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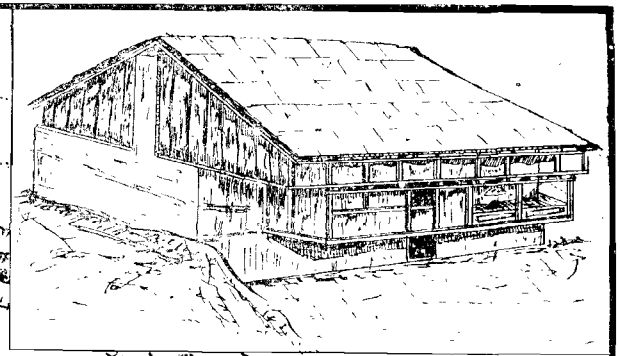
(A Study of Gaddi—Scheduled Tribe—and affiliated castes)

BY

WILLIAM H. NEWELL

GOSAN

NOTIONAL MAP



ROAD.....

FOOT PATH.....

NALLAH.....

BOWLI.....

TEMPLE.....

RAJPUT.....

REHARA.....

SIPI.....

THE SCHEDULED CASTES AND TRIBES OF THE BRAHMAUR TAHSIL OF CHAMBA DISTRICT

By WILLIAM H. NEWELL

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PREFACE

The printing of this contribution to the ethnography of Chamba is made possible by the courtesy of the Census Commissioner of Himachal Pradesh, Shri R. C. Pal Singh to whom I am greatly indebted for his kindness and courtesy during my second visit to Brahmaur in 1963. I also wish to thank the District Forest Commissioner, Shri Hem Raj who gave me information concerning the operation of the local forest office, which must always be the key government department in this area. I wish to thank various Gaddi and Brahmin informants especially Dr. B. C. Chowhan and Shri Nanak Chand with whom I lived in Goshen and to thank the villagers of Goshen, who never failed to answer my questions in spite of their totally unfounded suspicions that I was an agent of the Central Government at Delhi.

During my second visit to the area I was accompanied by a graduate student of the Department of Sociology of the University of Delhi, Shri Appa Rao, now an employee of All-India Radio. He greatly assisted me especially in creating good relations with Brahmins, and was mainly responsible for the supplementary information on Sere village. Coming from South India, he was able to see features of Sanscritic culture which I had tended to underemphasize.

Although this is an ethnographic report, I have perhaps included an excessive amount of descriptive material even when I could not completely understand the background of the information. To those readers to whom this is of no interest I would especially advise the omission of those sections dealing with the marriage ritual. It is hoped that within the next few years I will be able to write a more theoretical work dealing with some of the underlying changes in this area between 1951 and 1963 and between castes. I have accordingly not tried to reconcile discrepancies which occurred between the original description in the 1904 Chamba gazetteer and the variations between different castes in ritual. The process of conformity to an all-India pattern is proceeding apace. Another field in which change is proceeding rapidly is in respect to the pattern of inheritance which has been radically modified between 1951, when I first visited the area, and 1962 when I returned. In 1953 a (yet unpublished) Settlement was carried out. Also during this period many of the village heads had lost their power on account of age and the new village leaders were contemporaries of mine during my first visit so that I was able to treat them as equals on my return. I was thus able to notice the change in attitude between generations of those occupying the same positions.

I would have been unable to write this report without taking into consideration the general direction in which Gaddi society is moving especially with respect to caste. As a result of new opportunities for making wealth, the tendency for such groups as Rajput, Brahmin or Rana to become more caste conscious is almost inevitable and it is hoped in a subsequent publication to show that the whole of the Ravi valley is changing in accordance with a long term pattern. The effect of new opportunities is to speed up processes already present rather than to change the direction in which the Gaddis were moving. In this connection I hope the reader will carefully bear in mind that I have used the term caste not as an historical term but as an intermarrying endogamous group.

The detailed justification for this use of the word "caste" will have to wait until the census material for the whole valley has been re-assessed.

Although I first visited the Gaddis in 1951 and have subsequently undertaken field studies in Malaya and Japan, my special interest in the Gaddis has never lapsed. The reason I have hesitated so long to rush into print is my belief that we have here an extremely sensitive and religious people whose simplicity conceals an extremely deep national character. Since I have only spent a year in the field in total, I hope such shortcomings as this preliminary survey will reveal will be ascribed to the shortcomings of the ethnographer rather than to the people themselves.

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10th March, 1965

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THE GADDI AND AFFILIATED CASTES OF THE WESTERN HIMALAYAS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The Gaddi people of the Himalayas occupy an area in the Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh and along certain foothills of the Dhaula Dhar in the Kangra district of the Punjab. They frequently describe their own area as Gadaren, the land of the Gaddis or as Shivabhumi, the home of Shiva. Administratively they are principally found in the Brahmaur *tahsil* of Chamba district along both banks of the Upper Ravi river and its tributary, the Budl Nadl, but since they easily merge with the surrounding Hindu population, the boundary of the strictly Gaddi territory covers a much wider area than the Brahmaur *tahsil* and Gaddis are found in Ulansa, Lil Bilj and in some of the Kangra border villages such as Dharmsala and around Palampur. The Gaddis living in the Brahmaur *tahsil* are partly migratory and during the winter months emigrate to the plains. A small proportion of the Gaddis also look after sheep and goats and during the year those who are shepherds follow a cycle of movement from Lahul on the Sutlej through Gadaren and down to the Kangra valley. Some flocks have even been known to travel as far north as Kashmir. But whether the Gaddi farmers own flocks or not, the majority of them still vacate their villages during the winter.

There is some difficulty in defining the exact meaning of the word Gaddi as the term refers to a territorial group, to a special class of people wearing special clothes such as the *dhora,* and to an isogamous union of the castes of Rajput, Khatri, Rana, and Thakur. This makes it difficult to form a definition and in a later chapter I will deal with this question of what exactly a Gaddi is. Meanwhile I will use the term Gaddi as a territorial term to describe the residents of the Brahmaur *tahsil* and surrounding areas. For most of my field work I lived in the Brahmaur *tahsil,* so my descriptions will principally refer to that area.

Theoretically the Gaddis are of great interest as they are entirely Hindu both in origin and in their social organisation. By their own traditions they came from the Indian plains, driven thence by Muslim persecution and adjusted themselves to a life in a very different ecological situation from the plains. Their large two and three storied houses show a high degree of technical ability and much of their material culture shows a degree of originality without varying from the Hindu tradition. Their poetry and ritual modifications of the plains' Sanscritic tradition reflect their Hindu background. Their caste system, modified by their hard environment, throws a great deal of light on the fundamental nature of Indian caste. Since very few non-Gaddis have ever learnt the language competently, there is little research which has been undertaken on their social system and it is only within the last few years that there have been any Gaddis who have graduated from High School.

The northern Punjab is bounded by a range of mountains named the Dhaula Dhar which forms a natural boundary between the Kangra district of the Punjab and the Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh. It has a number of peaks going up to 17,000′ above sea level with a mean altitude of about 15,000′. From a southern aspect, the sides of the range are almost perpendicular but towards the north the slope is less precipitous bearing down to the Ravi river. The name Dhaula probably comes from *dhoula,* grey and describes the nature of the range which is predominantly a form of gneissic granite. Beyond the Dhaula Dhar is another higher range of mountains known as the Pangi Range (becoming the Manimahesh Range near the lake of that name), which averages 19,000′ in height, and beyond this range is the Zanskar range which is higher yet again and adjoins Tibet. Thus from the air, it would appear that the Punjab was bounded beyond Kangra by three parallel ranges becoming progressively higher as one approached Kashmir and Leh. The southern side of each range is steeper than the northern side. The snow lies for a much longer period on the northern smoother side and the rainfall becomes progressively less as one moves away from the Punjab with the heaviest rainfall along the Kangra valley.

Politically, the basin of the Ravi river and the Upper Sutlej River has always been under a different administrative authority from that of the Kangra valley Prior to Indian independence, Kangra and the Bara Bangahal was administered by the Punjab and the mountanious hinterland was administered by the rajah of Chamba. After Indian independence, this separation was perpetuated as the territory of the Chamba rajah was merely incorporated within the Class C State of Himachal Pradesh (with its capital in Simla). There are no contiguous boundaries with the rest of Himachal Pradesh.

This administrative separation has tended to mask the ecological fact that the castes of

the Ravi River upper basin have been very closely connected not so much with the rest of the state of Chamba but with the people of the Kangra Valley. Numbers of farmers from the Brahmaur *tahsil* own property both in the tahsil and in Dharmsala in Kangra. Many of the Brahmaur villagers who keep sheep and goats spend at least half the year grazing them in what is administratively the Punjab and many of the villagers in the Kangra side were once Gaddis by caste although they no longer wear any distinctive clothing and have developed customs somewhat different from those in the Brahmaur *tahsil*. It is possible that the village of Leuna near Palampur was once Gaddi in part at least and some of the villagers still have relatives on the Chamba side.[1]

It is somewhat artificial to take one particular district, Brahmaur, and to describe this area as though it were somehow entirely different from the surrounding areas. This difficulty has been accentuated by the recent Indian census in which those members who wished to declare themselves, claimed that they were Gaddi by caste when asked by the investigator in the Brahmaur area, but when they were asked identical questions in the upper portion of Chamba *tahsil* returned themselves as Rajput, Rathi, etc., In the area of Lal Bilj opposite Chuni, no member returned himself as a Gaddi, regarding Rajput as a superior classification. The reason for this confusion will become clearer later on in this report but here I wish to stress only the point that the distinction between Brahmaur Gaddis and those people who live in adjoining areas is one only of degree and not of kind and there has clearly been a gradual process of contact with the surrounding peoples, especially Punjabis, which has considerably modified the social system which I am about to describe.[2]

Nevertheless the recognised cultural centre of the Gaddi and allied castes is Brahmaur which is situated on a tributary of the Ravi known as the Budl Nadl. This cultural pre-eminence is derived from three historical and geographical factors. Firstly, it has the most imposing and some of the oldest temples in the Upper Ravi on its *maidan* dedicated to Shiva, Narsingh, Ganesa and Lakshmi Narayan (Manimahesh). Secondly, the Gaddis believe themselves to be specially favoured by the God, Shiva, who is believed to reside on a peak visible from the hills behind Brahmaur. The Gazetteer states as follows; "Shiva is believed to have his abode for half the year on the Kailas peak at Mani Mahesh. On 1st Asuj he retires to the lower regions called Pujalpur (Patalpur) where he remains till the feast of Shivratri in Phagun when he returns to his summer residence. The Gaddis who are devotees of Shiva regulate their migrations by these two dates." (p. 181). Another name for the land of the Gaddis, Gadaren is Shivbhumi, home of Shiva. Thirdly, Brahmaur was once the capital of an independent kingdom and is now the administrative centre of the *tahsil*.

Although the Brahmaur *tahsil* has always been regarded as the spiritual and political home of the Gaddi and allied castes, the natural topography of the Upper Ravi basin has prevented any very centralised control of their affairs to develop. Roughly speaking the region between the Dhaula Dhar and Pangi ranges can be divided into three natural areas. (a) the Tundah section which stretches from the Kalichi Pass to the junction of the Ravi opposite Chhatrari; (b) the Saho section which terminates at the junction of the Ravi and Siul rivers and is now part of Chamba district. North-west of the Saho range it is termed Churah; (c) the area of the upper Ravi below the Bara Bangahal (known as the Holi district) and the Budl Nadl from Kunni to upper Kugti. Each one of these sections is similar in ecology with a 40 mile length of river between high mountains with villages scattered along the banks becoming gradually sparser as one moves higher above sea level. Each section has a sacred village temple which, in the case of Tundah and Brahmaur, has a full time *sadhu* from the plains occupying a room. Each area has a special religious ceremony held at least once a year which people from the surrounding villages attend, and each area has some degree of administrative independence in small matters and the ability to develop its social system in slightly different directions.

So each of these three sections form an independent unit with a similar ecology, a similar type of Hindu religious system and a similar type of local administration. This separation is also emphasised by the almost complete absence of intermarriage between the three areas. As far

[1]. See the Board of Economic Enquiry Punjab monograph on Leuna although the investigator did not realise that he was partly studying a Gaddi village. In the two gazetteers dealing respectively with Chamba and Kangra published in 1910, the same people are described twice making an excessive duplication of labour.

[2]. This is of course no fault of the Census Commissioners who were compelled by law to return the classification which the informant desired to use. The actual words used are as follows: "Do not write the names of Scheduled Castes in general terms as 'Harijan, Achhut'. You should ascertain the name of the caste when it is returned and write it. If a person is negligent and insists on calling himself merely 'Harijan' tell him that this description will not earn the person any benefits under the Constitution permissible to Scheduled Castes and Tribes. This may persuade him to give out the correct name", p. 12, *Instructions to Enumerators Census of India*, 1961. A friend of mine overheard one enumerator at Chatrari asking a Brahmin who returned himself as a Brahmin instead of as a Gaddi to change his term to Gaddi as he would thus get special advantages from the government which, in this instance, the Brahmin refused to do.



The Tibetan inscription below Goshen village.

as the Brahmauris are concerned, the people rationalise this separation by claiming that those living below Kunni and in the Tundah area are inferior to those who come from Brahmaur. In the period in which I lived in Brahmaur I did not find a single wife from the Tundah area. This is not to say however that there has not been a great deal of unity in other respects and this unity prior to the accession of the State to the Indian Union was due to the following factors: (a) the common history of the area: (b) the common administrative system: (c) the position of the rajah of Chamba as the proprietor of the State: and (d) the firm and important belief of all the peoples in the Hindu religion and its organisation on a supra-State basis.

(a) *Historical background of the area inhabited by the Gaddis*—A few hundred feet below Goshen village near Brahmaur at the side of the quarry opposite the water mill there is carved deep in the rock a Tibetan inscription. This inscription consists of an invocation to the Boddhisattva. According to Vogel in his *Antiquities of Chamba,* it probably dates between 650 and 800. There seems some reason to believe that this inscription did not consist of a carving by wandering Tibetans at this time but was undertaken by resident Tibetans. Vogel gives three reasons for this dating—

(1) Vamsavali of Chamba speaks of Kiras, probably a Tibetan.

(2) Hsuen Tsang mentions a place Po-lo-mo-pu-lo, 300 *li* (1/3 mile) north of Hardwar and also an "Empire of Eastern Women" between Khotan, Tibet, Ladakh and Brahmapura. This seems to refer to Brahmaur with either distance, bearing or name wrong.

(3) Another nearby inscription refers to the "august, younger prince of the Garuda lords."[1] This Bonpo name was common among Tibetan officials. Why should it be written here if Brahmaur was not in some way under Tibetan suzerainty?

But in contrast to this inscription, in the Kulu chronicles Brahmapura is first mentioned in 620 when the reigning rajah was Adi Varma. In 920 Sichita Varma transferred the capital of his state to Chamba after its conquest. So it appears that if the Tibetans were in control of Brahmaur in the 7th century that it must have been a very short period before a Hindu state was established. The Hindu bull in the Manimahesh temple at Brahmaur is dated about 700 A.D. In modern Gaddiland there is no trace of Tibetan influence other than in these inscriptions although there seems reason to believe that some of the lower caste Sipis have a tenuous connection with pre-Hindu Gaddiland. The supposition is put forward in the gazeteer that the Sipis, the caste below that of the Gaddis, were of Tibetan origin. If this be the case, it can hardly rest on their customs which, although different in minor respects from the dominant Gaddis, are certainly Hindu. Better evidence might be that the Sipis own some of the best land in the valley thus illustrating their probable earlier arrival in the valley.

The Gaddi Brahmins and Rajputs are supposed to have arrived at the time of Ajia Varma (780—800) from similar castes on the Punjab plains according to one source of information. According to some of the Khatri Gaddis in Brahmaur, they arrived in the seventeenth century at the time of the persecution of the Emperor Aurangzeb. These two statements need not be in conflict as the infiltration of Hindu ideas was probably a slow process encouraged by the rajah of Brahmaur as he sought military support for his excursions into neighbouring territory, especially as the Punjab plains were subject to periodical invasions which rarely reached into the hills. According to Cunningham (Arch. Survey Reports 11) the Gaddis were the descendants of the old Gadhaiyas once found in many parts of NW India.[1]

The early history of Chamba State is shrouded in obscurity. We know that Chamba was invaded by Kashmir in the 7th century and about 1050: that the capital of the state was transferred to Chamba from Brahmaur in 920; that about 1175 Chamba State participated in an attack against their hated large neighbour, Kashmir and defeated her but it is not until 1330 that Chamba state reappears as an entry. In the intervening 150 years it is likely that the whole of the Upper Ravi valley had been placed under vassalage to the kingdom of Trigarta.

In 1330 the kingdom of Chamba apparently consisted only of the territory immediately surrounding the town of Chamba and, of the present five districts of Chamba, the Bhattiyat was ruled by Kangra; Pangi and Lahul were subject to Ladakh; and Brahmaur and Treta in the Upper Ravi, while acknowledging suzerainty, were practically independent. Control lay only over Chamba and part of Churah. But by 1474 Chamba control was probably re-established over Brahmaur if the inscription under the floor of the Brahmaur Manimahesh temple is to be relied upon. By 1513 the power of Chamba started to increase with the co-operation of the Brahmauris. Pandit Ramapati, Chamba's *rajguru*, established a royal genealogy designed to

[1]. Cf. p. 295. H. Goetz, "History of Chamba State in the Later Middle Ages" in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXX, Part III, No. 90, 1952.



A sacred diagram drawn on the rock formerly on the road between Brahmaur and the rest house in 1952. *When the jeep road was built this stone was broken up to use as road metal.*

strengthen the links between the Brahmauris and the citizens of Chamba. Goetz states:

> "The inclusion of the early Gurjara princes of Brahmor (7th century) whose connection with the dynasty of Sahillavarman (10th century) is open to some doubt, had to stop the gap between the latter and raja Maru, the 'restorer of the Kshtariyas' and the imaginary link between the line of Raghu and the Pratiharas of Maru (Marwar). But it had also to foster the loyal sentiments of the autonomous Gaddis of the upper Ravi valley."
>
> "Brahmor, already respected as the oldest religious centre of the state, now became the manpower reservoir for the royal house troops. With these Gaddi troops Pratapsinghvarman could first reconquer Pangi and Lahul which Tsewang Namgyall had brought back under the rule of Ladakh." (p. 302).

This expansionist policy came to an abrupt stop as soon as it came into conflict with the domain of the Emperor Akbar and in 1573 territories recently acquired by force by Chamba had to be surrendered to the Emperor. The collapse of this expansionist policy resulted in the resignation of the prime minister, Pandit Ramapati.

The rajahs of Chamba having failed in a policy of military expansion then tried to develop a policy of religious patronage and the building of temples (1582—1613). The final rajah who undertook this policy had to be removed from office as he became so generous in giving away his property to any Brahmin who visited him that he retained no personal property and the state's revenues disappeared. It is said that his aim was not even to own the bed on which he lay. In 1623 Chamba was occupied by the Mogul emperor Shahjahan and by his grandson in 1641 and mediaeval independent Chamba nominally became part of the Mogul empire. The state written language became Tarkara and Chamba remained free from the disturbances of the nineteenth century when the Sikhs invaded and sacked Kangra. Chamba in its present size retained its local government when the British took over control of the Punjab. A British advisor was appointed to assist the rajah. The last rajah before the Republic of India incorporated the state in the province of Himachal Pradesh was an enlightened ruler who undertook substantial public works so that the State became more administratively unified than at any previous time in its history. At his coronation, each of the "nationalities" in the State participated but, on the first day, the rajah, dressed in the Gaddi uniform, was crowned as a Gaddi. The rajah and the Gaddis felt that a special relationship existed between them.

From the point of view of this paper however only two points need to be mentioned. Firstly, even after the capital of Chamba State was moved to Chamba, the Brahmauris never lost their privileged position in the State and had the right to take an active part in the rajah's coronation and in other ways to be described later. Secondly, because the State had never been directly controlled by an outside authority, the Brahmauris could develop a social system of their own little influenced by direct outside legislation.

(b) *The Common administrative system*[1]—The traditional system of administration in Chamba state consisted of a dual system of authority emanating from the rajah and the *wazir*, the chief executive authority. The position of *wazir* as also that of rajah was hereditary although a rajah was able to remove the *wazir* from his post if he were dissatisfied with him. The rajah was the chief religious authority in the state although always of the Ksatriya *varna*.

[1].For further information as to changes which have taken place since, see my article, "A note on village government in the Indian Northern Hill States since Indian Independence", p. 416, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, University of Chicago vol. 2, 1954.

He could reward members of the lower castes by granting them the right to wear the sacred thread thus promoting them in the caste hierarchy; he was the final court in caste disputes over excommunication[1], he appointed a special official whose duty it was to visit a village where a member was accused of witchcraft and he had certain rights over temples. He had to advise him any Brahmins whom he might appoint and, as a special adviser, there was a group of *rajgurus* who had control over the rajah's domestic ritual and who could advise him on religious questions.

The rajah was also proprietor of the whole territory of the State. Every citizen of Chamba who had the right to the land's usufruct paid revenue to the State on condition that he continued to use it. Land could not be bought or sold without the rajah's permission. The land was originally granted to the occupier on condition that he carried out certain duties to the State dependent on his caste. The Brahmins owed the rajah ritual duties, the warrior castes including the Gaddis owed military duties, the lower castes owed *begari,* labour duties in war or for officials. There was an official known as the *thare da mahta* responsible for collecting the revenue for the whole state.

The rajah was also the chief judicial officer in the state to whom any appeal was referred. In the capital the judicial duties were the responsibility of the *thare da kotwal,* elsewhere the local district (*pargana*) officials.

The rajah was also the chief of the armed forces. To assist him was a *bhakshi,* the army paymaster, *jinsali,* responsible for army stores and in each district a *kotwal,* who was responsible for summoning landholders for military service. The *kotwal* also had certain fiscal and criminal duties.

Each of these officials owed allegiance to the rajah. In Brahmaur and every district at the time of the rajah before the British, there was also a *char,* who had the right to imprison and was the senior local official; a *likhnara* who was responsible for revenue and accounts; a *batwal* who carried out the *char* and *likhnara's* orders; and a *jhutyar* who assisted the *batwal* in other *wazirats* but who was called a *kotheru* in Brahmaur. He was a sort of policemen. All these were local people and Gaddis. In addition there were the following officials who were excused from *begari.* These were *ugrahika,* who collected revenue, *jinsali,* who was in charge of the magazine, *pahri,* who was the guardian of the *kothi* and the records, *bhazd,* who cooked the food for the permanent officials, *hali,* who kept the *kothi* clean and looked after grain assessment, the *kagadaru,* who was a letter carrier, the *lakarhar,* who supplied firewood, the *ghujaru,* who collected *ghi* from those tax-payers who paid in *ghi,* the *dudhyaru,* who collected milk and the *pattuari* who received wool in lieu of revenue and made woollen blankets for the rajah. The *char, likhnara* and *batwal* received no salary but collected *rakm* over the revenue demand but had to contribute part of this to the State (called *bachh*).

Revenue was paid in three ways: (a) *hazari* and *chaukidar* who paid *bachh* or revenue in cash; (b) *kotwali* servants who paid in cash or grain. They were divided into two groups: (1) those serving in war and (2) those who carried loads for the raja in war and for officials in peace. Most of these were recruited from the Bhattiyat rather than from the Brahmaur *tahsil;* (c) *Begaris* who paid *sal bachh* (in kind) and who supplied *begar.* The revenue was imposed as a lump sum in the districts and divided up locally.

Gaddi landholders had a special relationship towards the rajah. In case of a miscarriage of justice or other fault on the part of any of the rajah's officials the aggrieved Gaddi could appeal directly to the rajah over the heads of any of the officials. This created a strong bond between the rajah and his Gaddi subjects. There were also special legal privileges by which Gaddis could try their own members instead of referring the matter to the Chamba magistrates.

> "All Gaddis who used to pay the *bachh dasrit* cess (the special land tax) enjoyed certain privileges in that persons

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[1]. The Hon. H.J. Maynard in the "Influence of the Indian King upon the growth of caste" in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society,* Vol. VI, Calcutta, 1918, writes of what may well be Chamba State, "a Rajput kingdom in the Punjab Himalayas".

"The caste assemblage constituted upon no rigidly defined principle, but ordinarily including all respected adult males of the caste in the locality, dealt with complaints of caste offences and imposed fines for those of minor importance. If a heinous offence such as the eating of forbidden food, or illicit relations with a woman of low caste, was established by the evidence of two witnesses sentence of outcasting might be pronounced. It was then open to the outcasted person to go to the rajah and prove his innocence. If he did this to the rajah's satisfaction, he was restored by the rajah's orders to the caste brotherhood. If he was proved guilty he petitioned the rajah to have his offence expiated. The rajah then consulted a Brahmin or Brahmins who ascertained the proper penance. Orders were pronounced for its performance under the supervision of a royal official. When the official reported that, the penance had been duly performed, the rajah passed orders for the offender's restoration to his caste".

In Kashmir and Nepal until recently Brahmin expositors existed whose duty it was to ascertain the proper penance but it was the Maharajah of Kashmir who formulated the question on which the finding was sought.

of other tribes were prohibited from marrying a Gaddi woman or keeping a Gaddi woman. In such cases, women of loose character were tried by the Drubujal, who exacted a penalty according to custom." (p. 274, Chamba Gazeteer).

This was the political system under the rajah's rule alone. But in 1863 the Chamba standing army was disbanded (except for a ceremonial regiment) and a special cess was put on those who used to pay by becoming a soldier in all the districts of Chamba State *except* Brahmaur and Pangi. In 1871 *begar* was abolished for scheduled castes and others and in 1874 the principle was adopted by which all revenue was paid individually and not collectively.

The administrative system was also modified in accordance with the increased pressure of the British. The main modifications were that the position of district commissioner and British adviser modified the power of the rajah at the top; the creation of a forest department owing allegiance to the chief forest commissioner at Dehra Dun was established and a full time official called *tahsildar* was placed over the *likhnara* instead of the *char* and this *tahsildar* belonged to the State administrative service and was not local. To collect revenue certain villages were joined together with local villagers appointed as *lambardars.* They were placed under the directions of the *likhnara* and received a proportion of the individual revenue as payment. The variety of special servants was reduced. There was a gradual establishment of specialist departments, the local representatives of which such as the medical officer, were sometimes higher in rank than the *tahsildar,* who was a very junior official in the state bureaucratic system and did not even have the power to judge forest offences on the spot but had to send offenders the 38 miles to the capital of Chamba. The power of the forest department can well be estimated from the following table of criminal offences brought before the courts at Chamba in 1927—32:—

Year	All offences under the Indian penal code including murder and abuse	Offences under special and local laws	
		(*a*) Forest Act	(*b*) All other offences
1927-28 ..	277	265	78
1928-29 ..	158	262	109
1929-30 ..	171	204	61
1930-31 ..	147	117	36
1931-32 ..	142	115	43

Since Brahmaur has the overwhelming area of forests in the state, whereas most of the first and third column apply to the State at large and especially Chamba city, it would not be unreasonable to say that during this period there were ten discovered forest crimes to every other sort of crime in the Brahmaur *tahsil.*

At the time of the rajah under the British, the Chamba Commissioner of Forests was an extremely high official, higher in rank than the District Commissioner and his interests were to protect the forest primarily. The most junior rank in the forest hierarchy was that of forest guard and to this official, completely out of control of the local authorities, every Gaddi had to be beholden for wood for his house, firewood, and in many other ways. To lessen the pressure on the local residents when the forests first became systematized there were two forest guards, one of whom lay under the control of the local villages and who on his own authority could provide wood on his own responsibility from special forests. This system was abolished, presumably because the divided responsibility was unworkable, and today the power of the forest department is paramount. The only three changes of the system under the present government is that the issuing of grazing permits has now also been taken over by the department, that permits for wood now have to be approved by the *gram panchayats* before being handed to the forest officer for approval or disapproval, and that offences against the forest act may now be tried by the local *tahsildar* instead of being sent to Chamba.

In 1951 the system of administration was further modified by the Indian government when it incorporated the State of Chamba within the state of Himachal Pradesh. At the upper level the power of the *rajah* was completely removed except in respect to certain ritual functions and the district commissioner was made responsible to Simla (two days' and two nights' journey away) where existed the non-responsible assembly, the governor of the State and the heads of various government departments. At the lower level the agricultural land was systematically mapped and full time *patwaris* were established to take over the duties of the *lambardars.* The powers of the *likhnara* were almost entirely curtailed except to be present when the *kanungo* (the chief *patwari*) actually collected the money revenue. The *tahsildar* retained his powers as head of the revenue, judicial and police in the district but his low rank in the administrative system made him easily outranked by any special officer sent from Chamba to investigate any local problem. He exercised no authority over the excise officers who visited the villages in search of illicit stills and he had no control over the development officer who was a gazetted officer concerned with supervising the expenditure of money on various development projects such as additional schools, new roads, agricultural extension, etc. The single chain of command which was such a marked feature of the rajah's government and

which still partly continued under the British (except for the forest department) has now been split into different chains of authority the source of which is at Simla, an impossible distance for any Gaddi to travel even if he believed that he would be successful.

In order to develop some form of local representation, the Himachal Pradesh local panchayat act was passed by the H.P. Assembly in 1953 and the first *gram panchayat* was established in the Brahmaur *tahsil* in 1954. There are now 14 *gram panchayats* the boundaries of which are exactly similar to the revenue boundaries in which were placed the 14 *patwaris*. These 14 *gram panchayats* are divided into two *naib panchayats* which are combined together into one Tahsil Panchayat, the chairman of which is the *tahsildar*. It has 14 members, one from each revenue district. The only paid official in each *gram panchayat* is the secretary who receives Rs. 60 per month.

Since the villages are very small by plains standards, as many as a dozen villages have been combined together into one *gram panchayat* on no very clear principle other than convenient size so that when money is distributed as through Public Works contracts through the *panchayats*, the members frequently break into violent factions so that they are unable to combine together to criticise the officials or the bureaucracy. Two of the more important times when they were able to combine together unanimously was in getting a policeman discharged for sitting on a chair on the sacred *churassi* at Brahmaur and when the system of inheritance rules were changed making it possible for women to inherit under certain conditions. In the latter attempt they were unsuccessful in keeping their previous custom but they succeeded in sending their petition to Delhi. It is possible that as the Brahmauris become more educated they may be able to understand bureaucratic rules and even become bureaucrats themselves but such bureaucrats are unlikely to remain within the local village communities fighting for the village rights but will struggle for higher positions within the bureaucracies for themselves. There are no jobs for educated Gaddis in Brahmaur *tahsil* other than in the government.

The connection between the Gaddis and the state has become weaker because they have lost the special privileges and personal contact that they obtained under the *rajah*. On the other hand they may acquire certain material benefits if they co-operate with the new institutions created by the expanding bureaucracy. The method by which they may do this is through accepting the teaching provided in the schools and the opportunities available through the newly created representative machinery.

(c) *The rajah of Chamba as the proprietor of the State*—"The highest form of property recognised in the State is the hereditary right to cultivate. This right is conferred by a *patta* or title deed which in every case specifies the fields or plots of ground for which the deed is granted as well as the name, area and rental.....the cultivator enjoys the right of user (*barton*) in the wastes near his holding." (p. 275 Chamba Gazeteer).

The relationship between the rajah and his citizens was in some respects similar to the *jajmani* system on the Punjab plains in which the reciprocal rights and duties between the Punjab landholders and the other castes residing in the village were similar to those between the Chamba rajah, the landholder and the other castes residing in his state. The whole State of Chamba was the unit in the hills to which the village on the plains corresponded. The rajah could not sell any of his land in the State to those outside. He could only dispose of the right to use the land. If the occupier did not use the land, then it reverted back to the rajah. Thus, strictly speaking, there were no landlords in Chamba, only landusers.

There were certain types of land use which had the priority. The basic type of land use was for agricultural purposes. Among the Gaddis, since a minority of Gaddis keep flocks, this was of the least importance. The right of cultivation takes precedence over all other rights in Land. This right was validated by a grant and the continual payment of revenue. Any citizen of Chamba might open up virgin land subject to the payment of a fee of 5 rupees per *bigha* to the revenue officer. For two years he was exempt from further charges after which he paid the normal revenue. If he ceased to pay the revenue, the land reverted to the rajah for re-allotment. But as long as he continued to pay the revenue then the land remained his. This right to till land was inherited among males only. On the death of the first holder of the grant it passed equally to all his sons. In the absence of direct heirs it passed to his brothers. In the absence of brothers it passed to other members of his clan (*gotra*) who might redistribute the land within the clan. Without living clan members it escheated to the rajah who would usually sell the right to use the land to other villagers.

Women could not own the right to cultivate land, and land (unlike some other parts of India) could not pass to the daughter's husband in the absence of male heirs. This is because the rights of the clan would be neglected. Although adoption is legally possible, it is disliked by the Gaddis. In the event of adoption, the permission of the clan must be obtained. If clan permission were refused, then half the land passed to the

clan, half to the adopted son. The only case of adoption which my informants could recall was in a distant village where the owner of the rights to use the land was on his death bed, and there was only one male member of the clan living.

In Gaddi-land the cultivable land only occurs in the less precipitous parts of the valleys, usually between 1,000′ and 3,000′ above the main river valley. Where the cultivable land is small with a large number of people dependent on it the size of the village is also limited. In such a situation there may be only one or two houses occupied by the working group which usually consists of the members of one clan. In one or two places the land is more extensive and there the group of houses might be occupied by members of several clans and several castes.[1]

After all the cultivable land had been used, there remained areas around the village which the members had the right to use either as sites for their houses or on which to graze their domestic animals. This land was granted by the rajah but no revenue was paid. I will call this land "common land of the village" although it was really the rajah's land lent to the village free. Cremation grounds are also of this type. They are useless for any other purpose.

Outside this area were lands controlled by the rajah's agents (such as the Forest Department) but to which villagers had access. Such land as this was used for the pine forests, to which the Gaddis could turn when they required a new watermill or a piece of new timber for a house. The villagers had the right to buy trees selected by the forest guard for about five rupees each for private use within the village. Similar trees were sold to forest contractors who were non-citizens for about 80 rupees. In addition the villagers had the right to hunt in the forest without a license (although they required a gun license)[2] and to collect loose brushwood, pine needles, grass and such edible products as mushrooms and toadstools.[3]

Land which was used for any purpose other than the above had to pay a fee to the rajah. For new houses a sum of one rupee per annum had to be paid and for each water mill built along the side of a stream a separate fee of one rupee had to be paid. If this fee were not paid the owner lost the right to the land on which the edifice was built.

It can thus be seen that the connection of the rajah with the land was very close and that each cultivator had a direct relationship with the rajah, irrespective of his clan or caste. This relationship should be looked on as a reciprocal relationship. The subjects had the right to use the land, to be protected both in the military and religious sphere and to have their various local and national customs protected. The rajah also acted as a sort of Storehouse of the national wealth and the national prestige, which he spent on the upkeep of roads and the purchase of elephants. In return, the subjects had to pay revenue for their land, to undertake their appropriate service, whether religious (as Brahmins), military (as Gaddis), or labour (as the lower castes), and to obey the orders of the rajah's servants.

The system of land control by the rajah resulted in a basic equalitarianism because, since no one could purchase land very much in excess of what he required for his own use (since land rarely came on to the market and could not be used as security for loans), all rank derived only from government appointments and not control of excessive wealth.[4]

[1] I intend to use the word village for a group of houses surrounded by cultivable land, even when this village may consist of only one house. The word hamlet is unsuitable as each group of houses has an independent existence and is not associated politically with other dispersed houses.

[2] Non-citizens of Brahmaur pay a heavy fee for a hunting license.

[3] Many toadstools are edible. One such toadstool is termed *chamakanun* and tastes exactly like meat.

[4] One Gaddi in Brahmaur, who had inherited land in excess of his requirements had planted trees on his land. After they had matured, he wished to cut them down to use the money to educate his children. The rajah refused him permission on the advice of the Forest Department and he found he could not use his land for the purpose which he had originally planned yet if he ceased to pay the revenue, he would lose both the trees and the land. On Chamba becoming part of the Republic of India, the system of land holding was changed so that the occupier acquired absolute rights over this land to dispose of as he wished. He cut down the trees without being legally required to plant new trees so that the land, useless for any other purpose, is now subject to degradation. The situation of the land after the Indian Settlement will be dealt with subsequently.

NOTE—In the Middle Ages, rajahs used to present land to Brahmins to acquire religious merit. One copper plate inscription after having described the boundaries of the land states that the rajah gives it "as far as its limits, grass, grazing and pasture ground together with fruit trees and with the water courses and channels, with approaches, ingress and egress, with fallow land and cultivated land with (the fines for) the ten offences". It then states that the grantee "should freely enjoy and make others to enjoy this grant on the authority of our charter.. Subjects resident in the enjoyed land in obedience to our command will have to deliver to him the regular share and use, tax in kind and cash and every tribute due to the king".

This grant clearly gives the Brahmin only the right to use the *revenues* of the land which were formerly due to the rajah. It is doubtful whether the rajah, although the proprietor of the land, could prevent people already tilling the land from continuing to do so. The rajah is clearly not the landlord of Chamba State in the sense that he could alienate any of his territory. It seems doubtful whether the rajah could even alienate his revenues to anyone other than a Brahmin. In the Brahmaur valley the only land which had been alienated in this way is the one acre of former rice land attached to the temple, the revenue of which was used for the support of the resident priests. This piece of land at the bottom of Grer village no longer grows rice (in 1963) although it was doing so in 1951.

Similar principles apply to the use of grazing land as to cultivable land. It has thus been described by the gazeteer of the Kangra district as applying to Chamba.

"The pasturable low country is termed a *ban*. Each *ban* in Kangra is claimed by a Gaddi as its *warisi* (inheritance) except in Nurpur where all *bans* are free. The origin of this *warisi* is alleged to be in a grant (*patti*) from the rajah. Lyall claims this arose from a shepherd presenting a *nazam* (petition) to a rajah, obtaining a right to graze a new *ban* and then uniting with other shepherds to graze it. The holder of the *patti* was often the *mahlundi,* master of the flock, and the other shepherds as his *asamian* or clients. On paying fees to the rajah's agent (*banwajiri*), all paid equally, but the *mahlundi* acquired the *mailani* (money from sheep's droppings), unless it was paid in food when all ate. When the rajah demanded sheep and goats the nominal price paid went to the *mahlundi,* although each shepherd supplied the sheep in turn.

Holders of *warisi* often exact a toll from other shepherds but should a run not be taken up by a *mahlundi,* after a while the right would disappear.

In the winter, on descending from the high ranges, the grazing tax was collected by a Gaddi (who was an agent of the rajah) who could allot the pasturelands (*dhans*).

In coming and going from Chamba to Kangra, three months are spent in the *kandi dhans* (mountainous pastureland), each of which has its local name and recognised boundary. There may be three or four *goths* (resting places) in each *dhan*. There are two sorts of *dhan,* the one in bare rocky ground above the line of forest called *nigahr;* the others lower down termed *kundli* or *dhar*. Formerly a tax, *langekoru* (crossing tax) was paid of one or two goats and the fleece of a sheep. They were collected by a village official termed a *drinkar,* who was always a Gaddi (although an agent of the rajah). He was also entitled to take certain perquisites from the shepherds himself.

Villages at the bottom of *dhans* formerly demanded payment for their use in the form of manuring but this right applied only in the autumn and not in the spring." (p. 268).

These rules applied only to Kangra. In Chamba all grazing rights belonged to the rajah of Chamba. In the Bara Bangahal once part of Chamba State), the grazing tax was paid to the government by shepherds from Mandi but not from Gaddis (for Gaddis are domiciled in Chamba State).

From this chaos of grazing rights certain common principles emerge. (1) On the Kangra side of the Dhaula Dhar, there are three types of pasturage, mountainous pasturage near the tops, pasturage amid the forests lower down and pasturage on the plains. In the case of the first a tax was paid to the rajah but in the case of the second and third, certain neighbouring villages were also considered to have rights over the pasturage. These obligations were paid by arranging for the sheep and goats to manure the fields of the agriculturists in certain seasons. At other seasons if the agriculturists wished for the animals' manure they had to pay for the privilege either in cash or in food. In addition the right to graze certain of the low pastures lay with the rajah who granted the right to a special herdsmen client who was issued with a grant showing his grazing rights over the territory.

(2) On the Chamba side of the Dhaula Dhar and in the Bara Bangahal, the tops of certain mountains are well known as grazing grounds where the grass springs up every spring and autumn. These grazing grounds are divided into areas and the right to collect the fees in such areas was auctioned by the rajah of Chamba to the highest bidder, who was usually a Gaddi. These areas were so arranged that shepherds might wander from one to the other at the appropriate season if they found one too overcrowded. The rate in 1950 was 2 annas 6 pies (2½d.) per goat per grazing district and one anna 6 pies (1½d.) per sheep. As citizens of Chamba, they had the right to graze their flocks in the Bara Bangahal without the payment of additional tax (although shepherds from outside Chamba State had to pay it), and in Lahul to graze their sheep and goats on one side of the river only. On the other side, the inhabitants of Lahul may graze their animals. If Gaddis were to cross they would need to pay a grazing tax to both the Chamba and Lahuli ruler.

(3) In addition to a grazing tax paid to the local rajah either directly or through a *mahlundi* and to manuring rights paid to local villages, a crossing tax was paid. This tax was given to the rajah not for revenue but in accordance with his religious status as a measure of thanksgiving for the successful crossing of the pass. In the case of the pass between Chamba and Kangra very rarely was any special difficulty encountered but over the high pass between Kugti village at the top of the Budl Nadl and Lahul, Gaddis even today never fail to sacrifice some of their animals which were formerly presented to the rajah. This is a bare mountain top at a height of over 16,000′ without any wood or trees of any sort. It is exceptional for anyone with animals to take less than three days actually on the tops of the mountain and should

a storm arise there is no protection. They do not sacrifice on the return journey.

(4) No shepherd whether from Kangra, Chamba or elsewhere could acquire the permanent right to graze flocks either on the upper or lower slopes of the Dhaula Dhar. He might however in the case of the Kangra valley acquire a grant by petitioning the rajah for the right to use the land for the purpose of grazing sheep for a longer period than three days. This grant lapsed through nonuse. For periods of less than three days any shepherd could travel through the land. In every *dhan* special resting places were recognised for transients (*goths*).

Thus the right to pasturage over the whole of the State belonged to the rajah who could dispose of the rights temporarily.

These rights to grazing tax have now been taken over by the Government of India State Forest Department. At first there was some dissatisfaction and anger because the grazing grounds were re-organised by a non-Gaddi who did not know of the movement of the flocks so that if a Gaddi shepherd grazed out an area, he found he might have to pay a new tax to move to another pastureland in the same area. The tax is now collected by an employee of the Forest Department and a receipt issued. This receipt is however not issued unless the shepherd has a permit issued by the Forest Department at Brahmaur stating how many sheep and goats over one year of age that he is supposed to have in his flock. From a government point of view this is designed to prevent overgrazing. The rates in 1962 were in Lahul 4 annas per goat and 2 annas per sheep, in Brahmaur 2 annas per goat and sheep and in Kangra 8 n.p. per sheep and 4 annas per goat.

In short the situation under the rajah was that the whole of Chamba State was nationalised, that is belonged to the nation in the person of the rajah. The rajah however could not use the land as he wished but had to allocate it on certain customary principles for the good of the citizens of the State. Land could thus not be used as security for debt because such security only existed as long the owner or owner's group existed and as soon as he could no longer use the land himself, it reverted to the State in the person of the rajah.

Perhaps one of the most fundamental changes instituted by the Indian Union when it incorporated Chamba in Himachal Pradesh was to introduce the idea of private property in land. This question will be dealt with subsequently but in 1953 a Settlement was instituted in Brahmaur *tahsil* in which the inhabitants of each village were asked about their traditional customs and obligations to the State and to each other. This "agreement" between the State and each village is incorporated at the beginning of each *patwari* register. In the appendix is enclosed such a statement as it applied to the inhabitants of Goshen and much of this report must be regarded as a commentary on this agreement, as its nature and form assumes a social organisation similar to that of the Punjab plains, an assumption which is incorrect because of the peculiar nature of the relationship between the rajah proprietor, the villagers and the soil.

Religion—The inhabitants of these three districts are overwhelmingly Hindu by religion, are conscious of their obligations as Hindus to the other members of the society and are aware of the fact that Hinduism includes people outside their own Chamba boundaries to whom they are related by bonds of religion. These ideas do not conflict with their belief that the Hindu gods (especially Shiva) have a personal and special interest in themselves which gives them a sort of superiority over those Hindus from outside Brahmaur.

To the Gaddis, the area around Brahmaur has a religious significance expressed by the few ancient monuments which have withstood the passing of time. Behind the *maidan,* the square in the middle of Brahmaur, there still remains traces of the rajah's palace in which his wives used to promenade in the tenth century. In front of the square there still stands a well preserved and impressive mountain temple to which certain hereditary Brahmins make a traditional monthly *puja* (worship) on behalf of the whole Gaddi community and to which is attached a number of priests (*sadhus*) supported by the former revenues of temple lands. The importance of the shrine is shown by the annual pilgrimage of Indians from the plains and even from the south, who travel on to the festival held at Lake Manimahesh at the top of the valley. To the Gaddis these pilgrims are a source of income and a long standing proof of the importance of their valley to the larger Indian continent. But to the residents, the importance of the valleys to the gods needs no emphasis. The larger mountains are named after gods. Mt. Kallas is the seat of Shiva and his consort Parvati and his trident, which flashes in the lightning is the national symbol of the valley. At the top of every pass is a shrine at which the herdsmen sacrifice a beast or the traveller presents a small coin. Along the paths are pillars of rock which are either a memorial to some Gaddi killed in a battle with a bear or else a warning to the traveller to look up to some sacred shrine or monument which can be seen from that position. The religious beliefs of the Gaddis can almost be said to have a topography for each monument stands to testify to the manifestation of the gods at a particular spot. Behind Brahmaur at a height of

several thousand feet above the town stands the sacred Brahmani spring which gives a perpetual unfrozen water supply to the town. This is the only spring unaffected totally by either snow or drought and there is an appropriate religious myth of origin to validate its performance.

These various geographic religious and social features of the valley are connected together and united by various charters, such as the story of Triloknath Dev which joins Manimahesh, the Budl Nadl, the Ravi, the gods and the Rani of Chamba together into a unity. And many of the local shrines were mysteriously created by *nags* or *devis* who still live in some of the valleys.

