

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME XX — PART VI — No. 5

HIMACHAL PRADESH

A Village Survey of

BRAHMAUR

Brahmaur Sub-Tehsil, Chamba District

Investigation & Draft

by

DHARAM PAL KAPUR

Guidance and Final Draft

by

RIKHI RAM SHARMA

Assistant Superintendent of Census Operations

Editor

RAM CHANDRA PAL SINGH

of the Indian Administrative Service

Superintendent of Census Operations

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR
GENERAL, INDIA, NEW DELHI.

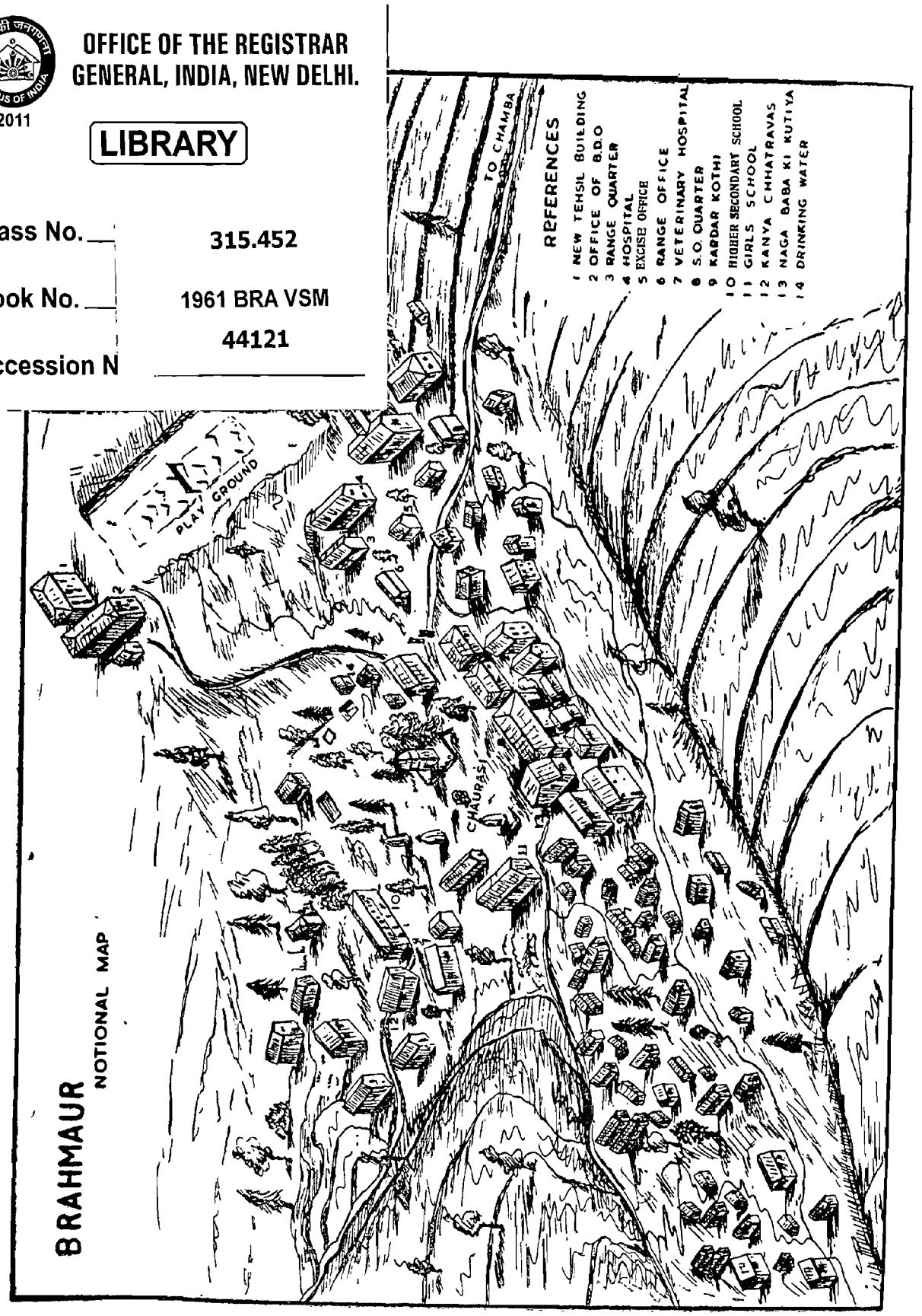
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FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

(*a*) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, e.g., fishermen, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

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

(*c*) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled charactor and contain variegated occupations and be,

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

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

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

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve: to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to 'the most fruitful single source of information about the country'. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in an appendix.

NEW DELHI
24 *May* 1962

A. MITRA
Registrar General, India

PREFACE

BRAHMAUR is that part of Himachal Pradesh which travellers have compared with the most beautiful parts of Switzerland's homes and people in more than one way. This lies 44 miles away hidden in what was the inaccessible mountain region of Chamba-Achamba—"The popular adage which described the Chamba so Charming". This little village was the seat of a Kingdom nearly a 1000 years ago where Sahil Varman and other famous rulers ruled once upon a time. During the time of the rulers this is where the Ranas held a sway.

Now, of course, after independence this is from where the affairs are managed by the Panchayats, assisted by a number of Government servants. There is the Naib-Tehsildar, Block Development Officer, Range Officer, Inspector of Schools and the Doctor.

We hope to complete our village surveys in about 35 villages of the Pradesh. To Shri Asok Mitra, ICS, Registrar General, India, my thoughts go in deep remembrance. I owe this rare opportunity of study to him. He has been generous in his foreword and has been a source of great encouragement in all our pursuits of studies. Brahmaur was selected because of the Gaddis and to study the winds of change where the slippery, eroded and the dangerous track was to have a better road, where the Extension Block was opened to help the villagers, where electricity has become a reality and where people migrate with their sheep and goats year after year. We are giving what we consider to be of interest to our readers. So much more has been written by many distinguished authors, writers and travellers. But not so minutely I suppose.

Amongst those who knew so much more about them are Sir J. Cunningham, Dr. Hutchinson, the Morevian Missionaries of the past, Dr. Vogel, Dr. Goetz and Prof. William H. Newell of the International Christian University, Tokyo. For many readers these would be superb notes and write-ups who could glance through them. I have borrowed from whatever source I could and have added extracts to make this monograph more worthwhile.

Dr. Karan Singh, the Sadr-i-Riyasat, Jammu and Kashmir has kindly permitted me to give some of the folk songs *'Kunjua and Chanchalo; Stay for the Night, Dear Gaddi; The love-sick Shepherdess', from* "Shadow and Sunlight". One could hear these melodies anywhere in Chamba.

These are excellent folk songs charmingly translated. A Gaddi would recognise these instantaneously—they add to make this monograph more attractive.

The first time I visited Brahmaur was in September, 1959, while I was still Deputy Commissioner of Chamba. Though I had the good fortune of meeting these Gaddis very much oftener in 1958-59 while at Chamba and during my tours. One of the rewards of my assignment as Superintendent of Census Operations, I should look back with great happiness and joy is many many delightful weeks that I have spent with these good humoured Gaddis. It is in September and October that Brahmaur is at its loveliest, with phullan fields, maize fields and where the fairs start. This is where journey to Mani-Mahesh starts and this is where Gaddis with gaiety in abundance, have music, song and laughter to the heart's content. It is in these hills where the echo of the flute has a beauty and magic fascination beyond my words.

During my trip to Mani-Mahesh to attend the very well-known fair, I saw more of these Gaddis and their devotion to 'Shiva'. Of all ages of men, women and children meet there even for one night and in the extremely bad weather and after a very arduous journey. This is about which we hope to write more.

Dharam Pal Kapur has been going to Brahmaur almost once or twice every year. He has been to Mani-Mahesh as well as to some of the very difficult rugged passes. Also he has been to Kugti. Then I can think of Gaddis and other villagers and the Government officials who live in Brahmaur and have been helpful altogether. And it is now that these schedules have been pieced together, checked and rechecked, written and rewritten so many times.

Rikhi Ram Sharma, our Assistant Supdt. of Census Operations, has been able to help me in completing the writing of some of these village surveys. Editing and supervision from me at different stages have been a comparatively easier task. With the devotion that Kapur has put in and all the help that he received from Rikhi Ram Sharma during his visit to Brahmaur, they are able to further piece together what I might have overlooked. The field survey and investigation has been carried out by Dharam Pal. He wrote the first draft. The revised draft was by Rikhi Ram Sharma which has helped so much to complete this report.

I would not forget the silent and devoted work of our Office Superintendent, Durga Singh, who helped in preparing the schedules and in revising them and he always came to our rescue whenever we were in doubt.

Prof. Newell of the International Christian University was good enough to fly out from Tokyo and spend a few months. Ten years ago he had spent about six months with Gaddis and knew them so well. Appa Rao of the Delhi University was also there and they were good enough to have taken down notes which have been sent to me.

I have added as an appendix an interesting article by W. Newell. This appeared in the MAN. This is about inter-caste marriage in Kugti village, Upper Budhl Nala, Brahmaur Tehsil. I am grateful to the Hon. Editor of the MAN for the kind permission.

I was fortunate enough to meet Dr. Bishamber Nath Chauhan who was spending a fortnight helping Professor Newell for his studies of Gaddis in Brahmaur in 1960. On an earlier occasion we had gone to Mani-Mahesh and now we spent sometime in Malkota, Schuin, Seri and villages nearabout Chatrari. Dr. Chauhan was also good enough to help me with translations and also send me some material which I have acknowledged elsewhere.

There is a small little drawing by my son Moh. In one of his letters to me when he was just Nine, he honoured me by drawing this charming little *cartoon of a cow*. This fascinated me immensely and so did it fascinate others. And I am giving this handi-work here. I hope this fascinates my readers also.

Prof. Newell was generous to go through certain portions of our write-up. Dr. Roy Burman, as usual, has kindly reviewed our drafts and made suggestions which are of value. To these colleagues, friends and villagers, I am deeply beholden.

S. R. Sethi, the Manager of the Govt. of India Press and his colleagues, kind and generous well-wishers of ours. He cheerfully always came to my rescue helped me when I needed his assistance so much. My gratitude.

The beauty of Brahmaur and the charming ways of the humble people would, I am sure, not turn into oblivion soon.

"Boswell", Simla-5
18*th September*, 1963

RAM CHANDRA PAL SINGH

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I take this opportunity to pay my homage to late Naga Baba. I have received many personal kindnesses from him ever since I met him in 1958.

Dr. Hermann Goetz has so kindly allowed me to give extracts from the Early Wooden Temples of Chamba. M/s. E. J. Brill Ltd., Leiden, have also been kind to convey their permission. I give extracts in the Appendix as this would be of great interest to the readers. I have also borrowed sketches from the Antiquities of Chamba.

The cover print is a photograph by the well-known photographer Bal Krishan of the Times of India. He has always been very kind in letting me have whatever photographs I wanted. There are many more I printed here. B. S. Thakur and Om Chand Handa Artist and Cartographer of this office have made many attractive drawings, sketches and Handa has taken many photographs. The photographs and the art work by Handa and Thakur have made my cover page far more attractive than I had imagined. Miss Sahiar of the Marg kindly sent me some interesting studies of Gaddi women. I print one here. Some photographs have been taken outside Brahmaur. These were the best photographs that I could get and show Gaddis so well pictorially.

During my trip to Mani-Mahesh many helped to make this arduous journey as pleasant and comfortable as they possibly could, inspite of the torrential rain beyond Hadsar, when going on that terribly rocky, slippery and arduous journey, trecking was very uncomfortable. Shiv Kumar Upamanyu. Sudershan Kumar Mahajan, Mehta, Divisional Forest Officer among others accompanied me. Then Gianu and Dina Nath Jogi—peons from my office, while I was Deputy Commissioner, Chamba, porters from Schuin, all showed me many considerations which I shall long remember with gratitude.

Then I would like to convey my gratitude to Tani Ram Lakhniara, to the Chela, to the Officers of the Forest Department who despite their personal inconvenience had always been of assistance.

I would like to thank Sher Singh from my office who from the beginning had handled papers, schedules and materials for all these village studies in his own shy and quiet ways helped me to piece these often.

The proofs have been read by Karam Chand carefully. Typing on holidays by Krishan Kumar Sood speeded up the progress at different times.

"BOSWELL", SIMLA-5.
18th September, 1963.

RAM CHANDRA PAL SINGH

THE VILLAGE

Introduction

BRAHMAUR, a small village, is the headquarters of the Brahmaur Sub-Tehsil in Chamba district. This had once the distinction of being the seat of government of the old sovereign state of Brahmpura for over 350 years from the 7th to the middle of the 10th century. Then the capital was shifted to the newly laid out town of Champa, which later came to be called Chamba. The beautiful and artistic temples are in a remarkable state of preservation and remind one of the golden days that the place had seen. It is a very important village in this part of the land, and is distinguished by its 1,300 years old temples.

The approach to the village in the past was very hazardous and it will be interesting to read a description of the route from Chamba to Brahmaur as given by Vogel in his 'Antiquities of Chamba State, Part I' which appears as appendix I. In the turbulent times of the day, the place was ideal for defence when every neighbour was a potential enemy. Even now, one has to travel 22 miles on foot or on pony from the nearest bus terminus at Gehra, to reach the village.

The road first follows the right bank of the river Ravi and then crosses over to the left side at Bagga—14 miles from Chamba over a rickety suspension bridge—upto Kharamukh. Here it crosses over to the other side of the river and enters Brahmaur valley through a very narrow gorge flanked by almost perpendicular cliffs on either side of the Budhal stream which joins Ravi. Every effort is being made to convert the tract between Gehra and Brahmaur—22 miles—into a jeepable road as early as possible and in fact once or twice in the past few months jeeps had been driven upto Brahmaur, but land slides damaged the track. It is expected that within the next one or two years it should be possible to reach Brahmaur on a better road. The Budhal rises in the Kugti pass and flows some 30 miles through the Brahmaur valley commonly known as Budhal valley. The whole valley is roughly the shape of a bottle with an elongated neck ending at Kharamukh. The valley roundabout the village is fairly open with long terraced fields on the left bank of the nullah reaching far upto the top of the ridge overshadowing the village.

The land is fertile and productive and depends on the rains. The natural water supply is plentiful and small snow-fed streams flow throughout the year to unload their waters into Budhal. This in turn empties into the Ravi at Kharamukh. The most important of the small nullahs that run near Brahmaur is the Brahmni Nullah. This has enough water to run 40 odd *gharats* of surrounding villages. The waters of this nullah have further been harnessed to generate hydro-electric power for Brahmaur recently. It is expected that in the very near future the village would have the many benefits of electricity.

Brahmaur lies at a height of about 7,000' in the lap of the Bharmani forest growing on the ridge, famous for the shrine of Bharmani Devi. Goetz compares the scenery to some of the finest sceneries in Switzerland, and the climate is salubrious. Just towards the northeast of the village, can be seen the peak of Mani Mahesh. This is famous in the surrounding area as smaller Kailash and one of the abodes of Lord Shiva and for this reason also the whole of Budhal valley is

called Shiv Bhumi. The landscape affords an interesting contrast on the right bank of the Budhal nullah, cliffs with bush wood here and there, stand perpendicular in their majestic form. These give little or no scope to human hand to display its skill in forming the terraced fields. These cliffs are so inaccessible that even the shepherds feel hesitant to scale some portions of them. On the left bank of the nullah, the valley has *ban* forests at the lower elevation gradually giving place to pine clusters towards the top of the ridge.

Inhabited by Gaddis the village has a semi-pastoral, semi-agricultural lot of people. The greater portion of their wealth consists of flocks of sheep and goats which they graze during winter in the valley of Kangra and in Suket and Mandi *illaqas*. For the remaining year they drive them across the range into Chamba and Lahaul. The other important occupation is agriculture. They follow it in rather an indifferent and futfil way on account of their migrations. Spinning, weaving, silversmithy and blacksmithy are other minor trades adopted by some people. The entire Brahmaur Sub-Tehsil is also called by the name of Gaderan—the abode of Gaddis.

There are no remains of old palaces of kings of Brahmaur. By common belief, their palaces stood on the *chaugan* which is a small piece of flat land some 350 yds. long and 50 yds. wide situated at a little higher elevation towards the North. At the eastern corner of this *maidan* some Govt. offices are being built. An old building known as *Kardar* Kothi exists just below the temple of Narsinghji. It is here that the Naib-Tehsildar holds his office. This also served as the office of the *Kardar* of the *illaqa* in State time. This *Kothi* was badly damaged in the 1905 earthquake, and is in a dilapidated condition.

The introduction to the village will not be complete without a mention of Shri Jai Krishan Giri, a *sanyasi* who has established his hermitage here. He is reverentially referred as Naga Baba. It is said of him that he performed *tapasya* in a loin cloth on the snow-covered ridges and finally settled at Brahmaur some 60 years back. He is keenly interested in the development of the area as well as renovation of the old historical temples. It is mainly through his efforts that some improvement in the Chaurasi area has been brought about. He was also instrumental in arranging the supply of drinking water to the village. He is highly esteemed and venerated by all concerned and is reported to be above 90 years old.

Physical Aspects

Brahmaur is situated at a height of 7,007 feet. It sprawls over gentle and gradual hill slope.

The summer is pleasant, the weather remains generally dry, but occasionally there are a few showers of rain. The average of the last ten years from 1952 to 1961 show that the average yearly rain and snow fall varies between 22.33"—80.77" and 126"—288". The winters are severe and most of the villagers migrate to low lying areas.

Configuration

The configuration of the region is given in 'The Revised Working Plan for Upper Ravi Forests'.

"The two main ridges, which divide the region of Upper Ravi from Kangra on the south and from Range-Lahaul on the north are lofty precipitous, with peaks over 19,000 feet high, and from these ranges a series of spurs spread out to the main valleys. At the lower elevations the spurs are broader and the slopes less pronounced. The side valleys between these spurs are 10 to 20 miles long and are often watered by fine streams. The demarcated forests occur in all situations, but rarely extend below 5,000 feet or above 9,500 feet, the greater part of their area being between 6,000 and 8,000 feet. In the higher portions of the main valleys they reach down to the bank of the rivers, and in other places they lie 2 to 3 miles from a stream. The slopes vary greatly and are less than 25 degrees. In this plan if less than 35 degrees they are described as moderate, average between 35 and 40 degrees, steep between 40 and 45 and very steep when 45 degrees. The more precipitous forests are often intersected with pretending rocks and cliffs. Others are interrupted with land-slips and a few are such remote situations that they can only be reached with difficulty." (Source—Range Officer, Brahmaur).

Geology, Rock and Soil

According to the notes on the geology of Chamba, the mountains are formed for the most parts of slate rocks of the Silurian age, resting on a central mass of granite or granitoid gneiss. When the slates are not metamorphosed by contact with the granite, generally resemble the typical Simla slates. Conglomerates: these consist of slaty schistose matrix containing pebbles of all sizes

and shape round to angular. Sometimes veins of white to blue or grey quartz are also common; and in some places massiru bands of dark pale blue (weathering buff) sub-crystalline lime stone and hard greyish green trap are found. The soil is more or less clayey. Sometimes stiff yellow or white clay, but except in these instances the soil is fertile for tree growth.

Flora

The trees, plants, shrubs, climbers and herbs found in the region of Brahmaur are:—

TREES AND PLANTS

English Names	*Scientific Names*
Himalayan Silver Fir	Abies Pindrow
Himalayan Maple	Acer spp
Indian Horse Chestnut	Aesculus spp
Indian Birch	Alnus spp
Bix wood	Betula spp
Bix wood	Buxus sempervirens
Deodar	Cedrus Deodara
Nettle wood	Bellis australis
Indian Hazel	Borylus spp
Himalayan Cypress	Cuperssus torrulosa
Himalayan Ash	Fraxinus floribuuda
Walnuts	Juglans regia
Indian Juniper	Juniperus macropoda
Machilus	Machilus spp
Mulberry	Morus spp
Himalayan spruce	Picea Morinda
Indian Poplar	Populus spp
Indian willow	Salix spp
Yew	Taxus Baccata

SHRUBS AND CLIMBERS

Vernacular Names	*Scientific Names*
Garol	Clematis orientalis
Kehmal	Barleris vulgeris
Papper	Euonymus Hamiltonianus
Shagal	Indigogera Geradiana
Prih	Desmodium tiliacfolium
Jammu	Prunus prostrata
Kone	Spiraea sorbifilia
Akhron	Rubus chambica
Karer	Rosa Macrophylla
Bakru	Deutzia Carymbosa

SHRUBS AND CLIMBERS—*contd.*

Vernacular Names	*Scientific Names*
Killer	Parrotia Jacquemontiana
Bakhrey	Lonicera quinquelocularis
Sarngar	Rhododendror Campanulatum
Sune	Jasminum Humile
Bithal	Juniperus

HERBS

Vernacular Names	*Scientific Names*
Kuth	Saussurea Lappa
Dhoop	Jurineaura cropoda
Banafsa	Viola adorata
Ban Kakru	Podophyllum Emodo
Mushak Bala	Valeriano Wallichi
Thuth	Salviamoorcrofliana
Zira	Caumbulbieastanium
Banchuk	Banchuk

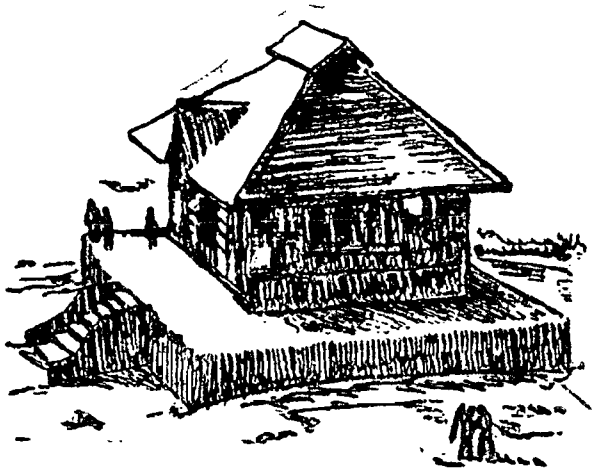
Only *dhoop* and *kuth* are extracted. The Forest Department charges Re. 1/- for a permit to extract herbs.

Fauna

Vernacular Names	*English Names*
Tahr, Mehi and Karth	Thar
Pij and Ghorrur	Goral
Chita & Rochh, Bagh, Chitra & Mirg	Leopard or Panther
Shikara	The Indian Marten or Pine Marten
Lal Bhalu, Lal Richh & Brakhu	The Brown Bear
Bhalu, Kala Bhalu & Richh	The Himalayan Black Bear
Monal, Karrari & Nilwal	Impeyan Pheasant
Phulgar	The Western Horned Pheasant
Kiklas and Phokras	The Pukras or Koklos Pheasant
Kolsa	The White-crested Kalij
Golaund	The Himalayan snow-cock
Chokor	The Chukar or Chikor

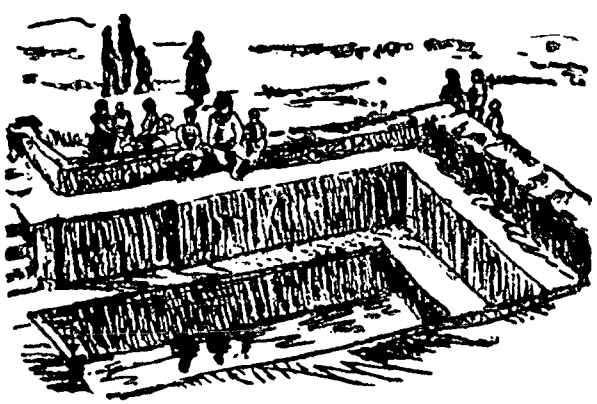
Water Supply

The only source of drinking water commonly called *panihar* is in the Chaurasi locality. This is fed by the Brahmani pool through pipes. This has saved them the botheration of going all the distance to Brahmain pool to fetch water.



A temple in Chaurasi

The other source of water is the *bowli* known as *Ardh Gaya.* It is also situated within the Chaurasi area. There is an interesting legend about this *bowli.* The waters are also held sacred. Once in the old old past Lord Shiva accompanied by Parvati and their son Ganesa were strolling here. Parvati remembered that the day was auspicious for having a dip in the holy water at Gaya. She expressed her desire to go there. Lord Shiva expressed his inability to fulfil her wishes. Parvati was naturally dismayed and dejected Ganesa, seeing his mother in distress, shot an arrow at the spot and water gushed forth from 7 spouts. One of these is believed to pour milky water. It is believed that this *bowli* is made up of waters of all the holy rivers and springs of India and a dip would wash off all sins. It was, therefore, named as *Ardh Gaya* meaning half as sacred as *Gaya.* The *bowli* has been renovated recently. People can wash their clothes outside the *bowli.*



Ardh Gaya

Size

Lying over an area of 138 acres and having 146 households the village has a population of 720 (381 men, 339 women). The age groups into which the population can be divided are—

Total of all ages			0—4		5—9		10—14	
Persons	Males	Females	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
720	381	338	65	56	42	47	38	35

15—19		20—24		25—29		30—34	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
27	34	42	42	43	38	32	16

35—44		45—59		60 & over		Age not stated	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
36	27	34	25	22	19	..	..

During the year 1960-61 there were, in the village 14 births and 6 deaths.

Market and Administrative Institutions

The village serves as a small marketing centre for the surrounding areas. There are 14 shops, 4 of which are of general merchants, 1 of a confectioner, 3 of tailors, 2 small tea and snack stalls and 1 of barber who comes only in Summer. A shoe-maker also comes from Kangra to ply his trade. All the goods are imported from Chamba or in some cases from Amritsar and out. On account of difficult means of communications the rates of commodities are higher. There are located the offices of the Naib-Tehsildar, who also acts as Magistrate II Class, B.D.O., Forest Range Officer, Assistant District Inspector of Schools, Inspector of Panchayats, Section Officer, P.W.D., and Excise Sub-Inspector. Besides this, the village has a civil hospital under the charge of a Medical Officer, and Maternity & Child Welfare Centre, Veterinary Hospital, Higher Secondary School for Boys, Middle School for Girls, Kanya Chhatravas and a Police Post. The postal department maintains a Branch Post Office.

History

The village might have been founded in the middle of the 6th century. Maru, the father of the first ruling chief Jaisthambha, settled here. According to a local legend, it is older even than that and is believed according to the common belief, to be the *vatika* of goddess Brahmani. She used to reside where her shrine now stands on the ridge. This is the source of the Brahmani nullah. Brahmani Devi was a Brahmani whose son was very fond of a pet *chakor*. The *chakor* was killed by a peasant and the boy died of grief. His mother burnt herself alive alongwith the dead body of her son and the *chakor* and her spirit started afflicting the people. So they raised her to the status of a deity and built her temple. This legend says that god Shiva with 84 *sidhs* once came to rest in this *vatika* on his way to Mani Mahesh. When goddess Brahmani, the presiding deity of the place, saw the smoke of the fires lit by the *sidhs* rising, she was angry on this unauthorised intrusion and assumed the terrifying *virat roop*. She came down to the place, ordered Shiva to move out at once. Shiva in all humility begged permission to stay for the night and promised to move out in the morning. The Devi reluctantly agreed to this prayer and retired to her abode on the ridge. When the night weared off, the 84 *sidhs* transformed themselves into 84 *lingas* because Shiva was determined to stay at the place. The place where these 84 *sidhs* stayed and subsequently transformed themselves into *lingas* is known as the 'Chaurasi'. Uptil today there are 84 big and small temples.

Shiva granted a boon to Brahmani Devi that all persons intending to go on pilgrimage to Mani Mahesh must have a dip in the Brahmani pool. Failing this their pilgrimage would not be acceptable to Lord Shiva.

Maru, father of the first recorded prince Jaisthambha in the Chamba Vanshawali was the first to settle at this place. He was a man of religious disposition and belonged to the ruling family of Ayodhya. Leaving his oldest son to look after the affairs of the parent State, he wandered from place to place in quest of peace and came to this part of the country. When he reached Kharamukh, he stayed at Ulansa above Kharamukh on the left bank of Ravi. The people of Brahmaur requested him to establish himself at Brahmaur proper, a better place. They narrate another legend about this. According to this Jaisthambha was the son of a ruling chief of some unnamed place in Rajputana and had fallen out with his father. He was turned out of the domain. Jaisthambha decided to renounce the world and approached a holy man whom he accepted as his *guru*. The holy man advised him to lead the life of a Rajput and directed him towards this area where he could establish his principality. When he reached Kharamukh with his followers, he was greeted by another saintly person. Agyachari Rishi, who was visited in his dream by Lord Shiva and directed to welcome the prince with the offerings of a *topa, chola* and *dora,* the attire of the god. Anyhow, according to the Chamba Vanshawali, the first prince who established his principality at Brahmaur was Jaisthambha, son of Maru.

The history of Brahmaur kings beginning from Maru to Sahila Varman, as given in the 'History of the Punjab Hill States', by J. Hutchinson, is:—

> "The original State was of very small extent, and in all likelihood comprised, at the most, only the present Brahmaur Wazarat, i.e., the valley of the Ravi from below Bara Bangahal with its tributaries, the Budhil and the Tundahen, as far down as Chhatrari.
>
> It would appear that Maru's rule was only nominal, for the Chronicle says that, having founded the State, he made it over to his son, and returned to Kalapa, where he again became a *sadhu*.
>
> After Maru several Rajas ruled in succession, but only their names are known. They were—Jaistambh, Jalstambh and Mahastambh.
>
> Aditya-Varman, c. A.D. 620—The name of Aditya-Varman appears as Adi-Varman in the Vansavali and is of very special interest, for it is twice mentioned in the Brahmaur inscriptions, in which he is referred to as the great-grand-father of Meru-Varman, by whose orders they were engraved; and he was the first of the Chamba line to assume the suffix of "Varman".
>
> There are several references to Chamba in the Kulu Chronicle, and the earliest of these probably refers to Aditya-Varman. It is to the effect that Brahmo Pal, Raja of Kulu, left no legitimate sons, and the Rajas of

Chamba (Brahmapura), Ladakh, Suket, Bushahr, Kangra and Bangahal made one Ganesh-Pal his heir. This note, if authentic, is interesting as showing that at that early period the Brahmapura State was recognised by all the neighbouring States, and was powerful enough to exert some influence in their internal affairs.

Bala-Varman, c. A.D. 640—The name of Bala-Varman is not found in the Vansavali; having been omitted probably by a clerical error. It occurs, however, in two of the Brahmaur inscriptions, in which Bara-Varman is called the grand-father of Meru-Varman.

Divakara-Varman, c. A.D. 660—In the Brahmaur inscriptions this Raja's name is found in its full form; but in the Vansavali, and the Chhatrari inscription, it occurs as Deva-Varman.

Meru-Varman, c. A.D. 680—As the name of Meru-Varman stands fifth in the Vansavali, after that of the previous Raja who was his father, it is clearly out of its proper place. The error must have crept in at an early period for all the existing copies of the Vansavali are alike.

Meru-Varman seems to have been one of the most notable of the early Brahmapura rulers. He was probably the first to extend the State boundaries by conquest, for in the Chhatrari inscription it is recorded that he dedicated the idol of Sakti Devi in gratitude for help against his enemies whom he had attacked in their strongholds and overcome. An inscribed stone has recently been found at Gun which was erected by a *samanta* of feudatory of Meru-Varman, probably a Rana, named Ashadha. From this it is clear that Meru-Varman's rule extended down the Ravi valley almost as far as the present capital. There is also a note in the Kulu Chronicle which almost certainly refers to him. In the reign of Sri Dateshawar-Pal, Raja of Kulu, there was war with Chamba (Brahmapura) in which the Kulu Chief was killed by Amar, Raja of Chamba. There is no such name on the Chamba roll; but it seems not improbable that Meru-Varman is the Raja referred to. Assuming this to be correct, it would appear that under Meru-Varman the Brahmapura State asserted its power, and carried its arms successfully into one at least of the neighbouring principalities. This is confirmed by the further note in the Kulu annals that Amar Pal, Raja of that State, while defending his country from another inroad of the Brahmapura Chief, was slain with all his sons, except one. This son, Sital Pal, was an exile for life, and he and five of his descendants never reigned, from which it would seem that Kulu remained subject to Brahmapura for a considerable period.

But Meru-Varman was not only a brave and warlike leader, he was also a great builder, and there are still in existence in Brahmaur many interesting remains, some of which are known to date from his time. They prove that even at that early period of its history the State possessed a considerable measure of wealth and material resources. The remains consist chiefly of temples, in a remarkably good state of preservation in spite of their long exposure to the weather. Their names are Mani Mahesa, Lakshana Devi, Ganesa and Narsingh. In front of the Mani-Mahesa temple is a brazen bull of life size, on the pedastal of which is a long inscription. This and the other two inscriptions, in the temples of Lakshana idols named, except that of Narsingh, and also of the brazen bull, to Meru-Varman. Tradition affirms that the Surajmukha shrine was also built by him, and in accordance with ancient custom, a Chamba Raja, when visiting Brahmaur, must pay his devotions at this temple before proceeding to his camp. The image of Sakti Devi at Chhatrari, with its inscription, has already been referred to as dating from the reign of Meru-Varman. Lands are said to have been assigned for the support of these temples, but no title-deeds have yet been found of an earlier date than the tenth century.

Meru-Varman was followed by several Rajas, of whom we know nothing but the names. These were—Mandar-Varman, Kantar-Varman, Pragalbh-Varman.

Ajia-Varman, c. A.D. 760—The Gaddi Brahmans and Rajputs have a tradition that they came to Brahmaur from Delhi in the reign of this Raja. It is also on record that when his son grew up to manhood Ajia-Varman initiated

him into the art of government, and then installed him as Raja. He thereafter retired to the junction of the Ravi and Budhil rivers near Ulansa where he spent the rest of his life in the worship of Shiva; and is said to have been translated to heaven.

Suvarn-Varman, c. A.D. 780.

Lakshmi-Varman, c. AD. 800—Lakshmi-Varman, had not been long in power. When the country was visited by an epidemic of a virulent and fatal character, resembling cholera or plague, large numbers fell victims to the disease, and the State was in a measure depopulated. Taking advantage of the desolation which prevailed, a people, bearing the name of 'Kira' in the Chronicle, invaded Brahmapura, and, having killed the Raja, took possession of the territory. It is uncertain who the Kira were. They are referred to in the Brihat Samhita in association with Kashmiris, but in such a manner as to show that the two nations were distinct from each other. Sir Aurel Stein is of opinion that they occupied the mountains north-east of Kashmir and they may, therefore, have been Tibetans or Yarkandis, as is the belief in Chamba. They also held Baijnath in the Kangra Valley, which was anciently called Kiragrama.

Kulu had probably remained under the sway of Brahmapura from the time of Meru-Varman; but it recovered its independence on the death of Lakshmi-Varman; for the Kulu Chronicle states that its Raja obtained help from Bushahr and expelled the Chamba (Brahmapura) troops.

Mushan-Varman, c. A.D. 820—Lakshmi-Varman left no son, but his *rani* was enceinte at the time of his death, and an interesting legend has come down to us regarding the birth of her child. On the defeat and death of the Raja, the *wazir* and *purohit,* or family priest, had the *rani* put into a *palki* and carried off towards Kangra. On reaching the village of Garoh, a little beyond Deol, in the Trehta *ilaqa* of the Upper Ravi Valley, she felt the *pains of labour coming on,* and desiring the bearers to put down the *palki,* went into a cave by the wayside, and there her son was born. Thinking it better to leave the infant to perish than run the risk of his capture by their enemies who were in pursuit, she left him in the cave and returning to the *palki* resumed her journey. Suspicion was, however, aroused, and, on being closely questioned, the *rani* confessed that she had given birth to a son, and left him in the cave. The *wazir* and the *purohit* at once went back, and found the young prince, with a number of mice surrounding and keeping guard over him; and from this circumstance he was named Mushan-Varman. The villagers still shew the stone on which he is said to have been laid. Having recovered the child the party proceeded on their journey to Kangra. There the *rani* took up her residence in the house of a Brahman whom she made her *guru,* and remained eight or nine years under his protection, without disclosing her identity. One day the boy happened to tread on some flour sprinkled on the floor, and the Brahman, on seeing his foot-print, recognised it to be that of a royal person, and the mother being questioned made known her relationship to the Brahmapura royal family. The Brahman thereupon conducted her and the child to the Raja of Suket, who received them kindly, and had Mushan-Varman provided for, and carefully educated. He grew up intelligent and brave, and received the Raja's daughter in marriage, and with her as dowry a *jagir* in the *pargana* of Pangna, and other large presents. Mushan-Varman was also furnished with an army, and returning to Brahmapura he drove out the invaders and recovered his kingdom.

Nothing is on record about him after his return, but the killing of mice is said to have been prohibited by him on account of the services rendered by these animals in his infancy. This custom still obtains in the Chamba royal family, and a mouse caught in the palace is never killed.

After Mushan-Varman the following Rajas ruled in succession, but nothing is known regarding any of them—Hans-Varman; Sar-Varman; Sen-Varman; Sajjan-Varman; Mrtyanjaya-Varman.

Sahila-Varman, c. A.D. 920—Sahila-Varman holds a very conspicuous place in the State annals, for it was he who conquered the lower Ravi

Valley, and transferred the seat of government from Brahmapura to the new capital, which he had founded at Champa. It was probably in the beginning of his reign that another invasion of Kulu took place. The war lasted twelve years, and then a peace was patched up. The Kulu people invited the Brahmapura soldiers to a feast which was held at night, and in the darkness the latter were inveigled down to the banks of the Beas near Rahla, where they fell over the precipices and were killed.

Shortly after Sahila-Varman's accession Brahmapura was visited by 84 *yogis*, who were greatly pleased with the Raja's piety and hospitality; and, as he had no heir, they promised him ten sons. They were invited to remain in Brahmapura till the prediction was fulfilled and in due course ten sons were born, and also a daughter, named Champavati.

Meanwhile Sahila-Varman had been engaged in extending his rule, and had brought under his sway all the petty Ranas who still held the lower portion of the Ravi Valley. On this expedition he was accompanied by Charpatnath, one of the *yogis*, and also by his queen and daughter. Previous to its occupation by Sahila-Varman, the plateau on which the town of Chamba stands was within the domain of a Rana, who had conveyed it in *sasan* or gift to a family of Kanwan Brahmans. Champavati, the Raja's daughter, took a great liking to the place, and asked her father to found a town and make it his capital. Sahila-Varman was desirous of acceding to her wish, but all the land fit for building purposes had passed into the hands of the Brahmans, and he was unwilling to dispossess them. At length an arrangement was effected, whereby, in recognition of their proprietary rights, eight *chaklis*—Chamba copper coins—were promised in perpetuity on the occasion of every marriage in the town. The land was then given up, and the above condition has been observed ever since. The Raja then founded the town, and named it Champa after his daughter.

An interesting and pathetic legend has come down to us in connection with the settlement of the new capital. There was no good and convenient water supply, and the Raja was anxious to meet this need. He therefore had a water-course made from the Sarohta stream round the shoulder of the Shah Madar Hill, behind the town. For some reason the water refused to enter the channel prepared for it, and, in accordance with the superstitious notions of the time, this was ascribed to supernatural causes. The spirit of the stream must be propitiated, and the Brahmans, on being consulted, replied that the victim must be either the *rani* or her son. Another tradition runs that the Raja himself had a dream in which he was directed to offer up his son, whereupon the *rani* pleaded to be accepted as a substitute. The Raja was unwilling to accede to her wish, and wanted to offer some one else, but she insisted that if there must be a sacrifice she should be the victim. Her wish prevailed, and, accompanied by her maidens, and bare-headed as for *sati*, she was carried up the hill to the spot near the village of Balota, where the water-course leaves the main stream. There a grave was dug and she was buried alive. The legend goes on to say that when the grave was filled in the water began to flow, and has ever since flowed abundantly.

Yugakar, the son and successor of Sahila-Varman, mentions his mother's name in the only copper-plate of his reign which has been found. It was Nenna Devi, and she may possibly have been the *rani* referred to. In memory of her devotion a small shrine was afterwards erected by her husband on the spot, at the top of the present flight of steps, where she is said to have sat down to rest. A *mela* was also appointed to be held yearly from the 15th of Chait to the 1st of Baisakh. It is called the *Suhi mela*, and is attended only by women and children of all castes who, in their gayest attire, climb the steps to the shrine, and there sing the *rani's* praises and present their floral offerings. They are entertained at the Raja's expense on this occasion. The steps are not ancient having been constructed by Rani Sarda, queen of Raja Ajit Singh, A.D. 1794—1808.

There can be little doubt that the legend is founded on fact. Such a sacrifice was quite in keeping with the spirit of the

times and it is noteworthy that the *mela* has been held from time immemorial, affording strong proof of the truth of the story as related. It is significant, too, that, although a death in the royal family during any other *mela* necessitates its immediate suspension, this does not apply in the case of the *Suhi mela* which is never interrupted.

Another legend has also been handed down by tradition in connection with the founding of the Champavati or Chamasni Temple, probably the first erected by Sahila-Varman in Chamba. His daughter, Champavati, was of a religious disposition, and used to visit the place of a *sadhu* for conversation. Suspicion was instilled into her father's mind, and he followed her on one occasion with a drawn sword in his hand, only however, to find that the house was empty. As he entered, a voice came from the stillness upbraiding him for his suspicions, and telling him that his child had been taken from him as a punishment. He was further commanded to erect a temple to her on the spot where he stood, to atone for his sin, and evert calamity from his house. The temple was accordingly built, and named after his daughter, who is there worshipped as a goddess. It is regarded as the family temple of the Chamba Rajas, and a *mela* has been held in connection with it from time immemorial, from the 1st to the 21st Baisakh. Until recent years it was customary for the ruling Chief to make a daily visit during the *mela* to certain temples in fixed rotation, always starting from and returning to that of Champavati, but this custom has now fallen more or less into disuse. Sahila-Varman also erected several other temples in Chamba, which are still in existence. The earliest of these are believed to have been the Chandragupta and Kameswara temples, built for two idols of Shiva which the Raja took out of the Sal stream near its junction with the Ravi. This he did while bathing, and under the guidance of Charpatnath.

Of the other temples erected by Sahila-Varman the principal one is that of Lakshmi-Narayana, or Vishnu, in association with which a curious legend has been preserved. Being desirous of raising a temple to Vishnu, the Raja sent nine of his sons to the marble quarries in the Vindhya Mountains, to bring a block of marble for an image. They were successful in this mission, but on beginning to cut the slab it was found to contain a frog. As this was considered to render it unsuitable for the primary purpose for which it was intended, this slab was used in making some smaller images. These were the *trimukha,* or three-faced image of Shiva; a small image of Ganpat now in the Chandragupta Temple; and also that of a small goddess, possibly Lakshmi, wife of Vishnu. The young princes were sent to bring another block, but were all killed by robbers on their way back. On this news reaching Chamba, Sahila-Varman sent his eldest son, Yugakar, who was also attacked, but receiving help from some *sanyasi gosains,* he destroyed the robbers, and returned with a slab, from which the image of Vishnu was made, and set up in the temple prepared for it. Sahila-Varman is also said to have built the Chandrasekhara Temple at Saho, for an idol found in the Sal stream near that place, but this is incorrect.

When all the temples were finished, lands were assigned for their support; but no copper-plates of Sahila-Varman's time have yet been found.

The original palace at Chamba must also have been erected by Sahila-Varman, and it doubtless occupied the same site as the present building.

In all matters connected with the settlement of the new capital the Raja was guided by the advice of the *yogi* Charpatnath; and in recognition of this a shrine was afterwards erected to him near the Lakshmi-Narayana Temple, where *puja* is done morning and evening. This shrine is ascribed to Sahila-Varman, but it probably dates from a later period.

The only coin special to Chamba is the *chakli,* five of which make an anna, and it has been in use in all likelihood from ancient times. On it Sahila-Varman caused to be struck a pierced ear, the symbol of a *yogi,* in honour of Charpatnath, and this has been continued down to the present day. The later Rajas added the Vishnu-pad, or feet of Vishnu on their coins. There

is no tradition of a silver coinage ever having been current, but a silver coin was for a time ascribed to Asata-Varman c. A.D. 1080.

Sahila-Varman stands out as the most conspicuous personality on the long roll of the Chamba Chiefs; and his name is still a household word throughout the State. Though his son, Yugakar, makes no special reference to him in the copper-plate of his reign, there are reasons for believing that his martial qualities were recognized far beyond the bounds of the State, and that his conquests were not confined to the Ravi Valley. Two copper-plates have come to light in which some of the events of his reign are alluded to, and after making due allowance for hyperbole and exaggeration, it seems probable that the references are founded on fact. The first of these plates was granted by Soma-Varman, and the second by Soma and Asata, sons of Salavahana-Varman, they date from A.D. 1056—66. i.e. about 120 years after Sahila-Varman's death, when his name and fame would still be fresh in the memory of the people, and deserve mention in this history. After the customary introduction it runs as follows:—

"From his residence at the glorious Champaka, the highly devout king (Soma-Varman), an ornament of the spotless house of Sahila-Deva, who (Sahila) was a fresh rain-cloud to extinguish in a moment the mighty blazing fire of the Kira forces; fanned as by the wind by the Lord of Durgara, assisted by the Saumatika; whose army was manifestly crushed by the fearful frown on his brow; whose alliance was humbly sought by the ruler of Trigarta, subdued by force; who was asked the favour of his bestowing royalty in return for services by his kinsman, the Lord of Kuluta, anxious to render him homage; who by the weight of battle had broken, like a wide-spreading tree, the large force of the Turushka on whom wounds had been inflicted: who bore the fortunate name of Karivarsa (elephant rain) on account of the continuous and stable generation of his posterity, joyfully granted by the Lord Bhaskara, whose mind was made fully contented with gladness by the gift of a multitude of elephants whose flat cheeks were covered with a swarm of bees, attracted by the scent of the rut-secretion, and which were bestowed in Kurukshetra at the time of an eclipse; who had made the circuit of the seven worlds fragrant by his fame, painted with the ink-brushes, which were the mouths of all the princes assembled on that occasion; who by his unequalled kindness and compassion, combined with unsurpassed bravery, generosity, firmness, and unfathomable profoundness has impaired the fame of heroes like the sons of Jamadagni (Parasurama), Sibi, Karna, Yudhishthira; whose wide-spread greatness, brilliant with matchless and universal effulgence, was renowned like that of Sudarakasvamideva by looking upon whose lovely presence the eyes of the world have been made fruitful; who by his fury in setting in array a thousand battles, acquired such names as Sahasanka (marked by rashness), Nissankamalla (Dauntless wrestler), and Matamata Sinha (roaring lion).

With one exception all the names in the quotation are fairly well known, and the references are of great historical interest. As regards the Kira, we have seen that they were a people located in the mountains in the vicinity of the Kashmir Valley. They conquered Brahmapura in the time of Lakshmi-Varman, and they are here represented as having again invaded the State. They were assisted by the Raja of Durgara, the ancient name of Jammu State, of which the present form is Dugar, still in common use. Who the Saumatika were is not quite certain, but most likely the inhabitants of Sumarta, in the Basohli State to the west of the Ravi, are indicated. Kashmir had from ancient times claimed an intermittent suzerainty over the hill tracts as far east as the Ravi; and the formidable array which is represented as advancing against Sahila-Varman was probably meant to assert and uphold this claim. They doubtless anticipated an easy victory, but a crushing defeat awaited them, for they are spoken of as having been dispersed by the Chamba forces as if by a frown on the Raja's brow.

The next reference is to Trigarta, the ancient name of Kangra, which at that early period also included Jalandhar and a large portion of territory on the plains, between the Satluj and the

Ravi. We are told that Sahila-Varman's alliance was sought by the Trigarta Chief, after a contest in which Chamba was victorious. With such a name for valour we may well believe that Sahila-Varman's conquests were not confined to the Ravi Valley; and the war with Trigarta suggests the probability of the Chamba Chief having carried his arms to the south of the Dhaula-Dhar, and annexed the whole southern fringe of that range, from the Ravi to Bir-Bangahal. There are said to be many traditions in Kangra pointing to an early occupation of these territories by Chamba. Kuluta is the ancient name of the principality of Kulu, and *it owed allegiance to Chamba in the* time of Sahila-Varman, as it had done at an earlier period. The two royal families were also connected by marriage.

The reference to the Turushka is in some respects the most interesting of all. This name was applied to all invaders of India from the North-West. Originally used for the Scythians, it came afterwards, to have an exclusive reference to the Muhammadans, who from the middle of the seventh century had begun to make their influence felt on the North-West Frontier. The Turki-Shahi dynasty, which had ruled Kabul and Peshawar for the centuries, was overthrown about A.D. 870, by the Brahman Wazir of the last Turki-Shahi king, who founded the Hindu-Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Udabhandapura, now Ohind on the Indus. There this dynasty continued to rule over the kingdom of Gandhara till A.D. 980, and thereafter at Lahore, till finally subdued by Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1021. As we learn from the *Rajatarañgini*, these kings were in alliance with Kashmir; and also doubtless with other States in the Punjab, which was for a long time in subjection to them. We may, therefore, conclude that contingents were sent by these States to help to oppose the onward advance of the fierce invaders from the west; and it was most probably in one of these frontier wars that Sahila-Varman came into conflict with the Turushka, and gained renown for himself by his valiant deeds.

The reference to Kurukshetra is in full accord with ancient custom in India.

Sahila-Varman did not spend the last years of his life in Chamba; probably the home of his early days had greater attractions for him. We may well believe that his reign was a long one in view of all that he accomplished; and when his work was done, and old age was creeping upon him, he abdicated in favour of his son, Yugakar, and retired to Brahmapura to spend the evening of his life in peace. There he dwelt as a *sadhu* in the company of Charpatnath and the other *yogis*, many of whose shrines are still pointed out on the small "green" where all the temples stand, and which for this reason is called the 'Chaurasi'. For the same reason the Chamba State is believed to have been originally subdivided into 84 *ilaqas* but they are less numerous now".

During all the military expeditions, the army of the kings of Brahmaur must have consisted in bulk of Gaddis, and it was why that even after the shifting of capital to Chamba, the Chamba forces were generally called as Gaddi Army.

2

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENT

Caste Composition

BRAHMAUR area is called Shiv Bhumi and is regarded as a *gadi* of Shiva. The people who inhabit it are mostly called Gaddis. At least this is the version given commonly. Sipis, Reharas belong to the scheduled castes. The Rathis who were the inferior Rajputs now call themselves as Rajputs. The tradition says that Khatris migrated here from plains at various times. The first Brahmaur King was accompanied by his followers and then the population was further augmented by migration of Khatris from the plains when religious persecution from Muslims became unbearable. The Brahmins came to serve the Rajputs and Khatris as priests and *purohits* and they are still continuing as such. The Sipis and Reharas are supposed to be the original inhabitants of the place who were later on conquered by the Rajputs. It was not possible to trace the origin of these two castes. Castes do not exist by occupation. A Khatri whether he is a blacksmith still retains his entity as a Khatri and continue to remain a member of that caste, although in Brahmaur proper, the blacksmiths are Sipis. They do not constitute a separate class as blacksmiths. The Brahmins, Rajputs and Khatris form the *swarans.*

The Gaddis as a whole are a very interesting people. They are sturdily built, very often bow legged and are capable of enduring great hardships, and are accustomed to exposure during all sorts of weather owing to migratory life which so many of them follow. They are simple, frank and careful and have very few needs which they mostly meet locally. The men keep on head short crop of hair with a long *tuft—Shikha-choti—* in the centre and are clean shaved with brushy moustache. Due to exposure to sun and rain, they have a slightly dark wheatish complexion. The general bearing is upright and manly. Their women are pleasing and comely. The practice of inter-marrying with the caste has to a great extent preserved the purity of blood. They are extremely tender hearted and use of force is shunned at all costs. They would rather yield than resort to a show of force. Murders are very rare and the offences are that of illicit distillation of liquor and minor forest offences. Their attitude towards children is also tender and it is rarely that a child is spanked for misbehaviour. Towards their elders they are deferential and are God-fearing. One would seldom dare take a false oath in a temple and try to get such a case settled through a court of law instead.

And yet it were these people that formed the main bulk of the army of kings of Brahmaur who carried their conquests to Kulu, Lahaul and Kishtwar. Shut up for so long in the fastness of the inaccessible area of Gaderan, they seem to have forgotten the martial deeds of their ancestors and have been a peace loving, self contained people. The changed times appear to have roused them from their lethargy and it was gathered that the Brahmaur sub-tehsil has contributed about 250 recruits to the Indian Army.

Caste ties are stronger although fear of ex-communication is now no longer dreaded. Still one would not like to break the caste laws. The family life is a sort of loosely-knit joint family system. As soon as the son gets married, he usually sets up a separate *chulah* under the same roof and will also continue to work on the common lands. The eldest member of the family or the father is regarded as head of the family and decisions are taken with his consent. He is no autocrat and always tries to meet the reasonable demands of others. This sort of joint family system takes away the bitterness that so often mars the joint family life

due to the constant bickering of the women over petty insignificant affairs. If still someone wants to break away with the family and sets up a new establishment he is always welcome to do so. By profession they are all agriculturists, although many of them rear sheep and goats. They also keep cows and bulls to till their land. They lead a simple life mostly self-contained because they wear home-spun, don't much depend upon imports, and except offering sacrifices at the altar, and a fondness for *sur*, they shun all show of violence, and have few vices and limited wants, and follow to a great degree, the teachings of Mahatama Gandhi. Very few of them are aware of the changes going on beyond their sphere of life, and are not interested in what goes on beyond the frontiers of Gaderan. In spite of their appearance of candour and simplicity, the Gaddis have a reputation of being good businessmen which is reflected by the well-known saying in the hills "*Gaddi Mittar Bhola, Dinda Topi Mangda Chola*" which means Gaddi friend is so simple that he demands in exchange coat for the cap. A brief mention of the Gaddi community in Brahmaur is given here—

Brahmins—They belong to the top-most class and the majority of them have migrated to Brahmaur in the reign of King Meru Varman. They wear the sacred thread and act as priests and *purohits*. When the capital was shifted to Chamba they lost the state patronage and took to other professions. At present some of them are shopkeepers. They are 248, in all, 138 men and 110 women. The common *gotras* of Brahmins are Vashisht, Bhardwaj and Gautam. These *gotras* are, however, divided into various *als* which are sometimes incorrectly described as *gotras* also such as *Dharakru Langhe, Phangtain* and *Sipainu*. Brahmins generally marry within their own caste though inter-caste marriages with Khatris/Rajputs have been recorded. Unlike the Brahmins of the lower hills, or the plains, the Brahmins of Brahmaur marry into their own *gotras* also. Thus there is no bar to the solemnisation of a marriage of a Vashisht boy with a Vashisht girl except that they should not be blood relations. Their mutual form of salutation is *namaskar* while from others it is *pairi pauna* to which the reply is *asis banchna*. The hill Brahmins are, by and large, non-vegetarians and so are the Brahmins of Brahmaur.

