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CHITRARI

A VILLAGE SURVEY

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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961
VOLUME XX—PART VI—No. 10

HIMACHAL PRADESH

A Village Survey of
CHITRARI
[Chamba Tehsil, Chamba District]

Field Investigation by
ISHWAR DAYAL GUPTA and
CHANDRA KUMAR

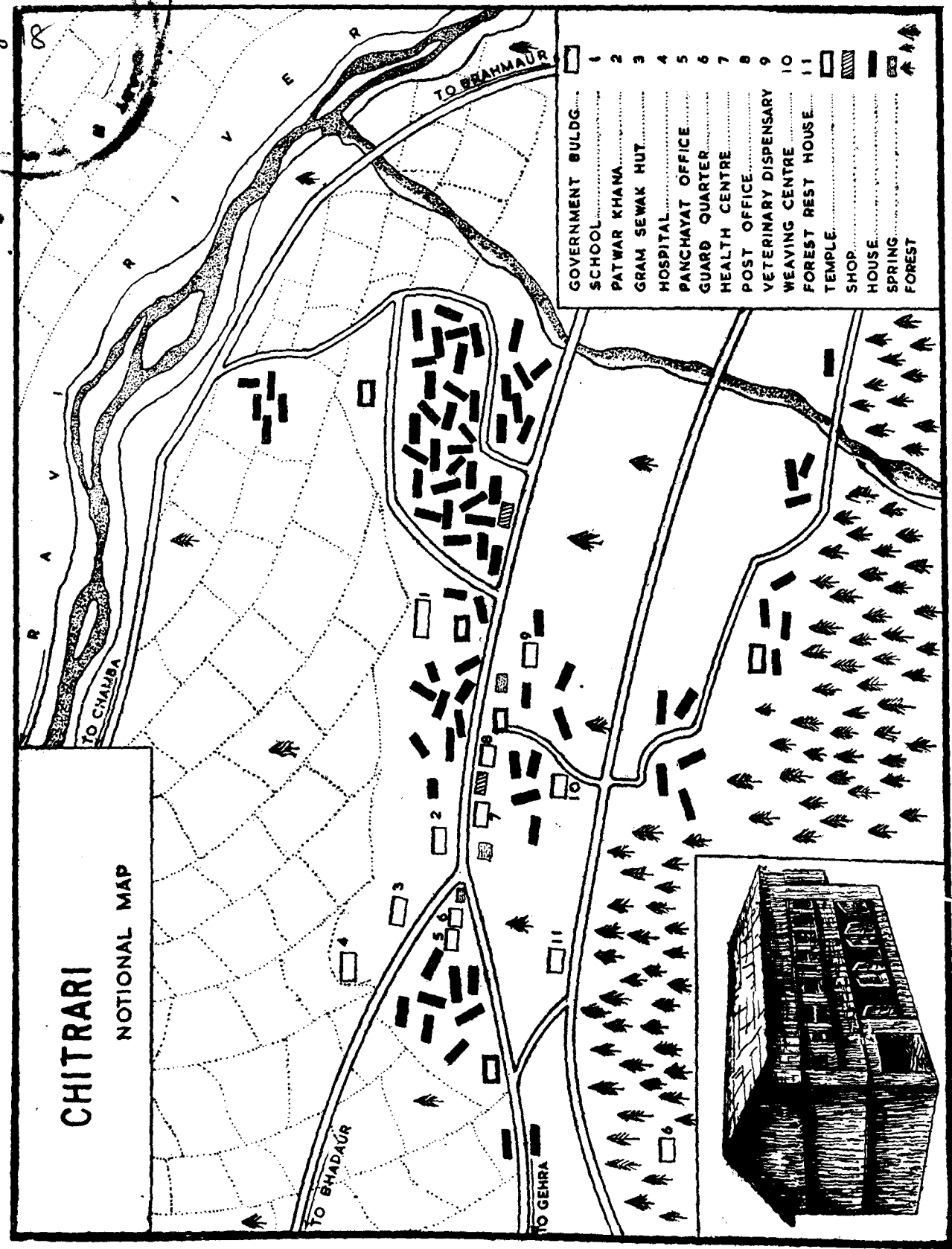
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HIMACHAL PRADESH

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Foreword

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

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

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive: the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover 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 character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500—700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

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

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959 the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record in situ of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet; dress; ornaments and foot-wear; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended; worship of deities; festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March 1960 by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September 1959 conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, moveable and 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 conclusion', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the census count itself was left behind in March, 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

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

ASOK MITRA
Registrar General, India

NEW DELHI,
July 30, 1964.

Preface

Since 1960, Chitrari has been a village which has attracted me a great deal. When it came to selecting for socio-economic survey among many villages, we thought Chitrari ought to be one of them. It has been famous for an old temple, a fairly large population of the Gaddis and some distance away from Chamba. This would be a wonderful occasion to know something more about Gaddis in Chamba Tehsil.

We have taken years to complete the surveys. Chitrari is at its best during September and October. I have been there twice to see villagers celebrating—their fair and that has been my good luck and treasure. Even on other occasions, particularly, in Spring Chitrari is an attractive village. There have been a large number of the rituals at these fairs and the dances which were so interesting and full of colours and gaiety.

We had initial disappointments. Every time the weather, snow-storm and the road were deciding factors. Chitrari seemed to allude us. During the first visit we came across many villagers and Kanthu an old man who seemed to be mighty gay celebrating in his own way. There were simple introductions and warm friendliness and humorous incidents about Kanthu's dancing talent and he had been around all over Delhi dancing during the 26th January celebrations. Old Kanthu had many problems and one of them was to get his very young daughter married and insisted that I should authorise for an alliance. Kanthu was well over 70 on this occasion, a triple merry and he had a fairly young wife who was in her early twenties, and she had yet another babe a few weeks old—so Kanthu's worry was understandable. We wandered around the temple and met the villagers and visited some of their homes.

Four years have passed and I have been observing Chitrari with great interest. We have brought out this monograph in which many have helped. Ishwar Dayal Gupta and Chandra Kumar carried out the initial investigations. They have had to go over there a number of times. Rikhi Ram Sharma, Assistant Superintendent of Census Operations went over there once. Everyone of us collected information of varied interest and have pooled down the notes to give a more complete account of this interesting village. The elaborate schedules used by the Investigators were framed most painstakingly by my valued colleague—Durga Singh our office Superintendent.

In the past Chitrari has fascinated Dr. Hermann Goetz, Dr. Vogel and other scholars.

By now our village surveys have been kindly received and I have received many requests to take up more villages for detailed surveys. But it would be an everlasting joy for me to complete atleast 35 village surveys.

This project has come of what the Registrar General, Shri Asok Mitra, has very kindly written in his foreword. His kind words have been a source of inspiration for us. To achieve this, it has meant years of moving around. This project has been taken up in some remote areas to give fairly vivid picture of Himachal Pradesh.

Apart from these village surveys, there will be another vast amount of publications which would be of interest, I am sure, to many.

I have had some lurking doubts and went over there during September last and I saw the Gaddis celebrating their fair gloriously. It was a treat to see a large number of Gaddis dancing and enjoying themselves. So many Gaddis come in their very typical costumes and attractive head dresses and hundreds of Gaddi women come most colourfully dressed. It was an occasion for every one who had waited eagerly to see their fair. One regret this time was that Kanthu was no more. He died sometime ago. After going around so many villages, I must confess I was able to talk to these people and move around this village freely.

Recently, Vishwa Chandra Ohri, Curator of the Bhuri Singh Museum was there. Then there was Malhotra the Tehsildar and Puran Chand Patwari and they were able to remove my some lurking doubts, while L. C. Sharma, helped to tie up. It gives me a great pleasure to recall the many happy days I have spent with the Gaddis while I was the Deputy Commissioner Chamba or during this assignment when I moved around some of these villages to my hearts content.

I have seen some of the most beautiful parts of Himachal Pradesh which can be compared to the most beautiful parts anywhere else. I have attended a very large number of fairs and festivals and as this assignment draws nearer to an end, I take this opportunity of thanking the many villagers here and elsewhere for their generosity who made this assignment for me so worth-while a nicest heart-warming experience.

Shri Ramachandran has spent many hours generously over our material. There little bits of information was added every time to our material sent to the Press. I have sincere apologies to him and to his colleagues. They have shown most patience and courtesy always and found a way-out to many of our printing problems.

RAM CHANDRA PAL SINGH

DUSSEHRA, 1964.
Boswell, Simla-5.

Acknowledgements

Dr. Karan Singh, the Sadr-i-Riyasat, Jammu and Kashmir has kindly permitted us to give two of his folk songs, which we are reproducing here. These are from Light and Shadow, Asia Publications.

Then I would like to convey my gratitude to Dittu Ram and Rup Chand of the village. They willingly and ungrudgingly gave much information.

I am grateful to the Executive Engineer, Chamba, Manager, Transport and Sant Ram, Divisional Forest Officer, who helped me in various ways to get to Chitrari. Dr. Sharma of the Punjab University Library helped me in referring to the many books of interest.

Then I would like to offer my thanks to Dr. Bishamber Chauhan, who came to our help at different stages. Being a Gaddi, he often translated many folk songs and explained so many customs and rituals during one of the fairs.

B.S. Thakur and Om Chand Handa, Artists of this office have made many attractive drawings, sketches and O.C. Handa, has taken many interesting photographs. Tuka Ram, Draftsman has prepared the notional map.

There is Dina Nath, a peon in the Deputy Commissioner's Office and the photographs of the Nawala were taken at his house in Chamba this year. When I was there in April last, he kindly invited us. Gian Chand of Friends Photographers spent a better part of the night taking photographs. The sketches have been made out of these.

The proofs have been read by Onkar Nath Bhutani and Om Prakash. The typing by Krishan Kumar Sud and Des Raj Khanna speeded up the progress at different times.

RAM CHANDRA PAL SINGH

Dussehra, 1964.
BOSWELL, SIMLA-5.

1. The Village

CHITRARI, a prominent and big sized village of Chamba Tehsil is 25 miles towards Brahmaur. The village is important because of the Shiv-Shakti Temple which is rich in archaeological wealth and has a divine appeal to the people living in the surrounding areas of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. It was founded by Meru-Verman about 700 A.D. The ancient Temples with their varied inscriptions present a mine of knowledge for the lovers of ancient art and culture.

Administratively, the village lies on the periphery of Chamba Tehsil but speaking culturally, it forms an integral part of Brahmaur Sub-Tehsil. The village covers an area of 530 acres and is inhabited mainly by Gaddis, a semi-pastoral lot who rear sheep and goats.

With 21 miles of Chamba-Gehra motorable road a part of the 41 miles Chamba-Brahmaur road project, is improved. At present Gehra is the bus terminus. From Gehra onwards a bridle-path leads to the village. Thus, to reach Chitrari one goes 4 miles on foot up-hill to the mountain slopes. There is also a route which takes off from Lunay-ka-Pul, a suspension bridge on the left side of Chamba-Brahmaur road and is at a distance of about two miles from Gehra. From Lunay-ka-Pul, the ascent is comparatively more steep although the distance is only four miles.

Once the village used to fall on the main road from Chamba to Brahmaur, which 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 Muhammedan graveyard and is now-a-days used as a ground. The bridge must have been of the cantilever type, commonly found in the hills and is remembered under the name of Duku. A legend goes that it was built by Dai Batlo, the wet nurse of Raja Prithvi Singh, and is named after her husband Duku. The existence of a copper-plate dated Vikrami 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-Samaya—confirms the popular tradition. It is just possible that a bridge might have existed there long before the days of Dai Batlo. It was replaced by a permanent bridge in the reign of Charhat Singh in 1808 A.D. This collapsed in due course and the present iron suspension bridge was constructed here in A.D. 1895.

From the bridge ascends the plateau of Bharimha and following the hill slope along with the left bank of the Ravi passes through the villages of Mehla, Bakan, Basu and Pyuhra. From Pyuhra the road passes through the valley and reverts to the old line which ascends the slope to reach Chitrari.

But with the alignment of Chamba-Brahmaur motorable road Chitrari now does not lie on the route mentioned above. The road passes along the left bank of Ravi just two miles down the village. It may be mentioned that the old road has still not gone out of use.

The main reasons which led to the selection of the village for Socio-Economic Survey are:—

The village attracts pilgrims to its Shiv Shakti Temple. To study the contact as such with the outsiders is fruitful both from the economic and social angles.

It is inhabited by Gaddis and in addition to Brahmaur the Socio-Economic Survey of this village will provide another window on the life of these interesting people.

Since the vehicular traffic has reached near the village, the impact of modern times on the people of village should reveal interesting results as to how have they taken to the opening of school, dispensary and child welfare centre and Govt. Schemes.

History

A number of versions are common in the region connecting the origin with legends. According to one, scarcity of water was the main problem of the area. The people used to fetch water from Makaini, a village nearby. Once a *sidh* sent his *chela* to fetch water. On his way back, he was killed by bears. The *sidh* was profoundly shocked and decided to invoke the blessings of the deity to remove this trouble. The people still point out a *smadh* of the *sidh* which is just in the near vicinity of the temple by the side of the water spring. It can be recognized by the collection of stones on which a *shiva-linga* is placed. He carried the corpse in both hands and stood before the deity. Invoking all his latent powers acquired through ages of meditation, he with his trident made 36 marks at different places in the village and so the water gushed at the marked places. The present 36 *panihars* came into existence in this way.

Once upon a time Raja Bal Bhadra of Chamba visited the village while out hunting. A bird known as Gunter was sitting on the horn of a cow and the Raja apparently not noticing the cow, shot an arrow at the bird. The arrow missed the target and struck the cow, killing it. According to the scriptures the killing of a cow is an unpardonable sin and requires sincere atonement.

To comply with the religious injunctions, the Raja had to do atonement for this sin and as a result he donated 36 *larhis* to the Shakti Temple. Since then the whole land of this village is in the name of the temple and all the residents are tenants. The temple

THE VILLAGE

of Shiv Shakti was erected by Rajah Meru-Varman about the year 700 A.D.

We reproduce below an extract from Chamba District Gazetteer about Raja Meru-Varman's conquests—"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 Chitrari inscription it is recorded, that he decided the idol of Shakti 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 or feudatory of Meru-Varman, probably a raja, named Ashadha. From this it is clear that Meru-Varman's rule extended down the Ravi Valley almost as far as the present capital.

The village derived its name from the words *Chhatis Larhis* meaning 36 *larhis*, the land which the Raja donated to the temple. In due course of time the place came to be called "Chitrari".

Settlement History

The early settlers in the village are the Brahmins. A legend has something to elucidate this point that connects the incident with village Darini in Kangra Valley, about 25 miles from village Chitrari. One day in village Darini three brothers who were Brahmins were hoeing the field and for convenience had divided it equally amongst themselves. They felt thirsty and the youngest was sent to fetch water on the condition that the elder two brothers would be doing his work. Having returned the youngest found that nothing was done in his portion of the field. To take the revenge, he threw away the pitcher full of water. At this, the remaining two brothers flew into rage and killed their youngest brother with their hoes. For safety, they ran away from the boundary of Chamba State and settled at village Darini.

To corroborate their version, the villagers say that *gotras* of the villagers of Chitrari and Darini are the same.

Important Centres of Administration and other Institutions

1. Office of the Gram and Nayaya Panchayats.
2. Office of the Deputy Range Officer, Forest.
3. Patwar Khana.
4. Civil Dispensary.
5. Maternity and Child Welfare Centre.

THE VILLAGE

6. Higher Secondary School
7. Veterinary Dispensary.
8. Gram Sewak Hut.
9. Branch Post Office.
10. Government Weaving Centre.
11. Forest Rest House.

Business and Commerce

On the following visit there was another shop. This is a tailor's shop. Apart from the four shops there is a gold-smith who prepares ornaments for the villagers throughout the year.

Table showing Monthly and Annual Rainfall recorded at Chitrari in District Chamba

Year	January		February		March		April		May		June		July	
	No. of rainy days	Rain-fall	No. of rainy days	Rain-fall	No. of rainy days	Rain-fall	No. of rainy days	Rain-fall	No. of rainy days	Rain-fall	No. of rainy days	Rain-fall	No. of rainy days	Rain-fall
1	2		3		4		5		6		7		8	
1951	..	..	6	3.48	6	1.86	8	6.17	7	5.14	6	2.70	13	10.39
1952	5	4.95	4	4.30	8	7.80	2	0.99	4	2.60	6	4.52	8	2.53
1953	10	5.20	3	1.00	6	2.67	6	2.85	2	0.40	4	3.07	12	8.60
1954	6	17.97	8	4.70	7	3.70	..	..	6	4.02	3	3.49	10	9.34
1955	6	2.62	..	..	6	5.04	6	1.95	7	3.48	7	3.21	9	8.78
1956	5	1.13	3	2.27	13	8.12	9	3.33	4	0.89	9	2.80	13	5.62
1957	12	195.9	4	44.7	7	137.2	9	112.0	10	97.9	7	82.0	11	157.0
1958	6	61.8	3	36.3	7	76.9	8	51.9	6	45.8	6	30.6	13	187.4
1959	7	75.4	10	153.3	6	107.5	5	26.1	6	44.4	9	87.2	12	272.8
1960	5	416.6	..	..	9	148.6	4	38.3	4	30.3	4	38.1	16	152.3

Year	August		September		October		November		December		Total	
	No. of rainy days	Rain-fall	No. of rainy days	Rain-fall	No. of rainy days	Rain-fall	No. of rainy days	Rain-fall	No. of rainy days	Rain-fall	No. of rainy days	Rain-fall
1	9		10		11		12		13		14	
1951	..	..	4	4.00	..	..	1	2.50	..	..	51	36.24
1952	10	6.10	2	1.40	..	..	1	0.30	2	0.97	52	36.46
1953	12	6.91	4	1.80	2	0.55	1	..	2	2.03	64	35.48
1954	4	3.51	11	8.41	2	0.85	1	0.22	1	0.90	59	57.11
1955	9	6.76	..	..	8	17.60	..	..	1	0.18	59	49.62
1956	13	3.40	5	0.94	6	3.72	1	0.20	9	2.80	90	35.22
1957	9	132.8	7	167.1	6	99.4	2	60.8	5	75.3	89	1362.1
1958	9	110.4	12	173.2	5	84.1	1	4.4	6	227.8	77	1090.6
1959	10	90.4	7	74.5	4	33.6	4	57.6	..	..	80	1022.8
1960	10	81.2	1	5.8	..	..	..	..	3	130.1	56	1040.8

In the main, the feeder markets for these shops are at Chamba but occasionally the shopkeepers bring their merchandize from far off places as Pathankot and Amritsar. The general merchants supply the provisions which are required by the villagers. Grams, pulses, condiments, dry fruits like almonds and coconut, sugar, jaggery, cigarettes, spices and kerosene oil and hosiery goods are commodities kept by these shopkeepers.

Physical Aspects

The village comprises of a total geographical area of 530 acres. It is situated at a height of 6,000 feet surrounded on all sides by high mountain ranges and the river Ravi flows just 2 miles down the village.

The average rainfall as has been recorded by the local school rain gauge is 38 inches (965.18 millimetres) and the average snow-fall being 406 millimetres. (Table on p. 3 ante).

The summers are pleasant generally as the weather remains dry. A few showers are not unusual. The winters are quite severe and very often the mercury slips down to the freezing point. Owing to the mountainous character of the village the monsoons cause heavy rains.

Geology and Soil

The nature of the soil can be explained as loomy mixed with small pieces of stones of irregular form. The appearance of granite rocks all around is common. I would refer to Colonel McMahon who summed up the geology of the soil of Chamba District in his thesis on "Geology of Chamba". He states that "the Chamba mountains are formed for the most part of State of rocks of Silurian age, resting on a central mass of granite or granitoid gneiss. The slates, when not metamorphosed by contact with the granite, generally resemble the typical Simla slates. Conglomerates consisting of slaty schistose matrix containing pebbles of all sizes and shapes round to angular and sometime veins of white to blue or grey quartz are also common and in some places marsiru bands of dark pale blue, (weathering buff) sub-crystalline lime stone and hard greyish green trap are found. The soil is more or less grey. Sometimes stiff yellow or white clay, but except in these instances the soil is fertile for tree growth. The depth of soil generally varies inversely with the soil".

According to village 'Jama-Bandi' the total area of 530 acres can be sub-divided into these categories:—

	Acres
A Forests	327
B Land put to Non-Agricultural uses	32

	Acres
C Culturable waste	11
D Permanent pastures and other grazing lands	16
E Current fallows	21
F Other fallow lands	4
G Net sown area	138
H Total cropped area	187
I Area sown more than once	49

Flora and Fauna

The forests of Chitrari are covered by Bakani Range and varied types of trees, plants, shrubs and climbers are found in these forests. The description has been borrowed from "Plants of the Punjab" by C.J. Bamber, M.V.O., I.M.S.

Ash wood (*fraxinus floribunda*)—The trees are large with grey bark, when young, stems are smooth but deeply furrowed when old, leaves odd pinnate, leaflets opposite, flowers small and white in colour and are in clusters on a large branching terminal receme.....used for sticks.

Aru (*Prunus Persica*)—A small tree with brownish bark and thick branches, leaves oblong thick and dark green, flowers dark pink, drupe round or flattened, velvety, fleshy, edible and sweet, stone deeply furrowed and thick.

Apple (*Pyrus Malus*)—Leaves smooth above, woolly beneath, leaf stalk woolly, flowers pink, fruit globose, fleshy, seeds contained in a core, fruit indented at both ends and a very short stalk.

Bekhal (*Prinsepi-a utilis*)—It is a medium sized shrub with leaves narrow lanceolate, long pointed, smooth and dark green in colour, flowers white, drupe oblong, purple with bloom like a plum; stone smooth. Oil is extracted from the seed and used locally for food, illuminating and as an external remedy for rheumatism.

Cheer (*Prunus Armeniaca*)—A small sized tree having a light brownish bark, leaves broad, pointed and long-stalked, appearance of flowers with or after the leaves; drupe yellowish and velvety and edible, stone thick with permanent margin.

Chir, Chil (*Pinus Longifolia*)—Large, outer bark corky and in thin crisp pieces, reddish brown, inner bark brick red, leaves in clusters of three, light green in colour with grey sheath.

Kaith (*Pyrus Pashia*)—A small deciduous tree. The branches are used as walking sticks and twigs as tooth brushes and the fruit as a remedy for toothache.

Kail (*Pinus Excelsa*)—Large tree with smooth bark when young but furrowed when older. Timber is excellent and pretty, generally suffers from fungus infection which completely ruins it as a commercial product.

Karun (*Morus Serrata*)—Small tree, leaves deciduous, stalk woolly, fruit sweet and edible. Wood used for ploughs and yokes.

Kathi (*Indigofera Gerardiana*)—It is a medium-sized shrub with many branches, shortly stalked, flowers pale, red or purple.

Kakdain (*Pistacia Integerrima*)—A large tree with rough and grey bark, flowers small, red, male and female on separate trees. The heart wood is used for carving and furniture.

Kehmal (*Barberis vulgaris*)—Small, wood yellow, bark brown and soft. Flowers pale yellow in drooping racemes, longer than the leaves. This plant is used as a diuretic.

Kuth (*Saussurea Lappa*)—Very large tree with leaves rough above and smooth beneath. It has a scent like orris root, and is used in perfumery, also in Hindu medicine.

Rai and Tosh (*Abies Pindrow, Himalayan Silver fir*)—Large bark dark brown or grey, fissured into long narrow scales, branches horizontal, flat, branchlets the same. The wood is soft and used for shingles.

Titri (*Rhus Punjabensis*)—Medium-sized tree, bark rough and dark grey, young parts velvety, flowers on broad branching racemes much shorter than the leaves.

Walnut (*Juglans Regia*)—Large tree, aromatic shoots velvety, bark grey, fissured vertically, flowers very small, green, male and female on the small tree on spikes. Fruit ovoid, green with yellow dots. The wood is very good for making furniture.

Apart from these, *Danaili*, *Bad-kainth*, *Gulgal* (*cetrus*), *Pari* and *Daikosia* are the other trees and shrubs found in these forests.

The villagers have certain established rights in the local forests and obtain timber for construction at concessional rates. The rate per *gali* is Rs. 2/- but this is not for commercial purposes. They have the right to collect the fallen branches of the trees in the forest area called *Bani*. If anybody is detected removing the branches with axe, his right to obtain the wood at concessional rates is forfeited by way of penalty. This penalty may be for a period ranging from one to three years.

Forest Nursery—There is a forest nursery covering an area of half an acre. These are the name of the plants grown in the nursery:—

Local Name	Botanical Name
Diar	<i>Cedrus leban</i>
Kainth	<i>Pyrus communis</i>
Gun	<i>Aesculus Indica</i> , Horse Chestnut
Drek	<i>Melia azed-arak</i>
Akhrot	<i>Juglems regia</i>
Chir	<i>Prunus armeniaca</i> , apricot
Aru	<i>Prunus Persica</i> , Peach
Kail	<i>Pinus excelsa</i>
Gulab-Di-Kalman	Rose plants
Thuth	<i>Salviamoorcrofiliana</i>
Kashmiri Billow	Kashmiri Billow

The area of reserve forest is 32 acres and bounded on all sides by 13 boundary pillars. Grazing or collecting fire wood from this reserve area is completely banned:

Fauna

Local Names	English Names
Big Games—	
Karth, Mahi	Thar
Pig and Ghorur	Goral
Bhalu	Bear
Chitra	Leopard or Panther
Lal Bhalu, Lal Richh	The Brown Bear
Kala Bhalu	The Himalayan black bear
Small Games and Birds—	
Chakor	The Chakor or Chikor
Kolsa (Kaleeze)	The white-crested Kalij
Nail and Nalwai	Impeyan Pheasants
Khakhrola Mamain	
Chaman	
Surbitu	
Kava	Crow
Chidian	Sparrows
Gughian	Doves

Sources of Water Supply

The villagers get ample drinking water from the natural springs and nullahs coming out from the mountain sides. Hardly have they to go to a distance of one furlong at the most. So far as irrigation facilities are concerned, none exist. When suggestions were invited from the inhabitants, they were of the view that water pipes can be laid from Chachaidi *khud* about 2 miles away. At the same time they felt that the project will be too expensive and a hard job.

2. The People

Many of the local population profess to be Gaddis. In consonance with the caste system as it prevailed in the Hindu Society, people may broadly be classified into two classes—*swarns* or upper castes and lower or the scheduled castes. Brahmins, Rajputs, Thakurs and Khatri are the *swarns* whereas Badhis, Aryas, Halis and Bensis are covered by the term scheduled castes.

During 1951 Census the population of the village was 369, with 202 males and 167 females. The number of females per 1,000 males works out to 827. At the time of 1961 count, however, the number was 458 composed of 235 men and 223 women. Here the number of women per thousand men comes to 949. This number included a number of government officials, mostly from the urban parts of the Pradesh. At the time of survey, the population came to 404, consisting of 204 males and 200 females spread over a number of 80 households. The number of women per one thousand men works out to 980. In the 1951 census, the number of households was 69 which shows an increase of about 16 per cent over a period of 10 years.

The variation in the population may be attributed to the fact that government officials forming a part of the local population are transferred. They could not be contacted on the subsequent visits. Secondly, groups of families move up to the high mountains alongwith their flocks of sheep and goats in search of new pastures.

Expressed in terms of hectares and square miles, the entire covered area comes to .83 and 214.5. The density of population in terms

of the survey population works out to 487.33 whereas the crude density of persons per square mile for the State and for the district is 124 and 67. It is apparent from the table below showing the caste-wise distribution of households that Brahmins form the dominant caste group with 60 out of the total of 80 households.

Castewise distribution of households

Religion	Caste	House-holds	Per-sons	Males	Fe-males
Hindu	Brahmins	60	311	157	154
"	Khatri	2	8	4	4
"	Rathis—Rajput	6	32	14	18
"	Badhi	1	5	4	1
"	Aryas—Halis	2	6	3	3
"	Bensis	9	42	22	20

Brahmins—The Brahmins occupy the apex of the pyramid representing the caste hierarchy. According to a version, Rajputs, the original founders of Chamba State, felt that without the Brahmin priests it could not be possible for them to perform religious rites. They invited them from the low-lying areas and offered inducements in the form of giving lands. Most of them entered the State during the period of Meru-Varman who constructed a large number of temples and felt it necessary to have Brahmin priests. During the times when Brahmapura was the capital of the Brahmapura State, the Brahmins were entrusted with the priestly functions only and their duties were confined

simply to performing the religious rites. However, a change occurred with time when they had to accept the subsidiary occupations of agriculture, business and rearing of goats and sheep. Common *gotras* of the Brahmins in Chitrari are Bhardwaj, Attri, Gautam, Gour, Jangnailu and Tutran.

They do not eat with the scheduled castes. But their services to them at the time of marriages and performance of other religious rites are always available without any inhibitions. In lieu of these they accept either cash or kind payment as *dakshina*. With the *swarn* castes, on the other hand, they eat.

Khatri—In the wake of persecution initiated by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, Hindus belonging to different castes migrated in large numbers to these high hills. Leaving aside the Brahmins and low castes, others developed kinship with the Rajputs who were already settled here. In the meantime, the two castes of Rajputs and Khatri became so much intermingled that one could not be distinguished from the other. Some of the families call themselves Rajputs and the others as Khatri. As for the profession, they practise agriculture, business, sheep and goat rearing.

Rathis—The Rathis of the village have no version to relate with regard to their origin, so we depend upon the Chamba Gazetteer. According to the study made by the Gazetteer in 1904, 'No traditions exist among them, as among the Gaddis, pointing to migration from the plains—. In origin they are generally regarded as being the result of an amalgamation of the castes above and below them—'. A more probable explanation of their origin is referred to by Sir J. B. Iyall. He says, "There is an idea current in the hills that of the land-holding castes the Thakurs, Rathis, Kunets and Girths are either indigenous to the hills or indigenous by the half-blood, and that the Brahmins, Rajputs and others are the descendants of invaders and settlers from the plains."

By way of *gotra*, Rathis are divided into two sections Kashyap and Attri.

Next to the *swarns* are Badhis, Aryas—Halis and Bensis who form the lower rung of the dependant classes.

Badhis—The name of the caste is occupational and indicates that the families concerned are engaged in carpentry. Their *gotra* is Dhundya.

Aryas—Halis—The word is derived from the word *Hal*. Their principal occupation is farm work and they also work as servants to the landholders.

Bensis—This is the smaller caste and is probably an off-shoot of Aryas or Halis. Apart from doing all jobs, they remove the carcasses of dead animals. By way of *gotras*, the Aryas and Bensis are Ghamnan, Lalwan, Bharadwaj, Bhamitay and Podotan.

Inter-Caste Relationship

In the countryside, the caste system continues to hold its sway. In the secluded parts it essentially regulates the social behaviour. The dominance of one caste group led to the economic subordination of the other and sometimes the phenomenon has been interpreted as an integrated community life. In the same way, Brahmins and Rathis being the dominant caste groups of the village developed superiority complex and the other castes practically depended upon them. This economic inter-dependance was given the name of *khaloti* or *jajmani*.

The Badhis or Lohars are given the work of carpenters and blacksmiths and both prepare and carry out repairs to agricultural implements. Their assistance in the construction of houses is indispensable.

In exchange of the services they are paid in kind at harvesting. 8 seers of barley and wheat are given at the time of *rabi*. The same quantity is given on the occasion of *kharif* harvest.

Regarding caste relationship between the *swarns* on the one hand and the Aryas and Bensis on the other, one observes a difference emerging between the accumulated tradition and common practice. Possibly it has been prompted by the legal prescription and a changed political set-up and above all the altered economic relationships. The Halis with whom it was a social obligation to remove the carcasses of dead animals no longer do so and work either as labourers or on the farms. Now the job is done by the Chamars or *Khalara* as he is called who repairs shoes. By way of remuneration he gets 8 seers of maize from every household.

Residential Pattern

The village is not laid out in any systematic way and a number of factors seem to have determined the pattern of settlement. The temple is the main attraction and this is surrounded on all sides by houses. Evidently it is clear from the situation of old houses that the first settlers occupied the space around the temple or near about. Closeness to the water sources is the other criterion. A cluster of houses all about the water springs has sprung up in the course of time. The main foot-path passes by the

temple and cuts across the village. The shops are located on either side of the path.

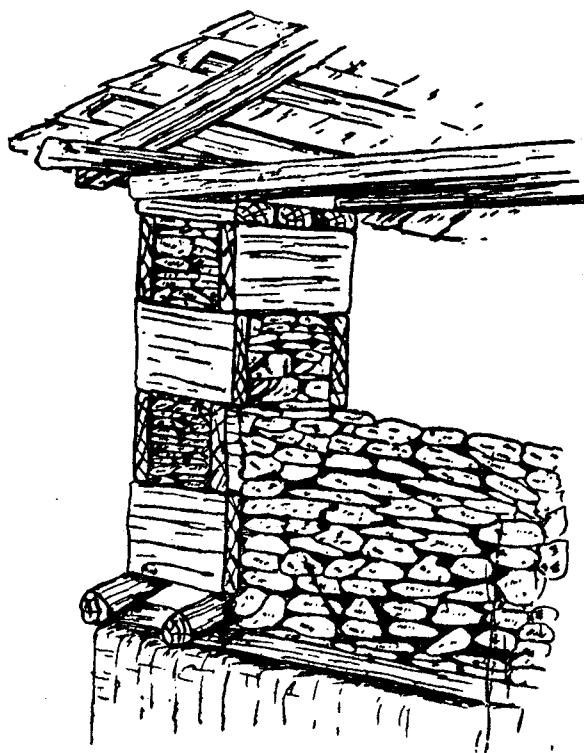
Due to the mountainous nature of the place, approach from one end to the other is provided by narrow paths. The village is divided into nine sections namely Basarka, Chitrari I, Kalanka, Brainka, Chitrari II, Chachian, Kamharki, Ukhli and Charauta. The cluster of houses in these sections is essentially a mushroom growth. The higher castes live intermingled but the tradition has kept aloof the lower castes. Aryas and Bensis live in Basarka.

House Type

In all there are 106 housing structures scattered indiscriminately all over the village and invariably the lay-out of the house is rectangular. Except in the case of the Government and Panchayat buildings which have been constructed recently and are spotted out by their gleaming G.I. roofs others use the local and traditional raw material. The use of cement and glass-panes is only found in a few newly built buildings, mostly in the public sector. The houses may be of two or three storeys, the three storeyed houses being more prominent. If the houses are situated in the open they may have a spacious courtyard attached to them, with the walls two feet high at the most running all around. This court-yard is paved with flat thick stones or slates. The foundations are fixed in the ground, two to three and a half feet deep, to support a heavy stone structure of dry masonry.