I would however be doing an injustice to the inhabitants of the valley if I were to give an impression that the religious beliefs of the valley residents were somehow separate from their ordinary life. The whole of the valley (with the exception of those few outsiders working within the area) have a common way of thinking and behaviour which is only now gradually weakening. This unity primarily rests on certain fundamental religious values and ways of behaviour peculiar to the inhabitants, preserved by the language and the topography and encouraged by the method of administration of the rajah before independence. What is so interesting about this unity however is the impossibility of dividing the Gaddi religion into the Great Tradition and the Small Tradition described by McKim Marriott.[1] The only gods, devis and nags found in the Brahmaur *tahsil* are those found in the Indian continent at large and there are no special local gods found at the village level which are not directly within the main Sanscrit pantheon. The rituals associated with marriage and death (although somewhat elaborated) make use of no special local gods which are not found in Indian society at large. There are no special features of Gaddi society which cannot be regarded as "purely Hindu" within the wider meaning of the term. It is true that there are certain customs and beliefs which are not regarded as being in accordance with the strict teaching of the most respected Brahmins. There is no objection to widow remarriage, the *sudenoj*, the custom of a bride going to her husband's house one year after marriage, and the well established prophets (*chela*) of Sechuin village are not part of the Brahminical tradition of India although they certainly seem to be well within the Great Tradition as the term is used by McKim Marriott. But the important distinction in Brahmaur is not between those customs which are found all over India and those which are not but between those customs which are closely connected with the way of life of the people and those which are not so closely connected. To give an example. In Brahmaur there are temples to Shiva, Vishnu and Ganesa. Yet a Gaddi who wishes to offer thanks to God for some mercy vouchsafed to him will always offer it to the temple of Shiva and the temples to Vishnu and Ganesa are rarely used except at the festival of Manimahesh which has no special *pujari* dedicated to their worship. Any pujari family can go to any temple. In accordance with this, in Gaddi tradition, there are many stories and tales about Shiva. Shiva is a Gaddi personality known to everyone but Vishnu and Ganesa, although known to Brahmins and occasionally appearing in the *hawan* at marriage is not a Gaddi god in the same way as Shiva. Yet all three are indubitably part of the Great Tradition as described by Marriott. This feature of hill culture has also been noted by G. Berreman[2] where in the village of Sirkanda near Tehri Garhwal, he mentions the special position of the Pandava Brothers in the village culture where the Pandavas (although having two wives) play a special part in the society not found among any of the other gods.

It is thus clear that to use the words tribes or castes as referring to the Brahmauris is a misuse of the word. It is clear both from the nature of the society and its known history that the founders and members of Brahmauri society have deliberately from the beginning been determined to set up a distinctively Hindu culture tied to the *sutras* and to the environment in a way little affected by outside changes in the wider Indian society although they are conscious of them. During the last 600 years, the Brahmauris have never been compelled by an outside power to modify their beliefs in the direction of either Mohammadenism or secularism. The situation is rather one where the only true Hindu State has been that of Brahmaur, many ideas of which have been adopted by the outside society albeit unconsciously. But whereas the outside wider Indian society has changed considerably in the direction of secularism, only within the last fifty years have the Indians from the plains come back as the bearers of the true culture with money to change the Gaddi society from its true allegiance to Shiva and the simple life. Thus the Brahmauris are not so much a tribe or caste as a society without definite boundaries which formerly included groups in Lil Bilj, the Kangra plains in Dharamsala and Palampur and perhaps in the Bhattiyat but which has gradually become smaller and smaller within the last hundred years driven back by

[1] McKim Marriott, "Little Communities in an Indigenous Civilisation" in *Village India Studies in the Little Communities* ed. McKim Marriott, *American Anthropologist*, Memoir No. 83, June, 1955.

[2] G. Berreman, *Hindus of the Himalayas*, Univ. of California Press, 1963.

the more powerful Indian semi-secular culture. I refer to the wider Indian culture here as a secular culture only by contrast because the aims of the socially mobile in the large Indian society are no longer in terms of religious office but in terms of government service and the making of money. Although the Indian gods have not disappeared, they have lost much of their *ethos* in the outside world although the rituals associated with them continue to be carried on in a formal fashion.

Thus one has to accept Brahmauri society as essentially a Hindu centred religious group still accepting Hindu traditional values. If present day Indian society's aim is secular, then indeed Gaddi society is backward with few roads, great overpopulation and a high degree of illiteracy. But if present day Indian society's aim is essentially religious, then it is the Gaddis who have succeeded in blending religion into their everyday affairs in a way not found among many other Indian groups and it is the visitors from the new India who have much to learn.

To summarize this chapter. Although the inhabitants of Brahmaur and the surrounding districts belong to a special social group termed Gaddis, they are nevertheless part of the main Hindu tradition and have been so from the beginning of their written history. Their distinctiveness within the Hindu tradition rests on four factors, their history which has been continuous for at least a thousand years, their political system and privileged position in the wider Chamba State which has given them a high degree of self government, the special position of the rajah as representative and owner of the national interest in land and their strong connection with the gods especially Shivaji who resides on a mountain within Gaddiland and plays an active part in the ritual and rules of the social system. History, politics, land and religion all form different facets of the national character.

CHAPTER 2

VILLAGE AND CASTE

Villages in Brahmaur district vary considerably in size. The smallest may consist of only one hause; the largest is the capital of the *tahsil*, Brahmaur with a population of 709 at the 1960 census (5th to 21st September). The groups of people do not live in isolated homesteads as in the Kangra valley for each village is a nucleated settlement surrounded by lands belonging for the most part to the members of the village. I thus intend to use the word village as meaning a nucleated settlement even if the pattern is of a slightly different type from that found elsewhere in India. At this 1960 census the total population of the *tahsil* enumerated was 14,105 males and 11,520 females making a total of 25,625. In addition there were 442 male shepherds and 132 female shepherds who were outside the boundaries of the *tahsil* making a total of 14,547 males and 11,652 females. The number of houses enumerated was 3,755 and the number of households 4,525. A household is defined by the Census Commissioners as "a group of persons who commonly live together and would take their meals together from a common kitchen unless the exigencies of work prevented any of them from doing so." In addition, in the Census were also enumerated 973 male houseless population and 233 female houseless population. These would not be beggars but most likely Gujars or other visitors from outside the boundaries of the district concerned either with looking after the flocks or in working with forest contractors as casual labour. This gives an average household size of 5.8 against the Himachal average of 5.7 neglecting the latter group of strangers.

In addition there were a total of 105 nucleated settlements within the boundaries of Brahmaur *tahsil* which gave an average of 43 households and 36 houses to the village. Each village contained on an average, 243 people.

The total cultivated area of the Brahmaur *tahsil* at the 1953 settlement was 10,923 acres (about 17.37 sq. miles) but in the 1931 census it was 20.06 sq. miles so that it has possibly decreased since 1931[1]. The amount of new land cultivated seems to be balanced by the erosion process which has continued in some areas. Cultivated area includes both wet and dry, one crop and two crop fields but excluding forest land. In 1910 the density in Brahmaur was claimed as 261 sq. mile. In 1931 the figures for the whole of Chamba State were claimed as follows:

District	Males	Females	Total	Cultivated sq. miles	Density per sq. mile
Chamba	20,380	18,975	39,355	51·15	770
Churah	23,103	22,021	45,034	51·17	882
Pangi	4,149	3,885	8,034	4·90	640
Brahmaur	7,589	7,258	14,847	20·06	740
Bhattiyat	20,928	18,672	39,600	47·54	812
Total ..	76,059	70,811	146,870	174·82	804

In 1960, assuming the cultivated area as 17.37 cultivated sq. miles the pressure of population in Brahmaur would be 1508 *people per cultivated sq. mile.* This pressure of population is so fantastic for an agricultural community without any additional industries or way of making money in the area as practically to force the population to move elsewhere for work.

A village may consist of the members of only one *gotra*. In such a case the village is usually exogamous unless it is very large and old. But in the majority of cases the villages consist of a number of *gotras*. In Goshen a village near Brahmaur which I am taking as a typical village, the following *gotras* were found. The figures in brackets are the number of elementary families within the village of that *gotra* or *al* in 1952.

Agneta (1), Babouria (5), Bhesisht (5), Tali (1), Barmarie (2 Sipi), Bahradwaria (3 Riara), Bran (1), Juetu (3), Bisometer (1), Chowhan (1).

In villages of more than one *gotra*, the *gotras* are usually of the same caste and settled in the village at about the same time. In the case of Goshen there is an exception as there are *gotras* belonging to three different castes, Gaddi, Sipi and Riara. Members of the same *gotra* frequently live near each other as they owned land in common at one time but this is not so today for there are a number of new houses which are built well away from the ancestral homestead.

[1] This 1931 figure is possibly wrong as it was an estimate based on taxation returns.

It is impossible to tell which of the *gotras* had primacy in the village and who were the original founders but two *gotras,* that of the Chowhan *gotra* and the Agneta *gotra,* only entered the village as residents within the last hundred years. In the case of the Chowhan *gotra* this was due in part to a bribe offered to the rajah's land officer about a hundred years ago, when land fell vacant in the village. In the case of the Agneta *gotra,* the founder of the clan in the village was one of many brothers from Mulkota with little land, and he thought that it was better for him to come to live with his wife in the village than to take his wife to Mulkota. This case has been described elsewhere.[1] The latter family has no land of its own. Originally the former only succeeded in obtaining land by doubtful means.

These two exceptions to the general rule that the right to use land can only be obtained within the *gotra* tend to strengthen the argument that land control alone is the main determinant of village unity. Prior to the settlement of the area in 1953, the *gotra* was the principal method by which land inheritance was determined. The pattern of inheritance was sons, brothers, brothers' sons and so on within the *gotra* with no inheritance by women or through women within the *gotra,* although women on certain occasions were allowed to hold land on trust for their children or other descendants. This rule was so strictly enforced that adoptions were practically impossible even to those within the same *gotra.* To obtain an adoption every single member of the *gotra* had to approve and, even should it be approved, half the land passed to the other members of the *gotra* on the adopted person's father's death. None of the villagers whom I questioned, had ever heard of such a case. Under the new legislation of Government of India, the adopted son has the same rights as a natural son and it is likely that as land becomes more and more valuable, the number of disputes between *gotra* members and the owner of the land who wishes to adopt an heir, is likely to become more frequent. The basic difference is that under the rajah, land was essentially regarded as national land belonging to the State (through the *rajah*), which was held by individuals in the State on behalf of a particular group, in this case the *gotra.* But under the Indian Government land regulations, the basic idea is that land is a form of property controlled and worked by an individual who has absolute rights in that soil even to the point of alienation. The *gotra* was thus the residual owner of the land having ultimate control before it reverted to the rajah.

The *gotra* has been sometimes described as a clan and the largest exogamous unit in determining marriage. This does not seem to have been its original meaning. K. M. Kapadia states: "The word *gotra* is used in the Rigveda in the sense of a cowstall or a herd of cows, as well as in the sense of a cloud, mountain, range or fort. These various meanings attached to the word *gotra* imply that the main idea associated with the word was that of enclosure. The word is used at all times in the sense of assemblage. From these two ideas of enclosure and assemblage the word came to refer to persons living together within the same walls".[2]

The members of the same *gotra* are people who have the same ritual practices in the sense that the Brahmin priest whom they patronise belongs to a special school. In the course of time the right to celebrate domestic ritual became inherited by special groups of Brahmins (*parohits*) and this seems to be the basic sense of *gotra* also in the hills. Many Gaddis do not know what their *gotras* are and sometimes have to ask others or their own priests. It seems uncertain whether low caste people such as Riaras really had *gotras* at all until Brahmin priests became willing to minister to them. Broadly speaking, one cannot marry a person of the same *gotra,* but in the village of Grer, a large village of several hundred people all of one *gotra,* there were a number of marriages within the *gotra* as marriages, had taken place between persons of the *andriaru* (inner) and *bariaru* (outer) section. Thus it does not seem reasonable to use the term *gotra* as always synonymous with clan as it is primarily a ritual division and not always exogamous.

Insofar as villages consist of more than one *gotra,* there is no objection to marrying within the village provided that there is no common relative within three generations. The one exception to this rule is that families may exchange sisters and frequently do so. One cannot marry into a *gotra* in which one has a sister and daughter married.[3]

Although these *gotra* names are usually associated with a particular caste, some are found among all castes. Since castes are endogamous, this puzzles the Gaddis and one Gaddi gave me the following explanation which is also found on the plains.

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[1] See William H. Newell, "The Submerged Descent Line among the Gaddi People of North India" in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* p. 14, Vol. 92, Part I, 1962.

[2] K.M. Kapadia, *Hindu Kinship,* Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1947, p. 56.

[3] For further examples of the rules of marriage please see W.H. Newell, "Gaddi Kinship and Affinal Terms" *Man in India,* Vol. 32, No. 2, June 1952 Bihar, India, p. 82.

"Formerly in Gadaren there was a bad *rishi*. For his bad deeds horns grew out of his head and he was told that the only way to get rid of these horns was by giving a large feast to all. Those who attended the feast became Brahmins and those who did not became Khatris or Rajputs. One of the *gotras* which took part in this feast was the Bahradwarj *gotra* and from that day forward the Bahradwarj *gotra* have been in more than one caste."

Within each *gotra* are subdivisions termed *als*. *Al* terms in contrast to *gotra* terms, refer to peculiarities of the original founder, to mannerisms, to the name of the original village, to nicknames or to occupations. Some well read Brahmins declare that these names were first used to distinguish brothers from one another. In the course of time, many Gaddis have come to think in terms of *al* rather than *gotra* names as equally a bar to marriage. Having forgotten the name of their *gotra* but retaining their *al* name, some Gaddis try to arrange a marriage with someone of another *al* but of the same *gotra*. If the priest knows that the two *als* are really of the same *gotra* either by tradition or by referring to the book owned in manuscript by a former senior *parohit*, Ram Ditta, then the marriage will be forbidden. In some cases, it depends on the learning of the *parohit* concerned.

Conversely, certain *gotras* have the tradition of being related to each other originally, so that inter-marriage is forbidden. Grer village, which consists entirely of the Chowhans cannot marry into the Jawan *gotra* of Penshei village although of the same caste. Thus *gotra* and clan are not identical terms among the Gaddis for, in a few cases, a clan may consist of more than one *gotra* although this is rare. On the other hand, a clan may refer to a sub-division of a *gotra*, an *al*, where knowledge of the *al* connection with the *gotra* has been forgotten. One can still know that it is an *al* and not a *gotra* by the different etymological root of the word. The matter is extremely confused. One can never marry someone of the same *al*. One can sometimes marry someone in the same *gotra* but not usually. One can never marry someone in a *gotra* related to one's own unless there is a tradition of marriage in this larger group.

LIST REPRINTED FROM A MS IN POSSESSION OF RAM DITTA, a Brahmin formerly *rajguru* to the Rajah of Chamba, showing the *gotra* and *al* names. If a person comes to him asking whether he can marry a person of another *al*, the *parohit* refers to this list to see whether they are of the same *gotra*.

Caste	Gotra	Al
Brahmin ..	Besisht	Sumpolu
		Kelelu
		Māt
		Juku
		Marātu
		Jirg
		Bhuksān
	Kalie	Supiāl
	Bahradawāri	Delpu
	Besisht	Lunge
	Bachela	Karu
	Gotum	Herseru
		Nunsān
		Tulel
		Litkān
	Besisht	Chupetu
		Chabaru
		Tiperelu
	Bahradwāri ..	Tenju
	Besisht	Changeru
	Bahradwāri	Tarotu
	Bachil	Jogu
	Bahradwāri ..	Satalelu
	Gang	Jarete
	Jeterd	Garete
	Kalie	Timāretu
		Ledde

Caste	Gotra	Al
Brahmin ..	Utum	Puktān
		Timarān
	Sesipal	Sesi
	Gotum	Junun
	Besisht	Chupetu
	Bahradwārj	Kapri
		Bangrete
		Cheddi
		Putarān
	Utum	Palhān
		Servetu
	Besisht	Bardān
		Sadrantu
		Chatameru
	Besisht	Pargis
		Bagrān
		Patān
		Sundete
	Barj	Julkān
	Kalie	Patāru
	Ratanpāl	Sindi
		Charāru
	Kunkunun	Lohāru
	Senkāl	Mukārtu
	Gotum	Khaitr
	Besisht	Bani
	Kalia	Puttrān
	Bahradwarj	Kotelu
	Ratanpāl	Nerelu
	Ajin	Jutān

Caste	Gotra	Al
Brahmin	Kalia	Supāl
	Bahradwāri	Trukelu
	Gotum	Guniaṉ
		Sunonuṉ
		Sipanun
	Bhupal	Rāretu
	Besisht	Murādu
	Bahradwārj	Telelu
	Gotum	Batāru
	Besisht	Luttu
	Bahradwāri	Lunālu
	Sunkiaṉ	Bahrān
	Utera	Monterālu
	Utum	Karkeru
	Gotum	Nang
	Bahradwāri	Sinkrān
		Dioli
	Ater	Yawoti
	Bahradwāri	Wawalu
		Tuleye
		Tilren
		Detean
	Besisht	Chakerotu
	Bahradwāri	Mukerotu
Tarkar	Besisht	Chotar
	Ejin	Muralotru
	Utum	Malān
		Gore
		Degete
		Raker
	Besisht	Singrān
	Utum	Lamaretu
	Duper	Goletu
	Parasar	Bundu
	Gubel	Chemingan
		Trenān
	Utum	Tarkeru
	Gibelu	Japantu
		Juetu
	Gussup	Fakir
	Utum	Buketi
	Gussup	Yadahi
	Bahradwāri	Rolete
	Dear	Derān
	Dashe	Salān
	Gussup	Churu
		Darān
		Drinān
	Uchil	Rudān
	Goshen	Rumchelu
	Utum	Langetu
	Kudelu	Rasi
	Gutum	Goru
	Dashe	Churāl
	Kusup	Kuverān
	Bahradwāri	Guhereru
	Dashe	Gurkeru
	Agasani	Maranu
	Sumelu	Barde
	Ambirk	Mindu
	Detai	Trigarelu
	Bahradwāri	Baringu
		Salen
	Gussup	Mundu
	Kashen	Gutele
		Karen
		Budelu
		Miaru
		Ningrei
		Relu
	Gusip	Turereṭu
		Kunjerelu
	Parashān	Nawalu
	Surosi	Chunkeru

Caste	Gotra	Al
Tarkar	Dashe	Lungadanuṉ
		Karori
	Bahradwāri	Surelu
		Faknāṉ
	Unginas	Lore
	Abilu	Mukariru
	Utum	Jelu
	Kasea	Tanāru
	Sublu	Kershe
	Gojelu	Situselu
	Bahradwāri	Suketru
		Rakarketu
	Divear	Moranu
	Bahradwari	Beran
Rajput	Bhesisht	Tregaṉ
	Pāl	Suketia
		Pukeru
		Hershāṉ
		Purshāṉ
		Cheretu
	Bahradwāri	Purgān
	Nangle	Chelledi
	Bachher	Rhiaṉ
	Chohan	Renaṉ
		Rheniaṉ
		Masaṉ
		Sorete
		Lapchān
	Sunkāl	Kole
		Kaddu
	Dewil	Jurjān
		Kārāretu
		Rolete
		Kokān
	Attar	Lalal
		Terotu
		Karketu
		Bandrālu
		Dongete
		Gungrān
		Sawalu
		Mukrete
		Grie
	Kasil	Brāmanun
		Julian
	Utum	Toseru
		Choteru
		Harālu
	Kundelu	Agasani
		Bandāru
		Motuṉ
		Dukān
		Gularān
	Utum	Junwar
		Kuwetu
	Barj	Kardān
	Bahradwārj	Choru
	Mensar	Jirru
	Utum	Padrete
	Ajin	Chete
		Tissar
		Nanketu
	Attar	Ranān
	Abimanu	Martān
	Bahradwāri	Penān
		Turetu
	Kundelu	Baderu
	Sissuhal	Kangeru
	Bahradwāri	Potete
		Drober
	Perm	Harete
		Buksān
	Nangle	Nanglellu

Caste	Gotra	Al
Rajput ..	Manser	Kingān
	Kibelu	Angletu
	Utum	Kawetu
	Shankashar	Luni
	Kasharpar	Didialu
	Silian	Basurie
	Utum	Kinderu
	Bhesisht	Auriāl
	Utum	Chenun
		Dundetu
		Kananun
		Jogete
		Junjian
	Bahradwāri	Nakareye
		Dundu
	Atar	Sortaru
	Utum	Jenjilatu
		Dinretu
Khatri ..	Bārj	Jugāru
		Busere
		Suriān
		Kaliān
	Bahradwāri	Churiān
		Nangaletu
	Hotum	Kipeleg
		Bargetu
		Pukkāl
	Utum	Dugiu
	Bahradwāri	Sundu
		Sidan
	Bahradwārj	Gurgāntu
	Utum	Assar
	Bandaru	Kian
	Bahradwārj	Bagete
	Utum	Potu
	Atri	Mandal
	Ratanpal	Buksān
	Kang	Nosu

Castes	Gotra	Al
Khatri ..	Bahradwāri	Danāru
	Bandar	Kachinga
	Gibelu	Punjaru
	Pandāru	Durān
		Kulsān
		Sangāl
		Sinjān
	Atar	Mandal
		Ratanpāl
	Utum	Sanu
	Kapur	Patātru
	Bhesisht	Tratāngeru
		Karete
	Utum	Palniāl
		Kaletu
		Barunu
	Kanalo	Tilel
	Utum	Gurdas
	Bandāru	Micheretu
	Kundelu	Hilāl
	Utum	Hangolu
	Bahradwārj	Kanete
Rajput ..	Bandālu	Kohān
	Kundel	Tilāl
	Utum	Kundias
	Bandāru	Micheretu
	Korel	Hilal
	Bhārj	Gorete
		Poletu
	Bahārj	Dangrān
		Rhete
	Bahradwāri	Dunkeru
		Suker
	Atim	Pukolu
	Kasip	Chorungu
	Bahradwāri	Dorkere
	Utum	Kandan

I have transcribed the list as it is written in this *parohit's* book. In addition to this list there is a list of the meaning of the *al* names which I have not completely transcribed. The author of the Chamba gazeteer apparently had access to portions of this book. Here is a free translation of some of their meanings.

Rajput

Tregan	..	Used a measure of yarn in place of an arrow.
Suketia	..	Said "I am always happy" (*Suki*).
Pukeru ..	..	Liking for killing birds.
Hershān	..	Father said "Her, Her" (Shiva).
Purshān	..	Stout.
Cheretu	..	Suffered from scabies (*Chereda*).
Auriāl ..	..	Ancestor lived in village Aura (in Lower Ravi valley).

Khatri

Tratāngeru	..	Ancestor tutta (dumb).
Korete ..	..	Lived in Koreta (village name).

Brahmin

Sumpolu	..	Sell sump (aniseed oil).
Kelelu ..	..	Chronic cough (*kungda*).
Māt ..	..	Ancestor *met* (head of coolies).
Juku ..	..	Gambler (*Jua*).
Marāntu	..	Winner of wrestling (*marna*).
Jirig ..	..	Slow in doing things (*jilingen*).
Buksān	..	Good at enjoying things.
Lungi ..	..	Good at crossing rivers (*lungna*).
Chupetu	..	Calm and quiet.
Chaboru	..	Liked to play in mud and water (*chaker*).
Tiperetu	..	Village of Tiperi.

Khatri

Changeru	..	Ancestor came from the plains (*changer*)
Chupetu	..	A quiet person.
Bārdān ..	..	Good bowman (*Barn*).
Sadrāntu	..	Wealthy (*shan*).
Chatemeru	..	Well built (*chat*).
Pargis ..	..	Got caught in the thorns for three days.
Bagrān ..	..	Lived in Bari village (above Brahmaur).
Batān ..	..	Lived in Bathiath (Chamba district).
Sundete..	..	Sell sunda (used with *dal*).
Bari ..	..	Wise man living in an oak tree.
Muradu	..	Killer of men (*mana manda*).
Lutu ..	..	Holder of a stick (*lathu*).
Chakerotu	..	Maker of baskets for utensils.
Chotan ..	..	Died over the pass (*chota*).
Singrān	..	Lived at the top of the village (*Singhorns*).

In addition to being born into a particular *gotra,* one is also born into a particular caste and because admission to these social groups is by the same method, by birth, there is frequently a confusion in thinking that the *gotra* is a subdivision of a caste. This is no more true of the Indian hills than of the Indian plains. The family and *al* and theoretically the *gotra* are essentially exogamic groups within which one cannot marry. The subcaste is an endogamous group within which one must marry, interdine, and intersmoke. Of the numerous villages in the Brahmaur district, only three or four have more

than one caste residing in the village. It is principally a one village one caste area. Goshen village, unlike most villages, has three castes, two lower (Riara and Sipi) and a higher Gaddi caste. The houses are mixed together, but each caste worships at its own shrine although all participate in worship but not in donating food at the principal shrine of the predominant caste.

The castes in the Brahmaur district are as follow: [1]

Caste	Caste division
(*a*) Brahmin	Brahmin
(*b*) Gaddi	Rajput Thakur Khatri Rana
(*c*) Sipi	Sipi
(*d*)	Riara Halli Lohar Others

(a) and (b) are termed the upper castes, (c) and (d) are termed the lower castes. No intermarriage takes place between the upper and lower castes. No intermarriage ever takes place between the Sipis and other low castes. Marriage takes place between members of the upper castes both in giving and receiving women in certain areas of the Brahmaur *tahsil* and in neighbouring *tahsils* such as Ulansa under certain circumstances, in which case the child takes the caste of the father only. There has been no inter-marriage of any sort between any of the castes in Goshen village within the memory of any of the villagers. Offspring of marriages between Brahmins and Gaddis are freely accepted in villages within the Brahmaur valley by their caste fellows and an individual of one such marriage holds a junior position in the Brahmaur administrative system without any disadvantages from so doing. But in villages that do not allow intercaste marriage, such a marriage would undoubtedly result in excommunication from the caste (but of course not from the *gotra*). The enforcement of caste rules rests in the hands of the village *panchayat* concerned. In most villages the basic unit of village government consists of an informal *panchayat* consisting of the male leaders of the *gotras* in the dominant caste plus any others who are invited. This is usually but not always the most elderly person. When I arrived in Goshen in 1952, it consisted of older people. In 1962 about half of these more elderly people had died and the *panchayat* consisted of their sons. In the process those elderly people who had formerly attended and who were still living ceased to be present at the informal meetings and were not always consulted.

The local village *panchayat* has no authority to carry out rules of caste behaviour unless it is supported by the village consensus. The sort of problems that it deals with are those connected with allocation of *ghats* for burning, with the arrangement of *kwers* (work groups) for domestic tasks and the delimitation of responsibilities for village ceremonies. It cannot make decisions on conflicts between different villages and it cannot deal with problems of inheritance unless asked to mediate by both parties and even then, after arbitration, it cannot enforce its judgement.

It is this group that is mainly responsible for enforcing caste rules and, in coming to a decision it has to take into consideration the fact that most of the women who come into a *gotra* will have to come from neighbouring villages. If the rules are broken in one village, all the members of that village will have difficulties in arranging future wives for their sons. The most recent excommunication for breaking caste is that of a certain Gaddi in Penshei village. Two generations ago he insisted on marrying a low caste girl from a neighbouring village. He was forced to move to his wife's village and to cut off all commensal relations with his own family although of course he still retained rights in his own land in his village and did not suffer expulsion from his *gotra*. There seems to be no way in which one can get expelled from one's *gotra* as one can from one's caste.

The situation is thus that there are two main horizontal divisions of groups within the Brahmaur valley which are called higher castes and lower castes. The higher castes consist of Gaddis and Brahmins; the lower caste consist of Sipis and bottom castes. Intermarriage within each group is frowned upon but not actually prevented by the larger Brahmaur community although the village *panchayats* may try to prevent it. Within the upper groups there are two main divisions between Brahmins and Gaddis which are nearly always endogamous. There is no village (other than upper Kugti and Brahmaur) which has both Brahmins and Gaddis in the same village. Brahmaur is an administrative centre where nearly all castes are represented. Kugti is a special exception which is dealt with separately.[2]

[1] For the general arguments on which this section is based see W. H. Newell "The Brahmin and Caste Isogamy in North India" in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1955, Vol. 85, Part I and II, pp. 101–110.

[2] See my report on "Inter-caste marriage in Kugti Village, Upper Bud Nadl, Brahmaur *tahsil*, Chamba District, Himachal Pradesh, India" in Shorter Notes in *Man*, No. 59, April, 1963, London. This has been reprinted as an appendix in the Village Survey monograph on *Brahmaur*, Census of India, 1961 Volume XX, Part VI, No. 5. Dharam Pal Kapur was my assistant and translator while in Kugti to whom I wish to offer my thanks.

p. 3. *Punjab Ethnography* Monograph No. 2, "The Kangra Gaddis" by E. O'Brien and M. Morris, Lahore, Punjab Government Press, 1900.

There is no necessary connection between a person's caste and his occupation except in the case of a *parohit* and certain tasks associated with the handling of leather. Herewith follows a list of the more important occupations.

(1) *Tasks exclusively performed by Brahmins*—Priest.

(2) *Tasks exclusively performed by Gaddis*—Nil, formerly soldiering.

(3) *Tasks exclusively performed by Sipis*—Blacksmith.

(4) *Tasks exclusively performed by the lower castes*—Basketworker, brassworker, boot repairer, silversmith.

(5) *Tasks performed by anyone irrespective of caste*—Agriculturists, pastoralist, tailor, government official (including forest guards, postal runners, caretakers of government buildings, etc.) workers for forest contractors, school teachers, carpenter, packhorse carrier, ordinary coolie for private hire, shopkeeper, servant, barber, stone-mason.

(6) *Tasks performed by low castes when present officially but otherwise by Gaddis*—Musician.

This table refers to tasks not to occupations. Those tasks which can be considered an occupation insofar as it can be carried on for the whole year and will support the person concerned, are underlined. The absence of very many caste specialists (because the dominant caste does not have the money to pay for them) means that most Gaddis are handy men dealing with anything that comes their way. For example many Gaddis play musical instruments quite well and will sometimes perform at informal gatherings in the absence of *riaras* without any objection.

I have refrained from defining the word Gaddi. It is, however, necessary to do so as there are three popular usages which conflict. Firstly, there is the definition of Gaddi used by the census in which any person who wishes to call himself Gaddi may do so.[1] Secondly, there is any permanent inhabitant of the Brahmaur *tahsil*. Thirdly, there are those people who still consider themselves belonging to the Rajput, Thakur, Khatri or Rana caste, who wear or have the right[2] to wear the special Gaddi clothes of which the *dhora* is the main symbol and who are Hindus. There is no doubt that the term Gaddi can only be applied to the third of these three definitions and that the Gaddi caste is a result of an isogamous union over the course of many hundreds of years. The term Brahmin Gaddi is an impossibility. About 80 per cent of the castes in Brahmaur are of Gaddi origin. For the reasons why Brahmins did not succeed in being included into the Gaddi group I must refer the reader to my article on this question in the JRAI.[3]

I quote "In the village of Kunni, there exists a caste called Thakurs, formerly petty chiefs of the district but now ordinary cultivators. In Goshen there are members of the Rajput caste, related to the Ksatriya of the traditional fourfold classification. In Penshei Village, there are some families of Khatris, traditionally related to the Vaisyas. All these three groups may freely interdine, intersmoke and intermarry, giving daughters to sons and sons to daughters. Whatever the origin of these groups (and there is a certain amount of historical evidence as well as tradition that they came from Lahore and Delhi), they now form a single caste instead of three castes. In the *History of the Western Hills* by Hutchinson and Vogel (1915 p. 24) there is a statement that in documents and land inscriptions they 'find the term Thakurs and Ranas (originally used with the meaning of local chief) used as a caste name, but with gradually decreasing influence until the 11th century'. Presumably these terms were being replaced by the term Gaddi where it applied. Thus in the Brahmaur district of Chamba State instead of the subcastes following a process of splitting into numerous smaller groups, there is the opposite process of the middle groups of castes amalgamating. This process does not apply to the Brahmin group, who remain an endogamous group at the top of the ladder. It does not apply to the groups at the bottom of the caste ladder".

Thus the term Gaddi is a caste term in Brahmaur. If one looks at the caste classification of previous censuses as reported in the Chamba Gazetteers the caste classification in Chamba State varies considerably. In the 1921 gazetteer, there were alleged to be 10,411 Gaddis and 59,452 Rajput and allied castes. In the 1931 census the term Gaddi was disallowed so that there were no Gaddis in Chamba but the proportion of Rajput and allied castes had risen to 72,564. In the 1961 census where Gaddis are regarded as scheduled tribes (but not Brahmins or Rajputs, etc.) the number of Gaddis has suddenly increased to 12,701 males and 11,047 females, a total of 23,748. It is clear that the term Rajput and allied castes, and Gaddi are synonymous terms in the Brahmaur *tahsil* but that these numbers are sometimes being increased by Brahmins and

[1] See page 1.

[2] Other castes sometimes also wear the *dhora*.

[3] "The Brahmin and Caste Isogamy in North India", p. 101, *Journal of the Royal Anthroplogical Institute*, 1955, London.

Sipis who are now calling themselves Gaddis. Low castes may be included as a scheduled caste instead of a scheduled tribe but in Brahmaur only 405 people returned themselves as a scheduled caste. It should be mentioned that inhabitants of Brahmaur *tahsil* who call themselves members of a scheduled caste or tribe are entitled to financial benefits such as free education and free medical attention. In the neighbouring territory of Chhatrari, ecologically an area similar to Brahmaur but not a Block Development Area, Brahmins return themselves as Brahmins and Gaddis return themselves as Rajputs and are hence not entitled to government benefits. So that although in Brahmaur certain castes such as Brahmins or Sipis sometimes return themselves as Gaddis in the census, the term Gaddi is a caste term consisting of an isogamous union of Rajput and Allied castes. The extension of this term to include a territorial meaning is not in accordance with the practice understood in the hills.[1]

Thus the basic territorial unit is a village surrounded by its cultivable lands. The village is composed of a number of households having as their nucleus a family, which traces its descent through *als* and *gotras*. Each family also belongs to an endogamous group known as a caste and the caste ties stretch outside the village to unite people together of the same caste. There are four principal castes in the Brahmaur area but the largest and most extensive is the Gaddi caste which consists of an isogamous unit of various caste divisions known as Rajput, Thakur, Rana and Khatri. This isogamous situation is possibly due to the extremely limited cultivable area available to each village and the limitations on holding land in excess of what one can work oneself.

[1] This difficulty of using the term Gaddi as a territorial instead of a caste classification has been dealt with by J.B. Lyall in terms of first and second class Gaddis. This is what he says; "The Gaddis are of course Hindus though I have shown them apart from the Jandre or cotton clad Hindus for they form as it were a distinct nationality. The first class Gaddis are divided into Brahmans Bhats, Rajputs, Khatris, Thakars, Rathis and Tarkhans and the second class into Sipis, Badis Halis, Dogris, Lohars and Dagis (although not properly speaking Gaddis). The Rathis are the most numerous among the Gaddis; the Brahmans and Khatris come next". p. 75, *Report on the Land Revenue settlement of the Kangra district, Panjab* by J.B. Lyall 1865-72 Lahore Central Jail Press 1874. (Actually printed in 1876).

Here Lyall includes Brahmins within the Gaddi group also and this seems to be the case in some areas about this time as it actually occurs in Kugti. The exact nature of the isogamous union between different castes naturally varies with the district and the time the observation has been made. He also has this to say the nature of the endogamous restrictions;—"At wedding feasts or other similar entertainments men of all castes from the Brahmin to the Sudra, will sit and eat together in one line (*pangat*) arranged strictly according to degree or rank. Food is then handed down to all. On such occasions great quarrels constantly occur among Rajputs about precedence, which often breaks up the party entirely". (p. 98).

Dr. Hutchinson has this to say about the term Gaddi although I think he is talking about the area round Ulansa rather than Brahmaur:—"The Gaddis are divided into four classes (1) Brahmins, (2) Khatris and Rajputs, (3) Thakurs and Raths who as a rule do not wear it (the sacred thread), and (4) a menial or dependant class comprising Kolis, Riharas, Lohars, Budhis, Sipis and Halis to whom the title of Gaddi is incorrectly applied by outsiders as inhabitants of the Gadaren though the true Gaddis do not acknowledge them as Gaddis at all". (p. 137, Punjab State Gazetteer Vol. XXIIA *Chamba State*, 1904 Lahore Civil and Military Press, 1910).

Chapter 3

LAND, CROPS AND SEASONAL MOVEMENTS

Village in the upper reaches of the Sutlej and its tributaries are only found on a narrow sloping ridge from about one to two thousand feet above river level. They cannot be placed next to the river because the sides of the river are too steep and frequently floods, nor can they ever be placed above 10,000' above M.S.L. as the season is too short between the melting of the snow and the new season's snowfall for the crops to mature. Thus the villages are usually arranged in a long line along the riversides at a height of 1,000' above the Sutlej or Budl Nadl. At certain places, however, the plain above the river sometimes becomes wider and at such places villages may be placed above each other on the slope. The area immediately around Brahmaur is one such area. Since the river is so far below the fields it cannot be depended on for irrigation and such irrigation as exists comes from mountain rivulets which flow down the side from the region of snow above. Droughts thus often occur.

In order to illustrate the structure and organisation of a Brahmauri village, I intend to take my examples from the village of Goshen in which I resided for six months in 1951 and for three months in 1962. It is less than half a mile below Brahmaur and is divided into two principal residential districts named Goshen and Goa. In 1960 it had 40 households and 28 houses with a population of 207; 106 males and 101 females. Its total area was 352 acres of which 218 acres was cultivable. The Goa section had 4 houses and 5 households with a total population of 29 and the Goshen section had 24 houses and 35 households and a total population of 178. In 1952 there was a total population of 134 divided into 22 households. Thus in 1962 the size of a household was 5.7 and in 1952 6.0. During the intervening ten years the total cultivable area became slightly larger. The village is regarded as a wealthy village by the standards of other areas of Brahmaur. There is just over one acre per person in the village against half an acre for the Brahmaur valley generally. It is perhaps also rather significant that it is regarded as somewhat more conservative than other villages in the sense that very few members work for government contracts compared with other villages.

In the village plan, Goa is excluded as it is linked with Goshen by various ties of mutual obligation (*birton*) but within the village is regarded as separate from the main settlement.

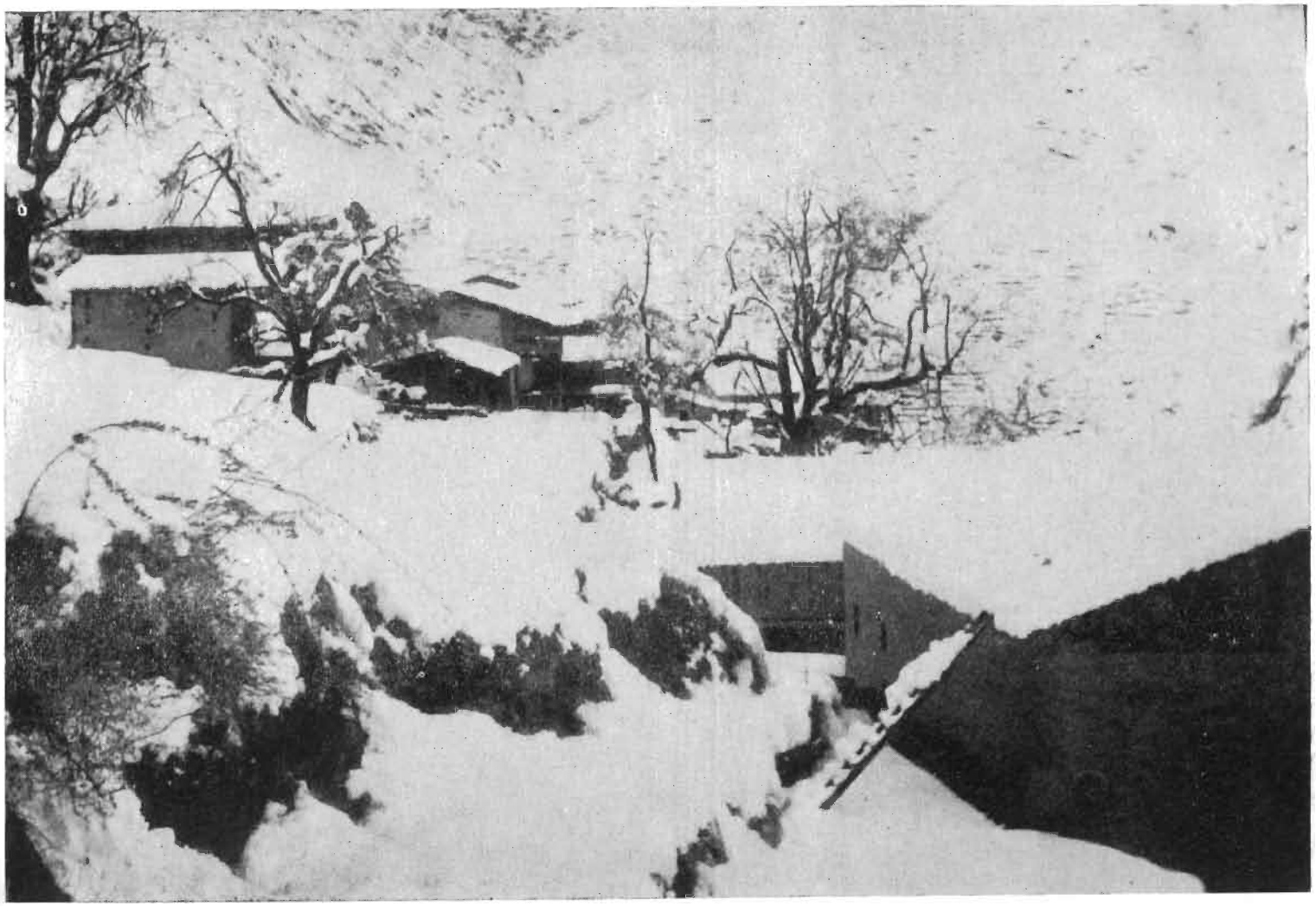
Goshen, unlike the average Brahmauri village consists of three castes, Gaddi, Sipi and *riara*. The *riaras* depend on playing musical instruments and on the silversmith for their support and have no land. The Sipi family supports itself mainly on its land. All the Gaddis except one family have some land. Only the families belonging to one *gotra* keep herds of sheep and goats.[1]

Prior to the Settlement in 1951 within the area of Goshen there were the following types of land. (a) Agricultural land whose right to use was completely vested in the person who paid the *tika* (revenue assessment). All the families of Goshen village had some agricultural land other than the *riaras* and the family who had settled matrilocally with his wife some two generations back.[2] These two groups were supported differently. In the case of the *riaras* at certain seasons and festivals, they were entitled to receive donations towards their living expenses and, if they were present, to provide certain services at such *rites de passage* as marriage. In the case of the matrilocally settled Rajput family, certain supporters of his family in the village and especially his matrilineal relatives, allowed him to use some of their land for growing crops while, reserving their right to continue to pay their own *tike*. (b) House site land. An annual fee of one rupee used to be paid to the government to retain rights in this land. Every person who had land in the village was entitled to a piece of land for a house site and certain others could also obtain a house site with the permission of the other villagers. This fee has now been transferred from direct payment to the Indian government to form one of the sources of income for the *gram panchayat*. The existence of a house site in a village is proof positive that one is a member of that village community. If a person were to have land in a village and yet did not have a house site in that village, it would not be unreasonable to deduce that the owner of the land was an outsider who had

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[1] The Census Commissioners' report on Brahmaur provides some statistics of migration from Brahmaur to the plains. Since this is an ethnographic survey, I will not give a detailed description of the economic background of the village here.

[2] See Newell, "Submerged descent line among the Gaddi people of North India", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 92, 1962, London, p. 14.



Goshen village in November

attained his land by some doubtful method. On the settlement report of Goshen village this principle was not clearly understood and certain Brahmins who acquired land below the Brahmaur-Kugti road were registered as being members of the Goshen village community for reasons of administrative convenience although their house sites were in Bari Village. (c) Land between the houses in the village site, and the area surrounding the dominant caste shrine can be regarded as common land to be used as the villagers determine. (d) Waste land usually used for such purposes as burning ghats by the side of streams. (e) Government land.[1] The villagers had certain rights over this land as a privilege or by tradition for grazing animals, or to operate mills on payment of a fee to the government. The government land could not be used exclusively by any one village but only by the inhabitants of Brahmaur in general. It was quite common to see people from other villages grazing their cows and sheep in the waste land immediately below the village above the Budl Nadl. At Settlement for reasons which are not clear to me these different categories of land were all combined into private or government land and the category of common land was completely abolished. The Goshen villagers declared that the settlement officer claimed that unless they surrendered their common land to the government they would have to pay taxes on it. They did not understand that if they did not pay taxes they could not control it. An example of their difficulties can be seen in the case of the land surrounding the village shrine. When I first visited the shrine in 1952, it was surrounded by a large area of grass on which all the villagers could sit during the shrine festival. In 1962 about half of this land was ploughed up. On enquiry, it appeared that one of the members of the village who was supposed to be influential with the government because he had a junior government position had threatened the other villagers that since the shrine land was now government and not common land, that he would apply for a special grant to extend his fields on to the shrine land. To protect the rights of the villagers, mistakenly or not, a certain well respected villager with the approval of the other villagers had ploughed up the land himself to prevent the accusation from the government that it was "waste" and awaits a court case accusing him of ploughing up government land. Government land only requires the approval of the government to be used. Common land required the approval of

[1] As a matter of fact it is not at all clear whether villagers did not at one time have definite rights in the government land by virtue of living in the village. In my enquiries they definitely believed that they could use wood for burning corpses at a funeral and could collect wood for *chhei* at marriage without a permit. Their obtaining a permit for the latter was only a matter of politeness. But conversely, trees on their own land could not be cut down completely without the permission of the rajah. On p. 275 of the 1910 *Chamba gazetteer op-cit.* the following statement appears: "The cultivator enjoys the right of user (*barton*) in the wastes near his holding. These rights are chiefly as follows:—the right to pasture sheep and goats and also cattle; to cut grass (*ghal*) and the leaves of certain trees for fodder and thorns for hedges; to gather or break dry wood for fuel; to cut pine or cedar splinters for torches (*jagni*) from dry and fallen trees within the *barton*, to fell small trees of inferior quality called *bansali* for fuel at marriages and funerals. Other rights are also enjoyed such as the grant of timber for building purposes, but for this a written permit must be obtained from the central authority at Chamba. These privileges are not confined to the actual cultivators but are also enjoyed by the farm servants and other residents in the village, who do not own land but keep a few sheep and goats..... The cultivators may not cut trees the timber of which is valuable even when they grow within the limits of their arable land".

The actual wording of the 1953 settlement is as follows—

"In our village there is no common land (*shamilat deh*. This is a technical Urdu expression). In our village there is also no such land, whose ownership has been acquired by the village from the government.