Rajputs/Khatris—It is believed that the Rajputs came to Brahmaur as soldiers first with the Brahmaur prince, Raja Jai Stambh. During the Muslim period a large body of Khatris is believed to have migrated to these hills from Lahore. These immigrants started having matrimonial relations with the Rajputs. Brahmins were not inclined to inter-marry with them, and the Khatris would not establish such relationship with scheduled castes. Rajputs and the Khatris came to be regarded more or less as one caste. It is not uncommon to find in a family the father calling himself a Rajput and the son styling himself a Khatri. They wear the *janeu*. The common form of salutation among the Rajputs/Khatris is *jai jai* to one another. They receive it from others and respond with *ram ram*. Their number is 295 (males 150 and females 145) which included 28 such Government employees who are posted there. In all there are 49 households of local Rajputs, who it appears have now changed over from Rathis to Rajputs. The main occupation of the Rajputs and Khatris is sheep breeding and agriculture and it is they who possess the largest number of sheep and goats, and are generally well-off. The Rajputs and Khatris are of Uttam and Bhardwaj *gotras*, with sub-castes as Kapur, Kondal, Dhanchu, Ranyan, Sahnu and Chunan. They too generally marry among themselves and also have inter-*gotra* marital relations leaving aside the blood relations.

Sipis and Reharas—The people of Gaderan, and for that matter of Brahmaur, do not regard Sipis and Reharas as belonging to Gaddi community. Outside Gaderan they may style themselves as Gaddis. There are 15 Sipi households with a population of 119 (59 males and 60 females). There is noly one Rehara household who carries on as silversmith and has only recently established in the village. The Sipis work as blacksmiths, musicians and *chelas* and are agriculturists also. A few of them also rear sheep and goats, but they do not work as cobblers and do not remove dead animals from the village. At marriage, a Sipi may also officiate as a barber and perform some of the duties performed by a barber elsewhere. He does not follow that profession.

House Pattern

This is a congested village and has little room for expansion. The village has been built up on the slopes reaching the Chaurasi area and the houses are not systematically planned. Houses have been built wherever a place was available. Sometimes there is a mushroom growth and sometimes the houses are a little spaced. The lanes and

bye-lanes are narrow, occasionally paved and mostly untidy. Each household has a courtyard paved with slates which is also used as *khalyan* and is enclosed by a parapet wall about 2 to 3 feet high. In fair weather, cattle, goats and sheep may be tethered in the courtyard. This is also used for sunning the grains, cutting firewood and other domestic chores, besides serving as a gathering place for the women to sit and gossip. The houses are generally two to three storeyed although a few of the houses have 4 storeys. Due to shortage of building space, the emphasis is, therefore, on building multi-storeyed houses, and the lower storey consists of one room called obra approximately 20′ × 14′. Houses with more than one room in a single storey, are very few. The *obra* has a sort of verandah in front of it and a *Manjhi, Paran* or *Sanari* in the verandah leads to the first floor called *bhor*. Similarly a staircase in the first floor leads to the second storey called *mandeh*. In some cases where the *obra* has no verandah, the staircase leads to the first floor from within the *obra* just near entrance called *dawri*. The *obra* is used for keeping the cattle, but if big enough, it is also used for staying. Sometimes it is partitioned, one portion being used for cattle and the other for residing. Agricultural implements are also stored in the *obra*. If the *obra* becomes too small for the livestock, then additional space is provided by constructing a cabinet called *ora* of rough and uneven planks of wood, just outside the *obra*. Instead of regular ventilators, small round or triangular holes called *tohlu* are provided in the walls which let in some light and fresh air without creating draught. If the house is only 2 storeyed, the *bhor* over the *obra* is the main room of the house. This is a living room, sleeping room, sitting room, store-room, and kitchen all rolled into one. In one corner of this *bhor*, a small space is paved with slates and an outlet provided for waste water. This is called *chara*, household utensils are cleaned here. This is where people bathe. A separate bath room is never provided. Similarly no lavatory is attached to the house and all go out to fields. The hearth is fixed in a corner of the *bhor*. The people are unaware of the use of chimneys and a loosely fixed slate in the roof is shifted to serve as an outlet for smoke. Whenever it rains or snows, the slate is replaced. Near the hearth is a *gharyali* about 1½′ high, used for keeping utensils and pitchers of water. Alongwith the hearth is a structure called *harpur* where food is kept warm by the heat of the hearth. The *bhor* has a verandah running full length in front of it. It is called *dragra*. Generally it is an open verandah, but a portion of it may be closed and the space used for storing grass. *Dragra* is a wooden construction. It is used for basking in the sun and for other purposes. If the house is 3 storeyed, the second floor is called *mandeh*. In that case, the *bhor* is used as a store-room and *mandeh* as the living room and the kitchen. Generally the *mandeh* has also a *dragra* running in front of it, but in quite a good number of cases, the *mandeh* is built over the *bhor* and the *dragra* to have quite a spacious room. Sometimes the 3rd storey is not fully completed and it is left open on 2 sides to give it a verandah-like shape. This is called *sal* and is used for storing grass, fire-wood. No cupboards or cornices are provided in the rooms but niches or *tiru* are provided to keep the family idols and *nags*.

Construction—A new house is constructed if the old one has become too small for the growing family and when finances are available. The size and design of the new house depends on all these factors. The main materials used for building the house are stones, timber and slates. No mortar is used. If there is vacant space near the old house, that is used for the construction of the new house, otherwise a new site is acquired and the *chela* of some deity is consulted who advises whether the site would foretell luck. It not, a *puja* is held as advised by the *chela* or the priest and a goat may have to be sacrificed. The timber is obtained at *bartandari* rates from the Forest Department. The people of Brahmaur are allowed to have timber from the Brahmni reserved forest and an application has to be submitted to the Forest Department after getting it recommended from the village Panchayat. The concessional rates at which the villagers get the timber are—

Diameter of tree in feet	Deodar	Kail	Fir	Chil	Shisham	Dauri
8—11	-/4/-	-/4/-	..	-/2/-	..	..
12—15	1/-/-	-/8/-	..	-/4/-	..	..
16—19	2/-/-	1/-/-	-/4/-	-/8/-	-/8/-	-/2/-
20—23	3/-/-	1/8/-	-/8/-	-/12/-	-/8/-	-/2/-
24—27	5/-/-	2/-/-	-/8/-	1/-/-	-/8/-	-/2/-
28 & above	7/-/-	2/-/-	-/8/-	1/-/-	-/8/-	-/2/-

The slates required for roofing are obtained from one of the 3 slate quarries situated within a radius of 2 miles from Brahmaur.

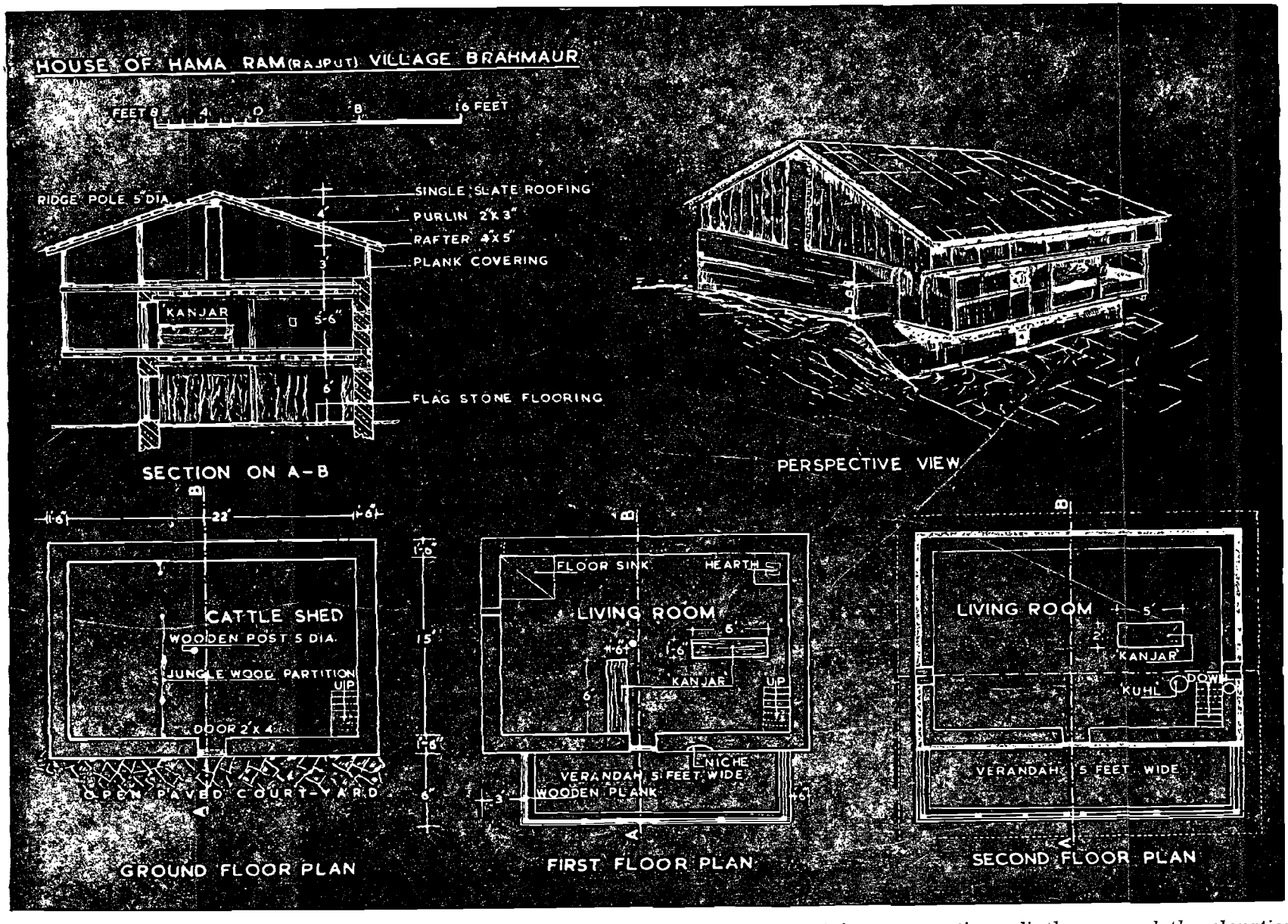
These are Simbar Khaan, Gossan Khaan and Basaur Khaan quarries. Stones are available near the village and for this too, a permit is obtained from the Forest Department. No royalty is paid for extracting slates and stones.

It is common practice in Brahmaur and around to requisition the help of all relatives and friends with whom the prospective house-owner had *bartan* for collecting the building material. This custom is not peculiar to Brahmaur Sub-Tehsil alone, and is practised under various names almost throughout Himachal Pradesh. Under this custom, every household has to send one person to participate in the cooperative effort, and the person who requisitions this help has to serve them with one time meals and *sur*. It is not only in the matter of collection of building materials for a house that the community help is sought, but resort may be made to this practice in all such undertakings where the owner may not be able to do it single-handed. Thus in the matter of erecting of retaining walls in the fields or harvesting the crop, this help may be sought for. Women also gather when they have to carry the manure to the fields although in such cases meals and *sur* may not be served. This is a help on reciprocal basis. With the changing times when community life is developping cracks, people are losing enthusiasm to participate in such collective ventures and prefer to engage labour on daily wages which at the current rate are about Rs. 2/- per diem per labourer.

As the construction of a house is a technical job, an experienced carpenter is engaged on a daily wage of Rs. 6/-. The carpenter may be of any caste as carpenters do not constitute a separate occupational caste here. In Brahmaur there is only one carpenter, a Brahmin. The villagers often get carpenters from Gossan, Schuin and Malkota, the neighbouring villages. For constructing Govt. buildings, masons from Chamba are engaged by the contractors. They are also paid Rs. 6/- per day. Foundations are dug to a depth of 2-3 feet and filled with loose stones without any mortar. The first step in the construction of a wall is to raise 2 to 4 pillars depending on the length of the wall. 2 of these pillars serve as corner pillars. *Thathra* of rough *thathar* 2 to 2½′ in length, 1½′ in breadth and 1″ thick are erected. The wooden planks are fixed alternatively and then the hollow space within is filled with dry masonry consisting of briller kind of stones of various sizes as shown in the photograph. The pillars are joined together by a set of horizonal planks of wood at an interval of 3 to 4 feet. The intervening space is filled with dry masonry and afterwards plastered with mud and cowdung. Sometimes the wall is made up of only wooden planks laid vertically on these horizontal planks joining the two pillars. Such walls are called *farque* and because of their lightness are generally raised while constructing the upper storey. A door which is generally low and about 5′ × 3½′ is fixed in the wall at the appropriate place and the wall is raised to a height when the first floor of wooden planks is laid. Due to the area being subject to gales, sometimes as fast as 80 miles per hour, the roofs are made of heavy slates and the super-structure for laying the slates consists of the *baranda* with *nhas*. The slates are fixed on *thathsaris*. The roofs are all gabled to drain off the rain water and snow. In Govt. buildings G.I. sheets are used as roofing material instead of the traditional slates.

A *puja* is held while laying the foundation stone and offering of a goat or sheep is made. A goat and sheep is again offered in sacrifice when the central beam of the roof is laid and some portion of the meat is tied to the beam to ward off evil spirits. When the construction is complete, a ceremony called *pratishtha* is held and a feast is thrown to all the relatives. The carpenter and the labourers also participate in the feast and *gur* is distributed among all present. God Shiva is offered a *nawala*. The word *nawala* seems to have been derived from the Sanskrit word 'Nav Alya' meaning a new house and with the passage of time, the worship of God Shiva came to be termed as *'Nawala'*.

There are in all 146 households with a population of 720 persons and the total number of rooms in the village available for this population is 268. Thus on an average, a room is shared by 2 to 3 persons. Of these 146 households, 80 households with 277 members have one living room for each household whereas 40 households with 245 members have 2 rooms each. There are only 12 households (91 members) having 3 rooms each. The number of households having more than 3 rooms each is very small as only 7 households have 4 rooms each and 3 households have 5 rooms each. There are only 4 such households who have 5 or more than 5 rooms each. Table below would show the number of households and the number of rooms occupied by each household caste-wise.



The line-drawing of a typical house at Brahmaur belonging to Hama Ram, Rajput giving cross-section, plinth area and the elevation

HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS AND BY NUMBER OF PERSONS OCCUPYING

Caste	Total No. of house holds	Total No. of rooms	Total No. of family members	Households with one room		Households with two room	
				No. of house-holds	Total No. of family members	No. of house-holds	Total N of family members
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Rajput	62	110	292	32	122	20	107
Brahman	48	85	251	27	90	13	92
Sipi	15	39	119	7	39	4	28
Rehara	1	3	9	..	..	..	..
Khatri	9	13	26	7	19	1	3
Nai	1	2	3	..	..	1	3
Muslim	1	2	8	..	..	1	8
Gupta	2	2	2	..	..	2	2
Sood	1	1	1	1	1	..	..
Mahajan	2	3	5	1	1	1	4
Unspecified	4	9	4	3	3	..	..

Caste	Households with three rooms		Households with four rooms		Households with five rooms		Households with more than five rooms	
	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members
1	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Rajput	7	40	1	7	1	8	1	8 (8 rooms)
Brahman	2	16	4	37	2	16	..	..
Sipi	2	16	1	19	..	..	2	17 (14 rooms)
Rehara	1	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
Khatri	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..
Nai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gupta	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sood	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.
Mahajan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Unspecified	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

For storing of grains no separate *kuther* is built as the grain is stored in wooden boxes called *kanjar*.

At the time of investigation, the offices of the Block Development Officer and the tehsil building were under construction. These buildings were not constructed according to the orthodox pattern. Villagers were critical of these buildings. They feel that the new building fashions were bound to be inoperative here due to the peculiar terrain of the area. Also there is a feeling that slates ought to have been used and not G.C.I. sheets. They point out to the cracks which some of the new buildings have suffered and perhaps there may be some substance in what they say! The construction evolved here is simple and not so complicated as for modern houses. When the house is ready it suits their needs. These houses can be repaired without much labour. There is resentment for the mode of obtaining timber from the Forest Department. The common feeling is that the entire procedure is lengthy and irksome as the applicant is driven from pillar to post in search of the permit. The permit sometimes is quite inadequate for their genuine demand and they are of the view that the system should be further simplified if they are to be saved from bother and fuss.

The building activities in Brahmaur have been rather slack. Only about 11 new houses were constructed in the post-independence period.

The interior of the house is dark and dingy as enough light is not admitted through the *tohlus* and the entrance is also low. White washing is seldom done and the soot emitted from the hearth keeps on depositing on the walls. It is only on festive occasions that the walls are given a new mud and cowdung coating. The houses are kept clean and swept daily. The walls are occasionally decorated with cheap printed pictures or calendars. The entrance is embellished with floral designs done with *geru*. No other colour is used.

Changes—During the course of investigation, three new houses were being built. The plinth was at a higher elevation than the *angan* and the *obra* had invariably a *verandah* before it. The plastering of the walls and pillars was also done in cement. Windows with iron bars were also provided in the walls. The insides of the new houses are increasingly being white-washed, and roofs are also being provided with ceilings. No varnish or paint is used.

Dress

The costume of the Gaddis, both men and women is characteristic and striking.

Head dress—The old head-dress of the men is of a peculiar shape with a flap round the margin, and a peak-like projection in the centre, said to represent the Kailas of Mani Mahesh. The flap is tied up for ordinary wear, but let down over the ears and neck in severe weather. The front is often adorned with dried flowers or beads. Sometimes with monal and tragopan feathers.

This style of head-dress is fast disappearing. What is commonly used is the *pagri* or a smaller woollen cap sometimes embroidered. A plain woollen cap without flaps, or a Gandhi cap and in some cases *bushahri* cap which is a round woollen cap with a front band of flaming red or deep green velvet is also in use.

Chola and Dora—A cotton shirt or *kurta* is worn and over it is worn a *pattu* coat, called *chola* reaching below the knees. It is made of whitish woollen cloth and acquires a greyish brown tinge on account of constant wear without having the good fortune of being washed rarely.

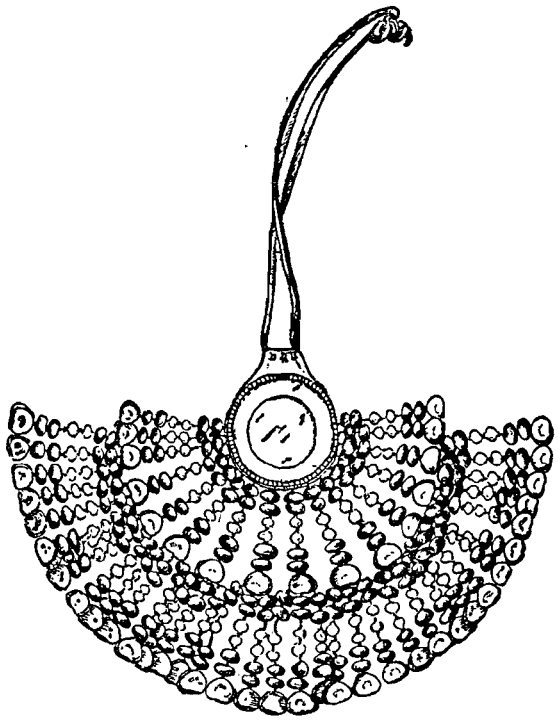
It has a deep collar, which hangs loose in two lapets in front, where one can stow away various articles such as needle and thread, pieces of paper and twine.

The *chola* gathered round the waist by a black rope worn in many lines. This is made of sheep's wool and is called *dora*. It varies from 40 to 60 yards in length and weighs about 2 to 3 seers. This *dora* being very strong is also used to lower oneself down cliffs to rescue sheep and goats, wherever occasion rises. In this waist-band are tucked a *kulhari*, a *bansuri* and often *a drat*. The coat is loose above the waist band; and in this receptacle called *khukh* the Gaddi carries many of his belongings. A shepherd on the march may have four or five new born lambs stowed away in his bosom, alongwith his daily food, a *bhojru* his *chilam* and other miscellaneous articles.

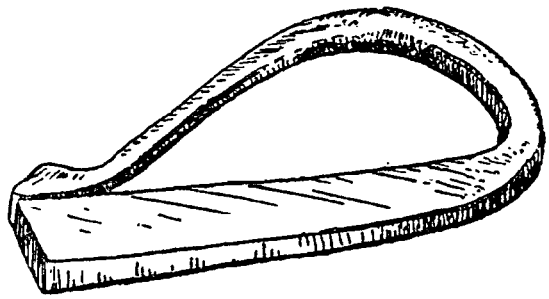
A Gaddi was carrying a small sleeping baby also in his *chola* when his wife felt tired.

It takes 20 to 25 yds. of *pattu* to make a *chola*.

Pyjama—The legs are generally bare but many wear *pattu pyjamas* loose to the knees for freedom of sitting and walking, but fitting tight at the lower part of the leg and ankle where it rests in numerous folds.



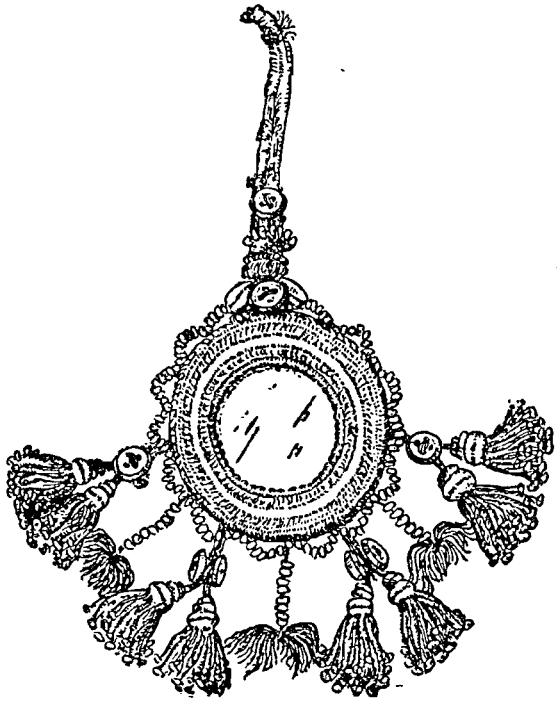
Gharat Chhatta



Runka



Mandua



Chiri

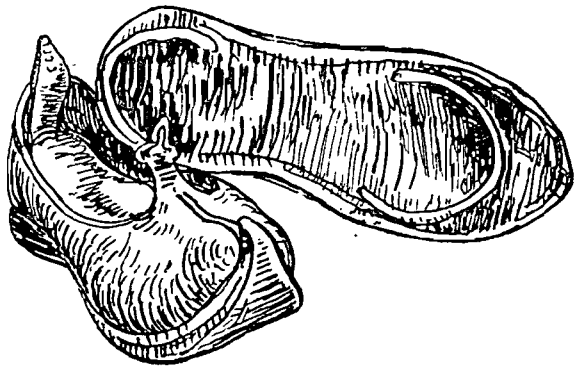
From the girdle there hangs a knife, a *runka* for striking a light, and a *mandua* in which his money and other small articles of every-day requirements are carried. He may also carry with him, *dangling* from the *dora*, a cheap round looking glass adorned with *rattis*. This is called *gharat* and the *jhalar* that hangs down below the mirror is called *Chhatta*. The hill people are fond of flowers and in the *topi* or *pagri* they have tuft of the wild flowers of the season, red berries, seeds of wild parasitical plants or other ornament.

The Gaddi women wear a shirt called *kurti* of cotton cloth and over it the *chola* or *cholu* made of *pattu*. It hangs straight like a gown from the neck to the ankles, and round the waist is the inevitable woollen cord or *dora* a little less in length and weight than the *dora* worn by men.

Luanchari—A cotton gown of a special pattern is common, and is called *luanchari*. It is worn in the same way as the *cholu*. It consists of a vest attached to a voluminous skirt reaching down to the ankles. The vest is sleeveless. Generally it is made of chintz. The vest and the shirt are made of the same cloth, but it is not uncommon to find the two pieces of the garment of different colours. The vest is in some cases, also adorned with frills of other superior bright coloured cloth. It takes about 16 to 25 yards of cloth to make a complete *luanchari*. The head is covered with a cotton piece of cloth about 2½ yards in length called *chadru*. It is white in the case of elderly ladies but usually coloured otherwise. Many other material used for *luanchari* is hand dyed in Hatli or in Kangra or parts of Hoshiarpur.

The people say that they assumed the garb of Shiva and Parvati when they settled in Brahmaur.

Footwear—The footwear used by the Gaddis is generally the *desi juta* which they purchase from the bazars of Chamba or some other place as none in Brahmaur works as cobbler. This shoe is very sturdy and the leather sole is further strengthened with tyre-soles. The women-folk wear lighter shoes and there is now a marked tendency to have factory made sandals. Many were found wearing Bata chapals and rubber shoes also. An interesting study was furnished by a family where the father had hunting shoes, the mother sandals, the eldest daughter Chamba chapals and the boy was putting on Bata bath chapals! The shepherds who have to cross high passes covered



Desi juta

with snow, put on *jarelus* which are a sort of home-made shoes of goat-hair. No leather is used in making these *jarelus* and the sole and upper portion both are made of the goat's hair. A *jarelu* does not last long and it wears soon, but then its use is also limited!

The Change—The majority of women of Brahmaur have so far retained their traditional dress, but they are not immune to the influence of the changing times. The school going boys and girls do not use this dress. The girls prefer *salwar* and *kamiz* and the boys *pyjama* and shirt with a coat and not the traditional *chola*. Instead of the homespun woollen cloth which is now used only for coats, mill-made cloth is used. Even those women who preferred to go in the traditional attire have changed their *chadru* for cheap artificial silken head-covers and in some cases nylon *dupattas* were also seen. The *kurti* underneath the *cholu* or *luanchari* is made of mill made cloth, if it is of a *khadi* cloth then they get these dyed in Hatli, Shahpur and Hoshiarpur district. A few among the old patriarchs also wear the traditional dress at festive occasions only, but in their day to day attire go about in shirt, *pyjama* and coat. It is not that people feel that their traditional dress is in any way inferior and less comfortable and cosy, but the irresistible march of time and the dissemination of new ideas must have its toll. In a silent conflict between the old and the new modes of life, it is invariably the former that is gradually vanquished and here also it is apprehended that the characteristic dress of these simple people will go off the stage and found preserved as a relic of the past. The woollen cloth for the *chola* is mostly prepared by the people. There are 4 tailors' shops in the village and they prepare the various articles of dress. They charge from Rs. 4/- to 5/- for

chola, 1/- for a shirt and -/8/- for a *pyjama*. The sewing charges for a coat and waist-coat are Rs. 8/- and 2/- respectively. In some cases, *chola* is tailored at home also. The *chola* is seldom washed and it is cast off when no longer usable. New clothes are put on at the time when the six *yatra* are held at Brahmaur. The other clothes are washed in cow's urine or even *ritha* but the clothes continue to emit the unpleasant smell thereafter. They also use decantation of ash for this purpose. Washing soap and soapnuts are now gradually replacing these old washing agents.

Hair style—The women keep long hair which they part in the centre and tie in a long braid at the back. To keep the hair in place, there are numerous thin plaits which are joined with the back braid. The braid are further augmented with a cotton or silken *puranda* generally of black colour although *purandas* of red colour are also commonly used by the younger women. Ribbons are not used, but hair-pins may be. *Sarson* or *til* oil is used for dressing the hair. The hair are combed generally with the help of a small wooden comb or *kanghi*, but plastic combs may also be used. The newly wed girls put red vermilion in between the parted hair called *mang*, and they use *bindi* on the forehead of the same material. Some of the older women with gray hair were found to have used *mehandi* or *hena* which dyes the hair a reddish colour. On enquiry about the use of *mehandi* they laughingly skipped over the real answer and gave out that the application of *hena* was useful in keeping the head cool, and keeping off headaches! The young maidens also adorn their hair with duck feathers, tucked behind the ears, which are attractive. These are generally used on fairs, festivals and marriages. The men keep their hair short. Since there is no regular barber in the village, and one from Kangra opens his shop only for a few months in the summer, where he carries on an open-air business, sometimes under the shade of a tree near the school-building, the people have learnt to cut each other's hair generally with the help of a pair of shearing scissors. The style of the hair may not be very pleasant to the eyes but it serves their purpose well. The central tuft of hair is generally left in tact and is kept knotted.



Duck feathers

The hair are cleansed by the women once a while. The use of *rithe* and soap is increasing.

Ornaments

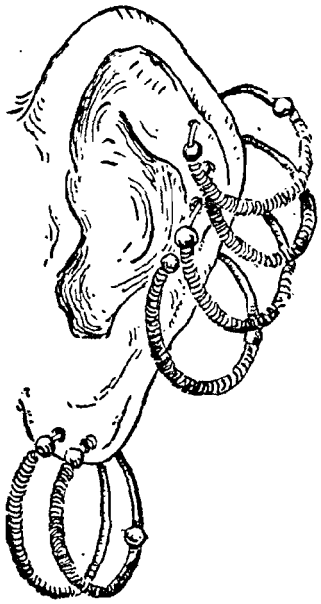
Women love jewellery. Where this urge cannot be met by expensive jewellery, tinsels are used and where even tinsels are wanting, this love manifests itself in wearing wreaths and flowers. A Gaddi woman yields to none for her penchant for ornaments. In the absence of any banks and where the mode of life of all members of a community was practically the same, the jewellery also reflected the material well-being of a person. The more the number of ornaments, the better off a person is considered to be economically. The ornaments worn by the women are many but one may not possess all these Ornaments. These are mostly of traditional design and are heavy. Excepting a few light gold ornaments, all ornaments are made of silver. It is only occasionally someone can afford to have gold ornaments. These ornaments are prepared by the village silversmith or are purchased at the time of Brahmaur *yatra* which is also attended by jewellers from Hatli Kangra and Amritsar. These jewellers also exchange old jewellery for new ones. The ornaments worn by the Gaddi women are—

ORNAMENTS FOR THE HEAD

Chaunk—This is a bowl sort of ornament which is fastened on the head. Generally it weighs 6 to 10 *tolas* in weight. This is a silver ornament but well-to-do Gaddis do have golden *chaunk* weighing 2 to 3 *tolas*. Along with the central *chaunk*, it is customary to have a pair of small *chaunks* which are fastened just behind the ears.

Chiri—It is a silver ornament fastened to the hair by a chain connected to a flat round silver sheet studded with beautiful immitation pearls. The flat round silver sheet falls on the forehead. The weight of the ornament is 6 to 8 *tolas*.

Clip—Silver ornament fastened to the hair just above the ears, by means of a pin which is a part of the ornament. This weighs 1 to 2 *tolas*.



Pher

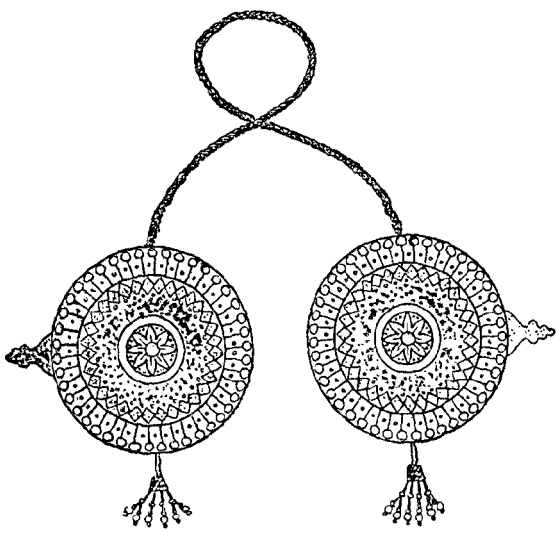
ORNAMENTS FOR THE EAR

Pher—Are 4 to 5 small ear-rings worn in each ear. They weigh 6 to 8 *tolas.*

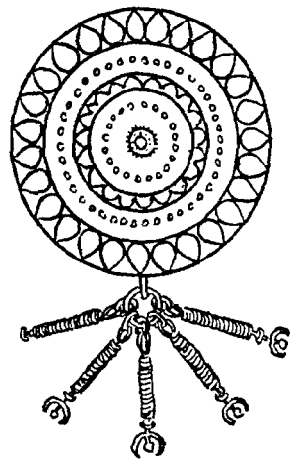
Bali—Golden ear-ring weighing 1 *tola.*

Jhumkas—This is also an ear ring.

Dhodku Jhumku—These are two silver tops of big size fastened to chain strings in three or four folds.



Dhodku Jhumku



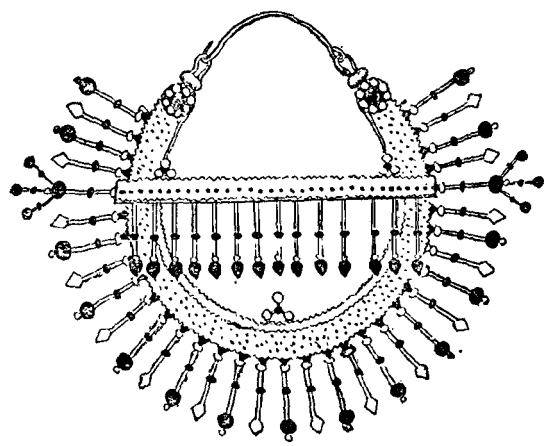
Bunde

Bunde—Are tops of a smaller size and three or four small silver chains with small balls are made to suspend from its bottom. A pair of *bunde* weighs half to one *tola.*

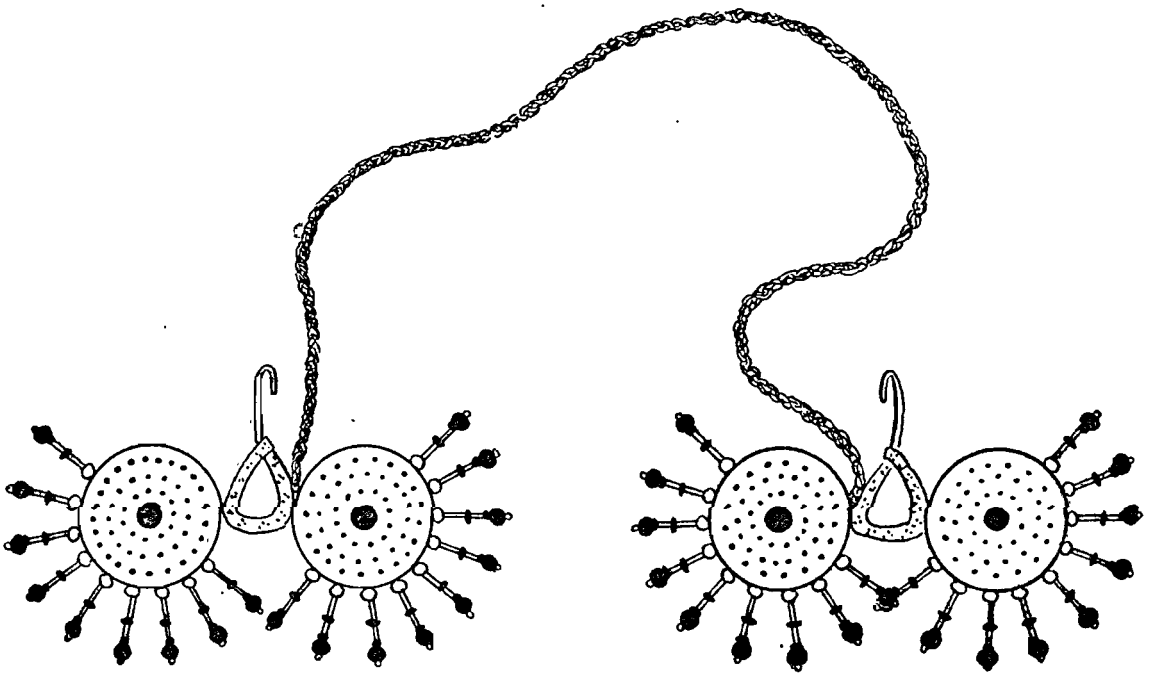
Litkani—This is a sort of *bunde* with the main body triangular.

Chalik or Kante—An ear ornament of silver, which weighs 7 to 8 *tolas.*

Kanbali—An ear-ring of bigger size. A pair of *kanbali* weighs 7 to 8 *tolas.*



Kanbali



Tungni

Tungni—Like a pair of tops fastened together. A hook is fixed in between these two tops. A pair of *tungni* weighs 1½ to 2 *tolas*.

Kan-Phul—A bunch of silver flowers weighing a *tola*.

ORNAMENTS FOR THE NOSE

Balu—A large nose-ring studded with immitation pearls of cheap type. A *balu* is a golden ornament weighing two to five *tolas*.

Blauk—A golden ornament for nose. It suspends from the central wall of the nose and weighs 6 to 8 *mashas*.

Long—Is a gold studded nose top.

Tili—A small nose top.

ORNAMENTS FOR THE NECK

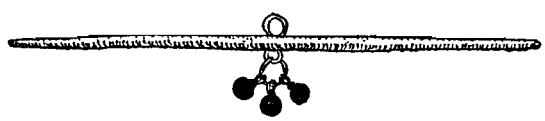
Kapoor ki Mala—This is a rosary of coloured beads of some hard substance. The Gaddis bring these from Lahaul. It costs up to Rs. 400/- each.

Jo-Mala—A silver necklace containing beads weighing 20 to 25 *tolas*.

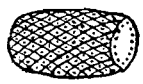
Chandan Har—A silver heavy type of necklace weighing 30 to 40 *tolas*.

Champa Kali—A silver necklace of thin silver cylinders each about 1 inch to 1½ inch in length. Each cylindrical piece is pointed at the ends. There is a hook in the centre and it is tied around the neck by means of thread. It weighs one *tola*.

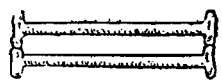
Ralu—This is a silver hollow cylinder bulging out in the centre. It is also tied tightly around the neck. It weighs 1 *tola*.



Nadi



Ralu



Nalain

Nadi—This is just like *ralu* with the difference that instead of its centre, the two ends are bulging out. Its length is also more than *ralu*. It weighs about 1 *tola*.

Manj—This is a rectangular frame of silver wire with round corners. Two silver wires are also attached breadth-wise in the centre. It is also tied around the neck by a thread. It weighs 1¼ *tolas*.

Nalian—These are two thin cylinders joined together. It weighs about 1.75 *tolas*.

ORNAMENTS FOR THE WRIST

Kangru—Round hollow silver bracelets weighing 5 to 10 tolas.

Toke—Flat silver bracelets weighing 15 to 20 *tolas*.

Banga—Silver bangles weighing 15 *tolas*.

Gajru—Round silver solid bracelets. The two ends of a *gajru* are not joined. These ends are of different shapes. Most prominent is the 'Head of lion'.

ORNAMENTS FOR THE FINGERS

Mundri (*Chhap*)—Gold ring of ½ to 1 *tola* in weight.

ORNAMENTS FOR ANKLES AND FEET

Ghumkru—Copper anklets weighing 1 to 1½ seers.

Tore or Panjeb—Silver anklets 12 to 15 *tolas* in weight.

Anguthare—Silver ring for big toe.

Anguthari—Silver ring for toes.

OTHER ORNAMENTS

Autar—These are thin rectangular silver pieces of different sizes. Pictures of goddesses are embossed on these leaves.

Moglu—Silver cuff-links.

Arsi—A finger ring with triangular looking glass fixed on a golden triangular thin slab, attached to it. It weighs 1½ to 2 *tolas* and is worn on the thumb.

Dast Panja—A golden ornament with five gold chains. It is worn at the back of hand with chains attached to finger rings. It weighs 2 to 3 *tolas*.

OTHER SILVER THINGS USED

Kan-khurkni—Thin silver bar with its one end shaped as a very small spoon used for clearing the ear.

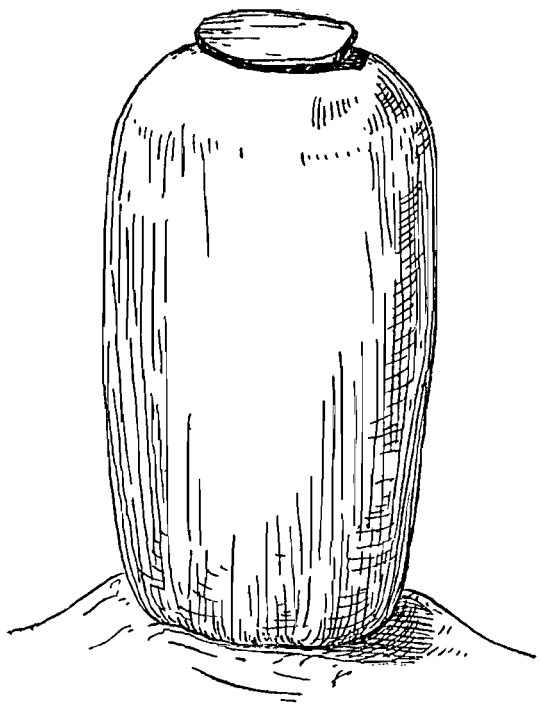
Dant-khurkni—A thin silver needle used as a tooth prick.

Men also wear some ornaments and these are worn to impress others with their sound financial position. These ornaments are not so many but may consist of a golden or silver *mala* round the neck one or two finger rings and a pair of short ear-rings called *nantis*, which are more common than any other ornament. Silver bands may also be mounted on *hookah* stem and on flute for adornment.

Whenever men have been to Lahaul with sheep they bring back a tinsel tied to their turbans.

Household goods

Every house is stocked with utensils. Big utensils of iron or brass are used for bringing and storing water. Earthen *gharas* are not available in the village as there is no *kumhar*. The only earthen vessels of burnt clay that are found in a number of houses are big cylindrical vessels called *kulh* used for



Kulh

storing grains. These vessels are fetched from Kangra side during their migration and it is a mighty job indeed to bring these fragile earthenwares all the way from Kangra District to Brahmaur on human backs. The people have few cots because the shortage of accommodation does not permit the luxury of having a cot for each member of the family. People generally sleep on floor. By way of bedding, they have a couple of thick woollen home made rugs called *gardu* which are quite warm and cosy. A few have cotton quilts. Every woman must have a looking glass and a wooden comb called *kanghi*. Due to their migratory nature, the Gaddis and for that matter the people of Brahmaur seem to have acquired an urban outlook and as such possess a few luxury goods that are not found in other ordinary villages of Himachal Pradesh. The table giving the material wealth of the people would show that besides having a sizeable number of tables, chairs, torches, umbrellas, watches, the people also possess about 10 radio and transistor sets. (Some belong to Govt. servants and some to the servicemen who have been to Congo).

MATERIAL WEALTH

Caste	No. of Households possessing						
	Khatia	Chair	Table	Mirror	Bench	Stool	Almirah
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Rajput .	39	11	3	59	1	4	5
Brahman .	38	14	10	13	2	7	11
Sipi .	5	1	..	14	..	1	..
Rehara .	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
Khatri .	11	6	6	9	4	1	1
Mahajan .	2	1	2	2	..	1	1
Gupta .	2	..	1	2	..	..	..
Sood .	1	1	1	1	..	1	1
Nai .	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
Muslim .	1	1	1	1	..	..	..
Unspecified .	4	1	1	4	..	1	1

Caste	No. of Households possessing						
	Torch	Umbrella	Gramophone	Watch	Kerosene Stove	Patromax	Hurricane Lantern
1	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Rajput .	26	54	..	13	3	2	49
Brahman .	22	43	1	12	4	3	38
Sipi .	3	11	..	1	..	1	13
Rehara .	1	..	..	1	..	1	1
Khatri .	7	9	..	8	4	..	9
Mahajan .	2	2	..	1	..	..	1
Gupta .	2	2	..	1	1	..	1
Sood .	1	1	..	1	1	..	..
Nai .	1	1	..	1	1	..	1
Muslim .	1	1	..	1	..	..	1
Unspecified .	4	1	..	1	1	..	1

Barring a very few poor people, every household possesses atleast one hurricane lantern. The poor households who cannot afford to buy a lantern use small kerosene lamps without glass chimneys. Mustard oil lamps are also used for lighting. Torch wood-light called *jagni* is not generally used indoors. The number of stoves returned in the table belong to Government employees posted there. It will be interesting to find practically in every household a variety of articles not locally available at Brahmaur. These, they purchased during their migration to Kangra and other places. Thus baskets made of bamboo, *chhaj* and *changer* made of reeds are the usual possession of almost every household. Plastic baskets were also the proud possession of a few.

Food Habits

The diet of the people is simple and does not permit them much variations. Day after day the menu is the same occasionally relieved by some special dishes prepared on festive occasions. Their staple diet is maize which is taken in the form of bread with either *dal* or some locally available vegetable. If occasion so demands, the maize bread may be taken with a paste of salt and chillies taken in the form of *chatni*. *Ghee* or *cheedh* oil is used as fat. *Cheedh* oil is extracted from the kernel of wild apricot seeds. These are pounded in a wooden mortar and then squeezed through a thick coarse cloth. The *khali* is also put to uses. Since the animals are of hill-breed, the yield of milk is very low and as such the production of *ghee* is limited. People have, therefore, now started using hydrogenated vegetable oils which are in demand. Its increasing use is also due to the vigorous propaganda launched by manufacturers of hydrogenated vegetable oils. At the time of Brahmaur *yatra* in 1962, when the road from Gehra to Brahmaur was jeepable, a publicity van, propagating the use of these oils, had actually reached Brahmaur.

Rice is not grown in the *ilaqa* and instead thereof *chinai* (Panicum miliceum) is used as a substitute not only in every day use, but even in marriages also where people cannot afford rice. They do know the use of rice and occasionally take it, but they have to purchase it from the market. Wheat and barley are the main *rabi* crops and as such are also used in the form of chapaties either singly or mixed with *kodra* and maize. Some coarse grains *bhares* and *phulañ* are also grown and consumed in the form of chapaties while *chaula* is boiled like rice and taken.

The people also take tea invariably in the morning, but every time is tea-time and people are often seen visiting tea-stalls during their itinerary as well as in the village also where a regular tea booth is functioning. They prefer sugar to *gur* which they take in a very limited quantity. In the matter of condiments, besides using chillies, they also use *dhania, zira,* turmeric and *hing* or even *maethe.*

Only a small percentage of people are vegetarians and others eat meat. Since there is no regular meat-shop in the village, they eat meat whenever any goat or sheep is sacrificed. It is only occasionally that some animal is killed for meat. The meat of a goat or sheep killed as a result of accident is also consumed. Eating beaf is a taboo. Meat of game birds and animals is also a welcome addition to the food. The area around Brahmaur is very rich in game birds and the people possessing the requisite licence generally return with a rich bag. While preparing meat very little fat is used as the meat of goat and sheep of this area is itself rich in fat. Poultry was not reared and as such fowls and eggs were not eaten, but now people rear birds and eat eggs.

The use of sugar has been introduced only since recent past. Previously *gur* was used and honey was also used in an appreciable quantity. Honey has dwindled down and it has become a commodity for supplementing the family earnings. People do not prepare any jams, jellies or pickles. These things are now available from the shops in the village. Similarly there is no bakery, but biscuits are sold at the shops.

Very little seasonal vegetables are grown in the fields. The commonly available vegetables are *ghandoli,* French-beans, *knolkhol,* cabbage, *lokki,* potatoes, tomatoes, brinjals, *sarson-ka-saag, chulai-ka-saag.* Onions are imported from Chamba. Tender leaves of *bichhu buti* are collected and boiled in the form of *saag* and are relished. *Ghandolis* are also dried and stored and taken after boiling in water either with bread or singly if there is shortage of cereals.

The principal pulses used are *mash, rajmash,* beans, *masur* and *kolth.* Very little fruit is grown in and around Brahmaur. A few apple trees are found but the fruit is of little use to the villagers. The *cheedh* is dried and stored after removing the seed. It is called *boie* in local dialect, and soaked in water for a sufficiently long time till it becomes tender. Salt and chillies are added to it and this forms their *chatni.* There are a good number of walnut trees but the nuts are very little used locally and are exchanged for cash at Chamba. Oil extracted from

walnut kernel is used as frying medium but it finds very limited use.

The people take their meals 3 times a day. The morning meal which is called *nuhari* and may be equated with breakfast, consists of maize or wheat bread left over of the evening repast. It is taken with *dal* or vegetable if available, otherwise generally with salt and a glass of tea. The mid-day meal again consists of maize or wheat bread taken with *mash-ki-dal*. Vegetables are also taken if available. Sometimes rice or *cheena* also forms an item of the menu. The evening meals are again the same. It would be seen that the food is very simple and is not much rich in vitamins and mineral salts. The food would appear to be rich in carbohydrates only, yet the people appear to live well on this food. The details about the dishes prepared by them are—

Dal—The grains are boiled in water till they are soft and acquire a thick consistency. Salt, chillies and turmeric are added to taste.

Vegetables—Vegetables are prepared in the usual way by applying *turka* with very little fat. Generally very little water is added to the vegetables during the cooking process, and curries are prepared with the help of *lassi*.

Meat—The mode of preparation is very simple. Very little fat is added and the meat is boiled in water.

Special Dishes

Halwa—This is exactly identical with the *halwa* prepared in plains also and is prepared by frying wheat flour in *ghee* and then adding sugar or *gur* water to it.

Madhra—This is a very special dish and is prepared on festive occasions and marriages. It is prepared with the help of beans which are first soaked in water and then fried in *ghee*. Curd in appreciable quantity is also added alongwith spices and the whole allowed to simmer on slow fire till ready. The resultant product is really tasty and forms an admirable combination with rice.

Ghinga—Wheat, *koda* and maize flour are mixed together and turned into a thin paste by adding water. This paste is cooked over a slow fire and is constantly stirred till it becomes thick. Some *ghee*, salt and other spices are added.

Maize laddu—Maize flour is moistened and *laddus* are prepared and boiled in water. These are eaten with *ghee*, salt and chillies.

Kachauri—Dehusked *mash dal* is ground to a paste and stuffed inside a ball made of wheat flour. It is flattened a little and fried in *ghee*.

Babru—Wheat flour is turned into thin paste and sugar is added to it. It is fried in *ghee* or cooking oil just like *malpuras*. The *babrus* are in fact a modified form of *malpuras*.

Luchi—This is a special type of wheaten bread like *puris* fried in oil.

The special dishes are prepared occasionally.

Beverage and Wine

The people take tea. It is prepared by the ordinary method of boiling water, sugar and tea-leaves together and then adding milk to it. Tea is spiced with *bari ilaichi* and occasionally *ghee* may also be added.

Wine—There is no wine shop at Brahmaur. The nearest wine shop is situated at Khani at a distance of about 5 miles from Brahmaur. The people do take wine on festive occasions or on marriages, but the use of wine is not permitted within the Chaurasi area which has been declared dry. Instead of wine, people are more in the habit of taking *sur*, a home-made brew, in large quantities and for the preparation of this *sur* a regular permit is taken from the Excise Department. In view of the cold climate of the area, this permit is granted freely. For preparing *sur*, a wild root called *Bhoot-keshi* is very essential. It is dried and reduced to powder and mixed with barley flour. The mixture is kneaded like flour and allowed to ferment. It is then turned into loaves called *dhali* and dried in the sun and stored. This serves as the base material for preparation of the *sur*. Whenever *sur* is intended to be prepared, thick breads of *kodra* flour are prepared and broken into bits and thrown in a pitcher full of water. Some portion of *dhali* is added to the pitcher and is left to ferment in a warm place. After a week or so, the *sur* is ready. It is strained through a thick cloth and the liquid which is a little dark-brown in colour is ready to be served. *Sur* is enjoyed by almost every one including women folk and even youngsters. It induces mild intoxication if taken in moderate quantities but excessive quantities of it are capable of producing greater *nasha*. It is said that *sur* is like *bhang* in its effects. *Sur* is a 'must' on every festive occasion so much so that it is offered even to God Shiva and is given as *charnamrit* of Devi.

Smoking

Smoking is common and every Gaddi must have his *hukka*. It is a common sight to see a Gaddi while tending his sheep or on the move during yearly migration, puffing at his inevitable *hukka*. The *hukka* and the smoking bowl are tucked in the girdle or consigned to the *khukh*. Alongwith the *hukka*, every Gaddi must have his tobacco pouch made of raw leather and flint and the dry pith called *bhujru*. Often two and three people sit around to enjoy *hukka* but the *hukka* stem can be used by the people of the same caste only. If the *hukka* belongs to a Brahmin, he will pass it on to a Khatri without the stem, and the Khatri will have to inhale the smoke either with his own stem or without the stem, and vice-versa. If *hukka* is not available, then they resort to the smoking of *biris* and cigarettes, and these articles are steadily on the increase. Some of tobacco used in *hukka* is locally grown and the rest is imported from outside. Smoking is prevalent even in teen-agers, and is not objected to by the elders. Ladies, generally do not smoke but elderly ladies do occasionally enjoy the *hukka*, which they usually smoke without the stem.

Utensils

Utensils are all made of brass, bronze or aluminium. Very few earthenwares are used because there is no potter either in Brahmaur or the adjoining area. Whatever earthen vessels are used, these are all brought from Kangra side. The metallic utensils are also not prepared in the village or the sub-tehsil, and all these are imported from outside or purchased during their yearly journeys to outside places. Due to high cost of bronze vessels, aluminium vessels are increasingly being put into use. They are also preferred because being light in weight they can be conveniently carried during migration. Every Gaddi keeps his utensils well cleaned and the brass and bronze utensils are always kept shining. It is not customary to have the brass utensils tinned. The utensils generally used are the same as used elsewhere in the plains and the names given to the various utensils are also almost the same e.g. *prat, patila, banta, thali, karchhi, lota, glass, katori, tawa, balti, tokni* etc. Silver utensils are not at all used except that someone might be possessing a cup or glass of silver as mark of distinction.

Birth Customs

In Brahmaur, among all the communities and castes, there is no restriction on the movement of a pregnant woman. They work in their fields, fetch water from the common tap of the village, and tend their cattle. She leads a normal life and takes the usual diet.

The expectant mother sets aside a few (mostly four) copper coins and her necklace to appease Kailu, the god responsible for abortion. Two or three months after the delivery the mother accompanied by the *purohit* of the family goes to a walnut tree and places a messive stone under it. This stone is consecrated by the *purohit* chanting of *mantras* and is then worshipped as 'Kailu'. A pure white lamb or one with white and black head is offered with an incision made in its right ear with a knife called *kati*. The blood of the lamb that oozes out of the incision is sprinkled on the consecrated stone and a piece of coarse red coloured cloth of $2\frac{1}{2}$, 9 or 12 yards in length is also offered. The lamb is thereafter considered sacred and dedicated to Kailu and is not killed for meat nor is he sacrificed. Its meat is not used even if it dies of a natural death. The mother then tastes a bit of *gur*, which is also distributed among others, and puts on the cloth and necklace. She also offers the copper coins to the deity. The lamb and the coins are given to the *purohit*.

At the time of child birth, it is common among all the communities to segregate the women in *mandeh* (the second storey of the house). Generally most of the households have only one living room and in such a case the woman is assigned one corner of the room. The local *dai*, or more commonly old and experienced women among relations or in the neighbourhood help in the delivery. Now-a-days, the mid-wife employed by the medical department is asked over. The local *dai* is paid Re. 1/- in case of a daughter. In case of the birth of a son, a man is sent with *drubh* to the mother's parents who receive the harbinger of the good tiding with the present of *gur* and a rupee. The women are strong and sturdy and are used to hard life. Consequently a Gaddi woman delivers child without fuss or botheration. The investigator came across a woman with only two days old child merrily accompanying her companions on foot on their return journey from Kangra side to their village. She had already covered about ten miles after the child birth and was feeling none the worse for that.