It has been found in the old houses that the plinth level comes up to the ground only. The rooms no doubt are spaciouly built but are dark and dingy at the same time. They have very small doors and practically no ventilation.

The Gaddis have their own way of constructing the walls. Rough wooden planks of the sizes two to two and a half feet in length, one and a half feet in breadth and one to two inches in thickness are used in an adequate number to erect the hollow pillars at the two extremities and one at the centre. Two *chewel* or joists, exactly parallel to each other, one to the inner-most and the other to the outer-most surface of the wall are fixed at the intervals of three to four feet. The thickness of the walls is kept at about two feet and are made of roughly hewn stones of different sizes and the hollow structures so erected are filled in with dry masonry consisting of small type of stones. The use of mortar or lime is completely absent. Villagers go on placing chiselled



stones skilfully avoiding any hole until it is completed. After the wall has been completed and the pillars erected, these are plastered with a thick layer of mud mixed with some cowdung and local straw. Hitherto white washing has been hardly known to them. Of late, however, the well-to-do households have taken to the use of both cement and white-washing.

Farque type of walls—Walls are constructed of Farque type. The peculiarity of this wall lies in the fact that instead of filling the space in between the joists with dry masonry, wooden planks are fixed here. Generally it is the walls of the second storey which are built on this pattern. One very distinctive custom relates to keeping the two sides open of the upper-most storey in a few cases. It looks similar to the verandah and is called *sal* in the local dialect. This open space is usually utilized for the bundles of grass and firewood to be stacked about. Generally wooden verandahs are attached to the houses.

Roofing—Rough and coarse slates of irregular shape are used for the purpose of roofing which is a single slate structure. The roof has four slopes which are quite steep. The pieces of slates are fixed on 1" thick planks

which rest on purlins of 2" x 3" specifications. The purlins are fixed on wooden rafters of a little more thickness, say 4" x 4". One end each of the rafters rests on the wooden plates fixed in the top of the wall. The other rests on the central beam of the room which may be one foot in thickness. In many houses the slates are fixed directly on the purlins thus avoiding the use of extra planks.

Source of Material—The materials used in the construction of the houses are obtained locally and are to be found within a radius of four to five miles. Timber, stone, slates and clay or *chik* are used for construction purposes. The biggest limiting factor against the use of paints, varnish and window panes is the economy of the people. In place of lime a form of light grey coloured clay is used which is extracted half a mile away. Although it acquires a shine after application but when it is dried up it lacks the sticking properties. Iron handles, bolts and screws are manufactured by the local blacksmiths for which pig iron is procured from Chamba.

The bonafide right holders of Chitrari enjoy certain concessional rates of timber for constructing their own houses from the local unclassified protected forests and demarcated protected forests. The rates charged per tree are:—

Name of tree	Diameter in inches	Rates
Deodar	28 to 32	7.00
Deodar	24 to 28	5.00
Deodar	20 to 24	3.00
Deodar	16 to 19	2.00
Deodar	12 to 15	1.00
Deodar	8 to 12	0.50
Deodar	under 8	0.25
Kail	24 and over	2.00
Kail	20 to 24	1.50
Kail	16 to 19	1.00
Kail	12 to 15	0.50
Kail	8 to 12	0.25
Kail	under 8	0.12
Fir tree	24 and over	0.50
Fir tree	20 to 23	0.25
Fir tree	16 to 19	0.12
Fir tree	12 to 15	0.06
Fir tree	Under 12	free
Other B. Leaved	..	0.12 each

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The same rooms are shared by more than one household by putting up a make-shift screen of wooden planks and trunks or almirahs. To have an exact idea about the shortage of space, the case of Mehar Chand and Dhani Ram is cited. They are living in the same room. Occasionally *obra*, the ground floor may be partitioned and utilized for sleeping. Similarly extension is made to the ground floor in the form of *obra* when there are more cattle. In that case a small-sized cabinet is erected by a rough and uneven lot of wooden planks along with the outer wall of the *obra*. Here nails are not used generally.

Generally a house is three storeyed. Wood and stone form the main material used for the ceiling, wall and floor. The roofs have slates often. Small doors, ill ventilated rooms and family large rooms may be common. The oldest house is an *apthakuri* house built during the reigns of the Thakurs and it looks so distinctively old. Mehtoo, a Brahmin has a three storeyed house. The walls of the rooms are 2 feet in thickness and are built on the traditional pattern.

Obra—This is the ground floor and is used exclusively as cattle shed. The room is 17.9' x 16' x 7' and has a mud floorings. All about the room, wooden pegs are fixed in the ground to tie the cattle. A passage 24 feet in length with a breadth of 7 feet is attached to it. There is only one entrance to the room and the length and width of this are 5 x 2 x 5 feet respectively.

The room has windows of the specifications 2.5 x 3 and 2 x 3 and one smoke outlet which is 9" x 9". Provision has also been made for two inches with specifications 9" x 9" and 9" x 1". Agricultural implements are stored in one of its corners. Nearby, one small pit is dug to conserve the cowdung and urine.

Oberi—This is the first floor of the storey and one has to go on a small thin wooden stair-case peculiar to the hills and is full of niches. The room is built on the same specifications as the ground floor with a passage of 16 feet long and 7 feet wide. The floor is made of one inch thick wooden planks with thick mud plastering. This is the living room. In other cases it may also serve the purpose of cooking and even for having a bath. One wooden almirah is there in one corner. Provision has been made for five windows.

Bhor—The upper most storgy or the second floor is known as *bhor*. The size of the room and the passage is exactly similarly to

the one in the first floor with the difference that here the passage is provided for by erecting a wooden partition. The room is used for sleeping and cooking. In winter because of the warmth resulting from the cooking the households are saved to some extent from the bitter cold prevailing in the region. A loom is fixed in the balcony. In one corner is the hearth and nearby a platform used for keeping the utensils and other household goods. On one side are placed the wooden grain boxes.

The balcony is used by the owners, especially the women folk for basking in the sun. Scratching each others head for lice is a common sight. The height of the walls is kept deliberately low because of the snow-bound character of the region. The same very reason explains the lowness of the doors and one has to bow a little to enter the house. The entire expenses of construction are borne by the individuals concerned and in the present case the cost has been

worked out at Rs. 6,000. There is no custom of obtaining the help from the fellow villagers on reciprocal basis.

The main difficulty lies in obtaining the timber which is brought from the nearby jungles of Nanon and Nhru after getting the permission of the Forest Department. Transportation is another problem. The material has to be brought by the porters. The construction of the houses is executed by the masons and carpenters from nearby villages. One carpenter lives in the village which does the wood work and charges at the rate of Rs. 4/- or 5/- a day. The masons charge Rs. 2/- daily. The aesthetic sense reflects in the quaint figures drawn on the walls in varied colours of pink, yellow and red. The motifs are primarily concerned with their religious beliefs and practices.

The total number of households classified by the number of rooms and also by the number of persons occupying them would be clear from the table—

Number of households classified by number of rooms and number of persons occupying

Total Number of Households	Total No. of Rooms	Total No. of Persons	Households with one room		Households with two rooms		Households with three rooms		Households with four rooms		Households with five rooms		Households with five rooms and more	
			No. of House- holds	Total No. of family members	No. of house- holds	Total No. of family members	No. of House- holds	Total No. of family members	No. of House- holds	Total No. of family members	No. of House- holds	Total No. of family members	No. of House- holds	Total No. of family members
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
80	249	404	10	40	13	57	44	222	3	20	3	16	7	45

Every one has shelter even if it be one room. On an average, one room accommodates two persons. But the position gets all the more crystallized when we take into account the fact that a large number of rooms are used exclusively as cattle sheds.

Rituals—The local priest is consulted for laying the foundation of a new house. The site is approved by him. In case it is considered unlucky, he suggests some sort of propitiatory worship and *dan*. A goat or sheep is sacrificed. Then the foundation stone is laid in compliance with the injunction made by the priest. The cross-beam is laid at the auspicious time and a piece of goat or sheep sacrificed is tied to it to ward off evil spirits. Before the first entry is made to the house, *nawala* is offered to Lord Shiva to invoke his blessings.

The blessings of goddess 'Shiv Shakti Devi' are invoked in the temple. Facing of the house is kept towards the east and as an alternative south is chosen. There is no specific reason for facing towards these sides.

Apart from carrying out day to day repairs to their houses, only four new houses have been constructed during the last five years. One of them is purely a wooden structure built entirely in the slightly modern style and costs Rs. 12,000. The other two are small houses, each costing Rs. 500. The fourth one has cost Rs. 4,000.

Local names are given here:—

1. *Thattara*—Hollow pillars.
2. *Manjhi* or *Pasan*—Stair-case.
3. *Dhawri*—Entrance or door.



12. *Hadupu*—Platform erected by the side of kitchen hearth for keeping the utensils.
13. *Thhata-saris*—The thick planks on which slates are fixed.
14. *Nahas*—The thick plank or *thhata-saris* which rest on the wooden purlins.
15. *Kanaran*—One end each of the rafters rests on the wooden plates fixed in the wall, the other end on the central beam.
16. *Farque*—When wooden planks are fixed in between joists instead of filling the space with masonry such walls are called *farques* and are generally in the second storey.

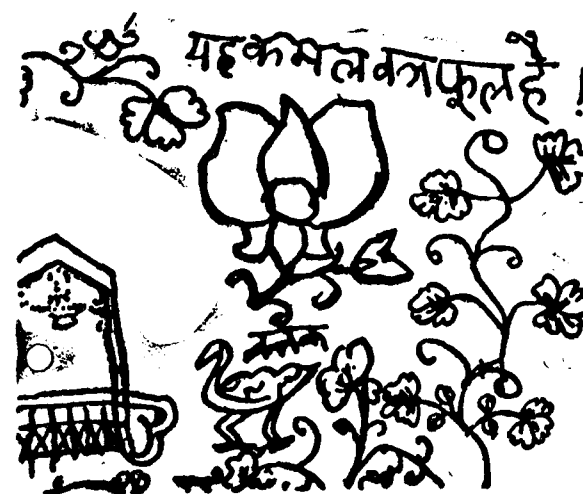
Migration

Some villagers own goats and sheep. Each shepherd is allotted a particular pasture of *dhar* for his own flock consisting of a number of goats and sheep. Intensive grazing for generations led to erosion. To check this trouble passes are issued. The areas round about have been declared Reserved Forests and the infringement of the rules is followed either by cash penalty or forfeiture of the animal.

The persons who take to this seasonal migration are the ones who have a sizeable flock to tend. They readily get work during the intervening period. A few of them migrate during the winter. They do so out of convention and due to the cold and to get a grazing ground for the flocks.

A few have purchased some land. The number of migratories thus hardly comes to 15 per cent of the total population.

Migration starts in September-October and is collectively known as *gana*. The route adopted is generally the shortest one and a number of mountain ranges have to be crossed over to reach the plains of Shahpur and Kangra. There are a number of passes in the outer Himalaya or *Dhaura Dhar* between the Ravi valley and Bhattiyat. These are Chuari or Basodan with a height of 8,000 feet, Kali Nali between Mahla and Raipur with a height of 8,900 feet, Mahli between Mahla and Tundi at a height of 8,600 feet and Loa between Mahla and Bhatti Tikri with 10,500 feet. Except for the Chuari pass which is crossed over by a mule track, the others are practical only for men and goats and sheep. While on the move, these shepherds and owners of flocks travel very lightly. Few personal belongings are kept. Except for the dress which is on at the start of journey, little or spare clothes are



4. *Gharyali*—A platform near the kitchen used for keeping the utensils.
5. *Chara*—An outlet for the outflow of water in one corner of the room.
6. *Dragala* or *Behi*—Projected verandah in the floor.
7. *Khudi*—Niche in the wall.
8. *Tohlu*—Round holes in the partitioned wall.
9. *Thumbi*—Wooden pillars.
10. *Chobu*—An opening to the second floor from *obra* in one corner.
11. *Bonti*—A slate is removed to serve as an outlet for smoke.

carried. Legs remain bare and a *chola* and *dora* alongwith the cap is all the shepherd is dressed in on these marches. Then of course, he may have a *jarelu*—made out of goats hair for his feet.

The women accompany them and are dressed as usual. For bedding they may have one or two *pattus* which would be of thick wool and are kept tied around the waist. A few utensils, a *hooka* and a *khalru* full of maize flour, some salt, chillies and occasionally some pulses are carried. These men have become so much used to the hard nomadic life, their job entails that to sleep in the open under a cloudy sky is a common habit for them. Whenever it rains, they just look up for some projected rock or a cave shelter and can pass the night leisurely huddled together. Generally the sides of a river or *nullahs* are selected to pass the night. Possibly that is due to the closeness of water.

During the period that is spent in the plains, they take to a number of jobs apart from grazing the flocks. Once a while their women folk work as maid-servants and to see them pounding the paddy is common enough. Men work mostly as labourers on the farms. In this way they accumulate some cash. In the course of journey, some business is also conducted.

A Gaddi is an astute business man and would part with his goat and sheep only when a satisfactory bargain is struck.

I am reminded of the words of a Gaddi shepherd near about Gehra—He with his 6 hundred goats or so, and me in the Deputy Commissioner's Jeep—Being thoroughly annoyed with himself—his sheep, and a nasty stare at me, he had a simple but very philosophic remark to make, "In all these years wherever I have taken my sheep, no matter what route I chose Government has improved and made a better road or is intending that—And behold—this old beaten track—below these rocks was our beaten track for centuries a jeep has started plying—God only knows what happens next. I and my sheep seem to be precursor of all road development programme."

The seasonal migration has effect on the economic and social life of the village. Cash is brought back into the anaemic economy of the village and the slightly enhanced spending power of the people enables them to have a few necessities of life. This in turn, gives encouragement to the petty grocers to enlarge the scope of their little business. Migration leads to a number of other consequences

as well. Non-availability of food grains is the ill effect of the migratory habits rather than the cause of it. The people migrate during October, November and return from April to June; *kharif* crop is harvested in a hurry as the passes have to be crossed over before winter sets in. Again, due to the late arrival, *rabi* crop is sown without much regard being paid to the levelling and manuring of fields. Besides, much of period is taken unnecessarily in the journey. On the social side, change of ideas takes place and consequently superstitions yield place to a slight change in the approach towards life. These villagers are developing interest in their children's education which is confirmed by the small kids running to school every morning. The traditional dress is being discarded by the new generation.

Dress

The dress worn by Gaddis is distinct from that worn in the plains and is "Characteristic and striking" in its varied aspects. Generally they use the woollen garments because of the cold climate but in summer cotton clothes can also be used. Traditional dresses continue to be worn and a mythological importance is attached to them. They hold the belief that Lord Shiva also used the same type of dress. There is no distinction of dress as between the castes. On occasion of mournings, only the coloured clothes are avoided. Otherwise this remains unchanged.

Dora—It forms an indispensable part of the dress used both by men and women. Apparently it is an attractive woollen tassel 15 to 25 yards long. Made of sheep's wool, it is black in colour. This is tied round the waist.

Men's Dress

Head Dress—The head dress for men is of a peculiar shape with a flap round the margin and a peak like projection in the centre. The peak is believed to represent the Kailash of Mani Mahesh—an abode of Lord Shiva and as such rightly depicts the religious sentiments of the Gaddis. The flap is tied up for ordinary wear but let down over the ears and neck in times of mourning and also in the severe weather. This style of head dress is falling into disuse and even an ceremonial occasions it is being replaced by the *pagdi* or a woollen *topa* which may be slightly embroidered.

Chola—On the body a *pattu* forming a sort of a coat, known as *chola* is worn. This reaches below the knees having deep collars which hang loose in two lappets in front, various articles such as needle, thread and

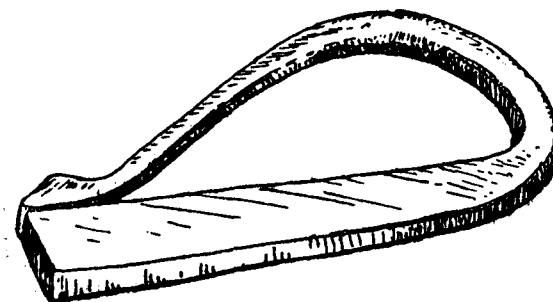
pieces of paper are tucked away in it. The *chola* is tightened round the waist by *dora* of many yards.

The *chola* may consume as much as 20 yards of cloth as the front and parts lengthwise from the centre are kept deliberately loose. *Chola* with some glass tinsels or coloured embroidery are used on festive occasions.

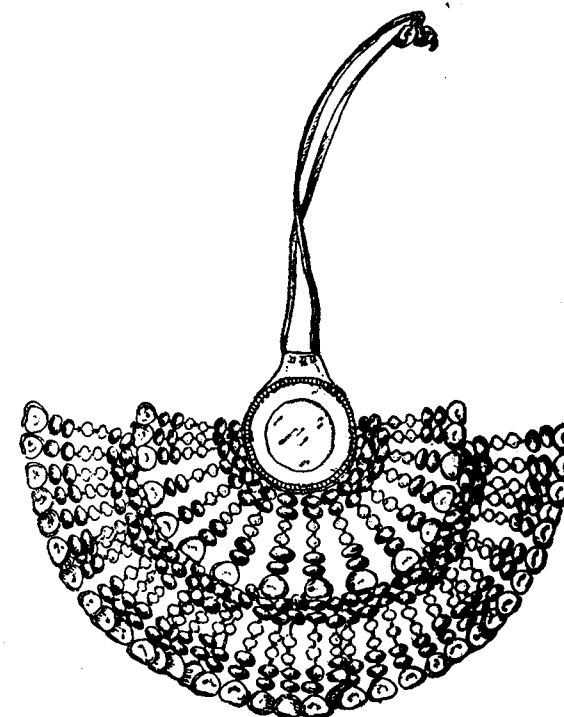
From the girdle there hangs a knife, a *runka* for striking a light, and a *mandua* in which his money and other small articles of every-day requirements are carried. Dangling from the *dora* there may be a cheap round looking glass adorned with *rattis*. This is called *gharat* and the *jhalar* that hangs down below the mirror is *Chhatta*.



Mardua

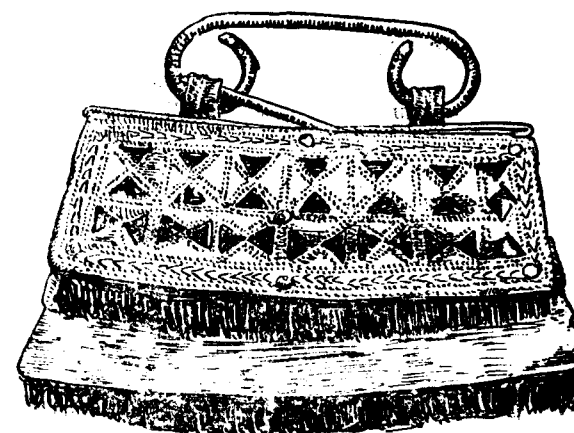


Runka



Chatta

Khukh—The upper portion above the waist is called *khukh*. Being loose it provides space to keep many articles of daily requirement. A shepherd on the move may have four or five newly born lambs stowed away in this space, meals tied up in an untanned leather pouch, a similar pouch full of tobacco, a flint, a knife, a flute and another pouch having tinder for lighting up the fire are all tucked up in the *dora*. Now the flint and the tinder are being replaced by the match box.



Runka

Woollen Pyjama—Some men put on *pattu* pyjamas loose up to the knees but fitting slightly tighter at the lower part of the leg and ankle where it rests in a number of folds.

Women's Dress

The Gaddi women wear a gown to the ankles, and round the waist is the woollen cord or *dora*. Some thing like what men use.

Ghundu—Head dress, cotton or silken scarf in varied shades is used commonly. The shades may be yellow, orange, or pinkish but the crimson is popular. The border is beautifully done with glittering little stars or half moons.

Kameez—A simple shirt is with a half belt to the front. The cut and shape is similar to what men use, except for a slight difference in the fall.

Luanchadi or Paswaj—It is like the garment *chola* which has been explained and covers all the parts of body from shoulders to the ankles. In shape it may be compared to a big and loose shirt. It is, however, made of cotton and consumes cloth varying from 16 to 25 yards with a width of 3 feet. To hold the *luanchadi* tight at the waist a *dora* of lesser length is used.

The difference between the *luanchadi* and *paswaj* lies in the simplicity. *Paswaj* is made of cotton cloth in flowery designs.

Suthni—Many women use *pattu* pyjamas called *suthnis*.

Foot-wear—*Mochdi* are the shoes in common use. Chamba chappal is also common with them. These may be purchased at Chamba while migrating to the plains.

Jarelu—Made of rough goat hair. Used for crossing the snowy passes during the winter.

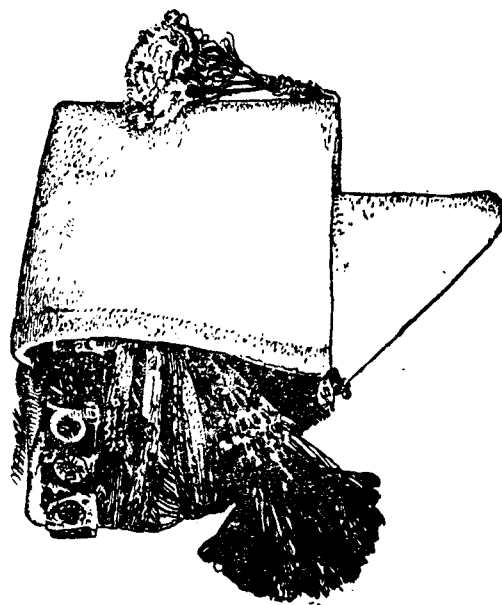
Change in the Dresses

Changes in the dress are making gradual inroads among the Gaddis and others. The main factor is the opening of interim roads and more officials getting posted in these areas. Education is playing a part in bringing about this change. Receptivity is more pronounced among the youngsters. A majority of boys go bare headed. It is no longer considered a social inhibition.

The modern type of rubber and leather footwear are used to some extent. They are however not easily available in the vicinity and are purchased from Chamba. Some like the hiking shoes, a taste developed because of their durability to stand the rough paths. Women have started wearing fancy Nylon

chappals and some of them wear them occasionally. Pull-overs has an added attraction for the villagers and many are using them. *Chola* is being gradually replaced by an ordinary coat, *luanchari* by *salwar*, and the traditional cap either by *pagri* or Gandhi cap of both cotton and woollen. The school going children go to the school in their striped pyjamas and ordinary *kameez* with coat on. Bush-shirt and trousers are making a gradual appearance.

Dresses for Festival—Oracles or *chelas* as they are called put on caps with their fronts reversed with a garland of dried flowers, a tuft of feathers or a string of red beads. The professional dancers have this tuft of feathers tucked up in the fronts of their turbans. Otherwise their traditional dress remains unchanged. They would add some pieces of silk cloth or scarves falling on both sides of the neck upto the waist.



Shopping

Both men and women purchase rough mill made cloth and handloom cotton cloth from the local shopkeepers from Ghera, a bus terminus 4 miles from the village. As for woollen clothes, *pattu* is generally woven in the village. Every household prepares the *pattu* for its requirements of clothing by spinning and weaving of raw wool, obtained either from their own sheep or from Brahmaur. For weaving *pattu* most of the households possess hand-looms fitted in the floor of the *oberi*. The general difficulty which is experienced by the villages is the shortage of raw wool.

There are two persons who stitch the garments for the villagers. One of them is Arya and the other a Gaddi Brahmin, the younger brother of one of the grocers. He sits in the same shop. They have brand new sewing machines along with all the accessories required for the tailoring business. Immediately before the Shiv-Shakti fair they have to face a heavy rush of business. To dispose of the business, mostly relatives are engaged. The stitching charges are:—

1. Chola Cotton . . .	Rs. 6-50
2. Chola Woollen . . .	Rs. 9-50
3. Kameez . . .	Re. 0-75 to Rs. 1/-
4. Coat for Children . . .	Rs. 3/- to 3-50
5. Gents Coat . . .	Rs. 6/- to 7/-
6. Pattu Pyjama . . .	Re. 1/-
7. Cotton Pyjama . . .	Re. 0-50
8. Cap . . .	Re. 0-19

Ornaments

Love for jewellery in this part is proverbial. Mostly the silver ornaments are worn. There is no particular caste distinction as to the use of gold or silver. If the scheduled caste can afford the luxury of gold ornaments there is no opposition whatsoever from the upper castes. Economy is the sole deciding factor.

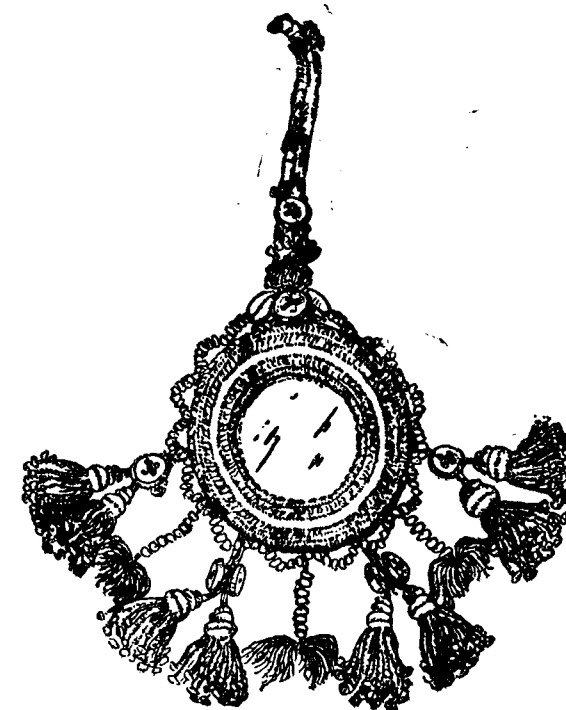
The pattern of the ornaments is old, heavy and traditional. The modern influence of using lighter ornaments has not affected them. A goldsmith from district Kangra has settled here permanently. The Kangra influence in the pattern of ornaments used by the Gaddi women is distinctly there. During my visit when the Chitrari fair was on, Jewellers from Kangra, Tandi, Palampur, all came here after spending a few days in the Brahmaur *yatra*.

ORNAMENTS FOR THE HEAD

Chaunk—This is a bowl sort of silver ornament which is fastened on the head. Generally it weighs 6 to 10 tolas.

Chiri—It is a silver ornament fastened to the hair by a chain connected to a flat round silver sheet studded with beautiful imitation 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.



Chiri

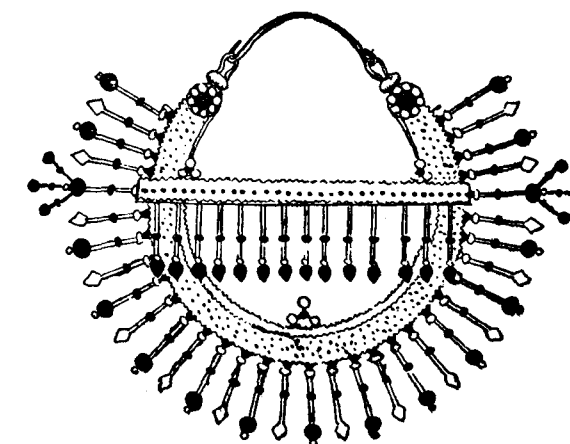
ORNAMENTS FOR THE EAR

Pher—These are ordinary type of ear-rings and may be made either of gold or silver. The weight ranges from 5 to 6 tolas.

Balis—These are golden ear-rings and may weigh 3 to 6 tolas.

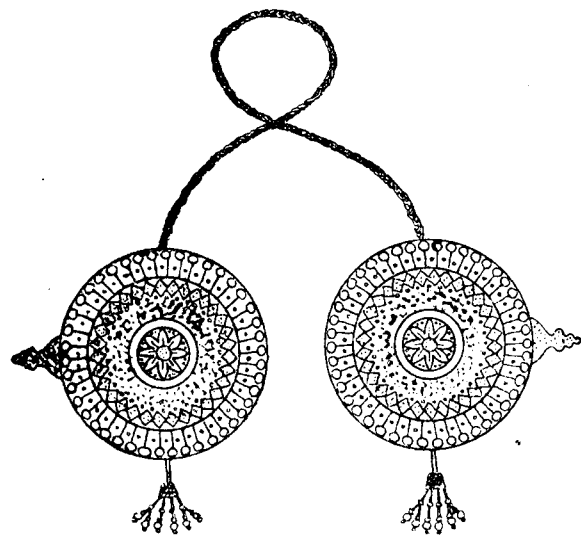
Kanti—Heavy silver or golden ear-rings. Being relatively bigger may weigh as much as 7 to 8 tolas.

Kan-Phul—Their shape resembles a bunch of flowers. These are made of silver. Weight is about 1 tola per piece.



Kanbale

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



Dhodku Jhumku

Nantis—The only gold ornament used by the men are *nantis*. These are small ear-rings and a pair weighs 6 *mashas*.

Sambih—There is only one such ornament and is used by the women for the decoration of their breasts. It is a silver ornament and weighs from 9 to 12 *tolas*.

ORNAMENTS FOR THE NECK

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.

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

ORNAMENTS FOR THE NOSE

Balu—Is a big sized nose ring and is studded with cheap stones or pearls. May weigh from 2 to 3 *tolas*.

Long—Is a gold ornament and resembles a miniature cylinder. May weigh from 3 to 6 *mashas*.

Blak—The ornament is a golden one and suspends from the central wall of the nose, weighs from 2 to 3 *tolas*.

Tilli—Is the smallest nose ornament made of gold and weighs less than a *masha*.

ORNAMENTS FOR THE WRIST

Kangnu—These are round silver bracelets which are hollow from inside. May weigh 8 to 10 *tolas* a pair.

Gajru—Similar to the *kangnu* in shape except for the difference that these are solid from within. Moreover, ends are not joined and are represented usually by the heads of some image of lion. May weigh 15 to 20 *tolas* and are generally made of silver.

Bangas—These are silver bangles and a pair may weigh as much as 4 *tolas*.

Toke—These are flat silver bracelets weighing 15 to 20 *tolas*.

Arsi—Is the silver ring with glass worn on the thumb. This ring may weigh 2 *tolas*. On the other hand, *chhalla* is a gold or silver ring. Usually weighs half *tola*.

Phullus—Are the silver anklets and weigh up to 4 *tolas*.

Among the other ornaments may be included buttons and *moglus* or cuff-links made of silver. These weigh 2 *tolas*. *Moglus* may weigh as much as 4 to 6 *tolas*. Villagers get the images of various gods and goddesses embossed on silver leaves and use these round the neck.

Food Habits

The Gaddis are non-vegetarian and consider no food or drink as tabooed. The idea of beef is resented on religious grounds. The staple food of the people consists of maize chapati with *dal* or *bhujri* although wheat chapaties are also served. The other principal millets are *chinai*, *phullan*, *kani*, *koda* and barley. Rice does not form their daily food and is used on marriages and other festivities.

Pulses form the main part of their daily diet. *Mung*, *mash*, *masur*, *rong* and *kulth* are generally taken with the meals, *mash* forming the principal dish. During rainy season some vegetables like *sarson-ka-sag*, *brinjals*, bitter gourds, potatoes and pumpkins are grown.

Although every household possesses a cow or two, the average yield per cow is from two to four *chhataks* and that is not sufficient even for tea. The scarcity of milk is there. Every household is fond of tea but do not take it daily. Whenever they happen to suffer from cold or tiredness tea is taken.

Meat is generally taken by every household, the frequency depends upon the means.

Pure *ghee* and mustard oil are used as fats. *Gur* or sugar may be used for preparing tea and sweets.

Fruits are taken once a while. Apart from breakfast meals are taken twice daily. The menu for the day would be:—

	Adults	Children
<i>Breakfast (Nohari)</i>		
	chhataks	chhataks
1. Maize chapati	3 to 4	2
or		
chapati made of maize flour mixed either with wheat or barley flour.		
2. Pulses or vegetables	1	½
<i>Lunch</i>		
1. Boiled rice	3 to 4	2 to 3
or		
Chinai-ka-bhat	Do.	Do.
or		
Maize chapati	4 to 6	1 to 2
or		
chapaties made of flour mixed either with wheat or barley flour	6 to 8	4
2. Pulses or vegetables	1½ to 2	1
<i>Dinner</i>		
1. Chinai-ka-bhat	3 to 4	2 to 3
or		
maize chapaties	4 to 6	3
or		
wheat chapaties		
or		
chapaties made of the flour consisting either of barley koda or bharais. The flour can also be mixed with wheat or maize flour.	Do.	Do.

NOTE—The maize chapaties may weigh as much as 2 *chhataks* whereas the chapaties made either of wheat flour or mixed one weighs 1½ *chhataks*.

Some typical dishes prepared in the Gaddi households on the occasion of festivities, have their own characteristics.

Bobroos—Sugar is added to taste in the wheat flour. A thin paste is prepared. This paste is poured into *ghee* or mustard oil in bits.

Luchi—These are small, thin and round and made of wheat in *ghee*.

Halwa—Is a type of pudding. Wheat, *maida* or *suji* is fried in the *ghee* and water is mixed afterwards with sugar.

Chinghi—A food unique by itself and consumed during winter. *Seul* is roasted and mixed with boiled *ghandeli*. Then salt and chillies are added to taste. The persons well-off roast the *seul*, the others just mix the *seul* in raw form with boiled *ghandeli*.

Ghandelis are dried and stored to be consumed in winter. Whenever the villagers feel shortage of food grains, they resort to this.

Chhalli-ka-laddu—Another speciality lies in the balls made of maize flour which are boiled. Afterwards *ghee*, salt, chillies and spices are added to taste.

Kainth—This is a tree found in the hills and yield a fruit which is bigger than *ber*. Elsewhere in the Pradesh the fruit is considered quite useless. In Chitrari, the villagers collect the fruit and dry it in the sun. After that it is mixed with maize and then ground into flour.

Beverages

People would like to have tea. Even the relatively well-off persons consider it a luxury to have tea daily. The guests are served invariably with a cup or a bowl. As against this, *sur* is a traditional beverage and the villagers are very fond of it. Occasions like marriages and festivals are incomplete if *sur* is not served. It is a home-made brew and at the most may be compared to a light form of beer. The Excise Department issues regular permits for having this keeping in view, of course, the customs of the people and climate of the region. The nearest wine shop is at Gehra—a bus terminus four miles away from the village. Some of the villagers occasionally visit the shop. What horrible sights and disgusting scenes are enacted near some of these—the less said the better.

