, vegetables and wine are served in the meals.

Next day the bride's father arranges the bride's procession. Women do not accompany the procession except one *kodin,* the girl friend of the bride. The middleman then offers the ornaments to the bride to wear on.

The Bride's dress

(i) Tapru-dhoru (ii) Gachhang (iii) Spona (iv) Tapru- sechhanli (v) Choli (vi) Prathepang.

Manedungsarmig—Baisis, the middleman and the party then dance in the room. While moving rhythmically, he sprinkles some wine around the room from a pot called *kurich*. Then the dancing party comes out and the *baisis* passes the pot on to the next man and returns to the room. The dance continues outside. Then he gives Re. 1 to Rs. 5 to the bride which she drops before her mother's sisters who might be present at the occasion. While dropping the money she bows down as to get leave for departure. Finally *baisis* offers Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 to the bride's mother and brings the girl out holding her hand. This ritual is called *manedungsarmig.*

The procession now starts back to the bridegroom's house. No musical instruments lead it. No palanquin is ever used for the bride. However, well-to-do families often engage a horse for the bride. Otherwise she too has to walk with the procession.

On their way back a he-goat has to be sacrificed on every major bridge for the safe passage from the evil spirits which are supposed to be residing there. But gradually this custom is giving way and a he-goat is being replaced by *nariyal* (coconut) and some *poltus*. On the first bridge that comes across them the procession refuses to cross it and *baisis* has to pay nearly Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 to them. If no bridge happens to fall on the way some place is chosen for this customary payment called *lagan*.

If they leave late and night falls on the way, boarding and lodging arrangements have to be made by the bridegroom's father. These arrangements have to be approved by the bride's father otherwise he can impose a penalty ranging from Re. 1 to Rs. 5.

Every person from the bride's side accompanying the procession has to bring a bronze *thali* and a *lota*. The bride's father too brings with him some utensils which are carried in a *kilta*. Usually the utensils given are *lamthu* (a huge vessel of brass or copper of about 1 to 2 maunds capacity). *Arbo* (Chilamachi) a few *thalis* (brass plates), a *lota*, an iron tripod used for cooking meals, hoe, sickless and a *parat*.

On reaching the bridegroom's village the procession does not go straight to bridegroom's house but takes rest at some place preferably in the village temple for some time. The women belonging to the bride's village, but married in the bridegroom's village go out to welcome the bride and take with them wine and other eatables for entertaining the guests.

At dusk a man from the bridegroom's house would come to invite the party. *Grokch*, the oracle and the *pujari* of the temple alongwith a few elderly persons receive them at the gate. The oracle sprinkles some water mixed with *gangajal* on the bride and the other members. As soon as the bride and party enter the house a ram is sacrificed.

The bridegroom receives the bride at the door. A sister of the bridegroom stands near them with a lamp placed in a vessel containing barley and a *lota* full of water. Then the bridegroom places flowers in the bride's hands and the bride's father puts a rupee in the *lota*. On entering the room the bride bows before her mother-in-law.

Kimshu, the house god, is worshipped with *poltus* and *ghee*. A goat is sacrificed to please the deity. The man who slaughters the goat must do so in one stroke, otherwise he is jeered at. If he kills the goat with one stroke he has to be given Rs. 5 by the bridegroom's father as a reward. After Kimshu is worshipped some *charanamrit* of wine is given to those who are present. During the night songs are sung and some may dance.

Next morning salted tea is given with *gur* and *sattus* as breakfast. After that *tegshu*, the village god or goddess, is brought to the house of the bridegroom and it is worshipped with *poltus*, halwa and wine. Rs. 5 to Rs. 25 and some new clothes are offered to the deity.

Bandobast—When this is over, the bridegroom's father sets aside some piece of land for the bride. This is confirmed in writing on a plain paper or on a stamped paper. The middleman stands as witness. The paper remains with the girl's father or with her maternal uncle. Similarly a surety bond is written from the bride's father to the effect that the document shall become inoperative in case of a divorce Now the utensils are given. A list is prepared after weighing each of them. In case of a divorce these utensils or the cost has to be reimbursed by the bridegroom's father. This customs is called *Bandobast*.

Pag—After the rituals the bridegroom's near relatives who have been invited on the occassion, give the family some money varying from Re. 1 to Rs. 20. The grand total on such occasion comes up from Rs. 100 to Rs. 1,000. The bridegroom's father is the sole master of the collection. This is paid on a reciprocal basis.

Udanang—Finally the lunch consists of ghee, meat and rice. Every man from the bride's side gives her cash varying from Re. 1 to Rs. 50 according to his capacity. Generally the collection amounts to Rs. 100 to Rs. 1,500. The account of the collection is kept on a paper by the bride's father or maternal uncle. The money can be utilised by the *baisis* for a year without interest. After that if he wants to retain the money an interest is charged at the rate of $12\frac{1}{2}\%$.

Ultimately the bride utilises the money in buying a piece of land or ornaments. This is known as *udanang*.

On the way back the evening food is arranged by the boy's father. Often a goat called as *zanes-zed* is given. *Zanes-zed* means the goat given to the *baratis*. *Kodin*, the girl friend is left behind to stay with the bride.

Within a month on any day convenient to both the parties, the bride's father or brother comes to take her back. He brings with him two *kiltas* full of *poltus*. One *kilta* is given to the *baisis* and the other is meant for the bridegroom's family. The bride offers garland of flowers to him. The bridegroom gives Re. 1 to his father-in-law or brother-in-law. The bride's father then goes back with the bride, *kodin*, the bridegroom and one of the bridegroom's sister. The bridegroom carries with him *poltus* in the following manners. One full *kilta* each for the bride's family, for *kodin* and for the uncles of the bride who may be residing separately from her parents.

The bridegroom offers Re. 1 to Rs. 10 to his mother-in-law and bows before her. And with this all the rituals connected with *zanetung* are over.

Dub Dub—The other form of marriage in this area is called *dub dub or khichis*. The literal meaning of the word is whisking away of the bride.

Here with the help of a few friends the boy forcibly carries away the girl of his choice to his house. After that, the boy's father deputes a go-between or middleman *baisis* to the girl's parents requesting for their pardon for the outrage committed by his sons.

Although in the beginning the girl's parents show a great deal of resentment and their attitude is threatening, *baisis* finally succeeds in brining them round. The girl's father then asks them to make amends in terms of money as an atonement for the action of the youngster. The money demanded is known as *izat* money. This may vary from Rs. 100 to Rs. 400 and has to be deposited at once by the middleman.

Sometimes the girl's father demands that the *zanetung* form of marriage ceremony be performed. In that case the boy's father would request for the exemption from such a performance by expressing his inability to incur the expenditure. The exemption is always granted.

Within a month the girl is sent back to her house. On some auspicious date the bride's father or her brother accompanied by a few relatives, visit the boy's house with two *kiltas* full of *poltus*. One is for the *baisis*. Then they return along with the girl, the bridegroom and the *baisis*. On this occasion she is given new clothes and a few ornaments which they can afford. This is known as *mayomajo-sharam*. 3 to 4 *kiltas* of *poltus* are sent with her.

The *poltus* are distributed among girl's relatives, her father and her maternal uncle. The boy offers as a mark of respects, Rs. 5 to his mother-in-law. This is *sten-femu*. The bridegroom and the *baisis* return leaving behind the bride.

On a suitable date after that her father and brother take her to her husband. All the relatives to whom the *poltus* had been distributed are informed about the girl's departure. They assemble at the girl's house and a feast is held. Each of them gives a brass plate or *thali* to the bride. While sending away his daughter the father gives a few utensils and ornaments, with anything between Rs. 100 to 300 by way of dowry. At this occasion the relatives absolve the girl of the disgrace of being forcibly carried away. The girl then goes to her husband and her escort returns after a few days' stay. This completes the *dub dub*.

Since this form of marriage is less expensive than the regular *zanetung* marriage, it is likely that the whisking away of the bride is pre-arranged and is in the knowledge of the bride's father. It may be in some cases that the bride is ignorant of this. In a majority of cases she is aware of what is to happen. No doubt she offers resistence. Of course she cries a little. Then her father tries to exhibit his resentment but all this is a fuss and has a happy end.

Damchalshish—This is a sort of love marriage. In this form of marriage the boy takes his beloved to his house secretly. The other ceremonies are the same as in *dub dub* marriage.

These marriage rites are common to the Kinners. The Rajputs, Lohars and Badhis all observe them. No religious ceremony is held like going round the sacred fire or chanting of *mantras* by any priest or Lama. Marriage is essentially a matter of covenience without much of religious sanctity or pretence to spiritual union as ordained by scriptures or the like. Perhaps they evolved this simple procedure due to absence of the priestly class and in its place the blessings of the deity obtained through her oracle are considered more than enough to sanctify the marriage.

Age Group	Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All ages.	264	274	290	261	15	45	4	13
0—14	217	203	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—34	43	67	133	139	2	3	2	6
35—59	3	3	128	99	4	25	2	6
60 & above	1	1	29	23	9	17	..	1

The table above gives the age and marital status of the villagers. The total absence of married males and females in the age group of 0—14 shows that early marriages do not take place in this area. The marriage age is beyond the age of 14. It seems that divorces are not frequent.

Divorce—There is no divorce system prevailing in the society. But if the two parties cannot pull on together, a separation is permissible which for the sake of convenience may be termed a divorce. Divorce is permitted among all the castes. In case a women wants divorce she usually initiates it through her parents. First efforts are made to iron out the differences but if these conciliatory moves do not succeed and the parting of ways is regarded as the only unavoidable solution of the position, then a separation is decided with mutual consent. The proceedings are very simple. On an appointed date the parents of the woman and her husband(s) gather at a place. Then they settle the accounts. The utensils, ornaments and cash given to the women at the time of *bandobast* ceremony during marriage by the parents have to be returned by the husband.

Finally a twig is placed between the couple and they break this twig, which symbolises the breaking of the marriage bonds. The separation or divorce is complete. The ceremony is known as *shing-cha-kashimig*. Both parties are now free to take on another companion(s). No legal or religious sanction is required. This mutual decision is never challenged.

Haar—If a woman elopes with some other man, the husband will send a man to the new husband or set of husbands and demand a refund of the expenditure incurred by him during his marriage. He will have to be repaid this amount which is called *haar*. The usual amount of *haar* ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500. This custom is essentially the same as *reet* custom prevailing in lower hills of Himachal Pradesh. Like polyandry, the custom of *haar* seems to be peculiar to Khasas, and other hill folks not belonging to Khasa stock would appear to have adopted it under the name and style of *reet* later on. It may be however, hard to find any instance of polyandry beyond the pale of people who claim to be Khasas, be they residents of Kinnaur or Trans-Giri area of district Sirmur.

As a rule consanguineous marriages are not performed. On the other hand such marriages are looked down upon. In Nachar no such case has been recorded.

Death Customs

A dead body is cremated. But children below 3, lepers and persons dying of small-pox are buried.

The death takes place naturally on the floor, as charpoys are uncommon, but in case the dying person happens to be on a charpoy he is brought down on the floor before death. The place where the death takes place is either besmeared with cowdung or some soil from a sacred place is placed under the bedding.

When the end of a person seems near *panchratna* consisting of five metals gold, silver, copper brass and iron is put in his mouth. No priest ever attends the dying person.

The dead body is bathed in warm water in which *gomutra* and *gangajal* are also mixed. On the spot where death takes place a brass lamp is lit with *chuli* or mustard oil. This continues to burn for seven days continuously or till the bones are disposed off either at Hardwar or by throwing these into the Sutlej. A bowl full of barely is also placed besides this lamp. Conch is blown at regular intervals. In case the death occurs at night or in the afternoon, the body is taken out the next day for cremation.

The corpse is taken in procession lead by the musical instruments which play sad tunes. The foremost man in the procession takes with him some fire in a *dunis*—a utensil. Barley is scattered at frequent intervals all along the last journey. As the procession starts, a change of a few rupees is thrown over the Bajantri (musical instrument-players) which they pick up. A man from each household in the village accompanies the corpse for collecting wood and other *samagri* for pyre.

A man from Koli family takes some *jyokhties* and an axe to the cremation ground. If death occurs in a Koli family they arrange this between themselves. The man who performs this is known as *binanes*.

The pyre is made of wood and the body is placed over it. The son or the nearest relation then takes some water in his hands and goes round the pyre thrice and pours the water on the head of the dead body. He then lits fire to the pyre from the direction in which the head is placed. All the persons return to their homes after this except the nearest relatives who remain there till the body is completely consumed by the fire.

The villagers burn their deads at cremation ground about half a mile from the village. Each of the hamlets has its separate cremation place. It is a superstition here that from the place where pyre is arranged Sutlej river which flows down the village must be visible. All the ashes are thrown in the Sutlej or in case some one wishes to carry the ashes to Hardwar for immersion in holy Ganges, he collects it in a piece of cloth and keeps at some safe place. A lamp is continuously burnt where the *asthis* are kept till these are taken to Hardwar.

At the most within a week one man from the family takes the ashes to Hardwar. On the night of death and two to three subsequent nights the family of dead recite a *mantra* 'Om Mani Padmehum'. The near relatives shave their heads as mark of respect to the dead.

The mourning is continued for fifteen days and during these days the family members do not take meat, oil, fried articles of food, garlic, turmeric and onion and nor do they apply *turka* to the pulses or vegetables. During these days early in the morning cows are given some food. Some bits are also scattered for the crows. The food given to them is supposed to reach the departed soul.

On the 15th day the members of the family purify themselves and also the house is cleaned. *Gomutra* is sprinkled all around in the house. On this day a feast is held for near relations. With this all the said restrictions stand removed. This ritual is known as *kolrashimig*.

The last ritual on death is known as *aating*. It is performed on the festival of Ukhayang. On this festival the family members of the deceased distribute *poltus* among the near relatives and friends. The expenditure on this day ranges from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500. The musical instruments are played on this day and the flowers brought from the hill tops are exchanged by the relatives. This marks the end of the death rituals.

There are no separate customs to be observed by a widow except that she removes all the ornaments from her body. She is free to take on another husband after the *aating* ceremony. In the case of a polyandrous family, a woman never becomes a widow unless by ill-luck she loses all her husbands.

Guthu-Gasphumig—In Kinnaur rough wooden troughs are kept near the springs for washing clothes. These are kept sometimes in the memory of some deceased and invariably the Badhi who makes these is given a set of clothes consisting of *thepang, chhubba, gachhang* and *pyjama*.

3. Economy

Factors Influencing Village Economy

The village economy revolves round agriculture. More or less land-holder tills his land. It is seldom that land is leased out to others. Being mountainous tract the land-holdings are small. The yield may be just sufficient to meet the needs of the villagers. Sometimes they may have to bring foodgrains from outside in case crops fail.

Besides agriculture, there are a few subsidiary professions. Among these are blacksmithy, silversmithy, weaving, sheep-breedings, tailoring and carpentry. With the expansion of various activities, a few shops have also come up in the village.

Broadly these are the economic sources of Nachar. For centuries, the village-economy has been almost static. The people continued to follow a set pattern of life. They produced their foodgrains and tended sheep. Lohars, Badhis and Kolis did other work for the unsophisticated society. They were more or less self-contained and led a contented life. Kinnaur was land locked in the Himalayan wilderness having very few contacts with the outside world.

The post-independence era brought so many changes in its wake to give a sufficient shake up to their traditional pattern of life. The improved means of communication, the opening of schools and beginning of a number of developmental projects are going a long way to influence their economy. New avenues of employment are opening up. At the same time, there would be much more to spend on.

The school-going children are inclined to put on *salwar, kameez* or trousers in place of their traditional dress. This puts an additional burden on the villagers. Previously salt tea was inexpensive but now sugar tea is finding favour.

Side by side, opportunities for employment have increased. The construction of Hindustan-Tibet road and a number of government buildings are providing employment for unskilled labour. Whenever villagers are free from their agricultural operations, they go and work there. Thus to some extent they supplement their income. Women work as unskilled labourers.

A few enterprising households opened shops to cater to the growing demand of the general merchandise around the village. Food habits are undergoing a subtle but sure change. Now more rice is served. This is brought from the plains or purchased from the local shops.

Villagers have been growing fruits like *chulli*, *baimi* and apple. These were of inferior varieties. Now improved varieties of fruits have been introduced. In due course, it is expected that this area will become one of the prosperous fruit-growing areas. Horticulture will ultimately go a long way to improve the lot of the people. Though age old prejudices at present are placing some hinderances to the spread of healthy economic trends, it is hoped that ultimately a progressive outlook would develop.

Income

We are giving here caste-wise tables of income. These are based on the information gathered by the Investigator. Since there is a common tendency to under-estimate the income and over-rate the expenditure, the figure may be taken to give some general idea about their income.

Monthly Income per Rajput Household by Source and Occupation

Occupation of a Household		Source of Income	Monthly income per household in the ranges of (Rs.)			
Main	Subsidiary		Up to 50	51 to 75	76 to 100	101 and Over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Agriculture	..	Agriculture	5	4	5	27
Agriculture	Labour	Agriculture and Labour	7	15	10	13
Agriculture	Sheep-breeding	Agriculture, Sheep-breeding and Labour	..	8	2	2
Agriculture	Masonry	Agriculture and Masonry	..	..	1	1
Agriculture	Service	Agriculture and Service	..	..	..	6
Service	..	Service	..	..	..	4
Agriculture	Labour	Agriculture, Labour and Muleteering	..	..	..	1
Agriculture	Business	Agriculture, Shop and Sheep-breeding	..	..	..	1
Agriculture	Eating-house	Agriculture and Eating house	..	..	..	1
Labour	..	Labour	..	..	..	1
Agriculture	Mason	Agriculture, Mason and Sheep-breeding	..	..	..	1
Agriculture	Business	Agriculture, Business	..	..	..	2
Agriculture	Eating-house	Agriculture, Sheep-breeding and Eating house	..	..	..	

Monthly Income per Koli Household by Source and Occupation

Agriculture	Labour	Agriculture and Labour	5	10	3	5
Weaving	Masonry	Weaving and Masonry	..	1	..	2
Weaving	Agriculture	Weaving and Agriculture	..	1	..	..
Agriculture	Mason	Agriculture, Masonry and Labour	..	..	1	1
Weaving	Tailoring	Weaving, Tailoring and Agriculture	..	..	1	1
Agriculture	Weaving	Agriculture, Weaving and Labour	..	..	4	2
Agriculture	Tailoring	Agriculture, Tailoring and Labour	..	..	1	1
Agriculture	Weaving	Agriculture and Weaving	..	..	1	1
Weaving	Service	Weaving and Service	..	..	..	1
Service	..	Service	..	..	..	2
Weaving	Mason	Weaving and Masonry	..	..	..	1
Service	Agriculture	Service and Agriculture	..	..	..	1
Labour	..	Labour	..	1	..	..
Agriculture	..	Agiculture	1	2	..	..

Monthly Income per Badhi Household by source and occupation

Occupation of aHonshold		Source of Income	Monthly income per household in the ranges of (Rs.)			
Main	Subsidiary		Up to 50	51 to 75	76 to 100	101 and Over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Carpentry	Agriculture	Carpentry and Agriculture	..	1	..	2

Monthly Income per Lohar Household by Source and Occupation

Blacksmithy and Silversmithy.	..	Blacksmithy, Silversmithy and Agriculture	1	..	..	1

Monthly Income per Brahman, Chamar, Jat, Khatri and Rajput (Non-Kinnaura) House-hold

Brahman	Service Business	Service Business	..	..	..	4
	Business	Business	..	..	..	1
Chamar	Service	Service	..	..	..	1
..		Shoemaking	..	..	..	1
Sikh (Jat)	Service	Service	..	..	..	3
Khatri	Service	Service	..	..	..	4
Rajput (Non-Kinnaura)	Service	Service	..	..	1	7

In the income-range of up to Rs. 50, five families derive their income from agriculture and labour. One family is purely agriculturist. Rs. 51 to Rs. 75 income-group contains 15 families in all. 10 are engaged in agriculture and labour, 1 in weaving and masonry, 1 in weaving and agriculture, 1 in labour and 2 in agriculture.

In the income range of Rs. 76 to 100, there are 11 families. 3 are engaged in agriculture and labour. One family derives income from agriculture, masonry and labour. One family is engaged in weaving, tailoring and agriculture. Four households get their income from agriculture, weaving and labour. One each is engaged in agriculture, tailoring, labour, agriculture and weaving.

18 families come in the income-range of Rs. 101 and over engaged in different occupations like agriculture, labour, masonry, tailoring and service. Details may be seen in the table.

Out of 50 families of Kolis, 18 households come in the income-range of Rs. 101 and over; 11 in the group of Rs. 76 to Rs. 100; 15 in Rs. 51 to Rs. 75 income-group; 6 in up to Rs. 50 group. Six families have a lean income.

There are three Badhi households engaged in carpentry and agriculture. Out of these one is in the income-range of Rs. 51 to Rs. 75 and two households are in the group of Rs. 101 and over.

One Lohar household comes in the income-range of upto Rs. 50 and another in Rs. 101 and over group. The sources of income of both the families are blacksmithy and silversmithy and agriculture.

The tendency of income of other castes is shown in the table. Most are employed in government services and quite a few have different occupations. These castes were not a part of the social structure of the village and have come in only recently.

Average Cast-wise Monthly Expenditure per Household by Income-Groups

Expenditure

Name of Caste	Items of expenditure	Households with a monthly income of							
		Upto Rs. 50		Rs. 51 to 75		Rs. 76 to 100		Rs. 101 and above	
		No. of Households	Average expenditure	No. of Households	Average expenditure	No. of Households	Average expenditure	No. of Households	Average expenditure
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Badhi	Clothing	..	..	1	14·58	..	..	2	35·83
	Education	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Food	..	..	1	37·50	..	..	2	116·66
	Others	..	..	1	5·66	..	..	2	38·33
Brahman	Clothing	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	22·50
	Education	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3·33
	Food	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	42·50
	Others	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	155·66
Chamar	Clothing	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	12·25
	Education	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Food	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	22·91
	Others	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	86·66
Sikh (Jat)	Clothing	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	27·22
	Education	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	8·33
	Food	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	83·33
	Others	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	218·72
Khatri	Clothing	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	47·91
	Education	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	43·75
	Food	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	98·91
	Others	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	148·75
Koli	Clothing	6	5·93	15	8·93	11	11·95	18	20·77
	Education	..	..	2	0·93	1	0·66	3	1·69
	Food	6	28·10	15	43·09	11	56·97	18	86·07
	Others	6	2·77	15	4·21	11	9·41	18	9·39
Lohar	Clothing	1	8·33	..	..	..	..	1	25·00
	Education	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Food	1	33·33	..	..	..	..	1	100·00
Rajput	Others	1	4·41	..	..	..	..	1	10·12
(Kanet)	Clothing	12	12·97	27	10·52	18	1·69	79	29·67
	Education	..	..	7	1·35	7	2·25	33	3·22
	Food	12	18·50	27	41·00	18	54·84	79	106·54
	Others	12	3·93	27	5·54	18	7·90	79	24·95
Rajput (Non-Kinnaura)	Clothing	..	..	..	..	1	20·00	7	34·60
	Education	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	50·00
	Food	..	..	..	..	1	45·00	7	64·70
	Others	..	..	..	..	1	16·00	7	142·64

While working out the expenditure pattern, we have taken three main items food, clothing and education. Other minor items have been grouped together under the head 'Others', which include expenditure on tobacco, medical aid, expenditure incurred on religious ceremonies, amusements and travelling. We must mention categorically that these are very rough amounts. But they give a broad indication of the trends.

It would appear that the main items of expenditure are food and clothing. Little is spent on education. This is because education is free. Whatever amount may be spent is on books and stationery.

The expenditure on food per household appears to be higher in the monthly income-group of Rs. 101 and over. In some cases, the expenditure on this seems to be very high. These families are larger. Some households have 18 to 20 persons to feed. There is, of course, bound to be slight variation on items of food and clothing from caste to caste even though house-hold may fall within the same income-group. Excepting the variations, the quantum of expenditure on food per head does not show much fluctuation as food habits are more or less the same.

Others who come from outside, have a different way of life. The expenditure pattern changes and the expenses under 'Others' is high as compared to the local people.

Villagers lead a simple and unsophisticated life. Their main concern has so far been to provide food and clothing for members of the family. They spend little on shelter. The old houses built by their fore-fathers serve them well.

The expenditure on clothing covers their hand-spun and hand-woven clothes. There is now a preference for the mill-made cloth.

The economy of the village appears to be self-sufficient. Whatever debts have been incurred by the villagers, these are due to marriages, construction of houses or on death rites. It is expected that the people of this village will be able to stand the pressure of added expenditure as years go by. They shall earn more and spend more.

It is one of the healthy signs that villagers seldom indulge in litigation. Little inter-feuds are solved by the Panchayat.

Wine has been popular since ages on an extensive scale. Until very recently the people used to brew and distill wine at home. They prepared if by fermenting locally available fruits or barley. Now restrictions on home-brewing have been imposed and there is a vendor's shop in the village.

Indebtedness :

Income Groups	Indebtedness by Income Group		
	No. of Households	No. of households in debt	Percentage
Upto Rs. 50 .	19	2	10%
Rs. 51 to 75 . .	43	7	16%
Rs. 76 to 100 .	30	4	13%
Rs. 101 & over .	121	18	15%
Total .	213	31	

Causes	Indebtedness by Causes	
	No. of Families in debt	Average amount of debt per Household
1	2	3
(*a*) Agricultural Loan	3	366·00
(*b*) Funerals and death-rites	2	400·00
(*c*) House-construction or repair of existing buildings	3	150·00
(*d*) Litigation . . .	1	250·00
(*e*) Marriages . . .	3	233·00
(*f*) Miscellaneous wants .	19	181·00

Indebtedness tables would show that the households have been divided in four income categories. In the first category 10 per cent, in the second 16 per cent, in the third 13 per cent and in the fourth 15 per cent households are under debt.

The causes of debt are house-construction or repair of the existing buildings, marriages, funerals and death rites, agricultural loans and miscellaneous wants. Nineteen families come under the "miscellaneous wants". The amount per family on an average comes to about Rs. 180. This normally represents purchases from shop-keepers. The bill is squared off at the end of the harvest. No interest is charged or paid on such borrowings. On other loans, usually raised from the money-lenders, an interest at the rate of about 12½ per cent is charged.