Diet for Mother and Child—*Gaunter* ceremony is observed on the 5th day in case of a girl and on the 7th day for a boy. The mother is till then fed on *lugra* (sweet preparation of rice and milk just like *khir*) milk and light foods. A preparation of dry fruits like almonds, *chhuhara, dakh* and coconut crushed together with *gur* and *ajwain* and fried

in lot of *ghee* is also given to the mother. This is called *chhuani*. The new born tastes honey and is given *ghutti* prepared by boiling *bansalochan, nagauri asgand* and *kamarkas* together. This is believed to clear the bowls and help the digestion. Time is also noted for preparing the horoscope.

Gaunter—On the day of the *gaunter* ceremony, all clothes of the mother are washed and the house cleaned. A mixture of *gaunter,* milk and *ganga jal* is sprinkled all over the house and sipped by all the members of the family. The eldest member of the family then goes to the *purohit* to know about the child's future and offers him one rupee. If the child is found to be born under evil stars *shanti* of such stars is done as directed by the priest. It is, nevertheless, a common practice to tie a *astdhata* anklet made of eight metals round the right ankle, and a *surejgrah lagan*—a sort of bracelet—and a grain of *ratini,* a red grain round the wrist of the child. This is believed to protect the child against the evil eye. No horoscope is cast, but some rich people get one prepared in the case of a boy. The priest is paid five rupees and clothes. Till purification rites are performed, the mother is not allowed to touch any one. This period is known as *sutak* and the household is considered unclean, and none of them would go to a temple to take part in a *puja.* No one would take meals or drink water in such a house. The *shudhi* of the family takes place on the 11th day in the case of Brahmans, Rajputs and Khatris and on the 13th day in case of Reharas and Sipis. On the day of *shudhi* the mother and the child bathe. All utensils are cleaned. The mother also puts on new clothes. The *gomutra* mixture is again sprinkled all over the house and also sipped. Thereafter the mother and other members of the family are at liberty to move about but the mother takes every care against catching cold.

The child is named on the day of *sugru* ceremony. This ceremony is observed when the child is 6 months old. *Sugra*—a sort of *khir*—is prepared and the child is made to touch it with his lips and from this day onwards the child is permitted to take solid food. The name is generally chosen by the parents but in certain cases this is given by the *purohit.* In the case of a boy, a *darat kodal,* paper or a book and *khir* are placed before him. If he touches the *khir* first, it is considered that he would be a glutton if the paper or book, a learned man, if the *darat,* a shepherd and if the *kodal,* a cultivator or a successful man. On this occasion, little girls and the *purohit* are also feasted on *khir.* Small children are always the darling of the family and some one is always ready to fondle whenever a child starts crying. They are never harshly treated. A boy is much more pampered.

Marriage Customs

Forms of Marriages

The following types of marriages are prevalent among Gaddis irrespective of their castes and communities. The boy and the girl are never consulted and the marriage is arranged by their parents or guardians.

Byah (Dharam Pun)—In this type, regular betrothal takes place with mutual consent of the parents of the boy and the girl. To mature the betrothal negotiations take place between the parties, and the usual rituals like *kanya dan* are observed at the time of marriage. This type of marriage is quite rare in Brahmaur.

Bata Sata or Exchange—In this form of marriage, a boy gets a wife in exchange for his sister or cousin sister for his wife's brother.

Gudani—This is a type of widow re-marriage. In this a widow is married by one of the brothers of the deceased husband. This is allowed among all castes except Brahmans. But now this custom is dying out and a widow is free to take on a new husband outside the deceased husband's family.

Kamash or ghar-jwantri—This was a typical type of marriage among Gaddis. The boy has to work in the house of his father-in-law, usually for a term of seven years. This is also on the decline these days.

Khewat—In other areas of Himachal Pradesh this marriage is called *reet* or *lag.* This system permits a woman to take on a new husband if he pays the former husband the amount incurred by him on his marriage. The consent of the former husband is essential.

Bariana—In this marriage, cash payment is made for the girl. The amount is fixed mutually.

Polygamy—Polygamy is found among all Gaddis. There are only a few instances in Brahmaur.

Marriage Burtans—The marriage expenses incurred are usually proportionate to the economic position and means of the families involved. There are, however, one or two ways in which such households receive temporary help from their relatives or friends.

The most important of these customs is *tambol*. This is prevalent among all the Gaddis. Some cash money is made over to the bridegroom or his parents by friends and relatives who receive a present in return of a little more generally Re. 1/- on similar occasion of marriage in their families. Another custom called *saj* is also common where presents are given instead of cash. The presents generally are in the form of clothes a bit of jewellery and cooking utensils, given to the bride or her parents under the same obligation as in the case of *tambol*.

The third custom is called *chad*. It is a sort of loan given in cash and kind to the bride. The portion in kind is composed of *ghee* and flour, and other articles which come in use for marriage feast and in this case also a similar return present must be made. One could institute a legal suit for recovery of *chad* but not for *tambol* and *saj*.

Marriage rituals—All the communities have common rituals. Reharas and Sipis do not observe the sacred thread ceremony which, among others, forms one of the marriage rituals. All communities have *purohits* to conduct the marriage. The *purohit* is essentially a Brahman, but he does not accept food cooked by Sipis and Reharas. The marriages are contracted between families belonging to the same caste but of different *gotras* although they have no objection to contract inter *gotra* marriages also provided the parties are not blood relations. Efforts are made to contract marriages within a radius of five or seven miles, but sometimes the net is cast wider also.

Marriageable age—The average marriageable age for a boy and a girl is 16 to 25 and 12 to 18 respectively.

Lakhnotri—After the betrothal, an auspicious day is fixed when men from boy's house go to girl's parents with a seer of *ghee* to get a suitable date fixed. If they approve of the proposal, messengers from both sides go to consult the *purohit* who writes the detailed marriage programme which is called *lakhnotri*. For this they pay to the *purohit* four annas in cash, rice and some red thread called *mauli*.

The marriage ceremony starts with *sumhurat* rites by worshipping Ganpati, earthen pitcher and the nine planets (*navgreh*). *Batna* a mixture of turmeric powder barley flour and mustard oil is rubbed on the boy as a cleansing agent and three black woollen threads are tied round his right wrist to protect him from evil eye. He is then taken out into courtyard by his mother for bath. While taking bath, black threads are untied and thrown away and the boy is led back again by his mother.

Sacred thread ceremony—The *purohit* then ties nine red cotton threads round his right wrist and gives him *gur* to taste. God Ganpati, Brahma, Vishnu, *Kumbh* and *Navgrahs* are again worshipped and a goat is sacrificed. The blood of the goat is sprinkled on *sandori* and *munjmala* by a Rehara for which he gets Rs. 1.25. The bridegroom then disguise himself as a *jogi*. He is dressed in a *dhoti*, flour *mundras* fashioned out of kneaded flour in his ears, a satchel slung over his shoulders, a black woollen rope round his waist. He also covers his back with a *mrigshala* or bear's skin, suspends a *fanani* to the black rope and takes a stick in his right hand with the *janeu* tied round his right thumb. Then the *purohit* asks him the reasons for his becoming a *jogi* to which the boy answers "To receive the *janeu*". The *purohit* again asks him as to what kind of cord he requires; whether of copper, gold, brass, silver or cotton. The boy requests for the inexpensive cotton cord.

Bath—The *purohit* then directs him to go for purificatory baths at Badrinath, Triloknath and Mani Mahesh. The boy takes these baths by dipping his hands and feet in water contained in three different vessels.

Bhichha—After this, the *jogi* begs for alms first from his relatives and then from others who give him a piece of bread and promise him goats and cattle. Concluding this ceremony, the priest asks the bridegroom whether he desires to devote himself in *jatera* affairs or in *matera* affairs and he invariably choses *jatera*. The dress of the mendicant is caste off because the boy has chosen to lead the life of a *grahsti*.

Tel ceremony—He sits on a whicker mat or a sheep skin bag (*khalru*) and a dagger is touched to *munjmala* above his head. Then the boy's nearest kin followed by others, offer presents according to their turn, pour drops of oil over his head with drub grass. They also rub a bit of vermilion on his forehead. The oil and vermilion are contained in bowls held by the bridegroom's uncle. This is called *tel* ceremony. The bridegroom, after taking bath, dresses himself in white *pagri*, *kuwa* and a red *luncha* specially prepared for wearing on marriage, a white *patka, a gulbadan, suthan* and a *loie* thrown over the shoulders.

Suhag patari or barasuhi—*Suhag patari* is for the bride. It consists of a *dupatta, chandan, chura, kesar, sandhoor, mehandi, supari*.

Now nail polish, cream and powder are also added in well-to-do families. There is a *luanchari, ghagru, hemodri, ungi, chundi* and *kanghi,* three pieces of *gur,* some dry fruits, rice and seven *luchis.*

The boy wears a *sehra* presented by his maternal uncle. His *Bhabi* puts *kajal* in his eyes. After this he gets up and a *thali* with lighted earthen lamps is waved over his head. This is called *arti.* His mother throws three chapaties on three sides of him. The *arti* is then sanctified by chanting of *mantras.* The boy's father honours him by presenting a *tambol* of Re. 1.25 nP. out of which the rupee is retained by the boy and 25 nP. go to the *purohit.* Accompanied by his mother, *purohit* and other women he advances to the entrance of the house, and stands below the *torans,* where *mantras* are recited and *arti* is again waved over his head. *Torans* (thin round poles painted with red and yellow colours) are fixed at the entrance of the house where marriage takes place. A Sipi stands outside the entrance and presents the bridegroom with a *kumbh* filled with water and he puts a coin in it. Then the boy gets into a *palki.*

Marriage procession—Then starts the bridal procession composed of male and female relatives of the groom and friends, dressed in their best and led by local musicians. The head-dress of the relatives of the bridegroom is white *pagri.* To distinguish them from the other *baratis* golden threads are tied to one side of the *pagri.*

Pat-partana—On arrival at the bride's house, the *baratis* are housed in a separate place selected for the purpose. The boy's father or uncle with one or two persons takes a basket full of *luchis* to the bride's parents. This is called *pat-partana.*

Juthpai—In the bride's house, they are given something to eat and in return they put five annas in the plate and then they come back to join others. This rite is known as *juthpai.*

Barasuhi—The boy's *purohit* then proceeds to the bride's house to deliver the *suhag-patari* or *barasuhi.* The *purohit* then comes back to conduct the bridegroom and his followers to the bride's house accompanied by the musicians. The mother-in-law of the bridegroom receives him at the entrance. She performs the *arti* ceremony by waving *arti* seven times over his head with her right hand and holding her left over his turban. Three chapaties placed in a *thali* are also thrown outwards the courtyard. The mother-in-law then retires while the father-in-law standing aside with *patka* round his neck washes his son-in-law's feet. The boy's *purohit* places a *duna* containing some rice, a walnut, *drub* and flowers in his hands.

Chan par chan—After this the boy follows his father-in-law to the *bedi* where the *purohit* chant vedic mantras. The bride is then brought to the *bedi* and stands face to face with the bridegroom. The boy's *purohit* holds the boy's neck with his right hand and of the girl's with his left, making their shoulders touch each other thrice first pressing the boy's right to the girls' left and so on. This rite is named as *chan par chan.*

Chiri—After this, two torches are held on either side of them and seven small twigs are put in the girl's hands. She drops them in boy's hands and he breaks them one by one by placing them under his right foot. This breaking of the twigs is known as *chiri.*

Faruri—The couple is thereafter made to sit down and the boy's father-in-law offers *sankalap* in which he gives away his daughter to his son-in-law and thereafter washes couple's feet as they sit before him. Certain minor rites called *chichari* are now performed by the bridegroom and his father-in-law. Ganpati, Brahma, Vishnu, *kumbh, dia* and the nine planets are worshipped.

Kanyadan and Lagan—Thereafter the girl's *dopatta* is held out by her brother and the groom dubs it with little red vermilion. Similarly, the girl anoints the boy's *pataka.* The girl stretches her hands and the *purohit* puts in it 1 anna, a walnut, *drub,* flowers, *til* and rice. The boy now lays his hands over hers. The girl's father performs the *kanya dan* accompanied with the chanting of *mantras.* At the conclusion of this rite, the articles in girl's hand are given to the *purohit* and the couple taste *ghee* and *gur.*

The girl retires, but the boy remains there to go through *manihar* rites. *Arti* is waved over his head. A betel-nut and a red tape are placed near his left toes which he touches with his dagger. After this is done, the *purohit* takes the tape up and throws one end over the boy's head to his mother-in-law and ties the other end round the *pagri* of the groom. This tape is called *manihar.*

The boy is then drawn by the *manihar* by his mother-in-law and led inside the house before a picture of Kamdeo (God of Love) fixed in a room. The girl is also brought there by her brother to stand beside the boy. The girl is dressed in clothes given by her in-laws in *suhag patari.* Then seven cords of the *barasuhi* are handed over to the boy by the girl's *mami.* He places them on the bride's head where after the girl's hair are combed and arranged with these cords by

her *mami*. This ceremony is called *sirgundhi*. The groom puts *sindhoor* in between the parted hair of the bride and this is called *maang bharna*.

Khilan Khilani—The bridegroom's shawl, and the bride's *dopatta* (kharwas) are then tied together and the bride is escorted by her *mama* to the *bedi* followed by the bridegroom. The bride's father washes the couple's feet, *havan* is performed and Ganpati, *Navagreh*, Brahma, Vishnu, *Kumbh*, Saptrishi, and the Vedas and four directions (*Chardishas*) are worshipped to ward off all mishaps. This is followed by placing fried barley in a *chhaj*. First the bridegroom takes a handful of grains and places it on three spots in three different directions, while the bride's sister keeps wiping it away with her right hand as fast as she is able to. This is repeated but at the second time the bride's sister places the grains and the bridegroom wipes it away. This is *khilan khilani*.

Char Lavi—The boy's father puts 4 annas into the *chhaj* which goes to the *purohit*. Now the couple is made to stand and have rounds of the sacred fire seven times. The bridegroom keeps his right hand on the bride's back all the time. After each round the couple is made to halt and their feet are worshipped by throwing *till, drub*, milk and *kungu*, by the bride's father, and at the end bride's brother worships the couple's feet in the same manner. This constitute the binding rite in the wedding.

Then the couple sits face to face and the bride holds a *duna* containing walnuts, rice and flowers. The bridegroom covers the bride's hands with his hands and the *purohit* unties the *manihar* from the boy's *pagri* and puts it in their hands.

Saj Pana—The bride's father takes *till, drub*, rice, flour and copper coins and perform *sankalap* while the *purohit* chants *mantras*. After this, he places one anna and a rupee in a vessel containing water, turmeric, milk and curd. Then this mixture is sprinkled on the *bedi*. This is called *saj pana*.

Gotrachar—The *manihar* is given to the girl to be put round her neck. After this all the girl's relatives and friends give her presents, either in cash or in kind, according to their status. This is followed by recitation of *gotrachar* which means the naming of the boy and girl's ancestors upto the 5th or 7th degree to show that they are of pure stock. Fried rice are then showered on the couple by the priests who get 4 annas each for reading the *gotrachar*.

The groom's father and the bride's father then sit under the *bedi* and a blade of *drub* is put by the *purohit* into the bride's father's hands. He holds it between the tips of his middle fingers at one end and the other end being similarly held by the boy's father. The bride's father then utters *Asmat kanya tasmat gotra* meaning "Our girl now goes over to your *gotra*". The ends of the blade are then reversed and the boy's father says *tusmat kanya asmat gotra*, meaning "Your girl is welcomed in our *gotra*". At the conclusion, the bridegroom receives *rubar* from his mother-in-law who gives a rupee and one anna, the others give copper coins only. The bridegroom touches his mother-in-law's feet as mark of respect. The ceremonies at the bride's house are now over and bride is taken in the *palki* alongwith all the paraphernalia followed by the bridegroom and the *barat* which is now reinforced by the addition of some of the ladies from the bride's side and her brother. On arrival back at home *arti* is waved over the couple by the bridegroom's mother who also gives the bride a rupee. Then the pair is taken to a room for Ganpati *pujan*.

Athlai—The couple also takes four rounds of the earthen lamps and *kumbh* installed in the room. The rite is *athlai*.

After this the *sehra* is removed by the *purohit*. Having done the *athlai* the *kangnas* of the bride and bridegroom are united by two selected men. At the conclusion, the bridegroom receives *tambal* from relatives and *bradri*. The women gather round the bride and have a look at her face in turn and also give her presents in cash and kind. This is called *munshani*.

Panchelu—The couple after staying there for a day or two leaves for bride's parents house on some auspicious occasion accompanied by the bridegroom's brother and ladies of bride's house who had accompanied the *barat* on its return journey.

Harphera—The party stays there for a day and is served with the choicest meals. After performing *puja* of Ganesh and *Navgreh* they return to the bridegroom's house. While returning the couple receives presents from the bride's parents. The presents consist of two *gardus* and *luchis* of 20 seers of wheat flour. This ceremony is known as *harphera* and is observed among Brahmans and well-to-do families of Khatris and Rajputs only.

Sadnojh—The bride sometimes does not come back with the bridegroom to her in-laws. Instead she stays behind with her parents for a year or two and this period may extend upto five years. On an auspicious day the bridegroom accompanied by two or three of the nearest relatives proceeds to his

in-laws where they stay for two days. During their stay the young girls of the house collect around them and cut jokes with the guests. This exchange of jokes is called *galli lagai*. There, they receive *babroos* of 20 seers of wheat flour and the following articles from the bride's parents.

1. Cholu	2
2. Luanchari	2
3. Ghundu	10 to 15
4. Gardu	4 to 6
5. Chadars	1

In addition to this, other relatives of the bride present 4 seers of wheat to the couple. The bridegroom and party alongwith the bride come back to bridegroom's house on the third day, and on their return, two feasts one in the evening and the other on the next day morning, are arranged. In these feasts, *sur*, fried chapaties and maize *laddoos* are served.

The couple receives *tambol* at the rate of 0.25 nP. from each of the distant relatives who collect for the purpose. The nearer relatives, however, pay more but the amount in their case too does not exceed Re. 1/-.

The bridegroom's father gives four feasts, one on the *tel* ceremony, which is attended by quite a large number of friends and relatives, the 2nd to only such people as are invited to form the *barat* and on the morning when the *barat* leaves for the bride's house. The 3rd feast is also given to the members of the *barat* on its return to groom's house. The fourth feast or *dham* is given when the groom receives presents and is as largely attended as the first feast.

In the bride's house, the first feast is given to kins folks on the *tel* ceremony and two others to the *barat* and to the brides guests and relatives. The menu in poor families consist of *sur, luchis* and *laddoos* of maize whereas well-to-do people generally serve rice or *chinae, madhra*, two or three types of *dal* and vegetables and the inevitable *sur*. In some cases meat is also served.

The dowry consists of a few pieces of jewellery generally of silver, *thali* and *lota* only, but now they have started giving other utensils and furniture costing from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 500/-. Approximate expenditure on a marriage ranges from Rs. 1,000/- to Rs. 1,500/- depending on the economical condition of the family. The expenditure on a boy's marriage is some what more than that of a girl.

Various marriage songs collected by the Investigator and also reproduced from Chamba Gazetteer are given in Appendix. The table gives the age and marital status of the villagers.

Out of 145 males and 138 females in the age group 0—14 years, only three females are married. Similarly out of 69 males and 76 females in the age group 15 to 24 years, the number of married males is 28 only and that of females is 61 which is considerably higher as compared to that of males. These figures show that early marriages are not popular in Brahmaur and that the marriageable age in respect of males is higher than the female. The reason for the latter is attributed to the wide prevalence of *batta satta*.

Divorce and Remarriage—Separation is permitted by mutual consent but there are no formal means of divorce. A man can permit his wife to marry someone else by giving her a formal document generally at the instance of some other man who is desirous of remarrying her usually after a monetary compensation.

Widow re-marriage is permissible in all castes, except Brahmans though they too now do not seem to be opposed to it. A widow generally does not re-marry within one year of her husband's death.

Age Group	Total Population			Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Unspecified Status	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Age Group .	720	381	339	203	149	166	164	12	26	..	..	..	..
0—14 . .	283	145	138	145	135	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—25 . .	145	69	76	41	14	28	61	..	1	..	..	..	..
25—59 .	251	145	106	17	..	122	92	6	14	..	..	..	..
60 & over .	41	22	19	..	..	16	8	6	11	..	..	..	..

Death Rites

Gaddis cremate their deads. Lepers and those who die of *luhar* (kind of typhus) are first burried but their corpses are exhumed after three months and burnt. The ceremonies are the same as for those who are cremated. The funeral procession is not accompanied by music even if some old person dies, but the mourners keep on chanting *Ram Nam Sat Hai Jo bole so gat hai* which means God is truth and he who remembers Him—attains *Nirvan*. Intimation of the death is given to relatives and friends by messengers who may be of any caste or community. In Brahmaur the dead are cremated on a pyre of mulberry wood which is collected from trees growing in the *Chaurasi* area and where a number of trees are reserved for each community. The cremation ground lies along the course of Brahmni Nullah and each caste has its own burning place. Thus Brahmans have their cremation ground first and a little lower is the place demarcated for Khatris and Rajputs. Lower down is the cremation ground for the Sipis. The only Rehara household has recently migrated to Brahmaur from a nearby village, and there is no cremation ground for Reharas. The body is placed on the funeral pyre with the head towards the north. Jewellery and blankets are taken off and the body is burnt. A copper coin is placed by the pyre as the tax of the land on which the body is burnt. Fire is applied to the pyre under the head by the nearest relative preferably by the eldest son or someone who belongs to the same *gotra* as the dead. Such a person is made to put on white clothes and has his head shaved off alongwith his face. This is called *bhadar*. The *purohit* joins the relations but no ceremonies are observed. The light is applied after going round the pyre once clock-wise. On the 10th day, the *daspindi* is performed. Other relations wash their clothes and bathe and roll up the blanket used for seating the mourners. On the 12th day, at night, a goat is sacrified in the deceased's name, and this is given to the *purohit*. Next morning five *pinds* made of barely or rice floor or one *supindi* are again offered in memory of the deceased. On this day clothes, utensils, cash are given to *purohit*. On the 14th day the deceased's relations on the wife's side come to the house in the morning and feast the relations and others. A goat is killed for this feast and the mourning period come to an end. At the end of the third month oblations are again offered to deceased and the occasion is signified by a feast to the brotherhood. The offering made on this ceremony go to the *purohit*. Similar ceremonies are gone through at the end of the sixth month and the 1st year (Barkhi) and 4th year (Chaubarkh) after the death. After the 4th year of the death, the dead assumes the status of a *pitr* and is remembered only during annual *shradhs* in the month of Asauj when for full fifteen days Brahmins are feasted on the dates corresponding to the death dates of the departed relations generally upto 3rd pedigree.

If burried, the body is laid flat in the grave with the back on the ground and the hands folded on the chest. The head is kept to the North. The ashes of the dead are carried to Hardwar. Bones of fingers, knees and ankle joints, seven of them are collected after cremation the same day. These are brought to the house in a piece of *masru*, red cloth and kept for ten days in the clothes in which the deceased breathed his last and in the room in which he expired. After the *daspindi*, they are washed in honey, milk, *ghee*, cowdung and *bilpatri* seeds and then dried and deposited in a small wooden box wrapped in a piece of *masru* and burried in a recess made in the wall of the house, with a coating of barley and mustard floor over it. They would be taken to Hardwar and immersed in Ganga as soon as convenient.

The ladies of the bereaved family do not unlike the urban areas, perform any organised *siapa* which entails the beating of forehead and breast. Their grief of course, is expressed in weeping, and ladies of the neighbourhood also gather to offer their consolation. But melodrama is conspicuous by absense. Neither do the ladies accompany the funeral procession nor do they go to the cremation ground.

3

ECONOMY

Economic Re es

BRAHMAUR represents a village with mixed economy. The people are not dependent upon any single profession and unlike most other Indian villages, agriculture is not the mainstay of the people. Out of 146 households, 47 households are officials posted there. Agriculture, however, is followed by 92 households and 48 of these households rear sheep and goats which brings them more income than agriculture. With some households, rearing of sheep and goats in fact is the main occupation, and agriculture is the subsidiary profession. Other subsidiary professions are also followed and these are labour, business, mule-driving, blacksmithy, silversmithy, running of *gharats* and carpentry. There is no weaver by occupation itself although weaving is done by almost every household. The sale of surplus *gardus* and *patties* also brings them additional income. The money earned during migration also constitutes a welcome addition to the family income and as many as 61 households earn their livelihood from October to March working at odd jobs outside the village. These, in short, are the main sources of income of the people of the village. It may be conceded at the very outset that it is not possible for an investigator to elicit correct information from the villagers in the matter of their income and expenditure. They do not keep any proper accounts, nor are they able to give correct figures as they cannot count even upto hundred which they count as five twenty (*panj beese*), and 80 they count as four twenty (*char beese*), and so on. When these questions about income and expenditure are put to them, they at once become suspicious and close like an oyster. They harbour a lurking fear that perhaps these uncomfortable questions about their most personal affairs are asked with some ulterior motives—may be more taxes are in the offing or one may be called upon to pay certain donations and the like. An effort has been made to gather as much information as possibly could be done under the circumstances. On account of construction of approach road to Brahmaur and extraction of timber from forests, and construction of government buildings at Brahmaur and nearabout, new avenues of income have also been thrown open to them and 8 able-bodied persons are working there as unskilled labour at a daily wage of about Rs. 2/-

The income from agriculture is not much and according to the villagers, even the food-grains that they grow are not sufficient to go far. This is why they have to migrate for the winter months. Horticulture does not exist, excepting some little walnuts which bring in very little return. Other local fruits like *cheeds*, are not saleable and are consumed by the people. As the climate and height of Brahmaur is suited to apple cultivation, people are slowly planting these trees, and it is hoped that in the near future, horticulture will also be a source of some income to them. There are some excellent apples and peaches grown in one of the Naga Baba's *batika*. Gaddis, as a lot, are a conservative people, and do not easily take to new ideas. They have their established routine and would not like to deviate from it unless they are assured of more return from the new undertaking. Their habit of migration also takes about 2 months in transit both ways and consequently this dead weight has an adverse effect on their yearly earnings. Brahmaur is a sizeable village in this part of the country and one should have expected that the creative urge of the people would have manifested itself in some peculiar art developed here and

that it should have been of great help to augment income of the people but excepting one shop of a silversmith, and few blacksmiths which are found almost in every village to cater to their agricultural needs the villagers do not pursue any remunerative craft except the weaving which they follow to weave their woollen cloth and *gardus*. Someone might be able to produce at occasions spare *gardus* to sell, but this is not a regular profession followed by the people in general. Even in the matter of agriculture, the devotion of a son of soil is lacking and sowing of the *rabi* crop is done slightly casually. They are, however, at their best as shepherds and the sale of wool which a full grown sheep yields to the tune of about 2 srs. a year in three annual shearings, once in Phagun, the second in Ashadh and the third in Kartik, brings in sufficient amount to the village in terms of per capita income. There are 4484 sheep and goats in the village owned by 48 households and on a most conservative estimate, if the number of sheep be reckoned at half the number of total sheep and goats, the yearly wool production from them should be in the neighbourhood of about 4484 srs. and at a cost of Rs. 5/- per seer of raw wool, this should bring an income of about Rs. 22,000/- a year. The income from the sale of lambs, goats, each of which fetches from Rs. 30/- to Rs. 50/- on an average, is in addition to the earnings from the sale of wool. It would, thus, appear that the rearing of sheep and goats and sale of raw wool deserves to be regarded as the main profession in terms of money return. There is, however, a limit to this source of income as the Forest Department do not now grant any additional permit for more sheep and goats.

Out of total population of 720 persons, 339 are workers and the number of non-workers is 381. Out of 381 non-workers, 280 are from 0 to 14 age group. Similarly, in the age group 15—34, out of 65 non-workers, 16 are men and 49 women. The women are engaged in household work or in spinning wool whereas out of 16 male non-workers, 13 are students. The 9 male non-workers in the age group 35—59 are not regular workers, as neither they have sufficient land to keep them busy throughout the year nor can they find full time jobs. In fact it will be correct to call them partial-workers instead of non-workers. These males are partially dependent on other members of their households. In the age group of 60 and above only one male has been returned as non-worker and this shows that even old men lend a helping hand and as many as 20 of them are employed in agriculture. The number of women non-workers in this group is large as arduous duties in youth and middle age coupled with frequent child births more or less completely exhausts them when they cross their fifties.

Workers and Non-workers

Workers and non-workers in the Village

Age group	Total Population			Workers			Non-workers		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
All ages . . .	720	381	339	339	212	127	381	169	212
0—14 . . .	283	145	138	3	2	1	280	143	137
15—34 . . .	274	144	130	209	128	81	65	16	49
35—59 . . .	122	70	52	100	61	39	22	9	13
60 & over . . .	41	22	19	27	21	6	14	1	13

The following table gives details regarding the workers classified by sex, age groups and occupations—

Age group	Agriculture			Govt. service			Shop-keeping			Blacksmith		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All ages . .	230	116	114	90	78	12	5	5	..	4	4	..
0—14 . . .	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—34 . . .	128	59	69	72	61	11	2	2	..	1	1	..
35—59 . . .	74	36	38	18	17	1	3	3	..	2	2	..
60 & over . .	26	20	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..

Age group	Labour			Tailor			Silversmith			Carpenter		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
All ages . .	4	3	1	3	3	..	2	2	..	1	1	..
0—14 . .	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—34 . .	2	1	1	3	3	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
35—59 . .	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..
60 & over . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

It shows that the number of men and women working in agriculture is practically equal. In fact women outnumber males between the ages of 15 to 59 which must be regarded as the most active period. It is only in the age group of 60 and over that men outnumber women and make up the deficiency. This clearly indicates that women are equally, if not more, responsible in building up the village economy, so far as agriculture is concerned. Besides, she has to attend to domestic chores and bring up the children. The menfolk unblushingly concede that their better-halves work much more than them. In fact they take part in all agricultural operations except the ploughing.

Coming to the Government service, we find that in all there are 90 such persons. Out of them only 12 are females which include only 2 local residents, one a peon in the Girls' School and the other a *dai* in the hospital. They are either employed in Girls' Middle School or in Hospital. No female is engaged in other professions like shop-keeping, blacksmithy, tailoring, silversmithy and carpentry. However, there is one female who works as a labourer. It is interesting to note that all the three blacksmiths and 2 silversmiths are Sipis and Reharas respectively. It will also be worthwhile to mention that the above table indicates only the primary occupations of the villagers, and instances are not lacking when a man with agriculture as his primary occupation has sheep and goats rearing as his subsidiary occupation. Similarly a shopkeeper is also employed in agriculture and serves as labourer and mule-driver. There are 11 mule-drivers in Brahmaur and mule-driving forms their subsidiary occupation.

The following table gives the details regarding non-workers by sex, broad age groups and nature of activity—

Age groups	Total Non-workers			Full time students or children attending school			Persons engaged only in household duties			Dependents, infants and children not attending school and persons permanently disabled			Persons seeking employment for the first time		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
All ages . . .	381	169	212	92	52	40	77	..	77	202	107	95	2	..	..
0—14 . . .	280	143	137	84	49	35	14	..	14	182	94	88	..	..	..
15—34 . . .	65	16	49	13	15	5	44	..	44	3	3	..	2	2	..
35—59 . . .	22	9	13	..	..	..	13	..	13	9	9	..	..	..	..
60 & over . . .	14	1	13	..	..	..	6	..	6	8	1	7	..	..	..

Full time students in the age group of 0—14 years are 49 males and 14 females whereas in the age group of 15—34 years, there are 13 male and 5 female students. Persons engaged only in household duties are 77—all females. The infants and children not attending school naturally come in the age group of 0—14 years. They are 182 made up of 92 males and 88 females. Out of 22 non-workers in the age group 35—59 years, no one is seeking employment. On the second visit of the investigator in August, 1962, one of them had secured a job at Chamba. The 9 male dependents in the age group 35—59 are actually partially dependents, as they occasionally work as labourers. In the village, there is no begger or vagrant. There is one retired person, who lives with his family and his pension adds to the earnings of the family.

Agriculture

The total area of the village is 138 acres, out of which, on an average, 103 to 105 acres of land have been under cultivation. There is little of *kabal kasht* and from 1957-58 onwards, this has never exceeded two acres. Due to shortage of land the acreage under permanent pastures and grazing fields is also only 13 acres which includes the sacred *chaurasi* area and the *chaughan*. Eighteen acres are put to non-agriculture uses. This shows the area on which the residential houses and temples have been built. The following table depicts the position about the land utilisation—

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Year	Geographical area	Forests	Barren and uncultivable land Banjar	Land put to non-agricultural uses	Cultivable waste (Banjar kabal kasht)	Permanent pastures and grazing land	Land under misc. trees and groves in net area	Current fallow	Fallow land other than current fallow (Banjar Quadim)	Net area sown	Total cropped area	Area sown more than once
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1955-56 . .	138	..	..	17	..	13	..	2	3	103	122	19
1956-57 . .	138	..	..	17	..	13	..	..	3	105	151	46
1957-58 . .	138	..	..	17	2	13	..	1	..	105	179	74
1958-59 . .	138	..	..	18	2	13	..	1	..	104	124	20
1959-60 . .	138	..	..	18	2	13	..	..	..	105	159	54
1960-61 . .	138	..	..	18	2	13	..	..	..	105	149	44
1961-62 . .	138	..	..	18	2	13	..	..	..	105	163	58

The following table shows the extent of land holdings community-wise—

EXTENT OF HOLDINGS

Community	Number of households and extent of lands								
	No land	5 cents and below	10 to 20 cents	21 to 50 cents	50 cents to 1 acre	1 to 2·4 acres	2·5 to 4·9 acres	5 to 10 acres	10 acres and above
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Rajputs	1	..	..	..	9	19	13	7	..
Brahmans	2	..	1	2	7	14	7	1	..
Sipi	3	..	1	1	4	3	2	1	..
Rehara	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	7	..	2	3	20	36	22	9	..

Out of 146 total households in the village Government employees not belonging to the village account for 47 households, and out of the 99 local households, 7 households, according to the table given above, do not possess any land. The extent of land holdings is very small and no household possess 10 acres or more. The number of households who possess land between 5 to 10 acres is also 9 only, out of which 7 are Rajputs or Khatris and one is Brahman and the other is a Sipi. The largest number of households own land between one to 2.4 acres.

On an average, each local household should possess about one acre of land. This shows that there is great pressure on land and whatever land the villagers own, is too little to enable them to subsist on land alone. It is why that they had to depend largely on sheep breeding which ought to be regarded as the mainstay of the villagers. There is no cultivable waste land in the village nor is there any other areas which could be brought under the plough.

There are two principal crop seasons *kharif* and *rabi*.

KHARIF CROPS

These consist mainly of maize, *chinai, phullan, chaulla, bhres, kodra* and *mash*.

Maize locally called *kukari, chhali* or *makki* is sown in late April or early May and harvested in September-October.

Chinai (Penicum miliceum)—It is sown alongwith maize and harvested in August.

Phullan (Fagoprun-Emarginatum)—It is sown in the beginning of June and harvested in the middle of October.

Chaulla and mash—It is sown in April-May and harvested in September-October.

Bhres (Fagopyrun Esculentum)—The same as *phullan*.

Kodra (Eleusine Coracane)—It is sown in May to June and harvested in October.

RABI CROPS

The only *rabi* crops sown are wheat and barley which are sown in October and harvested in May.

Tobacco—A little tobacco is produced in the village. It is grown in April and May and transplanted in the middle of June. Before transplanting, the land is ploughed and manured. The crop is harvested in September-October. The variety of tabacco grown in the village is known as *bimbaru* or *sapu* which is very strong and acrid, but the crop is not sufficient to meet the needs of the entire village. The deficiency is made by getting tobacco from Chamba.

AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES

Gaddis are not reckoned good agriculturists. So far as the people of Brahmaur are concerned, this may be due to small land holdings which does not provide them with foodgrains to go all the year around. Major portion of agriculture work is done by women who do weeding, hoeing, harvesting, and also thrashing except ploughing which is attended to by menfolk. Since maize is their staple diet, they pay more attention to its

cultivation. The produce is bumper in these areas because of ideal climatic conditions for the growth of maize crop. For sowing maize, the land is generally kept fallow during *rabi* season and allowed to regain its fertility. This fallow land is called *phali*. Preparing fields for sowing maize is immediately taken into hand on their return from migration towards the end of March or early April.

The land is ploughed and clods broken with *khilini*. A second ploughing is also given towards the end of April and the fields are levelled with *dha*. Since no provision for irrigation exists the villagers wait for slight showers, which according to them never fail, for sowing the seed which is done by broadcast method after the showers. About 12 srs. of seed is applied to one acre. Thereafter land is ploughed for the third time and the seed is allowed to germinate. Hoeing is done after a month. Weeding is done twice. The crop is harvested in September-October. Cobs removed from the stalks are allowed to dry on the roof tops or in the *angan* as the case may be and the grain is separated by thrashing the cobs with wooden clubs. The *angan* is used as *khaliyan*. The stalks serve as fodder for the cattle. The land is fertile and the villagers invariably get a good maize crop unless some natural calamity adversely hits the crop. Farm manure is used freely. Artificial fertilizers are seldom used.

Chinai—It is sown just after the wheat or barley are harvested in the same fields or in plots left fallow for sowing maize. The ploughing of fields and sowing are done just as in the case of maize and the crop is harvested in the middle of August if sown in fallow fields and towards the end of September, if sown in the fields which previously bore the *rabi* crop. About 4 to 5 srs. of seed is applied per acre of land. First ears of crop are removed and then the stalk is cut. The ears are separately stored in the verandah of the house. For thrashing, the ears are trampled by men and grains are separated from the husk by winnowing with the help of *chhaj* which they bring from Kangra side.

Phullan, Chaulla and Bhres—These are coarse grains and are sown in the fields from which wheat and barley is harvested.

Mash and Rajmash—These pulses are sown alongwith maize and harvested alongwith it.

Gondholi or pumpkin is also sown alongwith these.

Rabi Crops

The only *rabi* crops sown in this village are wheat and barley. After harvesting maize and other *kharif* crops, the time for their yearly migration also draws near and they are in a great hurry to pack up their knick knacks and leave the village for the winter months. No manure is applied to the fields, even maize stumps are not removed from the fields and the wheat or barley seed is broadcast and covered with one ploughing. This is all that they do for their *rabi* crops. Thereafter they leave the village. On their return from migration in early April, they take possession of the fields and then attend to the crop.

Some vegetables are also grown in summer months mostly in the plots of land adjacent to their houses which may be lavishly termed as kitchen gardens. The common types of vegetables grown are cabbage, *knolkhol, loki,* French beans, cucumber, potatoes, brinjals and occasionally tomatoes. All these vegetables are grown for domestic use and the production is not enough to be marketed.

Agricultural Superstitions

The villagers are superstitious and believe in a number of omens. Ploughing, sowing and harvesting are done on lucky days and Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays are reckoned as lucky days. If in any plot wheat does not grow, it is not ploughed again unless a goat is sacrificed. When new fields are put under plough, a *purohit* must perform the *puja* accompanied by the sacrifice of a goat, the first produce of the harvest is offered to Manimahesh or Keling and then consumed in the household. Reharas from Goshan village go about the fields playing *dhol* and *shehnai* and receive some quantity of foodgrains in return. The quantity is not fixed.

The villagers associate certain gods and goddesses with grains and these are—

Chinai with *Devi,* Maize—*Chinai,* Wheat—*Keling,* Pulses (mash)—*Kathun,* Barley—*Naag*. These are worshipped before sowing and at the time of harvesting. First offering of the harvest associated with their name must go to the respective deities, before it is considered fit for consumption by other members of the household. The average yield per acre of each crop is given here—

Wheat	10 mds. 14 srs.
Barley	9 mds.
Maize	5 mds.

The *jinswar* statement for the years 1956—61 shows the area under cultivation of each crop.

Kharif

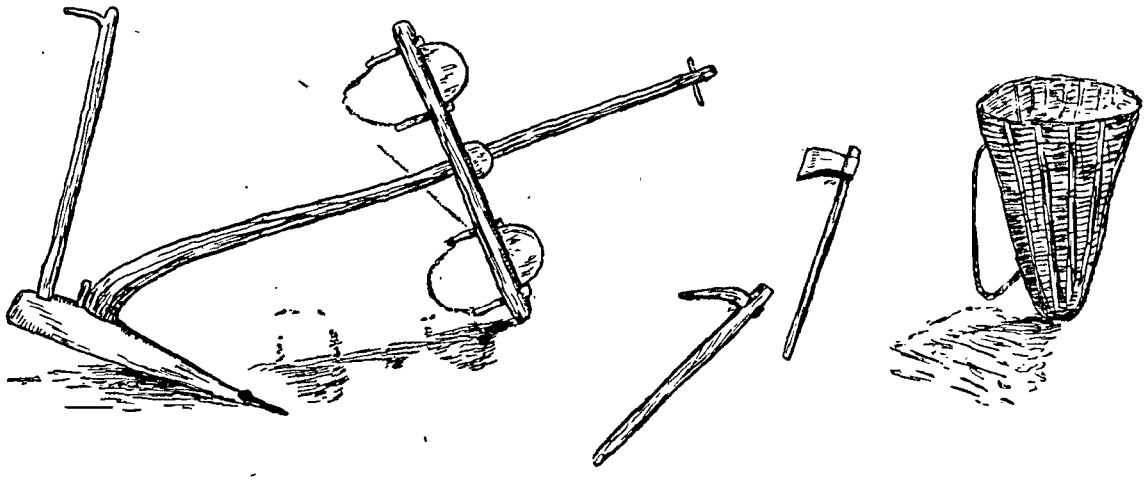
Year	Description of crop	Names of Crops							Total crops harvested	Area of crops failed	Total area sown
		Maize	Chinai	Phullan	Chaula	Bhres	Kodra	Mash			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1956	Barani I	45	19	3	3	2	1	9	82	..	82
	Barani II	18	1	..	1	..	..	2	22	..	22
	Total	63	20	3	4	2	1	11	104	..	104
1957	Barani I	51	6	6	..	1	..	18	82	..	82
	Barani II	19	..	..	..	..	1	3	23	..	23
	Total	70	6	6	..	1	1	21	105	..	105
1958	Barani I	34	8	9	1	..	2	16	70	..	70
	Barani II	6	1	2	..	1	1	8	19	..	19
	Total	40	9	11	1	1	3	24	89	..	89
1959	Barani I	46	10	..	..	..	..	19	75	..	75
	Barani II	18	..	..	..	..	1	3	22	..	22
	Total	64	10	..	..	..	1	22	97	..	97
1960	Barani I	24	13	13	3	15	2	13	83	..	83
	Barani II	3	7	..	..	5	2	3	20	..	20
	Total	27	20	13	3	20	4	16	103	..	103
1961	Barani I	25	10	14	3	12	4	14	82	..	82
	Barani II	4	5	2	..	6	..	2	19	..	13
	Total	29	15	16	3	18	4	16	101	..	101

Rabi

Year	Description of crop	Name of crop		Total crop harvested	Area of crop failed	Total area sown
		Barley	Wheat			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1956	Barani I	8	4	12	..	12
	Barani II	10	8	18	..	18
	Total	18	12	30	..	30
1957	Barani I	6	29	35	..	35
	Barani II	4	8	12	..	12
	Total	10	37	47	..	47
1958	Barani I	1	51	52	..	52
	Barani II	1	19	20	..	20
	Total	2	70	72	..	72
1959	Barani I	4	29	33	..	33
	Barani II	..	2	2	..	2
	Total	4	31	35	..	35
1960	Barani I	3	44	47	..	47
	Barani II	2	13	15	..	15
	Total	5	57	62	..	62
1961	Barani I	4	28	32	..	32
	Barani II	2	12	14	..	14
	Total	6	40	46	..	46
1962	Barani I	2	46	48	..	48
	Barani II	..	14	14	..	14
	Total	2	60	62	..	62

Agricultural Implements

Agriculture is carried on with the help of traditional implements e.g. plough, yoke, *khilni* etc. and the list given below indicates the name of the implement alongwith its local equivalent and approximate cost together with the average life of the implement.



Agricultural implements

Name of the implement	Local name	Approximate cost	Average life
		Rs. nP. Rs. nP.	
1. Plough	Sandar	9·00 to 12·00	2 to 3 years
2. Yoke	Jungra	6·00 to 7·00	3 to 5 years
3. Leather rope to join plough with yoke.	Hindreili	1·00	3 to 5 years
4. Hoe	Khurpi	1·00 to 1·50	2 to 3 years
5. Rope by means of which the bulls are yoked.	Jotan	1·00	
6. Suhaga	Dha	5·00 to 6·00	3 to 4 years
7. Axe	Kulhari	5·00 to 8·00	4 to 5 years
8. Khilni	Khilni	1·00	1 to 2 years
9. Big Khilni	Kodali	3·00	3 to 4 years
10. Sickle	Darati	1·25	2 to 3 years
11. Crow Bar	Jhamro	20·00	15 to 20 years
12. Winnowing fan	Chhaj	1·50	2 years
13. Kilta	Kilta	2·50	2 years
14. Baskets	Tokre	1·50	2 years

Horticulture

The height and climate of Brahmaur is considered suitable for growing apples and other fruit trees. They are also handicapped for want of adequate land which is already insufficient for growing foodgrains and they apprehend that if this land is diverted to fruit growing they may be deprived of their only source, though meagre, of food supply. Some farmers have however, started planting apple trees and it was gathered that about 50 or 60 trees had been planted. The

wild apricot locally called *cheedh* does not bring them any return in money value, but is useful for local consumption and the kernel, in the absence of any other oil seed, is utilised for extraction of *cheedh* oil. This is not only used as cooking medium but also utilised for other purposes. The number of walnut trees is not large and the produce does not help the villagers much except that it adds a little to their earnings. Sometimes, walnut oil also serves as cooking medium. The limited land holdings do not permit of a bright future for horticulture in this area unless the villagers themselves decide to convert their agricultural fields into orchards. If someone starts earning a sizeable income from fruit trees, it is sure to catch the eye of others, but till then and till Brahmaur is connected with outside world by a motorable road, horticulture, it is apprehended, is not going to be very popular with the people. Their wander lust is also a stumbling block in the development of horticulture as they feel that the fruit trees will keep them tied to their homes and they will have to forego the income which they at present earn during their migration period. The orthodox attitude of apathy towards anything new is slowly but steadily undergoing a change and people are gradually veering round to the view that their small holdings will give them much better return if put under fruit trees, when this view point takes a firm root on a much wider scale, we can expect this area to be converted into a fine apple producing area.

Animal Husbandry

Besides rearing sheep and goats, the villagers also keep cattle, mainly bulls and cows. There are only 123 bulls and 116 cows in the village. No one keeps a buffalo as the climate is not conducive to the proper rearing of buffalo. Once a villager brought a buffalo, but he was not happy with the experience as the milk yield suddenly dropped from 9 srs. to 4 srs. and the buffalo had to be taken to low hills before winter.



The following table gives the number of cows and bulls as well as pack animals kept by the villagers community-wise—

Caste	Total No. of house-holds	Cows		Bulls		Pack animals	
		No. of house-holds owning cows	Total No. of cows	No. of house-holds owning bulls	Total No. of bulls	No. of house-holds owning pack animals	Total Number
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Brahman	34	20	45	23	52	1	2
Rajput	49	26	52	28	49	9	10
Sipi	15	12	19	9	22	1	1
Rehara	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total .	99	58	116	60	123	11	13

The total number of cows is not enough to ensure an adequate milk supply to the population of the entire village and, accordingly they suffer from lack of this important diet. The breed of the cattle is very poor and the milk yield per cow is also very small which ranges from ½ sr. to 1 sr. approximately. The lack of adequate number of cows is attributed by the villagers to their migrating nature as well as the lack of adequate pastures for them. There are only 13 acres of pasture land and acting upon the old maxim "everybody's property is nobody's property", the villagers do not care to properly look after it. The cattle are mainly fed on green leaves of *ban* trees and maize stalks which are stored either in *saal, dragra* or on the branches of some walnut trees. The cattle are sometimes also let loose to feed on the grass growing on the fringes of the fields. This is incidentally also the major cause of many minor disputes between the farmers as sometimes cattle stray into the fields also.

There is a Veterinary Centre in the village. The centre is housed in a rented building, but now a new building for it is under construction. It is staffed by a qualified veterinary supervisor and a compounder. Medicines are also supplied free and in emergent cases the services of the staff can also be requisitioned at the house, on payment of the prescribed fee. This centre has been supplied with a red Sindhi stud bull for cross breeding and a number of cows of local hill breed are reported to have been crossed. The incharge of the centre is very hopeful of good results. During migration, the people carry their cattle with them if there is none-else to look after them in their absence and the long trek both ways tells upon their health very much.

No poultry is kept in Brahmaur proper because it is apprehended that the birds will defile the sacred Chaurasi area. People don't consider taking eggs and fowls as taboo, and in other villages situated around Brahmaur, many have taken to keeping poultry. Some even take these birds in baskets with them on their migration to the lower hills. In the absence of proper and adequate milk diet, the keeping of poultry seems to be essential for the people who have started realising this fact and it is hoped that in near future, adequate number of poultry birds will be reared by the people which will offer a welcome addition to the proteinous diet to their food which is at present woefully lacking.

The common cattle diseases are given below together with their local equivalents and the treatment applied locally—

English Name	Local Name	Indigenous treatment
Foot and Mouth disease	Khareru	Kerosene oil
Pluro pneumonia	Fotka	*Kahra*
Tympony	Aphara	Charcoal
Impection	Baank	Soap & Ash with water
Bronchitis	Khansi	Sundh and pepper
Mange	Charad	Palm Oil
Rinderpest	Manwan	Nil

The common sheep and goat diseases and the indigenous treatment given is—

English Name	Local Name	Indigenous treatment
Caprina pneumonia	Folka	Salt
Mange	Charad	Palm Oil

The gaddis pay more attention to the rearing of goats and sheep and since this constitutes a major source of income. The subject deserves elaborate treatment. The number of goats and sheep-reared by the villagers is 4484, and the following table shows the ownership community-wise—

Caste/Community	Total No. of households	No. of households possessing sheep or goats	No. of sheep or goats possessed
1	2	3	4
Brahman . . .	34	20	2,027
Rajput . . .	49	20	2,364
Sipi . . .	15	8	93
Rehara . . .	1	..	..
Total .	99	48	4,484

Malundi and Pohals and their Migration Calendar

Malundi and Pohals—From the number of sheep and goats possessed by these people

it can be easily surmised that they have to depute one or more men to shepherd the flock. *Malundi* or owner of the *mal is* a shepherd who tends his own flock. But if someone is hired to look after the flock on wages, he is called a *pohal* which appears to have been derived from *Pashupal* or *Gaupal*. *Pohals* are hired in summer season by a very few people in rare cases when they cannot spare some one from amongst the family to look after the flock. There is yet another custom prevalent in Brahmaur about tending the flock. If the number of sheep and goats is small and it is not possible for some one from amongst the family to be exclusively available for looking after the flock, then this flock is entrusted to another *malundi* in summer seasons, on payment of some fee to be mutually agreed upon. The *pohals*, when hired, are given (1) free meals, (2) free clothing and wool for the family, (3) two or four sheep per hundred sheep and goats and (4) Rs. 2/- in cash per month as wages. In this way a *malundi* can look after his own flock and in addition thereto he also tends the flock of one or two others. The entire family of a *malundi* does not follow the flock. One or two persons, as already stated, look after this, and others remain at home to look after the fields.

The *malundi* takes the flock to pastures and if the pastures are situated not at a distant place, he returns to the village every night. Such pastures are locally called *tarkals* and are situated in the Brahmni forests near Brahmaur. These *tarkals* are not sufficient for the upkeep of the entire sheep and goat wealth of the village and people have therefore to migrate to other pastures.

Migration calendar—The *malundis* as well as the *pohals* keep constantly migrating between the low hills and the inner mountains of Pangi and Lahaul alongwith their flocks. In the beginning of the winter (October and November), the flocks are driven to the low hills of Kangra, Nurpur, Pathankot and Jammu. For winter grazing no *malundi* or *pohal* is hired by any one and this work is tended by one of the members of the households. In the spring season (April), the flocks are driven back to the village where these are utilised to manure the fallow land. During the state period the Ruler of the state used to lease out the pastures near the village (Brahmani in case of Brahmaur) on contract. The contractor further used to allot these pastures to the shepherds subject to the condition that they would keep their sheep and goats in the fallow cultivable fields at night. In return the owner of the fields used to give grains to the contractor who further passed on half of the grains so collected to the shepherd concerned as his share. Thus the contractor had double advantage. Now, the pastures are allotted direct to the shepherds by the Forest Department. This does not impose upon the shepherd the obligation of keeping his flocks in the fields for manuring purposes. Therefore, the practice of keeping the sheep and goats in the fallow cultivated fields belonging to the villagers other than those who do not possess such livestock has vanished, as the link (contractor) between the shepherds and such owners of land has now vanished.

The flocks are kept in the village for a short period of 20 to 25 days in a month and they have *tarkal* as their pasture-land. For Brahmaur, Brahmani forest serves as *tarkal*. It is about 2 miles from Brahmaur. It would not be out of place to mention that the practice of bringing back the flock to the village at night is also on the decline. After grazing them on the *tarkal*, they are driven for the summer grazing. It is for this grazing season that *malundis* or *pohals* are engaged by those who cannot spare one of the members of their households for this purpose. The flocks are led over to the pastures in inner mountains of Pangi and Lahaul. These pastures are called *dhars*. There they remain for two months. It is interesting to note that each shepherd has his own fixed *dhar* which only he can use as pasture land for his flock consisting of a fixed number of sheep and goats. The Forest Department is discouraging the multiplication of the number of such animals and to implement this they do not issue grazing permits for more than a fixed number of goats and sheep. This attitude of the Department has created great dissatisfaction among the shepherds as they are charged a penalty of Re. 1/- per head of sheep or goat for which they do not possess the grazing permit. On the other hand the Forest Department are of the view that such checks are necessary to check overgrazing and resultant erosion. They also point out that the pasture land or the *dhars* with them are the same whereas the number of sheep and goats keeps on increasing and now a stage has arrived that it would be at the cost of the rich forests if grazing permits are issued for more sheep and goats.

Taxes—The grazing tax charged from the shepherds is Rs. 15/- per hundred heads of sheep or goats for the summer season. A shepherd has to pay the grazing tax twice a year. In the beginning of September, the return journey over the Pangi and Lahaul ranges commences and the flocks are driven

back to the *tarkals*. After staying there for 15 to 20 days, they migrate to the low lying pastures in Nurpur, Kangra, Pathankot and Jammu.

Shearing—Out of the total of 4484 sheep and goats possessed by the villagers, approximately half are sheep. The shepherds shear the wool thrice a year, in the months of Phalgun (March), Asadh (June-July) and Kartik (September-October). Before shearing, the sheep are given a bath and the shepherd observes a fast. Once this is done when they have a halt in the village *tarkals* and twice while in low-lying areas. From a case study, it is revealed that the average yield of wool from a sheep is 8 to 12 *chhataks*. Those who have larger number of sheep to shear generally employ Sipis of the village who do not possess such livestock. The Sipis employed for the purpose are paid in kind i.e. wool, the rate being wool yield of one sheep for shearing 25 sheep. During the last shearing season, a Sipi who is also a blacksmith was employed for the purpose by a shepherd. In all he (Sipi) sheared 125 sheep and thus got the yield of wool from 5 sheep.