[2] As there is no common land for the village, we have no individual grazing grounds. So we use the grazing grounds of the government as we used them previously". This settlement document will be discussed in more detail subsequently. Every village has an almost identical document as though the whole copy were drawn up for the whole of Brahmaur and a few words only changed here and there. But although the Urdu word *shamilat deh* is not used in Gaddiland, there is certainly a customary use of common land which differs from government land. This question of *shamilat deh* arose as an important question in a previous settlement and the original decision of the government was subsequently reversed. It is unfortunate that the Land Settlement Officer did not look up the previous remarks by Mr. Lyall for Kangra. This is Mr. Lyall's statement criticising the first settlement of Mr. Barnes in 1860 referring to *iqrarnamah* (settlement papers). "It will not do to accuse the landholders of putting in the "*iqrarnamahs*" the definition of the waste as "*shamilat deh*" or joint property of the village, and thereby manufacturing their own title, for it is a fact that they did not, and in most cases do not even now, understand the words. They have now generally adopted the word *shamlat* as a name for the unenclosed waste, but as often as not they add the epithet *sarkari* (*i.e.*, of the State) and thus arrive at an amusing contradiction in terms. I believe that the real inventors of the definition were the native officials and clerks who worked under Mr. Barnes. These men were all trained in the Northwest Provinces, and had their minds full of the regulations and routine adapted to a Settlement on the plains. When they found themselves in front of a hill circuit seeing that it was neither *zamindari* nor *pattidari* they dubbed it as a *bhaichara* estate, and it followed in the ordinary course that the waste lands were all *shamilat deh*" [p. 31 *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Punjab.* By J.B. Lyall— 1865-72 Lahore Central Jail Press, 1874. (Published 1876)].

There was thus a clear distinction in 1860 in Kangra between common land, government land and private land which was misunderstood by Mr. Barnes in his first settlement and the mistake was not noticed until 1872 by Mr. Lyall. The same misunderstanding has been perpetuated in the 1953 settlement in Brahmaur.

In a recent book by G. Berreman, *Hindus of the Himalayas* (University of California Press 1963) studying a hill village in Uttar Pradesh ten miles from Dehra Dun, the villagers' rights in land were registered as *bhaichara* in 1815, after an early Settlement and now a hundred and forty years later it is possible to study the effects of this fundamental and unintentional change in the land system.

all the villagers. This would be rarely given. This change in the category of land use affects the nature of village rights.

Thus Goshen village is composed of a village centre surrounded by large houses three or four storeys in height, a "village" shrine, a lookout house in which people can sit and talk and a number of public trees, where one can sit. Every owner of a house site has the right to use water from any one of five springs provided they keep certain general rules. These rules are that cattle can only water themselves at the lower spring and the higher springs can be only used for drinking water. All washing has to be in the lower springs so as not to dirty the source of supply.

Surrounding the village is the agricultural land on which the cultivator can grow anything he wishes subject to three restrictions. (a) In order that animals may not destroy the standing crops, while the upper section of the village lies fallow, the lower half grows crops and *vice versa;* and animals must be kept to the fallow or already harvested sections. It is not necessary for the animals only to remain in that part of the section owned by their owners. (b) Since the fields are steeply terraced, every field owner on the upper side of a field has always the responsibility of replacing stones which fall on to the lower field and to compensate for any damage done in co-operation with the lower owner. He need do this only once a year during a special period in which repairs are undertaken before the sowing season. The statement in the settlement report is as follows: "If the retaining walls fall down the owner of the top section and the owner of the bottom section will repair it together, and the grass on the boundary will be shared half and half. If the retaining walls fall down the owner of the top section and the owner of the bottom section will repair it together, and the grass on the boundary will be shared half and half. If the repairs are not carried out before the sowing season then the owner of the bottom section of land can throw away the stones and cultivate." (Section 10) (c) In certain fields, large walnut trees grow. The Gaddis closely associate walnuts with certain beliefs about the reproduction of the earth and do not even plant walnuts in the earth for fear of a disaster from the earth. Walnuts are used in various ceremonies as a substitute for coconuts implying reproduction. Some of the walnuts trees are very large and valuable. The statement in the settlement agreement is as follows: Clause 12. "The ownership of a tree belongs to the person from whose land it derives its sustenance".

This statement is a grave oversimplification as far as walnut trees are concerned. The roots of the tree often spread over two or three fields but the person in whose land the tree itself stands have no rights either to demand compensation or to claim partial ownership. The trees are invariably divided up among several owners, one of whom is usually the person on whose land it is. The trees often spread away ten or fifteen feet from the trunks and under the tree nothing will grow because of the shade and because of the destruction caused by the falling nuts. If a plough and pair of bullocks can be driven under the tree without touching the branches, then the owner of the land cannot touch it but it a branch is below this level it may be cut off. If the falling nuts destroy crops under the tree then the owner of the land must be given compensation equal to the value of the crops destroyed. But he gets no compensation for land which could have grown anything but for the tree's overshadowing. A walnut tree is classified separately into owners, and any attempt by an owner of land from which it derives sustenance, to cut it down would be thought to be not only legally wrong but also likely to be dangerous to the community at large for mystical reasons.

The crops grown in Goshen (7,000′ above M.S.L.) vary a great deal from season to season. The main crops sown in the winter are *gandam* wheat, *jau* barley and *sarswan* (a mustard-like oil seed)[1]. The main crops sown in the spring are maize, millet and dry rice (*cholla or swuhal*)[2] Where the soil is too bad to grow these crops, *fullan*[3] and *bhares* are grown instead. These two crops are looked down on as food by those who live in the lower slopes of the valley. In addition to the staples mentioned above four sorts of beans are grown called *ma, mungi,*[4] *qulth*[5] and ordinary brown beans. There are also four types of wild rice which are grown termed *chania,*[6] *koni,*[7] *bajar bang*[8] and *salan.* These varieties of rice are all used in different ceremonial contexts.[8] *Bajar bhang,* for example, is

1. *Amaranthus sp.*
2. *Fagopyrum esculentum* moench.
3. *Phaseolus aureus* Roxb.
4. Possibly *dolichos biflorus* L.
5. *Panicum miliaceum* L (millet)
6. *Setaria italica bean* (Italian millet)
7. *Chenopodium sp.*

I am indebted to the Kew Gardens for these identifications.

8. The following goods are associated with different grains.
Devi, *chania;* chaund, maize; Kailang, wheat : Koteru, pulses; nags, barley.

used when fasting instead of ordinary food.

In addition, potatoes, cucumbers, tomatoes, pumpkins, red peppers, green chilis and certain western fruit such as apples are grown. Not all these vegetables will keep. In addition food is often supplemented by wild food. Honey is often found in the jungle and a variety of non-poisonous toadstools called *champakanun,* which tastes like meat and is very pleasant. Walnut trees are valuable items of property.

There is a rough understanding of the place of manure in causing crops to grow. Cow dung is carried out by the women twice a year from the cow byres on to the fields before ploughing commences and at the end of summer. A great deal of the value of this sort of manure is lost however as the manure for the summer crops is laid in the ground just before the snow falls, and the manure for the autumn crops is laid on the ground without the addition of any dried vegetable matter so that it cannot form a compost.

The seasonal crop cycle is as follows. The months are given the local names.

European month	Sanskrit month	Gaddi Month	
April	Chaitra ..	15th Chet	2009 commencement of the New Year. Ploughing starts after the first really hot day.
May	Vaishākh ..	Baisakh	Making up of work teams (*kwer*) to repair retaining walls broken down by snow during the winter.
		15th Baisakh	Sowing of millet (*qudra*), *bajar bhang*, Ploughing must have finished by this date.
June	Jyeshta ..	Jeth	Sowing of maize (*makki*) and tobacco. Flocks arrive from below and after a fortnight proceed on to Lahul.
July	Ashāda ..	Asarh	Reaping of wheat (*kunnuck*) planted previous year.
August	Srāvan ..	Sawan	Manuring and ploughing of wheat fields. Planting of *dal* (bean staple). Threshing and storing grain.
September ..	Bhādrapāda ..	Bhadon	Reaping of *mandal* (used for making beer)* and maize. Return of flocks from the upper valleys at Lahul.
October ..	Aswija ..	Asuj	Manuring and ploughing those fields which formerly grew *mandal* and maize.
November ..	Kārtik ..	Kartik	Reaping of *ma, fullun, bhares, chaina mungi* and *gulth* (in short all auxiliary crops). Planting of previous maize fields with wheat Departure of sheep and goats for grass high up on the mountains and thence to the Kangra plains.
December ..	Mārgashira ..	Maghar	Season of weddings, festivals, and so on. Little work and plenty of fun. All depart for the plains except those few individuals who volunteer to stay behind to look after the cows or for personal reasons decide to remain, *e.g.*, illness, building a house.
January ..	Pushya ..	Poh	First snow.
February ..	Māgha ..	Magh	Snow.
March	Phalguna ..	Phagan	Snow.
April	Chaitrā ..	Chet	Snow finishes. People return. Those who still have food use it to get communal tasks performed such as getting new cross-beams for houses, repairing water mills and so on. The women start to bring out manure for the fields.

*This is fermented with a root called *bujulu.* The Kew Gardens identify this as *gerbera lonuginosa* Benth.

Rainfall registered at Brahmaur for the year 1959—

Month	Rainfall	Snowfall
January ..	81·2 mm.	4′ 4″
February ..	118·6 mm.	1′ 5″
March ..	132·0 mm.	
April	45·2 mm.	
May	82·0 mm.	
June	70·9 mm.	
July	209·2 mm.	
August	117·6 mm.	
September ..	113·5 mm.	
October ..	79·2 mm.	
November ..	78·3 mm.	
December ..	*	0·6″
Total ..	1127·7 mm.	6′ 3″

This rainfall is very much less than on the opposite side of the Dhaula Dhar in the Kangra Valley.

*The rain gauge was overturned but usually little rain at this time.

The 15th Chet. 2009 started on the 27th March, 1952. Each month has between 29 and 32 days. The calendar is based on a combination of the sun and moon's rotations. Since it has 12 months in a year the above table is practically equivalent to the western calendar.

It will be observed from the above table that there are two planting and reaping seasons within the nine months of the agricultural year. Nevertheless out of one piece of soil, only one major crop is obtained each year. In one piece of soil, wheat is sown in the autumn just before the snow. This grows in the spring and is reaped in July. Subsidiary bean crops are then planted which are reaped just before the snow falls. The land lies fallow under the snow in the second year and is planted with maize and *mandal* in the spring. This is harvested in the early autumn to be immediately sown again with wheat. In order to facilitate this rotation of crops, along a line approximately running through the middle of the village, the villagers all agree to plant only one sort of crop above the line and another crop below. Thus when the upper slopes are thick with new wheat, the lower slopes are bare, so that cows, goats and sheep can wander at will among the dry stalks without trampling down someone's field. In the autumn the arrangement is reversed. This is a village custom based on convenience. There are usually three ploughings for each preparation of the land. The first is called *oghar* after which manure is applied. The second ploughing is called *jel* after which the seed is sown. The third ploughing is termed *berak* after which the ground is levelled off. This levelling off is called *sohage* or *dah*. Times and seasons vary with the height and conditions of the village.

There are five different types of festival. (1) "National" festivals in which non-Gaddis from the plains come on pilgrimage and in which Gaddis may join. These are Manimahesh and Brahmani. (2) Feasts held by Gaddis throughout Gaddiland simultaneously in their villages. These are Basuah, Sero and Holi. (3) Festivals held by one particular village on the feast day of the village god, or as thank offerings which a particular family gives to the whole village, or to celebrate the conclusion of a village communal task. (4) In the exceptional village consisting of more than one caste, a feast by that caste to a caste god. (5) Family festivals. The two latter will be dealt with later.

In Goshen village, there are four main village festivals during the year. They are Basuah on the 1st Baisakh (13th April in 1952), Sera on the 1st Asuj (16th September in 1952), Pattru on the 1st Bhadon (16th August in 1952) and the end of Holi on the 30th Phagan (12th March in 1952). In addition there are two important festivals which are 'national' festivals, in the sense that they are celebrated by pilgrims from all over India, who visit Brahmaur at this time. They are the festival of Mani Mahesh on the 11th Bhadon (26th August in 1952), and a festival at Brahmani on the 28th Sawan (12th August in 1952). These two festivals are pilgrimages to the two spots mentioned and they occur when the year's work in the fields has been completed for the most part. A village festival is one where the villagers or the majority of villagers are each expected to contribute food to be eaten communally before the local shrine. In addition, there are a number of "private" festivals where some member of the village, finds he has more food than he expected or to commemorate some special event, decides to invite the villagers to an all-night vigil to Shiva (*narwala*). This vigil must however be performed at an auspicious time, just as the rites associated with marriage and with the sending away of the bride (*sudenoj*), must be usually undertaken during the auspicious half of the months of Kartik and Maghar after the harvest.

It can be seen that the annual Gaddi cycle of festivals is more or less evenly spaced over the summer and completely suspended during the winter, when the people may be dispersed in many different places. The double sowing and the double harvesting and various festivals are evenly spaced throughout the summer until, in November and December with work completed, the valley gives itself up to a month's feasting, marriages and visits. When field work is at a low ebb, the Gaddis spin wool and weave and make their own clothes. This spreading of work over the whole year does away with the necessity of hiring peak period labour that prevails on the Punjab plains. The only time that outside seasonal labour is required is when families have no man old enough to take the responsibility for the ploughing. Even in such families, it is often possible to obtain an in-law to do the work without payment.

Some of the agricultural implements found in this area are called *sandar, halotra, jungra, phal, khurpi, suhagar, kuhari, kilni, kashi, kodal, kahio, chaj, phora, darati,* and *jamro.*[1] Both sexes can use all these implements except the plough which can only be used by a male, the reason apparently being that an impure woman might offend the earth by cutting it up.

But as November and December approach, the villagers of the Brahmaur district prepare to leave for the plains. Before departing they make arrangements with one of their neighbours or with a friend in a neighbouring village to look after their cows and bulls at 2 rupees a month per animal (1952). In Goshen every family working land has bulls and cows. The

[1] For descriptions of the implements please see Census Commissioner's Report on *Brahmaur op. cit.*

bulls are small, black and hardy and are mainly from Kangra. A bull was estimated by the owners to be worth about 50 rupees cash in 1952. Cows are worth less than half this sum. Each bull and cow is believed to have its own familiar spirit (*Jakh*), and when an animal is bought or sold, the name of its familiar spirit is also transferred. A calf acquires its mother's spirit. On the successful birth of a calf or at the sickness of the bull or cow, gifts of clarified butter (*ghi*) are offered to the spirit.[1] In addition to the name of the spirit, each cow has also its own personal name. A cow's purchase money implies the approval of its spirit to the sale. Some families also own one or two sheep which remain in the house all the year. Sheep have no guardian spirits.

After seeing that their animals will be well looked after during the winter, the Gaddis shut up their houses to prevent a wild animal breaking in, and as the first snowfall strikes their homes, make haste to descend the track to Chamba or cross over the Dhaula Dhar to Palampur, Dharamsala or the Kangra valley. They leave in family parties and at different speeds. Where they are bound for, and how fast they travel, depends on their aim and how fit they are.

Of the 22 elementary families at Goshen in 1952, six remained behind. Of the sixteen who went away, 2 had land at Dharamsala, where they could work for winter crops, the three musician families begged, one family found employment on the new Jullundur railway laying sleepers, one who owned a packhorse went to work at Kangra and stayed with relatives. Another family cut wood at Pathankot, four other families either were looking after sheep or accompanied people who were looking after sheep. Thus during the winter the village community dissolves. The proportion of families leaving Goshen in 1961 appeared to be about the same although in certain villages obtaining government work, the proportion staying was higher.

Although the term Gaddi is etymologically connected with the word for "high pastures" and in common usage refers to shepherds, by no means all Gaddis have any association with the care and pasturing of sheep. But among those Gaddis who own flocks, there is a definite cycle of activity which repeats itself every year.

During the summer, the sheep and goats are pastured on the mountains on the south and west of the Chandra Bhaga river (Sutlej) in Lahul or in the pastures on the Bara Bangahal. As autumn approaches the shepherds travel slowly down the valley below Kugti to Brahmaur where they remain two to three weeks. During this period, they allow their flocks to rest on those lands whose owners pay a fee for the sheep manure, and join in the various festivities of this season of the year. As autumn continues, they travel up the Ravi over nearly all the passes between Holi and Baijnath. They remain on the tops until snow drives them down to the Kangra plains, where they arrive as late as possible. There they pasture their flocks on the fields before the autumn (*kharif*) crops are planted, and receive payment from the landowners for so doing. They remain in the valley all the winter, until, as the spring approaches, they return to Brahmaur either through Dalhousie and Chamba along the main road, or over the first snow-free pass. In the middle spring, they again stay for two or three weeks at Brahmaur and on the hills on each side, before passing up the valley to Kugti and Lahul. The shepherds are not nomads in the sense that they do not know where they are going. They have a definite cycle of movement and in different places build up relationships with the local inhabitants, especially those who, not keeping animals themselves, require the sheep and goat droppings.

Caring for the sheep and goats is an isolated and lonely occupation, and, during the spring and autumn, often dangerous with bears about. On these trips the wife usually accompanies her husband for whom she prepares and cooks the meals and looks after the children. The husband collects the firewood and looks after the sheep. There are usually recognised shelters under an overhanging rock, which have become well-known in the course of time, and, along well-known routes, there may be as many as twenty to thirty families camped under the one rock each with a separate cooking fire. Children too small to walk are carried on their father's back. A family with enough sheep is self-sufficient, not requiring rights in land for subsistence. The sheep and goats are shorn in June and October. The largest clip is in October.[2] In February, the clip is sold to Kangra traders and the money used to buy food to support the family during the winter. In June and October the wool is exchanged with other Gaddis in Brahmaur for food, and to provide the wool staple to be made into cloth by members of the family remaining at home. Yet, to a Gaddi, this self-sufficiency hardly makes up for the disadvantage of the wandering roving life away from the centres of

[1] The gift to a *jakh* is termed *ahri* and is one *ser* (about 2 lbs.) in weight after the first birth, ½ *ser* for the second birth and the third birth and ¼ *ser* subsequently. This applies whatever the sex of the calf.

In Kugti are also found *yung*, a cross breed between a yak and a bull or cow. A few water buffaloes have been introduced in the lower valley when the jeep road was built. See *The Sherpas of Nepal, Buddhist Highlanders* by Christoph von Furer—Haimendorf. John Murray, London, 1964 p. 12.

[2] The average clip per annum per sheep is said to be between 69 and 83 *sers*. (1 *ser*—2 lbs. approx.)

permanent habitation. For every shepherd has a fixed permanent home, and, far from being a nomad, his hope is always to return to his own village, where he can participate in the village activities during the summer and autumn at least. During the winter it is at least as comfortable to live with the sheep in the warm Kangra valley as in the snow-covered empty Brahmaur villages. At this time shepherding becomes more popular. But the majority of Gaddis are not shepherds. In Goshen only one *gotra* could be said to have members specialising in shepherd's work.

Gaddi flocks consist of both sheep and goats, Although sheep produce more wool, they are less hardy and give less meat and milk. Goats are also able to live on poorer pasture than sheep, but at the same time tend to destroy the pasture after they have grazed for a certain length of time, as their sharp hooves cut the turf, exposing the top soil, which is blown away by the wind.

There are about 20 per cent more sheep than goats and this proportion appears to have remained the same for at least the last ten years. Even though the destruction by goats of the top soil is greater and the tax is greater every shepherd requires both animals. The product of the sheep is in the nature of a cash crop which can either be sold or made into clothing but the goat is in the nature of a subsistence crop which can be eaten and exchanged in the villages. Some Gaddis own sheep and goats without being shepherds. The owners pay the shepherds 5 *ser* of raw wool per sheep plus the gift of one sheep for a small flock (*toeni*) per season. But rates vary and hired shepherds are becoming increasingly unwilling to take responsibility for flocks other than their own family's. But where flocks are looked after by other than the owner there is a kinship connection, usually mother's brother[1] sister's son relationship. Owners lack confidence in non-kin to keep accounts honestly.

About three or four years ago a severe disease struck certain of the flocks with a big decrease in numbers. In 1962 the flocks were coming back to the same strength as in 1958. However, the situation of the shepherds is today not the same as in the time of the rajah. At the time of the rajah, any person who wished to graze on the *dhars* could do so provided he paid the approved grazing fee.[1]

At the present time, one can only pay tax to the extent that one has a permit issued by the forest officer and the total number of animals allowed to graze in any one *dhar* is determined by the forest officer. This is in order to prevent overgazing. Animals under one year of age are not included in the permit and no tax need be paid on them. The owner of every animal found over age and not registered on the permit is fined one rupee on the spot or else brought before the *tahsildar*. According to the forest officer at Brahmaur to whom I owe a great debt of thanks for his courtesy in answering my enquiries, the general principle of the forest department is to allow the name of the owners to be freely transferred provided the total number of sheep or goats does not increase. From personal knowledge I know that these permits are freely bought and sold amongst shepherds so that shepherds have now become closed corporations. Yet since the size of flocks rises and falls in accordance with the number of kids and lambs born *two* seasons earlier and in accordance with diseases which may strike at any time, the shepherds cannot afford to have the full number of animals granted on their permit in an off year (in case they need them the following year). Thus they are forced into the position of either running more than the number on their permits risking a fine or bribe; or else keeping the number of their flock less than their permit and selling part of their licence temporarily to some other shepherd. This changes the whole pattern of shepherding as it prevents outsiders coming into the occupation and strengthens the hands of those able to get permits.

During the whole of this period the population was increasing at a rate estimated by the Census of India as 19% between 1951 and 1961. while the number of sheep and goats was reduced by about a quarter due to the Forest Department permit system.

It is clear that Gaddis are not principally a sheep caring nomadic people but have done so for hundreds of years as an *additional* means of gaining subsistence. Most Gaddis still have no desire to undertake this task and the crude grass sandals with which they protect their feet against the snow is in striking contrast to the neighbouring Lahulis who have invented their own effective boots against the elements. The Gaddis are an agricultural peoples who take up other occupations from economic necessity rather than desire.

[1] This outline of the former rights in pasturage for sheep and goats varies considerably in different parts of the state. For example in Kugti although the rajah owned the right to collect fees from the shepherds for pasture, he apparently had not the right to allow shepherds other than local shepherds to graze there. Dhars were held direct from the rajah but "the inhabitants of Kugti which is surrounded by large tracts of waste, boast that they have always held from the Rajah the lease of all the Kugti *dhars*, with power to admit what shepherds they please, and they do not admit that the Rajah could now lawfully alter this arrangement. They claim in fact a kind of corporate property in the *dhar* limited however to sheep grazing; the right of netting or snaring musk deer in the same tract is leased by the Rajah direct to Bangahal men or other outsiders" (p. 142, Punjab District Gazetteers, Vol. *X, A Kangra District*, Part A 1904 Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore, 1906).

Grazing statement of sheep and goats in the Brahmaur tahsil of Himachal Pradesh who have paid the recognised grazing fees. By courtesy of Hem Raj, Brahmaur Forest Officer.

Year	Sheep	Goats	Remarks by the author
1952-3	42,176	31,695	
1953-4	40,515	28,301	
1954-5	41,220	30,831	
1955-6	41,117	32,458	
1956-7	40,600	30,896	
1957-8	38,346	28,921	
1958-9	35,733	25,098	
1959-60	30,828	24,864	This is the year after the sheep were struck by disease.
1960-1	30,715	24,629	
1961-2	30,515	24,406	

Please notice the approximately constant proportion of sheep and goats during the whole of this period.



A posed group of Gaddi Goshen villagers in 1952 with some of their material implements. In the foreground a spinning wheel. Behind it is an instrument for making rope dhora. On the extreme left is a grindstone for making oil and behind again is a pounding rod for beating grain. In the background is Dr. Chowhan, then local medical officer.

CHAPTER 4

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN SEXES, VILLAGERS, CASTES AND VILLAGES.

Occupational tasks of each sex in 1952 in the village of Goshen, Brahmaur tahsil.

Male	Female
(1) Field work Sowing seed, ploughing, preparing soil, digging, building retaining walls, reaping.	Beating soil after plough with a T shaped implement, manuring, reaping, winnowing (*chandr*).
(2) Clothes Twisting the three threads together on a spinner*, weaving, making *dhoras* (rope).	Teasing and spinning the wool into thread, embroidery, repairing clothing (but not making which is a tailor's job), dyeing.
(3) Food Carrying the flour to the mill, cutting and storing the firewood collection of wild fruit and walnuts, etc. Making *sur* (beer) except mixing ingredients together.	Pounding *dhal* (beans) and other foods, making oil (from oilseeds)*, stirring and making *ghi* (clarified butter), preparing all the food which has to be cooked at the *chula* (house stove), washing clothes*. Mixing ingredients for *sur*.
(4) Children Instruction of boys in male tasks after they can walk.	Everything else.
(5) Auxiliary tasks	
Maintenance of the house structure*.	Keeping the house clean and periodical plastering with cow dung.
Performance of communal work outside such as building water channels for mills, carrying of the main beam for a new house*, construction of such things as a wooden yoke for oxen, storing grass for the winter and feeding the cattle. All auxiliary trades held by men such as carrier, tailor, carpenter or wood workers usually but not always of Gaddi caste.	Cattle grazing (with the assistance of children), sweeping the courtyard. Cutting grass for the winter.

These tasks are not fixed definitely within the family but in a normal family of mother, father, son and daughter they will be divided in this fashion. The only exception is that no women will ever plough.

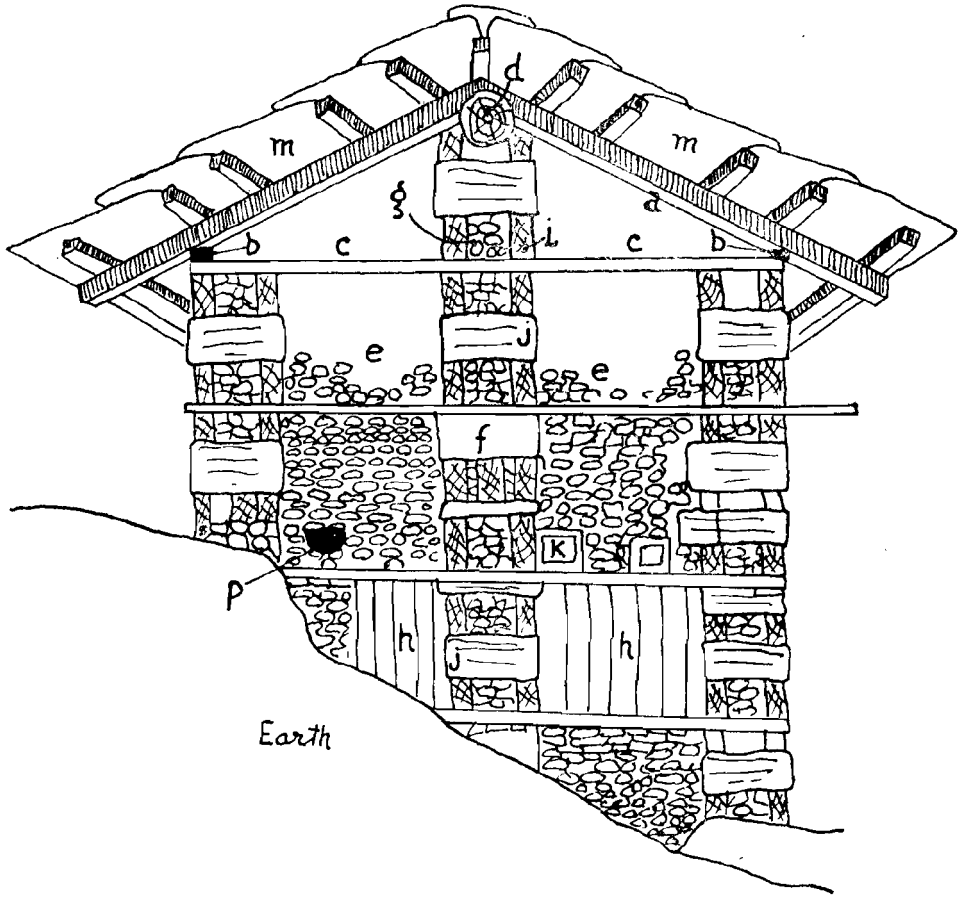
In the chart above can be seen the division of labour between the sexes for most of the normal duties undertaken in the village of Goshen. There are three main points to notice about this chart.

(a) The division of labour between men and women is just about the same but there are certain seasons of the year when men have little work to do while women's work is more even throughout the year. But in the men's light working season, many of them take up weaving clothes and blankets.

(b) There is practically no task other than minding small children which does not require co-operation of both sexes.

(c) The tasks marked with an * are duties carried out by caste specialists on the plains. Because there are very few caste specialists on account of the poverty of the people, duties have to be undertaken by ordinary Gaddis as part of their normal duties. I have even seen a group of Gaddis burying a dead animal in a field without any caste contamination. Only the duties of a *lohar* are usually undertaken by a low caste person.

The family is an economic as well as a sexual unit and in choosing a wife or husband, the first qualification is the economic ability of the spouse rather than the beauty or intelligence of the other party. This emphasis on the sexual division of labour is an important question in such an issue as education. Education is mainly seen as a means of upward social mobility for men. Women become mobile not by moving up themselves but by marrying someone who is likely to be socially mobile. Thus it would be against common sense from the Gaddi viewpoint for a woman to become educated because it will not affect her position in the society. Thus only boys should be educated and one can almost add the word school to the male occupational tasks. Discrimination against women being educated is not on the grounds of the intelligence or ability of the female sex. In fact for the most part Gaddis have a higher opinion of women than men. It is just that it is a waste of money since only the socially mobile member of the family will ever require education. I am aware that there is one Gaddi female graduate of Chamba High School but this particular girl comes from a relatively wealthy family and has gained her position against a great deal of opposition. Most girls never reach this stage. Politics in the sense of voting was also regarded as essentially a man's duty in the first general elections where I think only about 30 women voted out of a total poll of about 500. But at the present time an increasing number of women actually vote although no woman as far as I am aware has yet



Half-completed Gaddi house

been directly elected to any local *panchayat* from the whole of the voting block.

The Gaddis own agricultural equipment, water mills and houses. Among the illustrations there is a cross-section of a small half-completed Gaddi house. Built on the side of the steep hill-side, houses have rarely fewer than three stories. With solid walls three to four feet thick, stuffed with stones, carried from the fields, and supported by planks laid across each other, they require a great amount of skill to complete successfully. On the side of the diagram there are a number of technical terms dealing with different parts of the house. These terms are by no means exhaustive and the various parts of the house are put together on recognised principles. To build a three-storey house of rough stones and planks so solid that it can withstand more than two generations of the snow and wind's buffeting is no easy task, and is a matter for the specialist. In fact, in Gaddiland we find the carpenters mainly occupied in building houses.

The prospective owner of a new house must gain the support of his family in the project. Usually this is done either because the old house is falling down; or because there are a number of brothers in the house. When all are married, there is insufficient room for them to have a floor each: or a man wishes to marry some particular girl and the best way of convincing her parents that the marriage would be a success is to produce visible evidence of a good property. After the decision to build a house has been made, the capital has to be raised, which is usually done by trying to get the support of as many groups as possible. The mother's brother is the first person to whom one goes, but brothers-in-law are also important people to approach. There are no professional money-lenders in the district in the sense of a permanent occupation, largely, I expect, because land cannot be used as security, and houses, the largest form of investment, cannot be moved. Gaddis have little jewellery of any value, and sheep, although movable, are not owned by everyone. (In any case sheep can meet with a number of accidents crossing over the high passes

especially if the owner and shepherd are different people.) The best security is social relationship. Having raised the capital, the next step is to negotiate with the Forest Department for the right to cut down trees. Although trees may be obtained, their position is very important as it may require several extra days' work to drag them to the place of erection. If a carpenter has a good reputation and has already successfully erected some famous houses, his services are in keen demand. His salary is not inconsiderable; in 1952, he earned from 60 to 70 rupees a month plus food. In 1962 the rates were about 7 rupees a day. These carpenters may be either Gaddis or Sipis, although usually they are Gaddis. The position of carpenter is not hereditary. The carpenter who constructed the house illustrated, came from Goa village and was a classificatory mother's brother of the owner. His father was a plain agriculturist and, according to other Gaddis, had little money. He sent his son to be apprenticed to a carpenter in Chamba where he stayed five years before returning. Since his return he has been very busy, and is now very much in demand, and his family is wealthy by Gaddi standards. He still works on his land, and has recently been increasing its yield by removing more stones from its surface. He has a young son aged about six whom he intends to turn into a school teacher. His paterenal nephew has been educated to the second year in the high school in Chamba.

There are three main ceremonies to do with the building of a house. The first is at the laying of the foundations when the *parohit* Brahmin of the house-builder is consulted. Most Brahmins use the astrological textbook found on the plains, the *Bastu Sarani* but I cannot understand how this book is applied as houses can only be built along the edge of the hillside and the question of direction of the main entrance cannot in all instances be the most auspicious. The second ceremony is the laying down of the main beam (*barnda*) when a goat is sacrificed and its entrails attached to the main beam. This is the stage when the house acquires a "personality". The third ceremony is at the house-warming.

The bottom part of the house is always reserved for the family's animals and each floor or part of a floor above is occupied by a separate *chula* (fireplace) with a separate elementary family. Immediately a son becomes married his wife is entitled to a fireplace of her own and it is unusual for married brothers' wives to occupy the same fireplace. Traditional joint families are unusual.

The style of Gaddi houses has changed considerably through time. An illustration shews perhaps the oldest home in the Brahmaur valley found at Grer. It is probably at least 300 years old and has very small outlets in the walls. According to Gaddi tradition the very earliest houses had no windows at all and were used as fortresses. With more settled conditions, windows were included. The most important known Gaddi builder under the Rajah was Chertu who built the *dharamsala* (now the Brahmaur school), the old *koti* in Brahmaur now used as a post office and the government office at Chhatrari. He is alleged to have always worn pyjamas and always kept a piece of gold in his pocket. Although these houses appear very subject to high winds, earthquakes and huge falls of snow, they are rarely affected. This is all the more surprising when one realises that the three storey buildings only go down about eighteen inches in foundations. No mortar or nails are used for the main structure. The small cross pieces (*puji and katthar*) have small holes bored in them for special hard wood dowelling provided by the forest department but even this dowelling is only inserted in the pillars for safety reasons. The Indian Government is now making certain buildings for government offices on the Rani's platform at the back of Brahmaur but instead of building in Gaddi style, they are trying to copy a style found in Simla with much deeper foundations and using concrete and sand. One of these buildings is unstable with a large crack already appearing. According to the skilled Gaddis who were concerned with constructing this foreign style building, the foundations have been made of small stones whereas the Gaddis method of laying foundations always uses large stones well packed together. I merely mention this to show that while the finish of Gaddi houses leaves a lot to be desired, architecturally and mechanically they have invented a style of house ideally suitable for the area in which they live. Gaddis love their house, understand the technical details very clearly and have as their major ambition the ownership of a house or floor of a house in which they can set up their own family. If one were to state the most important material object which lay at the centre of Gaddi society, one would take a house as that object in preference to sheep or crops.

It is a very severe restriction on Gaddis not to be able to purchase wood for their house when they wish. At the present moment the price of concession timber is in my opinion far too low and those permits which are granted are to some extent arbitrary. Some uninfluential villagers have been waiting up to five years for permits. It is probably better to increase the price and to reduce the part paid by influence. But even at the present price a house is not cheap and would be almost impossible to build were it not for the village institution of the *kwer*.

At a day set aside for the labour, every family in the village is informed, Each family in the

village sharing a common fireplace (*chula*) must provide a member. Whether the family is small or large, one person of the correct sex must be provided. In a building *kwer* all are males. In the evening, all those who have worked together, are provided with a free meal and free beer. If the labour is not sufficient, relatives of the house builder are invited from other villages, but this is on a personal basis. For village members not to provide a member would be in the nature of an insult to the host. In the family with whom I resided in Goshen, there were only two brothers without wives in the home. This means that for at least one day and usually two or three days a week during the *kwer* seasons, one of the brothers has to abandon his work as a tailor (at which he was making good money) or in the fields and take part in this without regard. On one occasion he was attending a *kwer* for building a watermill by his uncle, and tried to slip away unobserved but his uncle (aged 60) spotted him, and in a very loud voice told him (aged 45) that there was still work to be done. To a person who is a member of a large family and who is not interested in making as much money on his own as possible, these work teams are very enjoyable but to small ambitious families they are a heavy burden. Yet it was the small families who, in their turn, most required the assistance of a work team at the appropriate time.

The work teams are used on every possible occasion, both private and public, secular and religious. Privately, they are used to build houses, repair private watermills (especially the sluices), build up agricultural walls below the fields. They can be used by adults to force children to assist them. For example, stones which roll on to the fields are collected by children and placed in piles ready to be packed into a wall. Each family that has children has to provide one child who is given a free meal at the end of the day. Women similarly meet together to undertake such tasks as plastering a house with cow dung. These work teams must be distinguished from a group of common friends who meet together for common tasks. For example at the time when manure is carried from the cowbyres to put on the fields, the girls in each family may unitedly work together on each other's fields for the sake of the company, when no meal is provided.

Statement of trees sold to right-holders (that is citizens of Chamba State), Brahmaur Range.

Year	No. of trees	Concessional amount received in rupees	Remarks by author
1952-3	678	807·50	
1953-4	598	701·15	
1954-5	162	172·37	This is the year after settlement when private ownership of land was introduced so that owners could sell trees on their land without the rajah's permission. The forest officer refused to release many government trees for sale on the ground that the Gaddis were a wasteful lot selling good trees under the prices they should have received and would then buy government trees cheaply.
1955-6	433	439·00	
1956-7	349	358·12	
1957-8	321	336·00	
1958-9	411	406·50	(Unofficial table provided by Hem Raj, Forest Officer).
1959-60	409	357·44	
1960-1	514	531·84	
1961-2	491	505·39	

There are thus *kwers* for men, *kwers* for women and *kwers* for children. They are not reciprocal in the sense that one keeps a careful record of whose *kwer* one attends, for the whole village is expected to have one representative from each *chula* and they may be used for private or public purposes. In the case of public *kwers* the whole village provides the food for the participants or some important person himself provides the food as a public service. A *kwer* was at one time the normal method by which the stone walls on public paths were maintained. Under the Block Development Scheme a certain amount of money may be provided for repairing stone walls on public paths. But this is an innovation for as long as the village retains any sense of public feeling, the organisation of a *kwer* has always been possible. *Kwers* do however only take place at a certain period of the year for the most part, either in September just before new crops are harvested when the food left over from the previous year is consumed, or else at the return of the people from the plains after the snows when retaining walls must be strengthened.

If one were to ask the Goshen villagers as to why they carried out their obligations in *kwers* often at great personal inconvenience to themselves they would answer that each of the families in the village had *birton* ties with each other. In an earlier article I defined *birton* as a "system of traditionally sanctioned mutual obligation

and duties between individuals usually belonging to different castes".[1] After further investigation I wish to modify my definition to include all forms of mutual obligation between individuals or families other than obligations concerned with kinship relations. These *birton* obligations can however be sub-classified into different types and the following are the most important.

(a) *Bersord* is the relationship between a family and its Brahmin *parohit* (priest). At the 4 main *saikrants* (festivals) parohits may receive up to 10 *seer* of the 5 grains. Each *seer* consists of 6 *chhataks*, not the usual 16. In exchange the *parohit* is expected to carry out all rituals to do with *rites de passage* for all members of the client's family at only the nominal pay laid down by the nature of the ceremony. However he may also be asked to carry out extra duties such as casting horoscopes or performing extra services such as the ceremony to Sat Narayan for extra payment. Description of his special payments will be seen in the section on *rites de passage*. (some Gaddis do not wish to use the term *bersord* for this relationship but the Urdu term *nazurana*). This is a true *birton* relationship as it implies duties and obligations on both the patron's and client's part and the agreement cannot be dissolved by either party irrespective of the performance or non-performance of the obligations and duties. This relationship must be distinguished from the gifts given to Brahmins and to one's *bhanerja* (sister's child) which is a religious obligation termed *dhan* and does not imply any *birton* relationship.[2]

(b) *Kaman birton* is a general term for all forms of *birton* between different castes. In Goshen there is one Sipi family, who has adequate land and who is deeply respected by the other villagers. It is possible that his ancestor was the first occupant in the village. The present Sipi undertakes various tasks for the villagers especially the making of the wooden plough and other small carpentery tasks. He is not a carpenter himself but enjoys doing these duties. He took to making wooden pipes for smoking after my first visit to the area in 1951 and he presented R. C. Pal Singh with one of these pipes on a recent visit. He has a relationship with nearly every agricultural family in the village by which he will receive a certain amount of grain and in exchange make the plough handle (*haladi*). This relationship is called *kalana* or *kalhad*. The amount of grain which Jugta, the Sipi receive is not related to the number of oxen the client family has nor is it entirely related to the size of the land but is determined by an original arrangement by Jugta's ancestors. He is relatively well off and does not depend on these gifts for his subsistence and is quite prepared to modify them by mutual agreement with his clients if they wish. He regards them as a *birton* which makes him a sort of member of other families in the village. The Sipi is a highly respected member of the Goshen community. If he were not a good carpenter and was not respected I am not sure whether this relationship would be kept up. Most Gaddis are quite capable of making wooden ploughs themselves if they so wished.

(c) In Goshen there is also one group of Riara families. One member of the family is a silversmith, another pair play musical instruments and sing special religious songs not known to the Gaddis in the village. They own no land and depend on their profession for living expenses. They themselves declare they have been in the village for many generations while according to one Gaddi informant they were invited to settle in the village by the great grandfather of one of the present villagers. They definitely have *birton* with the other villagers in Goshen. At the four main festivals they can play a few notes outsides the houses of the villagers and receive grain and pulse. While the village is occupied during the summer and autumn they frequently receive gifts of various sorts from the villagers to keep them from starvation. Some villagers declare that the village relationship to them should be defined as *kutei*, a sort of begging. In my opinion this is clearly incorrect as by virtue of their residence in the Brahmaur *tahsil*, and because of their ability at playing they take turns at playing at the main Manimahesh *jatra*. They thereby acquire a right to receive money from the bystanders. The *riaras* themselves declare their relationship to the Goshen villagers as one of *bateshri* or *kulana* and on asking several of the villagers why the *riaras* were not so registered at the 1953 settlement, I was informed by several people that they never asked to be registered as *bateshri*, which would have been approved by the villagers without objection but instead asked to be given certain pieces of land to which of course they were not entitled. By having advisers who did not clearly understand their position in the village their opportunity to be registered as *bateshri* were lost. The relevant portion of the Village Agreement is as follows: —

"Excepting for blacksmiths who make implements like *phala, kudal, daratri, kulhadian*, etc. we have no other servicing castes, and to blacksmiths we pay two *battis* of *makki* and two *battis* of wheat. We have no village servants like a *chowkidar*."

1. W.H. Newell, "A Gaddi Village" in *India's Villages*. Edited by M.N. Srinivas, Asia Publishing House Bombay, 1960, 2nd edition P. 66.

2. The gift given to one's *bhatya* (brother's child) is termed *borjeru* and is not a *birton*.

It is clear that a statement such as the above is an oversimplification and that there are and have been relationships between people of different castes in the village which have continued for a considerable time. The relationships between *parohit* and *lohar* and their clients are probably found among all the villages in the Brahmaur valley. Perhaps the relationship between the Gaddis and the Sipi and Riara families are not found in every village but it is clear that these relationships are all of the same fundamental *birton* sort and to register some without registering the others was an oversight on the part of the settlement officer.

There are also a number of other *birton* relationships of this sort found in the Brahmaur valley. Two which came to my attention in 1952 were; the custom by which certain families at weddings used leaf plates provided free by certain families in the lowcaste village of Guggu when they often received a certain proportion of the harvest; and another family which was building its house also received free labour for carrying up tiles for the roof from the quarry from another family in Guggu with which it had *birton* relations. In the rajah's time before the abolition of *begari* (forced labour), Gaddis used often to ask low caste people to undertake their *begari* for them and in exchange would offer to protect them in other circumstance, this being a clear *birton* arrangement. These obligations are probably becoming weaker as time goes on but they are as yet by no means extinct.

(d) The arrangements based on *birton* described above are closely connected with constant face to face relationships. In a very extended sense, the *parohit* and the *riaras* and the *Sipi* ploughmaker are members of the client's family and would resent a *rite de passage* to which they were not invited But the *lohar* in Brahmaur who undertakes the making of plough tips and certain iron instruments for the Goshen villagers has no personal relationships with his clients and, according to his own statement, rarely attends *rites de passage* in families which he does not know personally.

All Goshen farmers deal with him at Brahmaur where he lives on the outskirts of the village. The *lohar* belongs to the Sipi caste. There is no special *lohar* caste in Brahmaur. His *parohit* is Lala from Goteru village. This *parohit* is the same *parohit* as deals with the Sipi group in Sechuin village. The Brahmaur *lohar* claims to come from the Japatra *gotra* and the wife of the present *lohar* comes from the Sechuin village. Other affines are from Grim, Kugti, and Chhatrari. He has never married into the Sipi family at Goshen. It is clear that within the Sipis there are two groups, an upwardly mobile moderately wealthy group and an ordinary specialised technical group. Although intermarriage is not forbidden, it does not occur. There are only four Sipi *lohar* groups in the whole of the Brahmaur *tahsil*, Brahmaur, Gaggal, Garola and Kugti. The *lohars* at Brahmaur and Garola come from the same *gotra*. The *lohar* I interviewed at Kugti came from the Pulani *gotra*.

According to the Brahmauri *lohar* he received one *sup* of maize or wheat per plough but there was no hard and fast rule. He charged one rupee for making an axe (1962). He was able to make a *phal, kudali,* sickle, drat, knife and big and small grasscutters and would make these if their client first obtained raw iron from one of the merchants in the *maidan* at Chamba. His family gods were Kail and Kaling and he worked only during the summer season from April to November. On the start of the new furnace each year he presented the furnace god with some *luchi* and *gharu*. The technical terms used in his trade were as follows:—

Hearth	*nihali* or *pahara*
Bellows	*kal*
Iron tip of bellows	*nali*
Wooden pot	*kalua*
Hammer	*badan*
Small hammer	*thora*
Tongs	*sansi*
Chisel	*chini*
A borer which is struck by a hammer	*Derdi poten kansi*
File	*kanasi*
Ploughshare	*kunasi*

The *lohar* classifies his *birton* relationship as one of *kalana* as does the *lohar* family at Kugti. At Kugti according to one Haru Ram, the blacksmith's family is paid one maund *pukka* of the following grains, *kukri, mukki, kannuck, jowar, chenian, siul,* brash, *phullan* per household with land. In exchange, he makes 2 *phallies,* 8 *kudalis,* 10 sickles, 2 axes, 1 large sickle, a metal holder and tongs for the hookah (*uchar*) and the metal driving shaft for the watermill. The patron provides the iron himself and the client is always invited to all weddings, etc. The area of his *birton* relationships was limited to Kugti and did not extend as far down the valley as Harser. Assuming that the information derived from these two *lohar* is correct, it is clear that the Kugti *lohar* is in a much more firmly established position than in Brahmaur. At the village festival held to Bananewalah, the *lohar* by right received a portion of the contributions in Kugti. My own casual impression of the relative wealth of the two families was that the Kugti *lohar* was comparatively well off and a very integrated member of the Kugti community whereas the Brahmaur *lohar* only just made ends meet. During the winter the Brahmaur *lohar* spent

the winter at Basohli with a Tarkur family just supporting himself, but the Kugti *lohar* did not leave the mountains and produced enough food to feed himself all through the winter. The Sipis in Kugti (12 elementary households) also collectively paid Rs. 25 land tax whereas the principal *lohar* family in Brahmaur paid only 8 annas.