The process of *sur* preparation is essentially crude. *Bhoot-kesi* a wild root found in the jungles is dried in the sun and turned into a thin powder. The powder is mixed with barley flour and after being fermented for sometime, it is kneaded. Thick loaves are prepared and stored for the occasion whenever the *sur* is to be prepared. This is the basic raw material in the whole process of preparation.

Kodra cakes are put into a pitcher full of water where loaves of the basic raw material are added and allowed to ferment for about a week. *Sur* is light brown when it is ready to be served. Men and women take it freely, some in moderate quantities and others to their capacity. The effect is moderate on those who take in small quantities. However, it tends to induce intoxication if gulbed in larger quantities. People attach religious importance to *sur* and serve it as *charnamrit* in the name of Shiv-Shakti on the occasion of festival or *yatra*.

Smoking

It is very common. Except for the old ones, the other women do not generally smoke. Gaddis are always found with a *hukka*. Tobacco is grown and blended in the village.

The diet is unbalanced and the people definitely suffer from malnutrition and are underfed. Vitamins which are most essential, are seldom present in their diet. Milk, eggs, fish and fruits are just a dream.



An old Gaddi with hukka

Utensils

Cooking utensils and other vessels used in preparing food are made of brass, bronze and aluminium. The aluminium utensils are preferred more due to their being light as the Gaddis are a migratory population. A few others are made of iron. Earthen pitchers and *handiyas* are found in every household. All metallic utensils are procured from outside the village mostly from Chamba and Shahpur. Purchases are made at Shahpur as some migrate to this side

during winter. Earthen vessels are procured from Koonr, a neighbouring village. There is no potter in Chitrari. The type of utensils used are:—

Utensils	Metal Used	Purpose for which used
Balti	Iron-Brass	Buckets for fetching or storing water.
Kurahi	Iron	Frying pan.
Tatwan	Iron	A pitcher to heat water.
Baltaoi	Brass	Pitcher for storing water.
Chamru	Brass-Aluminium	Big mouthed pitcher to heat water.
Bhaddu	Brass	Round utensil with heavy bottom and narrow mouth used for cooking pulses.
Patilu	Brass-Aluminium	Used for preparing g vegetables or pulses.
Bota	Brass	Vessel for storing water.
Glass	Brass	Tumbler
Karchhi	Brass-Gilt	Ladle
Lotu/Garbi	Brass	For putting and drinking water.
Tamshu	Brass	Pitcher-shaped utensil for preparing pulses.
Katoru	Aluminium Bronze-Brass	Bowls for serving pulses or vegetables.
Thalu	Brass-Bronze	A round plate for serving the meal.
Paratdu	Wood-Brass-Copper	Wide trough for kneading flour into dough.
Kunala	Wood	Hand-washing basin.
Pagi	Earthen	A small pitcher-shaped vessel for turning the unboiled milk into curd.
Bilda	Earthen receptacle	Storing water.
Maghi	Earthen	A pitcher of small size.

Besides, there are such utensils as a pair of tongs, *sansi* and *tawa* which are made of iron and are very common. *Chakla-belan* are the other common articles of daily use.

Household Goods

The articles of furniture as they are understood in the modern sense are not common here. Even cots which form a comfort are possessed only by ten per cent of the families. On an average, a household may have not more than two cots or charpoys. These are served to the guests as they themselves generally sleep on the ground. The beddings used by them are only a collection of old clothes sewed together and a few blankets.

Manjri—Is very popular with them and are made of wheat straw. Every household may have a number of them. During winter these are spread out on the ground to have a protection against the cold. Otherwise also these are used the year round.

Apart from a few well-off families, tables, stools, and benches are not possessed by them.

To possess radio-set is a dream here. The Panchayat Department has arranged for a radio with a battery-set in the village with a loud-speaker fixed up in the shop of the Gram Panchayat President. As far as watches are concerned, only four persons in the village possess them. There is a gramophone. Every household has on an average, four or five wooden boxes, one or two tin boxes and one or two wooden almirahs. These are used to keep the jewellery, garments and odds and ends.

Peiru—Is a local name for a big storing vessel made of bamboo with a diameter of about 2 feet and plastered from inside with cowdung. Used for storing food-grains.

Toon—A little variation in the construction of *peiru* is known as *toon* used for the same purpose.

Kuli—Earthen-made vessels used for storing grains. These are brought from the lower hills or plains.

Birth Rituals

Pregnancy—The concept of pregnancy is not marked by way of restrictions on the movements which a woman is to undergo. Women continue to do their odd jobs. They fetch water and work in the fields. Some rituals and certain acts are gone through. When a woman becomes pregnant she sets aside four copper coins and her necklace in the name of *kailu*, who is the spirit of abortion. This is taken to mean the appeasement of the deity.

As a matter of practice, delivery takes place in *oberi*. In the one roomed houses, the expectant mother is segregated in a corner and a screen is put up to preserve the privacy. A local *dai* or more commonly the old and experienced women of the village assist. It is not necessary for them to have a bath after conducting the child-birth. Dhano, an Arya woman is sent for whenever delivery cases are to be attended. The rates charged by her are Rs. 2/- in the case of a male birth and only one rupee if a girl is born. The assistance of Midwife employed by the Child and Maternity Welfare Centre is taken. Villagers are however, still a little shy. The Midwife has attended to three cases in Chitrari so far. The birth of the male child is considered auspicious and message is sent to the mother's parents. He is paid some *gur* and a rupee coin.

About two or three months after the delivery the *purohit* and the women worship the demon *kailu* under a *kainth* tree. This is done by setting up a big stone which is consecrated by the recitation of *mantras* and then worshipped. A white goat or a white one with a black head, is offered. An incision is made in the right ear with a *kati* or knife. The blood that oozes out of the incision is sprinkled on the consecrated stone and a piece of pinkish cloth which may be two and half yard in length tied round it. The goat offered to the *kailu* demon is now considered sacred and is allowed to die a natural death. After it has died, to eat its meat is considered a taboo. The woman tastes a bit of *gur* and then puts on the cloth. This cloth is used till it is completely worn out and then a new one is made and worn after performing the same ceremony. A goat and the four coins which were kept aside when the woman first showed signs of pregnancy are made over to the owner of the goat.

Food for the mother—Care is taken to help the mother recoupe her energy. She is fed on the nourishing diet for one month. *Sugra* is a unique food made of rice, milk and sugar and this is common. It is more or less similar to *khir*. Next comes *chhavani*—mixture of almonds, *chhuara*, *dakh* and coconut crushed together with *gur*, *ajwain* and fried in *ghee*. This particular item is a must and every family gives it to the new mother. The baby is to taste the *gur* and an all famous *ghuti* consisting of *bansalochan*, *nagauri-asgand* and *kamarkas* is given to help digestion. The time of the birth is noted and the village priest contacted for the preparation of the horoscope if the household concerned is well-off otherwise it is avoided. New clothes are given to the *purohitis* by a few of them.

Gauntar—The ceremony is called *gauntar* because cow's urine is important throughout. The rituals are performed after 5 days in the case of girl and either on the seventh or tenth day, if a boy is born. The mother's clothes are washed and the house cleaned and mixture of *gomutra*, milk and *ganga-jal* thrown over the clothes and sipped by all; who belong to the family. Then they go to the *purohit* to ask him about the child's future. A few rupees are paid. In case child was not born under happy stars then charms are put on the child. In case the tidings are inauspicious then they tie *ashtdhatoo*, *sat-yara* and *surajgrah*.

The mother is not to enter the kitchen and touch household articles till the *sutak* lasts.

The members of the family are also affected by this taboo. They do not go to the temple and participate in the *pūja* of Shiv-Shakti till this period is over. The purification or *shudhi* takes place on the 11th day in the case of Brahmins, Rajputs and Khatrias whereas it is the thirteenth day for the low castes. On this day the mother and the baby are given a bath and they are dressed in new clothes. The *gomutra* mixture again sprinkled all over the house and sipped by the members of the family. Now the mother may move about and there is no inhibition against her touch.

Naming Ceremony—The child is given the name after six months. Out of a number of few offered by the *purohit*, the parents choose one of these. The day is important for another reason also as the child is made to sit before *sugra*—a preparation similar to *khir*. One of the parents or assembled guests touches the lips of the baby with it and from now onwards solid food is given.

A superstition supposed to give a clue to the characteristics of the boy has come down the centuries and is preserved intact by all. A few articles, such as *darat*, *kodal*, a book and the *khir* are placed in a bronze *thalu* and the baby is seated before it. The baby is made to touch any of these articles on his own and each one of these articles so touched has a significance in its own way.

Khir indicates gluttony, book a learned man, the *darat* a shepherd and the *kodal* forecasts a prospering agriculturist. Little girls of the village are invited on this occasion and feasted on *khir* alongwith the *purohit*.

Marriage Customs

Marriage among the Gaddis is a gay and joyous occasion and does not denote a single ceremony in which the men and women are tied together for the whole life. It is a series of rites and ceremonies spread over a period. Irrespective of castes, various types of marriages are prevalent among this community and each one of these is governed by a particular set of conditions and rules. In order of sacred importance *byah* or *dharam pun* occupies the top most place. After the betrothal takes place according to the consent of both the parties, regular marriage and *kanya-dan* follow.

Batta Satta—This form of bargain in marriage is resorted to commonly among Gaddis. A man gets a wife in exchange of his sister or cousin sister for his wife's brother.

Gudani or Jhanjara—Apart from Brahmins widow remarriage is permitted amongst all. Besides *gudani* or *jhanjara* the rite may also be called *choli dori*. Until recently, the woman used to marry any of the living brothers of her deceased husband as a matter of convention but now this custom is fast dying out. She is now at liberty to choose a husband outside the family. In this the couple are made to sit by the *diya* and *kumbh* with some incenses burning on one side. They have to worship these objects and the bridegroom places a *dori* on the widows head and another woman combs her head and binds her hair with the tape. The worship is followed by the bridegroom offering a nose-ring to the woman which she puts on. After these rites, a feast is given to the guests and relations and marriage songs fill the air which are sung by the women.

In this whole ritualistic complex, the tape and nose-ring ceremony are invariably gone through. *Kumbh* worship is relatively less important and is sometimes dispensed with if a *purohit* is not there to preside over the functions. *Kumbh* stands for an earthen pitcher filled with water and this is placed over a handful of rice and peach leaves and a few blades of grass are put into it. This is worshipped like the *deotas*.

Ghar Jwantri—This type of marriage continues to be celebrated among Gaddis. In accordance with the terms the boy has to work on the farm of the bride's father for a specified period, ranging from seven to ten years. A typical case is explained by the example of one Suba son of Lehnur who is working in the neighbouring village of Gunr for the last six years. He has yet to work for the remaining four years as the contract provides for ten years before he wins the hand of the daughter.

Bariana—Of all the forms of marriage, this type of marriage is looked down upon. Here the bride's father charges a fixed sum, mutually agreed to between the parties and ranges from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,000.

Polygamy—There are cases of polygamous marriages to some extent and invariably the reason given is the barrenness of the former wife. If feasible, sister of the wife is given the preference. It has been noticed that an old man of over 70 brought a young bride of 16 years. In such cases a price of as much as Rs. 2,000 has to be paid. Gaddi women are chaste and often remain loyal to their husbands throughout their life.

Until recently *gotra* exogamy used to be practised as a matter of rule but now these barriers are crumbling down and to marry within the same *gotra* is no longer considered a taboo. No inhibition is attached to this. On the other hand, the extent of the marriage field is quite narrow as suitable matches are found in the neighbouring villages. As a matter of fact, while choosing grooms for their daughters, the Gaddis prefer to make selection within a radius of twenty miles. More or less the marriage rites observed by the different castes are similar. The only difference between the upper and the lower castes lay in the fact that for the lower castes to wear the sacred thread was considered unsocial and arrogant. But Pandit Ram Saran of Chamba, a prominent social

reformer of the region, entered this controversial field and helped to remove this distinction. Henceforward these villagers were known as Aryas and not Halis. The Brahmins do not accept the cooked meals at the hands of these low castes and as such the sister's son takes his place if the occasion demands. Inter-caste marriages are not contracted.

The marriageable age for the boy is eighteen years and for the girl it may be fifteen. The occasion is marked by *satnauj* ceremony when the bride comes to the boy's house to live together. This may be sometime after the marriage. We get a correct idea about the age and marital status of the people from this table.

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
Total	404	204	200	109	96	83	82	10	22	2	..	..	..
0-14	166	73	93	73	91	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
15-24	68	36	32	28	5	8	20	..	1	..	..	..	..
25-59	156	87	69	8	..	69	53	8	16	2	..	..	..
60 & over	14	8	6	..	..	6	1	2	5	..	..	..	..

Out of 73 males and 93 females in the age-group of 0-14, only two females are married and none on the male side which affirms the contention about the age of marriageability. We notice from the table that the highest percentage of males getting married is covered by the age-group of 25-59; the corresponding age-group for the girls is 15 to 24. The reason may be attributed to the fact that by the time the boys complete the period of *ghar-jawantri*, they are already over 25. This type of marriage is quite popular in the village. The contributory factor to this phenomenon is *batta-satta* form of marriage which, again, is quite common. The men go on waiting for their sisters or cousins to attain maturity, as they expect to get the brides only in exchange.

In the matter of marriage the initiative is generally taken by the boy's parents. It is the responsibility of the eldest male members who may be grandfather, father or an elderly uncle of the boy or girl. In their absence the matter could be taken up by the elder brother. The negotiations are started through a middle man who is generally a close friend of the family or a relative. The matter ends with the consent of both the parties.

Lakhnoteri—Sometimes after the betrothal, the date for the marriage is fixed by the priest. The boy's side sends two men with a seer of *ghee* to the girl's house to fix the date. If the girl's parents approve of it, they go to the *purohit* and ask him to write *lakhnoteri*. This is a detailed programme for the marriage. The *purohit* is paid a rupee in cash, some rice and a red *dori* by way of his remuneration.

Samhurat—The varied rites associated with marriage start with the worshipping of Ganesh, *kumbh* and the nine planets. *Batna* is prepared. This is a mixture of some turmeric powder, barley flour and mustard oil and being considered a sacred thing is purified by the recitation of *vedic mantras*. The women apply it on the boy's body and go on singing during the ceremony. Three black-woollen threads are also tied round his right wrist to protect him from the evil eye. The boy is given a bath and taken to the courtyard of the house by his mother. The sister-in-law acts in the mother's absence. After the boy had a bath, his mother leads him back to the house.

Jogi Rites—Here the *purohit* ties nine red cotton threads round the boy's right wrist

and offers him *gur* and *ghee*. These are called *kangana*. A he-goat is sacrificed then to appease the *navgrah* and the blood is sprinkled on the *sandori* and *munjmala*. *Sandori* is a *topa*, *munjmala* a small ring made of *bagar* grass and offered by a *Bainsi*. He charges Rs. 1.25 nP. for this. The bridegroom has to wear a white *dhoti*, put flour *mundra* in his ears, sling a satchel over his shoulders, tie a black woollen rope round his chest and cover his waist with an animal's skin. He has to carry a hunted stick in his right hand with a Brahminical cord tied round his right thumb. He looks like a *jogi*. Now the presiding priest asks him a number of questions such as "Why has thou become a *jogi*?" He replies "To receive a Brahminical cord." The priest asks other questions as "What sort of Brahminical cord do you require—one of copper, brass, silver, gold or cotton?" The bridegroom asks for one of cotton. In the door-way a vessel full of water is placed. The priest sends him out on a number of pilgrimages, a token which is supposed to take him to *Badri Nath*, *Trilok Nath* and *Mani Mahesh* to take a holy bath. By pouring water on his hands and feet and sprinkling it on the face, the bridegroom completes the ceremony. At the end the priest asks the groom whether he would like to resign himself to *JATERA* or *MATERA*. The boy answers in favour of *JATERA*. The priest asks him to take off his ascetic clothes, receiving some *dakshana* for it. After this is over the boy is to sit on a sheep skin bag, known as *khalru*. A dagger is placed on the *munj-mala* above his head.

Tel Ceremony—It is the boy's maternal uncle who initiates the ceremony. In one of his hands he carries a bowl containing some mustard oil and some *drub*. He pours some oil on the boy's head with the bunch of grass. In his absence it is the boy's sister who acts. Now, turn by turn, all the guests who are assembled pour the oil on the boy's head. First of all the boy shoots an arrow at the dead goat, placed over the nine planets and it is supposed that he has slain the goat. He tastes *gur* and *ghee* and dresses himself in the bridegroom's costumes.

Suhag Patari—Now comes the arrangement of gifts for the bride. The articles may include *kharlas*, *luanchari*, *ghagru*, *navdori*—worn on either side at the back of the head—*ungi*, *chundi*, *kanghi*, *manihar*, 3 *roris* of *gur*, dates, almonds, rice and seven *luchis*. The other things are *chandan chura*, *kesar*, *sand-hur*, *mehandi*, *nahani*, sweet smelling roots and *supari*. Of late, the modern cosmetics have also made their appearance. Nail polish, cream and powder are the additional items.

These articles are also carried to the bride's house in a procession.

Sehra Ceremony—The boy's maternal uncle puts *sehra* on the boy's head, his sister fans him. The boy gets up and *arti* is waved over his head by the *purohit* thrice. *Mantras* are recited to sanctify the *arti*. His mother throws three *luchis* on his three sides. The boy's father gives him the *tambol* of one rupee. The priest receives 25 nP. by way of his fee. The boy then gets into the *doli* in the courtyard and his mother gives him her breast to suck. The marriage procession headed by the village orchestra and the palanquin carried by the four bearers, usually *Halis*, then starts towards the girl's house. The marriage party consists of friends and relatives who are dressed in their best on this occasion. To add glamour to the scene, some of them stitch some golden threads on one side of the turban which is white in colour.

Pat-Partana—On arrival the boy along-with the entire marriage party is made to put up in a house other than the girl's or camps out in the open, as the case may be. The boy's father or uncle accompanied by one or two more relatives takes a basket full of *luchis* to the bride's parents. This ritual is known as *pat-partana*.

Juth Pai—They take some food at the bride's house and place four coins in the plate in which the things were placed to eat and return to join others of their party. This observance is called *juth-pai*.

Now they depute two respectable persons to contact the bride's *purohit* to settle the amount he would charge for performing the rites at the bride's house. The boy's *purohit* proceeds to the girl's house to deliver the *suhag-patari* or *barasuki*. The *purohit* then comes back to conduct the bridegroom and his followers to the bride's house with music. The bridegroom is received at the doorway by his mother-in-law who performs the *arti* waving it seven times over his head with her right hand, holding her left over his turban. Four turns are taken from the boy's right to his left and three in the reverse direction. Three cakes placed in the plate with the *arti* are also thrown out towards the courtyard. The priest gives four copper coins to the boy who then places them in the *arti*, after clasping his hands before it.

Now comes the turn of father-in-law. He places a white *patka* round his own neck, washes and worships his son-in-law's feet. The priest places a *dunna* with some rice, a walnut, *drub* and flowers into the cupped

hands of the boy. Both the palms of the boy are held upward. The thumbs are joined with each other and held up in his own hands by the father-in-law. After this the bride is brought to the place and is made to stand by the boy's side. The priest then takes hold of the boy's neck with his right hand and of the girl's with his left and makes their shoulders thrice touch each other. The ceremony is called *chan-par-chan*.

Chiri—After this two torches with bright flames are held aloft on either side of them. Seven small pieces of *mult* twigs are then put in the girl's hands. She drops them into the boy's hands and he breaks them one by one placing them under his right foot. Breaking of twigs' ceremony is called *chiri*.

Fareni—'Breaking of twigs' ceremony is preceded by giving *bihan* into the hands of the couple and they blow it at each other. This is called *fareni*.

Chichan—This over, the couple is made to sit and the girl's father offers *sankalap*. He gives his daughter away to his son-in-law and then washes their feet. *Ganpati*, *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, *kumbh* and *dia* and the nine planets are worshipped.

Kanyadan and Lagan—It consists of a simple ceremony where the girl's *dopatta* is held out by the boy's brother and the bridegroom sprinkles some vermilion. The same rite is repeated by the girl when she joins the boy's *patka*. She stretches out her hand and the *purohit* puts a coin, a walnut, some *drub*, sesamum and rice in her cupped palm and the boy is asked to place his hand upon her's. The end of the rite is marked by the chanting of a few *mantras* and the articles are passed over to the *purohit*. The couple tastes some *gur* and *ghee* in the end.

Manihar rites—The girl returns to the outer-room leaving the bridegroom to be gone through the *manihar* rites. *Arti* is waved over his head and betelnut and tape placed near the toes of his left foot which he is made to touch with a dagger. After this is done, the *purohit* lifts the tape up and throws it over the turban of the boy and ties it up. The one end is seized by the mother-in-law by means of which he is led inside and made to stand before the image of *Kamdeo* which is stretched for the occasion. The bride is brought by her brother and stands by the side of the groom. Here a little worship is done of the image.

Khila-Khilani—The ends of the shawl and *dupatta* are knotted together and the girl is escorted to the *bedi* by her maternal uncle

followed by the boy. Here the bride's father washes the feet of the couple and a little of *hawan* is performed. *Ganpati*, *navgrah*, *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, *kumbh*, *Sapt-rishi*, four Vedas and the four directions are worshipped to ward off the numerous supposed mishaps. The act is followed by placing some parched barley in a *chhaj*. The groom picks up a handful of it and places them at three different spots. Immediately the sister-in-law wipes them away with her right hand.

The act is repeated in a reversed way as now it is the groom's turn that wipes away the barley, which are placed by the sister-in-law on the ground.

This over, the groom's father puts four annas into the *chhaj* and passes it over to the *purohit*. Now comes the circumambulation ceremony when the boy places his right hand on the back of the girl and moves round the sacred fire four times from right to left. On the completion of each round, the couple stops a while when their feet are worshipped by throwing sesamum, *drub*, milk and vermillion. This act is performed by the bride's father followed by her elder brother. The act is believed to mark a binding in the whole wedding complex.

Then the couple sits facing each other and a *dhan* containing walnuts, rice and flowers is placed in the hands of the bride. The bridegroom puts his hands upon the girl's and the *purohit* unties the *manihar* from the boy's *pagri* and puts it in their hands.

Saj Parna—The bride's father performs *sankalp* with sesamum, *drub*, rice, flour and a few copper coins and concurrently the priest recites a few *mantras*. In a vessel containing some water, turmeric, milk and curd are put a rupee coin and a small coin, say of one anna and this mixture is sprinkled over the *bedi*. The ceremony is known as *saj parna*. The *manihar* is now untied and passed over to the girl to be put round her neck. The act is a sort of signal to the assembled guests and friends to offer their presents which they do according to their economic position.

Gotra-Char—This is a way to show that both the bride and groom are of pure stock. The name of ancestor upto 5th or 7th degree are recited in the presence of all who are assembled on the occasion. Fried rice are showered on the couple by the priests and they receive four annas each for reading the *gotra-char*. After *gotra-char* is over, the fathers of both the girl and boy sit facing each other under the *bedi*. The priest from the girl's side asks the bride's father to hold

a blade of grass between the tips of the middle fingers at one end and exactly in a similar way, the boy's father holds the other end. The bride's father utters the words *Asmat Kanya, Tasmata Gotra*—our girl now goes over to your *gotra*. Having said these words, the ends of the grass are reversed and the groom's father replies, *Tasmata Kanya, Asmat Gotra*—your girl is welcomed in our *gotra*. This rite is gone through only when the *gotras* are different. But this practice is no longer adhered to very strictly and in a number of cases marriages do take place within the same *gotra*. In that case, the *gotra-char* rite is done away with.

At the conclusion of these rites, the mother-in-law and other women offer presents to the groom. She gives a rupee and one anna whereas the others' presents consist of a few copper coins. The boy touches his mother-in-law's feet as a mark of respect. Now the marriage party is ready to return and the bride is to sit in a *palki* which leads the procession followed by the bridegroom. Sometimes bride may have her little sister or a friend also to go away with her—sobbing poignantly as she takes leave of her parents. On arriving at her new home, her mother-in-law is the first to welcome and helps her to get down from the *palki*. The bride receives a rupee from her. Now the couple is conducted to the room where Ganpati is worshipped. The worship is followed by *athlai* rites according to which the couple take four rounds about the earthen lamp and *kumbh* installed in the room. After this the *purohit* removes the *sehra* from the boy's head.

Athlai—It is divided among all the present. I have even seen women having a tuft of a *sehra*, tucked at their ears from a marriage they may have attended sometime earlier. They use it to decorate either on their *pagri* or above the ears. A significant act of the whole ritualistic complex relates to the selection of two persons out of the friends and relatives who untie the *kangnas* of the bride and bridegroom and thus become *dharam bhai*. The bride-groom receives presents in the form of *tambol* from friends and relatives.

Munshani—A number of women get together on this occasion and are curious to have a look at the bride's face. Turn by turn they come over and offer the presents to the bride. This is *munshani*.

On return of the marriage party from the bride's village the bridegroom is carried to the temple of Shakti Devi to invoke the divine blessings. He is carried in the *palki* and this

is carried upto the courtyard. On reaching the courtyard, the boy alights and goes upto the goddess to pay his homage. On his way back it is the mother of the boy who sits in the *palki*. She comes there fully dressed for the occasion, wearing new clothes and ornaments befitting the occasion.

Harphera Ceremony—After staying there for a couple of days, the pair leaves for the bride's house accompanied by the boy's brother who in the local Gadhali dialect is known as *pancheck*. Here they stay for a day or so and are served with the choicest meals. *Puja* of Ganesh and *navgrah* is performed before they return and receive a number of presents from the bride's parents. A modest estimate may work out at two *gardas* and some *luchis*. The *luchis* may weigh as much as twenty kilograms. Only the upper castes celebrate this ceremony and is generally avoided among the lower ones.

Satnauj—The rites take place when the girl attains the age of puberty. The bride does not come back with the groom to the house of her in-laws and instead stays behind with her parents for a year or two and sometimes the period may extend even up to more years. On an auspicious day, to be fixed by the *purohit*, the boy accompanied by two persons, mostly relatives, visits the girl's house and stays there for two days. On the third day, both the boy and the girl set out for the groom's village in the *palkis* carried by the Sipis and Aryas. They are followed by the villagers from the girl's side who bring their own meals. Upto a certain distance, the villagers accompany the *palki* and from there return. As usual, jokes are exchanged between the boy and the women during his brief stay of two days and this jest is known as *galli lagai*. On this occasion feast or *dham* is thrown by the girl's father to his friends and relatives. In all he bears an expenditure of Rs. 300 on this occasion. The girl is given the following articles at this time.

Cholu—one or two.

Luanchari—one or two.

Chundu—five or seven.

Gardu—four or five.

Chaddar—one or two.

Apart from this, four or five seers of wheat is presented by the relatives. Two *dhams* are arranged in the groom's village after he has reached his village along with the bride. The first one in the evening and the next in the following morning. In the feasts the choicest village food is served to the guests, *sur* and

babroqs being the significant ones. Offerings from the relatives for the couple are in cash. These may range from 25 nP. to Re. 1, depending upon the closeness of the relationship to the groom.

Tel ceremony is the specific occasion chosen by both the parties to throw a feast to the friends and relatives. The groom's father arranges the second feast or *dham*, when the bride comes home. The bride's father gives two additional feasts to the marriage party and relatives and *bradari*. The well-to-do families make it a point to serve the meat invariably to the *barat*; others are contented merely with *chinai-ka-bhat*, *luchis*, *sur* and *babroqs*.

Dowry—The dowry consists of a few articles of daily use. The bride may be given a few new clothes and a few pieces of jewelry, mostly of silver. The brass plate and *lota* are given invariably by way of dowry. Of late, however, the range of offerings has somewhat widened and may include a number of kitchen articles. Similarly, the boy also gets a few new clothes. The relatives just give some cash to the girl. In all expenditure may work out to Rs. 500 or in some cases very much more.

Death Rites

Like the Gaddis elsewhere, the people of Chitrari cremate their dead. Lepers and those who die of *luhar*, a kind of typhus, are first buried for a period of three months. By that time the bodies get exhumed and then these are burnt according to the rites which are observed in other cases as well. There is no practice for the musicians to accompany the funeral procession even if some old person has died. Special messages are sent to the friends and relatives intimating the death. The people are waited for up to a day to reach the village to accompany the procession. It is considered sacred to cremate the dead on the banks of *nallahs* or rivers. As the river Ravi flows down below, the dead are cremated on the banks, each caste and community having its own specific spot almost as if reserved. By convention their pyres are always lit at these places.

The body is placed on the funeral pyre with the head of the deceased to the North. All the ornaments and blankets which are thrown over it, are removed. Then the body is burnt.

A copper coin is placed on the pyre as the tax of the land on which the body is burnt. First the flame is applied to the pyre under the head by the nearest relative and the other blood relations. The *purohit* joins the relations in this observance but no ceremonies are gone through. The light is applied after going round the pyre once from left to right. On the tenth day after the demise the *daspindi* ceremony is performed by the nearest blood relation with the aid of the *purohit*. Other relatives wash their clothes and bathe on this day. They remove the blankets from their body to be spread out on the ground and receive the mourners. On the twelfth day at night, a he-goat is sacrificed in the name of the deceased. This goat is given to the *purohit*. Next morning five *pinds* are again offered to the deceased by the chief mourner to the recitation of *mantras* by the *purohit*. The clothes, utensils and some cash are given to him. On the 14th day the deceased's relations on the wife's side come to the house in the morning and throw a feast to the *bradari*. A goat is killed for the feast and the mourning comes to an end. At the end of the third month oblations are again offered to the deceased and the occasion is signalized by a feast to the brotherhood. All the offerings made in this ceremony go to the *purohit* who presides over it. Similar ceremonies are gone through at the end of six month, *barkhi* and *chaubarkhi*.

If buried the body is laid flat in the grave with the back on the ground and the palms of both hands folded on the chest. The head is kept to the North. Children and females are also buried in the same way. The ashes are collected together with the seven bones of the finger, knee and ankle joints on the day the corpse is burnt. They are brought to the house in a piece of *masru* and kept for ten days in the cloth 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* seed and then dried and deposited in a small wooden box, wrapped in the piece of *masru* and buried in a recess made in the wall of the house with a coating of barley and mustard over it. They should be taken to Hardwar to be thrown into the Ganges as soon as the family has collected sufficient funds for the journey, and at the most within four years. The expenditure on the day of cremation ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 and from Rs. 150 to 200 on the day of feasting.

3. Economy

Economic Resources

Apart from labour and shopkeeping which have altered to some extent the character of the agrarian economy, agriculture continues to remain the predominant basis. Essentially it is the mainstay of the people. Rural industry is another subsidiary occupation which is carried on more to fulfil the personal requirements than to make cash by selling the products in the open market.

Out of a total population of 404 persons, 191 are directly engaged in agriculture. Occasionally they work on the Chamba-Brahmaur road as work-charged labourers, if and when the work is available. This subsidiary occupation enables them to supplement their meagre incomes. However, the Investigator came across only one person who works exclusively as a labourer but there are others who take up part time work as labourers. The other occupations pursued by the people are shopkeeping, goldsmithy and government service, the last being the monopoly of the outsiders. Every agricultural household rears a sizeable live-stock to get a little milk and *ghee* and of course plenty of manure. Goats and sheep are kept for wool and meat and bulls are reared for ploughing the fields. These smaller animals have been there since by-gone ages. Attempts are being made to improve cattle, sheep and this slow but very tenacious process would take long years of dedicated and persevering efforts to show any results worth while.

It will be clear from the land utilization statement for the last 7 years that the total area under cultivation has remained stagnant

at 690 *bighas* in 1961 which is the same as in the year 1955. It shows that there has been no increase whatsoever. The nature of the soil being what it is, there does not seem to be very much further scope to extend the area under cultivation. Owing to the increase in population and the gradual disappearance of the hold of joint family system, the average size of the holding has been steadily declining. Except for an increase in the *banjar barani doem* type of lands there has occurred *qadim* and decrease in the *barani awal* and no significant change in the land over a period of 7 years.

The area occupied for habitation purpose has also remained unchanged at 160.14 *bighas*. The forests occupy the biggest area and are managed by State Forest Department. The villagers meet their demand of firewood, timber and grass from there.

Factors influencing economic life

Sons whether by a wife married for the first time or by a widow or a divorce, succeeded to the property of the father but the illegitimate sons do not get any share unless they are adopted in default of legitimate sons or heirs. The eldest son gets an extra share called *jaihund* but he has to pay a proportionately larger share of any debts. Among the sons the property is otherwise divided equally. As a result of this division and further sub-division, the land is becoming fragmented into bits of small sizes.

As a result of development efforts, some buildings have sprung up. The local people get work as labourers and masons which

helps them to improve their economy to some extent. Apart from it they find it convenient to get down to the work of road-building in the off-season which provides them cash to buy the necessities of life.

As there are no alternative means of communication some of them may work as coolies in transporting the goods from Gehra to Chitrari as there are a few shops of grocers there.

The people of the neighbouring village make their purchases in Chitrari. Over and above this the local demand in the village is quite sufficient to keep the shopkeepers busy all the year round. There are some government servants whose impact upon this business is quite perceptible.

Some of the people who work outside the village are:—

Name of the person	Description
Dithu Ram	Road Supervisor
Ghana Nand	School teacher in village Urai (4 miles away).
Nath	School teacher at Ladda (4 miles away).
Tani Ram's son	School teacher at Brahmaur (18 miles).
Lahdi's son	School teacher at (6 miles)

Being a centre of pilgrimage devotees continue to pour in every now and then to pay their homage to goddess Shiv-Shakti. To some extent their visits are a source of earnings to the people either in the form of cooliage or by way of shopping which they do during their brief sojourn. The festival of Shiv-Shakti has a great attraction for the people all around who come in big lots on this occasion. The event does have some impact upon their economy.

Markets—Villagers do not grow any cash crop. In view of their requirements it is hardly possible to spare any marketable

surplus. If at all they have been selling any thing it is the woollen products such as local *thobis* and *pattus*. For the raw material they depend upon the persons living in the vicinity. Of late, even here the rates are being quoted so high as to render this trade prohibitive. Chamba is the convenient market for marketing these products and whenever they visit Chamba they take these along with them. The Chamba market is better organised than elsewhere and they get a better return for their products.