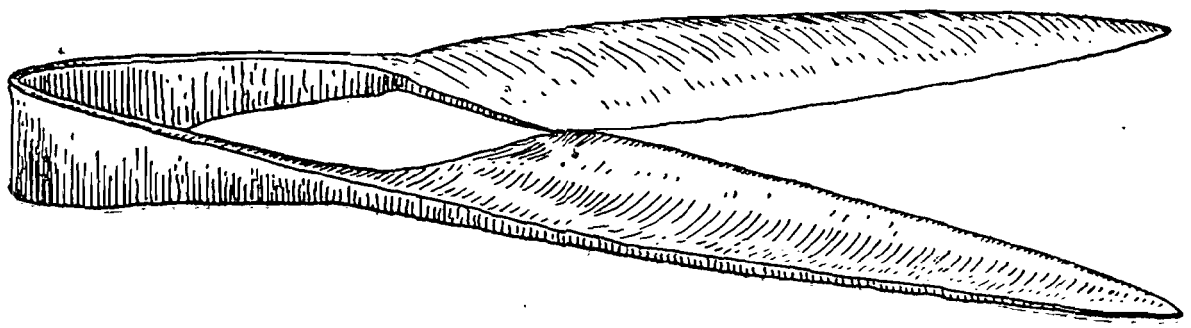
General—While on the move, a *malundi* travels very light and generally 2 or 3 *malundis* travel in a group. They have very little of personal belongings with them and do not carry any spare clothes except the one that they have on. They generally go without their traditional *suthan* that they wear in Brahmaur. A rough type of desi-shoe (*juta*) is enough as their foot-wear and of course the traditional *chola* with the inevitable *dora* wound round the waist is worn by all of them, along with the cap on the head. A peculiar aspect of the *chola* worn by these *malundis* is that the *chola* must conform to the colour of the wool surrendered by the flock. If the wool is white then the *malundi* must wear a white *chola* and if the wool is grey he must wear a grey *chola* and thus the shepherd identifies himself with his flock. The *malundi* while on move with his flock also carries a few utensils to cook. These utensils are mostly of aluminium excepting a *tawa* of iron, which is used for cooking *makki-ki-roti*. Every *malundi* carries a *hooka*, which he puffs even while on the move. The *hooka* is of *nariyal* type. A *malundi* leads a most primitive type of life which he leads unmindful of comforts. It is a hard life indeed.

While on move he sleeps in open either under a projecting rock or under the shade of a tree or under the clear sky, when the sky is cloudy he might take shelter in a cave. This is all the protection that he has against nature. For bedding, he has one or two *gardus* which are very thick warm and also to a great extent water-proof. The *dora* wound round the waist serves as a pillow and he passes his night huddled under the cover of a *gardu*.

He cooks his simple meals which consist of maize flour bread which he takes with salt or green chillies. It is very occasionally that he cooks *dal* or any vegetable. Sometimes a raw onion serves for the *salad*.

Since he has plenty of milk from his goats, he makes full use of it and also cooks *khir* (rice and milk boiled together to a thick consistency). He generally cooks his meals before packing up for a move to another halting station and carries it with him to be eaten as and when he feels inclined to do so.

He also transits business on his way and whenever he feels like it he sells, some goat or sheep. Every *malundi* must have a pair of sheep dogs locally called 'Gaddi dog'. This special type of breed is eminently suited as watch dogs. They are so fearsome that they



Shearing Scissors

can repel the attack of a bear or a panther and do not allow anyone to come near the flock without the consent of the owner. They have long hair and are acclimatised to live at high altitudes. They invariably carry round their necks an iron collar studded with nails. This protects them from the attack of wild animals especially, leopard or panther which catches his prey from the neck. The Gaddis are so fond of these dogs, that they would not in any circumstance, part with them. They neither sell their pups and instances are not lacking when a hard pressed Gaddi passes on the pup of some other specie of dog as a genuine Gaddi pup. A *malundi* is a superstitious person and often sacrifice a he-goat on some difficult passes.

Needless to say that on account of his habits, the *malundi* is unmindful of his personal hygiene. He seldom cares to take any bath and uses neither soap nor oil. He seldom cleanses his teeth and leads absolutely a nomadic life. Surprisingly enough he still keeps well and looks healthy, which may be attributed to his simple outdoor hard life. He is not afraid of hazards of journey and fatigue is almost unknown to him. Although he covers from 5 to 7 miles a day yet he has to exert himself much in keeping his flocks on right path. This he does with the help of his dogs or by whistling which the sheep and goat amazingly obey. For recreation purposes, he invariably carries a flute tucked up in his *dora* and which he plays occasionally. The flute in fact is the only article of recreation among the nomads whether they are Gaddis or belong to some other class. Every shepherd learns to play on the flute by himself.

The shepherds, consult *chelas* for omens when something goes wrong with their flocks. A he-goat is sacrificed in honour of god Kabarry before leaving the village. Similarly a he-goat is sacrificed in honour of Bani *devi* and Dighu *devta* before crossing Tundah and Kalichho passes respectively in Lahaul.

From the above description of the life led by shepherds, it would be incorrect to infer that there is no lighter side of the life that they lead. Many a love songs are prevalent among them which are sung with *gusto* and most famous of them relates to the love story of one Bhonku *pohal* who hailed from Bhatti Tikari in Bhattiyat Tehsil of Chamba District. He took his flock for grazing to Lahaul and there fell in love with a Lahauli girl Sonia Bhotli by name. The girl entertained her lover in her house for two months and by this time Autumn had set in and all his companions had returned to lower hills with their flocks. Then Bhonku suddenly realised that while he was enjoying, his flock of sheep and his beloved bitch Kandi Kutti were entirely forgotten. He expressed doubt wether he would be able to go back alone and his beloved assured him that she would send her brothers to escort him over the passes. The following folk song narrates this story—

किठयारिया गद्धियो गद्धिया

क्या नांग्रों तेरा

भटि टिकरी घरो मेरे

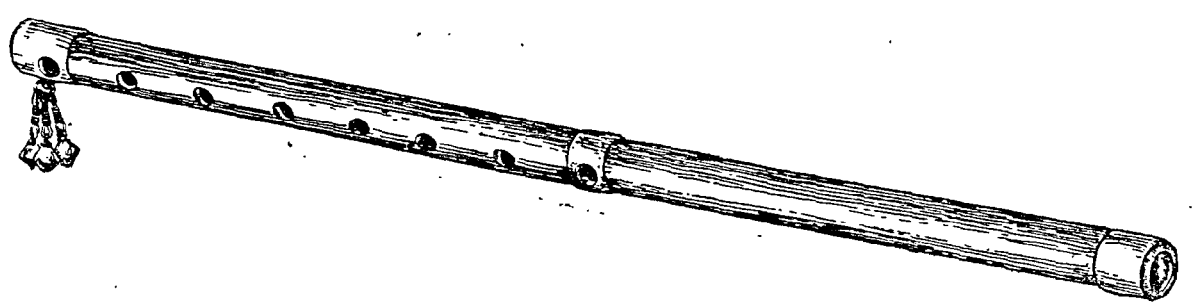
भुंकू नाम मेरा

कठियारिया भोटले क्या नांग्रो तेरा

पहिया ता प्यौके मेरा गोला नांग्रों मेरा सोनिग्रौ

तुंदे जात्रा लगुरी ग्रो भोकूंग्रा

तिथिया जो ग्राइथे



Flute

तति तति थोपड़ी बे भूंकू जोते चरी ग़ाय दा घी

कौन रिता हैं ते कोन महैना लगुरा ओ सोनिए

हैं राखे दी रित कोन महीना लगुरा

काते महीना लगुरा ओ भोकुंआ

हैं राखे दी रित

होरना दीआं भेड़ां हरे ओ सुनिए

ते मेरी भेडाँ घारे

काल्ही मत कर ओ भूंकूआ जोतां दीए

साथे भेजे भाई अपना

Meantime, the people of Lahaul started objecting to the relations between two lovers and when some Lahaulis went to lower hills, Bhonku happened to meet them and enquired from them the well-being of his beloved. They mis-informed him that she could not survive the pangs of separation and was dead. Bhonku hit himself on his chest thrice and was dead. Next season when some *pohals* went to Lahaul to graze their flocks, Sonia Bhotli enquired from them the well-being of her beloved Bhonku. They broke to her the sad news about his death, at which Sonia Bhotli also hit herself thrice in the chest and died. This happening in this part of the country has been immortalised in the following verse—

कठी बौली में कन्डी ओ कुती

कठी बोली मेरी भेडां

दूए बरसाले जोतां पुर गया ओ भुककूं

कथु दे लाहुलिओ म्यों क्या नावों तेरा

सुना सुनी भोटली दा सुख सांद

तिन तां मुक्कीहिक मंझ पाई बो सोनिओ

ते ओ गइ मर

तिन नुक्की पाई बो भुकुंए ते जोते पर गया मरबो

कठुए ढै गद्दी बो गद्धियो

ते सुना भुकुंए दा सुख सांद

तिन तां मुक्की पाई बो भुकुंए

ते जोतां पुठ गया मर बो

ते तिन दा मुक्की पाई बो सोनिए

ते सुनो भी गई मर बो

This song is very famous and almost every *pohal* remembers it by heart. I have seen Gaddi Shepherds roaming in Kangra, Mandi, Nahan and even near Kalka. There was a touch of sophistication when I saw few of them in the Nahan Bazar in coat and pyjama. When I asked about their traditional dress with a smile one of them replied. Not here sir—that is way back home. This is Nahan.

आया मेरा हपुन पहाल

शिवजी जो द्धे लेन वाला

ते काली जो बकरा बढाले

रामो दे बदामो बहना सकिआँ

Many songs about another *pohal* Rupnu have been composed. Rupnu had two wives Ramu and Badamu. Once when he was going to Lahaul to graze his flock, his companions advised him not to go to that place because the best season for making love was the rainy season when sky was overcast with dense black clouds. He had two wives to make love and they would be eagerly waiting for him. It appears that Rupnu listened to this valuable advice and wended his way back towards his home where his two wives were eagerly waiting for him. They were praying to Lord Shiva for the safe return of their husband and had promised to offer sacrifice to Keling also. They heard the dogs barking over the black ridge and also saw the flock and recognised it as belonging to their husband. Rupnu looked to them wonderfully beautiful in black *chola* and *dora*. When he reached home, he was so looked after by his wives that he forgot his fatigue. This event has been rendered in the local verse which runs as under—

रुपणू लोहोल मत जान्दा दोस्ती दा मजा बरसाले हो..

कनें हुनदे घने घने धूर हो,

कने हुनदी घनी घनी कुकदडाली हो

सब सव प्रहाल घरे आए हो,

मेरे रुपणू दा पता ना वसेख हो.....

घर ईला रुपणू पूहाला हो,

शिवजी जो देली नवालो हो

ओ कोलिगा जो छेलू वडाली हो,

जोता पर कुतर लगोरे ओ

आया मेरा रुपणू पुहाला ओ,

बकरी लाया जम्बा घेरा हो

आया मेरे रुपणू दा डेरा हो,

असी बकरी चोरासी भेड़ां

आया मेरा रुपणू पूहाला ऐ,

चिटा चोला काला डोरा हो

ओ वणौ वोनदा रुपणू पूहाला जो.....

घरे मुआ भूरेदा भूरा हो,

वणें जिहया ग्लै भसूतरा हो

लया मेरी रसया दी सोनी हो,

रेसो ता वदामों सकी वहना हो

ओ कुन जेहौ लोहाल जो नेणी हो,

रसो मेरौ निगी नादान हो,

बदामों मेरी मोटी परधान हो

ओ रसो मेरी निगी नादान हो,

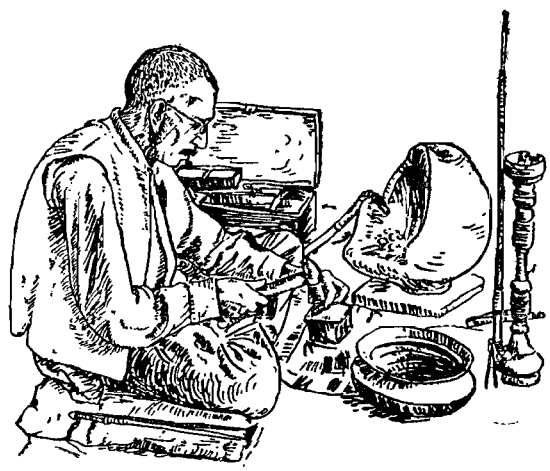
वदामों सो वोहाला जो नेणौ हो

Village crafts

Weaving—There is no weaver by occupation in the village and the woollen cloth required for preparing their woollen apparel is woven by the people out of the wool spun by themselves. The wool obtained from the sheep reared by the family or purchased from others is spun on *charkha* by ladies or on *takli* called *unsar* by menfolk. The weaving is done on pitlooms mostly by men, although women-folk might also know this art. They prepare *patties* and blankets locally called *gardus*. The *patti* is used for preparing *chola* or coat as the case may be, and the *gardus* serve as cover cloth. The *gardus* are really of fine quality and command a ready market in the low hills where people sell them during their stay there in winter months. The production is, however, limited and just sufficient for their own needs. A *gardu* fetches a very good price which ranges between Rs. 50/- to Rs. 70/- for double and if single from Rs. 25/- to Rs. 35/-.The double *gardu* (*dohra*) weighs approximately about $3\frac{1}{2}$ srs.

Blacksmithy—There are 4 blacksmiths in the village and all of them are Sipis. They prepare and repair the usual agricultural implements required by the villagers. The payments are either in cash in the case of new implements or in kind in the case of repairs. Sometimes the villagers bring their own iron piece for the blacksmith to fashion out the required implement from it and in that case he is paid the labour cost for doing so which varies from Re. -/8/- to Re. -/12/- in the case of a *khilna* and Rs. 2/- to Rs. 5/- in the case of an axe. If, however, the blacksmith has to use his own piece of iron, then he charges more which is Rs. 2/- to Rs. 3/- in the case of sickle and Rs. 4/- to Rs. 5/- in the case of an axe depending upon its size and weight.

Silversmithy—There is only one shop of a silversmith who is a Rehara by caste and incidentally is the only Rehara household in the village. He is carrying on the business for a pretty long time and has recently shifted from village Gossan to Brahmaur and has built his own house. The orthodox type of jewellery is prepared by him and the metal is generally supplied by the client. He also carries on the business of selling jewellery which he prepares. He caters to the needs of the surrounding villages. On an average, he charges -/8/- per *tola* of silver fashioned into ornament, but these charges



Silver Smith

may vary according to the ornament itself. He has a rich and assorted collection of old jewellery which is sold during fairs and festivals.

Carpentry—There is only one carpenter in the village and oddly enough he is a Brahman by caste. He is a good carpenter and is in great demand. Due to the construction of various buildings, many carpenters from Chamba and adjoining villages have also come to work on these buildings.

Leather Pouch—Every Gaddi carries his tobacoo in a leather pouch. This pouch he prepares or gets it from someone else who knows the art of preparing it. No regular leather worker lives in the village. The pouch is generally studded with small cheap mirrors and *rattis* and full of colourful embroidery, alongwith the *runka* and a bell. This is a must.

A passing reference may also be made to the art of preparing goat-hair shoes locally called *jarelus*. These shoes are very light and warm and no leather is used in their making. The Gaddis do not commonly use these shoes except when they have to cross high passes with their flocks. During such emergencies, they serve as anti-skid shoes and keep the feet quite warm.

The brief description of the so called village craft given above would show that the villagers are gifted and there is a variety of handicraft here—occasionally there may be stone carved, a *bansuri* with silver tassels so to say, then many weave their woollens, though the wool may be inferior—then the squares of the *gardu* may not be all too symmetrical, the jewellery has its own form of finery for the locals. Of course to return with a souvenir is a different matter altogether *gardu* may be expensive, a pipe may take sometime to get, the Gaddi may be shy of parting with his pouch—his head dress is becoming rearer—so are the normal feathers. A very small decoration for a temple may take time to prepare. The *dora* is too long a string to carry home and expensive too.

But if a concentrated effort is made, a fuller market assured, it may be possible for people living away from Brahmaur to see some of these—which only may be collectively seen to some extent in the Bhuri Singh Museum. But that could have to be left to the changes of time.

These may be dying crafts but some of us who have been there year after year—we have seen these in fair abundance. Then of course there may be *chiri* at the end of a *bansuri*.

Income

The table gives the monthly income by source and occupation—

Occupation of a household		Source of Income	Monthly income per household			
Main	Subsidiary		Rs. 26 to 50	Rs. 51 to 75	Rs. 76 to 100	Rs. 101 & over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Government service	..	Government Service	..	..	6	46
Government service	Agriculture	Government Service & Agriculture	..	3	..	3
Blacksmithy	Agriculture	Blacksmithy and Agriculture	..	..	1	1
Blacksmithy	Agriculture	Blacksmithy, Agriculture & Labour	..	..	..	1
Shop-keeping	Agriculture	Shop-keeping and Agriculture	..	..	..	2
Sheep breeding	Agriculture	Sheep Breeding and Agriculture	..	6	9	15
Agriculture	Sheep breeding & Labour.	Agriculture, Sheep breeding and Labour	2	1	7	5
Agriculture	Labour	Agriculture and Labour	1	2	..	18
Agriculture	Business	Agriculture and Business	..	1	..	2
Agriculture	Blacksmithy	Agriculture and Blacksmithy	..	..	..	1
Agriculture	Gharat and Mule driving.	Agriculture, Gharat and Mule driving	..	..	1	..
Agriculture	Shop	Agriculture, Shop and Tailoring	..	..	..	1
Agriculture	Gharat	Agriculture and Gharat	..	..	..	1
Agriculture	Business	Agriculture, Business and Service	..	..	..	2
Agriculture	Tailor	Agriculture and Tailoring	..	..	..	3
Agriculture	Mule driving	Agriculture and Mule driving	..	..	..	4
Silversmithy	..	Silversmithy	..	..	..	1
		Total	3	13	24	106

The people are extremely reluctant to disclose their income and the figures quoted above may be taken to be the rough idea thereof. There is no family, which may be said to fall within the very lean income group of Rs. 25/- p.m. or below and only 3 families who practise agriculture, labour and grazing, come within the income group of 26—50. Yet again, out of 146 households, there are only 13 families belonging to the income group of Rs. 51—75. Out of these 13 families, 3 follow government service and 9 agriculture, labour and grazing and only one carries on agriculture and business. The next income group i.e. 76—100 contains 24 families, 6 of which are government employees and one is a blacksmith. Here again the largest number of households follow agriculture, labour and sheep breeding. One family in this group carries on the business of running a *gharat* and mule driving. The largest number of households i.e. 106 out of 146 of total number of households belong to the highest income group of Rs. 100/- or above per month. Within this group also fall the government employees posted at Brahmaur, and they also account for as many as 47 households. This group also contains 25 households, who follow agriculture, labour and sheep breeding. An interesting feature would appear to be represented by 13 households who follow agriculture and labour and have managed to be included in this group. Two tailor households also belong to this group. The largest number of households in the highest income group, and the absence of any household in the lowest income group goes to show that the economic position of the people is quite good, which is further corroborated by every little indebtedness as only 4 cases of indebtedness have been detected in the whole of the village.

Expenditure

The table gives the monthly expenditure of the households in the village.

Occupation	Item of Expenditure	Rs. 26—50 Households	Agricultural Expenditure	Rs. 51—75 Households	Agricultural Expenditure	Rs. 76—100 Households	Agricultural Expenditure	Rs. 101 & Above Households	Agricultural Expenditure
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Govt. Service ..	Food	..	..	3	40·67	6	42·22	49	89·12
	Clothing	..	..	1	7·36	6	26·67	49	29·04
	Education	..	..	3	1·00	2	1·32	42	11·26
	Others	..	..	3	23·45	6	26·28	49	41·31
Blacksmithy ..	Food	..	..	..	..	1	61·67	2	100·00
	Clothing	..	..	..	..	1	6·67	2	12·50
	Education	..	..	..	..	1	1·67	1	2·08
	Others	..	..	..	..	1	10·90	2	18·00
Shopkeeping ..	Food	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	134·58
	Clothing	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	25·00
	Education	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	41·87
	Others	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	43·87
Agriculture & Sheep	Food	3	25·11	10	47·87	17	63·06	52	125·35
breeding.	Clothing	3	4·17	10	6·92	17	9·26	52	19·90
	Education	..	..	3	1·53	7	2·02	21	3·44
	Others	3	9·31	10	11·02	17	13·23	52	14·72
Silversmithy ..	Food	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	133·33
	Clothing	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	20·83
	Education	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Others	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	34·50

The average monthly expenditure per household represents amounts spent by it on main items food, clothing, education and others. "Others" include expenditure incurred on religious ceremonies, marriages, amusements, medical aid, tobacco and the like. The statement would show that the main item of expenditure is the food which shows a steady increase with the economic position of the household. The expenditure on education is little because so far as the education upto the higher secondary level is concerned, it costs very little and whatever expenditure is returned in the statement depicts nominal school fees, books and stationery. The expenditure under head education is returned by the family of two shopkeepers who spend an average of Rs. 41.87. This is because one of these families has a boy at College in Chamba. The expenditure on clothing is also not much and is comparatively less in the case of blacksmiths and agriculturists as compared with other groups.

In the years to come in spite of the thrifty nature of these people, their expenditure is likely to be more. They are gradually imbibing urban traits and the articles which were considered articles of luxury in the past, would surely tax them a little more. If in future they are to spend more on higher expenditure on education, and fineries for their women-folk, they are also expected to earn more. Their economy on the whole is well balanced and in the absence of any wasteful expenditure on litigation, they should be able to bear some little increase in expenditure. A Gaddi is very thrifty by nature and he would like to make his rupee go as far as possible and is even prepared to suffer privations on this score. The statement of income and expenditure does not reveal and cannot reveal the extent of their savings, but villagers themselves often talk about the private hoardings of various persons. These stories may be exaggerated, though, but are normally not without any foundations. The economic position of a Gaddi is not easy to be gauged by his appearance or the mode of life that he leads.

Indebtedness and Mortgages

There are only 4 reported cases of indebtedness in the village, and these are as under:—

Amount	Purpose	Source
Rs.		
300	Construction of house	Govt.
3,000	Business	Co-operative Society and private sources.
500	Business	Private source.
500	Repair of house	Co-operative Society.

Petty cases where purchases are made from the shopkeepers on credit and the bills are squared off at the end of the month or so, are not included in this statement as they do not show indebtedness. The rate of interest charged by money-lenders is generally 12 per cent, but may vary.

There were no cases of mortgages.

4

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Migration

AN interesting aspect of the inhabitants of Gaderan inclusive of village Brahmaur is their love to migrate to lower hills from October to March. The local people said that they had to migrate because there was very little or no work in the winter months in the village itself and that the severety of winter also compelled them to move out. Any how, the factum of migration is there and in Brahmaur proper, out of 99 local households, as many as 61 move out in winter months. Every family has generally its fixed place where it finds shelter during these winter months, and where the elderly people and in some cases the children also work either as domestic servants or on pounding of *dhan* or do any other sundry work that they can get. As soon as they have harvested the maize crop, they hastily sow the wheat in the vacant fields not even caring either to plough or manure it properly and pack up a few utensils for cooking meals and a few *gardus* and start on their yearly migration. Sometimes an elderly member of the family may be left behind to look after the cattle, but it is a general practice with them to take their cattle, sheep and goats also with them. Every member of the family, inclusive of small children above the age of 5, carry packages on their backs. A suckling child may be carried in turn either by the mother or by the father in the *khukh*. If a small child gets tired or is unable to walk, he is perched on the back where he can easily sleep. He is secured in his precarious perch by his legs which are held by the person carrying him. Occasionally an old person may also be carried in this fashion, but Gaddis are never too old to lend a helping hand to their family. Every family takes a *khaltu* of maize flour or maize for their rations. Few spare sets of personal clothes are taken and new ones are generally not made during these migrations. The families travel in groups or singly also if it is a sizeable family itself. They cover 5 to 7 miles a day and undertake the journey either in the morning or in the evening. Whenever they consider a spot suitable for their sojourn, they unpack and the ladies collect a few stones and firewood and start an impromptu kitchen. Such halting sites are always chosen near a nullah or a spring where they can easily get water. If they have nothing on them to cook as *dal* or vegetables, they collect green leaves of wild plants and cook them as *saag*. If nothing is available, then maize bread with salt and chillies is considered a good repast. While the women cook, the men either look after the cattle or enjoy a quite puff on the *hukka*. The small children play with pebbles, and still smaller ones are laid



Migrating



A family on the move

under projection of a rock in a shady place to sleep. When the meals are over, they again pack up their scanty belongings and start for the next halting place. The nights are spent in some suitable place when they lie down on the ground covered with a *gardu* or so, and comfortably pass off the night. It is seldom that they take their bath during the migration, but they do wash their faces and perform whatever toilet they can in this manner. They take about a month to reach their destination and reach their appointed *thikanas* where they are welcome. They may take with them some *akhrots*, honey, *gardus* to sell and some of these articles may also be given to their acquaintances as presents.

The places where the people of Brahmaur go on migration are situated mostly in Kangra District and a few families also go to Jammu District in J & K State. As many as 13 families from Brahmaur go to different villages nearabout Pathankot, 4 families to Bhattiyat where they have their land. These are Rajput families. All these 4 families are considered rich families and they do not serve any one else there. They have their own houses where they stay. A

castewise statement of migrants belonging to Brahmaur is given in table below—

Caste	Total No. of house-holds	No. of households which migrate	Name of place to where they migrate
Rehara ..	1	1	Baipur in Tehsil Bhattiyat
		1	
Sipi ..	5	2	Banali in J. and K.
		1	Jammu in J. and K.
		1	Masauli in J. and K.
		1	Jammu and Kashmir
		1	Nurpur
		4	Chamba
		10	
Brahman	34	1	Kangra
		1	Nurpur
		8	Dunera, Tehsil Pathankot
		2	Pangota, Tehsil Pathankot
		1	Mohru, Tehsil Pathankot
		1	Dhar Bangla, Teh. Pathankot
		1	Inderpur, Teh. Pathankot
		3	Shahpur, Distt. Kangra.
		1	Sherpur, Distt. Gurdaspur
		1	Bhatti, Tehsil Bhattiyat
		20	
Rajput ..	49	1	Rupena, Distt. Kangra
		6	Shahpur, Distt. Kangra
		5	Nurpur, Distt. Kangra
		11	Kangra, Distt. Kangra
		1	Rajol, Distt. Kangra
		1	Dunera, Distt. Gurdaspur
		7	Sanot in Bhattiyat
		4	Hatli in Bhattiyat
		30	

The migration plays an important role in the economy of the people. The able bodied men take to road work or other manual labour and generally earn nearabout Rs. 2/- as daily wages. The women besides working as domestic servants, also pound rice. They do not undertake the manual labour of the type that the men go in for. Children above the age of 7 or 8 also work as domestic servants where they are paid Rs. 4/- to Rs. 5/- a month besides food. A woman working as a servant also gets food with Rs. 8/- to Rs. 10/- a month. On account of the low wages paid to the servants, they never lack employment and in fact people eagerly await their return when various left-over jobs are completed with their help. The charges for pounding of rice are generally the same all over Kangra District with slight variations here and there. For every *drun* of rice husked from paddy, they are paid one *thimbi* of paddy which on husking yields about 2 seers of rice. In addition to it, 18 chhs. (3 *kacha* srs.) of broken rice are also given as husking charges after every *drun* of rice. No cash payment is made. A Gaddi is a thrifty person and spends very little on himself or his family unless he is compelled to do so. He subsists on the meals provided to him free or on the broken rice and pockets the cash. With the setting up of so many paddy husking mills, women are finding it exceedingly difficult to get reasonable employment during their migration, and it may perhaps be one cause for the slow but steady decrease in the numbers of households that migrate from Brahmaur to other places, but still they manage to keep busy. It is not possible to ascertain the exact amount that an average family consisting of 2 adults and 3 children can save during migration as no one is prepared to give exact figures and the answer to such a question was never a straight one.

The return journey starts as soon as it becomes warmer for them in the plains. This return journey lasts from the end of March to the end of April. These people spend about 2 months on their inward and outward journeys and have only 10 remaining months of the year to devote to productive work. On their way back, they purchase articles for household use as they require most. It was noticed that about 4 out of every 5 families were bringing back the *chhaj* and a round shallow basket called *changer* made of bamboos. The *changer* is used for preparing *bhaturus*. Many of them bring back new umbrellas, new shoes or silken *chadrus*, cotton pullovers and plastic



Relaxing

baskets. A Gaddi though not belonging to Brahmaur was carefully carrying on his back an old sewing machine which he said he had got somewhere in Kangra District quite cheap.

This age-long habit of migration is now on the wane partly because old avenues of earnings are no more available as much as they used to be and partly because of the emphasis on the education of the children who are cut off from their studies for so long a period. In comparsion to the past, when a very few old people could be met in the village during winter months, the village now does not present much a deserted look. In many cases, only a few members of the household migrate and the rest are left behind but it can be surmised that with the availability of more work nearer home on account of various development schemes launched by the Administration people may prefer to stay at home. It has however, to be seen whether the wander lust in their blood can be tamed so easily. Only time will show.

Religion

Brahmaur was the seat of Government for so long a period and Brahmins were imported from outside to act as priests and *purohits*. The people are devout Hindus having a strong leaning towards Shaivism. Shiva is the principal God and Mani Mahesh fair and Brahmaur Yatras are the principal festivals. (The Chaurasi area has the magnificent temple of Harihar with a number of lesser Shiv *lingas*. Besides Shiva, Durga in the form of Lakshna, Ganesa and Narsinghji are also worshipped). In Brahmaur there is no temple dedicated to Lakshmi Narayana, Krishna and Rama although people observe Krishna Janamashtmi and in some cases Ram Naumi also. With the shifting of capital to Chamba, the standard of religious guidance must have suffered. All the same, it has been there uniterrupted. The people also believe in supernatural powers. Joginis, Avtars, Gugga Nags, Kailu and host of other smaller deities too numerous to mention here and offerings are made to them on certain fixed days. They also observe Satyanarayan *katha* and many fasts. Brahmins are capable of reciting long passages from holy script. (Although they may be quite ignorant of three Rs.). The younger generation does not feel so much drawn towards religion, but this is a common feature everywhere and the people of Brahmaur cannot escape this all pervading influence of march of time.

Temples

Brahmaur is famous for its ancient temples some of which date back to 7th century A.D. There is the evidence of inscriptions to show that at least 3 of the 4 important temples were built by one master craftsman Guga in the time of Raja Meru Varman who ruled over this area c. A.D. 680. The temples suffered to a great extent at the hands of the Kira invaders in the later 8th century. The wounds inflicted by the invaders under King Khirsrong Idebtsan are still visible in the loss of an ear and tail of the Nandi bull standing before Mani Mahesh temple as well as the disappearance of feet and legs of Ganesha. Archaeologists are of the view that only the Lakshna temple still remains in its original form although it was repaired a number of times. The other temples of Mani Mahesh, Ganesha and Narsinghji are believed to be of later date although they house the original statues. The inscriptions throw a flood of light on the history of Chamba and the students of ancient history have been able to derive their own deductions from the temples and their inscriptions. For a fuller appreciation, a perusal of the "early wooden temples of the Chamba" by Herman Goetz is a rewarding labour. There are in all 84 Shiv temples of big and small *lingas* in the Chaurasi area of Brahmaur, it is not possible to give any description of any *linga* except the legend already quoted in the foregoing chapters. The temples that deserve mention and that are historically important are only 4 and they are Mani Mahesh also called Harihar temple alongwith its bull, Ganesha, Lakshna and Narsinghji.

Mani Mahesh—The Mani Mahesh temple has a huge *Shiv linga* on a huge stone *Yoni*. The size shows that the temple was erected over the idol. The door of the temple is too small to let the idol through it. It is built in stone and stands on a big rectangular platform facing the north. There are no inscriptions and it is difficult to say when it was built, but the local belief is that the idol (symbol of fertility) dates back to Meru Varman although the temple over it was built later on. In front of the temple and at a distance of about 20 yds. from the platform, stands the brazen bull 5′ high and 5′-10″



Nandi

long from nose to tail. It is made of a mixture of *ashtdhats* and is of massive structure. The bull or the Nandi is an inseparable companion of Shiva whose *vahan* it is. This Nandi stands on a pedestal 13" high and the pedestal carries an inscription said to be in Sharda script which states that it was cast in the reign of Meru Verman by Gugga. The cast shows the cover clothes with embroidered hem and an ornamental chain made of discs and bells. It lost one ear and the tail during Kira invasion and the people say that the invaders damaged the statue because they thought that it was made of gold, but it escaped total destruction when it was found that it was not gold. The bull now has a shed over it with wooden seats running around it. This statue differs very much from the bulls of hill breed found in this area and obviously the craftsmen prepared the casting with eye on some far away bull of Shiva which they had seen in the plains. This should presumably account for some of the disproportionate parts of the statue as its nose and hoofs are not in proportion to the rest of the body. *Puja* is performed twice in this Hari Har temple and many devotees collect to sing hymns in praise of Shiva.

Ganesha Temple is situated just behind the Mani Mahesh temple in a small ill lit shrine. The idol is again made of *ashtdhat* and is 3' high and sits on a pedestal 14" high. It also carries an inscription of Raja Meru Verman. It is a 4 armed statue with a pot belly body. For the usual sacred thread the idol has a snake. It is an awful inspiring figure and is much respected. It is believed that the temple over the idol here too is of later date as the original temple is believed to have been destroyed during general destruction of Brahmaur by Kira invasion. *Puja* of the idol is performed twice a day.

Lakshna—Of all the temples of Brahmaur, this is supposed to be the original one. It is a small un-imposing structure with a beautiful carved wooden gate leading to the entrance. Inside the sanctuary, is the fine brass statue 3'-4" high of Lakshna Devi which is a form of Durga depicting her as Mahishasur Mardani—killer of the buffalo demon. It is a beautiful statue with fine features executed by the same craftsman Gugga as the inscription at the foot of the idol shows. The temple of Lakshna has marvellous wooden carvings on cedar wood (cedrous deodara). The richly carved entrance gate has been damaged on account of its exposure to the rains and snows of 13 centuries, but the *mandap* inside and richly ornamented panels are well preserved. A description of the temple as given in the Chamba Gazetteer is worth reproducing—

"The plan of the Lakshna Temple differs from that described above in that in front of the shrine we find an ante room, the two being enclosed within a solid wall of rubble and wood masonry which has replaced the verandah. The facade of this building is of particular interest, as in the style of its decoration it exhibits a close affinity to the architecture of Kashmir and Gandhara, and, indeed, shows traces of classical influence peculiar to the monument of the North West. Under the ridge beam of the roof we notice first of all the triangular pediment with the trifoild arch, a characteristic feature of the Kashmir temples. The seated figure in the arch is not Kali, as supposed by Cunningham, but Surya the sun-god, as is evident from the position of the legs. His twelve arms, holding various attributes are presumably indicative of the twelve months of the year. The seven crouching figures along the basis of the triangle probably represent the seven days of the week.

Here, as well as on the architraves between the pediment and the doorway, we find an arrangement frequent in the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara; rows of figures in arched niches, separated by dwarf pilasters. In the lower most row the figures are amatory couples which can be traced back to Graeco-Buddhist examples. We notice also a row of supporting, crouching figures frequently met with in Gandhara sculpture and corresponding to the Atlantes of classical art.

The ornamentation on the lintels and jambs of the doorway is of a purely Indian type. Over the entrance we find a double row of garland-carrying flying figures, presumably meant for Gandharvas. In the upper row each of these figures is accompanied by the female figure seated on its hip. Along the jambs standing figures are placed which are difficult to identify owing to their decayed state. On both sides of the threshold the river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna (i.e. the Ganges and Jamna) are still recognisable, each holding a water vessel and a lotus stalk, and standing on their vehicles the

crocodile (*makara*) and the tortoise. Finally, I wish to draw attention to the winged dragons rampant which adorn the upper corners of the doorway".

The master craftsman Gugga built another wooden temple on an ambitious scale at Chhatrari in honour of another aspect of Durgashakti Devi—and the temple is accordingly well known throughout the area as Shakti Devi temple, but the design and execution of carvings in the Lakshna and Shakti temple are essentially in the same and the *ashtdhat* idols also more or less carry the same features in different postures. On the right side of the entrance of Lakshna temple is housed the Keling *devta* in a small *mandap*. Keling *devta* is regarded as *wazir* of Shiva. Many goats or sheep are sacrificed in the name of Lakshna, but a greater number of sacrifices are made to Keling because of its position as minister to Lord Shiva he has to be well appeased. Because of the vast number of sacrifices made to this god, an outsider humorously described it as *'killing devta'*! The people of Brahmaur have great faith in its miraculous powers and its *chelas* who wear a sort of red cap as distinguishing mark, are in great demand. The killing of goats and sheep within the Chaurasi area is disappearing and all killing has to be done somewhereelse.

Narsinghji—Facing the temple of Mani Mahesh towards the southern side of Chaurasi area, is the stone *shikhra* temple of Narsingh, a manifestation of God Vishnu. The idol carries a head of lion over a stout and sturdy human body and has 4 arms. According to Hindu mythology, Vishnu had to appear in this form to save Prahlad from the murderous intentions of his father Hiranyakshyap. Hiranyakshyap was granted a boon that he would not be killed by any man or animal and hence Vishnu had to manifest himself in this form—half human, half animal. The temple is smaller than Mani Mahesh temple and according to a copper plate issued by Raja Yugakar Verman, it was built by his queen Tribhuvan Rekha Devi in the 10th century. The image does not go back to Raja Meru Verman's reign, but is believed to belong to the reign of Ajay Verman.

The *ashatdhati* statue compels one to bow one's head in reverence. The people of the village believe that the *murti* has miraculous powers and no one would dare take a false oath before it. [It was revealed by a local young man, who was a college student at Chamba, that he vividly remembered 3 persons (one of them his uncle) taking false oaths before Narsinghji *baba* as the *murti* is called and all of them had to pay the death penalty for this sacrilege]. He also stated and some others corroborated him that the parties prefer to get their disputes settled through a court of law than by an oath taken before Narsingh *baba*. The *puja* is offered twice a day in this temple too. This temple was damaged in the earthquake of 1905 and was repaired at State expense.

Management of Temples—Before merger, the temples were under the management of the State. The *pujaris* are hereditary. For performing the *puja*, there are two groups of *pujaris* one consisting of 10 households and the other of 6 households. The group with 6 households is attached with Lakshna temple, and the other is incharge of Harihar and Ganesha temples. The worship in the Narsinghji temple is performed by *pujaris* belonging to the bigger group for 20 days and the other group for 10 days in a month. Some land is attached to Lakshna temple only, and the *pujaris* thereof are in possession of this land. Each household performs the *puja* in turn and also is entitled to whatever cash offerings are made to the temple during its duty period. During the State regime, no wages were paid to the *pujaris*. They were entitled to receive the offerings made to the temples although here also the gold and silver ornaments offered by devotees had to be deposited in the State treasury. For purposes of symbolic *bhog* of the deities, the following yearly rations were supplied by the State—

Name of Temple	Wheat	Rice	Mash	Grams
1	2	3	4	5
Hari Har(Mani Mahesh)	3 mds. 24 srs.	3 mds. 24 srs.	24 seers	..
Lakshna .	Do.	Do.	Do.	..
Nar Singh .	7 mds. 8 srs.	Do.	Do.	32 seers

In addition to it, 8 srs. of *dhoop*, 30 srs. of *ghee* and 18 srs. of mustard oil were also given to *pujaris*. Besides this, a sum of Rs. 6/- per year was also paid to *pujaris* of both the groups for clothing the deities. The *pujaris* were exempted from *begar* and the head priest of the Harihar Temple also enjoyed the hereditary post of Lakhanyara, who may roughly be equated with the present day *Lambardar* and wielded great influence.

Now with the formation of Himachal Pradesh the temples are being managed by the District Temple Committee appointed by the Administration under the overall charge of the Deputy Commissioner Chamba. The *pujaris* are not paid any cash wages and they continue to be entitled to receive offerings other than gold and silver ornaments which have to be deposited into the Government treasury. A cash grant of Rs. 260/- per annum for *bhog* of all the three main temples has been sactioned instead of rations in kind. This also includes the expenditure to be incurred by the *pujaris* on *dhoop*. The Ganesh temple is attached to Harihar temple but the Temple Committee pays Rs. 1.50 nP. yearly for *dhoop* separately for this temple also. Similarly Keling gets Rs. 1/14/-, Narbadeshwar Rs. 12/6/-, *Jyoti Linga* Rs. 4/- and *Mohini Linga* Rs. 4/- per annum for *dhoop* from the Temple Committee. Nothing is paid for other *Shiv Lingas* in the Chaurasi area. *Bhog* to the 3 main temples i.e. Harihar, Narsinghji and Lakshna is offered twice a day. The *bhog* consists of *luchis, halwa,* boiled grams and rice, and is also distributed among the devotees. The *pujaris* are not satisfied with the present arrangements made by the Temple Committee, and they gave out that they have submitted a representation that they were unable to carry on *puja* in the orthodox style with this meagre grant-in-aid. The *pujaris* further stated that they were carrying on the *puja* and offering *bhog* from their own resources since the last 2 years as they had not received even this meagre grant-in-aid sanctioned for the temples, and they were of the opinion that if this state of affairs continued nobody would be willing to act as *pujaris*, and the historic temples would suffer from neglect. The yearly income from these temples to the Temple Committee is made up of offerings of silver and gold ornaments by the devotees to the deities which is not much. The main source of income is derived from the lease money that the Temple Committee receives for leasing out plots to stall-holders in the Chaurasi area during the Brahmaur fair. This income varies from Rs. 200/- to Rs. 400/- a year. The District Temple Committee also receives some grant-in-aid from Government.

A mention may also be made of the income accruing to the Temple Committee from the Mani Mahesh fair. There is a small *Shiv Linga* at one corner of the lake (*dal*) and this is worshipped by every *yatri* going to have his dip in the lake. The cash offerings are collected by the head priest of the Harihar Temple. The money so collected is divided into 4 parts, one being credited to the coffers of the Temple Committee, the other part goes to the descendants of Charpatnath who was the religious precepter of Raja Sahil Verman. The third part goes to the *pujaris* of Mani Mahesh-lake-*Linga* who live in the village Hadsar and the 4th part is spent on the welfare of the *sadhus* through the good office of Naga Baba. A *bhandara* or feast on a grand scale is thrown to the *sadhus*. On an average, each shareholder receives Rs. 40/- to Rs. 60/- on this occasion.

The income from offerings made to the temples at Brahmaur is little except during annual fair when on an average about Rs. 200/- are collected and shared by all the 16 families. It would therefore appear that the income to the *pujaris* is only nominal and with the fading out of the old *pujaris* who attach great sanctity to this labour of love it is apprehended that monetary considerations will weigh more and the hereditary line of *pujaris* maintained so long might be inclined not to work as such for sheer love of labour and respect for the deities. To ensure that these priceless relics of the past are properly looked after, it may be worthwhile for the Temple Committee to examine the feasibility of having paid *pujaris*.

Fairs and Festivals

The social and cultural life of a people is reflected by their way of life. The Gaddis of Brahmaur lead a pastoral life from October to March. During this period, they seek employment wherever they can find it. They, of course, enjoy the fairs and festivals that are held there, and during their long treck to lower hills, they also enjoy the amusements offered by the cities and towns through which they pass. Among other things they enjoy cinema shows also. On their return journey to Brahmaur, they invariably participate in the Sui fair at Chamba. They come back to Brahmaur in April and remain there upto October during which period they have to do too many things. They have to reap the *rabi* harvest and attend to the *kharif* crop from beginning to end, and again sow the *rabi* crop in October after which they pack up and move out on their yearly migration. Marriages, construction of houses and other duties are also attended to during this period. Consequently they have little leisure at their disposal. The Gaddi is a carefree and merry-go lucky gay sort of fellow.

Brahmaur Yatras—During the very busy life that they spend in their stay at Brahmaur, they manage to enjoy a fair. This lasts for six continuous days each day being dedicated to Hari Har (Shiva), Narsinghji, Ganesh, Lakshna, Keling and Seetla. These temples stand in the Chaurasi area. The sixth *mela* in the name of Sheetla Devi started about 40 years ago. These fairs start on the day following Janamashtmi and people go about in their gayest clothes. Businessmen from outside also come in to open their stalls and a number of shops selling sweets, jewellery, sundry articles, *chat* and tea stalls are also set up. In the forenoon when the *mela* starts, some musicians collect at the Kardar Kothi and play their instruments which belong to Hari Har Temple. There is a *Shivlinga* in this Kothi also which is called *Than* of Mani Mahesh.

The musical instruments consist of *dhol, narsinga, nagara, shehnai and karnar.* The playing of the music heralds the beginning of the *mela* and the people flock together in the Chaurasi area where a procession is headed by the high priest of Brahmaur.



Playing the karna.

The high priest is attired in the typical Gaddi dress with a silken *pagri* on his head. He wears a golden *kantha* round his neck and some golden ear-rings. He does not put shoes. In his left hand he carries a heavy silver mace locally called *chhari* and in the right hand a *thali* with articles of *puja,* consisting of red vermilion, rice, flowers, a piece of red cloth, the bell, *shankh,* flowers, some drub and a little milk. The people led by the high priest perform *puja* in all the temples in the Chaurasi area in turn and also go round the temples 3 times (*parikrama*). After this the people go to their homes and come to the place again in the evening. Towards the evening when the sun is less fierce and shadows are long the people come to the Chaurasi area and go about shopping at the stalls taking sweet which consists of *jailebis, bur, mesu, shakarpara.* Many patronise the *chat* shops which are popular and others with money to spare, visit jewellery shops in search of silver ornaments. The young people and children enjoy the merry-go-rounds set up in the *mela* ground. Some like to have their snaps in the photographic booths set up by itinerant photographers. A brisk trade in the sale of flutes also takes place because every shepherd invariably carries a flute, which he plays with considerable skill. The distant soft notes of a flute wafted over the gentle evening airs stir up some inner chords. No wine shops are permitted in the sacred Chaurasi area, but nevertheless, people take wine and *sur* and go there in a merry mood. Some occasionally become tipsy and create a nuisance though the altercations never exceed the brawl stage and show of violence is always eschewed. Folk dances are also performed in the evening by men and women who dance in separate groups to the accompaniment of *shehnai* and *dholak.* The whole atmosphere is full of fun and gaiety. The same routine is performed during the 6 days. It is seldom that some dramatic performances are arranged by the Publicity Department of the Government. The proceedings are highlighted by a healthy rivalry on the last (6th) day of the fair when dancing parties from the adjoining villages vie with each other to dance on a particular spot in the open space behind the Hari Har Temple. Sometimes the arguments become heated and the police has to step in. Ordinarily the *mela* lasts upto 10 P.M. each night, but on the last day, dancing goes on upto midnight and groups from

the adjoining villages leave only early in the next morning. This ends the 6 days' *yatra*. In the State regime, 3 sacrifices were offered, one each to Lakshna, Keling and Hari Har, but now all killing has been stopped within the Chaurasi area. While dispersing, people, besides purchasing sweets and other articles, also make it a point to purchase some *chhuaras, gari* as *prashad* to their people. They also make offerings to temples and receive *prashad* of *luchis* and *halwa* which they carry to their homes.

The shops continue to function even after the termination of the *melas* because a week thereafter the famous and more sacred annual *yatra* to Mani Mahesh starts from Brahmaur.

Mani Mahesh Fair—Mani Mahesh is situated about 22 miles far off towards east of Brahmaur and the peak is about 18,000 ft. high above sea level. It is covered with perennial snow, and is regarded as sacred as Kailash. God Shiva is believed to reside there. It is also believed that no one has been able to scale the peak. People point out to two rock projections, human like in appearance, and tell that one is that of a *sadhu* and the other that of a Gaddi, frozen stiff, during their futile efforts to reach the summit of the peak. Pilgrims from the adjoining areas, and in some cases from distant places also flock to Brahmaur. Many of them arrive a couple of days earlier. Since Lord Shiva has granted a boon to Brahmni Devi that every pilgrim must worship her before proceeding to Mani Mahesh. Every pilgrim must have a dip in the Brahmni Nullah where they make offerings of *dhoop* and in some cases a goat is sacrificed. The *chelas* of Keling and Mani Mahesh are consulted as to whether their pilgrimage would be successful and accepted by God Shiva. They make offerings of some cash to these *chelas* who go into a trance and then furnish the answer to their questions. Their reply invariably is that the pilgrimage would be successful, and the permission to undertake the pilgrimage is accorded to pilgrims on behalf of the Lord Shiva. It is only thereafter that a pilgrim dares to undertake the arduous journey to Mani Mahesh. In all about 2,000 to 3,000 pilgrims collect at Brahmaur and start for the *yatra*. They reach Mani Mahesh lake covering the distance in 2 stages. In any case, they have to be at the lake on the morning of Radha-ashtami which falls 15 days after Krishna Janamashtami, as a dip in the small hours of the morning in the lake is considered to be very sacred, and every devout pilgrim must have that dip if he has to reap the full benefit of the pilgrimage. Before taking his final dip in the Mani Mahesh lake a pilgrim has a dip first in the Gauri *kund* which is situated just a mile before Mani Mahesh lake. It is believed that Parvati, Shiva's consort, used to bathe there. In the past, only women used to take a dip in this *kund* but now all avail of this. Then comes the Shivkarotri spring, which, it is believed, has its source in the Shiva's feet. It is very cold spring, but in their religious zeal, every *yatri* takes a dip here also.

Besides these 2 essential dips in the Mani Mahesh area, the *yatris* also deem it a 'must' to have a dip in the spring at Hudsar and Dhanchhoh. These dips are believed to purify the *yatri* of all wordly sins before he is ready to receive the final and most sacred dip at the Mani Mahesh lake.

The pilgrimage to Mani Mahesh is considered so sacred that some of the pilgrims start barefooted from the very beginning; some cast off shoes at Brahmaur and some at Hudsar and some at Dhanchhoh. The ascent to Mani Mahesh from Dhanchhoh is very steep, narrow, slippery and altogether arduous. Leather-sole shoes are not used at all partly on account of religious feelings and partly because it is not easy to climb the steep hills with these leather shoes which slip so easily. A place named Bandarghati was so steep that one had to literally climb it on all fours like a *bandar*. A sort of a tract has now been cut and the pilgrims cover this distance a little easier. The ascent to the Bhaironghati followed by Bandarghati is also fearsome. This Bhaironghati has been named because Bhairon, it is believed, guarded the approach to Mani Mahesh here when Shiva performed austerities there and none was allowed to disturb his solitude. The pilgrims go on shouting 'Manimahesh-ki-jai' 'Bandarghati-ki-jai', 'Bhaironghati-ki-jai' while climbing. People return to Brahmaur on the 5th or 6th day. On their way back from Mani Mahesh, people bring 2 plants growing in that area. These are called *ghugi* and *ban*, and are sold at about 4 annas a pair. These herbs are considered auspicious and in some cases, a cure against any evil eye. Every pilgrim purchases these herbs sold by the local people.

Chelas are allergic to photography of Kailash and often repeat that clouds and

mist would hide Shiva's abode if photographed.

Also all the pilgrims offer *dhoop* and all together pray as they catch a glimpse of Kailash—quite a fascinating sight.

All along the journey, the *yatris* sing devotional songs in praise of Lord Shiva. The pilgrims flock around the *chelas* who answer their questions. Before answering the questions all the *chelas* of Mani Mahesh who usually number about 20, swim across in the evening of the day preceding the Radhaashtmi when the pilgrims take a dip in the lake. The *chelas* assert that they walk across the lake and that the bottom of the lake rises up to enable them to tread on it. When the *chelas* touch the opposite bank, the pilgrims rush towards them in an effort to touch a *chela* first and it is in that order that the questions of pilgrims are answered by the *chelas*. The person who touches the *chela* first has the first priority and so on. All the *chelas* sit on a platform specially reserved for this purpose. In State times, it was the prerogative of the ruling prince to touch a *chela* first, and the blessings were showered on the Raja. Lot of goats are also sacrificed at the behest of these *chelas* who receive the head as fee, in addition to cash offerings. The meat of the sacrificed goat is cooked and eaten almost raw because it is very difficult to properly cook the meat at such a high elevation. Those who do not want to offer a goat in sacrifice, cut a coconut and pay the price of the goat to the *chela*.

In State regime, 36 male goats were sacrificed on behalf of the State, but now only 4 goats are sacrificed, and the expenditure is met by the Temple Committee.

Adequate arrangements for supply of fuel wood to the *yatris* are made by the Forest Department on behalf of the *Mela* Committee. Similarly the Cooperative Department also arranges for the supply of foodgrains, dry vegetables, sugar, tea and biscuits at subsidised rates from Chamba to Hudsar for the convenience of the *yatris*. These amenities were further extended last year to the distribution of a free cup of tea and a biscuit to every *yatri* during their return journey at Dhanchhoh. This cup of hot tea was most welcome to the tired *yatri* who felt warmed up and refreshed by it, and everybody praised the department for the services it rendered. A doctor is also posted to look after the pilgrims and a few policemen are there to maintain law and order.

The people also observe *Bisu* (Baisakhi) on the 1st day of Baisakh, *Patroru*, on the 1st Bhadon, *Sair* on the 1st Asuj, *Bahori* (Lohri) on 1st Magh and *Dholru* on the 1st Chet. On these festivals, they indulge in general feasting and the dances are also performed. Special diet is taken on each festival, thus on *Bisu* flour-cakes of *bhrais* called *pindris* are eaten with *ghee* and honey. On *Patroru*, green leaves of *kachalu* plant are eaten. These leaves are first steamboiled and then rolled and dipped in thick paste or *besan* and cooked in some cooking oil. On this day, only girls dance. On *Sair* festival, *babrus* prepared of leavened wheat flour are taken. On Lohri, *khichri* or rice and *dal* is eaten. They also observe Holi when parched maize called *khadas* are taken with *gur*. In the evening, a big bonfire is lit and is worshipped. On all these festivals, *sur* in large quantities is also consumed. Of these, *Sair* is very important fair because it is after this that they put sickle to the maize crop.

Besides the above festivals, the people of Brahmaur also observe Janamashtmi, Shivratri and other Hindu festivals, and the devotees go to temple to worship the deity. On these days, fast is observed and it is in the evenings only that they partake something. The evening meals after observing fast are termed as *phalahar* which generally consists of *chapaties* of *bhrais* or some other preparation, potatoes, *chaula* and milk and fruits, if they can manage are also taken. Meat-eating is a taboo on a fast day.