Thus from the point of view of the Goshen villagers, *birton* relationships between castes existed between some of themselves and a *parohit*, with some ploughmaking Sipis, with some riaras, with some distant castes in Guggu and with the blacksmith in Brahmaur. It is clear however that as far as the Goshen villagers are concerned the relationship could be better enforced by the artisans if they should happen to live in or near the village of Goshen and there is a tendency that the more remote or the more infrequently such ties were exercised the weaker they tend to become

(e) In addition there is one obligation which may be called a *birton* between two families who have intermarried. If one's daughter's son happens to be born in the house of her husband's father, then, when the child visits his mother's parents for the first time, the father-in-law must call with a special gift termed *galeren*. This gift may be received by the girl's father, mother or brother but no one else and is a means of repaying an obligation created by the loss of the girl to an outside family. It does not apply to girls nor to second children. I include the report of this custom here as *birton* as two families are of course not interrelated finally until a male child is born and the continuity of the family guaranteed.

For certain purposes different villages unite together. The great festival for the worship of Shiva at Lake Manimahesh at the foot of Mt. Kallas sees Gaddis from all over Gaddiland journeying to Brahmaur and Manimahesh. One of the words for Gaddiland is Shivabhumi, land under the protection of the God, Shiva. The administration of this festival originally rested with the Brahmin *pujaris* of the Brahmaur, Herser and Kugti shrines with the advice of the Religious Endowments branch of the Chamba temples and certain traditional local representatives such as the *chelas* at Sechuin. In recent times however other groups have tended to try to take responsibility such as the permanent *sadhus* of the Brahmaur temple and the *tahsildar* and other government representatives. However the connections between different Gaddis at this festival is very loose and the nature and time of the festival has been fixed by custom. In addition certain other less important shrines have their week or days of festival when those Gaddis who believe in the efficacy of the god concerned, will make a pilgrimage. These other shrines are, in most cases, merely village caste shrines which have become important through repeatedly performing miracles. Only in Brahmaur are there large permanent temples with a full time staff of *sadhus* to attend to visitors.

In addition, certain villages have common arrangements for certain festivals. One group of such villages is Palni, Pulni, Dhorenka and Grer. Another natural grouping of such villages is Goshen, Gaddi Brahmaur, Mulkota and Sechuin. All these villages are of Gaddi caste. At Holi, for example, the Goshen villagers climb up the hillside to Mulkota through Brahmaur. There they are sprinkled with red water and eat gifts of walnuts and dried rice powder and drink *sur* (beer). From Mulkota they descend to Sechuin where they drink more beer and return to Brahmaur. But the neighbouring villages of Goa, Rajaur and Palda do not take part nor do they have any such common arrangement among themselves. The supplying of food to this joint festival comes out of a levy on all of Gaddis caste in Goshen still residing. I cannot explain why some of the Gaddi villages are associated together in this way while others are not, nor can any of the Gaddis. In the case of the Grer, Palni, Pulni and Dhorenka circuit there is a tradition that these villages were settled about the same time. If this be so, the arrangement for common feasting may be a reminiscence of the time when the valley was under-populated and these villages were the first to be founded. As other villages grew up, to include them would make the feasts too unwieldly. The close ties between the different villages have been naturally strengthened by the affinal tie when one tends to marry one's daughters to those people with whom one is most friendly. 40 per cent of all marriages in Goshen were into or from these villages.

The remaining 60 per cent were principally but not entirely distributed within five miles of Goshen itself. The head of the family where I lived in Goshen could clearly remember that he had links through kin or affinity with residents of the villages of Grer, Kanantu, Palni, Mulkota, Paranghal, Sechuin, Brahmaur, Penshei, Dakanauta, Pulni, Sini, Siri, Kholera, Chobia, Lala, and Grim. These were all direct relationships but they could be extended in a classificatory sense if necessary. For the fundamental importance of affinal ties and ties through the mother's brother please refer to my article elsewhere.[1] Since there is a strong feeling that all those with a real or classificatory status of *bhanerja* (sister's son) have rights to claim assistance in the homes of their mother's

[1]. See my article "The submerged descent line among the Gaddi people of North India" P. 13. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* vol. 92, Part 1, 1962.

brothers, the affinal links form an extremely powerful network between the different villages within the endogamic restriction of caste. Where real kinship links are missing obligations can be established by various forms of brotherhood or brother/sisterhood.

There seem to be certain restrictions on forming marriage links with certain areas. A proportion of marriages around Brahmaur take place with Gaddis on the Kangra side and a small number with emigrant Gaddi families in Chamba. No marriages ever take place with Gaddis in the Tundah or Lil Bilj areas. Marriages of Kugti families take place anywhere in the Brahmaur area as far down as Kunni but no marriage below Kunni (except one Kugti *pujari* girl who married a Brahmin in Chamba). There seem to be certain marriage "areas" which do not have definite territorial boundaries but more or less grade into each other. Neighbouring areas all regard each other as being similar in respect to caste but yet make distinctions among each other in respect to either wealth or ritual purity. However, where daughters marry, the original families of the girls have special advantages; but owing to the marriage restrictions on continuing to marry into the same family such ties tend to become weaker and weaker through time unless specifically continued by making connections with other families in the same village.

These connections are reinforced at the time of marriage by two ceremonies called *saj*, and *tambol*, when *birton* obligations are reinforced between those who attend a wedding who are not kin.[1] Briefly speaking, each family owns a book in which are recorded all those friends who are regarded as having *birton* with the family either on the bridegroom's side (*tambol*) or bride's side (*saj*), and who contribute some money. Initially the amount is small but when a family member attends a marriage subsequently at the contributor's house he is expected to subscribe in his turn *twice* the amount he gave. The amount continues to double until a maximum of about 1 rupee is reached when the obligation is cancelled or the relationship created again at a small initial payment. The purpose of this ceremony is not so much to defray the costs of a wedding but to assert publicly the number of *birton* relationships a family may have. The greater the amount the more important the family. The *parohit* receives the money on behalf of the bride and gives a *tika* (red spot) on the forehead to each donor at *saj*, but at *tambol* the ceremony is purely secular with no *parohit* present.

In this connection mention must be made of the government established *gram panchayat* system. This was established by a Himachal Pradesh Act in 1953 and started in Brahmaur in 1954. There are three levels, *gram panchayat*, *naib panchayat* and *tahsil panchayat*. The *tahsil panchayat* has 14 members and is presided over by the *tahsildar*. Details of this council will be found elsewhere. The *gram panchayat* represents a group of villages. This group does not run along the natural boundaries of *birton* relationships but is identical with the administrative boundaries of the *patwari* circles, a purely administrative unit. In the Brahmaur *panchayat* it consists of the following delegates. Seri (Brahmin 1 representative), Dhaknauta (Brahmin 1), Goshen and Goa (Gaddi 1), Brahmaur (Gaddi and Brahmin 2) Bari (Brahmin 1). Malkauta (Gaddi 2), Sechuin (Gaddi 1). The scheduled castes have their own representatives. Although the Seri Brahmins, at their own request I understand, were included in the Brahmaur circle, their clients all come from Grer with whom they have the closest connections. In disputes in Grer the Seri Brahmins have played an important part in arbitrating between different factions. They have now been moved from their important role there but, because of their small size, cannot even with the help of Bari village, influence the Brahmaur proceedings. On the other hand, Penshei traditionally associated with the Brahmaur Gaddis has been transferred to Grer panchayat where they have few connections. At the 1962 panchayat elections they played an active part in thwarting the dominant influence of Grer villagers in the panchayat elections but this only became possible because of the rise of strong factionalism within the Grer village. The unfortunate result of arranging *gram panchayat* boundaries on purely geographical lines results in excessive factionalism between different villages and between groups in villages. These traditionally were resolved by the mutual obligations of non-kin members. Some of the difficulties of organising the *panchayat* system in Brahmaur have undoubtedly been caused by regarding the boundaries of the *gram panchayat* as a purely administrative question and not a social question. It does not mean that the *gram panchayat* system is necessarily a failure; only that it is a difficult thing at the best of times to create a higher political unit than the village without running into some difficulties from neglecting the local social organisation. One explanation for this arrangement was given to me by a government official who argued that the panchayats all ought to be the same size. I do not know of a single reason why identical size should be considered in the choice of units.

[1]. For details please see chapter five for the full *rites de passage*.



The loom owned by Kalia of Goshen village with his eldest son straighiening out the wefts. The object in the foreground is used for filling the shuttle.

CHAPTER 5

RITES DE PASSAGE

There are two main groups of *rites de passage,* that to do with passage through the life cycle from birth to death, and that to do with passage through time only, such as the *jatra* to Manimahesh. In this chapter I will deal with the first of these groups of *rites de passage.* In composing this section I have drawn on four sources, (1) An early MS by Dr. Chowhan. (2) The Chamba gazetteer for 1910. All page numbers are from this work unless otherwise mentioned. (3) Some notes collected by my assistant, Vaddadi Appa Rao of the University of Delhi. Most of these notes deal with the ritual of death. (4) My own notes in 1952 altered where necessary by my later sojourn in the valley in 1962.

The principal *rites de passage* are those to do with:

(a) Birth
(b) Brotherhood rituals
(c) Attainment of adulthood and marriage
(d) Death and death memorial ceremonies.

(a) *Birth*—My information about birth is inadequate as I have never attended a birth and I had difficulty extracting information from women about the ritual. The *parohit* is not present however although he may be asked to cast a horoscope. According to Dr. Chowhan:—

"The pregnant woman is asked to support her body weight by placing the palms of her hands on the ground behind her back, while both legs are stretched out so that the entire weight is on her legs heels and buttocks. When she has given birth to the child, the father of the child according to his means distributes money while his female relatives take some sweets and distribute them among the neighbours. The father and other family members stop working for a day or so..... For child birth the impurity of the mother lasts from five to seven days and for menstruation three days. (At the end of the impurity) both father and mother taste cow's urine in which money given to the midwife is placed."[1]

The woman is not allowed to cook or come close to the stove during this period of impurity. The gazetteer writes as follows:

"In Brahmaur the *gunt* or *guntrar* (*gontrala*) rite is observed on the fifth (for a girl) or tenth day (for a boy) after birth. All the mother's clothes are washed, the house cleaned and a mixture of *gaumutar,* milk and Ganges water, thrown over all the clothes in the house and drunk by all, both young and old who belong to it. Then they go to the *parohit* to ask him about the child's future paying him from 2 annas to one rupee. If he says the child was not born under a favourable influence they resort to such charms as he may direct; but if the influences are favourable they lie a *hasht-dhata* (8 metals), a *satyara* (anklet), a *surajgrah,* a *kangan* (bracelet) and a grain of *ratini* (red grain) round its wrist. For 5 or 7 days no one eats or drinks in the room in which the child was born, and the mother remains unclean for that number of days, the ceremony for purifying her being the same as that observed on the third day. Generally no horoscope is cast but rich people get one prepared by a Brahmin and pay him from one to five rupees. Some also give new clothes to Brahmans." (p. 123).

"In Brahmaur omens are taken when a child is fed for the first time. He is made to sit on the ground and before him are placed a *darat* (sickle), *kodal* (hoe), paper and *khir* (rice) in a vessel. If he touches the *khir* first he will be a glutton (*peta rathu*), if the paper, a learned man; if the *darat* a shepherd; and if the *kodal,* a cultivator and a successful man. On this occasion *khir* is also given to girls (3 to 5 in number in Churah) in Brahmaur as well as to the *parohit*. It is then given to the child in Chuah" (p. 124).

(b) *Brotherhood rituals*—Brotherhood rituals are of two main types; those between people of the same sex and those between people of different sex. Both of these rituals are religious in intention. In the case of those between persons of the same sex one of the most common is Manimahesh Brotherhood. Two people, usually men, make a pilgrimage of Manimahesh together, enter the water together at the same time during an auspicious moment, exchange sweets or some small gifts and dot each other's forehead with a red *tika,* which is a sign of a religious dedication being successfully accomplished. The subsequent obligations may be either firm or very weak depending on the circumstances but at the very least imply the right to stay in each other's house for a short period.

The other type of brotherhood is between a man and women when the relationship becomes one of brother and sister. The main practical obligation of such a ceremony is to create such a

[1] P. 32, Bishambhar Das Chowhan, "Ceremonial life among the Gaddi people of Bharmour, Chamba State, Himachal Pradesh" Vol. 32, No. 1, Jan. 1952, *Man in India,* Ranchi, Bihar, India.

relationship between the man and the new sisters's child that the child can always claim assistance from his mother's brother. The ceremony consists of an exchange of sweets, the man is given a silver coin usually a rupee and a leaf is hung up in the roof tree to witness the agreement. Then the man and woman dot each other's foreheads with a *tika*.

The first type of ceremony makes the two people of the same sex *dharm bhai* and in the second brother and sister. A person may also become a *dharm bhai* of a newly married man by taking the *angana*, the black thread, off the wrist at an appropriate stage of the marriage ceremony. There is no caste restriction on making anyone a brother or sister (although the same restrictions on food which operate previously continue to operate).

(c) *Attainment of adulthood and marriage*— Marriage is the most important and elaborate of all the Gaddi rituals. In the course of time, different aspects of Gaddi life all seem to have become included in this ceremony including the attainment of adulthood (the wearing of the sacred thread), the main Hindu ritual of marriage and the ceremonies incorporating the new wife within the family of her husband and the reassertion of *birton* ties with the new family. I will deal first of all with the traditional form of marriage before dealing with variant forms or the general background of some of the rituals. For comparative purposes I include a table showing the various stages of the marriage ritual. I have compared the ceremonies described in L. Middleton "Customary Law of the Kangra district excluding Kulu", vol. XXVIII Lahore 1919, p. 142 *seq.* with the Gaddi ceremony described by the Rev. W. Hutchinson in the Chamba Gazetteer, *idem.* This appears to be a description of a Gaddi ceremony held in Chamba in which many of the terms used are Urdu terms rather than Gaddi terms. He omits some of the most important ceremonies but expands others.

The principal description is a compendium of various weddings I attended in 1952 and 1962, about twenty in all. Since the same *parohits* conduct the ritual for both Sipi and Gaddi marriages, I have described a certain Sipi marriage held at Sechuin during the 4-5 September 1952 with additional rites where the ritual appears to differ from ordinary Gaddi weddings.

Comparison of Plains Hindu Rites and Gaddi Rites in Marriage

Name or description of general Hindu rite	Brahmauri marriage	Chamba Gazetteer 1910 (Rev. W. Hutchinson)	Middleton, "Customary Law of the Kangra District."
1	2	3	4
(1) Betrothal	Arrangements very informal. No commensality.	*Kurmaye*	Not mentioned.
(2) Choosing on auspicious day	All weddings held in auspicious part of the month chosen by both *parohits*.	*Buvan mahurat*	*Buvan mahurat.*
(3) *Chhei*	Date fixed by *parohit* but it means cutting of ordinary wood for the wedding feast.	Not mentioned.	Cutting of a mango tree to put on the sacred diagram.
(4) Informing relatives of day of ceremonies.	Very informal announcement.	Messengers carry 2 lbs of *ghi*.	*Nendra.*
(5) Writing of date sheet	Not done.	Undertaken.	*Lakhnotri.*
(6) *Samhut*	Rite includes wearing and removal of sacred thread. All barber's functions performed by *punchaink*.	Ritual washing and rite of aggregation with own family.	*Samhut.*
(7) Exhibition of gifts to bride-groom.	Omitted.	Not mentioned.	*Nendaru.*
(8) *Nandi-mukh*	Performed later.	Worship of 9 planets and goat sacrifice.	Worship of deceased ancestors.
(9) *Shandi*	*Sandi*	*Shandi*	*Shanti.*
(10) Exhibition of bride-groom and bride separately.	Rite of becoming a *yogi* performed after rite (16).	Rite of becoming a *yogi*.	*Parsuhi.* *Talawai* (oil from bridegroom poured on bride's head).
(11) Sending of presents to bride's house.	Accompanies bridegroom.	Accompanies bridgroom.	*Barasui.*
(12) *Tel.*	*Tel.*	*Tel* performed earlier with (9).	Not mentioned.

Name or description of general Hindu rite	Brahmauri marriage	Chamba Gazetteer 1910 (Rev. W. Hutchinson)	Middleton, "Customary Law of the Kangra District."
1	2	3	4
(13) Separation from hearth	Same	Not mentioned	*Arti*
(14) Fanning of bridegroom	Same	Same but called *Kajalbahana*	*Upyatra*
(15) Arrival of bridegroom	Same	Same	*Janet*
(16) Worship of new bridegroom	Omitted	Included	*Agaya*
(17) House light in bride's house worshipped by bridegroom.	*Arti* ceremony by new mother-in-law	Same as column (2)	*Utak*
(18) Giving away of girl.	*Lajan*	*Lagan*	*Lagan.* (plus *chichari rite*)
(19) Worship of Shiva	*Narwala*	Omitted	Omitted
(20) Circumambulation round fire.	*Bedi*	*Bedi*	Round the fire 4 times stopping at 3 places
(21) Worship of objects.	Not mentioned	Worship of *kamdeo*	Not mentioned
(22) Handing of the "5 gifts" staple foods.	Also presented	No mention	Handing of the 5 grains
(23) Breaking of relationship	Breaking of relationship by breaking twigs	Breaking of relationship by disarrangement of grain	No mention
(24) Separation from the *gotra*	*Gotra char*	*Gotra char*	*Gotra char*
(25) Payment to barbers	*Saj*	*Saj*	*Saresht char*
(26) Walk around apricot tree	Omitted	Not mentioned	*Satatar*
(27) Combing of girls hair.	Performed earlier	Performed earlier	*Sirgundi*
(28) Departure of bride and bridegroom together.	Departure of bride and bridegroom separately	Departure of bride and bridegroom together	*Bardhan* departure together
(29) Finding of godfather and bridegroom.	Omitted	Not mentioned	*Ulatar*
(30) Entering house at auspicious moment.	Bridegroom returns by different route	Bridegroom returns by different route	*Andran* and repeat of *satatar*
(31) Bridegroom feeds bride ..	*Athlai ceremony*	*Athlai*	*Chaturthu havan*
(32) Bride distributes flour as presents.	Omitted. She receives presents from her new "sister". But the bridegroom distributes pieces of his facemask (*chirri*)	Not mentioned	Bride distributes flour as presents
(33) No religious ceremony ..	*Tambol.*	*Tambol.*	Not mentioned
(34) Final completion of ceremonies.	*Sudenoj.*	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned

The Marriage Ceremony

The upper portion of the page is my own observation of a marriage ritual performed at Sechuin village. 4th-5th September 1952 plus some Rajput (Gaddi) ceremonies observed subsequently. The lower section is a reprint from the Chamba Gazetteer Lahore, 1910 from p. 140 which is a Gaddi ceremony.[1]

(1) *Betrothal* (*Kurmaye*)—This upper section is derived from information rather than direct observation. It is less elaborate than the description by Dr. W. Hutchinson below.

Once a boy or boy's parents decide a certain girl is suitable for marriage, a respectable person is chosen to go to the girl's house to make a few cautions enquiries. In every village there is usually some person who has got a better name than others for this type of work. He usually goes by himself armed with a large quantity of cigarettes and in his best clothes. I attended on one occasion when the girl's parents were not very keen about such a marriage and the girl's father, mother, two uncles and nephew all told the middleman just how unsuitable such a marriage would be. This middleman is a device for saving the "face" of both sides and to each side he says only the favourable remarks of the other side. But assuming such a suit is successful then the boy's *parohit* is asked to choose a suitable day for the betrothal ceremony. The bride's father on this occasion, owner of only 100 sheep and goats and paying 5 rupees of land revenue, distributed 10 rupees in charity, while the boy's father put flowers and grass on his head and gave one rupee to those about him. Payment is made to those singing girls who sing during the ceremony and red dye is sprinkled over them from the boy's side. A girl once betrothed is not supposed to shew herself to her would-be husband nor to his parents or brothers.

(3) *Chhei* (*fuel cutting*)—On an auspicious day determined by the *parohit* from one day to 3 weeks preceding the ceremony, the friends of the father of the bride and bridegroom in their respective villages meet together to cut wood for the marriage feast. Any wood over can be used as the host wills. There is a feast in the evening for those who help. The villagers attend for *birton* reasons.

Before the marriage of the girl, all the women of the different *gotra* of the same caste as the bride in the village give a feast in the evening at which the girl and women weep for an hour or two. Only women are present.

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(1) In betrothal, the boy's parents or guardians send their *parohit* to negotiate for a girl about whom they have information, and he brings back the parents' reply. If it is favourable the boy's parents send two or more respectable men to the girl's home to complete the bargain. Then, if it is clinched, two of the boy's family go with the *parohit* to perform the ceremony. If the betrothal is *dharma puna* this consists in the bride's father giving the *parohit* a bunch of *drub* grass with four copper coins, or more if they please, to be handed over to the boy's father in token that the alliance is accepted. The *parohit* hands over the *drub* and the coins are returned to the *parohit* with a rupee added by the boy's father. The night is spent at the bride's house and, after a meal, her father gives the boy's father eight copper coins and these he places in a vessel as a perquisite to the servant, who cleans it. In a betrothal by exchange (*tola*) the first observances are the same, but when all go finally to complete the alliance, a grindstone and *sil* with 3 or 5 *roris of gur, supari, bihan* and *roliyan* (red flour for marking the tika on the forehead) are placed before the party and



The diagram (hawan) specially drawn for me by the two parohits but without the material objects on them.

[1]. You will notice that very often the terms used in the gazetteer ceremony differ from those in the Brahmauri ceremony. In all cases however the author of the gazetteer has used the more literary term rather than the Gaddi colloquial term. In the above passage a *sil* is a whetstone, a *parohit* is a priest, *gur* is treacle, *supari* is a betelnut, *bihan* is coriandar. The *drub* grass is easily found as a variety of grass and is distinguished by its round straight stem and leaves sticking firmly out from the main stalk. It is especially efficacious in religious ceremonies.

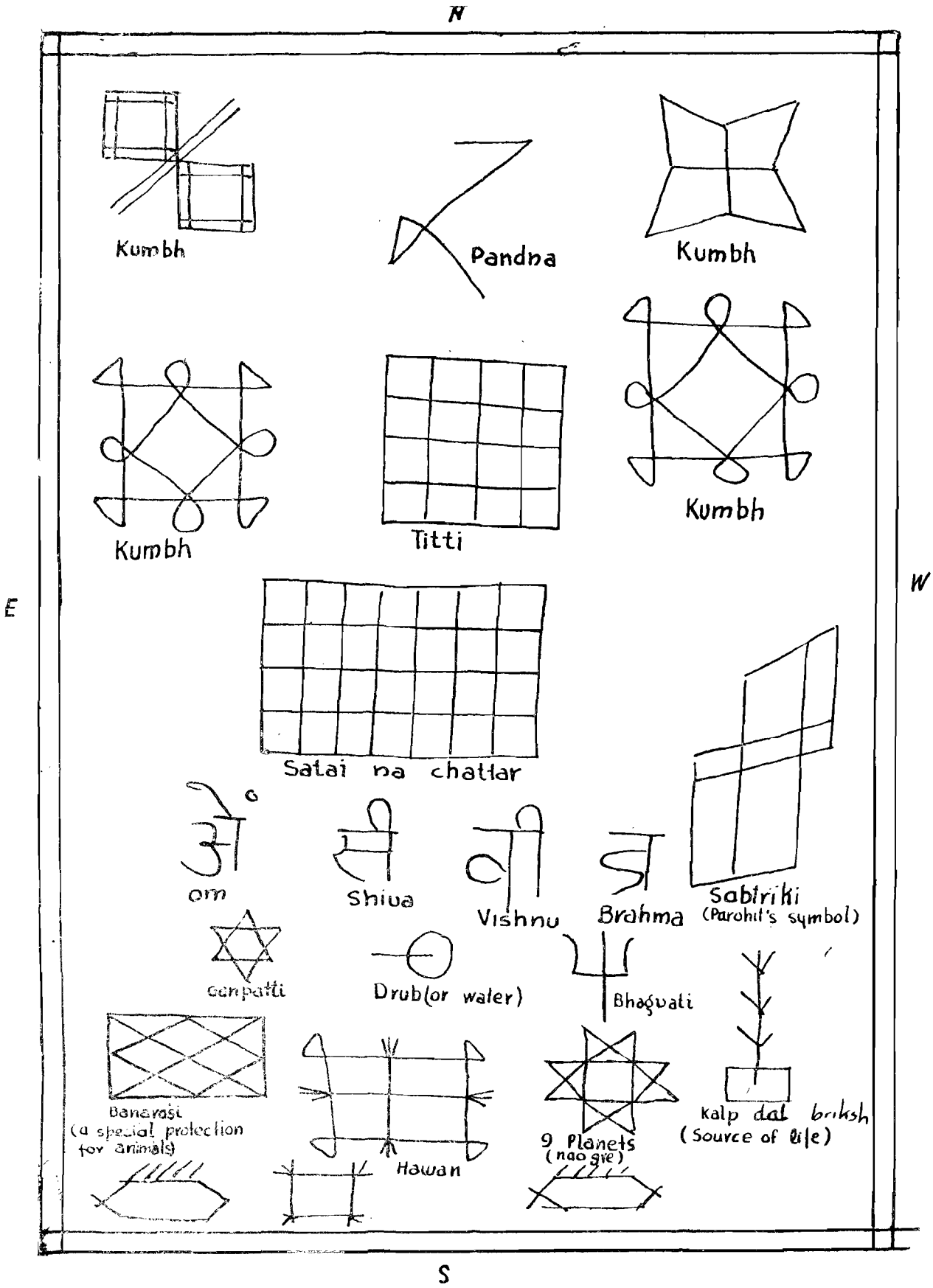


Diagram during Samut ceremony.

(6) *Samut ceremony (3 p.m. on day before main ceremony)*—

A. *Bride's ceremony*: The *parohit* arranges the diagram on the floor, Red thread was tied round the bride's sisters' wrists and around her younger brothers'. Red thread was also tied around the waterpots. I could not see what the *parohit* was doing. All the women huddled together under one cloth with the bride weeping bitterly. While weeping the two girls (sisters) have a little *butna* (mixture of turmeric, flour and oil) smeared on their foreheads. They scoop water out of the pot with the coin to wash their hands. The bride leaves. Ashes are placed in a dish before the bride's sisters and overturned. Everything used in the ceremony is then placed in a heap on the floor and mixed together.

B. *Bridegroom's ceremony*: On the bottom floor of the house, which will be the future home of the married couple, the *parohit* before the diagram (*hawan*) chants the various names of Vishnu, adds 2 annas to a heap of money on the floor and worships. The bridegroom takes the incense into his hands and also worships. The *parohit* wraps red thread round the walnut and sprinkles the rice, a 2 anna piece, a piece of grass and some water on it. The bridegroom then in his turn sprinkles rice and a little water on the articles in the *hawan* and holds his hands with the fingers crossed pointing downwards. The position of the hands resemble that called *ngili atma* on p. 52 *"Mudras, ritual handposes of Shiva priests of Bali"* by Tyra de Kleen, Kegan Paul 1924. She says, "The Shiva priest (officiant) take a flower and dips it in the rice (representing vital power) and in the sweetscented *chendana* power. Then he holds it first over the incense and then between his interlaced fingers while he pronounces the *mantra*. Then he turns it downwards and throws the consecrated flower into the holy water vessel". The red thread is also tied round the piece of planed wood (*pattera*).

A piece of black wool (*kangana*) is tied around the bridegroom's right hand while red thread is tied around the wrists of all the young girls and boys in the room. All the above are given one pice each.

The bridegroom strips (I noticed he was wearing a white cord round his shoulders and thighs.[1]) He is then taken outside by his mother and other ladies and washed all over. The black thread is broken. After the bath the bridegroom is escorted back to the same room wrapped up in a blanket with a headcloth concealing his face and that of his mother. The

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then the *parohit* places *supari, bihan* and *roliyan* on the skirt of his sheet and puts them on the *sil*. Before tapping them on the *sil* with the grindstone he receives four annas from the boy's father and mentions the name of the boy and girl whose alliance is to be formed, and then taps them. After this the *supari*, etc. are placed in a vessel with the balls of *gur* broken up and distributed to those present after the girl's father has taken a bit. The elder members of the girl's family do not take any as it would be considered contrary to custom. The boy's father puts one rupee four annas in this vessel and this is made over to the bride's parents who get jewellery to that amount made for her. After this the bride appears before the boy's father and he gives her a rupee. The rest of the ceremony is exactly as described above, but in this case the coins put in the vessel come out of the boy's father's pocket. The ceremony in the other house is performed in exactly the same way, though not on the same day for the sake of convenience. A propitious date is not fixed but a lucky day is desirable, and Tuesday, Friday and Saturday are considered unlucky.

(3) After having the date for the wedding fixed by a *parohit* two men are sent to the girl's people with a *ser* (2 lbs) of *ghi* (clarified butter) to notify them of the date and if they approve, messengers from both sides go to the *parohit* and get him to write the *lakhnoteri*. For this he is paid 8 Chamba coins or 4 annas in cash, rice, and some red tape (*dori*). At the wedding itself the *sumhural* rite is first performed by worshipping Ganpatti (*Ganesa*). *Kambh* (a small pitcher filled with water) is placed over a handful of rice and peach leaves containing a few blades of *drub*. It is worshipped exactly like the other gods) and the nine planets. Then the *supari* purified by charms (mantras) is rubbed on the boy. There black woollen threads are also tied round the right wrist to protect him from the evil eye. He is then taken out of the courtyard by his mother with part of her red sheet thrown

[1] This thread round the shoulders is "the twice born thread". All the Sipis wear this thread as a mark of their caste affiliation. On the other hand Rajputs and higher castes, although they are entitled to wear the thread never bother. There is no special ceremony by which they obtain it but many go on a pilgrimage to Mani Mahesh where there is a special Brahmin from the plains who on payment of fee, will invest anyone. Only the Sipis however bother to obtain it. I should imagine however that if a Halli were to ask this Brahmin to invest them, he would refuse. According to the Gazetteer, formerly Sipis were not allowed to wear the cord but in exchange for certain services done to the rajah they were granted the right to wear it. Whatever the truth of this matter may be, I have not yet seen a Sipi who does not wear this cord. Some Rajputs wear it and some do not. It is regarded in my opinion less as a caste mark then as an honour presented to the gotra by a previous rajah.

women are singing meanwhile. On his way back he overturns a tray of ashes placed near the entrance of the courtyard. He is then given sweets by the *parohit*.[1]

(9) *Sandhi ceremony*: *Sunset* (*Bride's house*)—This ceremony is in two section:

(a) Blessing of the water by stirring it with *drub* grass by the *parohit*. Blessing of the bride by throwing water and rice over her. Blessing of the bride's father. Giving of rice to the father and bride's brother. Invocation to Vishnu and Shanti (peace) and 9 planets to be present. Finish by scattering rice over the diagram. Invocation of the names of Vishnu. Women start singing. Break. *Parohit* smokes.

The *parohit* declares that this part of the ceremony is specially dedicated to Durga.

(b) Blessing of grass in the bride's father's and brother's hands. The brother in turn blesses the diagram by dipping the *drub* twig in the water and scattering it. Then all follow suit. The *parohit* ties a red cord round the wrist of the bride's brother, then round the wrists of some young boys and girls. The father and brother continue to sprinkle water and rice over the goods. The *parohit* waits a few minutes, then asks the bride's brother to set alight the small pyre built on the diagram on which a pice piece had been placed. The *parohit* then puts a red spot on the boy's forehead. Then three people of the bride's own *gotra* receive a mixture of barley, incense and *ghi* in their right hands and throw it on the fire "to present a seed" presumably wishing her to be fertile and relating it to their crops. Then the *parohit* sprinkles water on the fire once again and blesses the twigs. The women start singing again. Grain is finally thrown on the fire and with a sudden shout all the men raise the cord shouting "Mani Mahesh ki jai". The cord is tied in an N shape above the fire. (Figure three).

As I could not also attend the bridegroom's house I give a similar report on a wedding I attended in Goshen of a Rajput wedding.

Bridegroom's house—After the *sandhi* the bridegroom is dressed up in a yogi's clothing with a begging bowl covered in white flour and with a staff. At the back of his head is string

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over his head, to bathe. At the bath the black thread is torn off and he is led back by his mother. Next he must upset an earthen lid containing burning charcoal and mustard placed at the entrance to the worshipping place, and this must be thrown away so as to counteract any evil influence in the courtyard. The *parohit* then ties nine red cotton threads round the boy's right wrist and gives him *ghi* and *gur* to taste. These wristlets are called *kankana*.

(10) This is preceded by the *telsand* ceremony. Again Ganpatti, Brahma, Vishnu, *Kumbh, dia* (a small earthen lamp with a wick) and the nine planets are worshipped, and then a he-goat is sacrificed to the planets by the boy, its blood being sprinkled on the *sandori* (bagar grass rope) and *munj mala* (a ring of bagar grass).

The *sandori* is then spread around the room along the cornice and the bridegroom made to don a white *dhoti* or sheet round his loins, to put flour *mundras* (*yogi's* ear-rings) in his ears sling a satchel over his shoulder, tie a black woollen rope round his chest and cover his buttocks with an animal skin, suspend a fanani (bow for carding wool) to the black rope and take a stick in his right hand with a Brahminical thread tied round his right thumb. This dress is assumed so that he may appear a regular yogi. After this the presiding priest asks him. "Why hast thou become a yogi?" His answer is "to receive the Brahminical cord." Then he is further interrogated by the priest as to what kind of cord he requires, i.e. one of copper, brass, silver, gold or cotton, and he asks for the latter. The priest then sends him to bathe at Badrinarain, Triloknath and Mani Mahesh and these supposed baths are taken in turn by dipping his hands and feet in, and pouring some water on his face from a vessel put ready for the purpose in the doorway. After these ablutions the pretended *yogi* begs, first of his relations and then at the house, and they give him a piece of bread and promise him cattle, goats, etc. according to their means. In conclusion the priest asks him whether he wishes to devote himself to *jatera* (world business) or *matera* (an ascetic life) and he invariably answers "To *jatera*" and then the priest makes him take off the *yogi's* clothes, receiving 4 annas as his fee for this. The cattle,

[1] In M. N. Srinivas, *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1946, p. 72 in the *mukha darshan* ceremony he says "The bridegroom (as a *jogi*) has terminated his studies and is anxious to go to Benares. Staff in hand he leaves his house. The bride's parents meet him on the way, and the girl's father persuades the bridegroom to give up his journey (in exchange for marrying his daughter)." In all the ceremonies described up to the present, none of the bride's people is present.

(*del*) and round him is the Gaddi rope (*dhora*) Three times he goes around a basin of water at the end of the room (the last time it represents Mani Mahesh lake) while the women of his house beat him. He then shoots an arrow backwards at a coconut placed on the diagram and finally is asked certain questions by the *parohit* as to whether he wishes to remain a *yogi* or not to which he gives fixed answers.

This ceremony is omitted in the wedding of a widower.

(12) *Tel* (8 *p.m.*)—I did not observe this ceremony in the bridegroom's house and doubt whether it was performed either in the Sipi or Rajput marriage for males. Here is a description of the ceremony in the bride's house.

There are no objects on the diagram.

A dish is held out by the *parohit* on which is some maize and a *drub* twig. With the twig, water is sprinkled on the bride by her mother and her youngest sister then by two men and a lady. A knife is held on the bride's head by her mother's brother. Then those who wish, come forward, throw a pice on the dish and sprinkle water on the bride. The women sing while this ceremony proceeds.

After all those who wish have given pice, the bride weeps "Everything is completed". The women rub their hands with yellow turmeric and rub the bride. A little cooked rice is offered to all the women to eat, including the bride. The bride's feet and hands are then washed and she is fed a little rice and milk. The money (about 1 rupee) goes half to the *parohit* and half to her *bhanerja*. (In the Rajput wedding an additional variation is that the bride shoots a coconut with bow. In this wedding before the bride comes out to *tel*, her mother sprinkles the bride with water. Round the main entrance through which the bridegroom is to come a red cord is tied and it is then sprinkled with rice and water. Two young girls are given *ghi to* eat).

(15) *Arrival of bridegroom* (10-30 *p.m.*)—NOTE—Before the bridegroom arrives the party responsible for erecting the *bedi* arrives, namely that accompanying the mother's brother. At a ceremony in Rajaur all those of the mother's brothers' *gotra* went carrying 2 kerosene tins of *lesi* (sweetened milk for chapattis). On arriving an old lady at the entrance held out a dish with water in which one paid a pice and received some sweets. Then the men of this party

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etc. which the relations promised go to the boy and not to the priest. This over, the boy is made to sit on a wicker basket or on a sheepskin bag for carrying grain (*khalru*) and a dagger is placed on the *munj mala* (a small ring or wreath made of bagar grass above his head). Then the people drop oil over his head with a few blades of grass (drub) taken from a vessel containing oil and held by the mother's brother or in his absence by his sister. After this the bridegroom fits an arrow to the *fanani* (bow) and shoots it at the head of the dead goat which is placed over the nine planets, thereby pretending to slay them. The rite of tasting *gur* and *ghi* ends this ceremony.

The bridegroom is then dressed. He wears a white *pagri* and *kuwa*, a red *kuancha*, and a white *patka* with *gulbadan sulhan* and a *jaul* (all are parts of a dress) thrown over the shoulders. The present (*suhag-patari*) is then arranged. It consists of a *kharbas* (a *dopatta* of white cotton cloth), *luanchari* (bride's dress) *ghagaru* (coloured cloth for a skirt), *nau-dori* (9 red cords, 4 on either side at the back, plaited into the hair and converging on a ninth which hangs down the back), *ungi* (of iron with which the hair is parted in the front), *chundi* (antimony holder for the eyes worn on the back of the head) *kangi* (comb), manihar, 3 *roris* of *gur*, dates, grapes, almonds, rice and 7 *luchis*, and these are carried by the parohit to the bride's house with the brother;

his brother's wife put antimony in his eyes and his sister fans him. After this the boy gets up and the *arti* is then waved thrice from right to left over his head by his *parohit* and his mother throws three round cakes (*luchis*) on three sides of him. The *arti* must be sanctified by *mantras* before being used at the door. After this the boy's father gives him the *tambol* of one rupee and four copper coins, the latter being the *parohit's* fee. The boy then gets into a *doli* in the courtyard and the mother gives him her breast to suck. The *palki* is then carried by four bearers to the entrance, beneath the wooden parrots called *toran* which the boy, his mother and the *parohit* worship, and then the bearers present the boy with a *kumbh* filled with water, and put a copper coin into it. The bridal procession consisting of the male members of the house and preceded by tom-toms, goes to the bride's house. On arrival the boy with his followers is put up in a house other than the girl's or stays out in the open air. The boy's father or uncle, with one or two more people, then take a basket full of round cakes to the bride's parents; this is called *balpartana*. They return from the bride's house after eating something and putting four copper coins in the plate, and rejoin the procession. This observance is called *juth pai*. Two respectable men are also deputed to the bride's *parohit*, to settle the amount he will take for performing the rites at the *lagan*, and then

immediately started working making the chapattis for the feast.

This part of the ceremony is like that of Rajput weddings. Here is a Rajput description from Dr. Chowhan's original manuscript. After the erection of the *bedi* by the bride's mother's brother's relatives he says "The same relatives of the girl bring a red sheet or *lingra* for the girl and a pair of new shoes for the boy. The marriage suit of the male consists of a red *choga* and pyjamas and a white *safe* and kamerband. This dress is put on after the bridegroom has been given a bath with due rubbing of the body with *butna* or *lupri*. He has also to get himself shaved before dressing. Then he is fed on milk gruel and bread. Thus clothed he distributes cash, clothes, etc. among his female relatives all of whom are his classificatory sisters. This is regarded as a reward for fanning him which act is practised immediately after the eldest brother's wife has finished her duty of *kajalbahana,* the smearing of the eyelids from within outwards with a semisolid oily preparation of soot made by burning mustard oil in a lamp. Just before setting out for the girl's house one of the doolibearers fetches a brimful lotta of water to the bridegroom. This is thought to be an act of great propitiation and for this the man is paid in little coins. Having done all this the boy takes his seat in the *palki* and leads the procession towards the girl's house. When the procession arrives at the girl's house, they wait outside in the courtyard until the *parohits* of both sides announce the time when the bridegroom is to be admitted into the house. A sort of gate is erected at the entrance of the courtyard to her house. It is at this gate that the bride's *parohit* offers red *tilak* to the bridegroom for which he receives a small present. Then an offering of fruit, red thread, *dania,* oil, cash and a little *duli* grass with a red sheet is tied to the bridegroom. The dry materials are divided and a portion tied up in each corner of the red sheet. The oil is given separately, but at the same time. The offering is carried inside the girl's house by the father, brother, or uncle of the bridegroom. On reaching the house both *parohits* take some wetted rice which is kept outside in a dish, and after repeating some *mantras* put it on the red sheet. Then all this is taken inside by some female relative from the bride's side. The girl's head is oiled and her hair plaited with the red thread. The new dress which is brought for her from the bridegroom's side consists of (1) *Lauchri* a chola of cotton cloth (2) *ghagru,* a petticoat of the same cloth, (3) *kharbas,* a sheet of long cloth and (4) a *dhoria,* saffron coloured cloth for the bride's forehead. First the *kharbas*

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rejoin the camp. The boy's *parohit* then proceeds to the bride's house to deliver the *barsuhi* (bride's dress). It consists of the same articles as the *suhag-putari.* The *barsuhi* consists of a white sheet (dopatta), *luancheri, ghagaru, nau-dori, ungi, kangi* (articles of attire), *chundi,* 3 balls of *gur,* cocoa, dates, grapes, almonds, one *ser* of rice and nine *luchis,* 3 wheat cakes, 7 *puris* of *chandan chura* (sandalwood chips), *roliyan, kesar, sandhur, nahani* (a sweet-smelling grass), *muth* (root of a kind of grass) and *supari.* The priest then comes back to conduct the bridegroom and his followers to the bride's house with tom-toms playing. The boy is received at the entrance by his mother-in-law who performs the *arti* ceremony over him, waving it seven times over his head with her right hand, holding her left over his turban. Four turns are taken from the boy's right to his left and three in the reverse direction. Three cakes placed in the plate with the *arti* are also thrown out towards the courtyard. The priest then gives four *chaklis* (farthings) to the boy who then places them in the *arti* after clasping his hands before it. The mother-in-law then retires, while the father-in-law comes to the spot and placing a *patka* (white cloth) round his own neck, washes and worships his son-in-law's feet. The boy's priest then gives a *duna* (leaf plate) with some rice, a walnut, drub and flowers into his hands. Both the palms are held upwards, with both thumbs joined and held up by the father-in-law in his hands, who brings the bridegroom into the verandah while the *mantras* are being recited. After this the bride is brought in and made to stand face to face with the bridegroom. The priest then takes hold of the boy's neck with his right hand and of the girl's with his left and makes their shoulders thrice touch, first pressing the boy's right shoulder to the girl's left. This is called *chan par chan.* After this two torches are held on either side. Seven small pieces of *malti* (jasmine) twigs are then put in the girl's hand; drops them into the boy's hands and he breaks them one by one, placing them under his right foot. This breaking of the twigs is called *chirri.* It is preceded by giving *bihan* into the hands of the couple and they blow it at each other. This goes by the name of *faruri.*

(18) The pair are next made to sit down and the boy's father-in-law offers *sankalap,* that he gives his daughter away, and then washes the couples' feet as they sit before him. Certain minor rites called *chichari* are now performed by the bridegroom and his father-in-law. (Description of *chichari*—Two or three blades of *drub* are tied together with red cotton and placed in a cup of green leaves. The *chakli, til,* rice, *rolian* (turmeric), some flowers, water and a walnut are

is handed on to the mother of the bride who puts it on the bride taking every care to keep the face of the bride covered. After this the feet of the bridegroom are washed by the family barber. Then the bridegroom is led into the yard by the bride's father or by some female relative. Then he takes his place on a sheet or cloth placed under the *bedi*..... (description of lagan). The bride's *parohit* then gives about fourteen leaf cups in instalments of three, five and six or seven to the bride's father, reading *mantras* at every moment of handing over the cups. In the first cups are placed betel nuts, in the second pice, in the third rice".

In the Sipi marriage, the bridegroom arrives in a red *dholi* covered with a red cloth with a small child in his lap. He is dressed in a red skirt down to his ankles with a white cummerbund. All his retainers dance. Before the bridegroom enters the *palki* he is given his mother's breast to suck. Before entering the bride's house, a *punchaink* spears a walnut with his knife. However during the Rajput marriage in Goshen in the bride's house the order is as follows. It is called *thoren* and takes place at the same time as the *sandhi* ceremony which precedes *tel*.

(a) *Thoren*—The bride is sprinkled with water by her mother in her own house upstairs. Then the mother comes outside and ties round the ceremonial door (*toran*) a red cord which is then sprinkled with rice and water. Then two young girls who are standing inside the door ready are given *ghi* to eat. Later the mother-in-law performs the *arti* ceremony to welcome the bridegroom.

(b) *Sandhi*—Almost the same as previously described. The women inside the house are offered sweets and sing "Laria e sandhi ha, sandhi kea laria ha, tu meri aji jo" (The bride is now doing sandhi) Water is sprinkled seven times. A red thread is tied on the bride's brother's right hand. Bride's father and bride's brother sprinkle rice on everything. The fire is lit and the ceremony is the same as the Sipis' described above.