Source of Finance

Perhaps the need for finance nowhere is so great as in agriculture. The agriculturists need ready cash to buy bullocks or seeds or agricultural implements. There are only two sources open to them to meet their demands. Either they obtain the loans from the village co-operative society or else they approach the well-off persons. In the former case only the members are entitled to receive the financial help. But the funds provided by the society are quite insufficient as compared to the requirements and moreover, the position is made worst by the red-tapism. The villagers find it problematic even to fill in the elementary forms. After a few infructuous attempts as such they are left with the only alternative of falling upon the rich villagers.

There being no professional money-lenders in the village, it is the shopkeepers who are approached generally for finance. If the borrower happens to be related to the lender, as a matter of convention no rate is charged and the principle is returned within mutually agreed period. Otherwise the rate of interest charged may be as much as 25 per-cent. The higher rate of interest may possibly be due to cover up the element of insecurity which is inherent in such type of dealings.

Workers and Non-Workers

Let us get some idea about the manpower. The workers and non-workers classified by sex and age group are:—

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	404	204	200	211	132	79	193	72	121
0—14	166	73	93	8	5	3	158	68	90
15—34	144	80	64	12	76	45	23	4	19
35—59	80	43	37	73	43	30	7	..	7
60 & over	14	8	6	9	8	1	5	..	5

Out of a total population of 404 persons 211 are workers and 193 non-workers. Out of these non-workers 158 are covered by the age group 0—14. This is quite natural as they are not doing any productive work. In the age group 15—34 there are 45 female workers against only 19 non-workers which only shows that the women-folk assist men in the agricultural operations. Even the 19 female non-workers are housewives as they are engaged either in the household work or in spinning the wool. The 4 male non-workers in the age group 15—34 are not employed regularly. As and when available, they do some work either as labourers or coolies. It would be more correct to classify them as

partial workers in place of non-workers as partially they are dependent upon their relatives. In the age group 60 and above no male has been returned as non-worker. The number of female non-workers falling in the age group 60 and above is 5 out of a total of 6. As the nature of the work which they do is essentially arduous and exhaustive, they are no longer helpful at this age to undertake these odd jobs.

We may now give two more tables showing the workers classified by sex, broad age-groups and occupations, and workers classified by sex, broad-age group and industry, business and cultivation.

Age Group	Agriculture			Shopkeeping			Goldsmithy			Govt. Service			Labour		
	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	191	112	79	3	3	..	3	3	..	13	13	..	1	1	..
0—14	8	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—34	106	61	45	2	2	..	2	2	..	10	10	..	1	1	..
35—59	68	38	30	1	1	..	1	1	..	3	3	..	..	..	..
60 and over	9	8	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Age Group	Workers engaged in											
	Total workers			Household Industry			Household Business			Household cultivation		
1	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All ages	211	132	79	5	3	2	3	3	..	213	126	87
0—14	8	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	5	3
15—34	121	76	45	3	2	1	2	2	..	122	72	50
35—59	73	43	30	2	1	1	1	1	..	74	41	33
60 & over	9	8	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	8	1

Leaving aside the age-group 60 and over it is apparent that women work side by side with the men. It is all due to the fact that after having crossed this age-limit of 60 and over women do not remain fit to undertake the arduous jobs which agriculture involves. In the age-groups 15—34 and 35—59 although the male workers out-number, but it proves our contention, that women do not lag behind the men in sharing the work of cultivation. This clearly shows that women have an equal responsibility in building the rural economy.

Except for ploughing they handle all the jobs associated with agricultural operations. Barring the work of labourer, women do other work. In the former case it is considered a social taboo to work as coolies. We may thus sum up the position by concluding that women are essentially over-worked. Apart from cultivation they have also to attend to the domestic chores. The villagers are aware of this fact and take it as a matter of tradition.

Coming to the Government service we find that in all there are 13 such persons. Two of them are working as peons and one as a teacher in the local school others are local inhabitants. The remaining persons are outsiders and work in various capacities in the Government institutions. Only recently a child welfare centre has been opened which employs two women workers, one of them is a Lady Health Visitor and the other a Midwife. Apart from this two girls are working as school teachers. These 4 cases have not been accounted for in the census survey as

these employees were posted afterwards. No female is engaged in professions such as shopkeeping, tailoring, goldsmithy and in carpentry. One significant feature emerges from the study of these facts. Except for dealing in general merchandize, all other vocations are being pursued by all castes side by side with the swarns. It has been observed that there are innumerable instances when a man with agriculture as his primary occupation works occasionally as a labourer. The latter may therefore, be termed as his subsidiary occupation.

Non Workers

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	193	72	121	31	19	12	23	..	23	139	53	86	..	..	..
0—14	158	68	90	30	18	12	..	..	..	128	50	78	..	..	..
15—34	23	4	19	1	1	..	17	..	17	5	3	2	..	..	..
35—59	7	..	7	..	..	..	5	..	5	2	..	2	..	..	..
60 & over	5	..	5	..	..	..	1	..	1	4	..	4	..	..	..

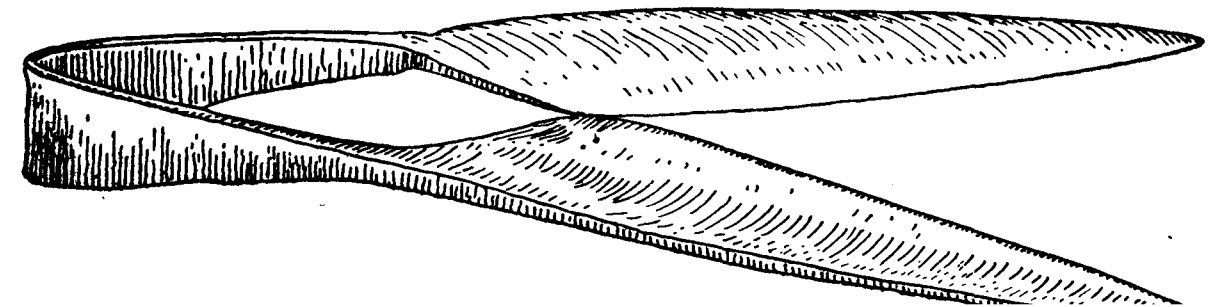
Full time students in the age-group 0—14 years are 18 males and 12 females whereas in the age-group 15—34 there is only one male student. Persons engaged in the household duties are all females and their number is 23. Naturally enough the infants and children not attending school are covered by the age-group 0—14. The numerical composition is 53 males and 86 females. Every adult male or female is engaged in one or the other occupation as is apparent from the above table. There is no person who is seeking employment. In the age-group 35—59 and 60 and above there is no male person who is

dependent. However, there are 6 female persons—2 are covered by the age-group 35—59 and 4 by the 60 and above who are dependent in one way or the other. Possibly it is all due to the advance age which has rendered them incapable to undertake arduous jobs.

RURAL CRAFTS

Weaving

Weaving is common. The wool is procured from the domestic sheep. The sheep are sheared in April-May, August-September and lastly in December-January.



Thobis and ropes are prepared for Zilan. The raw wool is dyed fast into the pink and black colours which are popular in Chitrari. *Alum* is used to make fast colours.

The spinning is done by the traditional *takli* and the spinning wheel, the traditional devices which continue to be in vogue. These are prepared by the village carpenters. *Takli* is also known as *batnu* or *heran*. The *Gaddis* are adept in spinning that for hours together and the thread does not break. The quality of the material spun is fine.

Different varieties of blankets and *pattis*, *gardus* and *chaddars* are woven. From the woollen *patti*, *chola* pyjama and *cholee* are made for women. The *pattis* are woven in pieces of three yards each. When the piece is completed it is washed in the hot water and *rithas*. The price ranges from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20.

The loom is fixed in the main room of the house and is called *toni*. This is a wooden structure. The *kangghi* is brought either from Chamba or Shahpur and this costs Rs. 3. The remaining structure is put up locally by the carpenters. The other prominent tools are *nal* and *tenthi*.

The patterns are simple and popular, squares in black alternated with squares in brown with a border in pink.

Weaving and Training Centre

Realizing that spinning and weaving have a scope for improvement and also to utilize more effectively the wool produced in the area, Government have opened recently a Weaving and Training Centre at Chitrari. This was established on 1st June 1963 and is functioning since then. The staff of the institution consists of a Weaving Master In-charge, Weaving Master and a peon-cum-chowkidar with a strength of four boys and two girls on the rolls. The sanctioned strength is 8. The specific purpose of the institution is to impart training both to the boys and girls within an area of 14 miles. So trained, they are enabled to establish themselves independently, and earn a living. The Centre gives the training both in woollen and cotton weaving.

The centre is housed in private building which has been rented. Ten *khadis* are fixed. Training is given on the following weaves.

1. Plain weaves.
2. Twill weaves (different kinds).
3. Flowered weaves.
4. Extra warp and waft weaves.
5. Double clothe weaves.

The training course is of 12 months duration for which stipends are given at these rates.

Rs. 30 for the first 4 months.

Rs. 20 plus the wages for the following four months.

Rs. 15 plus the wages for the remaining period of 4 months.

The difficulty lies in the migratory character of the population. Many do not join the training for the fear that in the mid-course, they may leave. However, soon this inhibiting factor would disappear.

The weaving charges for a shawl are from Rs. 16 to Rs. 40 and the charges for embroidering the flowers is Re. 1 per inch. If the design of the flower is simple, the rate may be Re. 0.50 per inch. Both simple and designed blankets are prepared here on the cotton side. *Khaddar* is quite popular. The goods are disposed of through the Government Emporium at Chamba. It was disclosed that the shawls in green, red and blue with black line are quite popular with the town folks.

One more practice to help the trainees financially after the course is over lies in deducting their stipend at the rate Rs. 10 every month. The entire sum is repaid to them in a lump sum after the completion of their course to enable them to purchase the implements and raw material.

Goldsmithy

There is one shop of goldsmith who caters to the ornament requirements of the people both of Chitrari and from the neighbouring villages. He has hired a shop belonging to the Shiv-Shakti Temple at a rent of Rs. 10 annually. The shop is a *kacha* structure with dimensions of 18' x 12' x 12'. Metaphorically it is a focal point of women-folk who can be seen frequently passing in front of the shop fixing their eyes upon the almirah. The samples of the ornaments are hung against the background of the transparent coloured papers. Apart from being a dealer in his trade, he is a vital link who communicates fresh ideas to the people. He remains permanently in touch with Chamba and Amritsar and very often visits these places in connection with the procurement of gold and silver and the tools of manufacture. Following is the list of the tools used here—

1. Airan (Anvil).
2. Hammer.
3. Nal (Mouth blower).

4. Pair of tongs.
5. Katira.
6. Palas.
7. Sansi.
8. Ari (Saw to cut iron).
9. Jamur (Tong).
10. Jandu.
11. Kawai.
12. Reza.
13. Reta (Gela).
14. Reti (Takora).
15. Reti (Neem-garad).
16. Paskar.
17. Pal.
18. Mekh.
19. Thola or Dhola.
20. Kangansar.
21. Khal (Skin-blower).
22. Pankha (Fan).
23. Bansh.
24. Tarazu (Balance).
25. Nakal.
26. Dadi.
27. Auttar.
28. Chugaira.
29. Chudipa.
30. Tikka.
31. Dudmala.
32. Bala.
33. Battan-ka-thappa (Mould).
34. Angutha-ka-thappa (Mould).
35. Kangnu (Mould).
36. Kanthi-ka-thappa (Mould).
37. Ghungru-ka-thappa (Mould).
38. Rayahi.
39. Kantay-ka-thappa (Mould).
40. Barma (Drill).

These are all imported from Amritsar.

A furnace made of the local soil is placed in one corner. Charcoal is utilized for the purpose of fire and is purchased locally at the rate of Re. 1 for 10 seers.

Immediately before the *yatra*, the goldsmith remains busy. During these days, the rush of work is so heavy that he has to engage one or two additional persons, mostly relatives. This rush is seasonal. Gold and silver

for the ornaments is supplied by the villagers. The other subsidiary raw materials are beads and *meena* for enamelling. The other place which was mentioned in this connection is Shahpur from where these are procured. A rough idea of the charges which the goldsmith receives for his services can be got from the following list:—

Dodmala	.	Rs. 9
Karnful	.	Rs. 2
Kanthi	.	Rs. 3
Sambih	.	Rs. 8
Jhumku	.	Rs. 4
Chuk	.	Rs. 4
Bali	.	Rs. 17
Long	.	Rs. 5 to Rs. 8
Chhalla—		
Gold	.	Re. 1
Silver	.	Re. 0.25
Phulhs	.	Rs. 3

Carpentry

There is only one household of a carpenter who is engaged in the subsidiary occupation of carpentry. Unlike the Badhis elsewhere, he does not work on *jajmani* system and charges cash for his work. He does not have any workshop and as a matter of fact sets up one wherever he is employed to do the job. The tools of his trade are:—

Name	Source	Price
Hathoru—hammer	Blacksmith in village Sunavla	Rs. 2.50 to 7
Niyan of varying sizes	Do.	Rs. 2 to 4
Basola—adze	Do.	Rs. 6 to 8
Randa	Chamba	Rs. 4 to 10
Do-futta	Do.	Rs. 7.50
Khatti	Self	Re. 0.37
Tesa	Chamba	Rs. 4 to 6
Parkar—compass	Do.	Rs. 4 to 5
Level	Do.	Rs. 7
Ari	Do.	Rs. 3 to 6
Pendulum	Do.	Rs. 1.50
Reti	Do.	Rs. 5 to 7
Kuadi—axe	Do.	Rs. 4 to 8
Gunia—trying angle	Do.	Rs. 3
Barma—Auger	Do.	Rs. 2.50 to 3

Apart from designing the wooden frames for houses, he prepares almirahs, cots and wooden boxes. His daily wages may range from Rs. 4 to 5.

Blacksmithy

There are three households of the blacksmiths in the neighbouring village of sunavla

Apart from preparing the agricultural implements, they have a wide reputation for carving the images of idols on the pieces of stones.

For this purpose the tools of trade are only a few such as *tanki*, *chhaini* and hammer. Following are the images carved by these blacksmiths:—

Name of image	Days consumed	Approximate price
Nag-ki-murti (image)	4 days	Rs. 10
Auttars	1 to 3 days	Rs. 2 to 6
Ganpati (image)	2 days	Rs. 6
Hanuman and Panchpiri (image)	3 days	Rs. 9

These images are carved out on a particular type of stone which in the local dialect is called *khaddi*. Near about the village these are found among the rocks. The process is simple. The picture of image is first drawn on the piece of stone with a chalk followed by chisselling until the job is completed. It was told that the art is gradually dying out for want of demand.

Tailoring

On a revisit to the village it was found that two shops of the tailors have been opened, one of them being Arya and the other is a Gaddi Brahmin. They are holding brand new sewing machines with all the requisite accessories required for the purpose.

Although they work all the year round but immediately before the Shiv-Shakti fair they have to face a heavy rush of work. In order to cope with the demand they have to engage one or two extra persons, mostly relatives. Following rates are charged by these tailors:—

Chola cotton	Rs. 6-50.
Chola woollen	Rs. 9-50
Shirt—Qamiz	Re. 0-75 to Re. 1
Coat of children	Rs. 3-0 to Rs 3-50
Coat	Rs. 6-0 to Rs. 7-0
Pattu pyjama	Re. 1-0
Cotton Pyjama	Re. 0-50
Cap (Topi)	Re. 0-20

Shoe-Making—The villagers get their shoes repaired from the cobblers of the neighbouring villages as there is no shop in the village.

At a distance of four miles lies Koonr known for its wood-crafts. Gobind Gaddi

deals in wood work. Walnut wood is procured locally and these are some of the articles carved by him—*kapun*, *patha*, *bahl* for keeping household goods and *ghee*. The cost is reasonably low running up to a few rupees.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

Income

People shudder in ignorance when they are asked about their income. Having been faced with these odds, strenuous efforts have been made to persuade them to give whatever information they have had. The break-up of the households classified according to caste and the income-groups to which they belong broadly is:—

Income-wise Classification

Community	Up to Rs. 50	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 101 & above
Brahmin	40	13	7
Khatri	..	..	2
Rajput	4	2	..
Badhi	..	..	1
Arya	1	1	..
Bensi	7	2	..

Majority of the households fall in the income ranges upto Rs. 50 which cover 52 out of the total of 80 households. It shows that subsistence economy is the predominant feature. The reasons are many and varied. Among these may be included unfertile and unirrigated land depending upon the vagaries of nature, natural limitations to increase the size of land under plough, absence of the alternative avenues of employment. On the social side it is the conservatism which breeds immobility and obstructs them to take up employment elsewhere. The attachment to the family and home goes so far that they would prefer to do with one meal a day instead of having an affluent life elsewhere. Only some people work outside the village. Previously the region remained unattended to. It has been observed that with the opening of country to the outside world, the contacts would increase and people may be encouraged to supplement their family income by taking up employment elsewhere.

10 households are covered by the range 101 and above. Majority of these households have shopkeeping as their subsidiary occupation to supplement their income from

agriculture. The single household of Badhi also falls in this category which shows craftsmanship is a paying profession.

Expenditure

The statement on expenditure is also roughish and has been worked out caste-wise and income-wise. It presents a pattern giving us a clue as to the trends of people's expenditure. Items like food, clothing and education have been shown separately

whereas under others smoking, medical, social ceremonies, cultivation and land revenue have been grouped together.

Food—Food grains are produced in the farm. This invariably is just sufficient to meet their own requirements. As a result nothing is left by way of marketable surplus. A major portion of the income calculated at the prevailing market rates, is spent on food.

		Household with a monthly income of					
		Upto Rs. 50		Rs. 51-100		Rs. 101 and above	
Serial No.	Items of Expenditure	No of Households	Average Expenditure	No. of Households	Average Expenditure	No. of Households	Average Expenditure
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Average Monthly expenditure per Brahman Household by Income Groups							
1	Food	40	19-13	13	48-35	7	73-85
2	Clothing	40	4-28	13	11-86	7	32-85
3	Education	12	1-67	2	2-60	4	5-60
4	Other	40	3-64	13	8-15	7	30-28
Average Monthly Expenditure per Rajput Household by Income Groups							
1	Food	4	27-25	2	39-59	..	..
2	Clothing	4	4-75	2	10-41	..	..
3	Education	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Other	4	3-25	2	5-16	..	..
Average Monthly Expenditure per Khatri Household by Income Groups							
1	Food	..	..	..	..	2	74-80
2	Clothing	..	..	..	..	2	22-75
3	Education	..	..	..	..	2	4-50
4	Others	..	..	..	..	2	2-48
Average Monthly Expenditure per Badhi Household by Income Groups							
1	Food	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Clothing	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	Education	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Others	..	..	..	..	..	..
Average Monthly Expenditure per Arya Household by Income Groups							
1	Food	1	16-00	1	41-00	..	..
2	Clothing	1	5-00	1	12-00	..	..
3	Education	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Others	1	5-00	1	6-00	..	..
Average Monthly Expenditure by Bensi Household by Income Groups							
1	Food	7	24-00	2	58-00	..	..
2	Clothing	7	5-21	2	11-60	..	..
3	Education	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Others	7	4-14	2	5-50	..	..

Clothing—Villagers spend little on clothing.

Education—A little expenditure is incurred on education as not all the households have their children studying in the school. Besides the tuition charges are normal. Whatever little expenditure they have to incur is on books, and stationery articles.

Others—The expenditure on items grouped under the heading 'others' grows with a progressive rise in income. On the whole the villagers do not have to spend more on these items as the range of their incomes is limited. The people in service who are mostly from the urban areas spend relatively more.

Indebtedness

Average income being low, people are not spendthrift. Their agricultural production is not sufficient even for eight months in a year and have, therefore, to purchase the foodgrains from the neighbouring villagers who have had some surplus to spare. The agencies which cater to their requirement of loans include the petty shopkeepers of the village and nearby places, and also a few well-to-do *zamindars*. The cooperative society is not much popular with them although it meets their financial requirements to some extent. The rate of interest charged by the private agencies is exorbitant as the element of risk involved is greater. The rate may be put at 15 to 20 per

cent. The loans are sometimes incurred for litigation, house construction and repairs, marriage and also in a few cases for pilgrimage. Under miscellaneous wants we may put performance of religious rites and day to day requirements like consumption items. The following table gives an idea about the number of persons in debt distributed according to the income ranges:—

Indebtedness by Income Group

Income Group	Total No. of house-holds	No. of house-holds in debt	Percentage of Col. 3 to Col. 2
1	2	3	4
Rs. 25 and below	17	11	64%
Rs. 26 to 50	35	18	51%
Rs. 51 to 75	6	1	16%
Rs. 76 to 100	12	6	50%
Rs. 101 & over	10	3	30%
	80	39	

In the income range 25 and below we may attribute the highest percentage to the low income but this contention is disproved by the succeeding ranges. Even in the range Rs. 101 and above there are as many as 30 per cent cases of debts. The causes which induce the people to incur the loans would be clear from the table.

Land Utilization Statement of Village Chitrari (in Bighas)

Year	Total Forests Area	Not available for cultivation			Other uncultivated land excluding current fallows					Total 6, 7 & 8
		Barren and Unculturable Land	Land put to Non-Agricultural Uses	Total 3 & 4	Culturable waste	Permanent and other Lands	Pastures grazing	Land under misc. tree crops		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
1955	2652.4	48.0	160.14	..	160.14	45.14	80.16	1586.0	1712.10	
1956	2652.4	48.0	160.14	..	160.14	45.14	80.16	1586.0	1712.10	
1957	2652.4	48.0	160.14	..	160.14	45.14	80.16	1586.0	1712.10	
1958	2652.4	48.0	160.14	..	160.14	45.14	80.16	1586.0	1712.10	
1959	2652.4	48.0	N.A.	..	161.7	57.16	80.8	1586.0	1724.4	
1960	2652.4	48.0	N.A.	..	161.7	57.16	80.8	1586.0	1724.4	
1961	2652.4	48.0	N.A.	..	161.7	57.16	80.8	1586.0	1724.4	

Year	Fallow Lands			Net area sown	Total cropped area	Area sown more than once	Dhani Awal	Dhani Doem	Dhani Soem	Kalahu Awal	Kalahu Doem	Kalahu Soem
	Current fallows	Other fallow land	Total 10 & 11									
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1955	N.A.	N.A.	30.14	690.0	935.0	245.0	..	..	..	2.6	..	..
1956	N.A.	N.A.	30.14	690.0	935.0	245.0	..	..	..	2.6	..	..
1957	N.A.	N.A.	30.14	690.0	935.0	245.0	..	..	..	2.6	..	..
1958	N.A.	N.A.	30.14	690.0	935.0	245.0	..	..	..	2.6	..	..
1959	N.A.	N.A.	17.16	690.0	935.0	245.0	..	..	..	2.6	..	..
1960	N.A.	N.A.	17.16	690.0	935.0	245.0	..	..	..	2.6	..	..
1961	N.A.	N.A.	17.16	690.0	935.0	245.0	..	..	..	2.6	..	..

Year	Bagicha Kalahu	Barani Awal	Barani Doem	Barani Soem	Bagicha Barani	Sailab	Banjar Jadid	Banjar Kadim	Ghalla	Bani	Trakkar
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
1955	..	498.14	219.4	..	0.10	..	..	45.14	1.9	8.17	..
1956	..	498.14	219.4	..	0.10	..	..	45.14	1.9	8.17	..
1957	..	498.14	219.4	..	0.10	..	..	45.14	1.9	8.17	..
1958	..	498.14	219.4	..	0.10	..	..	45.14	1.9	8.17	..
1959	..	491.9	213.11	..	0.10	..	0.11	57.16	1.9	8.17	..
1960	..	491.9	213.11	..	0.10	..	0.11	57.16	1.9	8.17	..
1961	..	491.9	213.11	..	0.10	..	0.11	57.16	1.9	8.17	..

Indebtedness by Causes

Causes	No. of families in debt	Average amount of per debt household
1	2	3
		Rs.
Litigation	2	1,600
Miscellaneous wants	29	283
House construction	5	604
Marriage	1	140
Foodgrains	1	600
Pilgrimage	1	100
	39	

Agriculture

Agriculture is the principal occupation of the people. All other occupations are subsidiary and may include sheep and goat rearing, labour and rural industry. The total cultivated area of the village was 690 bighas in 1955-56, the same as in 1960-61. This shows there has been no increase in the cultivated area over these years. The soil is stony and unfertile. There does not seem to be further scope to extend the area of cultivation. Owing to an increase in population and the gradual disappearance of the joint family system, the average size of the holding has been gradually declining.

Mainly due to the inhospitable nature of the terrain, farming in the area is not as much profitable as it is in other parts of Himachal Pradesh. The entire area is non-irrigated. To corroborate our observations we reproduce below a relevant extract from "Farmers of India" by M. S. Randhawa (Chapter XX—Farmers Communities).

"Agriculture in H.P. means subsistence farming. Even so, it hardly suffices for the cultivator's simple needs. A survey carried out in 1950 showed that 48 per cent of the

working members of land owners and tenant families pursued some subsidiary occupation to supplement the income from land. The scope for employment as agricultural labour being very little, many of them have taken to rearing of sheep and goats, lumbering in the forests, weaving and selling milk and vegetables."

Land Utilization

From the land utilization statement it is clear that there is no variation from 1955 to 1961 in cultivation. The net area sown is shown in column 13 which is 690 *bighas*. The average cultivated area per *khatoni* holding comes to about 10 *bighas* as there are 70 such cases noted in the village revenue books. Taking into account the allied factors one could say that the holding is definitely uneconomic and explains why the people are eager to take up alternative jobs to supplement their meagre incomes.

Fields

The region is interspersed with craggy precipitous ranges and terraced cultivation is the rule. Village fields are of hard rocks and stones. Levelling and to make it fit for cultivation is a hard job. At the bottom of the slope a wall is raised up from 4 feet to 10 feet sometimes and the top layer broken, until it is formed into a number of terraces by corresponding number of walls. Over and above this, the area often receives the nature's wrath. It is subjected to frequent landslides and thunder storms in the rainy season. In that case the whole terraced fields are damaged and the work started afresh to restore it in its original form.

The villagers spend a major part of their labour, after every rainy season in preparing the soil. Virtually it is a struggle against heavy odds scratching the mountain sides to eke out their existence.

Two crops are raised in a year and the distribution of the cereals and millets as per cropping seasons is:—

Local Name	English Name	Botanical Name
Kharif—		
Kukri	Maize	Zea Mays
Koda	Ragi	Eleusine coracana
Cheena	Cheena	Panicum Miliaceum
Phullan	..	Fagoperum Emarginatum
Bharis	..	Fagoperum Emarginatum
Seul	..	A masanthus anardana
Kangni (Koni)	A millet variety	Pennisetum Ltalicum
Mash	Kidney beans	Phasio lubridiatius
Moong	Green Gram	Phaseolus Radiatus
Mirch	Chillies	Capsicum aunuum
Tamaku	Tobacco	Nicotiana Tobercum
Rong	..	Dolichos Sineusis
Rabi—		
Kanak	Wheat	Triticum Gehum, Vul- gare or Gandam Tri- ticum sertivum
Jou	Barley	Hordeum, Volgare
Sarson	Rape seed	Brassica Napus
Dhan	Rice or Paddy	Oryza Sativa

Vegetables—Due to the lack of irrigation facilities vegetables are not grown very much. However, during the moonsoon some grow a few vegetables like brinjals, chillies, bitter gourds, tomatoes, cucumbers and pumpkins for their own consumption. No beginning has been made towards horticulture.

Manuring—Cowdung is the organic manure. This is mixed up with the *deodar* and *kail* leaves and other refuse. This manure is effective in clay and sandy soils. The contents are heaped up either in one corner of the cowshed or the courtyard or in the fields. Since the lands are non-irrigated, the idea of using chemical fertilizers have not found favour with them. There is a general belief prevalent among the people that the use of chemical fertilizer destroys the crops if enough water is not available. The Gram Sewak demonstrates the improved method of preparing manure by digging out the manure pits.

Seeds—A part of the produce is set aside as seeds, after these are dried in the sun. These are stored in *peirus*. There is always the neighbourly goodwill and villagers freely borrow seeds from each other and return them when the crop is harvested.

Storing—Care is taken to store the grains in *peirus* which may be made of bamboos with a diameter of about 2 feet and are plastered with cowdung. A little variation in the construction of *peirus* is known as *toons*. These are also used for storing.

Agricultural Implements—There has been no change in the implements. The form and shape continues to be the same as have been used for many centuries. A list of the implements possessed by agricultural household can be studied from this table.

Name of Implement		Price	Life	Use
Local	English			
1	2	3	4	5
Hal	Plough	2.00	One to two years	Ploughing.
Phala	Plough-share	5.00	One year	Do.
Kudali	Hoe	4.00	One year	Weeding
Kirad, Kilta	Conical baskets	4.00	Six months	For carrying grains and seeds.
Drati	Sickle	1.50	1½ years	For harvesting.
Khilni	Hoe	1.50	1½ years	For hoeing.
Kulhari	Axe	8.00	2 years	For cutting wood.
Mei	Harrow	6.00	Six months	For making the ground level.
Jungla	Yoke	5.00	Six months	For yoking, cattle.
Rassa	Rope	3.00	One year	For binding purposes.
Hupli	Winnowing fan	1.00	One to two years	For winnowing purposes.

AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES

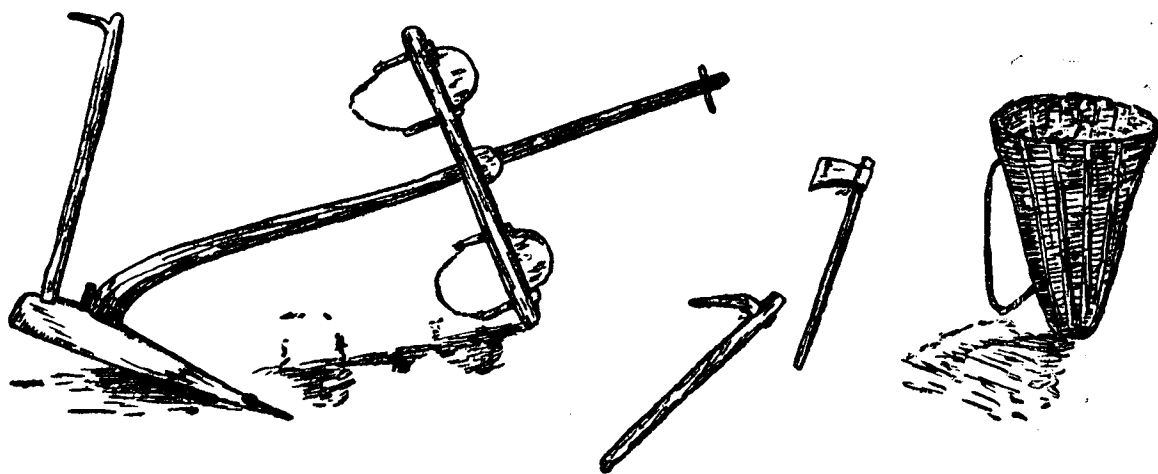
Kharif Crops

Maize—It is the staple food of the people and is consumed throughout the year. Its over-riding importance is attributed to the fact that the failure of this crop is followed by almost famine conditions. Every care is taken to secure a good crop. Some of the land is kept fallow in the preceding *rabi* season. Having repaired the retaining walls and set in order the terraces of the fields, they get to the work of putting the manures which may be two to three *kiltas* full of cowdung per *bigha*. A *kilta* may contain as much as 20 kilograms of cowdung. Simultaneously with the manuring operations, clearing of pebbles and stone is also carried out. Then the land is ploughed and clods broken with the *khilni*. After a lapse of week or so, again a ploughing is given to the land and it is levelled to be made ready for sowing purposes. The villagers then wait for a mild shower which seldom fails them, and the seed is sown by broadcasting and is followed by a third ploughing. The quantity sown per *bigha* is two and a half seers. The seed starts germinating after ten days and may grow upto a foot within a month. Now the plants are thinned where the growth is thick and the weeding of *baray* and *peepla* plants are done alongwith hoeing with a tool known as *nadani*. When the crop has ripened, usually the women-folk get into the fields with their sickles and the plants are cut from the bottom. The plants are heaped up in one corner of the courtyard where the cobs are removed from the plants. The stalks may be used as fodder. The cobs are spread out on any open space nearabout, generally courtyards and roofs. When completely

dried up in the sun, are removed to the *dragras* of the house. Here the grains are extracted from the cobs and then later are stored to be used as fuel.

Cheena—It is a species of millets and is sown in separate plots and the land is kept fallow in the preceding season. Else it is sown after the harvesting of wheat crop by those who do not possess such separate plots. All the preliminary agricultural operations are the same as those in the case of maize. The first and the only hoeing alongwith weeding and thinning of the plants where necessary, is done a month after sowing. At this stage, the plants have grown upto a height of 6 inches or so.

The fields are manured as in the case of maize and the quantity of seeds may be put at a seer per *bigha*. The work of harvesting the crop is generally executed by the women-folk who cut the *sittas* or ears from the plants and go on putting it in the *kiltas*. The *sittas* so collected are transferred to the *dragras* and are stored there. On the sunny days these are spread out in the courtyard and on roofs to be dried in the sun. When completely dried up, thrashing follows which is done with the help of bullocks. They are made to tread over it a number of times till the grains are separated from the *sittas*. The next operation is of removing the husk from the grains and now it is the winnowing fan which comes handy. The operation is preformed by two women. Having filled it with the contents, one of them holds it high above the head and slowly goes on tilting it to one side. In the process the contents begin to fall on the floor and the other woman holding a similar winnowing fan goes on fanning the contents. This process helps to blow off the hay-dust from the grains



Plough, kilta and other agricultural implements

as the former is relatively lighter in weight. Immediately before this process husking is done by means of mortars and pestles.

Phullan—The *phullan* is grown in the wheat fields and is sown after the harvesting has been completed. The roots of wheat plants are not removed from the field and serve as manure. After a mild shower of rain, the fields are ploughed and all the stones and pebbles removed from there. In this process of ploughing the roots of the wheat come out and are allowed to remain there for decomposition. The seeds which may be two and a half seers to 3 seers per *bigha* are sown by the method of broadcasting and it takes about four months for the crop to ripen. The whole stalks are cut with the *scythes* and are carried in bundles. The operation of drying them is usual and on sunny days they are spread out in the court yards and roofs. When completely dried up thrashing is done by means of long and sturdy sticks. Again, the process of removing the hay-dust from the gains is usual. On sunny days, the women of the household complete the job and tools used consist of only winnowing fans. The work is done in the courtyards.