A mention may be made of *Sui* fair which the people of Brahmaur participate on their way back to home during yearly migration. *Sui* fair is held to commemorate the memory of queen of Sahil Verman who shifted his capital from Brahmaur to Chamba. It is stated that he dug a water channel from Sarota stream to arrange for the supply of drinking water for the town of Chamba. The water in the newly dug channel would not flow perhaps due to some engineering defect, but true to the beliefs prevailing at that time, it was considered that some sacrifice should be made and the legend says that Sahil Verman had a dream when he was told that he should offer either his son or Rani for sacrifice. The Rani volunteered herself for the sacrifice and was burried alive at the mouth of the newly dug channel. The water thereafter flowed into it and continues to flow ever since. A small temple in honour of the Rani has been built over a steep flight of steps on the Shahmadar hill at the back of Chamba town. It is stated that the Rani had taken

rest there and while alighting from her *palki*, her toe was injured by a stone which is still preserved there and shown to all visitors. Every year a fair is held on the first Baisakh which previously was open to ladies only, but now nobody objects to male visitors also. Gaddi women who happen to be at Chamba on that day make it a point to attend the fair and are feasted. They sing songs in praise of the Rani whose real name was Naina Devi and her silver image is carried to the small temple in a *palki* and brought back after 3 days—the Gaddi ladies singing songs in her praise all through the way.

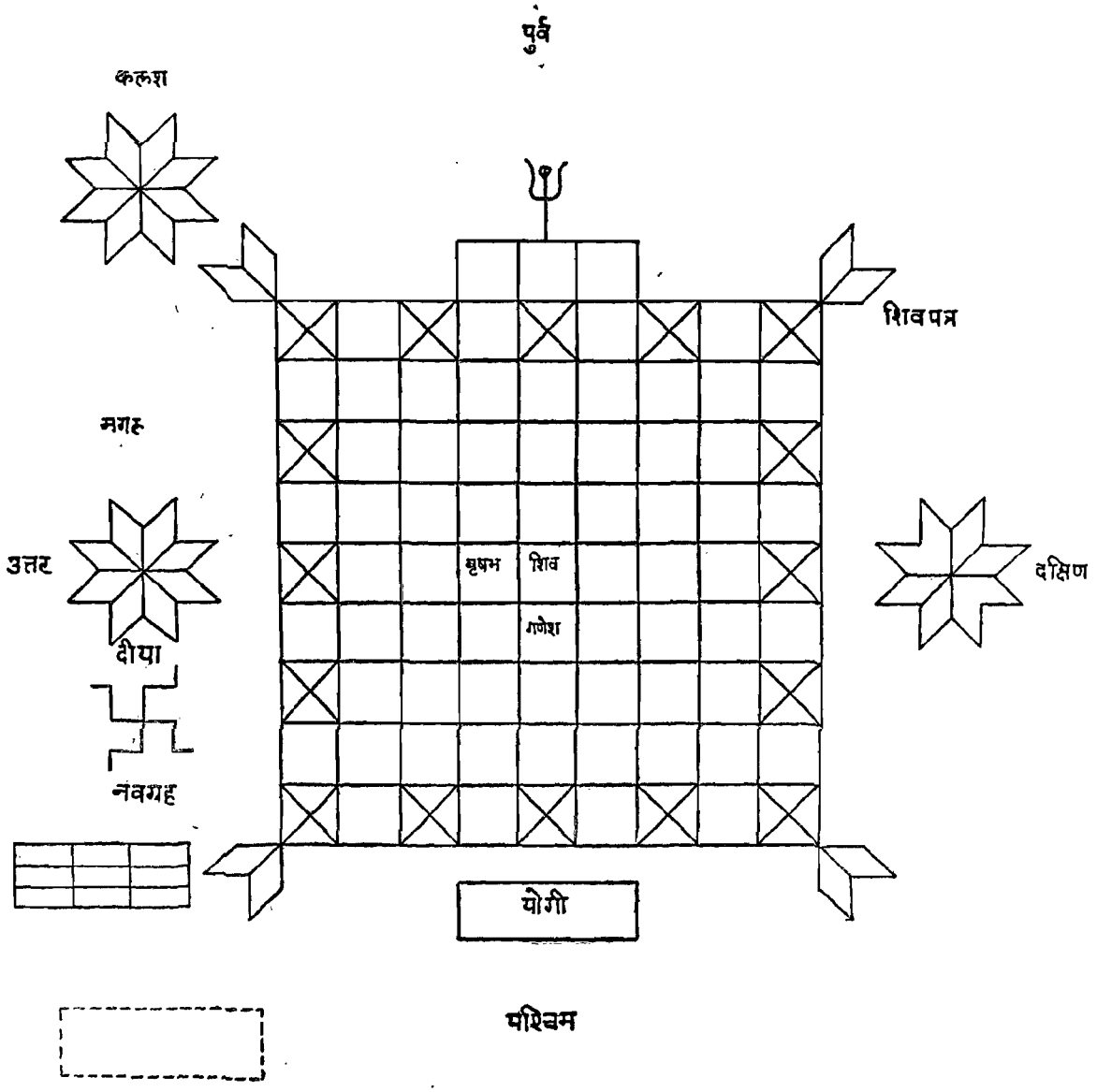
Folk Dances

Gaddis are hillmen to the core of their hearts although centuries ago their ancestors migrated from the plains, as the tradition goes. They are merry and lighthearted and with them sports and pastimes are more general than the people of the plains. The folk dance of Gaddis is of uniform pattern and is performed by a group of dancers moving in circle swaying their bodies halfway round at each step in an easy and graceful manner with the arms alternately raised over the head and hanging down. One of their member acts as leader. The dance is accompanied by singing the songs being often amorous but sometimes a metrical setting of some old legends and traditions. The men and women dance in separate circles and do not intermingle. The dancing of the men is vigorous and even boisterous. The women also clap their hands on regular intervals, and at every 2 or 3 steps sit down on their hunches facing each other. They repeat the song after their leader and every line of the song is repeated over a number of times. The tempo of the dance increases with the orchestra which consists of *shehñai* and *dholak*. The musicians sit outside the circle and go on playing upon their instruments. The dancing is full of verve and aplomb and occasionally reaches a frenzied stage with *luañchris* and *cholas* flying as the dancer whirl round and round. During the dance, one who feels exhausted gets out of the circle and rejoins it after freshing himself with a cup of *sur*. All the dancers enter the arena under the influence of *sur*. Occasionally, people also dance in singles whenever they feel inclined to do so or have taken a liberal dose of *sur* and are coaxed by their friends for an entertainment, but dances performed by individuals are always timid, whereas collective dances starting from graceful steps of a happy contented and peaceful people that the Gaddis essentially are, lead upto frenzied stage depicting martial background of these people who once carried their arms to far off places under the Brahmaur Kings. Among Gaddis, they shout only 'ho-ho' at the top of their voice and the songs accompanying the dance are always sung by the women dancers only. A distinguishing feature of the fairs at Brahmaur is that no *nagara* commonly called *tamak* is played whereas elsewhere especially in Kangra, it is a common sight to see a Gaddi vigorously playing upon a *nagara*. With two playing sticks in his hands, he approaches the instruments from a distance whirling around, jumping and performing minor acrobatics before he finally strikes it. He enjoys it so much, of course under the influence of alcohol, that he keeps on playing the *tamak* for hours together and would give it up only when he is thoroughly exhausted. A Gaddi generally plays this *tamak* in full view of his lady love, and perhaps to convince her of his prowess.

Folk Songs

The folk songs of the people of Brahmaur are mostly sung by women or shepherds while tending their sheep and goats. These folk songs are simple in composition and do not depict much flight of imagination and are rendered in simple style. They are sung with an amazing clarity of expression and each line is repeated a number of times before passing on to the other line. The women sing these songs in chorous with great delight while men often sing them singly. Sometimes a duet is also sung in the form of questions and answers and over long distances. It is a common practice among men to place their right hand on their right ear to sing a song in a high pitched voice. These folk songs often depict lovelore and a number of them are also sung in praise of Lord Shiva when these songs are called *ainchlis*. The folk songs are singularly lacking in 'Vir Ras' as it was not possible for the investigator to record any song of this type extolling the virtues or heroic deeds of any bygone hero. A few chosen folk songs with English rendering are given in the appendix.

Nawala—Gaddis always invoke Shiva's help in misfortunes, ailments and for success in certain undertakings. While doing so, they undertake to perform his *puja* in case they succeed in their undertaking. This special *puja* is called *nawala*, and may be offered at the time of the marriage, on the construction of a new house, recovery from illness or any other *manautis*. This is sort of thanks giving services offered to Lord Shiva.



Mandal

According to a version *nawala* is said to have been derived from the word *nav mala* meaning (new garland). During the performance of *nawala*, Shiva is worshipped at *night*. Inside the house a square of rice flour in the centre of the room is prepared and *Shivpindi* is placed on it. Also heaps of *atta* and *dal* denote the Kailash and other like. Then an artistic garland of seasonal flowers is prepared and hung from a hook in the ceiling over the *pindi*. A priest conducts the ceremonies and a person performing the *puja* offers a *sankalap* wherein he mentions the articles to be offered in sacrifice, but in some cases the sacrifice may be confined to the offering of a coconut only. The services of 4 persons called *bandas* are requisitioned, who sing devotional songs in praise of Lord Shiva throughout the night followed by others present there. These songs are called *Shiv Ainchalis*, and describe birth, marriage and other phases in Shiva's life.

A *chela* is also summoned who goes into trance as soon as the sacrifices are offered to

Shiva is said to be possessed of the Lord Himself. He answers questions put to him by the members of the household and their friends present. If the animal sacrifice is offered water is first sprinkled on the animal and if it shivers, the animal is considered to be acceptable to the God, and then beheaded. The *puja* generally finishes by the mid-night and all others excepting the members of the household and their near relations then depart. The household along with the 4 *bandas* keep awake through the night (*jagaran*) and keep on singing hymns of Shiva. Next day a feast is thrown to relatives and friends and the *nawala* comes to an end.

One of the famous *Ainchalis* sung in praise of Lord Shiva is:—

असी देणा शिवा जो नुआला ओ,
असी बकरी चुरासी भेड़ा ओ
जे देगां करी इच्छा इदी पूरी ओ,
असी तांई मनाणां ओ
लाल झंडी देणी रंगाई ओ,
छिटे खूने दे देणे लगाई ओ
शर्वत निकू छुकू बुलादे ओ,
मुदंश गिते तुदेहं गादी ओ
कई पुरंषा तैनो पाया ओ,
दिल खोली नौ तेरा लेदे ओ,
महिना सोण जे आया जे आया,
कप्ताने दे टबरे नो मार मुकाया ओ
भरया जोत दुनिया जादी हो,
असी दर्शन शिवा दे पाणा ओ।

मामे दी गोदा बैठी भानजी रौई,
रौई २ वेदन लुगादी,
कजो रोंदी गौरा भानजा क्या मांगदी,
क्या लेणा थालू कटोरू
दाजे देगा, कने देगा ठैटर,
जणा जाये थालू कटोरु, भरी जाये
ठठैर, भेड़ बकरी भानजा दाज देगा,
कने देगा गदेठु,
मृग खाये तेरी भेड़ बकरी,
रिडकी मरे गदेटू, गाय भैंसी दाजे देगा
कने देगा गुजरेटू, गाय भैंस सारे मारे,
रिडकी मरे गजरेटू
तु सूणिदा मामा हिमपतिया,
मैं हिया दा परीड़ लेणा थोड़ा पूरा
मामा मैंनी लेणा, नौगज भरुआ लेना,
पेहल पहरे गौरजा वाहरे जो
निकली, तीतर पंखी बदली उठी,
दूजे परहा वौ गौरजा वाहर निकली
दखन देशा दी हवा झूली।
कलियां धारा मामा धौलिया हुंआ खिड़
खिड़ हंसदी गौरजा दैई,
हुणवे शिवा ब्याणा किया आणा।

This is an invocation to God Shiva to fulfil all desires with a promise that if he is pleased to bless the worshipper, he would make an offering of 80 goats and 84 sheep. The second part of this song depicts the feelings of Parvati at the time of her marriage to Shiva. The song states that when *batna* was applied to Gorja and she was bathed and her hands were reddened with *mehandi*, it started snowing heavily. Tears welled up Parvati's eyes because she felt that it would not be possible for Shiva to come for a marriage in such a bad weather, when it had snowed 9 ft. deep. Her maternal uncle consoled her. Ultimately Shiva did come for the marriage to the great joy of Parvati.

Amusements

Except enjoying fairs or indulging in occasional bouts of folk dances and folk songs the people have little by way of amusements. There are no *Bhajan-mandlis*, dramatic parties or debating clubs in the village. In the spare time they prefer to sit and while away their time in gossiping on at their *hukkas* or spinning wool at the *taklis*. Some pass their leisure time in playing cards or chess. The women pass their leisure either basking in the sun or playing their *charkhas* and gossiping. They get little leisure from their arduous duties. Small children play rustic games like *guli-danda*, playing marbles or *chaua* or playing with either rubber ball or a ball made of rags, *chhuchhai, gatti khelaña, luklukai, akh mitauni, kabaddi*. Occasionally there may be wrestling matches called *chhinj* where people from far and near gather to enjoy.

Beliefs and Superstitions

Direct communion with the God Shiva is claimed through a *chela* who goes into a trance and then answers the questions of the devotees. The *chelas* generally belong to Sipi caste. To induce a *chela* into a trance

first incense is burnt before him seated cross-legged. After sometime, he begins to sway and shiver and is seized of religious fervour. Often times, he tries to inflict injuries on his person with a "cat — 'o' nine" and other sharp pointed instruments. He is seldom hurt. When he is in a complete frenzied mood and stops playing, it is the time to ask him questions and the devotees do so by making cash offerings. The people of Brahmaur have great faith in these *chelas* and always consult them in their misfortunes or before starting an enterprise or doing anything of importance. Each god in the region has its own *chelas*. A *chela* of Keling can be distinguished from his red cap. There is no binding to wear particular type of cap or head dress for *chelas* of other gods. With the changing times, *chelas* belonging to castes other than Sipi have also come to hold the field and Keling at present has a Rajput *chela*. In Brahmaur alone there are at present about 5 or 6 *chelas*, but the people of Sachuin, a nearby village claim that *asli chelas* belong to their village and are essentially Sipis. The *chelas* of Brahmaur according to them are *nakli*.

Any person can swell the ranks of professional *chelas* if according to the people, he has the necessary intuition, or, perhaps, he knows the art of shivering, and has ready wit! The Gaddis are a superstitious people and believe in a host of smaller gods. The Naag and Devi cults are the oldest in the hills and may be regarded as, in part atleast of aboriginal origin. They still have a strong hold over the simple mind of the people than the latter symbols of Hinduism. The Gaddis are by reference Shaivites, but their worship is Catholic to a degree. Thus on Sundays and Thursdays *Naags* and *Sidhs* are worshipped, on Sundays alone Kalang Devis on Tuesdays and on Thursdays Birs.

To the *Naags, ahri* or beestings, male kids or lamb and *ora*, incense and small cakes are offered; and to the *sidhs* a sack, a stick of rose wood, a crutch, sandals and a *rot* or a thick bread.

To the Devis are offered vermillion, *bindli, shalu, dora, sur* and a goat.

To the Birs a goat, a *chola* or a thick woollen coat, a waist-band a white conical cap (chukanni topi) and fine bread. Kailu Bir, the demon of abortion, is worshipped by women only. Kailung is a *Naag*, and the father of all the *Naags*. He is worshipped, as is Shiva, under the form of the *darat* or sickle which is always carried by a Gaddi while shepherding his flocks. Then there is the worship of *autars*. An *autar* is the spirit of a deceased person who has died childless, and causes sickness. To propitiate this spirit, a sick person dons clothes, which are made for the spirit along with a silver image of the deceased and then worships the *autar* idol which is set up near a stream.

The clothes and image are worn "in token of the deceased". *Autars* are said to have been admitted into the category of the deities owing to their evil influences on men and women. They are propitiated also on the *Amawas* and *Puranmashi* days.

Autars appear in dreams and warn people that they will carry them off to the next world. To scare away the ghost in such a case *jemanwala* is performed, and 4 balls, offerings of *ghunganian* nettle baths, and bran bread are offered four times at night.

But these do not exhaust the list of beliefs. Batal who is the spirit of springs, rivers and wells is also worshipped and *khicheri*, sodden Indian corn, 3 balls of subal (moss), 3 of ashes, 3 measures of water, a pumpkin or a flour sheep are offered to him.

To *joginis* or 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 are offered with prayers. Rakshanis and Banasats would seem to be the same as *joginis*. Chungu is the demon found on walnut and mulberry trees and under the *karangora* shrub. He is worshipped with a coconut, a *chuhara*, almonds, grapes, milk and a loaf of 5 paos ($1\frac{1}{4}$ seers), with his effigy in flour (a basket on his back), a four-cornered lamp of flour on the bread, and a piece of *dhup*.

Gunga, disease-spirit of the cow is propitiated by setting aside a *tawa* of bread in its name until the final offerings can be made. Then a piece of iron, something like a hockeystick, is made, and the deity taken into the cattleshed where it is worshipped by a sacred fire on a Thursday. A goat is killed and a few drops of the blood sprinkled on the iron. At the same time cakes are offered and some are eaten by one member of the household, but not by more than one or the scourage will not abate, and the rest are buried in the earth. Every fourth year this deity is worshipped the same way.

Ploughing, sowing and reaping should begin on lucky days which are—Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday. If the wheat does not grow on a terraced field the plough is not put on it again that year until a goat has been sacrificed there and neglect of this

rule is believed to result in a death in the family. When new ground is broken up for cultivation a *purohit* is asked to name the day and a goat is sacrificed before ploughing. As an alternative to this sacrifice, some people take four young girls to the spot and there wash their feet, mark their forehead with red *tikka* and give them *gur* before they plough the land. The first crop of such land is always offered to a deity before being used.

The smaller gods associated with food grains, *cheenia,* maize, wheat, pulse and barely are Devi, Chaund, Kailung, Kathura Naag and Sandholu Naag respectively.

The Gaddis have their omens good or bad and observe them before undertaking any work or journey. If a child's upper front tooth appears first, it is a bad omen for the maternal uncle. To avert a calamity, the uncle must give presents to the child. While starting on a journey if a Brahman or anyone bearing an empty pitcher or *kilta* is seen, the omen is unfavourable and the journey may be put off. If one meets a child or if a person is carrying a pitcher full, the omen is favourable. A priest is consulted to ascertain the lucky moments locally called *sat* for undertaking a journey or other work of importance. If one is not able to undertake the journey on a lucky day, his walking stick or a bundle of his belongings or a cloth is put outside the door which is considered as good as his departure. On Wednesdays and birthdays, nothing is given away unless in the form of charity. A journey should not commence on a Sunday, Tuesday or Friday and it should not be undertaken if there is an opposing wind, barking of dogs, mewing of cat, a widow in sight. A howling of an owl or a *cheel* sitting on a tree nearby are evil omens. A sudden tremor on any part of the one's body points to sudden diseases and the side is touched with shoe to counter-act this evil. Itching of the palm of the right hand indicates coming of wealth for men whereas the omen in ladies indicates expenditure. If the sole of the foot itches, it indicates a journey. Men do not have a haircut on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. A woman is regarded unclean during menstruation period and may not be allowed to cook meals for 3 days when she takes a bath and is again clean.

Dreams—Religious *pandits* give different interpretations of the dreams. According to the common belief, the morning dreams reflect the coming events. If a Gaddi sees the sky in the dreams, it forecasts monetary gain. Similarly storm indicates travelling, and fire rains. If a person dreams of marriage it portends death and conversely if he sees a dead body it means relief from disease. Drinking of wine is associated with longivity and looking into a looking glass is interpreted as worries ahead. The construction of a house in dream means profit and seeing a temple is considered to be the harbinger of good news. If someone dreams of a plough, he would court disease, and a person is likely to encounter worry on his wife's score if he sees fields.

Sati—In Brahmaur proper, there is no *Sati* stone, but in the nearby village of Ghared situated on the opposite bank of Budhal nullah, people worship *Sati Amma* who was a Rajput woman enshrined in the form of a stone image on the west side of the village. It is stated that in the long long past, the husband of the *Sati Amma,* Danuji by name died in a village nearabout Khani. At the time of death, she, in company with other ladies, was singing the following song:—

1. "Jhulyian pipla barotia Jhuliyan ho Jhulyian pipla barotia Jhuliyan ho.
2. Auon Kihan jhulunoon barri banjrua lagaya ho. Auon Kihan Jhulunoon barri banjrua lagaya ho.
3. Banjrua tala bo deli jhulyian Jhulyian pipla barotia jhuliyan ho.
4. Bhala auon kian jhulunoon dalu murjoure ho.
5. Dalu tera chandi bo marhali jhuliyan ho. Jhuliyan pipla barotia jhuliyan ho.
6. Auon kian jhulunoon patru murjoure ho.
7. Patar tere sunen bo marhali jhuliyan ho. Jhuliyan pipla barotia jhuliyan ho.

This song is in the form of questions and answers. While enjoying the swing, she requested the *peepal* tree to move back and forth. The *peepal* tree replied that he was planted in the rocks and so could not move. She promised to build a platform for the tree (to enable it to move back and forth). The *peepal* tree again said that he could not move back and forth because its twigs were drying up. She promised to silver plate the twigs (as a safeguard against drying up). The *peepal* tree again showed its inability to move back and forth as its leaves were falling. She also promised to gold-plate the leaves.

It is difficult to establish any connection between this song and the fact of her becoming a *sati,* but it is as related by the villagers.

Her nose-ring suddenly tilted in the opposite direction and this bad omen conveyed to her the ill-tiding of the death of her husband. She called her husband by name which meant that he was dead because in this part of the country, as elsewhere, the Hindu ladies generally do not call their husbands by name. She accompanied by her brother's daughter, went to the cremation ground next day and before doing so, she took a bath and put on all her ceremonial dress and ornaments. The dead body of her husband was laid on the funeral pyre and the lady taking two burning torches of the wood had a round of the pyre and then addressing the gathtring asked if somebody wanted any boon. It is reported that a *purohit* who had no male child requested her to bless him so that he might have a male child. This done and thereafter the pyre was lit and she also applied the burning torch to her hair. It is a common belief that she thereafter disappeared. The little girl of her brother who accompanied her to the cremation ground also died the next day. The stone image of *sati amma* also carries the rough image of the girl. The *sati amma* is greatly venerated and songs are sung in her praise. People devoutly worship this shrine and make supplications to her to fulfil their *manautis*. A fair is annually held in her memory and people from Brahmaur also go to attend it.

Status of Women

Gaddi women are practically of equal social status. Besides being the lady of her house, she is an equal partner in all other affairs and on the whole works harder than the man. The ploughing is invariably done by men but other agricultural operations are attended to by women. Even during migration, she carries an equal load on her back and contributes equally to the family earnings. She accompanies her husband through thick and thin, the shepherds who roam about over a large area from Lahaul to the foot-hills, have their women folk with them.

There is no polyandry and polygamy is rare. It is not easy for a man to bring in another wife without the consent of the first one.

In the absence of any male issue, she has a right to use and administer the property of her deceased husband but not to alienate it without the permission of other *gotra* members. Excepting the Brahmans who generally do not observe widow re-marriage, women of all other communities are free to take on another husband. The Gaddi community has in fact granted so much latitude to the women folk that a woman does not lose in social status or prestige even if she gives birth to a child much after the death of her husband provided she continues to live in her deceased husband's house.

The Gaddi fabric of life will not go far without the active cooperation of their women. As a young maiden, she ensures a bride for her brother in *batta satta* marriage; as a wife, she is co-worker and shoulders with her husband the realities and hardships of life, and as a mother she sits benignly over the head of the family where she is deeply respected. The Gaddi also greatly prizes his "possession" and spares nothing to please his *lari*. It may be under the influence of *sur* only that a wife may be roughly treated, otherwise such happenings are almost unheard of.

In a society where women have to be equal partners in the struggle for life, *purdah* in the strict sense of the word cannot exist. But Gaddi women have been noticed to pull the *chadru* over their faces when they face male elders. A Gaddi lady when sees some elderly gentlemen coming from opposite side on a narrow pass would stop and turn her back to let him pass first.

Gaddi women are really comely. Raja Sansar Chand II of Kangra developed a fancy for a Gaddi girl of Malkauta, a village about two furlongs from Brahmaur and ultimately married her. She was popularly called Gaddi Rani, and this event has been celebrated in the form of the following song:—

गद्दीं चारे बकरियां गद्दन चारे गांई,
घड़ा भज्जे सपड़िया।
बिना खाओ गांई,
हरे जोआन रुइया
राजै गद्दन बिहाई।

The Gaddi was grazing his goats; and the Gaddi woman was grazing her cows. Her earthen pitcher was broken on the steep rocks and the grass pad worn between the head and the pitcher, was eaten by the cows. Seeing her young face the Raja married the Gaddi woman.

Untouchability

The Sipis and Reharas belong to the scheduled caste and are, therefore, at the lowest rung of the social ladder. There is only one

household of Reharas and 15 Sipi households here. The Sipis consider themselves to be superior to Reharas and do not intermarry with them. However, the Rehara household commands better status in the village because the head of the household is the only silversmith of the village. The Sipis are not leather workers and do not touch the dead animals just like Kolis. They are traditional players of the musical instruments of the temple as well as in marriages and on other festive occasions. The musical instruments *dhol* and *shehnai* are not prepared by them, but are purchased from outside. They are essentially blacksmiths and 4 out of the 15 Sipi households work as such: 2 own mules and carry goods on hire and the rest work on odd jobs and as labourers. Most of the Sipis own land and till their land, but they do not work as agricultural labourers.

The Sipis and Reharas are free to visit temples and their touch is not considered to have polluted the temple which may require any purificatory rites later on. They also draw their drinking water from the common source and are free to visit the *Ardh Gaya Kund,* where in common with others they also wash their clothes. However, they are not permitted to enter the homes of Brahmans and Rajputs. They are invited to community feasts or *dhams,* as these feasts are called here, but are served separately in the courtyard or *angan* as no Brahman or Rajput would inter-dine with them. Similarly, when a Sipi or a Rehara invites Brahmans or Rajputs to a feast, the meals should be cooked and served by the *swarans.* Brahmans perform marriage and other rites of the Sipis and Reharas and receive cash *dakshina.* The only house of Rehara is situated near one end of the *chaugan.* Similarly Sipis have their separate settlements on the fringes of the village. None of the Sipi house is situated in a *mohalla* inhabited by Brahmans or Rajputs. There are restrictions on inter-dining, inter-marriage and entering into Brahman and Rajput houses. The Sipis also act as *chelas* of various deities, and curiously enough when someone even a Brahman, consults them, he touches their feet. Sipis have been enjoying a better status. Other scheduled castes in the hills were not allowed the use of a *palki* and a horse and the playing of musical instruments in their marriages was also prohibited. Even at present, there may be found certain areas where scheduled castes do not enter the temples in spite of the equal rights granted to everybody under the constitution. Old prejudices die hard and it is likely to take a little more time when the little restrictions placed on Sipis in the matter of house entry will also vanish.

Inheritance

There are two methods by which inheritance goes. One is *mundaband* and the other is *chundaband.* If a man has one wife, the property is distributed in equal shares among male children. This is *mundaband; munda* in local language means a boy. If, however, the person leaves behind more than one wife, the property is equally distributed between the wives. For instance, if a man leaves behind two wives, one having 2 sons and the other having 3 sons, the property will not be divided into 5 equal parts, but into two equal parts, each part being further sub-divided according to the number of sons from each wife. Illegitimate sons are not entitled to any inheritance, but if a widow continues to live in the house of the deceased husband, and gives birth to a son at any time after his death, this son who is called *chakandu* is entitled to inherit the property.

In case there is no male issue, the widow is entitled to enjoy the property for lifetime, after which the property passes on to the nearest collaterals. The Government of India have exempted the Gaddis of this area from the purview of the Hindu Succession Act, and as such the recent changes in the law of inheritance of Hindus have left these people unaffected. Otherwise also, the Gaddis, as a community, are against allowing their daughters the right of inheritance to property.

Language

The people of Brahmaur speak the "Gaddiali" dialect. This is purely a form of *pahari.* It is close to Chambiali of Chamba and Kangri in Kangra. One peculiar aspect of Gaddi dialect is that they are fond of pronouncing "Kh" instead of "Sh" as opposed to other hill-folks who have a marked tendency to pronounce "Sh" for "Kh'. They have no script and sometimes Tankri was used. The written language is now the Hindi which all school going children learn. In the State time, the script used in Brahmaur was the same Tankri script which was used throughout the erstwhile Chamba State. Besides their own dialect, they understand and speak Hindi.

5

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

Education

OF all the districts of Himachal Pradesh, rural Chamba claims the lowest literacy percentage which is only 9.21%. As against it, the literacy percentage in the village of Brahmaur is 29%. Out of a total population of 720, as many as 207 persons (147 males and 60 females) have been returned as literates. Table given below shows the literacy position.—

There were 9 Graduates, 3 Intermediates and 31 Matriculates. Most of them were Government employees posted there. So far as the village itself is concerned only a boy and a girl were found studying in the College at Chamba. No one else had gone beyond the matric stage. The village could boast of only 5 or 6 Matriculates.

The village had a primary school for boys under the State regime, but with the formation of Himachal Pradesh, this primary school was raised to middle standard in the year 1952 and in 1958 it was further raised to higher secondary school. A lower middle school for girls was started in 1955 which was raised to middle standard in 1958. The average number of scholars in the higher secondary school for boys was 227 in 1961, and that in the middle school for girls where co-education exists upto primary standard 91 (26 boys and 65 girls) for the same year.

Both the schools are housed in *pucca* buildings and the spacious Chaurasi area serves as their play ground. Open Air classes are also conducted in fair weather. The school observes yearly vacations in winter, when it remains closed for 2 months. From October onwards the attendance in the school is very poor because of the wander lust among the people and this is having a very bad effect on the studies of the children as some of them have to accompany their parents. The number of boys and girls in school from May to September is the highest in each class and after that very small. So long as the scholars are not allowed by their wards to continually attending the school, they will not study regularly. The schools serve a few of the adjoining villages also, but keeping in view the

Age Group	Total population			Illiterate		Literate without educational standard		Primary or Basic		Middle		Matric or Higher Secondary		Intermediate		Graduates	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
0—14 .	283	145	138	95	106	34	25	16	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—24 .	145	69	76	18	57	1	1	9	3	15	5	13	9	2	..	1	1
25—59 .	251	145	106	99	97	2	..	14	4	13	5	9	..	1	..	7	..
60 and over	41	22	19	22	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total .	720	381	339	234	279	37	26	49	14	28	10	22	9	3	..	8	1

total population of these villages, the number of scholars is proportionately very low. The utility of small boys tending their cattle or sheep and goats is more valued than their education and unless full significance of the education of the children is grasped by the people, matters are not likely to improve. There is a change for the better and as the lust for migration decreases more children are expected to attend to regular studies. An interesting feature is that attendance in the first primary class is the highest because a small child cannot be of much help and they are sent off to the school by the mother to have a respite from his nuisance value. This attendance registers a sharp decline in the higher classes because by that time the child begins to lend a helping hand to his parents and is, therefore, weaned away from the school.

There is a library in each school. There is no boarding house for the boys, but for girl students, not belonging to this village or belonging to poor families and who have no one to support them, a hostel or "Kanya Chhatravas" is run by the Adamjati Sewak Sangh. During 1960-61 there were 19 girls in this hostel and each of them was given a scholarship of Rs. 25/- p.m. They were also taught useful trades knitting, spinning, tailoring. The hostel is in a rented building under the management of a superintendent and a cook. A two *bigha* plot of land is also attached with the Chhatravas where there is a small garden. The inmates wear *salwar* and shirt made of *khadi*. This is their uniform.

The school children are led to pay their respects to Mani Mahesh and Narsinghji temples. After that the day's work starts. The games played are volley-ball, and foot-ball besides other local games that are played with great zest. The girls wear *salwar* and *kamiz* and the boys shirt and pyjama. The traditional conical Gaddi cap is also out of favour and the Gandhi cap has come into vogue. The young N.C.C. cadets may be seen in *khaki*.

Since 1961, mid-day meals consisting of grams and biscuits are also provided to the students. Poor students are also provided with text books on a nominal payment of 0.50 nP. per set of books. During 1962, 50 sets of books were so provided to the students.

The middle school for girls has, with effect from 1963 been raised to the Higher Secondary School.

The office of the Assistant District Inspector of Schools is also situated here.

Public Health and Sanitation

A hospital at Brahmaur is continuing since State times. It has been further expanded by an addition of 6 indoor beds. A doctor, 2 trained compounders, and a nurse-dai staff this hospital. The common ailments are fevers of various types, anaemia, eye trouble, dyspepsia, diarrhoea and other minor diseases. Due to the cold climate of the *ilaqa* and outdoor life led by the people, the incidence of diseases is not much and no epidemic has ever occurred in this area. In 1960, only 3 cases of smallpox and 16 cases of typhoid were reported. 1961 was a fever year. The incidence of T.B. is not high. Non-prevalence of V.D. among the people is a very healthy sign and according to the local doctor, less than 2 per cent people suffer from this.

There is no other Allopathic, Ayurvedic or Homoeopathic practitioner in the village and people prefer to consult *chelas* which they do in large numbers. They first try home brewed potions and poultices and then exhaust all superstitious means in search for a cure and it is only when these primitive methods fail that the people prefer to go to the doctor. The primitive methods as prescribed by the *chelas* are worship of certain deities and sacrifice of a goat or a sheep. This is also an occasion for a *chela* to extort money. These methods though still widely prevalent, are however, losing the field and more people are going to the hospital. In all 19,077 persons were treated in the outdoor ward during 1960 and 52 persons were hospitalised. Similarly during 1961, 12,757 outdoor patients were attended to and only 6 indoor patients were admitted. A redeeming feature of the area is that goitre which is common in other hill areas is practically non-existent.

It was a common complaint that the hospital is not well stocked with medicines. The people are hard put to in emergent cases because there is no private chemist or pharmacist in the village.

There is a health-cum-family planning centre in the village running under the guidance of a lady health visitor. Educative work in this field is required before the people are likely to take any interest in this matter. During 1961 and 1962, only 2 villagers made use of the contraceptives supplied free by the centre. This health centre, is proving its usefulness in the matter of child birth and the services of the nurse-dai are being increasingly required by the villagers. Out of 14 child-births in 1961, 8

were attended to by the trained dai of the centre, and out of 6 such cases in 1962, the nurse-dai was sent for in 5 cases.

Some common homely remedies are also resorted to in minor ailments, and these are—

(1) The maize cob after removing the grains, locally called *gull*, is reduced to ashes and administered in small doses for coughs.

(2) For stomach-aches a brew of powdered *ajwain* and common salt is prepared. A pinch of sugar is added thereafter and given to the patient.

(3) For common fevers, *chhoti ilaichi* and *ajwain* are boiled in water and given to the patients.

(4) For back-aches, the affected portion is massaged with luke warm mustard oil. Thereafter a lump of salt heated in the fire is wrapped in some old cloth and the affected part is fomented with it.

(5) For a sprain, the affected foot is placed inside an *atti* of home-spun cotton and twisted with the help of a stout twig of wood. The twisting is rather painful and is carried so far as the patient can tolerate it. The relief is instantaneous.

(6) For a snake bite the limb is tightly tied with a black woollen string above the bite mark. Some twigs of *bhang* plant (Indian hemp) are waived over it accompanied by chanting of *mantras*. Sometimes this cures.

Sanitation—Brahmaur in the matter of sanitation is in no way different from any other Indian village. Excepting the Chaurasi area which is kept quite clean by school children, the natural slope provides the only drainage system for the outlet of the waste water. Otherwise, there is no drain—*kacha* or *pucca* worth the name in the village except those which have been constructed by sophisticated houseowners here and there. This must, however, be said to the credit of the people that they do not throw refuse in the streets or in the lanes and collect it for being used as manure in the fields. There being no latrines, private or public in the village, all go to the nearby fields to answer the call of nature. Small children, however, are allowed to ease themselves here and there which makes the place dirty. In the absence of any sweepers in the village, the streets and lanes are never swept. The Panchayat has not so far taken any steps to enlist the cooperation of the villagers in keeping them clean and tidy. The village will certainly be more presentable if even once a month, the people get together to do the needful. Since the people lead mostly an outdoor life, they have not inculcated the habit of keeping the village absolutely tidy and clean. One day drainage may be taken by the Panchayat and certain portions of Brahmaur would definitely look better. In the winter months, people have to be in the fields nearer home and this would have created an unhealthy environment, but for their habit of migration as a result of which very few people are left behind in the village.

In the matter of personal hygiene, people keep their houses somewhat clean, but have not developed the habit of bathing regularly. The women bathe only when they feel the necessity of washing their hair which may be twice a month or some time, even once. The clothes are not washed regularly and the unfortunate *chola* continues to protect the wearer without having even one wash. The cotton clothes are occasionally washed in cow's urine. Soap is also being used. It is not that they do not enjoy a bath, but a habit has developed with them to postpone it as long as they can. A bath is a luxury although it is a common practice to perform elementary toilet by washing face and hands. Men and women clean their teeth with the walnut bark commonly called *dendasa*. Women and small children also put *kajal* or antimony in their eyes. Even some men may use this on fairs and festivals. The use of toilet soaps is on the increase and the commonest brand is the Lifebuoy or the Sunlight, though washing soap may also be used.

As the area does not fall within the malarial belt, D.D.T. is not sprayed in the houses. People are very much troubled by flees and flies, and an occasional D.D.T. spray is bound to help as these have become a veritable nuisance for the people and their cattle. The people will have to pay much more attention to personal cleanliness, if they really want to get rid of the lice menace with which they are heavily infested. Even a casual visitor to Brahmaur cannot escape noticing women helping each other in the process of delicing their long hair. The school going children keep cleaner than others. Their upkeep under the guidance of their teachers is having a healthy effect on the general cleanliness of other members of the family and it is expected that with the spread of education, the people will begin to pay more attention to personal

cleanliness. The Panchayat is also expected in due course of time to provide elementary facilities for the sanitation of the village, but in view of the limited resources, it is likely to take much more time unless the people decide to force the issue sooner.

Community Development

The N.E.S. Block was first started in Brahmaur in October, 1956. Besides, the usual budget allocation for an Extension Block, additional funds are also provided for this block for tribal welfare work. The headquarters of the block are located at Brahmaur and a new building is under construction to house the various wings of the block administration. In spite of the impressive claims made by the block authorities, the villagers are not much appreciative of the achievements that the block people claim to their credit. They are openly sceptic of usefulness of the schemes. But perhaps much of dissatisfaction is due to inadequate publicity on the part of the department to acquaint the villagers about their activities. Much of the apathetic attitude of the villagers will lose its sharp edge if the block administration cares a little more to place before the villagers what they have done and what they intend to do for them. They should carry their message to the poorer people who are least informed in this respect and should not leave the job entirely in the hands of the mebers of the Block Development Committee.

The block has a separate Block Development Officer who also lives at Brahmaur. The following developmental activities were carried out during the last few years in the village.

The indoor ward attached to the Civil Hospital was first constructed by the development block at a cost of Rs. 11,000/-. A kitchen was also added to it at an additional expenditure of Rs. 1,925/- and later on the building was transferred to the Medical Department.

The sacred Ardh Gaya tank was renovated and provided with a roof at a cost of Rs. 9,940/-. An adult literacy centre was run for 6 months during 1957 and 11 people from Brahmaur attended this centre. The block also started a weaving and tailoring centre at village Sachuin situated at a distance of about ½ mile from Brahmaur, and the trainees from Brahmaur attended this centre. 4 girls namely Chelo Devi, Cheni Devi, Maya Devi and Kaushalya Devi attended this centre. The weaving centre is still running although no trainee from Brahmaur attends it, but the tailoring centre has been closed for want of trainees. A sewing machine was given to one Maya Devi at half the cost.

Soil conservation work has been executed in 20 acres. This cost the block Rs. 554/-. Improved seeds of wheat, maize and other vegetables were also distributed among the villagers together with insecticides to protect the crop from pests. According to block officials, about 30 mds. of chemical fertilisers were also supplied to the villagers. It was, however, not possible to verify the names of the recipients of these fertilisers. The works executed by the Panchayats are also financed by the development block and a mention of these works is made under 'Panchayats'.

The block authorities are of the opinion that it is difficult to make any headway in the matter of improvement of agriculture unless the people themselves take to it with a serious mind. They further assert that because of their short stay during summer months at the headquarters, they are not able to pay as much attention to their land as a good cultivator should, and in many cases, the land is not properly manured.

Cooperatives

Similar to Panchayats, Co-operative Societies have also been organised on circle basis. Such societies cover a number of villages. Brahmaur is covered by Kailash Co-operative Society. This society covers Khani, Seri, Malkauta, Bari, Brahmaur, Panchsai, Gossan and Sachuin villages. The headquarters of the society are at village Sachuin which is about four furlongs away from Brahmaur. The society was established in 1951. The scope was limited to advance loans for purchase of cattle, seeds and repairing of houses. Initially it had 48 members including twenty-seven members from Brahmaur village. It started with a capital of Rs. 319/- each member contributing Rs. 5/- as membership and admission fee. Afterwards the society multiplied its activities and quotas of sugar, salt, wheat, rice and other controlled articles were allotted and the sale was entrusted to the society. The rates for sale of these articles are fixed by the Civil Supplies Department.

At present the society has share capital of Rs. 1,355/-. The present number of members is ninty-three. Total assets of the society are of Rs. 3,567.61 nP. out of which Rs. 2,212.51 nP. have been advanced as loan to the members from whom the interest is charged at the

rate of 9.38 per cent a year. The loan advanced is recovered in four six monthly instalments in case the amount exceeds Rs. 100/-. In case of Rs. 100/- or less, the loan is recovered in two six monthly instalments. The maximum loan advanced is Rs. 500/- and the society have received Rs. 300/- only as subsidy so far from the Government.

Panchayats

As Brahmaur is the headquarters of the sub-tehsil, naturally, the headquarters of tehsil Panchayat are located there. The Gram and Nyaya Panchayats cover the following villages also:—

1. Sachuin.
2. Malkauta.
3. Bari.
4. Gossan.
5. Goka.
6. Seri.
7. Dharkauta.
8. Patti.
9. Khani.
10. Bharmani.

The offices of all these 3 Panchayats are situated in Kardar Kothi. Prior to 1958, the Gram Panchayat, Brahmaur covered some more villages also, but as a result of re-organisation of the Panchayats in that year, the Panchayat was constituted for the villages mentioned above. The number of members of the Gram Panchayat is 12, but when the investigator visited the village, there were only 9 members and 3 seats were vacant. Brahmaur contributes 3 members 2 of whom are scheduled castes and they are elected against reserved seats. The Panchayat was established in April, 1954. The election is by show of hands. The present team of members was elected in 1958. New members are elected after every three years, but the Lt. Governor is empowered to extend this period. Besides the members, the staff consists of a paid Secretary and *chaukidar*. The secretary performs all the clerical jobs and maintains all the records of both the Panchayats. Meetings of the Gram Panchayat are conducted twice in a month, on the 1st and 15th. Generally the Pradhan presides over the meeting, but in his absence, the Upradhan acts as Chairman. A special meeting can also be called with a prior notice of 7 days but no such occasion ever arose for this Gram Panchayat. Activities of the Panchayat cover both social and economical aspects. This Gram Panchayat does not organise any fair, but there is a move that it should organise Brahmaur *yatras*. The functions of Gram Panchayat include development of the whole circle, such as repairs of village paths, *bowlis*, cleaning and lighting of public streets, sanitation, maintaining of birth and death registers. The Panchayat will have to show more positive results before it can play any effective roll in the village life and carry conviction with the people. The main activities of the Panchayat during the previous years are as under—

Construction of village paths—One mile long village path connecting villages Chaled and Karota.

Repair of village path—

Brahmaur to Gorpatti—One furlong.

Seri to Panihar—Two furlongs.

Chaurasi to Gorpatti—One furlong.

Charat to Gothru—One furlong.

LAND DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES

The Panchayat covered 6 acres at Sachuin and 10 acres at Malkauta under this scheme.

In addition, the Panchayat dug 3 manure pits, cleaned 11 *bowlis*, repaired Kardar Kothi, constructed 120′×120′ playground and constructed one *panihar* at Hatauni. Two more *panihars* are under construction at Sachuin and Malkauta.

The Panchayat is maintaining a library with 363 books. But it has been observed that the villagers do not make use of the library. However, the Government employees posted at Brahmaur do draw books. The Panchayat has also a stock of implements required for different operations like repair and construction of roads and village paths. In Brahmaur, families meet their need of woollen cloth by spinning wool. Some houses have their own hand-looms. The Panchayat has kept one loom for villagers to weave their cloth out of the yarn spun. To promote the cause of sports the Panchayat also issues sports goods among the villagers.

The income and expenditure of the Panchayat during the year 1960-61 is as under—

INCOME

	Rs. nP.
Opening balance	319·30
Samjhote cases fee	21·75
Summon fee	11·25
Local rate	60·50
Donation and contribution	250·30
Refund of advance	90·00
Grant-in-aid from other departments ..	915·00
Shram Dan	1,269·08
Grants-in-aid from Development Department	6,571·25
Miscellaneous income	23·50

EXPENDITURE

	Rs. nP.
Land Development Schemes	4,462·99
Construction of Bowli	550·19
Advance of Secretary	110·00
Pay of Secretary	600·00
Pay of Chowkidar	315·00
Cash balance	3,362·90

NYAYA PANCHAYAT

The activities of Nyaya Panchayat are mainly to deal with civil and revenue cases upto the value of Rs. 100/- and minor criminal cases in the Panchayat circle. The Nyaya Panchayat, Brahmaur was established in 1958. The cases come to the Nyaya Panchayat either direct or through *Samjhota* Committee. The *Samjhota* Committee is a sub-committee of the Gram Panchayat consisting of 3 to 5 members appointed for effecting compromise between two rival parties which refer the case to the Panchayat. In case the Pradhan or Up-Pradhan happens to be a member of the committee, he becomes ex-officio Chairman otherwise the members of the committee elect one among themselves. From 13th April, 1960 to the 31st March 1961, 12 civil and 7 criminal cases were referred to the Gram Panchayat. Out of these cases, 5 civil and 3 criminal cases ended in compromise, 2 civil and 2 criminal cases were referred to the Nyaya Panchayat and 5 civil and 2 criminal cases are still undecided.

The Nyaya Panchayat, Brahmaur, has 15 members called Panches. These members include one Sarpanch, and Naib-Sarpanch. There are no reserved seats for scheduled castes in the Nyaya Panchayat. From village Brahmaur, there are two Panches. Panches, members of Gram Panchayat, Pradhan and Up-Pradhan are elected by direct voting whereas the Sarpanch and the Naib-Sarpanch are elected by indirect voting by the elected Panches or members of Nyaya Panchayat only. Nyaya Panchayat conducts trials whenever cases come before it. For the purpose, three benches known as *dharam ashanas*, each of 5 members, have been constituted. In case the Sarpanch or Naib-Sarpanch happens to be a member of such a bench, he becomes an ex-officio Chairman of it, otherwise the members elect one among themselves. The main cases which come before the Panchayat are that concerning encroachment on land. Uptill now 12 cases have been referred to the Nyaya Panchayat. Out of these 9 cases ended in conviction in which convicts were fined. The total amount of fines collected came to Rs. 31/- which was duly deposited.

Conclusion

The people of Brahmaur and around have their own way of life. Though they retained the customs followed by them before migration to the hills. They have developed certain characteristics. The prevalence of Sanskritised rituals during births, marriages and deaths, is a legacy of the past as these customs, more or less, correspond to the customs followed by the Hindus in the plains which the ancestors must have followed before migration to the high hills. Cut off for so long from the parent stem and having little or no religious and cultural connections with their brethren in the plains, it was inevitable that some additions and alterations crept in these orthodox customs. They had to adapt themselves to the mode of life essentially suitable for the area. They had to cast off their clothes that they used to put on in the plains, to use the cosy, comfortable and all embracing *chola*. A *dora* was also developed. As religion was the dominating force in those times, the dress was supposed to have been ordained by God Shiva himself. In the matter of marriages, they try to preserve the old customs, but still amendments had to be made and inter *gotra* marriages were regularised even among Brahmins solemnisation of the marriage in the same *gotra* is a toboo in the plains. For the same reasons, inter-caste marriages between Brahmins and Rajputs/ Khatris also came to be in vogue although not on so widespread a scale. The religious guidance in the matter of rituals was no doubt provided to them by the *purohits* and the priests who learnt these rituals on hereditary basis with the result that we noticeably discern the variations from the orthodox text.

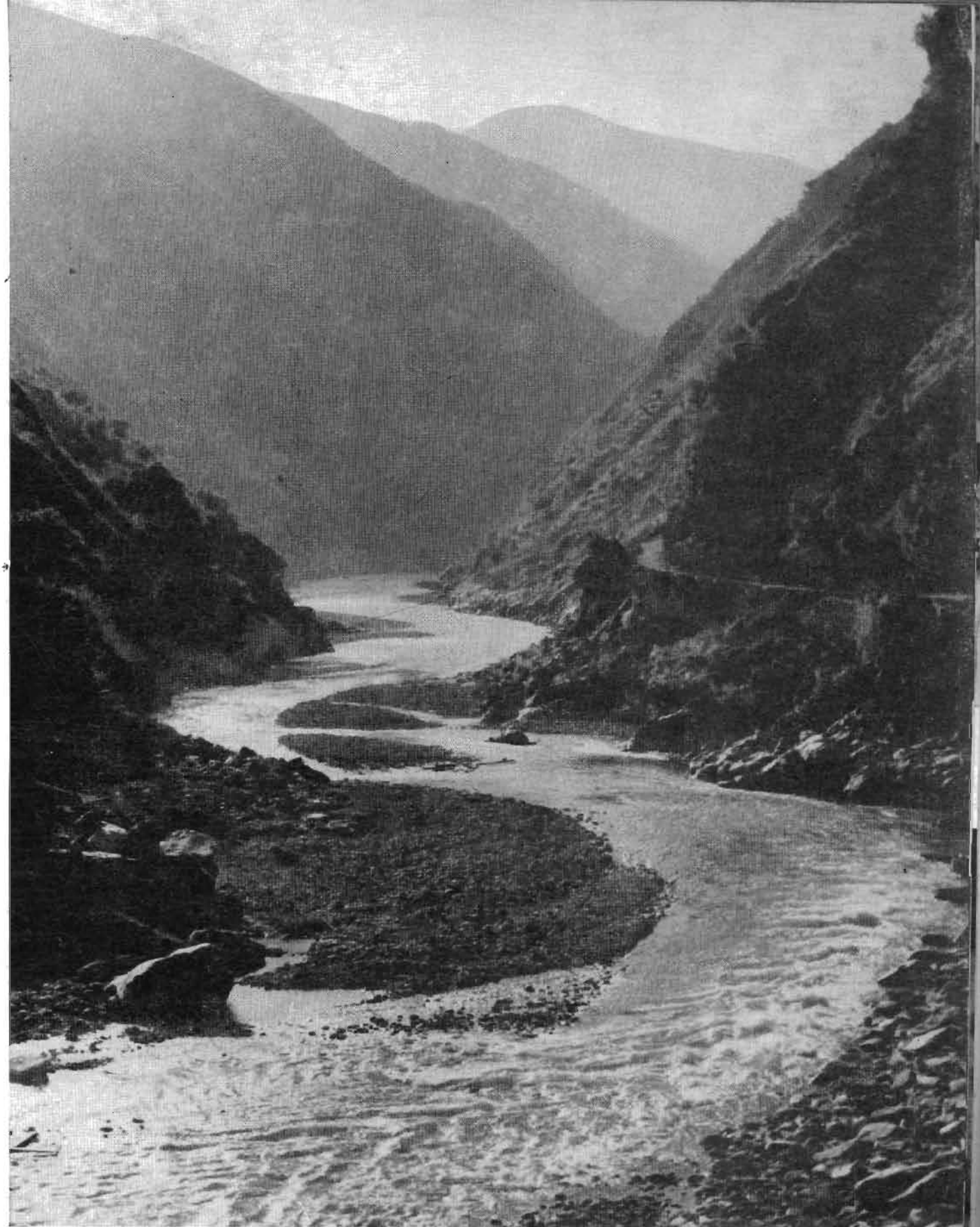
Except the institution of *purohithood* who were responsible for maintaining the old rituals, on attempt on the part of Brahmins was made to acquaint the people with the higher tenets of Hinduism. The urge for the people to know the will of the gods was answered in the shape of institution of *chelas* which these people appear to have developed after their migration to these hills because this institution is not commonly found in the plains. In the absence of education and proper knowledge of Hindu scriptures, the growth of such institution was nothing strange, when throughout hills this system prevails. Such crude methods directly interpreting the will of the gods, do not thrive in a society, where the priests are capable of interpreting the scriptures, and vanish when people take to education. This is what is happening in Brahmaur. People are slowly, but steadily losing faith in what *chelas* say on behalf of the gods. and openly

that it is a device on the part of the so-called *chelas* to extort money from credulous and ignorant people. It would be no wonder, therefore, if in the next few decades the *chelas* considerably go down in numbers if not completely vanish.

In community living, the Gaddis appear to be well-knit and follow a set pattern of life. This was because of the dearth of land in the area and the need to support them in these inhospitable hills. They have been adapting themselves as and when times have changed. Under the early Brahampura kings, they served under the army, and when the peace times prevailed, they took to agriculture and rearing of sheep and goats.

The life of these people even at present, affords an interesting reading. The people whose ancestors came from the plains adapted themselves to the arduous and rigorous hill life. The orthodox mind may not readily agree with and appreciate the changes that they have effected in the orthodox customs. These were inevitable although these changes did not radically alter the original rituals and customs as to sever all connections with the past. They have been able to preserve these characteristics for over a thousand years. The impact of modern times is already there, though imperceptible. The younger generation do not feel so closely drawn to the traditional dress of *chola* and *dora* and have taken to *salwar* and *kamiz* instead. The powerful grip of religion and community is also loosening. The yearly migration to Kangra and other places is on the decline. More people stay at home during winter. With the opening of roads, new avenues of earning livelihood are available to them, and this is likely to change the cycle of their life followed since ages. With the constitution of Panchayats, they are becoming more and more political minded and demand more amenities for the area. These facts are sure to influence their traditional way of life. They had never the opportunity of living in close proximity with so many outsiders as at present when so many government employees are posted in their area and some of their own people are serving in the army outside. All these factors are bound to play an important part in moulding their future mode of life. But Gaddis are energetic and resilient and as in the past, so in the future, they are expected to adapt themselves to the changes which time and circumstances enforce upon them though they may have to shake off some aspects of their traditional mode of life.

Children go to school, newer houses have come up, electricity has reached Brahmaur—a Gaddi girl is in the college—family planning is heard of, though many houses have not changed, certain amenities would be completed. But I suppose Shiv Bhumi, the Gaddi, his sheep and the love of the flute, would have an infinite charm, gentleness with a lingering tenderness for those who have received warmth and tenderness at their hands. The *chelas* who have been to Mani Mahesh as many as fifty one times foretell that Shivji Maharaj wishes the jeep to go no further than Brahmaur. All this may be of the past—the kinds of changes which often seek a compromise with traditions and the past I suppose has the answer.