(c) *Tel*—Slightly different from above. The bride shoots a coconut (Coconuts do not grow in north India so presumably it is kept in the family for ritual occasion). The bride's brother anoints a young girl's feet with rice. This girl then drops *drub* grass and 4 annas in the dish and with the grass and maize

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also placed in it. This cup is put in the bridegroom's hands and his father-in-law's hands are laid over them. The priest then recites some *mantras* after which the *drub* is taken up by the father-in-law and with it he sprinkles water thrice over the heads of the pair from the cup. This is called *pahla bishtar* or first *char*. This is repeated, but the second time some blades of grass, *kesar* (saffron), *sarvan, shadhe* and flowers are thrown into the water. While the priest recites *mantras* the father-in-law sprinkles water on the couples' feet. This second rite is called *pada*. The third or *argh* ceremony is similar, but this time the mixture is made of *dhain, til, drub* and *rice,* and after reciting *mantras,* it is sprinkled over the boy's head. The fourth *char* is called *dua bishtar* and is an exact repetition of the first *char*. The fifth *char* is called *achmani* and is solemnized by putting water, *til,* and rice in a cup which is placed on the ground as was done in the other *chars* but at the end of the ceremony, the priest thrice throws a few drops of water from the cup on to the father-in-law's hands, and the boy and they drink it from his hands. The sixth and last *char* is called *madhuparak*. The cup is filled with milk, *til* and rice and put in the boy's left hand; he daubs the four fingers and thumb of his right hand with it and then lifts his hands towards his mouth and putting it again into the cup, sprinkles its contents on to the ground. This cup is then taken by one of the bridegroom's *jan* and given to the drummer. The *jan* returns to the bridegroom and after being purified by *mantras* is allowed once again to mix with the other men. Then Ganpati (represented by the walnut in a green cup, placed before the boy under the canopy on a heap of rice), Brahma (Brahma's effigy) is made of a few blades of *drub* which are turned down twice, the ends being fixed in cow dung and placed in a green cup, Vishnu (represented and worshipped like Brahma but the blades are only turned down once from the centre), *Kumbh, dia,* and the nine planets are worshipped. After this, one end of the girl's sheet is held out by her brother and on this, red *tika* is sprinkled thrice by the boy. Similarly the boy's waist band is held out and anointed by the girl. The girl then holds up her hands and into them four copper coins, a walnut, *drub,* flowers, *til* and rice are thrown by the priest and then the boy is made to lay his hands over hers. The priest then takes part of the bride's sheet and in it wraps both pairs of hands by running a tape (*dori*) round them.[1] The girl's father then performs the *kania dhan* (giving the girl away) with the proper *mantras*. At its conclusion the girl's *maula* (mother's brother) touches her wrapper with a copper coin and it is then unknotted, the things in the girl's hands being taken by the boy and given to the *parohit*. *Gur* and *ghi* are then tasted and this concludes the

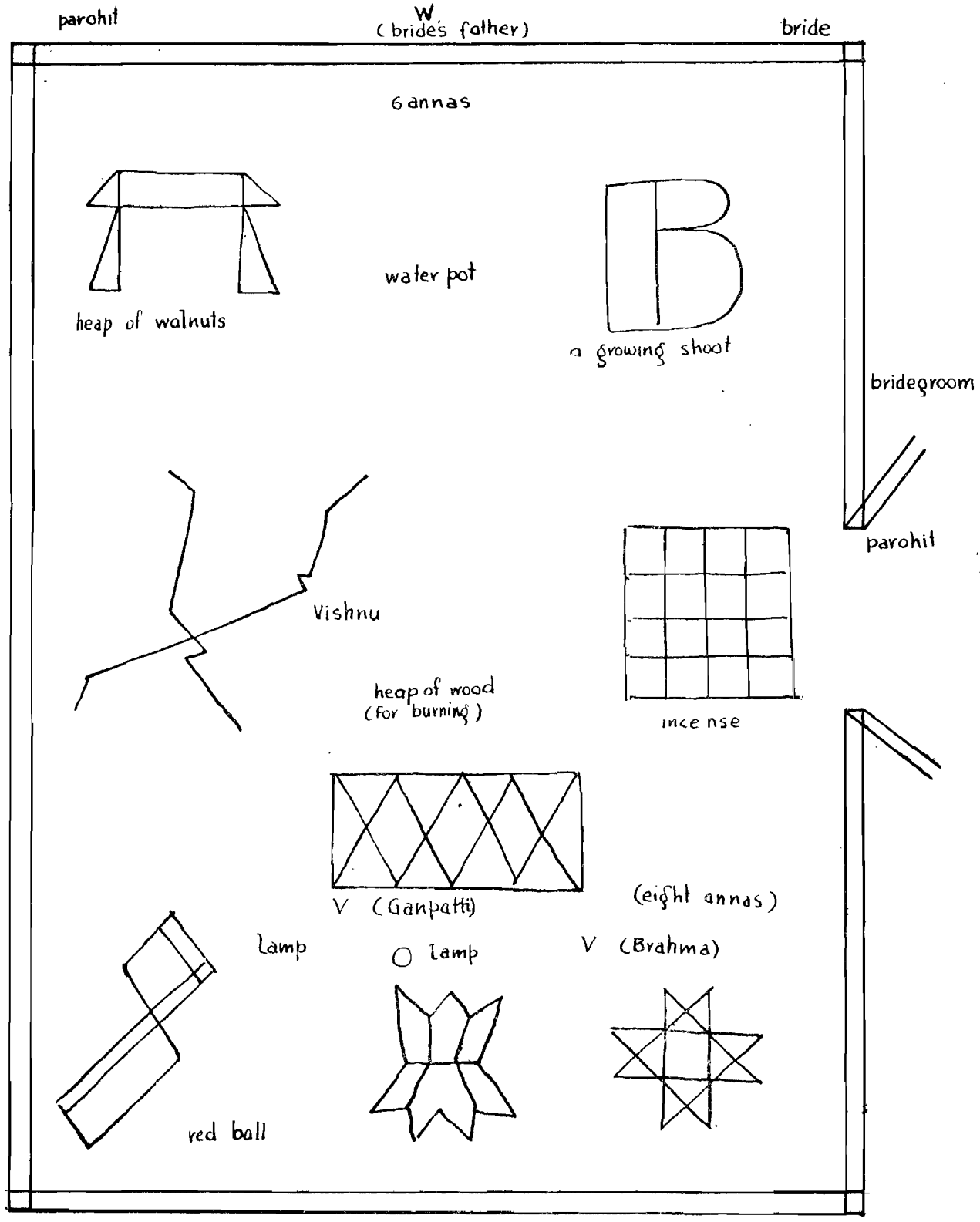


Diagram during Lagan ceremony of Sipi marriage.

anoints the bride's forehead. Note that the bride's feet were all the time resting on the pattens (*pattera*) after her being blessed by her brother.

(18) *Lagan* (10 *p.m.*)—Before Lagan a short ceremony is held inside the house in which the bride and bridegroom eat from the same dish.

The bride is brought down, weeping, placed under the *bedi* with a white cloth over her head. The *parohit* blesses the bride's father. He invokes Vishnu, Divdang and Shanti. The bridegroom holds his hand in the worshipping position holding the incense, some old thread, walnut and rice and with the patten under his feet. (All this time the bridegroom's mask is up.) The bridegroom, bride's father and *parohit* bless everything five times. The women start singing saying "Your head is trembling. Perhaps you have sinned." (A variation of this ceremony in the Rajput wedding was for the *parohit* and bride's father to anoint the bridegroom's feet while standing on the piece of wood. There are no circles on the ground and only two symbols one of which is the series of squares. The *drub* shoot is offered to the bridegroom by the *parohit* and taken back three times. Then the *parohit* sprinkles water and red *tilak* on the objects under the *bedi*. This is done five times in all.) The bride's father then presents the bridegroom with a growing shoot which is taken back thrice. (This shoot is of the *malti* tree.) Then he touches the bridegroom's feet. The fourth time he presents some wheat and small beans (*dhal*) and *sprinkles* the bride and bridegroom with water. The fifth time the bridegroom receives these things and touches it to his lips three times and then it is burnt. This fifth time water wettened with honey is also raised to lips and thrown away. Bride's father whispers in the bridegroom's ear and vice versa, then rub hands.

Then the bride's brother comes forward and wets the bridegroom's dress in order to smear some of its red on the bride's white garment. The *parohit* then takes the bride's white garment and knots it to the bridegroom's coat receiving four annas for doing this. (Rajput variation: Inside the knot is a coin and a walnut. A red cord is tied round the knot and a *chapatti* put on it. Someone sprinkles water from the *drub* grass over the mother's hand which is placed on the clasped hands of the bride and bridegroom. The brother of the bride then puts one of the face mask feathers on top). The bride-

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ceremony called *lagan*.

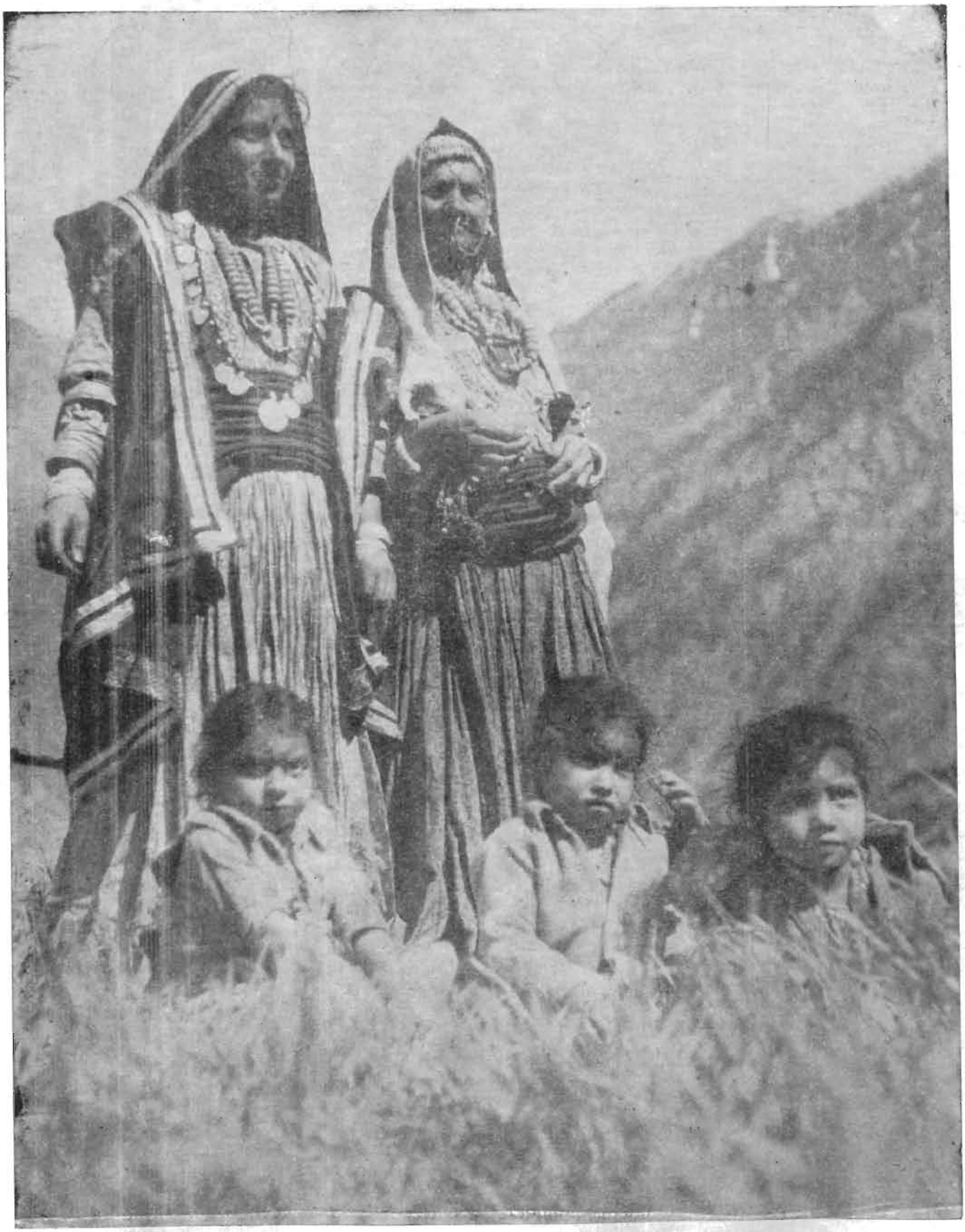
(21) The girl now retires but the boy remains to go through another rite called *manihar*. Nine walnuts (the nine planets) are put on rice and worshipped and their blessing invoked. There must be a separate handful of rice for each of the walnuts. A bored copper coin, a betelnut and a cotton *dori* (three cords about four feet long)—together are called *manihar*. The ceremony is performed by taking the boy out to the doorway when he takes the dagger out of his waist and touches the coin with its point pretending to bore it. The string is passed through the bored coin and put in a *mani* (grain measure). The *manihar* is sanctified and tied round the boy's head-dress by his mother-in-law at the gateway after the *arti*. After doing the *arti* over the bridegroom, the tape with the betelnut is then put on the boy's left toe and he is required to pierce the nut with his dagger. This done the priest takes the tape up and throws it over the boy's head, passes it down to his heels and under his soles, and then ties it around the *pagri*. The boy is then drawn to the *manihar* by his mother-in-law and led inside the house to the *kamdeo*, a picture. The girl is also brought there by her brother and dressed in the *barsuhi* clothes and placed by the boy's side before the picture. Finally the remaining 7 *doris* of the *barshuhi* are handed over to the boy by the girl's mami (mother's sister): he places them on the bride's head and then her hair is combed and arranged with these *doris* by her mami and the following song is sung:

Kun gori baithi sir kholi, hor?
(Who is that beautiful girl sitting with hair dishevelled)?
Kun baitha pith gheri?
(Who is sitting with back turned)?
Gaura baithi sir kholi hor,
(Gaura is sitting with uncombed hair),
Isar baitha pith gheri.
(Isar (Shiva) is sitting with turned back).

After this the boy's *jaul* (shoulder band) and the bride's *kharvas* (sheet) are knotted together and the bride is carried by her maternal uncle (*maula*) to the canopy where the wedding is to be celebrated.

Under this canopy (*baid*) they are placed on bamboo baskets covered with woollen cloths facing east. The bridegroom sits to the right of the bride and in front of the sacred fire (*homa* or *hawan*). The bride's father then washes the

[1] In this ceremony from the Chamba Gazetteer it appears as though the three ceremonies, the *lagan*, the *bedi char* and the *kania dhan* all take place successively. In the Sipi ceremony all three were clearly demarcated. While these ceremonies were being performed outside under the *bedi*, the main company was inside the house performing the *narwala* ceremony which takes place at all times of rejoicing, not just marriage. It excites more interest and attention.



A mother and daughter from Goa village wearing ceremonial clothes. The daughters in the foreground are for luck with three generations in one picture.

groom moves some grain with his toe and says "Vishnu tani tu" twice thus demolishing seven heaps previously arranged. The bridegroom produces one anna and the *parohit* causes the bride's mother to give it to the bridegroom with a walnut and some grain. (One Rajput variation is that the mother's brother knots the hands together and is paid one rupee two pice before releasing the bridegroom's hands). The bride's father then bows and holds one hand above and below the cloth joining the bride and bridegroom (*sangali*) as in charity (*dhan*) while the *parohit* chants instructions to the bride and bridegroom how to live a good life and calling the gods to witness the oath. There is also a basin of milk in the *hawan*. The mother's brother then places kijeree rice between the couple. The couple are then unknotted and dressed in red. A little *ghi* is given everyone and the bridegroom receives a *tika* on his forehead.

(19) *Narwala* (11 *p.m.*)—This is not part of the marriage ceremony but frequently takes place at the same time. In the upper living room a square arrangement was made of flour about 3" high and about 2' on each side. In each corner were five large heaped piles of flour and on each edge seven smaller heaps. On top of this pile were various flat cakes and *chapattis* and suspended from the ceiling above was a large umbrella affair made of white thread with yellow flowers and walnuts threaded through it. A goat was brought out and its head was cut off after some water had been sprinkled on it to see whether it would shake itself (a sign of Shiva's approval). The head of this goat was placed under the canopy. A medium stripped off his shirt and (with the aid of a pipe and two drums) tried to get worked up in order to be possessed laying his chains of Shiva (a bundle of eight or nine chains with spikes) on various peoples' shoulders. In this special instance however Shiva refused to be present and after four or five attempts, the medium gave it up and three or four young lads came forward and, after taking incense and bowing to the goat's head, danced together.

Meanwhile the bridegroom was with the women on the other side of the room being treated as a king whereas normally men and women never mix together. Nothing further happens until the *parohit* gives the signal for the *bedi char* to begin. There is a special time to call Shiva to be present at a *narwala* in which everyone shouts "Sivaji gana gucha".

(20) *Worship of five grain and bedi char;* 4 *a.m.*—During this part of the ceremony and until the morning the bridegroom's face mask must re-

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couple's feet; after which Ganpati, Navagirah, Brahma, Vishnu, *Kumbh, sath rishi, chaur vedi, chaur disa* (four quarters) and *chaur updes* (the four elements) are worshipped in due order to ward off mishaps. This is followed by placing fried barley in a *chhaj* (sieve) which is brought on to the *baid*. First the bridegroom takes a handful of this grain to keep it on three different spots, while the bride's brother keeps wiping it away with his right hand as fast as it is put down. This is repeated but the second time the bride's brother puts the grain down the bridegroom washes it away. This is called *khila* (parched grain) *khedni* and is done to break the tie of relationship (if any), between the contracting parties. After this *khila khedni* the boy's father puts 4 annas into the *chhaj* and the bride's brother takes off the red piece which he has worn on the head during the ceremony and puts it in the *chhaj* too. It is then removed and the four annas is claimed by the boy's brother-in-law. Then the bride's brother's wife comes and grinds turmeric (*haldar*) on the sil and sprinkles it wet on the feet of the pair three times. She receives 4 takas (16 copper coins) for performing this rite. Then the couple are made to stand up and walk round the sacred fire four times from right to left. The bridegroom keeps his right hand on the bride's back all this time. After each turn they are made to halt near the baskets and their feet are worshipped by throwing *til, drub,* milk and red colour, etc. by the bride's father; and, at the end, the bride's brother worships the couple's feet in the same way. These four rounds are called *charlai* and constitute the binding rite in the wedding.

At the *charlai* two women sing the following song:

Pahila lajaria phirde kuaure	In the first round of the lai go the bachelors.
Dujia lajaria phirde Isar Gauraja	In the second round go Ishawar and Gauraja.
Trijia lajarai anjan dhrir lai	In the third round they let the *anjan* drag on the ground.
Chauthia lajaria anjan tori nahsa	In the fourth round (the bride-groom) broke it and ran.

(Note that in the marriage ceremony the boy wears a long strip of cloth round his shoulder and the girl a *kharvas* (coloured sheet over her head). Both these are tied together when they do the *charlai* and the knot which fastens them together is called the *anjan*).

The bride and bridegroom now change seats and sit facing each other. The bride then holds up her hands and in them a green leaf cup (*duna*) containing some walnuts, rice, flowers, 4 coins, etc. is placed by the priest. The bridegroom covers the bride's hands with his hands

main down as it is dangerous to allow a spirit to penetrate behind.

During this ceremony the bride wore the new dress from the bridegroom and had a red cloak over her head. The *bedi* has red cotton round each of its supports with a square yellow handkerchief containing some grain, a walnut and some pice suspended by four red cords from the centre of the *bedi* (mandap). On the top of the *bedi* is tossed another yellow cloth. The bridegroom's *parohit* officiated. This is a matter of agreement between the two *parohits*.

Some *drub* is put in the bridegroom's and bride's father's hands. The *parohit* invokes the gods. The *parohit* grinds up a little yellow turmeric and places a dot on the bridegroom and bride's mother's foreheads. The *parohit* recites the names of Vishnu once again. The bridegroom invokes the gods with cupped hand. The bride and bridegroom sprinkle water and rice on the objects on the diagram. The women start singing insults to the bridegroom with compliments on the beauty of the bride. A small pyre is made and lighted by the bridegroom. Red *tilak* is placed on the foreheads of all the boys and visitors. The bride and bridegroom drop barley and then water on the fire five times. The women sing "Peace to all" and the bridegroom's hands are blessed with water by the *parohit*. The bridegroom and bride's father light incense (Most of the ceremonies require a standard amount of money to be presented, in this instance eight annas).

The Rajput *bedi char* is somewhat clearer so I will describe it. The five *denan* (gifts) are *tilak* (red ochre), cherwell (New Guinea dry rice used as a substitute for wet rice) *chaula* (a special sort of food used in funeral mourning identified by the Kew Observatory as Amaranthus sp.) *serian*, maize and flowers. This differs from the Chamba gazetteer list below.

After worshipping rice, maize and *chaula* and grass seeds, the bridegroom and bride's father sprinkle it with water. More water is added by the *parohit* and the bride's father and bridegroom hold the concoction in their hands. The bride's father holds it out to the bridegroom twice and the bridegroom to the bride's father once. Then the bride's father to the bridegroom again. Then the bride's father touches the bride's and the bridegroom's feet. The bride's father offers it to the bridegroom again. The bridegroom touches it with his lips four times and it is then touched and spilt by the Holeva musicians. The mother's brother gives the

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and then the priest unknots the *manihar* from the boy's *pagri* and puts it in their hands. The bride's father then takes *til, drub,* rice, flowers and copper coins and the *sankalap* is performed to the recitation of *mantras*.

(25) This takes place at night after the previous description above). After this he places 4 copper coins and a rupee in the vessel containing water, turmeric, milk and curds and sprinkles the mixture on the *baid*. This is called *saj pana* or the giving of dowry. The bride's mother's brother then comes and touches the boy's and girl's hands with a seer of rice and a copper coin and then they are released, the *manihar* being given to the girl to put round her neck. The rice and coin go to the priest. After this all the girl's other relations and friends give her presents, either in cash or in kind according to their social position. These presents are then divided thus: To the bride and bridegroom's *parohits* 4 annas each; to the bride's *palki* carrier 4 annas; to the bridegroom's 4 as.; to the carpenter (*badhi*) who erects the temple and canopy 4 as.; to the bride's musicians 2 as.; to the bridegroom's 4 as.; After this the bride's *parohit* counts the things received in dowry receiving for this 8 copper coins with four more as. *dehl* (doorway) for acting as the family priest. Of the residue a fourth goes to the bride and a tenth of the remainder is appropriated by her priest. The balance with the canopy is then given by the bride's father as a *sankalap* to the boy's father and forms part of the paraphernalia.

After this the *gotra-char* mantras are read and fried rice is thrown towards the couple by both the priests. This is followed by making the fathers of the couple sit under the canopy and a blade of *drub* is put by the bride's priest into the girl's father's hand. He hold it between the tip of his middle fingers at one end, the other being similarly held by the boy's father. The bride's father then says *"Asmat kania, tasmat gotra"* (Our girl passes to your *got*). The ends of the blade are then reversed and the boy's father says *"Tasmat kania, asmat gotra"* (Your girl has come into our *got*). At the conclusion, the bridegroom comes to the end of the canopy where he receives *rular* (salutation) with a present from his mother-in-law and the other elderly women of the bride's house. The mother-in-law gives a rupee in cash and four copper coins, the others only copper coins, and, without receiving this gift from the women it is not etiquette for him to appear before them. The boy touches the bride's mother's feet in token of her giving him this privilege.

(28) The ceremonies at the bride's are now over and the bride is taken in the *palki* with all the paraphernalia, followed by the bridegroom, his followers and friends to his house.

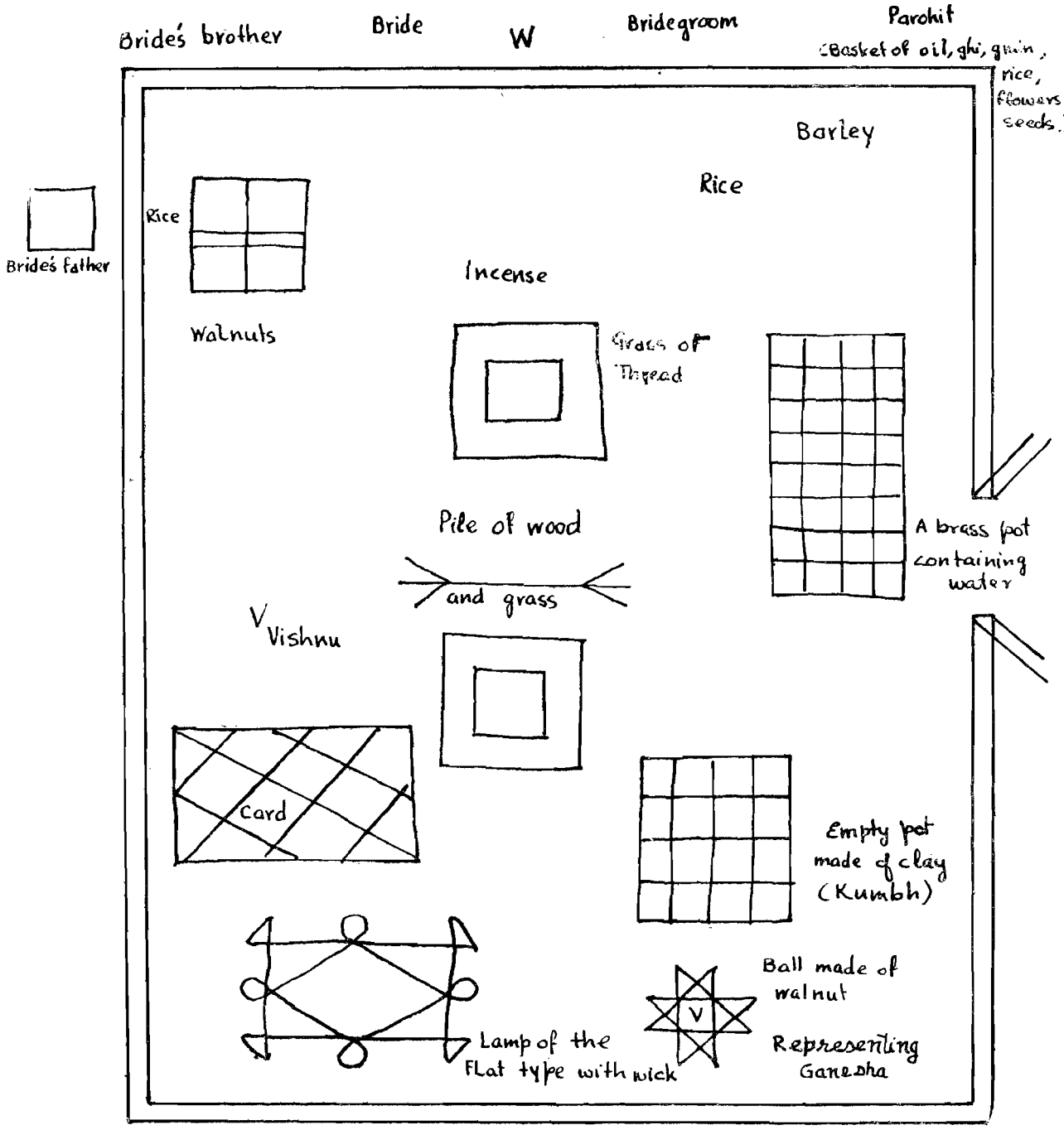


Diagram during Bedi Char *ceremony of Sipi marriage*

parohit some money to proceed.

The small pile in the middle of the diagram (*hawan*) is lit by the mother's brother with grains of rice. All sprinkle some of the grains of rice in the fire. The bridegroom puts in two spoons of *ghi* and water, the bride's father does the same. A red cord is tied around the two grindstones and the bride's mother pounds the turmeric. She then puts various rings on the toes of her daughter and smears turmeric on the new couple's feet. In a sieve the bride's brother arranges grain five times which is disarranged in turn by the bridegroom. Then the bridegroom does the same and it is disarranged by the bride's father. Then all the objects on the diagram are put in a circle round the fire with the pieces of wood held opposite the mother's brother on the ground. The bride and bridegroom, tied together, walk four times around the fire. Twice the feet are anointed by the mother's brother and two other girls (usually sisters) and twice by the bride's father. The bride now sits down on the opposite side, on the bridegroom's *left*. Their hands are clasped together and the cord from the bridegroom's mask is tied around them. Water is sprinkled on the hands by the bride's sister. The mother's brother then places a green leaf on the crossed hands and leaves the circle. Money is paid to release the bridegroom's hands. *Ghi* is given to the bride and bridegroom by the bride's father. One of the feathers from the face mask (*chirri*) is tied around the dagger (which all Rajputs wear on ceremonial occasions) and taken away by a friend of the bridegroom. The other *chirri* and the dagger is taken by a male friend of the bridegroom to the husband's house and hung over the door to "apologise to the gods for the service held at night".

The above is the Rajput ceremony. The Sipi ceremony I witnessed differed in slight particulars from the above. The four annas asking the *parohit* to proceed is given by the bride's side. The bride's *salan* touches the stone on which the turmeric has been ground. (This is called the *roli khelna* ceremony). After the mixing of the grain ceremony the grain is heaped partly round the fire and partly on top of the *bedi*. (As a matter of fact the *bedi* was badly erected and collapsed half-way through the ceremony on top of the participants. No one seemed to think there was any ill omen in this, not even the *parohit*). The bride's mother and father sprinkled water on to the crossed hands of the couple. The *hawan* is no more used after this ceremony, subsequent events not requiring it. As the Sipis do not wear daggers the last part of the ceremony was of course omitted. The song which the women sang while the couple walked around the fire is the same as described in the Chamba gazetteer below.

Song sung at the bride's arrival at the bridegroom's house: —

Soi aunde jo adar de junde jo bhali mar.
Hallare jande jo mochar mar bhale bhale adar.

(Receive the party coming with the bride with courtesy and on their departure give them a good thrashing. Give to the bastards (*hallar*) a shoe-beating, this is good treatment for them.)

On arrival at the door the following song is sung.

Ham ku pujna kun gori ai?
Ham ku pi na Gaura ai
Ham ku pujde putri phal mangde.

(Who is that beautiful girl come to worship a pomegranate tree? It is Gaura who has come to worship. While she is worshipping she is praying for a son). Then the *arti* is presented by the boy's mother and she also gives the bride a rupee. Next the pair are conducted to the *kamdeo* (picture on the wall) and Ganpati, etc. are worshipped, after which they are made to go four times round the earthern lamp (*diwa*) and *kumbh*, tape and a bunch of pomegranate. This circumambulation is called *athlai* (8 rounds). After this the bridal veil is taken off by the *parohit* and the imitation birds on the veil are given to the priest, the brothers of the couple and their newly acquired *mitras* (brothers made by sacred observance). After the *athlai*, the bride and bridegroom's wrist threads are loosened by two men who thus become brothers. These threads were put on by them at the commencement of the preliminary observances.

(33) At the conclusion the bridegroom receives presents (*tambol*) from the men and women, and similarly *munhasani* from the women is received by the bride for unveiling her. Songs are sung by the women on these occasions. The following feast song is sung at the bridegroom's house: —

Kuniaye chauka paya, kuni dhotere hath pair
Janne chauka paya, soi dhotere hath pair, darohi Ram Ram,
Bhat paritha, mas paritha, upar parithe tare mare,
Bhate mase khae na jane, soi bahim kardi hare hare,

(Who has smeared the floor with cowdung who has washed the hands and feet?



The Gotra Char *rite of the wedding ceremony held at Sechuin village in* 1952

The *jan* have done it, the *soi* have washed their hands and feet; we appeal to Ram.

Boiled rice has been given, meat has been given. They have been given small pebbles.

The *soi* know not how to eat rice and meat, the sister expresses surprise by saying Hare, Hare.

Four feasts are given in the boy's house to the guests: first on the day of the oil ceremony; second on the morning on which the procession returns home and fourth on the morning on which the bridegroom receives presents. The first two feasts are given at the bride's house on the oil day to the guests of the girl, and the last two on the marriage day to the bridegroom and his followers and to the bride's guests.

(25) *Saj*: (10 *a.m.*) next day—Divided into two parts—

(a) Receiving; The bride and bridegroom are brought out still tied together. The bride is helped by her father's brother's wife to adjust her dress, etc. The bride still has on her red hood and new clothes. Some yellow turmeric is pounded and placed in a brass dish. A member of the bridegroom's family begins by dropping one rupee into the dish and the *parohit* in this instance contributed four annas. A scribe has been asked to write down the amounts as they are given. As various friends, relatives and those owing *birtou* agreements come forward they drop their money. The amount is shouted out in a loud voice by the bride's uncle who takes a pinch of the yellow water, flicks it towards the seated couple and the *parohit* makes a *tika* on their foreheads. It first the bride's monther's brother holds out a knife in the brass dish. As the money is dropped in, it is removed again with the exception of the original bridegroom's rupee. In addition to money contributions the bride's grandmother puts in a piece of wool and the father gives a small basin of rice. Together about 25 people contributed about 10 rupees in the Sipi wedding (landless) and in the Goshen Rajput wedding 29 people gave about 28 rupees. The contribution in *saj* and *tambol* are determined almost entirely by custom. Where there is some traditional relationship between two families or where there is some special friendship between two individuals, it will be remembered at *saj* and *tambol*. The relationship is between the fathers of the bride and bridegroom. Towards the end of the Goshen wedding one person gave four annas and the bride's father immediately remonstrated with him pointing out how he had given a larger amount at the wedding of his son. The man somewhat sheepishly gave one rupee more. That is the reason why the amounts are written down. It is also very good for one's prestige to have a very long list which takes a long while to write down. At each ceremony one attends one is supposed to double the amount until a maximum of Rs. 1.8 is reached when one recommences.

(b) Distribution of *saj*: 11-30 a.m.—A red and yellow cord is tied around the pot containing wool, a scythe, empty waterpot on ladle as well as round the water pot which was given by the bride's relatives to take to her new home. Her parents give her 8 brass plates, 1 big brass waterpot, 2 sickles, an earth grubber, a *patari* for peeling vegetables and a small *lotta*, (brasspot). The following was the distribution of the money.

Bride's *parohit*, (1 rupee 8 annas).

Bride's father, 3—6 as.

Bridegroom's father's brothers, 2 annas.

Wife's brothers, 1 rupee each.

Bride's father's younger brother, 1 rupee.

Father, 2 rupees 8 annas who handed it back to the eldest son who distributed it as follows:

Father's brother's son (who refused) 8 as.

Each *parohit* 4½ as.

Bride's father 12 as.

Parohit of the bride. The 2 sorts of dal, Indian corn and wool.

The Rajput *saj* was much bigger as the family was wealthier. The bride was given a large wooden box especially made for the occasion, a spinning wheel, 2 brass jars, various cutting implements and knives (*paratari, kudari, rathi*), a drinking glass, a 3 cornered tripod for making *chapattis* (*toa*), 2 large water pots of brass, 6 brass dishes, a brass ladle especially made by the brassworkers, 1 broken *chapatti*. A cow was also given. A yellow cloth (*chentu*) with a pice tied in the corner was put on the cow. The bride's father and a young child tied a red thread on each of its legs and *daub* each doubed leg with *tilak*. Then they both passed around it three times. After a blessing the bride's father touched

the four corners of the *bedi* with a tin plate, a *lotta* and a cup and placed it in the bridegroom's skirt. Then the mother's brother of the bride was given 9 annas. Both *parohits* repeated the *gotra achar.* Money was given by the bridegroom to all the children. (Note:—This *gotra achar* does not refer as one might think, to a lineage peculiar to the *gotra* concerned, but is a standardized version of the genealogy of the gods). There is sometimes a present given to the bride in money or kind termed *chad* usually given by relatives. But this is an ordinary loan recoverable in court.

(24) *Gotra achar*: 12 a.m.—The bride's father has a piece of *drub,* a pice, and some water which he gives to the bridegroom. The bridegroom then dots a *tika* on both *parohits'* foreheads. While doing this he has a 4 anna piece in his hand. All the plates, grass, etc. from *saj* are placed in the bridegroom's skirt. He is then dressed in a red scarf with a white and yellow girdle. His elder brother gives him pice which he distributes to everyone. A 4 anna piece is also given to the bride by the bride's brother.

The father of the bride and the groom then hold a twig *drub* between them with a pice, between the tips of their middle fingers while saying *"Asmat kania tasmat gotra".* The twig is reversed and the bridegroom's father says *"Tasmat kania, asmat gotra".* The grass is then given to the bride's older brother who puts it in his hat. The *parohit* holds some wheat for the bride after this ceremony. Sometimes it is put *groom's house* (2-30 *p.m.*.)—A special pipe and and a rupee, sweets and *ghi.* Women weep touching the *pattira.* He leaves for his own that by which he came.

(28) *Bride and bridegroom leave for bridegroom's house* (2-30 *p.m.*)—A special pipe and drum tune is played. The bridegroom departs and is given a rupee, sweets and *ghi.* Women weep bitterly. While being given these things his feet are touching the *pattera.* He leaves for his own house with his wife by a route different from that by which he comes.

(31) *Athlai (sunset)*—The bridegroom's *parohit* who has arrived early has already drawn a special diagram on the floor of the home the couple will occupy. The mother of the bridegroom welcomes her daughter-in-law by waving a lighted lamp in front of her when she enters the doorway and throwing cooked food over both their heads.

They both worship a picture of the local house divinity and on the floor go round the diagram with the objects on it four times finally sitting on the west side. The man's crown including his face covering is taken off, a piece is put in the pot (*kumbh*) and given to the bridegroom's father and then distributed among any members of the family present. To own a piece is supposed to presage good fortune. A friend usually unrelated removes the thread round the wrist which makes him a brother. Some money is given to the bridegroom by his brother. The bride then goes off to make the acquaintance of her new household where she will stay two to three hours before returning home to her mother. The bridegroom goes outside into the courtyard for the *tambol* ceremony.

(33) *Tambol* (2 *p.m.*)—A dish is placed outside. With their backs to the west, the father on the left and the bridegroom on the right. They offer sweets to their friends.

A literate friend writes down all the money gifts which are given to the family. Before starting the father familiarises himself with all those who ought to give gifts from the previous list. A specimen list is: Father's eldest brother, Sernu (same village of higher caste), Hans (unrelated to Brahmaur) Dunia (same village of higher caste), Natu (same village of higher caste) Ganda (bride's father). All gave one rupee. Various other smaller amounts brought the total to 12 rupees. All the money is kept in the dish. At the end the father holds out the dish to his son who can keep as much as he can seize with one hand. The father tries to make his aim erratic by hastily lowering the dish just as he is about to seize the money. The residue goes to pay those who participated in the ceremony, drummers, dancing and singing girls, food etc. Even the bride's *parohit* will get a proportion of the money although not employed by the bridegroom.

(34) *Sudenoj, About a year later*—The sudenoj ceremony does not require a priest for its performance. Nevertheless it is deemed an important ceremony to the majority of Brahmauris. In 1952 the doctor at Brahmaur, who had been educated on the plains, and the Chambapazetteer are rare cases where a Gaddi did not hold the ceremony. It marks the final departure of the bride for the home of her husband. Some Gaddi girls get married before puberty and it might be thought that this ceremony was to await that time were is not that *all* girls usually await a year before going to their husband's home. It seems to me to mark the gradual transition on the part of the girl from her status as a girl in one village to a wife in another.

At a certain date agreed on by both parties, the husband and his friends come to be entertained by his affinal relatives. The husband is dressed up as humorously as possible with heavy khol marks under his eyes and eccentric cap with feather and pink shirt. He brings with him one or two companions (*panchaink*) who are his closest friends and their jobs is to behave as humorously as possible. The women presented

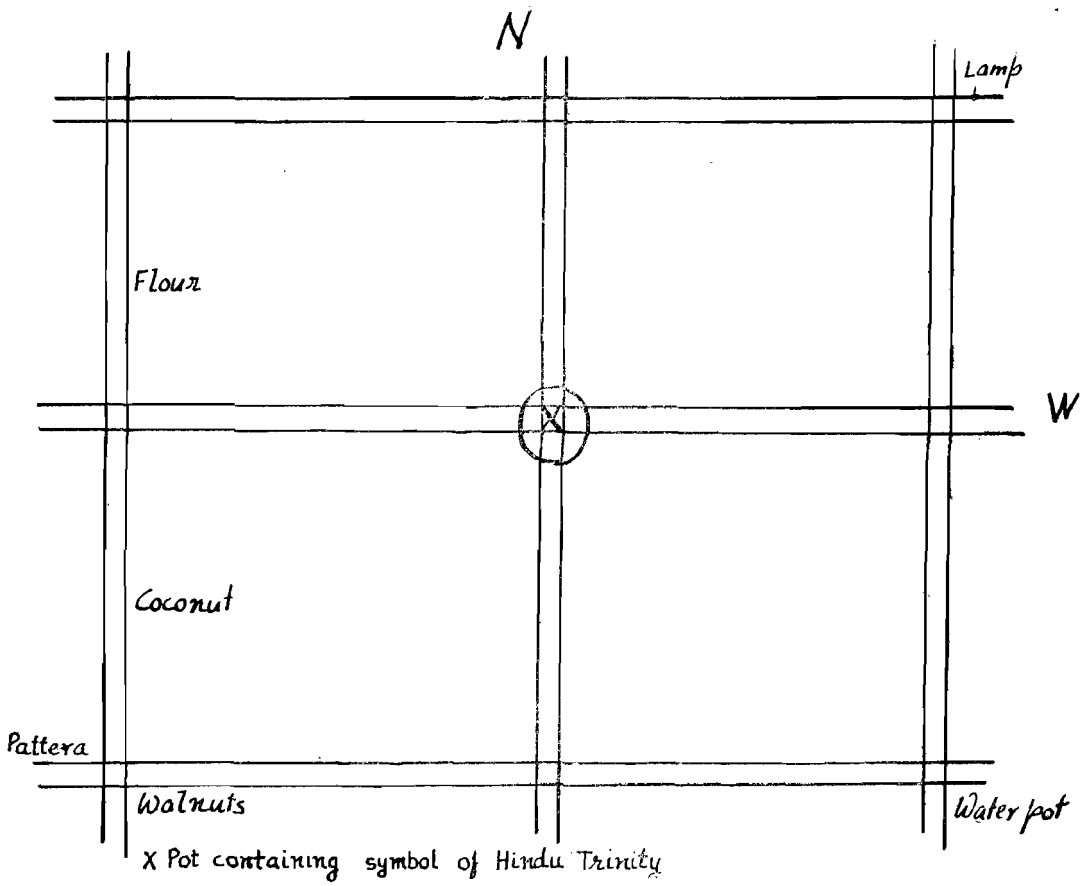


Diagram during Athlai Ceremony.

them with 2 chairs, one made of card-board gold pieces, the other of walnut kernels.

No *parohit* is necessary and no especial religious ceremony is performed. At the wife's house, the people accompanying the bride are made to feel as uncomfortable as possible with various references to their personal appearance and so on. After a mid-day meal they end their way back to their own homes leaving the husband with his two companions behind all night. About 7 p.m. the men of the *gotra* politely entertain the husband and the two *punchaink*. At about 9 p.m. the women all dance in front of the new husband. No man can dance at this time. Then about 11.30 the husband and his two *punchaink* are seated in the courtward and one of the village girls dresses up as a very old Gaddi shepherd complete with rope. The imaginary grandfather and the girls of the family led by the bride's sister then taunt and sometimes lightly strike the visitors but they must not lose their composure or retaliate. One of the rituals is to break a pumpkin with lighted candles over the bridegroom's head. Finally after the head of the house thinks this has gone on long enough he calls everyone to go to bed. This exchange of jokes with the bridegroom at the end of *sudenoj* is termed *galli lagan*. In a wealthy family in 1962 the bride's parents presented the couple with 20 seers of wheat flour, 2 *cholu*, 2 *luanchri*, 10—15 *ghundhu*, 4—6 *gardu* and 1 *chadar*. (Women's clothing). The next morning early the three men then depart with all the women shouting after them and accompanying them from a distance. They are accused of sleeping with their own sister in public among other accusations. Finally in the instance which I saw the husband lay down on his back in the middle of the path and waggled his hands in the air in front of his penis as though he were copulating with them. The husband is clearly regarded as an immoral robber who steals one of the girls from the village fellowship and who is capable of doing the same thing again with the other girls. (All the girls in the village are regarded as 'sisters' of the bride of course as they are all approximately the same age but to the bridegroom they would be *"sali"*).

About 3 p.m. the wife accompanied by two or three close women friends and the men of the village set off for her future home by another route. The bride is in a *palki* accompanied by a band. The time of departure is always arranged so that the new bride will enter her new home just after the sun has set. This is supposed to be the propitious time because Parvati, wife of Vishnu is alleged to have brought back the cows at this time. Along the way the wife periodically stops to say farewell to other relatives who may live in villages along the route. The women friends, new wife and her women attendants all weep vociferously until the *palki* bearers interfere and state they must be proceeding onwards.

Coming to the new village, the procession makes as much noise as possible but the village is as silent as can be, no one coming out to welcome the wife. (The women have already been admitted). After a longer or shorter interval of sitting outside uncomfortably on the hillside suddenly everyone is motioned inside and following the *palki* all troop into the house's courtyard only to be met by the women of the village all singing the most offensive and unpleasant songs. The men stand around looking uncomfortable and as unconcerned as possible. These songs are especially composed to suit the occasion. I had only been in Brahmaur a week so had not yet grasped the importance of headgear so attended this *sudenoj* without my usual balaclava and the girls asked "What sort of bride is it who is accompanied in her party by a funny looking man without a hat"? "What a peculiar sort of bride's party which has a queer looking white man wearing hornrimmed spectacles?" Everyone came in for their share. But eventually even these women failed of breath and the curtains of the *palki* were drawn back, the attendants admitted from the cold courtyard to a better courtyard behind where there were three enormous log fires burning furiously and all were served quantities of *sur* (beer) and food including rice. Everyone then settled down to the business of the evening, eating until they fell asleep through sheer exhaustion, only to awake the next morning for a lighter meal about 11 a.m. During the various meals, often the women (who eat separately from the men) keep up insulting friendly remarks such as "Only eat a very little and you will be able to take a lot more home to your sister and mother." This veiled friendly hostility never results in fights however and is in no way a "marriage by capture".

Oiled cakes of 5 seers weight must be taken by everyone of the bridegroom's party and given to the bride while the girl's father himself takes about 1 maund. In this case the grand father was the leader of his granddaughter's delegation, while the father merely attended as one of the party. The leaf plates for the meals are all provided by certain low castes without charge as *birton*. They are not however present at the wedding. This finally concludes all the stages of marriage. Although there is no especial religious reason why *sudenoj* should be held in September, that is the time when nearly all of them are held. The reason is twofold. Firstly, the crops for the year have been harvested and the families concern-

ed know exactly how much they will require to tide them over until the next year and would as soon spend it in a big burst as in any other way; and secondly, it is held as late as possible because a number of the relatives have left for the plains so that the party will be smaller and therefore cheaper. Moreover during the summer one has the advantage of one's daughter's labour whereas in winter she has to be fed by someone else. Although the Gaddis are good-natured and friendly people they always have a clear eye to the balance sheet of profit and loss.

I have described the *sudenoj* at some length because in 1962 there was a movement afoot by certain Brahmins and government officials to abolish this ceremony on the grounds of expense and the fact that not having a *parohit* present, it was not Sanscritic. I hope I have described it sufficiently to show that it is one of the most important rituals of marriage in which the future husband gets to know his bride's family in a personal way. Like European weddings future marriages often have their early beginnings at previous wedding ceremonies. *Punchainks* are always unmarried.

Selected marriage songs at the wedding described.

1. Song by the party accompanying the mother's brother bringing the *bedi*.
   Mamun ahuri da-bia waste aia. — The mother's borther is coming, coming for a wedding.

2. Song while the bridegroom is being bathed by his own women.
   Aurie traim aurie— — An earthen vessel full of water.
   Angane jikara kia wea? — Courtyard, muddy water what happened?
   Chaundan di chaunke mangao— — Bring the seat of sandalwood.
   Larki naun karia. — The girl has to bathe.

3. Waiting for the bridegroom to arrive.
   Main ta bujhu thu bijili chumki — My impression was of thunder and lightining
   Lage sere de lesake — But it is really a reflection of the *sera*.
   Asse to bujo badl garje — We also had the impression of the clouds
   Yeh lage nagara de grake — But it was really the drum beating.
   (The *sera* is the bridegroom's face veil).

4. An example of the women's remarks while the strangers are eating—
   Yeh kunjarai duredo — These fools are coming from afar
   Yanne mun kider sur rede. — Their mouths are like pigs'.

5. Song of the women on addressing the bridegroom at *lagan*—
   Raj tha rasta Chamba jo go thu — The main road is to Chamba
   Iti jo kuni bateru ho? — Who led you to this place?
   Raje di tikia, maharaje di tikia — King's son, emperor's son,
   Iti jo kuni bateru ho? — Who led you to this place?