Koda—Being sown in limited area this may be called a minor crop and is generally used for preparing *sur*. Before sowing a deep ploughing is given and the fields are cleared of all the stones, pebbles and weeds. Field is specifically prepared in the form of furrows at regular distances with the help of *khilni*. The *koda* is sown at the top of the furrows and the quantity of seed may be worked out at two and a half to three seers per *bigha*. After a month or so the fields are manured and the only hoeing done to remove the weeds which have sprouted in the meantime when the crop has ripened. The crop is harvested right from the bottom and transferred in bundles to the house. The drying process is the same and the sunny days are utilized for the purpose. Having been completely dried up, the thrashing is done by means of long wooden sticks and all the members of the household assist in the operation. This way the grains are separated followed by winnowing which is exactly the same as has been recorded in the case of *chinai*.

Bhares—Being sown in limited area, this is also a minor crop. It is sown in the fields after the crop of wheat has been harvested. All the agricultural operations associated with the sowing are the same as in the case of *chinai*. The roots of the wheat stalk are not removed from the field and serve the purpose of manure. Hoeing is done twice. The

first is done 25 days after the sowing when the seeds have sprouted quite significantly and the other takes place a month afterwards. The thrashing is done by beating the *sittas* with the help of long wooden sticks. Winnowing process is the same as of *chinai*. The quantity of seed sown per *bigha* is 3 to 3½ seers.

Mash—It is essentially a minor crop as it is sown generally in hedges of the maize fields on the *bakhal* type of land. Every care is taken to give a deep ploughing to the field and as much as three ploughings are done. The agricultural operations are the same and the crop is harvested alongwith maize.

Tobacco—Smoking being common, all the households grow this crop in a small plot near their houses. In the first instance the nursery is prepared and then after a lapse of about 40 to 45 days, transplanting is done. Before this operation takes place, deep ploughing is given to the soil and it is manured quite sufficiently. The quality of the tobacco grown is strong-flavoured according to the village *standard* and the leaves, stems and seeds are all pounded together for use.

Rabi Crops

Wheat—Next to maize, wheat is the principal crop of the region and is sown in the fields after the maize crop has been harvested. The left-overs of the maize stalks in the form of roots and stems are not removed and serve the purpose of manure. Ploughing is done after the seeds have been sown by the method of broadcasting. When the seeds have germinated the fields are manured. The quantity per *bigha* ranges from 10 to 20 seers. During the winter the fields are left unattended. When the crop has ripened, it is generally the women-folk who attend to the work of harvesting. The plants are cut at the bottom and are transferred in the form of bundles to the *dragra*. All the other operations associated with harvesting are similar as have been observed in the case of *chinai* crop.

Barley—Barley is next important *rabi* crop and is sown along with wheat. All the agricultural operations are the same except for the difference that it ripens a bit earlier, say, 20 to 25 days.

An effort has been made by the settlement authorities to assess the produce per *bigha* and a pamphlet has been issued by them to set out the results of their intensive enquiries. We reproduce an extract of the results obtained by them in Tehsil Chamba in

the year 1954-55. The quantities of the produce secured per *bigha* has been shown in seers:—

Crop	Type of land		
	Barani Awal	Barani Doem	Barani Soem
1	2	3	4
Kharif—			
Paddy	50	40	30
Maize	80	65	40
Koda	35	30	20
Bathu (Seul)	45	35	25
Mash	30	25	15
Kulath	20	18	10
Rong	..	20	..
Moth	23	20	15
Potatoes	450	350	300
Moong	23	20	..
Vegetables	180	135	90

1	2	3	4
Kharif—contd.			
Tobacco	90	60	45
Sesamum	20	15	10
Phullan	30	20	15
Bhares	35	25	..
Chinai	35	30	20
Red Chille	90	60	..
Kangni (Koni)	35	30	20
Bajra (Millets)	70	..	..
Rabi—			
Wheat	50	40	25
Barley	80	50	35
Lentils	20	15	10
Grains	60	..	30
Garlic	25	20	10
Tobacco	85	50	..
Potatoes	..	325	..
Red Chillies	75	..	..
Vegetables	150	100	..

Agricultural Calendar

Local Months	English Months	Operations
Poh-Magh	January	Being snow time, fields are left unattended.
Magh-Phalgun	February	Do.
Phalgun-Chaitra	March	Retaining walls are repaired and terraces set in order.
Chaitra-Baisakha	April	Local fertilizers are spread. Ploughings are given to the soil. Levelling up operations are undertaken to make the soil ready for sowing; Tobacco nursery is grown.
Baisakha-Jaishta	May	It is a sowing month. Maize, koda, kangni are sown. In the later part of the month, last ploughing is also given. Besides, Rong (<i>Dolichos Sinenus</i>), Gandoli (a local vegetable), pumpkin, cucumber and chillies are also grown.
Jaishta-Ashadh	June	In the early part of the month, paddy, chinai, mash, kulath, phullan and bhares are sown; wheat is reaped, hoeing is also done.
Ashadh-Sharawan	July	Earthing is done, weeds like <i>Baray</i> and <i>Perpla</i> are removed.
Sharawan-Bhadon	August	The operations begun in July are carried forward to this month. Transplanting of plants in respect of tobacco crop is done.
Bhadon-Aswaj	September	It is the harvesting month. Maize, chinai, paddy, kangni and rong crops are harvested. Soil is prepared and one ploughing given. Wheat and barley is sown.
Aswaj-Kartik	October	In the early part paddy, phullan, koda, kuladu and rong are also harvested. Wheat, barley and other Rabi crops are sown. Lentils is sown.
Kartik-Maghar	November	Ploughing and manuring to support the Rabi crops take place in this month.
Maghar-Poh	December	Being snow time, fields are left unattended.

NOTE—Grass or *dholu* as it is called is cut in the month of November. To be stored for the winter season, *baihs* in the form of garlands are prepared for it and served to the cattle who remain indoors during this season.

Plant Diseases and Pests

As elsewhere crops in Chitrari village are also not immune from the menace of plant diseases and pests. The following diseases are common.

Root Borer—It attacks the apple trees and soon the branches become leafless and these are reduced to bare skeleton.

Appilacina betel—Mostly the green vegetables and in particular tomatoes and potatoes are susceptible to this disease. The incidence of the disease cannot be considered too great as these are not much grown in the village.

Sanjoscale—Apple trees are usually the victims of this disease but the incidence is rather on a modest scale.

Loose Smut, Black Smut and Yellow Smut—The crops of wheat and maize are afflicted by these diseases. As an indication of the disease, the crops get more and more yellow at the farms located at heights which are correspondingly more and more high. As a result the wheat crop is completely destroyed. The indigenous names of the disease are *kanunda* or *kalyn*. AGN is being distributed by the Gram Sewak to check the spread of this disease.

Dry Rot—It is a local disease which affects apple trees and the crops of *kangni*.

Blight—This disease affects the crop of potatoes and sometimes the plants of tomatoes also get affected.

Of late, people have come across one particular disease according to which, on ripening the fruit begin to fall without no apparent cause. This disease has not been named so far.

Toka—Is a worm which is playing havoc with the crops of maize, potatoes and capsicum. More or less, every crop is the victim of this worm.

Sada—One of the local diseases *sada* is causing much anxiety among the villagers. It affects the cucumber plants which begin to rot. To check the disease from further spreading, meat water is thrown by the people over the creepers.

In the case of blight, ashes are thrown over the crop which produces instantaneous results. B.H.C. and Gommoxin are being distributed by the Block authorities to check the spread of the disease. In the case of disease caused by *toka* worms, B.H.C. of 15 to 20 per cent strength is distributed. An indigenous treatment has been invented to kill the worm. On location it is wrapped in cloth and cut with the teeth. It is more a superstitious than a scientific treatment to kill the worm.

Livestock

The oxen are kept for ploughing the fields. Cows are reared more for the purpose of cowdung and milk and she-goats for milk and wool, whereas he-goats and rams are utilized for meat. Sheep are reared to obtain wool. Poultry farming has not yet caught their fancy although to take the eggs is no longer considered a taboo as it once used to be.

On the whole the quality of the breed of all the animals is very poor and small in size and no efforts towards improvement appeared to have been made in this direction. No artificial insemination centre exists in the

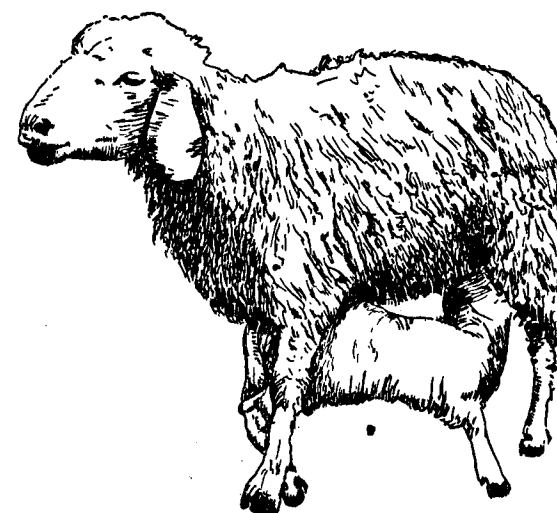
village. The main and the only item of fodder is dry grass. The poor conditions of the cattle and non-availability of fodder and growing facilities have resulted in extremely low quantity of yield i.e., from 4 to 8 *chhataks* daily. Milk, therefore, does not form part of their daily diet and is practically non-existent. Even for the purpose of tea, powder milk is to be used. But during the rainy season the Gujjars (a nomadic tribe dealing with milk and its products) come in the nearby areas and settle on the *dhars* and from there the milk can however, be purchased.



An idea about the cattle possessed by the villagers, i.e., from tables prepared from the figures collected on the occasion of cattle census undertaken on *rabi*, 1960.

1. Oxen	...	...	...	155
2. Cows—				
Milch cows	...	...	...	27
Dry cows	...	...	...	126
Chohan	...	...	...	32
3. Calf (he)	...	...	...	20
4. Calf (she)	...	...	...	48
5. Sheep	...	...	...	123
6. Goats	...	...	...	36

NOTE—*Chohan* is a type of cow which is 3 to 4 years old but has not yet started giving the milk.



A sheep with lamb

Although the area adjoining Chitrari and Brahmaur side is popular for its sheep wealth. In Chitrari, these are relatively fewer.

The livestock kept by the Chitrari farmer consists of cattle, sheep and goats and a very few have started keeping poultry. No buffalo is kept by the villagers of Chitrari; one does find a few heads in the adjoining villages. In cattle there is only one non-descript *pahari* breed and 'Himalayan Goats' and Gaddi sheep are to be found among the sheep and goats. The livestock is housed in the ground floor of the same house where the farmer lives. The livestock is fed with green wild grass in so-called pastures during the rainy season and the same grass when dried naturally is stocked for winter. Also *kukriala* is fed in winter when other fodder is scarce. The sheep and goats are fed during winter on *ban* leaves, these trees are found commonly all around the village. No concentrates, howsoever are fed to the livestock and the fodder also is insufficient in quantity, as there is overstocking of the livestock. The

Cropping Pattern (in acres) for the years 1955—61

Name of Crop	Type of land	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
KHARIF								
Maize	Barani Awal	49	49	46	49	42	42	..
Kodra		..	6	7	8	9	8	..
Chinai	Barani Awal	24	21	24	20	12	13	..
Phullan	Do.	6	2	2	4	..	1	..
Bharea		..	2	1	1	..	..	..
Seul		..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Koni		..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Kangni		..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Mash	Barani Awal	16	12	14	15	30	30	..

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average milk yield of cows is very low reaching about 200 gms. and the highest being 450 gms. In goats the average milk yield come about 50 to 60 gms. the highest being 100 gms. (This is based on a note from the Veterinary Assistant Surgeon, Chamba).

Veterinary Dispensary

The principal diseases from which the cattle suffer are rinderpest and foot and mouth diseases. No veterinary facilities were available until recently on the spot. But now a dispensary is functioning in the village which was established on 16th November, 1962, and started working on the 24th November, 1962. The institute is being run by the Compounder-in-Charge. The needs are catered to within a radius of five miles. The other diseases are:—

1. Indigestion (Digestive) and others.
2. Non-contagious diseases. Treatment—stomach powder.
3. Debility is caused due to the shortage of calcium.
4. Colic (Pet-ki-Dard). Treatment—Carminative mixture.

The people do not follow the practice of domesticating wild animals or birds. Rats, sparrows, gunter and jackals are menace to the crops. At the time of ripening of the crops, round-the-clock vigilance has to be maintained against these animals. To avoid the rat menace zinc-phosphide has been distributed among the people by Gram Sewaks. People are not much eager about the use of pesticides as their way of living is governed by traditional modes of thinking. Mules and donkeys are conspicuously absent.

Cropping Pattern

An idea about the type of crops grown in different types of land for different years can be had from the *jinswar* statement.

Cropping Pattern (in acres) for the years 1955-61—contd.

Name of Crop	Type of Land	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Kharif—contd.								
Moong		..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Chillies		..	1	1	1	1	1	..
Tobacco		..	1	1	1	..	..	..
Rong		..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Maize	Barani Doem	26	25	22	25	11	11	..
Kodra	Do.	..	5	6	7	2	2	..
Chinai	Do.	16	..	1	2	10	10	..
Phullan	Do.	2	..	..	..	1	1	..
Mash	Do.	12	11	12	15	17	16	..
Maize	Baujar Kadim	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Rabi								
Wheat	Barani	40	22	19	25	28	20	21
Barley	Do.	20	11	8	14	12	10	11
Mustard	Do.	1	..	1	1	..	2	..
Wheat	Barani Doem	15	..	7	6	9	11	10
Paddy	Do.	11	..	..	..	..	..	..
Barley	Do.	..	..	..	2	..	8	9

Data showing the average price of land during the last five years (in bighas) has been collected from the village note-books.

Panch-Sala

Year	Name of transfer	Type of transfer	Area sold	Amount
1956	..	..	..	..
1957	5	Sale	3 bigha, 8 biswas	400
1958	7	Sale	0 bigha, 5 biswas	50
1959	..	..	..	..
1960	..	..	..	..
Total	..	..	3 bigha, 13 biswas	450

Average price per bigha—Rs. 123.20

Households owning or possessing land

Community	Nature of interest on land	No. of households and extent of land									
		No land	5 cents & below	5-10 cents	10-20 cents	21-50 cents	50 cents to one acre	1 to 2.4 acres	2.5 to 4.9 acres	5 to 10 acres	10 acres and above
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Brahmins	Ownership	6	..	..	7	5	12	13	6	4	..
Rajput	Do.	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	3	..	..
Khatri	Do.	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Badhi	Do.	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arya	Do.	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bainsi	Do.	..	..	..	..	1	..	6	1	..	..
Land held from private persons—No. of households caste-wise											
Brahmins		..	..	..	2	3	4	9	3	1	..
Rajput		..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
Khatri		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Badhi		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arya		..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
Bainsi		..	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	..

It will be seen from the table on page 42 that on household is covered by the range 10 acres and above which shows that concentration of landed property in a few hands is something which is unknown to them. On the other hand, Brahmins and Rajputs, the *swarns* or upper castes of the village, continue to hold the sway in the economic sphere. Among the Brahmins 6 households are covered by the range 2.5 to 4.9 acres whereas 4 fall in the category 5 to 10 acres. Similarly 3 Rajput households possess land ranging from 2.5 to 4.9 acres. But the figures are not a pointer in the direction of monopolistic trends as is proved by the fact that one of the Bainsi households is covered by the range 2.5 to 4.9 acres.

The ownership rights of the whole land are institutional as the whole village land stands in the name of Shiv-Shakti temple. In other words there is a joint hold of the entire village community with permanent and heritable rights but with no right to transfer. The cultivated land is 144 acres, the rest is uncultivable.

Agricultural Superstitions

Ploughing, sowing and reaping should be done on the lucky days—Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays. 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 on the spot. Neglect of this rule is supposed to result in death of some member in the family. When the new ground is to be

broken up the *purohit* must be asked to name the day and a he-goat sacrificed before the plough is put to it. As an alternative to the sacrifice, some people take four young girls to the spot and then wash their feet, mark their foreheads with red vermillion and give them some *gur* to eat before they begin to plough. And the first fruit of such land are always offered to the *deota* before being used. The godliness associated with *chinai*, maize, wheat, pulses and barley are *Devi Charind*, *Kailang*, *Kathura Nag* and *Sandhola Nag* respectively.

To *joginis* or rock-spirits, three coloured grains of rice, five sweet cakes, a loaf, a flour lamp with a red wick, three kinds of flowers, three pieces of *dhup* and a she-goat are offered with prayers. *Rakshams* and *ranasats* would seem to be the same as *joginis*. *Chungu* is the demon found on walnut and mulberry trees and the other abode of the spirit is *Karabgora shruli*. He is worshipped with a coconut, a *chhuvara* with his effigy in flour (a basket on his back), a four cornered lamp of flour on the bread and price of *dhup*.

Gunga, the disease-spirit of cows is propitiated by setting aside a *tawa* and *rotku* in his name until the final offerings can be made. Then a piece of iron, something like a hockey stick is made and the deity is transferred to the cattle-shed where he is worshipped by the side of sacred fire. The day chosen for the purpose is Tuesday.

4. Social and Cultural Life

Age Distribution

The statement below gives an idea about the composition of village population distributed by age and sex.

Population age groups			
Age-groups (years)	Males	Females	Total
0—4	29	37	66
5—9	25	38	63
10—14	19	18	37
15—19	14	13	27
20—24	22	19	41
25—29	22	22	44
30—34	22	10	32
35—44	24	18	42
45—59	19	19	38
60 and over	8	16	14
Total	204	200	404

The total population according to the 1951 Census was 369; 202 males and 167 females. In accordance with the present survey of the village in 1961, the population was 404; 204 males and 200 females. The rate of population growth during the last 10 years has worked out at 9.5 or roughly 1 per cent per annum. It is much lower than 21.8 per cent which is the rate for the State as a whole during the last decade. It only goes to show that fertility is not much of the problem for the village. Further, the female population has shown a marked increase which is 19.76 per cent over the decade as compared to only

2 per cent as has been recorded in the cases of males.

There are 66 infants (29 males and 37 females) in the age-group 0—4 and 63 children (25 males and 38 females) in the age-group 5—9. In both the age-groups, females outnumber males by substantial margins of 8 and 13 in respective age-groups. Thus, children below the age of 9 years constitute 31.9 per cent of the total population.

There are 37 persons (19 males and 18 females) in the age-group 10—14 and 27 persons (14 males and 13 females) in the age-group 15—19. In both the groups the difference between the male and female population is almost insignificant. The overall position in the age-group 10—19 may be put by saying that 15.8 per cent of the total population is covered by this category. The figures for the young adults aged 20—24 is 41 (22 males and 19 females), persons covered by the age-group 25—29 years count 44 (22 males and 22 females), and those aged 30—34 years number 32 (22 males and 10 females). Leaving aside the age-group of 25—29 years in which the number is even both for males and females, in the remaining two categories the number of males excel the female young adults (20—34 years) form 29.0 per cent of the total population i.e. 117 persons spread over 66 males and 51 females.

Middle-aged persons in the age-group 35—44 number 42 (24 males and 18 females) and in the age-group 45—59, their number is 38 (19 males and 19 females). In the former category males outnumber females

by a margin of 6 and in the latter group the number is even. They constitute 19.8 per cent of the total population.

The old persons in the age-group 60 and over number 14 (8 males and 6 females). In this age-group also, the number of males excel the females by a margin of 2. They constitute 3.5 per cent of the total population.

Total No. of Households	Single Member			2—3 Members			4—6 Members			7—9 Members			10 Members & above		
	Household	M	F	Household	M	F	Household	M	F	Household	M	F	Household	M	F
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
80	5	4	1	22	30	29	35	83	96	13	56	47	5	31	27

There are 5 single member households which constitutes 6.25 per cent of the total and only goes to show that people are contented to lead a solitary life and do not expect others to share their family life with them. They are either unmarried or widowed persons. The households having 2-3 members may be described as simple families consisting of husband, wife and at the most one child. More or less the families having 4—6 members can also be termed as simple ones. Together these categories constitute 71.25 per cent of the total and forms a significant proportion. The structure of the economy has influenced the shape of social institutions and the sway which the joint family had at one time loosened its grip on the people's mode of thinking.

The households having 7—9 members may be described as intermediate families consisting of husband, wife, unmarried brothers and sisters and of the parents. They constitute 16.1 per cent of the total. Lastly the joint families consisting of more than one married couple are only 5 which constitutes a percentage of 6.25. Thus only a small number of households prefer to live in joint families which are well-knit units wherein every member has his assigned task. Both men and women enjoy equal social status with the difference that only the men-folk have a right to the share of property.

Birth and Death Statistics

It is one of the functions of the Gram Panchayats to record the births and deaths taking place within the jurisdiction of its circle. The practice was started in April, 1959, and only from that date onwards, the statistics relating to births and deaths are

Trends of Changes in Family Structure

In the absence of comparative data on the subject, we cannot draw inferences in regard to the changes in the family structure. The people have, however, affirmed that the institution of joint family has existed all through the ages. The idea about the size and composition of the households would well be illustrated by the table.

available. The figures supplied by the Panchayat are—

Year	Birth			Death		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1959	4	5	9	2	2	4
1960	4	10	14	6	7	13
1961	7	6	13	6	3	9
1962	5	4	9	1	4	5
Total	20	25	45	15	16	31

During this period the number of births have far excelled the number of deaths which shows that the upward trend of the population has continued all through the years. 25 girls have born during the period against the figure of 16 which have died during the corresponding period. It shows that female population is on the ascendancy relative to their male counterparts. The increase in the male population is no less significant as 20 births have taken place against the figure of 15 deaths.

The village community is a composite organisation, sub-divided into different sections represented by different castes. Each caste forms a unit by itself and has had its own set of conventions to guide their mutual relationships. But that does not distract from the closely-knit phenomenon of village community as a whole and one finds the different castes cooperating and collaborating between themselves on such occasions as fairs and festivals. In marriage and mourning the entire community joins. Disputes arise occasionally and are resolved by the intervention of elders. Shiv-Shakti fair is not only an important event of the village but the whole region awaits the day with great

eagerness. The inter-hamlet cooperation can be witnessed on this occasion in its best form. Apart from keeping their keenness and interest social units contribute their mite to make the event a successful venture.

Inheritance—Not even a single household can be said to know exactly that there have occurred changes in the Hindu Adoption Act and Hindu Succession Act. More than ninety per cent of the people are against inheritance of property by daughters equally with sons.

Sons whether by a wife married for the first time or by a widow or divorced one married again succeed to the property but illegitimate sons do not claim a share unless they are adopted in defiance of legitimate sons or heirs. The eldest son gets an extra share called *jaithund*, but he has to pay a proportionately larger share of any debts. Among the sons the property is otherwise divided equally.

Chaukandu—There is the custom whereby a *chaukandu* born at any time after his father's death succeeds to his property provided that the widow has continued to live in his house and has worn a red *dori* in the name of his *chula* or *darat*. Cases have been occurred in which the widow has retained her late husband's property without complying with the above conditions, though they consider her rights despicable in that event.

Leisure and Recreation

Gaddis have their own distinctive cultural and independent ways of amusement. They live in the midst of nature, cut off from the currents of sophistication and spend a part of their life in travelling through the valley daily and high-mountain passes over the years. These have left an abiding effect on all the facets of their life, social, religious and no less economic. Since times immemorial, fairs and festivals—*jatra* as these are called popularly, have been the converging points of their cultural philosophy. The Gaddis lit up with smiles at the very thought of this word and are swept off their feet and placed in a world of their own creation. These festivals are interspersed all through the year. Folk-songs which echo the depth of their aspirations; reflecting their varied moods are sung on all occasions, in the fields, on the road-sides, on the occasions of births and marriages and also in the homes. Away in the pastures it is common to see a Gaddi youngster playing on his flute, producing the sweet and melodious tune. In winter they have sufficient leisure time and some of them

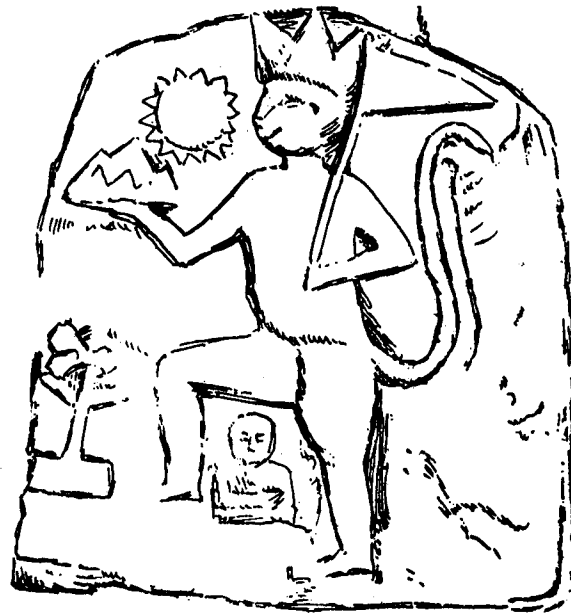
can be seen very often clustering around the kitchen hearth playing a game of cards, *chhikdi* and *chopar*. Sometimes the people assemble in the spacious courtyard of the temple and recite *bhajans* in chorus. A few of them, who have grown grey may spend their time in spinning wool with the help of *takli*. Children play the games of *kabaddi*, *guldanda* and hide and seek. The game of pebbles also appears to have caught their fancy although it is a rare sight to come across. The games played in the local school are volleyball, *kabaddi* and ring. Women do not seem to be fond of any games as none was mentioned in spite of persistent inquiries. Their only recreation consists of singing the folk-songs and dressing themselves gaudily on fairs and festivals.

Of late Panchayat has also realised the importance of recreational aspect of their activities. The musical instruments like *dholki*, *chimta* and harmonium have been provided for the use of the people. These are utilized mostly on marriages and other happy occasions. With a view to encourage the modern games, badminton-rackets have also been provided.

Twice or thrice a year, especially at fairs and festivals, educative documentaries are exhibited in the village by the Public Relations Department. A cinema show at Chamba is a must for them whenever they go there.

Religion and Temples

The whole of the village population professes Hinduism. But some of the features



Relief work on stone—Hanuman

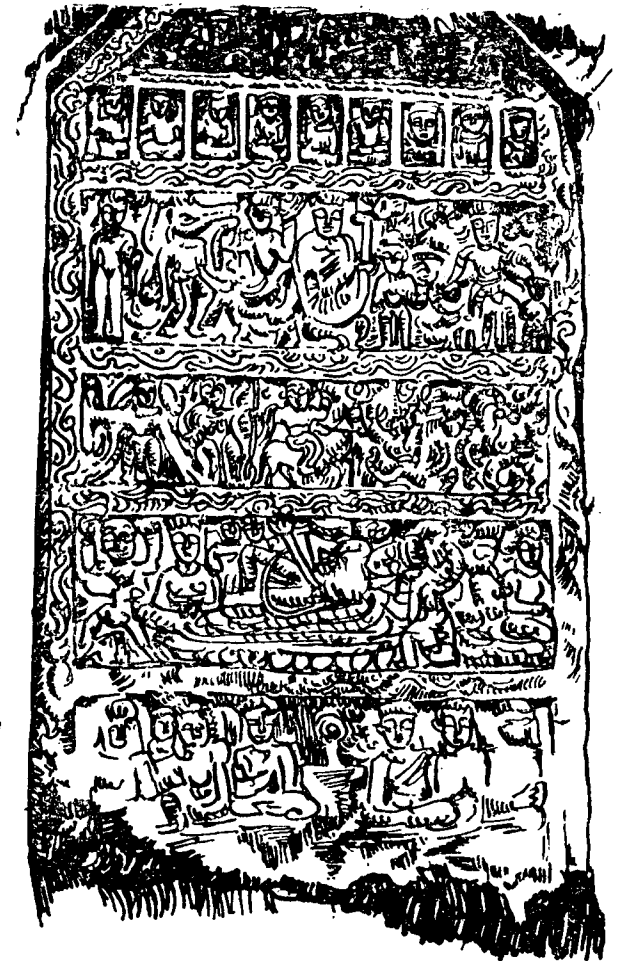
of the Gaddis with regard to religion present an interesting study. Gaddis are by preference Shaivas. Even though the image in the local Shakti temple is of Devi but essentially this is a branch of Shaivism. The Devi is known as Shiv-Shakti, that is, the power of Lord Shiv. They also worship some lesser gods such as Sidh, Nagh, and Kailing which too are, in a way, branch of Shaivism.



Fountain slab

Shrine Paroli-Wali-Devi

The very entrance to the village through a *parol* or gate indicates the religious importance of the village. *Parol*, located on a little elevated place is open on both the sides and resembles a shrine. This shrine houses an image of Paroli-Wali-Devi and some crude stone carvings representing some other deities which the villagers could not describe. This shrine is quite an old monument and it could not be ascertained as to when and by whom it was built. There is no particular priest appointed to look after it. However, people have great faith



Fountain Slab

in the Devi and very often make a little offering of a coin or so while passing through it. It is a common practice to sacrifice a lamb or goat at the shrine by way of *sukhna*, an offering for the fulfilment of a desire. Nearabout the temple, some layers of the soil are black in colour. Also some portion of the rocky space is red. These two phenomena are explained away with the help of a legend which is quite current in the region.

In the days of yore, seven sisters lived together and led quite an harmonious life. They were Tul, Kangri-Wali-Devi, Shakti-Devi, Paroli-Wali-Devi, Mahalay-Wali-Devi, Jawala-Mukhi and Dhanu-Ghodi. A day came when they quarrelled amongst themselves and decided to get separated from each other. They had a lot of gold and jewellery which could only be divided equally with the help of balance. It was agreed to send Paroli-Wali-Devi which happened to be the youngest, somewhere to arrange for the



Fountain slab

balance. She went to a nearby village Meri and approached an old lady where she asked her to spare her balance for sometime. The old woman was quite shrewed and at once recognised that the one who was asking for balance was some deity. She got her absorbed in conversation and thus she was delayed. In the meantime, in her absence the remaining six sisters divided the wealth and left nothing to her share. When Paroli-Wali-Devi returned she was much disappointed and wept bitterly. The soil on which her tears fell became pitch dark in a while. The little clusters of the soil are called Suniya-Mukhi. Again the rocky space against which she stumbled became red as it is believed the space bears the imprints of her blood which oozed out from the injury caused to her.

The temple of Shakti Devi is situated in the heart of the village. Elaborate studies about its archaeology have already been made from time to time and here it would be just sufficient to reproduce certain relevant extracts from Chamba Gazetteer.

"Chitrari is situated 24 miles from Chamba (32° 27' North and 76° 24 E) on the way to Brahmaur, and is a *tirtha* or place of pilgrimage. The only object of worship is an ancient temple, containing a brass image of

Shakti-Devi or Kali, which, as the inscription shows, was erected by Raja Meru Varman (A.D. 700). The workman named Gugga, who erected the temples at Brahmaur, is said to have first built a house at Kothi Ranhu for the local Rana and had his right hand cut off to prevent from erecting as fine a residence for any one else. The hand is believed to have been miraculously restored by the Goddess Shakti when he was called upon to build her temple at Chitrari. Another tradition exists to the effect that Gugga was accidentally killed by a fall from the roof of the temple porch, after having all but completed his work.

The temple of Shakti Devi at Chitrari which, as we know, belongs to the same period as that of Lakshana, is a good specimen of the hill shrine described above. The outer doorway, however, is evidently a latter addition, and the coarse frescoes on the wall of the cella are of quite recent date. The ornamentation of the inner doorway is very similar to that of the Lakshana temple. Here also we find over the entrance, a row of flying figures four on each side—the two in the centre carrying a crown whereas the remaining six are accompanied by female figures each seated on the hip of its companion. Beneath these there is a row of thirteen cross-legged figures of which nine represent the *nava-grahas* i.e., the Sun, the Moon, the five planets—Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn—the eclipse—*dewan* Rahu and the comet Ketu. Rahu is represented by a demon's head without a body, in agreement with the myth told in the *puranas*. It is said that Rahu stealthily partook of the nectar (Amrita) produced by the churning of the ocean, but was betrayed by the Sun and the Moon, who had noticed the theft. He was beheaded by Vishnu, but the head had become immortal by the use of the nectar. Since then the Rahu had persecuted the Sun and the Moon and causes them to eclipse. The four remaining figures at the two ends possibly represent the Guardians of the Four Regions (Loka Palas).

Along the door-junks we find a double row of standing figures on each side of the entrance. Those of the two outer rows, alternate with crouching animal-headed figures which act as Atlantes, and presumably are meant either for *rakshashas* or for the *ganas* of Shiva. Among the standing figures we notice to the sight the six-faced Karttikeya with his peacock and Indra the rain-god holding a thunderbolt (*vajra*) and accompanied by his vehicle the elephant (Airavata) and to the left the four-armed

Brahma, carrying a rosary and a water-pot and accompanied by a pair of *geeta*. The inner rows consist each of four figures. On the left side we recognise Vishnu three-faced, the side faces being a lion's and a boar's, and Durga slaying the buffalo-demon. The two lowermost figures are again Ganga and Yamuna, the personifications of the sacred rivers of India. In the upper corners of the door-way we notice the same winged dragons as we found on the Lakshana temple.

The wooden pillars with their pot and foliage capitals, supporting elaborately carved bracket—capitals in which couchant bulls and other animals have been introduced, deserve special notice."