The road to Brahmaur follows the Ravi

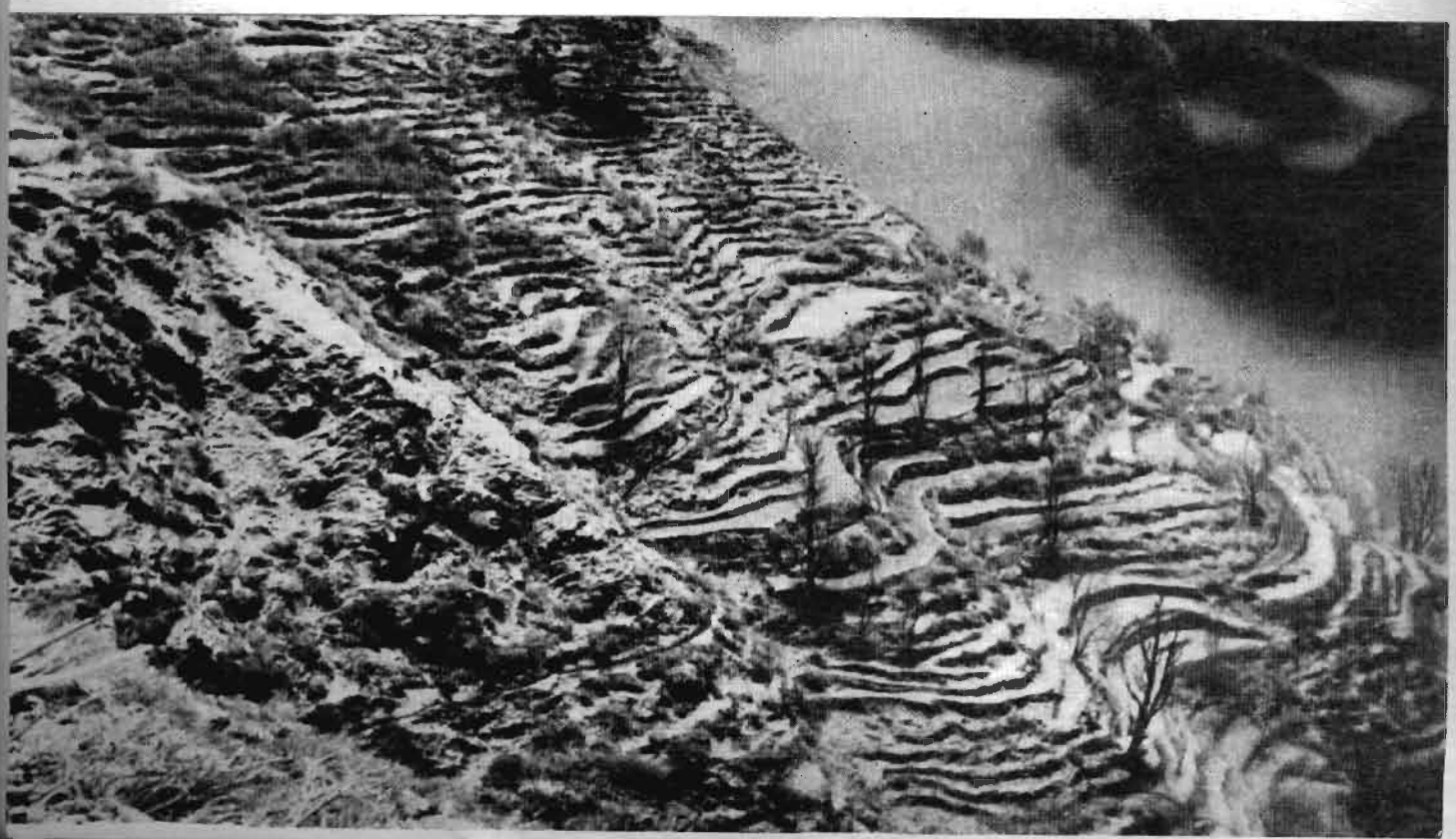
Courtesy: Bal Krishan, *Times of India*



Brahmaur

Courtesy: Bal Krishan, *Times of India*

Terraced fields

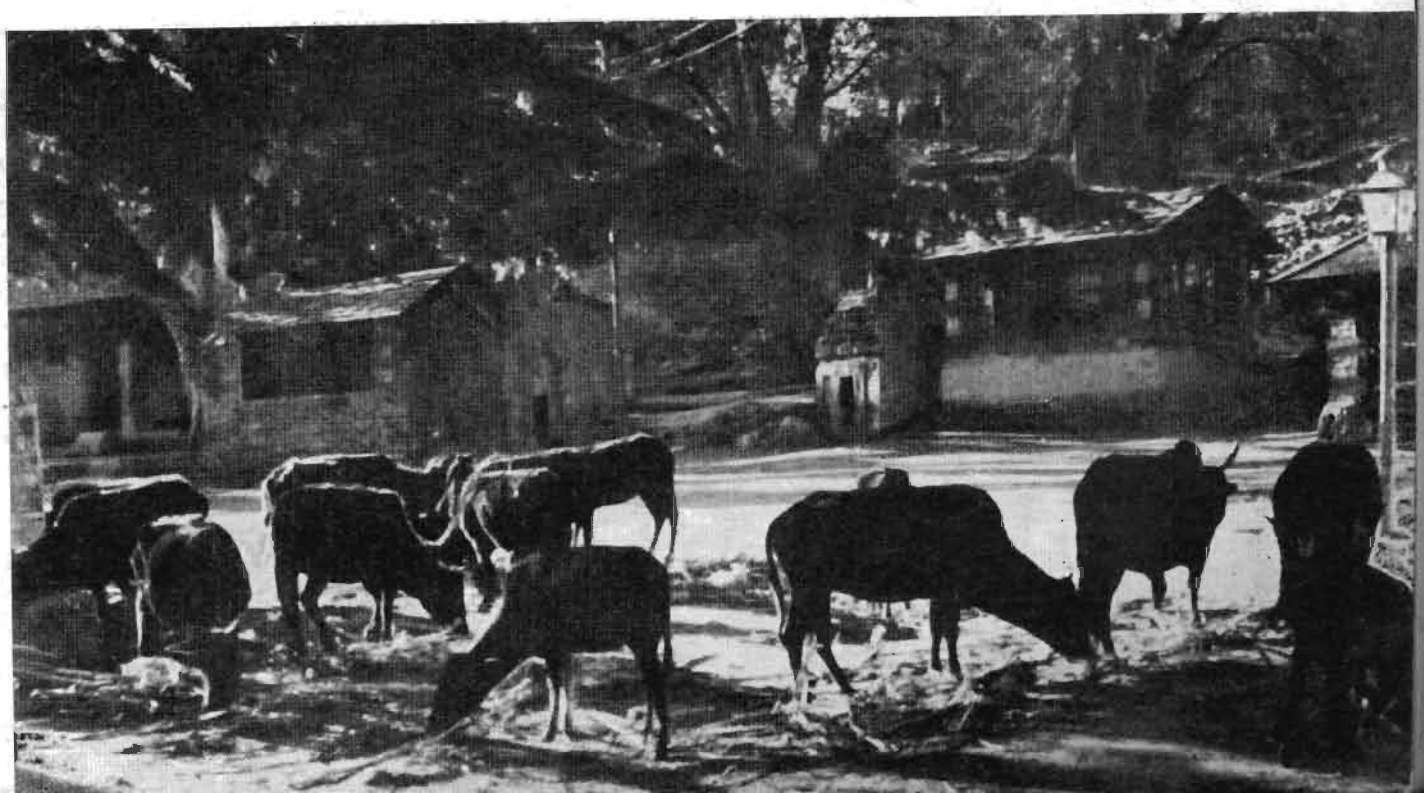




Maize stalks

Courtesy: Bal Krishan, *Times of India*

Cattle in Chaurasi





Migrating



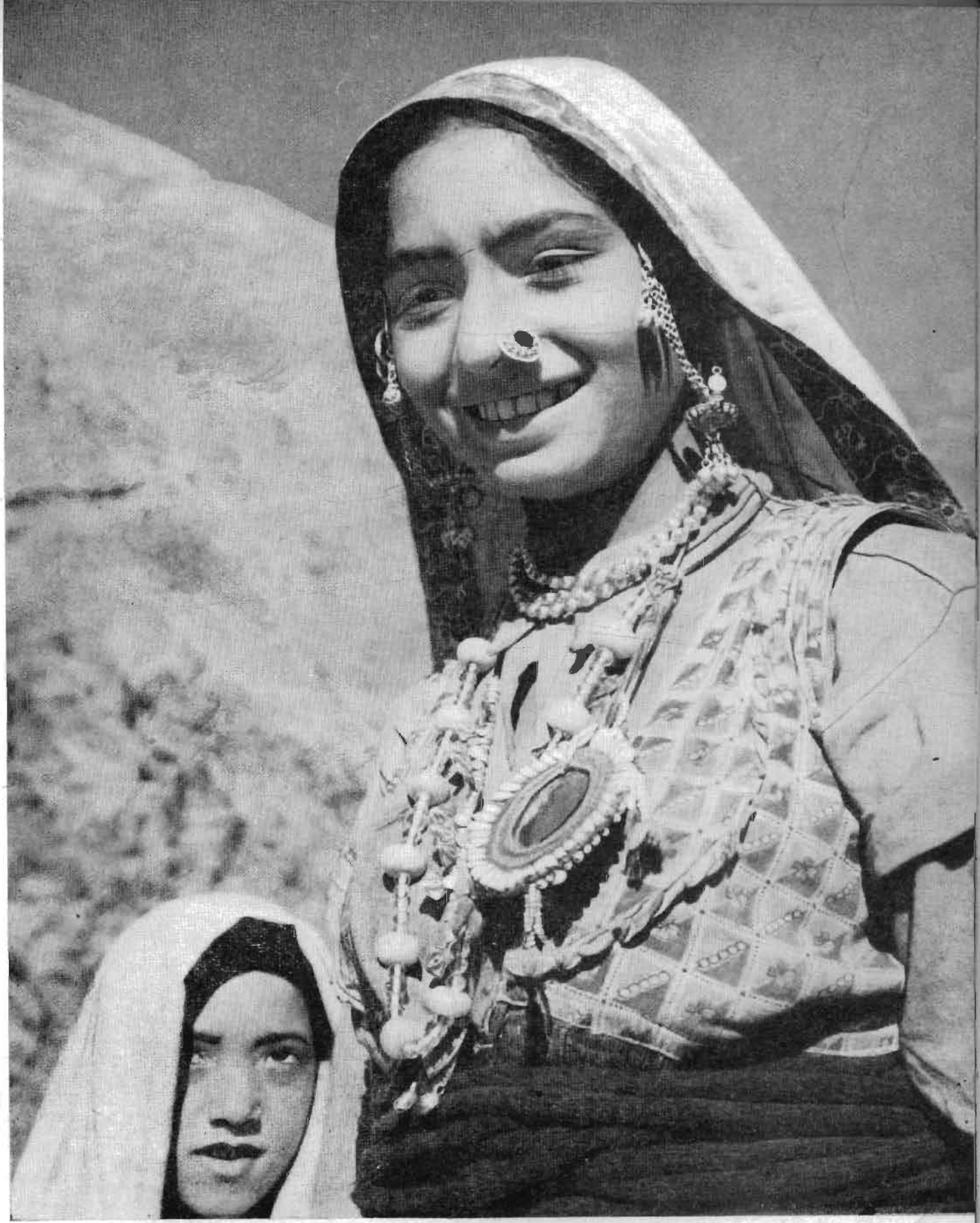
A bridge

Maize stalks stored on trees



Autumn





A young gaddan

Courtesy: Bal Krishan, *Times of India*

Dancing

Courtesy: Development Department Himachal Pradesh



Puffing at his pipe

Gaddi Women dancing at the Sui Fair





Resplendent in her jewellery Courtesy: Marg



Dancing in Chaurasi
Courtesy: W. H. Newell

Lost in thoughts



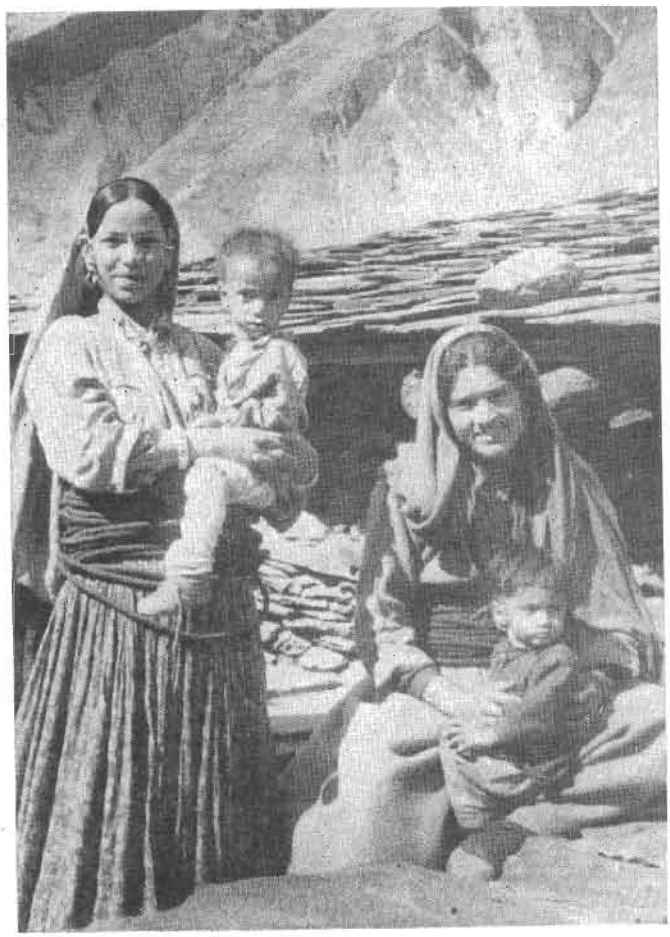
Gaddi dance



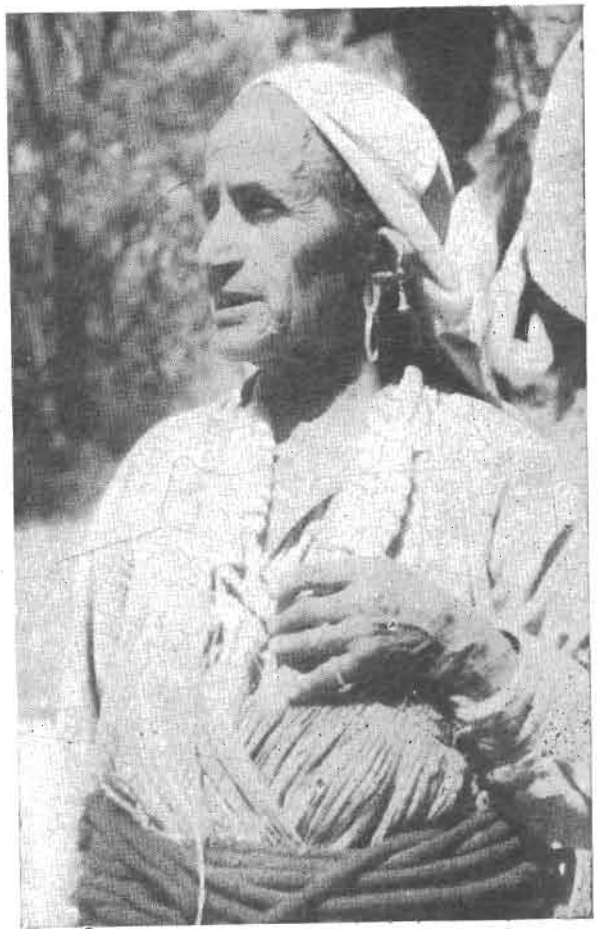


Putting the thread into the shuttle

Courtesy: Bal Krishan, *Times of India*



A group



A Gaddan

School girls celebrating Himachal Day

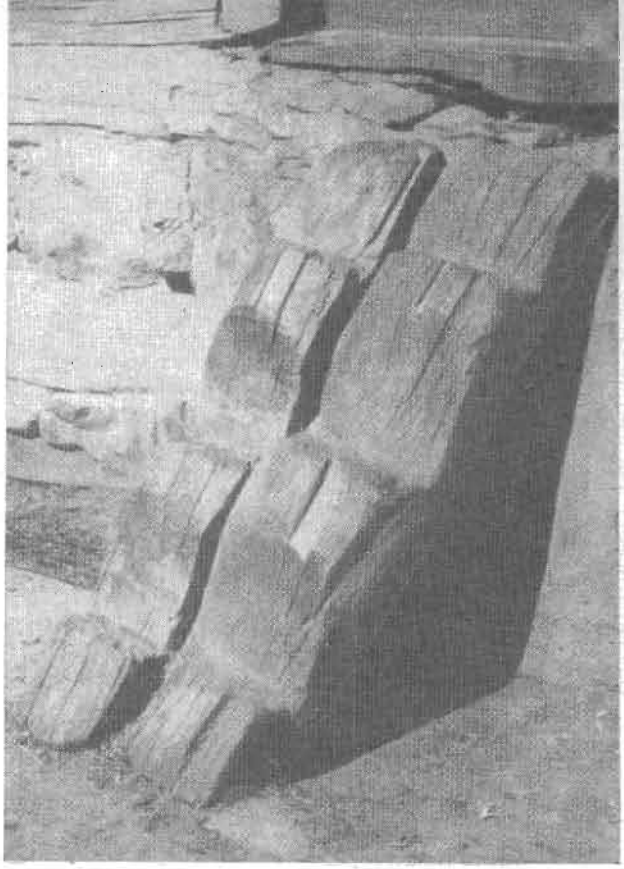


Sheep



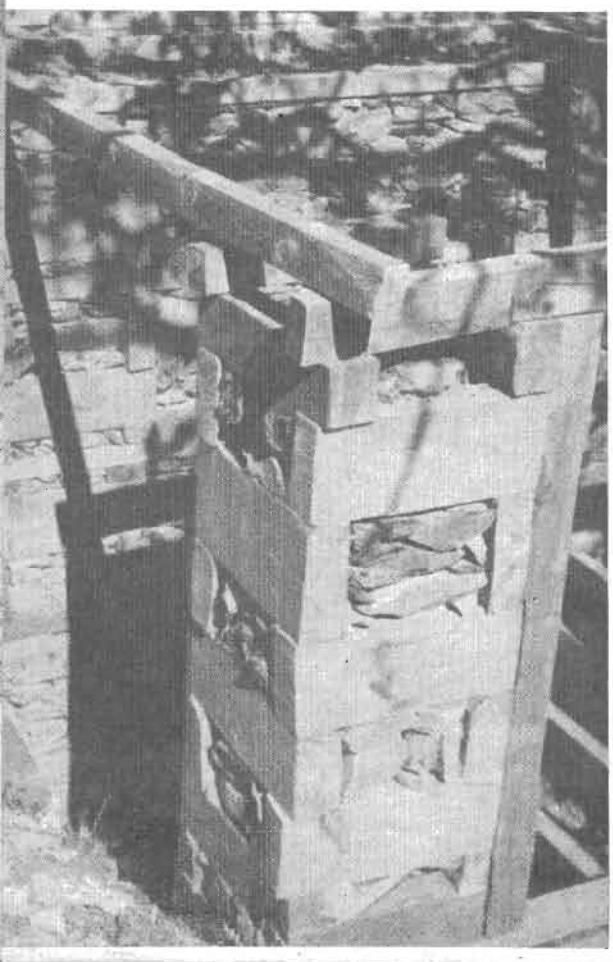


Returning home



Manjh

Construction



Weaving





Wooden carvings in Lakshna temple



Goddess Lakshna

Image of Narsingh



A beautifully carved wooden panel



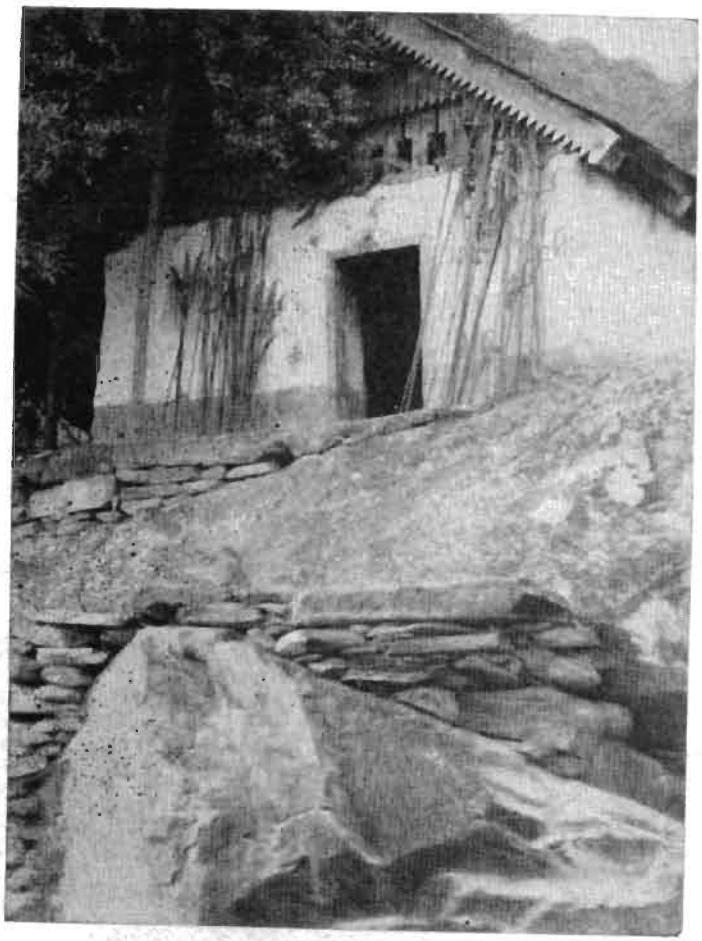


Another carved wooden panel



A bridegroom and the marriage party
Courtesy: W. H. Newell

A Gaddi house



Sati shrine at Gharer
Courtesy: W. H. Newell

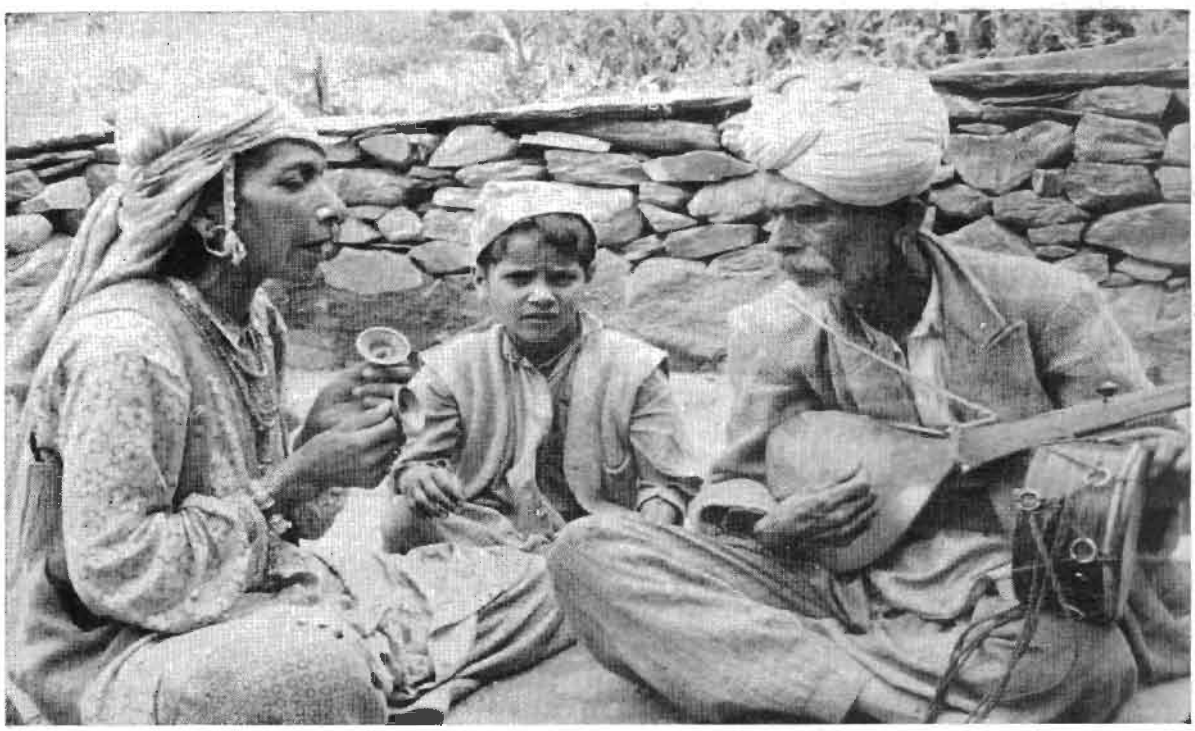


Another house





The Shiv linga in the Mani Mahesh temple

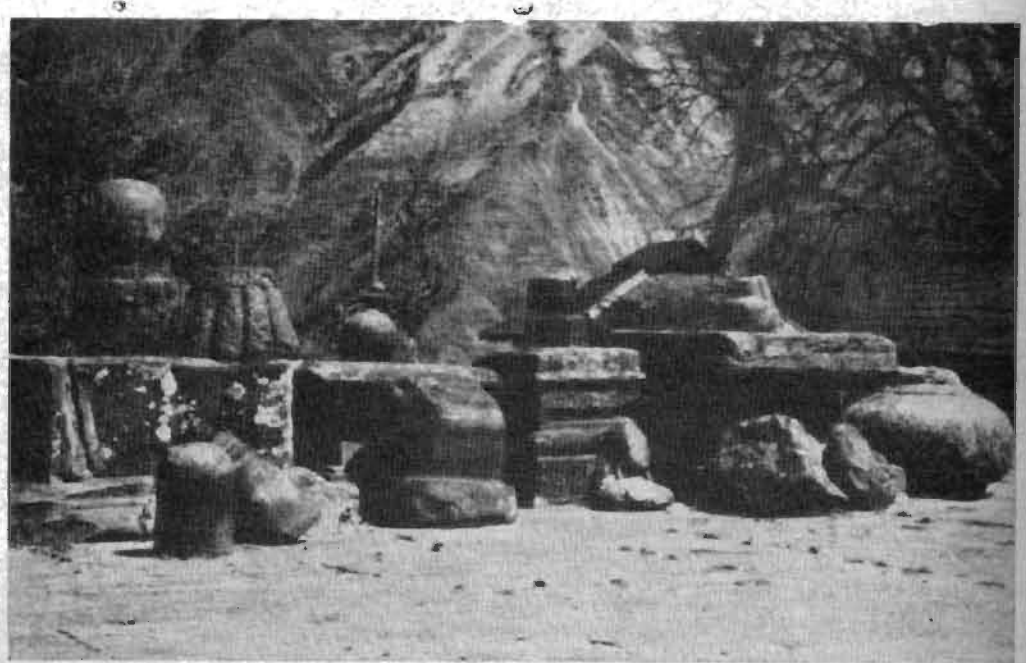


A bard sings devotional songs

Courtesy: W. H. Newell



Chelas crossing the sacred lake at Mani Mahesh Courtesy: W. H Newell



Smaller Shiv-lingas in Chaurasi



A malundi's shelter

Courtesy: W. H. Newell



Serving Sur



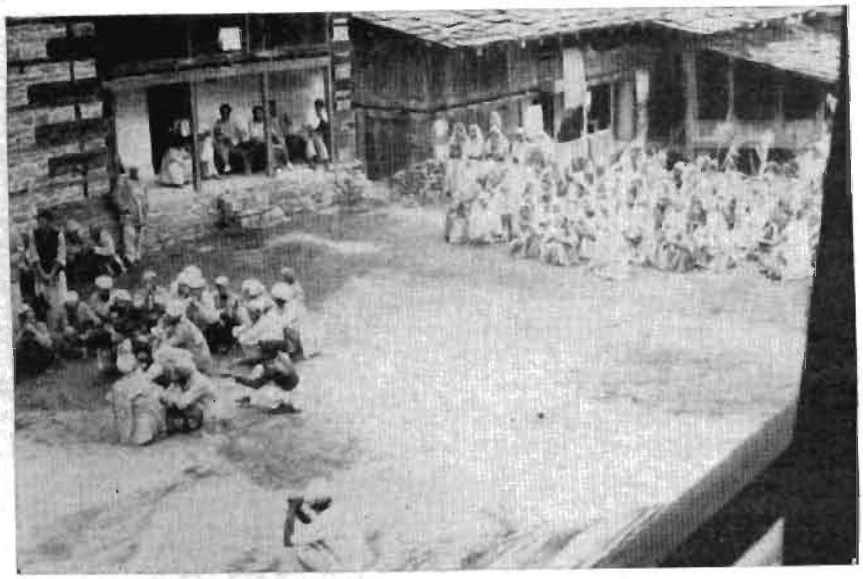
An old woman with her grandson, taking 'Prasad' at 'Sui fair'



Stone inscription



A wooden vessel



Getting ready for Panchayat elections

Courtesy: W. H. Newell

Smoking pipe (Hukka)



APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

EXTRACTS FROM ANTIQUITIES OF CHAMBA, VOL. I BY J. PH. VOGEL, SUPERINTENDENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY NORTHERN CIRCLE

The main road from Chamba to Brahmor follows the Ravi valley for about 20 miles as far as Pyuhra. This part of the road, however, dates only from 1879. The old road crossed the river immediately above Chamba Town, near the low plain known as Nalhora which was formerly a Muhammadan graveyard and at the present time is used as a parade ground. The bridge, which must have been of the cantilever type commonly found in the hills, is still remembered under the name of Duku or Dugu-ra-seu (Camb seu, Skr. setu). Tradition holds that it was built by Dai Batlo, the wetnurse of Raja Prithvi Singh, and named after her husband Duku. The existence of a copper-plate dated Vikrama 17(0)2, Sastra 21, (A.D. 1745), and recording a grant of land by Dhatri Batula Devi on the occasion of the consecration of a bridge (setu-pratistha samaye) confirms the popular tradition. It is probable however, that long before the days of Dai Batlo there existed a bridge on this spot. Lower down, a temporary bridge connected in former times the two banks of the Ravi. It was replaced by a permanent bridge in the reign of Carhat Singh in A.D. 1808. This having collapsed, the present iron suspension bridge was constructed here in A.D. 1895.

From the Duku-ra-seu the road ascended the plateau of Bharimba (map Bararia) and, following the hill slope along the left bank of the Ravi, passed the villages of Mehla (map Maila), Bakan, Bash and Pyuhra, each the headquarters of a pargana of the same name. From these places the Dhaula Dhar can be crossed by several passes which it is unnecessary to describe. The most important is the Baleni Pass (height c.12,000′) which leads from Basu to Shahpur by way of Tur, mentioned above as the seat of a Rana and the find-place of several inscriptions. Another road, which starts from Basu crosses the Dhaula Dhar by the Kankot Pass (map Bowar Pass, height 11,602′), and reaches Rihlu in the Kangra District. The place where this road surmounts the range is a narrow gorge known as Proli-ra-gala ("Gate-neck"). Here an ancient rock-inscription is found which indicates that this road was used about the 9th century of our era. The word gala as well as its diminutive gali and galu denote a narrow passage leading over a spur or mountain-ridge. Its original meaning is "throat, neck" (Skr. gala). We may compare French-Swiss col, and Cape-Dutch nek. The term used in the Panjab Hills to designate a mountain pass is jot, the original meaning of which seems to be "yoke" (Skr. root yuj). It is interesting to compare the German-Swiss joch and the Italian giogo in the meaning of which we note the same transition.

From Pyuhra the new road through the valley reverts to the old line which ascends the slope to reach Chatrarhi. The antiquity of this palce is attested by the Devi temple of Meru-varman, referred to above. From Chatrarhi the road drops into the Circinda Nala and ascends the opposite slope to Kothi which was once the seat of a Rana and is, therefore, known as Ranhum Kothi; the word ranhum designating a barony ruled by a Rana. From here a branch road crosses the Girjhar Pass (height c. 10,000′) to Canhota and runs up the Ravi valley through Trehta and Bara Bhanso to Bara Bhangal. The Dhaula Dhar is crossed from Ranhum Kothi by the Ghaj-ka-jot (height 13,225′) by which Bhagsu-Dharmsala can be reached in two or three days. The road is a difficult footpath, which follows the Ghathora Nala.

The main road rises from Ranhum-Kothi to cross the Sadali-ra-gala (height c. 9,000′) and descends again by Ulansa (map Hulans). Ulansa, as well as the adjoining villages of Gurola and Savi on the left bank of the Ravi, are the seats of three Ranas, feudatories of the Raja of Chamba. (Cf. fig. 20). Beyond Ulansa the Ravi is crossed by a wooden bridge. Ascending the opposite slope, it reaches Khani (map Kani) situated at a height of 6,446′ on the end of the spur which forms the watershed between the Ravi and the Budhal. In the oldest copper-plate grant found in Chamba State (No. 14) mention is made of the Khani hospice (Skr. matha), which not only proves the existence of the village as far back as the 10th century, but also

shows that even then it was a place on the main road and was visited by travellers. From Khani a branch road passes up the right bank of the Ravi valley by Grima—a village mentioned under the same name in the title-deed just referred to—and joins the road on the left bank not far from Kulait, the ancient Kulikagostha, in Trehta. Another branch crosses the Budhal river and, following the Tundah Nala, crosses the Kali-cho Pass (height 16,402′) to Triloknath in Chamba-Lahul.

The main road proceeds along the left bank of the Budhal to Brahmor, the ancient capital. About a mile before reaching this place a rock-inscription in the Tibetan character will be noticed on the road-side. Carved on the same stone are three figures of Ganesa, Siva, and Devi. (Cf. figs. 29 and 30). At the village of Ghosan, on the left bank of the Budhal beneath Brahmor, some Tibetan rock-inscriptions are found, but these consist only of mystic formulas.

The Budhal valley is connected with Lahul by two roads. From Brahmor one road crosses the Cobia Pass (height 16,720′) which perhaps owes its name to its crevasses (coba) and reaches the Candrabhaga valley above Triloknath. The other and more frequented road follows the left bank of the Budhal to Harsar (map Harser, height 6,650′), which possesses a small Siva temple with an inscribed image which perhaps accounts for the name of the place (Hara-Siva). Here a short branch road runs up to the sacred lake of Manimahes, regarded by popular belief as the main source of the Ravi. The main road crosses the Budhal and proceeds up its right bank to Kukti village, and thence over the Kukti Pass (height 17,001′) to Yob-rang (map Jobrung) in British Lahul, where the Candrabhaga is crossed by means of a jhula or rope bridge. Another branch road leaves the main road at Kukti village to cross the Manimahes Range into Bara Bhangal.

Chamba is connected with Brahmor by a second ancient road which runs through the mountains to the north of the Ravi. After ascending the Saho valley for 4 miles, it crosses the stream and surmounts the Jamvar ridge. It then descends and passes the villages of Lilh, Gum and Belj and, after crossing the Tundah Dhar and the Tundehn Nala, follows the mountain slope on the right bank of the Budhal to Brahmor. The only place of antiquarian interest on this road is Gum. It was in the days of Meru-verman (c. A.D. 700) the seat of a chieftain who owed allegiance to the ruler of Brahmor. From an inscription on a linga stand found here it appears that the ancient name of the place was Sivapura. The large number of stone lingas may account for this name. On the river bank beneath Gum there is still a sanctuary of Siva, known as Tilocan Mahadev (Skr. Trilokana-mahadeva "the three-eyed great god"), where an annual mela takes place on the Durgastami in the month of Bhadon. In the Panali Nala, not far from Gum, are some rock-inscriptions (Nos. 1—4), the oldest epigraphs hitherto discovered in Chamba State. It is curious that one of them consists of an invocation to Siva.

APPENDIX II

EXTRACT FROM THE PUNJAB STATES GAZETTEER, VOL. XXII A, CHAMBA STATE, 1904 (PP. 261—266.)

by Dr. Hutchinson

Section A—General Administration and State Staff.

In ancient times, as the copper plates of the 10th and 11th centuries shows, the administration of the State was modelled on that of India generally, and lists of high-sounding official titles from the Raja to the executioner are given, and allusions made to the highest Brahmans, who held a prominent position among the eighteen elements of the State, down to the Medas, Andrakas, fishers and Chandalas.

In later times there used to be five principal officials of the State at the capital:—

(1) Wazir or Chief Minister.

(2) Thare da Mahta or Chief Financial Officer.

(3) Bakhshi, who used to keek the military accounts and was responsible for the internal administration of the forces. This title is now borne by the Chief Revenue Officer of the State.

(4) Hazre da Kotwal, who was in attendance on the Raja and carried out his orders,

(5) Thare da Kotwal, who performed miscellaneous duties and disposed of petty cases occurring in the town: all other cases were settled by the Chief minister, while those of a special or serious nature were adjudicated upon in the Raja's Court.

There were separate Wazirs in Pangi and Brahmaur, but in the other parganas a Mahta and a Kotwal were appointed. There posts of Mahta and Kotwal were often held by men selected in the town and they transacted the business of their respective parganas from the capital. These posts were more or less sinecures.

Administrative Divisions Wizarats

The State naturally falls into five divisions as regards climate, people and products, and these form the five wizarats:—

1 Chamba or Sadr wizarat in the centre, containing the capital,

2. Churah wizarat to the north and north-west, bordering with Basohli and Bhadrawah in Jammu State.
3. Pangi wizarat, which comprises a portion of Lahaul and is geographically distinct from the rest of the State.
4. Brahmaur or Gaderan, an old wizarat lying to the south and south-east of Chamba.
5. Bhattiyat wizarat, lying to the south and south-west of the Dhaula Dhar and adjoining Kangra and Gurdaspur.

General Administration and State Staff

The Civil and Criminal Courts of justice are located at the capital where the higher officers of the State reside, and they are presided over by judges with lst class magisterial powers appointed by the Raja; and are under his supervision and control. The final Court of Appeal is that presided over by the Raja himself. Next after the Chief in authority is the Wizir, who has much the same functions as attached to the office in former times. In the Raja's absence he is invested with full charge of the State. Of the old titles that of Bokhshi is now held by the Chief Revenue Officer, through whom all revenue payments are made, and credited into the treasury. The title of Kotwal is now borne by the Superintendent of Police, who has functions analogous to those of the Thare-da-Kotwal of former times. All criminal cases in the capital or from the parganas pass through his hands, and he makes the preliminary investigation and forwards the record to the Sadr Court for disposal.

Wizarat Officials

Each of the five wizarats is under the control of a Wazir, who, however, is non-resident, and has the title only when on duty in his wizarat. In every wizarat there is a Court with civil and criminal powers, and the presiding officer is vested with the powers of a 2nd Class Magistrate, and can also hear and decide civil suits upto Rs. 1,000 in value. These Courst can receive, hear and investigate petitions regarding revenue, and can send up the cases with their opinions to the Sadr Court. Pangi and Brahmaur have Courts only in summer.

The Vakil of the State at Dalhousie, having jurisdiction separate from the Bhattiyat wizarat, exercises the same powers as the other Wazirs and holds his Court at Dalhousie under special arrangements with Government. He hears all cases within his jurisdiction, comprising the parganas of Bathri, Sherpur, Nagali, Chun, Hubar, etc. Cases which are beyond his powers are instituted in, and decided by, the Courts at Chamba. Cases of parganas in Bhattiyat, other than those falling under the jurisdiction of the Vakil at Dalhousie are decided in the Court of Bhattiyat wizarat.

Parganas

Each wizarat is subdivided into a certain number of parganas, or small administrative districts. The original designation of each administrative district was mandala, as shown by the copper plate deeds. The present name pargana or ilaqa probably came into use during the period of Mughal ascendancy. It is a popular belief that the State was formerly subdivided into 84 of these mandalas or parganas, and there is good reason for thinking that this belief is well founded.

The State was considerably larger in former times than it is now, including as it did the provinces of Rihlu and Palam to the south of the Dhaula Dhar, and Bhadrawah and Padar in the Chenab Valley. Even in 1846-47, when it came under British control there were still 72 parganas in the State (vide Vol. II. Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, pages 370, 371 and 372). The number has been much reduced since then by the amalgamation of two or more small parganas into one large administrative district, and now stands at 52. There were till recently 12 parganas in the Bhattiyat wizarat (where now there are only 10), hence the name "Barah Bhattian."

Each pargana has a State Kothi which is the headquarter and place of residence of the pergana officials when on duty. These Kothis differ much in size and general appearance, but most of the older ones have been erected according to a design very common in the State. This is a large square, measuring 20 or 30 yards on each side, with an open court-yard in the centre. The building is usually two or three storeys in height, and is divided into rooms and dalans or open verandah. There is a principal entrance door, and a staircase in the court-yard leading to the upper storeys. Some of these Kothis are very ancient, several of them dating from the time of the Ranas. The more recently erected Kothis are of small size, and consist usually of a few rooms in line, with a verandah in front.

The work of each Pargana is carried on by a Char, a Likhnehara and a Batwal, called collectively Kardars or Kamdars. The jurisdiction of a Char is called Chari. The most ancient officials are probably the Char and the Batwal, and it seems certain that reference is made to them in the old title deeds, under the names Chata and Bhata. The office of Likhnehara is probably of more recent date. In certain places there is an office-bearer known as Chhota Char with jurisdiction separate from that of the Bara Char.

In former times the Char was the Chief pergana official, and indeed, he is still generally regarded as such, though the tendency now is to look on the Likhnehara as having precedence, owing to his being responsible for the revenue and the accounts of the pargana. The Char had formerly much larger powers than now, being able to inflict a fine or imprisonment. The larger powers were withdrawn by the European Superintendents, except in the case of the officials at Brahmaur who in certain cases are allowed to impose a small fine. At the present time the pargana officials can only apprehend criminals and send them to Chamba for trial. In both civil and criminal cases they make the preliminary investgation. They also carry out

all orders from the central authority, and provide coolies for State service as well as for travellers.

The other pargana office-bearers are subordinate to the Kardars, and their functions, including those of the Kardars, are as follows:—

1. Char—Already described.
2. Likhnehara—Keeps the revenue accounts, and does all clerical work.
3. Betwal—Carries out the order of the Char and Likhnehara, holding under them a position analogous to that of the Hazre da Kotwal under the Raja in former times.
4. Jhutiyar—A servent under the orders of the Batwal. He carries out the orders of the Kardars conveyed through his immediate chief, the Batwal.
5. Ugrahika—A peon who collects the revenue demand under the Kardars.
6. Junsali—Was in charge of the magazine of the pargana, an affice now abolished.
7. Pahri—The guardian of the State Kothi, records, and the revenue, both cash and kind.
8. Bhand—Cooks the Kardars' food and cleanses the utensils.
9. Hali—Keeps the Kothi clean and looks after the storage and safe-keeping of the grain.
10. Kagadaru—Carries letters.
11. Lakarhar—Supplies firewood to the Kothi.
12. Ghiyaru—Collects ghi from those who pay ghi as revenue.
13. Dudhyaru—Collects milk for officials.

Generally speaking, there is only one Kothi in each pargana; but in large parganas, which have been made up by the amalagamation of two or three smaller ones, there are more than one Kothi, and in each of them are separate Pahris, Halis and Jhutiyars.

In the parganas of the Sadr wizarat, outside the capital, the ordinary office bearers Nos. 1 to 13 are in charge, excepting Nos. 6, 10, 12 and 13, which are now abolished.

In the Charah wizarat there used to be an officer, called Odhru, superiar to the Kardars, in the parganas of Jhund, Bhalai, Kohal, Bhandal and Kihar. This post, along with Nos. 6, 10, 12 and 13, has now been abolished, but the other maintained.

In the Pangi wizarat there used to be an officer, called Palasra below the Wazir; and subordinate to him were all the office-bearers Nos. 1 to 12 described above. The post of Palasra is now abolished, but the rest exist as elsewhere. In Pangi the Ugrahika is called Muqaddam, and he also does the work of a Jhutiyar, there being no separte office-bearer of that name.

In Pangi there are three Charis, viz., Kilar, Such and Darwas, each under the management of a Char with a full staff. In spite of its being thus subdivided the whole of Pangi is regarded as one single pargana.

In Lahaul the Char resides at Margraon and the Likhnehara at Tindi, each with a Muqaddam subordinate to him, but the Kothi in this ilaqa is at Udaipur. Most of this pargana is included in the jagir of the Rana of Tiloknath, which is therefore regarded as the headquarters.

In Brahmaur, there used to be an officer under the Wazir called Amin, but this post has been abolished. All the other posts, as in other parganas, have been maintained. The Ugrahikas of other parganas, the Muqaddams of Pangi and the Durbiyals of Brahmaur perform similar duties, as already described. The post of Jhutiyar is not unknown in Brahmaur proper, but his work is done by the Kotheru. There is also an additional office-bearer, called Ahru, below the Durbiyal. The Kotheru and Ahru are not paid servants of the State, but are allowed certain concessions and privileges in their wizarat. In former times there was an office-bearer named Pattari, who had woollen blankets made for the Raja. The wool supplied for the blankets was realised from the people in lieu of revenue.

In Bhattiyat the office-bearers resemble in name and function those of Chamba and Churah, with the following exceptions:—

The pargana of Chun, Hubar and Chuari had each an officer called Odhru, and Tundi and Sihunta each in Amin, but these posts have now been abolished. They were superior to the Kardars. In Bhattiyat the Batwal is called Thareth; the Jhutiyar, Batwal; the Ugrahika, Muqaddam, and the Bhand, Jhiwar or Jhur.

The Wazir Odhru, Amin, Mahta, Kotwal, Char, Likhnehara and Batwal of the parganas formerly received no salary direct from the State, but were allowed to collect certain other emoluments, called rakm, over the revenue demand. This formed a separate charge of cash and kind on the malguzar. Each office-bearer, entitled to rakm, was obliged to pay a fixed amount in lieu thereof to the State. This payment went under the name of bachh. Such men were supplied with food free of charge, by the State.

The other petty office-bearers rendered service on payment; or in lieu of revenue on rent-free land, called bajoh: or in consideration of not rendering personal labour in the shape of begar, etc.

In some parganas, also where there was a scarcity of artisans, blacksmiths, potters, etc., such workmen were granted bajoh land and their services taken without further payment in their respective parganas. All these forms of remuneration have now been discontinued, and every man is paid for his services in cash.

The State revenue, both in cash and kind, is realised in two instalments, and credited into the Treasury. All kinds of grain appropriate to

each crop are accepted but under the head an (anaj) if that occurs in the patta (lease) only barley, millet (kodra) and maize are taken. Ghi is also collected in two instalments. Grain required for State use is brought to the capital and the surplus is sold at the mufassil Kothis.

An abstract showing the parganas in each wizarat, with the cultivated area and revenue is appended:—

General Administration and State Staff

Name of Wizarat	Names of Parganas in each Wizarat	Cultivated area in acres			Revenue collection in rupees		
		Kohli or Irrigated	Otar or Unirrigated	Total	Cash	Kind to the value of	Total
Sadr or (1) Chamba	Rajnagar, Tariod, Dhund, Kharot, Gudiyal, Saho, Panjila, Kajandra, Samra, Lilh, Piura, Basu, Bakan, Mahla, Bhariyan, Karedo, Sach, Udaipur.	1,581	30,486	32,067	47,440	9,364	56,804
Churah	Jhund, Bhalai, Manjir, Bhandal, Kihar, Diur, Hamgiri, Barnota, Bagor, Sai, Chanju, Baira, Tisa, Loh-Tikri, Jasaur, Kohal.	386	32,238	32,624	54,224	14,120	68,344
Pangi*	Kilar, Sach, Darwas, Lahul	..	3,019	3,019	5,818	..	5,818
Brahmaur	Brahmaur, Tretha, Chanota, Kothi-Rahnu.	14	11,256	11,270	17,282	44	17,326
Bhattiyat	Bathri, Cherpur, Nagali, Chun, Hubar, Chuari, Raipur, Tundi, Sihunta, Bhatti,-Tikri.	6,614	23,453	30,067	53,636	16,271	69,907
	Total ..	8,595	100,542	109,047	178,400	39,799	218,199

*The total cultivated area in Pangi wizarat contain 1,433 acres of land irrigated by kuhls, but on account of the high altitude it does not produce rice, and so it should be considered as unirrigated.

APPENDIX III

INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE IN KUGTI VILLAGE, UPPER BUDL NADL, BRAHMAUR TEHSIL, CHAMBA DISTRICT, HIMACHAL PRADESH—BY WILLIAM H. NEWELL, INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY, MITAKA, TOKYO

Courtesy: the MAN London

During the month of August, 1962, I had the opportunity of revisiting the village of Kugti in the upper reaches of the Budl Nadl, a tributary of the Upper Ravi, in Chamba District of Himachal Pradesh, when I attended the pilgrimage to Lake Manimahesh coming back over the Chobu Pass (16,000 feet) via Kugti. I should like to record a few details prior to the publication of my full report on the area as a supplement on the Scheduled Castes of Himachal Pradesh in the report of the Census of India.

There are two villages in the Kugti area, known as Upper Kugti and Lower Kugti. The next nearest village is Hersar, a Brahmin village about 13 miles away down a difficult route along the Budl Nadl. Kugti is about 10,000 feet above M.S.L. and, on account of its height has only one crop a year. During the winter the area is deeply under snow and most of the inhabitants emigrate further down the valley or to the Kangra Plains.

Lower Kugti has about 90 households and consists almost entirely of Brahmans except that here are two families of Riaras, primarily concerned with playing musical instruments for weddings and about 12 households of Sipis, originally blacksmiths but now also stone masons and carpenters. All the rest obtain their principal income from land. There is one shrine in the village, to Banane wala, also known as Marathi Devi, an incarnation of Kali. The priest of the shrine is Butha Ram, a pujari, and the medium (chela) of the shrine is also a Brahman. There is no special annual festival (jatra) although at the request of individuals, religious feasts (narwala) are held. All the Brahmans in Lower Kugti belong to the Utum gotra but their al are as follows: Ledha, Phungtian, Tamaretu, Jendeta, Tamrian, Ganeta and Sashi. An al is always an exogamic unit and is sometimes identical with a gotra, which has sometimes, although inaccurately, been translated as a clan. There is, however, no restriction on marriages betwen Brahmans and Gaddis, both men to women and women to men, with one exception: that those Brahmans of the Sashi al can only marry Brahmans, irrespective of the fact that the Brahman al into which they marry may themselves often marry Gaddis. The caste

of a person is determined by the caste of the father only provided that the mother is either a Gaddi (predominantly Rajput) or a Brahman. The Brahmans of the Sashi al have as their special responsibility the regular worshipping of a shrine dedicated to Kaling on Sundays. This Kaling shrine is several miles outside the village and the god protects the pass to Lahul. Its god image was originally presented by Rajah Sher Singh and is part of the former Chamba State system of shrines. They are not responsible for any of the village shrines which are maintained by other Gaddi or Brahman villagers. The pujari of the Kaling shrine frequently marry into the families of pujari of other State shrines or outside the Brahmaur Tehsil. In one family of the Sashi al that I recorded, Hari Bhaj's wife was from Dharmsala in Kangra and the mother came from the Nansen al of Hersher where all the Brahmans are State pujari of the shrines on Lake Manimahesh. The shrine to Kaling has no chela, only pujari. There are seven of these whose names are Hari Bhaj, Gangu, Khajana, Basi, Madha, Jogat and Jagdish, all of the Sashi al.

Upper Kugti is about half a mile above Lower Kugti and is about 500 feet higher. It consists of 30 Gaddi (Rajput) households and 22 Brahman households. These households are not territorially mixed but occupy the upper and lower portions of the village. The Brahman gotra in Upper Kugti are Bahradwarj, Bhesisht and Nagar Katoya. The Gaddi gotra are Darnya, Utum, Solhanu, Churuh Bhesisht and Phagtya. The village shrine is about half a mile above the village and is called the Bhowari shrine after the god. The pujari comes from the Gaddi Bhesisht gotra and the chela from the Gaddi Churuh gotra. The father of the chela also held a position as chela of this shrine and he was also the father of Butha Ram's mother. The pujari of this shrine perform a regular worship on Tuesdays and there is also an official jatra which is held in Patroru. Goats are sacrificed but no sur (beer) is drunk.

All the members of the villages of Upper Kugti and Lower Kugti (with the exception of the Sipi and Riara families) freely interdine with each other and attend each other's shrine festival if they wish (including the Kaling pujari family). However if they visit any village outside Kugti, then those with Brahman fathers eat with Brahmans and those with Gaddi fathers with Gaddi. So cousins may interdine with each other in their home villages of Kugti but may have to eat separately if they go away from home and their parents have married into different castes. Outside Kugti in the other villages of the Budl Nadl valley, ordinary caste endogamy prevails and no Gaddi or Brahman may marry anyone except his own caste fellow (Newell, 1955b). No family from the Kugti area other than the Kaling pujari, Sipi and Riara, ever marry any further down the valley than Kunni on the boundaries of the tehsil although other villagers of the Brahmaur tehsil freely intermarry not only with those outside their tehsil but also outside Chamba district.

There are numerous examples of inter-caste marriage within Brahmaur of Kugti villagers. These are some examples:

Butha Ram, male, of Lower Kugti, Brahman of Utum gotra and Ledar al has as his wife Appu of the Lunge al, Gaddi from Retin village. His father's mother was a Gaddi of the Phagtya all from Upper Kugti. On the other hand, Butha Ram's mother's father was a Gaddi from Upper Kugti.

Dungsar, Brahman from Lower Kugti had as husband, a person from the Churu al, a Gaddi from Upper Kugti.

Pragum, a Brahman of the Bahradwarj gotra, Rattan al from Upper Kugti married a Gaddi woman also from Upper Kugti, Tehya. His son Dassar took as wife Gala from Brahmaur from the family of Jeram Punditu, a Brahman.

Thus the situation is one where both Brahmans and Gaddis freely intermarry (except Kaling pujaris) and have no other commensal or other restrictions while in Kugti; although when they leave Kugti they observe the rules of the rest of the valley. Brahmauri from elsewhere pay no attention to any infringement of caste rules provided that it does not take place in their immediate area. Since marriage takes place in both directions, this is not an example of hypogamy or hypergamy, and since the Brahman and Gaddi castes still retain their complete identity, this system is not an isogamous system. It may be described as a quasi-isogamous system since caste is determined by the father only.

All the Brahmans and Gaddi of Kugti received their principal livelihood from agriculture. There are no parohit (family priests) nor do any pujari receive more than a few rupees of gifts during the year. However all the villagers of both Upper and Lower Kugti of all castes obtain the priestly services of a parohit from one family, who does not live in Kugti but in Sutli village below Herser. There is no parohit in the village. Originally from Pulni village the parohit stated in an interview, that his ancestors moved with the first settlement to Kugti to Sutli village. Since it takes at least a full day's journey from Sutli to Kugti and more with the slightest inclement weather, it is difficult to see how he can adequately perform his duties from such a distance, but he stated that he usually attended only during the official marriage seasons when he lived in Kugti for a long period. On enquiry about regular caste intermarriage between Gaddi and Brahmans, he stated that in his opinion there was no fundamental difference between the two castes and that Brahmans were no better than Gaddi since both undertook the same occupations and lived together. But his own gotra married only into Brahman families outside Kugti. I noticed when I interviewed him in his home at Sutli village that he did not remove the stem of his hookah while smoking with Gaddi men (Newell, 1955b).