6. Kari kari, *gunni*, *gunni*, kari — Mystic line, mystic line (*gunni* ?)
   Kari, kari, bunja na ghandi — Mystic line not to be crossed over
   Kari, kari, raja Rama do kari, — Mystic line, mystic line, King Ram's mystic line
   Kari bunja na ghandi — Mystic line not to be crossed over
   Jinna buni raja Ram di kari — Those who traverse Ram's mystic line
   Unajo kutu bali bari — To them never comes good luck
   (This refers to the line of the *hawan* and also the imaginary line separating the duties of the sexes).

7. Beginning of *lagan*—
   Dhola, dhola apne bahan rea dhola, — Drum, drum, your sister's drum
   Teain dhole bahana jo sadai — You have sommoned your sister with a drum
   Hoya lagna do belar — It is the time of *lagan*.
   (Other verses similar to these summoning the bride and others)
   Raja diye diye haya lagna na bela — You the bride of a rajah at the time of *lagan*

8. *Samut*
   Surga Ran, surga Ran samute ai bathie. — God came down from heaven and sat down at *samut*. (Repeat for Brahma, Vishnu, the *parohit*, father, mother, brother and sister).

9. Nili o pyolya totia tusi kahan dei aie — Blue and yellow parrot from where have you come?
   Khuye khatri dobbi brahmana — O Brahmin, you have put me in a deep well
   Teri khatre ayi totya — The parrot has come for your sake
   Sach bol kaptia Brahman — Speak O ill-disposed (kaptia) Brahman
   Ten meri khel ganyai — You have spoilt my game
   Illa, illa kuli ra dharmi mola hathlu kela chhurai. — The pious mother's brother will part the hands of the girl.

10. Another quotation from a song while guests are eating food—
    Iyanri bhena ri ghundu do lani — Their sisters' headgear is used as a loin cloth for distributing
    Dhotti priha main langna. — food.

11. Women addressing the bridegroom as he first sits down in the bride's house around the *hawan*—

Hanre ri chiri laria thar thar kamndi	The bridegroom's veil is trembling
Inha ki pap kamura ho?	What sin have you committed?
Hor ta pap salia kich na kamura ho	I have committed no sin except the
Meri ghoru charirakhi ho	That of grazing your cow.
(As above then)	
Hor ta pap kich na kamura ho	I have committed no sin except that
Bahana ri sijja sutora ho	Of sleeping with my sister.
Hor ta salia pap na kamura	I have committed no sin except that
Bahana thown halra jammura ho	Through your sister (and your agency) a bastard has been born

12. Giving away of the virgin (*kania dhan*)—

Nagare bajare bedi bigandi aie	In the bazar *bedis* are being sold
Lia mere chachuo bedi vikandi aie	O my uncle go to purchase a *bedi*.
Aisa kian line mulakeri manghi	How can we purchase? They are too dear.
Lia mere tawuo bedi vikandi aie	
Aisa kain leni mulakeri manghni	Younger uncle will not get it, older uncle will not get it.
(Chorus)	My pious mother go to buy it
Chachu na landa, kaku na landa	Uncle will not get it, brother will not get it
Le mere dermie moli ho	My pious mother go to buy it
Tawua na landa, bawia na landa	O my (older) uncle, go to purchase a *bedi*
Le mere dermie moli ho	How can we purchase? They are too dear.

13. Gali mutter die bu salia — O my *sali* do not abuse me,
Aung tere ghoru charulo — I will look after your cattle.

14. *At the affixing of the nose ring*—

Peli darjari lai-i kunwari pirndi	In the first round only the bachelors move
Duji lajaria pirnda agas	In the second round, the sky moves
Prijdi lajarai	In the third round the moon and sun move
Prinde chandra tasurj	
End of *saj*	
Chaundi, chaundi, kia akia	(Chaundi is prooably chaunrie, a sort of whisk which is used to wave slowly before gods in a temple.) O chaundi what are you doing?
Tu juli jaurie	You move it yourself
Bedi bathye dhartar agas	When earth and sky sit for the *bedi*
Tu juli jaurie	You move it yourself
Bedi bathye gori achcha chachu	Virgin (?) and good uncle sit for the *bedi*
Tu juli jaurie	You move it yourself
Bedi bathye barmata Vishnu	The brahma Vishnu sit for the *bedi*
Tu juli jaurie	You move it yourself
Bedi bathye punj bhai pandabar	The five Panda brothers sit for the *bedi*
Tu juli jaurie	You move it yourself
Bedi bathye bedi kotote	(Perhaps kotote is a name of a *gotra*).
Tu juli jaurie	You move it yourself

In the above songs I have deliberately not tried to standardize the spelling because in actual fact, since everyone is illiterate there really is no standard way of making a sound; even case endings are frequently incorrect.

The whole marriage ceremony described above is that known as the evening (*shadhi*) ceremony and is only used when both parties to the marriage are of the same ritual status. A couple is of the same ritual status when they come from the same caste and where the woman has not already passed through this ceremony once. Two *parohit* priests are always necessary and this is the most important and fundamental form of marriage.

But there are other forms, of marriage equally valid which are used in other situations. I quote the following description from the *Chamba Gazetteer* p. 147. "The Gaddis also practise the form of marriage called *jhnd-phunk* solemnized by burning brushwood and circumambulating the fire eight times hand in hand or with the bride's sheet tied to the boy's girdle. It is admissible in cases where a girl's parents have consented to her betrothal but refuse to carry out the marriage and is sometimes done forcibly by the bridegroom; or in cases in which a girl elopes with her lover. No priest or relative need attend it". I have never seen this form as described nor have I found anyone who has been married in this way.

It is difficult to see how it can be legally valid in the absence of witnesses but since I know no one who has been married thus, I merely include it for information.

A third ceremony of marriage is that known as *jhanjrara* which is used where the bride and bridegroom are of unequal ritual status, that is where the woman is a widow or where the parties are of different caste. The ceremony is usually held in a temple, and consists of a feast being given by the bridegroom to those present and a nose ring being inserted in the bride's nose. Also the woman's hair is braided with a piece of red cord. It need not be performed by a *parohit* although one is usually present to hold a service. Compensation is usually paid to the family of the widow's husband in accord-

ance with the possibility of her bearing children again and her age.

A fourth form of marriage is the *balu jhanjrara* marriage. This is the marriage of a man to his elder brother's widow even if his own wife be still living. No ceremony of any sort is required and the children born to the mother are considered to have the dead man as their father. In the gazetteer there is the following description;

"If a widow continues to reside in her late husband's house and she bears a son at any time while residing there the son is considered the legitimate heir to his mother's late husband, no matter how long a time has elapsed since the death of the latter. No enquiry has been made as to who the child's real father is and the widow suffers no diminution in reputation. The son is called *chaukhandu* as having been born within the "four corners" of the mother's husband's house" (p. 128).

This bears a resemblance to "ghost marriage" as found among the Nuer of the Sudan but is not fundamentally the same because (a) there is no intention of "raising a seed" to the elder brother nor of establishing a lineage. Moreover the only potential husbands are the man's younger brothers but the widow may marry someone else on payment of a fee to the husband's heir (b) if the elder brother dies without male heirs all the children of the younger brother by all his wives inherit equally. My enquiries lead me to believe that the pattern of inheritance is not so much one of the elder brother's widow's sons inheriting all the elder brother's land and the younger brother's sons the younger brother's, but of all children inheriting equally all the land of all the brothers at least before official land partition.[1]

Divorce is not recognized nor is there any ceremony or rite allowing for divorce. A man may marry as many women as he wishes, but a woman may have only one husband, although in Goshen there was only one man who had more than one wife and he had three. He did this in order to get a son. A woman who separates from her husband and wishes to remarry can only become a mistress, but the child of such a marriage belongs to the *genitor* and has rights to work the land along with his *genitor's* sons although at land division he may not receive as large a portion. But in any case he has a right to maintenance. The basic principle of Gaddi physiology is that children are entirely conceived by a man's semen but it is necessary for this seed to be kept inside a woman to develop. The woman is in the nature of a caretaker. Thus if it is known and the woman admits that a child which she has conceived is not her husband's, the *genitor* bears full responsibility. But of course in the absence of such open acknowledgement it is always assumed that the children of a married woman are also the children of her husband with the exception of the *balu jhanjrara* situation mentioned above. But then it is also assumed that brothers of the same parentage have an identical status and physiological make-up. In the Nuer "ghost marriage", there is no assumed connection between the status of the child derived from its *pater* and the physiology of the child derived from its genitor.[2]

There are the following patterns of marriage among the Brahmauri Gaddis—

(a) Two friends exchange a son for a daughter in order to extend their respective influences or because the parents are friends. Betrothals are sometimes performed when the children are born. Technically speaking, once the wedding betrothal has been completed, the wedding cannot be altered, but this agreement is more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

(b) A chain marriage in which four or five families arrange for a number of daughters to marry in sequence with the final girl in the ring marrying the first family again. This system gives rise to frequent quarrels as one cannot always arrange for each family to have the appropriate number of children.

(c) A brother and sister in one family may marry a sister and brother in another family. The brother or sister may be true or classificatory. I have given an example of this elsewhere.[3]

(d) Levirate and false sororate. A woman may marry her husband's younger brother but the children regard their dead father as *pater*. A man may marry his wife's younger sister if his own wife has died. *But* to do this he has to open entirely new negotiations with his wife's parents, pay a new sum of money if it is required and pass completely through the *shadhi* ceremony

1. Even on the Punjab plans the *prihanjrara* marriage is fully recognised wherever ritual restrictions prevent a *shadhi* marriage Henry T. Prinsep in a note on p. 164 of the *Origin of the Sikh Power in Punjab*, Lahore 1897 writes:—"The present rajah of Nabha Jaswant Singh, and six of the Singhpura Chiefs are by connubial union of this nature (*Karewa* or *jhanjrara* marriage). Maharajah. Ranjit Singh has gone some steps further; he took by *karewa* a lady betrothed to his father, Maha Singh; he has also taken Dyan Kaur and Ratan Kaur, the widows of Sahib Singh, the Chief of Gujarat, his own uncle-in-law.".

2. For this technical point please see E.E. Evans—Pritchard *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, Rhodes Livingstone, Papers, No. 11. Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Northern Rhodesia, 1945.

3. See p. 18 in Newell, "The Submerged Descent Line among the Gaddi People of North India" in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 92, Part I, 1962.

once again. It cannot thus be regarded as a true sororate where sisters are interchangeable.

(e) *Ghar javantri*—Where a family has a large number of daughters and no sons, a man may work for his bride by living in his future father-in-law's house. As there are many tasks within the family which can be better performed by a man, a prospective bridegroom can be invited to work and live in the house for a certain period of time (usually two to three years) when all expenses of the marriage will be borne by the bride's parents. Usually the man concerned is poorer than the family for which he works. The usual word for son-in-law is *juwayi* and it is significant that this form of marriage is called *ghar javantri,* house little son-in-law implying inferiority. Unlike the situation as it applies to the plains the son-in-law could never acquire rights in land property in his father-in-law's house. However under the new Indian legislation this may now be possible but the frequency of this type of marriage is much less than used to be the case. In 1952 there was a court case in which after the period of contract had expired the father gave the promised daughter to another man. The "son-in-law" brought a court case against the father in which the court decided in his favour in the sense that money compensation was paid to the man but the contract of marriage was not enforced.

(f) Mothers like one of their daughters at least to return to their village of origin. By the rule of exogamy they must marry back into a *gotra* other than their mother's. Sometimes where a woman is happily married she will suggest her sister as a suitable bride for someone of another *gotra* in the village. As most villages consist of only one, two or three *gotras,* this type of link cannot keep repeating itself except in the case of large villages.

(g) Marriages arranged through a middleman where none of the above principles apply. It may happen that a young man or his father see or hear of some girl who attracts them, either by her good looks or her ability in some other direction, and they then ask a friend of theirs (preferably with contacts in the village concerned) to make enquiries. Eventually the father of the girl is approached by the middleman armed with numerous cigarettes and pleasant stories about the prospective bridegroom. Although in theory these arrangements are performed by men, on the occasions when I accompanied my host, a middleman of no mean repute, it was always the women, more especially the prospective bride's mother sitting behind her husband, who would let fall a string of remarks about the young man's habits, which could cause the scheme to fall through. And, conversely on some occasions when the marriage arrangement had apparently collapsed, it was usually a woman relative of the middleman who would as though by accident, call an him to advise him to take up proceedings once again. This is the most usual way a marriage is arranged.

Mr. Lyall states—

> "In the hills it is the father of the boy that sends an envoy to search for a bride for his son; in the plains it is the girl's father that searches for a husband for his daughter. It is a strict rule in the hills that the bride's tray-palanquin or *dola* must be carried in front of that of the bridegroom" (p. 98 *Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District* 1876).

It was my impression both in 1952 and 1962 that it was harder for a husband to find a wife than for a wife to find a husband and the costs of marriage bore much more heavily on the man than on the woman. The bride's father had little responsibility for making a monetary outlay for his daughter by compulsion although he often gave a substantial gift to his daughter from affection when she left her home. Apart from some physical cause I have not heard of any woman over 30 years who has not been married at least once but in some villages one might find a man who has either been unable to get married from monetary hardship or from lack of desire to work for a family. Such a man suffers from some sort of discrimination in the village community. There is, however, little difference in status between the husband's and the wife's family. The basic principle is that of *gharbar,* to see whether the wealth and character of the couple are about equally matched.[1] If payment is made by the man, it is termed *bhandan.*

(d) *Death and death memorial ceremonies*—The following information is derived partly from personal observation of a death in Goa village and partly on notes collected by my assistant Appa Rao Vaddadi of the University of Delhi. It was cross checked with information supplied by Sri Chuni Lal and Nanak Chand of Goshen village and Sri Narayan Das of Seri village. The text in quotation marks is from Rao's MS.

I

"The funeral rites can be divided into three sections. First, the funeral rites observed before the body is taken to the cremation ground.

[1] For further information about the actual marriage customs of the Gaddis please see W.H. Newell "Gaddi Kinship and Affinal Terms" *Man in India* Vol. 32 No. 2, April, 1952, Ranchi, Bihar.

Secondly, the rites observed on the cremation ground and thirdly, the rites after cremation. This would cover a period of four years as the fourth death anniversary is an important occasion in the ceremonial life of the Gaddis. This description only covers normal deaths when the body is cremated and does not apply to children under three years of age and to lepers when the bodies are buried not burnt.

As soon as the close relatives feel that a person is approaching his last moment, his body is removed from the bed and placed on the ground, and a silver one rupee coin, and quantity of *ghi* and small pieces of sandalwood, collectively known as *panch rati* are placed in the mouth of the dead man. Then the body is given a bath with Ganges water, mixed in ordinary water, and it is encased in a sack sewn tightly around the neck and arms. This sack is known as *bugka* or *bugi*. Above this a white cloth called *talli* is placed. This is contributed jointly by the members of his *birton* group. On top of the *talli* is placed a silk cloth generally of red or white colour contributed by the kin of the deceased. This silken cloth is called *kafan* or *mushri* or *lajma*. Then the corpse is laid on a bier of deodar wood of a special shape known as *rakha* or *viman* or *ramsej*. Meanwhile all the relatives of the deceased living in other villages are informed through messengers. Within an hour or two all the male members of related families arrive to console the bereaved. Near relatives on both the affinal and agnatic sides male and female also arrive. The family *parohit* is also informed and he arrives to recite the ritual known as the *Garud Puran*. There are no special *kalka parohits* in Gaddiland and the same *parohit* deals both with weddings and death.

After the bath and the wrapping in cloth, the bier and dead body is brought down to the courtyard where it rests till it is taken for cremation. The head of the body is placed in the northern direction. A southern direction is the normal direction while sleeping.

Near the head of the body is a large plate full of *jowar* grain, saswan and wheat mixed together. This grain is offered by the deceased's brother. After some time a sack cloth is spread near the feet and neighbours of the deceased bring grains like maize, wheat and chapattis to place on the cloth. This is then tied and kept at a distance from the body. The women who increase rapidly, all wail and weep unceasingly but are divided into two groups. Close women relatives such as father's sister, mother, wife, brothers' wives sit near the body. More distant affinal relatives weep at a distance. This is to avoid pollution and the necessity of taking a purificatory bath.

There are certain other men and women mostly of the older generation who console the brother's wife, mother and other close relatives of the dead man. These close relatives mourn loudly as well as beat their head and chest but the affinal relatives just weep. All the consoling persons are members of the deceased's *birton* group. Two old women unplait the hair of the dead man's wife who sits near the body. First they remove the ornaments of her head, then her ear rings and then her nose ring. Meanwhile she shrieks loudly and tries to throw herself on her husband's body.

The *parohit* during this period continues to recite the *Garud Puran* while incense is lit beside the corpse. After all the ornaments have been removed from the wife, the body is lifted from the ground amidst the protests of the wailing relatives. There are four bier bearers of the deceased's age group consist either of close *birtons* or of relatives.

II

"While the wailing women remain behind, all the men join the funeral procession. The family *parohit* with a firepot in his hand leads the procession followed by the bier and then by the people which consists of about 40 people. On the way the conch shell is blown every five minutes and a bell rings continuously. Twice the body is placed on the ground with the corpse's head touching the ground. The bier carriers carry small coins (mostly *naya paise*) and wheat grains which they throw behind them. The first time the body is put on the ground, the *parohit* sprinkles some water into the palms of the dead man's brother with some *drub* grass. The second time two big twigs of the *kansari* plant are used to brush off the flies on the dead man's body. An advance party will have already arrived to prepare the pyre.

The pyre is about 3' high consisting of medium sized wooden logs and dry twigs. After an interval the body is lifted from the *rakha* and placed on the pyre. All this is done by members of the *birton* group mainly from the village. An elderly man then cuts off a piece of cloth from the *talli* which he hangs on a branch. On the northern side of the ground the *parohit* sits chanting with the deceased's brother. At the end of these Sanscrit *mantras* he pours water into the hands of the brother who pours it into a brass plate which has three pyramid shaped cones of wheat as well as some incense.

[1] By my observation in an anti-clockwise direction. The wife of the dead man is not present nor does one circle the pyre three times. Compare p. 117, M.N. Srinivas *Religion and Society among the Coorgs* of *South India*. Clarendon Press Oxford, 1952.

At this moment the deceased's mother's brother appeared weeping vociferously. He came from Pulni. Although 70 years old he violently beat his head and chest. His two sons who accompanied him tried to control him to prevent him from injuring himself. Amidst his protests his sons brought a brass tumbler of water which was poured over his hands amidst his protests. He was then physically removed to a distance.

The *parohit* then called on all those present at the site to put wood on the body of the dead man. All then placed a small stick or a spring of sandal wood on the woodpile.

After this the deceased's younger brother accompanied by his father's brother's sons went round the pyre from south to north[1] and lit the funeral pyre after one round. He tied a small piece of cloth to his head.

All the assembled people left the pyre immediately before the corpse was consumed except for three agnatically related people who could not be sons. Their number is always odd, 3, 5, 7 or 9 and they are termed *sangharu*" (Rao).

"These three men sat watching the entire body burn to ashes. It is the duty of these men to collect the ashes of the deceased with the seven bones of the finger, knee and ankle joints. This is all packed up in a little piece of cloth taken from the shroud of the deceased. At home they then sprinkle Ganges' water, cow's milk, butter, curds, cow dung and cow's urine over the packet. Then it is put into an earthen vessel closed at the top and placed in a recess in the wall of the house. Each night and morning a lamp is lit for a short while by the side of it. This is continued until a sufficient amount of money has been collected to take it to Hardwar in Uttar Pradesh". (Chowhan op. cit.).

I also noticed a coin placed by the pyre before burning. Dr. Hutchison gives the following explanation. (Chamba Gazetteer). "A copper coin is placed by the pyre as the tax of the land on which the body is burnt (in allusion to the idea that the Mohammadens own the world, Hindus the sky and that the owner's land must not be used unless paid for)" (p. 148).

III

"The pollution period in the case of Brahmins and Gaddis is ten days. On the eleventh day a purification bath is taken. Previously all the *gotra* members of the deceased observed death pollution. But today many have abandoned this practice and only the close kin of the deceased observe pollution. The *parohit* decides whether the purification is to be taken on the eleventh day or is to be postponed to an auspicious day. If the eleventh day is not found to be auspicious, the purificatory bath is postponed till the twelfth or thirteenth day. On that day the family *parohit* sprinkles some Ganges water in the house after which all those in the bereaved family takes a bath.

During these ten days, the family *parohit* offers *pind* (balls of rice) to the dead man. Those younger than the dead man and closely related to him bare their heads as a mark of respect. The women of the house rise early and weep together for a few minutes each day. This is called *mukhdena*. Relatives and friends visit the family to sympathise and carry with them a small measure of wheat or *makki*.

"Suitable days are Monday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday and the eleventh day itself. On the eleventh day the deceased's clothes are washed and a goat is killed. Both the clothes and the goat are given to the *parohit* for his own use "(Chowhan). The goat is contributed by the dead man's *birton* group.

During this period of mourning, the mourners are only allowed to eat one hot meal a day of poor quality food other than rice or wheat at midday. It is not a matter of fasting but of abstaining from normal food and behaviour.

"On the eleventh day all the friends, relatives and neighbours are called for a big feast. On this day at the insistence of the guests, the bereaved members of the family eat meat and drink *sur*. This is the termination of the fasting restrictions. Each night and morning a lamp is lit for a short while by the side of the earthen vessel containing the ashes of the dead man. This is continued until a sufficient amount of money has been collected to take it to Hardwar" (Rao).

When I visited Goa in 1952 it happened that a daughter of the village had died in another village. I was interested to observe that the parents of the married girl did not attend the death ritual in her husband's village but performed a similar ceremony to the above in their own home but without the dead body. They also observed the eleven days fasting and the daily presentation to the *pind* in their own home. Guests who had *birton* with the family also visited them on the final day. This clearly shows that when a girl joins her husband's *gotra* at the marriage ceremony it does *not* mean that she loses rights in her own *gotra* but retains residual rights. I think there is no method by which a person can extinguish rights in his or her *gotra*. On the other hand this shows clearly that basically the death ceremony is one which concerns the *gotra* members and those with whom the *gotra* members have *birton*. It does not follow that the women's affines by giving a daughter to another *gotra* thereby acquire any rights in it. If one visits Hardwar

one also offers *pind* to one's daughters or mothers as well as to the males.

"After three months the *parohit* and relatives are summoned to a feast (*timai*), after six months (*chaamahini*), after one year (*barah*), after four years (*chawbarshi*). In these ceremonies valuable gifts and a feast are given to relatives. Every year at the time prescribed by the *parohit*, a ceremony (*saradh*) is performed in which oiled cakes, vegetable dishes, fruit and other food are offered to the *parohit* in the name of one's ancestors. It is repeated yearly for three generations'). (Chowhan).

Gangayatra—"A near male relative takes the bones of the dead man to the Ganges at Hardwar. The family *parohit* fixes a suitable day when he has sufficient money. One person may take two or three bones with him. The following account was narrated to me by Narayan Das, a priest of Seri village. On the day of departure the packet of ashes is taken from its hidden place in the wall, washed with *punjgali*, the 5 products of the cow, worshipped and hung around the neck in a container. The pilgrim or *gangayatri* must continue to wear this purse continually, is not allowed to sleep on a bed, nor to eat more than once a day until he returns home. After returning home he performs a ceremony called *gangoj* or *chidar* in which young girls and Brahmin boys are worshipped and paid small coins. At Hardwar the *gangayatri* throws the sacred bones into the Holy Ganges and bathes in the river, offers *pind* to his dead ancestors as well as to all those family members and nearest relatives including married sisters and daughters. There is an official priest known as a *panda* in Hardwar who is responsible for the whole of the Brahmaur area. These *pandas* were notorious for extracting money. The *gangayatri* in order to avoid deceit by the *pandas*, satisfies himself with the *bona fides* of the *panda* by comparing his genealogies with those kept by the *pandas*.' This ceremony according to our informants costs on an average Rs. 20 excluding the travelling and other contingent expenditure. The *gangayatri* takes back Ganges water from Hardwar which he mixes in the Lake at Manimahesh within a year after performing the *Gangayatra*. Manimahesh Lake is about three days journey up the valley from Brahmaur. There is no difference in the funeral ritual between men and women." (Rao).

After our stay in Brahmaur I took the opportunity of visiting the *pandas* at Muttra in Kashmir and at Hardwar. If a Gaddi dies of skin disease, he is buried and his relative has to visit Muttra to take part in certain ceremonies at the sacred spring to remove the disability after death. I had the opportunity of looking at the genealogical records and found no record of Brahmaur going back before the beginning of last century. I also visited Hardwar with Mr. Rao but found the actual *panda* in charge of the Brahmaur records had a large house some distance from the city where he lived in luxury. However he had a Brahmin servant who allowed us to look at some of the records before representatives of the *panda panchayat* intervened with great rudeness and forbade us to look at the records. We were prepared to pay the sum of Rs. 50 to look at the records but with the intervention of the *panchayat*, the *pandas* tried to bargain us up to Rs. 250. We refused to do this on account of their great discourtesy considering that we had brought letters of introduction from important Brahmins in the Brahmaur district as well as credentials from other important people. The records are kept in an unsystematic and bad style. When a Brahmauri visits the temple at which the *pandas* work, he gives his own name and village. They then recite information derived from a predecessor who has visited them. A married person who is a woman may have her name written down in two or three different sections and there is no attempt at systematization or of undertaking a special genealogical service for the Gaddi concerned. They cannot in any respect be regarded as genealogists. The Muttra *panda* regularly visit his clients in Brahmaur but the Hardwar *pandas* has a bigger clientele as more people die by normal methods than of skin diseases. I did glance at the earliest records and found no Gaddi name earlier than about 1810 so that it seems clear that the custom of *Gangayatra* only started to become common about the beginning of the nineteenth century. Both the *pandas* at Muttra and at Hardwar form a sort of closed corporation which owns certain material property such as the temple where they meet in common. It is clear that by this custom of *Gangayatra* the Gaddi form an integral part of the wider Indian society.

IV

"Gaddis believe that a bird called *chamun* announces impending death when it cries over the house of a dying man early in the morning. People consider this a bad omen and as soon as they hear the cry of the bird they expect bad news. They also believe that crows caw in a special way when the death of a near relative takes place.

The northern direction is considered to be an inauspicious direction and people avoid sleeping with their head in this direction. A dead person's head is always in this direction. The placing of the silver coin and four other valuable things, *ghi* and sandalwood (*panchrati*) is believed to be the fee for allowing the dead person into heaven.



Rest houses at Matra in Kashmir

There is an interesting practice if a person dies between the stars "Dhanishta" and "Revati". Such a death is called Dhanishta Panchak and the belief is that if the pattern of the funeral is not changed five deaths will occur in the same house. To avoid this for each additional star up to Revati, one dummy body prepared out of cloth is cremated along with the dead body. Sometimes at the suggestion of the family *purohit* the house is vacated for a brief period of time usually ranging between 3 months and a year. For this kind of death the quantity of food and cloth offered to the Brahmins is more. These stars are Dhanishta, Satabhish, Uttarabhad, Poorva Bhad and Revati.....

Unlike the situation at marriage, we were not able to gather any proverbs or sayings connected with death or a funeral. There is however funeral music played on musical instruments like *kal, paund,* etc. when an old man dies. For such a funeral the bier is decorated during the last journey from the house to the *marghat* or cremation ground. We did not collect any figures about the expenses for a funeral. In interviews we were informed that it depends on the economic position of the family. But a poor man receives small gifts of grain and other material required for feasting ..... They also sometimes lend small amounts of money of about Rs. 5 to their kinsmen. The goat killed on the eleventh day is jointly contributed by the members of the *birton* group." (Rao).

The Gaddi attitude towards the next world is rather amorphous and unsystematic. The most common idea is that a person will be reborn in accordance with his *dharma* and actions but this is not an automatic process at death. The dead person will not be successfully reborn until all his substance is once again reunited with God and the purpose of the *Gangayatra* is rather one of separating the dead person completely from his residence than of positively helping him to be reborn in another world or at a higher level than in this.

Fundamentally the Gaddis have little interest in any of the ceremonies mentioned *as ceremonies.* The ritual procedure of the ceremonies is determined and laid down by the *parohits* and few of the Gaddis have any special interest in the actual procedure. But they are intensely interested in those ceremonies which emphasize or re-align different forms of social relations. Marriage is thus a more important ceremony than death for death is essentially a *gotra* ceremony with an ending of *birton* relationships with the dead man's friends but marriage is a means of extending one's ties to a new group of affines and *birtons.* This is not the place to illustrate this thesis with examples. Only one word of warning should be inserted here. It is unreasonable to separate those parts of the ceremonies which are primarily sanscritic but which have originated in the forms of Gaddi society itself. *Tambol, saj, chhei, sudenoj,* etc. are just as important as the actual *lagan* or *gangayatra* and it would not be a service to the Gaddi community to try to separate the various rites on the grounds that some of them are not found among upper caste families on the plains and should hence he suppressed.

CHAPTER 6

KINSHIP AND AFFINAL TERMS

Here I intend to deal briefly with actual kinship terms and several of the more important relationships between relatives.[1]

The following are the more important kinship terms. Figures in brackets give the term of reference by ego for the wives or husbands of the person concerned. They do not claim to be complete as there are many alternatives and often the Hindustani terms are used instead of the Gaddi ones.

3rd generation up

Father's father's father	Purdadu (Purdadi)
Mother's father's father	Purnanu (Purnani)

2nd Generation up

Father's father	Dadu (dadi)
Mother's father	Nanu (nani)

1st generation up

Father	Chach (ijji)
Father's brother (elder)	To (tei)
Father's brother (younger)	Kaka (kaki)
Mother's brother, father's wife's brother	Maṇma (manmi)
Father's sister	Bubi (buba)
Mother's sister	Masi (masard, mausa)

ame generation as Ego

Brother, father's brother's son, mother's brother's son, father's sister's son, mother's sister's son	Bhai (babi, buraji)
Sister, father's brother's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter	Bahan (baṇwa)

1st generation down

Son	Puter, beta (nuhu, nu)
Daughter	Dhiu, beti (jawayi, jamai)
Brother's son	Bhadria, bhateja (hu)
Brother's daughter	Bhadre, bhateji
Sister's son, wife's sister's son	Bhandria (bhaneduru)
Sister's daughter, wife's sister's daughter, husband's sister's daughter	Bhanerji (bhane)

2nd generation down

Son's son, daughter's son	Puteru
Son's daughter, daughter's daughter	Dhioteru

Affinal terms

Husband	Lara (literally bridegroom. The wife addresses her husband as ji, abo or area).
Wife	Lari (Husband uses personal name in direct address).
Husband's father, wife's father	Khora, jabra
Husband's father's sister	Sasur
Husband's mother, wife's mother	Khaho, jabri
Husband's mother's brother	Mard, saura
Wife's brother	Sala (salan)
Wife's sister	Sali (sadhu)
Husband's sister's son, wife's sister's son	Bhanerja
Husband's sister's daughter, wife's sister's daughter	Bhanerji
Wife's brother's son	Bhatija
Wife's brother's daughter	Bhatiji
Husband's elder brother	Jheti (jhetan)
Husband's elder brother's son	Jhetutra
Husband's elder brother's daughter	Jhetutri
Husband's younger brother	Deor (deoran)
Husband's younger brother's son	Deoratra
Husband's younger brother's daughter	Deoratri
Husband's sister	Rhanu (bhaṇwa, bhai)
Children's wives' father, children's husband's father	Kurmu
Children's wives' mother, children's husband's mother	Kurmuni

[1] For special problems arising from a study of the Gaddi kinship system, see William H. Newell, "Gaddi Kinship and Affinal Terms", *Man in India* Vol. 32, No. 2, April 1952, Ranchi, Bihar.

From the above lists, which are not complete as all alternative terms have not been written down, it can be seen that there are almost as many affinal terms as there are of those who can trace direct relationship to the *gotra*. It is as though, as soon as a person is dead, the community loses interest in him and tries to extend as far as possible among those who are related to Ego by marriage.

In Bharmaur the following principles are expressed.

(a) There is only one term for all those of the 2nd ascending generation and one term for all those of the second and descending generation.

(b) There is a patrilineal emphasis among the generations senior to Ego with the exception of mother's brother. One always undertakes to greet a senior by the *chara bandani* means of salutation except the mother's brother who salaams to his nephew or nicce.

(c) A clear distinction of generations with no two generations being called by the same term. This is modified in practice by age. An uncle who was younger than oneself would nevertheless be treated with respect. But he would still retain his appropriate place in the kinship system.

(d) *Sex*—In Gaddi language the feminine of a noun made by adding "i", indicates a sister rather than a wife and I suggest that the use of the feminine form of the male term implies equality. For example as a man will co-operate and regard almost as his greatest friend his *sala*, so will he joke and make fun with his *sala's* sister, just as she will tease him unmercifully in public. In fact it is possible for him to marry his *sali* and possibly to have sexual relations with her without excessive blame. But it would be totally wrong to joke openly with his *sala's* wife who has a different term to describe her relationship, that of *salan*.

The Gaddis are extremely virtuous in protecting the chastity of their women especially if they are unmarried but an exception seems to be made in the case of one's *sali*. Firstly there is a special word to describe a person who sleeps with his *sali*, *kopattar* or *hallar*. There is also the following popular song: —

1. Gari to mujli teri kukheri kandaji
   Aun na purundo sache teri o

2. Aun tujho puchindi ha tugia ra sia
   Aj kanni rahna kutti tia?

3. Tera sopia goria mere sone rihari
   Aj kanni rahna thutti tia

4. Tikleta bindeli lai sade na ina o
   To mera kund brahmaiya ho

Your eyes are deeply deceitful,
O, my husband
I am not satisfied with your truthfulness

Oh deceitful husband I ask you
"Where were you last night"?

Oh beautiful one, at your father's house.
There was I staying last night.

Please do not come again to my house with the *tika* and *bindeli* on as you have exposed my husband to my doubts.

The wife suspects her husband of dilettanting with some strange woman but does not know who. She asks her husband where he was last night and he says that he was at her father's home so why should you be concerned. Then the wife remembers that her sister (husband's *sali*) has been around her house recently dressed up (with a red spot on her forehead and silver *bindeli*, a sort of ornament) so she says now all her doubts of her husband are opened up. In other words she has developed jealousy of her sister. With some other person she would be able to take active steps to prevent her husband being "taken" from her.

Thus the *sala-sali* relationship to ego is one of complete equality between both sexes. One's wife's sister is also a possible marriage partner.

This is in contrast to the brother/sister relationship which is one of deep respect and friendship between brother and sister. Because once one's sister has married there is little that a man can do to help her directly, a strong relationship develops. When the sister has a child the mother's brother has a strong dutiful relationship to the child, provides the *bedi* and various gifts. To help one's *bhanerja-i* is a religious duty of the same sort as presenting gifts to a Brahmin (*dhan*). These three relationships, *sala-sali*, brother/sister and mother's brother/sister's son are of fundamental importance in Gaddi society.

The relationship between husband and wife is that ideally described in the *Ramayana* between Rama and Sita. This book is recited at least once or twice a year in public. During the marriage service the women sing a song one verse of which is as follows, which describes the attitudes of husbands and wives: —

Kari, kari, raje Ram do kare—Mystic line, mystic line, Raja Ram's mystic line.

Kari bunya na jandi—A mystic line not to be crossed over.

This is reference to a scene in the *Ramayana* when Ram was deceived into the jungle by a *raksha* in the form of a deer. He left his younger brother behind to look after Sita but on hearing false cries of help in the jungle, she falsely accused the younger brother

of hating his elder brother and made him go into the jungle to prove his fidelity leaving her alone. Before Ram departed he drew a line around the hut where Sita was living and gave her strict instructions not to cross it.[1] Ravan came to Sita in the form of a hermit and persuaded her to cross the line. He stole her and took her to Lanka. From that moment Sita's difficulties began as a result of her disobedience. This is an ideal representation of the duties of a wife among the Gaddis. As long as wives know what is right and obey their husbands as lords, there will be no trouble but once they lose that respect, trouble will occur. On the other hand, the husband's attitude to the wife is one of assistance and advice and love. Marriage is a sacrament with the two halves making a unity. For other important relationships within the kinship system, please refer to *Gaddi Kinship and Affinal Terms, op cit.*

The Gaddi genealogical system is marked by a wide affinal spread by connections through women, either wives or sisters, but it does not extend very far vertically. Most villagers can only remember their great grandfather with difficulty in the paternal line and usually only as far back as their mother's father in the maternal line. It is sufficient if they merely remember their *al* and that of their mother. Since the villages are small, and usually consist of no more than one *gotra,* there is no point in remembering any form of lineage classification. It is thus important to look at the exception, Grer. Grer village is a large village consisting of only one *gotra,* that of the Chowhan *gotra.* It has a number of technical terms to describe different units within the village based on genealogical descent. The largest unit is the *gotra.* It is then divided into two *khandan* consisting of an outer (*bariaru*) and an inner (*andriaru*) section. These two sections do not observe death mourning for each other and do not expect to get invited to the other section. Factions within the village often split along these lines. Each *khandan* is divided into several *khinds* named after the ancestor where the split is supposed to have commenced. The length of time back to the split depends on the size of the group of descendants. The more brothers a person had the more likely the following generation will split. A *khind* consists of numerous *tols* which are not regarded as lineages but as households gathered round the same *chula.*[2] Actually in Grer village there are three main lineages led by Kanth (60 years old), Roshan Lal (55) and Chenalu Ram (28). The first lineage consists of 38 *tol,* the second 23 *tol* and third 6 *tol.* The second and third lineages usually combine into one *khandan* although the genealogical connection is not known so that a *khandan* cannot entirely be regarded as a lineage. On the other hand Roshan Lal is recognised as the most senior of the oldest lineage.

Two other terms are also used, *sariki* and *dhora.* A *sariki* is a larger unit than a *khandan* and all the members of the village can be said to belong to one *sariki* in Grer. A *dhora* is a larger unit than a *tol* but its usage is not exactly defined. One could say that one belongs to the *dhora* of some famous Grer villager without actually specifying the relationship. For example, there was a famous Grer engineer called Chetu so his descendants call themselves *Cheta ra dhora* to outsiders.

The only definite term which implies a traditional lineage system is *khind.* Other terms can sometimes be used in a lineage sense but more often are applied either to a territorial group within the *gotra* or else to some economic unit based on a *chula* (*tol*). The use of these terms seems to apply mainly to the village of Grer and I have not heard them used elsewhere in the valley because the village and *gotra* units are not large enough to make them relevant.

Some informants claimed that the words *sariku, khandan* and *gotra* were identical in meaning but I do not think this is the case. This is an illustration of the difficulty Gaddis have in thinking in terms of lineages. Only Grer and perhaps Kugti is large enough to have this difficulty.

Another term sometimes used to apply to a minimal lineage is *tabber.* The following example was given to me: —

"A certain woman married to Das and a descendant of Kund, returned to her father's house with her children after separation from her husband. She would be regarded as belonging to the *tol* of Das (even though not living with her husband) to the *tabber* of her father but without rights in her father's large group of *khind.*"

The word *tol,* household, must be distinguished from *toli* which means *al.*

The head of the oldest lineage does not acquire any authority from his genealogical position. As one villager said to me "The control of a village depends on personality, not on the number of *gotra* supporters in a village."

In spite of that statement Grer is especially well known for its extreme solidarity against infringements of its village rights even if it is frequently split inside by fundamental internal factions. There have been several successful

[1] I can find no copy of this line in my *Ramayana.* Nevertheless all Gaddis firmly believe in it and it may also be identified with the line drawn round the *hawan* by the *parohit* in which the marriage takes place.

[2] Each *tol* consists of only two or three generation depth and may consist of one or more brothers.

cases of *bataal* against dissident members. This requires great unity and prevents anyone from speaking to the offender or from inviting him to any gatherings or co-operating with him. There was an instance of a villager ran away with the wife of a man of the same *gotra*. After a year the wife returned but the man suffered *bataal* for three years and anyone seen speaking to him was successfully fined Rs. 25. Another instance of village solidarity was of a certain Brahmin farmer who managed to obtain some land on the Grer side of the valley legally not used but within what the Grer village regarded as their area. The house was a small one and one night the house was found completely destroyed and thrown over the side of a cliff. The police investigated but every single Grer village claimed that a giant had thrown the house over the cliff and this was the situation even in the court case. Not a single person in the village could be found to testify against anyone else. The case was eventually dismissed and a private arrangement made between the Brahmin and the Grer villagers out of court by which his rights in the land were informally limited. These cases of village solidarity are much more rare in villages which are not composed of a single *gotra*. Kin ties do count for something.

Chapter 7

RELIGIOUS DEITIES

"Shiva is believed to have his abode for half the year on the Kallas peak at Manimahesh..... On 1st Asuj he retires to the lower regions called Pujalpur (Patalpur) where he remains till the feast of Shivratri in Phagun when he returns to his summer residence. The Gaddis who are devotees of Shiva regulate their migrations by these two dates." (p. 181, Chamba State Gazetteer, 1910).

This sentence from the Chamba Gazetteer adequately sums up the main theme of Gaddi religion. The leading god of the Gaddis is Shiva and he not only occupies the highest peak in Gaddiland for his home (Shivabhumi) but directs the daily lives of the Gaddis in various ways. It is true that the main *churassi* at Brahmaur is occupied by Narsing, Lakshna and Ganesa as well as Shiva and that these and other gods take an active part in certain rituals such as that at marriage; but none of these major gods have any important following of humans except Shiva. The following story of Triloknath Dev will give an idea of the relationships between Shiva, the Gaddis, various topographical features and the importance of the annual pilgrimage to Lake Manimahesh. To some extent it acts as a charter of the pilgrimage. This text was related in Hindustani rather than Gaddi as our informant, although coming from the traditional group of Manimahesh Sipi *chelas* had lived for some considerable time on the plains and had become converted to Sikhism.

Trilochen mahar dev[1]

The God with three eyes

Ak din asa a tu ko Shivji maharaj Gaddi bahos manjar inde garo Sechuin ai tie. Koi das baje ra tim ti bukh tu jus muke Shive buchi kare inde kare munjur awaj deti ha. "Gare hin ya na hin". Andra ton budhi (Trilochen mahar dev di ma) nikehi ha. Shiv puchende hin de budie te kinjur do mun lun udare do sukundi hain. Budhi balni ha de lun etera katahun dina ha. Tan Shive balu ke burie tu jut bulni ha, Tere andar dwei do hi kunjar bina ra barure hin, ak kale ra, ak hacche ra.

On a certain day, Lord Shiva[2] came into our house at Sechuin dressed as a Gaddi. At 10 A.M. that day Shiva stood in our courtyard, calling out "Is there somebody inside the house or not?"[3] An aged woman, mother of Trilochen, came out. Shiva asks, "Oh, good lady, can you lend me two maunds of salt?" The old lady asks where she can acquire so much salt. Then Shiva speaks, "Oh old lady, you are lying; inside you have two full wooden chests of salt, one of white and one of black".[4]

Budi balni ha tu apu chulato andar her katl i dwei kanjarl burere hin. Jes moke andar ger tan kanchala siti ungul lai ha Shive char budhi jo balu ke kanjar lari phatti jo ko har. Jis muke budhi phatti kuhare tan hern na lugi aka kalo luna ra aka hachcha luna ra bilkul barure neka hin. Budhi bulni lagi ke e Shivji hi jana ninjo ta es kula ra patta na tu. Shivji balane laga ke achcha ekul das tu ke. Mun ta dharna jo zarur lun nina.

The old lady says "Walk inside yourself, and see where there are two full chests of salt". When he entered, then Shiva touched the woodenchest with his fingers and asked the lady to remove the sliding cover. Then the old lady opened the cover and there was one box full to the brim with black salt. The old lady said, "Only Shiva knew. I was quite unaware of this". Shivji began to speak, "I have to carry salt to the flock so will you provide me with a porter?"

Budhi balne lage, Amma mun kon dina. Mera putera era gran jo batura ha. So gunda ta tasi jo puchi lia. Gunda ta le hi gucha thore tamama Trilochen dev iebi ra hin. Budhi bulua ke tu gichi. Sekene ta yan ri sogi cheliga. Taretiyari kari le te cheliga. "Piri budie do mun kucha lun teli tali kari apne kalaru—(skin bag) munjir pai ditta. Uni thiori (tie on the back with a rope) lai te Shiva kane chelipua chelembe, chelemba, pella basan Sunde (a place just before Herser) dittar. Piri tetan chelli gurri Herser puji gen. Tetan chelligurri baharan Duncho jittar. Trilochen Shiva ton puchinda ke paharla tera dan kati ha so. Ta Shiv baldaha dan ta mer abe go ha attun. Heri le e ag joluria, pani piura ha, sajura je kuri tujiho biswas na inda ha. Trilochen a jo da puttar bua ke tik dharn attan go ha. Piri bandargati deraste balle koen de chelligan hin. Piri barogarti male baharan ditta hen. Tatti jelum sarjeri tudkuri, jelandar sujera jelandar, dun nikalda huju kurunda tu jis tum mallum buah de dahnah nere hi ha. Asse kurotu ki kurotu.

The old woman said, "Mother,[5] how could I give you a porter? My son has just gone to a certain village. If he be willing to go you must ask him". He shortly[6] returns. The old lady said that if he should accompany Shiva, she would tell him to prepare himself and set out. Then the old lady weighed two *kucha* maunds of salt and put it in the skin bag.[7] He roped it on his back and set out in the company of Shiva. Travelling along, the first rest was at Sunde[8]. Then they rested at Herser. At Duncho Trilochen asked Shiva, "Oh, shepherd, where is your flock?" Then Shiva says, "My flock has just left this place. See a fire has been here. Fresh water has been spilt here". Then Trilochen came to know that the flock had left. Then they passed through the *bandargarti* and began to walk more slowly. Then they took a rest at the *barogarta*. There they found the burning embers of the emptied hookah bowl with smoke still coming out. They guessed the flock was near so they would shortly catch them up.

Piri so chelependo hin. Gauri kund pera di kari Barchund mate dala jo chelepe hin. Barchundi regotari berti ton kindi goa. Belua ki tu Trilochen bale bale inda bo on tasijo groti lennu. Trilochen uti bahi tugachura. Jis moke chelne laga ta bara derti ton na utinda tu. Thora lunkaddi perua baki

Then they was set forth again. Having made the round of Gaurikund[9] via Barchund, they set out for Dala. At the back of Barchundi pasture, Shiva left him. He said, "Oh, Trilochen you follow me slowly. I will catch up with the shepherds". Trilochen had sat down. When he

utai kuri tumhi re kwala mate, le kari uper Dalapura gachi rehu ha.

Uper kia hern ha? Ke na koi Gaddi, narn dahan, na ta he koi parl ha.

Piri wa par hern na laga. Ta tasijo derti pur munnu re lagure pur mallum lue. Trilochen tin ya pen ra ri seddi seddi chelna lugga. Istera unni so ite dalara pera lai lua. Ik jagga dala pur dulari pereri pur chamuka chagga ha. Thatti pani ri chittli laguri huji. Pani ri chetai chitti heri karri kane dalara pani nere hi hilinda heri karri Trilochen ne samjua de bono bo tinni iti e daia munja hal na bo di duturi.