Three households have raised debt for house construction or for repairing their houses. None of them seems to have taken the loan for constructing a new building. These are for repairs of the existing buildings only.

Even for marriages, the amount of average debt is not high. The number of families who took loan for this is negligible. One family under debt for litigation may be an exception. Agriculture loans are not a part of the general indebtedness, since these were taken for planting apple trees which is to ultimately improve their economic conditions.

Analytically speaking only eight households out of total number of 213 households would appear to be under debt. Even if we take all the 31 families under debt into consideration, it comes to 14 per cent which in no case can be high. It was gathered from personal interviews with villagers that they do not ordinarily go in for loans unless it is very essential. As a matter of habit, they avoid debt. This explains the low percentage of indebtedness.

Workers and Non-workers by Sex and Broad Age-Group

Age Groups	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 . . .	1,166	573	593	703	348	355	463	225	238
0 to 14 . . .	420	217	203	11	4	7	409	213	196
15 to 34 . . .	395	180	215	358	169	189	37	11	26
35 to 59 . . .	270	137	133	267	137	130	3	..	3
60 and Over . . .	81	39	42	67	38	29	14	1	13

Out of the total number of 1,166 persons; 703 persons are workers. The number of non-workers is 463. This shows that there are more workers. The largest number of non-workers comes from the age-group of 0 to 14 years. The number of female workers is almost equal to that of male-workers. Here women work hand-in-hand with men in agriculture and other occupations such as manual labour. They also attend to household work.

In industry mainly men are engaged. Coming to labourers, we see that almost equal number of men and women are engaged. Though 22 persons have come in this category, it is a common practice that some members from every family work as unskilled labourers during the year whenever they find spare time. Younger people do this.

No women are engaged in business. This is in keeping with the tradition of the area. The businessmen come from the age-group of 15 to 34 years. which shows that the new generation is developing a tendency to find new avenues of income and newer ways of occupation. The persons shown in services are from outside.

Workers Classified by Broad Age-Groups and Occupations

Age-groups (Years)	Agriculture			Industry			Labour			Business			Service		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
All ages . . .	603	273	330	33	33	..	22	10	12	4	4	..	41	28	13
0 to 14 . . .	11	4	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15 to 34 . . .	304	128	176	15	15	..	11	5	6	4	4	..	24	17	7
35 to 59 . . .	225	106	119	15	15	..	11	5	6	..	..	..	16	11	5
60 & Over . . .	63	35	28	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1

Mortgages

Year	No. of mortgages	Area mortgaged in Acres: Total area	Area mortgaged in Acres: Cultivated Area	Revenue (Rs.)	Mortgage (Rs.)
1	2	3	4	5	6
1951-52	1	1	1	1·00	40·00
1953-54	1	1	1	0·75	10·00
1955-56	1	1	1	1·25	110·00
1957-58	2	1	1	1·00	150·00
1959-60	1	1	1	1·00	300·00

The mortgage statement gives the details of the conditions of mortgage indebtedness from 1951 to 1960. The statement has been taken from the village note-book. It would appear that very few mortgages took place during the last ten years involving small areas. This shows that the people here try to manage their affairs within the family income.

The redemption table shows the redemptions which have taken place during the years from 1951 to 1960.

It seems that a number of redemptions have taken place during the period under study perhaps due to improved economic conditions of the people during the decade. Fifty-one cases of redemption have taken place.

The mortgage debt incurred during the ten years under study amounted to Rs. 610. The consideration money paid on account of redemption was Rs. 1,530.

Year	No. of redemptions	Total area redeemed	Cultivated area redeemed	Consideration money paid on account of redemptions
1	2	3	4	5
				(Rs)
1951-52 ..	11	22	21	225·00
1953-54 ..	7	2	2	148·00
1955-56 ..	225	7	7	777·00
1957-58 ..	2	1	1	64·00
1958-59 ..	3	1	1	222·00
1959-60 ..	3	1	1	94·00

Migration

During winter, some of the villagers migrate to the lower hills of Himachal Pradesh. They go to Sirmur, Bilaspur, Mahasu and Mandi districts with their flocks of sheep and goats in search of pastures. Some seek employment. In Nachar, a number of families rear sheep and goats and the Lambardar of the village has about 1,100 strong flock. He is one of the richer shepherds of Kinnaur. The households who keep many sheep and goats, spare one or two persons from their families to look after the flock. In summer, they take them to the Alpine pastures of Lahaul and Spiti area of Punjab. For carrying loads, they often keep asses and horses. The sheep and goats carry small cloth or leather bags. These are used for transporting grains, salt or other things.

It has been a tradition with many of the Kinners to migrate down to the lower hills. They are a semi-pastoral tribe. Sheep-breeding is a source of income. During periods of migration, they sell the wool to the villages they visit and on their way back home, carry with them most of their requirements of general merchandise not locally available. Those who come to seek random employment, mostly work as unskilled labourers.

Often couples and children accompany the flocks leaving behind the elderly persons in the houses. Sometimes the head of the family goes down leaving behind his family. On an average, 100 to 200 sheep and goats are kept by a family. They have ponies and donkeys. During their wanderings, they carry woollen *kharchas* gunny bags made of hair of the goats—flung across the backs of their animals in which they carry foodgrains and other household goods.

Besides carrying utensils, *kharchas,* saddles and torches they carry the usual *dangbo* for preparing tea. A number of little articles like ropes made of goat's hair, little quantities of *chilghozas,* dried *chulli,* walnuts, turmeric and spices are carried for the journey.

On their way men, women and children lie in the open, cook their food by the road side and the flocks are kept slightly off the beaten track to graze in the open. Their loyal dog is, of course, with them always. Whenever they have pups they are quick to barter or to sell it.

Owing to regular visits to lower hills they have acquaintances, friendships and associations, which they revive every season. They bring small presents of *chilgoza,* dried *chulli* or local products for them.

Statement showing households owning or possessing land or have given out land to others for cultivation

Caste	Nature of interest of land	Number of Households and extent of land									
		No. land	5 cents and below	5 to 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	5·00 to 10·00 acres	10 acres and above
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Rajput	1. Land owned	5	..	..	1	2	3	33	41	39	11
	2. Land held from private persons or institutions.	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
	3. Land given out to private persons or institutions.	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Koli	1. Land owned	2	..	..	..	5	16	23	4	..	..
	2. Land held from private persons or institutions.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	3. Land given out to private persons or institutions.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lohar	1. Land owned	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
	2. Land held from private persons or institutions.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	3. Land given out to private persons or institutions.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Badhi	1. Land owned	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	2. Land held from private persons or institutions	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	3. Land given out to private persons or institutions.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Inheritance

Inheritance goes by patriarchy i.e. only sons inherit the property. All male issues get an equal share. An illegitimate child has no right to the property. The villagers know nothing about changes in recent years, in Hindu Adoption Act or Hindu Succession Act. Recently by an order of the Government of India, the people of this area have been exempted from the purview of the Hindu Succession Act. Mutatious continue to be registered in the old manner.

Ownership or possession of land

The statement showing land ownership or possession of land caste-wise, would reveal that out of 136 households of Rajputs five families do not own land. These families include those in other occupations. The position of other castes is clear from the table. It would appear that the land distribution in this area is simple. Every owner of land tills it. It is seldom that some land may be given out to some villagers on lease. Some land may be given out to a relative. It is clear that Rajputs possess the major portion of the village land and other castes; Badhi, Koli, and Lohar, have smaller holdings.

Agriculture

The area under cultivation is 693 acres. No land is under irrigation. Both *rabi* and *kharif* crops are harvested in a year. The principal crops grown are briefly mentioned here—

Rabi Crops

The principal *rabi* crops are barley, ooa (hordeum coeleste), peas and wheat.

Barley—It is the principal food crop. It is sown in October. Generally one to two ploughings are given and the seed is sown broadcast.

Wheat—Sown at the same time as barley.

Kharif Crops

These consist mainly of *bathu, cheena, chollaie, kangni, koda, kulth, maize, ogla, phafra* and potato.

Bathu (Amaranthus)—Sown at the same time as *kangni*.

Kangni (*Panicum Milliaceum*)—Sown in May and June and harvested in October.

Koda (*Eleusine Coracana*)—A species of millets. It is sown from May to June and harvested in October.

Kulth (*Dulichos Uniflorus*)—It is a variety of pulse.

Maize—It is sown in April and harvested in October. Villagers do not grow much of it in Nachar.

Agricultural Practices

Farm ground manure or compost is used on extensive scale. Though the villagers have started using chemical manure, it is on a small scale because they have some kind of fear that its use may do more harm than good unless the irrigation facilities are adequate. For irrigation, there is no facility and they completely depend on rains. The fields are not level as the slopes of the hills are terraced for the purpose.

The ploughing, hoeing and harvesting is done with the traditional implements. The fields are manured. Sowing is done by broadcasting the seed. Finally one to two ploughings are given. Improved seeds are not used because there has been no regular supply. The villagers realise the importance of using the improved seeds and now they are expected to follow it in due course.

After the crop is harvested, it is brought to the *khalihan* established nearby. If the harvest is small, the grains are thrashed out of it by beating it with the wooden stalves. Small children are invited to play or dance on it. In case, the thrashing has to be done on a bigger scale. *Zo* and oxen trample. The grains are separated from the chaff by winnowing.

For maize, the ripe-cobs are plucked from the standing stalk. These are dried in the sun. The grains are separated by beating the cobs with wooden stalves. In no case, these grains are thrashed with animals. The agricultural calendar and the produce per maund per acre are followed by the Jinswar statements. The calendar explains the operation. During January and February, the village is snow bound.

Agricultural Calendar

Name of Month	Name of operations carried ou
1	2
January	Nil.
February	Nil.
March	Prepare land for sowing potato.
April	Sow potato, peas, maize. Sow lesser millets-*Ogla*, *koda*, etc. Crops at high altitudes. Apply manure to crops of wheat and barley. Prepare land for lesser millet. Crops in warmer regions, rough out plants from wheat and barley.
May	Hoe potato, peas and sow lesser millet crops, harvest barley, rough out plants of wheat and barley and apply manure in potato, peas and maize.
June	Dig up potato and maize. Harvest wheat and barley. Complete terracing of barley. Apply manure to lesser millets.
July	Harvest wheat and barley in complete process. Sow lesser millet crops. Harvest and market green peas.
August	Prepare land for *rabi* crops, collect grass for mules and cattle for winter season.
September	Prepare land for *rabi* crops. Sow Rabi crops at higher altitude. Harvest lesser millets. Harvest potato. Collect grasses for cattle for winter. Harvest maize and pulses.
October	Complete wheat sowing, start sowing barley. Harvest lesser millet crops.
November	Complete sowing of barley.
December	Irrigate wheat and barley. Sowing of peas.

Serial No.	Name of crop grown	Production per acre
1	Barley	7
2	Bathu	6
3	Cheena	8
4	Chollaie	8
5	Kalao	7
6	Koda	7
7	Maize	10
8	Ogla	6
9	Peas	18
10	Phafra	6
11	Potato	50
12	Wheat	

JINSWAR 1951—1960
(Rabi)

Name of Crop	In Acres									
	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Barley	98	173	81	85	112	185	191	185	175	172
Kalao	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Peas	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Wheat	135	112	127	132	128	155	161	170	182	195
Total	233	285	208	217	240	340	352	355	357	369

JINSWAR 1951—1960
(Kharif)

Name of Crop	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Apples	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	1	1
Bharat	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Cabbage	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1
Chabroo	..	1	1	1	3	4	9	5	5	3
Cheena	136	135	140	130	103	118	131	95	135	125
Chollaie	151	158	114	158	149	161	151	161	140	130
France Beans	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Kala Bathu	38	38	44	36	68	32	65	70	70	80
Kangni	3	7	5	5	7	17	13	12	15	15
Koda	61	56	55	51	57	56	42	28	51	50
Maize	1	1	2	1	9	7	9	5	11	9
Mash	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
Moong	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Ogla	45	42	41	37	30	47	41	23	35	27
Paddy	..	..	1	1	5	2	5	8	7	6
Phafra	93	81	87	76	81	92	81	60	85	90
Potato	55	59	58	61	52	42	37	31	40	38
Rong	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	..	5	3
Turnip	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	2	1
Total	586	579	549	558	566	582	593	508	605	583

Agricultural Implements

The traditional agricultural implements are in use. The implements with their cost and life are given below:

Name of the Implement		Cost	Average life
English	Local		
1	2	3	4
1. An implement to remove the unwanted grass etc. from the field.	Kartikta	Rs. 0·50 to 0·75	3 years
2. Axe	Losta	10·00	10 years
3. Belcha	Belcha	10·00	12 years
4. Hoe	Goling	4·00	4 years
5. Jhabal	Zabal	20·00	25 years
6. Kilta	Koting	3·00	1 year
7. Large Sickle	Botya	5·00	5 years
8. Leather string to join yoke and plough	Yaltu	5·00	4 years
9. Plough	Stal	4·00 to 5·00	2 years
10. Rope	Bash	5·00	1 year
11. Smaller hoe	Kutich	2·00	2 years
12. Sickle	Zeethrung	3·00	3 years
13. Wooden Winnower	Leekhero	2·00	3 years
14. Yoke	Shakul	2·00 to 3·00	7 years

Horticulture

The fruits grown in the area are chulli, apple, baimi and walnuts. But due to lack of guidance and non-availability of better plants, the output was not good. Of late, Government is paying attention to the improvement of fruits. New and improved plants are being introduced. Whatever fruits are grown for the present are consumed locally.

Garden Colony

As a concrete step forward a Garden Colony has been established. This colony is the result of co-operative efforts of twenty-six families. They have spared 164 bighas of land. The technical guidance and the staff is provided by the government. One Horticulture Assistant and two baildars are placed at the disposal of the colony. Rs. 23,200 have been recommended as loan to this project, 3,303 trees are to be planted in the garden. The government will start recovering the loan when the trees start bearing in ten equal instalments. The interest charged will be $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

Though the planting of orchards is bound to curtail the area under cultivation of food-grains, the return is many times more than they get now. Horticulture is the only way to improve the economic conditions of the people in this area. Gradually, the people are realising its importance. Improved means of transport will provide quick transit for their produce to the plains.

Vegetables

The vegetables are seasonal. Turnip, peas, pumpkin, cabbage, cucumber and tomato have been cultivated for domestic purposes. With so many government servants in the village, the demand for vegetables is on the increase. Of course, potato is grown. But there is no irrigation.

Pests

Khazo is a pest which harms the wheat and barley. There is an insect *Kahong* which attacks the root. *Rakhong* harms vegetables and potato crop. Still another insect known as *Brushong* destroys *phafra, ogla, chabroo, cheena* and *kangni* besides the vegetables. *Rakbalyahong* is a maize pest. Rats do great harm. No insecticides are used as protective measures against pests. They defend on super-natural forces for a good crop.

Agricultural Superstitions

Shukla-paksha or the period of full moon is considered auspicious for agriculture. For ploughing and sowing, Tuesday and Saturday are considered unfavourable for ploughing and sowing, the first crop of a year. Earth is worshipped with a *chilta* or some *sattu*. No custom or superstition is associated with reaping. If in a square of land, the seed does not grow, it is considered a very ill omen for the farmer. To offset its evil influence, goddess Usha is worshipped with some halwa and poltus. Sometimes a goat may be sacrificed.

Animal Husbandry

There is a veterinary dispensary which caters to Nachar and other adjoining villages. A supervisor is doing this job for the time being. A compounder and a stock assistant assist him.

This area is practically free from the contagious diseases. The common diseases from which the cattle usually suffer are *mange*, debility and weakness. The breed of the animals is poor. To improve the local breed, a Jersey Sindhi bull is expected. Half-bred polworth rams are being distributed.

Recently a dangerous disease of African horse sickness spread in the area. The virus kills donkeys, mules and horses. The disease is rather new in India and is said to have come from the African continent. As a preventive measure, animals are vaccinated. Once vaccination is given, the animal would never catch the disease throughout its life, so much that even its progeny becomes immune to this disease.

Cost of Livestock

Approximately following is the cost of livestock in the village and nearby areas:—

	Rs.
Cow	200 to 350
Donkey	100 to 150
He-goat	60 to 100
Hen	3 to 5
Horse	500 to 600
Ox	200 to 350
Sheep	20 to 50
She-goat	30 to 45

Village Crafts

Weaving—Kolis are engaged in this profession. The articles produced are *Dhoru, Phog-dhoru, Chhanli* and woollen *patti* for clothing purposes just as coat, waist-coat, *pyjama* and *chhubba*. The clothes prepared are plain as well as embroidered. The sizes of the different articles manufactured are:—

Dhoru—$4\frac{1}{2}$ yards x $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards.

Phog-dhoru—$5\frac{1}{2}$ yards x 1 yard.

Chhanli—3 yards x 1 yard.

Porin, the woollen patti:
(Depending on the requirement of the customer).

Wool is the principal material used for each of the articles, which the customers usually supply after having spun it in their homes, but for embroidery, dyed marino yarn or coloured cotton yarn is imported from Rampur. Wool is locally available from the sheep, they breed. Following designs of embroidery are in vogue: —

Gyatung—Hectagon, 8 sided.

Yungrung—TS in a square with heads outwards.

Palpe—Multi coloured square design.

Chhosten—A Buddhist pagoda type.

Ganesh—Swastika in a square.

Karu Tanka—Four right-angled triangles with a double square. These designs are local and traditional.

Pit-looms are installed in the lower storey of the house. Sometimes, these are installed under a separate shed also.

The approximate cost of the articles produced by weavers together with wages is given below: —

Article	Approximate total price of material	Wages	Sale price of finished product
1	2	3	
Chhanali	Rs. 20 Plain Rs. 50 embroidered	Rs. 3·00 Rs. 45·00	Rs. 25·00. Rs. 100·00.
Dhoru	Rs. 30 to 40 (Wool yarn) Rs. 15 to 35 (coloured yarn)	Rs. 5·00 per plain Rs. 40 to 45 for embroidered	Rs. 80 to 110 for embroidered. This may even go upto Rs. 130 to 150 depending on the design of the embroidery.
Phog-dhoru	Rs. 32·00	Rs. 2·00	Rs. 35 to 38.
Porin	Rs. 40 for six yards	Re. 0·50 per yard	Depending on the length.

Silver and Blacksmithy

Lohars of the village make instruments, ornaments, some minor utensils and agricultural implements. The musical instruments are made for the temple and are used on different occasions by the villagers. Whenever a new instrument is required once a while, it is made to order and thus it is not a regular industry.

In case of ornaments, the metal, gold or silver as the case may be, is supplied by the owner and the Lohars charge for the skill and workmanship. The method of preparing the ornaments is the same as adopted by the silversmiths all over India with the same set of implements obtained from Rampur. The metal is melted on fire in a crucible known as *khurich* and converted into a lump or rod and then beaten to the desired shape. *Meenakari* and engraving are done. The cost of workmanship depends on the ornament and the design. Some of the engravings done on the silver-wares are really beautiful and speak high of the skill of the local craftsmen.

They also cast utensils from the metal scrap furnished by the villagers. Utensils like *thali, kharchhi* and *katori* are prepared. The scrap is melted and poured into moulds of walnut or other wood ash. The solidified lump of metal is beaten into the shape of the utensil required. Other utensils are purchased readymade.

The village Lohars used to manufacture intricate locks which were quite well known in Kinnaur. These locks were so complex that as many as six different keys were required to open a single lock. Since ready made locks are available at cheaper rates now, this industry has suffered a set-back. This is known as *Shanung*.

Woollen Shoe-making

Some Koli women are engaged in preparing woollen shoes locally called spona. The demand for these shoes is on the decline due to availability of ready-made shoes. The locally made spona costs from Rs. 6 to Rs. 10, depending upon the workmanship. The material used is goat's hair, wool and leather. The embroidered shoe is called *Tapruse-baldanu spona.*

4. Social and Cultural Life

Life in these hills is hard and the family has to put in all out efforts jointly and severally to get a living from small, scanty and scattered fields. They have to support joint families. In winter, some members of the family might migrate with their flock of sheep and goats to lower hills in search of random employment to augment the family earnings. The life of those who remain behind practically, comes to a stand still. Due to heavy snow fall, no agriculture is possible outside. Leisure hours are utilised for spinning of wool on spinning tops for cloth requirements of the family. There are little recreation excepting sitting together round the family fire, the people pass their time in gossiping and spinning wool. But this should not mean to convey that their life is entirely devoid of fun and frolic. They keep themselves busy in the working season. At the same time, they manage to steal some time from their busy life to attend to fairs and festivals celebrated throughout the year. These fairs and festivals are eagerly awaited as they provide a welcome diversion from their busy life and also enable them to come into contact with other people. The monotony of their simple diet is broken. They have special menu for each fair or festival.

Our Sanskrit literature has some references to *Kinners* being expert in music and dance, Kalidasa and Bana have also left admiring references of them whereas in Harivansa, they are described as dressing themselves in flowers and leaves. Even now, they are very fond of music and dance and a fair loses its charm unless there is plenty of dancing and music. It is no fair at all if there is no dance and music. The village god takes part in their merriment. The palanquin is brought out on the fairs and festivals. To the accompaniment of the drums and trumpets, the god dances on the shoulders of its bearers. Even while working, it is common to sing popular tunes in chorus and one comes across sweet and melodius tunes sung by women working in the distant fields. Women of Kinnaur possess sweetness and melody in their voice. *Kinner Kanthi* was a famous title that used to be conferred upon a woman with exceptionally sweet and melodious voice in the past. In our own literature, *Kinners* alongwith *gandharvas* have been described as court musicians of the *Devtas.* This is an eloquent tribute paid to the exceptionally sweet voice of the women and skill of the people for playing their orchestra so well. The folk songs have become an integral part of their life. On the slightest pretext women burst into songs. They are so adept at composing a new song that any interesting event that comes to their notice forms the basis for a new song. If it catches the fancy of others, it travels fast.

Besides being so very fond of dancing and music, villagers have an in-born love for flowers. They adorn themselves with flowers of the season, age matters little. Even an old woman with tattered clothes and not too clean in appearance adorns a bunch of flowers and invariably tucks one or two in her cap, behind the ear and in her pig-tail. There is a festival of flowers called *Oo-khayang* when the entire house is decorated with the flowers of the season.

The social and cultural life of *Kinner* affords an interesting study of which some aspects are based on beliefs and superstitions and puranic stories which over centuries have been distorted out of easy recognition and moulded to appear as if they belong to this area. They participate in these fairs and festivals with gay abandon and gaily dressed-casting all their worries to winds and forgetting for the moment, the difficult life that they have to lead. A brief narrative of the fairs and festivals is as follows.

Fairs and Festivals

Beesh or Baisakhi—This is the first festival in the yearly cycle of festivals. It is celebrated on the first of *Vaisakha* of *Vikrami Samvat*. To take bath on this day is a must and one who does not do so, is believed to court illness sometimes during the year. Goddess Usha is brought out of the temple and a fair is held in the temple courtyard. *Khoda* is held in which the villagers wear a fancy dress and masks to amuse themselves. Kolis dance separately in the courtyard of the Nag Devta temple and have their separate musical instruments. They prepare good food like poltus, halwa and rice.

Dakhraini—On the 1st of Sravana this festival is observed in which special food like *poltus, chilte* and *chutney* of *chulli* kernel are relished. *Zaibisaloo* garlands of flowers are offered to the goddess. *Mashals* (torches) made of torch-wood are lighted. The villagers divide themselves into two parties namely *Kimpalaya* and *Rumpalya*. Goddess is brought out and a fair is held.

At midnight *Kumpalaya party* comes down with the mashals in their hands. *Kimpalaya* await them in the temple premises. For distinction every person from Rumpalaya wears a garland of flowers. Then both the parties come face to face with the torches, whirling round each other's head. It is a general belief that the fire does not singe the skin of the players. The marry-making continues for about two to three hours. This festival is a special festival of Nachar. Next day also the fair is held in which dances are performed.

Shonyachong—This is held on the 15th of Sravana. On this day goddess Usha is taken to another temple situated at a distance of about four furlongs called Granga-santhang where the villagers play with walnuts, throwing them at each other. Kashpo and Nagani (two of the hamlets) are on one side and Garade and Puje (the other two hamlets) come on the other side. Kolis, hold their separate festivals in the premises of Nag Devta temple. Folk-dances are performed. Garade and Puje households hold dinner for their friends who belong to the opposite party. Next day goddess Usha is brought back to the main temple's courtyard where again a fair is held in which men and women dance.

Oo-kayang—There is essentially a festival of flowers. it is celebrated in the month of October. The celebrations begin on the 20th of Asauj and continue for four days. On the 1st day the families in which some death might have occurred during the preceding year, perform a ritual known as Aating. The family of the deceased holds a lunch for all the relatives and friends in which *poltus* are distributed.

After that the villagers go to a place about two furlongs up the village called Shalwltee-chuda. The goddess's Kro-khanda (silver jug and sword) are taken to that place. Two persons are sent to Kanda, the hill top, to bring Zongor or Sasur flowers that grow wild for the goddess. The persons gathered on the occasion then take the bunches of flowers in exchange of 6 poltus for a bunch.

A goat is sacrificed there to appease the evil spirits of the *kanda* supposed to have accompanied the flowers. These spirits are known as *shwanga*. A big garland is prepared for the goddess. Also the relatives of the dead are given these flowers to mark the end of the mourning, They, then come down with flowers in their hands, dancing and singing, while the palanquin of the goddess is brought out on the path just near the temple. The procession then stops near the palanquin.

A goat is again sacrificed there to appease the said evil spirits of hill top. Thereafter every person from the procession has to pass under the palanquin. It is believed that the evil spirits cannot go beyond the point where the goddess is standing.

Next day a fair is held in which folk-dances are performed and the dancing and singing continue even during the night and on the following day. Almost all the male members participating in the festivities take wine.

On the fourth day a lamb is sacrificed to appease Deg-shu, believed to be a spirit that causes death to the village children. As usual the villagers hold dances. By the evening this festival comes to an end. During the festivities, the households enjoy good food like *poltus, kangni bhat,* rice and *pug*. Pug is a preparation consisting of roasted whole-wheat and chulli kernels. This marks the close of the Oo-kayang festival.