This brief summary of the caste situation in Kugti does not modify the conculusions of my earlier article (Newell, 1955b), although it is clear that caste intermarriage had not been abandoned at the time of my earlier visit in 1951. A Gaddi-Brahman marriage has been celebrated in 1960. The situation by which the caste of a child is determined exclusively by the father's status (provided that the mother belongs to the Gaddi or the Brahman caste) does not seem to have affected the stability of the caste system which has operated in this way in Kugti for at least 100 years. However, in order to make the system operate a number of conditions have had to be fulfilled, which appear to be: (a) the family of the pujari of the national Kaling shrine have had to marry only Brahmans; some daughters and sons have been given to the pujari families of the Brahmaur (State) temple and elsewhere; (b) the parohit of the villagers lives elsewhere and is not part of the connubial system; (c) the surrounding villages have had to be tolerant of the situation which has arisen and if a Gaddi or Brahman family elsewhere in the Budl Nadl valley find themselves with affines of another caste, then they carry out ordinary food restrictions to their relatives as far as possible at least in public. This possibly unique instance of contemporary regularized inter-caste marriage in India does not imply a breakdown in the caste system but is merely a special adaptation of the isogamous situation already described in my earlier article.

APPENDIX IV

SOME SENTENCES IN GADDI DIALECT

Where are you going?	तु करहा हें चलूरा या
I am going home.	आऊं घरा जो चलू रा हऊं !
How are you?	दुधा कें हाल हा !
I am quite well.	मेरा खरा हाल हा !
Where is your home?	तुंधे घर कठी हिन !
My home is here.	मेरे घर इठीं हिन ।
What do you do?	तुसे कैं कम करनदैं हिन ।
I am an agriculturist.	अऊं खेती करनू !
What does he do?	सो कैं कम करन्दा ।
He is an agriculturist.	सो खेती करन्दा ।
I intend going to Delhi.	मेरी मरजी देहली गाहणे री हा ।
How many brothers have you?	तेरे केत्रैं: भाई हिन ।
I have four brothers.	मेरे चौर भाई हिन ।
I am taking my meals.	अऊं अऊं खाया लगूरा हा ।
I am feeling sleepy.	मुंजी निन्द्र लगुरी हा ।
We are hill people.	असे पहाड़ी लोक हिन ।
Snow fall is heavy here.	इन्धी जगा हिऊं भता पैंदा ।
Rain fall is little here.	इठी वप। घट पुदी हा।
We go down.	असे थुन्हु गौधैं हिन ।
Go up.	उप्पर गाह ।
What is your name?	तेरा ना कैं हा।
My father has gone with the sheep and goats.	मेरा चच घणा हरा गछरा हा।
He is very gentle.	ओ बड़ा भलामांणस हो।
She is cooking the food.	सो खेटी लगूरी पकैणा ।
Gita is my friend.	गीता मेरी साथण हा ।

APPENDIX V

MUSE OF BRAHMAUR

Folk Songs

ता बुड्डु जो न देणी चाचआ
ता बुड्डु जो न देणी चाचुआ
साजो चुण्ड़े राण्ड़ भोली हो
ता चाकरा जो न देणी चाचुआ
हाक पान्दे उठी जान्दे ओ
ता दूर देसी जो न देणी चाचुआ
ता बुड्डु जो न देणी चाचुआ
गोरु चुगान्दे जो देणी हो
ता रोगी जो न देणी चाचआ
ता बुड्डु जो न देणी चाचुआ
साजरे चुन्ड़े राण्ड भोली ओ
भेड़ा चरान्दे जो देणी चाचुआ
ता बुड्डु जो न देणी चाचूआ
खोखा भारी ड़ेला मास हो
मेरा दे पुकुहाला जो देणी चाचुआ
पिठी जो देला चौलु हो ।

This song represents the choice of a Gaddi girl for a husband. She requests her father to choose for her a good husband and indicates her preference. She requests him not to get her married to an old man because then she would become a widow very soon. Similarly she rejects an employee as a suitor because then she would have to get up very early at his bidding. Although she has no objection to getting married to a shepherd, but he should be quite healthy as otherwise she would be left a widow soon. Finally she indicates her preference for a pohal because in that case she would get enough meat to eat and enough wool for a chola.

विवाह गीत

मरुवे छावां बेटी खेलदी हैं ।
दो बनजारे आये ।
लुकजा छप जा धीये लाडलिये,
तेरे सोहरिये आये ।
मैं कियां लूकां,
कियां छुपां ।
मामे बाबल धर्मी ने सदाचे ।
दो बनजारे आये,
लुक जा छुप जा धोये लाडलिये ।
मैं कियां लुकां,
माये ताया धर्मी ने सदाये ।
मरुवे छाबां बेटी खेलदी हैं ।
लुक जा छुप जा धीये लाडलिये,
तेरे सोहरिये आये ।

This is sung on marriage occasions when the bridegroom comes with his party to get married. The bride is playing in the shade of the marwa and some one tells her to hide because two wanderers were coming to snatch her away (in marriage). The bride replies that she could not hide because the wanderers were called by her maternal uncle, mother, uncle and father. Thus she was helpless and she had to go with them leaving her own beloved people.

नगरे बजारे बेदी बीकांदी आई
लिया मेरे चाचु ओ बेदी बिकांदी आई
लिया मेरे ताऊ ओ बेदी बिकांदी आई
आशा किहा लेणी मूल्ला केरी मैंहगी
चाचु नां लैंदा ताऊ न लैंदा
ले मेरे धर्मी मावे हो
तावो नां लैंदा बावा नां लैंदा
ले मेरी धर्मी मावे हो ।

In the bazar of Town 'Bedis' are being sold
O my uncle please purchase it.
The cost is too high, how can we purchase it.
O my father's younger and elder brothers please purchase it.
The cost is too high,
How can we purchase it.
Neither of my father's brothers purchase it
So my pious mother, please purchase it.

बापू दीये धीये लाड़लीये अज हुई पराई
होरी दे लड़े छोड़ी लाई धीये अज हुई पराई
पहल थी बापू दी लाड़ली,अज हुई पराई ।
चाचे दीये लाड़लीये अज हुई पराई ।
होरी दे लड़े छोड़ी लाये आज हुई पराई
पहले थी चाचु दी लाड़ली अज हुई पराई
अमां दीये धीये लाड़लीये अज हुई पराई
होरी दे लड़े छोड़ी लाई धीये अज हुई पराई
पहले थी अमां दी लाड़ली अज हुई पराई
ताये दी धीये लाड़लीये अज हुई पराई
होरी दे लड़े छोड़ी लाई धोये अज हुई पराई
पहले थी ताये दी लाड़लीये अज हुई पराई ।

This song is sung at the time of the departure of the bride. The ladies of the house sing it with a heavy heart and the scene is so poignant that every eye is moist. In this song, the poignant truth is brought forward that henceforward the bride has gone to the other household and she has become parai (belonging to others). The song says that the beloved daughter of the father, beloved niece of the uncle, and the most beloved daughter of the mother has ceased to be a member of the parental household and now belongs to the other household.

ऊच्च ऊच्चे थारुआ वो थापा मेरी पालकी ए
इ्ू वो हिरने आपने प्यारुओ दा देहा
घोवाड़ा वो मेरा मूं वो हेरना आपन प्यारुए दा देसा
जौद्दड़ियां घूरियां औघड़ियां मधुरियां, मूं देखना
अपना प्यारुए दा देस
सब सक धियां मेरे प्यारुए दित्ती नेड़े नेड़े
आऊं दित्ती नदिया पार
नदी डुंमी तारो होछरे कियां लघंणा नदी पार
ढिलियां जंजीरी सौकणियाँ मेरे तुध कन्ने पोटवी
हल्की बड़ेसा
अम्मा दी प्यारी बापुआ दी धिया दित्ती नदीया पार

A newly married girl is being carried in a palki to her in-laws. She beseeches the bearers of the palki to rest it on a hill-top wherefrom she could have a view of her parental house. She further requests the bearers to pull down the curtain, but there is a mist in the valley and she prays to the mist not to obstruct the view and let her have a glimpse of her parental home. She gives vent to her anguish because all her sisters have been married in the neighbouring villages. They can visit their parents very often, but of all the sisters, only she has been married in a village across the stream. The stream is deep and rapid, and it is difficult to cross. How would she be able to come back so often to her parents' house. She wails that the beloved daughter of her mother has been married far away across the stream by her father. Feeling a sense of loneliness, in a new place, she appeals as a last resort to the loose necklace round her neck to cling to her fast and to keep company with her in that new place.

(यह सन्दर्भ "प्रकाश तथा छाया"
श्री करण सिंह द्वारा अनुवादित— में से लिया गया है
प्र० ६०

कपड़ें धोआं कन्ने रोआँ कुजुआ

१. कपड़े धोआं कन्ने रोआं कुन्जुआ।
मुक्खों बोल जवानी ओ,
मेरे कुन्जुआ मुक्खों बोल जबानी ओ।

२. हत्थां बिच रेशमी रमाल चंचलो।
बिच्च छल्ला नशानी ओ।
मेरिए जिंद, बिच्च छल्ला नशानी ओ।

३. काली अक्खियां अम्बे दियां फाड़ां
बिच अत्थरु नशानी ओ,
मेरे कुन्जुआ बिच अत्थरु नशानी ओ।

४. गोरी गोरी बाएं लाल चूड़ा चंचलो।
बिच गजरा नशानी ओ,
मेरोए जिंदे, बिच गजरा नशानी ओ।

५. अद्दी अद्दी रातीं मती औंदा कुन्जुआ।
पंज भरियां बन्दूकां ओ
मेरे कुन्जुआ पंज भरियां बन्दूकां ओ।

६. अद्दीं अद्दीं रातीं असां औना चंचलो।
की करनां बन्दूकां ओ,
मेरींए जिंदे, की करनां बन्दूकां ओ।

७. तूं ते चला परदेस कुन्जुआ।
देईजा डुठी नशानी ओ,
मेरे कुन्जुआ, देई जा डूठी नशानी ओ।

८. डुठी दा बसोस मती करां चंचलो।
चम्बे सुन्ना बतेरा ओ,
मेरीए जिंद, चम्बे सुन्ना बतेरा ओ।

९. कल किया रातीं मत जांदा कुन्जुआ।
देयां जिंद बी बारी ओ।
मेरे कुन्जुआ, देयां जिंद बी बारी ओ।

१०. कल कीया रातीं टुरी जाना चचंलो।
कम्म पेई गया भारी ओ,
मेरीए जिन्दे, कम्म पई गया भारी ओ।

Kunjua and Chanchalo

1. I weep profusely,
while washing clothes, O Kunjua
come and speak to me, please
come and talk with me

2. In your hand is a silk handkerchief, O Chanchalo,
and my ring is on your finger,
as a token of our undying love.

3. My lustrous black eyes, O Kunjua, often admired by you, are now filled with tears and sorrow,
symbols of our hopeless love.

4. On your fair arms
the red bangles quiver,
and among them, O Chanchalo,
is the bracelet I gave you
in token of my adoration.

5. Do not come to me at midnight, O Kunjua,
there are five loaded rifles in my house itching to fire at your heart.

6. I will surely come at midnight, O Chanchalo,
what harm can five rifles do
to my immortal love for you?

7. You are going far away, O Kunjua,
give me a ring as a token of your love.

8. Do not bother about such trifles, O Chanchalo,
In Chamba there is gold in plenty
and I will deck you with ornaments.

9. Do not leave tomorrow night, O Kunjua,
do not leave me,
I would sacrifice my very life
to keep you here.

10. I must go tomorrow night, O Chanchaln.
I must go for I have pressing work which I cannot ignore.

(यह सन्दर्भ "प्रकाश तथा छाया" नामक पुस्तक से श्री करण सिंह द्वारा अनुवादित—में से लिया गया है)
प्र० १०५-०६

अज्जै दी राती रौ माड़े गद्दिया

१ अज्जै दी राती रौ माड़े गद्दिया, रौ माड़े मितरा
अज्जै दी राती तूरौ

२ वकरु बी दिन्नियां, छिलड़ू बी दिन्नियां,
तड़के गी दिन्नियां ध्यो

३ सावन बी दिन्नियां तेल भी दिन्नियां,
ठंड़ियें बोलियें नौ

४ साड़िर बाड़ियें मिरग जे पींदे
इक्कली भी लगदा भौ
अज्जै राती रौ मोड़ गद्दिया

Stay for the night, dear Gaddi

1. Stay for to-night, my beloved Gaddi,
stay here for to-night.
I will give you fresh lamb
and ghee to cook it in,
stay till the morrow, my beloved!
2. I will give you soap and oil, bathe in the cool spring do not go to-night;
wild beasts visit our fields at night and I am alone and stay with me to-night my dear Gaddi.
stay till tomorrow!

गल्ला होई बीतियां

बाडुए सुगाडुए तू कजो झांकदी, झखा कजो मारदी,
दो हथ बुट्ठे दे लायां फूलमू, गला होई बीतियां ।
बुट्ठा लवाण तेरी लाई चाचियां रांझू सकी मामियां,
जिन्हा दे मना बिच चाओ रांझू गल्ला होई बीतियां ।
कुनी ब्रहमणे तेरा व्याह लिखिया, रांझू बियाह लिखिया,
कुनी कीती कुड़माई रांझू गल्ला होई बीतियां ।
कुले दे परोहते मेरा बियाह लिखिया फूलमू बियाह लिखिया,
बापू कीती कुड़माई फूलमू गल्ला होई बीतियां ।
बाहरे बाहरे रांझू दी जानी चली, भाईयो डोला चल्या,
बाहरे बाहरे फूलमू दी लाश चली, गल्ला होई बीतियां ।
रखो तो कहारो मेरी पालकियां, रखो पालकियां,
फूलमू जो दाग लगाणा जानी, गल्ला होई बीतियां ।
बोएं हत्थे रांझू चिता जे चिणी, रांझू चिता जे चिणी,
देहणे हत्थे लाया लांबू भाईओ, गल्ला होई बीतियां ।
दोस्ती नी लाणी फूलमू कच्चेयां कने जानी कुंवारयां कने,
व्याही करी हुंदे बेईमान सेइओ, गल्ला होई बीतियां ।

This song relates to the broken love story of Ranju son of a well-to-do land-lord with Phulmu, a poor man's daughter. Ranju and Phulmu both grew up playing together and as they grew up they fell in love with each other. Ranju's father would not marry his son to a pauper's daughter and so he arranged another bride for Ranju. When batna was being rubbed on Ranju's body, Phulmu could not hold herself back and went to see this from behind a screen. Ranju saw her and invited her to lend a helping hand instead of peeping through the screen. Phulmu replied that she would not like to apply the batna when she was not at all happy at the marriage and that his aunts and other relatives should apply the batna. She wanted to know from Ranju as to who had arranged the match for him and who accepted the betrothal. Ranju replied that the family priest had arranged the match and his father had accepted the betrothal. Phulmu then returned to her house broken-hearted and there committed suicide by taking poison. The next morning when Ranju was going at the head of the marriage procession, he saw the funeral procession carrying Phulmu's dead-body to the cremation ground. Ranju could not keep quiet and he cried halt to the marriage procession to attend the last rites of Phulmu. He arranged the pyre with his left hand and with right hand he applied fire to it and when the flames roared, it appeared as if they were telling that one should not love immature and faithless strangers.

तेरा लगदा मंदा वो गद्दिया ।

१ तेरा लगदा मंदा वो गद्दिया ।
तेरा लगदा मंदा जी ओ

२ ए पटवारी खत लिखी नइओं दिन्दा
करनियां सौ सौ छन्दा ओ गद्दिया ।
तेरा लगदा मंदा जी ओ

३ इकली दुकली मैं पनियेंगी जन्नियां
पानी पियां लाई छम्बा ओ गद्दिया ।
तेरा लगदा मंदा जी ओ

४ नंगे नंगे पैरें में पहाड़ चड़ी जन्निचा ।
पैरेंगी चुब्बी जंदा कंडा जो गद्दिया ।
तेरा लगदा मन्दा जी ओ

The love-sick Shepherdess

1. I miss you terribly, my Gaddi,
I miss you very very much.
2. This Patwari will not write a letter for me though I beseech him a thousand times.
I miss you very much, my beloved Gaddi.
3. I go alone to the spring
and drink there in seclusion,
and suddenly your memory pierces my heart,
I miss you very much, my beloved Gaddi.
4. With naked feet I climb the hill
hoping to see you return,
but my feet are pierced by the sharp thorns
and of you there is no sign.
I miss you very much, my beloved Gaddi.

चम्बे कछ बटण मंगाणे मुए तिम्बरो
होली खेरे पलड़ गुवाणे भला हो ।
ओ अच्छे पैसे मेरे अच्छे तेरे तिमरो जो
लौंग वणाना तेरे सो .....
कना मंझ पौरे कन वाले अक रोज होर
मिजो भाले तेरी सो.....
छोड़ी देणी कणका दी घींघी वासमतिं
चावल दिल लाणा तेरी सो.....
छोड़ी देणा बाड़ा खेरा रहना मुऐ तिमरो
पधरे मैदाना दिल लाणा तेरी सो.....
छोड़ी देणा दोड़ी खेरा लाणा मुए तिमरो
लट्ठे खासे दिल लाणा तेरी सो.....
छोड़ी देणा पितलु दा पाणा मुए तिमरो
सुने चांदी कने दिल लाणा तेरी सो.....

A young hill-maiden, Timbri, is loved by a young man from the plains. It appears that Timbri is not inclined to accompany him to his village, and the youth draws before her eyes a picture of plenty and persuades her to accompany him. The young man is a cunning lover because he tells his beloved that he would purchase silver buttons from Chamba for her but he has only half the money and the other half should be contributed by her! He tells her that she should wait for a little more when he would purchase for her a set of ear-rings. He also holds out rosy picture of abundance of rice if only she would accompany him and instead of the coarse ghagri, that she puts on, he would give her silken clothes only if she would accompany him and that in place of brass ornaments, he would give her gold and silver ones, but she should be ready to accompany him to the plains.

APPENDIX VI

EXTRACT TAKEN FROM THE "EARLY WOODEN TEMPLES OF CHAMBA" BY DR. HERMANGOETZ

(a) *The Lakshana Devi Temple at Brahmor*

Like so many ancient sanctuaries in India, the Lakshana Devi temple[8] is a ruin kept in good repair because its cult has never been seriously interrupted. But these repairs have been executed without any proper understanding of the original design, in the technique and taste of the local peasant architecture (Plate Ib). Thus today the temple appears as a simple hut of wood-and-rubble construction with a broad, far-projecting gable roof covered with slates, very similar to many local shrines all over the hills but especially to those in Kulu. In the centre of its front, however, there rises a masterpiece of woodcarving, still most impressive despite its present deplorable condition: a richly carved entrance frame on which rests a three-storeyed pediment, in its turn crowned by a triangular gable (Plate II). Inside, there is a rectangular *mandapa* supported by four pillars interlinked by railings on both sides. And behind the *mandapa* there opens the quadratic cella, again with a richly carved entrance between two other pillars, enshrining the "brass" (*ashtadhatu*) statue of Lakshana Devi.

It is not easy to describe the facade of the temple; for the snow and rain of thirteen centuries have utterly corroded even the resistant deodar wood, so that only the stronger fibres of the carved surface remain. Thus, from some distance the figures, deeply carved, appear quite distinct but if one approaches in order to study the details, the definition becomes more and more indistinct. For an exact explanation of Indian religious images the identification of their costume, hair style, crowns and various emblems is necessary, but only an approximate explanation of the decoration is now possible.

In its general lay-out the temple entrance follows the average pattern of the later Gupta temple, such as, in the Himalaya, still survives in the, much later, wooden temples of Kulu. It consists of a sequence of alternating ornamental and figural frames, successively receding from the enclosing wall to the deep niche of the door proper. The first frame, slightly projecting from the enclosing rubble wall, is a semi-circular moulding carved with rich floral scrollwork. Near the upper corners, where the jambs of the entrance turn into the lintel, it projects to the right and left, in order to offer room to two winged lions. These lions are treated in a heraldic manner, so that their sitting figures rise to a height almost four times the breadth of their basis[9]. The next frame consists of two jambs covered with figures and of a lintel of flying godlings. On each side there are four deities, each standing on its

[8]. A Cunningham, *ASR* XIV PP 110 FF Vogel *ASR* 1902-1903.
Page 239 FF PP XXXIV(*a*) Vogel; *Antiquities* ig. 2 *Chamba Gaz.* P 43 ff.

[9]. The tradition of these heraldic lions has survived in the Brahmor district until comparatively recent times. They are found also at the Ganesa temple and, as balcony supports, in village houses, e.g., at Khani, though in a curiously misunderstood form even with human faces.

own pedestal, and at the bottom of kneeling yaksha supporting, with his arms, the whole door jamb. The figures are so deeply carved that they seem to be almost separate sculptures placed in front of the background; but unfortunately they are so badly damaged that they can no more be recognized. The deities of the lintel apparently are Gandharvas, five couples on each side, each Gandharva holding musical instruments in his hands and carrying his mate, with some sacrificial gifts in her hands, on his back. Only the central figures hold what seems to be a feathered crown[10]. The next frame is again a rounded moulding of vegetative scrolls from which, in the centre of the lintel, emerges a kirtimukha mask. Then follows another frame consisting of four standing figures on each side, and of a supporting yaksha at the bottom. Though these figures are of somewhat smaller size, some of them can still be identified. For, being deeper in the recess of the entrance, they have been less exposed to the weather. The two statuettes at the bottom represent the goddesses of the holy rivers : Gangā, standing on a makara, to the left, and Yamuna (Jamna), on a tortoise, to the right.. Both are attended by a small maidservant who originally must have held a parasol. Of the other figures one seems to represent a three-headed Siva, another Vishnu with human, boar and lion head, and a third possible Surya. On the lintel four couples of flying godlings carry garlands to a central flower (padma?) possibly a symbol of the mistress of the shrine[11]. The innermost, broad and flat frame consists of highly stylized leaf scrolls arranged in oblong medallions formed by the long stalk from which these scrolls branch off.

In order to relieve this beautiful entrance from the pressure of the pediment, the latter has been mounted on a long beam anchored in the rubble wall on both sides. It likewise is a very heavy piece, rising in three storeys. The lowermost storey consists of ten miniature niches of round arches supported by short pilasters with "pot and foliage" capitals. And in each niche there stands a couple of lovers (*mithuna*), each in a different attitude of wooing, embracing or kissing. The second storey has a similar number of niches, but without arches. These niches are framed by eleven dancing Caryatids, standing on consoles projecting above the pillars of the preceding storey and again holding the brackets supporting the top storey. And in each niche there sits some godling in a miniature chapel with a three-fold roof. This last storey resembles, to some degree, that at the bottom, but the columns are lower, the arches depressed, and the niches are occupied by squatting figures with human or animal heads (*ganas*?). The projecting cornices of the last two storeys are decorated with a frieze of suspended knots (*opali*), a motif found also in other hill temples[12].

On this pediment rests the gable, a triangular panel enclosing a trefoiled niche in which an impressive deity is seated. This gable is supported by a frieze of nine deities sitting, with crossed legs, in very low arched niches. Apparently these are the *Navagraha* (Nine Planets). The other two sides of the triangle are ornamented with a rounded cornice moulding of highly stylized scales or leaves. In the arch Vishnu is sitting, held up by his vahana Garuda, while on both sides two rather distorted *chamara* (fly-whisk) bearers are standing. Garuda, with very short legs and almost prostrate, is quite inconspicuous, hardly more than a variant of the yakshas on the pediment. Vishnu, with three faces (boar, human and lion) amidst a mass of ringlets, once had twelve arms holding in their hands the symbols of his power, though now many of them are broken. Of his right arms the upper-most holds a parasol, the second probably a mace or a lotus flower, the third an arrow, the fourth rests on the attendant, while the last two are lost; of his left arms the upper-most carried a lotus or trident, the second a disk, the third a bow, the fourth rested on the other attendant, the two lowermost are likewise broken.[13]

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[10]. Such crowns appear also on the lintels of the Sakti Devi temple at Chatrarhi, of the Thakurdwara of Masrur, and of the Shanmukhesvar at Bilaspur. The last one looks exactly like a medieval European crown. This crown motif seems to have been characteristic only of this area and this period, and may possibly have been of foreign origin.

[11]. The open lotus flower corresponds to the *yoni* and (double) triangle as a *yantra* of the *Sakti*, the female cosmic principle.

[12]. E.g. at Chatrarhi, Karkula and almost all Kulu temples. But it can be traced also in quite a number of medieval temples, especially in Rajputana and Central India.

[13]. According to the Rupamandana, a compilation of the time of maharana Kumbhakarna of Mewar, this would represent. Vishnu's aspect as Ananta (the endless); see M. R. Majumdar, Ind. Hist. Qu. XVI, p. 524 ff. How far these late classifications can be applied to images of the 7th-9th centuries, cannot be decided before the contemporaneous Kashmir theology will have been properly studied. The three-faced type of Vishnu has already been discussed in the preceding chapter. As the entrance frame of the Lakshana temple and an image at Bajaura prove, it was not invented in Kashmir, but became there the dominating orthodox form.

The whole gable triangle, however, is again framed by two richly carved cornice boards.

The interior of the temple is much simpler. The pillars (*thamb, skt. stambha*) of the *mandapa* are plain quadrangular wooden posts up to about two thirds of their height (Plate IX). Then a broad and two small ringbands decorated with kirtimukha masks, flowers and string-courses, then a capping covered with lotus petals, and at last a simple pot-and-foliage capital and a flower-decorated abacus follow. The Sridhara brackets above are decorated with a central piece (on top of the capital) representing some Hindu god with his *vahana* sitting in a niche formed by two miniature columns and a round arch rising from the shouts of two makaras[14]. The lateral pieces, only slightly rounded off at the lower edge of the end, have reliefs of flying minor deities, and, on the level of the arch, a decorative frieze ending in a scroll. The ceiling is of the "lantern" type so common in India. By covering each corner with a triangular slab extending from the centre of one side to that of the next, the square of the ceiling is reduced to a smaller, diagonally placed square; which is again reduced by the same procedure until the central opening has become small enough to be covered with a single slab. These slabs are all richly carved with ornaments, geometrical borders along the edges, and flower, *kirtimukha* and *makara* motifs in the centre of the triangles. The central slab finally is filled by an immense lotus rosette, the various rows of petals of which are partly treated in a naturalistic manner, partly dissolve into various other ornaments.

The entrance to the inner sanctuary repeats the decoration of the exterior entrance in a much simplified form. There are no figures except the lions in the upper corners of the, here much broader, round moulding. This moulding is covered with a scale pattern, at a few points interrupted by square panels decorated with rosettes. The rather narrow second and the very broad last, innermost frieze have a rich, but very uniform decoration of leaf scrolls, which in this case is not divided into medallions by the spirals of a connecting stalk.

The object of worship[15] is a fine brass statue, 3 feet 4 inches high, on a pedestal of 9 inches in height (Plate VI). Lakshana Devi (Bhagawati) is an aspect of Durga[16], also called Bhadrakali in the *Vamsavali*. Today this name is interpreted as referring to Bhadrakali of Basohli. This seems to be a comparatively modern association, as Basohli was founded only in the early 17th century. Its predecessor Balor, ancient Vallapura, is not known before the high middle ages, and even the temple of Malla Devi (an aspect of the Sarada Devi of Kashmir) at Sukral, the great centre of pilgrimage in the former Basohli state, is of the Muslim period. The only old Kali temple there is not at Balor, but at Babor (ancient Babbapura) between Jammu and Ramnagar-Bandharlta, which, however, is not earlier than the late 9th or early 10th century. Moreover Bhadrakali is venerated in more places in the Punjab Himalayas, and is, in her turn, identified with Javalamukhi or Jalpadevi, the great goddess of the Kangra Valley. But of the cult of Javalamukhi we have no historical evidence earlier than the age of Mahmud of Ghazni (early 11th century), though, of course, the local priestly tradition claims for it a hoary antiquity. Although the latter is highly probable, the cult seems long to have been of no more than local importance. Thus Lakshana Devi of Brahmor surely cannot be a derivative of the cults either of Basohli-Vallapura or of Babor or of Javalamukhi, but must in reality have its oldest known centre in the Punjab Himalaya. The dedicatory inscription on the image says that "the illustrious Lord Meruvarman has caused the holy image of the goddess Lakshana to be made by the workman Gugga", in other words, it goes back to the second half of the 7th century.

As in most of the temples, the goddess is represented as Durga Mahishamardini, the "Slayer of the demon Mahisha", a form which we can trace first in the Udaygiri caves[17] near Bhilsa (Malwa) and in the Gupta temple of Bhumara[18], but which became common under the Chalukyas of Badami[19] and the early Rashtrakutas. As a matter of fact the Brahmor image also follows the iconographic concept of the high Chalukya period (i.e., the 7th century), i.e., the goddess puts her right foot on the head of the killed buffalo demon, after having run her trident into its neck, while with her left hand she

14. For similar brackets from Bengal see N. K. Bhattasali, Modern Review, XLV, p.442.

15. Vogel, A.S.R. 1902-03, p.239, fig.2; *Antiquities*, p. 138 141ff., pls. VIIb, X.

16. The victory of Durga over the Buffalo demon is described in *Durgasapatasati*, chapters II and III.

17. D. R. Patil, *The Monuments of the Udaygiri Hill*, Gwalior 1948, pls. 9,14.

18. R. D. Banerji, *The Temple of Siva at Bhumara*, Calcutta 1924, pl.XIVb.

19. R. D. Banerji, *Basreliefs of Badami*, Calcutta 1928, pl.IIb but the hairstyle and crown are different.

catches the buffalo's tail and lifts its whole body up almost vertically[20]. In every other respect, however, the Brahmor image belongs to late Gupta art, in the proportions of the figure, the anatomical treatment, the hair style, the costume, ornaments and emblems. The goddess wears a high jatamukuta (crown of matted hair), or rather an immense wig, the hair being piled up in a slightly oblique protuberance bound together by strings of pearls and various pieces of jewelry, thence to fall down on the shoulders and neck in innumerable ringlets. A similar costly belt with attached pearl strings and pendants, and a sort of pearl-studded girdle pressing in the belly, hold a skirt of very fine muslin. A diaphanous shawal falls down from the shoulders in innumerable fine folds, and a necklace of golden disks hanging from a string of pearls, embossed bracelets from which dangle short strings of pearls and jewels, wristlets and anklets, complete the costume. The eyes of the goddess are inlaid with silver, and her four arms hold, in the upper right hand, a trident (trisula), in the lower right a sword (khadga), in the upper left hand a bell (ghanta) and in the lower left the tail of the buffalo demon.

(b) *Meruvarman's other Images at Brahmor*

As already observed, the Lakshana Devi temple is the only fairly well preserved monument still left of Meruvarman's capital Brahmapura. Of the other temples only part of the images survives. What these originally had been, we know from a group of reliefs[21] on a boulder in the Brahmani Devi Nala on the way from Brahmor to Khani. They show Lakshana Devi, Siva standing in front of his bull Nandi, Ganesa and a linga. Today only the brass idols of Lakshana Devi, Ganesa and Nandi exist, and possibly also the linga if we may identify it with the Rameśvara or Surajmukh (Sun-face) linga still held in high veneration at Brahmore[22]. It stands on a large copper yoni once set with some ornaments; if these might have been small silver flowers, as it seems, such a late Gupta motif would fit well into the time of Meruvarman and prove the identity of both pieces.

The statue of Siva has disappeared, and only the Nandi belonging to it is left; the statue seems to have had some resemblance to the Siva from Avantipur in the Srinagar museum[23], though it had not the somewhat effiminate elegance of the latter.

The other reliefs are not exact reproductions of the images of Meruvarman. Both the Devi and Ganesa look heavier and coarser, the first rather similar to the early Mahishamardini of the Udaygiri hill. As a matter of fact the whole style of the reliefs is different from that of Meruvarman's time being more like that of the Saiva reliefs along the road leading up to the Suraj Pol of the Gwalior fort. Unfortunately the date of these Saiva reliefs is not exactly known, but cannot be later than the 8th century.

On the other hand, it is interesting that among the reliefs of the Brahmani Devi Nala the figure of Narasimha is absent, whose idol likewise forms one of the treasures of Brahmor. Thus, it cannot have been in existence in Meruvarman's time and not even in the early 8th century. Actually, it is the only metal statue which bears no inscription. Dr. Vogel, therefore, regarded it as contemporaneous with the stone temple in which it is housed. According to the Brahmor grant of Yugakaravarman[24] that temple had been erected by his queen Tribhuvanarekha by the middle of the 10th century. But the wording of the inscription is vague and may refer to the temple alone not less than to the idol with its shrine, whereas local tradition attributes the image to Meruvarman's reign. As, moreover, the style of the figure differs strongly from the only brasswork of Yugakaravarman's reign that we know, the Gauri Samkara group at Chamba, it rather appears that the Narasimha image, though later than Meruvarman, had already been in existence when queen Tribhuvanarekha provided it with a temple. For a more accurate assignment we can, thus, rely only on the internal evidence provided by the image itself, and it will be better to postpone the discussion of this problem until we have been able to analyze the figure in detail.

Evidently all these idols once had wooden shrines of a type similar or at least related to that of Lakshana Devi. We have already seen that these were burnt down in the general destruction of Brahmor by the Tibetan King Khri-srong Ide-btsan in the later 8th century. Why, then, has just Lakshana Devi's temple been saved, why at least the idols of the other shrines, and why has only Siva's statue disappeared? It may have been mere accident. But when we take into

[20]. Another image of the same iconographic and stylistic type is in the Sandhya Devi temple at Jagatsukh, Kulu.

[21]. Vogel, *Antiquities*, p.252f., fig.29.

[22]. This *linga* is, as *Suryamata*, attributed by the Vamsavali to Meruvarman.

[23]. R. Ch. Kak, *Handbook Sri Pratap Museum Srinagar*, p. 55.

[24]. Vogel, *Antiquities*, p.159ff., pl.XVI.

account such general conclusions as a careful analysis of Muslim temple destructions in India permits us to draw, we form a different inference. Generally an invading army had not the leisure to wipe out all monuments; during the short time of its stay, most of it preoccupied with looting, rape and carousals, it had to concentrate its attention on such monuments as had been the symbols of power of the defeated state and religion, but would respect whatever appealed in some way to its own beliefs or superstitions. The Manimahesa temple fell as the great state sanctuary or Brahmapura. If the other temples were not spared, the images of Ganesa, Narsingh and Nandi may have been salvaged, because they reminded the Tibetan Lamas of more esoteric deities of their own pantheon, Vighnantaka, Hayagriva and the bull of Mahakala-Bhairava. But Lha-mo (Kali) was held in superstitious awe by all the Tibetan warriors, and so Lakshana Devi's temple may have escaped, though badly damaged.

The idol of Lakshana Devi has already been discussed. Let us now examine the two other images dedicated by king Meruvarman at Brahmor. The first is Siva's bull Nandi[25], a brass (or more correctly ashtadhatu = mixture of eight metals) statue, 5 feet high, and 5 feet 10 inches long (from the nose to the tail), on a copper pedestal, 13 inches high (Plate III). A statue of Nandi is usually found in front of Siva temples, except where the god is represented riding or leaning on it. But always it is represented lying leisurely on its four drawn-in legs. But our statue is unique: a standing bull. This represents a survival of an earlier iconographic practice peculiar to northwestern India. For on the Kushana, Kidara-Kushana and Kushano-sasanian coins[26] Siva, the trident in one of his hands (Sulapani) always stands in front of an upright bull, whereas this type had been almost unknown not only in India outside the Kushana empire[27], but also to the Ephthalites. As the reliefs in the Brahmani Devi Nala prove, our Nandi once stood behind a statue of Siva (ca. 8' high) which, to conclude from these reliefs, seems to have been of a type known to us from Kashmir. The Siva-Nandi group of Brahmor, thus, represents a revival, after the fall of the Ephthalites, of a cult-form once flourishing amongst the Hindus of the Kushan Empire[28]. In other respects the Nandi statue also makes an odd impression. Its body is like a barrel, and its neck and hump are not less unnatural; even the snout is more like that of a pig, and also the legs and hooves are curiously clumsy. Nandi's ornaments, on the other hand, are of the usual type, chains with alternating disk-and bell-shaped pendants, and a cover ending in a "woven" border. The eye-sockets at present are empty and, as in the case of the lions on Asoka's pillar at Sarnath[29], once must have been inlaid with crystal. The pedestal has the shape of a Gupta plinth or platform. As already mentioned, an ear and the tail have been broken during the Tibetan invasion.

Finally we should mention the idol of Ganesa[30]. It is a "brass" figure, 3 feet high, on a copper pedestal, 14 inches high, and bears, like all the other images except the Narasimha an inscription of king Meruvarman. Ganesa (Plate V) is represented as a fear-inspiring deity with a very stout, muscular body, elephant-head and four arms. In these he holds (upper right) a rosary, (lower right) his second tusk, (upper left) a hatchet with a dagger-shaped blade and (lower left) a vessel filled with sweetmeats (*laddu*) of which he picks up one with his trunk. Like Siva he has three eyes, the third at the root of his trunk, while his staring eyes, standing-out ears and tense arms appear as if he were prepared any moment to spring into action. He wears a crown of pinnacles connected by strings of pearls resembling half-moons, enclosing a *mukta*. His necklace consists of

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[25]. Cunningham, *A.S.R.* XIV, p.112; Vogel, *A.S.R.* 1902-03, p.239ff fig.6; and *Antiquities*, p.140, 143, pls. IX-X.

[26]. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, 1897, pl. II, nos. 12, 13, 15; A. Cunningham coins of the Indo-Scythians, I, 1888, pls. V, nos. 1-48, 9-13, XIV, nos. 9-10; the same, Later Indo-Scythians, Scytho-Sasanians and Little Kushanas, 1894, pl. XIII, nos. 4, 12, 15; P. Gardner, *Coins of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India (British Museum)*, London, 1886, pl. XXI, nos. 6-8, 11-14, XXIX nos. 10-12; E. Herzfeld, Kushano-Sasanian coins, 1930, pl. I no. 7a; II, Nos. 9a-b, 15a-b, III, nos. 18a, 19b. For a Gandhara Trimurti Image; 3rd century see V. Natesa Aiyar, *A.S.R.* 1913-14, II, p. 276ff., pl. 72a.

[27]. Siva in front of bull, both standing: Nageswara Temple, Conjeeveram, 9th century; Tiruvallisvaram, Tinnevelly Dstr. 10th century; see also H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images*, 1916, figs. 76, 77; Siva and Parvati standing in front of bull, Tiruvallisvaram, Tinnevelly Dstr., Krishna Sastri, figs. 70, 71; Karwan, Gujarat, Kapuri, Gujarat, 7th century (H. Goetz, *Handbook of the Collections, Baroda Museum*, 1952, pl. 8a), also in Pahari miniatures, esp. late Jammu school.

[28]. A parallel iconograghic case is the group of Siva-Parvati sitting together on Nandi which is rather rare in orthodox India: pallu, Bikaner (Goetz, *Art and Architecture*, fig. 8); Kherat Bhind Dstr., (A. R. Gwalior Arch. Dpt. for 1930-31, pl. 4a); Dwarahat Kumaon, but is found both in Eastern Turkistan (A. Grunwedel, *Altbuddhistisiche Kultstatten* in *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Leipzig 1912, fig. 410) and in Mandi (Panchavaktra, and small temple at the Ghats; Mandi Miniatures).

[29]. D. R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Sarnath Museum*, 1914, p. 28.

[30]. Cunningham, *A.S.R.* XIV p. 112; Vogel, *A.S.R.* 1902-03 p. 239, fig. 5; and *Antiquities* p. 140, 142.f, pls. VIIIa, X.

the same disks which we have seen on the images of Lakshana Devi and Nandi. A snake serves as the yajnopavita, the cord which marks every Brahmin as "twice-born". Around his waist a lion's or tiger's skin is wound, tied together by a knot of two paws, the head on the right, the tail on the left side. The lower body is covered with a dhoti decorated with lotus flowers which are visible only on the fragment at the foot of the pedestal, as the legs and feet were broken during the "Kira" invasion under Khri-srong Ide-btsan. Ganesa sits on a lion throne (simhasana) very similar to those used for Budhist and Jain images, only with the difference that the "Wheel of the Law" is replaced by a very queer-looking *gana*. Also the two lions sejant are grotesque products and have very little resemblance to the real animal. Finally, the *simhasana* is decorated with a cloth-cover with fringes, hanging down in a quartercircle in the centre, such as is common on similar Budhist and Jain pedestals.

(c) *The Narasimha Image at Brahmor*

On the first impression the image of "Narasimha" looks like the exact counterpart of Ganesa (Plate IV). The Man-lion *avatara* is one of the terrible aspects of Vishnu, the destroyer of Hiranyakasipu and saviour of Prahalada. And indeed, the monster looks most horrible, especially in the ghostly front light coming through the temple door. It is a short, plump human figure with a heavy lion's head, sitting on a throne with widespread legs, two arms folded under the chin, two held up with extended claws, staring forward with wide-open eyes and half-opened mouth. The legs are tense as if prepared to jump up at any moment, the extended arms seem to wait for the moment when they can burry their long claws in the victim, the hands under the chin are pressed together as if they could hardly suppress the lust of blood glowing in the wild eyes, the tense ears and the slavering mouth vibrate in tensest expectation, the mane stands out like a flaming halo. There are no special symbols of the horrible, no sculls, bones, skeletons, as in Saiva iconography, only the royal crown (of "Gandhara-Kashmiri" type), the royal jewellery and costume, and, on the foot of the pedestal, the laid-aside emblemata of Vishnu, the mace and the disk, the lotus and the conch. And yet, in its concentrated tension, this masterpiece embodies all the irrational terrors of inscrutable cosmic power.

To this mighty figure the socle forms a curious anti-climax. It is a massive bench decorated with reliefs of mountain peaks stylized in a manner unknown in India, but common in Eastern Turkistan and China. And to the right and left the head of a lion is peeping over the mountains, again stylized in an extraordinary manner, to some degree copied from the face of Narasimha, and yet more reminiscent of dragon masks in early Chinese art.

The height of the statue is exactly the same as that of Ganesa, the physical type also links up with the latter's, and even technically hardly any difference can be discovered. But there is no inscription of Meruvarman as on all the other idols executed by master Gugga for that king, and no relief of it in the Brahmani Devi Nala. The Narasimha, therefore, cannot have formed part of the images and sanctuaries set up at the foundation of Brahmor.

However, this is not so surprising. Meruvarman's religion was purely Saiva (Sakta). And the Nandi image even gives us a hint why this had been so. The type of Saiva, trident in hand (Sulapani)[32] and set in front of his standing bull is Kushan. And when we trace the other Hindu deities venerated in the Kushan empire we find that Siva, Surya and also the Great Mother in various forms were quite common, but that Vishnu, who played such a prominent role in the Gupta Empire, was hardly venerated. Meruvarman, being a Sulika prince, must have been a devotee of Siva Sulapani.

Vishnuism penetrated only with Gupta and post-Gupta influence At Talesvar-Brahmapura it must have been known, as at least one king bears the name Vishnu-varman. In Brahmor it must have been introduced at least before the overthrow of the "Gurjara" kingdom by the Tibetans, because the last prince slain by them, Lakshmivarman, was named after Vishnu's consort Lakshmi. Now the impact of late Gupta civilization, and especially of its religion had been strongest at Brahmor in the reign of Ajyavarman,

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31. Vogel., *A.S.R.* 1902-03, p. 239 ff., Fig. 4; and *Antiquities* I, pl. VIIIb.

32. The Nirmand inscription of Samudrasena mentions a temple of Siva Sulapani, likewise his cult was popular with the sulkis of Orissa.

when Lalitaditya of Kashmir settled Brahmins and Kshatriyas from Kanauj there. These exiles must have been cultured persons connected with the court of Yasovarman, for otherwise Lalitaditya would have had no interest to deport them to such a lonely place as Brahmor. However, as the Vishnu cult had been most prominent in Gupta civilization we may regard these exiles as the bringers of Vishnuism to Brahmor. And even this Vishnu temple can be traced, at least in one important fragment, i.e., the gable now built into the facade of the Lakshana temple, which, for a number of other reasons adduced above, must go back to the time of Lalitaditya and Ajyavarman.

But what, then, had been the idol of this Vishnu temple? It can only have been the just discussed statue of Narasimha. The combination of Gupta and Kashmiri features which it reveals, was possible only in those days. Moreover, Varaha and Narasimha were the favourite *avataras* of Vishnu during the later Gupta period[33], often enough overshadowing Vishnu's divine aspects themselves. For, originally adapted from barbarian deities[34], both had become patrons of the struggle against the Ephthalites and Gurjaras, and protectors of the Indians against the Mlechchhas. Thus they were fused into one new aspect of Vishnu, with three heads, human, lion and boar, which was especially favoured in Kashmir and remained popular there much longer than in the rest of India.[35]

A clash between both systems, Saivism and Vaishnavism, was avoided by a syncretistic theology, until by the 9th century the orthodox Hindu system was evolved. Out of a number of abortive attempts by the leading sects to absorb their opponents, there developed an equilibrium, in which first Siva, Brahma, Surya and Kubera were treated as the four orthodox Hindu gods. But Brahma was superseded by Devi, and Kubera by Ganesa[36]. In Brahmor we find, thus, the final system already in the reign of Ajyavarman: a closed Quarternity consisting of Siva as the *nirguna*, absolute godhead, Vishnu as the *saguna*, creating god, Ganesa as the divine power active in the visible universe, and the Devi as the *sakti, prakriti*, the womb of the material world.

From Pratihara times onwards the cult of Narasimha fell out of favour, and his image, though not forgotten, was relegated to the conventional friezes of Vishnu's *avataras*. With the foundation of the great Lakshmi-Narayana temple at Chamba by Sahilavarman the aspect of Vishnu as the Kinggod was introduced. And though the erection of the Narasimha temple at Brahmor had been a reflection of this Vaishnava revival in Chamba, queen Tribhuvanrekha would surely not have selected such an obsolete *avatara*, if Ajyavarman's idol had not been already in existence and in need of a decent shrine. Only in popular religion Narsingh is still venerated but merely as a spirit[37].

33. One of the last Gupta emperors bore the name of Narasimhagupta; see also Udayagiri, Eran, the Badami caves, Mamallapuram etc.

34. Varaha probably had been a Hun deity, Narasimha a Scythian or Gurjara god or atleast came in fasion because of similar Hun or Scythian gods. The lion, the royal animal of south western Asia, had been the emblem already of the Western Kashatrapas Both seem to have been of a solar character.

35. At Brahmor, Chatrarhi and Bajaura the type can be traced already in the 7th century. See above, p. 68.

36. As far as my knowledge goes, the texts have not yet been studied from this point of view; but the evidence of iconography is very clear.

37. Sardaru Balhari, *Ind. Ant.* XXVIII, p. 84 ff; *Kangra and Chamba Gazetteers.*

APPENDIX VII

GLOSSARY

A

Abadi	Inhabitation
Ainchali	Devotional songs in praise of Lord Shiva
Ajwain	Spice (Parsley)
Akhmitauni	Hide and seek
Akhrot	Walnuts
Als	Sub-caste
Amavas	Dark night when there is no moon
Anna	A coin
Angan	Court yard
Asgand	Herb
Anguthare	Silver rings for toes

Asis banch-ana	Blessings—a reply to greetings
Asli	Real
Astdhata	An alloy of eight metals
Atti	Thread ball
Autar	Spirit of a deceased person who died childless

B

Babru	Fried cakes of sweetened flour
Bahori	Local festival held on 1st Magh
Baisakh	A Bikrami month
Balti	Bucket
Bandas	Servers
Banga	Bangles
Bansuri	Flute
Baranda	Central beam
Barani	Dependent on rain fall
Barat	Marriage party
Bartan-dari rates	Concessional rates enjoyed by the villagers on account of their rights over certain forests.
Batta satta	Marriages by exchange
Besan	Gram flour
Begar	Free service
Bhajans	Devotional songs
Bhadon	A Bikrami month
Bhakti	Devotion
Bhandara	Free meals for beggars, Sadhus and mendicants
Bhang	Indian hemp
Bhares	Fagopyrun escueentum
Bhaturus	Bread made of fermented dough
Bhog	Feeding the deity
Bhojru	Pouch of tobacco
Bhoot-Keshi	A local herb
Bhor	Room in the second floor
Bichhu Buti	Nettle
Bigha	One-fifth of an acre
Bilpatri	Leaves of a tree used for making offerings to Lord Shiv
Bimbaru	Local variety of tobacco
Bindi	Kum kum in the forehead
Biris	Indian Cigarettes—tobacco contained in leaves
Birs	Minor local Gods
Bisu	Festival held on 1st Besakh equivalent to Baisakhi
Blauk	A golden ornament for nose
Boie	Dried wild appricots
Botna	A mixture of Barley flour, turmeric, mustard oil and orange peel
Bowli	Spring
Bradri	Brotherhood

C

Chad	Cash present to the bride/bridegroom
Chadru	Head cover used by ladies
Charkha	Spinning wheel
Chakli	Old coin of Chamba State
Chakor	Partridge
Chalik	A type of ear-ring
Chandan	Sandal wood
Changer	A basket made of bamboos
Chara	Out-let for water
Chardisha	Four Directions
Charnamrit	Holy water given by priests to devotees
Chhattak	Weighing measure 1/16 of a seer
Chaugan	Open space
Chaunk	An ornament for head
Chaurasi	Eighty-four
Cheedh	Wild apricot
Cheel	Kite
Chela	Follower
Chet	A Bikrami month
Chhaj	Winnowing fan
Chhak	Maize
Chhari	Heavy mace
Chhinj	Wrestling match
Chhuani	Sweetened mixture of fried dry fruits given to women at child birth
Chhu-chuai	A local game

Chhuara	Dried dates
Chinai	Penicum mibiceum
Chiri	An ornament for Head
Chola	A loose coat like upper garment
Chond	A minor god
Chulak	hearth
Chunda-band	A term given to division of property on the bases of number of wives. Literally means division by the number of wives
Calip	Silver ornament fastened to the hair

D

Dai	Midwife
Dakshina	Money given to Brahmins on religious occasions
Dast panja	A gold ornament for hands
Desi juta	Locally made shoe
Devi	Goddess
Devta	Deity
Dhadas	Parched maize
Dham	Congregational feast
Dhan	Paddy
Dhania	Corriander
Dhar	Pastures in the inner mountains
Dharakru	Residents of village Darkohta
Dhol	Drum
Dholru	A festival held on the 1st Chet
Dhodku	Silver tope
Dhoop	Incense burnt in temples or before gods
Dona	Leaf bowl
Dora	Woollen string wound round the waist
Dragra	Verandah
Drat	Sickle
Drubh	Grass blades of a particular variety of grass
Dupatta	Head gear
Dwari	Enterance

F

Fanani	Bow
Faruque	Wall of wooden planks

G

Gandholi	Local vegetable a sort of small pumpkin
Gangajal	Water of holy Ganges
Ganesh	The god with an elephant head His blessings are invoked on all auspicious occasions
Gardu	Blanket
Gatti khelna	Game of pebbles
Gauntar	A ceremony concerning child birth
Gaupal	One who tends the cows
Geru	Red
Ghara	Earthen pitcher
Gharat	Water mill used for grinding corn
Gharyali	Platform near the hearth, for keeping pitchers of water
Ghee	Purified butter
Ghia	Vegetable marrow
Ghugi Ban	Names of two holy plants
Ghumkaru	Copper anklets
Ghunganian	Boiled maize
Ghundu	Head gear of women
Ghutti	A mixture of certain indigenous herbs administered to infants
Glass	Metallic tumbler
Go-mutra	Cow's urine
Gosain	A sect of Sadhus
Gotra	Lineage
Gull	Maize cob after extracting grains from it
Gur	Jaggery
Guru	Religious preceptor

H

Hal	Plough
Halwa	Pudding
Harpur	Earthen hot case
Hari-har	Lord Shiva
Hing	Asfoetida
Hukka	Hubble Bubble

I

Illaqua	Area

J

Jagni	Torch wood
Jai Jai	Form of greeting
Jalebi	Indian sweet
Janeu	Sacred thread
Jantra	A charm
Jarelu	Shoe made of goat-hair
Jatera	Wordly
Jatra	Fairs
Jinaswar	Crop statement
Jogi	A sect of sadhu
Jogni	Local spirits of rocks

K

Kable kast	Cultivable waste
Kalash	A pitcher full of water
Kamdeo	God of love
Kamiz	Shirt
Kangan	An ornament for wrists—sort of bracelets
Kanghi	Comb
Kanjar	Big wooden boxes for storing grains
Kante	Ear-rings
Kantha	Heavy neck-lace
Kapal kriya	A death rite
Kardar kothi	An old Govt. Building at Brahmaur
Karchhi	Ladle
Katha	Recitation of scriptures
Katori	Bowl
Keling	Another name for Somkartika-son of Lord Shiva
Kesar	Saffron
Khali	Oil cakes
Khallyan	Thrashing ground
Khaltu	Skin bag
Kharif	Autumn crop
Khichri	A hotch potch of rice and pulse
Khir	Rice boiled in milk
Khukh	Upper part of the chola
Kilta	Long conical bamboo basket
Kirtan	Devotional songs sung in chorus
Kodal	An Agricultural implement
Kulh	Earthen barrel for storing grains
Kumbh	Earthen pitcher
Kumhar	Potter
Kund	A small tank
Kungu	Vermilion
Kurti	Ladies shirt
Kuwa	Shirt
Kuth	Aromatic medicinal herb

L

Laddus	Sweet balls of besan
Lakhna	Goddess Kali
Lakhnyara	A scribe
Langhe	Ferrymen
Lassi	Whey
Linga	Shiva's image
Lohar	Black smith
Loie	Shawl
Long	An ornament for nose
Lota	A metalled vessel
Luchis	Fried thin cakes
Luanchari	A dress worn by Gaddi women
Lugra	Rice cooked in milk diluted with water
Luncha	Woollen loose shirt

M

Madhra	A special dish prepared on marriage occasions
Magh	A Bikrami month
Makki ki roti	Maize bread
Mal	Sheep and goats
Mala	Garland
Malpuras	Sweet fried cakes of wheat flour
Malundi	Shepherd
Mami	Aunt
Manauti	A vow
Mandap	The place where marriage is celebrated
Mandeh	Second floor

Mandua	Leather pouch
Mang	Where the hair of the head are parted
Manjhi	Stair case
Mash	Black grains
Masru	A piece of red cloth
Matera	Yogic
Mehandi	Hena
Mela	Fair
Mesu	An Indian sweet made of besan
Mile	1·609344 K.M.
Mohalla	Street
Moghi	Silver cuff link
Mrigshala	Skin of dear
Munda band	Division of property according to number of sons
Mundra	Ear-rings
Munj-mala	Garland made of grass
Murti	Image—idol

N

Nagara	Kettle drum
Nagauri Asgandh	An indigenous medicine
Nags	Snake gods
Nakli	False
Namaskar	Form of greetings
Narsingh	An incarnation of Vishnu, half human half lion
Naryal	Cocoa nut
Nasha	Intoxication
Nav-grah	Nine planets
Nawala	A form of worship of Lord Shiva
Niches	Sort of cup-board
Nhas	Wooden battens
Nuhari	Break.fast

O

Obra	A room in the 1st floor used as cattle shed
Ora	Wooden structure for keeping sheep and goats

P

Pagri	Turban
Pairi pauna	A form of greetings given by youngers to older people literally "I touch your feet".
Palki	Palanquin
Panihar	Water source
Paran	Stair-case
Parat	A metallic trough like vessel used for kneading flour
Patila	Metallic pot used for boiling vegetables
Patroru	A local festival
Patwari	A revenue official
Pattu	*Heavy woollen shawl*
Pazeb	An ankle ornament
Phali	Fallow land
Phongtain	Dealer in wool
Pher	Silver ear-rings
Phullan	Fagoprun emarginatum
Pihri	A wooden structure with a plat form
Pind	Balls of barley flour offered to deads
Pindris	Flour cakes
Pitre	Deceased ancestors
Pohal	Shepherd
Pratishtha	Opening ceremony
Puja	Worship
Pujari	Priest
Puranmashi	Full moon
Purandas	Strands of cotton threads used for tying the hair of the women
Puris	Small round chapaties fried in oil or ghee
Purohit	Family priest

R

Rabi	Spring crop
Raj-mash	Red beans
Ralu	A small silver cylinder like ornament
Ram Ram	A form of greetings between equals
Rani	Queen
Rithas	Soapnuts
Runka	Flint
Rubar	Presents

S

Saag	Green leafy vegetable
Saal	Part of a house in the upper most floor used for storing grass
Samanta	King
Sanari	Stair case
Sankh	Conch
Sanyasi	Hermit
Sasan	Period
Sapu	Local variety of tobacco
Sarson ka saag	Green leaves of mustard used as vegetables
Sat	An auspicious moment
Sati	A woman who has immolated herself
Sehra	The wedding chaplet worn by bride-groom
Sidh	A holy person possessing super-natural powers
Sirgundhi	Dressing of birde's hair
Shalu	A piece of red cloth put on the bride at the time of marriage
Shakar para	Sweet
Shanti	Propitiation
Shehnai	Musical instrument
Shikha choti	Tuft
Shiva	God of destruction
Shiv-pindi	Shiv Linga
Sipain	Tenants of Sipis
Shradh	Death anniversary
Sugru	A ceremony when the child is given cereal food
Suhag patari	A box containing articles of toilet and clothes for the bride
Suhaga	Clad breaker and leveller
Sui	A local goddess
Sur	Local beer

T

Takli	Spindle
Tamak	Playing upon the kettle drum
Tambol	Cash presented to bride/bride-groom at the time of marriage
Tapasya	Penance
Tarkal	Pasture near by the village
Tawa	Iron pan used for cooking bread and chapaties
Tel	Oil
Thathar	Wooden planks used in the construction of walls of a house
Thali	Metallic plate
Thathra	Hollow pillar of rough wooden planks
Thathar	Wooden planks
Thikana	Destination
Til	Sesamum Indicum
Tirthsthan	A holy place for pilgrimage
Tiru	Sort of a small cup-board
Tohlu	Small hole provided in a room for ventilation
Tola	Weighing measure
Topa	Cap
Turka	Heating of the ghee or oil with spices before adding the vegetables

V

Vatika	Garden

W

Wazir	Minister

Y

Yatra	Pilgrimage

Z

Zira	A spice

APPENDIX VIII

List of Hindu Months in Vikrami calendar

Chait.	March-April.	Asuj.	September-October.
Bashakh.	April-May.	Katak.	October-November.
Jeth.	May-June.	Maghar.	November-December.
Harh.	June-July.	Poh.	December-January.
Shawan.	July-August.	Magh.	January-February.
Bhadon.	August-September.	Phagan.	February-March.