Piri ek chagua girura hujura. Tas chake ton andrun usujo ak sunera rasta hujua. Trilochen pani manja (kich bulde charte marito). Ardar kia herndal. Hernda ke andar aka sadhu ba kane, sere duniha. Gosai mur pute baturaba. Us moke usio hoscheliai ha. Ta ke samju e ta char chart Shivji hin jole arth kernda.

Puchta ke maharaj tusse Shivji hin a ne hin. Shiv balua hau. Aun Shiv hun. Teori te ditti ha Trilochen ha.

Trilochen erdass landar aun kajar andar. Shivji balda hin tu e das ke tu kich kum bi kumai jane. Trilochen ne balua ha aun Gaddi re chilu na jarnunu. E hi kum minjo hinda ha.

Shivji e upne butwal haddi kari choli sumet Trilochen jo dui jagar beji dittar ha.

Trilochen chi mehena barabar cholie sindar ruhu ha. Jis moke, choli so bittar than Trilochen na jo piri Shiva malen le gen hin.

Shiv puchite hin ke isjo koi majooric ta na ditti unia balua ke na ditte. Ta Shiva ra okumbua ha ke Trilochanari kalari manja jitunni lagi sakanun choliri cart bari dia. Kalari kart sitti barure jo Shiva re muna male rake din de hin.

Trilochenath jo okumbua ke jia pelle lunari barui andti ti han bie inya jo bi apne teori man laile Trilochen te i lai unda Piri Shiva balua ke tije aun dalapura pujai dinu. Tatun t oppu cheliga ha di kari.

Gare kasi site berd mut din da, je berd ditta dan tu piri gare re na sakunda Trilochen oton cheliguri Kukeru re kunde pur ichi ruhuha. Kando pur tini bihinherli puchaya. Tasi rojo tasere drik srik. Trilochnari chemchini andar kita tie. Budhi bionhale huni kari jat buji ge balane lagi. "Boha na boha mera Trilochen hi na boha biocholi tasihi sahi ha".

Ke galla puchi hi rahuri ti je Trilochen bu dara munj ichiruhuha. Elle! Mandi ri belle buchi ge. Sonta puriva ananda buchig Trilochanath jo heri karri. Matte dina parunta use lari gia herndi ha ge na hin de bele usere pitti pur sunera punjaha. Bed puchna lagi. Balua jetudh bed lana ta munna rahena. Das kan kich tijho jahinder ha aun ya bed? Bed lenne tai Trilochanari lari. Usijo andar legundia. Garare sub darbitter kane teholu hobaru bund kare ditten. Bund kupar kare ditti ha.

Bed dassi bhi betar Trilochen chelia apne a. Gharm munjer nahin rehu naho karri Ahundo pujua. Thatti pani mungua pani kunna na ditta tan Trilochene pittakar ditta Kunni pani karhen na rehuha. Piri lala gichi kari pani manugua aki budhi ton. Budhi balni ha pani jo guchure hin tu jun ha ri, gurri dehun pilo. Trilochen e barditta ke sath buka pani ri itti nekeli. Lala abebi sath buka pani ri hin. Harbaruhi tasrojo ton son sawan mine itti jug laguda ha. Piri Trilochen karamukamale jetije. Retti ohar kane budl milne ha, charl ditti ha.

Piri bandar bani gua ate pani ton bar nike karri uper kichi bitta. Matti bariya bad Chamba sher banua. Ak rati Chamba ri *rani jo sunindra bua ha. Trilochen ma dev* kunne rani apu mato galle ai hin.

Trilochen balu ha ke jes jugar aun pani ton nikehu tu tetti mere satapana kar. Ak dera banaide rani munigundia tetti jug luganda ha harbarri. Abe bi jis moke Mani Mahesh sera mera buchigunda pere bard Trilochen ma dev bara mera itti bi bundaha.

began to walk again it was not possible to lift the load. Some salt was thrown out and the rest was carried up the ascent. Thus he ascended the Dal.

What does he see up there? There is neither Gaddi nor shepherd nor flock.

Then he began to gaze about. Then looking at the ground he found human footprints. Trilochen following this lead began to walk. In this way he took a full round of the lake.

At one place on the edge of the lake there is a square slab. There he saw splashes of water. As he saw these splashes and also the ripplies on the water, Trilochen presumed it was just possible he might have jumped into the lake at this very spot.

Then he saw a slab displaced from the other slabs. He saw a golden path inside. Trilochen went into the water (Some say he jumped). What did he see inside? That there was one sadhu and his sacred fire (*duni*). The saint was seated on a *mur?* He then came to his senses and understood that he was truly Shivji. He jointed his hands and asked, "Are you Lord Shiva?" Shiva answers, "Yes, I am Shivji". Then Trilochen takes off his pack.

Trilochen with hands folded asked, "Why have I been brought here?" Then Shivji speaks, "You tell me this. Do you have any special livelihood?" Then Trilochen replies, "I know how to tailor the ceremonial *chola* of the Gaddis. Only this art I know?" Shivji, having called his *butwal* (servant), Trilochen was given a ceremonial *chola* as model and given a place to work.

Throughout six months Trilochen was tailoring *cholis*. When he finished the *cho is* Trilochen was again taken before Shiv, who asked him whether he had received his fee. They replied he had not been paid. Then Shiva ordered that as many of the tailoring remnants as would be contained in his *kalani* should be placed therein. The *kalani* full of remnants was then placed before Shiva. "Trilochen as you came before bringing a *kalani* full of salt so you also take these things back in your pack." Then Trilochen takes his pack. Then Shiva says, "I will escort you to the lake. From there I order you to continue walking.

"Do not disclose this to anyone in your house for if you disclose it you will not be able to live there". Trilochen, having walked from that place climbed over the peak of Kukeru[12] and played his flute on Mt. Kanda. On the same day, all his kith and kin had gathered for the six months after death ceremony. The old lady heard the flute and at once guessed who it was and began to speak, "It is a very similar sound to my Trilochen playing the flute.[13] These things were being talked of when Trilochen reached the doorway. Surprised, mourning is changed to happiness. Having seen Trilochnath, the close relatives burst into rejoicing. After the passing of several days, his wife noticed during a bath that there was a 5 fingered gold impression (*punja*) on his back. She wished to find out the truth. Then he spoke, "If you wish me to tell you the truth, I will not live. Tell me which you wish, I or the truth?" For the sake of the truth, Trilochen's wife takes him inside the house. All the openings and cracks are sealed up from air and light is prevented from coming in (*Kupar*)[14].

Having told the truth, Trilochen came out of his house and did not remain inside. He ran away to Ahundar. There he asked for water but none gave him any so due to his curse nowbere in Kunni is water to be found.[15] Then reaching Lal he asked for water from an old woman. The old woman said "Please take some curd as someone has already gone for water". Trilochen blessed her and announced springs of water would arise at this place. Even at present there are 7 springs at Lal. Every year from that day is held a *jug*, a religious feast during Sawan. Then Trilochen at the junction of the Budl and Ravi jumped into the water.[16]

Then he became a monkey and came out and sat on the bank. After several years Chamba was founded. One night the *rani* of Chamba had a dream in her sleep.

Trilochen and the *rani* had a conversation. Trilochen said "At the spot where I came out of the water, erect a memorial and a temple". The *rani* acceded. Every year a *jug* is celebrated. Even now after the Manimahesh fair is over, the Trilochen Maha Dev fair is held at this spot.

This story is related through the kindness of Saura Chand, a Sipi of Sechuin, direct descendant of Triloknath, at present working as a Sikh carpenter. His father is Lojen. It is transcribed and partly translated through the courtesy of Dr. Bishambhar Das Chowhan of the Civil Hospital at Chamba.

The following notes are added by myself to make the nature of the story clear.

1. No attempt has been made to sort out the tenses or persons as sometimes in the description it is as though the informant himself were Triloknath Dev. I am afraid the text's spelling is somewhat variable as sometimes Hindustani is used and sometimes Gaddi and no attempt has been made to standardize.

2. No one knew it was the Lord Shiva. This is not fully revealed until Triloknath prays to him in the lake at Manimahesh although the old lady suspects this when he produces the salt. The old lady is not deceiving Shiva. The two sorts of salt were not in the box except through the miraculous intervention of Shiva. But the old lady is not absolutely sure as the boxes were locked and she had the key.

3. These are *kuccha* maunds, not *pukka* ones.

4. White for humans, black for sheep.

5. I do not quite understand what "Mother" means but think it may be here a sort of swear-word shewing her sincerity.

6. The old lady is frightened of the miracle just performed and refuses to commit her son but the son by taking the risk shews his confidence in the stranger. Hospitality is one of the most basic traits in Gaddi character and there are many songs illustrating this.

7. This is a special skin bag used by the Gaddis made of the stomach part of a sheep It is tied on with ropes to the back and this verb is a special verb to describe the method by which it has been roped on.

8. Each of the places mentioned in this story are resting places on the Manimahesh pilgrimage. This whole story acts as a sort of charter of the pilgrimage. Herser is the junction of the road when one starts to climb up. Herser consists entirely of Brahmin *pujaris* to the Manimahesh festival. Only they have the rights to care for the pilgrims on the way up. Duncho is the traditional resting place at the top of the side valley before starting the really stiff climb over the Bandargarten, the monkey climb (because one has to be like a monkey to get over the rocks. A path has now been built here by the government forest department). Flocks rarely go higher than Duncho on this side of the valley because of the rocky soil. Although Trilochen is surprised that the flock has not yet been sighted he still carries on.

9. Which is also done in the pilgrimage. This is a sacred place.

10. On account of the rarefied air, it is more difficult to lift a load.

11. As part of the ceremony at Manimahesh all the Sipi chelas wade across the lake on each other's shoulders and it is believed that the bottom of the lake rises up to bear them. I believe this covers this part of the story.

12. After Trilochen has met Shiva he becomes a sort of deity himself and capable of altering the natural world. Instead of returning the way he came, he travels along the mountain ridge. Kukeru is the mountain just at the back of Brahmaur.

13. Trilochen had been presumed dead as he had not returned from his excursion to Kailas.

14. The house in which Trilochen lived was an old style house not a modern one so that it had no *hobara*, only *tohelu*, slits in the walls. There is a third term used for all openings called *da-bitter* which includes doors and windows but these do not seem to have existed in ancient houses.

15. Ahundar is just at the back of Kunni and there are certain songs sung at marriage which warn girls against marrying anyone from Kunni as they will spend the whole of their lives carrying water. The lack of water is blamed on the lack of hospitality of Kunni people in contrast to that of Lal.

16. There is a shrine and formerly a small village at this point.

17. This is quite an elaborate temple but now on the opposite side of the river from the road as the government has built a new jeep road along part of this route.

This story has been recorded here to show the close connection between the Gaddi religion and territory. Other examples could be given.

Below the high gods, the Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, are the various gods of Hinduism. But they do not enter directly into Gaddi life (except in Sanscrite ceremonies). In Goshen there are two levels at which gods enter the society, through family worship or through caste worship. In Goshen village the head of every lineage has a god in his house but when the family divides, the lineage god is not always transferred or divided among the member households. Divination is required. In Goshen there are three families originating from outside Goshen within the last hundred years,

One comes from Grer village and has no religious object in the home although they worship the *sati* at Grer. Grer villagers have no family god other than this Grer female *sati*. The second family owning land has no family god because they own two houses, one in Chobia and one in Goshen. The wife who lives mainly in Goshen claims that she has none in the house because she still has a Matatungasan in her natal house. The third family has the following family gods, a *sankli* belonging to Kaling, vizier of Shiva: Marali Mater, a human figure about 1½"in height with a trisul in her left hand; a phallic symbol of Shiva called Burchari; and 3 or 4 trisuls, origin unknown, some wrapped in red cotton. The ancestors of this family three generations back settled with the wife and adopted the wife's ancestors at this time. In 1962 Marali Mater was taken on a pilgrimage to Manimahesh and dipped in the sacred waters to increase her power. One of the sons in the house has become the *chela* of this god and periodically tries to become possessed and will not allow any woman to handle any of the sacred objects. It was used once to try to cure a sick cow. Each of these three immigrant households has a different attitude towards family gods although it can be said that the more firmly these households are integrated into the village the more conscientious they are in ascribing efficacy to their gods.

Among the heads of the original founder lineages of the village we have the following variations.

Ghana worships Kaling and Malali (a trisul) once a year at Saikrauth at the first crops ceremony. His younger brother, Kalia, who has been separated for some time has no family god in the house but owns a *sidh*.

Biaju, the pujari of the village shrine has no house god at all, though he has a picture, because he states the "village god" is his house god. He comes from the same *gotra* as Jija and is senior to him but Jija has Kaling, Marali Mater (Ajiapal). Jija only worships them at Saikrauth.

Bremi of the Bhesisht *gotra* Jupanta *al* worships objects to Kaling and Nanga. The late medium Jiddi of the same *gotra* but the Jnetu *al*, worships an object to Chaundha, the village god.

The *riaras* as described by Nihala, the silversmith, worship Ajiapal plus one *devi* unknown, a human brass deity. He regards Ajiapal as being a special god of the silversmiths but all the *riaras* worship the same god in the one house although they have separate *chulas*.

The Sipis as described by Jugta worship Kaling, and Murali. They worship them every day with *arti*, incense and bell. They also keep some *autours* under a walnut tree nearby to whom they regularly offer *chapattis*. These *autours* are very old and Jugta does not know whom they represent. The other brothers who have separate *chulas* worship the same gods.

Other families from the village either worship no family god or worship one of the ones mentioned above. There is no *gotra* which has not some member who worships some god and this is usually the member of the oldest line where it is known but this is not an invariable rule for Biaju has no family god in the house unless one includes the village god as his family god. Some members of *gotras* take their family responsibilities to the gods very lightly, presenting them with food only once a year; others take them very seriously as in the case of the Sipi family; some allow the women to bear the main responsibility for worship; others have a special *chela* who is mainly responsible. The situation seems to be as follows in the case of Goshen village. Every *tol* has the right to a family god if they wish to exercise this right. But this right can only be exercised if the god in the main family wishes to be transferred or split. If one either does not wish to ask for this right or the god itself refuses to be transferred after being asked by some sort of divination then the branch families (*tols*) continue to worship at the main house. New gods may be introduced into the shrine if there be some sign from the god concerned that he wishes to become part of the family. Although there are no examples from this village. I have heard of cases of new gods being introduced as a result of dreams or even from good fortune resulting from buying a picture of a god in the bazaar. In no instance have I heard of an ancestor becoming a family god other than a *sati*, which will be dealt with later.

Four times a year[1], at the time specified in Chapter III dealing with village festivals the village gathers round the "village" shrine, which is regarded by Biaju, the village *pujari* as also being his domestic god.[1] Work on the shrine is undertaken by means of a *kwer* in

[1] Namely Basua, 1st Chaitra; Porodu, 1st Bhadan (This is the village anniversary). Holi and Shivratri in Phygun or Chaitra. (People fast all day and meet at night to present a sacrifice and drink sur).



The annual shrine festival of Goshen village in 1952. The shrine is to the left. The arrangements of the participants is as follows: In the foreground are the Sipi families. Behind them six younger Gaddi boys. Behind them to the left are elder Gaddi boys while to the right are the senior heads of gotras including one visiting Brahmin from Bari. Women are to the left out of a sight behind the shrine.

which all villagers participate. Food for the village festivals is also provided by a levy on all Gaddis (but not *riaras* or Sipis) in the village but anyone attending is allowed to eat the food afterwards. The form of ritual is that known as *narwala*[1]. The village *pujari* is an hereditary position but the position of *chela*[2] can be held by any suitable person. In 1952 it was held by Jiddi and in 1962 it was held sometimes by Roshen Lal, *chaukundu*[2] of Jiddi or by Nanak Chand alternately. A goat is always sacrificed and usually various forms of prophecies are made and it is by their accuracy that the success or failure of the *chela* is judged. Each caste sits separately and the two sexes also sit separately. The women are responsible for singing songs after the sacrifice of the goat and close relatives are usually present from other villages. During the *gram panchayat* elections in 1962, the Brahmin candidate for office of secretary thought it politic to attend the festival but he refrained from drinking *sur*, which is also presented to the god before being drunk by the company.

It is clear from the restrictions on people of other castes presenting food to the "village" god that there is no village god in Goshen. One particular *family* god is adopted by the village at large as their village god. Biaju, the *pujari* of the Goshen "village" god has been married for 25 years without any heir and has no intention of taking another wife. At his death the god will be left without a *pujari*. Who will take on the position of *pujari* will probably be decided by the village *panchayat* but it may possibly split the village as there are three suitable candidates, each one of which claims special genealogical connections with the god to support his claim. Under the new Indian government rules of inheritance, Biaju hopes that his property can be inherited by his wife's sister's daughter's husband but it is certain that if this inheritance plan is successful that the outsider will not be able to carry on the duties of Biaju as *pujari*. The duties of the *pujari* are not very arduous, merely to look after the bell, *sankali*, *trisul* and cloak of the god and to keep the shrine in good condition but it is a position of some status within the village.

To one side of the shrine are various images of a man or man and wife. They are about a foot high of slate or stone. According to Biaju, the Gaddi *pujari*, they are miscalled *autours*. Their correct name is *barni* set up by childless couples to participate in the worship of the village when they no longer have descendants who will be members of the village themselves. In appearance they are very similar to *autours* which are found near a spring or other water. The true *autour* is set up after death near water by those people who are troubled in dreams or in other ways by the activities of dead dissatisfied members of the village community, either by having lost their home or by selling their land or by being ill treated. According to the Kangra gazetteer "*autours* are *birs*, who are supposed to be childless couples appearing in dreams. In such cases *jamanwala* are performed that is, 4 *balis*, offering of *ghungarian* (boiled maize) nettle baths and bran bath are offered four times at night to the angry spirit". (p. 148).

The term *autour* is also applied to the metal label with a crude image of a man engraved on it hung round the neck of children whenever they suffer some sort of illness or misfortune These *autours* hung round the neck are in most cases the image of a dead grandfather and are known specifically to represent some person. I believe the distinction made by Baiju between the *autour*, itself and the image of it is a valid one and that an *autour* is essentially a dissatisfied dead member of the village community or its representation. The images round the shrine are put up by relatives automatically for those people who wish to remain members of the village community in the absence of heirs. The images near water are put up by individuals who have been plagued in some way by the dis-

God	Worship Days	Objects presented
Nags	Sunday, Thursdays ..	Male kids, first fruits, incense, small cakes.
Sidh	Do.	Sack, rose-wood, crutch, sandals, *mukki*, *roti*.
Devi	Tuesday	Vermilion, *bindli* (brow mark), *salu* (red *chadar*), *dhora*, *sur*, goats.
Bir	Thursday	He-goat, *chola*, waistband, white cap (*chukani topi*), fire, bread.
Kailu Bir is the g od of abortion only worshipped by women. Kailung is a *nag* worshipped on Sundays as Shiva and is associated with a sickle.		
Batol, spirits of water		Khicheri, sodden Indian corn, 3 balls of subal (moss), 3 of ashes, 3 measures of water, a pumpkin and a sheep made of flour.
Joginis, rock spirits		3 coloured grains of rice, 5 sweet cakes, a loaf, a flour lamp with a red wick, 3 kinds of flowers, 3 pieces of *dhup* and a she-goat.
Chungu, a demon found on walnut and mulberry trees.		Coconut, handle of a plough, almonds, grapes, milk, a loaf of 5 *paos* with his effigy in flour and a basket on his back, a 4 cornered lamp of floor on the bread, a piece of *dhup*.
Other gods are Gunga, the disease spirit of cows.		Godlings associated with *chenian*, maize, wheat, pulse and barley are Devi Chaund Kailung, Kothera Nag and Sandhalu Nag, godlings respectively.

[1] See page 47.
[2] See page 55.

satisfied dead. Only the latter are technically *autours.*

The gazetteer gives the following classification of second class deities who are not directly connected with the village or family community and yet are not members of the larger Sanscritic pantheon.

According to Biaju there is no essential difference between devis, *devtas* or *sidhs.* They all benefit humans and are often associated with black stones. Another category of being are *jakhs,* which are found on passes between the different valleys. On certain of the passes between Brahmaur and Lahul (but not between Brahmaur and Kangra) it is obligatory for shepherds to sacrifice a sheep or goat as they traverse the pass with their flocks. Every cow has a *jakh* and the *jakhs* are inherited matrilineally from cow to calf. If the *jakh* of a cow is unwilling to travel with its protector then the cow will die and so when an animal is bought, enquiries are made as to whether the *jakh* will come with it and a small sacrifice made to the *jakh* of the cow's milk.

All these various deities have no fundamental use in social control unless they become attached to some particular social group. They are merely a sort of explanation for certain types of disasters if every other explanation fails. Not all cow illnesses are due to the unwillingness of the cow's *jakh.* It may equally well be a physical illness or poor quality grass or some other cause. The skill of a cow doctor comes from blending the various aspects of the cow's "nature" together. I do not think people are really frightened or terrified by these deities. They are merely inconveniences which have to be propitiated but when they do attach themselves to a particular group then they become important. For example the story of the nag of Penshei village is as follows:

Trees surrounding shrines are supposed to be used only for purposes of the god such as firewood for the annual festivals or making leafcups to drink *sur* with. Branches of Goshen trees are often taken notwithstanding the general prohibition. But in Penshei one is impressed by the thick forest lying behing the shrine untouched, with old branches still remaining in place. "There was once a severe drought in former times. A *nag* on the Penshei side of the stream crossed over the Budl Nadl to fetch water from the opposite side just above the village of Sup. There he managed to steal a *bibli* (pumpkin like container) full of water together with a fir tree. This activity disturbed Koteru's sleep. (Koteru is supposed to live in the part of the side stream surrounding Sup. He is also the patron god of Sup village). The *nag* in fear, hurried away to cross the river with his water and the tree. But as he was closely pursued, he threw the tree away which fell upside down with the roots up. This is the present site of the Penshei shrine. The tree is still there. But Koteru's arrow wounded him and stuck between the *bibli* and his limb. The *nag* became lame and the water fell out of the *bibli* on the opposite side about a furlong below the Budl bridge. In spite of being lame, he collected a little water in the *bibli* and reached Penshei where a little stream was created."

The trees in Penshei are thus special trees which were collected by the *nag* and the geographical features of this part of the valley are closely connected with the religious features of the valley. To take some of the trees or to ill-treat them would be a more serious offence than merely taking ordinary shrine trees.

These lesser deities are not evenly spread all over the ground, but certain areas have a greater concentration than others.[1] Places which are known for their special sacredness are often marked by vertical *trisul.* They may represent three things (a) a place in which a Gaddi has been killed by a bear; (b) a place where the *trisul* has a very similar function to that of an *autour;* (c) a memorial from which a traveller can see a specially sacred shrine or mountain. Often these small memorials are made within sight of Mr. Kallas. They represent the mountain itself.

In addition to the deities derived from the next world, it is also possible for someone from this world to become deified by becoming a *sadhu* or in the way already described for Triloknath Dev. But this is very unusual and I have never heard of a Gaddi becoming a *sadhu* although theoretically possible. Most of the humans who have become divine are *satis,* widows who have thrown themselves on their husbands' funeral pyre. The most famous *sati* in the Brahmaur area is from the village of Grer. The song associated with this *sati* is described below. Here I wish briefly to give one of the variations of the story. This is the story by Bhagat Ram of Grer.

"There was once a marriage in the family of Chenalu (in Grer) and all the women of the village including the *sati* were singing and dancing. The *sati's* husband was away at this time in Dinka village. (Dinka is just behind Kunni village. It seems clear that his occupation was that of a moneylender and he had gone there to collect his debts. He was known to be very

[1] Surrounding villages which have occupied valleys with special *nags* are Tundah (Dighu nag), Sup (Koteru nag), Pulni (Gorku nag) and Penshei (Lotu nag).

wealthy). He got into a dispute with a man called Dami, who killed him. His wife immediately knew that he had been killed through intuition and announced this to the other ladies. The nose ring (*balu*) came out of itself. She announced that next morning a Halli would be coming to announce his death. She ordered a pile of wood to be prepared near the Budl Nadl just near the site of the present bridge. She then entered a *palki* and next morning went down to the river just as her dead husband was coming down the other side. On the way down she gave her classificatory father-in-law six walnuts and he later obtained six sons. To another man she also gave two nuts and he also obtained two sons. Her father-in-law beseeched her not to commit *sati* but she argued that since her husband was a great sinner much worse than other people it was more necessary for her to throw herself on her husband's pyre to save him. ("If I do not sacrifice myself my husband will not get a place in Baikunth"). All the people from Brahmaur were present at her burning but when she threw herself on the fire, the fire would not touch her but nevertheless she died immediately. After the fire no bones were left (for *pind*) and the two bodies were completely burnt to ashes". The Grer *sati* song to go with this story is as follows :

Jhule pipul barutiya, tera jhulnera chao
Oh, pipul tree, we long for your back and forth movement

To main kiya jhulna banjru mehaya
How can I move back and forth for I am planted in rocks

Bangru re dilli atala to jhulle peepla
I will build you a platform

Avienkiya jhullu dal mere
Please keep on moving to and fro

Mujo riya dalia tere sunne min dhale.
How can I move to and fro for my twigs are drying up

Tu jhulle pipla, aun kiya jhulle
I shall gold plate your twigs, please move to and fro

Mere patte rari pavunde
How can I move to and fro, my leaves have fallen

Patte tere sovune madhali, pipula jhulle
I shall gold plate your leaves, please move to and fro,

The text of this song was dictated by Bahmi Ram of Grer.

This *sati* happened about 140 years ago, but every detail of the story is clear to the present inhabitants of Grer. I cannot see the direct connection between the story and the *sati* song but the pipul tree referred to is the one which grows on top of the *sati* shrine at the back of Grer village.

This *sati* is not an ordinary *sati* and not all *satis* become sacred. In this story there are a number of special features.

(1) The *sati's* husband was a bad man and unpopular in Grer. His wife sacrificed herself for her husband because he was bad.

(2) Miraculous events occurred before, during and after the *sati*.

(3) All the inhabitants of Grer belong to one *gotra* so that her genealogical connection is with the whole village and not just with one section of it.

The *sati* shrine in Grer is the only shrine in Grer. It has no *chela* and the *pujari* is *Kanth*, the head of the dominant lineage. Although the *sati* is a village god, she has become famous as a powerful national figure in the surrounding area and many people from other villages make pilgrimages to her shrine with requests many of which are granted. One of the most important events to do with her shrine took place in 1948[1]. During that year there was a very severe drought and the crops up and down the valley were withering with the possibility of a severe famine. When the usual rain did not come, a certain person from Goshen village visited the Naga Baba[2] at the main Brahmaur shrine to ask him to fast to specially intercede for rain. Perhaps because of the method by which he had been asked or for some other reason, Naga Baba refused to pay any attention to the suppliant's request and told him to get rain himself. It was none of his business. So this person from Goshen went to the *sati* shrine at Grer as he had been refused good-will from the Brahmaur shrine and fasted outside the shrine beseeching the goddess to help the valley. Three days passed without any sign from the goddess and the Grer villagers became very nervous and asked the Goshen villager to return home. (If he had died before the shrine then his death would have been laid at the door of the *sati*). On the fourth day, the Goshen villager saw pinpoints of light before his eyes and recognised this as the goddess' reply so he went home prophesying that rain would fall the next day. Rain fell the next day continuously until the eighth day. At this time the

[1] In a broadcast over the BBC I gave this story in the sense that it was one of Naga Baba's *chelas* who broke the drought. I have since met the brother of the actual faster and this is the correct version.

[2] The Brahmaur shrine has a number of full time *sadhus*, who are genealogically unconnected with the Gaddis and who have some-responsibilities for the large shrine. I have found it necessary to conceal the names of the Gaddis in this story and also my informants to avoid reprisals.

flocks were returning from Lahul and a *chela* from Tundah also forecast the end of the drought *en route.*

In these stories the main point is that the sacrifice of a woman on her husband's pyre does not in itself make her a goddess or specially respected. She has also to give evidence that her motives are genuine and that she has connections in a mystical way with the gods. There are a number of other *satis* in the Brahmaur area but none of these have succeeded in becoming divine in the same way. The *sati* at Dhorenka is a Rajput although most of Dhorenka village is Brahmin. There is also a *sati* from Dinka village (at the back of Kunni). There have been no *satis* in recent times but the known *satis* all seem to be about a hundred and fifty years previously. I know of no one who has become a god in recent times and perhaps this is partly due to the belief that religion is becoming weaker. Many respected Brahmins believe that such traditional institutions as *chelas* are no longer efficacious because of the gradual lack of faith on behalf of the ordinary people and the gradual secularisation of the valley.

Thus in this valley, at the top of the religious hierarchy are the Sanscritic gods led by Shiva and his wife, who live on top of Mt. Kallas and who determine the movements and behaviour of the Gaddis as a people. Then there are the gods closely connected with the people at the bottom either through their families or through villages or through their goods and chattels. Between them are various amorphous beings who need to be propitiated when they interfere in human affairs but who are otherwise left alone. But these beings cannot always be clearly distinguished one from another because their functions and responsibilities overlap. These gods can be approached through human mediums and the officials responsible for this mediation will be dealt with in the next chapter.



he same scene as the previous illustration ten years later. In the foreground are now a group of strangers from other villages. Mostly Gaddis but many wearing plain clothes.

Chapter 8

RELIGIOUS SPECIALISTS AND INTERMEDIARIES

As we have already observed in the last chapter, there is a gulf between the world of men and the world of gods which the two sides are continuously trying to bridge by associating the gods with the world of men, or by trying to transform certain men into divine gods themselves. The worship of *sati*, special Brahmans or *bhanerja-i* (*dhan*) or the recitation of certain mythological stories all try to bring the two worlds together. But this attempt cannot always be successful and very few people manage to succeed completely in identifying the sacred with the secular. But since each part depends for its existence on the other part, numbers of human intermediaries arise to bridge the gap. The specialists who try to do this are termed *parohits*, *pujaris*, *chelas* and *sadhus*. Since the qualifications and work undertaken by each of these groups are not identical, I will deal with each of these in turn.

Parohits are primarily ritual specialists to particular families in particular *gotras*. A *parohit* without a patron is impossible. All *parohits* must be Brahmins by birth and they have a responsibility to undertake the preparation of ritual for all of their patrons, especially ceremonies required at birth, marriage and death. They also have the responsibility to undertake further services for their patrons for which they must be paid such as the preparation of auspicious charts used to guide marriage or the course of illness, the ceremonies associated with housebuilding and the undertaking of certain special rituals. For example during the last few years certain Gaddis have become very impressed with the carrying out of a ritual to Sat Narayan as performed in Kangra and have asked some Brahmins to read and perform this ceremony. Ten years ago this ritual was not performed. The patron of a *parohit* has a responsibility in turn to provide a fixed amount of grain to the *parohit* each year. This exchange of goods and services is not an economic agreement but an hereditary contract between two families. If a *parohit* cannot perform any of the ceremonies to do with a *rite de passage* he must nevertheless be provided with his annual grain allowance. The responsibility for finding someone to take on his duties rests with the *parohit*. According to some Gaddis, one could change one's *parohit* if one wished but in an investigation of about a hundred *parohit*/patron relationships I could find no example of any Gaddi who had changed his *parohit*. The *parohit* himself can nominate a successor to carry on his duties if he wishes, not the patron.

It is believed that all the Brahmins in the hills were originally *parohits* and used to live on the proceeds of their ritual duties but in the course of time as the Brahmin population increased, numbers of Brahmins became agriculturists only. Today the majority of Brahmins have nothing to do with the performance of a *parohit's* duties. It is my impression that Brahmins occupy land which is either high above the Gaddi villages or near the Budl Nadl, that is, poor land. The only Brahmin villages which are in the centre of the valley are Seri and Bari but neither group has an excessive amount of land. From an economic point of view, Brahmins are no better off than Gaddis and (until the rise of education and government contracts) depended on their connections with Gaddis for subsistence. Within the Brahmin community there are distinct differences of status with State *pujaris* at the top (mainly Brahmauri Brahmins) and Bari semi-educated Brahmins next; then come *parohits* of various sorts with ordinary agricultural Brahmins at the bottom. The distribution of *parohit* work is very uneven. For example there is only one *parohit gotra* from Satli village for the whole of Kugti and one Sere Brahman *parohit gotra* for the whole of Grer whereas other *parohits* may have only one or two patrons.

The *parohit* is not regarded as having any direct connection with the gods. He is merely a specialist who advises the family on the correct procedure to carry out religious rituals. Thus his character is of no importance and does not effect his efficacy as a *parohit*. It is a personal link. It is noticeable that the stronger anti-Brahmin feeling in the valley which is resulting from modern changes, does not have any effect on the patron-client *parohit* relationship and that *parohits* are frequently trusted advisors of families in settling quarrels because they have no financial interest in the result of disputes in another caste. They often intervene in partition disputes and in Grer village, the Brahmin *parohits* from Sere have played an important part in settling quarrels. One must distinguish Brahmins as *parohits* from Brahmins as a caste.

Pujaris are caretakers of particular shrines usually with a responsibility for the performance of certain rituals believed to satisfy the god or gods concerned within the shrine. They also often represent a particular group to the god in the shrine concerned. In the Brahmaur

temple, there is no doubt that the Brahmin *pujaris* represent the Brahmaur community continuously before Shiva and the other gods on the *churassi*. *Pujaris* invariably come from the caste which is the dominant group at the worship of the shrine concerned except that in State shrines the *pujaris* must be Brahmin. In Goshen, the *pujari* of the shrine was Gaddi, in the house shrine the *pujari* is a member of the household; in Sere the *pujari* is a Brahmin; in Kugti the shrine of Lower Kugti has a Brahmin *pujari* and in Upper Kugti the *pujari* is a Rajput. The position of *pujari* is usually inherited. Not all shrines have *pujaris* and sometimes the ranks of *pujaris* and *chelas* are combined but all important shrines have both. Sometimes whole groups may be in the *pujari/cheta* relationship. For example, Manimahesh has as *pujaris* the Brahmins of Herser and as *chelas* the Sipis of Sechuin and anyone in these two groups shares in these relationships. The Herser village *panchayat* (all Brahmin) also deliberates on the *pujari* responsibilities of the community towards the Manimahesh festival.

I have used the term "State *pujari*" to describe the relationship between certain groups of Brahmins and particular shrines. In former times these shrines received special forms of recognition from the *rajah's* government. The most important are those at Brahmaur, at Manimahesh and the pass one mile above Kugti on the way to Lahul. Outside Brahmaur *tahsil* the shrine at Chhatrari is also of this type. Since India is a secular State no direct aid is given to any shrines at present in the way of regular maintenance, but there is a Temples Department in Chamba city with an hereditary secretary and with the District Commissioner as chairman which administers endowments and funds for the support of certain temples Perhaps "support" is too strong a word as much of the money comes from land given by people individually to the temple. Among other sources of income the Brahmaur temple has about half an acre of what was once wet land near the Grer bridge. The Temple Department is a secular department so there are no local representatives of the Brahmaur *tahsil pujaris* on the committee although the *sadhu* (a non-Gaddi) of the Brahmaur temple is represented.

This committee gives support to temples or shrines which request support. In addition the rajah used to give special patronage. I will deal with each of these groups in turn dealing first with the shrine at Kugti.

I commence with a quotation from the Chamba gazetter (p. 188) as it is fundamentally similar to my own enquiries at Kugti.

"Kalihar Nag, his original name, now better known as Kelang, came from British Lahul 15-16 generations ago. Cattle disease was prevalent at Kugti and the people of that village vowed to hold a fair if it abated. Tradition says that Kelang in the form of a serpent, rode on the horns of a ram from Lahul and stopped at Dughi, two miles from the present temple. Remaining there for 3 generations, he went to Darun at the source of a stream, a cold place difficult of access so the people petitioned his *chela* to move lower down and the *nag*, through his *chela* told them to cast a *bhana* from that place and to build a new temple at the spot where it stopped. By digging the foundations, they found a 3 headed image of a stone, and on removing it a stream gushed forth. This was many generations ago. This image is in the Padamasan attitude (cross legged in the attitude of devotion). Raja Sri Singh presented a second image of 8 metals (*ashtdhat*) which stands upright, holding a *lathi* or pole in its right hand. Its head is covered with figures of serpents and it wears a necklace of *chaklas* with a *janeo* and *toragi* or waistbelt and *pajab* (loincloth), all of serpents. This temple is closed from Magh 1st to Baisakh 1st. At other times worship is performed every Sunday but only sheep and goats are accepted as offerings".

Those people who are responsible for worship are *pujaris* and it is regarded as a State shrine because of the patronage of the rajah in presenting an image. The 7 *pujaris* entitled to perform worship are Hari Bhaj, Gungu, Khajana, Basi, Madho, Jagat, Jagdish. Hari Bhai the leading *pujari* comes from the Utum *gotra*, Sashi *al*. His wife is from Dharmsala and his mother comes from Herser from the Nanson *al*. His *parohit* comes from Sutli village as do all the villagers of Kugti. He is also connected by marriage with the *likhnara* of Brahmaur, who is a *pujari* of the Brahmaur shrine. No member of his family has ever married outside the Brahmin caste and usually he tries to marry into the *pujari* families of Chamba, Herser or Brahmaur.[1] The following *als* are found among Brahmins in Lower Kugti; Ledha, Phungtian, Tamaretu, Jendeta, Tamrian, Ganeta, Sashi. Marriage is permitted between Brahmins and Rajputs in all the above *als* when children take the caste of the father. The Sashi *al* is the *pujari al* and marriage is permitted with other Brahmin *als* in Kugti irrespective of whether the *al* has or has not married into the Rajput group. But members of the Sashi *al* itself are not permitted to marry any except Brahmins and, if possible, reputable *pujari* Brahmins. There appear to be several males of the Sashi *al* over 30 years of age who have not succeeded in becoming married although since I stayed in Kugti only two days

[1] For assistance in Kugti I am indebted to Mr. Dharam Pal of the Census Commissioner's Office.

and did not have a village census made, my figures may not be depended on. It thus appears that the *pujaris* in order to protect the purity of their ritual position would rather not marry Rajputs although an allowable custom in Kugti. If a person in the Sashi *al* were to marry a Rajput it appears that he would lose all *pujari* rights and possibly also rights of inheritance in land or at least the small piece of land set aside in Kugti for purchasing material to be presented to the shrine.

When I was examining the inter-caste marriage system in Kugti, one old Gaddi Rajput laughed at my enquiries and said, "What does it matter whether Brahmins marry Rajputs or not. They have the same character and do the same things, drink *sur* and eat meat and dance. So why should they not marry each other?" No Brahmin present objected to this analysis but when it comes to ritual distinction, it is clear that the Brahmin *pujaris* of Kugti are a group apart.

At the Manimahesh festival, the image to Kaling from Kugti is taken to the lake for the pilgrims to worship just as delegated gods from Brahmaur and Chamba are also brought. In the passage quoted earlier, mention is made of *chelas* to the Kaling shrine. At the present time there are no official *chelas* to the shrine although of course, anyone who wishes may prophesy at the appropriate time. Mention is also made of goat sacrifices to Shiva. The *pujari* informant was very anxious to explain to me that the goats which are sacrificed are not given to Shiva but are bribes to the 12 *baru* (attendants) of Shiva to speak sympathetically to Shiva on behalf of the suppliants.

Half way between Kugti and Brahmaur is the village of Herser consisting entirely of Brahmins, all of whom are similarly *pujaris* of the Manimahesh pilgrimage route. There are two *gotras*, Utum and Namson. Utum is the same *gotra* as is found in Lower Kugti. There are no *parohits* in the village and in the event of death taking place in one *gotra*, the other *gotra* takes full responsibility for the supply of *pujaris* for the festival. The chief *pujari* was Dunsa, who was chosen by election by the village *panchayat*. The temple in this village received some monetary support from the Chamba temple committee some years ago.

The third group of State *pujaris* in Brahmaur *tahsil* are those associated with the Brahmaur series of temples on the *churasi*. Details of these temples can be found elsewhere.[1] The main temples are dedicated to Narsing, Shiva, Ranetu, Lakhna and Ganesa but they are all administered together collectively. Administratively they are the responsibility of the Chamba temple committee but none of the *pujaris* are represented on this committee. According to one *pujari* informant, the first *pujaris* were originally the Gunan *al* of Gotum *gotra* and were responsible for all 84 temples and *lingas*. But this created difficulty at the time of death as they had to get people from outside to perform the worship. Accordingly they asked some Brahmins from Ulansar to attend permanently. To them they gave the Lakhner temple plus the worship of Ganpatti (Ganesa) for ten days in a month. This became the permanent arrangement. During death they take responsibility for the whole *churasi*. Gunan has three *khinds* with each *khind* subdividing its share. The *pujaris* receive a contribution from the government to pay for the offerings.

According to another *pujari* informant, the origin of the ancestors of the present *pujaris* are not known but originally in Brahmaur there were three brothers, one of whom was dumb and one of whom had no issue. The dumb ancestor died. So a quarrel developed between the one with children and the one without. The issueless one went to Ulansar and adopted a boy and then returned to Brahmaur. He refused to give his dumb brother's children their share of the *pujari* worship. This other *gotra* responsible for worship is the Gomipal *gotra* and the Ranitu al. In this *al* all are *pujaris*. Rather strangely, although they are supposed to have come from Ulansar, neither in Gurata village (near Dalgeti) nor in Ulansar is this *al* found.

There are thus the following Brahmin *gotras* responsible for continuing the *pujari* worship at the Brahmaur temple.

1. Gotum *gotra*, Gunan *al* (3 *Khinds*).
2. Gomipal *gotra*, Renetu *al* (2 *Khinds* originally from Ulansar?)

According to this informant from the Gomipal *gotra*, the whole section receives Rs. 150 a year. Half of this goes to one family and the remaining half is divided into three. (That is to say into two *khinds*). The informant's own section is divided into two and he receives 12½ rupees a year and receives his turn to be *pujari* once in twelve years which is ten days' *puja* to Narsingh and Lakhna. During the actual performance of *puja* he cannot eat meals prepared by his wife if she has menses nor can he drink *sur* or eat meat at that time. His *al* frequently marries into the other *pujari al* and neither *al* is superior to the other.

Not a single *pujari* is a *parohit* but in Brahmaur, many of the shops on the actual *churasi* are owned by *pujaris* of these *gotras*. There are two Gaddi shops slightly off the *churasi*. Some of the *pujaris* are moneylenders. The most respected *pujari* is the *likhnara*. Others enter

[1] See A Village Survey, Brahmaur, Himachel Pradesh, Vol. XX, Part VI, No. 5, Census of India, 1961, Appendix VI p. 89.

various trades such as that of carpenter.

This pattern of *pujari* is found right up the valley. The following quotation is from the gazeteer of Chamba (p. 181) as it applies to Chamba "The priests of the Lakshmi Narayan temple belong to a family called Kolue, as their ancestor is said to have come from Kulu with the idol when it was first brought to Chamba. These priests also serve the Lakshmi Damodar and Radha Krishna temples. The temple attendants under the priests are called *pahri* and are from the Saho branch of the Bahradwarj *gotra;* they render service in turn for a fixed period according to custom".

These four groups of *pujaris* are to some extent representative of the Gaddi community and its head, the *rajah,* in their worship of the gods and they receive a reward for participating in the great annual festival of Manimahesh. The contributions from the pilgrims on the march are distributed as follows: one quarter to the *pujaris,* one quarter to the *chelas,* one quarter to the Lakshmi Narayan temple at Chamba and one quarter to the *sadhus.* At the Lake the Lakshmi Narayan temple attendants also bring a silver-cup. All silver and brass donations from this cup go to that temple. The Kugti *pujaris* do not receive any money out of the general funds but keep what they collect themselves. However they are provided with oil and a goat for sacrifice at the Lake. After the festival is completed, a feast is usually given to all those who have assisted in making the festival a success but I am not sure whether the funds for this come out of the contributions by pilgrims or out of special government funds or donations contributed specially for the occasion.

Although these Brahmin *pujaris* form a special class by themselves, it is not an exogamous group and there is nothing peculiar about their position which is not shared by the *pujaris* of any shrine of whatever caste. The only important distinction is that since they have semi-official government recognition, they have a correspondingly greater prestige. As I said, in spite of their great vested interest in the Brahmauri temples, they are not responsible for any of its upkeep or maintenance which is handled by a government committee with no locally born person on the committee.

To be a *pujari* of a "State shrine" or to be a *parohit* one has to be born a Brahmin and not to have lost this caste status in any way. The remaining two religious groups are *sadhus* and *chelas. Sadhus* are individuals who have rejected their human status by passing through the death ritual while physically alive and who consequently own no personal property nor have any further *rites de passage* to pass through for the remainder of their life on earth. They are supported by alms and certain temples, notably the ones at Brahmaur and Tundah, have a certain amount of money to feed these wandering mendicants. In Brahmaur I understand there is a rule that no *sadhu* is permitted to receive free food from the temple for longer than three consecutive days. Some *sadhus* are nothing but religious deceivers and live on the credulity of their supporters by selling various sorts of charms, sometimes for an evil purpose such as witchcraft. Others are people of high moral calibre who sincerely try to understand God either by prayer and study or by various forms of flagellation or penance. But in every instance this is an individual matter and has no direct connection with the society or with any special traditional Gaddi social group. In Brahmaur there are also two "full time *sadhus*" who have been attached to the Brahmaur temple since about 1948 and have taken responsibility in various forms of government administration and have used their status to try to influence the administration in directions they believe to be of value to the local people. Some of the principal successes of the leading *sadhu* in Brahmaur is to establish a special girls' school for orphans from the plains, to prevent animal sacrifice on the *churasi,* to prevent certain unwise actions by the administration against *sur* drinking (although opposed to *sur* drinking himself). His support comes more from the Brahmin than the Gaddi community but his political influence in 1962 was noticeably stronger than in 1952. However he is still a non-Gaddi. Becoming a *sadhu* is not a recognised method of wielding influence in the community by Gaddis or Brahmins and I do not know of any local resident who has ever become a *sadhu.* In the very early history of Brahmaur, Brahmaur was supposed to be governed by 24 *rishi* but we cannot know whether these were *sadhus* or Buddhist priests (as Tibetan inscriptions are found at Goshen) or other religious leaders. But at the present time sadhuhood is not a recognised method of upward social mobility for local Gaddis.