Deeyali—At the end of Kartika or in the beginning of Magha this festival is celebrated. The date is announced by the oracle of Sungara Mahesur, a god of the village of Sungara of this sub-division.

A sort of hawan is performed. On the crossed splinters of torch-wood *dhoop* is placed. The fire is lit. *Ghee* and wine are poured. In front of every door a lamp is lit. They utter the words *Songa Songa tore deeval patti vahu*. A fair is held. The difference in *deeyali* here and the *diwali* of the plains is obvious.

Sazo—On the Sankrant of Magh this festival is celebrated. Early in the morning one or two elderly women in the family take bath. Before dawn *puja* is performed in honour of goddess Usha. Kimshu, the family god is also worshipped. Besides worshipping of the cooking place and the fire. On this day goddess Usha is believed to have gone for a respite to Kailash where she attends a meeting of gods presided over by Lord Shiva.

Songayan—On the 15th day from Sazo, *ghee* is taken in large quantity with *chilte*. From Sazo onwards up to one month the youngest in the family does *puja* of Kimshu, the family god and the door.

Shuzab—On the last day of Magha, the goddess returns from the conference of gods. Good food is relished. Next day the people go to the temple courtyard. One person from every household brings *dhoop*. Grokch, the oracle, then tells the villager what the goddess has brought for them from Lord Shiva for the coming year.

Phagul—This festival is celebrated in the month of Phalguna. Celebrations continue for ten days. The date for this festival is announced by the goddess Usha, through her oracle, for the whole of Atharabeesh pargana.

1*st day*—The houses are cleaned and on the next day a coating of cowdung and clay is given to the floors. The clay is collected on Sunday or Thursday in Shukla-paksha. This is called *chupeng-mig*

2*nd day*—The clay brought for the purpose is mixed with cowdung and the coating is given. This is *chalkim*.

3*rd day Pug-stonmo*—Before this day the requirements of fuel wood and torch wood are stored. During the next seven days wood-cutting and other noisy household work are prohibited besides running of *gharats*, the water mills.

Pug is roasted and *chulli* kernels are mixed in it. An earthen pot called *'tetech* or *heed'* is kept in the room. On the following days of the festivals this pot is worshipped and food is put into it daily.

4*th day Paza*—On this day a he-goat is sacrificed to appease Saune, which is also a kind of spirit, on behalf of the goddess. Food like rice and meat are given from the temple to men who come to the temple.

5*th day Pollunmo*—This is the most important day of the festival. All the villagers are to keep a very quiet atmosphere and the households prepare *poltus* during the day.

6*th day Hutphal*—Flowers of *Bhugang-oo* are placed on the *heed*, the earthen pot, and a chilta is put round its neck. In the evening every household takes the pot and breaks it by throwing at some common place. A lamp is lit in front of every door.

7*th day Basing*—On this day all the Baisis, the middlemen who are referred to in the chapter of marriage, invite the women for whom they had acted as middlemen and entertain them with good food.

8*th day Tedyoring*—In the evening a fair is held in the big hall adjoining the temple courtyard in which people perform folk-dances.

9*th day and* 10*th day*—Folk-dances are performed during these days. With this festivities end.

Besides these regular yearly fairs, the following periodical fairs are held.

Shanth—In Vaisakha or Jyaistha on the day to be decided by the goddess, through her oracle, a brahman from Sarahan is invited to perform a *yajna* or *hawan*. The expenditure is borne by the temple. Food is served on behalf of the goddess to all those who are present. Sattus are distributed. Brahman applies some sattu to the goddess and thereafter people apply this on each other's forehead. The oracle then throws a ball of butter towards the sky.

The people would then try to catch the ball as it comes down. The man who catches this is supposed to be blessed with a son within the next three years. This festival is held on every third year.

Butha—This is another festival held every alternate year. Goddess Usha is taken to Cheling bowli in the village and stays there during the night. A goat is sacrificed. There is a tank besides the *bowli* cleared of mud. After cleaning the tank, milk and gomutra are sprinkled to purify. A ram is sacrificed. The head is thrown in the tank. The man who finds the skull of the previous ritual is believed to be blessed with a son within the next three years. Goddess Usha then goes to Garade, one of the hamlets, where Ronkayan families sacrifice a goat to appease their deity Khetpalya. The Goddess then further goes down where too a goat is sacrificed to appease a spirit known as Buthus Devta. After that she returns to the temple.

On her way back another ram is sacrificed to appease a spirit known as Latta Devta of *Chhaltu* families. At this sacrifice no person from Chhaltu households comes out to witness it. A goat is finally sacrificed at the temple gate for a spirit called Aapish Devta. This marks the end of the ceremonies cannected with this festival.

Folk Dance

Kinner folk dances are not complicated. They do not have any classical touch in them. Nor do they have the verve and vitality of the *bhangra* of the Punjab. These consist of simple measured steps tuned to the orchestra. Any person, who walks can dance seems to be the basis of the dances here.

Community folk dances are the main item of entertainment in all the fairs and festivals. Each dance is accompanied by a folk song. Women sing these in a chorus in their sweet and melodious voice. As a rule, men and women dance hand-in-hand.. While almost all men participants often prefer to enter the arena, a little drunk, women do not drink.

There are three types of folk dances in Kinnaur.

Kayang—It is the most popular form of folk dance. In this there is a leader called *dhure* who leads the dance number. To begin with, the leader takes Devta's *chaunri* from the *pujari*. *Chaunri* is a sacred silver rod having long thick hair of *yak's* tail at its one end. It is always of white hair, *Chaunri* is of two types, one is *teg-chaunri* meaning the superior *chaunri*, the other is *ghato-chaunri* meaning the inferior one. For the former Rs. 5 are to be offered to the Devta but for the latter no fee is necessary. As soon as the leader gets the *chaunri* the musical instruments are held in readiness to strike the tune.

The instrument-players called *bajantri* play the instruments in honour of the Devta for about half an hour. This is called *'nimmat'*. During this period the leader will have to continue moving the *chaunri* in his hand in a swinging motion in honour of the god. After this an interval of a few minutes is given. And the leaders gives some money to the *bajantri* as an offering but this is not essential.

Then the orchestra plays. The tunes are played to excite the leader for the dance performance. The rhythm is changed to *kayang* tunes. Gradually the gents and ladies join to form a semi-circle. However, there are two sections, one for women and the other for the men. Usually the elders are nearer the leaders. Similarly an elderly women leads the women's line. In the beginning, the circle is crescent shaped. In front of the leaders, moves the orchestra and the leader has to keep his movements in tune with the music.

In the dance circle, the first man will hold the left hand of the third man. In his right hand, he holds the *chaunri*. The next man holds the left hand of his third man but his right hand rests either on the leader's shoulder or on his *gachhang*, the right and left hands of every person are held by every third person. This forms an easy chain. The circle slowly keeps moving in a rhythm.

The leader shouts aloud to give incentive to the dancers. This shouting is repeated by the men who are in a mirthful mood. The leader calling Ho...Ho...Ho-o-o-o suddenly whirls round and bends down on his knees giving a jerk to his followers. This is *Chalang* repeated simultaneously by the men and women like a ripple in a pond.

The dance circle continues moving and at every fourth step the dancers pause for a moment and slightly swing backward or forward. Folk songs suited to the occasion are sung by the women.

First two selected women sing the lines of a song and this is known as *balgithang*. The same lines are sung in chorus by the rest of the party. The repetition is called *yagithang*. The wording is so clear and loud that it can be enjoyed by the audience. In this way the dance goes on for hours together. However, at frequent intervals the leader can be and is generally changed.

Bakayang—This is another form of the Kayang dance, the difference being that it is not performed in a circle. Instead, it has two rows facing each other followed by two to three rows behind each row. The first row retreats rhythmically in measured steps the opposite rows advancing. Musical instruments do not attend this number. Usually this dance is performed by the women.

Bonyangchu—This is the third form of the local dance. *Bajantris* are in the centre and the men dance round them on different tunes. This is a sort of free style dance. Sometimes vocal music is provided by the women sitting aside but they do not take part in the dance.

The first form is most popular. This is performed when the number of participants are enough to form a circle. The *bakayang* is apparently evolved for the occasion when the number of male participants are not considerable and the women can dance separately according to their wishes. The third form seems to be for the young men who can give full expression to their gaiety in this.

Folk Songs

The people of Kinnaur are fond of songs and they are so versatile in composing a new song that whenever any interesting event or episode takes place in that area, a song is atonce composed. It is invariably the ladies who are the composers of such songs and the rapidity with which the song gains currency is also astonishing. The folk songs of Kinnaur and for that matter of village Nachar depict mostly love lores and in some cases are sung in honour of the presiding deity. Quite a number of songs relate to chivalry where heroic deeds of bygone heroes are extolled. These songs are sung mostly in chorus and with much gusto. The songs are simple in composition, devoid of high flight of imagination and rendered in a simple style. The noteworthy feature in such songs is the melody with which they are sung. They are so clear in their import that the meanings are not lost to any. A few songs are reproduced below with their English rendering in prose. These have been reproduced from "Notes on the Ethnography of Bashahr State, Simla Hills, Punjab".

Wazir Mansukh Das Song—The following song relates to Wazir Mansukh Das, grand-father of Wazir Ran Bahadur Singh, who was a very able man, and who died of illness at Simla when he had come down to a Darbar there.

Khona Rampura, Tukpau waziri,
Tukpau waziri Mansukh was Wazir.
Mansukh Dasas lotash, ang kayathas ham tan?
Ang dehang dam mae, i kagli che-rayin.
Che-mig ta ringtoyin, byora thi i shenmig?
Byora to sherayih, amajiu dhalang.
ang dehang dam mae, Shankras tolya-rayin.
Ang kanesa nyotang, rating lai lan-rayin.
Shupa punma shupai tolyayin, som punma somi tolyayin.
Rai dyaro, manjo de-li-u Puwari.
Waziru thud thapen, anenu amajiu?
Halasa lonmig, anenu amajiu?
Anenu amajiu, Relanu bistaniu.
Baho-chu parmi, Biranu bistaniu.
Bistanis dakk lotash, ang sangiu kanesa,
thu-li buchanyan? Foi ta mani.
Wazir pirang pareshid; qud kulo krabgyos.
Relnu bistanis lotash, sachi-u arkolang.
Thu pirang paryaso, thi-da-thi lante.
Dambar tolyate, shelmanu gunkar lante.
Chil-chili zarmig berang, Dambaru deorango,
Shankrasas lotash, thu li tolya-cha-yin?
Kimo chalya-rayin, grohang gu netak.
Paltyata butash knona Rampura.
Waziras ishid, Dambar thu loshid?
Dambar ta loshid, kimo chalya ra-yin.
Zila Sahibas lotash, ki kimo tha bi-yin,
Shelmanu qunkar lante, shong shong chalyate.
Simale Darbaro, man ban thi man ban?
Zila Sahab man ban, gun ma lagyado.
Sish-puri, shell-ke-ke, rai dyaro manjo,
rai dyaro manjo, jiu li lubya-quos
banyo bisharang, anenu kanesau;
hala lonmig amau, hala lonmig parmiu?
Lonmig gyato ichu, arkolang nirmani.
Rai dyaru majang, deliu Puwari,
bistanis dakk loshid, thu buyin sangiu kanesa?
Foi ta mani, wazir du-bya quos.
Waziru bistani, tul-tuli mig-ti.
Gud ku-kul krabgyos anenu ama.
Halasa lanmig? Ang zangu diwang,
pachis ma parech, ku-ku ma thasto.
Paziru bennang, stish tithang zalgyos,
stish tithang zalgyos, darsan ma paras.

Translation—In the plain of Rampur dwells the minister, the Wazir Mansukh Das, who said:—'Where is my clerk? I am not feeling well. Write a letter.'—You ask me to write a letter, but what am I to say in it?'—'First give greeting to my beloved mother, and say I am not well, and that she should pray to Shankras[1], the deota. O my friends! Both of you should pray to the deota in the evening if you arrive in the evening; and in the morning, if you arrive early'. Within a week they had reached Pwari. The minister's mother was in the upper storey of her house, but how could they give her their tidings? His mother's name was Relanu bistani[2], and his well-loved wife's Biranu bistani. The latter said: 'O comrades of my husband, why have you come?'—They replied:—'Not without a purpose, for the minister is ill.' Hearing this she began to weep and wring her hands: and the aged mother asked:—'Is it true or false? We must do something to cure him. What disease has he? We will consult his deota, and try to heal him with drugs etc.' Next morning, near Shankra's temple, the deota said:—'Why do you consult me? Bid him come home and I will do him good.' So they went back, and on reaching Rampur, the minister asked them what Shankras deota had said.—'Shankras has said: Why are you asking me? Tell the minister to come home, and then he will be safe." The Deputy Commissioner of Simla looked after him like a father, with more than a parent's care, and gave him seven pills. But a week or so later the minister breathed his last, to the deep regret of all. His companions were much distressed, and said: 'What shall we say to his mother, and to his wife?' A week later, they had reached Pwari, and the minister's beloved wife asked why they had come. They replied:—'Not for pleasure, but in sorrow, to tell you that the minister has gone to Heaven'. They (the women) began to weep and wring their hands. His mother said: 'What now can be done? Where is my beloved son, who was like a golden lamp?' Love for her son made her say: 'I cannot get such a worthy son now.' She made a pilgrimage to the seven sacred places, but could find no peace.

A Historical Song—The following song describes the late Tika Raghunath Singh's escape from Bashahr to Sirmur in 1883, owing to this dislike of the proposed matrimonial alliance with Mandi, which he was afterwards induced to accept, Wazir Ran Bahadur Singh being then his trusted adviser. His attendants were not thrown into jail, but were sent by the Superintendent of the- Simla Hill States to Junga, where they were received by the Raja of Keonthal as his guests.

Tika Sahibas lotash, ang hushyari ham tan?
Hushyari loshima, Tukpau waziri,
Tukpau waziri, Ran Bahadur Singh,

Ran Bahadras lotash, thu ringtoyin maharaj?
Ringmig ta thu ringtak, payin banbas bite,
Mandi byahang losho, ang ma khushi buda,
Namang ma zush, nu Mandiu Raniu.
Ran Bahadras lotash, nu batang ma-ni,
Kin bapuji kochang, angu rono shecho.
Kinu rono shenma, angu shechis brobar.
Dai por ma sangstang, ang palgi tolyayin,
Ang chalni ham toyin? Ang chhariya ham toyin?
Ang palgi tolyayin, ang chhari toiyayin.
Dai por ma sangstang, Tiko maesh losho,
Bangyo bisharang, anenu bapu jiu.
Dak nesh neshi bima, Sirmoring darbaro,
Sirmoring darbaro, Raja Shamsher Pargas,
Shamsher Pargas lotash, ham bimo ki buda?
Ran Bahadras loshid, nishi sheli bushid,
Kisi sheli mani, kisi banbas losho,
Mandi byahang losho, Tiko ma khushi langyos.
Mandi byahang ma lanma, ang deiji firayin. in.
Tika Sahibas loshid, bapuji-pang itak.
Simle sahibu hukam, Sirmoring darbaro,
Tikau Simle sherayin, manima muluk jafat,
Rai dyaro majang, Tika Simle pushid,
Simle darbar hachis, an bapu li bushid.
Bulbuli sangmig bero, Simle darbar hachis,
An bapus dak loshid, sai mi rono shenmig,
Palbaru majango, sai mi rono sheshid.

Translation

The Tika Sahib said, "Where's my clever official?"
(By the clever official he meant the minister of Tukpa pargana,
By name Ran Bahadur Singh.)
Who, presenting himself before the Tika Sahib, said:—
"What is Your Highness' order?"
"What else can I say, but that we should go into exile.
They talk of the Mandi marriage, but I do not like it."
I do not care even to hear the Mandi Rani's name.
Ran Bahadur Singh replied: "No, it is not good, For Your Highness' father, the Raja Sahib, will take it ill, and he will put me in irons."
The Tika Sahib said: "If you are imprisoned, then it is as if I were imprisoned
Have my palanquin ready at midnight.
Where are my palanquin bearers? Where are my gold and silver stick holders?
Hold up the sticks and go on."
It was known to all before day break that the Tika Sahib was not there,
And this news greatly surprised the Raja.
Going straight down, the Tika Sahib reached Nahan,
And the palace of Raja Shamsher Prakash of Sirmur, who inquired why the Tika of Bashahr had come.
Wazir Ran Bahadur Singh replied, "We have come down for pleasure."
"No, no, not for pleasure, you are said to have escaped from Bashahr," replied the Raja of Sirmur.
Wazir Ran Bahadur Singh said: "There is talk of the Tika Sahib's alliance with Mandi, but the Tika Sahib does not approve of it".
"If he dislike the Mandi match, then he may make an alliance with Sirmur," added the Raja of Nahan.
To which the Tika Sahib replied that he would ask his father about it.
An order from the Superintendent of the Simla Hill States reached the court at Nahan that
It would be better for the Raja of Sirmur to send the Tika of Bashahr at once upto Simla.
After a week the Tika Sahib came to Simla.
The Raja of Bashahr also arrived there.
Next morning was held a darbar of the Superintendent of Hill States,
In which the Raja of Bashahr asked the Superintendent to imprison the ten servants of the Tika Sahib.
And in a trice, they were thrown into jail.

The Song of Jwalamukhi

Thi namanna namanna, Jwalamukhi tithan,
Jwalamukhi tithang rago me baro,
Rago me baskyang, tio me baro.
What a wondrous spot is the sacred place of Jwalamukhi!
Where fire burns in a stone;
Besides burning in the stone, it burns into the water.

Babu Bhup Singh and Sembat's Song

The following is a song of Babu Bhup Singh of the Forest Department, who fell in love with a woman of the Lippa village named Sembat, whom he left when transferred from Bashahr

Division, and took all the ornaments from her she gave them back saying that they are worth of her two fields' price.

Yochalo den ta, Bhup Singha Babu,

Bhup Singh Babu lotash, majang Jangramo[1],

majang Jangramo, "ijap Lippa bi-tak,"

Dakk nesh-neshi bima, markhona Lippa, manechu dena, "Lippa Mukhiya ham tan?"

Dero ham ketayin? Dero ta ketak Barjiu dware,

Barjiu morabo kumo; Barjiu nyotang chimet;

Barjiu nyotang chimet, Sembat dang Naryang;

banthin ta Naryang, baho ta Sembat.

Bhup Singh Babu lotash, chhatkang zalmig bitak;

chhatkang zalmig berang, yutung Sembat boshi-gyos;

yutung Sembat tang tang, Thakur zalmig bishi-gyos;

Toling Changmang santang, Sembatu gare dakhat.

Omsta take Barjiu chimet, hun ta hachis tarziu chimet.

Bhup Singh Babu kochyang mariyad ma lan-gyos;

marjyad ma lan lan, gudo dhagulo kholya-gyos.

Sembatas dakk loshid, dhagulo fima firayin, dhagulo fima firayin, shum doriu molang; dhagulo he lit shetak, Sahbatu pralab ton ma.

Translation

From down country came a Babu Bhup Singh by name, who, in the middle of the Jangi village, said, "I'll go first to Lippa village."

Then going straight up, he arrived at the level lands of Lippa,

Near the Mane cairn, and said: "Where's the mate or mukhiya?

Where am I to put up?" "There in the house of Barji,

Near the arch of the house," replied mukhiya.

Barji has two daughters named Sembat and Naryang.

Sembat and Naryang are both very pretty.

Bhup Singh Babu said, "Let us go and see the temple up in the house."

When going upto the temple, he saw Narji's daughter, Sambet.

Seeing her he forgot to look at the temple.

This year, near the court-yard of the temple of Changmang at the fair of Chankmang, rumours of their friendship spread.

Sembat was first Barji's daughter, but now she is become a groom's girl.

Babu Bhup Singh is not a good man, because he did not keep his promise;

He takes away her ornaments.

Sembat then said, "You may have the ornaments back,

They are worth my two fields' price,

If I'll have good fortune, I can get good many ornaments."

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[1] Shankras is the name of the deity of Pwari village in the Inner Tukpa pargana.

[2] Fem. of bist, the Kanawari for wazir or minister, and used as the title of his wife or mother.

[1] Jangarm is the name of a ghori in Shuwa pargana.

[1] Gangyul is the name of a ghori in upper Kanawar.

[2] Syaltuis a sept of Kanets in Lippa, a village of Shuwa pargana.

[3] Zintu is a sept of Kanets in Bari, a village of Tharabis pargana.

[4] Bari is a village in Tharabis pargana.

[5] Yulan is a sept of Kanets in Natpa, a village of Tharabis pargana, and perhaps immigrants from Yule, and so called Yulan.

[1] Tyuras is a sect of Kanets in Shungra, a village of Tharabis pargana.

[2] Negi Ganga Sahay, a resident of Pangi village in Shuwwa pargana, a sept of Pangutu, is now patwari of the Inner Tukpa pargana.

[1] A sect of Kanets found in Pangi, a village in Shuwa pargana.

[2] A large village in Inner Tukpa pargana.

[3] A sept of Kanets found in Thangi, a village in inner Tukpa pargana.

[4] The name of Nyokche Negi's daughter of Thangi village.

[5] A village in Rajgaon pargana.

[6] A sect of Kanets found in Yula, a village of Rajgaon pargana.

[7] Padam Dasi, daughter of Tapdan Chhering of Taling village, is now the wife of Zor Pur, grokch of Labrang.

Negi Sanam Das' Song

The following song has lately been composed:—

Thochalo shong ta, Gangyulo dekhra cha,
Gangyulo dekhra cha, hat dam miu changa,
Hat dam miu ma lon, Lippa Shyaltu chhanga,
Lippa Shyaltu chhanga, Sanam Das baiyar.
Dak Shong shongi bima, Sholdang garang cho,
Sholdang garang cho, Bare Zintu zamo,
Sanam Dasas lotash, ya Bare Zintu zamo,
Ya Bare Zintu zamo, nu chhesmiu bolya-yin,
Hatu lo jai, hatu lo banji?
Hatu lo ma lon, Tyurasu jai Jogtuu banji,
Jogtuu bangi, Nila Pati banthin,
Zintu zamos lotash, ju aldo kamchik,
Ang bolas to ma-ni, har maru batang,
Sanam Dasas lotash, paisas bolyatak,
Paisas bolyatak, ki dokha tha gya-yin,
Dak shong shongi bima, Chora bandero,
Chora bandero, Sanam Dasas lotash,
Ang nyumsi tha jan-yin, gu hunai ma fichak,
Gu hunai ma fichak, ring bimig bero fichak,
Paltyata bucha, Nila Pati banthin.
Sanam Das Negi, khona Rampura,
Yulanu chhangas lotash, ang morchhang thu fiyos?
Sanam Dasas lotash, kin paisa ki chumrayin,
Yulanu chhangas lotash, paisau goya ang ma-ech,
Paisau goya ang ma-ech, morchhangu goya ang to,
Tyurasu chhangu izzat, ni-ra rupaya,
Ni-ra rupa-ya, nish rangu bechang.

Translation

A youth of Gangyul[1] came down from the upper country.
Whose son is he?
Don't ask whose! He is Sanam Das,
A worthy son of the Shayaltu[2] family of Lippa.
Coming down and down, he arrives at Sholdang stream,
Where lives a nun, Zintu[3] zamo of Bari[4] village.
Sanam Das said: "O Zintu zamo,
Will you talk with that pretty girl?
Whose daughter is she, and where is her mother's brother?"
"Don't ask whose! She is a girl of the Tyuras family,
Jogty is her maternal uncle,
And her name is Nila Pati, the beautiful damsel"—
Said Zintu, the nun of Bari: "Tis a delicate matter not in my power."
Sanam Das replied, that he would remove all difficulties by the aid of money.
And that she should not be afraid about the maid.
Then coming down to the forest of Chora,
Sanam Das said,
"Don't follow me, my dear, I will not take you with me now,
But will take you with me on my way back home."
The fair maid Nila Pati turned back,
And Negi Sanam Das arrived at Rampur.
The son of Yulan[5] said: "Why did you abduct my fair and lawful wife?"
Sanam Das replied: "Take your marriage expenses, that's all you'll get!"
Yulan's son replied: "I've no desire for money,
But my desire is for my darling."
The honour of the Tyuras[1] family was held to be worth Rs. 200,
The price of two ponies!

[2]*Negi Ganga Sahaya's Song*

The following song was composed in 1890, when Negi Ganga Sahai was appointed by the late Tika Raghunath Singh C.I.E., to be a patwari of Inner Tukpa pargana. There he fell in love with a damsel called Naryum Pati, daughter of Nyokche, Negi of Thangi, a village in Inner Tukpa pargana.

Tika Sahibas lotash, ang hushyari ham tan?
Hushyari ta lonma, Pangi Pangtu chhang,
Pangi Pangty chhanga, ang paimashi bira-yin,
Pangty chhangas lotash, gu Tukpa ma big,
Gu Tukpa ma big, gu Shuwe bitak.
Tika Sahibas lotash, ang hukum ma ron-chis,
Ang hukum ma ronchis, ne hala ringtan?
Dak ring ringi bima, khonachu Thangi,
Khonachu Thangi, pyokche Negiu gore,
Nyokcheu jai, Naryum Pati banthin.
Naryum Pati banthin, nwaksi dhaling gyos.
Ganga Sahay munshi, thwaksi jirjya gyos.
Naryum banthin lotash, gy kin rang butak,
Ganga Sahay lotash, ki ang rank tha jayin,
Ang parmi kochang, Yule Shwalu chimet,
Kinu tong tong kato, warkyo topas lanchak,

Translation

Tika Raghunath Singh asked, "Where is my clever man?"
The clever man is said to be the son of Pangu Negi[1] of Pangi village.
"O Pangty Negi's son, go to my new settlement work as a patwari," said the Tikka Sahib.
"I will not go to Tukpa pargana, but to the Shuwa pargana," declared Ganga Sahai.
The Tika Sahib replied, "Do you not hear my order?
What do you say?"
Then going up and ever up, he reached the plain of Thangi[2] village,
And in Nyokshe[3] Negi's house
Is the daughter of the Negi,
By name Naryum Pati[4],
And she greeted Ganga Sahai from below.
And Ganga Sahai gave her his salutation from above.
Pretty Naryum Pati said, "I will go with you,"
But Ganga Sahai said:—"No, not so, don't come with me;
Because my wife, a girl of Yula[5] village of the Shwal[6] sept, is not a kind woman:
She will beat you: You must not come with me, but I will take care of you from a far."