APPENDIX IX

Conversion Table

1 Tola	= 12 Grams.	1 Seer	= 930 Grams.
1 Chhatak	= 58 Grams.	1 Maund	= 37.324 Kilograms.
4 Chhataks	= 233 Grams.	1 Ounce	= 28.350 Grams.
8 Chhataks	= 467 Grams.	1 Pound	= 0.4536 Kilograms.
12 Chhataks	= 700 Grams.	1 Cwt.	= 50.802 Kilograms.

1 Yard	= 0.9144 Metre.
640 Acres	= 1 Square Mile.
1 Metre	= 1.0936 yards.
1 Kilometre	= 0.6214 Mile.
1 Square Kilometre	= 0.386 Sq. mile.
1 Square Mile	= 2.5899 Sq. Kilometres.

APPENDIX X

GLOSSARY OF TREES, SHRUBS AND CLIMBERS, COMMONLY FOUND IN THE UPPER RAVI FORESTS

Extract from Himachal Pradesh Administration Forest Deptt. Working Plan for the Upper Ravi Forest, Chamba and Churah Forest Divisions, Himachal Pradesh 1954-55 to 1968-69 by S.C. Gour, M.F. (Yale), P.F.S. (I), Working Plan Officer, Chamba, (H.P.)

Flora

Scientific Name	Local Name
(a) Trees	
Abies webbiana	Ral
Acer caesium	Mandar
Acer Caudatum	Mandar
Acer Pictum	Mandar
Acer Villosum	Mandar
Aesculus indica	Goon
Albizzia lebbek	Siris
Albizzia odoratissima	Kali Siris
Alnus nepalensi	Piak
Alnus nitida	Piak
Bauhinia variegata	Kral
Betula alnoides	Bhuj
Betula utills	Bhuj
Bombax malabaricum	Simbal
Buxus sempervirens	Samshad
Carpinus faginea	Chakri
Carpinus viminea	Chakri
Cedrela Serrata	Dauri
Cedrela toona	Toon
Cedrus deodara	Diyar
Celtis australis	Khark
Cornus macrophylla	Haleu
Corylus colurna	Thangi
Cupressus torulosa	Devi diyar
Dalbergia sissoo	Tali
Dhretia serrata	Punna
Euonymus fimbriatus	Tritu
Ficus glomerata	Phagoora
Ficus nemoralis	Phagoora
Ficus palmata	Phagoora
Ficus religiosa	Pipal
Fraxinus floribunda	Sunnu
Grewia oppositifolia	Dhamman
Grewia vestita	Dhamman
Juglans regia	Khor
Litsea unbrosa	Chirindi
Machillus Duthiei	Bhadrol
Machillus odoratissima	Bhadrol
Melia azedarach	Darek
Morus alba	Karun
Morus	Karun
Olea cuspidata	Kau
Picea morinda	Tos
Pieris ovalifolia	Ailan
Pinus excelsa	Kail
Pinus gerardiana	Neoza
Pinus longifolia	Chir
Pistacial inontegerrima	Makreran
Populus ciliata	Chaloon
Prunus armenica	Chir
Prunus communis	Aloocha
Prunus padus	Jammu
Prunus persica	Aru
Pyrus baccata	Lewar
Pyrus communis	Nakh
Pyrus lanata	Amlik
Pyrus malus	Seo
Pyrus pashia	Kainth
Quercus dilatata	Moru
Quercus incana	Ban
Quercus semecarpifolia	Khareu
Rhododendron arboreum	Cheo
Rhus punjabensis	Tittri
Rhus semialata	Arkhar
Salix alba	Badda
Salix babylonica	Badda majnu
Salix wallichiana	Badda majnu
Sapindus mukorossi	Ritha
Taxus baccata	Barmi
Symplocos crataegoides	Lodhar
Ulmus wallichiana	Maral
Ziziphus oxyphylla	Ber

Scientific Name	Local Name
(*b*) *Shrubs*	
Adhatoda vasica	Basuti
Agave americana	
Artimissia vulgaris	Charmar
Bambusa arundinaria	Nari
Berberis aristata	Kemal
Berberis lycium	Kemal
Berberis nepalensis	Kemal
Berberis vulgaris	Kemal
Cannabis sativa	Bhang
Cocculas laurifolium	Nagdaun
Colebrookia oppositifolia	Dharoos
Coriaria nepalensis	Richh-ka-Ancha
Cornus capitata	Halen
Cotoneaster bacillaris	Renus
Cotoneaster macrophylla	Reuns
Cotoneaster vulgaris	Reuns
Daphne cannabina	Niggi
Daphne oleoides	Niggi
Debregeasia hypoleuca	
Desmodium tiliaefolium	Pre
Deutzia corymbosa	Batti
Deutzia staminea	
Dodoneea viscosa	Mhendu
Euphorbia royleana	
Fragaria indica	
Fragaria vesca	
Girardiana hetrophylla	Ain
Ilex diprena	Kanderu
Indigofera gerardiana	Kathi
Indigofera hersuta	Kathi
Indigofera pulchella	Kathi
Jasminum humile	Wild Chambeli
Jasminum officinales	Wild Chambeli
Juniperus communis	Bither
Juniperus recurva	Bither
Lantana indica	
Lonicera angustifolia	Kantias
Lonicera hispida	
Lonicera quinquelocularis	Bakhru

Scientific Name	Local Name
(*b*) *Shrubs*—contd.	
Myrsine africana	
Otostegia limbata	Boo
Parrotia jacquemontiana	Killer
Plectranthus rugosus	Kuthal
Prinsepia utilis	Kangora
Rhododendron campanulatum	Sarngar
Rhus cotinus	Tung
Ribes spp.	Rajae
Rosa macrophylla	Karer, Ban gulab
Rosa moschata	Karer, Ban gulab
Royleana fabrifuga	
Rubus biflorus	Akhre
Rubus fabrifuga	Kantias
Rubus lasiocarpus	Akhre
Rubus niveus	Akhre
Rubus paniculatus	Akhre
Sageretia theezans	Kankalu
Sarcococca pruniformis	Diun
Skimmia laureola	
Spraea lindleyana	Kande
Staphylea emodi	Chitra, Nagdaun
Syringa emodi	Chara
Viburnum cotinifolium	Talanj
Viburnum foetens	Talanj
Vitex negundo	Banna
Wiks-troemia canescens	
Woodfordia floribunda	
Zanthoxylum atatum	Timber
(*c*) *Climbers*	
Bauhinia vahlii	Taur
Clematis montana	Garol
Clematis buchananiana	Garol
Cuscuta reflexa	
Hedera halix	Kural
Rosa moschata	Ban gulab
Smilax parvifolia	
Vitis latifolia	Pani bel

APPENDIX XI

QUESTIONNAIRE USED BY INVESTIGATOR

Household Schedule

1. (*a*) Name of village
   (*b*) Name of Sub-Tehsil/Tehsil/Sub-Division
   (*c*) Population
2. (*a*) Serial No. of the Household
   (*b*) Name of Head of the Household
   (*c*) Occupation
   (*d*) Sex
   (*e*) Age
   (*f*) Religion
   (*g*) Whether belonging to Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe
   (*h*) Informant
   (*i*) Relation of the Informant to the Head of the Household
   (*j*) Mother tongue

2-A. Family Composition

Economic Status	Serial No.	Name	Sex (M/F)	Relation to the Head of the Household	Age in completed years (last birthday)	Marital Status (M/S/W/D)	Age at marriage	Educational Standard	Occupation	Physical defects, if any	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Earners											
Dependents living with family											
Dependents living away from the family											
Casual Members											

2-B. Family Composition

Economic Status	Serial No.	Name	Place of birth				Other languages spoken	Occupation		Place of Occupation		Whether living with or away from the family	Present address	Since when living away from the family	How many times visited the family during 1959—61	Remarks
			Name	Distance from the village	Caste/Tribe	Gotra/Clan		Main	Subsidiary	Name	Distance from the village					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Earner																
Dependents living with family																
Dependents living away from the family																
Casual members																

For casual workers (c) should be written against the name of the earners and the period of employment during the last one year should also be given in 'Remarks' column.

2-A, Column 4:—M—Male, F—Female, Col. 7:—M—Married, S—Separated, W—Widowed, D—Divorced.

3. Migration

(*a*) Whether permanent settler?
(*b*) If so, for how many generations, counting from Head of the household backwards, has the household been residing in this village?
(*c*) If not, place from where migrated?
(*d*) Whether a displaced household?
(*e*) Occupation before migration?
(*f*) What are the causes of migration?
(*g*) Whether a displaced household after partition?
(*h*) If so, how and why this village was selected?
(*i*) Has the household received any loan or grant for rehabilitation?
(*j*) Any comment (including whether the household considers itself to be adequately rehabilitated)?

4. Religion

(*a*) Is there a Deity or Object of Worship or a Sacred Plant in the House?
(*b*) If yes, where is the Deity or Object of Worship located in the house?
(*c*) What is the name of the Deity or Object of Worship or Sacred Plant and what is the form of worship?
(*d*) Do you keep any regular fast?
(*e*) If yes, (*i*) When (give actual days)
(*ii*) Why (*a*) Due to religious reasons
(*b*) Due to reasons other than religious
(*f*) Do untouchables visit your house?
(*g*) If yes, how frequent and for what purpose?
(*h*) Do you know that untouchability, in any form, has been prohibited under Law?

5. Inheritance

(*a*) Do you know that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Adoption Act?
(*b*) Do you know that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Succession Act?
(*c*) Which relatives, including male members and widows and daughters, married, unmarried, inherit property on the death of married male person belonging to the same caste as that of your household?
(*d*) What is the share of each member?
(*e*) Are you in favour of inheritance of property by daughters equally with sons?

6. Agriculture

(*a*) If the household possesses land, give total area in acres?
(*b*) Area comprising household—
(*i*) Owned.....(*ii*) Leased in.....
(*c*) Total uncultivated fallow
(*d*) Total cultivable land
(*e*) Total land cultivated, with particulars as under (for the last 10 years)

Situated	Owned land cultivated		Leased in land cultivated		Total		Owned land leased out to others	
	No. of plots	Area	No. of plots	Area	No. of plots	Area	No. of plots	Area
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inside the village								
Outside the village . . .								

(*f*) (*i*) In case of owned land, how and when the family came to own land?
(*ii*) What is the land revenue for the land owned, has there been any recent change?

(*g*) In case the household has leased in land—
(*i*) Who is the landlord?
(*ii*) Where does he stay (if outside the village, the distance should be given)?
(*iii*) What is his occupation?
(*vi*) Since when has the land been leased in?
(*v*) On what terms the land has been leased in? Has there been any recent change?

(*h*) If the land has been leased out
(*i*) To how many tenants?
(*ii*) Since when?
(*iii*) On what terms? Has there been any recent change?

(*i*) If there is any cultivable land which is lying fallow—
(*i*) Since when it is lying fallow?
(*ii*) Why is it lying fallow?

(*j*) Is the household cultivating any land by hired labour? If so—
(*i*) Quantity of land cultivated through hired labour
(*ii*) Agricultural operations in which hired labourers were engaged
(*iii*) No. of man-days for which hired labourers were engaged
(*iv*) Average wages per day paid to hired labourers

(*k*) If the household has irrigated land—
(*i*) Source of water and nature of irrigation facility
(*ii*) Since when irrigation facility is available
(*iii*) Through what agencies the facility has been provided
(*iv*) Terms on which the facility is obtained
(*v*) Whether there has been any change in extent of cultivation, nature of crop, yield etc., due to irrigation facility.

(*l*) Do you borrow agricultural implements from others at the time of cultivation?

(*m*) Do you take help of neighbours at the time of sowing or harvesting?

(*n*) Do you assist your neighbours and receive help at the time of cultivation in the shape of manual labour?

(*o*) How much did your father own at the time of his death—
(*i*) Land in acres
(*ii*) Houses and other property

(*p*) Have you got yourself recorded as share cropper during the last settlement?

(*q*) (*i*) Have you been evicted in the wake of land legislation?
(*ii*) If yes, state the quantity of land.

7. Livestock and Poultry

1. (*a*) Do you own any livestock or poultry?
(*b*) If yes, give numbers—
(*i*) Milch Cattle
(*ii*) Draught bullocks
(*c*) How much milk or milk product do you sell?
(*d*) What is the cost of livestock?
(*e*) Expenditure on livestock in terms of grass and other fodder.

8. Cottage Industries and Occupation

(*a*) *Cottage Industries*—

(*i*) What are the cottage industries of the village?
(*ii*) Which of these is practised by your household?
(*iii*) How many members join in this work?
(1) Male.....(2) Female.....(3) Children.....
(*iv*) Have you adopted any Industry during the last five years?
(*v*) If yes, name the industry
(*vi*) What are the raw materials used?
(*vii*) Have you adopted new tools for your industry during the last five years?
(*viii*) What are the products?
(*ix*) Name the Art and Craft in which you or any member of your household has earned proficiency?
(*x*) From where do you get the raw materials?
Distance..... Miles
(*xi*) Where do you dispose of the goods manufactured?
Distance..... Miles
(*xii*) What is your monthly income from this source?
(*xiii*) What are your difficulties in this regard?
(*xiv*) When and how did you learn the art or craft concerned?
(*xv*) Do you consider further training necessary?
(*xvi*) If yes, describe the type of training you desire
(*xvii*) (*a*) If you are engaged in trade or business, mention the commodities dealt in?
(*b*) How do you get your finance ?
(*c*) What is your approximate profit?

(*b*) *Occupation*—

(*i*) Have you changed your father's occupation?
(*ii*) If yes, Why? Voluntarily/forced by circumstances/other reasons
(*iii*) Have you changed your own earlier occupation?
(*iv*) If yes, state, Voluntarily/forced by circumstances/other reasons
(*v*) Are you contented with the present occupation?
(*vi*) What was your father's occupation?
(*vii*) Which occupation would you prefer for your children?

9. Education

(*a*) Whether there is a School within the village ?
(*b*) If not, what is the distance of the School from your home?
(*c*) If the School is situated more than five miles from your home, whether free conveyance is available to the children?
(*d*) How many of your children are reading at School or College?
School—Male..... Female.....
College—Male..... Female.....
(*e*) What tuition fees do you pay ? Name of child Class Fee (Rs.)
(*f*) Whether a play-ground exists in the School?
(*g*) What games are played in the School?
(*h*) Are you satisfied with the education of your children and arrangements at the School?
(*i*) If not, give your reasons and suggestions
(*j*) Do you educate some of your children privately?
(*k*) If so, give details—

Name of Child	Class	Tutor's qualifications	Tuition fee paid (Rs.)

(*l*) Does any member of the household regularly read a newspaper or listen to news broadcasts through the community radio sets?

10. Housing

(*a*) (*i*) Structure of house (Kacha/Pacca/Mixed)
(*ii*) What are the materials used for the construction of the walls?
(*b*) (*i*) Structure of the roof (Kacha/Pacca/Mixed)
(*ii*) Whether roof is sloped, if so, how many slopes?
(*c*) No. of rooms in the house
(*d*) Area of rooms—

Room No.	Length/Breadth	Area (Yds.)

(*e*) Surroundings of the house—
(*i*) Whether open places are attached?
(*ii*) Whether flowers are grown around the house?
(*iii*) Whether paths and vicinity are clean?
(*f*) Whether there is a separate—
(*i*) Kitchen
(*ii*) Bath Room
(*iii*) Latrine
(*iv*) Cattle Shed
(*g*) Whether the cattle shed is clean?
(*h*) In which direction is the main living room facing?
(*i*) Whether the house is owned/rented (If rented give rent per month)?
(*j*) Give approximate age of the house
(*k*) What materials have been used in construction of the house?
(*l*) Whether such materials are available with facility?
(*m*) If not, what are the difficulties?
(*n*) Whether the village is electrified?
(*o*) If so, whether your house is also electrified?
(*p*) Whether drinking water supply (water taps) is available in the village?
(*q*) If not, what is the source and its distance from the village—
(*i*) Source
(*ii*) Distance
(*r*) If water supply is not available, would you contribute if Government help is received in this regard?
(*s*) Whether 'bowlies' from where village people obtain water are clean and cleaned at regular intervals?
(*t*) Do you spend any amount on—
(1) Water Rs.....per month
(2) Electricity Rs.....per month

11. Un-Employment

(*a*) Is there any member of household searching for a job?
(*b*) If so, give the following details—

Serial No.	Name	Nature of previous employment, if any	Date of cessation of previous employment	Reasons for cessation	Any subsidiary work doing at present
1	2	3	4	5	6

(*c*) Do you know that Employment Exchanges help in providing jobs?
(*d*) Whether any member of your household has registered his/her name with any Employment Exchange?

12. Medical and Family Planning

(*a*) *Medical treatment*—

1. Have you or any member of your household suffered from any disease during the last year ?
2. If yes, what type of treatment was received and how many patients were treated—
   (*i*) Allopathic
   (*ii*) Ayurvedic
   (*iii*) Homoeopathic
   (*iv*) Unani
   (*v*) Jantar Mantar
   (*vi*) Combination of more than one system

(*b*) *Medical consultation*—

Have you contracted medical consultation during last years—
   (*i*) In public hospitals or dispensaries
   (*ii*) In private hospitals or dispensaries
   (*iii*) By calling in physicians, allopaths, homoeopaths etc.

(*c*) *Maternity Cases*—

1. How many maternity cases of your household were hospitalized during last year?
2. How many cases of your household were confined during the last year—
   (*i*) In Hospital
   (*ii*) By bringing doctor home
   (*iii*) By qualified midwife at home
   (*iv*) By unqualified dai at home
   (*v*) Without assistance
   (*vi*) Birth Statistics—

Sl. No.	Name of the woman	Age at marriage	Children born			Children alive			Abortion, if any	If a child or children died, at what age, Reasons
			M	F	T	M	F	T		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

(*d*) (*i*) How often does the vaccinator visit the village?
   (*ii*) Number of members of the household, who have been vaccinated?

(*e*) *Family Planning*—

   (*i*) Are you aware of the Family Planning Centre ?
   (*ii*) Do you want more children?
   (*iii*) Does your wife also want more children?

13. Panchayats

(*a*) Is there any Panchayat functioning in your village?
(*b*) If yes, since how long the panchayat is in existence?
(*c*) Are you or any other member of your household a member of Gram/Nayaya/Tehsil Panchayat?
(*d*) Is the Panchayat working properly?
(*e*) If not, what improvements do you suggest?
(*f*) Give general financial conditions of the Panchayat?
(*g*) What are the main activities of the Panchayat known to you?
(*h*) What are the difficulties in attending the Panchayat?

(*i*) What are the main parties in your Panchayat and which caste is leading the Panchayat?
(*j*) Has any caste or tribe of your village got separate Panchayat?
(*k*) If yes, what are the main functions of this caste or tribal Panchayat?
(*l*) Since the statutory Panchayats are functioning, why do you think these caste or tribal Panchayats should still continue?
(*m*) Has there been any improvement in your village since the establishment of the Panchayat?
(*n*) If yes, what have been the improvements?
(*o*) Can you cite a decision in which the Panchayat has not acted properly?
(*p*) Have you always reported to the Panchayat of any births or deaths that might have occurred in your household?

14. Co-operation

(*a*) Is there any Co-operative Society in your village?
(*b*) If yes, give the name and type?
(*c*) Are you or any other member of the household a member of Co-operative Society?
(*d*) If so, what benefits have you derived so far?
(*e*) If not, why are you not a member of Co-operative Society?
(*f*) (*i*) Have you ever obtained a loan from the society?
(*ii*) If so, state the amount and purpose for which it has been obtained?
(*g*) Give your general comments about the working of Co-operative Society?
(*h*) Name any other agency, which provides loans in the village?
(*i*) Have you ever obtained loan from such agency?
(*j*) If so, give the following details—
(*i*) Amount
(*ii*) Purpose
(*iii*) Rate of interest
(*k*) Have you cleared debts which existed prior to 10 years from the income of the household?
(*l*) If yes, give total amount of debts cleared?

15. Transport and Markets

(*a*) Name and distance of the nearest Bus-Stand/Place/Motorable Road from your village
(*b*) If your village is not connected with motorable road, would you like to contribute for its connection?
(*c*) Do you own Bullock-cart/Horse/Pony/Mule etc.?
(*d*) What is the mode of payment to the shop-keeper i.e. in cash or kind?
(*e*) If there is no shop in your village, what is the distance of the nearest one?
(*f*) Is there any weekly market held in your village?
(*g*) If not, whether any such weekly market is in the vicinity?
Give distance
(*h*) If not, do you think such an arrangement would be useful?
(*i*) What are the important commodities of the village which can be transacted?
(*j*) What is the mode of conveyance used in your village?

16. Social Customs

A—Dress and Ornaments

(*a*) Whether there is a distinction of dress for the major castes or economic classes and now?
(*b*) What are the different types of dresses used.
(*c*) Whether the dress is locally prepared or procured from outside?
(*d*) Whether there is any change in the dress at the time of ceremonial occasions and festivals?

(*e*) If yes, what is the dress on such occasions?

(*f*) What type of footwear is mostly used?

(*g*) Is it manufactured locally?

(*h*) What are the main items of ornaments used by ladies generally at the time of marriage?

(*i*) Give local names of the ornaments with drawings, if possible?

(*j*) Are these prepared with Gold/Silver/Brass or any other metal?

B—Diet

(*a*) How many times a day do the members of the household take their meals?

(*b*) What is the staple food of the village?

(*c*) Is the staple food used after being boiled or cooked with fats?

(*d*) What are other important items of your food?

Name of food

(*i*) Foodgrains
(*ii*) Pulses
(*iii*) Vegetables
(*iv*) Milk and Milk Products
(*v*) Oils and Fats
(*vi*) Others

(*e*) Does the household take sugar?

(*f*) Does the household take tea?

(*g*) What type of utensils are commonly used?

(*h*) From where are these procured?

(*i*) Types of food tabooed or prohibited?

(*j*) The number of vegetarians in the household—

Male.....

Female.....

C—Furniture

(*a*) What are the main items of furniture used in your house—

Names of the items

(*i*) Charpoy
(*ii*) Bed
(*iii*) Chair
(*iv*) Stool
(*v*) Table
(*vi*) Bench
(*vii*) Almirah
(*viii*) Mirror
(*ix*) Hurricane Lantern
(*x*) Torch
(*xi*) Wall shelf
(*xii*) Other items

(*b*) Other important items in the home—
- (*i*) Watch
- (*ii*) Cycle
- (*iii*) Radio
- (*iv*) Petromax Lamp
- (*v*) Umbrella
- (*vi*) Stove
- (*vii*) Gramophone
- (*viii*) Other items

(*c*) Has any of the items of furniture mentioned at (*a*) been acquired first time in the last five years. If yes, which are these articles?

(*d*) Does the household use toilet soap/washing soap?

(*e*) Are clothes given to washerman to be cleaned?

D—Saving

(*a*) Has the household acquired any property during the last ten years without incurring debt or selling any property? If so, give money value of such property and/or

(*b*) Made any savings in cash and/or

(*c*) Invested capital in any new undertaking or building.

E—Marriage etc.

(*a*) Has any marriage in contravention of caste or tribal law taken place in the household?

(*b*) If such a marriage has taken place give details about the marriage ?

(*c*) With what castes or tribes other than the caste or tribe of household is marriage permissible?

(*d*) With which of such castes or tribes would marriage be desirable?

(*e*) Whether any dowry is given?

(*f*) If yes, how much?

g) What is the custom of marriage in your family?

(*h*) Do you want any improvements in the marriage custom?

(*i*) Whether drinking is customary during marriages?

(*j*) (*i*) Do you or your family members drink?
(*ii*) If yes, give number of those who drink ?

(*k*) Whether polygamy or polyandry is allowed among you?

(*l*) Have you any objection to contract marriages for persons of your household with persons of same socia l and economic status as yours but belonging to other communities?

(*m*) Customs about birth.

F—Community

(*a*) Does the head of the household know the names of the Panchayat/Thana or Tehsil/District in which his village is situated?

(*b*) Does the head of the household know names of the principal rivers flowing through the district?

(*c*) Is the household aware of any legislative or executive measures in post-independence period effecting any change in the land tenure system with particular reference to the following:—
- (*i*) Abolition of Zamindari and intermediary rights
- (*ii*) Ceiling in ownership of land
- (*iii*) Transferring ownership right to the tillers of the soil
- (*iv*) Redistribution of land vested with the Govt.

(*v*) Consolidation of holding
(*vi*) Resumption of land by owner
(*vii*) Protection against alienation of land
(*viii*) Special protection to the Scheduled Tribes
(*ix*) Revision of rent
(*x*) Sanction against keeping the land fallow
(*xi*) Production of the share of share-croppers
(*xii*) Protection of the interest of the service tenant
(*xiii*) Management of waste land
(*xiv*) Collection of revenue
(*xv*) Others

(*d*) Has the household been effected in any way by any of the measures—
(*i*) Is the household aware of any legislative or executive measures in the post-independence period either extending or restricting the rights of utilization of forest produce?
(*ii*) If yes, what are the salient features of the same?
(*iii*) How and to what extent has the household been affected by the above?

(*e*) (*i*) Is the household aware of any legislative or executive measures in the post-independence period either extending or restricting fishing rights in any water-logged area, river, stream lake?
(*ii*) If yes, what are the salient features of the same?
(*iii*) How and to what extent has household been affected by the above?

(*f*) (*i*) Is the household aware of any legislative or executive measures in the post-independence period either extending or restricting grazing rights over any area?
(*ii*) If yes, what are the salient features of the same?
(*iii*) How and to what extent has the household been affected by the above?

(*g*) (*i*) Is the household aware of any legislative or executive measures in the post-independence period either extending or restricting rights of shifting cultivation of any people over any area?
(*ii*) If yes, what are the salient features of the same?
(*iii*) How and to what extent has the household been affected by the above?

(*h*) (*i*) (*a*) Does the head of the household know any person who is working as a forced labour or bended labour?
(*b*) If yes, give the following particulars of the persons concerned—

Name	Address	Since when serving	Terms of service	Name and address of employer	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

(*ii*) (*a*) Is the household aware of any legislative or executive measures in the post-independence period abolishing forced labour and bended labour?
(*b*) If yes, what are the salient features of the same?
(*c*) To what extent has it been effective?

17. Plan Activities and General

1. (*a*) Is there a N.E.S. Block in your area?
(*b*) Do you know what are the functions of Gram Sewak?
(*c*) If yes, describe his functions

2. (*a*) Have you benefited from the N.E.S. Blocks?
(*b*) If yes, how have you benefited?

3. (*a*) Have you secured the following during the last ten years—
   (*i*) Better irrigation facilities
   (*ii*) Better type of cattle
   (*iii*) More land for cultivation
   (*iv*) Land improvement measures like reclamation, soil conservation; consolidation of holdings.
   (*b*) What benefits have you or your village derived during the last ten years from National Extension Service or community project?
   (*c*) Have you participated in activities of work of community project by contributing land, labour, cash or material?
4. Are you or any member of your household taking active part in politics?

18. WAGES

What does an adult member of the household get as wage for a day if he is working as—
   (*a*) An agricultural labourer
   (*b*) An unskilled worker in Industry
   (*c*) An unskilled general worker
   (*d*) A skilled worker in industry (under this item the type of work also be mentioned).

19. SALE AND PURCHASE OF VALUABLE ASSETS DURING LAST YEAR

A. Sale					Type of Asset	B. Purchase				
Time of Sale	Buyer's residence	Occupation of buyer	Area/ No. of Plots	Sale Price		Purchase price	Area/ No. of Plots	Seller's Occupation	Seller's residence	Date of purchase
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
					Land . . .					
					Livestock . . .					
					Machinery, tools, equipment.					
					Buildings, etc. . .					
					Jewellery and valuables					
					Investments . .					
					Other Assets . .					
					Total					

20. SOURCE OF FINANCE FOR CAPITAL EXPENDITURE

Item	Personal saving	Borrowing			Sale of assets	Other sources	Total
		Govt. and other financial institutions	Other	Total			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Expenditure on construction and improvement of building and other structure.							
Expenditure on land development . . .							
Expenditure on new capital goods . . .							
Expenditure on purchase of lands and other used assets.							

21. Major Heads of Income and Expenditure during Last Year

Gross Income			Expenditure		
Major Head	Amount	Source (in or outside the village)	Major Head	Amount	Incurred (in or outside the village)
Cultivation			Food (Cereal) . . . . (Non-cereal) . .		
Livestock and Products . .			Drinks		
Wages			Fuel and lighting . . .		
Arts and Crafts . . .			House rent and repairs . .		
Fishery			Clothing		
Forestry			Travelling		
Trade			Recreation		
Transport			Education		
Professions			Other miscellaneous services		
Service			Interest		
Rent			Rent		
Investments			Remittances		
Remittances			Hired labour		
Interest			Purchase for production, e.g., seed, manures, etc.		
Others			Others		
Total .			Total .		
Borrowing			Purchase of assets (total of table 20-B).		
Principal received back . .			Construction and improvement of building and other structures.		
Sale of assets (total of table 20-A)			Land development . . .		
Grand Total .			Grand Total .		

Village Schedule and Folklore

Name of the District
Name of Village
Name of Tehsil
Area of Village
Number of households
What is the religion which majority of villagers profess ?

1. Names and Particulars of the Educational Institutions where Children Residing in the Village Read

Sl. No.	Type	Name of the institution	Where situated		Since when in existence	How many students from the village are enrolled ST/SC/Others	General notes including history of the institution, its problem, etc.
			Name of the place	Distance from the village			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Lower Primary . .						
2.	Upper Primary . .						
3.	Secondary (including Higher Secondary).						
4.	College . . .						
5.	Adult Education Centre .						
6.	Other Educational Institutions . . .						

2. Organisational and Operative Details

Name of the Society	Composition of Board of Management				Date of Registration	General meeting held after registration		Meeting of the board of management held during last year		Remarks
	Officials	Non-Officials		Others		Date	Number of members attending	Date	Number of members attending	
		S.T.	S.C.							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

3. If there are Shops in the Village, Furnish the following Particulars

Name of the Shopkeeper	If he is an outsider, his home address	When the shop was established	Extent of business		Nature of transaction (Cash, advances barter etc.)	Side business if any (Money lending, contract etc.)	General Notes on the business including profiteerism if any, trends of change in the quantity and method of transaction, etc.
			Names of main commodities	Approximate annual transaction			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

4. Furnish the following Particulars regarding Emigration from the Village

Name of caste	No. of families migrated				Area to where migrated	Purpose of migration	General note including whether the families concerned still have economic interest in the village and whether they occasionally visit the village
	Before 30 years	During 20-30 years	During 10-20 years	During last 10 years			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

5. FURNISH THE FOLLOWING PARTICULARS ABOUT IMMIGRATION INTO THE VILLAGE

Name of caste	No. of immigrant households				Area from where migrated	Purpose of migration	General note including how many families are only sojourners in the village and go back to their original place from time to time
	Before 30 years	During 20-30 years	During 10-20 years	During last 10 years			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

6. VILLAGE LEADERS, MEMBERS OF PANCHAYAT, PRIESTS AND OTHER OFFICE BEARERS

Name of organisation	Member								Remarks
	Name	Caste	Occupation	Age	Since when holding the office	How gained position	Remuneration if any	Other Offices held inside or outside the village	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Statutory Panchayat									
Caste Panchayat (Name of caste)									
Other Leaders									
Members of Board of Directors of Co-operative Society.									

A—MEDICAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH

1. Whether there is a hospital/dispensary in your village?
2. If yes, what type of facilities are available, *i.e.*, Indoor/Outdoor ?
3. If not, what is the distance of the nearest dispensary?
4. What is the number of private practitioners in the village?
   (*i*) Allopathic
   (*ii*) Ayurvedic
   (*iii*) Jantar Mantar
5. What are the common diseases in the village :—

Names of Diseases	Period when these break out

6. Is there any maternity/child welfare centre in the village ?
7. If not, how far such facilities are available ?
8. Is there any Public Health Centre in the Village ?
9. Whether the village has been sprayed with D.D.T.?
10. If yes, give the date of last spray.
11. Whether there are any rural latrines in the village ?
12. If yes, give the number.
13. Is there drainage system in the village ?
14. Comments on general Cleanliness of the village.

B—MARRIAGE

1. Are marriage alliances contracted among only close relatives or even distant relatives or unknown persons of the same caste ?
2. (*i*) Is the concurrence of the boy and girl taken for the marriage or decided by elders only ?
   (*ii*) Is there any other method adopted by which the girl chooses the bridegroom ?
3. What is the age at which boys and girls are generally married ?

4. Are there any inter-caste marriages in the village ?
5. Is there approval of relatives or friends in respect of inter-caste marriages ?
6. If there is no approval how is the marriage performed ? Is it under Registration Act or under the holy fire of sacrament.
7. Is widow remarriage permitted in the community ?
8. (*i*) Is there divorce/re-marriage ?
   (*ii*) Cite the case of largest number for which a woman has divorced and remarried.
9. Is there any Polygamy or Polyandry existing in the community even now ?
10. Is a remarried widow treated as an out-caste for purposes of sacred functions ?
11. Is there any separate place used for Harijan marriage parties to stay ?
12. If the marriage is performed under the Hindu Custom before the holy fire, is Purohit (Pandit) requested to perform the marriage, or is it done even without the service of a Purohit ?
13. How many days are spent on a marriage ?
14. What are the main features of the marriage function ?
15. Is there any practice of receiving gifts from relatives or friends in cash or kind ?
16. Similarly are the relatives and friends given any presents like Dhoties and Saries ?
17. Describe the dress and ornaments prescribed for the bride and bridegroom (Take photographs).
18. (*i*) Is there any custom of giving dowry to—
    Bride
    Bridegroom
   (*ii*) Is it given in cash or kind, and how much ?
19. (*i*) Is there any custom of taking the bride and bridegroom round the village in procession ?
   (*ii*) Describe the various modes of processions.
20. (*i*) During the marriage time or during the procession, are musical instruments played upon for entertainment ?
   (*ii*) What are those musical instruments ?
21. Is there any special custom of the bride staying with her husband once for all without coming to her parents at any time later ?
22. Describe 'GAUNA' ceremony fully for different castes.
23. Is there any special custom of singing songs some days before the marriage by relatives of—
    Bride
    Bridegroom
24. Give the text of any special songs sung while sending away the bride from her parents' house.
25. What is the probable expenditure incurred in a marriage—
   (*i*) For bride
   (*ii*) For bridegroom
26. How is money procured—
   (*i*) By loan
   (*ii*) By sale of land
   (*iii*) Any other way
27. Any other details of interest about marriage customs.
28. Do you want any improvement in the marriage custom ?
29. Food for the pregnant mother.
30. Articles of food prohibited for pregnant mother.

31. Where does the birth take place ?
32. Any celebrations customarily held to celebrate the expectant motherhood ?
33. Who helps in the delivery of the child ?
    (*i*) Mother and other relatives only
    (*ii*) Either Mother-in-law and other relatives only
    (*iii*) Either (*i*) and (*ii*) with the assistance of a "Dai"
    (*iv*) A 'Dai' or a male attendant only
    (*v*) A Nurse in the Hospital
34. Describe in full (on separate sheet) the various ceremonies and customs connected with "Nam-Sanskar", "Mundan" and "Yagyo-Pavit" etc.

C—Death Customs

1. How is the corpse disposed of—
    (*i*) By cremation
    (*ii*) By burying
    (*iii*) By throwing in the rivers
2. Is the corpse taken in procession for disposal ?
3. Are trumpets and drums engaged to lead the procession ?
4. Is there any practice of constructing 'SAMADHIS'?
5. How many days after death do the obsequies take place ?
6. Is it vegetarian or non-vegetarian food that is served at the annual sacrifices made to the spirit of the dead ?
7. (*i*) Are the friends and relatives invited on the date ?
    (*ii*) How many attend the dinner ?
8. Is there any practice of changing the residence, if any member of the family dies on an auspicious day?
9. What is the expenditure on—
    (*i*) Burial/cremation day
    (*ii*) Obsequies day
10. What are the important customs observed when a lady becomes a widow ?

D—Entertainment and Recreations

1. (*i*) How do the villagers spend their leisure time ?
    (*ii*) What are the leisure months in a year ?
    (*iii*) What are the leisure hours in a day ?
2. Is there any Dramatic Club or Bhajan Mandli in your village ?
3. What types of instruments are played upon ?
4. Are cinema shows held in your village ?
5. If so, what is the frequency in a year ?
6. Describe social recreation centre if any ?
7. (*i*) Do the villagers usefully spend their leisure time ?
    (*ii*) If not to what extent do they spend their leisure time on unproductive activities such as gambling, playing cards etc.
8. (*i*) Do the villagers go to towns specially to enjoy cinemas ?
    (*ii*) If yes, what is frequency in a month (for those who do so).

E—Crimes

Village Disputes referred to Different Authorities last year

Nature of adjudicating authority	Leading members of each disputant party			Nature of dispute	Decision of the adjudication authority	Nature of sanction	Remarks (Whether the decision was enforced or whether there is preference for adjudication by particular type of case, place of trial etc.)
	Caste Panchayat	Names	Caste tribe				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Caste Panchayat							
Informal Panchayat							
Statutory Village Panchayat							
Court							
Others (specify)							

F—Common Habits

1. At what time do the people generally wake up in the morning ?
2. When do the people generally go to bed ?
3. Do the people sleep in after-noon?
4. Do they have opium habits and to what extent ? Give percentage.
5. Do they make any beverages in the morning and evening ?
6. What is the percentage of people who smoke ?
7. What is the extent of 'Pan' chewing habit ?
8. Is there any Purdah system among women of any particular caste ? Give names.
9. Do the people get themselves tattooed ? If yes—
   (*i*) Whether males or females or both tattooed
   (*ii*) At what part of the body
   (*iii*) At what age
10. Any customs/beliefs connected with tattooing ?
11. Whether people of different castes have any restrictions in common use of water/food/smoking ?
12. Nature of Social Disabilities sufferred at Diffcrent Castes in the Village :—

Name of caste	Access to			Disability regarding service				Avoided by caste Hindu in regard to			Remarks
	Shop, Hotel, Restaurant	Temple or place of worship	Any other place of public resort	Brahman priest	Barber	Washerman	Any other village servant	Touch	Serving cooked food	Serving water	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

G—Miscellaneous

1. What were the inheritance rights of an illegitimate son or daughter recognised in the past ? Are these still recognised customarily ?
2. What are the recognised rights of a "CHAUKANDHU"?
3. Is there any trace of prostitution in the history of Tehsil in which the village is located ?
4. What are the causes supposed to be responsible for prostitution ?
5. What steps have been/are being taken to lessen or eradicate this evil ?

6. Are there any Craftsmen in the Village ?

Serial No.	Name of trade work craft	How many Nos.	Daily average income	Sources of raw material	If such services are not available then who does	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Blacksmiths					
2.	Gold and Silver Smith					
3.	Carpenter					
4.	Weaver					
5.	Potter					
6.	Cane and bamboo worker					
7.	Cobbler					
8.	Hair-cutter					
9.	Chatai-maker					
10.	Others (Specify)					

H—Village Census and Occupation

Village.....Date.....

Tehsil/Sub-Tehsil.....Investigator.....

District .....

State .....

Serial No.	House No.	Head of household	Caste	Size of the family		Occupation			Socio-Economic Group of Household	Remarks
				Family	(Other casual visitors)	Traditional	Contemporary			
							Main	Subsidiary		
1	2	3	4	5(*a*)	5(*b*)	6(*a*)	6(*b*)	6(*c*)	7	8

J—Land and Crops

(Information to be collected from the Patwaris)

1. Land utilization statements for the last 10 years.
2. Jinaswar statements for the last 10 years.
3. Kharif crop statements with class-wise produce of land per Bigha for Kiar I, Kiar II, Bakhal I, Bakhal II, etc., for the last 10 years.
4. Rabi crop statements with class-wise produce of land per Bigha for Kiar I, Kiar II, Bakhal I, Bakhal II, etc., for the last 10 years.
5. Rotation of Crops.
6. List of agricultural implements, their cost and duration of life, local names and where are they generally made.
7. Average Panjsala price of land per Bigha of the village or nearest village (this related to affect the sale and purchase of land during the last five years).
8. Names of crops, indigenous crops and plant diseases and their cures including indigenous cures.

I. FOLKLORE

A—General

1. What are the beliefs and practices connected with (*i*) Lohri, (*ii*) Shivratri, (*iii*) Holi, (*iv*) Ram Nawmi, (*v*) Baisakhi, (*vi*) Budh Purnima, (*vii*) Dussehra, (*viii*) Dewali, (*ix*) Sarad Purnima and how these are celebrated ?
2. Which are other significant days and how these are celebrated ?
3. What is the difference between Saaka and Vikrami Calendar and when these begin ?
4. Make a list of all good things to eat and drink that are specially associated with particular days or seasons in the year.

B—Agriculture

1. What customs are associated with (*i*) sowing, (*ii*) ploughing, (*iii*) reaping, (*iv*) threshing, (*v*) hay-making, (*vi*) other agricultural operations in your district? Are certain months, or days of the month or days of the week considered specially favourable or even lucky for conducting any of these operations generally or in regard to some particular crops ?
2. At what time of the year do sheep and cattle change their pasture ground, and what customs are observed at the time of change ?
3. Do you know of any beliefs connected with the time of lambing or sheep-sheering ?

C—Markets and Fairs

1. Draw a rough map showing the market towns within about 30 miles of the village, and mark against each the day of the week in which each market is held. Are any special local products bought and sold in these markets generally or at particular seasons ? Or are any particular customs observed in connection with them ?
2. What annual fairs are held in your district, and at what dates ? Are any of them connected with particular saints' days or with dates on the Calendar ? Are any special products sold at these annual fairs, such as cattle, sheep, geese, etc. ? Are any peculiar customs observed in connection with them ?
3. Is there any particular time of year at which people enter into contracts to engage in work in farms or elsewhere ?
4. Do you know of any peculiar methods of auctioneering products such as closing the bids in some unusual way ?
5. Names and particulars of the markets most commonly visited :—

Name of the market	Distance from the village	Transport	Weekly halt day	Commodities exported to the Market			Commodities imported from the market			General note on the market including its importance in the region; Operation of middle men; weights and measures, tools, recreational activity if any
				Item	Approximate quantity	Approximate value	Item	Approximate quantity	Approximate value	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

6. Particulars about the fairs and festivals commonly visited by the villagers:—

Name of the fair	Distance	When held	Main attraction	How old	Size of gathering	Commodities transacted	Recreational activities	Religious activities	Cultural & social activities	General note *including* trend of changes in size of gathering, main attraction, nature of commodities and different activities
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

II. AMUSEMENTS

A—Dance and Drama

1. What dance steps do you (informer) know ? Describe them. Do you know any freak dances, such as the horn-pipe, the sword dance, or parts of these ? Are the tunes played on the fiddle, or the pipe, or the drum or any other such instrument ?
2. What dance games do you know in which the players move (*a*) in lines, (*b*) in a circle, (*c*) under arched arms, (*d*) in a spiral (winding up)? Are any of these accompanied by singing or dialogue ? Write down the words, and hum the tunes. Do any of these games act a story, if so, what is the story ?
3. What other games do you know in which the players act a story and repeat a dialogue ? Is the story one in which some wicked person steals a child, or a fox steals chickens ?
4. Karyala
5. Folk Songs
6. Are any Folk-Plays acted in your district ? Do people at particular times of year dress up in leaves or masks or in any other way and parade the streets ? Describe them.

B—Games of Skill

1. How many games do you know which are played with (*a*) marbles, (*b*) balls without bats, (*c*) bat and ball or sticks, (*d*) nuts, (*e*) buttons, (*f*) pebbles, (*g*) pins ?
2. What games do you know, played with cards ?
3. Draw plans of the games you know which are played in diagrams.
4. How many ways do you know of aiming at a mark, such as throw by hand, shooting with bow and arrow; or airgun, catapult, slings, etc.? Draw some of these, naming the parts.
5. Sketch the various kinds of kite flown in your district, showing their shapes and structures. Is there any special time of year for kite flying ? Is there any form of competition to decide which kite is the best, and which flier, the most skilful ?

C—Games of Agility

1. What games do you know that involve running, jumping, carrying, hopping, wrestling, tug-of-war, taking prisoners or catching anyone. What different ways have they of playing "Hide and Seek" ?
2. What games are played in your district in which animals are imitated or are supposed to take part" ? Make a list of the animals showing the number of games in which each is represented.
3. Did the people of your district in olden times use, or ill-use animals for amusement i.e., for Bull-running, Cock-fighting etc. ?

D—Wit Contests

1. What Guessing Games do you know ? Does one or more of the players have to be blindfolded in any of them? What is the penalty for a failure to guess right or the reward for a correct guess ?
2. How many riddles do you Know ? Explain.
3. What are your favourite Puzzles ? What card tricks do you know ?
4. Do you know any word-traps, i.e., sentences which are difficult to pronounce rapidly, such as "She sells sea shells" etc. ?

E—Forfeits and Penalties

1. What forfeit games do you know ?
2. How many different kinds of forfeit are in use in your district ? Can the forfeit giver choose which one he prefers ?
3. Do you know any games in which the players pretend to hurt the losers in torture or to make fools of them?

F—Luck in Games

1. Do you know of any games of pure chance, such as "Odd or Even" ?
2. Do you know of any words or actions that are believed to make you lucky in a game ?

G—Seasonal Games

1. Are any games played at special times of year such as Republic Day, Basant Panchami, Baisakhi, Independence Day, Prime Minister's Birthday (Children's day), Gandhi Jayanti etc. ?
2. Are any games played in particular months such as Marbles, Kite-flying ?
3. Are there any games or contests in which all the people of a street or quarter or village take sides ? If so at which season, and how are the games played ? If there are no such games, now were there any played in olden times ?

III. LOCAL LEGENDS

The Countryside

1. Are there any tales about the hills and mounds or earth-works in your neighbourhood with megalithic monuments, with deserted or ruined buildings, with rocks or caves or ruins or underground passages or with moors or swamps or fens ? Are any of these supposed to be haunted ?
2. Do you know any local legends regarding the hiding or finding of treasure or of the working of any curse associated with a family in the district or a tale about any building or bridge and its foundation ?

IV. LUCK AND WIT

A—Object and Acts

1. What things are lucky or unlucky to all ? What colours, for instance are lucky or unlucky, and on what occasions ? What signs or symbols bring good or bad luck ? Is there any idea of luck associated with the sun, moon, planets, stars; with earth, air, fire or water; with the persons, or tools or household utensils or furniture, etc. or trees ?
2. What things are lucky or unlucky to hear ; such as winds or bells or noises made by animals, or birds, or the howling of the wind, or creaking of furniture etc. ?

3. Do you know of any objects which are lucky or unlucky in themselves, gems, for instance, or metals, or bits of clothing ?

4. Which numbers are considered lucky and which unlucky ?

5. What sort of acts are supposed to be lucky or unlucky, such as spilling or breaking things, or falling or tripping ; or in eating or drinking, or yawning or sneezing, passing through or under or across any object ?

6. Is entry of snake into the upper flat of the house considered to portend evil and is it driven out by pulling down the roof and not through the door ? Is charity also given to this effect of portend evil ?

B—Amulets

1. Do people in your part of the world believe in the Evil Eye ? If so, what sort of people possess the evil eye and how do they exert the evil influence ? How do people protect themselves or their possessions from the evil influence ?

2. What do people do to ensure good luck and ward off ill luck ? What sort of mascots are in use, and how are they used ? Are any objects worn on the person to bring good luck or prevent illness ? Are any words or phrases considered protective ?

C—Divination

1. What sort of dreams are considered lucky and what sort unlucky ?

2. How many ways do you know of by which people tell your fortune; e.g., by cards, dice, palmistry, the stars, hand-writing, by opening a page of a book, or drawing lots, or in any other way ?

3. Do you know of any forms of ordeal, by which it is believed you can tell whether a person is brave, or honest, or truthful, and so forth or by which a trial is made between two parties ?

4. Black Magic.

D—Animals and Plants

1. What animals are considered lucky or unlucky. Do you know any such beliefs connected with dogs, cats, cattle, goats, mice, bats, or fowls, crows, cuckoos, magpies, peacocks, ravens, robins swallows, or bees, butterflies, gadflies, ladybirds, spiders, frogs, snails, or toads, or any other creature ?

2. What plants are considered lucky or unlucky ? Do you know any such beliefs connected with the ash, blackthorn, buttercup, cowslip, daisy, elder, deadnettle, hawthorn, hazel, mare's tail oak, mistle-toe, primrose, rush, yew, or any other tree or herb ?

3. What plants or animals are believed to be cures for various aches and pains and illness, and how should they be used?

E—Times and Places

1. In what months is it lucky or unlucky to be born or married ? If you are born in certain months, must you avoid certain things ?

2. What days of the week is it lucky to cut hair or your nails ?

3. Do you know of any days in the Calendar which are considered lucky or unlucky; e.g., for starting on a journey or undertaking any business ?

4. Is one time of the day or night considered luckier than another ? Is any idea of luck attached to twilight, midday, midnight, dawn, etc. ?

5. Do you know of any places or positions which are thought to be lucky or unlucky either generally or for any special purposes ?

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

District Chamba

Chitrari, Chamba Tehsil	(In Press)
Devi Kothi, Chaurah Tehsil	(Price Rs. 3·10)
Hatli, Bhattiyat Tehsil	(In Press)
Kupha, Parmas, Malet and Karoti (Thamoh) Pangi Sub-Tehsil	(In Press)
Lakkar Mandi, Bhattiyat Tehsil	(In Preparation)
Maingal, Chamba Tehsil	(In Preparation)

District Mandi

Bir, Mandi Sadar Tehsil	(In Preparation)
Chauntra, Jogindarnagar Tehsil	
Kot, Sarkaghat Tehsil	
Nalag, Sundarnagar Tehsil	
Pangna, Karsog Tehsil	
Panjain, Chichot Tehsil	
Rawalsar, Mandi Sadar Tehsil	

District Bilaspur

Dari and Dabhla, Ghamarwin Tehsil	(In Preparation)
Deoli, Bilaspur Sadar Tehsil	

District Mahasu

Basal, Solon Tehsil	(In Preparation)
Batal, Arki Tehsil	
Chaunri, Kasumpti Tehsil	
Chaupal, Chaupal Tehsil	(In Preparation)
Chergaon, Rohru Tehsil	(In Press)
Delath, Rampur Tehsil	(In Preparation)
Dodra and Kwar, Rohru Tehsil	(Investigation yet to be started)
Gijari, Theog Tehsil	(Price Rs. 2·45)
Purag, Kotkhai Sub-Tehsil	(In preparation)
Shakrori, Seoni Sub-Tehsil	(Price Rs. 3·00)
Shathla, Kumharsain Sub-Tehsil	(In Preparation)

District Sirmur

Kamrao, Paonta Tehsil	(In Press)
Kolar, Paonta Tehsil	
Mangarh, Pachhad Tehsil	(In Preparation)
Moginand, Nahan Tehsil	(In Press)
Rajana, Rainka Tehsil	

District Kinnaur

Kanum, Poo Sub-Division	(In Press)
Kothi, Kalpa Sub-Division	(Price Rs. 3·55)
Nachar, Nachar Sub-Division	(In Preparation)

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

1961 Census Report, Volume XX—Himachal Pradesh, will be in the following parts—

I-A	General Report
I-B	Report on Vital Statistics of the Decade including reprints
I-C	Subsidiary Tables including reprints
II-A	General Population Tables (A—Series Tables and Primary Census Abstract)
II-B	Economic Tables
II-C	Cultural & Migration Tables
III	Household Economic Tables
IV	Report on Housing and Establishments
V-A	Report and Tables on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
V-B	Reprints from Old Census Reports on Castes and Tribes
VI	Village Survey Monographs (35 villages)
VII-A	Survey of Handicrafts
VII-B	Fairs and Festivals
VIII-A	Administration Report—Enumeration (for official use only)
VIII-B	Administration Report—Tabulation (for official use only)
IX	Maps (Atlas)

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District Handbook—Chamba
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District Handbook—Mahasu
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