The most important religious method of upward social mobility is through the institution of chelaship. A *chela* is a servant of a god through whom the god may speak or reveal his will. This may be done by means of a trance or other form of possession but this is not absolutely necessary. The ultimate proof of whether a *chela* is a true mouthpiece of a god or not depends on whether his prophecies come true and whether he behaves in the sort of way that a Gaddi believes he should behave. For example at the beginning of a possession the *chela* usually beats himself with the "chains of Shiva" and prays before the shrine of the god and unless he does this first it is doubtful whether a



The chela, Jiddi, while possessed, before the shrine at Goshen village in 1952. *The riara on the left also plays before the principal shrine at the Brahmaur maidan.*

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Gaddi would think that he were really the mouthpiece of God. But conversely one could do this and yet not say anything worth while. The position can be made clear in respect to the *chela* of Goshen shrine. When I first visited Goshen in 1952, the *chela* of the shrine was Jiddi. He was a first class medium and used to warn people of various disasters which would occur, sometimes used to find lost objects and represented the village feeling on many issues which used to arise. He died about 1956 and at the first festival after his death, Roshan Lal, who had a character similar to his father became possessed and the villagers all thought that he would take over his father's position. But since this time he has been unable to become possessed and has often refused to take part although I know that he was anxious to take over from his father. In view of his lack of success, another member of the village, Nanak Chand, tried to become possessed and frequently tried to answer questions posed by the villagers. But if one were to ask the villagers the name of the official *chela* of the shrine, they will give conflicting answers and finally admit that the shrine has not got a proper *chela* as the god is not speaking properly. During the festival I attended in 1962, Goshen had recently been afflicted with a number of black bears which were destroying some of the crops so the villagers asked the medium whether these bears were the result of Shiva's anger. The reply given by the medium was that the bears were god's children just as the villagers were. The villagers in a later discussion just laughed and said the medium was only trying to cover his ignorance of the cause and that he was not a proper *chela* on this occasion. But *chelas* often do speak for the gods and their prognostications are widely known. One example given earlier in the *sati* story is of the *chela* from Tundah who forecast the raising of the drought of the valley in 1948. A *chela* is a prophet so that he may come from any caste and represent any god. Within the community he depends on his support from the emotions and sentiments of the Gaddi community who hears him. But if the Gaddis do not believe God acts in the way that the *chela* states, than the *chela* is false or unreliable but the position of the god is unassailed. An example will make this clear. During the 1962 pilgrimage to Lake Manimahesh, about 6 p.m. it started to hail. Everyone took out their umbrellas as they lay huddled round their small fires at 12,000′ to protect themselves, as there was only one hut for the thousands of people and most people were outside. The *chelas* accompanying the party started to prophesy that Shiva was offended at the open umbrellas and that the hailstones would get larger and larger. But as I looked round the large shivering crowd I did not see a single person shut an umbrella. The hailstones got a little larger and then the storm passed on. The *chelas* had forecasted something inherently unlikely. But if someone had been killed by a hailstone, then I am sure people's attitudes would have been very different and the first *chela* to make such a prophecy would have acquired a good prestige.

Not all shrines have *chela* but a *chela* may attach himself to any shrine. In the annual festival of the Sere Brahmin village shrine, most of the *chelas* were Brahmin although there was one Gaddi who turned up and performed. In Upper Kugti both the *pujari* and the *chela* of the shrine are Rajputs. The *chela* of the Brahmini shrine above Mulkota village is an old gentleman of over 80 and a Gaddi, although it is probably the most sacred shrine in the Brahmaur valley. Caste seems to make absolutely no difference in choosing a *chela*.

Certain of the more mobile Brahmins are beginning to tell government official that the *chelas* of Brahmaur are corrupt and rather unnatural in the Hindu background of the valley. Yet in the past, they seemed to play a very important part in the village structure and to be a powerful means of crystallising the sentiments of the valley on important issues. In the very early history of the valley, the Gaddis used to live in totally separate communities in tall houses without windows each under their own *rana* and the *rajah* seemed to be rather an advisory than an executive head. In such a situation without any common political system the *chelas* with their direct commands from god were often people of extremely powerful character. In the middle of the nineteenth century, *chelas* were used by the *rajah* to control witchcraft in the area by licensing it. (This office was abolished by the British). The following quotation is from the Chamba gazetteer p. 193.

"Formerly when suspicion of witchcraft was aroused the relatives of the affected person went to Court or to the Raja and made a complaint. An order was then issued to a *chela* who had the reputation of being able to detect the witch in fault. Taking with him a *garri* (player on a stringed instrument) and a *doli* (drummer) he proceeded to the place. A *ghara* full of water was first set on some grain spread on the ground and on this was placed a lighted lamp. Ropes were also made ready and laid beside the *kumbh* as the *ghara* was called. While the musicians played, the *chela* worked himself into a state of afflatus, and, addressing the people asked them if they desired the witch to be caught, warning them it might be a near relative of their own. They replied in the affirmative. This went on for three days. On

the third day, standing besides the *kumbh,* the *chela* called out the name of the witch and ordered the attendants to go and seize her, and picking up the ropes they at once ran off to execute his orders and she was seized and bound. In olden times witches were subject to cruel treatment to exhort a confession of guilt. (The torture was the water treatment)—Guilt having been proved, the accused was banished to a distance and sometimes her nose was cut off. For his services the *chela* received a fee of Rs. 12 part of which went to the State. *Chelas* are also believed to have the power to exercise evil spirits by making persons afflicted, inhale the smoke of certain herbs".

Because *chelas* were in such a powerful position in respect to crystallising village sentiment and turning it against others, the rajah apparently found it necessary to have his own official concerned with witchcraft accusations to prevent intra-village hostility being expressed in this way.

Some of the more respected and experienced Brahmins in the valley in conversation have often affirmed that they believe that *chelas* represent the will of god more clearly than any other Gaddi institution but that in the last generation the general quality of chelahood has been gradually lapsing. No longer do people believe in *chelas* as they used to, and this in turn has resulted in a gradually lowering of quality in the pronouncements made by the *chela.* They ascribe this to the lowered belief on the part of the younger generation in God's reality and power so that Shiva himself in turn has less desire to speak to his people. In the vacuum left, second quality *chelas* rush in. No longer do those Gaddis who wish to influence their people become *chelas* but instead try to become educated and try to operate the much more elaborate and complicated political machine made available to them through the various electoral systems. Yet many of these newly educated Gaddis leave the valley never to return after receiving their high school education at Chamba.

At the present time, *chelas* are almost entirely concerned with non-political matters. There are certain wandering *chelas* who still wander through Gaddi villages trying to cure people by exorcising evil spirits or other people's hatred. I have attended one such session in which a *gari* player, a *dholi* player and an exorcist kept the six women requiring treatment in a small outhouse into which no light penetrated for one or two days until the patients were cured and started to prophesy. During the whole time the drumming continued. Most of the patients' fees were paid for by their mother-in-law and seemed to be concerned with personal relations with other women who allegedly persecuted them. But rather significantly this *chela* was a foreigner from down the valley, not a Brahmauri.

The only case which I observed of a *chela* who was deliberately aiming for fame was of a certain Gaddi of 23. While keeping the flocks he suddenly started to prophesy, and cured a woman in a nearby village. His fame increased, he abandoned his flock and visited all the surrounding villages and obtained a following of twenty or thirty women who claimed to be cured by him. His technique was to raise a large pole to Shiva with his patients sitting before him and at periodic intervals he would go into a slight trance interspersed with scribblings in a notebook. He showed me his notebook which had a slight similarity to the katakana Japanese syllabary but was unintelligible as far as I could see. He had never been to school. At the Manimahesh festival he tried to push himself into the shrine ahead of the official senior Sechuin *chela* to prophesy that no one would be killed on the way to Manimahesh. People laughed at him and regarded him as a little forward. I had a long conversation with him and it was clear that he regarded himself as being inspired in a special way by Shiva and chosen from other people. At present he does not see any further than in terms of new clothes and the gaining of other people's respect. But people still travel a long way to visit a successful shrine especially at times of illness in the family. A *chela* attached to such a temple who sees his duty to the whole Gaddi community and not to his own family or individual self interests, could still be a powerful force organising the people together.

So far I have written as though the *chelas* are completely unsystematized. This is not quite so. The chela smelling out witchcraft mentioned earlier was an official of the rajah's state. Similarly the Sechuin *chelas* to Manimanesh have a special status derived from the myth of Triloknath Dev. Around the lake they have a special site on a mound called the Kali *khund* and on this site when they first arrive a goat is sacrified and the heart thrown into the lake. This sacrifice is thought to be an insurance by which they can cross the lake in safety, and, according to tradition, the bottom of the lake rises up to bear them across to the opposite side on people's backs. They cross over to a small stone pier when they are welcomed by the State *pujaris* led in 1962 by the *likhnara* (who is also the chief of the Brahmaur *pujaris*) and the temple committee and are given oil and a *dhoti.* They then forecast the health of the *rajah* during the coming year and pray for his welfare. They start to prophesy for anyone who wishes

to ask them questions and return to the Kali Khund where they are available for consultation. Only Sechuin *chelas* are entitled to use this mound. Lake Manimahesh is about 150 yards long and about 30 yards wide and appears to be no more than about 10 feet deep at the very deepest part. There are no permanent shrines round the lake but each portion has a traditional site for one of the groups who bring their own gods from Kugti, Herser, Brahmaur, Tundah, Lil Bilj and Chamba. Each of these sites is on the further side of the lake towards the higher mountains. On the nearer side is the main camping site.[1] I think one reason why there is no special shrine for a god is that it is the Lake itself with the residence of Shiva inside which is the shrine. Shiva also resides on Mt. Kallas which overlooks the whole area.

In the Manimahesh *jatra* held at Brahmaur the Sechuin Sipis also have special rights. The festival lasts for six days at Brahmaur with each day dedicated to one of the main gods of the area. However all the celebrations on each day and the presentation of official food by the *pujaris* always takes place on the platform to Shiva's temple and the *chelas* of Sechuin arrange themselves actually on this platform, where they tell all pilgrims whether they will be successful in completing the journey. In return they receive a small fee. Sometimes they tell the pilgrim he will be unsuccessful when he ties a red piece of cotton around his wrist. There is an official pilgrim song to Manimahesh which is sometimes sung by the women who act as a chorus. The official women's chorus are from Brahmaur and from Bari from the Brahmin caste and sing mostly secular songs[2].

Arjun ho bani mera herajunde shikare ho	Arjun, the hunter sets off for hunting.
Mata tere harunde pandalar na jana shikare ho	Your mother prevents the Pandavas from hunting.
Subti, subti *jan* ya pundabo Joli ha mat janda	Oh, Pandavas go everywhere but to Joli.
Jolia kuda nit chelide hunde ho	Magic and witchcraft are always present at the Joli stream let
Jolia kuda pandava, rag sa min da basa	Oh pandava in Joli lives an ogress.
Kat tu e de netha aita ragsuni ha suri ho	Underneath the *Kathu* (a tree) has the ogress delivered a child (*ragsun*).
Ragsunun ha suru pandava ragsunu jumuni o	Oh pandavas now there is a child ogress you may travel everywhere (except Joli).

Another song which the pilgrims sing on the way to Manimahesh is as follows—

Pella, pella dera rajia Ha o Brahmaur jai paiya	Oh raja the first halting place is at Brahmaur.
Duja, duja dera rajya Arser jai paiya	The second stage— oh raja, is at Herser.
Tia, tija dera rajya Dancho jai paiya	The third stage, oh raja is at Duncho.
Chotta, chotta dera rajya Manimahesh jai paiya o	The fourth stage, oh raja, is at Manimahesh.
Sup ne de andar rajya Kai bal ko kada keleda	An infant at play in a napkin appears in a dream
Brune, brune bambrune Jata lundrue bala	He has lovely golden coloured hair
Aja, aja kunpi rati Rajia, supna sanjo yo	Only last night, oh raja, did we have this dream.[2]

[1]. For a more detailed description of Manimahesh lake see the Census monograph on Brahmaur. p. 62.

[2]. I am indebted to Dr. Chowhan for the text and translation of these two songs.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION, SOCIAL CHANGE

The people who live in the Brahmaur *tahsil* of Chamba State have a way of life somewhat different from that found among the people of the Punjab plains. The high altitude at which they live, the different climate and the marked geographical boundaries have combined to develop communities living in small villages where they depend to a marked extent on their own resources so that there is little marked caste specialisation. This isolation has resulted in a special dress, the *chola* and *dhora,* a local religion based on the worship of Shiva who lives on a sacred mountain nearby, and a history and form of administration different from that of the Indian plains in general.

In spite of local differences in customs and in the way of life of the populace, the area is part of the all-Indian cultural Hindu way of life and the gods and *devtas* are part of the orthodox Sanscritic pantheon and the inhabitants carry out orthodox rituals of birth, marriage and death with priests belonging to the Brahmin caste. At death the *pinds* of the dead person are carried to Hardwar to be thrown into the sacred Ganges.

Within the society there is a division into upper and lower castes and within the upper castes there is a distinction between Gaddis, the dominant caste, and Brahmins.

In 1951, the State of Chamba was incorporated into the State of Himachal Pradesh as a district and improved administration and communication increased the possibilities of social mobility in the wider Indian society for the inhabitants of the valley. Provision was made through increased educational opportunities for Gaddis to take advantage of this opportunity. At the same time certain fundamental changes were made in the regulations and customs of the valley. The most important of these changes was the change in the procedures in respect to land ownership and inheritance. Instead of the State retaining control over all land as the ultimate proprietor, all land was divided into two types, Government land and private land. Private land could be used in any way the owner decided even to the cutting down of trees on the land.

Those who had trees on their own private land cut them down sometimes to provide money for such projects as the education of their children, etc. Those who had no close relatives within the *gotra* who would normally inherit tried to arrange for their sons-in-law or sister's daughter's husbands to inherit. Since previously any *gotra* member had prior rights to inherit over any non-*gotra* member, an increase of land cases is to be expected with an increasing fragmentation of land and the weakening of the *gotra* based village unity. The significance of this change was clearly shown in the resolution passed by thirteen out of the fourteen *gram panchayats* opposing the inheritance rule changes. This resolution was eventually forwarded to Delhi without success.[1]

The rapidly increasing population density is the most important factor making for social change in the valley. Those Gaddis who are able to find additional means of subsistence by becoming educated or by obtaining Government jobs will become closely tied to the organisations which pay them and the remainder will live on ever smaller holdings with a standard of living lower than the average Himachali. At present the Gaddis cannot support themselves for the most part from November to February from the Brahmauri crops and, as the land per head becomes less, Gaddis will be forced to stay for longer periods in the plains looking for temporary labour. Migration will tend to become more economically necessary instead of just a way of avoiding the winter.

The caste situation is now one where each caste is tending to emphasise its differentiation from other castes. This is clearly seen by some of the older Gaddis. One of the most reliable informants of the situation in the valley in the rajah's time is Hans Raj, former Gaddi *likhnara* before the present Brahmin *likhnara.* His son is at present Gaddi member of parliament in the Himachal Pradesh Assembly at Simla. Hans Raj is now over 75 years of age. His history is as follows:

He became a forest guard at 25 after going to the rajah's school at Chamba. At 30 after attending the forester's school at Komori he became a forester. At 38 he resigned to become a private contractor for moving timber to the river. The previous *likhnara* was his wife's brother so he became *likhnara* without opposition at 43 years of age. He remained in this position for thirty

[1]. I tried to obtain a copy of this resolution but was unsuccessful. The *tahsildar* was unable to find it in his files although he promised to send it to me when he found it. The local *panchayat* records were in such a chaos that I was unable to find a copy. But several *panchayat* members described it to me.

years. He resigned in 1951 on account of age. The present Brahmin *likhnara* worked under him as *char* for several years before being promoted to his present position.

At the beginning of his regime as *likhnara,* Brahmins started to stop smoking with non-Brahmins as a mark of superiority. At this time also the Scheduled Castes (that is Sipis and Riaras), were given the sacred thread by the Arya Samaj. At this early period all the castes used to eat in the same line.

His undivided family at present pays Rs. 33 in land tax, owns about 400 sheep and goats and has the ownership of a *grat.* I mention this biography in some details as it ideally illustrates the successful Gaddi in the rajah's time, mobility through the rajah's service while still retaining links in the land and in grazing and with the local population. This aim was in no respect different from the aim of a Brahmin or a Sipi. Although Brahmins, Gaddis and Sipis would not eat food cooked by a lower caste in the 1920s, there was little differentiation and the Brahmaur area was a community in which people smoked together and drank *sur* together in exactly the same way as now occurs in Kugti.

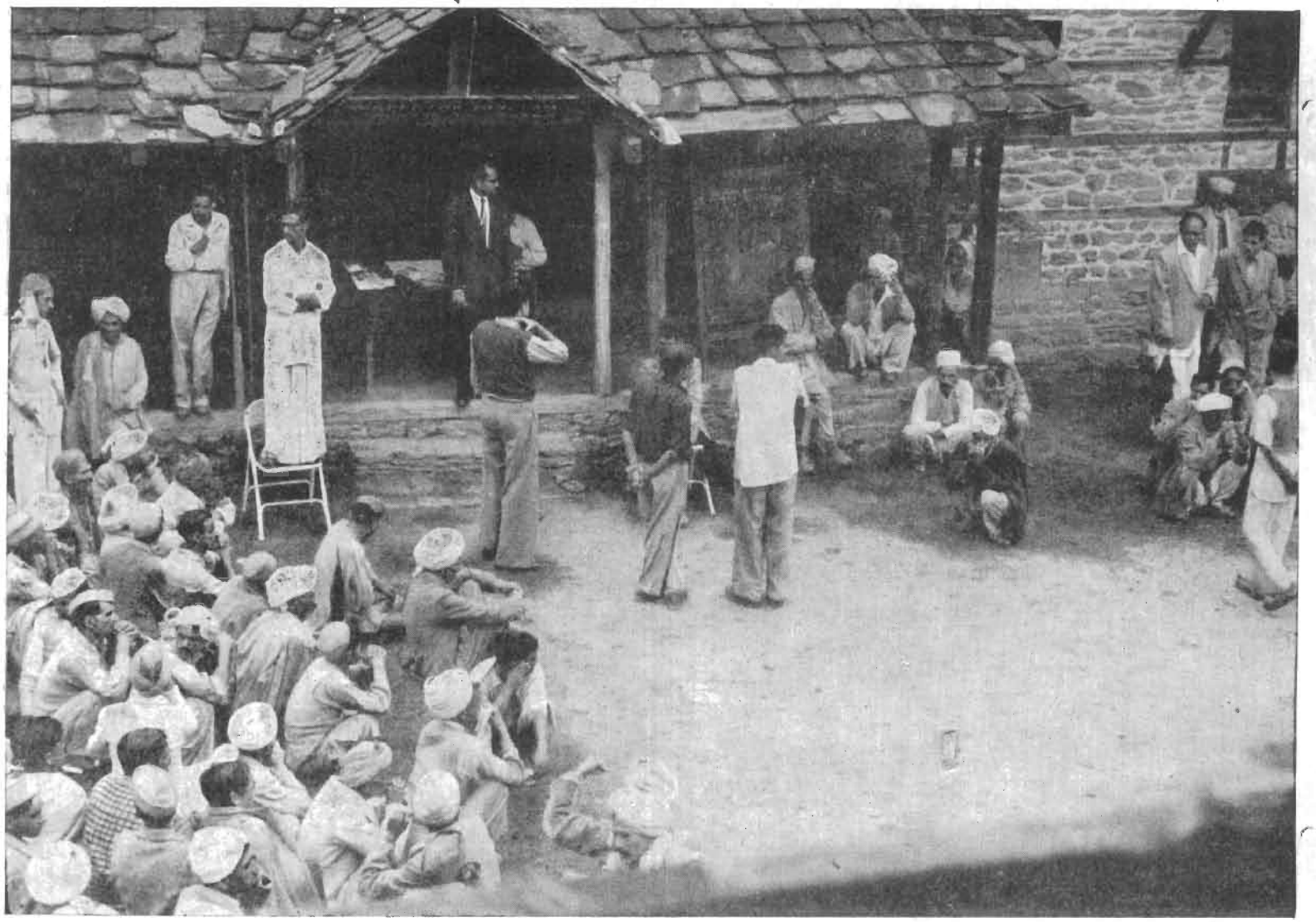
If one goes to the edge of the valley in Ulansa and Leuna in Palampur however one finds an almost traditional differentiation between different castes with the upper castes having different dietary restrictions, with a clear ritual separation and often associated with marked economic differences in land ownership. In 1952 many Brahmins with whom I used to drink *sur,* now claim that they never have and there is a markedly self righteous attitude which was absent earlier.

It is clear that as one moves from the richer areas to the poorer areas of the valley that the castes tend to be less differentiated from each other. In Ulansa one gets an almost traditional caste system, in Kukti one gets a situation in which the distinction between Gaddi and Brahmin (except *pujaris*) is very slight. In the past in Brahmaur we had an isogamous union of Rajput, Thakur, Khatri and Rana to form the Gaddi caste. At the time of Hans Raj about 50 years ago although there was a clear distinction between Brahmins, Gaddis and Sipis, they were very similar in behaviour and customs. But with the increased amount of money which poured into the valley as a result of the spending of Government servants and the letting of subcontracts through the Development Block, the general financial situation of the valley became comparable to that of Ulansar so that traditional caste differentiation is taking place. This is being expressed through ritual distinctions such as opposition to *sur* drinking on the part of the Brahmins. The Brahmins are no longer dependent on Gaddis for their livelihood but on the Government so they can now copy the ideals brought in by the Government servants without fear of being economically controlled by the Gaddi caste.

In traditional Brahmaur, the religious and political system was closely integrated. The *rajah* was not only the head of the State; he was also the religious leader of the State even to the extent of granting the sacred thread to the lower castes. The more important shrines and festivals gained much of their prestige from the official recognition given to them by the head of the State. There was a close connection between one's position in the political hierarchy and the extent to which one conformed to the same value system as was found in the valley generally.

But with increasing numbers of officials coming in from outside Gaddiland, the Gaddis began to realise that one could become socially mobile upwards through education irrespective of one's religious beliefs or of one's position in the valley's hierarchical system. This perhaps would not in itself have caused any social change were it not that the possibility of emulating Government officials also became a reality through education and through the new political machinery of election. Education enables one to be a government official with a fixed income and the power of distributing government favours to one's friends. Election success enables one to acquire prestige and influence. It is clear to even the most backward Gaddi that many of the most respected Brahmins in the valley are inferior to even the most junior government official and have no more influence in gaining wood for houses or in other ways than anyone else. The position of *likhnara* which was once an important one with a team of *chars* and *lambardars* and highly respected, is now only a formal ceremonial one with no real authority. The *likhnara* has to be present when land tax is collected but he is only a foil to the *patwari,* who is the real person to be placated even though he is only one of the most junior officials in the larger government hierarchical system.

Under these conditions it is only to be expected that the most wide awake section of the population should try to get government jobs and contracts and this group is found mainly in the villages immediately surrounding Brahmaur where there is a comparatively large group of Brahmins and merchants (who are mostly also Brahmins). Even the most important *sadhu* in the Brahmaur temple claims that he has helped the Brahmaur valley most because of the material benefits and contacts he had with government officials rather than in his religious practices.



The Brahmaur gram panchayat elections in 1962. *The man in the dark suit is the presiding officer and to his right is the Gaddi candidate (dressed in shirt tails) with his supporters.*

I think it is against some such tendency that one can understand the background of the *panchayat* elections at Brahmaur for position of President in 1962. The villages which make up the *gram panchayat* circle in Brahmaur consist of Mulkota, Bari, Sechuin, Brahmaur, Goshen, Seri, Kris, Goa, and associated villages. Caste-wise the Gaddis are the most numerous, Brahmins are second and lower castes third. The elections for President were as follows:

Lakshman Das	..	Gaddi	.. 331 votes (94 female)
Banshidar	..	Brahmin	151 votes (81 female).

Of the 331 votes for the Gaddi candidate, only 3 votes were cast by Brahmins who were the wives of certain Brahmaur shopkeepers whose husbands voted for the Brahmin candidate. A third Gaddi candidate stood from Mulkota but he withdrew his candidature on the day before the election. The Brahmin candidates were almost entirely from Bari village and Brahmaur, and the Seri villagers suddenly arranged a death anniversary celebration at the time of the elections as they felt even with their votes that the Brahmin candidate would be defeated and they still felt it unwise to antagonize the Gaddis. Most Sipis abstained from voting although they elected a scheduled caste member. In accordance with the usual practice, the returning officer warned the candidates before they stood that if there were an election the government would limit the amount of funds available for the *panchayat* to use but neither candidate withdrew.

This was the only *gram panchayat* election in the valley in which there was a clear Brahmin/Gaddi dichotomy.

There are various reasons for this election result but the most important was undoubtedly that the Gaddi believed that a Brahmin, once elected, would use his position as President to gain advantage through government contracts for his own caste and, moreover, instead of standing up for Gaddi interests would systematically try to go along with the government in abolishing *sur* drinking and attacking other Gaddi practices such as *sudenoj*. Brahmaur is the *panchayat* most close to the government offices, and where the processes of social change are most clearly manifested.

The modern separation into Gaddi, Brahmin and Scheduled Castes in the political sphere is a long stretch from the situation described by Hans Raj where all the castes were so closely integrated together that all of them ate in one long line and where a Gaddi *likhnara* with power in the valley could have a Brahmin *char* to assist him. The Gaddi "dominant caste" see their position threatened by new patterns of social importance. The Brahmins and some Sipis are changing their allegiance to where they see present day opportunity lies and the Gaddis naturally resent this loss of support.

Schools—There are now 44 primary schools, 2 middle schools and 1 high school in the Brahmaur *sub-tahsil*. In 1952 there were 5 primary, schools and one middle school. This enormous increase in schools could only be staffed by outsiders and most of the staff have been recruited from the Punjab. Although the turn over in teachers is very high as all wish to return to the plains, nevertheless there are many sincere and earnest teachers including an increasing proportion of Gaddis. Male students are beginning to enter the school in large numbers compared with 1952. On one occasion returning from Grer village, I stopped to watch three Gaddi girls dancing on the platform outside the bridge shrine from enjoyment. They were aged from 10 to 15 and I was surprised to see they were all dancing Punjabi dances derived from the popular radio music. I asked them why they were dancing a 'foreign' dance instead of their own and they turned to me and said that all the boys were at school learning books and their parents prevented them going to school themselves so they were teaching themselves Punjabi dancing so that when they got married they would be as good as their husbands.

That Punjabi culture should be taught in the schools is not a deliberate policy of the Himachal Government but is a result of the teachers themselves being Punjabis. Although of course the Gaddis should use the same textbooks as are used elsewhere in North India, supplementary teaching should also be offered on the local traditions of the area and there seems no reason why the earlier textbook issued by the rajah's education department dealing with the history of Chamba State should not also be used. I have been deeply impressed with the enthusiasm and ability of many of the teachers from the Punjab in the valley but in the absence of skilled advice how to go about recording and teaching local history they are helpless. Since it will take at least ten years before the Punjabi teachers are likely to be replaced by Gaddis, there is a danger that when these Gaddi teachers return they will know little about their own culture especially if the Government and Brahmin leaders succeed in removing rituals and dances in which songs and poetry are performed before they are adequately recorded.

It is clear that increased opportunities must be given to the Gaddis both for making money from sources outside the land and in providing goods which can be bought with the new wealth

brought into the valley by the Public Works Department and the Block Development scheme. There is as yet no non-government agency or firm in the valley which can employ Gaddis all the year round. The only industry which can be expanded which the Gaddis understand is that of sheep and goat grazing but the heavy over grazing in certain areas cannot be encouraged without a large replanting scheme on the *dhars* undertaken by the Forest Department. The most important consumption good in the valley which the Gaddis wish to buy is wood. In 1952-3 678 trees were granted to right holders for the purchase of houses yet in 1961-2 only 491 trees were granted in spite of the increased wealth and population of the valley. It is clear that whatever the reason, whether from the policy of the H.P. Forest Department or from the administrative difficulties that the Gaddis are having in obtaining trees, that house building is not absorbing the surplus money in the valley. There seems a *prima facie* case for abolishing the permit system for obtaining trees for house building but to greatly increase the price. I do not doubt that the greatly increased drinking of *scharab* is also partly a matter of not having sufficient consumption goods available plus a fear that *sur* drinking will shortly be abolished by the Simla administrator. However the forest department has a very difficult task in both protecting the wider interests of the forests and also in adequately serving the local residents.

To summarize this chapter, the process of social change has been strongly stimulated between 1952 and 1962 as a result of an increased number of Government servants being placed in the area and through their spending and example to the local residents. In addition the letting of numerous contracts for the building of schools and roads has enabled many Gaddis to take up additional sources of income. This has resulted in the area becoming more similar to the plains both in respect to its caste differentiation and in respect to increased opportunities of social mobility. As long as money continues to flow into the area from government spending the standard of living of the area will continue to rise. But should this money cease from outside, the adjustment to the former way of life of the area will become impossible since many of the traditional institutions will have become modified and the increasing population on the land will make it impossible to return to the situation as it was previously.

APPENDIX A

Brahminical books in the possession of Pandit Thakur Dass, son of Pandit Missuji of Village Bari. Pandit Thakur Dass comes from one of the most distinguished and respectable Brahmin families in Bari village, the most religious of all the Brahmin villages in the *tahsil*. This list is provided by his courtesy.

A. Manuscripts, written by hand.

(1) *Sandhi Vigraha, Grahashanti vidhan.* About 80 pages. This was the only document which I was asked not to read or publish.

(2) *Hoda chakra* (Bidhigarh) 100 pages. Deals with connection between physiognomy, illness and the signs of the zodiac.

(3) *Kashtavali.* Deals with the customs by which one can give certain gifts to Brahmins on certain days in order to cure illnesses. The determining factor is the onset of the illness on the day of the week (one of 7) or the day of the full moon rising or waning (15 days). Also connected with certain stars being visible. One sheet only inherited from ancestors.

(4) *Bastu sarani.* Consists primarily of rules for finding astrologically correct time for laying foundations although the book deals with other questions as well. One sheet only.

(5) *Satakadhyaya.* One sheet.

B. Published books.

(1) *Sutbhav Prakash,* written by Pandit Devi Dayalu Jyo and Sons. Proprietor Karyalay Panchang Diwaker and Mufid Alam Jantri and Patra Gurmukhi and published by Pandit Shiv Ramdatta Jyo & Sons Rs. 1-8-0 Jullunder.

(2) *Sarvavrato Dyapan Chandrika,* Lekhak-Pandit Chandra Mani Sharmaji Upadhyay. Publisher Pandit Padmanabhiji Sharma. Printed Pandit Lalit Chandra Rena.

(3) *Sri Bhavra Prakash,* by Pandit Devi Dayal Jyo & Sons, Malik Kargyalay Panchang Diwaker. Publisher same as (1).

(4) *Janma Din Pujan Paddhatih,* Sritrigart Maha Vichya Paitharth Shree Tarani Sanscrit Pathsala, Pradhanadhyapak Pandit Gupt Ram Shastina Samskrita. Sach, Dharm Priya, Shri Mangat Ram Sharmana Nago Pahwan. Savakey Dravyena Prakasheeta, Samvat 1998 Vikram.

(5) *Shukla yajurvediya madhyandin vajasneyinam,* Sandhyopasam Vidhi. Collected by Pandit Biharilal Mishra, Ayurvedacharyyen, resident of Agra Nagarasth. Available with Banshidar Premsuchdas Oil Mill, Moyithan, Agra, 1938.

(6) *Mansagari, Janma Patra Paddhatih,* By Pandit Shri Rupnarayan Shastrikrit. Publishers Babru Thakur Prasad Gupta, Booksellers Raja Darwaja, Branch Koehoeli gali, Benares city. Printed by the Babu Ganesha Prashad Gupta Swatantra Bharat Press Madha sarai, Benares.

This list is exhaustive. As far as I am aware he owned no other books in his house. It shows that most of the ritual procedures of the Gaddis were passed from *parohit* to *parohit* by word of mouth but that some of the details were derived from books handed down from father to son or by books sold by wandering *sadhus* and traders.

APPENDIX B

Description of Gaddi physiology described by Goteru pandit from Brahmaur. The pulse comes from the heart (*kaleja*). Inside the body is also found the liver (*pipur*), kidneys (*bukerole*) and intestines (*andar*). Humans have expression (*kalandar*) but not goats. Goats *peleli dinder,* that is when they feel, they immediately utter their feelings whereas men can retain their feelings. Parrots and owls (*ulu*) copy humans insofar as they have *kalandar.*

In a cold, mucus comes from the head as a sort of water. The brain (*minju*) is full of white matter enclosed in the skull cavity (*kapal*). Its function is to think but its absence may not necessarily lead to death but only disfunction of the body but if one has no liver, kidney or intestines then one will die immediately.

Breath comes from the lungs and is a sort of washing. One cannot live without breathing. There is something inside everyone called life (*bohor*) or (*puran*). The pandit then recited the famous verse of Kabir dealing with life.

Puran results from the sum total of good or bad during life and will be reincarnated after

death into one of the 84 lakhs of lives. Each of the 10 senses is made out of one *pind* so the sense is the first step in making a new life. One who dies without a son has his life and ambitions only in his former life so it is in order to settle his dissatisfaction which may be expressed in ill will towards his near relatives that the *parohit* makes an *autour* near a settlement. To distinguish an *autour* from a *devta* one must look as to whether there is a trident or flag nearby. If either, then the monument is not an *autour* but a *devta*.

APPENDIX C

Weight and Heights

The most important date in the valley is the date of the festival to Manimahesh which is on the 8th day of the light half of the moon in Bhadon or Asuj.

Weights

9 silver rupees weight	equals	1 *pao*
4 *paos*	equals	1 *ser*
5 *sers*	equals	1 *batti*
8 *battis*	equals	1 *man*

Height of passes around Brahmaur (according to Chamba gazetteer) on the Ravi side of the valley.

Name	From	To	Height (feet)
Sarai	Baijnath	Chanair	14,809
Wahar	Bandla	Chanair	14,101
Satanio	Bandla	Chanair	13,800
Singrahar	Palampur	Garoh	13,038
Talana	Nirwana	Tiari	15,500
Tarai	Nirwana	Chanota	14,808
Kundli	Kariwara	Chanota	14,550
Indrahar	Dharmsala	Chanota	14,150
Bag	Rihlu	Kothu	15,126
Chobu	Kugti	Manimahesh	16,500
Kugti	Kugti	Jurma	17,001
Chobia	Chobia	Triloknath	16,720
Kalicho	Tundah	Triloknath	16,402

Some heights.

Brahmaur 7,070
Chamba 3,027
Chhatrari 5,883
Herser 6,650
Kunni 6,446
Lilh 4,517.
Manimahesh Peak (also known as Mt. Kallas) 18,654'.

APPENDIX D

Settlement agreement of Goshen village, Brahmaur tehsil

APPENDIX E

Selected technical vocabulary

Agricultural terms

Halotra	Plough (made up of the *haladi*, handle and *phal*, iron tip. The two are joined by the *phalodi*).
Oghar	First plouging and manuring.
Jel	Second ploughing.
Berak	Third ploughing and seeding.
Sohaga, dah	Levelling off.
Baggara, baggari	Field.

Water mill

Garhat	Water mill.
Gird	Generator under the mill.
Oti	Feeder of raw grain into the mill.
Red	Regulator of the *oti*.
Khuddi	Shelf like structure inside the mill for resting things on.

Pastoralism

Saere	Wool taken off the sheep in Kartik.
Hiun keni	Wool taken off the sheep in Phagun.
Basndi	Small wool taken off the sheep in Andh.
Mukudum	Person who allows sheep to graze on his land.
Mahlundi	Chosen leader of shepherds on the move.
Gwalo	Person who grazes cows and buffaloes (usually non-Gaddi).
Berahal	Shepherd of sheep.
Bhakral	Shepherd of goats.
Un	Wool.
Got	Grazing ground.
Dolu gas	Special sort of grass found in Lahul

Kerek, gerna, basut, bahri, dumon. Grazing in general.
Ghai .. .. Cow.
Dard .. .. Bull.
Baccho, bacchi Calves.
Urnu .. Sheep under one year old.
Cheli, chelo .. Goats.
Dungari .. Sheep over one year old.
Mard .. Mountain house.
Gwar, obra .. Cattle shed.

Terms dealing with goats with respect to omens

Bagat .. To sacrifice. Goats to be sacrificed are called by the *devta's* name and kept separate from the flock.
Sukan .. To swear to a sacrifice.
Budana .. To kill a goat.
Dada .. A goat giving an auspicious sign in sacrifice such as by having a lot of fat.
Dubla .. A goat giving an inauspicious sign.
Chala .. Witchcraft suspected.
Karade .. An inauspicious omen.
Kari .. .. An auspicious omen.
Pepur .. Goat liver. This is not eaten by those whose parents are living.
Pitti .. .. The black fat above the diaphragm of the goat attached to the intestinal cord.
Kari .. .. Goat's head (used in the *narwala* ceremony).

Other religious terms

Chel .. .. To go to a burning ghat to wish ill will to the relatives of the dead person.
Budura .. Sorcerer.
Sharkr .. Conch Horn.

Spinning wheel

Charkha .. Spinning wheel.
Khundu .. The whole large wheel.
Chakh .. The outer rim of the large wheel.
Path .. The inner axle.
Makdi .. The frame.
Mal .. The cotton thread.
Kukdu .. The spinning thread.
Tand .. The completed thread.
Goha .. The raw wool.
Sua .. The part of the wheel which twists the wool.
Kardli .. The metal rod.

The *del* (upper frame) is 1½ times the diameter of the *chakh*. The three parts, *chakh, khundu* and *sua* are bought separately and were worth about Rs. 20 in 1963.

Silversmith's tools (by courtesy of the Goshen *riaras*)

Dekera .. Iron horse. The top is termed *ern*.
Sursi .. .. Tongs.
Kattira .. Pincers.
Uchu .. Small pliers.
Gorkachunchu Iron pliers.
Reti .. .. File.
Kwar .. Beating metal horse.
Makal .. Dies.
Madi .. .. Wire thread dies.
Nulpha .. Bamboo case.
Suvaga .. Alloy.
Tikara .. Stove.
Kal .. .. Bellows.
Kerband .. Brass mouth of bellows.
Kanda (teraju) Scales.
Rejia .. A long incised bar for running the metal out of the fire.
Burma .. Gimlet.
Guteri .. Pot for holding silver in the fire.
Kole (gar) .. Charcoal.
Sundukeri .. Tool box.

Blacksmiths, tools

Kanasi .. File.
Nihali, pahara Hearth.
Kal .. .. Bellows.
Nali .. .. Iron end of bellows.
Ern .. .. Top of iron horse.
Badan .. Hammer.
Thora .. Small hammer.
Sansi .. Tongs.
Chini .. Chisel.
Derdi poten .. Striking borer.

Clothing for men

Kalki topi .. Hat.
Nanti Ear rings.
Uchinura Necklace.
Choli .. .. Coat.
Dhora .. Rope waistband.
Kunjuli .. Coat pleats (The Lil Bilj Gaddis do not have these pleats).
Sutan .. Pyjamas.
Nevdrar .. Trousers.
Boguli, bogari .. Tobacco pouch.
Banara .. Mirror.
Batua .. Purse.
Bhuganori .. Iron drill.
Drat .. .. Sickle.
Juta .. .. Shoes.
Muka .. The hook end of the rope *dhora*. A *dhora* should be at least 50 *harth* long.
Runka, gatti .. Flint.
Gardu .. Blanket.
Patti .. .. Cloth.
Mandai .. Wooden tub for treading dye into the *dhora*.

Additional terms for bridegroom's clothing.

Chandarahar .. Long necklace.
Mala .. .. Necklace.
Luanchra .. Red bridegroom's dress.
Sera .. .. Face mask.
Chirri .. .. Part of the mask wich hangs down.
Patka .. Yellow handkerchief.
Kangaru .. Bracelet.
Sutum .. Trousers.
Dur .. Ear-rings.
Daga .. Joining rings (on back).
Bujudu .. Flower for burning.

Measurements

Harth	..	Tip of finger to elbow.
Chun	..	Thumb span.
Kro ..	..	About 1¼ miles or one hour's travel. Equals 2½ ghuri.
Ghuri	..	60 pul. "When a baby closes its eyes in the cradle it is called *chin* and when he opens and closes them again it is called *pul*". Both *pul* and *ghuri* are measures of time.
60 ghuris ..	..	One night and day.

General terms for women's jewellery[1]

On the head	..	Chauk, chiri.
On the ears	..	Pher, bari, jhumke.
On the nose	..	(small) balu, (large) balak.
Hanging from the neck	..	Galsari, jomala, chander har.
On the wrist	..	Kangru, toke barga.
On the ankles	..	Ghumkru, tore, panjeb.

Cash payment for a girl's marriage termed *bariana* where it occurs.

Parts of the head ornament; gule, bore, kunda, chaink and, (for married women only) sungli and phul.

Parts of the necklace (chidya) is tungri, kaingla, meena, and bore. The price is the same as the price of silver plus Rs. 2 per *tola*.

Bangles are chan kangam (bangle with cells), banga (ordinary bangle) gajra (glass bangle), toka (silver bangle) and gojru (clasped bangle).

A nose ring is termed balo and, if with stone inside, laong.

The ear rings are termed kamte (silver), tungni (hook), sungli (chain), phradu (star), sabjudu (stone).

The mark on the forehead is termed *bindli*.

The leg rings are termed panjeba if with bells.

The neck rings are termed kandu (if made of rupees with a patka at the bottom), thindi ri lao (if made of beads) and jau mala (if made of silver).

1. Many of these articles of jewellery have been illustrated already in the Brahmaur monograph *op. cit.*

नक़ल वाजिव-उल-अर्ज

चिट्ठा वाजिव-उल-अर्ज परगना भरमोर मूहाल गौशन नम्बर हदबस्त 95 सब तैहसील भरमोरे जिला चम्बा

नम्बर शुमार — जममून दामआ

1 शामलात देह उसकी काशत और ईन्तजाम और उसकी आमदनी का नमुना ?
हमारे मूहाल में कोई शामलात देह नहीं है ।

2 शामलात में हकूक चराई ?

हमारे मूहाल में कोई शामलात न होने के कारण कोई हकूक चराई नहीं है । अलबता चरागाह सरकार में हकूक मूताबिक वेतन है ।

3 पैदावार सायर के ईस्तमाल के हकूक ?

सरकारी मलकियत बिला काशत जंगल अर्थात चरागाह जगंल से खूरदरो पैदावार किसी किस्त की अपने लिये या बेचने के लिए हासल नही कर सकते अलबता धूप अपने खर्च के लिए विला परमट तरकड़ से कोई कोई लाना है ।

4 रिवाज मूतल्लिक मलवा ?

हमारे मूहाल में मलवा ईकट्ठा करने का रिवाज नही ।

5 रिवाज मूतल्लिक आवपाशी जमीन ?

हमारे मूहाल मे कोई रकबा आवपाश नही होता है । मूताबिक नकशा रवाजाद आवपाशी ।

6 रिवाज मूतल्लिक चक्कियों व तलाबो व नहरों या पानी के कूदरती विकास के ?

हमारे मूहाल में चार पनचक्कियां जारी है । तलाब कोई नहीं है । अलबता दरयां बूडल हमारे मूहाल के साथ साथ उत्तरी हिस्सा से गूज़रता है । और पानी के लिए उत्तर की और मोसूमा गद्दी पश्चिम की और मौसूमा गेहब दक्षिण की और मौसूमा किहलगू जो की हमारे मूहाल में है लाते है । और मूवेशियान को भी इन्हीं वाबलीयों से पानी पिलाते है । पनचक्कि में दो सेर खाम आटा पीसाई की मन खाम मूकरी है ।

7 रिवाज बूरद्द बरामद ?

हमारे मूहाल में कोई बूरद्दी बरामदी किसी नाला या रबड़ व दरया से नहीं होती है । अलबता घार बूरद होती है । साबका में दरखतान दकर मूजरीर मामाल लेते थे भूमि बूरद्द शूद्दा सरकारी हो जाती थी अरिन्दा मूताबिक कानून अमल होना वाजूब है ।

8 सब किस्म के काशतकारों के हकूक जिन का जिकर कानून में सर्राह पर ना किया गया हो मसलन दरखतों व खाद के मूतल्लक हकूक और दरखत् लगाने का हक वा जिमावारियां जो सवाये लगान के अजेरुर रिवाज इन पर आईद होती है ?

हमारे मूहाल में मूजारा मौरुसी कोई नहीं है । मूजरियान गैर मौरुसी है । जिन को उस भूमि में मकान बनाने या दरखत लगाने का अखत्यार नहीं है । खाद मूजारा गैर मौरुसी काशत भूमि में डालता है । अगर मालीक उस भूमि में खाद डाले तो उस भूमि का सालम घास मालीक लेता है ।

9 मुवाजिब मूलाजमान देही रिवाज और लूआज़म खिदमत जो उनके जिमा है ?

फनीपान सिरफ जरायती लूहार से अलात जरायती लेते है । फला कूदाल दराटी फूहाड़ीयां बनवाते हैं । कोई शरह मूकरर नहीं है । काम के मूताबिक देते है । शरह सैर २ वटी मक्कि २ वटी गन्दम निपाई लौहार को देते है । गैर जरायती कोई कमीपान नही है । इस गांव में कोई कामदार व चौकीदार नहीं है न ही कुछ देते है ।

10 हकूक गवनमिन्ट मूतलक जायेदाद नजकूल जंगल जमीन जो लाद व या गैर मकबूज़ा हो या जिस के काबिल उसको छोड़ गये हो, या बजंर हो पत्थर की खाने खन्डरात अशयोए जो वलि लिहास कदामत के दिल जसब ही खूदरी पैदावोर और बिगर हकूक जरुरी मूतलक उस जमीन के जो मूहाल में शामिल हो ?
हमारे मूहाल में सरकारी भूमि है । जिस की हम मालकान पूशतों से काशत करते हैं और सरकारी मामला अदा करते हैं । अगर कोई लाबारस मर जाता था तो उसकी भूमि सरकारी हो जाती थी अरिन्दा मूताबिक कानून अमल होना वाजुवां है । हमारे मूहाल में एक सलैट की खान है । जिस से बिला परमट अपनी अवश्कता अनूसार सलेट ले लेते है । पत्थर घर बनाने के लिए जिस जगह पत्थर निकले निकाल लेते है । कोई रोक टोक नही वनकशा मामूली इस जगह पैदा होता है । जिस को हम अपने प्रयोग के लिए चुनते है । कोई रोक टोक नही वोड़ बन्न वीड़ उपरेल खेत वाले की गिरे तो उसकी मरमत करता है । निचला खेत वाला सिरफ खूदाई पत्थर लगाने के लिए करता है । घास वीड़ का निस्फ निस्फ लेते है । आधा उपर के खेत वाला आधा निचले खेत

वाला यदि बतर होते समय उपरले खेत वाला पत्थरों की दिवार में ना लगाय तो निचले खेत वाला पत्थर उठा कर वाहिर फैंक सकता है ।

11 नदियो दरयों वगैरा मे हकूक निसबत मकूली व मिछली के शिकार गाहो के ?

इस जगह सरदी होने की वजहा से मछली नही होती और ना ही कोई शिकार गाह है ।

12 कोई और अहाहम रिवाज जो मालकान जमीन काशत-कारो या दिगर ऐसे अशखास के हकूक पर मुआसर हो जिन का मूहाल से वास्ता हो मगर ऐसा रिवाज न हो जो वरास्त या ईन्तकाल जमीन के मूतलक हो ? वीड़ मे जो वृक्ष होता है वह उपरले खेत वाला होता है । और अगर दरखत निचले खेत में से लगे तो निचले का होता है । घोल-कोई नही है । इस मुहाल मे दो आवदीयां है । एक आबदी की दूसरे की आविदा की कोई हक नही है ।

नकल बिला उजरत

नकल बिला उजरत
फार सरकार दी गाई

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