There are a number of silver ornaments in the temple with which the Goddess is adorned on the festive occasion. The number of these ornaments with the description of their weight can be had from this list—

List of ornaments (silver) in the Shiv-Shakti Temple

Serial No.	Ornament	Weight			
		No.	Tolas	Mashas	Rati
1	Big Chattrar (Canopy)	1	33	0	0
2	Do.	1	6	0	0
3	Do.	1	12	6	0
4	Do.	1	13	6	0
5	Do.	1	12	3	0
6	Small Chattrar (Canopy)	4	9	3	0
7	Big Necklace with stones and enamelling	1	46	0	0
8	Big Salieha with glasses	1	15	0	0
9	Big Mukat (head-dress) with Tika	1	11	0	0
10	Small Salieha with glasses	1	5	8	0
11	Dodmala with thread, stones and enamelling	1	16	0	0
12	Dodmala with threads	1	13	6	0
13	Chokli with threads	1	7	4	0
14	Zhanzra with threads	2	13	10	4
15	Patki necklace with thread	1	7	0	0
16	Nazziri	1	5	0	0
17	Man Tika with thread & Saliza	1	4	5	0
18	Dalku-Janku with brass thread (Ears)	1	7	4	0
19	Attardan	1	3	7	0
20	Rakhni	1	2	0	0
21	Guthlamaya glasses (thumb)	1	2	2	0
22	Chuday (arm)	4	21	9	0
23	Gojru Do.	4	14	3	0
24	Mukkat (head-dress) with thread	1	3	9	0
25a	Kangnu (broken)	1	4	7	4
b	Kangnu (complete)	1	4	7	4
26	Katori (cup)	4	5	6	0
27	Danda-Mutha	1	12	5	4
28	Danda Chonri	1	6	2	4
29	Danda with wood	1	30	6	0
30	Asa with wood and Sham-loha	1	78	0	0

Charauta Temple

A few minutes walk up the mountain slopes from the main *abadi* is the Charauta temple. The establishment of the temple has an interesting legend behind it and the year about which it was situated is not known to anybody. It is believed that at one time the whole area was under the jurisdiction of the Ranas of Gehra. Rains failed and the conditions of famine became apparent. A Bhoat from Bhotant had come this year and was wandering through the area. He listened to the harrowing tales of the people and promised them rain only if they agreed to give 5 goats by way of sacrifice to the Bhatoad Naga every three years. These five goats were to consist of one black and 4 white. The place of the Bhatoad Naga is a day's journey from the village. The people agreed to this proposal and found to their joys the skies being overcast with thick clouds immediately. Now it has become a practice with them to visit the place of Bhatoad Naga every three years and offer the said five goats. The fund is collected by the people of all the neighbouring villages and a sort of delegation nominated by them to do the job. Here in Charauta a stone image of Bhatoad Naga is housed in a small shrine which is all wooden structure. This stone image is flanked by two brass images of attendants. Apart from these three images, five images of Auttars and one wooden image of Hedami Devi is also placed there. *Sangals* or iron chains are also placed in one corner which are used by the *chela* whenever he is possessed by the spirits. The other lesser articles are peacock feathers *hawan-kund*, two flutes. Kal—a two piece musical instrument made of copper—four bells, three conchshells, one Dharach—an iron utensil used for performing the *arti* of the deity and one iron *tirsul*. As feasts are generally held by the people in honour of the deity, some utensils are also there among the articles held by the temple institution. There are 25 big bronze plates, three cooking vessels, one *lota* or tumbler, one small plate and one *batloi*.

Jetha or the first Sundays of months Sawan, Katak, Har, Jeth and Baisakh are considered very auspicious and the devotees hold *jagra* on these nights. *Jagra* stands for awakening all through the night and singing the hymns or *bhajans* in praise of the deity. People buy about two seers of grains and either a goat or lamb as a token of the fulfilment of their wish. The barren ladies have a great faith in the act of *jagra* and very often offer goats and sheep as a mark of *sukhma*. The *pujari* or the priest of the temple gives her instructions compliance with

which is believed to bless the woman with an issue. On the face of the cabin where the deities are placed, the horns of the sheep or that of the *tarangol* are fixed. The big festival is held on the day in which the festival of Devi Shiv Shakti takes place. The day comes to an end with a grand *dham* or feast. During the days of *navratras*, the Bhatoad Naga is worshipped daily.

The temple is looked after by one Gaddi Brahmin of *chada gotra*. He lives nearby and is also the *bir* or *pujala* of the deity.

Temple Management

For all practical purposes, the affairs of the Shiv-Shakti Temple are looked after by the Temple Management Committee at Chamba. The Secretary makes it a point to pay a visit to the village every now and then. However, a committee of local persons including the *nambardar* and *pradhan*, Gram Panchayat, take a keen interest in the affairs of the institution. They remain in touch with the Secretary at Chamba. The *puja* of the Shiv-Shakti is held daily on turn-by-turn basis. The Brahmin families from the village or nearby participate in the *puja* on this turn-wise basis.

Autars—*Autars* are said to have been admitted into the category of the deities owing to their influence on men and women. The word is derived from the Sanskrit word *Aputtar*—a man having died without issue. The spirits are also propitiated on the days of *amawas* and *puranmashi*. These *autars* are prepared either by the *tarkhans* or *lohars*.

Fairs and Festivals

Shiv-Shakti Fair—By some, Chitrari is considered a *tirtha* due to the shrine of Shiv-Shakti which is located there in the heart of the village. A fair is held here every year on the third day after the Durg-Ashtmi fair at Mani Mahesh lake, a *pandit* brings a *lota* of water from the lake with which the idol at Chitrari is bathed. People from the adjoining *parganas*, from Chamba and also from places as far as Kangra, and Pathankot, assemble on this occasion to pay their homage to the Goddess. Gaddis in their full dress perform dances in the court-yard of the temple. The entire management of the fair is sponsored by the Gram Panchayat. To meet the expenditure on the fair, a nominal licencing fee is charged from the persons who are anxious to set up their stalls and earn money. Confectioners, grocers and *ban-jaras* install their stalls and shops outside the temple gate. *Handolas* and merry-go-round are enjoyed by the people. In 1962 on

the first day there were 41 shops. A list about the description of these shops has been appended to form an exact idea about the type of things which are sold at the fair.



A wooden mask

A number of sheep are slayed to appease the deity and to invoke the goddess's blessings. *Hawan* is performed in the court-yard. In the end the people enjoy the meat as a *parshad*. *Sur* is used profusely on the occasion.

This is the list of the rates for various articles charged at the fair in 1962.

Pakoday	. . .	12 nP	per 50 grams
Barfi	. . .	19 nP	Do.
Sirni	. . .	15 nP	Do.
Baisan	. . .	19 nP	Do.
Balushahi	. . .		
Laddu-Bundi	. . .		
Cigarette Lamp	. . .	15 nP	per packet
Cigarette 'Tar'	. . .	14 nP	Do.
Cigarette Bus	. . .	10 nP	Do.

Cigarate Star	. . .	19 nP	gerpacket
Match box	. . .	8 nP	per match box
Potatoes	. . .	80 nP	per kilogram
Grams (parched)	. . .	80 nP	Do.
Kernel	. . .	22 nP	per 50 grams
Dried dates	. . .	14 nP	Do.
Jalebi	. . .	15 nP	Do.
Halwa Puri	. . .	15 nP	Do.
Meat	. . .	62 nP	per plate
Rice (boiled)	. . .	62 nP	per plate

List of some shopkeepers who had their stalls at Chitrari fair

Sl. No.	Name of Shopkeeper	Place of Residence	Name of Shop
1	Roshan	Renukothi	Sweet-seller
2	Shyam Sundar	Amritsar	Do.
3	Moti	Moroar	Do.
4	Prabh Dayal	Kangra	Do.
5	Thithu	Chitrari	Do.
6	Das	Mahasu	Do.
7	Musafir	Phati	Do.
8	National Tobacco Co., Calcutta	..	Cigarettes 81618
9	Gurmukh Dass	Chamba	Grocery
10	Kartar Singh	Pathankot	Dentist
11	Harnam Singh	Chamba	Genl. Merchant
12	Kanshi Ram	Do.	Do.
13	Basant Singh	Do.	Old clothes
14	Kishen Singh	Do.	Genl. Merchant
15	Hoshiara Singh	Gehra	Do.
16	Kaka Ram	Chamba	Do.
17	Didu	Chitrari	Sweet-seller
18	Das Ram	Chitrari	Do.
19	Rishi Kes	Chamba	Do.
20	Bainsu	Mehla	Do.
21	Jagat Ram	Giura	Do.
22	Balwant Singh	Chamba	Do.
23	Kishan Singh	Chamba	Do.
24	Bishan Das	Do.	Genl. Merchant
25	Uttam Singh	Do.	Do.
26	Daulat Ram	Do.	Do.
27	Sohan Lal	Pathankot	Cobbler
28	Salo	Boar	Hotel
29	Buta	Phati	Sweet-seller
30	Prem Lal	Chitrari	Grocery
31	Satya Prakash	Do.	Sweet-seller
32	Puran Chand	Samot (Bhattiyat)	Goldsmith
33	Gopi	Chitrari	Sweet-seller
34	Agtu	Neri	Do.
35	Gangu	Chamba	Do.
36	Mahant Prashad	Do.	Do.
37	Ujagar Mal	Pathankot	Do.
38	Sewa Ram	Malejar-Sarna	Cobbler
39	Mohinder Singh	Patak	Photographer
40	Naghar Singh	Chamba	Do.
41	Chaman Lal	Do.	Hotel

Baisakhi or *Basowa*—People await with great eagerness for this day as this is the first festival of every *Vikram sankrant*, celebrated on the 1st of Baisakh or the 13th April. Flour cakes are cooked on this occasion and eaten with *ghee* and honey. Grains are given by way of charity to the needy.

Janamashtami—Generally this falls in August and is celebrated to mark the birthday of Lord Krishna. A few of the Gaddis keep fast on this day and do not take cereals. *Phalahars*—non-cereal diet consisting of milk, fruit and *seul* is taken. People assemble somewhere before the picture of Lord Krishna and worship is performed. Important incidents from the life of the Lord are narrated. Some of them may offer grain for charity.

Dewali—The day falls either in the month of October or November and is celebrated with the same enthusiasm and gaiety as is witnessed in the plains. To give a touch of cleanliness to their houses, people may plaster the floor with cowdung. On this day they prepare dishes and share these with their friends and relatives.

Lohri—The day falls in January, *Khichri* is prepared and relished by all the members of the family. During the night bon-fires are made. People assemble round and sing the songs in chorus.

Shivratri—This dates as ordained in the Hindu calendar, generally in the month of February, the festival of Shivratri is celebrated with great enthusiasm. The Gaddis observe fast on this day in honour of Lord Shiva. In the morning the fast is broken and *phalahar* consisting of *seul*, potatoes, banans and milk is taken. During fast, they do not have cereals till the evening. Goats and sheep are sacrificed to appease Lord Shiva.

Hoti—*Hoti* falls on the day of full moon in the month of Phalgun. *Khaddas* are eaten while sitting round the fire at night. The main rite consists of worshipping the fire. The day is spent in rejoicing and revelling and some of them sing in praise of deities.

Patroru—On the first of Bhadon of the *Vikrami* era, a festival known as *patroru* is celebrated. *Seul*, a cake of vegetables is specifically prepared and eaten. On the day only the young girls assemble and dance.

Popular Legend

The local legend about Bhasma-sur is different and quite confusing from the one appearing in Shrimad Bhagvad. Legends very often produced are different from what they have been originally. There are probably



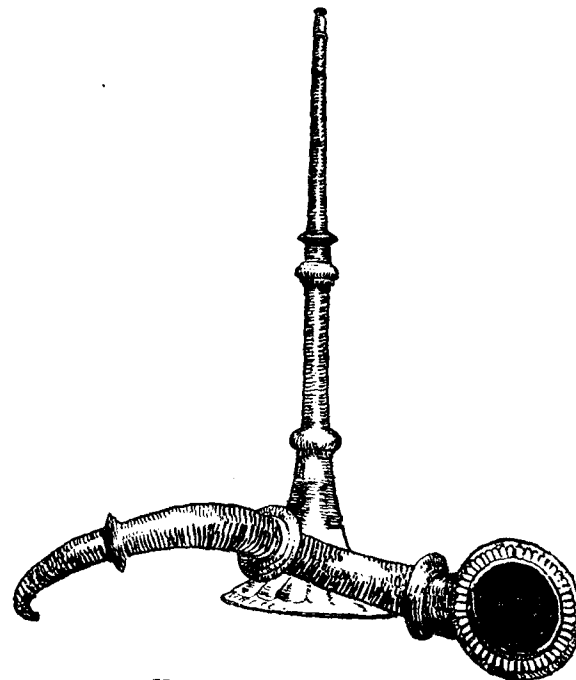
Goat sacrifice

Musical Instruments

The traditional musical instruments are dhol, dholak, shehnai, narsingha, Bansuri, nigara, jang and kal. Dhol is an ordinary drum and is beaten to the rhythm. Nigara is beaten to the rhythm and the accompanying instrument is narsingha. Dholak is a variation of dhol and is used when bhajans are sung. Jang is the mouth organ and a very sweet and melodious sound is produced. Kal is two piece instrument made of copper. On marriages and other festive occasions they



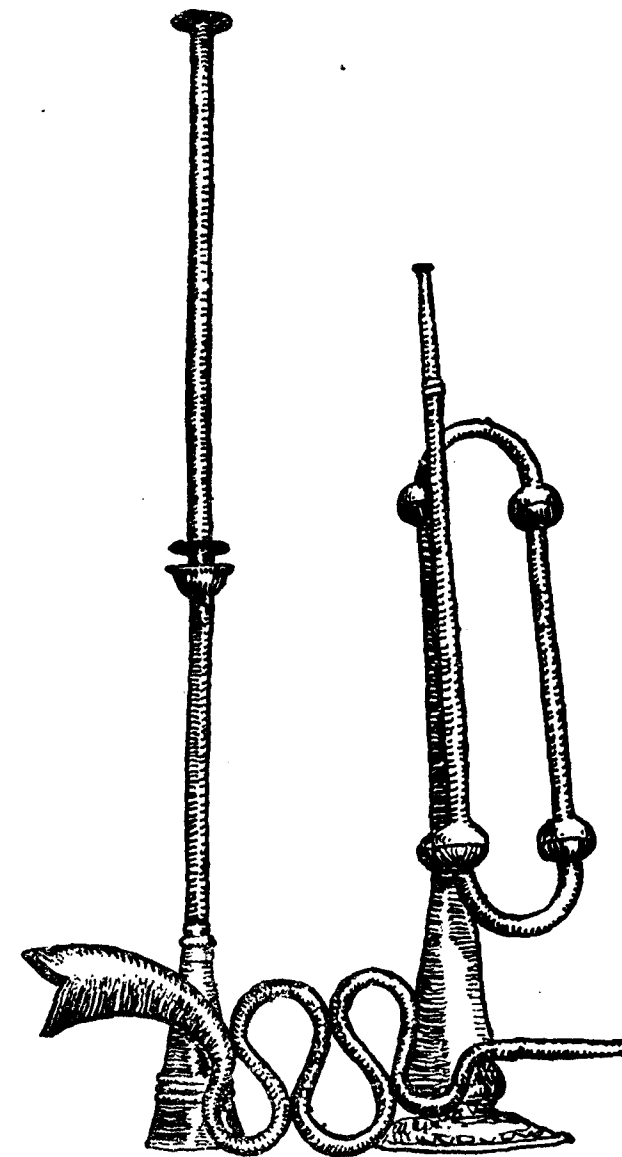
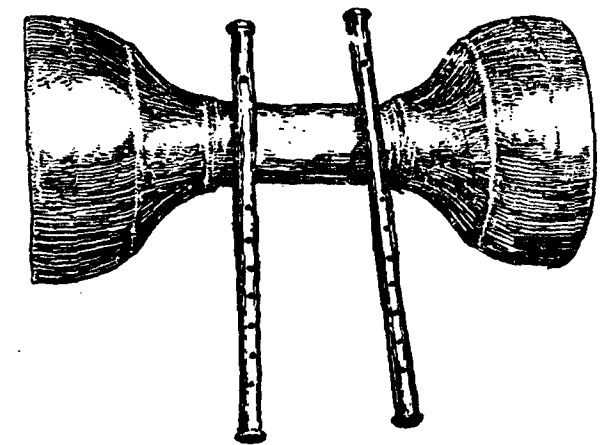
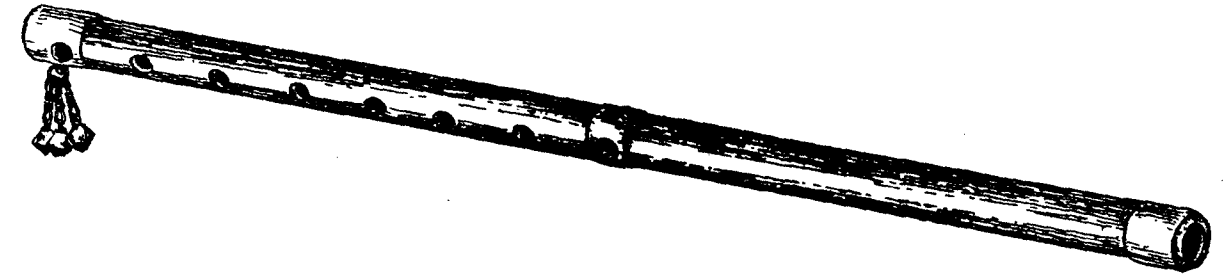
Performing Puja during Nawala



Karnal and Haransingha

play on these instruments quite profusely. Among other instruments harmonium, a

pair of chimtas and khartals occupy an important place.



Some musical instruments

General Superstitions

The months of Chaitra, Pausa and Magha are regarded as unlucky and are called *kale mahine* or black months. The people like to hear the name of Chaitra, first month of the Vikrami year, from the lips of lower castes and the name of Magha is best heard from a class of Brahmins named Bas Bari, who come up during this month from the plains to sing and beg from house to house. If a cow has given birth to a calf in the month of Bhadra, both the cow and its calf must be given away in charity to avert the misfortune. Sundays, Tuesdays and Saturdays are unlucky days for celebrating the marriage. It is a belief among the people that if the marriage is solemnized on Sundays, the couple would never agree with each other. The husband is likely to die soon if marriage has taken place on Tuesday. Lastly they are likely to land in trouble if married on Saturdays.

Dreams

Superstitions are also attached to the dreams and these are interpreted accordingly. If a person dreams in the early morning, it is believed to come true. If in a dream, a dead relative appears and mentions some date on which the dreamer will die, some measures are taken to avert the bad effect of the influence. A *chela* or *bir* is summoned on this date who dance continuously till they become giddy. Others, including the close friends and relatives try in many ways to divert the man's attention till the critical time has passed. The omen is inauspicious if in a dream copper or iron is given to the person dreaming. A dog coming towards the person to bite him is also considered ominous and is called as the effect of some bad *grah*. An elephant in a dream means that god Ganesha is angry and must be appeased usually by way of worship. If a hog appears in the dream, Maha Dev is signified. A snake coming towards the dreamer to bite him is a bad omen. If some one is seen to leave the house, the person dreaming is likely to die. But if an ailing relation is seen dying, he or she is believed to recover soon. Crossing a stream in a dream points to some trouble ahead.

Evil Spirits

The belief in evil spirits exerts a powerful influence on the people's way of thinking. Evil Spirits and fairies are believed to have a special liking for fair-complexioned children and thus a black mark is put on the children's forehead to keep these away and also to ensure protection against the power of evil eye. The underlying idea seems to be that these malign influences affect beauty more readily than ugliness. Charms and *amulets* are in general used to keep away ghosts or *bhuts* and also to ensure safety against the bad effects of evil spirits or evil eye.

Auttars or the spirits of the dead are believed to appear in dreams and warn people that they will carry them off to the next world. An *auttar* is the spirit of a person who has died childless and causes sickness. To propitiate this spirit, the sick person puts on clothes which are specifically made for him with a silver image of the deceased. He then goes over to the stream or spring and worships the idol which is installed there invariably. Images in stone and wood are carved and kept near the springs. These are prepared by the Tarkhans and Lohars. These *auttars* are worshipped on Sankranti by the members of the family. Also on *amawas* and

puranmashi puja is offered to them. To scare away the ghosts, *chela* or *bir* is called for as he is adept in the technique of summoning the various gods to ward off the evil spirits. On his behalf, the evil spirits are offered with 4 balls of boiled maize flour called *ghungamion*.

But these do not exhaust the list of beliefs. *Batal* is the spirit of the springs, river and wells and *jognis* that of rocks. To ward off these spirits, 3 coloured grains of rice, 5 *rotis*, a loaf, a *diwa* with red wick, 3 pieces of *dhup* and a she-goat are offered and prayers offered. *Changu* is another demon found on walnut and mulberry trees. His worship is done with cocoanut, a *chhuara*, almonds, milk and a *rote* of flour with his effigy and a lamp of flour on it. *Chela* is always summoned for the purpose who performs the rites.

Gunga is another prominent spirit of the region and is believed to affect the cattle with various types of diseases. Till the day of final offering, *tawa* is set aside in its name. Thursday is the day chosen for the purpose when a piece of iron like a miniature bent stick is picked up to symbolise the spirit and taken to the cattle shed. Here sacred fire is lit up in one corner to perform the rites. He-goat is slaughtered and a few drops of blood sprinkled on the piece of iron. Flour cakes are also offered in this way and some eaten by the members of the family. Generally this is repeated every four years.

To the Devis and lesser deities are offered vermilion, *bindi*, *salu*, *dora*, *sura* and a goat. To the *birs* a he-goat, a *chola* or thick woollen coat, a waist band, a white conical cap and five breads are offered. *Kailubir*, the spirit of abortion, is worshipped only by the women-folk. *Kailing* is a Nag, and the father of all the Nags. He is worshipped like Shiva in the form of sickle, always carried by a Gaddi while grazing his flocks.

Status of Women

Women occupy a position of no less importance than men both in the domestic as well as in the wider social spheres. They are entitled to all the normal respects and privileges which a woman receives elsewhere. Almost in all the family matters it is she whose voice is the determining factor. As a matter of convention husbands do not by-pass her advice in matrimonial alliances, both of the sons and daughters, and can well illustrate the point of her importance as it is with her consultation that the matter is finally concluded. Leaving aside the domestic sphere, she is a co-worker with the male folks

of her family. Her contribution to the family income does not lag behind in any case. Except for ploughing all other agricultural operations are carried on by the women. They can be seen fetching water from the springs, flour from the *gharats*, transporting cowdung to the fields in the *kiltas* and also lending a hand in sowing and harvesting the crops. Perhaps the ploughing has been excluded due to the relatively lesser physical powers. Besides all this they attend to the domestic chores including cooking and also bring firewood on their backs daily from the nearby jungles.

Purdah in the strict sense of the term is prohibited. Although the married women just cover their heads whenever they see the elders approaching towards them. Generally they are always found with their heads covered with the scarf. As a matter of convention the women would not cross the group of men. They would take their route just behind their backs. In so far as smoking is concerned only the elderly women smoke the indigenous *hukka*. It is the women, dressed in their colourful dresses and choicest jewellery that impart glamour to the festive occasions. In the community singing and dancing programme they invariably participate although separately from their male counter-parts. In short, women share all the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges side by side with the men.

Untouchability

Although all of the households know that untouchability, in any form, has been prohibited under law, they appear to be reluctant to break away from the old traditions and customs. Casteism is deep rooted in the social fabric and provides a fertile ground to breed the social distinctions. They do not allow the scheduled castes to enter their houses but at the same time they do not openly despise them.

There are no restrictions, however, for scheduled castes to take water from the *bowlis*, springs and *nalahs*. But because of the age-old fears, the Harijans like to fetch water from the *bowlis* other than those commonly used by the *swarans*.

All the places of worship have been thrown open to the scheduled castes by the law but they are not allowed to enter the local Shiv-Shakti temple to worship the deity. They make their offerings just from the verandah of the temple. Incidentally the school is housed in the temple premises and as such the scheduled caste students also enter the

temple premises alongwith the other students.

There are no professional sweepers in the village because they all go to their fields. But for a poster against the untouchability pasted here and there by the Publicity Department, no serious efforts appear to have been made seriously in this direction.

Education

There is one Higher Secondary School in the village which has a history spread over a period of 18 years. The school caters to the educational requirements of the people living within a radius of 5 miles. In the first instance, it was established as a Primary school in the year 1945 and was subsequently raised to a lower middle school in 1951. Thereafter it was raised to the middle standard in 1956-57 and now it is functioning as a higher secondary school to which status it was raised in 1961-62. The school is housed in the building attached to the Shiv-Shakti Temple which contains four *kacha* rooms. The building has been rented out by the management at Rs. 14/- p.m. Due to the paucity of accommodation the primary classes are held in the open verandahs of the temple. Realizing the difficulties of accommodation, construction of a new building for the school has been started which is expected to be completed during the term of Third Five Year Plan.

The character of the institution is naturally co-educational as the number of girl students does not warrant the establishment of a separate institution. The space problem is so acute that it hampers the study of the students during the rough weather. Because of the migratory character of the population, the number of students is highest during the summer and rainy season but is reduced very low as the winter approaches as they start moving downwards towards the plains.

According to the information supplied by the Headmaster in the year 1963, there were 13 teachers in all, including one mistress. The physical training instructor is also there in the teaching staff. Although no playground is attached to the school building, the games of Volleyball, Kabaddi and Ring are played in the temple verandah. Student clubs like science club and *kumar sabha* have been organized by the teaching staff as extra curricular activities.

The U.N.E.S.C.O. milk powder supply scheme is applicable to the village. In one year alone 549 pounds of milk powder was

distributed among the students. In the year 1963, the stock of the powder had exhausted and the regular supplies had been disorganized due to one or the other reason.

The yearwise strength of students classified by sex for the last five years can be got from this table.

1957-58		1958-59		1959-60		1960-61		1961-62	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
53	3	56	4	63	4	77	3	106	9

There is a progressive rise in the number of students going to school. The number has more than doubled during the quinquennial 1957-62 which indicates that educational consciousness is gradually dawning among the hitherto neglected people. The more prominent feature relates to the number of girl students which has trebled during this same period. Out of the total strength of 115 which has been noted for the year 1961-62, 108 belong to the village Chitrari and remaining students come from the neighbouring villages. This marked difference can only

be explained by pointing out the difficulties caused by the absence of conveyance facilities. The class-wise strength both for the school as a whole and also for the village Chitrari for the year 1961-62 can be studied from this table:—

Class	Strength for the whole school			Strength for village Chitrari		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1st	33	30	3	33	30	3
2nd	13	11	2	7	5	2
3rd	8	7	1	3	2	1
4th	9	9	..	9	8	1
5th	6	5	1	6	5	1
6th	12	11	1	11	10	1
7th	13	13	..	13	13	..
8th	8	7	1	8	7	1
9th	8	8	..	7	7	..
10th	5	5	..	5	5	..
	115	106	9	102	92	10

Position of Literacy

Statistically, the position can well be explained by the table given here:—

Age groups	Total Population			Illite- rate		Literate without educa- tional Standard		Primary or basic		Middle		Matric or Higher Sec- ondary		Inter- mediate		Gradu- ate		Any other	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Total	404	204	200	146	184	32	9	20	6	..	..	3	1	..	..	2	..	1	..
0-14	166	73	93	51	81	19	9	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15-24	68	36	32	21	29	5	..	8	2	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
25-59	151	84	67	63	66	8	..	9	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 & over	14	8	6	8	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..
Age not-stated	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

The position of literacy is discouraging as out of a total population of 404, only 74 persons can be termed as literate. In the context of analysis that we are pursuing, the term literacy stands for one who can read and write without having gone through any educational course. In terms of percentage, the rate of literacy works out at 18.3 per cent. In the case of women the position is all the more acute as the percentage is only 8 per cent against 28.43 per cent which has been recorded in the case of males. The highest number of literates without educational standard is covered by the age-group 0-14 which shows that until recently people were unaware about the importance of education. They are now coming forward to avail of the

facilities offered by the State and are getting their children admitted into the schools. There are only 6 persons who possess either diploma or certificate. Out of these 6 persons, one girl is Matriculate who is from outside and works as a teachress. The remaining five persons, including the two Graduates, are also from outside the village and work in varied capacities in a number of Government offices located in the village. There is no person who is even Matriculate from the village.

Panchayats

The population being relatively less in the villages of H.P., Circle Panchayats covering a number of villages have been organized

instead of one for a single village. The village Chitrari is no exception to this rule and as such the Chitrari Gram and Nyaya Panchayat covers a number of neighbouring villages. The Gram Panchayat was established in 1954 and later on in 1958, Nyaya Panchayat was also formed:

Gram Panchayat

The Gram Panchayat consists of 13 members, including the President and Vice-President. The third elections were held on 28th August, 1962. Out of the total number of 13 seats, three seats are reserved for the scheduled castes. The scheduled caste seats are occupied by two men and one woman, the latter belongs to the Arya caste of village Chitrari. One of the seats is also occupied by another woman member who is from *swarn* caste and belongs to village Chitrari. The President of the Panchayat is Daryodhan, a Gaddi Brahmin of the village under survey. The Vice-Presidentship goes to Labdi Rai from Mahasu village. In all 6 seats go to village Chitrari out of 13.

Nyaya Panchayat

The Nyaya or Judicial Panchayat consists of 15 members elected during second elections which were held in January, 1962. Out of the 15 members elected, 3 belong to the scheduled castes and are all men. Out of the total of 15 members, five members including the Sarpanch and Naib-Sarpanch belong to the village Chitrari.

New members are elected every three years, but the Lt. Governor is empowered to extend this period at his discretion. Apart from the members who happen to be honorary, there are a paid Secretary and Chawki-dar. It is the Secretary who performs all the clerical jobs and maintains all the records of both the Panchayats. The meetings of the Gram Panchayat are held twice a month but in specific cases, the President of the Panchayat is empowered to convene the conference on other days also. In accordance with the terms of constitution these are held on the 2nd and 14th of every month. The people attend the meetings with great enthusiasm. In such cases a prior notice of 7 days has to be issued to the members. The Pradhan presides over all the meetings, but in his absence, the Vice-President acts as a Pradhan. In so far as the scope of activities is concerned, both social and economic aspects are covered. The jurisdiction of the Panchayat in respect of development activities extends over the whole circle. Repairs of village paths, *bowlis*, cleaning of public

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streets, sanitation, maintenance of birth and death registers, *nautor* cases and organizing of festivals are the activities undertaken by the Gram Panchayat. On the social side, the principal function consists of the reconciliation of minor disputes.

At present the offices of both the Gram and Nyaya Panchayats are housed in the building owned by them. It was constructed in the year 1959 at a total cost of Rs. 4,700/- out of which Rs. 2,500/- was given by the Govt. as Grant-in-Aid and the *shramdan* amounted to Rs. 2,200/-.

Nyaya Panchayat can fine upto Rs. 100/-. At the end of the year, Nyaya Panchayat deposits the money charged by way of fines in the Govt. treasury. The following year the same amount is transferred to the account of Gram Panchayat which is utilized for the purpose of development activities.

Two things which are frequently referred to by the people are the construction of Public bathrooms with a water tap attached to it and surfacing of the various *bowlis*. The latter are cleaned at regular intervals.

16 minor cases have so far been referred to Gram Panchayat and all of them have been settled by it without a reference to the Nyaya Panchayat. No fine or fee was charged. It definitely goes to the credit of the area that it is free from the crimes of every nature. The very common crimes of theft, abduction and rape are absolutely unknown to them. Their innocence goes to such an extreme that some of them turn pale even at the very mention of these terms. Until very recently the practice of locking the doors was not common. Even now one can safely leave the luggage by the roadside for hours together without running the risk whatsoever. However, a typical case may be given to understand the nature of disputes that one comes across here in this region.

A girl aged about 18, daughter of one Handu, a Gaddi Brahmin of the village Chitrari, alongwith three of her friends, was going uphill towards Boar, a neighbouring village to collect the *ban-ki-puttis*, used extensively for manure. According to her version, as supported by the witnesses, one Seenu, an old man aged about 60, was sitting in the middle of the path. Here is a custom prevalent according to which the grown-up girls do not pass through the men, or just on the side facing the men, sitting or standing. Three of them passed the way facing this old man, but when her turn came she turned to pass behind his back. But Seenu pressed her against the mountain side to obstruct her

path. The girl was infuriated at the incident and thrust away the turban from his head. Instantaneously he gave her two slaps.

Next day the matter was referred to the Panchayat by Seenu. The Panchayat, however referred the case to the Samjhota Committee. It succeeded in resolving the dispute on the condition that Seenu would bear the whole expenditure.

Cooperation

The Pyuhra Multipurpose Cooperative Society Ltd., Chitrari, having its headquarters in the village covers a number of villages. At the time of survey in 1960-61, it had a total membership of 52 out of which 21 belonged to Chitrari. The value of each share is Rs. 11/-. Its total share capital was Rs. 2,600/- out of which Rs. 850/- had been contributed by the local members. It was also reported that Rs. 32,000/- were outstanding to the debit of the loanees. However, in early 1963 the number of the members had increased to 54 out of which 33 are from Chitrari. The persons who have availed of the loan facilities is 30. 22 members out of 30 belong to village Chitrari. The rate of interest charged by the Society is 9.37 nP per cent. The reasons invariably given by the persons who are not the members are lack of resources and abhorrence for the formalities which one has to go through in such cases.

Originally the Pyuhra Multipurpose Co-operative Society was established with a view to cater to the multifarious requirements of the villagers. It was established in the year 1951. As an instance of its varied activities we may quote the case of cloth depot which was started on 8th April, 1952. Alongwith cloth of daily requirements, salt and sugar were also distributed at comparative rates. But due to one or the other reason they did not take adequate interest and consequently the activities had to be confined to loan activities only from 1957 onwards:—

Position as on 28th September, 1962

Opening cash	245.36	} 3.07
Deposit in H.P. State Bank	2.50	
Interest	0.57	
Cash in Hand	242.29	

Position on 30th June, 1962

Opening balance	184.10
R.F. Govt. (Subsidy)	1000.00
Subsidy R.F.	75.00
Staff subsidy	450.00

Public Health

Because of the salubrious climate and the presence of mineral properties in the water, the village is somewhat immune to the serious type of diseases. The longevity, therefore, in this village is much above the average of Himachal Pradesh. It has been noted that no member of any household ever suffered from T.B. or typhoid during the last one year. However, two cases of T.B. were reported by the Compounder-in-Charge which were largely attributed to malnutrition and indifference on the part of patients. A stray case of dysentery or fever occurs. The term 'Ayurvedic' in its true sense is not understood by the people. They take it as indigenous medicines prescribed by village elders. There is no trained Ayurvedic, Allopathic or Homoeopathic practitioner in the village.