'*Padam Dasi's Song*—The following song was composed at the time of the settlement of the Bashahr State by the late Tika Raghunath Singh, C.I.E., in 1889:—

Toling shonang damya, nawa naklu kachya,
Harmalche losho, jimi paimash lano,
Tika Sahibu munshi, Lobha[1] dang Brindaban,
Jimi paimash lano, Tanam[2] maidano.
Padam Dasi banthin, thu chhandol mandol,
Gachhyango zedpug rang, boringo botal dang.
Paxdam Dasis losho, Lobha munshi ham tan?
Payin Gyambung[3] bite, Sunam[4] ba-sa-te.
Lobha munshis lodo, gu Gyambung ma-bug,
Ang hanzaru garban, ang baho parmi,
And baho parmi, ang nyotang paji.
Bennang bodyada, Padam dang Lobha,
Padam Dasiu mundi, Lobha munshiu gudo,
Lobha munshiu mundi, Padam Dasiu gudo,
Ju chhebo milan dahil, has chhebo milte,
Dargau rajo ampi, Dharam Rajo ampi.

Translation

In July of this year, a coined news came.
And every one said that a new settlement was to be made and the land was to be measured.
The Tika Sahib's two munshis, named Lobha and Brindraban,
Began to measure the land at the plain of Tanam, named Sunam.
Pretty Padam Dasi, of a self-willed temper,
Secretly taking with her a bottle and some roasted wheat, cried:—
"Where are you Lobha munshi?
Go on, we will go to Gyambhung or live in Sunam."
Lobha munshi replied:—"I'll not go to Gyambung, because I have landed property worth more than a thousand rupees.
And at home is my dear wife, who has two sons."
The Padam and Lobha's love increased day by day,
Padam Dasi's ring is on Lobha's hand,
And Lobha munshi's ring on Padam Dasi's hand;
But there is no hope of their meeting in this world,
Yet they will meet in the next, before its king, whose name is Dharam Raj.

The following song is in praise of the pretty daughter of the well-known plutocrat Hira Das[1] of Kanam Village:—

Baktawaru chimet, Umar Dasi banthin,
Umar Dasi banthinu gudo, sanish zung dhagulo.
Sanish zung dhagulo majang, togalshe dhangulo,
togotshe dhagulo nyuma, kot-bang tanang,
kot-bang tanang nyuma, nijau nga kanthi.
Dayang loshima, ra-pyau dayang,
laning loshima, khyun-pyau laning;

---

[1] Lobha munshi of Urni village is now a patwari of the Outer Tukpa pargana.
[2] The name of a level place near Sunam.
[3] A village in Gangyul ghori near Sunam.
[4] A village in Shuwa pargana.
[1] Hira Das Loktas of Kanam has two daughters: *viz.*, Umar Das and Gyale. The latter has become a nun. He has four sons viz, Zindup Ram or Zindup Darze, Amir Chand, a student in F.A. class at Lahore; Gulab Jit, at home: Sanam Jit, a student in Simla Government School.
[2] Umar Dasi is the name of Hira Das Loktas's daughter of Kanam village in Shuwa pargana.
[3] Zindup or Zindup Ram is the name of Umar Dasi's brother.
[4] Kyalkhar is another Kanawari name of Shyalkhar, a place of Bashahr near Tibetan Frontier. It is also called Skyalkhar.
[5] Lachhu is a kind of snowy plant having very large leaves in which they keep butter.
[6] It is believed that Sarahan was the Shonitpur of the Puranas.

banthin loshima Umar Dasi banthin,
man ban loshima, Umar Dasiu man ban.
Baktabaru beta, Zindup bayara,
Zindup bayara, Kyakhar bandero;
Kyalkhar bandero, lachhu pachim de-rayin.

Translation

The pretty Umar Dasi[2] is a rich man's daughter,
She has on her hands twelve pairs of armlets,
And in the midst of them a rare armlet.
She has a box full of ornaments,
And besides this twenty-five necklaces.
To speak of a flock, 'tis a flock of wild pigeons.
To speak of a line, 'tis a line of cranes,
To speak of beauty, it is the beauty of Umar Dasi,
And to speak of parents, it is Umar Dasi's parents.
O you wealthy man's son, dear Zindup[1],
Will you please go to the forest of Kyalkhar[2]?
To bring down the large leaves of the plant called Lachhu[3].

Local Legend of Goddess Usha

The presiding deity of the village is Usha or Ukha, as she is popularly known. She is the daughter of the mythological king Banasur, who is said to have ruled over this area with his capital at Sarahan or Shonitpur as it was then called. She was married to Aniruddha, a grandson of Lord Krishna and the son of Pradumna. The marriage was the result of romance. The legend as narrated in Shrimad Bhagvada Purana, is different from the local versions, which seems to have been distorted during the course of centuries.

It is said that the idol of Ukha came from Dwarka. But how it came and who brought it, is lost in the hoary past. Belief goes that about two to three miles away from the village, on the bank of the river Sutlej, the idol was found by some children who took it to the local Lohars. Here Lohars carry on work of silver and gold besides the usual blacksmithy.

To test whether the image was of pure gold, the Lohar struck it with hammer. The image slipped from his hands before the hammer could strike it, and struck against the rock, where it left its imprint. Some resemblance of the imprint is believed to be discernible even to date.

Then the idol was brought and installed in Nachar. The *devi* revealed her identity through a person said to be possessed by her in a hypnotic spell. Later on, she appointed a regular oracle for expressing her desires from time to time. At that time, she wished that a temple be built over her. She also revealed that on her way from Dwarka to this village, she rested in the village of Bara Khamba. The people of Bara Khamba village have a temple of Ukha and worship her there.

The *devi* is held in great reverence by the villagers. She directs and sits over all their social and cultural life. She is consulted on all matters like illness, marriages and construction of houses. She is not so absolute in her commands as the Goddess Chandika of Kothi village neither does she ordain any sacrifice for herself. She is simple in her demands. When she is not resting on Kailash with the other gods, she accepts burning of incense or dhoop from a child below the age of eight, who has not yet learnt the mysteries of nature.

In the evening, some flowers or fruits may be offered to her. An *aarti* is waved. It must be noted that the *aarti* should be waved by a child. No person of the lower caste can perform this function. Otherwise, the Devi is offended. The wrong-doer has to bear the consequences.

A *yajna* or *hawan* is performed during *navratras*. A *yajna* may be performed on other occasions, as and when the *devi* is pleased to order so. In the *yajna*, all the participants are entertained, though the fair is very simple, which may even be unpalatable to the sophisticated people. Food-grains grown in the area like *chollaie, phaphra* and barley are mixed and ground into flour. The flour is then added to the boiling water and the entire mixture is cooked for sometime to a thick consistency. Salt is added to taste. This is served to all and is relished as Prasad of the *devi*.

The temple does not have appreciable income, and so this simple fair has been devised in place of an expensive *prasad*, which entails consumption of lot of *ghee* or cooking fat and sugar or *gur*. It is commonly served in almost all the temples.

The *devi* is not so exacting in her demands and does not ordain her devotees to perform any sacrifices for her. But keeping in view the basic needs of her devotees, who are mostly non-vegetarians, she obliges them by providing occasions to take meat on festive occasions, as they cannot afford to do so very often, in their houses. On appropriate occasions, she asks her devotees to sacrifice a goat or a ram to Shiva or to some other gods. The goats and rams are not killed in the temple. A screen has to be drawn so that the *devi* cannot herself see the killing. This is done because the *devi* is purely vegetarian. No meat or wine can be offered to her.

Temple Income

The income of the temple, as revealed by the *kardar*, ranges from Rs. 300 to 500 annually. This consists of offerings from her devotees. The

temple has some land attached to it which is given out on cultivation to tenants. About twenty maunds of foodgrains are received annually by the temple. Out of this collection of the food-grains, one maund each is given to the *kardar* and *bhandari* for serving the interests of the temple. Every contribution is carefully accounted for and the accounts are maintained by the accountant called Kaith. The bhandari is responsible for safe custody of the articles in the store-house or *bhandar.*

In the past, the *devi* used to go out on tours to the adjoining villages, from where she used to collect revenue in the form of offerings or 'Bhentas' but now she does not do so. The management of the temple has not followed the wise example set by the *kardar* of Sungara Mahesur Temple near Nachar. There, at Sungara, an orchard of about 400 apple plants has been planted on the temple land. In a few years, this orchard is expected to bring sizable income to the temple.

The *kardar* of the Sungara temple Mohan Singh Negi is an ex-serviceman and has a broad out-look with an eye on the future. The management of Ukha temple has not been able to seize the opportunity. They were advised to explore the feasibility of planting an orchard on the temple land and the only response was an indifferent shrug of shoulders and the pretext that this cannot be done unless the goddess so desires through her oracle.

Temple Management

The temple is run by the officials, appointed by the *devi,* from amongst the villagers through her oracle, except the oracle, who is hereditary.

Kardar is the president of the temple committee.

Shumathas—His duty is to petition the *devi* on behalf of the public.

Grokch—The hereditary oracle of *devi,* who speaks on her behalf.

Kaith—Accountant.

Bhandari—Incharge of the store.

The bearers of the palanquin and other minor offices.

Temple Building

The temple building does not appear to be very old. Besides the main temple, there is a storehouse and a four storeyed building. There is copper panelling on the entrance gate. Images of gods and goddesses mostly Ganesh and Durga with characteristic door rings and knobs connected with the long chains are found on the gate. On the right side of the courtyard facing the temple are guest rooms for sadhus, visitors or piligrims who are served free food from the temple funds.

On the back of the temple and at a little distance is the Santhang, a courtyard having a covered platform for resting the Devi's palanquin. Nearby is the building with flag staff which it is said dates back to the reign of Banasur. It is believed that this is the same flag staff which gave warning of the presence of Aniruddha in Ukha's palace to Banasur.

The structure of the temple building and its roof is the same as in the case of ordinary houses. Round the roof end hangs a fringe of wooden drops which produce a curious, soft jingling noise in the wind.

Summary of the story of Usha as narrated in Shrimad Bhagvad—Banasur was the son of Raja Bali who pleased Bavanavtar (one of the incarnations of Lord Vishnu) by giving away all his kingdom in charity. He had one hundred sons, the eldest of them was Banasur. Banasur was a great devotee of Shiva. He was known for his wisdom and magnanimity. He used to rule over the beautiful and prosperous kingdom of Shonitpur.

He had one thousand arms. Once while Shiva was performng the Tandava Nritya, he pleased the Lord by playing hundreds of different musical instruments with his thousand hands simultaneously. When Shiva was so pleased, he bestowed a boon on him that he would always protect his kingdom by his omnipresence.

But later on Banasur became so intoxicated with his might and power that one day he told Shiva that there was no equal to him in power. "O Lord, you are the creater of the Universe, you are Ishwara. You have gifted me one thousand arms but now these seem only a burden to me because in all the three Lokas I find no one to compete me in the battlefield. O Lord, once I became so restless with my power that I marched towards Diggajas but they also fled. Then in my anger and frustration I destroyed many mountains in the twinkling of an eye. "Thus addressed Banasur to the Lord."

Shiva was very much displeased with his words full of vanity and pride. "O fool, in due course, you'll face a warrior who is equivalent to me in might and strength and He would crush your pride," "Cursed Shiva."

Banasur's daughter Usha was most beautiful and comely, who was still a virgin. One night she saw Aniruddha in her dream making love to her. Since she had never seen him before she could not recognise him. But the fire of love began to kindle in her heart.

Kumbhand was the prime minister of Banasur, who had a daughter named Chitralekha. She was one of the dearest friends of Usha. She had a wonderful gift of making a portrait of any one in the entire universe, may he be a god or a man.

Usha began to wane in the memory of that sweet dream and her deep desire to meet Aniruddha. Her shyness prevented her from telling the episode to any one and thus she showed signs of sickness. Seeing this, Chitralekha said one day, "Dear, I find that you are unhappy nowadays and it seems that you are searching for someone. May I know the cause?"

Usha narrated the whole story and expressed her deep desire to meet her lover. Chitralekha then said "Dear Friend, I would now draw the portraits of all the important personalities in the universe from gods down to men one by one. Out of them I hope you would be able to recognise your man".

Finally one day when she happened to portray Aniruddha, Usha cried with joy "O' he's the same person, my love".

Chitralekha knew that he was a grandson of Lord Krishna and to bring him to her was not an easy task but she was determined to help her friend. With her divine powers she flew to Dwarka and managed to bring Aniruddha while he was asleep.

On waking up Aniruddha was amazed to find himself in the palace of Usha. She fell at his feet and expressed her love. Her beauty was so dazzling that he succumbed to it and both began to enjoy the life. Usha did her best to make him happy and comfortable. He became so engrossed in her love that he forgot all about Dwarka.

But the secret could not be maintained for long. The guards of the palace became suspicious of someone's presence in the palace. They reported the matter to Banasur. A thorough search was ordered and he himself came to see what was happening. He became mad with rage and challenged Aniruddha. A grim battle was fought and ultimately Banasur managed to arrest Aniruddha with his divine weapon of Nagphash.

On the other hand, search for Aniruddha was going on actively in Dwarka when Narada Muni, arrived there and narrated the entire story about Aniruddha's arrest by Banasur.

Lord Krishna attacked Shonitpur with all his might. When most of the army of Banasur was being destroyed, he appealed to Lord Shiva for help. Since he was a great devotee Shiva could not refuse to help. So Shiva Himself entered the war. It turned out to be a fight between Shiva and Krishna. None of the side was winning and for days the battle continued. Finally Krishna shot a divine weapon Narayanastra by which Shiva went into sleep and with-drew from the war.

Ultimately all the thousand arms of Banasur were chopped off by Krishna. Awakening from the spell Shiva ordained Banasur to beg pardon of Krishna which he did in all humility. Usha and Aniruddha were then married.

बासठवां–अध्याय

(ऊषा–अनिरूद्ध-मिलन)

राजा परीक्षित ने पूछा–महायोग सम्पन्न मुनीश्वर, मैंने सुना है कि यदुवंश शिरोमणि अनिरूद्धजी ने बाणसुर की पुत्री ऊषा से विवाह किया था और इस प्रसङ्ग में भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण और शंकर जी का बहुत बड़ा घमासान युद्ध हुआ था। आप कृपा करके यह वृत्तान्त विस्तार से सुनाइये ।। १ ।। श्री शुकदेव जी ने कहा– परीक्षित, महात्मा बलि की कथा तो तुम सुन ही चुके हो। उन्होंने वामनरूपधारी भगवान को सारी पृथ्वी का दान कर दिया था । दैत्यराज बलि का औरस् पुत्र बाणासुर भगवान् शिवकी भक्ति में सदा रत रहता था । समाज में उसका बड़ा आदर था। उसकी उदारता और बुद्धिमत्ता प्रशंसनीय थी । उसकी प्रतिज्ञा अटल होती थी और सचमुच वह बात के धनी थे ।। ३ ।। उन दिनों वह परम रमणीय शोणितपुर में राज्य करता था। भगवान् शंकर की कृपा से इन्द्रादि देवता नौकर-चाकर की तरह उसकी सेवा करते थे। उसके हजार भुजायें थीं। एक दिन जब भगवान शंकर बड़े ताण्डवनृत्य कर रहे थे तब उसने अपने हजार हाथों से अनेकों प्रकार के बाजे बजा कर उन्हें प्रसन्न कर लिया ।। ४ ।।

सचमुच भगवान् शंकर बड़े ही भक्तवत्सल और शरणागतरक्षक हैं। समस्त भूतों के एकमात्र स्वामी प्रभु ने बाणासुर से कहा तुम्हारी जो इच्छा हो, मुझसे मांग लो। "बाणासुर ने कहा" भगवन् आप मेरे नगरकी रक्षा करते हुए यहीं रहा करें ।। ५।। उस दिन बल-पौरूष के घमंडमें चूर बाणासुर अपने समीप ही स्थित भगवान् शंकरके चरणकमलों को सूर्यके समान चमकीले मुकुटसे छूकर प्रणाम किया और कहा ।। ६।। "देवाधिदेव", आप समस्त चराचर जगत्के गुरू और ईश्वर हैं। मैं आपको नमस्कार करता हूं। जिन लोगों के मनोरथ अब तक पूरे नहीं हुए हैं, उनको पूण करनेके लिए आप कल्पवृक्ष हैं ।। ७।। भगवन्, आपने मुझे एक हजार भुजायें दी हैं, परंतु वे मेरे लिये केवल भाररूप हो रही हैं क्योंकि त्रिलोकी में आपको छोड़कर मुझे अपनी बराबरी का कोई वीर-योद्धा ही नहीं मिलता, जो मुझसे लड़ सके ।। ८ ।। आदिदेव, एक बार मेरी बाहों में लड़ने के लिये इतनी खुजलाहट हुई कि मैं दिग्गजों की ओर चला। परंतु वे भी डरके मारे भाग खड़े हुए। उस समय मार्ग में अपनी बाहों की चोट से मैंने बहुत से पहाड़ों को तोड़-फोड़ डाला था ।। ९ ।। बाणासुर की यह प्रार्थना सुनकर भगवान् शंकर ने तनिक क्रोद्ध से कहा– "रे मूढ़, जिस समय तेरी ध्वजा टूट कर गिर जायेगी उस समय मेरे ही समान योद्धा से तेरा युद्ध होगा और वह युद्ध तेरा घमंड चूर-चूर कर देगा ।। १० ।।

परीक्षित्, बाणासुर की बुद्धि इतनी बिगड़ गयी थी कि भगवान् शंकर की बात सुनकर उसे बड़ा हर्ष हुआ और वह अपने घर लौट गया। अब वह मूर्ख भगवान् शंकर के आदेश अनुसार उस युद्धकी प्रतीक्षा करने लगा, जिसमें उस के बल-वीर्य का नाश होनेवाला था ।। ११ ।। परीक्षित्, बाणासुर की एक कन्या थी, उसका नाम था ऊषा। अभी वह कुमारी ही थी कि एक दिन स्वप्न में उसने देखा कि परम सुन्दर अनिरूद्ध जी के साथ मेरा समागम हो रहा है। आश्चर्य की बात तो यह थी कि उसने अनिरूद्ध जी को न तो कभी देखा था और न सुना ही था ।। १२ ।। स्वप्न में ही उन्हें देखकर बोल उठी–प्राण प्यारे, तुम कहां हो? और उसकी नींद टूट गयी । वह अपनी अत्यन्त विह्वलताके साथ उठ बैठी और यह देखकर कि मैं सखियों के बीच में हूं, बहुत ही लज्जित हुई ।। १३ ।। परीक्षित, बाणासुर के मन्त्री का नाम था कुम्भाण्ड। उसकी एक कन्या थी, जिसका नाम था चित्रलेखा। ऊषा और चित्रलेखा एक दूसरे की सहेलियां थीं। चित्रलेखा ने ऊषा से कौतूहलवश पूछा–।। १४ ।। सुन्दरी राजकुमारी, मैं देखती हूं कि अभी तक किसीने तुम्हारा पाणिग्रहण भी नहीं किया है। फिर तुम किसे ढूंढ रही हो और तुम्हारे मनोरथ का क्या स्वरूप है ।। १५ ।।

ऊषा ने कहा–सखी, मैंने स्वप्न में एक बहुत ही सुन्दरी नवयुवक को देखा है। उसके शरीर का रंग सांवला सा है। नेत्र मदन के समान हैं। शरीर पर पीला-पीला पीताम्बर फहरा रहा है। भुजायें लंबी लंबी हैं और वह स्त्रियों का चित्त चुराने वाला है ।। १६ ।। उसने पहले तो अपने अधरों का मधुर मधु मुझे पिलाया, परंतु मैं उसे आधा ही पी पायी थी कि वह मुझे दुःखके सागरमें डालकर न जाने कहां चला गया। मैं तरसती ही रह गयी। सखी, मैं अपने उसी प्राणवल्लभ् को ढूंढ रही हूं ।। १७ ।। चित्रलेखा ने कहा: सखी, यदि तुम्हारा चित्तचेरा त्रिलोकी में कहीं भी होगा, और उसे तुम पहचान सकोगी, तो मैं तुम्हारी विरह व्यथा अवश्य शान्त कर दूंगी। मैं चित्र बनाती हूं, तुम अपने चित्तचोर वल्लभको पहचान कर बतला दो। फिर वह चाहे कहीं भी होगा, मैं उसे तुम्हारे पास ले आऊंगी ।। १८ ।। यों कहकर चित्रलेखा ने बात की बात में बहुत से देवता, गन्धर्व, सिद्ध, चारण, पन्नग, दैत्य, विद्याधर, यक्ष और मनुष्यों के चित्र बना दिये ।। १९ ।। मनुष्यों में उसने वृष्णिवंशी वसुदेवजी के पिता शूर, स्वयं वसुदेवजी, बलरामजी और भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण आदिके चित्र बनाये। प्रद्युम्नका चित्र देखते ही ऊषा लज्जित हो गयी ।। २० ।।

परीक्षित, जब उसने अनिरूद्ध का चित्र देखा, तो लज्जा के मारे उसका सिर नीचा हो गया। फिर मन्द-मन्द मुसकराते हुए उसने कहा मेरा वह प्राणवल्लभ यही है, यह यही है ।। २१ ।। परीक्षित, चित्रलेखा योगिनी थी। वह जान गई कि ये भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण के पौत्र हैं। अब वह आकाश मार्ग से रात्रिमें ही भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण के द्वार सुरक्षित द्वारकापुरीमें पहुंची ।। २२ ।। वहां अनिरूद्ध जी बहुत ही सुन्दर पलंग पर सो रहे थे। चित्रलेखा योगसिद्धी के प्रभावसे उन्हें उठाकर शोणितपुर ले आयी और अपनी सखी ऊषा को उसके प्रियतम का दर्शन करा दिया ।। २३ ।। अपने परम सुन्दर प्राणवल्लभ को पाकर आनन्द अधिकता से उसका मुखकमल प्रफुल्लित हो उठा और वह अनिरूद्धजी के साथ अपने महल में विहार करने लगी। परीक्षित, उस का अन्तःपुर इतना सुरक्षित था कि उसकी ओर कोई पुरूष झांक तक नहीं सकता था ।। २४ ।। ऊषा का प्रेम दिन दूना रात चौगना बढ़ता जा रहा था। वह बहुमूल्य वस्त्र, पुष्पों के हार, इत्र-फुलेल धूप-दीप, आसन आदि सामग्रियों से, सुमधुर पेय (पीने योग्य पदार्थ-दूध, शरबत आदि) भोज्य (चबाकर खाने योग्य) और भक्ष्य (निगल जाने योग्य) पदार्थों से तथा मनोहर वाणी एवं सेवा-शुश्रूषा से अनिरूद्धजी का बड़ा सत्कार करती। ऊषा ने अपने प्रेम से उनके मनको अपने वश में कर लिया। अनिरूद्धजी उस कन्या के अन्तःपुर में छिपे रह कर अपने-आपको भूल गये। उन्हें इस बातका भी पता न चला कि मुझे यहां आये कितने दिन बीत गये ।। २५-२६ ।।

परीक्षित्, यदुकुमार अनिरूद्धजी के सहवास से ऊषा का कुआंरापन नष्ट हो चुका था। उसके शरीरपर ऐसे चिन्ह प्रकट हो गये, जो स्पष्ट इस बातकी सूचना देते रहे थे और जिन्हें किसी प्रकार छिपाया नहीं जा सकता था। ऊषा बहुत प्रसन्न भी रहने लगी। पहरेदारों ने समझ लिया कि इसका किसी न किसी पुरुष से सम्बन्ध अवश्य हो गया है। उन्होंने जाकर बाणासुर से निवेदन किया– 'राजन्' हम लोग आपकी अविवाहिता राजकुमारी का जैसा साज-ढंग देख रहे हैं, वह आपके कुल पर बट्टा लगाने वाला है ।। २७-२८ ।। प्रभो, इसमें संदेह नहीं कि हम लोग बिना क्रम टूटे, रात दिन महल का पहरा देते रहते हैं। आपकी कन्याको बाहर के मनुष्य देख भी नहीं सकते । फिर भी वह कलंकित हो गयी है? इसका कारण हमारी समझ में नहीं आ रहा है ।। २९ ।। परीक्षित्, पहरेदारों से यह समाचार जानकर कि कन्या का चरित्र दूषित हो गया है, बाणासुरके हृदयमें बड़ी पीड़ा हुई। वह झटपट ऊषा के महल में जा धमका और देखा कि अनिरूद्ध जी वहां बैठे हुए हैं ।। १० ।। प्रिय परीक्षित अनिरूद्धजी स्वयं कामावतार प्रद्युम्नजी के पुत्र थे। त्रिभुवन में उनके जैसा सुन्दर और कोई न था। सांवरा-सलोना शरीर और उसपर पीताम्बर फहराता हुआ, कमल दल के समान बड़ी-बड़ी कोमल आंखें, लंबी-लंबी भुजाये, कपोलों पर घुंघराली अलकें और कुण्डलों की झिलमिलाती हुई ज्योति, होठों पर मन्द-मन्द मुसकान और प्रेमभरी चितवन से मुखकी शोभा अनठी हो रही थी ।। ३१ ।।

अनिरूद्धजी उस समय अपनी सब ओर से सज-धजकर बठी प्रियतमा ऊषा के साथ पासे खेल रहे थे। उनके गले में बसंती बेला के बहुत सुन्दर पुष्पों का हार सुशोभित हो रहा था और उस हार में ऊषा के अंग का सम्पर्क होनेसे उसके वक्षःस्थलकी केशर लगी हुई थी। उन्हें ऊषाके सामने ही बैठा देखकर बाणासुर विस्मित-चकित हो गया ।। ३२ ।। जब अनिरूद्धजी ने देखा कि बाणासुर बहुत से आक्रमणकारी शस्त्रास्त्र से सुसज्जित वीर सैनिको क साथ महलमें घुस आया है, तब वे उन्हें धराशायी कर देनेके लिये लोहे का एक भयंकर परिध लेकर डट गये, मानो स्वयं कालदण्ड लेकर मृत्यु (यमं) खड़ा हो ।। ३३ ।। बाणासुर के साथ आये हुये सैनिक उनको पकड़ने के लिये ज्यों ज्यों उसकी ओर झपटते त्यों त्यों वे उन्हें मार-मार कर गिराते जाते–ठीक वैसे ही, जैसे सूअरों के दल का लीडर कुत्तोंको मार डाले, अनिरूद्धजी की चोट से उन सैनिकों के सिर भुजा, बाणासुर ने देखा कि यह तो मेरी सारी सेना का संहार कर रहा है, तब वह क्रोद्ध से तिलमिला उठा और उसने नागपाश से उन्हें बांध लिया। ऊषा ने जब सुना कि उसके प्रियतम को बांध लिया गया है, तब वह अत्यन्त शोक और विषाद से विहल्ल हो गयी, उसके नेत्रों से आंसुओं की धारा वहने लगी, वह रोने लगी ।। ३५ ।।