At present there is a civil dispensary in the village which caters to the requirements of villages within a radius of ten miles, and provides outdoor facilities. The indoor facilities are available in Brahmaur at a distance of 16 miles from the village. It is housed in a modern structure built recently by the Govt. The dispensary is under the charge of an able compounder who displayed his surgical skill in the case of a woman patient who was attacked furiously by a bear. The incident occurred at the time when the woman was going to the field to harvest the crop of maize. The bear was hiding in a bush. Having apprehended that the woman was approaching towards him, he came out of the bush and attacked the woman. She had been mutilated beyond recognition and was immediately brought to the dispensary from a neighbouring village. The compounder-in-charge performed the operation with a tenacity of purpose and later on it was found that she was completely cured. The other members of the staff are:—

Sossamma	—	L.H.V.
Dhano Devi	—	Mid-wife.
Narad Bhagat	—	Peon.
Sri Kant	—	Peon

Reference may, however, be made to the *jantar mantar* type of treatment which continues to hold its sway upon the people's imagination. They are so much steeped in superstitious beliefs that whenever they are afflicted by the ailments, cause is attributed to the effect of some evil spirit. Here the treatment consists in expelling the evil spirit from the diseased person by summoning the saviour gods by means of chanting certain

exotic *mantras* which are collectively known as *jantar mantar* treatment. *Chelas*, the professional devotees of gods and goddesses are invariably summoned on the occasion who by means of their spiritual power, it is believed, make the saviour god to be introduced in their body. When the *chela* is possessed by the spirits, his whole body begins to tremble vigorously and he behaves and acts like the deities. The people all around treat him so and obey his various commands. While being in this state, he puts forth all sorts of demands to get the patient relieved of the evil spirits and diseases. The common demands made are for sacrifice of a goat or

lamb in the name of deity. The Gaddis invariably make it a point to fulfil the demands. The *chela* is also given Rs. 1.25 by way of his fee. As an example of their firm belief in *jantar mantar*, we may refer to the pregnant women. At the time of delivery it is believed that the women are generally possessed by the evil spirits. The elders now come to her rescue and recite certain *mantras* to relieve her of the pain.

The position with regard to the type of diseases prevailing in the region and the number of patients attended at the dispensary can be studied from this table:—

Yearly Progress Report of Out-patients treated in Rural Dispensary, Chitrari District Chamba

1962	1961	1960	1959	1958		
1835	1985	2004	1888	1907	Male	New
1416	1297	1227	1025	910	Female	
1439	1596	1271	1048	830	Children	
4690	4878	4502	3953	3647	Total	
708	952	989	740	1048	Male	Old
778	851	705	577	616	Female	
502	636	429	390	416	Children	
1988	2439	2123	1707	2080	Total	
2543	2937	2993	2620	2955	Male	New & Old
2194	2148	1932	1602	1526	Female	
1941	2232	1700	1438	1246	Children	
6678	7317	6625	5660	5727	Total	
6678	7317	6625	5660	3647	Progress Total	
90	52	87	94	45	Dysentery	
65	64	85	91	115	Gonorrhoea	
10	5	4	11	5	Leprosy	
39	95	188	240	313	Malaria	
214	219	198	111	142	Rheumatic pains	
..	3	..	1	8	Syphilis	
152	170	98	69	69	Anaemia	
37	52	60	65	79	Worms	
314	280	298	265	201	Nervous system	
135	170	226	154	109	Eye	
104	105	101	81	87	Ear	
847	791	618	639	523	Respiratory system	
422	329	402	392	217	Dyspepsia	
269	248	253	198	164	Diarrhoea	
1047	1051	831	737	702	Digestive	
8	3	5	1	1	Goitre	

1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	
471	645	564	387	396	Skin
..	..	5	27	39	Ulcer
42	585	469	283	392	Injuries
10	13	9	4	1	T. B.
..	..	..	3	2	Typhoid
4690	4878	4502	3953	3647	Total
125	227	198	152	146	Minor Operation

Maternity and Child Welfare Centre

There is functioning one Maternity and Child Welfare, Centre at Chitrari which was established in May, 1961. It is under the charge of a Lady Health Visitor who is doing nicely alongwith her assistant, a mid-wife.

It was reported that the Lady Health Visitor had attended to three cases of delivery in the year 1961, which were all successful. The principal diseases from which the women suffer are Gonorrhoea and Leacorrhoea. The detailed position with regard to the activities of the Centre can be had from this table.

Activities of the Maternity and Child Welfare Centre

Name of Health Centre	No. of Maternity cases conducted		Anti-natal visits		Anti-natal re-visits		Natal visits		Natal re-visits		Toddlers Infants		Toddlers Infants re-visits		No. of Dai and No. of Health Centre		Friendly visits	
	Home	Centre	Home	Centre	Home	Centre	Home	Centre	Home	Centre	Home	Centre	Home	Centre	Home	Centre	Home	Centre
CHITRARI																		
1961—May	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	54	..	2	..	1	..	46	..
June	..	2	..	6	..	..	71	2	..	15	..	72	149	72	..	1	..	..
July	..	..	2	19	..	21	..	..	..	..	36	17	2	13	1	..	9	8
August	..	3	..	3	54	..	27	1	..	9	..	30	51	47	7	1	..	32
September	..	1	..	2	33	..	25	1	..	9	..	1	46	23	34	1	..	29
October	..	..	..	1	14	..	26	..	..	..	13	5	58	14	1	..	70	..
November	..	3	..	4	17	..	26	3	..	27	..	5	..	12	4	1	..	29
December	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	29	33	57	17	1	..	89	1
1962—January	..	1	..	10	42	3	28	1	..	9	..	19	..	49	9	1	..	69
February	..	..	..	..	32	2	26	..	..	..	2	..	33	1	1	..	35	..
March	..	2	..	2	35	1	25	2	..	18	..	5	..	3	2	1	..	37
April	..	5	..	6	14	2	19	5	..	45	..	25	5	89	..	1	..	61
May	..	3	..	5	22	..	7	3	..	27	..	25	7	37	..	1	..	50
June	..	..	..	8	3	8	..	1	42	..	32	2	1	18	..	1	..	29
July	..	1	..	7	2	9	6	4	1	2	..	55	4	12	..	1	..	34
August	..	..	..	2	5	3	8	3	1	8	1	44	..	15	..	1	..	50

Village Officials

The village has a number of officials, majority of whom are government servants. Under this category come Patwari, Gram-sewak, Compounders-in-Charge and persons

working in rural dispensary and veterinary centre. The villagers come in contact with these officials in their day to day dealings and they are held in great esteem by them. On the other hand, Sarpanch and members of the Panchayat are the important posts

which are all elected by them. Other paid posts in the Panchayat are that of Secretary and Chowkidar. On the service side, the important position is held by the Lambardar who is empowered by the Revenue authorities to collect the revenue in the circle. For his services he is paid 5 per cent. of the revenue which is known as *panjotra*.

Old Practice

Durbial—He used to be appointed by the Revenue authorities at Rs. 3/- p.m. and his responsibility was to look after the visiting officials.

Zatyar/Butwal—His responsibilities were similar to the *durbial* and his pay was Rs. 5/- to be paid by the Revenue Department.

Lakhniara—He was also a sort of revenue official and was not on the regular pay-roll. For the collection of revenue he used to be paid Rs. 60/- annually.

Family Planning

Being ignorant and illiterate, they are not able to understand the implications of family planning or planned parenthood properly. The Lady Health Visitor who is an enthusiastic worker is propagating the use of various types of contraceptives supplied to the centre. But as the programme is in the initial stages, no worthwhile progress has been achieved so far.

Community Development

The N.E.S. Block, Chamba covering the village Chitrari, was started in July, 1955 and converted into C.D. Block on the 2nd October, 1956. The Block has its headquarters at Chamba. The Gram Sevak lives in the village and the Block authorities have provided for his accommodation in the Gram Sevak Hut.

The scope of activities covered by the Block is very extensive and goes so far as to cover the clearing of individual barns and houses. The people of course, appreciate the work done by the Government and give full cooperation in the form of *shramdan* or free labour but a few of them come out with a scathing criticism. They hold that with the same amount of labour and money, much

more could have been achieved. To support their viewpoint that give a number of suggestions, for example, posting of experienced officials, increased frequency of officials' visits and less frequency of transfers in the case of officials who have gained sufficient experience and are well conversant with the background. All the developmental activities are carried on through the Gram Panchayat and the Secretary of the institution has been entrusted with the responsibility to maintain the record of progress.

Attitude of Villagers

During the period of survey, Chitrari village used to form a part of the Chamba National Extension Service Block. The Block Development Officer and other officials from Chamba seldom came here. It is a pity that such essential and very important regular contacts in villages have been neglected. And Chitrari is one of the bigger and more famous villages of Chamba.

Even Agriculture Inspectors, Extension Officer, Industries and the Social Education Organisers have not given enough attention.

Since 2nd October, 1962 this forms a part of the Mehla Block and now even more attention is necessary. It is tact, courtesy and personal contact with help and promises on which, villagers can rely upon, that so much of good can be done in these areas. With personal human touch imparted to problems relating to villagers, short-comings of Government are less criticised.

Without this, no matter what Government tries to achieve there will be cold response and criticism all the time.

Government officials from whom villagers have to receive help and guidance should patiently hear the grievances of the villagers, give practical and simple suggestions and not push them from one end to the other as if they were on a wild errand.

There has to be proper co-ordination and clear publicity should be given of all that the Government has been doing to help these villagers.

An idea about the quantum of work done by the authorities can well be had from the tables:

Progress Report of the Developmental Activities of the Panchayat Circle									
Serial No.	Date	Name of the owner and place	Description of work	Physical Achievement	Progressive Achievement	Target to be achieved	Unit of labour	Wages	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
1961—									
1	25-8-61	Chitrari	Cleaning of springs	2	2	18	2	2.00	
2	10-10-61	Do.	Do.	2	4	16	2	2.00	

Progress Report of the Development Activities of the Panchayat Circle—contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1962—								
3	28-7-62	Chitrari	Cleaning of springs	2	2	18		
4	25-7-61	Chitrari, Godna and Mahasu.	Repairs of springs and Bowlis.	5	5	5	10	10.00
1961—								
5	25-8-61	Chitrari, Basadka	Cleaning of foot paths	3 furlongs	3 furlongs	..	8	8.00
6	24-10-61	Mohal Chitrari	Do.	1 mile	1 mile	..	16	16.00
					3 furlongs			
1962—								
7	24-3-62	Do.	Do.	5 furlongs	2 furlongs	..	..	..
1961—								
8	25-7-61	Mohal Garthan	Repairing of foot paths	3 furlongs	3 furlongs	2 miles	32	32.00
						2 furlongs		
9	25-4-61	Chitrari	Cleaning of Barns	10	10	140	3	3.00
10	25-5-61	Do.	Do.	10	20	130	3	3.00
11	25-6-61	Basadka, Mahasu	Do.	20	40	110	6	6.00
12	25-7-61	Gugred, Chitrari	Do.	15	55	95	2	2.00
13	24-10-61	Mohal Chitrari	Do.	40	95	45	..	..
14	24-4-62	Chitrari	Do.	10	10	90	..	..
15	25-4-61	Chitrari	Cleaning of Bowlis	4	4	26	4	4.00
16	25-6-61	Do.	Do.	5	12	18	5	5.00
17	25-8-61	Do.	Do.	4	18	12	4	4.00
18	24-9-61	Chitrari Mohal	Do.	9	26	..	..	..
19	24-9-62	Do.	Do.	7	33	..	..	..
20	24-3-62	Do.	Do.	4	37	..	..	..
21	28-7-62	Do.	Do.	2	2	4	16	..
22	20-8-62	Chitrari, Mahasu	Do.	2	2	8	12	..
23	24-4-61	Chitrari	Do.	1	1	29	10	10.00
24	25-5-61	Parli	Do.	1 village	2 village	28	10	10.00
25	25-6-61	Basadka, Mahasu	Do.	2 village	4 villages	26	15	15.00
26	25-7-61	Chitrari	Do.	1 village	5 villages	25	10	10.00
27	20-9-61	Motial Gram Sabha, Chitrari	Do.	8 village	14 villages	..	..	..
28	25-10-61	Chitrari	Do.	3 villages	17 villages	..	..	..
29	24-11-61	Do.	Do.	1 village	18 villages	..	..	..
30	24-1-61	Do.	Do.	2 village	20 villages	..	..	..
31	24-8-62	Chitrari (urli)	Cleaning of village	1 village	1 village	19	..	..
32	24-8-62	Chitrari (parli)	Do.	1 village	2 village	18	..	..
33	24-8-62	Basadka	Do.	1 village	3 villages	17	..	..
34	24-8-62	Ukli	Do.	1 village	4 villages	11	..	..
35	20-6-62	Chitrari, Basadka	Do.	2 village	7 villages	13	..	..
36	20-6-62	Basadka	Do.	1 village	8 villages	12	..	..
37	30-4-61	Chitrari	Cleaning of Houses	10 village	10 houses	140	..	..
38	25-7-61	Mohal Chitrari	Do.	15 houses	55 houses	95	..	..
39	25-8-61	Do.	Do.	20 houses	75 houses	85	..	..
40	24-9-61	Do.	Do.	118 houses	193 houses	..	..	..

Progress Report of the Development Activities of the Panchayat Circle—concl'd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
41	24-10-61	Mohal Chitrari	Cleaning of houses	40 houses	233 houses	..	..	..
42	24-11-61	Do.	Do.	16 houses	249 houses	..	..	..
43	25-4-62	Mohal Chitrari; Mahasu, Galthar.	Cleaning of houses on Baisakhi day.	140 houses	Target (150 houses)	160 houses	..	..
44	20-6-62	Village Chitrari	Do.	40 houses	180 houses	120 houses	..	..
45	20-8-62	Do.	Do.	20 houses	200 houses	100 houses	..	..
46	10-10-61	Gram Sabha, Chitrari	Distribution of improved seeds.	5 mds.	5 maunds	..	..	..
47	31-8-61	Mahasu Mohal and Galthar	Distribution of plants of Chir, peaches, Kasiaon.	16 mds.	16 maunds	84	4	4
48	20-2-61	Gram Sabha, Chitrari	Apples, pears, Kasiaon	100	116	..	..	..
49	30-6-61	Do.	Chemical fertilizers	5 maunds	5 maunds	15 maunds	..	..
50	20-2-62	Do.	Do.	10 maunds	15 maunds	..	..	..
51	30-5-61	Chamaru	Compost Pits	1	1	9	2	2
52	30-6-61	Primu	Do.	2	3	8	2	2
53	25-7-61	Bhagat	Do.	3	6	7	2	2
54	25-7-61	Gangu Rani	Do.	4	10	6	2	2
55	25-11-61	Chamaru	Do.	5	..	5	2	2.00
56	11-11-61	Rup Chand	Do.	6	..	4	2	2.00
57	30-5-61	Books for study	Books for reading	5	5	95	..	..
58	30-6-61	Do.	Do.	3	8	92	..	..
59	30-7-61	Do.	Do.	59	67	33	..	..
60	31-8-61	Do.	Do.	8	75	25	..	..
1961—								
61	30-4-61	Mahasu, Mohal Chitrari	Admitting of children	10 children	10 children	5 children	..	..
62	25-5-61	Do.	Do.	13 children	23 children	..	..	..
1962—								
63	1-4-62	Chitrari, Mahasu	Do.	20 children	20 children	..	..	..

NOTE—One unit of labour=4 hours of work.

5. Conclusion

It is really an interesting experience to catch the glimpses of the varied and colourful character of the people who are living in the lap of nature since times immemorial. In the course of time they have developed their own distinct ways of living and earning. In the preceding pages, we have made an effort to piece together the varied experiences embracing the whole gamut of their social, cultural and economic life.

The village under study was characterized by an overall backwardness due to geographical reasons. Of course, at present sheep and goat rearing no longer continues to be the main profession of these Gaddis in the village. Until recently the village was practically cut off from the outside world and has therefore been immune in some ways to the changes taking place elsewhere. The primary impact of the development activities has possibly been the improvement in communication facilities. But for the last stage of journey covering a distance of hardly 4 miles from the Bus Terminus Gehra means of transportation cover the whole distance. Their contact with the outside world is therefore on the ascendancy, and their visits to Chamba have increased considerably, mostly in connection with making the day to day purchases.

The Gaddis of Chitrari appear to be comparatively better off than some living in the surrounding hills. This enables them to concentrate more intensively on the agriculture apart from their traditional way of spin-

ning and weaving an economy which has turned out to be self-supporting to some extent, for agriculture alone would not have been sufficient to spare a good part of the income to be spent on the clothing which is a basic necessity in the conditions of the village. With apple growing and growing of other fruit trees one day the Gaddis ought to see how much they would earn.

Socially, the village has remained a closed community throughout. Being hitherto exclusively pastoral, more or less they are impervious to change. In religious matters, they are exceedingly orthodox and are emotionally attached to the rites and ceremonies which used to be performed by their ancestors centuries ago. The village elders belonging to the *swaran* or upper castes continue to have their usual hold on the imagination of the people. As a matter of fact the regulations and decisions governing the community are all propounded by them and have far greater sanction than the judgments obtained in the court of law.

A lavish amount is spent on the religious ceremonies and a huge expenditure incurred on the caste dinners given at the time of marriages and death rites. To meet these expenditures they incur the debts. But once they are engrossed in this malady, it is hardly possible to get out of it as their means are extremely limited and avenues of alternative employment almost non-existent. This leads to the consequent depressing effect upon their economic position and

makes them all the more fatalistic. Traditional prejudices against the low castes still persist although untouchability has never been known here. But due to the enactment of social legislative measures the intensity of these prejudices has begun to lose its force and is definitely on the wane.

The people of the village have a tradition of leading a composite group life. In other words, one caste-group is dependent upon the other for certain part of its requirements. This phenomenon of group life has a vast potentiality to be utilized for productive purposes and with proper guidance and sympathetic approach, this task can well be performed by the village leadership.

We may say that illiteracy has in the past been the bane of all progress. But after the attainment of independence, the tables have been turned and the education-consciousness among the people is definitely on the increase. In the year 1951 there was no female literate and only 6 males were covered by this category. However, in the year 1961 the position was altogether different as the sex-wise classification of literates was 58 males and 16 females. If this trend continues, we can safely say that the future generations would all reap the benefits of education.

The village has not remained immune from the currents of democratic decentralization and in its wake the institution of Gram Panchayat has been established. Upon its successful functioning, are to be laid the foundation of *Gram Swarajya* and now we have a record of almost a decade to judge the results. The absence of crimes in the region is an eloquent testimony to the nobility of human temperament which may be said to be their prime possession. The Gram Panchayat has thus remained free to concentrate on the development activities. The complex of its activities extends over a vast field and has covered such items as the cleaning of individual houses which otherwise is the exclusive responsibility of the persons concerned. To understand the things in proper perspective one should be adequately equipped with the proper type of knowledge. Here we may suggest that Adult Literacy drive should be started vigorously with adequate safeguards against lapse into illiteracy. Of course, a rural library has been started by the Gram Panchayat to achieve this end but the progress cannot be said to be satisfactory. Nobody is so bad as not to appreciate the value of education and more so the villagers who have hitherto been denied the benefits. To corroborate this statement we may give

the figure of new entrants which were admitted to the school. The target fixed was 20 for the year 1962 and was achieved even before the first quarter of the year ended. Education is thus a matter of opportunity and to attribute their illiteracy to unwillingness on their part would be to put a cart before the horse.

The Block Development activities have not been able to bring about any perceptible change either in the social and economic sphere. Perhaps it explains the general apathetic attitude which the atmosphere breathes. Sometimes a B.D.O. has not been to the village for 6 months or more at a stretch.

It is therefore a precondition to provide some sort of social and cultural background in order that the willing cooperation from the people's side may be forthcoming. Even the local officers who carry out extension services have failed to realize the massiveness of the problem. Only a fringe of the matter has been touched. The villagers, though illiterate and backward, are not aware of the introduction of new techniques and methods. To bring about the desired change in their outlook, what is now required is the proper guidance and sympathetic approach to the problems that face them everyday. Now it is up to the village extension official to break the crux of the matters and develop close contacts and understanding with the farmers. One of the important parts of the economy—developing a better breed of sheep—seems to have been neglected. If developed on right lines it can surely go a long way in affecting the improvement in their economic life. It was evidently revealed in the course of enquiry that villagers have an innate sense of appreciation for this aspect of their economic life, but the lack of financial means is proving a great impediment in the realization of their aims. Now Co-operative movement should come to their rescue. Creditworthiness should not be linked to the assets that a man holds but rather a new experiment should be made to ascertain the productivity. Loans should be linked to the productivity and advanced for purchase of sheep and goats. The forest authorities should undertake to develop the grazing facilities nearly as in its absence much of the time and energy is spent unnecessarily in treading up the hills and down the vales. Necessary measures should also be taken to improve the breed of cattle and raise the yield of milk. No effort in this direction seems to have been made so far. Again, the cooperative society can undertake to market the products economically and thus ensure a fair return both to the consumers and producers.

Scope for the improvement of agriculture by means of extensive methods is there. Once apples, apricots, peaches, potatoes, vegetables, fodder and other trees are extensively grown, the results would be spectacular as years go by. Under the present conditions efforts will have to be concentrated on the intensive methods of agriculture with improved varieties of seeds, better implements, chemical fertilizers and spraying of crops with insecticide would have to be adopted. Then the pressure on the soil should be lessened by means of widening the base of occupational pattern.

At one time the wood-craft of the region was quite popular. But now mostly due to lack of patronage it has completely died out. In the neighbouring village of Kunr the last vestiges of the dying art are visible here and there. The principal raw material is the walnut wood which, with relatively less labour can be made available in plenty.

Now it is for the Government to give sufficient publicity of these products and supply the artisans with improved type of tools. The hope also lies in developing the weaving and spinning of woollen material. An effort has

been made in this direction by opening a weaving and spinning centre in the village. But here too the lack of effective publicity and propaganda can be explained as the sole reason in not achieving the encouraging results.

Finally, to say that the mode of thinking in the areas is primitive and not amenable to easy change is wholly incorrect. Once the villager is convinced about the efficiency of specific measures, he is quick to imbibe the new ideas. The uptrend in the field of education is alone sufficient to convince anyone who tends to differ on this score. Only tactful sympathetic and patient handling of the problems coupled with the availability of the necessary resources and assistance is the prime necessity.

After visiting a number of villages around, one comes with the impression that Chitrari is a cleaner village though there are some very old houses which we were told are there since Ap. Thakuri's time. There are quite a few large commodious houses with Khadi installed in them. There are number of shopkeepers whose shops seem to be very full. In recent years, the villagers have had very prosperous and very bumper crops.

Appendices

APPENDIX I

EXTRACT FROM "THE EARLY WOODEN TEMPLES OF CHAMBA"

By

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MEMORIES OF THE KERN INSTITUTE No. I.

LEIDEN

E.J. BRILL

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(d) The Sakti Devi Temple at Chatrarhi

Very similar to the Lakshana Devi temple at Brahmor is that of Sakti Devi at Chatrarhi²². Chatrarhi is a village in Piu ilaqa, lying in a fertile upland on the slope south of the Ravi, two-third of the way from Chamba up to Brahmor, not far below the junction of the Budhal and Tundehn Nalas with the Ravi. The village is inhabited by brahmins and musicians connected with the temple and with the great Mela celebrated in the month of Bhadon when dancing goes on day and night, after the idol of the Devi has

been bathed in water brought by runners from the Manimahes lake beyond Brahmor. For the Chatrarhi temple is regarded as one of the most holy sanctuaries of the hills, competing with those of Lakshana Devi at Brahmor and of Bhavani at Kangra. And certainly it is one of the oldest. Tradition attributes its foundation to Mushuna, the legendary ancestor of the old Brahmor dynasty. But the inscription on the idol mentions Meruvarman, the founder of Brahmor, and another tradition says that the temple was the last work of Gugga, the master-artisan of Meruvarman.

²² A. Cunningham, A.S.R. XIV, p. 113; A.S.R. 1905-06, p. 25; 1906-07, p. 17; Chamba State Gazetteer, p. 43 ff.; Vogel Antiquities fig 3.

This statement is more or less borne out by archaeological evidence. For the building resembles the Lakshana temple at Brahmar in many respects. But there are also a number of differences both in its plan and decoration. For it has no separate mandapa, but only one large shrine (16 ft. 1 in. by 16 ft. 1 in.) which, however, seems later to have been subdivided into a cella and mandapa. This nucleus is surrounded by an open gallery, i.e., a pradakshina-patha supported by twelve massive wooden columns. But the interstices between the columns have later been filled in with whitewashed rude masonry of rubble blocks and clay strengthened by a number of horizontal beams. Instead, new wooden galleries have been constructed in front and on the right side. And the whole (30 by 29 ft.) is covered by an almost flat pyramidal roof of well-cut slates.

Only the sanctuary proper and the, once open, gallery surrounding it belong to the original temple. The rubble masonry was last renewed after the earthquake of 1905, and old photographs show an almost flat gable roof in place of the present pyramidal one. The later wooden galleries have the elegant, but decadent forms of the 18th century, with columns in which medieval pot-and-foilage capitals, 16th century Rajput brackets and scaly Mughal pillar shafts in the style of Muhammad Shah have been blended into a quaint product of "folk art".

As already mentioned, the original shrine is surrounded by a gallery (measuring inside 24 ft. 10 in. by 25 ft. 2 in., and, up to the lowest beam 8 ft. 2 in. high) supported by twelve heavy pillars (1 ft. 6 in. thick) of deodar wood²², very similar to those in the Lakshana Devi temple at Brahmar. But their decoration is somewhat richer and more elegant, the design more fluid and variegated, but also more mannered, and the individual motifs more interesting, though less numerous. In comparison with the Chatrarhi pillars those of Brahmar look stiff geometrical and almost clumsy. On the sridhara brackets lions and other animals alternate with flying Gandharvas, and stylized flower scrolls with the deities of the central-niche panels. On the exterior side, of course, these carvings are very badly corroded by the weather, whereas the fringe of stalactite knobs (opali) along the edge of the roof must have been renewed in the course of time.

²² Vogel, A.S.R. 1902-03, p. 239 ff., pl. XXXIVb.

The entrance to the gallery and that to the interior shrine are both of the same type as those of the Lakshana temple. Yet the rich pediment and gable of the facade of the latter are absent, while the sculptures of the door frames proper are less elaborate. The exterior entrance is rather simple: first a small border, then a frieze of decorative bosses and finally a set of four now badly damaged, deities on both sides. When the pillared gallery round the sanctum was still open, this frame must have stood, almost detached, also in the open. We can trace such arrangements in some later hill temples, though always in connection with a mandapa in front, but it is unknown in the rest of India, and possibly this exterior entrance, though an old piece, has been transferred from another, lost shrine. This seems plausible because there exists another ancient idol at Chatrarhi, likewise known as Sakti Devi, but actually the bust of a male deity. The door might thus have belonged to the vanished temple of this image.

The entrance to the sanctum is much more interesting. The outermost frieze projects to the right and left at the top corners, enclosing two sitting lions. The next frame consists of two jambs alternately decorated with three standing deities and three smaller crouching ganas(?) each. Of the latter two are ox-headed, two lion-headed, one has elephant ears and one a face on his belly. Among the deities Karttikeya with six faces and a peacock, Indra with his vajra and the elephant Airavata, possibly also Siva can be recognized on the left, and Brahma, four-armed and with a rosary and vellel in his hand, accompanied by two hamsas, on the right. The lintel again is decorated with flying Gandharvas, those in the centre holding a crown, the rest various unidentified objects, each carrying his mate on his back. On the jambs of the next frame again four, somewhat smaller, standing deities are represented on each side. Most of them unfortunately cannot be identified; on the left jamb (from top to bottom): a figure holding an object which might be a garland, veil or noose (Vayu or Yama?), Durga Mahishamardini, Vishnu with human, lion and boar heads and four arms holding his emblems, i.e. the disk, conch, lotus and mace, and at the bottom the river goddess Ganga; on the right jamb: an unidentified goddess (?), a god with a club (Bhairava?), again a god or goddess, and finally the river goddess Yamuna.

The corresponding lintel shows thirteen sitting figures, most of them four-armed and, as the tenth from the left a big head in profile, with matted hair and well-executed earrings. This permits the group to be identified as the Navagraha, including Rahu the dragon demon causing the eclipse of the moon, and, on the right, the four Lokapalas, the guardian deities of the four cardinal points. The innermost frame finally is decorated with highly stylized scroll-work sprouting from long-drawn creeper spirals growing out of the mouths of two sitting yakshas at the bottom.

The idol of Sakti Devi²³ in the sanctum is a fine brass statue, with its socle 4 feet, 6 inches high (Plate VII). This copper socle is much lower than that of Lakshana, as the goddess stands on a big lotus, with reverted over-ripe petals, such as is a very common convention in Nepalese and Tibetan art. She has a very slim, elegant body covered only with a transparent skirt falling down to the ankles and forming some folds between the legs, held by a rich belt (mekhala) with a kind of girdle and strings of pearls of the same type as that worn by Lakshana Devi. Also the scarf hanging over her shoulders, her necklace, armlets, bracelets and ear-rings are of the same sort. But besides these, a long string of pearls hangs down from her neck between the heavy breast to her thighs. And on her head she wears a high diadem, consisting of a golden circle decorated with two jewelled flowers above each ear, from which bands flow down, and a pile of five jewels above the forehead from which plumets emerge to the right, left and top. In her two right hands Sakti Devi holds a lance (sakti—a lance, but also power, energy) and a lotus (life), in her left hands a bell (ether, space) and a snake (death and time).

As already mentioned, another old idol exists at Chatrarhi, believed to represent Sakti Devi. It is likewise a fine old brass image, but only a bust from the waist upward emerging from the usual copper pedestal. It cannot be an image of the Devi, as it is a male figure, holding a lotus and a rosary in its

hands. It wears a high mukuta of pile-up hair, while long ringlets float down on the shoulders; a diadem is placed on the forehead, ending above the ears in two small flowers and rising above the temples in two high pinnacles. The eyes are inlaid with silver. Probably this bust represents the same deity as Balabhadra-varman's similar brass image at Harsar near Brahmar, i.e. Siva²⁴. Its style is characteristically Kashmiri, and stands very near to the Surya reliefs of Martand. It must, therefore, belong to the reign of Ajayavarman, or soon after.

Only slightly later we have to place two copper statuettes of yoginis, attendants of the Great Goddess. They are rather short, stout figures, with excessively short legs and small feet, a fat body and big head, and with two large staring eyes and an awkward smile (Fig. 10 and 11). And yet they do not belong to primitive art; on the contrary, they are representatives, though degenerated and provincial, of a highly refined tradition. The treatment of anatomy and postures, the beautifully chiselled costume, the hair style, the jewellery diadems, the silver-inlaid eyes, the oval halo, the type of the pedestal, all this places them still in the late Gupta tradition, and yet the stout roundness of the figures already has all the rural earthiness of early Pala and Pratihara art. Moreover, the excessively short legs, small feet, big heads are characteristic features of the dissolution of every late style; the artist still knows how to do every individual part, but has lost the sense of the whole, and accentuates the various parts of the figure according to their interest, naturally emphasizing the head and eyes as the centres of expression. We may, therefore, interpret these figures as products of the transitional style from Gupta to Medieval art and may place them in the period of indirect Pala influence, via the dependent Ayudha kingdom of Kanauj, a vassal of which the Brahmar State must have been in the years between the fall of the Kashmir empire of Lalitaditya and the Tibetan ("Kira") invasion. In this respect they are contemporaneous with the Pala bronzes which have repeatedly been found in Kulu.

²³ Vogel, A.S.R. 1902-03, p. 239 ff., fig. 3; Antiquities, p. 140, 145 ff., pls. VIIa and X.

²⁴ Vogel, Antiquities p. 251 f., pls. XXXIXb, XL.

APPENDIX II

Some Sentences in Gaddi Dialect and Folk Songs.