तिरसठवां अध्याय

(भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण के साथ बाणासुर का युद्ध)

श्रीशुकदेवजी कहते हैं–परीक्षित, बरसात के चार महीने बीत गये। परन्तु अनिरूद्धजी का कहीं पता न चला। उसके घर के लोग, इस घटना से वहुत ही शोकाकुल हो रहे थे ।।१।। एक दिन नारद जी ने आकर अनिरूद्ध जी का शोणितपुर जाना, वहां बाणासुर के सेनिकों को हराना और फिर नागपाश में बांधा जाना– यह सारा समाचार सुनाया। तब श्रीकृष्ण को ही वहां अपना आराध्यदेव माननेवाले यदुवंशियों ने शोनितपुर पर चढ़ाई कर दी ।।२।। अब श्रीकृष्ण और बलराम जी के साथ उनके अनुयायी सभी यदुवंशी–प्रद्युम्न, सात्यकि, गद, साम्ब, सारण, नन्द, उपनन्द और भद्र आदिने बारह और अक्षौहिणी सेना के साथ व्यूह बनाकर चारों ओर से बाणासुर की राजधानी को घेर लिया ।। ३-४ ।। जब बाणासुर ने देखा कि यदुवंशियों की सेना नगर के उद्यान, पर कोटों, बुर्जों, सिंहद्वारों सिंहद्वारों को तोड़ फोड़ रही है, तब उसे वड़ा क्रोध आया और वह भी बारह अक्षौहिणी सेना लेकर नगर से निकल पड़ा ।। ५ ।।

बाणासुर की ओर से साक्षात् भगवान् शंकर वृषभराज नन्दी पर सवार होकर अपने पुत्र कार्तिकेय और गणों के साथ रणभूमि में पधारे और उन्होंने भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण तथा वलराम जी से युद्ध किया ।। ६ ।। परीक्षति, वह युद्ध इतना अद्भुत और घमसान हुआ कि उसे देखकर रोंगटे खड़े हो जाते थे। भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण से शंकरजी का और प्रद्युम्न से स्वामी कार्तिकि का युद्ध हुआ ।। ७ ।। बलराम जी से कुम्भाण्ड और कूपकर्ण का युद्ध हुआ। बाणासुर के पुत्र के साथ साम्ब और स्वयं बाणासुर के साथ सात्यकि भिड़ गये ।। ८ ।। ब्रह्मा आदि बड़े बड़े देवता, ऋषि-मुनि, सिद्ध-चारण, गन्धर्व-अप्सरायें और यक्ष विमानों पर चड़-चड़कर युद्ध देखने के लिये आ पहुचे। ।। ९ ।। भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण ने अपने शार्ग धनुष के तीखी नोक वाले बाणों से शंकर जी के अनुचरों-पिशाच, कूश्माण्ड और ब्रह्मराक्षसों को मार-मारकर खदेड़ दिया ।। १० ।। पिनाकपाणि शंकरजी ने भगवान् पर भांति-भांति के अगणित अस्त्रशस्त्रों का प्रयोग किया, परन्तु भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण ने बिना किसी प्रकार के विस्मय के उन्हें विरोधी शस्त्रास्त्रों से शांत कर दिया। १२ ।। भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण ने ब्रह्मास्त्र की शान्ति के लिये ब्रह्मास्त्र का, वायव्यास्त्र के लिये पार्वतास्त्र का आग्नेयास्त्र के लिये पर्जन्यास्त्र का और पाशुपतास्त्र के लिये नारायणस्त्र का प्रयोग किया ।। १३ ।। इसके वाद भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण ने जृम्भणास्त्र से (जिससे मनुष्य को जंभाई पर जंभाई आने लगती है) महादेवजी को मोहित कर दया। वे युद्ध से विरत होकर जंभाई लेने लगे, तब भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण शंकर जी से छुट्टी पाकर तलवार, गदा और बाणों से बाणासर की सेना का संसार करने लगे ।। १४ ।।

इधर प्रद्युम्न ने वाणों की बौछार से स्वामिकार्तिकेय को घायल कर दिया, उनके अंग अंग से रक्त की धारा वह चली, वे रणभूमि छोड़कर अपने वाहन मयुर के साथ भाग निकले ।। १५ ।। वलरामजी ने अपने मूसल की चोट से कूम्भाण्ड और कपकर्ण को घायल कर दिया, वे रण-भूमि में गिर पड़े। इस प्रकार अपने सेनापतियों को हताहत देख कर वाणासुर की सारी सेना तितर-बितर हो गयी ।। १६ ।। जब रथ पर सवार वाणासुर ने देखा कि श्रीकृष्ण आदि के प्रहार से हमारी सेना तितर-बितर और तहस-नहस हो रही है, तब उसे वड़ा क्रोध आया। उसने चिढ़ कर सात्यकि को छोड़ दिया और वह भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण पर आक्रमण करने के लिये दौड़ पड़ा ।। १७ ।। पीक्षित, रणोन्मत वाणासुर ने अपने एक हजारा हाथों से एक साथ ही पांच सौ धनुष खींचकर एक-पर दो-दो बाण चढ़ाये ।। १८ ।। परन्तु भगवान श्री कृष्ण ने एक साथ ही सारे धनुप काट डाले और सारथी के साथ घोड़ों को भी धराशायी कर दिया एवं-शंख-ध्वनि की ।। १९ ।। कोटरा नाम की एक देवी बाणासुर की धर्ममाता थी। वह अपने उपासक पुत्र के प्राणों की रक्षा के लिये बाल बिखेर कर नंग धड़ंग भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण के सामने आकर खड़ी हो गयी ।। ।। २० ।।

भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण ने इसलिये कि कहीं उस पर दृष्टि न पड़ जाय अपना मुंह फेर लिया और वे दूसरी ओर देखने लगे तब तक बाणासुर धनुष कट जाने और रथहीन हो जाने के कारण अपने नगर में चला गया ।। २१ ।। इधर जब भगवान् शंकर के भूतगण इधर-उधर भाग गये, तब उनका छोड़ा हुआ तीन सिर और तीन पैरवाला ज्वर दसों दिशाओं को जलाता हुआ सा भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण की ओर दौड़ा ।।२२ ।। भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण ने उसे अपनी ओर आते देखकर उसका मुकाबला करने के लिये अपना ज्वर छोड़ा । जब वैष्णव और महेश्वर दोनों ज्वर आपस में लड़ने लगे ।। २३ ।। अन्त में वैश्ष्णव ज्वर के तेज से माहेश्वर ज्वर पीड़ित होकर चिल्लाने लगा और अत्यन्त भयभीत हो गया । जब उसे अन्यत्र कहीं त्राण न मिला, तब वह अत्यन्त नम्रता से हाथ जोड़कर शरण में लेने के लिये भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण से प्रार्थना करने लगा ।। २४ ।। ज्वर ने कहा:– प्रभो, आपकी शक्ति अनन्त है, आप ब्रह्मादि ईश्वरों के भी परम महेश्वर हैं ।' आप अद्वितीय और केवल ज्ञानस्वरूप हैं । संसार की उत्पत्ति स्थिति और संहार के कारण आप ही हैं । श्रुतियों के द्वारा आप का ही वर्णण और अनुमान किया जाता है । आप समस्त विकारों के सहित सत्यं ब्रह्म हैं । मैं आपको प्रणाम करता हूं ।। २५ ।। काल, दैव (अदृष्ट), कर्म, जीव, स्वभाव, सूक्ष्माभूत, शरीर, सूत्रात्मा प्रण, हंकार, एकादश इन्द्रियां और पंचभूत– इन सबका संघात लिंगशरीर और बीजाकुंर न्याय के अनुसार उससे कर्म और कर्म से फिर लिंग-शरीर की उत्पत्ति' यह सब आपकी माया है । आप माया के निषेध की परम अवधि हैं । में आपकी शरण ग्रहण करता हूं ।। २६ ।।

प्रभो, आप अपनी लीला से ही अनेकों रूप धारण कर लेते हैं और देवता, साधु तथा लोक मर्यादाओं का पालन-पोषण करते हैं। साथ ही उन्मार्गगामी और हिंसक असुरों का संहार भी करते हैं। आपका यह अवतार पृथ्वी का भार उतारने के लिये ही हुआ है ।। २७ ।। प्रभो, आपके शान्त उग्र और अत्यन्त भयानक दुस्सह तेज ज्वर से मैं अत्यन्त संतप्त हो रहा हूं । भगवन्, देहधारी जीवों को तभी तक ताप-संताप रहता है, जब तक वे आकाश के फंदों में फंसे रह नेके कारण आपके चरणकमलों की शरण नहीं ग्रहण करते ।। २८ ।। भगवान् श्रीकष्ण ने कहा :–'त्रिशिरा, मैं तुम पर प्रसन्न हूं । अब तुम मेरे जवर से निर्भय हो जाओ । संसार में जो कोई हम दोनों के संवाद का स्मरण करेगा, उसे तुमसे कोई भय न होगा' ।। २९ ।। भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण के इस प्रकार कहने पर माहेश्वर जवर उन्हें प्रणाम करके चला गया । तब तक वाणासुर रथ पर सवार होकर भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण से युद्ध करने के लिये फिर आ पहुंचा ।। ३० ।। परीक्षित, वाणासुर ने अपने हजार हाथों में तरह-तरह के हथियार ले रखे थे । अब वह अत्यन्त क्रोध में भरकर चक्रपाणि भगवान् पर बाणों की वर्षा करने लगा ।।३१ ।।

जब भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण ने देखा कि बाणासुर ने तो बाणों की झड़ी लगा दी है, तब वे छुरे के समान तीखी धारवाले चक्र से उसकी भुजायें काटने लगे, मानो कोई किसी वृक्ष की छोटी-छोटी डालियां काट रहा हो ।। ३ २ ।। जब भक्तवत्सल भगवान् शंकर ने देखा कि बाणासुर की भुजायें कट रही हैं तब वे चक्रधारी भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण के पास आये और स्तुति करने लगे ।। ३३ ।। भगवान् शंकर ने कहा :– प्रभो, आप वेदमन्त्रों में तात्पर्य रूप से छिपे हुए परमज्योति:स्वरूप परब्रह्म हैं । शुद्धहृदय महात्मागण आप की आकाश के समान सर्वव्यापक और निर्विकार (निर्लेप) स्वरूप का साक्षात्कार करते हैं ।। ३४ ।। आकाश आप की नाभि हैं, अग्नि मुख है और जल वीर्य । स्वर्ग सिर, दिशायें कान और पृथ्वी चरण है । चन्द्रमा मन, सूर्य नेत्र और मैं शिव आपका अंहकार हूं । समुद्र आपका पेट है और इन्द्र भुजा ।। ३५ ।। धान्यादि ओषधियां रोम हैं, मेघ केश हैं, और ब्रह्मा बुद्धि । प्रजापति लिंग हैं और धर्म हृदय । इस प्रकार समस्त लोक और लोकान्तरों के साथ जिसके शरीर की तुलना की जाती हैं, वे परम पुरूष आप ही हैं ।।३६ ।। अखण्ड ज्योति:स्वरूप परमात्मन्, आपका यह अवतार धर्म की रक्षा और संसार के अभ्युदय–अभिवृद्धि के लिये हुआ है । हम सब भी आपके प्रभाव से ही प्रभावित होकर सातों भुवनों का पालन करते हैं ।। ३७ ।।

आप सजातीय, विजातीय और स्वगत भेद से रहित हैं । एक और–अद्वितीय आदि पुरूष हैं । मायाकृत, जाग्रत् स्वप्न और सुषुप्ति इन तीन अवस्थाओं में अनुगत और उससे अतीत तुरीयतत्व भी आप ही हैं । आप किसी दूसरी वस्तु के द्वारा प्रकाशित नहीं होते स्वयं प्रकाश हैं । आप सबके कारण हैं, परंतु आपका न तो कोई कारण है और न तो आप में कारणपना ही है । भगवन्, ऐसा होने पर भी आप तीनों गुणों की विभिन्न विषमताओं को प्रकाशित करने के लिये अपनी माया से देवता, पशु-पक्षी, मनुष्य आदि शरीरों के अनुसार भिन्न भिन्न रूपों में प्रतीत होते हैं ।। ३८ ।। प्रभो, जैसे सूर्य अपनी छाया बादलों से ही ढक जाता है और उस बादलों तथा विभिन्न रूपों को प्रकाशित करता है उसी प्रकार आप तो स्वयं प्रकाश हैं । परंतु गुणों के द्वारा मानों ढक-से जाते हैं । और समस्त गुणों तथा गुणाभिमानी जीवों को प्रकाशित करते हैं । वास्तव में आप अनन्त हैं ।। ३९ ।। भगवन, आप की माया से मोहित होकर लोग स्त्री-पुत्र, देहगेह आदि में आसक्त हो जाते हैं और फिर दु:ख के अपार सागर में डूबने उतरने लगते हैं ।। ४० ।। संसार के मानवों को यह मनुष्य-शरीर आपने अत्यन्त कृपा करके दिया है । जो पुरूष इसे पाकर भी अपनी इन्द्रियों को वश में नहीं करता और आप के चरण कमलों का आश्रय नहीं लेता–उनका सेवन नहीं करता उसका जीवन अत्यन्त शोचनीय है और वह स्वयं अपने-आपको धोखा दे रहा है ।। ४१ ।।

प्रभो, आप समस्त प्राणियों के आत्मा, प्रियतम और ईश्वर हैं। जो मृत्यु का ग्रास मनुष्य आपको छोड़ देता है और अनात्म दुःखरूप एवं तुच्छ विषयों में सुख-बुद्धि करके उनके पीछे भटकता है, वह इतना मूर्ख है कि अमृत को छोड़कर विष पी रहा है ।। ४२ ।। मैं ब्रह्मा, सारे देवता और विशुद्ध हृदय-वाले ऋषि-मुनि सब प्रकार से और सर्वात्म भाव से आपके शरणागत हैं, क्योंकि आप ही हम लोगों के आत्मा, प्रियतम और ईश्वर हैं ।। ४३ ।। आप जगत की उत्पत्ति, स्थिति और प्रलय के कारण हैं। आप सब में सम, परम शांत, सब के हृदय आत्मा और इष्टदेव हैं। आप एक, अद्वितीय और जगत के आधार तथा अधिष्ठान हैं। हे प्रभो, हम सब संसार से मुक्त होनेके लिये आपका भजन करते हैं ।। ४४ ।। देव, यह बाणा-सुर, मेरा परमप्रिय, कृपा पात्र और सेवक है। मैंने इसे अभयदान दिया है। प्रभो, जिस प्रकार इसके परदादा दैत्यराज प्रहल्लाद आपका कृपा-प्रसाद है, वैसा ही कृपा प्रसाद आप इस पर भी करें ।। ४५ ।। भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण ने कहा :– भगवन् आप की बात मानकर जैसा आप चाहते हैं, मैं इसे निर्भय किये देता हूं। आपने पहले इसके संबन्धमें जैसा निश्चय किया था–मैंने इसकी भुजायें काटकर उसीका अनुमोदन किया है ।। ४६ ।। मैं जानता हूं कि बाणासुर दत्या राज बलिका पुत्र है। इसलिये में भी इसका वध नहीं कर सकता, क्योंकि मैंने प्रहल्लाद को वर दे दिया है कि मैं तुमहारे वंश में पैदा होनेवाले किसी भी दैत्य का वध तक नहीं करूंगा ।। ४७ ।।

इसका घमंड चूर करने के लिये ही मैंने इसकी भुजायें काट दी हैं। इसकी बहुत बड़ी सेना पृथ्वी के लिये भार हो रही थी, इसीलिये मैंने उसका संहार कर दिया है ।। ४८ ।। अब इसकी चार भुजायें बच रही हैं। ये अजर, अमर बनी रहेंगी यह बाणासुर आप के पार्षदों में मुख्य होगा। अब इसको किसी से किसी प्रकार का भय नहीं है ।। ४९ ।। श्रीकृष्ण से इस प्रकार अभयदान प्राप्त करके बाणासुर ने उनके पास आकर धरती में माथा टेका, प्रणाम किया और अनिरूद्धजी को अपनी पुत्री ऊषा के साथ रथ पर बैठाकर भगवान् के पास ले आया ।। ५० ।। इसके बाद भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण ने महादेवजी की सम्मति से वस्त्रालंकार विभूषित ऊषा और अनिरूद्धजी को एक अक्षौहिणी सेना के साथ आगे करके द्वारका के लिये प्रस्थान किया ।। ५१ ।। इधर द्वारका में भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण आदिके शुभागमन का समाचार सुनकर झंडियों और तोरणों से नगर का कोना-कोना सजा दिया गया। बड़ी-बड़ी सड़कों और चौराहों को चन्दन-मिश्रति जल से सींच दिया गया। नगर के नागरिकों, ——बन्धु-बान्धवों और ब्राह्मणों ने आगे आकर खूब धूम धाम से भगवान् का स्वागत किया। उस समय शंख, नगारों और ढोलों की तुमुल ध्वनि हो रही थी। इस प्रकार भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण ने अपनी राजधानी में प्रवेश किया ।। ५२ ।। परीक्षित जो पुरूष श्री शंकरजी के साथ भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण का युद्ध और उसकी विजय की कथा का प्रातःकाल उठकर स्मरण करता है, उसकी पराजय नहीं होती ।। ५३ ।।

Legend of Nag Devta

There is another temple of Nag-Devta in Chamraling hamlet which is mostly worshipped by Kolis. But other communities rever it. According to the legend, long ago a farmer was ploughing his land when a snake happened to be cut into three pieces by the blade of the plough.

It is said that one of the pieces flung across the Sutlej fell on the mountain on the other side whereas the other pieces remained there. As an atonement the farmer constructed a temple and established the snake as a Devta, since its killing was resulting in widespread cattle diseases and other afflictions.

To this day the temple stands here and the villagers make periodical offerings so that they may be saved from the trouble resulting from the displeasure of the diety.

Untouchability

In the social set up of Kinners, Lohar, Badhi and Koli form the scheduled castes whereas the Kanets are the higher ups or *swarans*. All these three castes used to be looked down upon by Kanets. Their condition was the same as those of Harijans. Though now the practice of untouchability is prohibited by law, the caste distinctions are scrupulously maintained.

Even within the so called low castes, there is a distinction such as Lohars and Badhis consider themselves superior to Kolis. Since Lohars and Badhis play musical instruments of the goddess, they can enter the precincts of the temple but Kolis cannot do that. In the settlement pattern of the village all the castes except Kolis live intermingled together and Kolis have their separate settlement Chamraling. Inter-dining amongst the persons of different castes is totally absent. The food cooked by a Kanet is accepted by persons of the other castes but Kanets do not eat the food cooked by others.

In case a Lohar or a Badhi wishes to throw a feast to Kanets then he has to employ some Kanet to cook and serve the food separately. Similarly they would not allow Kolis to take their meals with them but a Koli would, however, accept meals cooked by the others. A Lohar or a Badhi is permitted to enter the house of a Rajput but he must carry with him some instrument of his trade preferably a sickle without which his admission to the house is prohibited. Kolis have their separate water sources.

At the lowest rung of the social ladder are Kolis. They were treated so badly in the pre-independence era that a Koli had to cover his mouth while talking to a Rajput. Their position has now slightly improved but there seems to be

no basic change socially. They still cannot enter the temple or the houses of the higher ones. They are not allowed to smoke from a Kanet, Lohar or Badhi's hukka. Other castes do not eat the food prepared or even touched by them. They could not use a horse at the time of a marriage in the past but, of course, no one can object to their doing it now. Not that there has come some basic change in the outlook but the fear is of the law taking its own course. Again the Kolis are not allowed to dance alongwith the others and they have to use their separate dancing arena near their settlement. However, there is no bar to wearing of dress or ornament of a particular type for these so called lower people. Previously they used to remove carcases of dead animals but they have now given up this work and they only do it on receipt of heavy fee.

For centuries it has been made to appear that the gods have something to do with the maintenance of untouchability. For example if some Harijan dared to challenge the traditions and tried to enter the temple, their entry would be prohibited on the ground that goddess does not wish so. Caste has become so deep rooted that the lower castes developed an inferiority complex and now often they would not even wish to improve their position inspite of the full backing of law. Of his own a harijan would not like to enter Usha's temple for fear of her wrath, though legally no one can prevent him. A lot of educative work is necessary before we can expect some change. Of course, the economic betterment and spread of education is expected to go a long way to lessen the evils of untouchability.

The only heartening factor is that they have increasingly become aware of their rights and conscious of improving their lot.

In the Gram and Nayaya Panchayats they have now some seats reserved and their elected members sit side by side with the members from the upper castes. This is also gradually instilling some self-confidence in them.

Social Status of Women

Because of polyandrous social set up the Kinner woman carries a great deal of responsibilities. Besides attending to the usual household duties, she has to put in hard labour on the fields. Here men attend only to ploughing and all other agricultural operations have to be carried out by the women. A woman here has also to strike a balance amongst her husbands and to cater to their different moods and whims is no easy task for her.

She has no right in the inheritance of property and is completely dependent on her husbands. Because of polyandry the number of women who remain unmarried is openly considerable. Those who do not get married devote their time to the study and chanting of Buddhist scriptures and they are known as Jomos. They shave off their heads and dress up like men. Sometimes it happens that an adolescent girl, who shy away from marriage for one or the other reason or where she does not approve of matrimonial proposals put forward by the elders and wish to ward off the paternal hands, decides to become a Jomo. Jomos either live in the nunneries or at home. Those who choose to stay at home carry out the usual work. They work in the fields, carry manure, bring water from the springs and attend to the household chores. Of course, they spend a few hours in telling beads.

At times a jomo may decide to marry and lead a family life. Mostly in such cases love plays the leading role. If a jomo is learned and has become respected member of the order, she is very often asked on religious functions to recite hymns and prayers.

There is no *purdah* to be observed and both the sexes can mix up freely without any inhibitions. On various festivals women come out to dance hand in hand with the men folk of their community. She has also freedom of seeking divorce and to remarry elsewhere according to her choice. The Kinner woman, true to her classical description, has a sweet and melodious voice and often she can be seen singing her cares away.

Musical Instruments

Though the musical instruments belong to the temple of Usha, the villagers can borrow the orchestra along with its players on various festive occasions. Since no orchestra attends marriage functions, all other fairs and festivals including the death rituals are attended to by it. No fee is, however, charged from the borrowers but they may make some offerings to the goddess in cash and kind.

These instruments are manufactured by the local Lohars and Badhis and in case any of the pieces happen to be damaged or a new set of instruments may be required, the temple bears its entire cost. The players are selected by the goddess from amongst the Lohars and the Badhis. They are paid yearly remuneration by the temple in terms of food grains ranging from 20 to 30 seers. One of them has been given a *bigha* of land free of any rent in lieu of his work. The various pieces of orchestra are :—

Ban	A bronze plate bell
Chanderban	A type of bell
Dakhru	A very small drum
Dhol	Drum
Ghato nagar	Two smaller size kettle drums.
Gxnthung	Small bell
Kannal	Two long pipes
Kansal	Two bronze plates
Nagara	Big kettle drum
Runshing	Narsingha
Shannal	Wooden pipes having silver adornments.
Shung	Conch

Dreams

Dreams have a peculiar place in the imagination of man and Kinners have their own way of interpreting them.

Taking wine or eating meat in dream is considered a bad omen. In winter if sheep and goats appear to ascend a hill, there would be no rain or snow but when appear to descend, a snowfall can be expected the next day. Similarly if one sees water, a river, or pond during a summer night, rain or cloudy weather is indicated.

Slaughtering of rams or goats, goddess's *bajantri* playing the instruments or falling of teeth in a dream predict death. Putting on new clothes or going out on a horse also points to some death somewhere. Eating of green vegetables and fruits is an indication of coming happiness. Weeping in a dream is also lucky omen.

If person is seen wearing ornaments or is seen purchasing them, his death is indicated. If one is followed by a dog in a dream he should beware of the ghosts and the evil influences. Falling from a wall or a tree, flying, ploughing or laughing in a dream are considered lucky omens. It is believed that if one happens to see a dreadful dream, the next morning he should go to a temple or a tree and speak it aloud there, which would offset its evil effects.

General Superstitions

While going out for some work if one happens to come across an empty *kilta* or an empty waterpot, he is not likely to succeed. But if a drum full of water or a full *kilta* are seen then success is indicated.

Sneezing is not given any importance in this area. If a person happens to see a snake catching a lizard it is a very bad omen. But if he kills the snake and rescues the lizard, he is believed to have been saved from some impending bad luck.

While taking out a horse for riding if it shivers it is a bad omen for the rider and the journey should be avoided.

One of the important superstitions is that if in the sky a flame called 'Mella' is seen, fire accident is sure somewhere in the area where it is observed.

Evil Spirits

In Nachar there is a big stone called 'Ruksas Ruding' which is said to be haunted by a ghost. The story goes that in the days gone by, a demon used to live on that stone. He used to kidnap and eat the village children. This caused a constant menace to the people. When goddess Usha came to the village they prayed to her to get them rid of the said demon. Ultimately he is said to have been destroyed by Usha. Even to this day that stone stands as the symbol of the ghost but now his evil influence has vanished. Though it is said that sometimes during the nights he can still be seen roaming around.