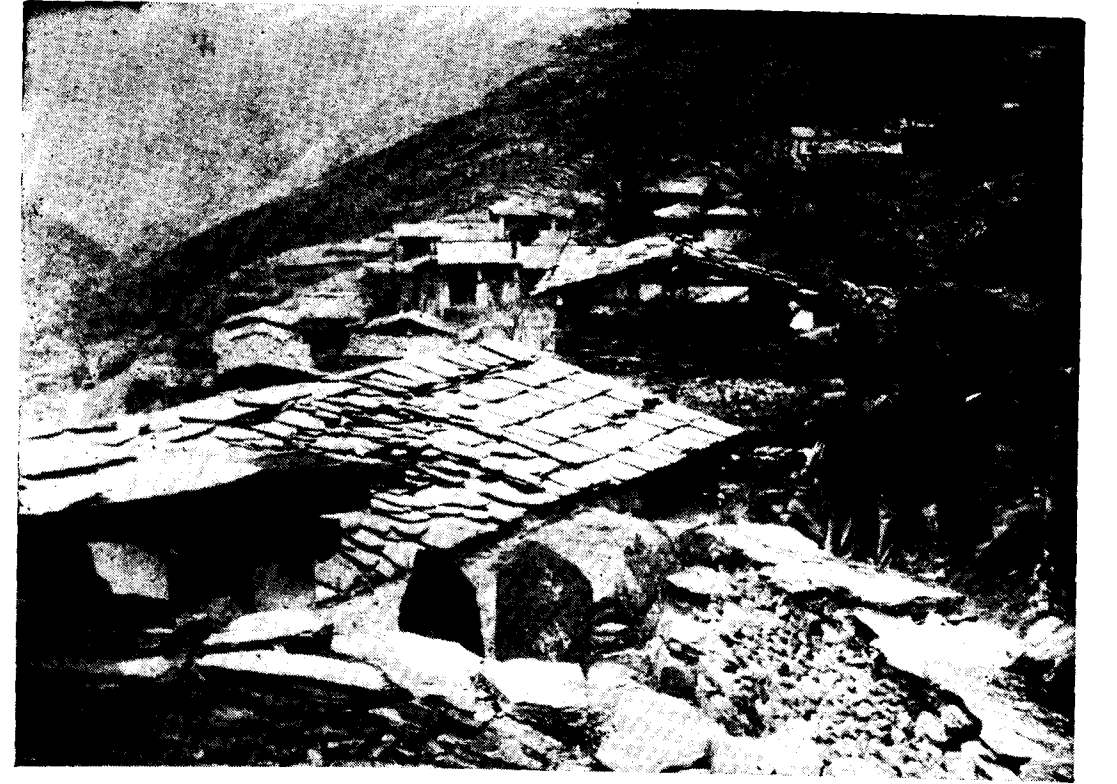
- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. Where are you going? | तु करहा है चलूरा या |
| 2. I am going home. | आऊं घरा जो चलू रा हऊं |
| 3. How are you? | दुधा के हाल हा |
| 4. I am quite well. | मेरा खरा हाल हा |
| 5. Where is your home? | तुधे घर कठीहिन |
| 6. My home is here. | मेरे घर इठी हिन |
| 7. What do you do? | तुसे कै कम करनदे हिन |
| 8. I am an agriculturist. | अऊं खेती करनू |
| 9. What does he do? | सो कै कम करन्दा |
| 10. He is an agriculturist. | सो खेती करन्दा |
| 11. I intend going to Delhi. | मेरी मरजी देहली गाहणे री हा |
| 12. How many brothers have you? | तेरे कैतै भाई हिन |
| 13. I have four brothers. | मेरे चौर भाई हिन |
| 14. I am taking my meals. | अऊं अऊं खाया लगूरा हा |
| 15. I am feeling sleepy. | मुंजी निन्द्र लगुरी हा |
| 16. We are hill people. | असे पहाड़ी लोक हिन |
| 17. Snowfall is heavy here. | इन्धी जगा हिऊं मतापैदा |
| 18. Rainfall is little here. | इठी वर्षा घट पुदी हा |
| 19. We go down. | असे थुन्हु गौधै हिन |
| 20. Go up. | उप्पर गाह |
| 21. What is your name? | तेरा ना कै हा |
| 22. My father has gone with the sheep and goats. | मेरा चच घणा हरा गछरा हा ॥ |

(From "Sunlight and Shadow" Dr. Karan Singh—Asia Publications)

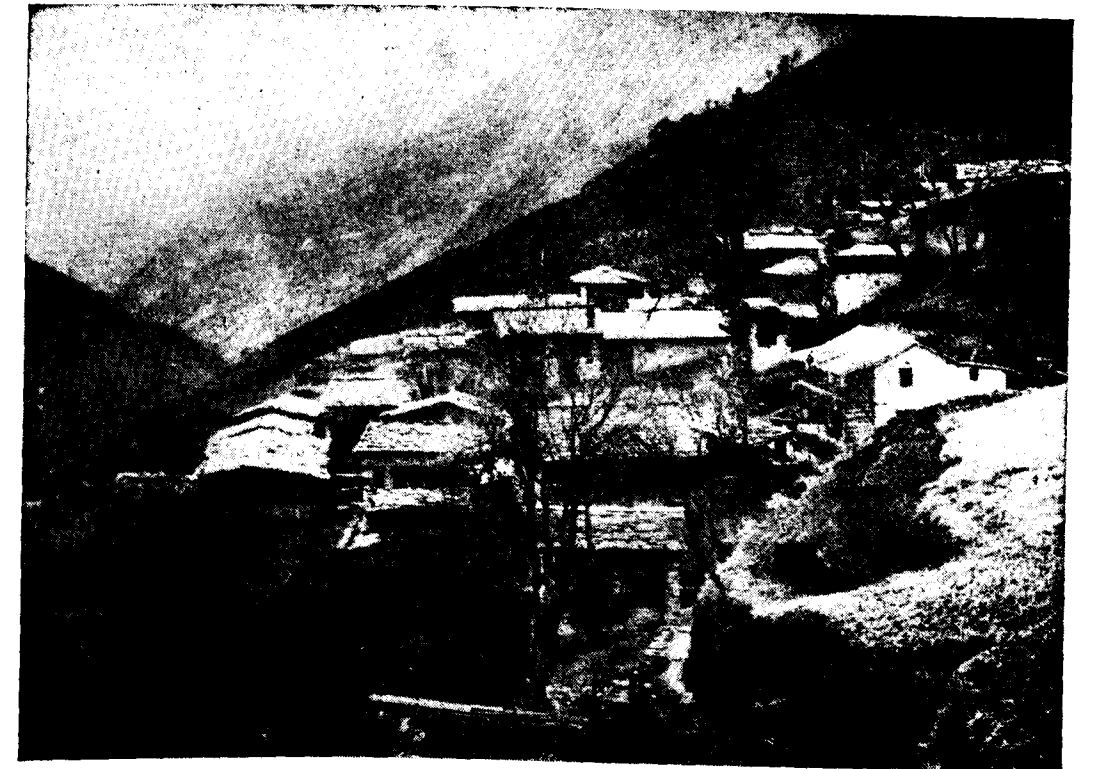
लोक गीत नं० १

The love-sick Shepherdess.

- | | |
|--|---|
| तेरा लगदा मंदा ओ गद्दिया | |
| १. तेरा लगदा मंदा वो गद्दिया | 1. I miss you terribly, by Gaddi, |
| तेरा लगदा मंदा जी ओ | I miss you very very much. |
| २. ए पटवारी खत लिखी नइओं दिन्दा | 2. This Patwari will not write a letter for |
| करनियां सौ सौ छन्दा ओ गद्दिया | me though I beseech him a thousand |
| तेरा लगदा मंदा जी ओ | times. |
| ३. इकली दुकली मैं पनियेंगी जन्नियां | I miss you very much, my beloved |
| पानी पियां लाई छम्बा ओ गद्दिया | Gaddi. |
| तेरा लगदा मंदा जी ओ | 3. I go alone to the spring |
| ४. नंगे नंगे पैरें मैं पहाड़ चड़ी जन्नियां | and drink there in seclusion. |
| पैरेंगी जंदा कंडा जी गद्दिया | and suddenly your memory pierces my |
| तेरा लगदा मंदा जी ओ ॥ | heart, |
| | I miss you very much, my beloved Gad- |
| | di. |
| | 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. |



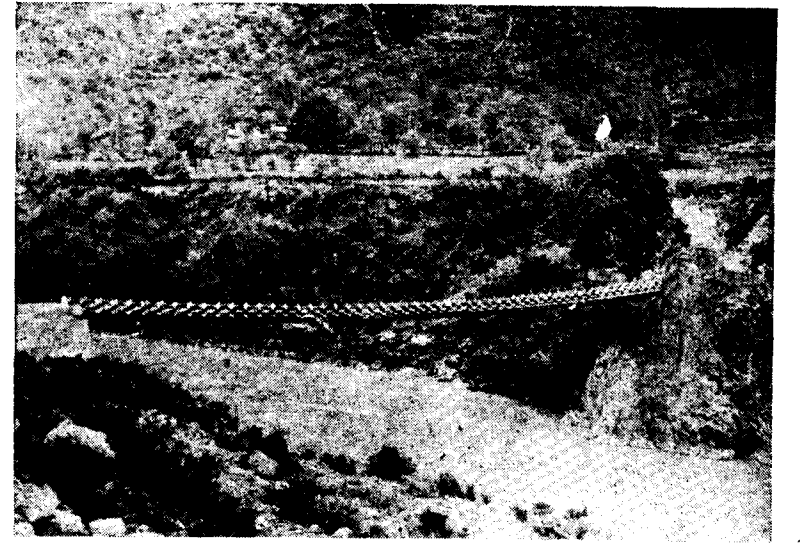
A view of Chitrari



The Village



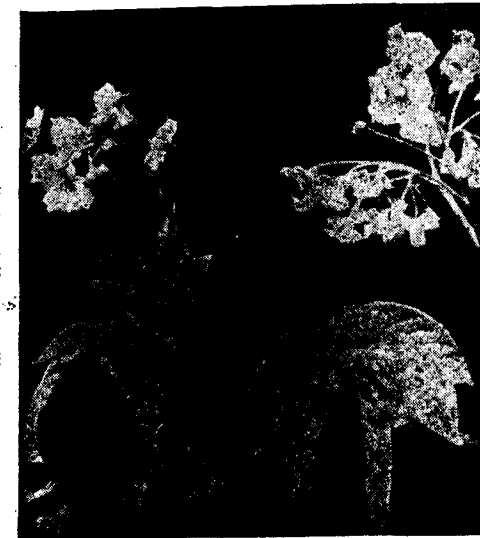
Bakan—A Gujjar village



The bridge below Chitrari



Apple blossoms



Potato Plants



Houses



Typical house



A Gaddi



And his consort



Jewellery



Playing on Jung



Pool-making



A process in Weaving



Masks



Blossoms



Buffaloes



Gharat



Fountain slabs



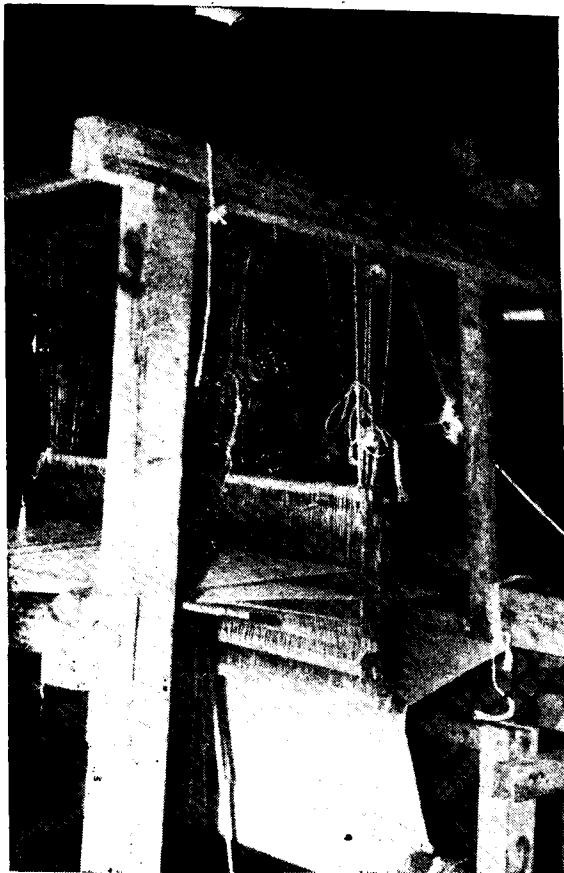
Stitching



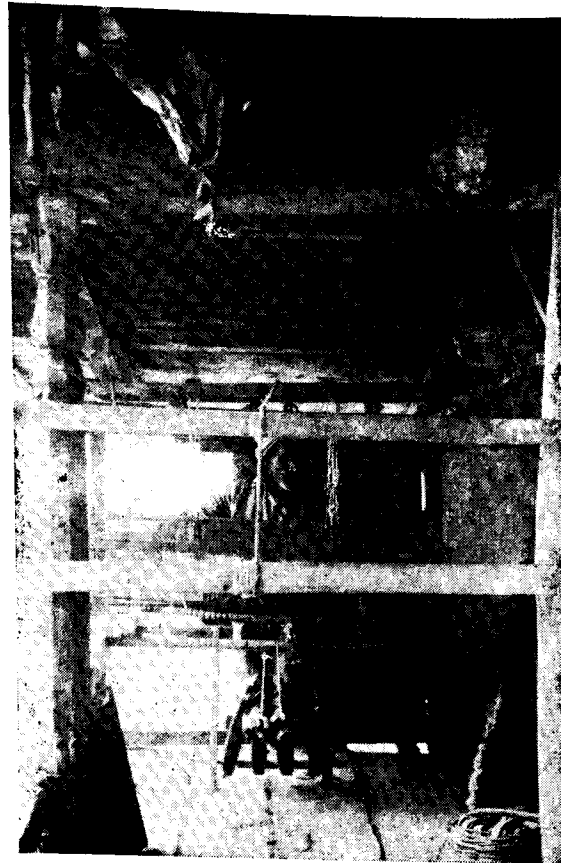
Waterfall



Gharat—a close-up



Loom



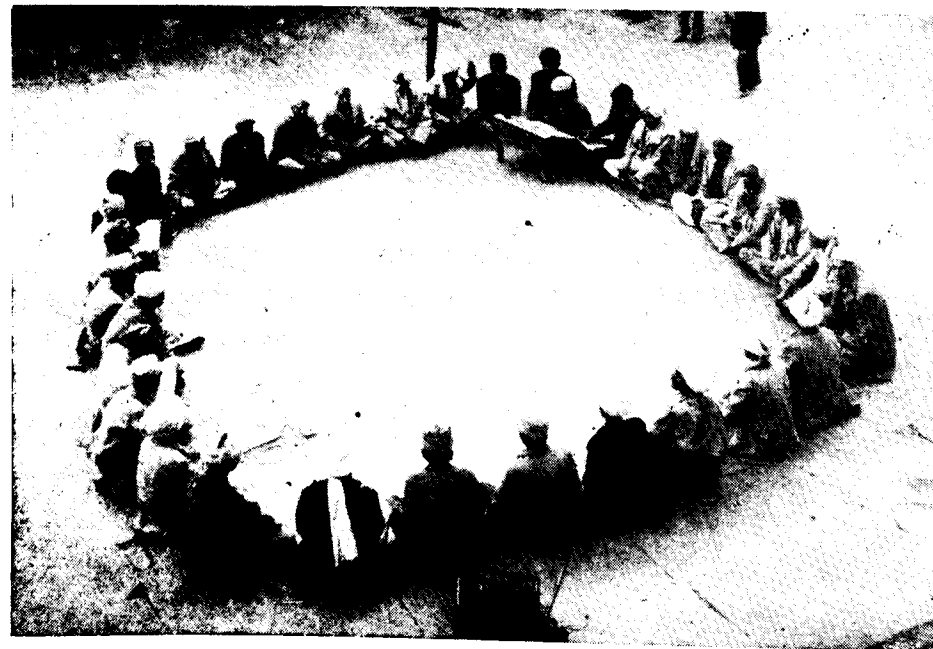
Weaving



Shakti Devi



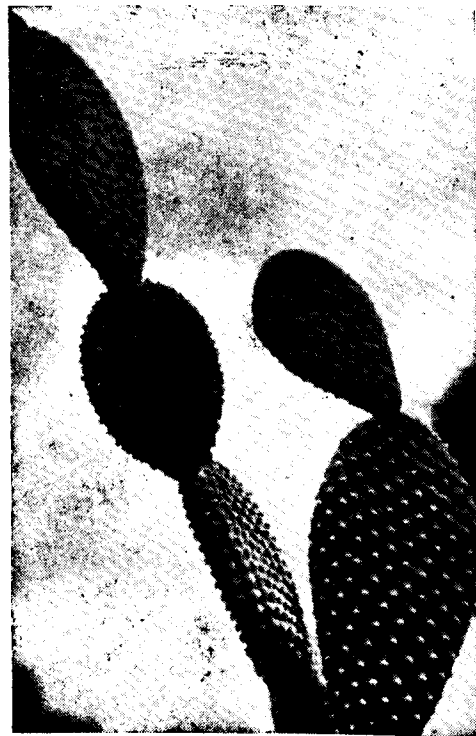
The Goddess



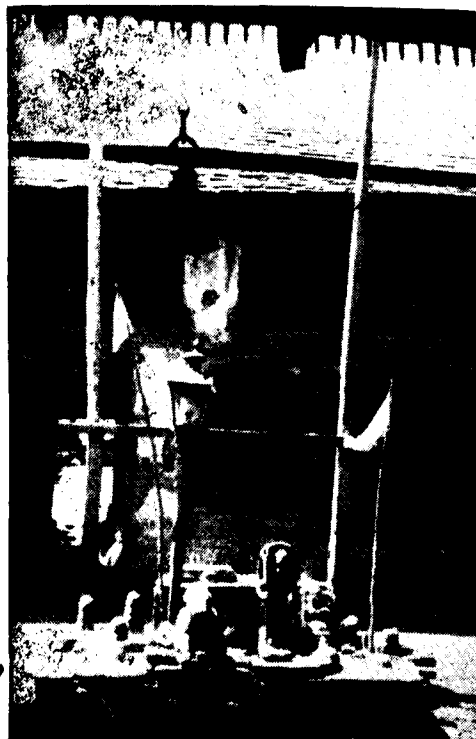
Panchayat in Session



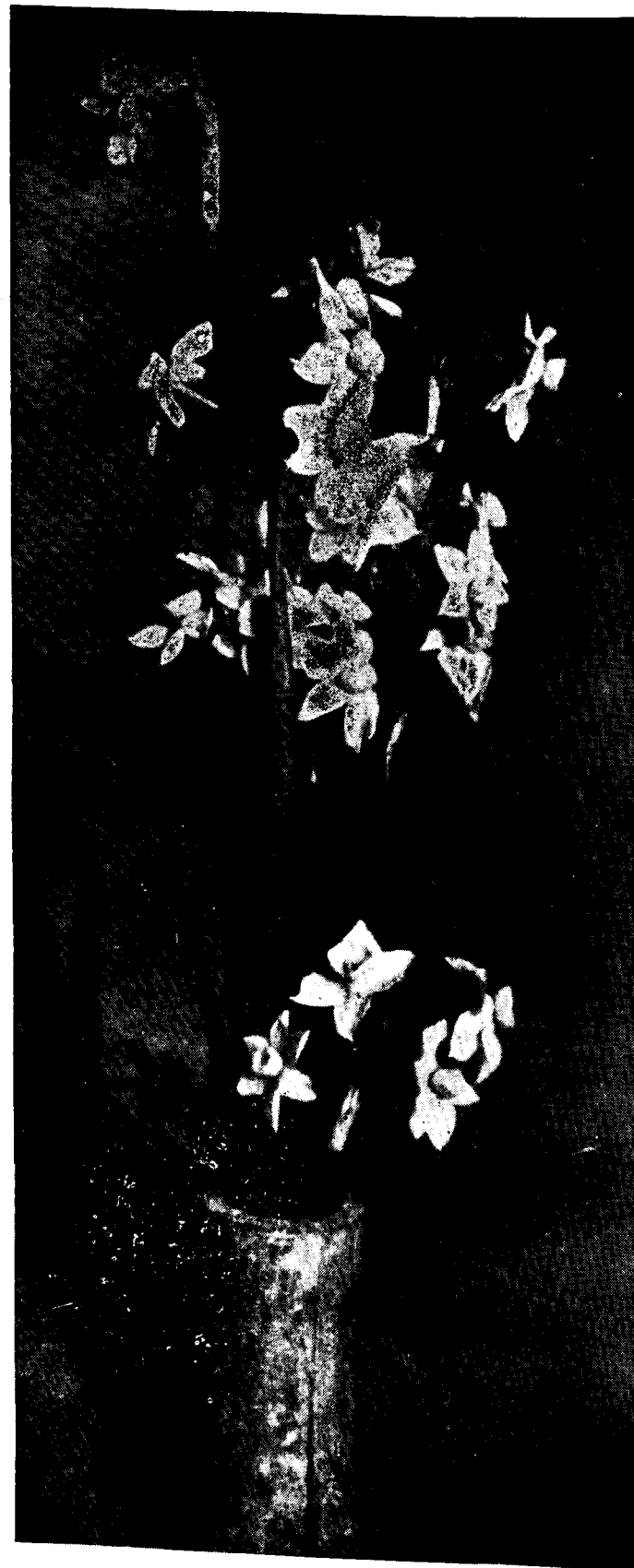
Chitrari Temple



Cactus



Deities



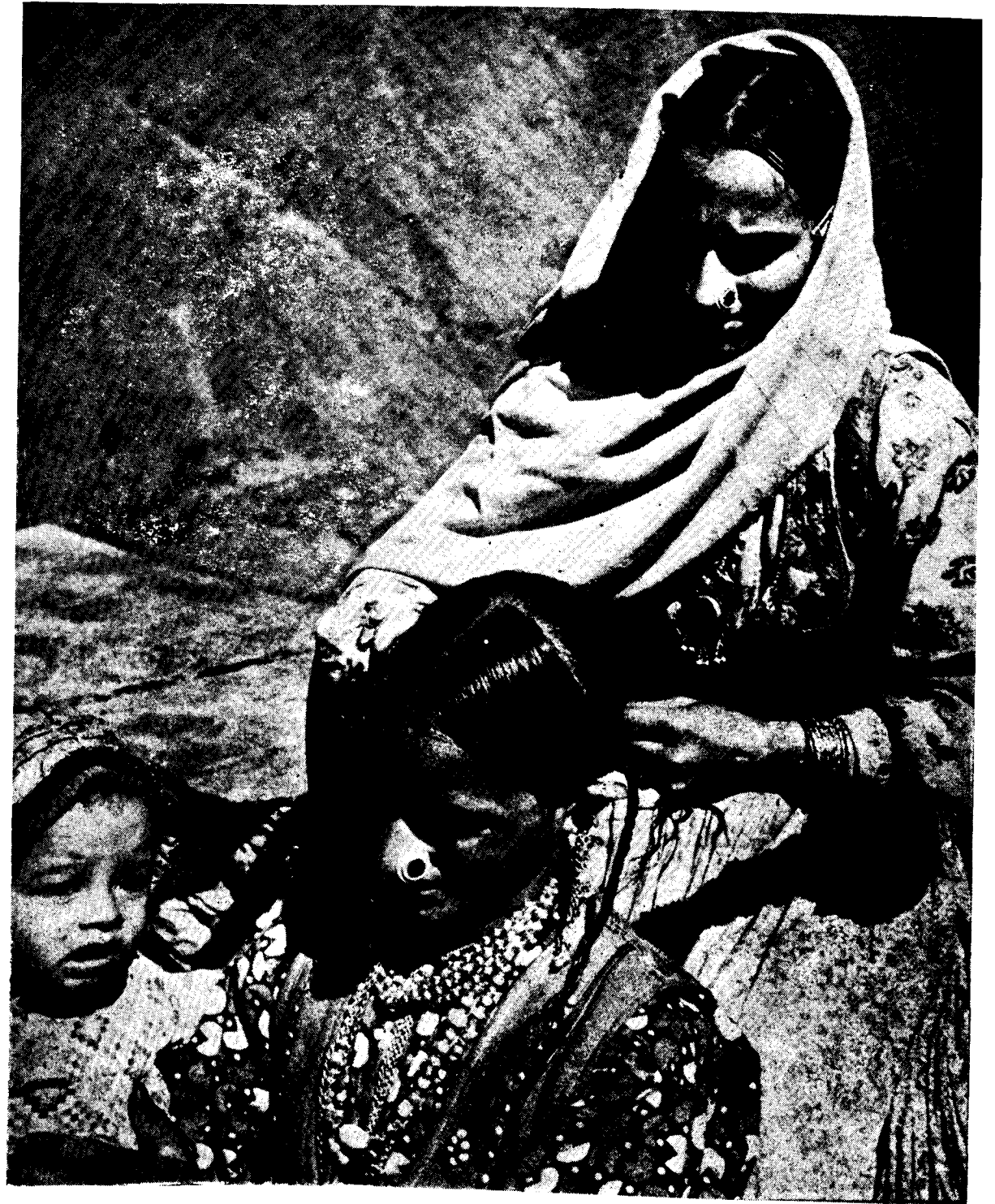
Narcissus



The deity.



An old visitor to the Fair



Dressing for the Fair



Dances



Dancing



Spectators



Sati Temple



More dances



Procession in the Fair



Polygamy



Masks



Dancing in the crowd

लोकगीत नं:- २

कपड़े धोआं कन्ने रोआं कुंजुआ,
मुखों बोल जबानी ओ,
मेरे कुंजुआ मुखों बोल जबानी ओ।
हत्थां बिच रेशमी रमाल चंचलो।
बिच छल्ला नशानी ओ,
मेरिये जिदे, बिच छल्ला नशानी ओ।

काली अक्खियां अम्बे दियां फांडां
बिच अत्थरं नशानी ओ,
मेरिये जिदे, बिच अत्थरं नशानी ओ।
गोरी गोरी बाए लाल चूड़ा चंचलो।
बिच गजरा नशानी ओ,
मेरिये जिदे, बिच गजरा नशानी ओ।

अही अही रातीं मती औंदा कुंजुआ,
पंज भरियां बन्दूकां ओ।
मेरे कुंजुआ पंज भरियां बन्दूकां ओ।
अही अही रातीं असां औना चंचलो।
की करनां बन्दूकां ओ,
मेरिये जिदे, की करना बन्दूकां ओ।

तू ते चला परदेस कुंजुआ।
देईजा डूठी नशानी ओ,
मेरे कुंजुआ देई जा डूठी नशानी हो।
डूठी दा बसोस मत करां चंचलो।
चम्बे सुन्ना बतेरा ओ।
मेरिये जिदे चम्बे सुन्ना बतेरा ओ।
कल किया रातीं मत जांदा कुंजुआ।
देयां जिद बी बारी ओ।
मेरे कुंजुआ देयां जिद बी बारी ओ।
कल कीया रातीं टुरी जाना चंचलो,
कम्म पैई गया भारी ओ,
मेरिये जिदे, कम्म पैई गया भारी ओ॥

English version of Kunju song:—

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.

Courtesy—Dr. Karan Singh—"Sunlight and Shadow" Asia Publications.

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 Kunjun
there are five loaded rifles in my house
itching to fire at your heart.
6. I will surely come at midnight, O Chan-
chalo,
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 Chan-
chalo,
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 Chanchalo,
I must go for I have pressing work which
I cannot ignore.

लोक गीत नं:- ३

बापू दीये धीये लाडलीये अज हुई पराई
होरी दे लड़े छोड़ी लाई धीये अज हुई पराई
पहल थी बापू दी लाडली, अज हुई पराई।
चाचे दीये लाडलीये अज हुई पराई।
होरी दे लड़े छोड़ी लाई अज हुई पराई
पहले थी चाचू दी लाडली अज हुई पराई
अमां दीइये धीये लाडलीये अज हुई पराई
होरी दे लड़े छोड़ी लाई धीये अज हुई पराई
पहले थी अमां दी लाडली अज हुई पराई
ताये दी धीये लाडलीये अज हुई पराई
होरी दे लड़े छोड़ी लाई धीये अज हुई पराई
पहले थी ताये दी लाडलीये 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 house-hold 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 house-hold and now belongs to the other household.

APPENDIX III

Local Weights—Grain Measures

1-1/8 Ser (Wheat)	= A Kuthala	20 Piras	= 1 Khar
4 Kuthalas	= 1 Mani (4½ Sers)		
20 Manis	= 1 Pira	100 Khars.	= 1 Kharasu

APPENDIX IV

SELECTED GLOSSARY

A	D
Abadi Inhabitation	Dakshina Money given to Brahmins on religious occasions
Ajwain Spice (Parsley)	Dal Pulses
Amawas Dark night when there is no moon	Dan Charity
Arti To offer worship	Devi Goddess
Asgand Herb	Devta Deity
Astdhatoo An alloy of eight metals	Dham Congregational feast
Autar Spirit of a deceased person, who died childless.	Dhan Paddy
	Dhar Pastures in the upper mountains
B	Dharam bhai A god brother
Babroo Fried cakes of sweetened flour	Dhoop Incense burnt in temples or before gods
Barani Land dependent upon rain-fall	Dholki A drum
Baray Weeds	Diya Earthen lamp
Barkhi First death anniversary	Dora Woollen string wound round the waist
Batloi Brass pitcher for storing water	Dragra Verandah
Batna A mixture of barley-flour, turmeric, mustard oil and orange peel	Drat Sickle
Belan A roller for preparing chapatis	Drubh Grass blades of a particular variety of grass
Bedi Canopy	Dupatta Head gear
Bhang An Indian hemp	Dunna Leaf bowl
Bhujri A preparation of local vegetables	
Bhoot-Keshi A local herb	G
Bilpatri Leaves of a tree used for making offerings to Lord Shiva	Gana Migration
Bindi Kumkum in the forehead	Ghandeli Local vegetable; a sort of small pumpkin
Birs Minor local gods	Gangajal Water of holy Ganges
Bisu Festival held on 1st Baisakh equivalent to Baisakhi	Gardu Blanket
Blauk A golden ornament for nose	Gauntar A ceremony concerning child-birth
Bowli Spring	Ghara Earthen pitcher
Bradri Brotherhood	Gharat Water mill
Bhoots Ghosts	Ghee Purified butter
	Ghundu Head dress of women
C	Ghutti A mixture of certain indigenous herbs administered to infants
Chaddar Head cover used by ladies	Go-mutra Cow's urine
Chakla Pastry board	Gotra Lineage
Charnamrit Holy water given by priests to devotees	Gotra Lineage
Chaubarkhi Fourth death anniversary	Grah Planet
Chhatak Weighing measure, 1/16 of a seer	Gur Jaggery
Chela Follower	Guru Preceptor
Chhaj Winnowing fan	
Chhikri Game	H
Choppar Game	Handiyas Earthen kettles
Chhuani Sweetened mixture of fried dry fruits given to women at child birth.	Hindolas Merry-go-rounds
Chhuara Dried dates	Hawan A place, where fire is worshipped
Chimta Tongs	Hukka Hubble-bubble
Chiri An ornament for head	
Choli A garment to cover the breast	
Chola A loose coat-like upper garment	
Calip Silver ornament fastened to the hair	

APPENDICES

J	P
Jalebi Indian sweet	Pagri Turban
Janeo Sacred thread	Palki Palanquin
Jantra A charm	Panihar Water source
Jarelu A shoe made of goat-hair	Parshad An offering distributed in the name of God.
Jatera Worldly	Pattu Heavy woollen shawl
Jazmani Inter-relationship	Peirus Storing vessels
Jinswar Crop statement	Peepla Weeds
Jogi A sect of sadhus	Pind Balls of barley-flour offered to deads
Jogni Local spirits of rocks	Pitre Deceased ancestors.
	Pratishtha Opening ceremony
K	Puja Worship
Kalash A pitcher full of water	Pujari Priest
Kamdeo God of love	Puranmashi Full moon
Kamiz Shirt	Purohit Family priest
Kangan An ornament for wrists	
Kanghi Comb	R
Kangi A device for wearing pattus	Rabi Spring harvest
Kante Ear-rings	Rithas Soap nuts
Katha Recitation of scriptures	Roris Balls of jaggery
Kati Knife	Rotku Big chhatra
Kesar Saffron	Runka Flimsy
Khalru Skin bag	
Kharif Autumn crop	S
Khartals Musical instruments	Sarson-ka-saag Vegetable of mustard leaves
Khichri A hotch potch of rice and pulses	Satyara Harms
Khir Sweet rice boiled in milk	Sindhur Vermilion
Khukh Upper part of the chola	Sittas Earrings
Kilta Long conical bamboo basket	Sehra The wedding chaplet, worn by bridegroom.
Kodal An agricultural implement	Sidh A holy person possessing supernatural powers
Kumbh Earthen pitcher	Sirgundi Dressing of the hair
Kungu Vermilion	Sankranti First day of Bikkram month
Kurti Ladies shirt	Shalu A piece of red cloth put on the bride at the time of marriage.
	Shuddhi Purification
L	Shradh Death anniversary
Lasrbi A unit for measuring land	Sugru A ceremony when the child is given cereal food
Lara-suhi A box containing articles at the time of marriage	Suhag-patari A box containing articles of toilet and clothes for the bride.
Lohar Blacksmith	Sur Local beer
Laung An ornament for nose	Sutak A certain period after child-birth
Lota A metallised vessel	Swaran Upper castes
Luchis Fried thin cakes	
Luanchari A typical dress worn by Gaddi women	T
Lugra Rice cooked in milk diluted with water	Thalu Metallic plate
Luhar A kind of tyhpu	Takli Spindle
	Tambol Cash presented to bride/bridegroom at the time of marriage.
M	Tawa Iron pan used for cooking bread and chapatis.
Makki-ki-roti Maize bread	Thathra Hollow pillar of rough wooden planks
Mala Garland	Thimbi Weighing measure
Mandal Where Nawala is held	
Mandua Leather pouch	Y
Mash Black grains	Yatra Pilgrimage
Masru A piece of red cloth	
Mehandi Hena	Z
Mela Fair	Zira A spice
Mandra Ear-rings	
Munjimala Garland made of grass	
Murti Idol	
N	
Nagauri Asgandh An indigenous medicine	
Naryal Coconut	
Nav-grah Nine planets	
Nautor Re-claimed land	
Nawala A form of worship of Lord Shiva.	
Nhas Wooden battens	
Nuhari Breakfast	

Village Survey Monographs

District Chamba

Chitrari, Chamba Tehsil—(Present Issue).
Devi Kothi, Chaurah Tehsil—(Price Rs. 3.10).
Maingal, Chamba Tehsil.
Lakkar Mandi, Bhattiyat Tehsil.
Hatli, Bhattiyat Tehsil—(Price Rs. 3.15).
Brahmaur, Brahmaur Sub-Tehsil—(Price Rs. 4.20).
Kupha, Parmas, Malet and Karoti (Thamoh) Pangi Sub-Tehsil.

District Mandi

Chauntra, Jogindarnagar Tehsil.
Bir, Mandi Sadar Tehsil.
Rawalsar, Mandi Sadar Tehsil.
Kot, Sarkaghat Tehsil.
Panjain, Chichot Tehsil.
Nalag, Sundarnagar Tehsil.
Pangna, Karsog Tehsil.

District Bilaspur

Dari and Dabhla, Chamarwin Tehsil.
Deoli, Bilaspur Sadar Tehsil.

District Mahasu

Shakrori, Seoni Sub-Tehsil—(Price Rs. 3.00).
Batal, Arki Tehsil.
Shathala, Kumharsain Sub-Tehsil.
Delath, Rampur Tehsil.
Dodra and Kwar, Rohru Tehsil.
Chergaon, Rohru Tehsil.
Purag, Kotkhai Sub-Tehsil.
Gijari, Theog Tehsil—(Price Rs. 2.45).
Chaunri, Kasumpti Tehsil.
Basal, Solon Tehsil.
Chaupal, Chaupal Tehsil.
Jubbal, Jubbal Tehsil.

District Sirmur

Mangarh, Pachhad Tehsil.
Rajana, Rainka Tehsil.
Moginand, Nahan Tehsil.
Kolar, Paonta Tehsil—(Price Rs. 3.45).
Kamrao, Paonta Tehsil.

District Kinnaur

Kothi, Kalpa Sub-Division—(Price Rs. 3.55).
Nachar, Nachar Sub-Division.
Kanum, Poo Sub-Division.

Central Government Publications

1961 CENSUS REPORT, VOLUME XX— HIMACHAL PRADESH, WILL BE IN THE FOLLOWING PARTS—

- I—A General Report.

I—B Report on Vital Statistics and Fertility Survey.

I—C Subsidiary Tables.

II—A General Population Tables and Primary Census Abstracts—(Price Rs. 1.75).

II—B Economic Tables.

II—C Cultural & Migration Tables.

III Household Economic Tables.

IV Report on Housing and Establishments—(Price Rs. 15.50).

V—A Special Tables on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (including reprints).
- V—B (I) Ethnographic notes on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

V—B (II) A study of Gaddi Scheduled Tribes and affiliated castes by Prof. William H. Newell.

VI Village Survey Monographs, (35 villages).

VII—A Survey of handicrafts.

VII—B Fairs and Festivals.

VIII—A Administration Report—Enumeration (for official use only).

VIII—B Administration Report—Tabulation (for official use only).

IX Maps (Atlas).

1961 Census Himachal Pradesh Government Publications.

District Handbook—Chamba.
District Handbook—Mandi.
District Handbook—Bilaspur.

District Handbook—Mahasu.
District Handbook—Sirmur.
District Handbook—Kinnaur.