Also various types of ghosts or evil spirits are believed to exist. Banshir is a ghost supposed to live in a forest on some very old deodar or kail tree. He can assume many shapes like that of a huge man, a monkey or a jackal. He makes a great hue and cry to frighten its victim. If by chance the tree on which he might be living is cut and the wood used for some house construction, then the house so built come to be inhabited by that ghost and he begins to harass the family. To get rid of him a *puja* with *poltus* and *halwa* has to be done.

Bakhar-shuna is a ghost having the shape of a goat. It also bleats like a goat. It is supposed to throw stones on the person who happens to meet it. A person affected by bakhar-shuna is likely to be taken ill.

Another type of ghost is known as Dumtenda-Ruksas who is supposed to reside at the confluence of two streams. He meets the people during the night and sometimes at noon. Its appearance is said to be very dreadful having long teeth and nails. It wrestles with its victim but if he is in possession of a lethal or sharp weapon, the ghost can do no harm.

Khunkch is a sort of evil spirit, which is supposed to reside in certain houses and in case a marriage is contracted or some cattle are purchased from these houses this spirit also goes along with the cattle to the new house. There it begins to create trouble for the family members and the cattle. To dispel its evil influence Usha has to be consulted. She orders this spirit to leave the place at once and in appeasement it is offered *halwa*, wine and *poltus* and sometimes a goat as directed by the goddess.

Chan is highway ghost, which is supposed to inflict sickness to whom it meets during the odd hours of the night. Still another type of evil spirit is called Khwar-Shuna, who has a hollow back and carries a lot of fire on his head. If some one happens to meet him, the person should immediately try to touch its back, then it runs away crying.

It is believed that one must not speak to the ghosts and the evil spirits when accosted. Whenever some sudden voice calls a person at an odd hour he or she must not answer at the first three calls because the ghosts are supposed to call only thrice and thereafter the person is left unmolested.

Public Health

There is an Ayurvedic outdoor dispensary which caters to the village and the nearby places. Except this there is no allopathic, ayurvedic or any other type of practitioner in the village. The dispensary is ill equipped and

the supply of the medicines has not been regular although it was established as far back as in 1962.

The common diseases in the area are dysentery, fever and intestinal worms. A few cases of typhoid also occur in a year. The non-seasonal diseases are T.B., V.D., Deafmutism and Goitre. However, the incidence of T.B. and V.D. is very low, say about 7 per cent, but Goitre is widespread.

The incharge of the dispensary is a trained Vaidya but he has not been provided with a compounder. There is a peon and one part time sweeper. The peon also performs the function of the compounder. No maternity or child welfare centre exist here. But these facilities are available at Kalpa Civil Hospital. In-door facilities are also available at Kalpa or Rampur.

D.D.T. was last sprayed in July, 1961 though there is a general complaint of flea nuisance. Fleas also trouble the cattle. Some sort of insecticide should have been given to them regularly to enable them to get rid of these fleas.

The Vaidya opined that goitre on such a scale is due to iodine deficiency and the unprotected water supply. Similarly the absence of personal hygiene together with the unprotected water supply have resulted in large scale intestinal worms. In general the people suffer from malnutrition and debility. The main reason for this is the absence of healthy foods like milk, eggs and vegetables in their meals.

Superstitions contribute to their ill health. Until very recently the people used to depend more on the goddess or some other supernatural power for the cure of their ailments rather on any scientific treatment. Moreover the medical facilities were not available then. Now with the opening of dispensaries and availability of other facilities nearer their homes, they have become conscious of taking advantage of the modern medical inventions. Even now goddess Usha is often consulted in serious cases of illness, more so if the person suffering is suspected to be possessed by some evil spirit.

The table given below would give us some idea of the position of different diseases in the area.

Disease-wise Classification of Patients Treated in Ayurvedic Dispensary, Nachar

Year	Diarrhoea & Dysentery	Malaria	Typhoid	Eye diseases	V.D.	T.B.	Leprosy	Minor Injuries	Minor Operations	Small-pox
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1957	130	66	6	249	57	6	13	462	260	5
1958	221	39	21	367	15	9	2	542	204	
1959	169	59	25	489	22	12	8	288	550	3
1960	322	66	6	504	24	6	3	411	529	

Leprosy Sub-clinic

Leprosy seem to be a general complaint in the Sub-division. So much so that 12 cases have been detected in Nachar. The clinic has been put under the charge of a Leprosy Technician. The activity of the clinic is door to door examination of the people and tendering suitable advice. Where a case of leprosy is found, it is the duty of the technician to advise the family about the segregation. The number of cases under treatment in the village are 12. In all 17 cases have come to light since the inception of the centre out of which one is from outside the village.

Sanitation

The general cleanliness in the village is far from satisfactory. The paths are unclean and it has been observed that the villagers often sit near the paths to answer the call of nature. This is more common in children. Heaps of refuse can be seen around the houses and there is no drainage system. Although a few rural latrines have been constructed by the development authorities, it has been observed that they are not very keen to use them and instead would go to the nearby forests to ease themselves. In winter, due to heavy snow-falls, people prefer to do behind their houses as it is difficult to go out far. Bath is not taken regularly and the general appearance is far from clean. Their difficulty in winter months is understandable but it is difficult for them to break away from this habit in summer. Villagers bathe when they must, generally in connection with some religious ritual. The use of soap has come up only recently, which is still not on general scale. Warm clothes are seldom washed and a new suit is put on only when the one in use is completely worn out. The result is that they are invariably infested with lice which they tolerate with philosophical indifference.

They fetch water from the springs. There are two to three perennial water springs with sufficient water. Yet most of the villagers have to carry water from a good distance. The water of the springs is quite healthy but the up-keep of the springs is not at all hygienic. The unprotected water supply carries in intestinal worms on large scale.

With the spread of education and new ideas the people are now becoming conscious of keeping themselves clean and of improving the

hygienic conditions of the village. The change is even now noticeable in the school going younger folks.

There are a lot of snakes in and around the village particularly in the rainy season. Quite a few cases of snake bite occur every year. But the local dispensary is not equipped with antisnake bite-serum. However, the snakes here do not seem to be very poisonous since it is seldom that a case of snake bite dies. For the present the villagers employ local snake-bite cures like calling a person who can cure by the power of certain mantras. It has been confirmed by the villagers that such a cure is effective more often than not.

Education

Literacy has been defined as the ability to read and write a simple letter. According to this criterion, the village can claim 146 literate and educated persons. This works out to a literacy of 13 per cent. 33 persons, 28 males and 5 females have completed primary or basic education, while the number of matriculates is 14 males and 2 females. Intermediates are 3 females. Graduates and others are 5. Most of the educated persons are the government employees while those, who are just literates, are mainly the villagers. On the whole, the education conditions are not satisfactory but the villagers are gradually realising the importance or getting higher education. One boy from the village is studying in Government College, Rampur.

There is a middle school in the village, which till recently was a primary school. It was raised to the middle standard in the year 1960. The primary school was established by the erstwhile Bushahr State in the year 2003 Vikram Samvat. It is a co-educational institution. The number of students in 1961 was—

Total Strength	...	...	... 130
Girl Students	...	...	... 10

One trained graduate, one lady trained graduate, one O.T., 3 basic trained and one basic trained lady teacher have been provided for this institution.

No good playground exists but the students have, however, constructed a small playground with their own voluntary labour where they now play games like volley-ball, ring or other minor games. At present there is no physical training instructor, N.C.C. or A.C.C. facilities are also not available to the students.

The games played by the students are volley-ball, doz-ball, kabaddi, kho-kho, ring and hide and seek. The students have not so far taken part in any of the district or State tournaments. Other extra-curricular activities of the institution include a student's dramatic club which stages minor plays at different times of the year like Independence or Republic day. In *bal-sabha*, the students learn to debate and to deliver speeches.

School library contains 617 Hindi and 27 English books but no magazine or a daily paper is subscribed. The school is housed in a three-roomed building and most of the classes are held in open, thus the problem of accommodation is acute. Science laboratory has no apparatus but it was expected shortly.

For the students who come from distant villages no hostel facility is available and this causes inconvenience to them.

A number of local games are also played by the children just like shimtannu (playing with bow and arrow), *tungti* in which the children hop in a row, *chutigame* which is a game played with five round pebbles or *chulli* nuts. These are thrown up and balanced on the back of the hand. *Prashmi* or wrestling is the favourite of the male children whereas *jhulla* is enjoyed by all as elsewhere in India. The children play with *sharkum* (*gulel*), to scare away monkeys and birds and *kulda* (*sling*) used for throwing stones at a distance.

Literacy

Age Groups	Total Population			Illiterate		Literate without educational standard		Primary or Basic		Matric or Higher Secondary		Intermediate		Graduates		Post-graduates		Diploma Holders	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
All Ages	1,166	573	593	445	575	80	10	28	5	14	2	3	..	..	1	1	..	2	..
0 to 14 years	420	217	203	142	192	59	8	15	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15 to 34 years	395	180	215	143	209	15	1	11	2	7	2	3	..	..	1	..	..	2	..
35 to 59 years	270	137	133	122	132	5	1	2	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
60 and Over	81	39	42	38	42	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Community Development

Prior to the formation of the new Kinnaur District, Nachar was a part of Rampur Tehsil, Mahasu District, It was in the jurisdiction of Rampur Development Block. With the formation of Kinnaur District, a new development block with headquarters at Nachar was formed to cover the entire sub-division. Now the sub-divisional officer is the Block Development Officer.

Since the establishment of the new block villagers feel that some efforts have been made to improve their lot. But it is also the common feeling among them that the officials posted to serve them should be more courteous and sympathetic. They say that often the development officials tend to show a sense of superiority while dealing with them. The poorer section of the population has much of this complaint, since they feel more or less neglected. This tendency may perhaps give rise to lop-sided development.

What is needed is sympathetic understanding of the problems and aspirations of all the classes particularly of the poorer ones. Mere laying of some water pipe lines and free distribution of some fertilisers cannot have a far reaching effect. Persistent efforts to educate the people and to make them socially enlightened are necessary for them, who for centuries have been the victims of superstitions and ignorance. No doubt the officials have to face the staunch orthodoxy and age old traditions for which an imaginative policy and drive are required. If the white collar attitude persists the results would only be superficial and the basic problems are likely to remain the same.

What is more conspicuous is the lack of educative publicity. Most of the people remain ignorant about the various schemes sponsored by the government to improve their lot. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that soon a more realistic policy would be adopted.

Panchayats

There has been no regular caste or community Panchayats in the village even prior to coming into existence the present Gram and Nayaya Panchayats. However, the minor day to day disputes used to be settled by the village elders commonly acceptable to both the disputing parties. Since regular Panchayats have now been constituted, the following is the information with regard to them.

Gram Panchayat

The Paunda Gram Panchayat covered the village in 1961. The headquarter was located at Paunda at a distance of about five miles, in a rented building. Besides Nachar it covered a number of adjacent villages.

Total membership	25
Scheduled Castes' reserved seats	5
Women's seats	4

The Panchayat came into existence on the 15th July, 1955. The Panchayat elections are held every three years and the sitting members are eligible for fresh election. The Secretary of the Panchayat is paid a fixed monthly salary of Rs. 50. The President and the Vice-president are honorary office holders.

Gram Panchayat usually helps in bringing about *samjhota* (reconciliation or compromise in simple disputes), *shramdan* contributions in developmental activities, construction of roads, paths, *kuhls,* bowlies, repair of paths, street-lighting, cleanliness of the villages, construction of latrines and urinals, and recommendation for allotment of *nautor* land.

There is a small library of the Panchayat having 251 books, which were supplied by the Panchayat department. These books are issued to the residents of the Panchayat circle without any security or fee. So far only twenty books have been loaned.

Four community listening sets have been supplied to this Panchayat, out of these one each has been installed in the villages of Kangos, Bari, Sungara and Nachar. Two batteries for each set are supplied in a year by the Public Relations Department. A radio-mechanic looks after these sets.

Since its coming into being 111 *samjhotas* (reconciliation) cases were referred to this Panchayat uptil September, 1961 out of which only four had to be forwarded to the Nayaya Panchayat and the rest were reconciled here. Eleven cases for allotment of *nautor* land have so far been referred to it by the tehsil for scrutiny and recommendation.

For *shramdan* purposes, the Panchayat has been supplied with 69 implements which include *jhabals,* trolleys, *belchas,* axes and *taslas.*

PANCHAYAT AND THE DEVELOPMENT WORK

The following development activities were carried out during the last few years in the village. *Shramdan* was contributed by the Panchayat.

(a) Construction of ten rural latrines:—

	Rs.
(*i*) Government share	438·00
(*ii*) Public share in shape of *shramdan*	146·00

(b) Construction of school building:—

	Rs.
(*i*) Government share	30,840·00
(*ii*) Public share in the shape of *shramdan*	Nil

There is a scheme for the construction of pipe lines at Nagani and Garade to be undertaken shortly.

Nayaya Panchayat

Nayaya Panchayat, Paunda covers the village of Nachar too. It's office was in the same building in which the Gram Panchayat was having its office.

Total membership—15.

Seat reserved for Scheduled-caste—1.

No seat has been reserved for women.

The villages covered by the Gram Panchayat, are also covered by it. The Nayaya Panchayat is empowered to try civil suits to the value of Rs. 100. Besides this, it has also been empowered to try criminal cases of petty nature and the cases under the Trespassing of Cattle Act.

Criminal cases tried and disposed of by this Panchayat are:—

Section of Offence	No. of cases
Section 488 Cr. P.C.	4
Section 504 I.P.C.	2
Section 948 I.P.C.	1
Section 290 I.P.C.	1
Section 174 I.P.C.	1

Ten civil cases were tried so far. The total sum recovered in the shape of various fines is Rs. 110 whereas the sum received in term of fee up to September, 1961, is Rs. 27.32. The money thus obtained is deposited in the government treasury which is ultimately transferred to the Gram Panchayat.

However, it has come to notice that at the time of writing the monograph, a separate Panchayat with its headquarters in Nachar has now been constituted.

Case studies of some Disputes

We give here a few illustrations of the types of cases dealt with by the Nayaya Panchayat.

Case No. 1

Shyampoti Vs. Seeng Ram,

Village Chaura.

Case filed in Nayaya Panchayat on 7th August 1959 under Section 488 Cr.P.C.

Summary of the Complaint—I was married to Parma Nand and as a result of this marriage I had one son and a daughter. Later on he brought another wife. Since the advent of the second wife, he has started neglecting me completely. I do not get enough food and clothing and he is even compelling me to leave his house. I, therefore, pray that he may be asked to give me a maintenance allowance.

Statement of Seeng Ram—While agreeing that Shyampoti is my wife, I am not inclined to give the maintenance allowance. I can, however, give her a house and some land.

Statement of Shyampoti—Seeng Ram is my husband I will not be satisfied unless he assures me of security of my food and clothing.

Decision—Bench No. 1 of this Nayaya Panchayat has heard this case and come to the conclusion that the complaint is correct. Under Section 488 Cr.P.C. this bench, therefore, orders that the following items be supplied to Shyampoti regularly:—

Wheat or rice	10 seers per month.
Millets	20 seers per month.
Pulses	2 seers per month.
Salt	1 seer per month.
Oil	1 Bottle.
Warm clothes	1 set yearly.
Utensils	Enough for one family.
House for her to live.	

Decided on the 20th day of August, 1959 unanimously.

Case No. 2

Chander Sain S/o Mangal Das, Village Bari.

Ram Rath and Gau Chand S/o Lachhu, Village Bari.

Summary of the Complaint—On the 8th Asauj, 2016, I was ploughing my fields. The accused came there, abused me and threatened to beat me. Report submitted to the Panchayat on the 11th June, 1960.

Statement of Chander Sain—I went to Krisko to plough my fields there on the 8th Asauj, 2016. Both of the accused were also ploughing the adjoining field. I objected to their having ploughed beyond the boundary. At this the accused used abusive and provocative language and threatened to beat me. He called me a thief. Malpuri wife of Nakle was present on the spot at that time.

Statement of Malpuri w/o Nakle—I went to work in the fields of Chander Sain in Krisko but I forgot the exact date now. Ram Rath and Gau Chand were also ploughing the adjacent field. Chander Sain told them that they have ploughed beyond their boundary. As a result of this, they began to quarrel. Ram Rath used abusive language and called him a thief. Chander Sain in his turn called them thieves and abused.

Statement of Ram Rath—I was ploughing my fields on 8th Asauj, 2016. Chander Sain came there and began to quarrel and called me a monkey. But we never came to blows. In the end, he called me a thief.

Statement of Gau Chand—While I was working in my field in Krisko, Chander Sain came to plough his fields. Immediately on arrival, he accused me of having ploughed a few yards of his land. I did not abuse him nor threatened to beat him. Though he never filed a case against me in Samjhota Samiti of Gram-Panchayat, he has come up before the Nayaya Panchayat now. His contention is totally wrong and baseless.

Decision—Bench No. 1 of this Nayaya Panchayat has heard this case on the 26th May, 1960. From the statements and witnesses, it is clear that Ram Rath abused the complainant. But the case against Gau Chand could not be proved. This bench, therefore, unanimously decides that while Gau Chand is absolved of the charges, Ram Rath s/o Lachhu is fined Rs. 20 under Section 504 of I.P.C. Since Chander Sain also used offensive language, which is clear from the statement of his own witness Malpuri, he is also fined Rs. 5 under Section 504 of I.P.C.

Later the accused decided to appeal against the decision of the Panchayat in the court of the Magistrate 1st Class, Nachar.

Date of institution	26-6-1961
Case No.	1/61.
Date of Decision	4-8-1961

Ram Rath s/o Lachhu, Village Bari, Pargana 18/20, Tehsil Nachar, District Kinnaur (Petitioner).

Vs.

The Union of India and Judicial Panchayat, Ponda, *Kinnaur District.*

Revision petition against judgement of Judicial Panchayat, Ponda sentencing the petitioner to the fine of Rs. 20 under Section 504 I.P.C.

Order—Ram Rath petitioner is present. The records of the Panchayat file case No. 6 of 1960 of the Ponda Nayaya Panchayat was studied. The revision petition by Ram Rath is against order of the said Nayaya Panchayat convicting him to pay a fine of Rs. 20 under Section 504 I.P.C. The facts of the case being that on 8th Asauj Samvat 2016, Chander Sain and Ram Rath with Gau Chand were ploughing their adjoining fields. Chander Sain objected to their having ploughed beyond the boundary and the altercation between Chander Sain and Ram Rath followed as a result of the same. Chander Sain filed complaint with the Nayaya Panchayat under Section 504 I.P.C. and the learned Panches of the Panchayat convicted the petitioner to pay a fine of Rs. 20 and the complainant Rs. 5 on the testimony of a solitary witness Malpuri who stated that both the parties abused each other and called each other thieves. What appears from the statement of Malpuri is that there was just a *'jhagra'* on the boundary and each called the other a thief. But there is nothing on the record as to the consequential provocation as a result of the insult inflicted. In the absence of this most essential ingredient of the offence nothing is established. In view of this, I quash the finding of the learned Nayaya Panchayat and accept the revision. The petitioner (accused) Ram Rath is acquitted of the sentence passed against him.

The records of the case be consigned. Announced on 4-8-1961.

Cooperative Movement

The Nachar Cooperative Multi-purpose Society Ltd., Nachar was registered on the 1st June, 1953 with total share capital of Rs. 2,210. Share value was fixed to be Rs. 10 for one share. Sometimes later a foul-play was suspected and a case was forwarded to the Registrar, Cooperative Societies, Himachal Pradesh regarding the dispute that had arisen amongst the share-holders and the Managing Committee.

An arbitrator was appointed, who announced an award of Rs. 6,107.19 which excludes the arbitration expenses and the interest against the Managing Committee and the salesman. The total, amounted to Rs. 7,658.

Finally the Senior Sub-Judge, Mahasu and Kinnaur District was moved for the execution of the award. Till the year 1961, only Rs. 970.27 could be recovered from the salesman, one of the adjudged debtor. The shareholders are now waiting for the full execution of the award. After that the society is expected to be revived. This to some extent has shaken the faith of the people in Cooperative Movement here.

The Cooperative Movement in Nachar at present may be considered as almost dead. Its arrival would need an imaginative and educative policy which should be devoid of vested interests.

This feeling was 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 short-falls, of the movement. It is a result of one such study in fact that we now know that, in spite of the so called remarkable growth of credit cooperative throughout the country, their 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".

5. Conclusion

The detailed study of the village given in the proceeding chapters would show that it cannot now be regarded as a remote village. The new Hindustan Tibet Road passes along the left bank of river Sutlej at a distance of only 3 miles from the village. The old Hindustan Tibet Road which passes through the village itself may be shortly made jeepable. This has given a sense of nearness to other places to the villagers and as a result of opening up of the means of communications, it was but natural that the people should have experienced many changes. Previously they were land-locked and only those who had to go out on yearly migration or those feeling inclined to take part in the annual Lavi Fair at Rampur could go out and bring tidings of what was happening about. This second hand information was not easily digested by all. But now with the linking up of the village with the outside world and with the posting of so many Government employees from outside in the village itself, matters have changed. They now have first hand knowledge of the changes that are going on around them. With the setting up of Sub-Divisional Offices in the village itself, it has acquired the status of a sort of Headquarter for the villages that fall within this Sub-Division and add to its importance. As a result of this some Govt. buildings have been constructed and a new colony of pre-fab aluminium huts has sprung up at one corner of the village. Kitchen gardens attached thereto have encouraged the villagers to grow their own vegetables. Rural India is proverbially orthodox, it will take yet little more time when the full impact of the change is borne out by the change in the habits of the people. At present the village depicts more of what it was in the past. No doubt, the mode of the life of the people has to some extent undergone changes; they try to look cleaner and also send their children to school, but still they cannot so easily break away from old habits and old traditions which they have been following for so many past centuries.

In some cases the simple folks find it hard to reconcile with the present day world. They have so long been led by nose by the presiding deity of the village—Ukha or Usha—that it is hard to believe that diseases can be cured by medicines rather than by the blessing of the Devi. Their beliefs and superstitions and their dependence on the oracle of the Devi are bound to change as education spreads.

Thus in spite of its static outlook the change is there though it is slow and imperceptive. The life is no longer self-contained. More and more things are available at village shops and quite a few gather at the tea shop to gossip and exchange views. They are eager to avail of the opportunities only if they could get better guidance from the quarters concerned. But the transformation of once remote, inaccessible village into a dynamic one should not and cannot be expected to be quick one. It is a slow process, more so when the economic condition of the people is not happy.

In the matter of material habits, the youngsters are slowly discarding their traditional dress and going in for new cut-clothes. The school going girls have taken to Salwar and Kameez. It may be that the new type of dress is attractive to them or perhaps the old type of dress consumes too much of woollens which they cannot, due to short supply of raw wool, now afford. Whatever may be the causes, the change is there and it is apprehended that as time passes by, the old traditional beautiful dress which was so convenient to them and comfortable for the raw climate may completely go out of fashion.

But this appear to be inevitable as in the silent conflict between the old and the new ways of life, it is always the old one that gives place to the new one. More and more people are taking to sugar instead of honey or gur. Similarly, the torch wood splinters i.e., Jeokthis have been replaced by kerosene oil lamps. They are eargerly awaiting for the advent of electric age when their ways of life, will be further revolutionised. In the matter of diet also, new grounds have been broken and foodgrains which were not grown in the area are readily available on subsidised rates and only a few who tenaciously stick fast to their old mode of life may be found liking traditional dishes of chulphant in preference to wheat or maize bread.

Their economy has though remained stagnant inspite of the fact that some new modes of earning of livelihood have been thrown open to them. So unless the area develops into a fruit growing area, the economy of people is not likely to improve much. No doubt, they have been able to manage their matters so far, but it is doubtful if in future their lean pockets could bear burden of added expenditure unless more means of income are thrown open to them. The Block Development authorities and Agriculture Department are doing their best to induce them to plant more and more fruit trees. But it takes time and during that period it is for the villagers how best to manage their affairs with the meagre local produce of their fields or with some little income they can derive from manual labour. The pace of change is bound to accelerate when their fruit trees start yielding income. We should therefore expect a bright future for the village and its people.

The institutions of Panchayats have developed in them a sense of responsibility and they feel that they can manage their own affairs at the village level. The study of the village Panchayats reveals that it has not become an arena of internal fields. These unsophisticated simple people, try to work the Panchayat in the spirit it is intended to be worked and not for grinding anybody's personal axe. It is a matter for gratification that as compared to other areas where vested interest have come to play an important part in the Panchayats, these simple folks have so far tried to act honestly. It is further to be seen how long they could keep on the right track.

The village at present reflects a curious mixture of old and new ways of life and perhaps it was a very appropriate time when the present Socio-economic survey was undertaken. In another decade or so, the fast growing winds of change are expected to completely engulf the village and nobody will ever be able to imagine that Nachar or Nalche as it is commonly called, was once considered to be very remote. With its salubrious climate and beautiful surroundings, it is no wonder that in the near future the village may become a tourist spot for those who wish to enjoy the grandeur of the inner Himalayas.

APPENDIX J

Flora

Abies Pindrow—A large evergreen tree with a narrow cylindrical crown of very dark foliage, branches whorled, bark smooth on young stems, dark-grey rough with deep vertical furrows on old steams, branch-lets quite glabrous. Flowers monoecious.

Aesculus Indica—A large deciduous tree, bark peeling off upwards in narrow strips, young shoots minutely pubescent or tomentose. Fruit, a capsule one to two inches long, ovoid, not echinate, containing one to three seeds. Himalayan horse-chestnut.

Alnus Nepalensis—A deciduous tree, young twigs usually pubescent. Nut with a narrow membranous wing.

Betula Utilis (Bhoj-patra)—A small deciduous tree or shrub, bark white with conspicuous long horizontal lenticles the inner layers pink, peeling off in large pepery layers; twigs dotted with yellow resinous drops; young shoots; petioles and leaves silky soon-becoming glabrous. Fruiting spikes not exceeding 1.5 inches long; bracts deeply three-lobbed lobes linear oblong, fruit narrower than the bracts, the wings narrower than the nut.

Berberis Chitria—Almost deciduous, 8 to 10 feet high, twigs red or dark reddish-brown, finely pubescent, spines usually simple towards the ends of flowering shoots. Flowers often tinged with red. Fruit oblong ovoid, narrowed at both ends.

Castanea Sativa—A medium-sized deciduous tree. Fruit up to three inches diameter consisting of the densely dpinous involucre which splits into two to four valves and contains one to three chest-nuts. Sweet chestnut.

Cedrus Deodara (Deodar)—A large evergreen tree, branches not whorled, the leading shoot and tips of the branches usually dropping; bark dark, sometimes almost black, usually very rough on old stems, sometimes only slightly furrowed. Shoots dimorphie, long shoots with the needles solitary and arranged spirally and dwarf shoots with the needles arranged in dense whorls. Flowers usually monoecious but some trees or branches habitually bear flowers of one sex.

Corylus Colurna—A small or medium-sized deciduous tree, bark dark-grey, thin. Flowers monoecious, appearing before the leaves. Fruit, a one-seeded nut, sheathed by the much enlarged lobed and toothed gladular hairy bracteole and supported by large lacinate bracts, the nuts usually in clusters.

Cotoneaster Microphylla—A low or prostrate rigid much-branched evergreen shrub, young twigs sparsely hair becoming glabrous and purlish brown. Flowers white usually solitary. Calyx tube and lobes densely hairy. Fruit scarlet.

Dephne Oleoides—A much-branched shrub four to eight feet high; young shoots clothed with short dense pubescence.

Desmodium Tilaefolium—A large deciduous shrub 6 to 8 feet high and two inches diameter at the base, bark pale brown, twigs striate more or less densely pubescent.

Girardinia Heterophylla—A coarse erect herb 4 to 6 feet high, covered with large stinging hair.

Indigofera Pulchella—A deciduous shrub 4 to 6 feet high; twigs striate, more or less hairy when young.

Juglans Regia (Walnut)—A large deciduous tree, leaves and bark aromatic; bark on old stems marked by parallel vertical furrows, grey, young shoots tomentose. Fruit a drupe, two inches long, ellipsoid green, pericarp (composed in part of the calyx-tube) leathery, aromatic, nut externally distinctly two valved corresponding to the two carpels of which the ovary is composed rugose, internally incompletely divided by two coriaceous dissempiments are separating the two cotyledons the other dividing them into two lobes.

Picea Morinda—

Pinus Excelsa (Kail)—A tall tree, bark smooth, slate-coloured on young, rough with shallow fissures on old trees. Leaves in bundles of 5.4 to

8 inches longs, bluish or greyish-green, slender, dropping, sheath of bud-scales deciduous.

Plectranthus Rugosus—A gregarious shrub, usually 2 to 3 feet high, aromatic.

Prinsepia Utilis—A deciduous shrub, branches green, armed with stout axillary thorns, the youngest shoots only pubescent, thorns of the 1.5 inches long and leaf-bearing.

Populus Ciliata—A large tree, bark greenish-grey smooth on young stems, brown with deep vertical fissures on old stems, buds sticky.

Prunus Armenica—A medium sized deciduous tree, twigs glabrous, leaves convolute in bud, 2 to 3 inches by 1.5 to 2 inches broadly ovate, acuminate, crenate glandular hairy on the nerves beneath; petiole about one inch long, glandular; stipules lanceolate; glandular on the margins. Flowers pinkish at first then white, appearing before the leaves, solitary or fascicled, pedicels very short.

Prunus Persica (*Baimi*)—A large deciduous shrub or small tree, twigs glabrous. Leaves conduplicate in bud, 2.5 to 4 inches long, lanceolate, oratelanceolate or lanceolate oblong, acuminate usually hairy on the midrib beneath when young, serrate; petiole shorter than the greatest width of the leaf, glandular or not; stipules subulate, funbrate. Flowers pink, usually before sometimes with leaves sessile a shortly pedicelled mostly solitary on the previous year's wood. Stamens inserted at the mouth of the calyx-tube. Ovary and style hairy. Drupe dowry, succulent stone deeply furrowed. Peach, mostly naturalized.

Purus Pashia (*Kainth*)—A small or medium sized deciduous tree, thorny when young, twigs wooly when quite young, soon-becoming glabrous. Fruit globose depressed at the top, brown, rough with raised whitish specks, clayx-lobes ultimately completely deciduous.

Purus Communis (*Nashpati*)—A deciduous tree with more or less pyramidal branches, often spinescent. Leaves up to 2.5 inches long, without bristle-pointed teeth, shortly abruptly acuminate or acute, petiole slender. Fruit usually more pyriformo, paler in colour and smoother.

Pyrus Malus (*Apple*)—A small deciduous tree, twigs tomentose when young one year old twigs still more or less hairy. Flowers pink. Fruit globose, depressed at each end and tipped with the persistent clayx-lobes, 2 to 3 inches in diameter.

Phus Punjabensis—A small or medium-sized deciduous tree, young shoots pubescent. Leaves pinnate, 12 to 18 inches long, rachis terete, tomentose, not winged.

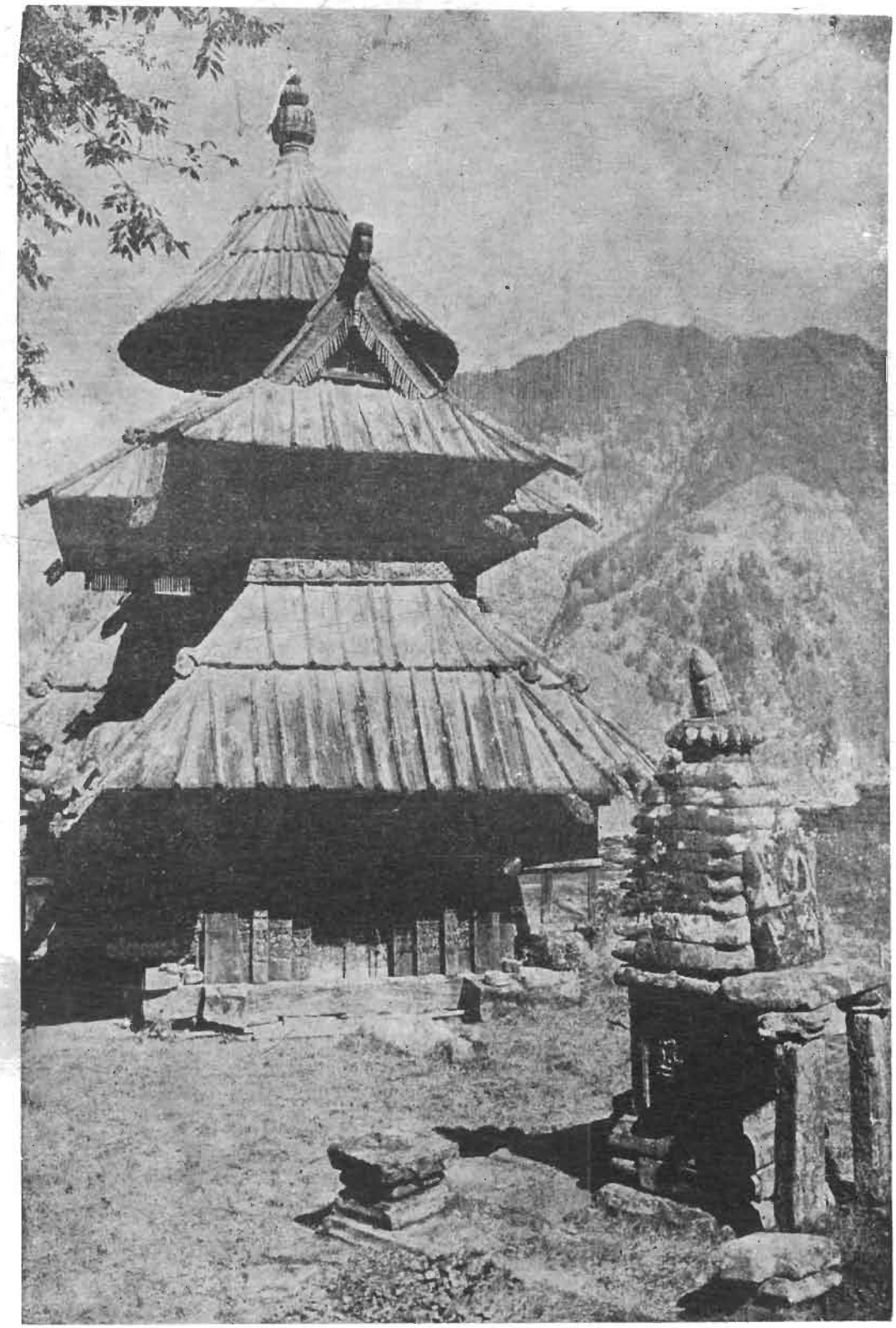
Rumed Hastatus—A small erect shrub one to three feet high; twigs herbaceous, striate.

Spirea Lindleyana—A tall deciduous shrub. Leaves pinnate.

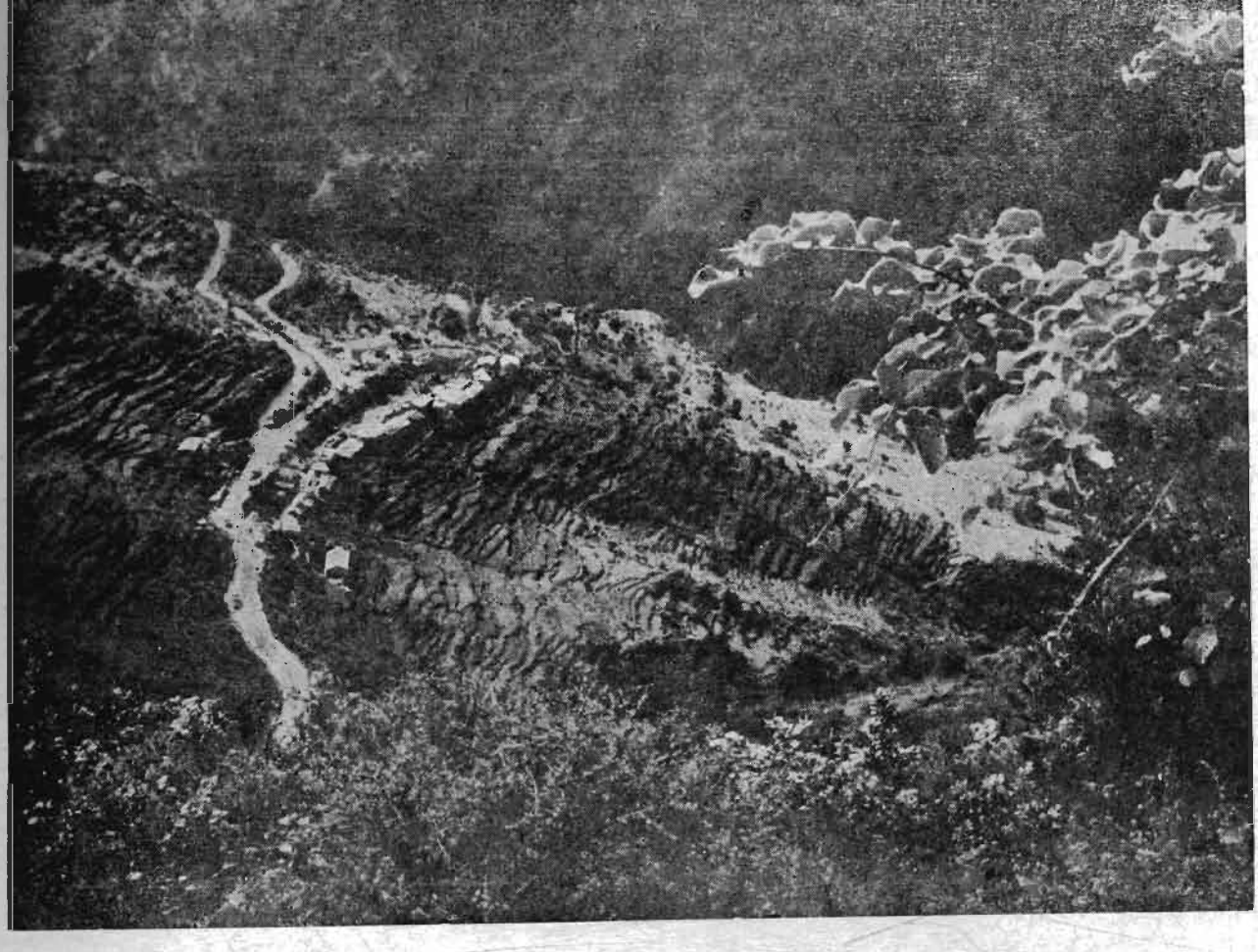
Note:—The details about the Flora have been taken from "A Forest Flora for the Punjab with Hazara and Delhi" by R. N. Parker.

L/P(D)10SCO(H.P.)—1,000—30-11-66—GIPS.

NACHAR IN PICTURES



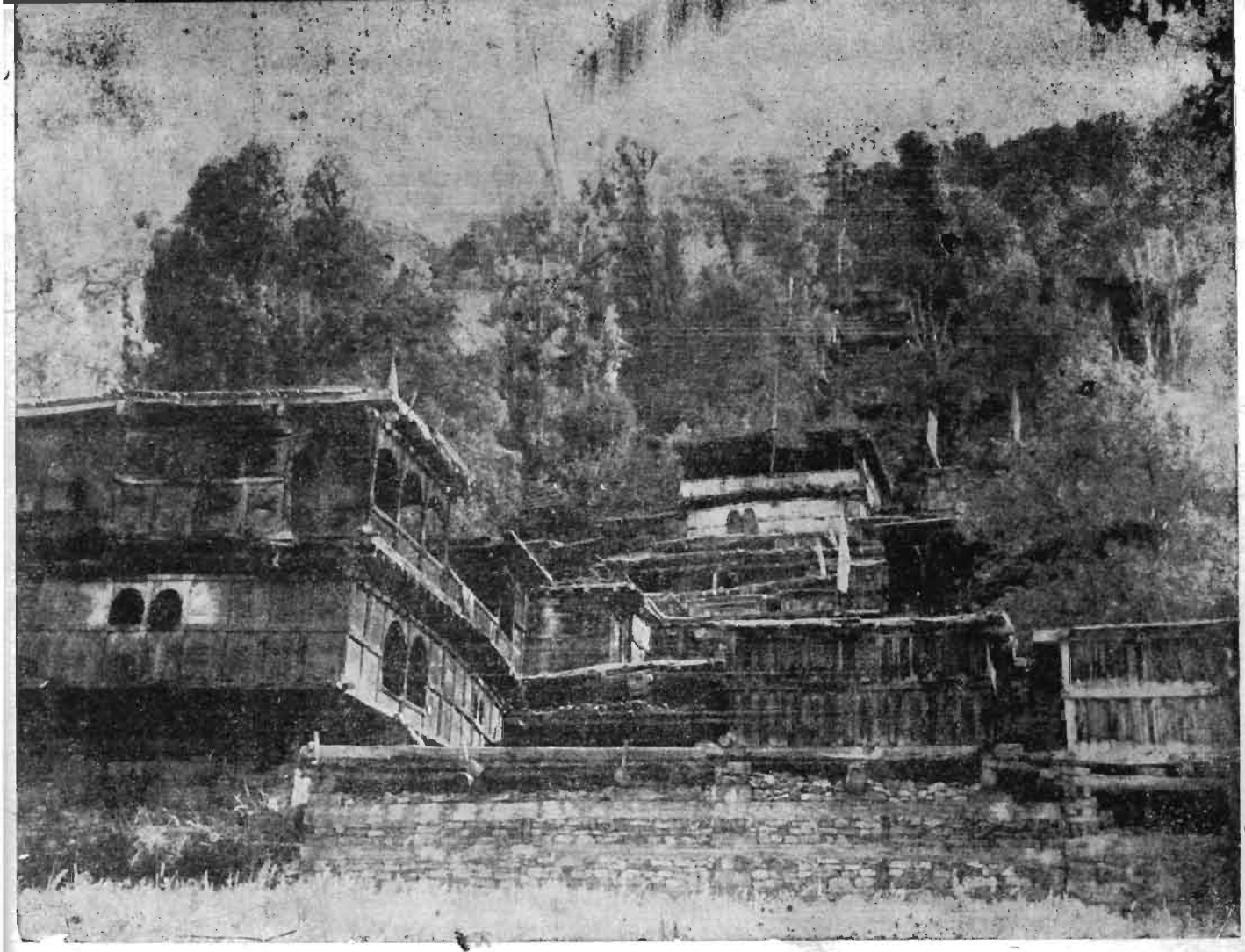
Sungra temple of Maheshu



Jeori—Once the Bus terminus for Nachar

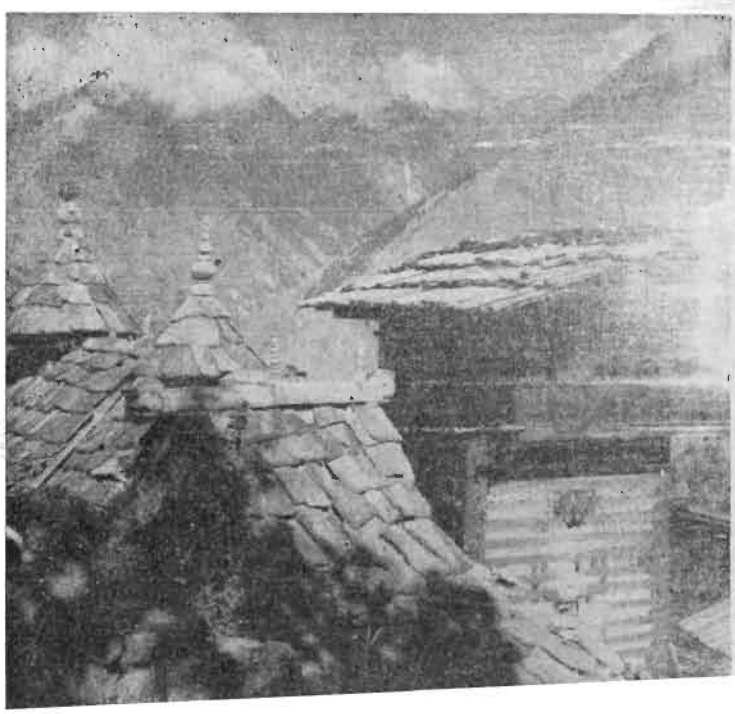
Nachar temple

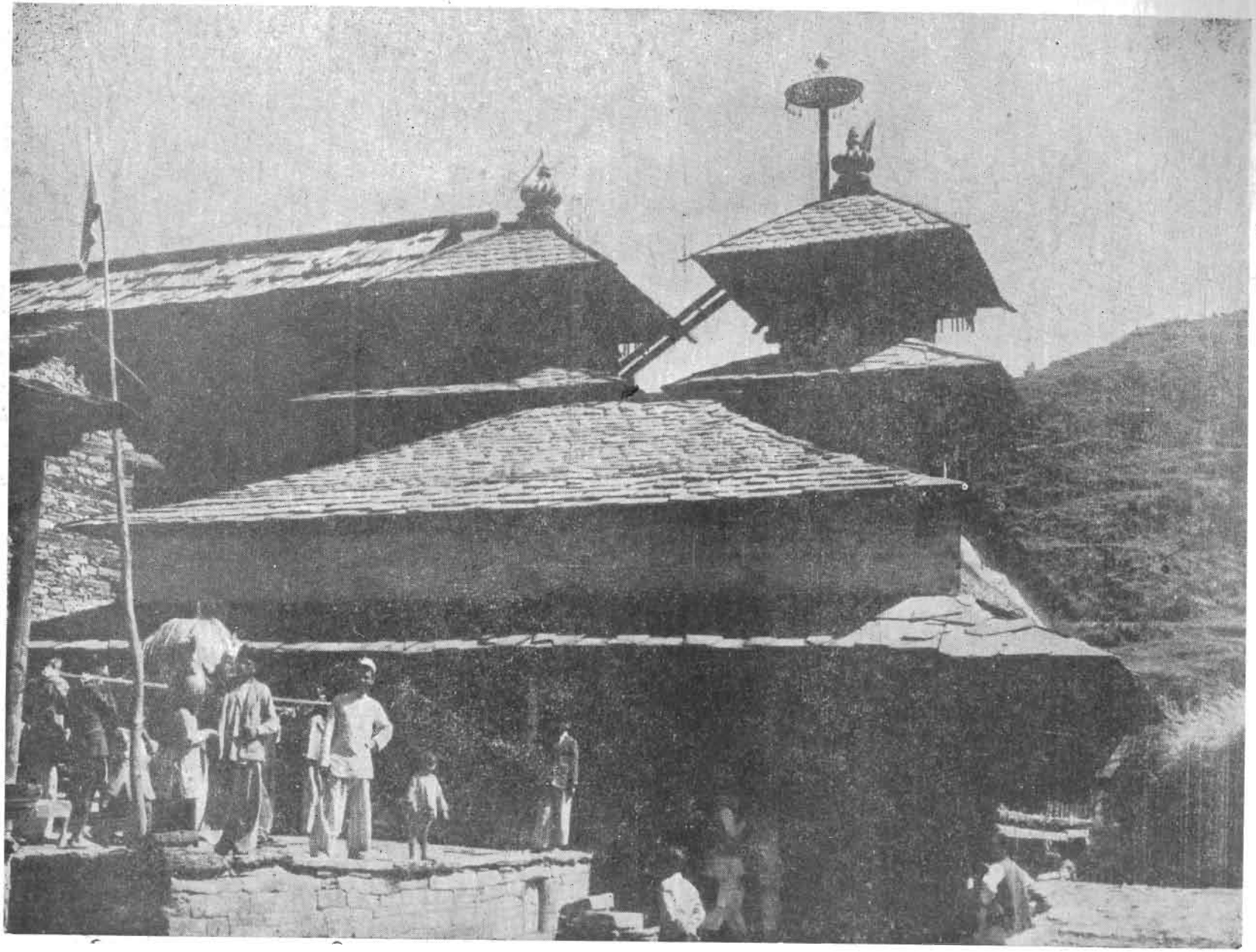




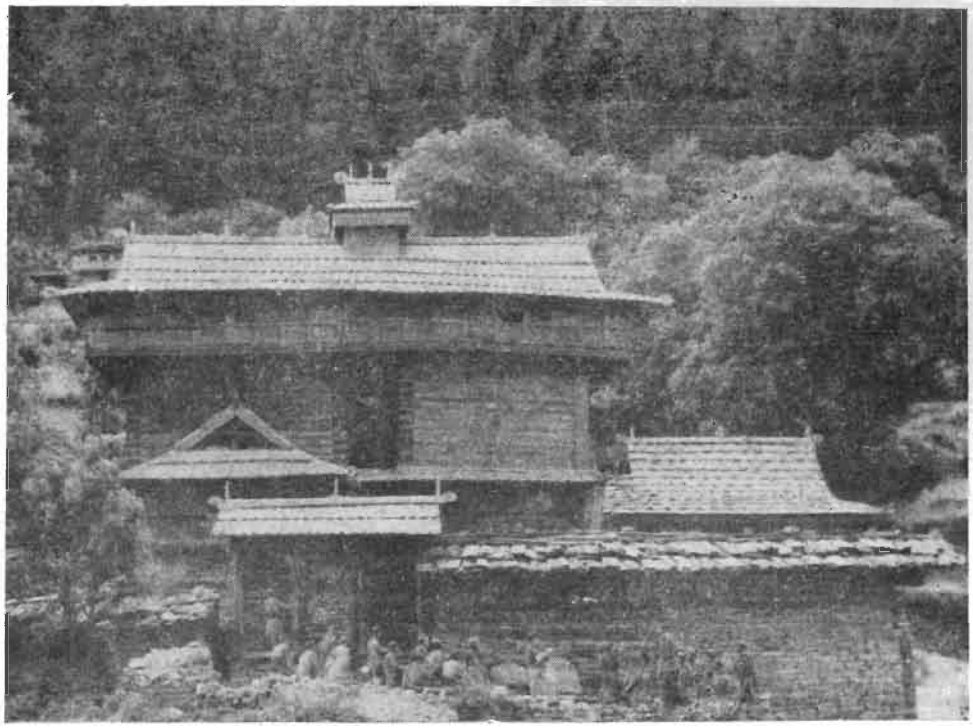
House and Kothar Sangla

Temple of Ukha Devi

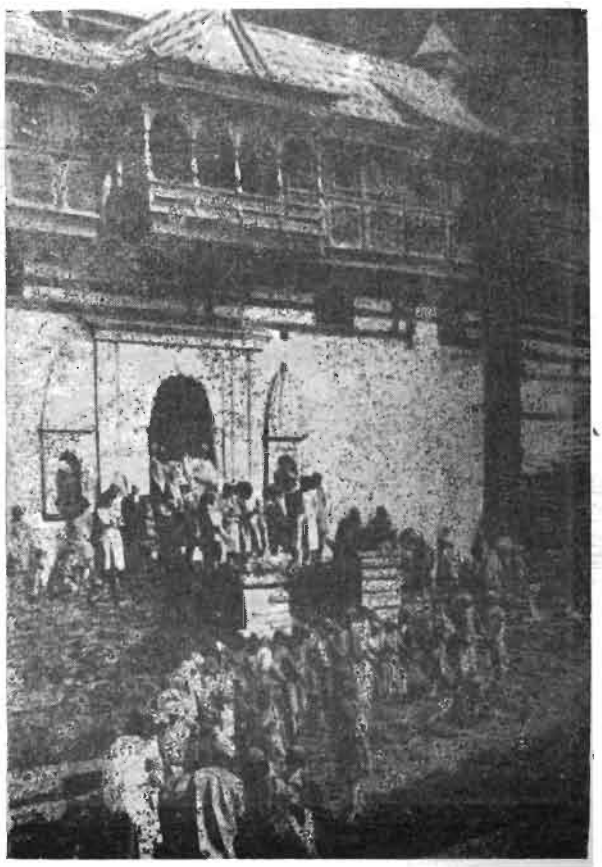




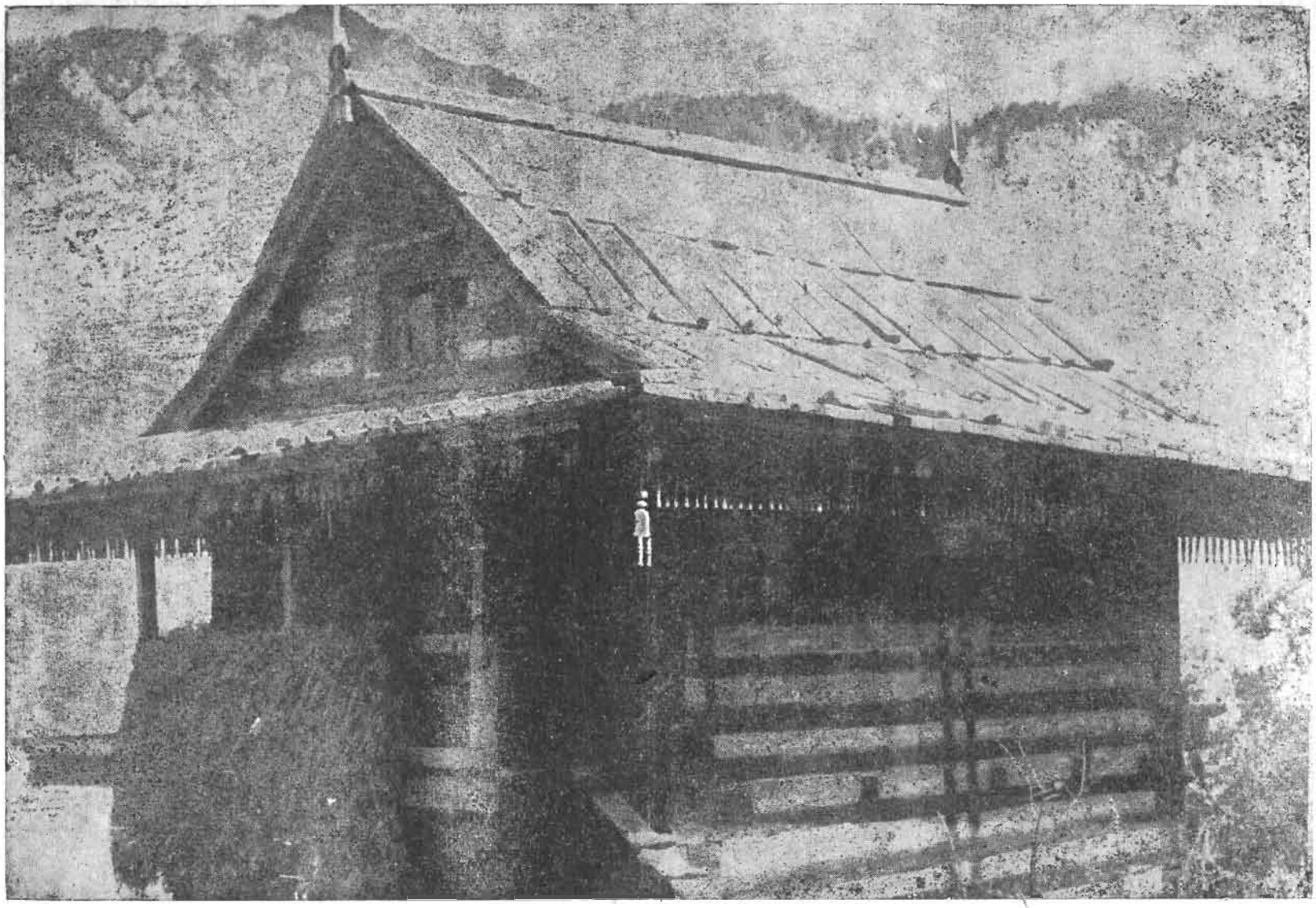
Another view of temple at Nachar



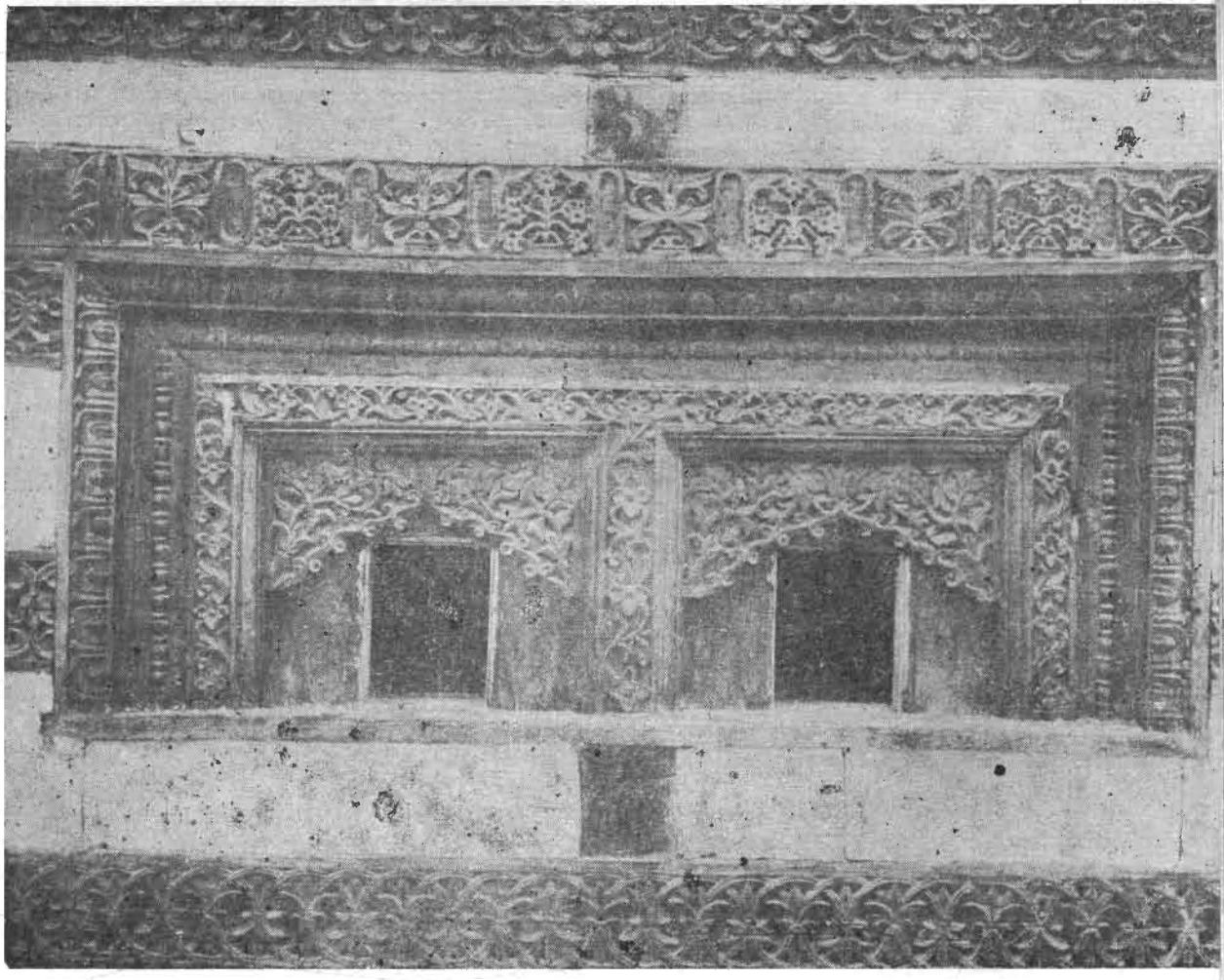
A temple in Nachar Sub-Division



Entrance to Bhimakali temple at Sarahan

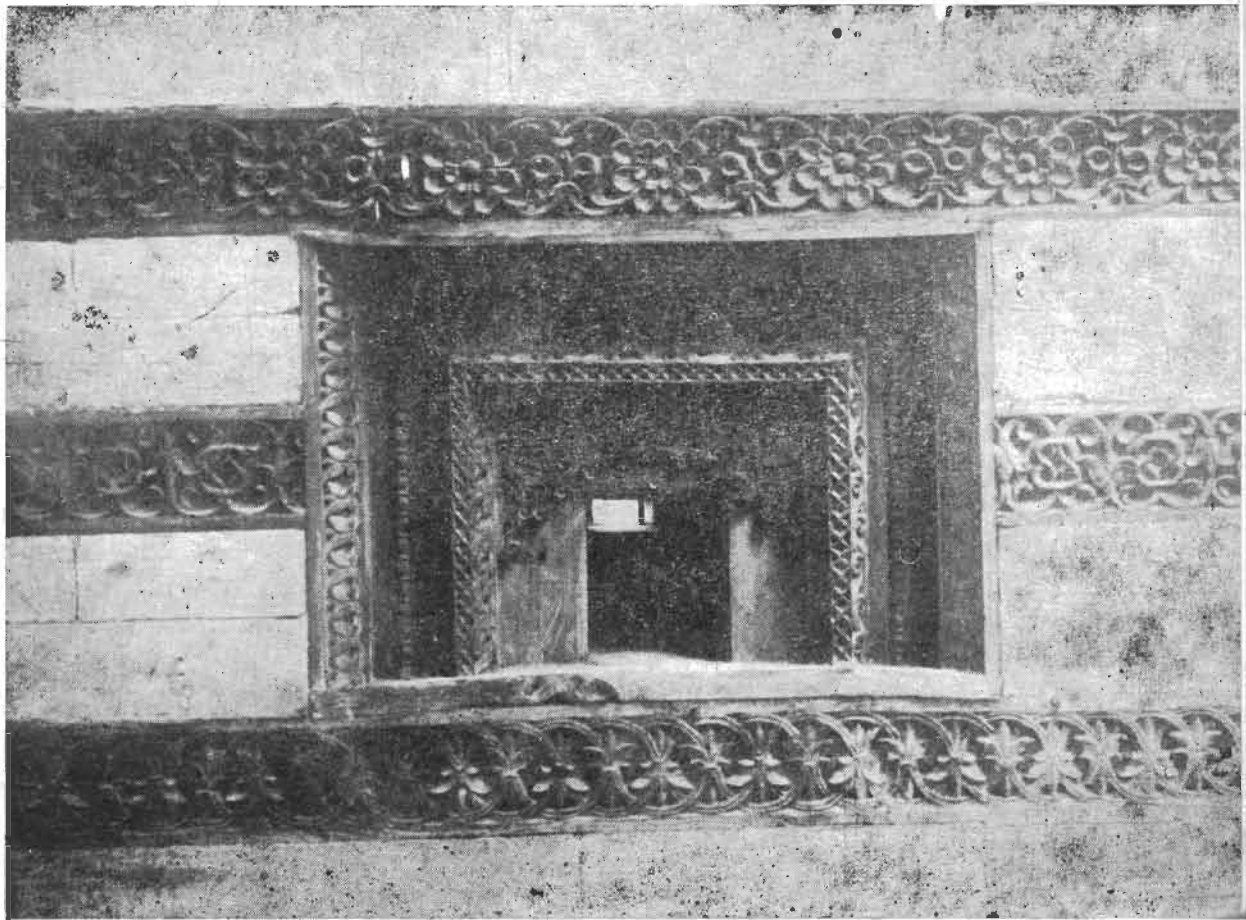


House type wooden roof, Nachar



Carved windows at Bhimakali temple, Sarahan

Wood carving on windows at Bhimakali temple Sarahan





Exquisite wood carving at Bhimakali temple





Arti *at the Bhimakali temple*

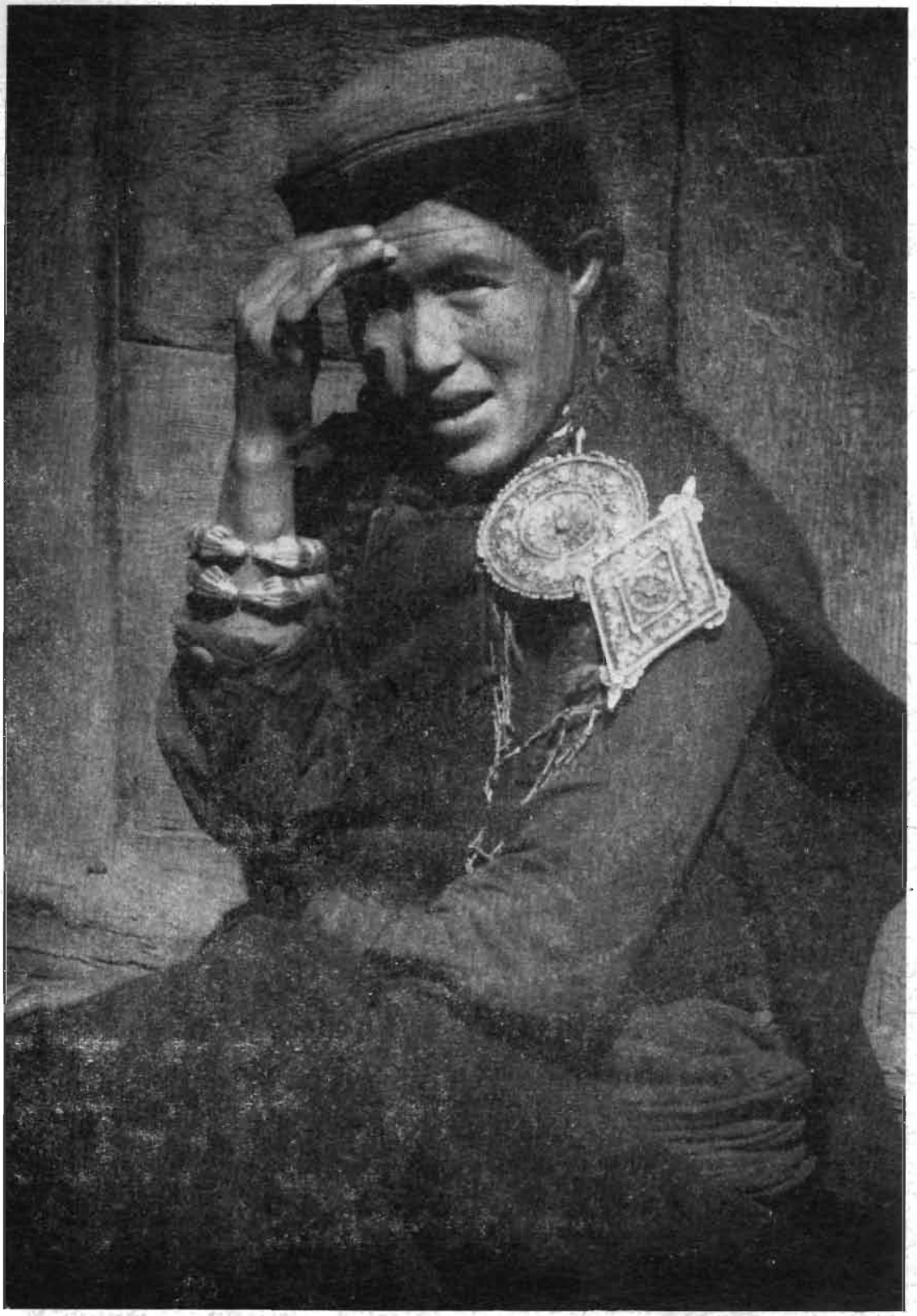


A smiling Kinnauri Damsel



At the Lavi fair at Rampur

L/P(D)10SCO(HP)



Kinnauri woman wearing typical ornaments



Mother and the child



Shearing the sheep

Extracting oil from chuli kernel





Collecting "Kodra" ears

Threshing grains





Pounding grains



Better Farming



Shepherds on the move



A smiling Kinnauri beauty



A young schoolgoing girl
L/P(D) 10 SCO (H.P.)



In the field during harvest



Winnowing



Camping during migration

Harvesting





A family group at Sangla

Two Kinnauri women



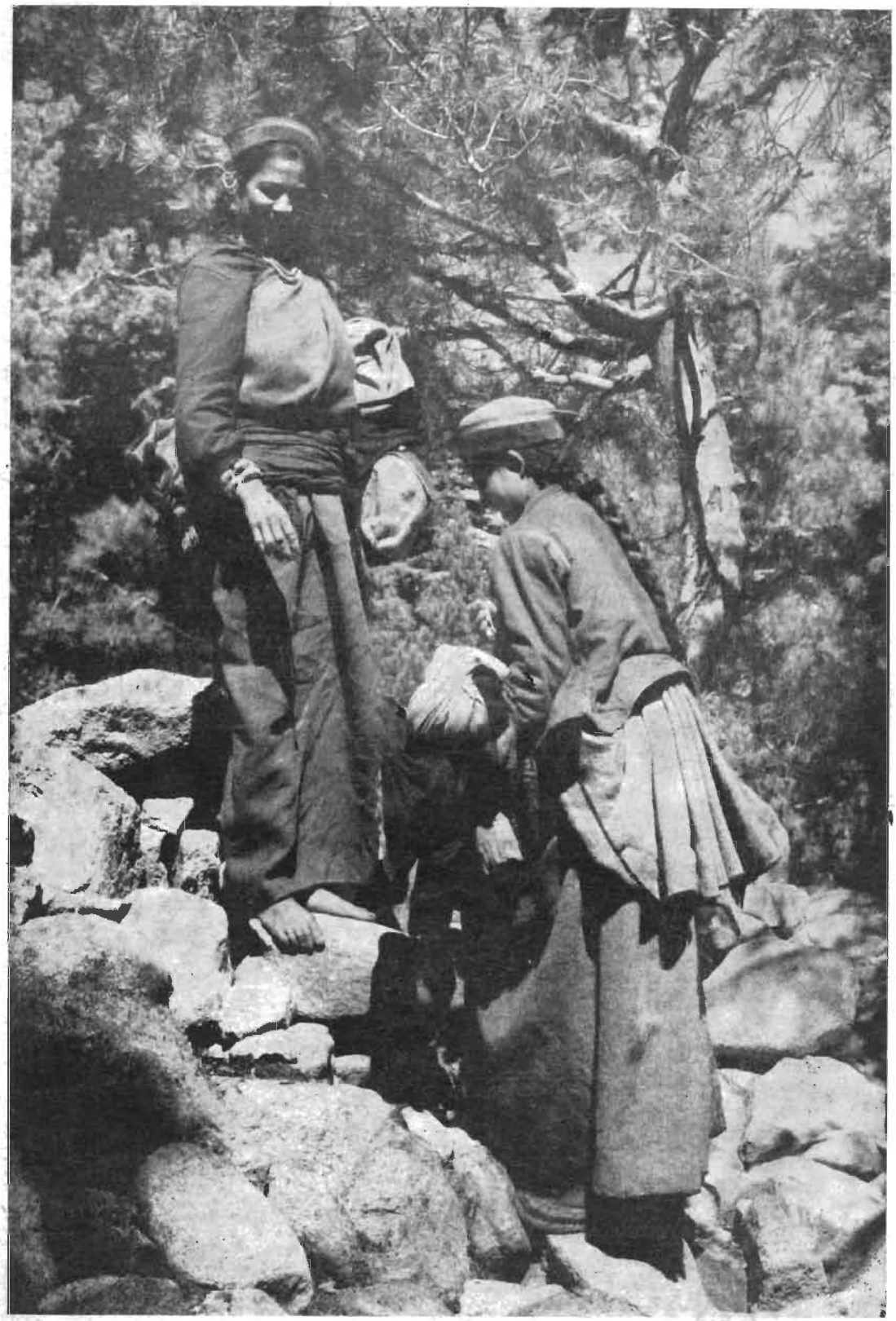


A typical hair do with zutti



The temple functionaries

L/P(D)10SCO(HP)

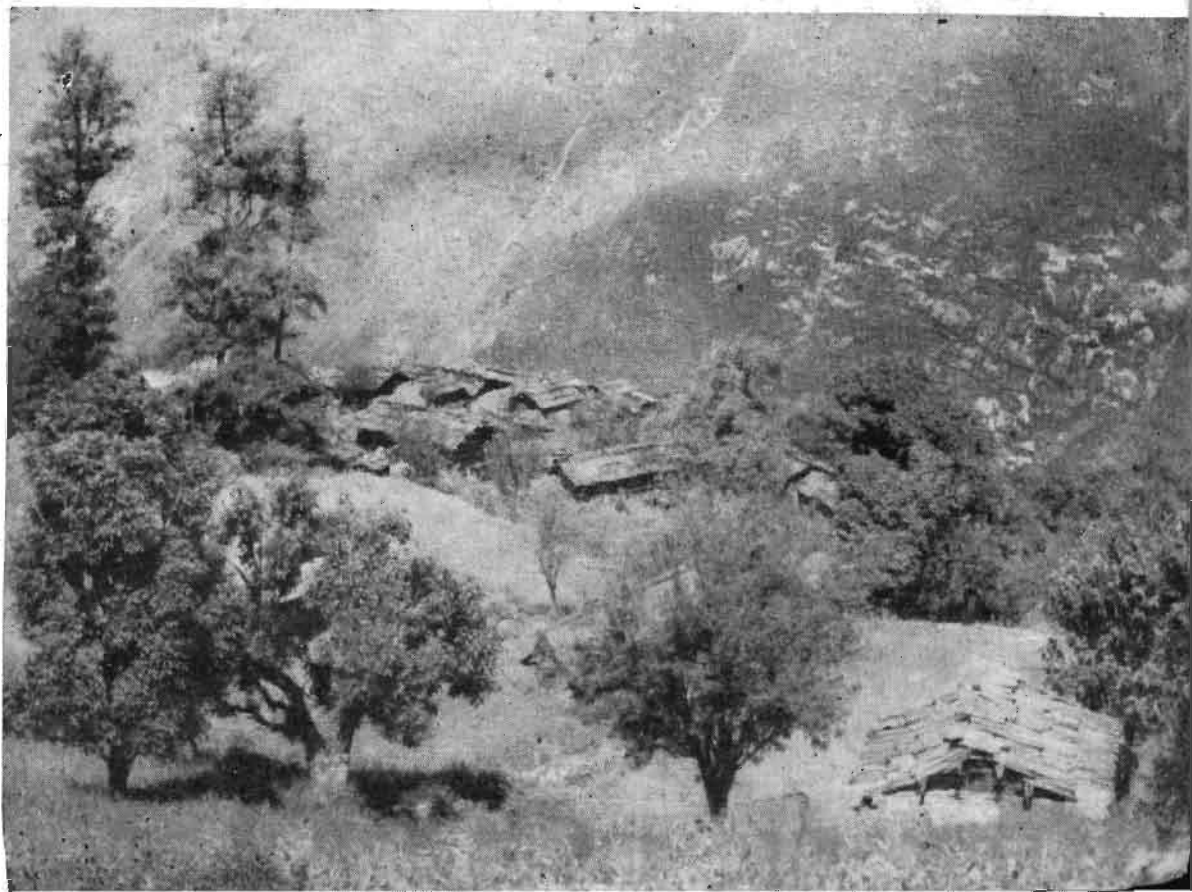


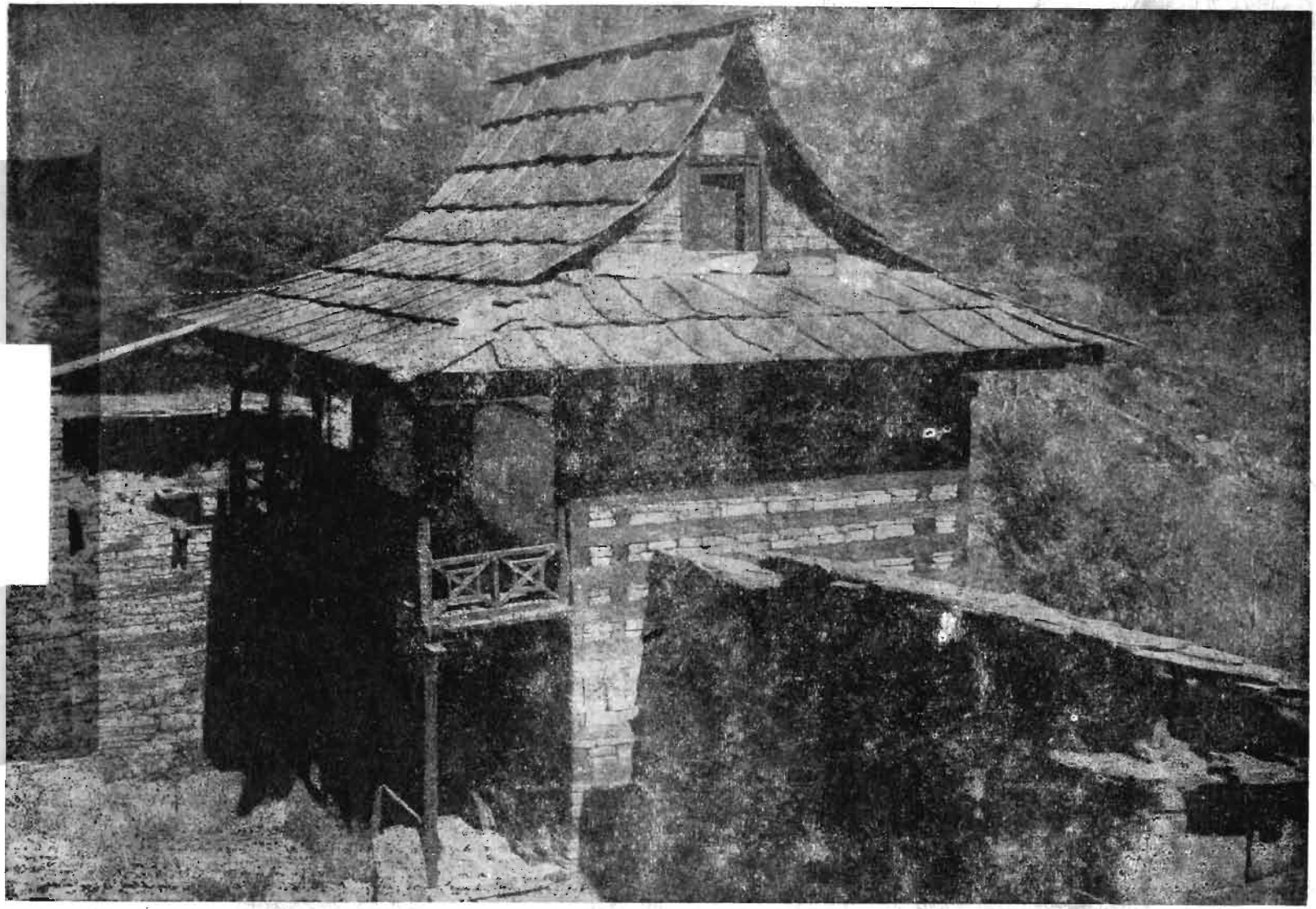
Busy doing family washing



Preparing the shuttle

Chamina settlement





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The royal residence in Kamru fort